

## SOME TECHNICAL TERMS FROM GREEK CUISINE IN CLASSICAL AND BYZANTINE LITERATURE

By

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**ABSTRACT:** This article discusses different meanings of select terms which originated from the name of a Greek delicacy called *karyke* (καρύκη). Those are καρκεύω, καρκοποιέω, ἐκκαρκεύω, ἐπικαρκεύομαι, καρκεία and καρύκευμα. The author finds the nouns only loosely connected with the delicacy itself and used mainly to denote the process of spicing dishes. As for the analyzed verbs, they were employed mainly in a figurative meaning and thereby lost their direct connection with Greek cuisine.

It would appear that to the majority of both historians and laymen, the history of Classical cuisine and its terminology is a topic of rather low importance. I have the impression that scholars of history and society sometimes treat it, say, condescendingly. For this reason, a great many technical terms from this field have not received due clarification to date. Quite obviously, this is detrimental to the proper understanding of the passages of Classical and Byzantine sources in which these words and terms occur<sup>1</sup>.

The subject of the present study concerns a few terms, the origins of which date back to a certain dish that arrived, most probably at the turn of the sixth century BC<sup>2</sup>, in Greece from Lydia<sup>3</sup>, and – as we should surmise from Classical and Byzantine literature – became a firm favourite with the rich and powerful.

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<sup>1</sup> I would like to express my gratitude to Professors Krystyna Bartol and Waldemar Ceran (whose premature death in June 2009 was a painful blow to Byzantine studies) for their insightful comments on the first version of the present article.

<sup>2</sup> Dalby has determined only the period of its popularity. According to him, this was the fourth century BC (Dalby 2003: 293). However, since the first person to write about *karyke* was Mithaicus of Sicily, who was active towards the end of the fifth century BC, we should assume that *karyke* had appeared in the Greek world before this time, maybe at the turn of the sixth century BC. I would suggest that this delicacy arrived as a result of processes connected with the Great Colonisation, which facilitated the movement not only of material resources, but also ideas. As regards Mithaicus, cf. Bilabel 1921: 935 f.; Dalby 1996: 109 f.; Dalby 2003: 220; Wilkins 1996: 144–148.

<sup>3</sup> Regarding various dishes borrowed by the Greeks, cf. Greenewalt 1976: 53, n. 59; Harvey 1995: 273–285.

The delicacy in question is the *karyke* (καρύκη), i.e. a sauce or a kind of cured meat (χορδή)<sup>4</sup>, which due to its type and quality (and therefore the price of the recipe's ingredients) became a symbol of luxury.

No detailed recipe for *karyke* has survived. We know that the basic ingredient of this dish was blood. In all probability, however, it did not determine the uniqueness of the dish. Source materials indicate that a host of different ingredients were added. It is probable (we shall touch upon this issue later on) that these included garum (γάρος)<sup>5</sup>, pepper (πέπερι)<sup>6</sup>, malabathron (φύλλον Ἰνδικόν)<sup>7</sup>, cinnamon (κασσία)<sup>8</sup>, kostos (κόστος)<sup>9</sup>, and maybe also cumin (κύμινον)<sup>10</sup>. Since the abovementioned ingredients<sup>11</sup> had very high prices, the final product was very expensive, too. Therefore, only a select few were able to know its real taste. It should be added that this delicacy also became a topic of professional and literary discussion. This is emphatically testified by Athenaeus of Naucratis in book XII of his *Deipnosophists*, where he presents a long list of Classical culinary writers who wrote about this delicacy<sup>12</sup>.

On the basis of information contained in sources, one may form the impression that – in all probability – towards the end of the fifth century BC *karyke* became in a way fashionable, and that this fashion evolved (maybe in the fourth century BC) into a certain phenomenon – which I myself would call “culinary and sociological”. John Wilkins and Shaun Hill compared this to “a frisson [...]”

<sup>4</sup> The second identification (cured meat) may be made on the basis of data provided by Athenaeus of Naucratis, Pollux, Hesychius and the *Liber Suda*. I have tried to prove this in my article concerning *karyke* (Kokoszko, forthcoming). The texts upon which I based my conclusions are Athen. IV 160 b (50, 28 f. Kaibel); Poll. *Onom.* VI 56; Hesych. s.v. καρύκη, 915, 1–3; *Suda* s.vv. Καρύκη, 437, 5 f.; Μιμάρης, 1073, 1–3. For a similar interpretation, cf. Koukoules 1952: 56.

<sup>5</sup> The topic of the role of garum and its usage in the preparation: Kokoszko 2006: 288–298. As regards this delicacy, cf. Kokoszko 2005: 373 f. The latter contains a selection of the most important literature on this subject.

