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ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ΕΥΡΗΜΑΤΑ.
THE MOTIF OF CULINARY INVENTIONS IN THE MIDDLE
AND NEW COMEDY AND GASTRONOMIC POETRY

ABSTRACT. Stuligrosz Magdalena, Τέχνης εὐρήματα. The Motif of Culinary Inventions in the Middle and New Comedy and Gastronomic Poetry (Τέχνης εὐρήματα. *Motyw wynalazków kulinarnych w komedii średniej i nowej oraz poezji gastronomicznej*).

The purpose of this paper is to show how Middle and New comedy as well as gastronomic poetry authors use the *protos heuretes*-motif characteristic of literature undertaking heurematographic themes, to present the originality and innovation of the cook's and parasite's art.

Keywords: the *protos heuretes*-motif; Middle and New Comedy; gastronomic poetry; novelty; cook's art; parasite

The development of the so-called high culinary culture ('haute cuisine') in Greece in the second half of the 5th century BCE led to an appreciation of the skills and knowledge of the cook, who could astonish the revellers with his inventiveness and original ideas. This kind of promotion of the cook influenced the perception of his skills not as a craft but as an art, comparable to music or poetry. The new understanding of the culinary art, which transformed from μαγειρική τέχνη associated with the "cuisine of sacrifice" into ὀψαρτυτική τέχνη – the skill of preparing sophisticated dishes and elaborate table setting,¹ is addressed mainly by comedy writers and authors of gastronomic poetry.

Eating habits of the Greeks in that period were influenced by the trade contacts with the overseas countries – Phoenicians, Carthaginians and Egyptians, and especially with Sicily, famous for its fertile soil and love of luxury, from where the cooks who proved to be unsurpassed masters in the art of cooking

¹On μαγειρική τέχνη and ὀψαρτυτική τέχνη, see Dalby 2003: 96–97, 102 and Wilkins, Hill 2006: 28–29; 92–93.

would come to Athens. Thanks to them, the inhabitants of Greek cities became fascinated with the lifestyle known as the *life of pleasure*. Innovations and culinary inspirations that could be transplanted to Greece were sought both at the courts of the Persian rulers and in the Greek colonies in southern Italy. The search for new flavours and the invention of ever more sophisticated dishes was connected with the basic task of culinary art, which was to satisfy the increasingly sophisticated needs of the banqueters, and to provide them with sensual experiences that were a source of pleasure for the body.²

Peculiar “presentations” of culinary novelties and inventions were a part of long and witty speeches of the character of Middle and New Comedy of the 4th century BCE, the boastful cook-gourmand,³ who was regarded not only as an unparalleled expert in the art of cooking, but also as a master of words.⁴ In the comedy speeches of cooks, culinary art is presented almost as an artistic activity, and whoever uses it fluently and knowledgeably, distinguishing himself with originality, is bestowed with the title of inventor (πρῶτος εὐρητής⁵). By exposing manifestations of inventiveness and creativity of cooks and parasites, the authors of comedies refer to the heurematographic tendencies that were clearly highlighted in the Greek literature of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE under the influence of the interest characteristic for sophists in explaining and searching for the origins of phenomena and institutions.⁶

In a fragment of Alexis’ play *All-Night Festival or Hired Workers*, a boastful cook extols his invention of a dish called *kandaulos*⁷ (fr. 178.1–6 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 12.516d-e):

† ὅτι δέ σοι παρὰ τοῦτο κάνδαυλόν τινα
παραθήσομεν. (B.) κάνδαυλον; οὐκ ἔδήδοκα

²Athenaeus (12.545d-e) quotes the hedonist Polyarchus, according to whom the ability to invent new pleasures (ἐξευρίσκειν καινὴν ἡδονήν) was particularly valued among the Persians: “[...] people say that in Persia rewards are offered for anyone who can invent a new pleasure. And rightly so; because human nature quickly becomes sated with the pleasures it experiences repeatedly, even if they are extremely intense. As a consequence, since novelty has a tremendous ability to increase the apparent magnitude of pleasure, we should not despise it, but pay it considerable attention. This is why many types of food have been invented, and many types of pastry, and of incense and perfume, and robes and blankets, and cups and other vessels.” – transl. S.D. Olson.

