

Collana MenSALe

DOCUMENTA ET MONUMENTA

diretta da Antonella Pellettieri

4



© 2014 Edizioni Centro Grafico Foggia S.r.l.
Via Manfredonia I Traversa 71121 FOGGIA (Fg)
Tel. 0881 722719 - 0881 728177
Fax 0881 722719
e-mail info@centrograficofoggia.it
www.centrograficofoggia.it

Progettazione grafica: BrucoMela Design.
Revisione testi: Paola Paciello

ISBN 978-88-96545-56-0

Vietata ogni riproduzione, anche parziale, del testo e delle immagini
Printed by: Centro Grafico Foggia S.r.l.
Finito di stampare nel mese di dicembre 2014.

...come sa di sale lo pane altrui
Il Pane di Matera e i Pani del Mediterraneo

Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studio
promosso dall'IBAM-CNR
nell'ambito del Progetto MenSALe
Matera, 5-7 Settembre 2014

a cura di
Antonella Pellettieri

Sommario

- 9 *Discorso di apertura*
Antonella Pellettieri
...come sa di sale lo pane altrui. Il Pane di Matera e i Pani del Mediterraneo.
Le ragioni del convegno
- 13 Giuseppe Chiurazzi
Donna generosa e feconda: la terra, il grano, la dea
- 21 Ernesto Di Renzo
Ma il pane nero sa di amaro?
I generi della panificazione tra gusti della necessità egusti del lusso
- 29 Claudia Cerchiai Manodori Sagredo
...C'era il pane per le ostriche...
- 39 Annalisa Venditti
La mola salsa: "il pane degli Dei"
- 43 Luigi Crimaco
Dal farro al pane di frumento. Ager Campanus e alimentazione romana tra III e II sec. a.C.
- 65 Angela Carcaiso
Produzione cerealicola e strutture agrarie nel territorio di Cales in età romana
- 101 Flavia Salvatori
Pane di vita eterna
- 115 Ilias Anagnostakis
The Loaves of the King and the Loaves of Cinderella. Byzantine Tales of Bread in Silk and in Ash
- 123 Maria Leontsini
Plakountai, pies and pancakes: festive and daily baked desserts in Byzantium (4th-12th c.)
- 133 Juan Jesús Bravo Caro
De cereales a pan. Identidades colectivas y alimentos de discordia entre personas e insectos

- 153 Maria Grazia Rosaria Mele
Dal pane delle feste al pane dei pastori e dei corsari
- 173 Giovanni Murgia
Il grano del re: annona e sussistenza nella Sardegna moderna
- 189 Antonio Monte
Molini e silos granari. I siti produttivi, i brevetti, le architetture, il patrimonio archeoindustriale
- 215 Marcello Corrado
Gli spazi del pane sul territorio lucano. Alcuni casi di studio a Matera e Sant'Angelo Le Fratte (Pz)
- 239 Anna Reale
Pane e lievito madre, un microcosmo in fermento: alla scoperta dell'invisibile mondo dei microrganismi.
- 249 Tiziana Di Renzo
*Ricerca e innovazione per la produzione di nuovi prodotti da forno: il caso della Quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa* Wild)*
- 257 Ferdinando Mirizzi
Pane e pani a Matera e altrove
- 271 Teresa Zotta
Il Cornetto di Matera: come la scienza decodifica la tradizione
- 277 Nicola Ruggieri
Raffigurazioni del pane nell'arte in Basilicata tra i secoli XIV e XX
- 293 Fabrizio Natalini
La Lucania e il cinema
- 301 Alberto Manodori Sagredo
Il volto fotografico del pane
- 313 Paola Sarcina
Cerealìa. La festa dei cereali. Cerere e il Mediterraneo Comunicare e valorizzare la cultura del cibo

- 325 Adriana Galvani
Un pane sensuale
- 337 Barbara Guerra
Il marketing dei prodotti tipici ed il ruolo dell'ospitalità di territorio, il caso "le strade della mozzarella"
- 349 Jocelyne Napoli
The baguette: a French national heritage
- 361 Abrika Bélaïd Cécile Perret
Résurgence du pain ancestral en Kabylie (Algérie):entre modernité et tradition
- 373 Indici dei luoghi, nomi, cose notevoli
a cura di Anna Valente
- 399 Indici degli autori
a cura di Anna Valente