<sup>6</sup> In all probability black pepper, *Piper nigrum*. A typical Byzantine description: Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* I 316, 1–5. Selected modern literature: André 1961: 209; Bremness 1991: 272; Dalby 2000a: 43, 89–94; 2004: 254 f; Dalby, Grainger 2000: 137, 250; Stobart 1998: 140–150. The spice was so expensive, that it was profitable to falsify it. Cf. Gal. *De san.* 268, 13–270, 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Cinnamon Tamala* or *Pogestemon Cablin*. A typical Byzantine description: Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* I 266, 1; Dalby 2000a: 198 f.; Dalby 2003: 206; Laufer 1918: 5–49.

<sup>8</sup> A Classical description: Dioscurides Pedanius, *De materia medica* I 13, 1, 1–2, 4. A typical Byzantine description: Paulus Aegineta, *Epitoma* VII 3, 10, 93–96. Cf. Dalby 2000a: 198; 2003: 87.

<sup>9</sup> *Kostos – Saussurea Lappa*. A typical Byzantine description: Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* I 219, 1–12. Cf. Dalby 2000a: 197; 2000b: 85 f.; 2003: 105.

<sup>10</sup> *Cuminum cyminum*. A typical Byzantine description of this plant: Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* I 235, 1–3. Selected modern literature: André 1961: 203; Bremness 1991: 62; Brothwell 1988: 252, 260; Dalby 2003: 74, 108 f.; Dalby, Grainger 2000: 139; Stobart 1998: 67 f.; Zohary, Hopf 1993: 189.

<sup>11</sup> With the exception of cumin (see below).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the long list of Greek authors who wrote about *karyke*: Athen. XII 516 c (12, 1–10 Kaibel).

similar to that aroused by hollandaise in an old fashioned Briton”<sup>13</sup>. In my opinion, Wilkins and Hill did not so much make an exaggeration as failed to appreciate the influence that this dish exerted on the consciousness of the ancient Greeks. For if the role of *karyke* amongst the latter was the same as that of hollandaise amongst the British, its traces in the body of English vocabulary would be similar to those left by *karyke* in the existing Greek vocabulary. However, “hollandaise” was and continues to be no more than a designatum, and – very importantly, in my opinion – there are no derivative terms indicating a scope of usage outside the field of gastronomy<sup>14</sup>. The Greeks – as opposed to the Britons – not only kept the initial term in memory for thousands of years, but also started to use a great number of words derived from *karyke*, the meaning of which considerably exceeded the subject of interest of the culinary art. Such was the origin of the verbs *καρυκεύω*, *καρυκοποιέω*, *ἐκκαρυκεύω* and *ἐπικαρυκεύομαι*, and of the nouns *καρυκεία* and *καρύκευμα*. All of these words appear at least a number of times in Classical and Byzantine literature.

I would like to stress that the present study is not concerned with concepts which, although also derived from *karyke*, are translated in literature in a manner that does not raise my objections<sup>15</sup>. In addition, I would like to add that I have not made use of all Classical and Byzantine sources. Instead, I concentrated on those which I considered important for determining the proper meaning, or constituting a good illustration of typical usages, of the terms in question.

Since I have already analysed the issue of *karyke* in a separate study dedicated to this topic (Kokoszko 2008), I will not discuss this specific dish at great lengths. Nevertheless, I would add some new findings<sup>16</sup> and propose a few practical conclusions that, in my opinion, should be taken into consideration during the elaboration of successive studies on culinary topics and translations of Greek texts.

Due to the fact that collective data regarding *karyke* and terms derived therefrom come from Byzantine sources<sup>17</sup>, I always prefer to start the discussion from these works. It should be added that we owe the present state of knowledge to two lexicographic works, namely the sixth century lexicon of Hesychius and the tenth century encyclopaedical work called *Liber Suda* (cf. Kokoszko 2005: 13 and 16, respectively). I will supplement this data with materials obtained from other sources, which I have ordered chronologically and, insofar as possible,

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<sup>13</sup> Wilkins, Hill 1995: 437, n. 4.

<sup>14</sup> L. Brown 1993: 1248.

<sup>15</sup> For example *καρυκοειδής*; *ές*, *καρυκάζω*, etc.

<sup>16</sup> I am referring to the above-mentioned findings concerning the time of introduction, ingredients and role of *karyke* in Greek gastronomy and culture.

<sup>17</sup> I have omitted a discussion of the sources of lexicons, which in my opinion is not important for the final findings which I have made. Specific issues have been touched upon in my work on fish at the points referred to below.

thematically. I think that this allows a better presentation of the continuity and evolution of individual concepts.