³Cf. Wilkins 2000: 384: “The cook of Middle and New Comedy was at liberty to present himself as a wonder-worker with new inventions [...]”.

⁴Nesselrath (1990: 257) characterises him as follows: “The cook makes his [dramatic] entrance [in Middle Comedy] not only as a culinary specialist, but as a word-wizard (Sprachzauberer) as well”.

⁵For more information on the portrayal of the cook-gourmand (μάγειρος) and his achievements in Middle and New Comedy, see Dohm (1964) and Stuligrosz (2015).

⁶For the development of Greek heurematography, see Kleingünther (1933); Thraede (1962); Thraede (1962a); Baumbach (2008); Schnayder (1949).

⁷This dish is named after the Lydian king, Myrtilus, known as Kandaules. For the Lydian origin of the word *kandaulos*, see Herodotus I 7 and Hipponax, fr. 3a West.

<κάνδαυλον> οὐδ' ἀκήκο' οὐδε<πώ>ποτε.
 (A.) θαυμαστὸν ἐμὸν εὖρημα· πάνυ πολὺν δ' ἐγὼ
 ἐὰν παραθῶ σοι, προσκατέδει τοὺς δακτύλους
 σαυτῶι γε χαίρων.

† That † on top of this, we'll serve you
 a *kandaulos*. (B.) A *kandaulos*? I've never
 eaten or heard...
 It's an amazing invention of mine; even if I serve
 you a really big one, you'll enjoy yourself so much
 that
 you'll eat your fingers too!⁸

The cook presents himself as a wonder-worker by calling the luxury dish he claims to have invented, “an amazing invention of mine” (θαυμαστὸν ἐμὸν εὖρημα),⁹ and at the same time indicates the pleasure that will be enjoyed by whoever tastes the dish. The motif of the inventor is thus an important element of the self-presentation of the boastful cook.¹⁰ In such a presentation of the cook's merits one can notice a parodic reference to the encomiastic function of the πρῶτος εὐρετής-motif,¹¹ exposed in the sympotic elegy, Pindar's songs of praise,¹² and in the works of early Greek historians. The product of culinary art, of which the character of Alexis' play boasts, is identified by Athenaeus in his *Deipnosophistai* (or, *The learned banqueters*). Quoting the above passage, he informs us (12.516d) that, according to the recipe handed down by Hegesippus of Tarentum, the *kandaulos*, derived from the Lydian culinary tradition, “is made of bits of steaked meat, bread crumbs, Phrygian cheese, anise, and fatty broth.”¹³

The introduction of gastronomic innovations through the knowledge and experience of cooks coming from areas that had recently come under Greek influence did not always involve inventing new dishes or enriching recipes with new ingredients. The young cook in Anaxippos' play *The Man Who Tried to Hide His Face* gives credit to culinary innovators Damoxenus of Rhodes and Sophon of Acarnania,¹⁴ disciples of the famous Sicilian cook Labdacus, who

⁸All the translations from the comic poets are by S. Douglas Olson (2006–2012).

⁹On novelty and wonder see D'Angour 2011: 148: “Things may arouse surprise or admiration because they are new. Equally, they may be experienced as ‘new’ because they are objects of awe or wonder”.

¹⁰Cf. Arnott (1996: 122), who sees in the Greek comedy “the derisive glorification of the cook-alazon as the inventor *par excellence*”. See also Dohm 1964: 130, 138.

¹¹The important role of the encomiastic element in heurematography is emphasised by Thraede (1962: 173).

¹²For the function of the *protos heuretes*-motif in Greek archaic poetry, see Stuligrosz (2021).

¹³According to Athenaeus (12.516d), *kandaulos* occurred in three different forms. See also Dalby 2003: 188.

