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KANDAULOS. THE TESTIMONY OF SELECT SOURCES¹

The literary and antiquarian activities of Photius² and Eustathius of Thessalonica³ have enriched our knowledge with an abundance of valuable information, constantly used by historians, including the ones who attempt to unveil the mysteries of Greek gastronomy⁴. It is worth noticing that the history of food is an area of historical research which is becoming more and more popular with researchers and the phenomenon encompasses not only the growing interest in ancient gastronomy⁵, but also in the history of food in

¹ The article is a preliminary version of the paper already published in BZ (M. KOKOSZKO, K. GIBEL-BUSZEWSKA, *The term kandaulos (κάνδαυλος) / kandylos (κάνδυλος) in Lexicon of Photius and Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem of Eustathius of Thessalonica*, BZ 104, 2011, p. 125–145). The subject has been also treated in the Polish paper by the same authors entitled *Termin kandaulos (κάνδαυλος) / kandylos (κάνδυλος) na podstawie Λέξεων συναγωγῆς Focjusza oraz Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Eustacjusza z Tessaloniki* (VP 30, 2011, p. 361–373; the article is a Polish equivalent of the present paper, with only minor bibliographic changes) and in a study by Maciej Kokoszko published under the title *Dieta średniowiecznego Bizancjum? Krótka historia kandaulos (κάνδαυλος) / kandylos (κάνδυλος) na podstawie Λέξεων συναγωγῆς*, [in:] *Człowiek w średniowieczu. Między biologią a historią*, ed. A. SZYMCHAKOWA, Łódź 2009, p. 53–63. Some methodological references to the importance of the source basis made use of in the above mentioned studies for the history of food as well as the subject itself have also been made in M. KOKOSZKO, K. GIBEL-BUSZEWSKA, *Pamięć o luksusie antyku w dziełach pisarzy bizantyńskich. Tradycja kuchni greckiej*, [in:] *Sympozja kazimierskie poświęcone kulturze świata późnego antyku i wczesnego chrześcijaństwa*, vol. VII, *Pamięć i upamiętnienie w epoce późnego antyku*, ed. B. IWASZKIEWICZ-WRONIKOWSKA, D. PRÓCHNIAK, A. GŁOWA, Lublin 2010, p. 233–240.

² O. JUREWICZ, *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej. Zarys*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1984, p. 152–156, 163–166; IDEM, *Focjusz*, [in:] *Encyklopedia kultury bizantyńskiej*, ed. O. JUREWICZ, Warszawa 2002 (cetera: EKB), p. 178–179; N.G. WILSON, *The Scholars of Byzantium*, London–Cambridge Mass. 1996, p. 89–119.

³ O. JUREWICZ, *op. cit.*, p. 245–246, 259; M. ANGOLD, *Church and society in Byzantium under the Comneni (1081–1261)*, Cambridge 1995, p. 179–196; N.G. WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 196–204; H. CI-CHOCKA, *Eustacjusz z Tesaloniki*, [in:] EKB, p. 169.

⁴ Their data was also made use of in our paper entitled *Focjusz a kuchnia grecka czyli kilka słów o abyrtake (ἀβυρτάκη)*, VP 28, 2008, p. 495–504.

⁵ It is enough to point out to a few examples from the last few years – J. WILKINS, *The boastful chef. The discourse of food in ancient Greek comedy*, Oxford 2000; M. GRANT, *Roman Cookery. Ancient Recipes for Modern Kitchens*, London 2002; J.P. ALCOCK, *Food in the ancient world*, Westport–London 2006; S. GRAINGER, *Cooking “Apicius”*. *Roman Recipes for Modern Kitchens*, Blackawton–Totnes 2006. It should be noted that there also appeared a very good new edition of Apicius (*Apicius. A critical edition with an introduction and an English translation of the Latin recipe text Apicius*, ed. Ch. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, Blackawton–Totnes 2006 [cetera: *Apicius. A critical*]) and Anthimus (*Anthimus, De*

Byzantium⁶. However, despite the constant development of the above-mentioned studies, the scientific research field still remains virtually boundless. The situation of inadequate research has so far concerned the famous ancient delicacy called *kándaulos/kándylos*, and the present article attempts to fill in this gap in our knowledge.

The name of the dish mentioned by both the patriarch and the bishop of Thessalonica is present in Greek literature in the form of two basic varieties. Kandylos (κάνδυλος), i.e. the term used by Photius⁷, appears also in the works of Aristophanes⁸, Euangellus⁹, Hesychius¹⁰, Cercidas¹¹, Menander¹², Plutarch¹³, Pollux¹⁴ and in the *Suda*¹⁵. On the other hand, the

observatione ciborum. On the observance of foods, ed. M. GRANT, Blackawton–Totnes 2007).