I shall start from the noun *καρυκεία*, which is a relatively common derivative of *καρύκη*. Hesychius uses it in the plural dative (*καρυκείαις*), translating it with the words *μαγείρευμα*, in all probability meaning ‘a means or technique of the culinary art’<sup>18</sup>, *ἄρτυμα*, that is ‘herb, spice’, and *ταραχή*. The latter expression, in turn, seems to suggest that the term *καρυκεία* was understood by the author of the lexicon as meaning ‘unrest; a disturbance of normal order; an anomaly’<sup>19</sup>.

The very fact that Hesychius provides this term in the plural implies that *karykeia* was a collective noun/description, used with respect to various products that were connected in one group by way of a certain distinguishing feature. In all likelihood, the latter was their strong aroma, for the word *artyma* clearly indicates that they belonged to the category of spices. We should conclude that, if the word *mageireuma* was semantically equivalent (or related) to *artyma*, Hesychius wanted to state that *karykeiai* were ingredients (herbs/spices or other constituents of dishes), which were used in order to add to the appropriate aroma of individual dishes. It appears that this instrumental usage of *karykeiai* is also borne out by the case in which the lexicographer cited the word, i.e. the dative.

In the end, the word *tarache* not only suggests the figurative usage of the term *karykeia*, but also reflects the extraordinariness (passing beyond the commonly accepted norm) of the designatum. We may therefore conclude that in the culinary meaning, the *tarache* emphasised the exoticness and expensiveness of the aforementioned *karykeiai*.

The *Liber Suda* defines *karykeia* as ἡδύτης τῶν ζωμῶν (*Suda* s.v. *Καρυκεία*, 436, 1). This term is not clear. For in all truth there are no data indicating how to translate the word ἡδύτης appearing in the lexicon. There exist at least three basic possibilities of translation. The first is ‘sweetness, good taste’, while the second is ‘a herb/spice; that which gives the dish an appropriate taste’. I would also consider the third possibility, namely that the word ἡδύτης refers to ‘a specific characteristic of a dish, which contributes to the delight felt by the palate’<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> The interpretations of the Greek terms come from the author of the present article. Also cf. Kriaras 1980: 376.

<sup>19</sup> Hesych. s.v. *καρυκείαις*, 917, 1. The present phrase may also be translated as ‘mishmash’. Then maybe it would be a reference to the nature of *karyke* as a mix of many ingredients. There are no hints as to whether the author intended a pejorative meaning of the word *tarache*, although this interpretation may be justified by the semantic value of the verb *ταράσσω* and the noun *ταραχή*.

<sup>20</sup> It may be that the author used the word ἡδύτης to refer to the proportions of ingredients used, their appropriate processing, and the masterly skills of the cook – in other words, to all those elements which contribute to the sensual pleasure felt by the consumer. This meaning was also not foreign to the *Liber Suda*. Cf. *Suda* s.v. Ἡδυπαθής, 113, 1 f. It is also possible the term was associated with the idea of a delicacy, a titbit etc., and that is why the term *καρυκίον* developed to mean a typical Greek relish, notably a nut. Cf. Andriotis 1974: 299.

Although in my opinion all three meanings are equally probable in the cited context, the data provided by Hesychius and the remainder of the analysed material seem to suggest that the second translation renders the meaning of ἡδύτης in the *Suda* passage in question the best. The exact meaning of the word ζωμός is also difficult to pinpoint, for ζωμός could be used by the author to mean either ‘soup’ or ‘sauce’. This was a general term used to describe a liquid dish without any precise definition of its nature<sup>21</sup>.

And what do other sources have to say on this topic? Athenaeus of Naucratis (XIV 646e [55, 44 Kaibel]) mentioned a certain baked product known as *nastos* (ναστός), which was made with additives called *karykeiai* (πλακοῦντος εἶδος, ἔχων ἔνδον καρυκείας). These were put inside, maybe as a filling. This at least is Andrew Dalby’s supposition<sup>22</sup>. The truth could, however, have been different, for the preposition ἔνδον does not have to suggest that the said *karykeiai* were concentrated in one place – it could easily indicate that they were mixed equally with the entire volume of the dough. If so, then the additives mentioned in the *Deipnosophists* were nothing more than various ingredients put into the dough during kneading<sup>23</sup>.

The term in question was known to the Fathers of the Church. The passage of Basil of Caesarea also indicates that *karykeia* was not a separate dish, but an ingredient used in various dishes. The meaning differs slightly from that encountered in the *Deipnosophists*. Namely, in one of Basil’s works this additive is mentioned as an ingredient used for therapeutic purposes. According to the author, physicians added it to foodstuffs in order to attain a specific medicinal effect, i.e. to stimulate the appetite (πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἐπιτείνεσθαι τὰς ὀρέξεις)<sup>24</sup>.