¹⁴Bato (fr. 4.4 Kassel-Austin) attributes the authorship of the cookbook to Sophon, while Sosipater (fr. 1.14 Kassel-Austin) calls him “the founder of the art” (τῆς τέχνης ἀρχηγός).

were the first (πρῶτοι – v. 14) to abandon the use of aromatic spices known from time immemorial in favour of simple methods allowing the flavour of the food to be brought out and, in addition, freeing the body from the side effects of the previous diet:

Σόφων Ἀκαρνᾶν καὶ Ῥόδιος Δαμόξενος
 ἐγένονθ' ἑαυτῶν συμμαθηταὶ τῆς τέχνης·
 ἐδίδασκε δ' αὐτοὺς Σικελιώτης Λάβδακος.
 οὗτοι τὰ μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ θρυλούμενα
 ἀρτύματ' ἐξήλειψαν ἐκ τῶν βιβλίων
 καὶ τὴν θυίαν ἠφάνισαν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου,
 οἶον λέγω κύμινον, ὄξος, σίλφιον,
 τυρόν, κορίαννον, οἷς ὁ Κρόνος ἀρτύμασιν
 ἐχρήτο, πάντ' ἀφείλον εἰναί θ' ὑπέλαβον
 τὸν τοῖς <τοιούτοις> παντοπώλην χρώμενον.
 αὐτοὶ δ' ἔλαιον καὶ λοπάδα καινὴν, πάτερ,
 πῦρ τ' ὄξυ καὶ μὴ πολλακίς φυσώμενον
 ἐποίουν· ἀπὸ τούτου πᾶν τὸ δεῖπνον εὐτρεπέες.
 οὗτοί τε πρῶτοι δάκρυα καὶ πταρμὸν πολλὸν
 ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης καὶ σίαλον ἀπήγαγον,
 τῶν τ' ἐσθιόντων ἀνεκάθηραν τοὺς πόρους. (fr. 1.1–16 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 9.403e-
 -404a)

Sophon of Acarnania and Damoxenus of Rhodes
 were fellow-students when they got their training;
 their teacher was Labdacus of Sicily.
 These guys erased the famous old
 seasonings from the cookbooks
 and got the mortar out of sight–
 I'm talking, for example, about cumin, vinegar,
 silphium,
 cheese, and coriander, the spices Cronus
 used to cook with. They got rid of them all and
 became convinced
 that anyone who used ingredients like that was just a
 grocer.
 They themselves went in for olive oil and a new
 casserole-dish,
 honoured sir, and a hot fire that wasn't blown on
 too much; any meal can be prepared with this
 equipment.
 They were the first to remove tears and a lot of
 sneezing and runny noses from the dinner table,
 and they cleaned out the pores of the people who ate
 their food.

According to the recommendations of the Sicilian cuisine, which was the source of inspiration for the innovations described by the cook, to prepare exquisite and healthy dishes, it is enough to use olive oil and skilfully measure the strength of the fire on which the food is fried.

It sometimes happens that comedy writers humorously present the benefits mankind has experienced thanks to the inventions of the culinary arts. A character in Alexis' play *Polykleia*, probably a parasite¹⁵, does so while praising the inventor of the dessert (τραγήματα):

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών κομψὸς ἦν τραγήματα.
τοῦ συμποσίου γὰρ διατριβὴν ἐξεύρε καὶ
ἀργοὺς ἔχειν μηδέποτε τὰς σιαγόνας. (fr. 190 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 14.642c)

The guy who invented *tragémata* was smart –
because he discovered how to pass the time at parties
and
never have inactive jaws!

In this case, the inventor is not named – the poet used the formula ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών, applied to an anonymous inventor in Greek drama at the end of the 5th century BCE and widespread in comedies after Aristophanes.¹⁶ The formula by which the dessert pioneer is distinguished here emphasises the encomiastic tone of the whole speech.¹⁷ The author of the comedy exaggerates the merits of the inventor, emphasising with the epithet κομψός ('smart, clever, ingenious'¹⁸) his ingenuity¹⁹ thanks to which a long symposion can be spent in a pleasant way.²⁰ The fact that this pleasure has a corporeal dimension and is connected with satisfying the appetite is vividly proved by the very illustrative indication of the purpose which the invention mentioned here is to serve. As Alexis' character says, the main activity of the symposion's participants was munching (τρώγω) snacks (τραγήματα), which were served with wine.²¹

¹⁵ See Arnott 1996: 554.

¹⁶ Alexis, fr. 152 Kassel-Austin; Anaxandrides, fr. 31 Kassel-Austin; Eubulus, fr. 72 Kassel-Austin (cited below); Menander, fr. 18 Kassel-Austin. Cf. Hunter 1983: 162.

¹⁷ Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (1368a) recognizes the indication of pioneering or exceptional merits of the praised person (οἷον εἰ μόνος ἢ πρῶτος ... πεποίηκεν ἅπαντα γὰρ ταῦτα καλά) as an important element of praise.