⁶ A manifestation of which are several interesting papers published over the last five years, v. A. DALBY, *Flavours of Byzantium*, Blackawton–Totnes 2003; *Food and cooking in Byzantium. Proceedings of the symposium “On food in Byzantium”*. Thessaloniki Museum of Byzantine Culture 4 November 2001, ed. D. PAPANIKOLA–BAKIRTZI, Athens 2005; *Feast, fast or famine. Food and drink in Byzantium*, ed. W. MAYER, S. TRZCIONKA, Brisbane 2005; *Eat, drink and be merry (Luke 12:19). Food and wine in Byzantium. In honour of Professor A.A.M. Bryer*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, K. LINARDOU, Aldershot 2007. They complement a fundamental, in this field, work by Phaidon ΚΟΥΚΟΥΛΕΣ (*Βυζαντινῶν βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. V, *Αἱ τροφαὶ καὶ τὰ ποτά. Τὰ γεύματα. Τὰ δεῖπνα καὶ τὰ συμπόσια*, Ἀθήναι 1952), Thomas WEBER's work (*Essen und Trinken in Konstantinopel des 10. Jahrhunderts, nach den Berichten Liutprands von Cremona*, [in:] J. KODER, T. WEBER, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel. Untersuchungen zum griechischen Sprachschatz und zu realienkundlichen Aussagen in seinen Werken*, Wien 1980 [= Byzantina Vindoboniensia, 13], p. 71–99), Johannes KODER's output (*Gemüse in Byzanz. Die Versorgung Konstantinopels mit Frischgemüse im Lichte der Geponika*, Wien 1993 etc.), Ewald KISLINGER's (*Les chrétiens d'Orient: règles et réalités alimentaires dans le monde byzantin*, [in:] *Histoire de l'alimentation*, ed. J.-L. FLANDRIN, M. MONTANARI, Paris 1996, p. 325–344), and the results of epistolographic research of Apostolos KARPOZIOLOS (*Realia in Byzantine Epistolography X–XII c.*, BZ 77, 1984, p. 20–37; *Realia in Byzantine Epistolography XIII–XV c.*, BZ 88, 1995, p. 68–84).

⁷ *Photii patriarchae Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, ed. C. THEODORIDIS, vol. I, Berlin–New York 1982 (cetera: PHOTIUS, *Lexicon*).

⁸ ARISTOPHANES, *Pax*, 123, [in:] ARISTOPHANE, ed. V. COULON, M. VAN DAELE, vol. II, Paris 1924; v. *Scholia in Aristophanis pacem vetera et recentiora Triclinii*, 123 d, 1–2, [in:] *Scholia in Aristophanem*, vol. II.2, *Scholia in Vespas, Pacem, Aves et Lysistratam*, ed. D. HOLWERDA, Groningen 1982 (cetera: *Scholia in pacem*).

⁹ *Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistae*, XIV, 644 d–e (52, 11–23, KAIBEL), [in:] *Athenaei Naucratis Dipnosophistae libri XV*, ed. G. KAIBEL, vol. I–III, Lipsiae–Berolini 1887–1890 (cetera: ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*).

¹⁰ *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 646, 1–2, ed. M. SCHMIDT, vol. I–V, Ienae 1859–1868 (cetera: HESYCHIUS, *Lexicon*).

¹¹ CERCIDAS, fr. 18, [in:] *Collectanea Alexandrina*, ed. J.U. POWELL, Oxford 1925, col. 2, 15.

¹² ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 517 a (12, 44–46, KAIBEL); MENANDER, fr. 397, 10–11, [in:] *Menandri reliquiae selectae. Fragmenta longiora apud alios auctores servata*, ed. F.H. SANDBACH, Oxford 1972.

¹³ *Plutachi Quaestiones convivales*, 664 a, 5, [in:] *Plutarchi moralia*, ed. C. HUBERT, vol. IV, Lipsiae 1938 (cetera: PLUTARCH, *Quaestiones convivales*).

¹⁴ *Iulii Pollucis Onomasticon*, VI, 69, ed. I. BEKKER, Berolini 1846.

¹⁵ *Suidae lexicon*, κ, Κάνδυλος, 303, 1–2, ed. A. ADLER, vol. I–IV, Lipsiae 1928–1935 (cetera: *Suidae lexicon*).

variant which Eustathius of Thessalonica¹⁶ was familiar with, i.e. kandaulos (κάνδαυλος), has been preserved in *opera* of Alexis¹⁷, Philemon¹⁸, Hegesippus of Tarentum¹⁹ and Nicostratus²⁰. Athenaeus of Naucratis records both the above-mentioned versions, which is, of course, a direct result of the very nature of his work²¹. The third option, i.e. kondylos (κόνδυλος), has been recorded only once and appears in the scholia to Aristophanes' *Peace*²².

The Photius' lexicon entry is very short, concentrating on the ingredients of *kándaulos/kándylos* as well as giving the name of the author who mentioned the delicacy in his work:

κάνδυλος σκευασία ὀψοποιικὴ μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος ἔνιοι δὲ διὰ κρέως καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τυροῦ. οὕτως Ἀριστοφάνης.

kandylos: a dish made from milk, animal fat and honey and, as others claim, from meat, bread and cheese. This is exactly the dish Aristophanes was familiar with.²³

The fragment of Eustathius' work referring to the analysed topic is more extensive and apart from a recipe for the dish, it also includes a few remarks regarding its origins:

Νῦν δὲ μνηστέον ἱστορίας δηλούσης ὅτι τε ἡδυπάθειαν οἱ Μήονες, ταῦτόν δ' εἰπεῖν οἱ Λυδοί, ἐφίλουν, ὅθεν, φασί, καὶ Ἀνακρέων τὸν ἡδυπαθῆ Ἀνδοπαθῆ ἔφη, καὶ ὅτι βρώμα παρ' αὐτοῖς εὗρητο κάνδαυλος, παρώνυμον ἴσως τῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς τυράννῳ Κανδαύλῃ, καθὰ καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἐδεσμάτων ἐξ ἐτέρων κυρίων ὀνομάτων ἐφίλουν καλεῖσθαι, ὥς καὶ οἱ Νικόλαοι. φέρεται οὖν ἐν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ὅτι κνηστῶ, οὐ τυρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἄρτῳ καὶ Φρυγίῳ τυρῶ, ἀνήθῳ τε καὶ ζωμῷ πίονι ἐφθοῦ κρέως συνόντος, Λυδικὸν ἐγίνετο ἔδεσμα κάνδαυλος καλούμενος. περὶ οὗ φησιν Ἀλεξίς, ὥς ἔκάνδαυλον ἐὰν παραθῶσι, προσκατεδῇ τοὺς δακτύλους.