The Loaves of the King and the Loaves of Cinderella. Byzantine Tales of Bread in Silk and in Ash

Bread in Silk and bread in Ash, and in between we have the Byzantine Cinderella. So what do we mean by this? As one might easily guess (and would be absolutely right), we will be referring to luxury, baked goods in Byzantium versus any type of humble bread baked on the coals, like the bread of a Cinderella, who stirs the ashes in the fireplace¹. And that is indeed the point. Although we have many examples of Byzantine women baking bread or cooking and thereby being covered in cinders, we have no evidence of the Cinderella tale, at least as it has been known since its publication as a fairy tale by Charles Perrault and the Grimm Brothers. In Greek, Cinderella is called *Stak(h)tompouta* (to compare with German *Ashenputtel*), i.e. covered in ashes (*stakhte*), the girl whose thighs and genitals (*mpouti* and *pouti*) are covered in ashes², or who has been rolled around in ash (*staktokylismenos*), the name also given by the Byzantines to low-quality, ash-baked loaves³. So, we may call this kind of bread the Loaves of Cinderella.

In Greek fairy tales (there are two versions from the Greek-speaking villages of southern Italy) and in almost all the Balkan ones, *Stak(h)tompouta* and her two sisters are starving. They are described as extremely hungry, without even a crumb of bread at home. Hungry *Stak(h)tompouta* is sitting next to the fireplace, poking constantly at the ashes and waiting for some bread to miraculously appear. The two starving sisters decide to slaughter and eat their mother. In some variations, the mother has gone to beg for bread, and as she can't find any, she is transformed into a cow to be slaughtered so her daughters might eat. *Stak(h)tompouta* does not participate in this can-

¹ A. B. ROTH, *The Cinderella Cycle*, Gleeup, 1951 (reprinted 1980), see for Greek and Balkan tradition 110-114, 213 passim.

² A. ANGELOPOULOU - M. KAPLANOGLU - E. KATRINAKI, *National Catalogue of the Greek Folktale: Types and Versions AT 500-559* (*Catalogue of G. A. Megas* vol. 4), Athens, 2004, 105- 151 (in Greek).

³ *Ptochoprodromos*, poem IV 401, H. EIDENEIER (ed.), *Ptochoprodromose. Einführung, kritische Ausgabe, deutsche Übersetzung*, Glossar [Neograeca Medii Aevi 5], Cologne, 1991, and Greek edition Herakleion Crete, 2012, p. 221.

nibalistic act. She collects the bones of her mother and protects them under the ashes. These bones and her mourning amidst the ashes bring about her happiness in the future, her royal destiny as we know from the fairy tale⁴.

It has already been pointed out by scholars that the key issue in the Greek tale, in contrast to the western European ones, is the hunger, the deprivation, the killing of the mother, matrophagy or mother-eating, the grief amidst the ashes, but also the hidden desire like a spark in the ashes: all these are elements of a girl's initiation into female identity. Hunger and bones in ash are the hidden desire, and when the spark of desire bursts out of the ashes and becomes a flame, the girl becomes a woman and takes the place of her dead mother as a housewife: she will always be connected to the fireplace, spinning but mainly cooking, kneading and baking bread either in the ashes or in the oven, in a humble cottage or in a future palace⁵.

The relationship between ash and hunger, ash-baked bread and deprivation, is also found in most references to ash-baked bread in Byzantine sources. And this is not at all obvious. It is probably unnecessary to note that bread in general, as a staple food in Mediterranean societies, marks the poverty or wealth of a society according to its lack or abundance, and refers to situations of famine or prosperity. Bread mentioned in narrative sources is often accompanied by accounts of deprivation and the lack of adequate provisions. It is however well known that only ash-baked bread is identified mainly with hunger and rusticity. This bread "screams" hunger and despair, and always refers to a low, modest or minimal quality of diet, the opposite of an average or certainly of a luxurious life. This bread can be either deliberately chosen by monks or hermits (where the bread baked in ash or the ash itself is used according to biblical standards as evidence of humiliation and mourning) or imposed by necessity (poverty and disasters), especially upon the poor social classes⁶. The exact opposite is the silk bread about which we will talk later. Another category of ash-baked bread is that baked carelessly in the oven: the