¹⁸ *LSJ* 1996: 977.

¹⁹ In poetic representations of inventions from the gods – Athena and Hermes – attention is drawn to the fact that at their foundations there is σοφία. For this subject, see Stuligrosz 2021.

²⁰ According to Wilkins (2000: 231), the words spoken here are in fact a comment on the exaggerated length of the catalogue listing of dishes and food ingredients included in the cook's monologue: "Where the speaker sees *tragemata* as material for endless mastication by the jaws, the comic poets saw opportunities for the ever-more ingenious elaboration of lists by organs of speech".

²¹ Fresh and dried fruits, especially apples, figs and nuts, as well as pulses – peas, beans and chickpeas – and boiled eggs, cheese, honey and pastries were most commonly served as τραγήματα. Most of these delicacies are listed by Athenaeus in the part of his work devoted to desserts (14.641e-649a). A detailed list of the delicacies served for dessert with reference to the source texts is given by Olson and Sens (1999: 138) and Wilkins (2000: 230–231). Meat

The descriptions of new dishes, astonishing in the creator's ingenuity and sophistication, filled poetic catalogues of inventions. In his gastronomic poem *Banquet* dating from the end of the 5th century BCE, Philoxenus of Leucas includes in his catalogue a description of "every skilful invention for good living" (παντοδαποῖσι τέχνας εὐρήμασι πρὸς βιοτάν), that was on the tables at the luxurious feast:

ταὶ δὲ πρὸς ὑψηλὺχνους
ἔστιλβον ἀγὰς
εὐστέφανοι λεκάναις
παροψίσι τ' ὀξυβάφων <τε>
πλήθει σὺν τε χλιδῶσαι
παντοδαποῖσι τέχνας
εὐρήμασι πρὸς βιοτάν,
ψυχᾶς δελεασματίοισι· (fr. 836b.3–5 Page)

And those tables gleamed in the lamplight high above, laden with plates and side-dishes and a pile of saucers and revelling in every skilful invention for good living, enticements for the spirit.²²

Here, too, the inventor or inventors remain anonymous, and the final effect is achieved by the skill of the cook, described as an art (τέχνη). Also in this case, special attention is paid to providing an extraordinary sensory experience for the revellers, as these inventions become "enticements for the spirit" (ψυχᾶς δελεασματίοισι). The desired effect is to be ensured – apart from the innovativeness of the culinary art – by the variety of dishes served, as indicated by the adjective παντοδαποῖσι.

The cook in Anaxippos' comedy *The Man Who Tried to Hide His Face* exploring the secrets of the culinary art (ζητοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην²³) with books in his hands brags about his inventions (τῶν εὐρημένων), as he follows the principle of diversity (*poikilia*) in his selection of dishes, and adapts them to the needs of the banqueters, taking into account their lifestyle, age, financial status or the look of their faces:

γεύσω δ', ἐὰν βούλῃ, σε τῶν εὐρημένων.
οὐ ταῦτ' ἀπροσάγω πᾶσιν ἀεί· βρώματα
τεταγμέν' εὐθύς ἐστί μοι πρὸς τὸν βίον·
ἕτερ' ἐστί τοῖς ἐρώσι καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις
καὶ τοῖς τελώναις. [...]
ἰδὼν τὸ πρόσωπον γνώσομ' οὐ ζῆτεῖ φαγεῖν
ἕκαστος ὑμῶν. (fr. 1.27–49 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 9.404c-e)

delicacies – sausages, birds with tender flesh, hare and pig's uterus – were also listed among the τραγήματα (cf. Arcestratus, fr. 60.6–15 Olson-Sens).

²² Translated by D. A. Campbell.

²³ Anaxippos, fr. 1.25 Kassel-Austin.

If you want, I'll give you a sample of my discoveries.
 I don't offer everyone the same food all the time.
 Instead, I organize what I serve from the beginning,
 to suit their lifestyle;
 lovers, philosophers, and tax-collectors
 require different menus. [...]
 When I see your faces, I'll know what each of you
 wants to eat.

