LIVING HERITAGE SERIES



Traditional Food

Sharing Experiences from the Field

Eivind Falk and Seong-Yong Park Editors-in-Chief



ICHNGO FORUM
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AND CIVIL SOCIETY

#HeritageAlive

UNESCO
United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

ichcap
International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO

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Foreword

KEUM Gi Hyung
Director-General, ICHCAP

Global concerns about accelerated destruction of intangible cultural heritage (ICH), due to globalization and urbanization, provided a strong rationale for the adoption and implementation of the UNESCO 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. In the spirit of the Convention, the International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP) has been working to contribute to safeguarding and promoting ICH in collaboration with the forty-eight member states in the Asia-Pacific region.

ICHCAP has been engaged in various activities for the safeguarding of ICH. The ICH-related publication project is one of them. The project is aimed to collect, record and preserve information and discourse regarding ICH and raise awareness about ICH through publications. In particular, ICHCAP started the Living Heritage Series to introduce regional and national transmission and safeguarding activities concerning specific ICH elements. The series are designed to maintain 'cultural diversity' championed by UNESCO and promote the value through publications on a variety of themes related to regional ICH.

In 2017, ICHCAP published Traditional Medicine: Sharing Experiences from the Field, the first in the series. In 2018, we published Tugging Rituals and Games. This year, we are publishing the third installment under the theme of traditional food through discussions with the editorial board of #HeritageAlive, the online journal of the ICH NGO Forum. Traditional food constructs a substantial part of ICH. As traditional knowledge for the sustainable life of communities and humanity, traditional food can

contribute to achieving sustainable development goals of the United Nations. ICHCAP has sought to promote cultural diversity and share the value and experiences regarding ICH by introducing traditional food of different communities and the associated information. This book is the fruition of the collaborative efforts of ICHCAP, related organizations, and expert groups.

As the third edition of the Living Heritage Series, this book explores creative and historical traditional food of the world through the articles provided by sixteen authors from different countries. Food is a critical element in human life and is intimately linked to the history and identity of individuals and communities. Traditional food and food ways of a community, region, or an ethnic group have become unique practices through close interactions reflecting the diverse features of the community, including the natural environment, society, politics, economy, and culture. Traditional food and food ways are then firmly embedded in the community while they are transmitted, adapted, and recreated across generations. As such, traditional food is an indispensable element in communal life and is the root of life. This book presents information on ICH reflected in traditional food and allows readers to explore the intangible value of traditional food through historical backgrounds and stories concerning the food.

The publication of this book was made possible thanks to the dedicated efforts of many people. We would like to thank the ICHNGO Forum and the editorial board of #HeritageAlive for their contribution to promoting the importance of traditional food as an ICH element and disseminate the value around the world through this publication. We are more than pleased to offer this book, which is the product of the combined efforts and commitments. Hopefully, this book will help readers better understand traditional food and associated traditional practices and knowledge and share the intangible value embodied in traditional food.

Avant-propos

KEUM Gi Hyung
Director-General, ICHCAP

La mondialisation et l'urbanisation menaçant toujours plus le patrimoine intangible, la prise de conscience mondiale de ce danger a largement favorisé l'adoption et la mise en œuvre de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'Unesco. Sur la base de ce texte signé en 2003, l'ICHCAP poursuit ses efforts de protection et de promotion de l'héritage culturel, main dans la main avec ses 48 pays membres d'Asie-Pacifique.

Parmi ses activités de préservation se trouve la publication d'ouvrages. Elle a pour objectif de collecter, enregistrer et protéger ainsi les informations et les discours sur les trésors intangibles, mais aussi d'éveiller l'intérêt des lecteurs. En particulier, la présente série, Living Heritage, consiste à présenter chaque catégorie de patrimoine transmis et protégé par région ou pays. Elle vous permet de découvrir les héritages de divers lieux, ceci afin notamment de contribuer à la diversité culturelle promue par l'Unesco et à la visibilité de leur valeur.

Dans ce cadre, l'ICHCAP a publié le premier tome « Médecine traditionnelle » en 2017 et le deuxième « Tir à la corde » en 2018. Quant à ce troisième volume, édité en 2019, il porte sur la « Cuisine traditionnelle ». Ce thème a été choisi après discussion avec #Heritage Alive, le journal en ligne du Forum des ONG du Patrimoine culturel immatériel (PCI) accréditées par l'Unesco, et les articles ont été sélectionnés suite à un appel à contribution. Part importante du patrimoine culturel immatériel, la cuisine traditionnelle constitue un savoir transmis pour une vie durable des communautés et de l'humanité. Un mot-clé capable donc de participer efficacement aux objectifs de développement durable de l'ONU. Avec la présentation des

aliments traditionnels de chaque région, l'ICHCAP tâche de mettre en lumière la diversité culturelle et de partager la valeur ainsi que l'expérience du patrimoine immatériel. Et vous avez maintenant entre les mains le fruit de ces efforts acharnés du centre, des organisations dédiées et des groupes d'experts.

Ce nouvel ouvrage de la série vous propose 17 spécialités culinaires de 14 pays, à la fois originales et historiques. La nourriture occupe sans conteste une place essentielle dans l'aventure humaine et en dit long sur l'histoire et l'identité des individus comme des communautés. Car les plats ainsi que l'alimentation d'un groupe, d'une région ou d'un peuple ne cessent d'interagir avec leur propre environnement naturel, socio-politique et économique pour créer une culture singulière. Transmis ensuite de génération en génération, ils se transforment, se réinventent et s'inscrivent enfin dans une vie communautaire. La cuisine traditionnelle est ainsi intrinsèquement liée à une collectivité et devient la racine vitale de ses membres. Avec ce recueil, nos lecteurs pourront aborder différents héritages sous un angle alimentaire et explorer les valeurs cachées derrière leur histoire.

Le présent volume est né grâce à la contribution de plusieurs personnes. Nous tenons à remercier le comité éditorial de #Heritage Alive, qui s'est joint à l'ICHCAP pour publier cette série, faire valoir l'alimentation traditionnelle en tant que patrimoine immatériel et illustrer son importance à l'échelle mondiale. Nous sommes heureux de voir notre passion réunie porter ses fruits. C'est maintenant à vous de dévorer la « Cuisine traditionnelle ». Nous espérons que vous pourrez apprécier le trésor invisible contenu dans chaque assiette ainsi que ses connaissances et pratiques communes.

Introduction

Eivind Falk
Norwegian Crafts Institute and #HeritageAlive

Communities the world over exhibit their cultural identity across generations through intangible cultural heritage. In many cases, NGOs work closely with these communities and witness the value that these communities attach to their heritage. So how can NGOs best contribute to the 2003 Convention? NGOs work in the field all over the world with communities, practitioners, and bearers in the colorful and diverse world of ICH. Most NGOs use, and have developed, methodologies and guidelines in the spirit of the Convention for our work. In a way, NGOs are the missing link between the communities and the Convention, as a journey from a small community to the Convention can be a long one. And as stated in the ICHNGO Forum Mauritius Declaration on Ethics, some NGOs embed themselves with groups or communities, especially with associations of bearers or practitioners. In those cases, NGOs would be more than a link, as they will be the core subject of the Convention itself. So NGOs play a crucial role as cultural brokers involved in capacity building, advisory support, advocacy, working between communities and States Party. "Mind the gap," as is said on the British metro, is applicable here, as NGOs are the ones minding the gap in the ICH field. I believe that NGOs' experiences and reflections from the field are important to share among us. This is the main idea behind #HeritageAlive. Most literature on ICH tends to focus on the element and cultural expressions. This is why the primary objective of #HeritageAlive is sharing NGOs' knowledge and practical experiences, as we believe it can be useful to highlight how experts or NGOs have contributed to safeguarding ICH. A wonderful example in this publication is how a Ugandan NGO, the Gulu Theatre Artists, has been investigating a number of traditional foods within Pageya Chiefdom to get an overview of the rich food traditions in this area. The project has included malakwang. The investigation has helped to identify, not just a diversity of expressions related to traditional food but also some serious challenges faced by the identified elements.

In 2012, at the Intergovernmental Committee Meeting of the UNESCO 2003 Convention (IGC Meeting) in Baku, Azerbaijan, the NGO Forum decided to establish an online journal with the title #HeritageAlive. The idea was to create a journal to share NGOs' experiences related to ICH safeguarding practices. The model was to share knowledge from fieldwork with communities and practitioners among UNESCO-accredited NGOs and experts to learn from each other. An editorial board was formed, with members from all over the world, and I was selected as the first Editor-in-Chief. The online journal has published articles on a variety of themes

concerned with ICH and safeguarding, such as articles on traditional crafts, festivals, and naming practices. While interest in the journal remained relatively steady, interest peaked after a call for papers was made in relation to traditional medicine. Due to the overwhelming response, we decided to publish the first edition of #Heritage Alive dedicated to traditional medicine. At the IGC Meeting in Addis Ababa in 2016, we met with a delegation from the International Information and Networking Centre for Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Asia-Pacific Region under the auspices of UNESCO (ICHCAP), a UNESCO Category 2 Center in the Republic of Korea. We discussed the possibility of working together to publish a book on traditional medicine. As ICHCAP is well known for their high standards and quality of their publications, #HeritageAlive decided ICHCAP was undoubtedly the best partner we could find. We collaborated on the publication, and in 2017, at the IGC Meeting in Jeju, Republic of Korea, we presented the first #HeritageAlive publication on paper, Traditional Medicine, Sharing Experiences from the Field. This book became a model for future cooperation between the ICH NGO Forum and UNESCO Category 2 Centers.

Man ist was Man isst

At 13.COM in 2018 in Mauritius, ICHCAP and the #HeritageAlive board decided to continue our cooperation and start working on a new publication, this time on traditional food. Food is central in many of our cultures as a source of identity and traditions of socialization and hospitality. Besides being a source of sustenance, food and its preparation, are also linked to special social and spiritual ceremonies, symbolizing unity and friendship. One could also add that traditional food is good for health and sustainable development (ie. less transport, less industries, less transformation, less pesticides, etc.). In a time where we are concerned about calories, vitamins, carbohydrates, and BMI, we believe it is important to remind ourselves about the social and cultural function of a meal. In a wider context, traditional food touches on all five ICH domains, and it can be, as one of the authors, Haeree Shim, puts it, “the taste of home.” Her article explores the unexpected effects that cultural heritage has on the lives of North Korean immigrants in the UK when cooking their traditional food. The article explores how North Korean immigrants were able to recreate their traditional food in New Malden, UK, with ingredients that were not

widely available in their home country for decades. North Korean culinary heritage was enriched and enlivened by the immigrant community who cooked and shared it while the culinary knowledge was disappearing in their homeland. I believe most of us have had the strong experience of tasting something that sends us back in time, giving us strong memories and feelings. Food and meals are such an integrated part of us and our identity. Not just with eating and smelling the food but also in preparing and experience the whole context. This book clearly demonstrates that the old German saying Man ist, was Man isst make sense in several ways.

Kill me, O King, but not with Porridge!

A well-known Norwegian living oral story that has been passed on since the Viking age illustrates how we can better understand social structures, traditions, and identity from our oral traditions.

During a dinner held by the King Harald Hardråde, the meat platter didn't reach its way around the table. The Icelandic scald Snegle-Halle was among those who received nothing but porridge and flat bread. As a vengeance, he ranted about the avaricious king and his inability to treat his guests. The king was furious, and as a punishment he ordered Snegle-Halle to eat all the porridge, more than any man could do without eating himself to death. With a sword pressed towards his neck, Snegle-Halle ate until he could not take any more. That's when he exclaimed, “Kill me, O King, but not with porridge!” These words pleased the king, and he immediately pardoned the scald, letting him live. Snegle-Halles's fate testifies how a grim comment could cost his life, and a good response could save it. In Norwegian fairytales food plays an important role and is often used by the clever hero, as in the story about the porridge. These stories and fairytales are passed on through generations and are not threatened at all, just as with the Ukrainian soup, borch. In our daily struggle for safeguarding, it is important not to forget that a lot of ICH is doing fine and doesn’t need any safeguarding plan to survive, as they are vibrant and alive. “If it isn’t broken, don’t fix it,” they say in the US. One good example is with borch, which, despite globalization and the rise of fast-food, has maintained its position in the life of modern Ukraine. Traditional borch is being transferred across generations, covering all regions of Ukraine and all social groups.

Bread and Roses

For NGOs and the Convention, the community is crucial in safeguarding measures. In "Bread-Time Stories," Andrea Sieber shares an Austrian example on how intergenerational dialogue facilitates the renegotiation of a living tradition in the Austrian Lesach Valley. Local children had the opportunity to interview their grandparents and other bearers, to visit bakeries and mills, and to make their own bread. As an integral part of the valley, the traditional practice of bread making exceeds a practical dimension, connecting people within and from outside the valley, shaping the community's cultural identity.

In Syria diverse foods are associated with customs and social occasions, and it is important to document this intangible heritage as part of the cultural identity of the communities. With the participation of local communities, a number of traditional foods have been added to Syria's National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage to encourage their transmission and continuity. Other safeguarding efforts include NGO- and government-sponsored festivals, such as the annual Street Food Festival and the Damascene Rose Festival, showcasing traditional practices, performances, and gastronomy of the Damascene Rose farmers. This is highlighted in the article written by the Syria Trust Development.

Closing

When we decided to make a publication dedicated to traditional food, we expected about ten contributions. Nevertheless the interest in the topic turned out to be overwhelming, and we received sixteen wonderful articles that illustrate the diversity of traditional food around the world. I would like to thank the #Heritage Alive board that has worked hard preparing the articles for this publication. The board has several members, but In particular I would like to thank my hard-working members Emily Drani, Antoine Gauthier, and Michael Peterson. Their contribution has been crucial to the result. Let me also direct a special thanks to ICHCAP. Their dedication of resources to this project were necessary for the making it possible. This second collaboration is another brilliant example of how NGOs and Category 2 Centers can join forces to reach new goals. It has been a pleasure.

I wish you a wonderful journey exploring the world of traditional food. Bon appetite!

Les communautés du monde entier affichent leur identité culturelle à travers un patrimoine culturel immatériel transmis de génération en génération. Dans de nombreux cas, les ONG travaillent en étroite collaboration avec ces communautés et témoignent de la valeur qu'elles attachent à leur patrimoine. Comment les ONG peuvent-elles contribuer au mieux à la Convention de 2003 ? Les ONG travaillent partout dans le monde, sur le terrain, avec les communautés, les praticiens et les détenteurs du monde coloré et diversifié du PCI. La plupart des ONG ont mis au point dans leur travail des méthodologies et des directives qui s'inscrivent directement dans l'esprit de la Convention. D'une certaine manière, les ONG représentent le chaînon manquant entre les communautés et la Convention, car le chemin parcouru par une petite communauté jusqu'à la Convention peut être long. De plus, tel qu'indiqué dans la Déclaration du Forum des ONG du PCI en République de Maurice relative aux principes éthiques pour la sauvegarde du PCI, certaines ONG incarnent elles-mêmes des groupes ou des communautés, en particulier les associations de détenteurs ou de praticiens. Dans ces cas, les ONG sont davantage qu'un lien : elles forment le cœur de la convention elle-même. Les ONG jouent donc un rôle crucial en tant qu'intermédiaires culturels impliqués dans le renforcement des capacités, le soutien consultatif et la défense des intérêts en travaillant entre les communautés et les États parties. « Mind the gap », disent-ils en Angleterre ; ce sont les ONG qui s'occupent de faire des ponts dans le domaine du PCI. Je crois sincèrement que les expériences et les réflexions des ONG sur le terrain sont importantes à partager entre nous. C'est l'idée principale de #HeritageAlive. La plupart des publications sur le PCI ont tendance à se concentrer sur un élément ou sur des expressions culturelles données. C'est la raison pour laquelle l'objectif principal de #HeritageAlive est de partager les connaissances et les expériences pratiques des ONG, car nous pensons qu'il peut être utile de souligner la contribution d'experts ou d'ONG à la sauvegarde du PCI. Un exemple formidable dans cette publication est la manière dont une ONG ougandaise, la Gulu Theatre Artists, a enquêté sur un certain nombre de plats traditionnels dans la préfecture de Pageya afin d'obtenir un aperçu de la riche tradition alimentaire dans cette région. Le projet a inclus le malakwang. L'enquête a permis d'identifier, non seulement une diversité d'expressions liées aux aliments traditionnels, mais également certains défis importants rencontrés avec les éléments culturels identifiés.

En 2012, lors de la réunion du Comité intergouvernemental de la Convention de l'UNESCO de 2003 (réunion du CIG) à Bakou, en Azerbaïdjan, le Forum des ONG a décidé de créer une revue en ligne nommé #HeritageAlive. L'idée était de créer une plateforme pour partager les expériences des ONG quant à leurs pratiques de sauvegarde du PCI. Le plan consistait à partager, parmi des ONG accréditées par l'UNESCO et des experts, les connaissances issues du travail sur le terrain avec les communautés et les praticiens, afin d'apprendre les uns des autres. Un comité de rédaction composé de membres du monde entier a été formé et j'ai été choisi comme premier rédacteur-en-chef. La revue en ligne a diffusé des articles sur divers thèmes liés au PCI et à sa sauvegarde, tels que des articles sur les métiers traditionnels, les festivals ou les pratiques de dénomination. L'intérêt pour la revue est resté relativement stable jusqu'au lancement d'un appel à contributions en rapport avec la médecine traditionnelle. En raison de cette réponse enthousiaste, nous avons décidé de publier la première édition de #HeritageAlive consacrée à la médecine traditionnelle. Lors de la réunion du CIG à Addis-Abeba en 2016, nous avons rencontré une délégation du Centre international d'information et de réseautage pour le patrimoine culturel immatériel de la région Asie-Pacifique, placée sous l'égide de l'UNESCO (ICHCAP), un centre UNESCO de catégorie 2 situé en République de Corée. Nous y avons discuté de la possibilité de travailler ensemble pour publier un livre sur la médecine traditionnelle. Comme l'ICHCAP est bien connu pour ses normes élevées et la qualité de ses publications, #HeritageAlive a décidé que le Centre était sans aucun doute le meilleur partenaire que nous puissions trouver. Nous avons collaboré ensemble à la publication et, en 2017, lors de la réunion du CIG à Jeju, en République de Corée, nous avons présenté la première publication de #HeritageAlive sur papier : Médecine traditionnelle, Partage d'expériences sur le terrain. Ce livre est devenu un modèle de coopération entre le Forum des ONG du PCI et les centres UNESCO de catégorie 2.

"Man ist was Man isst"

Lors de la réunion 13.COM en 2018 à Maurice, l'ICHCAP et le comité de rédaction de #HeritageAlive ont décidé de poursuivre leur coopération et de commencer à travailler sur une nouvelle publication, cette fois sur l'alimentation traditionnelle. La nourriture est au centre de beaucoup de nos cultures en tant que source d'identité et de traditions en lien avec

la socialisation et l'hospitalité. En plus d'être une source de subsistance, la nourriture et sa préparation sont également liées à des cérémonies sociales et spirituelles spéciales, symbolisant l'unité et l'amitié. On pourrait aussi ajouter que les aliments traditionnels sont bons pour la santé et le développement durable (moins de transport, moins d'industries, moins de transformation, moins de pesticides, etc.). À une époque où nous sommes préoccupés par les calories, les vitamines, les glucides et l'indice de masse corporelle, nous pensons qu'il est important de nous rappeler la fonction sociale et culturelle du repas. Dans un contexte plus large, la nourriture traditionnelle touche les cinq domaines du PCI et peut représenter, comme le dit l'une des auteures, Haeree Shim, « le goût de la maison ». Son article explore les effets inattendus du patrimoine culturel sur la vie des immigrants nord-coréens au Royaume-Uni lorsqu'ils préparent leur nourriture traditionnelle. L'article explore la manière dont ces immigrants ont pu recréer leur nourriture traditionnelle à New Malden, au Royaume-Uni, avec des ingrédients qui n'étaient plus aisément disponibles dans leur pays d'origine depuis des décennies. L'héritage culinaire nord-coréen a été enrichi et animé par la communauté immigrée qui l'a cuisiné et l'a partagé alors que les connaissances culinaires disparaissaient dans le pays d'origine. Je crois que la plupart d'entre nous ont connu l'expérience de goûter quelque chose qui nous renvoyait dans le temps en nous rappelant des souvenirs et des sentiments intenses. La nourriture et les repas font partie intégrante de nous-mêmes et de notre identité. Pas seulement en mangeant et en sentant la nourriture, mais aussi en préparant et en expérimentant son contexte global. Ce livre démontre clairement que le vieux dicton allemand Man ist, was Man isst (vous êtes ce que vous mangez) est vrai de plusieurs façons.

Tue-moi, ô roi, mais pas avec du porridge!

Une histoire orale norvégienne vivante bien connue, transmise depuis l'âge des Vikings, montre comment nous pouvons mieux comprendre les structures sociales, les traditions et l'identité issues de nos traditions orales.

Lors d'un souper organisé par le roi Harald Hardråde, le plateau de viandes ne fit pas le tour complet de la table. Le poète islandais Snegle-Halle faisait partie de ceux qui ne reçurent que du porridge et du pain plat. En guise de vengeance, il pesta contre le roi avare et contre l'incapacité de celui-ci à bien traiter ses invités. Le roi était furieux et, à titre de punition, ordonna à Snegle-Halle de manger tout le porridge, soit plus qu'aucun

homme n'aurait pu ingurgiter sans mourir. Avec une épée pressée contre son cou, Snegle-Halle mangea jusqu'à ce qu'il ne puisse plus avaler goutte. C'est alors qu'il s'écria : « Tue-moi, ô roi, mais pas avec du porridge ! ». Ces paroles plurent au roi, qui pardonna immédiatement le poète en le laissant vivre. Le destin de Snegle-Halles témoigne de la façon dont un commentaire sinistre peut coûter la vie, voire encore comment une bonne réponse peut la sauver ! Dans les contes de fées norvégiens, la nourriture joue un rôle important ; elle est souvent utilisée par le héros intelligent, comme dans l'histoire du gruau. Ces récits et contes de fées se transmettent de génération en génération et ne sont absolument pas près de disparaître, tout comme la soupe ukrainienne borch. Dans notre lutte quotidienne pour la sauvegarde, il est important de ne pas oublier que de nombreux éléments du PCI se portent bien et qu'ils n'ont pas besoin de plan de sauvegarde pour survivre car ils sont dynamiques et vivants. « Si ce n'est pas cassé, ne le réparez pas », disent-ils aux États-Unis. Le borch en est un bon exemple. En dépit de la mondialisation et de l'essor du fast-food, il a su maintenir sa place dans la vie de l'Ukraine moderne. Le borch traditionnel est légué d'une génération à l'autre dans l'ensemble des régions de l'Ukraine et à travers tous les groupes sociaux.

Du pain et des roses

Pour les ONG et la Convention, la communauté joue un rôle crucial dans les mesures de sauvegarde. Dans « Bread-Time Stories », Andrea Sieber partage un exemple sur la manière dont le dialogue intergénérationnel facilite la renégociation d'une tradition vivante dans la vallée autrichienne du Lesach. Les enfants de la région ont eu l'occasion d'interviewer leurs grands-parents et d'autres détenteurs, de visiter des boulangeries et des moulins puis de préparer leur propre pain. En tant que partie intégrante de la vallée, la pratique traditionnelle de la panification dépasse la dimension pratique : elle met en relation les habitants de la vallée et de l'extérieur tout en façonnant l'identité culturelle de la communauté.

En Syrie, divers aliments sont associés à des coutumes et à des occasions sociales et il est important de documenter ce patrimoine immatériel en tant que partie intégrante de l'identité culturelle des communautés. Avec la participation des communautés locales, un certain nombre d'aliments traditionnels ont été ajoutés à l'Inventaire national du patrimoine culturel immatériel de la Syrie afin d'encourager leur transmission et leur continuité.

Parmi les autres efforts de sauvegarde figurent des festivals parrainés par des ONG et par le gouvernement, tels que le Festival de nourriture de rue, tenu chaque année, ou le Festival de la rose damascène, qui présentent des pratiques traditionnelles, des spectacles de même que la gastronomie des cultivateurs de roses damascènes. Cela est mis en lumière dans l'article rédigé par le Syria Trust Development.

La cerise sur le sundae

Lorsque nous avons décidé de faire une publication consacrée à la nourriture traditionnelle, nous nous attendions à recevoir environ une dizaine de contributions. Dans les faits, l'intérêt suscité par le sujet a dépassé nos attentes : nous avons reçu 17 articles exceptionnels illustrant la diversité de la nourriture traditionnelle dans le monde. J'aimerais remercier le comité de rédaction de #HeritageAlive qui a travaillé d'arrache-pied pour préparer les articles de cet ouvrage. Ce comité compte plusieurs membres, mais je tiens tout particulièrement à remercier mes très vaillants collègues Emily Drani, Antoine Gauthier et Michael Peterson. Leur contribution a été cruciale pour le résultat que vous tenez dans vos mains. Permettez-moi également d'adresser des remerciements spéciaux à l'ICHCAP. L'allocation de ressources pour ce projet de leur part était nécessaire à son succès. Cette seconde collaboration constitue un autre exemple brillant de la manière dont les ONG et les centres de catégorie 2 peuvent unir leurs forces pour atteindre de nouveaux objectifs. Ce fut un réel plaisir. Je vous souhaite un merveilleux voyage à la découverte du monde de la cuisine traditionnelle. Bon appétit !

CHAPTER 01

A Study of Socio-Cultural Meanings of Pebaek Food in Korea

A Case Study in the Area of Jeonju

Semina Oh
Research Professor
Research Center for Intangible Heritage and Information, Korea

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Pebaek Food

Pebaek was one of the important ritual procedures of a traditional wedding ceremony. The ritual was performed at the groom's house after the bride finished the wedding ceremony at her house. Pebaek was to introduce herself properly to her new in-laws and, her first greetings were to the in-law parents and relatives. The bride put dates, chestnuts, liquors, snacks, and fruits prepared by her family on the table and introduced herself by bowing to her in-law parents and other elderly family members. The food prepared for this occasion was called pebaek food.

Pebaek food existed to honor the bride's in-laws. It was important because it was full of symbolic meaning and Confucius decorum. The process of pebaek involved the bride, her mother, and her female relatives carefully arranging and preparing the food for the bride's new in-laws as it was a major occasion. The in-laws in attendance would judge the quality of food and cooking skills of the bride and her mother.

Pebaek food prepared with sincerity and politeness should be formal and culturally clean. People in the old days carefully observed the decorum regarding the pebaek ritual and its preparation on the basis of Confucius teaching of Ye or etiquette. In this article, pebaek food and rituals are introduced, and we look into their socio-cultural meanings and values that have been transmitted into modern society. For this study, I selected the Jeonju area as my fieldwork place for several reasons: first, pebaek food of Jeonju has been transmitted across generations and successfully is placed as a living culture, but within a realm of commercialism; second, pebaek food of Jeonju is considered one of the finest; third, and to be directly speaking, I live in Jeonju so that I can meet my informants easily.

The pebaek food in the 1970s
© Hyi-yeong Eun

The pebaek food in the 2010s
© Shin, Hyosung, 2013

Pebaek food of Jeonju

Jeonju, is a well-known place for its culinary culture, which has been the city's distinction since historical times. Many expressions regard its fine culinary culture. Some of the expressions are "the officials are not as worthy as a performer, the performers are not as worthy as musical tunes, and the musical tunes are not as worthy as Jeonju food," and another is "Liquor is not as good as Jeonju food and pears are not as good as radish." (Jeonju City 2011:10) People tend to like to drink liquor with some side dishes but when they come to Jeonju, they prefer to have the side dishes served with liquor, not liquor itself. Or, pears are normally considered to be much tastier than radish but in Jeonju the customary thinking would not be accepted if someone have radish on the dish. These proverbs show Jeonju has exceptional culinary cultures when compared to other areas of the country.