Now it is worth mentioning the tradition saying that the Meonians, i.e. Lydians, loved luxury; that is why Anacreon referred to the people who loved comfort as “the ones with a liking analogous to that of the Lydians.” It is also said that it was they who invented kandaulos and this term goes back to the name of their ruler Candaules, as this tribe used to coin their terminology from proper names. This was the case with the so-called *Nikolaoi*; Athenaeus in his work remarks that kandaulos was a Lydian

¹⁶ *Eustathii archiepiscopi Thessalonicensis Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem Pertinentes*, ed. M. VAN DER VALK, vol. IV, Leiden 1987, p. 180, 16–23 (cetera: EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*).

¹⁷ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 d–f (12, 14–34, KAIBEL).

¹⁸ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 f (12, 35–40, KAIBEL); PHILEMON, fr. 60, 3, [in:] *Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta*, ed. T. KOCK, vol. II, Leipzig 1884 (cetera: *Comici Attici*).

¹⁹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 d (12, 11–14, KAIBEL).

²⁰ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 517 a (12, 41–43, KAIBEL); NICOSTRATUS, fr. 17, 1–3, [in:] *Comici Attici*, vol. II, Lipsiae 1884.

²¹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS quotes the authors who name the discussed dish.

²² *Scholia in pacem*, 123 d, 1–2. V. above.

²³ PHOTIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, English translation by M.K., K.G.

dish consisting of grated (not cheese, but) bread, Phrygian cheese, dill and meat in fatty broth. Alexis claimed that “when you are treated to kandaulos (you eat it so vigorously that you never even notice) your fingers are nibbled to the bone”.²⁴

The fragment of *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem* written by Eustathius of Thessalonica clearly indicates that in the Greeks’ awareness and, as we interpret it, as late as in Byzantine times, it was quite obvious that *kándaulos/kándylos* had been borrowed by the Hellenes from the Lydians, and the name of this dish was traditionally associated with the Lydian ruler Candaules²⁵, the predecessor of Gyges²⁶. It is worth adding here that the history of the two rulers, which is only referred to by Eustathius of Thessalonica in the fragment, is very dramatic and is told in detail by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, whose narrative concentrates on the revenge taken by the last Heraclid’s, i.e. Candaules’, spouse who felt her feelings were hurt by her husband²⁷. It is also worth remembering that the information provided by Eustathius of Thessalonica is the most comprehensive and the pieces of data included in this work have never been questioned by any other author²⁸.

Even though neither Photius nor the bishop of Thessalonica explain how *kándaulos/kándylos* appeared in Greek cuisine, it may be suggested that it was the Ionians who acted as intermediaries in this process. This hypothesis is supported by natural closeness of the latter to the Lydians. It is equally worth taking into account that Greek tradition attributed to the Ionians features analogous to the ones

²⁴ EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, IV, 180, 16–23. English translation by M.K., K.G.

²⁵ EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, IV, 180, 19–20. His *Commentaries* mentioned in N.G. WILSON, *op. cit.*, p. 197–199. Eustathius’ works has been a rich source for those who have discussed the history of Greek gastronomy. In J.A. KELHOFFER, *The diet of John the Baptist. “Locust and wild honey” in Synoptic and Patristic interpretation*, Tübingen 2005, p. 73 (information regarding diet of John the Baptist); M. GRÜNBART, *Store in a cool and dry place: perishable goods and their preservation in Byzantium*, [in:] *Eat, drink...*, p. 42–43 (the restocking of the pantry); J. KODER, *Stew and salted meat – opulent normality in the diet of every day?*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 59–60 (information regarding meat-smoking) etc.

²⁶ Candaules, mentioned above, is also known as Sadyattes or Myrsilus. He ruled over Lydia for some time before 680 B.C. In P.N. URE, *The origins of tyranny*, Cambridge 1922, p. 137–138; S. PRZEWORSKI, *Dzieje i kultura Azji Mniejszej do podboju perskiego*, [in:] *Wielka historia powszechna*, ed. J. DĄBROWSKI et al., vol. I, *Pradzieje ludzkości i historia państw wschodu*, Warszawa 1935, p. 696; D. ARNAUD, *Starożytny Bliski Wschód. Od wprowadzenia pisma do Aleksandra Wielkiego*, trans. M. RYSZKIEWICZ, K. WAKAR, Warszawa 1982, p. 219–222; T.F.R.G. BRAUN, *The Greeks in Egypt*, [in:] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III.3, *The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. J. BOARDMAN, N.G.L. HAMMOND, ²⁷⁰Cambridge 2006 (1982), p. 36; cf. G. DANZIG, *Rhetoric and the Ring: Herodotus and Plato on the Story of Gyges as a Politically Expedient Tale*, GR 55, 2008, p. 169–192.

²⁷ HERODOTE, *Histoires*, I, 7, 3–12, 9, ed. P.-E. LEGRAND, Paris 1932 (cetera: HERODOTUS, *Historiae*); cf. Y. HUGHES DOMINICK, *Acting Other: Atossa and Instability in Herodotus*, CQ 57, 2007, p. 433–436.