⁴ For all the above, see ANGELOPOULOU et al., *National Catalogue of the Greek Folktale* cit., pp. 105-151. On the issue, see B. VILGRAIN, *Où l'on apprend que Cendrillon a tué sa mère*, Paris, 1984. A. ANGELOPOULOU, *The Greek Cinderella* (= in Greek, *Η ελληνική Σταχτοπούτα: όρια της μυθικής συλλογικής μνήμης*), in "Ek ton ysteron", 5(2001), 89-98. E. KATRINAKI, *Le cannibalisme dans le conte merveilleux grec. Questions d'interprétation et de typologie*, Helsinki, 2008.

⁵ A. ANGELOPOULOU, *Fuseau des cendres*, in "Cahiers de littérature orale", 25, (1989), pp. 71-95. N. BELMONT, *De Hestia à Peau d'âne*, in "Cahiers de littérature orale", 25, (1989), pp. 11-31.

⁶ The Byzantines exploit in different ways the biblical "I did eat ashes like bread", *Psalms*, ed. A. RAHLFS, *Septuaginta*, vol. 2, 9th ed. Stuttgart, 1935 (repr. 1971), Psalm 101. 10.

loaves end up full of ashes or burned coals⁷. Also, another special category is the *azymos* bread, unleavened bread, which is mainly ash bread for the Byzantines. *Azymos* is the Greek word for “unleavened”, for unfermented bread. Also worth noting is the adjectival form *Azymites*, used as a term of abuse by Byzantines against Roman Rite Christians. The Orthodox Church has continued the practice of using leavened bread in the Eucharist. When the Latins began to use unleavened bread, *azymes*, for the Eucharist, this became a point of liturgical and theological difference between the two⁸. We see, therefore, that the use of a special kind of bread in the Eucharist was one of the key differentiating elements in the medieval Christian world. But our presentation here will deal mainly with social differentiation based on different kinds of bread. The bread baked in ash was given the ancient names *spodites* and *egkryphias* by the Byzantines, especially in literature. *Egkryphias* is the loaf covered in ash (*tephra*, *spodos*, *spodia*, *staktē*), which, according to Byzantine recipes is prepared without leaven, just with flour, water and salt⁹. Physicians like Galen consider this ash-baked bread (*egkryphias*) to be the worst and *Oribasios*, who reproduces the ancient tradition of baking, describes analytically the way it was prepared: “Loaves cooked on a brazier (*eschara*) or in hot ashes (*tephra*) are all bad, being in a state of unevenness; for their crust is overbaked whilst their crumb is raw”¹⁰. “The bread in the

⁷ On the different kinds of bread in Byzantium, see PH. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ πολιτισμὸς* [=Byzantine Life and Culture], vol. 5, Athens, 1952, pp. 12-35. J. KODER, *Everyday food in the Middle Byzantine Period*, in I. ANAGNOSTAKIS (ed.), *Flavours and Delights. Tastes and Pleasures of Ancient and Byzantine Cuisine*, Athens, 2013, 142-143.

⁸ T. M. KOLBABA, *The Byzantine Lists: errors of the Latins*, in “Urbana”, IL, (2000), pp. 145-169. Also worth noting is an event in the second half of the eleventh century, after the schism of 1054, when the Latins tried unsuccessfully, it seems, to burn the Orthodox Luc of Isola, following a discussion on the use of unleavened bread, *Life of Saint Luc of Isola di Capo Rizzuto* (BHG 2237), ed. G. SCHIRÒ, *Vita di S. Luca vescovo di Isola Capo Rizzuto*, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neogreci 2, Palermo, 1954, pp. 106-108. S. EFTHYMIADIS, *Les saints d'Italie méridionale (IXe- XIIe s.) et leur rôle dans la société locale*, in E. FISHER et al. (ed.), *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot*, Leyde, 2011, p. 362. See also G. GALAVARIS, *Bread and the Liturgy. The Symbolism of Early Christian and Byzantine Bread Stamps*, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1970. M. H SMITH, *And Taking Bread: Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054*, Paris, 1978.