The abundance of various natural resources and the people's enthusiasm have made Jeonju well known for the best food in Korea. The city is located in the vicinity of the Honam plains, where various agricultural products are produced and of the Jiri mountains where wild plants, fruits, roots, and mushrooms are prevalent. There are also many kinds of fish, shellfish, and crabs from the nearby West Sea. We also cannot forget about the women behind all the cooking, as they prepared each meal with secret recipes handed down from generation to generation (Jeonju City 2011: 10).

The *pebaek* food © Oh, Semina, 2017

The culture of eating fresh food along with the aesthetics in preparation has upgraded the culture of pebaek food in Jeonju. The residents of Jeonju have contributed richly to the beautifully decorated pebaek food offerings with a local flavor, and the efforts of preparing these dishes stand out from other regions. While pebaek food of Jeonju shows differences depending on

***pebaek* chicken © Oh, Semina, 2017**

the family, the form and decoration are mostly inspired by nature. Cuttlefish or squid are often cut into the shapes of chickens. Octopus and abalone are cut in the shapes of flowers, birds, and tree leaves. Rice cakes are shaped into flowers, trees, and leaves. Chestnuts are also made to look like leaves and flowers. Abalone dishes and flower pancakes are reminiscent of a half moon. Dried persimmons are shaped into flowers; pine rice cakes are rainbow colored; and diamond-shape sugar candies are decorated with dates and pine nuts.

Octopuses © Oh, Semina, 2017

❶ Dried persimmons
❷ Ginseng Jeonggwa
(Ginseng preserved in honey)
❸ Gujeolpan (Platter of Nine Delicacies)
❹ Dried Ginger slices

The Socio-Cultural Meaning of Pebaek Food

1) Patriarchy and Kinship Alliance

Marriage refers to the reproductive and economic union of a couple according to the institutions and practices of society. Marriage is the foundation on which societies are built, as the bride and groom form a family by giving birth to their heirs (Kim, Hae-In 2016: 30). In addition, the groom becomes the son-in-law and the bride in the status of the daughter-in-law, each becoming a member of each other's family. Ideologically the two families share their sons and daughters to form a larger kinship unit.

The ideology behind traditional Korean marriage was that it celebrates two families coming together, but in reality, the groom's family had power over the bride's. It means that patriarchy in the family ideology and patrilineal succession were long kept in traditional Korean society. The wedding ceremony was projected for promising the future of the patrilineal family. More specifically, the traditional Korean wedding ceremony had two meanings: to pay tribute and respect the groom's side ancestors and continuing their legacy of extending their lineage. The pebaek ceremony

emphasized this through the ritual food that resembled and characterized respect and continuing the patriarchal family.

However, the pebaek food was always prepared by the women of the bride's family only. The bride, her mother, and female relatives prepared the dates, chestnuts, meat, and liquor on the table. The pebaek food offerings were served with meat such as beef, chicken, or other meats to pay respect to the groom's ancestors, and the chestnuts and dates symbolized the prosperity of his lineage. Pebaek food was considered a reflection of the economic condition of the bride's family. Depending on what was laid out on the table for pebaek many could judge the economic status of the bride along with her mother's skills in cooking. As a saying goes, "all daughters reflect their mother's cooking skills." Pebaek was thus a ritual to judge the bride's family status and skills.

> *In the past, pebaek meals were prepared in the house. My mother was very good at cooking. Especially her pebaek dishes were very good. My mother and I would cook and prepare everything for the family and relatives. I am one of eleven siblings. I was always busy during wedding days. Many would come to us with pebaek food and my mother always made food with it.*
>
> -Lady A (born in 1953)

Lady A owns a business commercializing in pebaek ceremonies and their food. She learned her skills by watching her mother preparing for the ceremony. Her mother's skill in preparing pebaek food was known throughout the village. Soon villagers came to her for pebaek events. Her mother would not charge a fee, instead asked that there to be enough food for her family to eat afterwards. As her volunteer work needed many helping hands, soon lady A became her mother's helper. She eventually did her own sister's pebaek ceremony by herself. Lady A was able to learn her mother's skills well and was able to open her own pebaek business in the 1980s and has maintained it.

All pebaek food consists of two essential elements in their offerings. Even if there were disparities in scale and ingredients of food depending on the bride family's economic conditions and some regional variations, two elements of food were always the same. The first was meat such as beef or chicken. The beef was as wide as their mother in-law's skirt, as that should reflect on the love that they should be treated by their mother-in-laws (interview note from lady A).

It could be made into *bulgogi* or with some type of jerky. There were instances of chicken instead of beef. Chickens were raised for time signal when people have no clocks. It means that they should be a diligent and faithful couple, so that they could establish a prosperous and harmonious household. The second essential element was a dish of chestnuts and dates that symbolicly refer to the family's fertility and succession. Liquor and various rice cakes such as *in-jol-mi, hangwa, yugwa*, and *yakgwa* were also present.

An informant from the North Jeolla Province called Lady A explained regional variations in general and a localized meaning of the serving style in *pebaek*.

> *In Seoul and Gyeonggi province, meat was cooked during the winter times and made into jerkies in the summer times. This was because meat jerkies would not go bad in the summer time. In the Jellado province chicken would be boiled in pebaek ceremonies. If both of the in-laws were alive, they would be served two chicken dishes. If only one of the parent was alive then just one chicken dish. In the winter times, chicken would be boiled and would be decorated by squid and octopus parts to make it into a phoenix like creature.*
>
> -Lady A (born in 1953)

According to her explanation, if both of the in-law parents were alive, two chickens, one blue symbolizing woman and one red symbolizing man, would be prepared. The color symbolism in pebaek food relies on the traditional philosophy of yin and yang, the two components of cosmos. Dried abalone, octopus, and squid are used to depict a phoenix. This local tradition is found only in Jeonju pebaek food. Many decorations on chicken have special meanings related to fortunes, long life, and prosperity of the couple and family. Prepared dates are large and round with good color, and chestnuts are prepared in round shapes instead of shaped cut ones (Seo, Hye-Gyung 2002: 474).

The dates are given to the groom's father and the jerky to the groom's mother. The dates are wrapped in a red cloth and placed on the right side of the father's seat, and the jerkies wrapped in a blue wrapping cloth are placed on the left side of the mother's seat. The groom's father and mother receive the groom and the bride's bow. In traditional Korean society, sons served the ancestor worship, so only sons became the main body of the family.

***Pebaek* chicken**
© National Intangible Heritage Center
The *pebaek* chicken is made up of squid parts cut onto it as decoration. It is native to the Jeonju area but have reached a wider usage as *pebaek* food offerings in recent years.

Therefore, the father can be regarded as a representative of the whole family who can throw the dates symbolizing the wishes of the family to prosper and their offspring to continue the linage of the family. The father and mother would hold hands with the groom and the bride, throwing chestnuts and dates. They prayed for many sons and daughters, and would even try to predict how many offspring by the number of chestnuts and dates thrown

> *The chestnut and date dishes are meant for the prosperity of the offspring, the chicken is a meat dish for your mother-in-law, meaning that much of the filial piety will be done by serving her meat dishes in the future.*
>
> -Lady A (born in 1953)

> *Jerky food is for your mother-in-law, often times the mother's skirts are wide. It is a wish of the bride that her mother-in-law will treat her with a wide heart like her skirt.*
>
> -Lady A (born in 1953)

Beef and chicken are food for the mother in-law. The bride expresses her willingness to achieve filial piety in the future by giving the meat side dish to the mother-in-law, who has sacrificed for the family since she married her husband. Often the mother-in-law touches the jerky in response. This act of touching symbolizes the mother-in-law's intentions of protecting her daughter-in-law with a wide heart like the mother's skirt. The mother-in-law often explains to the groom and the bride the spirit of filial piety, conjugal relationship, and kinship commitment(Lee, 2006). The mother-in-law gives instructions on a hanging scroll or documents containing how to live properly. Jewelry that has passed down within the family would be given to the bride at some point (Nam, Sang-Min 2003: 110-111). Lastly, the groom and the bride bow to the groom's parents accompanied by a series of bows to the groom's other relatives.

Marriage was a rite of passage to become an adult and, therefore, considered the most important ceremony in a person's life. The young couple was given roles and responsibilities as social adults through marriage. The importance of the bond of marriage was manifested through rituals and metaphorical symbolism of the food offerings, which strengthened the

marital relationship and patrilineal succession within the family members.

These examples of Korean marriage traditions are reduced or expanded in some ways according to the circumstances of the family. For example, in a recent phenomenon, the bride's parents and relatives are invited to the pebaek ritual and both sides give blessings to the groom and bride. This is a unique reinterpretation of the old pebaek ritual. The new pebaek ritual emphasizes the marital bond, prosperity, and family alliance between the two families, instead of patrilineality of the groom's family. The newly reformed tradition is transmitted to the next generation, and the pebaek food symbolizes that.

2) Communication and Exchange through the Wedding Ceremony

With the developments in transportation and communication, information can now be easily obtained, but in the past this was not the case. In particular, it was through various ceremonies and events including weddings that social gathering and information sharing would be conveyed among women. It was a festive event not only for the family and relatives but also for their neighbors and even other villagers. When a bride entered the groom's house, the bride was often judged on the stitching on her clothes, blankets, pillows, and other wedding items that she prepared to start a new life at the groom's house. Introducing the bride to her new home usually started with learning her in-law family's rules and customs, including sewing and cooking methods. On the wedding day, pebaek food was distributed to relatives, neighbors, and all villagers. They tasted the food and enjoyed to estimate the bride›s culinary skills and housekeeping competency. The bride was supposed to be a well-trained housewife and a dedicated daughter-in-law to her in-laws. Relatives and neighbors would judge her skills and womanhood by taking a glance at her on the wedding day and taking a spoonful of the pebaek food she brought. As such, wedding ceremony and pebaek food were the means of encountering different cultures that the two families had and those of making communications among the relatives, neighbors, and other villagers.

3) Local Variations Cherished

Jeonju pebaek food was influenced by the local culinary culture. Recently, a series of studies related to Jeonju food have revealed its unique

characteristics(Jeonju City 2011; Hahm 2015). Here are some of examples.

1. Food ingredients are diverse and abundant due to the region's ecological environment.
2. Due to the warm climate, the taste of the food is often rich and thick, and there are outstanding varieties of fermented foods such as *kimchi*, salted seafood, red pepper paste (*kochujang*), and diverse pickled food in the region.
3. The culinary culture developed through a high level of artistic propensities of the Jeonju area.
4. Women's skill and enthusiasm in cooking have earned Jeonju food culture a nationwide reputation.

Under this food culture, it is possible to make a high-quality pebaek food with fresh ingredients and lavish decorations. For example, dried persimmons are not just put on the table but cut carefully with scissors and decorated before being offered. It is said that Jeonju is the first place to cut squid and form them into chicken figures. Jeonju women add their workmanship and finish pebaek food in creatively. These local characteristics of Jeonju pebaek food are why it must be kept to diversify the cultural reference of culinary uniqueness of the region(Jeonju City 2011).

4) Virtue of Woman

It is well recognized that women of Jeonju have fine culinary skills. Here are three examples of Jeonju women at their best. The first is the delicate and refined manner of women in preparing food; the second is the best practices of fermentation requiring considerable efforts and patience, for instance, making salted fish, kimchi, and many other pickled food; and the third is the cooperation and mutual commitment among women in response to the lack of resources and support under the male-dominant society. Collective work and sharing labor teams are always put into operation for big ceremonies and events for families, kin, and villagers. The wedding ceremony used to be one occasion in which women's cooperative spirit could be well revealed. Lots of hands were needed for preparing the ceremonies, in particular food and services. Pebaek food was carefully prepared because it was a symbol of competency of the bride's side women. The most adequate woman for preparing pebaek food was selected within the women's circle. The best woman to qualify in making pebaek food not only needed to have the culinary skillset but also grace and luck. The woman who had the

characteristics of having been blessed with luck and grace was often the one preparing pebaek food. Here, the meaning of being blessed with luck would mean that she had many offspring, without financial or other crisis and maintained the overall family by being a model daughter-in-law, wife, and mother.

The pebaek ritual is still a vital part of the wedding ceremony as the occasion is meant to deliver happiness and prosperity for the bride and groom. Many people seek out to do their pebaek food in the Jeonju style since it is believed that Jeonju pebaek food is prepared with traditional delicacy and virtue of women. Jeonju pebaek food is thus known to be a precious gift for the newlyweds today.

Concluding Remarks: Reconsideration of the Value of Pebaek Food

In the past, pebaek food was prepared in a bride's family household. Through growth of industrialization, improvement in living standards, and an increase in women›s job opportunities have led the tradition of pebaek food to become commercialized. Especially since women of today are busy working outside of home, they tend to use specialists who can make the ritual food professionally. It is also convenient for them to use commercialized pebaek products sold in markets(Jeong et al. 1996; Lee 1998; Cho 1996; Han et al. 2003). Because of this trend, pebaek food specialists in Jeonju have expanded their business to a great extent. In the past, the pebaek food was rather modest using dates, meats, and chestnuts. After commercialization, its artistic decorations and scale of dishes have been expanded to attract customers.

The various dishes to be included in the modern pebaek offerings are dried beef; nine-platter dishes of vegetables, rice cakes, honey cakes, dates, chestnuts, chestnuts fried with eggs, flower rice cakes, dried persimmon, dumplings, squid, or octopus jerkies; flower decorations; and hard white taffies. Commercialized pebaek food is becoming a social issue as it emphasizes the external appearance of the food. To make the food lavish, some companies decorate with artificial or natural flowers, colored paper, and even jeweled pins. As these examples are repeated, the symbolism and the significance of the food prepared with grace and blessings are reduced to the forms of commercialized cosmetics. It is even a new growing phenomenon that new couples are reluctant to practice pebaek ceremonies

in weddings. Therefore, it is necessary for us to reconsider thoroughly the current phenomena regarding new forms of pebaek food and ritual on the verge of distortion or commercialism.

Résumé

Jadis, la nourriture pebaek était préparée chez la famille de la mariée. La montée de l'industrialisation, l'amélioration du niveau de vie et l'augmentation des possibilités d'emploi des femmes ont influencé la commercialisation de la tradition de la nourriture pebaek. Puisque que les femmes sont davantage occupées à travailler à l'extérieur de la maison que par le passé, elles ont aujourd'hui tendance à faire appel à des spécialistes qui peuvent préparer la nourriture rituelle de manière professionnelle. Des produits commercialisés d'aliments pebaek sont également vendus sur les marchés. En raison de cette tendance, les spécialistes de la nourriture pebaek à Jeonju ont pu développer des affaires florissantes. Auparavant, la nourriture pebaek était plutôt modeste; elle utilisait certains ingrédients tels que les dattes, la viande et les châtaignes. Depuis la commercialisation, les décorations artistiques et l'ampleur des plats ont explosé afin d'attirer l'attention du client. Les différents plats compris dans les préparations pebaek modernes sont le bœuf séché, les plats à base de légumes de neuf services, les gâteaux de riz, les gâteaux au miel, les dattes, les châtaignes frites avec des œufs, les gâteaux de riz aux fleurs, le kaki séché, les raviolis, les bouchées de calmars ou de poulpes, les décorations florales et les tires dures blanches.

La nourriture pebaek commercialisée devient un problème social dans la mesure où elle met l›accent sur l'apparence des plats. Certaines entreprises sont décorées avec des fleurs artificielles, des papiers colorés voire même des épingles ornées de bijoux. Au fur et à mesure que ces exemples se répètent, le symbolisme et la signification d'une nourriture préparée avec grâce et bénédiction sont réduits au rang de produits cosmétiques commercialisés. Nous assistons de plus à un nouveau phénomène en croissance selon lequel les nouveaux couples hésitent à pratiquer les cérémonies de pebaek lors des mariages. Par conséquent, il est nécessaire que nous reconsidérions de manière approfondie les nouvelles formes de nourriture et de rituels pebaek qui sont au bord de la distorsion ou du mercantilisme.

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CHAPTER 02

Alpine Communities and their Food Heritage as Intangible Cultural Heritage

Transnational Participatory Fieldwork

Valentina Lapiccirella Zingari
PhD. Cultural Anthropology
Italian Society for Museums and Heritage Anthropology, SIMBDEA

Mountain Communities: Across the Alps

From 1990 to 2010, as an ethnologist devoted to the process of heritage-making, I investigated Alpine communities and their strategies in facing a changing world. In an historical perspective, my fieldwork has been oriented to making memories and the ways they worked as strategies of resistance in facing the many uncertainties of the future (Certeau 1990). As cornerstone anthropological studies highlight, Alpine communities have been widely diversified within each nation-state in the course of Alpine history, adapting their livelihood strategies to the changing contexts and "balancing on the Alps" through a broad range of solutions (Jones 2001; Netting 1981). Studying the local history of some Alpine communities revealed this broad and complex range of solutions combining nature and seasons, like summer transhumance; winter migrations; practices of food, vegetables, and fruits conservation, and adaptive and creative skills and practices (Viazzo 2009). There are similar forms of life across the Alps when observing how Alpine dwellers, mountain people, and more generally, mountain communities can better communicate among themselves rather than with people living in urban or other areas in their same nation-state (Zingari 2007).

During a number of ethnographical fieldworks in 2007 in Savoy, an Alpine region on the French-Italian border, I heard of the UNESCO ICH Convention for the first time in the declarations of some mayors and administrators of small municipalities (specifically Bessans in the high valley of Maurienne). They were requesting national cultural institutions and museums for the right to recognize their own local heritage as a political tool in a process of cultural decolonization of the Alps. During the public meetings, starting by listening to the ICH definition of heritage, the minds of the participants were projected towards a new perspective, the ancient dream of a transnational and cross-sectorial process, the re-connection of Alpine communities, and the sharing of common practices, traditions, and values (Zingari 2006).

Alpine communities have strong and sophisticated capacities to manage natural resources, transmitting traditional knowledge and values through complex and creative life systems, combining forests, pastures, gardening, orchards, hunting, and gathering. They have been building their livelihoods on resilient agro-silvo-pastoral systems and adaptive management solutions within the many limiting factors of the uplands, such as slope, thin soils, natural risks, daily and seasonal climatic variations, and often traveling distances on uncomfortable and dangerous roads. Every community

traditional garden in Arith, Massif des Bauges © Flore Giraud

based its own livelihood strategy on solidarity, work sharing, and seasonal migration either to the upper grasslands and pastures or to the lowlands to exchange goods and services in an open and dynamic set of social, economic, and demographic patterns and processes (Eur-lex.europa.eu 2019).

Artisans of complex and sophisticated living solutions adapted to the fragile mountain ecosystems that started to be perceived as mythic landscapes of the urban and industrial modernity during the last two centuries; they were marginalized by the dominating ideology of progress based on industrial economy, nationalization, centralization, and urbanization. But times are changing and several crises originated a return to mountains in a vision and approach reconnecting nature and culture as a whole (Paracchini et al. 2018). In the contemporary Alps, a European project promotes this new vision of Alpine heritage, focusing on food as connective fabric, "strong identity source" tool for the "transmission of ancient wisdom." This complexity of food meanings is expressed in the Statement of the Alpine Food Heritage Charter: "We understand Alpine food heritage as the set of sustainable production and consumption practices, knowledge

Gathering wild herbs in the Massif des Bauges © Flore Giraud

and skills, productive landscapes, and traditional food produced in Alpine regions through relying on the common shared goods and services as well as on mutual assistance." (Alpine Space Alpfoodway 2019)

Before reflecting on Alpine food heritage, through concrete field research in the framework of an ICH inventory, it can be useful to put this on-going experience in a broader international legal, institutional, and political context.

Traditional Food, Traditional Knowledge, and Biodiversity of ICH in the Alps

Traditional food is receiving growing attention by civil society, science, and policy worldwide. In the latest decades major changes in the agro-food sector at the local and global scale have been taking place. It is clear that food cannot be considered separately from its broader framework. The framework is given by who is producing the food; the natural environment of production with its species, habitats, and ecosystems; the way these have been and are currently managed; and the way the different phases are organized and lead to the final products, from the agricultural techniques

to the transformation, conservation, marketing, and the ways and rituals of consumption. But food and agriculture are first of all at the center of diversified social and cultural practices, from the current unified, industrial, and global trends to the myriad traditional, creative, and ritual local patterns and processes.

The 2003 ICH Convention gives the highest relevance to living traditions, including the "knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe." Today, following these and other international science and policy recognitions, evidence shows the many dimensions and the overall importance of traditional food for safeguarding local cultural heritage, diversified ecosystems, economic and job opportunities, and social cohesion in a multicultural society. The current extension of industrial patenting and other intellectual property systems to living organisms has led to the widespread cultivation of fewer varieties and breeds. Since the 1900s, 75 percent of plant diversity has been lost, as farmers worldwide have left their multiple local varieties for genetically uniform, high-yielding varieties. Of livestock breeds, 30 percent are at risk of extinction, and six breeds are lost each month. Seven thousand plant species (around 2 percent of the total edible plants) have been cultivated for consumption in human history, and today 75 percent of the world's food is generated from only twelve plants and five animal species. Yet two-thirds of the world food production is still in the hands of local and family farmers who strive to survive in the current economic unsustainable consumption and competition system. "Family farming preserves traditional food products, while contributing

Preparing wild-herbs © Flore Giraud

Production of "tome des Bauges d'alpage" © Flore Giraud

to a balanced diet and safeguarding the world's agro-biodiversity and the sustainable use of natural resources. Family farmers are the custodians of a finely adapted understanding of local ecologies and land capabilities. Through local knowledge, they sustain productivity on often marginal lands, through complex and innovative land management techniques" (Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations 2014).

Local or traditional knowledge is a well-established paradigm of the World Intellectual Property Organization that defines it as "a living body of knowledge passed on from generation to generation within a community. It often forms part of a people's cultural and spiritual identity" (Wipo.int 2017). It is also central in the Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992 recognizing "the close and traditional dependence of many local communities embodying traditional lifestyles on biological resources, and the desirability of sharing equitably benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge, innovations and practices relevant to the conservation of biological diversity and the sustainable use of its components," as well as in its Protocol on Access to Benefit Sharing and Traditional Knowledge, known as the Nagoya Protocol (Convention on Biological Diversity 1992). Many examples of good agricultural practices show the "living, evolving systems of human communities in an intricate relationship with their territory, cultural or agricultural landscape or biophysical and wider social environment" (Fao.org 2018).

In this global framework and following the spirit of the ICH Convention, the Europe-funded project, AlpFoodway, provides the opportunity of a transnational and participative fieldwork shared by different actors in five Alpine countries. "Foodways are socioeconomic and cultural practices related to food production and consumption. Food heritage is a strong identity source for alpine populations. It goes beyond products to include productive landscapes and traditional knowledge on production techniques, consumption customs and rituals, and the transmission of ancient wisdom. Depopulation, ageing population and globalization put Alpine food heritage at risk of disappearing" (Space 2018). AlpFoodway works to exchange experiences and knowledge among different Alpine countries and regions. It helps rediscover the many roles of this multifaceted heritage as a source of models and ways of empowerment for surviving and new mountain communities. The focus is on experiences integrating tradition and innovation, the safeguarding of ICH, biodiversity and knowledge about it, sustainable production systems, quality products, and landscapes.

In the same sense, the European Union is promoting food quality labels, linking products to the local origin—Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) and Protected Geographical Indication (PGI)—or highlights a traditional production process—Traditional Specialities Guaranteed. More specifically, the term "mountain product" has been made available since 2014 by the European Commission for animal and plant products, including honey, with a direct link to local natural resources and traditional practices such as transhumance that "ensures the preservation of higher altitude pastures that are not suited for all-year grazing and of traditional manmade landscapes. Transhumance also has direct environmental benefits, for example, reducing the risk of erosion and avalanches" (Fao.org 2019). In the process of inventorying Alpine food heritage promoted by the project since 2017, the complex agro-silvo-pastoral systems are still found in concrete practices of Alpine communities connected to a strong vision of articulated value chains. Today, for young people, living in the mountain as

The "cortis" traditional garden near the kitchen © Flore Giraud

The "rissole fruit paste" preparation
© Flore Giraud

the ancestors did and producing quality food is, in some cases, a conscious choice, full of embodied memories and long-term feelings of continuity.

ICH safeguarding measures connected to some identified elements compose a creative Alpine food heritage. These measures can be, in some cases, intellectual property rights as PDO concerning varieties of cheese, honey, fruits, medicinal and aromatic wild herbs, and fruits that allow young people to keep productive supply chains alive in the contemporary market. In other cases, informal and living social activities are evidence of a strong commitment of the social groups and individuals to keep alive and transmit spiritual and cultural values.

Alpine Communities in the Process of Inventorying Traditional Food as ICH

The Natural Regional Park of the Massif des Bauges in the French Pre-Alps launched its inventory process on Alpine food heritage in 2016. This long-term dynamic process started with the organization of local territorial meetings, bringing together groups and communities from a broad area (sixty municipalities have joined the park since 1994). Sharing the inventory and building a participatory spirit, in an open Alpine perspective, has been the first step in identifying the main elements of the local food heritage.

It is hardly believable for me, as an ethnologist, to see the change of methodologies and perspectives over eighteen years within the same territory of the classic ethnographic research from the time of the ICH participatory approach, going toward the co-creation and sharing of authority in the process of heritage making.

The aim behind this inventorying process was to put together the rich fabric made of the current territory and people potentially interested in working together to give value to the local practices of production and consumption: teachers, museums, local associations, professionals, groups, and individuals interested in the living traditions in an open perspective of exchanges. The meetings were held in the park premises but also in other places to share the projects with the whole territory by the itinerancy and animation of different areas.

In a second step, a number of thematic roundtable discussions (the tables of shared knowledge) brought together communities of practice and legacy around the identified elements (traditional bread making, cheese making, gathering etc.) to strengthen knowledge about the ICH elements and to design documentation campaigns. A large space was devoted to individual and collective narratives, recorded with attention to the context of oral transmission, in a dialogic vision of the process of heritage making. Presentation, communication, and discussion meetings with communities in the field allow the sharing of views and knowledge of each element in a complex vision connecting natural and cultural contexts—economic and marketing challenges with the products as well as the ritual and spiritual dimension of the social practices.

We will try to present here some considerations around five main elements of the ongoing inventorying process. Each element showing different dimensions and implications of alpine food heritage:

The Tome des Bauges: Cheese Making, between High Pastures and Animal Breading

The Tome de Bauges is, in our ICH perspective, a synthesis of the pastoral culture of the Massif. History of ancient and articulated knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe, crossing modernity and arriving to build a product as a compromise between struggles, conflicts and negotiations: a pastoral food way.

This local history is strongly connected with the competences of a small number of families of shepherds and cheese producers committed to the management of biodiversity as the essential source of the taste quality of this cheese. The tome is a product found on the tables of these valleys in everyday life and strongly connected to the local memories. Here is how this story is presented, in a recent summary connected to the inventorying process and the Alpfoodway project:

> The Tome has been a traditional family cheese in the Massif des Bauges since at least the seventeenth century. During the twentieth century, cheese makers in the area started to produce the more profitable Emmental and slowly abandoned other typical cheeses such as Chevrotin, Gruyere, and the Tome. In 1968, Beaufort cheese received the PDO certification. This example encouraged producers from the Massif des Bauges area to organize themselves. Emmental was suffering from the competition coming from Beaufort, so they decided to focus on the Tome, whose production required a more limited quantity of milk, and which was unique to the area and profoundly linked to the traditional practice of transhumance to high pastures and haymaking during the summer.
>
> In 1972, the "Tome des Bauges" brand was registered. In 1986, the SITOB (Syndicat Interprofessionnel de la Tome des Bauges) was formed with the goal to promote the Tome and obtain a Controlled Designation of Origin (CDO). The process to develop product specifications was not easy, as different points of view emerged regarding the actual area of production and the admitted cattle breeds. Eventually, a compromise among producers, the SITOB and the National Institute of the Designation of Origin (INAO) was made, and the CDO was obtained in 2002.