²⁸ Cf. the testimony of Athenaeus of Naucratis, which is later used by the bishop of Thessalonica himself (Λυδικὸν ἐγίνετο ἔδεσμα κάνδαυλος) – EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, IV, 180, 22–23; ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 c (12, 9–10, KAIBEL).

which were supposed to characterize Candaules’ subjects, i.e. inclination to luxury. This suggestion appears to be confirmed by a fragment of a Menander’s comedy in which an affluent Ionian, getting ready to eat this dish, is depicted. Though there is no mention of the costliness of the dish ingredients, the *kándaulos/kándylos* referred to by the playwright must have been an exquisite one because it had an extraordinary property – notably, it enhanced one’s love powers, which surely made it look more attractive to those who were affluent enough to afford it and who generally did not share the moderation (at least) postulated by the European Greeks²⁹. What is more, the very Ionian about to consume the delicacy is depicted as a rich person.

Pinpointing the hypothetical date of the creation of *kándaulos/kándylos* was made possible thanks to the completion of excavation works in Sardis, the capital of ancient Lydia, or, more precisely, as a result of the publication of Crawford Greenewalt’s analysis of what was discovered therein³⁰, i.e. 25 deposits (consisting of a pot, a small jug, a mug, a shallow dish and a knife). What is especially significant in the context is that the pots contained bone leftovers which, as it was determined, belonged to puppies less than three months old.

In his book Greenewalt claims that those finds must be interpreted in accordance with select written sources having a connection with the above-mentioned Candaules³¹. Having analysed the data, the scholar argues that the ruler was nicknamed after one of the Lydian gods, notably, the ruler of the underworld, whose name was Candaules (or Candaulas). Subsequently, Greenewalt quotes the tradition recorded by Hipponax³² and John Tzetzes³³ to remind that the name of the divinity is in fact a telling term and means “he who smothers dogs/puppies”. Finally, Greenewalt concludes by suggesting that the deposits show leftovers after ritual feasts during which the dogs’ meat was prepared for consumption.

The Greenewalt’s hypothesis was later developed in a David Harvey’s³⁴ article. The author draws our attention to the fact that some reference to dogs is also found in the legendary life of Cyrus the Great, the conqueror of Lydia, which is also to be found in

²⁹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, IV, 132 e–f, 9, 19–30; XII, 517 a (12, 44–46, KAIBEL); MENANDER, fr. 397, 10–11; v. also P. PRAY BOBER, *Art, culture and cuisine. Ancient and medieval gastronomy*, Chicago–London 1999, p. 109.

³⁰ C.H. GREENEWALT, *Ritual dinners in early historic Sardis*, Berkeley 1976, *passim*.

³¹ C.H. GREENEWALT, *op. cit.*, p. 52–54.

³² *Kynanches* (κυνάγχης) – HIPPONAX, fr. 3 a, 1, [in:] *Iambi et elegi Graeci*, ed. M.L. WEST, vol. I, Oxford 1971.

³³ *Skylopniktes* (σκυλοπνίκτης) – Ioannis Tzetzae *historiarum variarum chiliades*, VI, 482, ed. T. KIESSLING, Hildesheim 1963. Works of Tzetzes were partially analysed for their possible use in a history of gastronomy by Anthoullis A. DEMOSTHENOUS (*The scholar and the partridge: attitudes relating to nutritional goods in the twelfth century from the letters of the scholar John Tzetzes*, [in:] *Feast, fast...*, p. 25–31).

³⁴ *Lydian specialties, Croesus’ golden baking-woman, and dogs’ dinners*, [in:] *Food in antiquity*, ed. J. WILKINS, D. HARVEY, M. DOBSON, Exeter 1995, p. 273–285.

the work of Herodotus of Halicarnassus³⁵. Harvey highlights the fact that Mithradates' wife's name, i.e. the name of young Cyrus' foster mother, was, in the Median/Persian language, Spaco (Σπακώ), which the author of *Histories* translates by means of the Greek term Kynó (Κυνώ) – 'the bitch'³⁶. Harvey claims that, due to the fact that the finds interpreted by Greenewalt come from the half of the 6th century B.C., one might risk a conclusion that the sacrificing of young dogs served as a means of averting the danger (imminent in the 540s B.C.) of the Persian invasion on Lydia, personified by Cyrus, the young and energetic ruler of the Medians and the Persians³⁷.

We do not possess any precise data regarding the period when *kándaulos/kándylos* found its permanent place in European Greece. Since in accordance with our knowledge, the oldest Greek author mentioning this dish was Aristophanes³⁸, one may suppose that his 5th century audience tasted this delicacy or at least was aware of its existence. If we are right, one can also conjecture that *kándaulos/kándylos* had been accepted by the Hellenes even before this date. Moreover, one may also come to the conclusion that this dish had not become widely popular by Hellenistic times, since it was the period when many culinary novelties were being introduced to Greek gastronomy and since it was exactly the time when the artistic activity of the majority of the ancient authors mentioning the delicacy was in its heyday³⁹.

³⁵ The author writes that Cyrus was foretold to Astyages, the Median ruler and Cyrus' grandfather, in a prophetic dream to be the conqueror of the Medes. In order to avoid the fate, Astyages ordered to kill the baby. The sentence was not executed since Harpagus, the man charged with the mission, felt stings of remorse. As a result, the child was taken in by Mithradates, a herdsman, and his wife Spaco, who raised him to the moment when he was recognised by Astyages and was granted a safe return to Astyages' court – HERODOTUS, *Historiae*, I, 107, 1 – 116, 21.

³⁶ HERODOTUS, *Historiae*, I, 110, 4–7; v. D. ARNAUD, *op. cit.*, p. 217–217; P. BRIANT, *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian empire*, trans. P.T. DANIELS, Winona Lake 2002, p. 31–50.

³⁷ D. HARVEY, *op. cit.*, p. 283–284. Harvey believes that the date of the conquer of Sardis should be moved to around 544 B.C. Issue discussed in J. CARGILL, *The Nabonidus Chronicle and the fall of Lydia*, AJAH 2, 1977, p. 97–116, H.T. WADE-GERY, *Essays in Greek history*, Oxford 1958, p. 166, an. 3.