In the works of Gregory of Nazianzus, in turn, *karykeia* is taken to mean a ‘delicacy’ or an unspecified costly additive, which makes dishes exceptional. This follows clearly from the juxtaposition of *karykeia* with the simplicity of an ordinary meal of bread and salt (ὁ ἄρτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλες, ἡ καινὴ καρυκεία)<sup>25</sup>.

John Chrysostom used the word *karykeia* a few dozen times in those passages of his speeches in which he condemned lavishness and excessive wealth. This is a symptomatic usage, fully concordant with the general body of information available on the luxuriousness of everything connected with *karyke*. Thus, the term appeared in John Chrysostom’s writings in the context of a criticism of the Sybaritism of those who live in luxury and think only of food (οἱ τὰς Συβαριτικὰς

<sup>21</sup> Dalby 2003: 54, 99, 103, 214, 307.

<sup>22</sup> “...with a filling”, Dalby 2003: 61.

<sup>23</sup> Selected literature on breads in antiquity: T. Brown 1995: 55–68; Frayn 1978: 28–33; Cubberley 1995: 55–68; Hill, Bryer 1995: 44–54; Jasny 1942: 747–764; 1950: 227–253; White 1995: 38–43; Whitehouse 1978: 146 f. The work of Athenaeus of Naucratis and the abovequoted medical treatises are abundant in the pertaining data.

<sup>24</sup> Basilus Caesariensis, *Homiliae super Psalmos* 365, 8–13.

<sup>25</sup> For example Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Oratio funebris in laudem Basili Magni* LXI 3, 4 f.

ἔχοντες τραπέζας, καὶ τὰ ἐδέσματα, καὶ πᾶν εἶδος καρυκείας ἐπινοοῦντες)<sup>26</sup>. In the statement in question, *karykeia* appears immediately after the noun ἐδέσματα, and thus the position of this word suggests that the author had in mind all sorts of additives to the basic elements of the diet – and not the diet staples themselves. What is more, John Chrysostom referred to a whole assortment (πᾶν εἶδος) of *karykeia*, which constitutes yet another argument supporting the above line of thought<sup>27</sup>.

In accordance with the aforementioned thesis propounded by the author, we also encounter the noun *karykeia* as meaning an additive used in the preparation of sophisticated beverages (πόματα [...] μετὰ πολλῆς κατεσκευασμένα τῆς καρυκείας)<sup>28</sup>. This means that the word *karykeia* could not refer to the *karyke* sauce, for this belonged to the group of *opsa* (ὄψα), i.e. additives to the basic part of the diet (bread, or a thick soup, not to beverages), while in view of the fact that one of its ingredients was boiled blood, it could not have been used in beverages. In any case, the history of Greek cuisine does not provide us with even the most distant analogy to such usage<sup>29</sup>.

John of Damascus used the term in question in a metaphorical way, speaking about the spiritual *karykeia* (πνευματικὴ καρυκεία) when referring to prayer. In all probability, he wanted to suggest that contact with God endows life with taste in the same way as exclusive spices food<sup>30</sup>.

An important testimony for our discussion are the medical treatises which when dealing with dietetics perforce also analyse culinary aspects. In the *De sanitate tuenda*, Galen used the term *karykeia* to refer to a spice or ingredient of a dish. It follows from the context that the physician always endowed *karykeia* with certain therapeutic properties (Gal. *De san.* 298, 8–11). In addition, Galen's materials enable a partial reconstruction of the missing recipe for *karyke* itself – the physician considered *garum* as belonging to the category of *karykeiai* (ἄνευ γάρου τε καὶ πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔτι τῆς ἄλλης καρυκείαςσκευασθῆ). If we take into consideration the fact that this fish sauce entered culinary usage at more or less the same time as *karyke*<sup>31</sup>, was expensive, and also known in Asia Minor<sup>32</sup> (where

<sup>26</sup> Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Expositiones in Psalmos* 278, 34–42.

<sup>27</sup> In connection with the interpretation of Hesychius' gloss.

<sup>28</sup> Iohannes Chrysostomus, *Sermo de Anna* 673, 42–44.

<sup>29</sup> The only beverage known to me which could have functioned as a substitute for a regular meal is the *kykeon* (κυκέων). However, this too was not prepared with blood. It was wine mixed with milk, water and barley flour. Other ingredients could have been added optionally, in order to modify the taste and dietetic properties of the beverage. Cf. Dalby 2003: 46; Dalby, Grainger 2000: 40; Grant 2002: 81; Roscher 1888: 522–524.

<sup>30</sup> Iohannes Damascenus, *Vita Baarlam et Joasaph* 577, 22–25.

<sup>31</sup> Dalby 2003: 156.

<sup>32</sup> We know this very well from, for example, *Geoponica* XX 46. For an interesting interpretation of recipes contained in this work, see Grant 2002: 29.