Since 2017, the Tome has also benefitted from the UE-sanctioned PDO designation. (…) Since 2008, Tome producers have engaged with practices aimed at protecting the biodiversity of thanks pastures thanks to the initiative 'Prairies Fleuries' (Flowering Prairies) under the European-funded agri-environment scheme (art. 39 of the EC Regulation 1698/2005 'Support for Rural Development') that supports the conservation, improvement and management of high floristic diversity of grasslands with positive effects on animal health, milk quality and, consequently, cheese taste, but also landscape quality.

The Parc Naturel Régional du Massif des Bauges (PNRMB) has since 2010 promoted the national 'prairies fleuries' initiative, which rewards farmers whose meadows and pastures have the best agro-environmental balance.

Thanks to these and other initiatives coordinated by SITOB and PNRMB, but also in the new framework of ICH inventory, Tome des Bauges producers are collectively reflecting on the role played by biodiversity in animal breeding and are experimenting with new haymaking practices to optimise economic viability and flower diversity preservation.(Report Alpfoodway 2018)

The rissole, traditional pastry of Massif des Bauges © Flore Giraud

The traditional rissole preparation
© Flore Giraud

The designation of protected origin is the result of a long collective awareness while the inventory project and the reflection on safeguarding measures, giving the floor to the pastoral profession, reveals the new challenges to be faced: the recovery of the land of altitude and the production of cheese directly in the mountain pastures, today in decline but strongly linked to the sense of identity and continuity of a significant part of the pastoral community. Moreover, the inventory process and the field research reveal the strong interest of the tourists in these altitude settlements, where few shepherds still produce a high-quality cheese during the summer season. How to reconcile the needs of a modernized production with those of an ancient and well-rooted tradition?

Gathering Wild Herbs, Plants, and Fruits in the Massif des Bauges

Harvesting wild herbs and fruits trace seasonal paths of deeply shared knowledge from informal and secret practices to organized and professional ones. At the Alpine and rural scale in Europe, these practices are a common heritage, connecting all the social classes, groups, and individuals to the diversified uses of natural resources. The common view of the rural population is that wild nature is a shared resource and a source of freedom, far from the more controlled, fragmented, and appropriated spaces.

In the evolution of the urban societies, these activities maintain an important role of connection with nature, bringing urban populations to the mountains and countryside. Gathering of mushrooms, for example, is strongly regulated, and the park is one of the main actors to manage these kinds of activities.

In the pre-alpine Massif des Bauges, the geographical factors produce floristic diversity, and in the last two decades, some "new-rurals" have decided to be producers of aromatic and medicinal plants. During the latest periods of environmental crisis, local memories enter in a new dynamic process of transmission, and the ICH inventorying process is an opportunity to connect local memoires and uses of nature in gathering activities with professional challenges. Gathering is often an individual activity, maintaining some customary practices. It is a source of well-being and a strong tool to reinforce the sense of belonging to the local environment. A considerable mass of knowledge of nature and an incredible number of homemade products are emerging from the field research. Local practices are also a powerful monitoring system of the climate and environmental changes. Here is the short historical description of this process, soon to be online on the ICH platform of AlpFoodway:

> Until the twentieth century, this knowledge was transmitted orally and practically, from generation to generation, in the family and neighborhood. It was often the grandmother who passed on this knowledge. During the twentieth century, most practices disappeared due to the evolution of society and lifestyles. The elders testify to the disappearance of plants in quantity and diversity, and the transformation of forests. Phenomena perceived as dysfunctions of new ways of managing spaces. The ancients claim the traditional model of an aesthetic and useful nature, shaped by man.

In 1995, the creation of the Massif des Bauges Regional Nature Park enabled the territory to be included in a sustainable development perspective and to maintain the balance between agricultural, economic, tourist and patrimonial vocation. From the early 2000s until today, a dozen producers of aromatic and medicinal plants (PAM) have settled in the territory. Herbal teas, liqueurs, appetizers, syrups, balms and jams, produced locally, are now in the market. (ITC 2019)

Faire au Four: Traditional Bread Baking in the Massif des Bauges

With the tradition of bread making, we enter in the strong social dimension of localness. Twenty years ago, the forgotten collective ovens of the villages of the Massif des Bauges were plentiful and often in ruins. The memories of the old ovens lived on in the stories and in oral traditions. When the ICH inventory started two years ago, some local associations were active in the collective re-appropriation of this heritage, not only restoring the old ovens but also trying to reapply the ancient gestures of bread making and organizing community events around the oven, often lunches or summer dinner at the scale of the *hameau*, the hamlet district.

This movement is improving a rediscovery of the traditional knowledge of bread making and all its aspects: from mother yeast exchanged between families to ancient cereals (and the rediscovering of one which had disappeared, as the Alpine rye) and from technical skills to heat the wood-burning oven to the preparation of different local dishes to cook after the bread, at a lower temperature. When the first AlpFoodway meeting was held, local associations were strongly interested to connect themselves with some associations active in the same domain in other Alpine regions. In particular, the Val d'Aoste manifestation, "Lo pan ner", is at the origin of a network connecting local institutions and communities through exchanges in the frame of an international festival. After a visit of a group from Massif des Bauges in Val d'Aoste in October 2017, a similar festival was held in 2018 in the Massif des Bauges: the "Fete aux fours," connecting several associations, groups, and municipalities across the Massif (Lopanner.com 2019). An Italian delegation from Val d'Aosta joined the event. From a safeguarding perspective—aiming to share inspiring safeguarding experiences—this is a good example of how ICH inventorying and connecting people can contribute to the objective of safeguarding ICH.

Traditional garden with flowers in Arith
© Flore Giraud

Traditional Gardening in the Cycle of Seasons in the Massif des Bauges

In a pre-alpine mountain region devoted to an agro-pastoral economy, families lived for a long time in a partial self-subsistence regime by organizing reserves for the long winter season. Traditional gardening transmits a very rich heritage of knowledge and practices, connecting local varieties of vegetables, legumes, and fruits with homemade preparations and preserves, in an original balance between the small garden near the kitchen (*le cortis*) that is rich in herbs, aromatic plants, and small vegetables; the field of extensive cultivations such as potatoes and cabbage (*le champ*); and the cellar (*la cave*), where a part of the plants is transferred during the winter. Some larger farms maintain this balance, and some ancient families keep the secrets of local varieties of beans and other legumes, so important for the survival of families in the Alps, even more before the introduction of potatoes in the nineteenth century. The inventory process shows the differences between the gardens at the local level and the legitimate authority of some traditional gardeners, in different places at the scale of the

Transport of milk after summer mobile milking © Flore Giraud

Massif des Bauges. Awareness is growing in the territory of the importance of these practices for the future of these strong social practices, deeply connected with a good food and a sense of identity, continuity, and well-being. In some villages, the function of gardening is celebrated as a social linking tool. In other cases, gardening is narrated and presented as place of well-being and psychophysical balance. "If you want to be happy, go in your garden." Some traditional dishes, such as ancient soups, today neglected by new generations, are celebrated as the synthesis and symbol of the garden heritage. Local communities and individuals transmit the values of simple and healthy food, bringing to the everyday kitchen the secret of the garden, changing in the cycle of seasons, a symbol of an adaptive and creative food culture. Against the fast-food culture, the battle of Bauges gardeners brings to the future the dream of a harmony between man and nature, even more alive in the post-industrial society.

The Rissole: A Traditional Winter Pastry in the Massif des Bauges.

We will end this short overview with an important traditional dessert of the Massif des Bauges and generally of Savoy, even if the *dames des Bauges* declare that they keep the best recipes. This dessert, *rissole*, traditionally prepared during the Christmas period, is an expression of local nature and the careful work of women. The quality of the ingredients and the working conditions are essential: fruit preserves (cooked and transformed into filling) and butter flour are mixed to form pastry dough. The right temperature and with the careful processing of the puff pastry and attentive cooking are the conditions of rissole. The precision work of the preparation is the subject of long stories. Rissole stories are animated by family storytelling, strengthening, with the memories of Christmas, of the *veillées*, vigils, and other ritual events. Up to now, the complexity of manufacturing "true rissole" limits its production and consumption to the domestic sphere, putting a strong obstacle to the possibilities of commercialization. As a secret family art, rissole animates conversations during the winter period. The memory of the ancient varieties of fruits, in particular apples, pears, and plums, is called back in the transmission of this ritual winter heritage as is the quality of butter as an expression of the local pastoral knowledge—all considered essential.

Résumé

De 1990 à 2010, j'ai étudié les communautés alpines et leurs stratégies face à un monde en mutation. Dans une perspective historique, mes travaux sur le terrain ont été orientés vers la constitution de souvenirs (ou de contenus mémoriels) et la façon dont ceux-ci ont fonctionné en tant que stratégies de résistance face aux nombreuses incertitudes du futur. L'étude de l'histoire locale de certaines communautés alpines françaises a révélé cette gamme vaste et complexe de solutions combinant nature et saisons, telles que la transhumance estivale, les migrations hivernales, les pratiques en matière d'alimentation, de conservation de légumes et de fruits, ainsi que plusieurs compétences et pratiques créatives d'adaptation. Lors de plusieurs travaux ethnographiques sur le terrain en 2007 en Savoie, une région alpine à la frontière franco-italienne, j'ai entendu pour la première fois les termes de la Convention UNESCO sur le PCI dans les déclarations de certains maires et administrateurs de petites municipalités. Ils demandaient aux institutions culturelles et aux musées nationaux le droit de reconnaître leur propre patrimoine en tant qu'outil politique dans le processus de décolonisation culturelle des Alpes. Au cours des réunions publiques, les participants, qui ont commencé par écouter la définition du patrimoine proposée par le PCI, se sont tournés vers une nouvelle perspective : le rêve ancien d'un processus transnational et intersectoriel, la reconnexion des communautés alpines et le partage des pratiques, des traditions et des valeurs communes.

Les communautés alpines sont des acteurs puissants et sophistiqués en matière de gestion des ressources naturelles, transmettant les connaissances et les valeurs traditionnelles par le biais de systèmes et de modes de vie complexes associant forêts, pâturages, jardinage, vergers, chasse et cueillette. Ils ont bâti leurs moyens de subsistance sur des systèmes agro-sylvo-pastoraux résilients et sur des solutions de gestion adaptatives en tenant compte des nombreux facteurs limitants propres aux hautes terres, tels que les pentes, les sols minces, les risques naturels, les variations climatiques quotidiennes et saisonnières, et souvent les distances sur des routes inconfortables et dangereuses. Chaque communauté a fondé sa propre stratégie de subsistance sur la solidarité, le partage des forces de travail et la migration saisonnière, que ce soit dans les hautes prairies et pâturages ou dans les basses terres, et ce, pour échanger des biens et des services dans un ensemble ouvert et dynamique de modèles et de processus sociaux, économiques et démographiques.

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CHAPTER 03

Bread Time Stories

Renegotiating Living Traditions

Andrea Sieber
Researcher, Alps-Adria-University Klagenfurt and the platform "Citizen Science"

The granddaughter learns to load bread into the wood-burning oven
© Andrea Sieber

Bread Making as Intangible Cultural Heritage

Bread making is more than a culinary tradition: it is an integral part of the Austrian Lesach Valley's cultural heritage, which carries aesthetic, symbolic, and religious value for the community of the valley. Rituals, customs, and personal stories constitute the nature of the element and illustrate the high significance of the practice for the region.

In recent years of socio-economic changes, trade agreements as well as industrial innovations have had a major impact on how bread is produced in Austria. However, in the cultural and geographical environment of the high Alps, where the Lesach Valley is located, traditional farming practices and the specific knowledge required for the practice of bread making have been preserved. Practical knowledge such as the construction of mills as well as cultural customs, like bread blessing and special dialect expressions are ingrained in the valley. Annual festivals, including the *mühlenfest* (mill festival) in Maria Luggau and the Bread Festival in Liesing are organized to celebrate these cultural practices and the knowledge that is passed from one generation to the next.

Noting the importance the local population attaches to the practice of bread making, the specific knowledge will only be preserved if the activities are continuously carried out and handed down within the community. This article attempts to illustrate how the local knowledge of making bread in the Austrian Lesach Valley can be safeguarded through intergenerational dialogue. The project "*BrotZeit* (Bread Time)—Bread in Lesach Valley in an Intergenerational Dialogue" serves as a local case study.

BrotZeit—A Platform for Intergenerational Dialogue

The element of making bread in the Lesach Valley was inscribed on the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Austria in 2010. The entry encompasses the cultivation and production of grain in a mountain farming region, the necessary knowledge for the construction of mills, special dialect expressions, rituals (such as the drawing of three crosses before cutting the bread) as well as the annual mill festival in Maria Luggau and the bread festival in Lesach Valley. As the entry clearly shows, the practice of bread making is a substantial part of the region's cultural identity. Nevertheless, the transfer of knowledge to a younger generation poses a constant challenge for local actors: How to succeed in passing on local experience to young people in the digital era? What are appropriate ways to transmit the knowledge and skills associated therewith?

The young people stamp the loaves with their name stamp of the respective family
© Andrea Sieber

Josefa Unterguggenberger shows how the bread oven can be operated
© Andrea Sieber

The collaborative project BrotZeit aimed at finding answers to the abovementioned questions, engaging actors in an intergenerational dialogue. The project involved local pupils, aged 10 to 17, bearers and practitioners, actors from the local educational sector, researchers from the University of Klagenfurt, and members of the municipal administration. In the course of the project, the pupils were encouraged to participate in research projects via oral history interviews with practitioners, practical workshops and research journals, and the "bread detectives" familiarized themselves with the practice of making bread. They had the opportunity to visit bakeries and mills, to cultivate grain, to take part in the traditional threshing of grain, and finally, to produce their own bread. The combination of field trips to local bakeries, hands-on experience, and interviews with bearers found a positive resonance among the pupils, who then continued their research in extra-curricular activities.

The intergenerational exchange clearly constituted the core of the project, which had been designed as follows: First, the researchers of the University of Klagenfurt introduced the pupils to the qualitative research method of conducting open interviews. In a second step, the pupils were asked to form small research groups amongst themselves, each of which was accompanied by one of the researchers. The young students then posed their questions to local residents, who had previously signed up as interviewees. The interviews, which lasted approximately an hour each, provided insights not only into the practice of making bread but also into societal changes and former lifestyles: bakers from the pupils' grandparent's or great-grandparent's generation shared their recipes together with memories of how life used to be in the Lesach Valley. Following the interviews, the students reflected upon selected passages and evaluated them in collaboration with the researchers. In creative projects, such as animated and documentary films, open-air exhibitions, rap music, or online blogs, they developed new and individual approaches for the presentation of traditional knowledge. These projects enabled the students to process, interpret, and share the specific knowledge related to the Lesach Valley on their own terms.

Passing on experience with baking bread
© Andrea Sieber

Sharing Knowledge in the Lesach Valley: Making Bread as Intangible Cultural Heritage

As indicated above, the conducted interviews did not only provide an opportunity to learn about the practical know-how of making bread. The

sharing of stories also gave insight into the region's cultural memory. The intergenerational dialogue touched upon traditional methods of passing on knowledge, the economic as well as social dimension of making bread, and the close connection to religious values within the community. The following quotes were taken from the interviews and serve to illustrate the just-mentioned dimensions related to the safeguarding of the element.

Knowledge Transfer: From Generation to Generation

"I didn't learn how to bake: as children we just sat behind the table and watched grandmother and mother baking. I learned from watching them. And afterwards, when we had to bake our own baked goods, we simply did it." (Josefa Unterguggenberger, 77 years old)

The implicit character of transmitting knowledge in regard to the practice of making bread is prevalent in this passage. The quote clearly shows, how knowledge transfer was based on observation and imitation rather than formal education. In other words, transmission of knowledge was deeply grounded in experience. The process of reflection and evaluation of the interviews allowed the pupils to observe how the transfer of knowledge has changed over time. Today, methods of transmitting knowledge are often part of a formal education, entailing the passing on of techniques and recipes in classes and workshops for both residents and tourists.

The joy of one´s one bread © Andrea Sieber

Economic Dimension

Not only the method of knowledge transfer but also the economic significance of the practice of making bread underwent change in the community. Pupils noted that the interviewees repeatedly mentioned the economic importance of Lesachtaler Bread.

For Rosemarie Unterguggenberger (74 years old), for instance, selling homemade bread deeply affected her livelihood since it guaranteed financial independence: "Thanks to selling my bread, I was always able to make a living. I would always spend the mornings working and producing bread. And in the afternoon, I would work on the field. I never had to work elsewhere."

The interviews show that making bread often was an economic necessity. It allowed the interviewees not only to earn money by selling

The grain is processed by youth and old together © Andrea Sieber

bread but also to save the money they did not spend on purchasing baked goods. Indeed, bread used to be a costly product in the Lesach Valley. Today, however, the making of bread no longer follows the same economic rationale. It is rather influenced by the aim to resist commercialization and industrialization.

> In the Lesach Valley, a lot of people still work in agriculture and forestry. Their diet is somehow more traditional. Whereas, nutrition undergoes change in many places today due to the range of products on offer in shops, nutrition has not been subject to great change in the Lesach Valley, Hans Unterguggenberger (Chairman of the Lesachtaler Association for Culture, Director of the Lesachtal Education Centre)

Moreover, bearers emphasize the importance of turning the bread from the Lesachtal Valley into a brand of its own, incorporating values of a sustainable lifestyle. The interviewees highlight the increasing significance

of the brand for local tourism, in particular regarding slow food travel initiatives.

Social Dimension

In addition to the economic significance, the practice has also greatly impacted the community's social cohesion. During the interviews, the pupils learned how community members supported each other in various tasks, such as grain threshing, and how they used to share their own bread with neighbors when they had run out of it. Today, bread still plays an important role within the family, as well as for tourism in the valley. For example, homemade bread is often given to guests and visitors as a gift and a form of courtesy: "When my guests leave, I give them a loaf of bread. They like that very much. For birthdays, I always send a loaf of bread and bacon. People enjoy that a lot." Monika Soukopp (55 years old).

Sweaty experience: Bread dough kneading in the baking trough © Andrea Sieber

Interviewee and innkeeper Monika Soukopp points to the increasing interest in the practice of bread making among her guests. She has therefore begun to involve them in the process by offering workshops. This initiative does not only constitute a great possibility to share knowledge about the practice but also encourages exchange and dialogue: "I offer my guests the possibility to participate in bread making; I ask them to knead the dough. This is very exciting for the guests and myself: Who will be joining the workshops? How are they going to respond? What stories am I going to share?"

Religious and Personal Dimension

In addition to the economic and social dimension of the practice of bread making in the Lesach Valley, the bearers emphasize the significance of religiously connoted practices and rituals that have been passed down for generations: "I remember very well: at the end, the bread is smoothed out nicely with water and someone draws a sign of the cross onto the dough. This was very important: the cross represents gratitude for our food. The religious background has always been there." Helene Lugger (38 years old)

Beyond the economic, social, and religious dimension, Lesach Valley bread is also of personal importance for most bearers. Partly taken for granted, it is also associated with joy and pride: "I make bread because 'it's good': it is something I make with my own hands. For me, it carries a spiritual meaning. It is simply a part of me." Hilda Obernosterer

Monika Soukopp also refers to the bread as being "good," which relates to both the taste and quality of the product. In her view, using a wood-burning oven is another crucial element that guarantees the taste. It is not only the taste and quality but also the process of producing something with their own hands that contributes to the pleasure they find in the making of bread.

More than Bread

All the above-mentioned aspects illustrate the significance that bread used to carry and still carries for the residents of the Lesach Valley. Discussions around the practice show how its value exceeds a practical dimension and how it connects people within as well as from outside the valley. Many

Each family has its own stamp, with which it marks its bread © Erich Angermann

interviews depict exactly this close connection: After having asked questions about the practice, the pupils got interested in related aspects of the interviewee's lives. Thus, the conversation about bread triggered a much broader discussion, in which the students asked detailed questions about the previous generation's past, their lifestyles, about specific places and the people who used to live in the valley: "Grandma and I have never talked like this before... Not just about school, but about how she used to live. I've heard so many new things and learned a lot... Later, I want to tell my grandchildren how we live our lives today." Interviewer Marlen Bichler (10 years old, granddaughter of Hilda Obernosterer)

"I used to think the world was black and white, just like in the old movies. But it's not like that! And they knew a lot, too. I could really learn something from that." Interviewer Sebastian Obermosterer (11 years old, grandson of Hilda Obernosterer)

Not only did the interviewees enjoy sharing their stories and memories, they also started to ask questions about the pupils' lives and their personal preferences regarding bread.

"This project is very important: the children had the opportunity to really learn from life; the stories they heard went far beyond what you hear about on Facebook or on TV. Also, I really enjoyed remembering the past, and sharing it with my grandchildren. It was great to see that they showed so much interest." Hilda Obernosterer

The interviews as well as the students' reflections on the local practice not only offered opportunities for passing on knowledge about the Lesachtaler Bread. It also strengthened individual and local identities. The project constituted an integral part of the development of the collective narrative of the Lesach Valley, which will also have an impact on the future of the region.

Living Traditions Renegotiated

In addition to the interviews, a variety of activities played an important role in the project BrotZeit. The jointly designed learning and development process gave the students an opportunity for observation, self-observation, action, and reflection. The pupils visited the grain fields, helped in the threshing process, made their own bread, and thus developed a new connection to their home, their natural environment, and their cultural heritage.

"It's really loud and dusty when you're threshing. And the straw is itchy and tickling everywhere. But it's really exciting to see how threshing used to be. I can now really imagine what it was like before." Manuel Stemberger (12 years old)

"I found it very interesting to see how the technology of water mill works. Back then, they already had to be very inventive to design the mill technology. I now understand all the steps from growing the grain, to harvesting, grinding, and bread making. I am now much more familiar with the valley's past and want to help shape the future here in the valley." Florian Ortner (11 years old)

"I got to know many new tricks for baking as well as new recipes. Now I want to bake at home too. It's really fun and my own bread tastes so much better." Fabian Schmid (11 years old)

More than that, the pupils created their own creative approach to the newly gained knowledge:

"I watched the field at home from sowing to harvesting. I came up with the idea to use my Quadrocopter to observe the field from above. I made several films with the Quadrocopter and showed the results in my class at the project workshop. That was very cool, and everyone was thrilled." Joachim Lugger (12 years old)

"We turned our insights from the interviews and the activities into a self-drawn cartoon and a bread song. We also we made a documentary and an open-air exhibition that we showed to residents of the valley and to tourists. It was very exciting, and I am proud of it. We also took part in a science slam, and everyone in the valley kept their fingers crossed for us to win the slam. Our project was also broadcast on the radio, so the older residents here in the valley were able to witness what we've done with their stories." Valerie Lugger (12 years old)

As these passages exemplify, the process of transferring knowledge about bread making in the Lesach Valley is an integral part of the

Put the bread in the oven
© Erich Angermann

community's social and communicative processes. Collective learning took place by explicating and systematizing the mostly implicit knowledge through participative processes; this included data collection by intergenerational storytelling cafés, practical hands-on activities, contemporary witness-interviews, joint data analysis, and the performative-creative presentation of the results.

The research project clearly illustrates that living traditions do not simply exist but are shaped by transformation, new developments, takeovers, and revival—in intergenerational negotiation processes. The students' creative projects allowed them to deal with the valley's history and provided a platform to develop ideas for the future. Acquiring local empirical knowledge and participating in its transformation opened up a space of common experience and helped to develop a sense of community.

Résumé

Les traditions vivantes n'existent pas par magie : elles sont façonnées par la transformation, les nouveaux développements, les reprises et les relances. Le projet "BrotZeit" [le temps du pain] montre que le dialogue intergénérationnel facilite la renégociation d'une tradition vivante dans la vallée autrichienne de Lesach. En tant que partie intégrante de la vallée, la pratique traditionnelle de la panification dépasse la dimension pratique : elle met en relation les habitants de l'intérieur et de l'extérieur de la vallée, façonnant ainsi l'identité culturelle de la communauté.

Le projet de recherche collaborative « BrotZeit » a impliqué des acteurs de diverses institutions locales dans un dialogue intergénérationnel. Les élèves de la région ont eu l'occasion d'interviewer des porteurs de tradition, de visiter des boulangeries et des moulins, de confectionner leur propre pain et de développer de nouvelles approches de la pratique à travers des projets créatifs. L'échange intergénérationnel via des entretiens et des témoignages oraux constituait le cœur du projet. Les jeunes étudiants ont posé aux résidents locaux des questions préparées en coopération avec des chercheurs de l'université de Klagenfurt. Les entretiens ont permis de mieux comprendre la pratique du pain, mais aussi les changements sociétaux et les modes de vie ancestraux : des boulangers de la génération des grands-parents et des arrière-grands-parents ont partagé leurs recettes de concert avec des souvenirs de la vallée de Lesach. Les entretiens ont porté à la fois

Fresh from the wood stove: the Lesachtaler bread
© Erich Angermann

sur la dimension économique et sociale de la fabrication du pain et sur le lien étroit qui unissait les valeurs religieuses au sein de la communauté. Ils ont clairement illustré l'importance que le pain portait et porte toujours pour les habitants de la vallée de Lesach. Les projets créatifs des élèves leur ont permis de comprendre l'histoire de la vallée et de développer des idées pour l'avenir. L'acquisition de connaissances empiriques locales et la participation au processus de transformation et de sauvegarde de la tradition vivante ont ouvert un espace pour une expérience partagée et ont contribué à développer un sens de la communauté.

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CHAPTER 04

Divine Food

Dr. V. Jayarajan
Chairman, Folkland International Centre for Folklore and Culture

Sweet porridge © Folkland

Food plays an important role in spiritual rituals and worship for many faiths including Christianity, Judaism, Hinduism, Islam, and Buddhism. The food offered to God is called *prasada/prasadam*, which means a gracious gift. Prasadam could be any offering, but typically an edible food is first offered to a deity in his or her name. It is consumed by worshippers as a good sign. When a devotee makes an offering, it is called *naivedya/nivedyam*. It is believed that God enjoys/tastes a bit of this offering and thus it becomes holy or divine. This practice is common in Hinduism and Sikhism. Some temples provide free *prasada* meals to all who go, as it is also feeding the poor. In Hindu teachings, food is God. God resides in it, so one who eats it is Godly and what he is eating, too. When food is considered sacred, it gives rise to gratitude for the gift of food with the idea that food should not be wasted. According to the Upanishads, the world cannot exist without food. In the Vedas, ghee is offered during *yagnas* (a ritual sacrifice with a specific objective) to *agni* (fire), said to be the hunger of the Gods. In the *puranas*, Lord Vishnu is said to be resting on the ocean of milk called Ksheera Sagara.

The *nivedyam* or sanctified food differs according to the deity. In Kerala, *nivedyam* usually includes *Thri-madhuram* (plantain/ghee, honey, and sugar), *vellanivedyam* (raw rice), and fried paddy with the husk removed called *malar*. Other offerings include different types of *payasams* (sweet porridge) and *appams* (round or *crescent-shaped sweet fried cake*). *Palpayasam* (rice pudding with milk and sugar) and *thri-madhuram* are usually offered to Lord Mahavishnu. *Aval* (beaten rice) is offered to Lord Krishna and Rama. Lord Mahadev is offered tender coconut. He is said to be a *tapasvi* who stays away from domestic life, and so he is offered raw unprocessed milk while Lord Rama and Krishna who live a domestic life are offered processed milk products like ghee and butter. *Aravanapayasam*. (special rice pudding with ghee and jaggery) and *appam* are two famous offerings made to lord Ayyapa. Goddess Annapurna is believed to be the goddess of food as *anna* refers to food, and *poorna* means complete. Hindus believe that when one worships her sincerely, he one is blessed with nourishment.