³⁸ K. KUMANIECKI, *Historia kultury starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu*, Warszawa 1977, p. 177–179.

³⁹ Regarding the specific character of work of Athenaeus of Naucratis cf. B. BALDWIN, *Athenaeus and his work*, ACLAS 19, 1976, p. 21–42; M. KOKOSZKO, *Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–VII w.)*, Łódź 2005 [= *Byzantina Lodziensia*, 9], p. 8–10 (collected works); A. LUKINOVICH, *The play of reflections between literary form and the sympotic theme in the „Deipnosophistae” of Athenaeus*, [in:] *Symptotica. A symposium on the symposium*, ed. O. MURRAY, Oxford 1994, p. 263–271; *Athenaeus and his World. Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*, ed. D. BRAUND, J. WILKINS, Exeter 2000. The Hellenistic period was full of culinary novelties, which sometimes created a sort of (either permanent or ephemeral) trends in the culinary art – J. WILKINS, S. HILL, *The sources and sauces of Athenaeus*, [in:] *Food in antiquity...*, p. 437, an. 4. Some of famous at that time delicacies were discussed in M. KOKOSZKO, *Historia kuchni antycznej i bizantyńskiej. Sos karyke (καρύκη). Komentarz do Chronografii Michała Psellosa*, PNH 5.2, 2006, p. 167–178, especially 170–171 (period of spreading among the Greeks); IDEM, K. GIBEL, *Focjusz a kuchnia...*, p. 495–504, especially 501 (spreading among the Greeks). Some of them found their place as a permanent element of culture, not only dietetic, but also symbolic – K. GIBEL,

We know only a sketchy recipe for *kándaulos/kándylos*. This lack of precision is typical of the times when cooks were mostly slaves and gastronomic literature was created by scholarly dilettantes. On the other hand, we are also aware that there existed more than one version of the dish discussed as, according to Athenaeus of Naucratis (quoting Hegesippus of Tarentum⁴⁰), there were three separate variations of this delicacy⁴¹. Unfortunately, the author of *Deipnosophists* himself quotes⁴² only one recipe whose differentiating feature was the addition of meat to *kándaulos/kándylos*. One should at the same time remember that this recipe can be detected later in Byzantine tradition and is quoted in the lexicon compiled by Hesychius, Photius' work, the *Suda* and *Commentarii* compiled by Eustathius of Thessalonica. The second variation was well-documented as early as in the 2nd century A.D. by Pollux and is subsequently mentioned in the lexicons written by Hesychius, the quoted entry by Photius and in the *Suda*. The preserved data indicates that the second recipe referred to a sweet version of the dish. Regrettably, we do not know anything about the character of the third variety.

We shall start our research into the recipe for *kándaulos/kándylos* from the variation which included meat as one of the ingredients. Photius describes this type as a dish prepared διὰ κρέως καὶ ἄρτου καὶ τυροῦ. It is unfortunate that the erudite gives no detail about the kind of meat used for this dish by the Greeks. There is little indication that it would come from puppies, although the Greeks did not turn their noses up at this kind of meat⁴³. It is even recommended by the author of *De morbis popularibus*⁴⁴ as well as mentioned by Galen in *De alimentorum facultatibus*⁴⁵. Since, however, there is no mention in Greek culinary and medical literature that dog meat was a delicacy⁴⁶, let us formulate a hypothesis claiming that, by the time the dish established itself in the Greek

Symbolika jedzenia w wybranych pismach Jana Chryzostoma na przykładzie derywatów od karyke (καρύκη), [in:] *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana profesorowi Waldemarowi Czeranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007 [= *Byzantina Lodziensia*, 11], p. 121–131.

⁴⁰ Hegesippus of Tarentum is dated to that period – F. BILABEL, *Kochbücher*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XXI, col. 935–937. A. DALBY, *Siren Feasts. A History of Food and Gastronomy in Greece*, London 1996, p. 111; IDEM, *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, London–New York 2003, p. 174. HARVEY (*op. cit.*, p. 277) does not date him at all.

⁴¹ ATHENAEUS OF NAUCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 c (12, 10, KAIBEL).

⁴² After abovementioned Hegesippus of Tarentum.

⁴³ Regarding the issue of dogs used as food, v. F.J. SIMOONS, *Eat not this flesh. Food avoidances from prehistory to the present*, Madison–London 1994, p. 200–252, especially 223–227, 232–236 (Greek world), 246 (regarding the issue of interpretation of the findings from Sardis); J. WILKINS, S. HILL, *Food in the ancient world*, Malden–Oxford 2006, p. 144; J. ROY, *The consumption of dog-meat in classical Greece*, [in:] *Cooking up the past. Food and culinary practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*, ed. C. MEE, J. RENARD, Oxford 2007, p. 342–353, especially 350.

⁴⁴ *De morbis popularibus (Epidemiae)*, VII, 1, 62 – 12, [in:] *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. LITTRE, vol. V, Paris 1846; v. J. ROY, *op. cit.*, p. 347–348.

⁴⁵ *Galen de alimentorum facultatibus*, 664, 16 – 665, 5, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, ed. D.C.G. KÜHN, vol. VI, Lipsiae 1823 (cetera: GALEN, *De alimentorum facultatibus*).

⁴⁶ Cf. the James ROY's (*op. cit.*, p. 348–350) conclusions.

culinary art, dogs had been replaced, for instance, by small rodents. The conjecture finds corroboration in the data provided by Hesychius, who in his lexicon stated that hare meat was used as an ingredient of the dish discussed (διὰ λαγῶων)⁴⁷.