In this case, the young cook's innovation is reflected not only in his creativity in preparing food, which will be evidenced by his "new work on the art [of cooking]" (συγγράμματα ... ἐμαυτοῦ καινὰ τῆς τέχνης²⁴), which he wishes to leave behind, but also in combining his culinary skill, presented here as a philosophical doctrine, with medicine, and even with the knowledge of psychology and physiognomy.²⁵ As he himself emphasises, his inventions are the result of systematic studies (ζητοῦντα), and thus constitute the culmination of consciously undertaken efforts.²⁶ One can say that the comic cook here represents the model underlying the sophistic theory of inventions called "searching-finding" or "problem-solution"²⁷ with which he apparently identifies himself.²⁸

Athenaeus' account testifies to how highly valued the manifestations of innovation in the sphere of gastronomy were. Citing the historian Phylarchus, he reports that the inhabitants of the city of Sybaris, one of the Greek colonies in southern Italy, would grant special privileges to cooks who demonstrated originality in the preparation of a dish (12.521c-d):

And if one of their chefs or cooks invented an exceptional new dish, no one was permitted to make it for a year except the man who came up with it, in order that the inventor would have the exclusive right to produce it for that period, the goal being to encourage other individuals to work hard to outdo themselves in this area.²⁹

According to the law of Sybaris, the author of a recipe was granted the privilege of exclusivity, which gave him protection, and allowed to profit from

²⁴Anaxippus, fr. 1.21–22 Kassel-Austin.

²⁵See Bartol, Danielewicz (2011: 559–561) and Stuligrosz (2005: 370–371).

²⁶Cf. Baumbach 2008: 73: "With Ionian natural philosophy [...] and the development of specialized branches of knowledge in the 5th and 4th cents. comes the systematic search for inventions, as opposed to the 'discovery' of divine *heurēmata* [...]"

²⁷For the use of the inventor model mentioned here in sophistic theories about the origins of culture, see Baumbach (2008: 73).

²⁸In the words of the cook ζητοῦντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην one can discern echoes of the view propounded by Xenophanes (fr. B18 Diels-Kranz) that new inventions and discoveries had been brought about by a long search conducted consciously by man (χρόνῳ ζητοῦντες ἐφευρίσκουσιν): "By no means did the gods intimate all things to mortals from the beginning, / but in time, inquiring, they discover better" (transl. J. H. Leshner).

²⁹Translated by S. D. Olson.

his culinary art for a year. In his commentary to Athenaeus' text, Charles Burton Gulick notes that the mechanism of recognising the creativity of the cook presented here should be considered the first reference to the operation of the patent system confirmed in Greek literature.³⁰

The gastronomic sphere of life was also connected with inventions concerning the organisation of a feast and norms defining the behaviour of its participants. Athenaeus, in his discussion of the figure of the parasite, an intrusive guzzler who lives at the expense of others and returns flattery, quotes a fragment of Eubulus' comedy *Oedipus* containing a praise of the "first inventor" of a feast attended at someone else's expense:

ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών τὰλλότρια δειπνεῖν ἀνήρ
δημοτικός ἦν τις, ὡς ἔοικε, τοὺς τρόπους. (fr. 72.1–2 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 6.239a)

The man who invented dining on someone else's food
Was well-disposed to average people, it appears.

As in the fragment of Alexis' play (fr. 190 Kassel-Austin) analysed above, the nameless inventor here is defined as ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών. In contrast to the "contribution" feasts (συμβολαί), whose participants were obliged to make a contribution "in kind" or – more often – financially, during the feast to which the comedy writer refers, the guests could freely taste the delicacies on the tables at the host's expense (ἄσύμβολον).³¹ Eubulus characterises the lifestyle of the parasite pointing to his fondness for the "invention" of free feasting, thanks to which he can enjoy what is on offer at the table of a wealthy citizen.³² The term δημοτικός ... τοὺς τρόπους ("well-disposed to average people"), with which the poet ironically describes the positive connotations of the figure of the inventor of the free feast,³³ seems to be a reference to the traditional representation of πρῶτος εὐρετής as the benefactor of mankind.³⁴

³⁰ Gulick 1933: 349; the issue is dealt with in more detail by Witty 2017.

³¹ Cf. Olson 2007: 284.

³² The characterisation of the parasite was presented by Dalby (2003: 248–249). For the role of this character in Middle and New comedy, see Bartol 2005: 27–35.