⁹ ATHENAIOS, *Deipnosophists*, Book 3, §74. 47-65, §76. 6. *Suda*, *Lexicon*, A. ADLER (ed.), *Suidae lexicon*, 4 vols., Leipzig, 1928- 1935, letter epsilon entry 131 line 1. On *autopyrites*, a tiny bread cooked in the sun or in ash and called also *engryphias*, see H. RABE (ed.), *Scholia in Lucianum*, Leipzig, 1906 (repr. Stuttgart, 1971), work 28 section 45, line 2.

¹⁰ GALEN, *On the Properties of food*, G. HELMREICH (ed.), *Galeni de alimentorum facultatibus libri III* [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum* 5.4.2] Leipzig 1923, 1.2,13 and C. G. KÜHN (ed.), *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. 6, Leipzig, 1823, p. 490. ORIBASIOS, J. Raeder (ed.), *Oribasii collectionum medicarum reliquiae*, vols. 1-4 [*Corpus medicorum Graecorum* 6.1.1-6.2.2], Leipzig, 1928- 1931, 1, 8. 5. See also M. GRANT, *Oribasius, Dieting for an Emperor: A Translation of Books, 1 and 4 of Oribasius Medical Compilations*, Leiden - New

ashes (*egkryphias*) is the driest of all; in addition this type of baking is more troublesome than baking in a covered earthenware vessel (*kribanos*): there must be a lot of hot embers and a sufficient amount of ash (*tephra*) lying on top of these embers. Dough made from spelt is better, provided that it is made from the finest wheat flour and is thoroughly milled, and the dough must be softer than in the case of bread baked in a covered earthenware vessel; then it must be placed on the ashes in the fire and the top of the dough completely covered with more ashes, and the embers arranged over the top so that most of the surface and especially the top is scorched. This bread is the driest of all breads: it is extremely useful for moist bowels”¹¹. In this description of *egkryphias* by Oribasios, it is not clear if this bread in ash is prepared without leaven.

As bad bread the ash-baked bread shows evidence of usually being made by the poor, by farmers and mountain-dwellers, and was always intended for people in dire need: it was bread made during times of war, siege and deprivation and apparently eaten by people who under normal conditions would have avoided it. The social differentiation in its consumption is illustrated by the following examples.

Historian Prokopios, who makes many references to bread, accuses Justinian of saving money on the bread sold by the state by increasing its price and allowing it to be full of ash. He considers it shameful avarice that loaves, full of ash when baked (*spodou empleō*), were more expensive than usual¹². It was of course bread with leaven baked in some kind of oven (*kribanos* or *klibanos*) and not in the embers. Conversely, on another occasion, Prokopios provides us with the most interesting and analytical description of preparing bread in ash (*spodian*) at a time of famine and siege during the War against the Vandal King Gelimer: “A Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little grain and, making a tiny cake (*maza*) from it, she threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth (*spodian tēn en tē eschara*). For it is the custom of the

York - Cologne 1997.

¹¹ ORIBASIOS, 4, 5. 4-6.

¹² PROKOPIOS, *The Secret History*, J. HAURY - G. WIRTH, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, vol. 3, Leipzig, 1963, 26, 21, p. 161. English translation, A. KALDELLIS, *Prokopios, The Secret History with related Texts*, Indianapolis - Cambridge, 2010, p. 116. For an interesting approach to this bread full of ashes which saved Justinian money, see J. DURLIAT, *De la ville antique à la ville byzantine. Le problème des subsistances*, Rome, 1990, 265-266 note 220. On bread in Prokopios, see I. ANAGNOSTAKIS - C. ANGELIDI, *Pane “pubblico” e pane che avvelena. Strategie e politiche alimentari a Bisanzio*, in *La Civiltà del pane. Storia, tecniche e simboli dal Mediterraneo all’ Atlantico*, Brescia, Università Cattolica, 1-6 dicembre 2014 (to be published).

Moors to bake their loaves in this way. Two children were sitting beside the hearth, both in extremely great distress because of their hunger, one being the son of the woman who had thrown in the cake and the other a Vandal, a nephew of Gelimer. They were eager to seize the cake as soon as it seemed cooked to them. Of the two children, the Vandal, beat the other, snatched the cake and, although it was still extremely hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him and he threw it into his mouth and was eating it, when the other seized him by the hair, struck him on the temple, then hit him again, and thus forced him to spit out the cake that was already halfway down his throat”¹³.