Lydia, the homeland of *karyke*, is located), it should be concluded that garum constituted *karykeia* in the initial meaning of the word, and therefore that it was treated as an essential ingredient of *karyke*.

Aetius of Amida used the word *karykeia* to designate a dish or, and this appears decidedly more probable, a mixture of spices, both made up of a great many ingredients (φάρμακα [...] ἐν ταῖς καρκεῖαις μισγόμενα). It appears from the context that these additives were endowed with therapeutic properties, which follows from the fact that Aetius considered the *karykeiai* category to include the so-called ἀπλᾶ φάρμακα, i.e. substances of varied (though usually plant) origin, used (independently or as an ingredient of complex medications) for therapeutic purposes<sup>33</sup>. Many of the enumerated *pharmaka*<sup>34</sup> are known in modern languages under the term ‘spices’, and their usage was the same in antiquity and Byzantium as in present times.

In his *Therapeutica*, Alexander of Tralles used *karykeia* as a collective term that refers to all additives used to make other dishes (ἢ κυμίνου ἢ ὀρύζης ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς καρκεῖας), and endow them with specific dietetic properties<sup>35</sup>. For example, Alexander of Tralles used this term to refer to cumin and rice (ὀρύζη). The first was widely used as a herb, while rice was a less common and therefore more expensive product, used as a substitute for cereals typically used in Mediterranean cuisine<sup>36</sup>. While cumin was popular in the Mediterranean world when *karyke* first appeared and functioned as a popular spice, rice became known to the Greeks somewhat later, not until the times of Alexander the Great<sup>37</sup>. We should therefore conclude that of these two terms, only the first could potentially refer to a *karyke* ingredient. Only one problem remains. Namely, cumin was so cheap<sup>38</sup> that it did not really suit a mix of “extravagant” spices such as *karyke*.

A significant argument for our discussion may be found in the *De legationibus* (488, 21–24). This contains a reference to a group of exotic spices which in the text are named *karykeiai* (Ἰνδικὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ Πρίσκου λαβεῖν ἀξίων καρκεῖας).

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<sup>33</sup> Aetius advised mixing medications with substances of this type ἐν ταῖς καρκεῖαις; Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* III 57, 15–20.

<sup>34</sup> Aetius also used this term when referring to pepper, malabathron, cinnamon, kostos and caraway. Fish sauce was a complex substance, but also had therapeutic properties. Regarding the therapeutic properties of garum, cf. for example Dioscurides Pedanius, *De materia medica* II 32, 1, 1–4; Gal. *De simplicium* 377, 1–15; Aetius Amidenus, *Iatricorum libri* II 150, 1–3; Paulus Aegineta, *Epitoma* VII 3, 3, 21–23.

<sup>35</sup> Alexander Trallianus, *Therapeutica* II, 403, 11–15.

<sup>36</sup> Dalby 2003: 279–281; Forbes, Foxhall 1995: 73; Hill, Bryer 1995: 51 f.; Zohary, Hopf 1993: 84 f.

<sup>37</sup> Dalby 2003: 281.

<sup>38</sup> Dalby 2003: 108 f. In my opinion, however, this is not an argument against cumin, for not all of the ingredients of a luxurious dish had to be equally expensive and sophisticated. For example, blood (the main ingredient of *karyke*) most certainly was not exclusive.

This short list is headed by pepper, followed by malabathron, cinnamon and kostos. In my opinion, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus kept the fullest list of *karyke* ingredients. All of the ingredients mentioned in the *De legationibus* functioned as spices, and were also sufficiently expensive as well as exotic to contribute to the fame of this delicacy.

The term *karykeia* was also known to Anna Comnena, who wrote about dishes seasoned in a sophisticated way (ὄψον μάλα καλὸν [...] καὶ καρυκείας οὐκ ἄτερον). In his translation of the *Alexias*, Oktawiusz Jurewicz has rendered<sup>39</sup> this noun as ‘przyprawa’ (spice)<sup>40</sup>. I think that this translation ideally expresses the intentions of the author.

As regards the word *karykeuma*, Hesychius suggests that it was used to mean τράγημα, that is a ‘delicacy’, and/or ἄρτυμα, i.e. ‘spice’ (Hesych. s.v. καρυκευμάτων, 914, 1). It is also worth emphasising that the author used this word in the plural. This seems to be a direct analogy to identical usages (also in the plural) of the word *karykeia*, and thus conclusions drawn from such usages should be analogous to those presented above.

The *Liber Suda* does not depart from this interpretation. Its author explains the term in question as a ‘spice’, and gives a more precise clarification by means of the nouns ἥδυσμα and ἄρτυμα (*Suda* s.v. Καρύκη, 437, 4 f.). He writes in the same tone when referring to the making of a certain type of baked product known as ἐπίπαστα, which was formed in the shape of bread loaves or cake, sprinkled with a sort of *karykeumata*<sup>41</sup>.