³³ Olson (2007: 285) interprets the adjective δημοτικός used here as follows: "well disposed towards the δῆμος", i.e. "towards average people", who are too poor to pay for fine food, at least on everyday basis". By referring to the inventor of the practice's specific parasites practices peculiar to parasites as δημοτικός ... τοὺς τρόπους Eubulus is allusive in his criticism of Athenian democratic principles: "Fourth-century comedy depicts democracy in an ironic and undermining way, as a locus for cheap sex and flattery for free meals, while suggesting the ethical implication of such an order" (cf. Rosenbloom 2014: 311). Also, Hunter (1983: 162) speaks of the "humorous use of this political term".

³⁴ The positive image of πρῶτοι εὐρεταί in Greek literature is mentioned by Baumbach (2008: 74): "Inventors appear in all literary genres, sometimes positively connoted as *sōtêres*, *euergétai* ('saviours, benefactors'), sometimes negatively (primarily in satire, diatribe, comedy). Their

Alexis in turn refers to the practices invented by the well-known gourmet and parasite Chaerephon³⁵ (5th century BCE) as “new tricks” (τέχνην καινήν), as Athenaeus (4.164f) informs us, in order to check in whose house a sumptuous feast is organised:

ἀεὶ γ' ὁ Χαιρεφῶν τιν' εὕρισκει τέχνην
 καινήν πορίζεται τε τὰ δεῖπν' ἀσύμβολα.
 ὅπου γάρ ἐστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος
 ὁ τοῖς μαγείροις, εὐθὺς ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ
 ἔστηκεν ἑλθὼν· κἂν ἴδη μισθούμενον
 εἰς ἐστίασιν, τοῦ μαγείρου πυθόμενος
 τὸν ἐστιῶντα, τῆς θύρας χασμωμένης
 ἂν ἐπιλάβηται, πρῶτος εἰσελήλυθεν. (fr. 259 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 4.164f-165a)

Chaerephon is always coming up with some new trick and getting his dinners without contributing any money.

For the minute the sun comes up, he goes and stands in the place where the cooks rent their earthenware. If he seeks something being rented for a feast, he asks the cook who the host is; and if he finds the door open, he's the first one in.

The comedy writer describes in detail the almost incredible ingenuity of Chaerephon in the efforts he makes to get uninvited into a house where a sumptuous feast is being organised. In a similar way, the parasite in Antiphanes' play speaks of his efforts to provide himself with a free delicious treat, reflecting on his life:

μακάριος ὁ βίος, ᾧ δεῖ μ' ἀεὶ καινὸν πόρον
 εὕρισκεῖν, ὡς μάσημα ταῖς γνάθοις ἔχω. (fr. 253 Kassel-Austin = Athen. 1.8d)

A happy life I lead – when I must always try to discover
 some new trick to have a morsel for my jaws!

The lifestyle characteristic of the parasite, which Antiphanes' character considers happy (μακάριος), forces each time ingenuity and inventiveness in the search for a new way (καινὸν πόρον) to satisfy the unbridled appetite. Thus, we can say that the comic parasite reflects in his actions the principle “Necessity

heurēmata are fully developed from the outset: inventors are not only the “first”, but at the same also the “best”. See also Stuligrosz 2021.

³⁵According to the testimony of Alexis (fr. 213 Kassel-Austin), Chaerephon was said to have travelled in search of stomach pleasures at someone else's expense. The character of Chaerephon was often an object of mockery in Middle comedy.

is the mother of invention,” which Plato expressed as follows in his *Republic* in relation to the beginnings of the state (369c): “Its real creator, as it appears, will be our needs.”³⁶

It should be noted that the epithet *καινός*, used by comedy writers to describe new methods invented by parasites to gain access to the table of a wealthy host, was commonly used in Greek comedy, both Old and Middle, to refer to the manifestations of novelty and originality in the field of lyric poetry and music at the end of the 5th century BCE.³⁷ The fact that the same qualities were valued both by gourmets looking for new sensations while eating sophisticated dishes, and by theatre audience eager for new experiences, is evidenced by a fragment of Metagenes’ comedy, in which the author, speaking of the reception of a literary work, uses a metaphor drawn from gastronomy³⁸:

κατ’ ἐπεισόδιον μεταβάλλω τὸν λόγον, ὡς ἂν
καιναῖσι παροψίσι καὶ πολλαῖς εὐωχῆσω τὸ θέατρον. (fr. 15 Kassel-Austin = Athen.
11.459c)

In each episode I change the plot, so that
I can feast the audience with many and novel side dishes.