Hegesippus' recipe (later repeated almost verbatim by Eustathius of Thessalonica) states that the meat was cooked or stewed before being added to the dish. The statement is corroborated by the fact that the recipe for *kándaulos/kándylos* included stock or gravy, *dzomós* (ζωμός), i.e. a condiment which must have been a result of cooking the meat. We can also conjecture that the meat was not lean since the *dzomós* is referred to as "fatty", *píon* (πίων)⁴⁸. Photius also claims that animal fat ([μετὰ] στέατος) was used in *kándaulos/kándylos*, but he mentions it only in the hypothetical recipe for the sweet variety. Therefore, we are unable to determine whether the analogous procedure of adding *stear* equally applied to the meat version of this dish.

All the authors inform that an adequate amount of Phrygian cheese was also added to *kándaulos/kándylos*. The Phrygian cheese was a special variety produced from a mixture of donkey and horse mares' milk and the product was renowned enough to be fleetingly mentioned by Aristotle himself in his *Historia animalium*⁴⁹. Some modern authors have speculated that the end-product of Greek cheese-makers had an intensive aroma and savoury taste and, therefore, it has been suggested that it was similar to the famous English Stilton⁵⁰. However, we have no evidence whatsoever that this analogy is correct. One may also speculate that the cheese was added in chunks as this is the best procedure to melt it down and mix homogenously with other liquid ingredients of *kándaulos/kándylos*. John Wilkins and Shaun Hill⁵¹, the famous connoisseurs of Greek gastronomy and specialists in the field, seem to be in favour of this idea. One must suppose that the liquefied cheese ensured the silky texture of the gravy and, if salted⁵², it would also provide this dish with its final flavour.

The preserved recipes clearly show that bread was a vital ingredient of this dish.

⁴⁷ HESYCHIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 646, 1.

⁴⁸ It is also probable that olive oil might have been added to the stock.

⁴⁹ ARISTOTE, *Histoire des animaux*, 552 a, 27–29, ed. P. LOUIS, vol. I, Paris 196; v. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 80; V. ESSEX CHEKE, *The story of cheese-making in Britain*, London 1959, p. 70; P.F. FOX, P.L.H. MCSWEENEY, *Cheese: An overview*, [in:] *Cheese. Chemistry, physics and microbiology*, vol. I, *General aspects*, ed. P.F. FOX, P.L.H. MCSWEENEY, T.M. COGAN, T.P. GUINEE, Amsterdam–Boston–Heidelberg et al. 2004, p. 1–18; R. SCOTT, R.K. ROBINSON, R.A. WILBEY, *Cheesemaking practice*, New York 1998, p. 2 etc.

⁵⁰ J. DORAN, *Table traits, with something on them*, Edinburgh–Dublin 1859, p. 33. Stilton is a famous kind of white or blue cheese, produced from non-skimmed milk in Melton Mowbray and the surrounding areas (Leicestershire, Derbyshire i Nottinghamshire). Regarding such cheese, v. A. DAVIDSON, *The Oxford companion to food*, Oxford 1996, p. 754–755; T. HICKMAN, *The history of Stilton cheese*, Stroud 1996, passim.

⁵¹ Compare a contemporary recipe, based on tradition – J. WILKINS, S. HILL, *Food in the ancient...*, p. 278.

⁵² A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 80–81.

The fact of using this condiment ([ἐξ] κνηστοῦ ἄρτου) is confirmed by Hegesippus' tradition⁵³, and it was Eustathius of Thessalonica himself who very pointedly highlighted this ingredient (ὅτι κνηστῶ, οὐ τυρῶ, ἀλλὰ ἄρτω) as well⁵⁴. The very wording of his narrative suggests that the product was ground or grated. However, it is worth reminding here that there existed a particular kind of bread called *knestós* (κνηστός), which was mentioned by Artemidorus of Ephesus⁵⁵. Still, the data we possess is too limited to definitely confirm that the Artemidorus' *knestós ártos* was exactly the variety to have been exclusively utilised in the dish discussed.

It is really difficult to define the role played by this ingredient in the dish. Two basic facts may be assumed. Firstly, we may interpret its role as a simple thickening agent. The premise for such an interpretation is adding to the *kándaulos/kándylos* sweet version, as it was described by Pollux, an ingredient called *amylum* (ἄμυλον)⁵⁶, i.e. starch⁵⁷, which is a substance thickening a dish but not altering its final taste or texture⁵⁸. In accordance with this hypothesis, bread and *amylum* would have been ingredients of an analogous property, i.e. thickeners. On making such an assumption, one may come to a further conclusion that the dish, after the grated bread having been added to it, simmered until its uniform consistency was achieved or was baked in a *kribanon* (κρίβανον), an *ipnós* (ἵπνός) or in a dish covered with hot charcoal (*thermospodium / cinis calidus*)⁵⁹. Here we must mention one more thing – if that was the case, the bread used for *kándaulos/kándylos* must have been kneaded from finely ground flour⁶⁰ whose characteristic (including flavour) was fairly neutral. On the other hand, it is equally pos-

⁵³ ATHENAEUS OF NAOCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, XII, 516 d (12, 13, KAIBEL).

⁵⁴ EUSTATHIUS OF THESSALONICA, *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, IV, 180, 21.

⁵⁵ ATHENAEUS OF NAOCRATIS, *Deipnosophistae*, III, 111 d (76, 25–26, KAIBEL). Also v. HESYCHIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κνηστός, 3119, 1.

⁵⁶ GALEN was interested in the properties of *amylum* (*De alimentorum facultatibus* 500, 4–16).

⁵⁷ A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 349.