It is worth confronting these data with the lexicographic information provided by Pollux. The latter indicates that the term *karykeuma* could have been used with respect to liquid dishes known as *dzomoi*. If so, then we should conclude that the noun in question also referred to sauces (Poll. *Onom.* VI 56). However, we must also stress that this is the only lexicographic material which directly indicates that *karykeuma* referred to a dish of this type.

The definition given by Hesychius and the *Liber Suda* seems to find support in the material provided by other authors. In the *De Lazaro* homily, John Chrysostom enumerates various luxury goods and makes a reference to τὸν πολὺν ἄκρατον, τῶν ἐδεσμάτων τὰς ποικιλίας, τὰ καρυκεύματα, i.e. he differentiates between food and the additives with which it is enriched. From the structure of the expression we should conclude that *karykeumata* were used with regard to the latter. However, the usage of this term by John Chrysostom is so general

<sup>39</sup> Anna Comnena, *Alexias* II 6, 5, 1–6.

<sup>40</sup> “‘My’, mówiła ona, ‘przygotowaliśmy wyśmienity posiłek nie bez przyprawy. Jeśli ty chcesz uczestniczyć w naszej uczcie, przybądź jak najszybciej dzielić ją z nami’” (“‘We’, she stated, ‘have prepared a delicious meal not devoid of some spices. If you want to take part in our feast, come as quick as you can to share it with us’”), Anna Komnena, *Aleksjada* II 6, 5, p. 59.

<sup>41</sup> *Suda* s.v. Ἐπίπαστα, 2507, 1–6. Cf. *Scholia in Ar. Eq.* 103a, 1–5. Cf. Dalby 2003: 100.



and imprecise that, depending on the context, *karykeumata* can be translated as ‘various *opsa*’ (since these were a supplementation of staples), ‘sauces’ (for these were additives to *edesmata* and formed a subcategory of *opsa*), and also ‘spices’ (for the latter determined the extraordinary qualities of the dish)<sup>42</sup>. Elsewhere he enumerates *karykeumata* directly after wine, and before the skills of cooks (τὴν περιττὴν τοῦ οἴνου δαπάνην, τῶν καρυκευμάτων τὴν περιεργίαν, τραπεζοποιῶν καὶ σιτοποιῶν καὶ μαγείρων τέχνας)<sup>43</sup>. From the context we should conclude that the author was referring either to luxury dishes, or to exotic additives. The nature of neither, however, can be determined.

In the homily *In hexaemeron*, Basil of Caesarea distinguishes *opsa* from *karykeumata* (ἀντὶ παντὸς ὄψου πολυτελοῦς καὶ τῶν ποικίλων καρυκευμάτων)<sup>44</sup>. If so, then we should conclude that he was referring to the ingredients of dishes, and not to the dishes themselves.

The historian of the Church, Socrates Scholasticus, knew *karykeumata* from a phrase of Menander and translated this term by means of the word ὑπόστασις, which the Polish translator, Stefan Józef Kazikowski, excellently rendered as ‘przyprawa’ (spice)<sup>45</sup>.

John Philoponus, in turn, uses the term in question to mean ‘an additive to the food proper’, which only exceptionally (κατὰ συμβεβηκός) contributes to the nourishment of the human organism (οἱ γὰρ χυμοὶ καρυκεύματος δίκηνη [...] κατὰ συμβεβηκός τρέφοντες). He thus confirms the uniqueness of the designatum, but without making any specific mention of its nature<sup>46</sup>.

The verb καρυκοποιέω is attested only twice and, in my opinion, there is insufficient material to ascertain its semantic scope with any certainty. There seems to be no doubt that it originated from the words καρύκη and ποιέω, and thus we should conclude that initially it referred to the activity of preparing *karyke*. However, one may get the impression that it soon gained a metaphorical usage, referring to a beautiful manner of expressing oneself. It appears in such a context quite early, in the *Knights* of Aristophanes (Ar. Eq. 343). That the tendency to change the semantic scope was strong and long-standing is brought out by the fact that only the latter usage was known to the author of the *Liber Suda* and, according to him, the verb καρυκοποιέω meant ‘to make an expression beautiful through the floweriness of style’ (*Suda* s.v. Καρύκη, 437, 3 f.).

<sup>42</sup> Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De Lazaro* 985, 49–57.

<sup>43</sup> Iohannes Chrysostomus, *De virginitate* 69, 1–7.

<sup>44</sup> Basilus Caesariensis, *Homilia IX in hexaemeron* 6, 104–107.