This way of baking in ash, deemed Moorish by Prokopios (apart from the crushing of corn), was not only a custom of the Moors. We find it almost everywhere in the empire over time and in a multitude of situations and not only those of starvation and siege. In the 12th century, letters written by Eustathios of Thessaloniki and his friends describe *egkryphias*, this ash-baked, unleavened bread that was prepared and eaten by the humble shepherds and farmers in Macedonia and Thrace. This bread is described as being made from bran (*pityrias*), undercooked, smoky and full of ash, and the inhabitants as having been brought up eating a kind of bread in ash, a tiny cake with bran (*maza*)¹⁴. Eustathios himself consumed it for eight days during the siege of Thessaloniki by the Normans¹⁵.

Such a kind of bread was baked by the monks of St. Nilus in Rossano, just to give an example from Byzantine Italy. This is a kind of “snack” bread prepared in exceptional circumstances. Returning to their monastery from the mill, where they had gone to grind wheat, the hungry monks feared that by the time they returned they would not find any food. So coming across a fire on their way, they decided to prepare ash-baked bread, obviously a kind of pita bread. This ready preparation is called “bread baked outdoors, on the street” (*kata tēn odon arton*). According to the moralistic interpretation, this baking was dictated by the devil and constitutes disobedience, a trans-

¹³ PROKOPIOS, *The Wars*, J. HAURY - G. WIRTH (eds.), *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Leipzig, vol. 2 1963, 4, 7, pp. 448-449. English translation H. B. DEWING - A. KALDELLIS, *Prokopios: The Wars of Justinian*, Indianapolis - Cambridge, 2014, p. 205.

¹⁴ J. DARROUZÈS, *Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos Écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173*, in “Byzantinoslavica”, 23 (1962), 278-280.63-65, and in “Byzantinoslavica” 24 (1963), 65-73. 26-33. G. AKROPOLITES, *Chronike Syngraphe*, A. HEISENBERG (ed.), *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, vol. 1, Leipzig, 1903, 60.8.

¹⁵ EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, *On the Capture of Thessalonike*, S. KYRIAKIDIS, *Eustazio di Tessalonica. La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, in *Testi e Monumenti*, 5, Istituto Siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici, Palermo, 1961, p. 110. 25-26 and 34-35.

gression against monastic orders and an overall lack of faith¹⁶. In another Byzantine story, in Testament of Job, black, burnt, ashy bread is the bread of the devil. The devil (*Satanas*) begging bread puts Job's endurance and virtue to the test. Job orders his maid to give beggar only burnt and ashy bread (*spodoeidēn arton*) because he knows the beggar is the devil and considers this black, burnt and ashy bread befits the devil. The merciful maid takes of her own fine bread and gives it to him. The beggar, who is aware of the real order, curses Job that he may be burnt and become ash like this burnt and ash-filled bread: "As you see this bread is all burnt, so shall I soon burn your body to make it like this". So it came about¹⁷. The quality of offered bread marks the status and identity of those who receive it and those who offer it. Thus, bread not only nourishes the body, it also symbolizes the body both in everyday life and in the Eucharist.

Prochoprodromic poems in 12th c. provide information about different kind of bread, contrasting the rich with the poor: a) fresh baked bread, foamy and white, the bread of rich people and abbots, b) half white bread of half purity and bread who has been rolled around in ash (*staktokylismenos*), the low-quality, ash-baked loaves of poor. The social differentiation is illustrated in these verses:

*They eat baguettes, we get bread from bran,
They eat the white bread, warm from the oven and sprinkled with sesame,
We get it from the coarse-ground flour, coated with ashes (staktokylismenos)*¹⁸.

In marked contrast to these incidents described in the little stories above and which mainly concern low-quality bread, burnt and smoky, sloppily baked in the ashes, comes the bread that some Late Byzantine sources call bread in silk. Years ago, historians were stumped when they encountered

¹⁶ *Life of Saint Nil of Rossano* (BHG 1370), G. GIOVANELLI (ed.), *Βίος και πολιτεία τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νείλου τοῦ Νέου*, Grottaferrata, 1972, §38 pp. 83-84 and Italian translation ID, *Vita di S. Nilo fondatore e patrono di Grottaferrata*, Grottaferrata, 1966. Edition and modern Greek translation, Sister MAXIME, Ὁ Ὅσιος Νείλος ὁ Καλαβρός. *Βίος τοῦ ὁσίου Νείλου τοῦ Νέου (910-1004)*, Ormylia Chalkidike, 1991, pp. 168-171.

