The literary and antiquarian activities of Photius and Eustathius of Thessalonica 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 gastronomy. 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 gastronomy, but also in the history of food in recent times.

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 συναγωγή 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 συναγωγή, [in:] Człowiek w średniowieczu. Między biologią a historią, ed. A. Szwarczakowa, 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:] Symposia 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. Głową, Lublin 2010, p. 233–240.


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.

Kandaulos: the Testimony of Select Sources

Byzantium®. 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 patriarh and the bishop of Thessalonika is present in Greek literature in the form of two basic varieties. Kandylōs (κάνδυλος), i.e. the term used by Photius1, appears also in the works of Aristophanes2, Eusebius3, and the lexicon of Eustathius4. The Photius’ lexicon (κάνδυλος), has been recorded only once and appears in the scholia to Aristophanes’ Peace5.

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 σκεύος ὑποστοιχική μετά γάλακτος καὶ στέατος καὶ μέλιτος ἐνοῦ δε ὡς κρέως καὶ ἄρτῳ καὶ τυρῷ. ὡς ὀαρτᾶς Ἡρωδάτης.

kandylōs: 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

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 Nicolai6; Athenaeus in his work remarks that kandaulos was a Lydian

variant which Eustathius of Thessalonica16 was familiar with, i.e. kandaulos (κάνδαυλος), has been preserved in opera of Alexii17, 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 work of his21. The third option, i.e. kondylos (κόνδυλος), has been recorded only once and appears in the scholia to Aristophanes’ Peace22.

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:

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17 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophistae, XII, 516 d–f (12, 14–34, Kaibel).
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.
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 vividly that you never even notice) your fingers are nibbled to the bone".24

The fragment of Commentarii ad Homer 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 kandaulos/kandylos 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 Homer Iliadem, IV, 180, 16–23. English translation by M.K., K.G.


28 Cf. the testimony of Athenaeus of Naucratis, which is later used by the bishop of Thessalonica himself (Λακώνος γέρνεται έδραμα κάνδαλος) – Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homer 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, which is also to be found in the


33 Σκυλοπνίκτης (σκυλοπνίκτης) – Ioannis Tzetzes historiarum variarum chiliasi, VI, 482, ed. T. Kessling, 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).

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 (Σπάκο), which the author of Histories translates by means of the Greek term Κυνό (Kovó) – ‘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 prophet 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 herdman, 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, Histories, I, 107, 1 – 116, 21.


39 Regarding the specific character of work of Athenaeus of Naucratis cf. B. Baldwin, Athenaeus and his work, ACias 19, 1976, p. 21–42; M. Koskosko, Ryby i ich znaczenie w życiu codziennym ludzi późnego antyku i wczesnego Bizancjum (III–V w.), Łódź 2005 [= Byzantia Lojdziensia, 11], p. 8–10 (collected works); A. Lukinovich, The play of reflections between literary form and the symphotic theme in the ‘Deipnosophistae’ of Athenaeus, [in:] Symphotic. 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. Koskosko, Historia kuchni antycznej i bizantyńskiej. Sos karkye (kapoxyi). Komentarz do Chronografii Michala 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, Kandaulos: the Testimony of Select Sources

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 Naucratris (quoting Hegesippus of Tarentum38), there were three separate variations of this delicacy40. Unfortunately, the author of Deipnosophists himself quotes41 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 Pollex 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 ὀψε τοῦ καρύκη καὶ δρότου 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 meat42. It is even recommended by the author of De morbis popularibus43 as well as mentioned by Galen in De alimentorum facultatibus44. Since, however, there is no mention in Greek culinary and medical literature that dog meat was a delicacy45, 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 karkye (kapoxyi), [in:] Byzantia Lojdziensia, 11, p. 121–131.


41 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophistae, XII, 516 c (12, 10, KAIBEL).

42 After abovementioned Hegesippus of Tarentum.


46 Cf. the James Roy’s (op. cit., p. 348–350) conclusions.
cultural 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 λαγώνων) 47.

Hesegippus’ 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 a mixture of donkey and horse mares’ milk and the product was renowned


It is also probable that olive oil might have been added to the stock. We can also conjecture that the meat was not lean since the dzomóς is referred to as “fatty”, píon (πιόν) 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 stea 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 Stilton 50. 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 Hill 51, 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 salted 52, it would also provide this dish with its final flavour.

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


51 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophistae, III, 111 d (76, 25–26, KAIBEL). Also v. HESCHYUS, Lexicon, k. κνηστός, 3119, 1.

52 Galen was interested in the properties of amylum (De alimentorum facultatibus 500, 4–16).

53 A. Dalby, Food..., p. 349.

54 Eustathius of Thessalonica, Commentarii ad Homerii Iliadem, IV, 180, 21.

55 Athenaeus of Naucratis, Deipnosophistae, III, 111 d (76, 25–26, KAIBEL). Also v. HESCHYUS, Lexicon, κνηστός, 3119, 1.

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

57 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 & 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.

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

59 A. Dalby, Food..., p. 80–81.
sible that *amylum* was added only to the sweet variety of *kándaulos*/*kándylos*, and its meaty variety included considerably tangible bread particles, which, while releasing starch, only additionally thickened the entire consistency. 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 cook.

The preserved recipes show that the main spice added to *kándaulos*/*kándylos* was *anéthon* (ἀνέθον). 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*) or fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*). Both these plants originated in Central Asia, and, having spread in Asia Minor and Europe, 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 effect.

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 (ἴ*ék* ὑπόρου), milk (ἴ*ék* γάλακτος), starch (ἴ*ék* φυλόλο) and honey (ἴ*ék* μέλιτος). One may surmise that also Phrygian cheese was used, as its meaty type included considerably tangible bread particles, which, while releasing starch, only additionally thickened the entire consistency. 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 cook.

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 *pémna* (πέμνα). This data is complemented by the scholia to *Peace*, whose author called the dish a kind of pastry (or pie), i.e. *eidos* plakoúntos (ἰδίως πλακούντος). Aristophanes suggests that *kándaulos*/*kándylos* was served with bread. 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 discussed. 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 fat made the second variety of *kándaulos*/*kándylos* hard enough to slice it or cut into portions.

Common reports of ancient and Byzantine authors clearly show that *kándaulos*/*kándylos* was a sophisticated and exquisite dish. This classification was not determined by high prices of its ingredients 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 such. 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 abytérake (ἀβυτεράκη) and karýka (κάρυκα), in the catalogue of dishes, being a contradiction to the Greek gastronomic and national tradition.

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 glutony invariably associated with culinary imports from the East.
As far as the Byzantine period is concerned, information regarding the consumption of kánδaulos/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 kánδaulos/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 kánδaulos/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 kánδaulos/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 kánδaulos/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 kánδaulos/kándylos was still served in Byzantine times. However, Byzantine authors preserved the most detailed literary evidence on the delicacy.

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.)