In most temples and shrines, daily rites known as *nithyanidanam* are performed, covering routine *poojas* like *ushapooja* (thirty minutes after sunrise), *ethrttupooja* (between one hour and one and half hours after sunrise), *pantheeratipooja* (between two and a half hours and three hours after the performance), *navakam* (three hours after sunrise), *uchapooja* (between four and a half and six hours after sunrise) and *athazhapooja*. (between one hour and two hours after sunset), On the other hand, offerings by the devotees are known as *vazhipat*. *Vazhipats* are performed for the favor and blessings from the deities. But *nercha* is offered as the fulfilment of the desires or as a mark of the blessings received from the deities.

List of Hindu Deities and Nivedyams (Offerings)

Lord Ganapathi *Modaka*, *Appam*

Lord Mahavishnu *Palpayasam*, *Thri-madhurm*

Lord Sree Krishna Butter, *Aval*

Lord Sree Rama *Aval*

Lord Siva Tender coconut

Goddess Bhadarakali Highly sweetened with molasses and ghee *koottupayasam* (rice pudding), *nei payasam* (rice pudding mixed with ghee), and *ponkala* (boiled rice offered to goddesses)

Goddess Saraswathi *Thrimadhuram*, *Panchamrutham*

Lord Ayyapa *Aravanapayasam*, *Appam*

Lord Hanuman *UzhunnuVada*, *aval*, and molasses and plantain

Lord Naga raja Tender coconut water, rice powder, turmeric powder, milk, plantain

Abhisheka (bathing) of the idols is another form of worship. Generally cow's milk, ghee, honey, curd, tender coconut water, *gingelly* (sesame) oil, rose water, pure water, etc. are used for oblation.

But local deities or village gods are offered common food that the villagers take. Chicken (cooked and raw) fish (cooked and raw) rice (cooked and raw) beaten rice, puffed rice, coconut, tender coconut, jaggery, goat (raw and cooked), dry fish, all grains (cooked and raw), blood of cocks and goats, etc. are generally used for offerings.

Hindu holy books include stories regarding offerings. In the Mahabharata, there is a story in which Draupadi, who is known for her generosity, is helped by Lord Krishna who protects her dignity from Durvasa and some other rishis sent to her by Duryodhana while she was staying in the forest with her husbands, after being exiled from their palace. After she fed her husbands and ate whatever little remained, the rishis visited her and asked her food. She requested them to bathe in the river nearby while she prepared food for them. Once they left, hopeless Draupadi cried and that was when Lord Krishna appeared and told her that there must be something she can offer the rishis. She then showed him the empty vessels saying there's nothing left while Krishna picked up a leftover grain and ate it. He was satiated and so were the rishis who came to eat her food. They feared that it would be disrespectful if they didn't eat anything she offered and hence made a quick exit from the forest. Krishna then asked her to pray to the Sun God for a solution to her problem, and the Sun God gave her a *thali* (brass plate) that would produce food every day until she had eaten. So she could feed as many people as she wanted, and she would be the last one to eat, and then there would be no more food until the next day.

In the epic of Mahabharata written in Malayalam language, there is a mention of a king named Nala and his wife Damayanthi. Due to circumstances, King Nala had to become the servant of another king, and he had to cook for that king. He prepared the best food and was often referred to as the world's best cook. Even today among the Malayalees (people of Kerala state), when a man cooks well, he is called Nala.

Though hard to specify, each offering has a purpose according to the followers. For example, *thri-madhuram* is offered to acquire knowledge (*vidya*) and so it is generally offered to Sree Saraswati, the Goddess of Knowledge. *Ashtabhishekam* has salutary effects to a person who has committed serious sins/offences. *Vella nivedyam* (raw rice) is offered for protection from enemies. *Shriphal* (custard apple) means Lakshmi fruit, *shri* for Lakshmi and *phal* is fruit. These fruits are always kept in the *thali* for puja and are a symbol of endless wealth and affluence. Goddess Lakshmi is the goddess of wealth and prosperity. Offering betel nut is an Indian tradition. At the end of a meal, it is common to chew betel nut, which implies that one is prosperous and content. Betel nuts are offered only to married gods, never to Shiva. Images of Lakshmi, offering *paan* (betel nut) to Vishnu are seen in temples and households. It's a sign of merrymaking, luxury, success, and happiness.

Makara Sankranti also called Uttarayan in North India and Pongal in Tamil Nadu is a festival dedicated to the Sun God, celebrated by the Hindus in mid-January. It marks the first day of sun's entry into Makara (Capricorn), marking the end of the month and the start of longer days, the time of harvest. Hindus in various parts of India make sweets particularly from sesame and jaggery and distribute among family and friends. Ganesh Chaturthi (a Hindu festival celebrating the Lord Ganesha's birth) is another

Measured cooked rice © Folkland

Sweet fried cake © Folkland

festival where Lord Ganesh is celebrated. Ganesh Chaturthi falls in August/ September. *Modaka kozhukkatta* (steamed rice-flour dumpling) is a special food item made on this occasion. *Aval* (puffed rice) is prepared during Krishna Jayanthi (Lord Krishna's birthday).

Hindus do not eat beef or beef products as the cow is held to be sacred. However, over the past few years, eating or not depends on the level of adherence to this belief.

In Sikhism, *karah* a sacred pudding made with whole wheat flour, ghee, and sugar is served at the *Gurudwara* or the place of worship. gurudwaras always have a kitchen or *langar* (community kitchen in a gurudwara). People can go there for food and it is always free.

Among Christians, there is a tradition of blessing any food before eating as a sign of thanking God for the meal they have. Bread is considered a divine gift. It became a symbol of generosity and sharing when Jesus multiplied bread to feed the crowd. The ritual of communion regularly celebrated by Christians involves eating bread and drinking wine to represent the body and blood of Jesus Christ. In the Bible, milk and honey

speaks of God's bountiful provision, a promised land "flowing with milk and honey," which is understood by people to be a fertile wonderful land. Infants are fed milk and honey after baptism as a tradition. Catholics traditionally abstain from eating meat on Ash Wednesday, Good Friday, and all the Fridays of Lent because meat is considered by them to be good and is associated with celebrations and feasts, and it has often been a luxury in many cultures, and so that Catholics give it up at certain times.

In Kerala, *kozhukkatta*, (a sweet dumpling made of grated coconut wrapped in a pancake made of rice flour) is made on Palm Sunday in every Christian home to commemorate Jesus's visit to Lazarus, Martha and Mary's house. It is believed that love is stuffed inside this snack. *Thammukku nercha* (offering of plantain mixed with rice powder and jaggery) is another tradition among Malayalee Christians that started off as an offering to Mother Mary to rid villagers of hardships. A sweet dish made of jaggery, cooked rice, grated coconut, and banana, it is served at Kalathur Martha Mariyam Church in Kottayam (ancient Kerala church famous for food offerings), and followers from different parts of the state take part in this *nercha* (offering).

In Islam, when done according to the way of Allah, daily acts like eating are considered as form of worship. One does not eat to meet a physical need or pleasure but to support the body to worship Allah. Food is a blessing, a gift from Allah and when consumed with the consciousness of Allah, it becomes a source of divine grace and blessing. Foods considered harmful or unlawful are called *haram*. Animals dedicated to or slaughtered in the name of a human being or saint are prohibited. They should be slaughtered while mentioning the name of Allah.

In Judaism, the Korban was a sacrificial offering described in their holy book called Torah. It was an animal sacrifice, such as bull, sheep, goat, or dove. It could also be grain, meal, wine, or incense. The offeror had to cook the offerings and most of it eaten by him and parts were given to the Kohen priests. Small parts were burned on the altar of the temple in Jerusalem. This offering was done to praise God, to become closer to him, and to express thanks, love, or gratitude.

Minchah (meal offering) represented the devotion of the fruits of man's effort. A representative piece of the offering was burnt on the fire of the altar and the rest eaten by the priest. Undiluted wines were also offered called as *nesekh*.

Food is accorded a lot of importance in our culture. All living beings need food for their bodies. Plants eat the elements, including sunlight and water. Plants are consumed by animals, which are eaten by other animals. Humans eat both plants and animals. So without food, the world cannot exist and thus food is considered divine in many cultures. Even the knowledge of food production is said to happen by divine intervention. Thus by associating food and god, food gets a sacred quality and becomes a significant part in the rituals of different religions and ethnicities.

Thiruvanandapuram, capital city of Kerala state of India witnesses a special temple festival each year between February and March during which millions of women visit the temple on the tenth day of the festival and cook a special food called *pongala* and offer it to the mother goddess. *Attukal pongala* is famous for the huge number of women participating and offering to the deity for her blessings. In 2019, it is estimated that nine million women participated in the festival and offered *pongala* to the mother goddess. *Pongala* is a sweet pudding made from rice, jiggery, coconut gratings, sliced banana, and ghee. Apart from the women devotees, hundreds of volunteers, NGOs, civil society representatives, representatives of different devotee organizations, and representatives of community organizations take part in this unique festival. They help the visiting devotees set up makeshift brick ovens, charcoal, for burning along roads, open places, courtyards of private houses, and even the streets. Each women's group (with two or three women from one family) carries rice, jaggery, and coconut gratings and reach the identified places for cooking. Earthen pots are available in the local market opened for this purpose. Thiruvanathapuram Municipal Corporation supplies water for cooking the pudding. Cooking starts at the *muhurtham* (an auspicious time announced by the temple priest for offering). After preparing the *pongala*, devotees wait for getting it sanctified by sprinkling the holy water taken from the temple well. Temple priests, temple officials and their representatives sprinkle holy water on all cooked *pongala* in earthen pots as a mark of sanctification. Devotees return to their homes with the pudding as they are blessed by the mother goddess.

The Attukal Pongala Festival is considered one of the largest congregations of women as it draws millions of women every year. It also held a world record by the *Guinness Book of World Records* on 10 March 2009, when 2.5 million women participated in the festival. Attukal Pongala became popular when the government of Kerala declared the

Rice, beaten rice, pop rice and toddy
© Folkland

festival a public holiday for the Thiruvananthapuram and other adjoining districts such as Kollam, Alleppey, and Pathanamthitta in 1989. It helped the devotees from all those southern districts to participate in the festival. Support and publicity extended by print and visual media has brought more and more women devotees every year. Festival participation and *pongala* offerings by important personalities including film and TV stars, models, sports stars, etc. brought new fame to the event. In 2019, a group from a transgender community laid *pongala* offering. The number of participating devotee's is increasing every year. NGOs and civil society join hands with temple authorities to create the facilities to accommodate more and more people every year.

Folkland with its research team documented the event in 2003 and interviewed around three hundred women. It has found that 20 percent of the devotees were new, and 80 percent devotees preferred to offer every year.

Baked grains, coconut, flowers, dried fish and toddy © Folkland

Out of the interviewed devotees 30 percent made offerings for the mother goddess to fulfill their wishes, and 70 percent made offerings to redress difficulties. There were different motives behind the offering. It may be for getting good husbands, getting children, getting good employment, success in examination, curing diseases etc.

Folkland, International Centre for Folklore and Culture, an organization dedicated to promote folklore and culture, has conducted several workshops to unearth the secrets of sacred foods offered to deities, as those old recipes are either extinct or on the verge of extinction. A data collection exercise was formulated during 2009 and 2010 to survey the different forms of divine foods offered in the temples and shrines of Kerala. Folkland has initiated an anthropological study on Attukal Pongala. It has documented extensively pertaining to the different aspects of the *pongala*, including interviewing participants, setting up of brick ovens, cooking the pudding, and offering to the deity. Documentation could not be completed as the photo and video documentation is strictly prohibited inside the temples. A seminar was also conducted in 2005 with academicians, scholars, and temple priests.

Résumé

Le Centre international du folklore et de la culture Folkland, une ONG dédiée à la promotion du folklore et de la culture, a organisé plusieurs ateliers pour dénicher les secrets des aliments sacrés offerts aux divinités, ces anciennes recettes étant soit éteintes, soit sur le point de disparaître. Un exercice de collecte de données a été réalisé en 2009 et 2010 afin d'enquêter sur les différentes formes de nourriture divine offertes dans les temples et les sanctuaires du Kerala.

Le festival Attukal Pongala est considéré comme l'une des plus grandes congrégations féminines, car il attire des millions de femmes chaque année. Attukal Pongala a gagné en popularité lorsque le gouvernement du Kerala a déclaré le festival jour férié pour le Thiruvananthapuram et d'autres districts voisins tels que Kollam, Alleppey et Pathanamthitta en 1989. Cela a favorisé la participation au festival des fidèles de tous les districts du sud. Le support et la publicité fournis par la presse écrite et visuelle ont attiré de plus en plus de femmes dévotes chaque année. Les ONG et la société civile unissent leurs efforts aux autorités du temple pour créer les installations nécessaires pour accueillir de plus en plus de personnes chaque année. La participation

au festival et les offres de pongala d'éminentes personnalités, notamment des stars du cinéma et de la télévision, des mannequins, des vedettes du sport, etc., ont conféré une nouvelle renommée à l'événement. En 2019, un groupe issu d'une communauté transgenre a également déposé une offre de pongala.

Folkland a lancé une étude anthropologique sur Attukal Pongala. Il a abondamment documenté les différents aspects du pongala, grâce à des entretiens avec les participants, notamment la mise en place de fours à briques, la cuisson du pudding et les offrandes à la divinité.

CHAPTER 05

Foodways and Folklife

Experiences from the Newfoundland and Labrador Intangible Cultural Heritage Office

Dale Gilbert Jarvis and Terra M. Barrett
Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador

Introduction

The food we eat is an important part of culture. It is often also an expression of community identity. As American folklorist Millie Rahn writes,

> The kitchen, historically, is the place where families gather and where the everyday and the ceremonial meet and overlap. Here families interact and share private traditions, expressing identity through their food to each other and to the world. Creativity is alive in this space, from daily mealtimes to more elaborate feasts that mark rites of passage, religious and secular holidays, and other special events. This is where knowledge is passed on, from traditional ways of preparing and using various ingredients, implements, tools, and techniques to legends, stories, anecdotes, and cultural exchanges that have become part of familial and regional folklife.

We all eat, and associate different layers of cultural meaning to the food we consume. Explorations of food, then, can be an easy conduit into the complex world of intangible cultural heritage. This article gives several examples from the safeguarding initiatives of the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador that have used foodways as a means to get people thinking about, and engaged with, concepts of cultural transmission and heritage conservation.

Preparing to launch the "Maxwell Roy" built by Martin Gosse, Spaniard's Bay, late 1940s © courtesy of Daphne Robinson

Background and Context

Newfoundland and Labrador is the easternmost province of Canada. Situated in the country's Atlantic region, it incorporates both the island of Newfoundland and mainland Labrador to its northwest. It has a combined area of 405,212 square kilometers, with a population of just over 514,000. Most of the population is concentrated on the eastern portion of the island of Newfoundland.

It is a province with a rich cultural heritage, with both native indigenous populations and a settler population of predominantly English and Irish ancestry. The island of Newfoundland has a long history associated with the North Atlantic cod fishery, and much of its local culture and cuisine evolved in small fishing villages scattered along the island's long coastline.

Linguistic, cultural, and social traditions persisted in many small isolated communities after they had faded or changed in the European communities where they were born. After the collapse of the North Atlantic cod fishery, a moratorium on cod fishing was imposed in 1992. This, overnight, changed the course of the province's collective history.

Recognizing the potential negative impacts to local intangible culture, the province acted. In 2006, the government of Newfoundland and Labrador released its Provincial Cultural Strategy, Creative Newfoundland and Labrador. It outlined the need for a strategy to safeguard intangible cultural heritage (ICH) and recommended to "over the longer term, create a public advisory committee with responsibility for the recognition and designation of provincial intangible cultural heritage" (Creative 35).

In 2008, the Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador (HFNL) established its ICH office in the city of St. John's, and began work to safeguard local traditions. In 2012, HFNL was accredited as a non-governmental organization in the ICH field at the fourth session of the General Assembly of the States Party to the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Since the very start of the provincial ICH initiative, culinary traditions have been recognized as an important part of the heritage fabric of Newfoundland and Labrador. Much of the province's history has been based around the catching and processing of codfish, but there are equally historic indigenous and settler traditions around hunting, trapping, gathering wild foods, subsistence agriculture, preserving, smoking, and salting as well as a wide variety of culinary and foodways traditions.

As rural economies change, so too have foodways changed. Researcher Kristin Lowitt (5) has noted this in her study on the changing fisheries and community food security on the west coast of Newfoundland, writing:

> Although changes in the fishing industry are potentially making local seafood harder to access, changes at a household level, including a lack of food skills and increasing constraints on time for preparing food, may also be contributing to less seafood consumption. As fewer young families enter into fishing, the food skills for preserving and preparing seafood are also declining. Some young families described not having the skills to prepare fish and ate less fish for this reason.

Woodstove typical of the traditional outport kitchen, shown here at the Livyers' Lot Économusée © Dale Jarvis

Declining access to traditional foods, changing demographics, and loss of traditional skills are all concerns that impact the work of HFNL. To deal with these challenges, HFNL is guided by its ICH Strategy. The ICH Strategy is based on four main pillars or approaches (see What 4-7): Documentation, Celebration, Transmission, and, Living Traditions in Sustainable Communities. Using this strategy, HFNL develops safeguarding projects and initiatives that address one or more of these four key approaches.

Documentation

The HFNL's documentation strategy includes collecting ethnographic items such as audio interviews, oral histories, video interviews, photographs, ephemera, and printed materials. HFNL also works with community museums, archives, and heritage organizations to assist with the digitization of existing collections, placing them online as part of the ICH inventory. This ICH inventory was established as a central digital archive database and website. The ICH inventory is arranged geographically by region and community, and thematically by subject, following the five UNESCO domains of ICH.

All communities, settlers, indigenous people, and recent immigrants have their own food traditions, and research and documentation is usually the first step in developing a safeguarding project. Some of these food traditions are quite regional, such as the tradition of Easter buns in the community of Upper Island Cove, a culinary tradition documented in 2011. Tradition bearer Betty Rumbolt describes them thus,

> They're a little bit sweeter and they have some vanilla in them. They're white with raisins, almost like a cake-type thing, but different and they're in a different shape [than tea buns] as well because they're baked in small muffin pans that my mother called patty pans. (Squarey 3)

Easter buns were made fresh on Easter Monday for the children at the annual Easter party. Rumbolt remembers,

> We had no idea about the Easter Bunny and egg hunts like children do today. On Easter Sunday, you would wear your new clothes and go to church, but on Easter Monday we would 'have Easter' at my Aunt's house, boil eggs, and eat Easter buns…. I have particularly made buns since mom has passed away, because we've clung on to those traditions. The first Easter without her was strange to be without the Easter Buns so I made them for everybody…. There's nothing quite like food and family traditions that solidifies to bring that family together. (Squarey 3-4)

The documentation of food traditions allows us to better understand the meaning of food at the community level, and to investigate (importantly from a safeguarding perspective) the ways and means in which the transmission or decline of traditional knowledge occurs. It also allows us to record information on micro-traditions that might otherwise be overlooked or lost. Ethnographic documentation work conducted by HFNL has included research on the packing of lunch baskets for men working in pulp and paper mills, the collection of recipes for homemade mustard pickles, the use of goats for milk and meat, and weekly meal patterns.

Inside a papermill worker's lunch basket, Grand Falls-Windsor © Dale Jarvis

HFNL is also engaged in initiatives to enhance community-level technical skills for digital preservation. One food-related example of this was a workshop series called "Nan's Cookbook in the Digital Age." This was a series of instructional classes in partnership with the Association of NL Archives, which taught participants how to create and preserve digital copies of family and community recipe books to archival standards. Often, family recipe books are heavily annotated, and contain vernacular information on personal approaches, variations, or techniques that go beyond the printed recipes and which have generally not been archived or preserved in an organized fashion.

Celebration

The second pillar of the ICH Strategy is Celebration, which involves raising the discourse around selected traditions, and promoting greater understanding of the importance, challenges, and threats to those traditions.

When HFNL surveyed community groups in the capitol region, there was a concern about the loss of agricultural knowledge and practices due to increasing urbanization. HFNL conducted research on the historical background of agriculture, and the contemporary practices active in the region. This research culminated in a 2011 folklife festival entitled "Seeds to Supper," which included a Farm Field Day, a farmer's market, workshops on food production; a presentation on local edible plants; an edible plant hike; a networking workshop for tourism and hospitality professionals on food, folklore, and tourism; "how-to" composting classes; an art garden in partnership with a local gallery; the creation of an interactive root cellar map; and an on-stage oral history interview with Century Farmers, local farmers whose families who had been farming on the same property for over a century. The festival also resulted in various publications on the use of traditional semi-subterranean root cellars for food preservation (see Braye), and on the history of vernacular farming structures called "hay barracks" (see Jarvis).

While a folklife festival is a good way to draw attention to a particular region or tradition, and allows face-to-face exchange, it is by necessity focused in place and is available to a specific sub-section of the population. HFNL has enhanced its celebratory work by also using social media, to widely share stories and information about food traditions and to encourage people to share their own food memories.

A typical root cellar used for storing vegetables over winter, French's Cove © Dale Jarvis

In January 2019, HFNL launched the Foodways Friday campaign on Twitter. Working together with Esther Martin-Ullrich, a graduate food studies student based out of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Intangible Cultural Heritage Office administers a Twitter account called @ FoodwaysFriday. The account is focused on posting and retweeting global food-related folklore each Friday and encourages people to use the hashtag #FoodwaysFriday to share their foodways, food studies, and food history. This work developed out of a series of blog posts posted from 2017 to 2018 that focused on a different Newfoundland food tradition from our work around the province, and the wealth of the material placed on the ICH inventory as part of Memorial University's Digital Archives Initiative (see collections.mun.ca).

Transmission

Intangible cultural heritage is kept alive and relevant to a culture if it is regularly practiced and shared among groups and between generations. It is not static, but ever changing, and constantly evolving. An important part of HFNL's safeguarding measures has been to encourage discussion to identify ways to keep these evolving cultural practices relevant and to create opportunities to pass inherited skills on to succeeding generations.

Tea buns hold great nostalgic value in the province, with many mothers and grandmothers handing down recipes to their children and grandchildren. In 2017, HFNL organized a tea bun workshop with baker/folklorist/archivist Alanna Wicks of The Rolling Pin Bakery, who learned her great-grandmother's recipe from her father,

> Although in Newfoundland, biscuits, or tea buns as they are usually known, are a popular staple in many kitchens, in my family they are considered special. Not only are they delicious, they are integral to the tapestry of my father's family. They embody some of my father's childhood memories and because, in turn, he made the buns for me, they now are tied to my own memories of growing up and of belonging to our family. (Wicks para 2)

Young participants learn to make traditional Newfoundland tea buns in St. John's © Terra Barrett

Wicks instructed students in the basics of tea bun baking, passing along her recipes, and even sharing her family's secret ingredient. HFNL organized the rental of a commercial kitchen, created a press release, and promoted the workshop on social media including the blog, Facebook, and Twitter. HFNL charged a nominal fee to cover the cost of ingredients, room rental, and an honorarium. The event sold out in two days, and a dozen people came out to learn a new skill.

Inspired by foodways workshops such as this, other smaller NGOs in the province are now offering their own sessions. The Pasadena Heritage Society has offered a variety of food workshops, including jam and bread making, along with sessions teaching locals how to prepare and preserve wild moose meat. The Torbay Folk Arts Society recently organized its own bread making

classes while the Bay Roberts Cultural Foundation regularly runs events where locals and tourists alike can experience the making (and tasting) of toutons—a delicious traditional fried bread dough often served with butter and molasses.

Living Traditions in Sustainable Communities

The fourth pillar of HFNL's ICH Strategy is sustainable community development. To build familiarity with the concept of sustainable development as it relates to ICH, HFNL has organized a series of events and programs to promote the link between traditional food and local business.

One example of this was the St. John's Farmers Market podcast series, a series of audio podcasts showcasing the people and stories of the St. John's Farmer's Market, from farmers to food vendors. This was coordinated with the market, in partnership with the Conservation Corp of NL, a youth-employment NGO working in the field of ecological and cultural conservation. The series was part of HFNL's ongoing *Living Heritage* radio show and podcast, itself a partnership with CHMR Campus Radio at Memorial University. *Living Heritage* is a show developed by HFNL about people who are engaged in the heritage and culture sector, from museum professionals and archivists to tradition bearers and craftspeople—all those who keep heritage alive at the community level. Through the Conservation Corp, a community radio intern was hired to assist with planning, organizing, recording, promoting, and archiving podcast episodes. The student worked on the podcast, interviewing vendors and readying the episodes for broadcast. Each episode included background information on the vendors themselves as well as practical advice to other potential food entrepreneurs and discussions of local food-related issues.

One major issue currently addressing sustainable communities in the province is food security. This is especially true for the island portion of the province and for its northernmost mainland communities that are inaccessible by road and can often be shut off from commercial shipping by winter and spring ice conditions. The preservation of traditional foods through salting, smoking, pickling, canning, and bottling has a long history in the region. The changing factors described earlier, however, coupled with the greater availability of commercially prepared foodstuffs since the 1950s has seen the decline of many of these traditional skills amongst the younger generations. Addressing this knowledge loss is one aspect of increasing local food security.

Community health depends on more than just food security and economic development. Communities must be livable by for increasingly diverse populations. Immigrant culture is an important part of Canadian society, and as the international community continues to grow, issues around immigration, bigotry, and the treatment of refugees are often front-page news.

HFNL has seen an opportunity to address these issues through workshops that promote the concept of "gastrodiplomacy," which recognizes that "positive interpersonal communication between individuals of different cultures can have large scale effects in reducing discrimination and promoting cooperation" (Roberts para 4). As Rahn (31) puts it,

> Tradition creates distinctiveness, but it also promotes connectedness. I am fond of saying about festivals, that if we eat other people's food and listen to their music, we start to realize how much we have in common rather than only focusing on what divides us. That might be stating the obvious, but it is not always obvious to those who contract our services.

When most people think about the food culture of Newfoundland and Labrador, they think about dishes such as the aforementioned toutons and tea buns but rarely do they think about ethnic dishes such as pierogies, pernicky, or baklava. HFNL uses food workshops to celebrate the variety of traditions and cultures that are a part of the changing Canadian culture. These allow participants to better understand the differences (and similarities) of each other and to engage in positive ways with newcomers.