<sup>45</sup> “U Menandra – przyprawa, jakby ktoś np. określił męty w beczce wina jako ‘hipostazę’” (“In Menander’s works – spice, as for example someone would call dregs in a wine barrel ‘hypostasis’”), Sokrates Scholastyk, *Historia Kościola* III 7.

<sup>46</sup> Iohannes Philoponus, *In Aristotelis libros de anima commentaria* XV, 601, 15–20.

As in the case of *καρυκοποιέω*, the verb *καρυκεύω* also originates from the noun *καρύκη*. Although there is no clear testimony regarding the initial semantic scope of this word, it is highly probable that it first referred to the activity of preparing *karyke*. The premise for such an assumption is based not only on the general principles of creating verbs from nouns in Greek, but also on Hesychius' interpretation of the meaning of the compound verb made from the preposition *ἐκ* and the verb *καρυκεύω*. In Hesychius' *Lexicon* we find that *ἐκκαρυκεύω* was then defined as 'preparing a dish by combining many ground ingredients' (Hesych. s.v. *ἐξεκκαρυκεύθη*, 3669, 1 f.). This interpretation not only gives a clear pointer to the initial gastronomic usage of the verb *καρυκεύω*, but also excellently presents the process of preparing *karyke*. For this was always described as a dish composed of many ingredients.

Hesychius also testifies that, just as *καρυκοποιέω*, the verb *καρυκεύω* must have undergone a change of semantic scope, after which it referred to the general activity of seasoning dishes, and not only to the preparation of one specific sauce, i.e. *karyke*. This is supported by another statement made by the same lexicographer. According to him, the meaning of this verb was identical to that of *ἀρτύνω* and *ἡδύνω* (Hesych. s.v. *καρυκεύει*, 913, 1). The final semantic scope is also attested to for yet another compound verb, namely *ἐπικαρυκεύομαι*, which was interpreted by Hesychius as meaning 'to spice, season' (Hesych. s.v. *ἐπικαρυκεύεται*, 4834, 1).

According to the *Liber Suda* (s.v. *Καρύκη*, 437, 1–4), *καρυκεύω* had in practice the same semantic scope as Hesychius' *ἐκκαρυκεύω*, although the author broadened the meaning and stated that the term also referred to the activity of 'wetting, saturating' (*ἀναδεύειν*). What is more, the *Lexicon* also contains a reference to the verb *ἐκκαρυκεύω*, and the explanation given by the author of the *Liber Suda* does not differ in any significant way from that provided by Hesychius (*Suda* s.v. *Ἐξεκκαρυκεύθη*, 1603, 1).

If we supplement this data with other source information, we shall find as follows. Athenaeus of Naucratis (IV 172b [72, 12 Kaibel]) preserved a fragment of a comedy by Menander, where the verb *καρυκεύω* was used in a general meaning, namely to indicate the action of seasoning (the action of sweetening with honey). In my opinion, an analogous instance may be found in the works of the same author, when he described seasoned dishes as *τὰ κεκαρυκευμένα* (Athen. IV 132b [9, 26 Kaibel]). I am convinced of the correctness of my argumentation by the fact that in excerpts from the *De sententiis* dishes of this type are juxtaposed with food prepared hastily, without due care, i.e. *ἐσχεδιασμένη τροφή* (*De virtutibus et vitiis* I 130, 24 f.). Menander's usage of this verb is similar to that of Julian the Apostate, who writes about seasoning or "strengthening the intensity of taste" (*κἄν ὑποτρίμμασι μυρίοις τις αὐτὰς καρυκεύσῃ*). The latter, however, has on his mind neither *karyke* nor honey, but a certain category of sauces known as *ὑπότριμμα* (Julian. *Or.* 6, 192b).

A good example of the metaphorical usage of *καρυκεύω* may be found in the work of Theophylact Simocatta. He wrote about the “Homeric way of beautifying speech” (τινὶ ἔπει τῆς Ὀμηρικῆς τραγωδίας *καρυκεύσω* τὸν λόγον), with the word *καρυκεύω* being used to mean ‘embellish expressions’<sup>47</sup>. The semantic scope of the verb in question is analogical in another passage of the *De sententiis* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (10, 1–11).