⁵⁸ C. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, *A glossary to Apicius*, [in:] *Apicius. A critical...*, s. 330–331; D.L. THURMAND, *A handbook of food processing in classical Rome. For her bounty no winter*, Leiden–Boston 2006, p. 166, 171.

⁵⁹ Pots made of porous clay burnt frequently, thus spoiling the taste of dishes. What is more, when heated on a standard hearth, the pots received heat only from below, which resulted in frequent burning of dense ingredients located at the bottom of the pot. Roasting in an oven would result in a more even heating of the dish. Such idea is proposed by Hesychius, who defines *kándaulos/kándylos* by using a term *pemma edodimon* (πέμμα ἐδώδιμον) – HESYCHIOS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 646, 2. In. C. GROCOCK, S. GRAINGER, *op. cit.*, p. 362. Roasting methods compared in A. CUBBERLEY, *Bread-baking in Ancient Italy. Clibanus and sub testu in the Roman world: Hereinafter thoughts*, [in:] *Food in Antiquity...*, p. 55–68; R.I. CURTIS, *Ancient food technology*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001, p. 368–369; J. FRAYN, *Home Baking in Roman Italy*, *An* 52, 1978, p. 28–33; J. LIVERSIDGE, *Roman kitchens and cooking utensils*, [in:] *The Roman cookery book. A critical translation of „The art of cooking” by Apicius for use in the study and the kitchen*, ed. B. FLOWER, E. ROSENBAUM, London–Toronto–Wellington–Sydney 1958, p. 29–38.

⁶⁰ It must have been wheat flour, which contains a high dose of gluten.

sible that *amylum* was added only to the sweet variety of *kándaulos/kándylos*, and its meaty type included considerably tangible bread particles, which, while releasing starch, only additionally thickened the entire consistency⁶¹. Surely, taking into account the second case, a sort of bread made of coarsely ground grain would have been a much better option for an ancient or Byzantine cook⁶².

The preserved recipes show that the main spice added to *kándaulos/kándylos* was *anéthon* (ἀνήθον). However, we possess no specifications regarding its amount and form. For instance, we do not know which parts of this plant were used – seeds or green parts or both. Still, either of those would have caused different gustatory effects. To be quite frank, we cannot even determine whether the recipe included dill (*Anethum graveolens*)⁶³ or fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*)⁶⁴. Both these plants originated in Central Asia, and, having spread in Asia Minor and Europe⁶⁵, were popularly used for the purpose of the Greek culinary art. Both, however, could have had a slightly different effect upon the final flavour of the dish. The first variety would have added freshness to the aroma of the delicacy and made its taste slightly sweet and at the same time spicy, while the other would have provided the dish with a liquorice-like aroma and ensured a higher intensity of gustatory experience. It is worth mentioning here that Wilkins and Hill suggest using anise (*Pimpinella anisum*) in the dish, since it would have additionally enhanced the latter effect⁶⁶.

The sweet variety of *kándaulos/kándylos* is described in the literature with similar precision, and the most comprehensive source of knowledge regarding this variant of the dish is Julius Pollux's *Onomasticon*. The lexicographer states that this delicacy was made from cheese ([ἐξ] τυροῦ), milk ([ἐξ] γάλακτος), starch (ἐξ ἀμύλου) and honey ([ἐξ] μέλιτος). One may surmise that also Phrygian cheese⁶⁷ was used, as no author mentions any other variety. The cheese was surely melted in hot milk while the starch served as an additional thickening agent. Finally, honey made the dish taste sweet. It is worth stressing that almost all of the above-mentioned ingredients could also be later found in various configurations in Byzantine sources. Hesychius preserved a recipe enlisting honey, cheese and milk⁶⁸; Photius remembered about

⁶¹ Barley bread might also have been an option in this case.

⁶² K.D. WHITE, *Cereals, Bread and Milling in the Roman World*, [in:] *Food in Antiquity...*, p. 38–43, especially 41–42. Athenaeus of Naucratis names various kinds of breads, known in antiquity, in the 3rd book of his *Deipnosophists*. Recently, an interesting and informative study of the processing of grain products was presented by Dionysios STATHAKOPOULOS (*Between the field and the palate: how agricultural products were processed into food*, [in:] *Eat, drink...*, p. 27–38).

⁶³ A. DALBY, *Dangerous tastes. The story of spices*, London 2002, p. 110, 128; M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, *Histoire de la nourriture naturelle et morale*, Paris 1997, p. 647.

⁶⁴ A. DALBY, *Dangerous...*, p. 52, 58, 105, 111, 128; M. TOUSSAINT-SAMAT, *op. cit.*, p. 648.

⁶⁵ A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 116–117.

⁶⁶ J. WILKINS, S. HILL, *Food in the ancient...*, p. 278.

⁶⁷ It is probable, however, that it could have been any other kind of cheese.

⁶⁸ διὰ... γάλακτος καὶ τυροῦ καὶ μέλιτος... – HESYCHIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 646, 1–2.

milk and honey and also added animal fat, *stear*⁶⁹; the *Suda*, however, mentions only honey and milk⁷⁰.

We do not know the final shape of the dish, or dishes. The ingredients suggest that the meat variety was semi-liquid and similar to modern stew or fricassee. Hesychius stated that *kándaulos/kándylos* was a kind of pastry (pie) and in order to precisely depict this concept, he used the term *pémma* (πέμμα)⁷¹. This data is complemented by the scholia to *Peace*, whose author called the dish a kind of pastry (or pie), i.e. *eídos plakoúntos* (εἶδος... πλακοῦντος)⁷². Aristophanes suggests that *kándaulos/kándylos* was served with bread⁷³. It is easily understandable since this dish had never been a staple part of the diet but a slightly exotic *ópson* (ὄψον), i.e. an addition to the basic foodstuffs. However, it is difficult to state whether the habit of serving this dish with bread concerned all the varieties of the delicacy discussed⁷⁴. We may guess that the final appearance of the sweet variety was similar to modern blancmange or thick custard. It is also possible that, after cooling down, starch and fat⁷⁵ made the second variety of *kándaulos/kándylos* hard enough to slice it or cut into portions.