The leader of the chorus, speaking here on behalf of the poet, states that in the creation of a play, as in the composition of a meal, what is decisive for the success of the work is innovation and refinement, which can only be achieved through the appropriate selection of ingredients.³⁹ Only in this way can a poetic or culinary work of art be created, in which the audience – spectators or banqueters – will discover a “new delicacy” (*καιναῖσι παροψίσι*).

The overview presented here shows that Middle and New comedy and gastronomic poetry authors make parodic references in their works to the heurematographic trend, characteristic of Greek literature of the 5th and 4th centuries BCE.⁴⁰ In the lexical layer, these references are visible in the use of a formula exposing the pioneer merits of the inventor (*ὁ πρῶτος εὐρών*), epithets describing his creativity and inventiveness (*κομψός*) and the novelty of his art (*καινός*), as well as in pointing to the systematic search leading to inventions through the use of the verb *ζητέω*. The juxtaposition of the inventor’s motif,

³⁶ Translated by P. Shorey.

³⁷ Such statements usually contained an element of evaluation of the “new” poetry. Cf. Stuligrosz 2012: 147–148.

³⁸ The “artistic affinity” linking poetic and culinary arts is pointed out by Bartol (1996: 32–33).

³⁹ See the interpretation of the Metagenes’ fragment in Bartol and Danielewicz (2011: 256–257) and Pellegrino (1998: 328–330).

⁴⁰ Cf. Arnott 1996: 122: “[...] first inventor motifs in comedy exemplify and at the same time parody that curiosity about originators and inventors of everything, which began to burn in 5th-century Athens and raged violently the next century as a product of the sophistic spirit of enquiry.”

which in the literature undertaking heurematographic themes was accompanied by a reflection on the development of civilisation and culture, with the “low” theme referring to the sphere of the cook’s and the parasite’s activity, creates an intended grotesque effect, and as a result evokes the recipient’s laughter.⁴¹

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⁴¹The ludic function of the *protos heures*-motif in Greek comedy is pointed out by Kleingünther (1933: 143; 1225–1230). Cf. Bartol 2006: 87: “The category of first finder was also a substantial component of a lighter comic repertoire, where amusing catalogues of inventions or grotesque portrayals of inventors functioned as vehicles for entertainment.”

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ΤΕΧΝΗΣ ΕΥΦΜΑΤΑ. ΜΟΤΥΩ ΤΥΝΑΛΑΖΚΩΝ ΚΥΛΙΝΑΡΥΧΩ
 ΤΥ ΚΟΜΕΔΙΙ ΣΡΕΔΝΕΙΥ Ι ΝΟΤΕΥ ΤΥΡΑΖ ΤΥΕΥΖΙ ΓΑΣΤΡΟΝΟΜΙΚΕΥΝΕΥ

Streszczenie

Autorka artykułu analizuje prezentacje nowinek i wynalazków związanych ze sferą kulinarną, zamieszczone w wypowiedziach bohaterów sztuk greckich komediopisarzy (Aleksisa, Anaksipposa, Antyfanesa i Eubulosa) oraz w katalogowym opisie uczty w poemacie Filoksenosa z Leukady. W przywołanych wypowiedziach sztuka kulinarna jest przedstawiona niemal jako działanie artystyczne, a ten, kto posługuje się nią ze znanstwem, wyróżniając się przy tym oryginalnością, określany jest mianem wynalazcy (πρώτος εὑρητής). Eksponując przejawy kreatywności kucharzy i pasożytów twórcy komedii średniej i nowej oraz poezji gastronomicznej w sposób parodystyczny nawiązują do tendencji heurematograficznych, które wyraźnie zaznaczyły się w literaturze greckiej V i IV w. p.n.e. Formuły i epitety, za pomocą których komediopisarze opisują nowatorstwo i oryginalność wynalazców w dziedzinie gastronomii, należą do repertuaru określeń stosowanych tradycyjnie w literackich przedstawieniach πρώτοι εὑρηταί o charakterze enkomiaistycznym.