Abir Zain is a refugee and recent immigrant to the province. She has perfected her rosewater cream cheese filled baklava recipe since her move to Canada. In 2017, Zain was engaged by HFNL to teach workshop participants how to make this sweet Turkish pastry, popular in the Middle East. True to the nature of ICH being in a constant state of evolution and changing to fit the needs of the local environment, her recipe has been tweaked since her family's move:

> Abir Zain, a teacher from Syria who immigrated to Newfoundland recently with her family, had to learn how to make her husband's favorite dessert, and now she is sharing her baklava with others. Zain, a mother of five, said no one in Syria makes their own baklava. The popular dessert, which is usually consumed at weddings, graduations and births, is sold all over the Middle East in stores and bakeries. But when Zain and her family immigrated to Newfoundland, she could no longer find the tasty treat. So she did what any of us would: she called her mother and asked her for her best recipe. (Antle para 1)

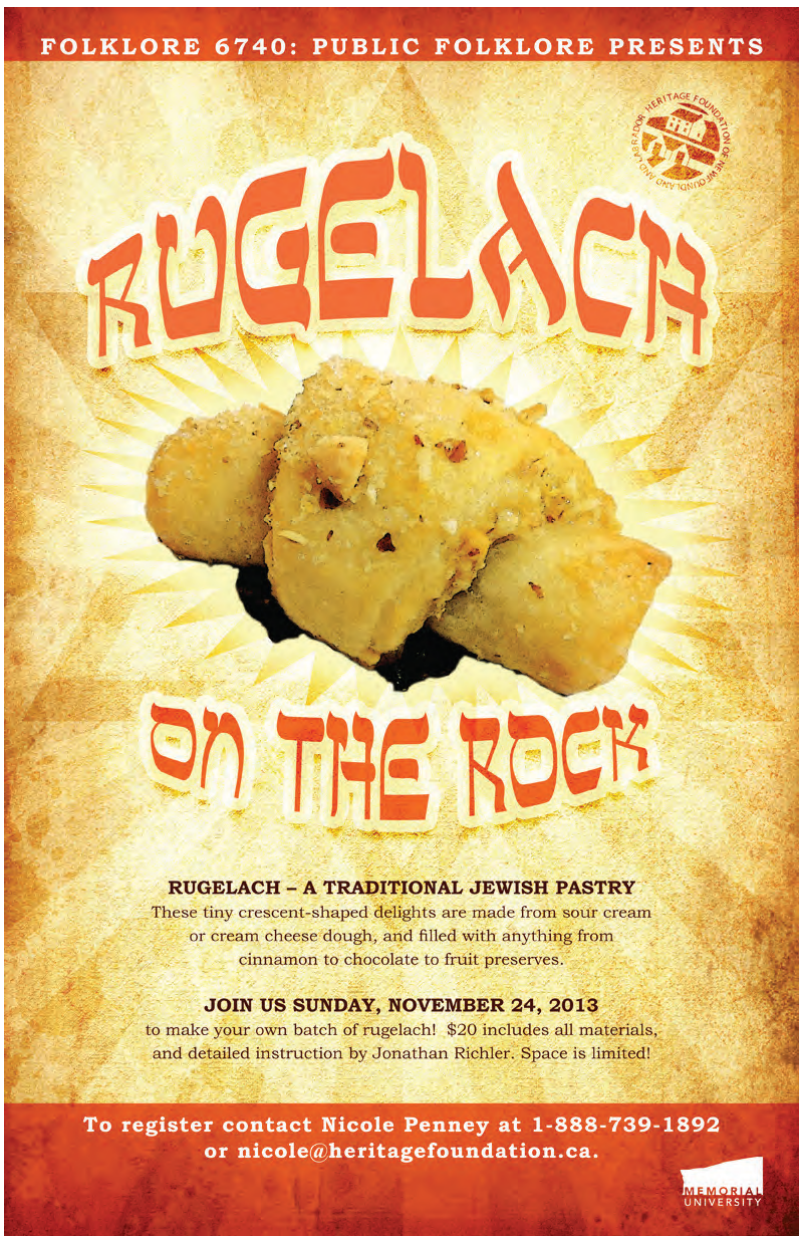
Workshops like this allow citizens to meet refugees and learn more about other cultures. It also allows refugees like Zain to make contacts outside of the refugee community, which can help with integration and provide opportunities for entrepreneurialism. Zain, as an example, has been approached since the first workshop to offer other classes. She was also hired to provide catering for events such as HFNL's 2018 ICH forum, where her story was profiled.

Baklava made during Abir Zain's workshop
© courtesy of Heritage NL

Other gastrodiplomatic food workshops organized by HFNL have included sessions on traditional Czech pernicky (gingerbread) decoration with entrepreneur Jindra Maskova, and making Ukrainian pierogi (potato dumplings) with folklorist Dr. Mariya Lesiv. These workshops allowed participants to make their own dishes alongside a cultural tradition bearer and were facilitated by trained folklorists who would guide discussion and question the tradition bearer about the stories behind the recipes as the workshop unfolded. This process allows participants to better appreciate the cultural context of the tradition and to understand how those traditions have adapted and shifted over time.

Jindra Maskova (center) teaching gingerbread decoration
© courtesy of Heritage NL

In 2013, HFNL facilitated a workshop called "Rugelach on the Rock" where participants learned to roll, prepare, shape, and bake this traditional Jewish crescent-shaped treat under the guidance of Jonathan Richler of The Jewish Deli. The workshop was organized in part by the students of Folklore 6740: Public Folklore, a graduate-level course at Memorial University of Newfoundland. This model engages the public in foodways traditions while teaching students practical and varied skills in facilitation, group work, community outreach, and project planning, thus training the next generation of cultural workers on how to organize ICH safeguarding initiatives.



Poster for the Rugelach on the Rock workshop © Graham Blair

Conclusion

Food continues to be a way for HFNL to bring people to the table, so to speak. Along the way, we have learned a few lessons in the art of ICH programming. Events must be flexible in design and execution, and adapt to the needs of the community. They must be designed to accurately reflect the traditions themselves, which requires consultation and research beforehand. Ethnographic research is at the heart of what we do, and research is

necessary to best showcase the skills and knowledge of local experts. We also recognized that not all tradition bearers are necessarily good instructors, organizers, or public speakers, so there is an important role to be played by cultural brokers, such as public folklorists, who can function as organizers, conversation instigators, and intermediaries. Finally, the key to engaging people at the local community level is developing good partnerships. The projects and programs that work best are the ones where we have strong community partners who can help us identify both tradition bearers and the audience who wants to learn more about local skills and traditions.

It is our hope that flexible, adaptable safeguarding approaches such as these will help build healthier communities and carry these old traditions forward. As Australian chef Tony Tan (81) writes about his own culinary journeys, "My experiences have led me to believe that not only will food continue to change and adapt, but we must always nurture our past to provide for the future."

Building new local food traditions with Lori McCarthy of Cod Sounds
© courtesy of Lori McCarthy

Résumé

Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador est la province la plus orientale du Canada, située dans la région atlantique du pays. C'est une province avec un riche patrimoine culturel, avec à la fois des populations autochtones et une population de colons d'origine principalement anglaise et irlandaise. Depuis 2008, la Fondation du patrimoine de Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador (HFNL) a créé son bureau du patrimoine culturel immatériel. Son rôle est de préserver le patrimoine culturel immatériel de Terre-Neuve-et-Labrador pour les générations actuelles et futures et de sauvegarder les connaissances et les coutumes uniques de la province. La fondation est guidée par une stratégie du PCI comportant quatre composantes principales : documentation, célébration, transmission et traditions vivantes dans des communautés durables.

Le déclin de l'accès aux aliments traditionnels, les changements démographiques et la perte de savoir-faire traditionnels sont autant de préoccupations qui ont une incidence sur le travail de HFNL. Au cours de la dernière décennie, HNFL a développé des projets liés à la nourriture en se basant sur sa stratégie en quatre volets.

La documentation des traditions alimentaires nous aide à comprendre la signification de la nourriture à l'échelle de la communauté. Cela inclut des recherches pour étudier les moyens par lesquels la transmission ou le déclin des connaissances traditionnelles se produisent. Le travail de documentation de HFNL comprend également des initiatives visant à améliorer les compétences techniques au niveau communautaire pour la conservation numérique. La célébration, quant à elle, consiste à élever le discours autour de traditions sélectionnées et à promouvoir une meilleure compréhension de l'importance, des défis et des menaces qui pèsent sur ces traditions. HFNL célèbre les traditions culinaires de plusieurs manières, notamment par le biais de festivals et de campagnes de médias sociaux.

Les projets de transmission incluent des possibilités de transmettre aux générations suivantes les compétences acquises. Les ateliers culinaires comprenaient des cours de confiture et de pain ainsi que des séances de préparation et de conservation de la viande d'orignal. Les projets Traditions vivantes dans les collectivités durables ont été axés sur les aliments traditionnels et les entreprises locales, les marchés locaux et la sécurité alimentaire. HFNL a également travaillé sur des événements culturels de « gastro-diplomatie » qui soutiennent des communautés saines et inclusives.

HFNL espère que des approches de sauvegarde flexibles et adaptables aideront à bâtir des communautés plus saines et à poursuivre les traditions ancestrales.

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CHAPTER 06

Malakwang

Acholi Traditional Food in Northern Uganda

Okello Quinto
Managing Director, Gulu Theatre Artists

Introduction

During the first pilot project implementation on inventorying intangible cultural heritage in Uganda from 2014, Gulu Theatre Artists have been investigating a number of traditional foods within the Pageya Chiefdom to get an overview over the rich food tradition in this area.

The project has included *malakwang* as a traditional food. Indeed, the investigation has helped us to identify not just a diversity of expressions related to traditional food but also to see some serious challenges faced by the identified elements.

Among all these endless cultural elements and traditions, the hibiscus species, literally known as malakwang food, is considered one of the most influential intangible cultural heritages of the Acholi communities of Uganda. The practices include the meaning, knowledge, techniques and use of ingredients in the preparation of the food. It is practiced in different areas comprising different religions. A major part of traditional food is regarded not only as nutrition but also as medicine.

Today, however, many traditional dishes have been abandoned. Urban migration is one reason. Another reason is the internal displacement people's camps: This action restricts access to the land for farming. Hence, consuming non-traditional food, as fried meals and chemically raised food items, has generated not only poor health condition but also complicated sickness.

Malakwang and many other traditional food items are at the verge of extinction due to several factors, such as urban migration, factory and industrial products, and other environmental influences.

One safeguarding measure is to work in partnership with health practitioners alongside civil societies. The mission will be to sensitize communities at large to appreciate and adopt full heartedly the 2003 UNESCO Convention.

Tradition of Preparing Malakwang as Cultural Food and Its Outcomes to Human Health

Acholi communities of northern Uganda have a rich heritage of food traditions. Malakwang is the first diet for a mother of newly delivered babies and is one of the ceremonial foods practiced during naming ceremonies for children.

According to oral tradition, malakwang was discovered by hungry women searching for food items. This was during times of serious famine. The grandmothers of Alcholi communities could move long distances in the jungle looking for food stuff. They found guinea fowl eating the malakwang seeds. The women started to collect these seeds as well. They were also hungry, and in trust with what wild birds eat, they could also eat, they started to bite and chew the seeds. Thereafter they sipped drinking water.

Surprisingly they all found themselves very satisfied. They were not hungry anymore. The test motivated these women to harvest as many seeds as possible. When they reached home, other starving members of the family tried and became satisfied as well. The name of the seed became *toki*, literally meaning "add-some-more."

The next challenge was to find ways of multiplying the seeds; hence the idea of growing malakwang emerged. The malakwang not only boosts high breast milk production but also heals wounds of the mother during birth.

From a biological point of view, malakwang is rich in organic acids including citric, malic, tartaric, and allo-hydroxycitric acids. The plant is also

Breast-feeding mother preparing malakwang food © Okello Quinto

known for its beta-carotene, vitamin C, and protein. This hibiscus species, having various medically important compounds called photochemical, is well known for its nutritional and medicinal properties. Many parts of malakwang (seeds, leaves, roots, flowers, and stems) are used in various foods as well as in herbal medicine as a non-pharmacological treatment.

Further still Gulu Theatre Artists in partnership with other scientists in some higher learning institutions in Uganda are optimistic to continue conducting a research project on this hibiscus species, investigating its nutritional values under various growing conditions. The project plans to introduce its products to the food market and to reach out small farmers to increase its marketability and profitability. Experience has proven that malakwang is the best appetizer for both sick and healthy people as it clears the taste buds. Should such a disease outbreak called sleeping sickness be caused by a small insect *ajonga-miya* emerges, the first recommended food is malakwang to build the body immune system. The prehistoric

Cultural practitioner explaining the importance of malakwang
© Okello Quinto

His Royal Highness of Pageya Chiefdom advocating for the consumption of malakwang © Okello Quinto

diets included millet, *simsim* paste, sweet potatoes, pure soup of a cooked malakwang, and vegetables. Simsim is one of the oil seedlings crops widely grown by the Acholi communities and is one of the most outstanding ingredients for malakwang food.

Historically, the leaves of this green vegetable were used to treat other wounds sustained during hunting or any sort of accident. Later on researchers declared its usefulness as a tea leaf, the seeds can be ground into powdery form and used as coffee for tea, the boiled fresh greeneries are good for ulcer treatment and cleans most of the body organs. For example the royal highness of Pageya Chiefdom, Rwot Okwonga Yusuf Adek, testified in the 1970s that a man named Celestino Otong excessively consumed honey to the extent that some of his body organs failed to function. He was saved by drinking boiled malakwang by one of the cultural practitioners. Its seeds can be made into porridge that works best for a patient suffering from an ulcer or children suffering from malnutritional illness like *marasmus* and *kwashikor*. Rwot Okwonga Yusuf Adek of Pageya Chiefdom who had been one of the peace mediation team members reported that, Lord Resistance Army leader, Mr. Joseph Kony would have died of an ulcer but survived because of taking this special porridge made out of malakwang seeds.

Therefore malakwang is now widely cultivated all over the Acholi communities as an administrative and commercial crop of the community in northern Uganda. Nowadays, a majority of the foreigners visiting

Malakwang in the garden © Okello Quinto

northern Uganda prefer Malakwang as it is commonly available in most of the public restaurants. All these historical treatments played an important role in advocating for the consumption of malakwang right from childhood up to old age.

The most inspiring part of it is that malakwang is eaten wholesomely; greeneries, flowers, seeds, stems, and roots are all consumable. The greeneries constitutes the sauce, the flowers, and the seed pods produce the wine; the seeds work best for tea and porridge; the stems are made into sodium bicarbonate traditional salt; and the roots are good for stomach disorder.

There Are also Taboos Associated with this Special Food.

After having saved the life of a starving mother breast feeding a newly born baby, the group of women who gathered the seeds from the jungle sanctified malakwang as an invention to save life. Hence it would be traditionally honored to the extent that it will not be taken to any place where life is threatened (any plight). Such places include funeral gathering, hospital, and prison.

Demand for Malakwang

Malakwang as a staple food identified from within Koro community is highly demanded all over the Acholi sub-region and beyond. Scientifically, doctors are carrying out research to find out more about this staple food. Generally, it is one of the main staple foods of Acholi communities considered very rich as it is prepared with much simsim/groundnut paste from its seeds. Beside main foods for lunch and supper, just like any other foods, the mother of the newly born baby eats while carrying her baby. In most restaurants in northern Uganda malakwang is saved as side dish. Malakwang is one of the staple foods that can withstand fermentation for longer times.

Table Manners

Basing on Acholi communal setting, food is generally eaten jointly while it is scooped gently with the right hand. The five main grouping is always young women, elderly mothers, elderly fathers, and youth (boys) and children between five and ten years old. There is a very meagre percentage of the population who are found of using left hand. In most villages and some rural areas, poor farmers normally start their day with a breakfast of porridge made of millet flour and honey / tamarind (*cwaa*) to push back hunger until lunch time. People living in different areas of Uganda use different kinds of foods and beverages for different occasions. However the main meals of the day for both rural and urban people are the different forms of staple foods.

Preservative Measures

Malakwang is a seasonal traditional staple food that is mainly grown in rainy season; however mothers developed techniques of preserving it throughout the year. The leaves are harvested, sundried, and packed in a pot located in a warmer side of the house. The seeds are harvested mostly from December to January and mixed with arches and properly sealed in gourds or pots. The

dry leaves is soaked in water on demand and prepared as lunch or supper.

The arches from the stems are properly packed in a pot and placed near a fire in the house. The choice of food and the habits of food are very much dependent on the availability of vegetables, fruits, fish, and animals in the locality. Since northern part of Uganda is considered the food basket for the Ugandan economy, Acholi communities have varieties of foodstuff throughout the year. In the dry season, small-scale farming is practiced along the swampy areas. Irrigation is not commonly practiced in the region, but all people eat mostly those foods for which all the raw materials are available in the areas where they live.

Malakwang in the winnower
© Okello Quinto

Gender Roles and Responsibilities in Food Processing and Storage Techniques

Men in Acholi communities are not good at processing food in comparison to senior women's standards. Traditionally one believed that women have natural gifts and skills of preparing food that are imparted from generation to generation; hence they are considered expert cooks. In general, Acholi women look at men's participation in the kitchen as depraving their roles and responsibilities. Learning to cook was considered essential for rural girls, but some boys are now picking up interest, looking at this staple food and its value to individual health; the proposed measures for the future will be to educate both young girls and boys in processes and storage techniques.

The Practice Is Changing

Even if malakwang nowadays is becoming commercialized, it is still prepared in its most delicious form by women in the communities. The whole processes and detailed storage techniques is restricted to practitioners. Firewood was also traditionally collected from nearby the homestead by young girls of the family. Today, it has become more common to use charcoal and gas cylinder stoves for cooking. After cooking, it is still a common practice that food is served by the female head of the family or her daughters. It was also a common practice in rural society that senior male members and young children of the family eat first, but self-serving is dominating the eating styles now.

Seeds of Malakwang literally called 'Toki'

Simsim a seedling staple crop widely grown in Acholi land. It is one of the most ingredients in malakwang food
© Okello Quinto

Résumé

Au cours du premier projet pilote visant à inventorier le patrimoine culturel immatériel en Ouganda à partir de 2014, l'ONG Gulu Theatre Artists a enquêté sur un certain nombre d'aliments traditionnels dans la chefferie de Pageya afin d'obtenir un aperçu des riches traditions alimentaires de la région. L'enquête a permis d'identifier non seulement une diversité d'expressions liées aux aliments traditionnels, mais aussi de cerner certains défis importants auxquels les éléments identifiés devaient faire face.

Parmi ces très nombreux éléments culturels et traditions, les espèces d'hibiscus, connues sous le nom d'aliments malakwang, sont considérées comme l'un des éléments du patrimoine culturel immatériel les plus marquants des communautés acholi en Ouganda. Les pratiques qui sont associées à la préparation de ces aliments font appel à une pluralité

de significations, connaissances et techniques ainsi qu'à l'utilisation d'ingrédients spécifiques.

Une grande partie de la nourriture traditionnelle est considérée non seulement comme un élément nutritif mais également comme un médicament. Aujourd'hui, toutefois, de nombreux plats traditionnels ont été abandonnés. La migration urbaine constitue l'une des raisons de cet abandon. Un autre facteur s'explique par les camps de personnes déplacées à l'intérieur du territoire – un état de fait qui limite l'accès à la terre pour l'agriculture. La consommation d'aliments non traditionnels, tels que les plats frits ou les aliments cultivés avec l'aide de produits chimiques, a de plus entraîné divers problèmes de santé dans la population.

CHAPTER 07

Persecution and Perseverance

Chicheras Traditions in Bogotá, Colombia

Laura López
CIOFF® Youth Coordinating Committee

For centuries, cooking minced corn with sugarcane honey and its subsequent fermentation has given origin to *chicha*, a fermented beverage for hundreds of settlers in various regions in Colombia. (The drink is also produced from different food sources, such as corn, yucca, *arracacha*, and peach-palm fruit.) The beverage was and is also important in large parts of the American continent as a tradition inherited from indigenous communities. Within this context, the beverage has had a lot of adherents and detractors. In Colombia, detractors were able to enact prohibition of chicha in 1948 by claiming issues of healthiness and hygiene as well as the beverage being a security problem. At that time, elites and authorities thought the beverage was contributing to increasing crime rates. With regulations and prohibition of sale in restaurants or places where food was delivered, and other dispositions, the Colombian government left chicha unable to survive. Even a few years before the official prohibition, chicha was commonly seen as a beverage of the lower classes. In Bogotá, the capital of the country, prohibition was heavily sponsored by the newly arrived beer industry from Germany because the most popular alcoholic beverage was chic.

Propaganda against chicha:
"Chicha begets crime"
"Jails are full of people who drink chicha"
© National Museum of Colombia

However, the German beer industry needed local people to work in the factories to support the new industry. With that purpose, the biggest beer factory built La Perseverancia was built in the neighborhood of UPZ of La Macarena, a few streets away from the worker's homes. Ironically, those workers were peasants and poor people that knew how to prepare chicha, including some women that had learned from their mothers and grandmothers and were the owners of *chicherías* (chicha bars). La Perseverancia was a neighborhood of *chicheros* and *chicherías*, and the people secretly kept their tradition, even after prohibition and despite working in the beer factory. Secrecy was important because the fear was real, and some of these women were imprisoned for making and selling chicha as they were unable to comply with the government's regulations.

The disregard for the prohibition allowed many people to share knowledge on how to prepare chicha, and many years later, people still knew how to prepare it even though they were not selling it. This tradition was still alive in secret, but nobody drank or sold chicha anymore. Many people in the neighborhood knew that the tradition was somehow still alive, but the holders of this knowledge were slowly dying, and with them, the tradition. For that reason, in 1988, a group of young people decided to

bring it back to life. While making a book about the neighborhood history, they found chicheras and decided to create a festival to show the whole city that this tradition was still there. Festival de la Chicha, la Vida y la Dicha was designed as a fair where all the chicheras make the beverage and sell it to visitors, which could taste similar but with different flavors, colors, and textures based on variances in cooking methods or recipes and raw materials that vary within families. Along with the two day fair, there is a stage where traditional music and dances are performed while the visitors enjoy the traditional beverage and food. Of course, preparation and selling of chicha during the festival is observed by sanitation and hygiene authorities, and chicheras must comply with regulations. Distribution of chicha cannot follow the government's requirements for industrial production set in 1948, but 21st-century authorities are more aware of the importance of traditions, so they are willing to make those regulations more flexible and accessible to allow its preparation for a festival under some sanitation limits.

In the beginning, the festival was all self-organized by the neighborhood, led by this group of youths who wanted to bring traditions back to life. They obtained sponsorships and help to make the festival, and slowly the event gained more recognition. The festival demonstrated that important and popular traditions were still alive, even in big cities, opposite to what many people think about heritage in urban contexts. For that reason, in 2004, the authorities in Bogotá declared the festival as part of the city's intangible cultural heritage. This recognition transferred the logistic responsibility to the city government, which meant that the festival would be held annually on the same date by mandate and that all the budgetary problems would be solved. The organization of the festival improved over the years, but this also increased the money spent. Slowly, a lot of the traditional activities disappeared because of the priorities for the event's budget distribution.

Despite government regulations, de facto prohibition seventy years ago, and recent logistic problems during the Festival's organization, this tradition has found a place again in the city and has had to transform itself in line with the government in order to survive. All of this has been possible thanks to empowered women and community participation fighting against different types of marginalization, giving place to different gender role distribution that shapes social dynamics around chicha tradition.

Thanks to matriarchy, all these culinary traditions were passed from one generation to the next. Even though men mostly drank chicha, it was women who learned and knew how to prepare it. Until a few years ago

women did not have a lot of social power; they did, however, have power in gastronomic knowledge. Today, the festival is possible thanks to these women who learned recipes from their mothers and grandmothers, despite restrictions or prohibitions. They all learned and somehow reached the point where they retained the capability to show it to the city. Now we want to show it to the world. In that sense, we want to show what we have found in this festival about traditional food and, in this case, its relationship with gender.

The most important to observation is that chicha is linked to the kitchen and before it was prepared by the indigenous, peasants, and the poor. For years, Colombian and Bogotanian society considered women to belong only to the kitchen and household, which allowed them to learn all these recipes. But it was an imposed role, and today, it has a cultural value that was not so clear before. Now, traditional food and the knowledge holders—the women—have recognition for their contributions in safeguarding and keeping alive a tradition that is slowly disappearing due to a lot of factors, but mostly globalization, which changes our eating habits and displaces our traditional dishes and beverages.

This is how chicha made of corn looks like. Today, it needs to be carried in plastic receptacles to comply with the government's hygiene requirements
© Maria Paula Castiblanco

Women have important roles and tasks before, during, and after the festival; as the tradition holders, they are authorities in all processes and are responsible for safeguarding and disseminating the traditional knowledge. All chicheras make decisions about the festival, and they are always worried about fighting against police restrictions, like the one on underage people entering the festival after the National Police Code reform in 2017. As Mr. Luis Montes, chichero for seventeen years, stated "The Festival is a family event, so if children are forbidden to enter, they will never learn about their culture." The women organizers also watch the price regulations among all sellers, the quality of the food that vendors are selling, and every other detail of the event. Delegates of the city government are obliged to inform them about every decision to make on the festival. That way, even if the government oversees the organization, all the decisions must be discussed with the community. From the youngest to oldest (from 40 to 75 years old), they give their opinions and are always looking for the best decisions for the festival. Younger women have started being involved in the meetings and organization—daughters, granddaughters, and neighbors have accompanied the chicheras all these years, and now they are inheriting the interest and love for the festival.

However, women are not only important in the organization process. As mentioned before, the festival is possible thanks to chicheras, as they are the festival themselves. They are the authorities keeping this tradition alive and making the city and the world aware of a tradition and a heritage that is safeguarded by civil society in a capital city. Therefore, their presence during the festival also has an impact on the social dynamics within the neighborhood and within the festival itself. One of these dynamics is that, although the community that prepares the beverage—chicheras—is comprised mostly of women, you can also see the participation of men who have learned from their families and want to contribute to spreading the tradition. The principal male role is represented in Luis Ruiz, one of the youth that in 1988 wanted to create a festival to bring a tradition back to life. Thirty years later, he is still the leader of this group of chicheras and the festival process, linked with the city government delegates for the festival, among almost fifty women that make chicha, and, like them, is fighting to keep this tradition alive but not making chicha. For him, it has been a difficult process, but as he says, "I haven't heard anyone in this neighborhood saying that this Festival is useless or meaningless, despite all the problems and restrictions we have gone through. The prohibition

is still there, we cannot comply with all requirements to sell chicha in a commercial or massive way as we did before 1948, but we have managed to create an opportunity to bring it back to life again."

Besides Mr. Luis Ruiz, there are about five other men that prepare and sell chicha themselves with the recipe they learned from their families. But men also participate by helping their mothers, wives, sisters, aunts, and other women that prepare the beverage three to four months prior to the festival. Even if women make up the majority in the preservation of this tradition, men are also welcomed to participate and share their knowledge without any gender restriction. They are not criticized by other men for being part of a women-majority trade because even while it was considered a female trade, men were close to this tradition, so it is not exclusively for women. Even with men participating in the chicha-making process and the festival organization, the community is still called chicheras, feminine form, because they are the majority. This is something important to note because in Spanish, the plural for groups usually takes a masculine form, but chicheras are such a strong community that even when there are men participating with important roles, they are still called chicheras.

Women's participation in the festival and the festival itself are also helping to heal social problems. As mentioned, they have an impact on social dynamics. This impact can be seen in the existence of the festival and the work done by the chicheras, who are helping the neighborhood fight against two types of historical marginalization. First, they have empowered themselves to defend their tradition, considered for many years only for the poor and criminals, and forbidden for almost a century. Due to this perception, drinking or making chicha was considered a terrible thing, a mindset that has persisted with some even today, and through this festival and their knowledge, they are showing the city and the country that this is still alive and isn't bad. Recognizing the festival as a heritage element in 2004 also demonstrated a change in thinking from the state and politicians, the groups who greatly opposed chicha in the past century. The festival and the tradition exist in a popular and historically poor neighborhood, always persecuted for the existence of chicha and chicherías, but chicheras and their festival are helping to reverse this perception of chicha being linked to delinquency, hygiene issues, and poverty.

On the other side, for many years, La Perseverancia was considered a dangerous place, a poor neighborhood that serve as refuge for thieves and criminals, which is partly true. However, the festival allows everyone in the

city to see that there are good people working for culture and traditions. Chicheras have tried to involve young people in the festival through cultural and artistic groups or encouraging them to help with logistics during the festival trying to keep young people away from gangs. All who visit the neighborhood during the festival can see that today things have changed a lot and that the negative reputation is mostly prejudice. La Perseverancia is still a poor neighborhood in many ways, but criminality is being opposed, and there is nothing to be afraid of. The festival has created a community around a tradition, with joys, crises, troubles, stories, and a common feeling of perseverance. These women are making a traditional beverage great again and are empowered to demonstrate that their tradition is not inferior and is not dead.

Chicheras make an offering and grateful ritual in Guatavita lagoon, one week before the festival, as a way to remember their indigenous ancestors who first made chichi
© Maria Paula Castiblanco

In addition, not everything is about creating a social impact and helping others. Traditional food and cultural heritage also bring personal benefits to chicheras and their families. It is known that intangible cultural heritage processes tend to benefit tradition-holder communities, and this is the case for this traditional beverage. The heritage recognition that the festival obtained, despite all the problems, has freed the community of any expenses for the festival organization. They do not have to pay for their stalls or the food handling course that the government demands for the festival, nor the branded aprons; they pay only for the materials for the chicha recipe. In that sense, all the revenues earned from the sales go to the chicheras and their families. Thanks to the festival, the chicheras have an opportunity to increase their income through an activity they really like and brings them recognition. The point of the festival, for them, is to sell their chicha and make tourists happy. For Ms. Isabel Camargo, their festival has become an example for other neighborhoods to safeguard their traditions, which helps to make their own neighborhood more visible. Like her, most of chicheras have been participating for fifteen to seventeen years, and despite all governmental restrictions, they don't give up and keep participating.