Common reports of ancient⁷⁶ and Byzantine⁷⁷ authors clearly show that *kándaulos/kándylos* was a sophisticated and exquisite dish. This classification was not determined by high prices of its ingredients⁷⁸ but, as one may suppose, by its Eastern origin and overall Greek culinary tradition. Anyway, this delicacy is always mentioned in the context of lavish feasts or preparations for such⁷⁹. The moralists surely noticed the risks coming from its consumption. Even Menander, as we have mentioned above, included it in the list of aphrodisiacs, and Plutarch located it, next to *abyrtáke* (ἀβυρτάκη) and *karýke* (καρύκη), in the catalogue of dishes, being a contradiction to the Greek gastronomic and national tradition⁸⁰. This opinion was so deeply-rooted in the Greek awareness that even Eustathius of Thessalonica, as it has been alluded to, still regarded *kándaulos/kándylos* as a symbol of luxury and gluttony invariably associated with culinary imports from the East⁸¹.

⁶⁹ μετὰ γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος – PHOTIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος.

⁷⁰ διὰ μέλιτος καὶ γάλακτος... – *Suidae Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 303, 1.

⁷¹ HESYCHIUS, *Lexicon*, κ, κάνδυλος, 646, 2. The explanation of the lexicographer is too brief for unequivocal conclusions. In our opinion, the term itself may point to the fact that all the ingredients of the dish were subjected to high temperature (for example, in a kind of an oven or in a *kribanon* – compare above).

⁷² *Scholia in pacem*, 123d, 2. Such interpretation is provided also by Andrew DALBY (*Food...*, p. 188).

⁷³ ARISTOPHANES, *Pax*, 123.

⁷⁴ Such doubt concerns also the sweet variety.

⁷⁵ Especially fat mentioned by Photius; v. A. DALBY, *Food...*, p. 349.

⁷⁶ Cf. contexts which mention *kandaulos*.

⁷⁷ Cf. the opinion of Eustathius of Thessalonica.

⁷⁸ Undoubtedly, the most luxurious ingredient was meat.

⁷⁹ For example, EUANGELLUS (v. the above-mentioned fragment) and PHILEMON (v. the above-mentioned fragment).

⁸⁰ PLUTARCH, *Quaestiones convivales*, 644 b, 5–11; v. J. WILKINS, *The boastful chef...*, p. 265–267.

⁸¹ It is worth adding that the symbolic meaning of eating still remains a rewarding area of scientific

As far as the Byzantine period is concerned, information regarding the consumption of *kándaulos/kándylos* is disappointingly scarce. There is no direct data available which proves its important role in the diet. Therefore, we have to make do with circumstantial evidence provided in the lexicographers' entries and literary comments. In our opinion, they prove at least the everlasting interest in this delicacy. The dish itself would not have been mentioned if the term *kándaulos/kándylos* had only been a dead word and the taste or aroma of this delicacy had long been forgotten. There were still courts, including the imperial one⁸², which promoted the consumption of luxurious foodstuffs that were regarded as the indicators of the social status and power⁸³. Even if it had not been the case, without the Byzantium knowledge about *kándaulos/kándylos*, the history of the Greek cuisine would be much poorer now.

Abstract. The current study attempts to trace the history and retrieve the recipe of a specific dish called *kándaulos/kándylos*. It was a Greek delicacy developed in Lydia and named after a Lydian ruler, known by the name Candaules. The dish was (by means of the Greek Ionians in habiting Asia Minor) borrowed by the Greeks to have been established in the areas of the southern Balkan Peninsula by the 5th c. B.C. It became especially popular in the Hellenistic period. The testimony of the sources provides us with the information on two specific varieties of *kándaulos/kándylos*. The first was savoury and included such ingredients as cooked meat, stock, Phrygian cheese, breadcrumbs and dill (or fennel). The other recipe included milk, animal fat, cheese and honey. The dish is reported by the authors of the sources to have been costly and indicating the social status of its consumers. Although there is enough evidence indicating its popularity in antiquity, we lack reliable evidence showing that *kándaulos/kándylos* was still served in Byzantine times. However, Byzantine authors preserved the most detailed literary evidence on the delicacy.

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study, proofs of which are recently published works of Katarzyna GIBEL (cf. above), Anthony EASTMAN, Liz JAMES (*Eat, drink... and pay the price*, [in:] *Eat, drink...*, p. 175–189), and Mary B. CUNNINGHAM (*Divine banquet: the Theotokos as a source of spiritual nourishment*, [in:] *Eat, drink...*, p. 235–244).

⁸² Some circumstantial evidence leads to the Macedonian court, especially to the kitchen of emperor Constantine VIII, who was not only a gourmet but also an amateur cook, at least according to Psellus. Cf. MICHAEL PSELLUS, *Chronographie ou histoire d'un siècle de Byzance (976–1077)*, II, 7, 4, ed. É. RENAULD, Paris 1926, vol. I. The exact issue was mentioned in M. KOKOSZKO, *Historia...*, p. 167–168, 177–178.

⁸³ Recently, a brilliant analysis of emperor's feast as a representation of imperial authority has been published by Simon MALMBERG (*Dazzling dining: banquets as an expression of imperial legitimacy*, [in:] *Eat, drink...*, p. 75–89).