¹⁷ *Testament of Job*, S.P. BROCK, *Testamentum Jobi*, in "Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece", 2, Leiden, (1967), 7, 5, 2. A bilingual Greek and English edition, R. A. KRAFT (ed.), *Testament of Job*. Missoula - Montana, 1974.

¹⁸ *Ptochoprodromos...* cit., poem IV 399- 401, and Greek edition, Herakleion Crete, 2012, p. 221. On this type of bread, *staktokylismenos*, PH. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος και πολιτισμός* [=Byzantine Life and Culture], vol. 5, Athens, 1952, pp. 25-26. See also KODER, *Everyday food in the Middle Byzantine Period...* cit., 142-143.

references in sources to *metaxōton* bread, bread in silk (lit. silk bread). What exactly might this mean? We know that silk (metaxa) manufacture was a Byzantine monopoly and all top-quality looms and weavers worked for the Great Palace in Constantinople; the cloth produced was used in imperial robes or in diplomacy, as gifts to foreign dignitaries. The remainder was sold at very high prices. Consequently silk refers to wealth, luxury and imperial habits. So silk bread originally could mean fine bread, for emperors, princes, abbots, the Loaves of the King in our title and obviously the opposite of what we called the Loaves of Cinderella. However, it was not only the word silk which determined the quality of this bread, but a technique too. Silk bread (*metaxōton*) was prepared from the finest flour, with no trace of bran, which had been screened and sifted through a very special sieve made of very thin, silk cloth!¹⁹

Our next and final story features completely reversed roles. It is not the poor who knock on the door of the rich begging for a piece of bread. Rather a poor Stakhtompouta, in our story a woman from Constantinople, a widow, who will receive the Byzantine Emperor, the representative of the silk-manufacture monopoly, in her house; he wants to try simple food, but the woman does not have anything significant to offer. Here power is visiting poverty and the event is used as a parable of imperial condescension or magnanimity and simplicity (depending on how you read it): the poor Constantinopolitan woman, who is visited unexpectedly by the Emperor Michael III (842-867), does not even have a table, but she spreads out a sheet on the floor in order to offer what she has, dry bread made (*psōmos pityrōdēs*) with bran and hard *asbestotyros*, a white cheese likened to lime. The emperor, knowing only silk bread, wants to taste a different kind of bread, dry bread made with bran²⁰. Bread in ash, dry bread made with bran, a tasteless version of the famous Byzantine biscot, hard cheese likened to lime, all symbols of simplicity and poverty. In this story, the emperor meets Cinderella, prosperity meets poverty and the two worlds of bread in silk and in ash eat together, sitting on the floor.

With these few tales that I have presented, I have just “baked” a little piece

¹⁹ This word appears only in the Byzantine Metaphrasis of NIKETAS CHONIATES, History, I. Bekker (ed.), *Nicetae Choniatae. Historia*, Bonn, 1835, p. 579.24. See notes in the Greek reviews, in “Neos Hellenomnemon” 5 (1908), pp. 337-338, 486-488 and “Neos Hellenomnemon” 6 (1909) pp. 114-115, Laographia 1 (1909), pp. 129, 379. KOUKOULES *cit.*, pp. 16-17. For the use of silk cloth for sifting, see M. BERTHELOT - C.É. RUELLE, *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, vol. 2, Paris, 1888, p. 363. 23-25.

²⁰ Continuation of Theophanes, I. BEKKER (ed.), *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, Bonn, 1838, p. 199.

of Byzantine bread concerning social differentiation: Loaves of silk and loaves of ash. In history these two opposites rarely met, but fortunately the consolation of fairy-tales brought food and hope. Stakhtompouta amidst the ashes will always dream and long for silk, and some lords will forever be unaware that hungry people do not complain about “pain d’Espagne”, in other words about loaves of silk.