In their daily life, most of them are housewives, sellers in the streets, or waitresses in marketplaces, and a lot of informal activities and living in a poor neighborhood doesn't help them have a decent quality of life. Through the festival, they can receive remuneration from their sales and find other ways to improve their quality of life by making something they love and appreciate. Heritage has also helped them feel better with themselves and has brought recognition to their lives. That way they feel empowered in economic terms and motivated to keep on with this tradition, keeping it from disappearing.

Offering of chicha to Fu god in Guatavita lagoon, indigenous former celebration god, asking for good luck during the festival
© Maria Paula Castiblanco

Festival de la Chicha in Bogotá is one of those examples where heritage mixes with diverse social dynamics to show us that culture has an impact on every stage of life. Gender's relation to this festival allows us to see how equally important women and men are in safeguarding intangible cultural heritage and to also see how a group of women has the power to bring a tradition back to life after almost a century of prohibition and being haunted and to keep an event going for thirty years to spread the word about chicha. There's still a lack of transmission to younger generations, and we are worried that at some point no one would be able to replace current chicheras when they are unable to participate in the festival. In any case, the work done by these women is worth mentioning as they are fighting against several types of marginalization and keeping their tradition alive; few communities in this city are brave enough to stand for their culture and heritage.

This article was written by gathering comments and thoughts from different young CIOFF® volunteers from all around the world: Kagan Tiftik, Aijamal Omuralieva, Natalia Belén, Estefanía Carrión, Antoinette Hoschette, and Ana Karen Gutiérrez. The experience is based on the work done by Laura López and Santiago Rojas as CIOFF® volunteers in Colombia, helping with the traditional games activities during the festival and helping the chicheras to spread the word about their tradition through different initiatives. We, as youth working with folklore festivals in Colombia and all around the world, are doing our best to contribute and help these people to never give up; we recognize the value that these women obtained for a tradition historically seen as bad, and we are also learning to help them in the future to maintain this festival. We hope a lot of youth and children can feel and realize the same within their countries.

Résumé

Pendant des siècles, la cuisson du maïs émincé avec du sucre de canne et sa fermentation ultérieure ont donné naissance à la chicha, boisson fermentée consommée par des centaines de colons dans diverses régions de la Colombie. Dans ce dernier pays, les détracteurs de la chicha ont promulgué son interdiction en 1948 en mettant de l'avant des questions de santé et des problèmes de sécurité. Les gens gardaient secrètement leur tradition en raison d'une peur bien réelle de se voir emprisonnés. La prohibition

n’a toutefois pas empêché de nombreuses personnes de transmettre des connaissances sur la préparation de la chicha. En 1988, un groupe de jeunes a décidé de ressusciter celle-ci en organisant le Festival de la chicha. Le festival est également une plate-forme pour que les jeunes puissent montrer leur travail artistique et garder leurs mains propres . En 2004, les autorités de Bogota ont déclaré le festival comme patrimoine culturel immatériel de la ville. Jusqu'à il y a quelques années, les femmes n'avaient pas beaucoup de pouvoir social, mais elles en avaient en matière de savoir gastronomique. Au-delà du festival et de la boisson traditionnelle se trouve l’importance des femmes au sein du festival ainsi que la façon dont elles sont habilitées à maintenir en vie cette tradition. Aujourd'hui, le festival a été rendu possible grâce à elles malgré les restrictions ou les interdictions. Les hommes sont également invités à participer et à partager leurs connaissances sans restriction de genre. Le Festival de la chicha est un excellent exemple qui montre que la culture possède un impact à chaque étape de la vie.

CHAPTER 08

Preparing the Good Life

Children Learning Traditional Food Habits

Janne Olsby
Project Manager, Várdobáiki Sámi Center

Marit Myrvoll
Museum Manager, Várdobáiki Sámi Museum

Ten Sámi kindergarten children from 3 to 5 years old are out in typical Northern Norway never-ending pouring rainy weather in late June to pick raw plant materials for today's lunch. Today, the kids are going to make nettle soup, and to fulfil the task, they have to go out and pick the nettle. They have to know where to pick, what the nettle plant looks like, where it grows, and not least when in the annual cycle it grows and can be picked. They also need to know that they have to wear gloves because the nettle plant "bites" sharply. Indoors again, the children have to clean and rinse their nettle catch. They learn that only the leaves are to be used, and these must be finely chopped and cooked. When the soup is done, it is served with boiled organic eggs. The appetite was great around the lunch table.

These children attend a Sámi kindergarten, and as the example above shows, they are learning—in the practical way—about traditional Sámi food as a part of their day in the kindergarten. This article will look into the importance transmitting traditional knowledge about food and the food-chain process, from raw nature materials to cooked dishes served on the table to the young generation, and highlight some examples of good and healthy traditional food.

The Sámi are an indigenous people with traditional settlements in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. The territory traditionally inhabited of the Sámi people is called Sápmi. The name comes from the Sámi's own term for "themselves," for instance *saemie*, *sámit*, or *sápmelaččat*. The Arctic and sub-Arctic areas are known for a harsh climate without very temperatures, long snowy winters and short rainy summers. With the everlasting light (and midnight sun) in summers, the growing season is short, but intense. To live and survive in such an environment gives some challenges when it comes to food choices.

Like the majority population in the four nation states, the Sámi have witnessed and taken part in modernizing society. New lifestyles have been integrated, where technology and globalization have made household activities easy and international trade accessible in a monetary economy. Leaving the traditional way of living and harvesting is one of the unfortunate consequences of many Sámi having a lifestyle very alien to traditional ways of life. Also, competence related to traditional food products is vanishing. Still some Sámis are in the fisheries, the reindeer industry, agriculture, and rural economies, but most Sámis are paycheck receivers in ordinary jobs in, for instance, education, administration, and service.

Many traditions have been left in favor of modern practices, where households have gone from producers of necessary food products to mere consumers, even if parts of the very old hunting-gathering traditions still are practiced. Going fishing or hunting for wild game or picking berries and herbs as a supplement to shops' assortment of daily goods are practiced. Essentially, food is bought at the store, and few children learn about the production chain ahead of finding the goods on the store shelves.

It is common for both parents in a current household / family to have paid employment, and thus the children spend the day in kindergarten and school. The parental temptation for serving their children semi-finished dishes bought in the shop out of lack of time and energy is present after busy workdays. The consequences are that lifestyle illnesses like high blood pressure, obesity, and diabetes have become more common. To change this "modern" curse, the kindergarten, in cooperation with the parents, decided to take responsibility for maintaining and disseminating traditional knowledge and practices in food and nutrition. They started a program to teach the children about traditional food—all the way from putting the seed in the ground until the food was served on the table.

The children greeting reindeers while visiting a local reindeer slaughterhouse © Janne Olsby

The nettle soup is such an example. Nettle is one of the first green plants in spring (late May). It contains a lot of vitamins and minerals that everyone needs after a long harsh winter. Nettle has also traditionally been used as a medicinal plant for different inflammations. The children learn that they have easy access to nettle plants—they grow around every house in the village, especially where the soil is rich.

Another green plant that comes early in spring and grows everywhere is dandelions. It is common to use the leaves in salads. In the kindergarten, the children learned about the interconnection between weather conditions and harvesting when they decided to make cookies with the dandelion flowers as an ingredient. With several weeks with rain, the flowers did not fold out and were impossible to use. The children looked for the dandelions every day but had to give up, picking "closed" flowers and making dandelion cookies.

Potatoes and vegetables, like carrots and turnips, have traditionally been grown for a long time, being able to ripen before the autumn frost nights arrive. The children learned about the production process, from seed to harvested plant. Furthermore, the children learned that vegetables do not grow on the shop shelves, but in the fields, and the vegetables need a lot of care during the growing season. After the harvest, the children discovered that their vegetables were much smaller than the shop's goods, which came from the southern Norway and the Mediterranean area. This gave the opportunity to teach the children about different factors needed for plant growth, like temperatures and sun-hours during the day.

The Sámi traditional territory is called Sápmi © https://finnmarkssykehuset.no/fag-og-forskning/sanks/om-oss/samer-i-norge

Picking seaweed for lunch. The soup is made on a bonfire at the seaside
© Janne Olsby

When talking about traditional Sámi food, one considers local products, either berries, greenery, and vegetables or local wild, birds, saltwater and freshwater fish. These represent both animal and vegetable food produced or hunted in the children's immediate natural environment. To learn about harvesting, gathering, picking, and other methods, the child must be present in the situation where knowledge and practice from master to apprentice are transmitted and disseminated. Why, for instance, should you be quiet when fishing in a lake? Could it be that if you frighten the fish, it will disappear to the (mythological) lake underneath the visible lake? Alternatively, why should you not scream and shout when going berry picking? Could it be that phenomena in nature will hide the berries if you do not respect the invisible inhabitants? In addition, why is it important to remember to say thank you before going home with your catch? In this way, learning about harvesting nature, the apprentice also learns about the traditional Sámi worldview and how to respect and honor nature as the giver of the food.

Commodities and foods focused on in this article are rarely found on store shelves. The children had to go into nature and gather, pick the berries and herbs themselves, or visit the fishing boat, the reindeer slaughterhouse, or the agricultural farmyard to find the raw materials needed for a traditional diet. Food is not just for eating or non-starving; it is also medicine and health. The traditional food made from animal blood was earlier on everyone's table especially in the fall after slaughtering, filled up the mineral and iron depots in the body. Traditional food also contains less salt and sugar than a modern diet. Traditional dishes with animal blood as the main ingredient were also a part of the kindergarten children's

Planting and harvesting © Janne Olsby

curriculum. Having a reindeer slaughterhouse in one of the neighboring villages, the whole group of children could visit when it was time for the autumn slaughtering. The main goal for the visit was to teach the children that almost everything of the animal could be used for food, clothes and utensils. The blood is a part of this. In agriculture, with sheep and other domesticated animals, it also is the tradition that almost the whole animal is used. The blood can be part of a good nutritious diet. It does not contain fat and sugar. However, on the other hand, it is a good protein source and contains much iron. In addition, this is cheap food. Half a liter of blood is needed to make dinner for four grown-ups. After having fetched blood at the slaughterhouse, the children learned the whole process of making traditional dishes like blood-balls and blood-pancakes. The blood-balls were served with potatoes, lingonberries, and a tiny bit of syrup while the blood-pancakes were served with syrup. This became one of the children's favorite dishes.

Before indoor electricity, and not least before the freezer became a common appliance, the blood was stored in different ways. In pre-modern time, people built houses and barns close to a river because they had to carry all the water to the house and barn. A usual conservation method was to keep the blood in barrels submerged in cold running water. In the winter the blood would freeze, so when they needed it for food, they took a knife and cut off a block. In listening to narratives like this, the children get to know and understand their great-grandparents' lives where there was no running water or electricity in the houses. Water had to be carried and wood for heating and cooking had to be chopped—and all this was hard and time-consuming work. The installation of running water and electricity in houses was a true revolution for the household. The children experienced when they were hiking in the low mountains how to live and make dishes the very traditional way. To be able to prepare the reindeer meat they had brought for food, they needed to learn how to make a fire by collecting firewood, how to set fire to

After picking the rowanberries, children are making jelly © Janne Olsby

it, and where it should be located for safety. To learn how to master both a knife and matches is crucial in a traditional way of life.

Living on the coast, close to the sea and with plenty of lakes in the inland area, fish has been one of the main choices of food. Every year if possible, due to weather conditions, the children go on fishing trips to both salt and fresh water. The fish they catch are dissected and subject to thorough investigation. Fish are not toys or pets. Fish is food and should not be played with. The children have made fish cakes and fish burgers of fresh haddock fillet. It is important to teach the children that with proper equipment it is easy to catch fish, as well as learn how to master the fishing equipment. The children also go fishing in a nearby narrow river. This year they got a large trout, but when gutting it, they discovered that it was full of worms and thus inedible. This inspired a long and reflexive conversation about manmade contamination and environmental pollution, and how to turn around such a development.

Conclusion

The kindergarten program on teaching the children about traditional Sámi food became an overall positive experience. The children became fond of making traditional dishes, and they have become conscious about the interdependence between people and nature for survival and keeping in good health. Furthermore, the children's Sámi language skills and repertoire improved, and they have learned Sámi terms for both raw materials and the different ingredients in the finished dishes. As such, the program also contributed to language revitalization. It was important for the staff at the kindergarten that the children should have a good time while being introduced to traditional food. Learning responsibility and participating in co-determination was part of the program. As a participant, the children were chefs with hats, aprons, their own utensils, and their own project folder. Among other things, individual responsibility for good hygiene is important.

A very positive effect of the program has been that traditional Sámi dishes have become a larger part of the children's families' daily food. As one child said with a smile: "Because it tastes good! It is the best food ever!"

Résumé

Des habitudes alimentaires saines dès le plus jeune âge jettent les bases d'une relation positive avec l'alimentation une fois adulte. Cela vaut également pour les enfants autochtones. À Sápmi, la patrie du peuple sami, un jardin d'enfants apprend de manière très pratique la nourriture traditionnelle des enfants samis. Avec un accent sur les aliments sains, produits localement et biologiques, les bons ingrédients et la conscience de ce qui est servi et mangé à la maternelle, l'objectif est d'aider à instaurer un mode de vie sain et de prévenir les maladies liées au mode de vie, tant mentales que physiques.

Ceci est rendu possible par des enfants qui sont actifs dans la récolte des légumes et autres matières premières. Ils cueillent des herbes et des baies, pêchent dans des eaux douces et salées et participent à des visites à l'abattoir de rennes local. Après la cueillette des baies ou la capture du poisson, les enfants et les adultes retournent au jardin d'enfants pour préparer et manger la nourriture. De cette manière, les enfants apprennent d'où provient la nourriture, où la trouver et quand la récolter. Un monde totalement différent de celui de l'épicerie.

Les discussions sur les aliments constituent également une partie importante du processus d'apprentissage. Prendre du poisson et le trouver plein de vers initie une discussion sur la pollution dans l'environnement. Et comparer la taille des pommes de terre et des carottes à celles importées puis vendues au magasin renseigne les enfants sur le climat et sur le fait que vivre au-delà du cercle arctique rend les légumes locaux assez petits – mais délicieux – selon les enfants, c'est bon!

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CHAPTER 09

Recreating the Taste of Home

Haeree Shim
MA Cultural Heritage Studies, UCL Institute of Archaeology

Introduction

The biggest North Korean migrant community outside East Asia is located in a somewhat unlikely place, New Malden, UK, a suburb in southwest London (see Figure 1). Approximately 1,000 North Koreans live alongside the established community of over 12,000 South Koreans. In the foreign kitchen, what North Korean migrants do is recreate authentic traditional North Korean food that they have not had for such a long time. Decades of famine and national isolation have alienated people from basic meals and dishes that are part of the history and traditions of their country. It is ironic that their culinary heritage is being rediscovered, enriched and preserved in New Malden, while it is rapidly disappearing in their homeland. This paper tackles the following questions: how they recreate their own but unfamiliar tradition, how cooking traditional food abroad affects safeguarding North Korea's culinary heritage, how the experience of cooking traditional food as an immigrant has affected the reconciliation between the two ethnic groups. I used ethnographic methods to critically understand the role of culinary heritage in community life of migrants. Interviews and participant observations were used, notably including volunteering in the communal kitchen, joining community events, and having meals in North Korean families' homes in 2018. Having had deeper involvement with the community, it has become clear that North Korean immigrants' cooking or practicing of traditional food was unique due to their distinctive life experiences back in North Korea; age-old famine and poverty, limited freedom of movement, and international isolation.

The street view of New Malden
© Haeree Shim

Recreating the Taste That You Do Not Know

Due to poverty, most North Koreans have been cut from their rich traditional food heritage and repeatedly have had the same simple meals made of one or two ingredients for decades. North Korean migrants who arrive in Britain experience an environment that they have never experienced before; they can find, get, and buy anything they need. This abundance and freedom has allowed them to make cuisine precisely according to the original recipe, whereas people were often unable to follow the recipe correctly for decades in North Korea because of the lack of ingredients. They could cook traditional North Korean dishes more authentically in London than in almost any other city in North Korea.

A North Korean migrant woman, Sunmi Lim (assumed name), provides a good example. During the past summer, some South Korean friends and I were invited to a home of a North Korean escapee family in New Malden for a classic Pyongyang dish of cold noodles called *naengmyeon*. It was the same cuisine that the leader of North Korea, Kim Jong-un, brought to Seoul for the president of South Korea at the inter-Korean summit in early 2018. The host, Lim, a mother of two, told us that she had never had Pyongyang naengmyeon when she was in North Korea and had only heard about its fame. It was the icy-cold, subtle-savory taste that she had imagined every summer for a long time:

> *I lived in North Korea, but I did not see or have Pyongyang naengmyeon. I have never been to Pyongyang, nor the area nearby. I guess the people living in Pyongyang can sometimes have naengmyeon. It was told that the dish was something that usually high-ranking officials and foreign tourists could have. I heard that patrons needed to pay in dollars when they had it. People like us could not dream of having it.*

She said the above while calmly preparing the naengmyeon ingredients—beef broth, beef brisket, buckwheat noodle, cucumber, spring onion, chilli, and ice—which seemed quite ordinary, even humble. One guest said, as if it had suddenly come to her mind:

> *I happened to have had Pyongyang naengmyeon at the famous restaurant Okryugwan when I travelled to Pyongyang a few years ago.*

Then Lim instantly asked:

> *What was the real North Korean naengmyeon like?*

It was an ironic moment, a North Korean asked about the authentic taste of her home to a foreigner who happened to visit her country, a taste that she only dreamt of. The guest answered:

> *It was a softer and more delicate taste than I imagined, there was no ice, and it was served with a mung bean pancake.*

What Lim made for us was not the same as authentic Pyongyang naengmyeon, but it was a recreation of the dish that she had imagined (see Figure 2).

A North Korean woman making Naengmyeon, a traditional Pyongyang delicacy © Haeree Shim

Another case comes from Jong-hyun Park (assumed name), a man in his mid-50s working in a warehouse in a Korean supermarket in New Malden. He came from North Hamgyeong Province, known as the poorest and coldest area in North Korea. He and his family escaped the homeland in early 2000. When he settled in New Malden, what fascinated him was that he could find fresh napa cabbage and other vegetables in the grocery market any time of the year. It allowed him to make authentic kimchi, a staple vegetable dish that he had not been able to make properly for a decade back home:

> *Until the mid-1980s the government distributed several hundred Chinese cabbages per family, so that households could prepare kimchi in late autumn. Kimchi was almost the only food we could have to survive winter and early spring. In the 1990s, as the national economy collapsed; it became harder to get the cabbage and other basic ingredients to make kimchi. One time, we used the seawater instead of salt. We could not afford the garlic and chili flakes as well, so we omitted putting them in Kimchi.*

For about a decade he couldn't make authentic kimchi in his hometown due to the lack of ingredients. Kimchi is a staple food and a traditional custom in both Koreas. It is gastronomically and socially an essential custom of Korean culture. The Tradition of Kimchi-Making in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was inscribed by UNESCO in 2015 on the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The nomination file says 'Kimchi-making knowledge and skills are transmitted from parents to children, and also transferred among neighbors to prepare large quantities of kimchi for the winter months. This activity, known as *kimjang*, boosts cooperation among families, villages, and communities, contributing to social cohesion' (UNESCO, 2015) (see Figure 3). However,

Women in North Korea making Kimchi © Korea National Heritage Preservation Agency, 2013

what Park's interview showed was that a tradition cannot be prevented from disappearing in a society just because it is inscribed on a UNESCO list. Now living in New Malden for eleven years, Park said:

> *Now, I am able to make kimchi every time we run out of it, because I can buy napa cabbage whenever and wherever I want in New Malden. Fresh vegetables are always in the market throughout the year.*

Although the frequency and timing of his kimchi-making has changed, he has come to follow a more authentic recipe with original ingredients that he can get in New Malden. He restored and recreated the taste he had lost for some time.

It seemed that authenticity has become more significant to North Korean migrants as it was felt to be closely related to nostalgia and national identity. Lim told us the surprising story about how she consumes North Korean fish at her home in Britain:

> *To make the dish authentic as we had in North Korea, I buy North Korean pollock in New Malden. You can purchase it through a private retailer. You call this person and he will get you the fish. Of course, it is more expensive than the one you buy in Tesco but is worth the price to us. This North Korean pollock is imported from the China-North Korea border. It is sweeter and more savory than the one from Britain or Russia. I can tell.*

Pollock is not hard to find in England. Actually, it is one of Britain's most popular fish (Adams, 2009), but Lim's family purchases imported pollock from North Korea. She and her family are able to savor the nostalgic past through the North Korean pollock:

> *We used to have seasoned and broiled pollock dish a couple times a year in North Korea on our biggest national holidays, like Kim Il-sung's birthday or a memorial ceremony for our ancestors. Perhaps people living near the sea would have eaten it more often. The pollock dish was very special, and I really liked it. I wanted to have it more often but couldn't.*

Culinary Heritage Transmitted in a Foreign Land

While North Korean migrants enjoy their home ingredients outside their country, ironically traditional/local recipes have been disappearing in North Korea during recent decades. A female escapee told me:

> *I miss North Korean sardines. Until the 1980s we had fish markets. We used to buy sardines and boil them with water parsley and white radish. It was a delicacy in Cheongjin, a small fishing village, where I came from. We also dried pollock and had it with cooked rice in winter. However, fish markets started to disappear from the mid-1980s, and after that, it became very difficult to find fish at all. It was rare to see good sardines and pollock on the household table. Most of the fish we caught were collected and exported to China.*

Another female migrant in her 60s stated that general cuisine of North Korea is poor:

> *You know, there is no special cuisine in North Korea. You eat this or that, anything you have. I usually cooked rice, made a fermented soybean paste soup, and added some vegetable if I had any. If kimchi was the only thing I had, I made soup with it. That was the most common meal I had back home. I don't think there is any proper dish in North Korea now except for dishes like Pyongyang naengmyeon.*

Traditional North Korean local food was already in danger because of the food rationing system that was implemented in the 1950s (Ministry of Unification, 2016). North Korean cuisine was centrally managed; a body under the government called Cooking Association in DPRK (Democratic People's Republic of Korea) researched and developed the cuisines of North Korea (Kim, 2012). In the 1980s and 1990s, 'national cuisine,' such as meat noodles and catfish stew, was developed as directed by Kim Jong-il (Lee, 2001: 77). However, cuisines developed by the state failed to become popular among the public. Many dishes disappeared from 1995 to 1998 during the notorious Great Famine, so called the march of hardship in North Korea (Han, 2001: 42). North Korean escapees often stated that they could only have traditional cuisine on Kim Il-sung and Kim Jong-il's birthday (Lee, 2012: 9). Further, most of the refugees in their 20s failed to recognize the

traditional Korean dishes (2012: 10). Park was one of those who tried to see their culinary heritage veraciously:

> *If we were as wealthy as Britain, wouldn't we have eaten like them? If you see the food of North Korea, it is either grass or the roots of the plant. We made ddeok (rice cake) to make one feel full with small portions of the grain. We always made a soup out of meat to maximize the quantity. We have a food culture like this because we were poor. If we could have had nutritious food, the way we cook and consume it would have been different.*

North Korean migrants prepared and brought food to the North Korean sports day © Haeree Shim

However, unlike most defectors' perception that their culinary culture is poor and humble, the original North Korean culinary heritage is quite different from what is recognized now. North Korea, which has the sea and plains on the southern side, and the mountains in the north, is characterized by its distinct local cuisines. Every province developed their own culinary culture due to their different topography and climate. For instance, Hamgyeong Province, in which the climate is colder, and where the ocean is nearby, has typically enjoyed fermented fish such as plaice, sailfin sandfish or pollock with seasonings; meanwhile, Yanggang Province, which grows a lot of potatoes, has eighty-two kinds of potato dishes: potato noodles, potato-rice cakes, potato starch crackers, etc. (Lee, 2001: 78).

It is North Korean migrants who try to restore their lost or forgotten heritage outside their home country. Their cuisine was spread and handed down by people who consumed and enjoyed it in New Malden. The sharing is reinforced by community events such as year-end parties, sports days, and concerts, where they learn, share, and taste different local cuisine of their home (see Figure 4). Some parents wish to transmit it to the next generation. A mother of two stated:

> *My children were born here, but they enjoy fermented soybean soup and love kimchi. When the children come back from school in the afternoon, they ask me to cook Korean food. They particularly ask for kimchi if I don't prepare it. I make kimchi in large quantities in winter with my children. They enjoy it. It is somehow in our blood.*

The Kitchen as a Peacemaker

Cooking creates bond between the South and North Korean immigrants in New Malden. This is socially significant in particular, because usually they have a sour relationship and try not to mix with each other; they are the same ethnicity from a hostile divided country and now live abroad together. 'South Koreans think that North Koreans are poor, uncivilized, unreliable, and lazy; and North Koreans say that South Koreans exploit and discriminate against their "brothers" from the North, and they are usually mean and selfish people' (Lee and Lee, 2011: 155) in New Malden. They have respectively formed their own associations: Korean Residence Society in UK and the North Korean Residence Society in UK. One of my North Korean interviewees explained the relationship with South Koreans:

> *We don't really communicate with each other. I do not know why the media has misled people to believe that we have a good relationship here. 'New Malden: small Korea unified ahead of the time'. That is a lie. We are not definitely unified. South Koreans see us as poor, uneducated, uncultured people, but we are the ones who are more experienced in life. They have never helped us even though they know that we are in financial difficulty.*

The communal kitchen is an unusual place to bring them together. The Korean Senior Centre offers free Korean lunch to the Korean senior citizens from Monday to Friday (£3.50 to visitors). Unlike other Korean associations in New Malden, this is almost the only place where South and North Koreans cooperate. Every morning from 10 am to 12 pm, volunteers, all women, whether from South or North, take turns to prepare lunch. I was allowed to volunteer in the kitchen, so I had a chance to cook with these women on seven occasions from June to August. The menus were mostly South Korean, but North Korean delicacies were served from time to time.

Volunteers preparing food in the communal kitchen in the Korean Senior Citizens UK Centre
© Haeree Shim

They shared their memories about food and their homes over the meals. There were endless discussions about different food traditions over lunch (see Figure 5). A Korean-Chinese woman, more precisely a Korean diaspora brought up in China, said:

> *Today, I prepared the pork cartilage dish, but even I myself don't know whether it is a Korean or a Chinese style. This is genuinely my style.*

A North Korean woman laughed and replied:

> *It was delicious though. In North Korea, we rarely grill or broil meat and almost always boil and make loads of soup out of it. That way, you will be able to live a week with a single piece of meat.*

In particular, one of the factors that connected the two Koreas in the kitchen was kimchi. They make kimchi around twice a month, when most of the members of both Koreas gather. They buy fresh ingredients, share recipes, rinse the cabbage, salt it, mix the ingredients, and finally enjoy freshly made kimchi together. Through this communal practice of food custom, they got to know and understand each other better than before. Culinary heritage can be a tool for reconciling two societies.

Conclusion

My research shows that not only does community safeguard intangible cultural heritage, but also intangible cultural heritage fosters community spirit. Most of the North Korean migrants that I talked to were practicing their culinary customs, and it strengthened their community. As Chiang (2018: 293) has stated, 'communities play an important role in the production, safeguarding, maintenance, and recreation of the intangible cultural heritage; and safeguarding intangible cultural heritage contributes to fostering cultural identity, human rights, and sustainable development of the concerned communities.' This is well represented in the case of a woman who launched a YouTube series in New Malden to promote North Korea and its cuisine. Soonyo Park, in her early 50s and a former refugee, started a channel this year called 'North Korean Cooking with Soonyo' (https://www.

youtube.com/channel/UCKNIhhuynVDMVM2UkHn84-A), and filmed herself cooking ordinary North Korean cuisines. She said that through YouTube, she hopes people around the world will be interested in North Korea and that this will help improve the human rights situation in North Korea. In her videos, she talks not only about the food but about how her life in North Korea was, how she escaped, what she wants for her country. Culinary heritage helps her to achieve her dream.