The verb *ἐκκαρυκεύω* was also used by Michael Psellus<sup>48</sup>. In the excellent Polish translation of the *Chronography*, Oktawiusz Jurewicz rendered this word as ‘umiejętność przyrządzania znakomitych sosów’ (the skill of preparing delicious sauces) (*καρυκεῦσαι δὲ δεινότατος ἐγεγόνει*). This, of course, is just one of the options, but the data presented hereabove prove that the verb *καρυκεύω* in the Psellus passage could have a slightly different semantic value and refer either to the activity of preparing *karyke* or to the skill of ‘sophisticated seasoning of dishes’. Since I have shown that the first usage is in essence hypothetical, while *ἐκκαρυκεύω* in Byzantine Greek meant first and foremost ‘to season’, I consider that in this specific instance the second option is decidedly closer to the intentions of the author. It is all the more probable, as Psellus in his narrative more or less explains what he had in mind using the infinitive *καρυκεῦσαι*. Personally, I would opt for the interpretation that the term *καρυκεύω* referred to Constantine VIII’s ability to endow dishes with colour and aroma in such a way as to stimulate the appetite (*χρῳαῖς τε καὶ ὀσμαῖς [...] πᾶσαν φύσιν πρὸς ὄρεξιν ἐκκαλούμενος*), and not to the knowledge of/skill in preparing any sauces.

We may now sum up the deliberations set forward in the present study. They show that only the term *καρύκη* is rather precise semantically. We may conclude that it usually referred to a sophisticated delicacy of Lydian origin, that this dish was liquid, and that in topical literature it is known as a sauce.

Sometimes, however, the term *καρύκη* also referred to a type of liver sausage made from blood and herbs. The second meaning is decidedly less common.

From Pollux’s work we may further conclude that in order to name the two aforementioned dishes it was possible to replace the noun *καρύκη* with the term *καρύκευμα*.

Nominal terms related to *karyke*, namely *καρυκεία* and *καρύκευμα*, are most probably general expressions and usually refer in a general manner to luxurious dishes or their constituents. I think, however, that the authors had in mind primarily the latter, with the word ‘ingredients’ meaning more or less the same as ‘herbs’ or ‘spices’ today.

*Καρύκη* and *καρύκευμα* were also used in a metaphorical way, with their semantic value depending on the context in which they were used.

<sup>47</sup> Theophylactus Simocatta, *Historiae* VIII 7, 3, 1–4.

<sup>48</sup> Psellus, *Chronographia* II 7, 2–12.

The verb *καρυκοποιέω* referred to the activity of preparing *karyke* only initially, and from a certain time it was used first and foremost metaphorically. As Byzantine lexicons show, the latter usage prevailed.

The verb *καρυκεύω* was in all certainty derived from the term *καρύκη*, initially meaning the activity of preparing the *karyke* sauce. However, still in antiquity its meaning was broadened to include the art of seasoning dishes. It also started to be used metaphorically.

There is no evidence to suggest that the abovementioned verbs were used in the initial meanings in Byzantine times.

*Ἐκκαρυκεύω* and *ἐπικαρυκεύομαι* also refer to the action of seasoning.

The above findings have their practical implications. A good example would be the modifications in the abovementioned passage of Michael Psellus' *Chronography*, suggested by myself. First of all, it is possible to translate the Psellus passage with the verb *καρυκεύω* being taken to mean 'to prepare *karyke*', or at least replacing the adjective 'excellent' with 'luxury' or 'expensive'. Second, and this option is preferred by myself, one can eliminate references to sauces from the translation and render the verb *καρυκεύω* as meaning 'to season'. Then, we would maintain coherence with the remainder of Psellus' passage, i.e. with the part concerning the endowment of dishes with colour and aroma so as to stimulate the appetite.

I would also like to stress that the interpretations of other texts circulating in scholarly circles should be adapted to the findings of my research. For example, in his excellent study on the various Lydian delicacies, David Harvey<sup>49</sup> translates the verb *καρυκεύω* (in the fragment of a comedy authored by Achaeus of Eretria and preserved by Athenaeus of Naucratis) as 'pour *karyke* over the sacrificial meat'. However, in the light of my research it is highly probable that Achaeus of Eretria (Athen. IV 173c–d [74, 1–6 Kaibel]) was not referring to any such action, but simply to the (sophisticated) seasoning of the meat.

And one more example. A. Dalby cites the aforementioned Achaeus and calls the inhabitants of Delphi 'sauce-makers', that is *karykopoioi*<sup>50</sup>. The residents of Delphi were in all probability proficient in the culinary art, but Achaeus' fragment gives no direct indication that they were skilled at preparing the *karyke* sauce. It should be added that it is also necessary to revise the term 'a loaf with a filling', which the same scholar gave as the definition of the term *nastos*. *Nastoi* were not loaves of bread stuffed with *karyke*, but baked products aromatised with sophisticated herbs and spices<sup>51</sup>.

If the arguments presented above are correct, then I shall have to verify my own earlier findings, presented in the abovementioned article on *karyke*. In the

<sup>49</sup> Harvey 1995: 277.

<sup>50</sup> Dalby 2003: 293.

<sup>51</sup> Dalby 2003: 61.

light of the present analysis, there is no proof of any particular popularity of *karyke* in Delphi. What is more, nothing seems to indicate that it was used as an additive to meats, or that it was poured on baked products known as ἐπίπαστα.

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