Résumé

L'étude explore les effets inattendus de la préparation de la nourriture traditionnelle sur la vie et le patrimoine culturel des immigrants nord-coréens au Royaume-Uni. La recherche a été menée à New Malden au Royaume-Uni en 2018, soit la plus grande diaspora nord-coréenne hors de l'Asie de l'Est. Les gens qui ont fui leur pays ont su recouvrer leur vie à travers la recréation de leur héritage culturel traditionnel dans un pays étranger. À travers des entretiens et les observations des participants, les constatations suivantes ont été observées : les immigrants nord-coréens ont été en mesure de recréer leur nourriture traditionnelle à New Malden avec des ingrédients qui n'étaient plus disponibles dans leur pays d'origine depuis des décennies. Le patrimoine culinaire local nord-coréen a ainsi été enrichi à New Malden par les personnes qui l'ont cuisiné et l'ont partagé, pendant que les connaissances culinaires disparaissaient dans leur pays d'origine en raison de la famine et de la pauvreté. Des occasions de cuisiner des plats coréens ont permis de créer des liens entre des immigrants sud-coréens et nord-coréens établis à New Malden, qui entretenaient normalement des relations amères; la fabrication de Kimchi en particulier est un exemple significatif, qui a été inscrit à l'UNESCO en 2015 sur la Liste représentative du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'humanité, puisqu'il s'agit d'une pratique commune de la nourriture coréenne coutumière. En conséquence, la communauté des migrants nord-coréens a été rapprochée par la sauvegarde de leur patrimoine culturel immatériel.

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CHAPTER 10

Safeguarding Italian Traditional Recipes

The CookIT Portal

Maria Teresa Artese and Isabella Gagliardi
Researcher, IMATI-CNRm Italy

Gianluigi Ciocca
Associate Professor, DISCo, University of Milano-Bicocca, Italy

Introduction

Food, together with its preparation, cooking, sharing, and consumption, is now considered a form of cultural heritage (Brulotte, 2016). Traditional cuisine is passed down from generation to generation and is often an expression of cultural identity of communities. For example, sometimes the only thing migrants carry with them is the food of their countries, and cooking traditional food is a way to preserve their culture outside their place of birth. It is not surprising that today, food is receiving special attention from governmental organizations with the aim of preserving historical roots and cultural identification, providing food as close as possible to the farms of production and addressing health problems such as reducing obesity and unbalanced nutrition.

UNESCO has included some culinary traditions on its list of intangible cultural heritage (Ich.Unesco.org,2017) such as the Pizza and the Mediterranean diet. For example pizza, or still better the Art of Neapolitan Pizzaiuolo (Ich.Unesco.org,2018), was added to the UNESCO list, describing the technical know-how needed to prepare the dough, roll it out, and cook it in a wood-fired oven.

The Mediterranean diet consists of a set of skills, competences, know-how, and traditions regarding the ingredients, their production, collection, processing, cooking, sharing, and consumption of food. Eating together is the foundation of the cultural identity and continuity of communities throughout the Mediterranean basin.

CookIT, a web portal on traditional Italian recipes with the aim of preserving, safeguarding and disseminating them, has been designed and is presented here. The greater knowledge of the tradition linked to food and recipes is preserved in the family and is handed down by the cooking together between different generations. In order to preserve this knowledge, the portal allows users to insert their own version of the recipe in an easy and simplified way, perhaps attaching the video of the recipe and the special features used inside each family. In addition, the dataset was developed with the aim of testing new algorithms for content-based retrieval of texts and images. The collection is still under construction.

Recipes Portals

Archives or inventories of intangible cultural objects are available on the web (ITC, 2019; ultimediali@IMATI-CNR, 2017), but they contain only a few foods, and any recipes are described in terms of cultural heritage and do not contain any specified ingredients or indications.

On the other hand, a great numbers of websites of current recipes are available, with very different purposes, from sharing traditional or innovative recipes (BBC Good Food, 2015; Heathcote et al., 2019) to advertising a brand or a store (Jamie Oliver, 2015; Nestlé Global, 2014), from spreading special diet recipes (e.g. healthy, vegan, gluten or dairy-free, …)(Coeliac UK, 2016; The Vegan Society, 2016; recipes.heart.org, 2017) to creating a community (Yummly.com, 2017). Many sites or blogs of Italian recipes are available on the web, in English or Italian; they can be divided into two main categories with regard to the recipes they contain

1) large generalist sites that present both traditional and innovative recipes with tutorials, tips, suggestions, etc. (Giallozafferano.it, 2017; Il Cucchiaio d'Argento, 2017; La Cucina Italiana, 2018)
2) small sites describing local culinary traditions (e.g. sites of regions such as Liguria or Abruzzo (Iecinqueerbe, 2017 ; Cianci, 2016) or specific recipes, such as *pesto* (Genovese, 2017) or "*pasta all'amatriciana*"(Battistoni, 2018), which owes its name to its place of origin, Amatrice, recently made famous by the earthquakes of 2016 and 2017.

Even though there are many websites dedicated to recipes, a new site and dataset was created because

- recipes must be only those of the Italian culinary tradition, specifically related to all Italian regions, and
- it was necessary to have a supervised dataset to allow the application of new visualization and search algorithms.

CookIT Portal

The aim of the portal is to promote awareness of Italian cuisine recipes and the Mediterranean diet, of which Italian cuisine is an important element. However, Italian cuisine is diversified with thousands of different recipes that are constantly changing. For this reason, the portal focuses only on traditional food recipes considered the core and heart of Italian cuisine,

with the aim of preserving the typical ones, also considering local variations. Each family has a version of the recipe, 'the only truly traditional one,' which is taught from mother to daughter: users are allowed to insert their own in a simplified way.

The portal has been designed with the intention of creating an efficient, effective, usable, and user-oriented site (Krug, 2013; Rosenfeld et al., 2004).

- Multimedia information system aimed at collecting and protecting traditional Italian recipes and addressed to people interested in discovering the true food traditions and the procedures for cooking them, together with history and curiosity.
- Designed as a collaborative tool to integrate data from different sources from the web and real traditions of people to offer users the possibility participating and adding their own variants of the recipes.
- A simplified way of entering data is at the design stage; with a smart phone or tablet, the traditional bearer (the cook) is interviewed and the video and/or audio and/or images are added along with any notes or additional information.
- Other innovative tools for navigation, retrieval, and visualization have been designed to easily guide the user to discover recipes of interest through hierarchical filtering.
- Testbed for tools and algorithms for content retrieval of text and images.

A. Types of Information

CookIT portal stores multimedia information describing, in Italian, the traditional recipes of each Italian region, handed down from generation to generation.

Two different types of information to be used for search and visualization purposes have been identified:

1) *Recipes*: they are the kernel of the portal and are defined by title, description, ingredients, variants, place, date, tags and integrated with images and videos.
2) *Ingredients/nutrients*: data are taken from or linked to authoritative ingredients/nutrient databases, including open linked data. They consist of ingredient name (and variations), nutrients, colors, calories, and class.

B. Analysis and Design

To identify the recipes and foods to be included in the portal and to populate it, the following steps have been identified and implemented:

- Choice of recipes: at first, a survey was conducted among people of different ages, social conditions and different regions to identify recipes mainly considered as part of their own familiar tradition and culture;
- Identification of a recipe schema: different types of markup schema related to food and recipes were analyzed, the most used is the schema.org/recipe standard, supported by Google, Bing, and Yahoo (which allows to obtain rich snippets) (Goel, and Hansson, 2009; Ronallo and Jason, 2012);
- Identification of Italian websites implementing schema.org/recipe micro-data: this choice allows a high automation of the data extraction process from sites, structured by ingredients (and their quantity), URLs, indications, steps, images, etc.;
- Design and implementation of the structure of the database of recipes and ingredients/nutrients: this process should consider recipe standards, metadata information, popular cooking, and recipe websites, such as Wikibooks Cookbook (The Vegan Society, 2015);
- Identification of recipes and their semi-automatic incorporation into the recipe database. Depending on the different websites, in addition to ingredients and directions, calories, portions, and even step-by-step images can also be processed;
- Identification of food and nutrient databases and/or linked open data: different databases have been identified and considered, including linked open data, according to the type of information handled and the languages in which it is available. Data from, for example, FAO Agrovoc (a multilingual thesaurus)(Aims.fao.org, 2016), Food Composition Database for Epidemiological Studies in Italian(BDA, 2018), or USDA Nutrient database (United States Department of Agriculture) (Ndb.nal.usda.gov, 2017), can be successfully used to generate and populate the ingredients/nutrients schema.

C. Multimodal Navigation and Retrieval

Navigation and retrieval for the CookIT Portal were designed and implemented focusing on the multimodal nature of collected data. CookIT offers a standard retrieval interface that allows users to perform searches in two steps to reduce the results to more targeted results.

The user can search data through different concepts:

- Food name: Pasta alla Amatriciana
- Category: first courses, bread and pizza, quiche
- Ingredients: artichokes, peeled almonds or pistachios
- Place / around me: near Rome, Mountain of the Alps
- Date: Christmas, Easter, etc.
- Color: red, purple, white.
- Nutrients: vitamin A, protein.
- Special diets/allergens: vegan, crustacean allergy
- Calories: low calorie, under 100 cal.
- TAG: easy recipe, children
- Other versions.

Recipes are retrieved combining different keys: tags, co-occurrence of words related to recipes, localization, etc., and results are offered as a list, as a mosaic, as points in a map, as points in a calendar, and as charts and graphs to show how recipes are related to ingredients, categories, tags, and any other data.

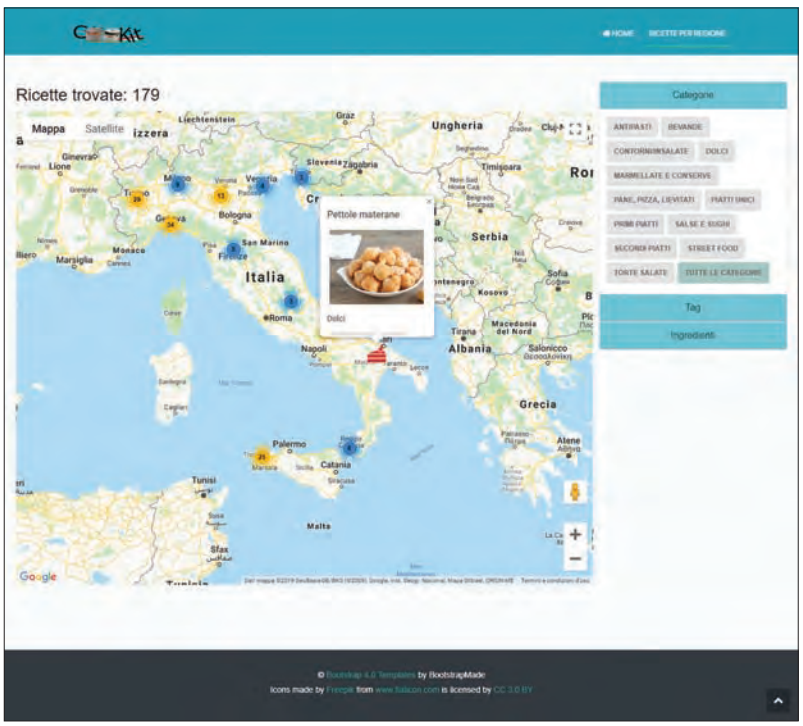

Fig.1 CookIT, Search by Region
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Fig. 1 shows the search by region, a view of Italian regions that can be navigated using zoom tools. Graphic icons in red define the category of each recipe (e.g. first courses, main courses, street food, hors d'oeuvres, side dishes, bread/pizza, etc.) while round circles in blue and yellow indicate a collection to zoom in, because several recipes are in the same position. Search results can be reduced by selecting an additional filter among categories, tags, or ingredients.

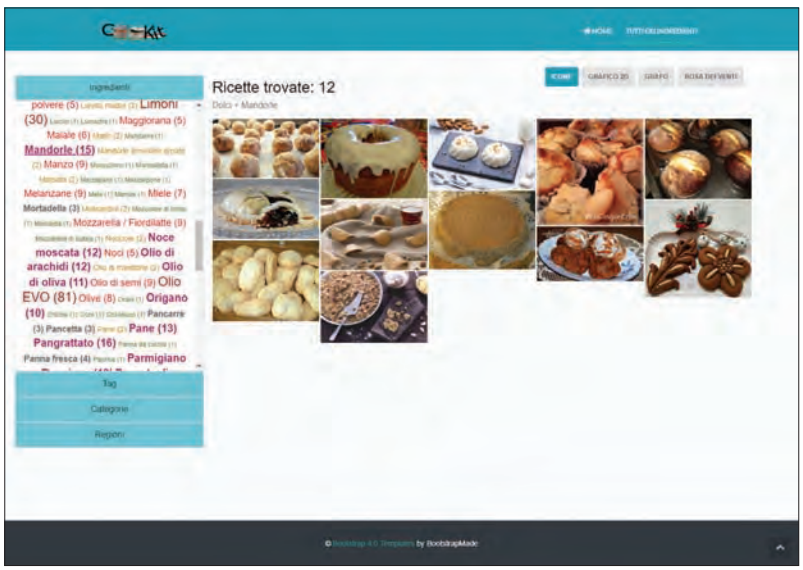

Fig.2 CookIT, Search by category and ingredients © IMATI-CNR

Fig. 2 shows a search result in two steps: desserts (search by category) containing almonds (search for ingredients), displayed as a mosaic.

Fig.3 CookIT, Recipes on a chart © IMATI-CNR

Fig. 3 shows the recipes on a chart, where the vertical axis represents the calories and the horizontal axis has the recipes. Other possible choices for the horizontal axis are regions or categories. On the left ,the list of ingredients can be used to narrow the search. Recipes on the chart can be browsed by moving the mouse, and a double click opens a detail view.

The detailed view of the recipe contains:

- Basic information such as ingredients and steps
- A cover image and one or more images and videos
- A brief description of the recipe and, if available, the history of the dish
- URL of the original recipes and images
- Tags
- Other versions taken from websites
- Other familiar versions
- Suggestions for similar recipes
- Suggestions for similar images

Fig. 4 shows the detailed page of the *pizza napoletana*, a typical Italian traditional recipe, recently included on UNESCO lists.

The portal was implemented using Bootstrap Framework 4.0 and the PHP language, storing data in a MySQL database and uses the D3JS library to draw graphics. Both the interface language and the recipe language are currently limited to Italian, but the structure allows for the addition of other language versions.

At the moment the CookIT site contains 178 traditional recipes, including pizza and other typical dishes of the Mediterranean diet, which is an intangible heritage included in UNESCO Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. More than 400 traditional Italian recipes have been identified for inclusion and are being processed.

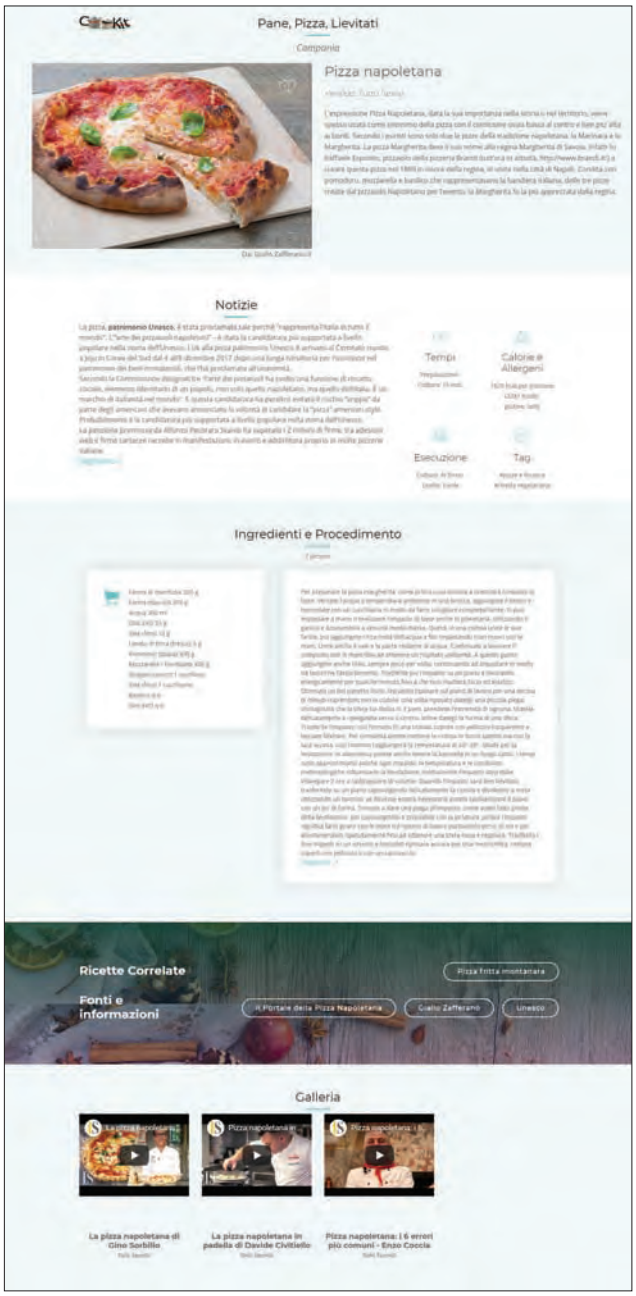

Fig.4 Recipe detail of "Pizza napoletana" © IMATI-CNR

Future Works and Conclusions

This paper presents CookIT, a portal for the conservation and preservation of traditional Italian recipes, designed as a dissemination site to promote the culture of the Italian cuisine tradition. Different ways of searching and viewing data have been defined and implemented to reach different types of users, thanks to the simplicity of use and attention to the user experience. New styles of data visualization are under construction, such as the use of the color of ingredients and a display mode such as MyPlate (Choosemyplate.gov, 2014).

The main purpose of the CookIT portal is to gather knowledge in the form of recipes, images, and videos on the many differences in both Italian regional cuisine and local, familiar variations of the same dish.

The possibility of linking, in a semi-automatic way, archives of intangible cultural assets, such as IntangibleSearch(ITC, 2019) or QueryLab (a website that integrates different intangible heritage inventories all over the world) [6], is now being studied. The aim is to preserve traditional recipes, studying and analyzing how they evolved over time.

The CookIT portal has been designed to be a research tool on which to experiment with new algorithms of visualization and search of content, images, videos, and texts (Mori, et al, 2012; Ciocca et al, 2017); Ciocca et al, 2018). It has been planned to group recipes based on ingredients, courses, and colors as well as similar food suggestions for ingredients. Moreover, since each family cooks a local variant of the dish, the archive allows us to collect and view these variants. The analysis of these different versions in terms of ingredients, cooking times and methods, level of healthiness, respect for tradition, and ease of realization is being investigated. The possibility of building healthy and balanced menus is being studied with the help of expert nutritionists.

The data collected within the site, thanks to both the editorial staff and the collaborative effort of users, allows us to have an inventory of traditional foods with different modern variations and will allow us to enrich more and more this dataset, experimenting with innovative strategies for the management of information and application processing, for example by comparing how traditional recipes have evolved or giving indications on how to return to the origins. In the future, these tools may be integrated into the CookIT portal or a mobile application, to help users recognize real traditional Italian dishes.

Résumé

L'UNESCO comprend plusieurs éléments liés à l'alimentation qui font partie du patrimoine culturel immatériel à sauvegarder. Les produits alimentaires, la diète, la transformation et les recettes font partie intégrante de l'identité culturelle des groupes sociaux, qui induit de ce fait la nécessité de les préserver. Les recettes traditionnelles font notamment partie de ces éléments transmis de génération en génération qui offrent des liens étroits avec un territoire particulier. Animés par le rôle important des recettes culinaires, nous présentons dans cet article CookIT, un portail Web destiné à recueillir et à partager des recettes traditionnelles italiennes liées à la cuisine régionale. Son objectif est de diffuser et de sauvegarder la connaissance des recettes italiennes typiques et de la diète méditerranéenne, qui constitue une partie importante de la cuisine italienne.

Le portail est conçu pour permettre une navigation multimodale à travers les recettes. Il offre des interfaces de recherche standard basées sur des mots-clés et des balises sur un certain nombre de données textuelles différentes telles que des informations historiques, des recettes similaires, des procédures de cuisson, des informations nutritionnelles, etc. Le portail prend également en charge différentes stratégies de visualisation des éléments sélectionnés pour engager l'utilisateur dans l'exploration des différents aspects de la cuisine italienne.

La plus importante connaissance de la tradition liée à l'alimentation et aux recettes est préservée au sein de la famille et est transmise par le fait de cuisiner ensemble entre les générations. Afin de préserver cette connaissance, le portail permet aux utilisateurs d'insérer leur propre version de la recette, de manière simple et conviviale, en joignant éventuellement la vidéo de la recette et des spécialités de la famille.

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CHAPTER 11

The Eldest Meal is Borsch

Oleksandr Butsenko
Senior Researcher, National Academy of Arts of Ukraine

Valentyna Demian
Vice Director, Development Centre "Democracy through Culture"

Borsch in Ukraine is a typical lunch or dinner specialty elsewhere
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Since 2014, NGOs has been playing an important, if not decisive, role in ICH safeguarding, and the UNESCO Convention 2003 was implemented in Ukraine. The development center "Democracy through Culture," the independent think-and-do tank engaged in cultural policy issues, including cultural heritage, took a core part in preparing the periodic report of Ukraine on the implementation of the Convention 2003 (approved at the eleventh session of the Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Addis Ababa, in 2016) and coordination of all stakeholders. With an aim to reach defined objectives related to ICH safeguarding, the Centre created the website (http://demcult.org/en) and founded the ICH platform consisting of NGOs, public culture organizations, local authorities, professional associations, national societies,

universities, research centers, and educational establishments. The main objectives of this platform are researching, inventorying, documenting, and promoting the ICH, carrying out workshops, training, and inspiring events (like festivals, forums, etc.), and consulting and assisting in developing nominations for local ICH lists, national register and/or UNESCO lists. One domain to which we have paid attention in Ukraine is food culture. It's necessary to note that only one element related to food traditions is included presently into the National register of ICH in Ukraine. We are referring to the Karaite culinary hospitality: cooking tradition of patty with meat (*aiaklak*), submitted by the Karaite National Society Djamaat (with the help of Democracy through Culture) and adopted by the Ministry of Culture of Ukraine on November 2018 (http://demcult.org/en/golovna/national-register-of-the-ich-of-ukraine/).

Food traditions of a territory have created the identification of cultures emerged there. Rich and diverse food traditions in Ukraine have been shaped during centuries and reflect not only historical development, customs, and tastes but also natural and climatic environment as well as intercultural dialogue of nations and nationalities living here. As Iryna Pavlenko, doctor of philology, head of the Slavic Department of Zaporizhzhia National University, stated at the round table Language as a Vehicle of the Intangible Cultural Heritage organized by the Melitopol State Pedagogical University named after B. Khmelnytsky, the Development Centre, Democracy through Culture (Kyiv), the Karaite National Society Djamaat, and Cultural Department of the Melitopol City Council in May 2019 (Language: Living And Modern Culture, 2019), each nation resided in one or more region of Ukraine should learn for surviving how to grow local plants and prepare local food, adding national flavor, knowledge, and plants and enriching local recipes and dishes. For example, Bulgarians who had relocated to the southeast region of Ukraine in the nineteenth century brought with them the red bell pepper and began to add it into the borsch that became usual for all nations living there.

The study of traditional food culture by children, as the experience of our center has proved, is an exciting opportunity to develop peaceful and intercultural dialogue. An illustrative example is a Karaite-language textbook *Let the Native Language Sound* presented at the above mentioned round table by Sofia Yalpachyk, one of the elder of members of the Karaite community of Melitopol and a member of the Djamaat Society. The textbook allows younger children to learn the Karaite language through

a demonstration of vegetables composing the *borsch*. As S. Yalpachyk has explained in private conversation, local Karaites highly respect this dish for its nutritional value and the diversity of recipes.

Sofia Yalpachyk teaches children Karaite language using pictures of vegetables needed for borsch cooking, 2019
© Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"

The joint research and documentation project, initiated by the Development Centre, Democracy through Culture and the National Union of Folk Art Masters of Ukraine, is focused on the traditional food in Ukraine. The main subject of research is food culture materialized in borsch and bread as symbols of Ukrainian cuisine.

Yevhen Shevchenko, President of the National Union of Folk-Art Masters of Ukraine with a manuscript of the future monograph about the borsch in Ukraine, 2019 © Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"

Ukraine is situated in a favorable geographical zone; its natural and climatic conditions allow the growth of different plants; therefore the Ukrainian cuisine is rich in dishes of vegetables, berries, mushrooms, fragrant herbs; at the same time, numerous rivers, lakes and forests existing there add a wide range of fish and meat specialties. Cooking characteristics of Ukrainian cuisine are distinguished by highly tasteful and nutritious qualities as well as by a variety of rich dishes. However, a champion is the borsch. In fact, over the centuries, the borsch has predominated in the food traditions of Ukrainians despite the irresistible globalization and infiltration of new products and specialties in the food culture. This meal is still common in cities and in rural areas, without social differences (age, status), having in many cases ritual significance (celebrations, funeral feasts, banquets, etc.), and presenting an integral part of the verbal culture, arts, and crafts. As the survey of different groups of population about the borsch has demonstrated (Survey 2018, Democracy through Culture), almost all respondents have stated that the borsch means in their life something more than just a delicious and extremely nutritious meal and phenomenon of everyday life, constituting a compulsory part of social practice, humor, language, poems, carols, etc. "A day without borsch is a lost day", as Ihor Panchyshyn, well-known artist and cultural activist from the city of Ivano-Frankivsk wrote answering the survey. It can be said that borsch in Ukraine is a bright manifestation of the living culture covering all territory of the country. A striking example one could find in the digest *Dishes of different nationalities* (Запорізький обласний методичний центр культури і мистецтва, 2018) where the recipe of so called "Cossack borsch" is presented:

> When they talk about the Ukrainian food, we imagine immediately the borsch… it was eaten almost every day and served on parties and weddings.

Cover of the digest "Dishes of different nationalities" © Regional methodological center of arts, Zaporizhzhia oblast council

Cooking specificities have been reflected in the name: by territory, city, or locality, for example: borsch of Kyiv, of Poltava, of Volyn, of Chernihiv, of Odesa, of Derenkovets, etc.; by specific livelihood, for example: monk's borsch, master's borsch, Cossack's borsch, peasant's borsch.

Inasmuch as there are so many borsch recipes and they are so varied, it can be safely said that every Ukrainian household has its own recipe and method for preparing borsch. On realizing our field studies, we paid special attention to family cooking traditions. So, I (V. Demian) have investigated my own family traditions discovering that we have various recipes of borsch derived from different territories. When a girl is married, she brought her recipe of borsch to her new family and learnes one that they used. That is why I consider my family borsch that of Volyn, with mushrooms and dried prune (my husband's family recipe), as well as the borsch of Derenkovets, with berries of sod (my parents' recipe). And many other families have the same situation. Replying to question who taught you how to cook borsch,

Borsch is served all over Ukraine as a main dish. Often, it used with bread, sour cream, onion and bacon © Company Papa&Mama

almost all our respondents said that nobody, they simply saw how their mother or grandmother did it. And it's true. The common family practice and observation how the elders did was the best way of tradition learning. This applies also to vegetable farming.

The origin of borsch dates far back in time when brews or chowders with the addition of fragrant herbs were common on the territory of modern Ukraine. Those dishes were called "brews of plants". Later, they began to add vegetables to the chowder, and that brew was called *borschovyk* because of including red beetroot known, in ancient times, as "borsch" (*Українські страви* (1960). Денисенко Л., ред. – *Ukrainian dishes* (1960). L. Denysenko, ed.). There is large number of borsch preparation methods with always one constant component, beets. They began using potatoes and tomatoes in the borsch in Ukraine quite late. Smoliar V. (Formation and flourishing of Ukrainian cuisine, 2008:63) argued that

In the nineteenth century, there have appeared such vegetables as tomatoes and eggplants. Tomatoes are used for preparing cold snacks and other food or producing tomato pulp for borsch and sauces.

Another idea of the origin of the meal's name is related with the wild plant borschovyk or *borschivka* (*Oxalis acetosella*, wood sorrel), as Artiukh L. (2006) suggested. Many recipes of borsch preparation in spring when the first green comes out and included fragrant herbs gathered in the forests and in the meadows, not grown in household plots. The mentioned plant (borschivka) relates to such herbs. On having many useful properties and taste quality like lemon, it could substitute dock (sorrel) introducing an unusual taste to the meal. In this connection it should be mentioned also lesser celandine (*Ficaria verna*). Young leaves of the plant gathered before flowering, a component of spring salads, were put in spring soups and vitamin chowders and, of course, in borsch while flowers were marinated and added as a spice or hot sauce. They added also goosefoot, which is an excellent vitamin supplement in early spring. Without an obvious taste and aromatic quality, it is an unsurpassed component of so called green borsch. Another equally interesting component of green borsch is nettle which, except that has medicinal properties, is an excellent ingredient of many spring dishes as a good vitamin supplement, however, only when it is young. Many components form the green borsch: wood garlic, sorrel, goosefoot, lesser celandine, nettle, borschivka—all these ingredients form a kind of vitamin bomb. Our ancestors have transferred to us centuries-long knowledge about the world and, particularly, the ability to eat plants that emerge first in spring when the body demands new strength and vitamins while many vegetables have run out or have lost their nourishment from imperfect storage. Although storage has improved today and vegetables are kept better, our body demands new vitamins, and food such as green borsch is, therefore, life-giving and delicious. In other words, knowledge of our ancestors helps us today though we don't usually consider the wealth we have inherited. It is worth emphasizing that just knowledge about herbs and plants and their consumption, inter alia, has saved people in lean years when we had to obtain the recipes of "hungry" or "empty" borsch. Today, using these recipes we don't always wonder under what circumstances they have appeared and what role nettle, goosefoot, lesser celandine, wood sorrel, dock, and wood garlic have played. In those times when the only food was

hungry borsch, such "brews of plants" saved many lives. Today, as a brief analysis of social networks has shown (Green borsch, 2019) numerous Facebook users in Ukraine welcome the coming of spring for plants, allowing them to prepare the first fresh borsch.

Spring vegetable farming has no gender differences. Cherkassy region, 2017 © Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"

We can learn that (*Українські страви* (1960). Денисенко Л., ред. – *Ukrainian dishes* (1960). L. Denysenko, ed.):

> a number of ingredients for borsch also differs: for example, Ukrainian borsch has twenty components, borsch of Kyiv, twenty; peasant's borsch,eighteen; borsch of Poltava with dumplings, eighteen; borsch of Chernihiv, sixteen; and green borsch of Ukraine , eighteen.

An archaeologist-researcher from Kyiv, Maxiv Levada (private conversation, 2018) has pointed out that monasteries traditionally had kitchen borsch gardens for growing so called borsch vegetables. If you visit Ukrainian villages or city suburbs today, you can find such borsch gardens close to private houses or even apartment buildings.

Borsch ingredients are vegetables grown in Ukraine. The tradition of their cultivation and storage has not changed in principle for a long time. Until now, private households grow borsch ingredients traditionally.

According to folk beliefs, garden and fieldwork should start after the Christian holiday, the Annunciation of the Lord. Though the Christian religion doesn't regulate garden and fieldwork, here we see the vivid integration of traditional customs basing on observation and popular farming practices. It is believed that on the Annunciation, the spring has fought the winter, and the soil is ready to receive seeds, but to do so earlier you could "trouble" the land. By the way, it's also true with respect to gathering different plants for the green borsch: before this holiday one can't trouble the land and gather plants since, as a proverb says: "At Annunciation, even birds don't make their nests." It should be noted also, that the majority of Ukrainians ensure that products for borsch preparation are high quality and environmentally sound. According to tradition, borsch will not be tasty if even one ingredient is not good quality. As one of owners of the Ukrainian traditional cuisine chain (eco-chain *bat'kivska khata*/ "father's house") has said us (Poplavsky M., 2019, private talk), it's necessary to pay particular attention to the water for the borsch along with vegetables, meat, and spices. Water quality greatly affects edibility. In addition to growing vegetables on special plots for restaurants, this eco-chain owner brings pure spring water for borsch preparation from one of the regions of Ukraine.

In the view of experts, food preparation and food consumption on holidays support the development of private relations and strengthen social links. The time for food preparation and consumption is time spent with family, friends, and colleagues and allows additional communication and enhances social cohesion. Undoubtedly, borsch preparation and consumption, as opposed to fast food, belongs to the category of slow food, a cuisine on which communication and relationships, and culture are built. Besides, we can say with certainty that there is a whole ceremony in addition to preparing and savoring borsch, which includes harvesting, buying vegetables at the market, etc. As a website of the cuisine chain Bat'kivska Khata proclaims (*До джерел*, 2013):

> Today when the food market is flooded with fast foods and products with carcinogenic and chemical additives, it's very important to safeguard and transfer from generation to generation recipes for national dishes, to promote healthy and useful food, especially among young people, since we're genetically adapted for its consumption. This food contains all necessary components to nourish the human body, gives inspiration for conquering new peaks, and makes us feel well and in good spirit.

It's not strange, therefore, that traditional foods used for preparing borsch have become a basic indicator for the social well-being determining the cost of the shopping basket, the production level, and the industrial ecology. Today, in Ukraine they used to measure the basic food basket through the traditional "borsch set" that is, at cost of components presenting in the borsch in Ukraine recipe. In such a way, different Ukrainian media show (*Борщовий делікатес* (2019); *Експерти порівняли вартість борщу в Україні та за кордоном* (2018) the consumption capacity of Ukrainians using the set of products for the traditional borsch.

Borschiv, a town in western Ukraine organizes an annual festival Borsch'yiv ("one has eaten borsch"). According to legend, this meal is of particular importance for locals. It is said that during the Turkish siege of the town, a local hostess served borsch for the uninvited guests, and since they didn't like anything, the angry hostess struck the chieftain on the forehead with a ladle, and he choked to death on borsch. And for this reason, the town was called Borschiv. Whether it is true or not, it shows that disrespecting the meal can lead to terrible things: say to the hostess that something wrong with her borsch, it will offend her deeply.

***Ficaria verna* or lesser celandine is a sign of spring and the green borsch season, 2018 © Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"**

It is not surprising, therefore, that borsch festivals (like mentioned above Borsch'yiv) have developed in Ukraine. Consider, for example, the famous festival in the village of Opishnia (Poltava region) called Borsch in a Clay Pot. It is even more than a festival; it is a peculiar action uniting many components of Ukrainian culture. As festival organizers have advertised festival, "Borsches in Clay Pots represent sixty types, including ten vegan dishes." This festival is interesting because it takes place in the village of Opishnia, a center of ceramology and traditional pottery. The famous pottery and ceramics from the village are included on the National Register of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ukraine. To serve borsch in a clay pot is an ancient Ukrainian tradition. The borsch in a clay pot is exclusively delicious, especially when prepared in a Ukrainian oven. As Olena Scherban, an ethnologist, ceramologist, historian, researcher of traditional food culture, and founder and ideologist of the festival in Opishnia confessed, just the traditional Ukrainian meal, borsch, prepared by her grandmother inspired her for the idea of festival (Buhai A., 2018):

> Borsch of my grandmother Maria was cooked obligatory in a kettle at hearth, a kind of open-air stove. The meal smelled smoky, always having speckled beans and leavened beetroots. She sweetened that tart with sugar. Such a combination of sour and sweet created the most delicious borsch.

Various recipes of borsch represented at the festival are distinguished by numerous variations and regional peculiarities, with different ratios of savory, salty, sweet, sour; borsches offered there are: red, classic, author's, white, and green borsch with fish, plums, smoked pears, and strawberries. According to O. Scherban (Buhai A., 2018):

> From classic cooking methods to a wide variety of food preparation used by our ancestors in their time. There are green, white, and red kinds of borsch, with strawberries, crayfish, dumplings, pears, plums, and catfish.

But the real heart of the festival is the master class in family borsch, dishes from "mother, grandmother, aunt…" That diversity of borsch recipes and cooking methods confirms that the dish has united all manifestations

of the living culture—that is, deep knowledge about the world, plants, vegetables, and fruits as well as about fragrant herbs used for preparation, their taste, and useful properties. Popular attitudes to borsch are reflected in the proverb: "We have nothing to eat if we have no borsch." Each hostess prepares and serves the borsch usually prepared for her family and transferred from generation to generation, and is still prepared and savored in her household. One more attractive feature of the festival in Opishnia is a clay pot in which borsch has been traditionally served. As the festival founder has told (Buhai A., 2018):

> At first for me, the clay pot was a research subject; later I started preparing different kinds of borsch in it. I'm very glad that we have tasted over fifty kinds of borsch at the festival. It's impossible not to come to borsch since, as people say, borsch and porridge are our living food. It is the health of nation. It's our "chip and our brand."

Guests from Estonia and Poland of the international literary and artistic festival "Krolevets Woven Towels" in the town of Krolevets (Sumy region of Ukraine), are tasted local borsch. 2017
© Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"

One can find and buy a "borsch set" in street markets in large cities, 2019. © Valentyna Demian, DC "Development through Culture"

As one of the folk sayings gathered by the eminent Ukrainian poet Ivan Franko at the beginning of twentieth century argues, "the eldest meal is borsch" (Франко І. 1901). One of questions in the survey, realized by the NGO Democracy through Culture (Survey, 2018) was: "In your opinion, what is the main national dish?" 99% of respondents gave a definite answer: borsch.

In conclusion

Coming from ancient times, borsch in Ukraine, in all its varieties remains a popular meal, representing not only traditional food preparation but also cultural and social habits, knowledge about the world around and diversity of expressions. It is a real living heritage of the Ukrainian people transferred from generation to generation, covering all regions of Ukraine and all social groups. Despite globalization and the influx of fast food, borsch has maintained its position in the life of modern Ukraine, receiving worldwide recognition. However, it faces some challenges. Those challenges include bad quality of water, especially in cities, environmental factors reflecting on the quality of borsch components (vegetables and plants), alteration of cooking process transforming it in fast food preparation or "ethno-cuisine" for tourists. We can say that safeguarding and further developing food culture such as borsch demand coordinated efforts in different areas: culture, education, ecology, agriculture, etc.—that is, a comprehensive program. With this aim, several non-governmental, public and private organizations

(Development Centre; Democracy through Culture; NGO WOMEN Plus; National Union of Folk Art Masters of Ukraine; Karaite National Society Djamaat; festivals such as Borsch in a Clay Pot and Borsch'yiv; and the chain of eco-restaurants Bat'kivska Khata) together with the National Academy of Arts of Ukraine and universities have started research, promotion, and preparation of Ukrainian food culture (particularly, borsch and bread food traditions) for inclusion on the National Register of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Ukraine.

Résumé

Venant des temps anciens, le borsch en Ukraine dans toutes ses variétés reste un repas populaire, représentant non seulement la préparation des plats traditionnels, mais aussi les habitudes culturelles et sociales, la connaissance du monde et la diversité des expressions. C'est un véritable patrimoine vivant du peuple ukrainien qui est transmis de génération en génération, qui couvre toutes les régions de l'Ukraine et concerne tous les groupes sociaux. En dépit d'une mondialisation et d'une restauration rapide (*fast-food*) difficiles à freiner, le borsch a maintenu sa position dans la vie de l'Ukraine moderne et jouit d'une reconnaissance mondiale. Cependant, il fait face à des défis. Ceux-ci incluent : la mauvaise qualité de l'eau, en particulier dans les villes ; certains facteurs environnementaux ayant une incidence sur la qualité des composants du borsch (légumes et plantes), et l'altération du processus de cuisson au profit d'un type de restauration rapide ou d'une « cuisine ethnique » pour les touristes. Nous pouvons dire que la sauvegarde et le développement ultérieur d'une culture alimentaire telle que le borsch exigent des efforts coordonnés dans différents domaines au sein d'un programme complet : culture, éducation, écologie, agriculture, etc. À cette fin, plusieurs organisations non gouvernementales, publiques et privées (Centre de développement Démocratie par la culture, ONG WOMEN Plus, Union nationale des maîtres d'art populaire d'Ukraine, Société nationale karaïte Djamaat, festivals Borsch in a clay pot et Borsch'yiv, la chaîne de restaurants écologiques Bat'kivska Khata), en collaboration avec l'Académie nationale des arts de l'Ukraine et certaines universités, ont lancé des activités de recherche, de promotion et de préparation de la culture alimentaire ukrainienne (en particulier le borsch et les traditions liées au pain) pour son inscription au Registre national du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'Ukraine.

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CHAPTER 12

The Masters of Ceremonial Dishes in Turkey

Traditional Female Cooks

Nihal Kadıoğlu Çevik
Culinary Research Program Coordinator, Cultural Research Foundation

Introduction

In Turkey, it is mostly traditional female cooks who prepare wedding dishes in most villages, although their numbers have declined. Traditional female cooks have almost always been at the center of my culinary field research. I carried out an important part of this research in the villages and small towns of the Aegean (Izmir, Aydın, Manisa), Mediterranean (Adana), Marmara (Balıkesir, Çanakkale), and Central Anatolia (Çorum) regions between 1998 and 2018. The data I obtained by interviewing and observing techniques in groups that describe themselves as immigrants, natives, Alawis, Yoruks, or Turkomans in these settlements showed that traditional female cooks who prepare ceremonial dishes, especially for weddings, have some common equipment and knowledge. This equipment included the ability to control the material, cooking and presentation techniques of ceremonial food and to transfer the traditional knowledge, skills, and experience of food to future generations.

During my field research, I had the opportunity to observe traditional female cooks closely during the preparation of ceremonial dishes. Besides the ceremony, I tried to get in-depth information through interviews. I watched their self-confident, calm but serial moves in between other work like cleaning, cutting, and chopping vegetables, cereals, and meat. I listened to the orders, suggestions, and warnings they gave to the women helping them and witnessed them understanding the state and taste of the dishes by just observing or smelling the dish. They answered my questions during dish preparations, cooking processes, and related efforts. Through the face-to-face interviews, I gathered information about the process of them becoming cooks, the role of traditional cooks in rituals, and the "traditionality" dimension of the dish. I learned more about the dish fact, which is one of the visible and dynamic areas of cultural identity, and means for groups and communities. Through these observations and interviews, I tried to understand how traditional knowledge about culinary culture and food is formed and the ways this accumulation is maintained, developed, and transmitted. I saw that the characteristics these women should have to be accepted as traditional cooks by the community are clearly defined within the tradition. To "cook well" was a priority, but not a sufficient measure to be a traditional cook. Female cooks were expected to have other qualities and even some personal characteristics. What lies in the knowledge, skills, and experience of these tradition transmitters? In other words; what are the

Cook (Izmir_Aegean Region)
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expectations of people, groups, and societies from the cooks leading the catering part of the ceremonies. In the following parts, I focused on these common features of the female cooks who transmit the knowledge about culinary culture between generations as tradition transmitters.

Societal roles of traditional female cooks

One of the areas where women appear to be powerful socially in rural life in Turkey is traditional cookery.

The female cooks are called "cooks" or "village cooks." In some villages, on the other hand, names such as *yemekçi*, *aşganacı*, and *keyveni* are used as well. Dishes in ceremonies for birth, circumcision, engagement, and weddings are often cooked by females, especially in rural settlements.

Cook (Manisa_Aegean Region)
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Traditional female cooks plan, implement, and manage the ceremonial dishes, which is a complex process, from the beginning to the end. These women, who perform cookery, regarded as more of a "male" profession, in rural settlements under more difficult conditions are not professional cooks. They are not trained in this regard. The majority are housewives. Besides, they earn their living by working with their spouses in fields in farming, raising livestock, or maintaining fisheries. Based on the degree of their closeness to the host of the ceremony, they either do not charge a fee or accept only a small fee or gift for cooking. They consider what they do as social cooperation. They often say that the satisfaction with their food and benediction of people who attend the ceremony is enough for them.

Traditional female cooks have a cumulative knowledge, in the framework of the "knowledge and practices concerning nature and universe" described in the UNESCO ICH Convention, especially about edible ingredients and products, organization, social structure of the community, skills of implementation and transmission in a shared environment, and volunteering and efficiency in transmitting knowledge.

Knowledge of Edible Ingredients and Products

Traditional female cooks prepare the stew-rice- halva trio, which is the common menu of weddings, especially at village weddings. In some parts of the Aegean, Mediterranean, Marmara, and Central Anatolia, *keşkek* (a dish of mutton or chicken and coarsely ground wheat) constitutes an inseparable part of this menu. In this case, the trio in the menu is served as *keşkek*, *pilav* and *helva*. Also, a seasonal dish such as salad, stuffed vine leaves, stuffed peppers, or potatoes is added to this menu. Besides these dishes, soup, seasonal vegetable dishes, plenty of salads, *pide*, and *ayran* are served based on desire.

Traditional female cooks are expected to cook ceremonial dishes to provide the traditional flavor that the community expects. Therefore, they must have the traditional knowledge and skills and accumulation of the equipment and the edible materials (for example, the amount of water rice needs, cooking time of the meat, the state of the food according to summer and winter months) to be used. The relevant group or community is like a mechanism that continuously monitors this accumulation.

The female cooks primarily ensure the preparation of the meat to be used in the main dishes for the ceremony. Together with her assistants, the cook carefully separates the parts and bones of the meat that will not be used for stew and boils them for a long time to obtain large quantities of broth . She keeps boiled broth and heated oil to give consistency to the dishes that harden in time in the case of dishes such as keşkek. Essentially, meat broth adds water to the dish and helps to get the consistency. On one side you can cook a variety of fleshy stews with potatoes, chickpeas, and vegetables. It is expected that rice, which is an integral part of the ceremonial menu, is made with meat and water, it is fat enough, and the rice in it is in separate grains. Broth is added to the dish when necessary to give consistency. On the other hand, fleshy stew-like dishes are cooked with potatoes, chickpeas, and vegetables. Rice, an essential ceremonial dish, is expected to be grainy, cooked with broth, and oily enough. Besides the main dishes, stuffed leaves of grape vine or cabbage are prepared with filling ingredients of olive oil baked rice, spices, and greeneries like parsley and mint. Vegetables such as bell peppers, tomatoes, and eggplant can also be stuffed with the same filling ingredient. Vegetable dishes at the ceremonies are prepared with seasonal vegetables since they are tasty and not expensive. Sugared water and milk are added to flour or semolina that is fried with excess oil to make halva.

To give halva a hardened consistency, all these ingredients are mixed for a long time, rested, and shaped. If baklava will be served at the ceremony, the family hosting it prepares or buys it in advance.

The knowledge and experience of the traditional cook with regard to cooking appliances as well as the edible ingredients affects the quality and duration of the cooking process. It is observed that they develop practical solutions with regard to cooking and serving thanks to their knowledge, skills, and experience. For example, to protect the copper boilers set from the wood fire, they put a lye paste under the boiler, which also provides equal heat distribution and makes cleaning easier after cooking. They put special fabrics around rice pots to keep them warm and rested. If the number of participants is more than expected, additional measures are taken. For example, instead of serving the meat dish and rice separately, the plates are prepared by placing the meat with broth on top of rice and thus time is saved until the next rice is cooked.

Some female cooks have their own personal rituals with regard to abundance. They would not place the entire dish in the ladle onto the plate while serving a ceremonial dish. They believe symbolically that this would increase the abundance of the dish. Or, before starting to cook, they would say "the hand is not mine, but of Hadrat-i Fatima's" with reference to the religious personality in the Islamic belief. In doing so, they believe that the ceremonial dish will be delicious, abundant, and plentiful.

Organizational Knowledge

It is expected that the focus dishes of the ritual that is bringing hundreds of people together are prepared and served in line with traditions. The role of these cooks in the dish gaining and maintaining importance as a common cultural code for the participants of the ritual is significant. In this regard, it can be said that the female cooks are the "directors" as well as the "leading actresses" of the ceremonial dishes for the relevant community.

The host of the ceremony talks with the female cook beforehand about the dishes to be cooked for the ceremony. The ingredients, number of participants and the budget of the ceremonial dishes are determined. Managing the catering part of the ceremony requires organizational skills and knowledge. The cook would have her understanding of division of labor in line with her cultural codes. The ingredients are cleaned and chopped by other women participating in the preparations under the supervision

of the cook. The cook controls fire-heat for the dishes to be prepared with open fire. The cook makes a spatial arrangement in the place where the ceremonial dish will be prepared and served. The cook also serves the dish. Because the traditional knowledge that requires a sort of mathematical knowledge, such as how much meat or broth will be placed on which plate or the common plate is recorded in the memory of the cook. As the wedding ceremony is still a three-day ceremony in the rural areas, the female cook participates in almost all of the ceremonial process. The traditional cook is involved in all the organization regarding the dishes, including the plans made for situations that cannot be foreseen such as calculating the dishes to be served to those attending the ceremony late. In this regard, the female cooks should also be successful in risk management.

While meeting the expectation of the community that the ceremonial dish should be delicious and plentiful, they also calculate the costs to not cause waste. The preparations, cooking, and distribution of the ceremonial dish require knowledge and experience in issues overcoming the food context, related to organization, cost calculation, and edible ingredients as well as the social status, age, and gender of the participants.

Social Knowledge about Community

Traditional female cooks, among the leading actors of the ceremony who are given significant importance by the community, are knowledgeable about the line of descent of the community and the social status of the existing participants. There is an oral (also written for those that are more institutionalized) agreement between the representative of the host family of the ceremony—who is generally a male—and the female cook. It is possible to say that the personal database regarding the community participating in the ceremony, the target group so to speak, in terms of age, gender, ethnical structure, and religious beliefs, is recorded in the memory of the female cook. This accumulation provides a quality food service to the guests among who are kids, teens, women, and men. No matter how crowded the ceremony is, the female cook usually serves by herself. An experienced female cook explains the reason for this as follows, “It is the cook who knows about the ingredients and quantity of the food. I do put it on the plates in due form and pass it to the assistants. It is necessary to serve again to those who are not full. It is the cook who knows about the quantity and the rules of these.”

Execution and Transmitting Skills in the Common Venue

In Turkey, special ceremonies are expected to host plentiful and various dishes and participation in large numbers. Special days and occasions set an environment where the hospitality that is embedded in the general structure can be observed. It is generally possible to attend a circumcision, wedding, or funeral ceremony in the rural areas even if you do not know the host at all. The venue of the ceremony—especially if it is an open venue—is the common cultural space of the community. And it is open to guests coming from other places. The concept of "Guest of the God" refers to the unexpected, unknown people, or people who were there by chance to be invited to the house or the ceremony, but especially to the table. In the regions where the tradition continues, these guests are also a part of the ceremonial venue. In the common venue where the ritual is set, more attention is paid to the hosting of these guests coming from long distances.

The tables or the floor tables, where the attendants of the ceremony are going to sit at the ceremony venue, are determined by the host of the ceremony considering social status. The opinion of the cook is also asked during this spatial planning. Usually, separate tables are set for men and women. Children eat with women. The quantity and the variety of the dishes to be served on these tables are determined according to the directions of the cook.

The environment where the tradition is carried out, and thus the manners is realized is to be a learning domain on its own. For example, waiting for keşkek to be cooked until morning without sticking to the pan and burning and at medium heat is called keşkek watch. This process creates a convenient time and space for transmitting traditional knowledge and skills. There exist knowledge, skill, and experience that are transmitted during common cooperation. Even though the leader of this community is the female cook, women and men share the different steps of the ceremonial dish preparation in this cultural space.

The venue where the ceremony will be held carries a different meaning compared to daily life. The ceremonial venue is now a real "stage" instead of a place where rehearsals are made. This is a stage where the concrete results and feedback regarding the production are quickly received. The venue where the ceremonial dishes will be prepared, cooked, and served are set by the cook. The cook also manages the cooking tools and utensils to keep the dishes warm, taking measures against unexpected rain and wind. She ensures that the serving plates are set so to ease the serving of the dishes. She

Cook (Nevsehir_Central Anatolia)
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also protects the dishes from direct sunlight that would spoil them. She also determines the place where the dishes will be washed to prevent the guests from seeing this mess. All these ensure that the venue is used effectively for cooking. Thus, the traditional cook builds up a complex kitchen, which is temporary but serving hundreds of people.

Volunteering and Efficiency in Transmitting Knowledge and Skills

Field survey data indicates that female cooks who are between 50 and 65 years of age are helped by women between 30 and 35 years of age who want to learn cooking. When traditional female cooks get older, they help young cooks with advice, even though they can't cook physically.

Traditional female cooks report that they accumulated their knowledge from the cooks before them, first from the elder women in their families and then from their neighbors and relatives. With regard to cooking, observing, and experiencing are among the leading learning techniques. Tradition transmitter M. Köseoğlu, (Çanakkale) describes this learning process as follows:

> There was an old female cook at a wedding. While she was preparing the wedding dishes, I was peeling the onions and potatoes, washing them and helping her. She told me to watch her with eagle eyes. Then she asked me to take the ladle and take care of the food. She guided and warned me when I was roasting the onions and adding the broth to the dish. She is no longer alive, but now I'm practicing the cooking skills I observed and learned from her. Like her, I'm trying to teach what I know to the girls who are willing to cook.

When the traditions regarding cooking that are transmitted from mother to daughter, they are transmitted to the next cook in the cultural area as patterns. The traditional cook has the role to disseminate and transform the traditional knowledge that she transmits with words, displays, applications, and repetition. Assistant women continuously observe what the cook does and ask questions. At this stage where a master-apprentice relationship is dominant, assistant women get the details of cooking ceremonial dishes and might be accepted as cooks in time depending on the skills they develop. The concept of "lending a hand" (which might be

Cooks (Kastamonu_Blacksea Region)
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defined as orally authorizing the person that will be the next cook) that we observed mostly in traditional arts is also usually valid for traditional cookery.

Characteristic Features

It is not enough for the cooks to have technical knowledge regarding applications or personal skills. Traditional female cooks are the tradition transmitters that have been "approved" by the community with regards to culinary culture. For this approval, personal characteristic features are also considered. For example, the hygiene consideration of the cook should have been approved by the community. For example, she has to be discreet. The cook has concrete information about the budget of the ceremony spared by the host. (Whether or not the cook receives material remuneration for cooking, the issues like the variety and quantity of the meat to be used are related to the family's budget. If the budget is limited, the cook might be

asked to prepare the keşkek with chicken meat instead of veal. Or, the cook who knows about the situation might use cheaper ingredients to increase the quantity of the dish). These are included in that oral or verbal contract and require being discrete.

With regards to the personal characteristics features again, the female cooks are expected to have the skill to be kind but firm. The cook is responsible for whether the ceremony meets the expectations, ends without problems and with less gossip. She has to be quick but careful, tolerant but decisive, controlling but composed, patient enough to answer calmly the rushed questions, and competent enough to manage all aspects of the ceremonial dishes.

Most of the time, all these traditional knowledge and skills and the accumulation of traditional female cooks with regard to the culinary culture are deleted from the memories without a chance to be transmitted to the next generation. Recently institutionalized restaurants or firms are replacing traditional cooks. The jobs of cooks at ceremonies like circumcisions, engagements, and weddings are now mostly taken over by men. Thus, it is witnessed that the dishes with meaning for the community are not given a place in the ceremonies, or standard menus are set with standard techniques.

In addition to the large copper cauldrons in which ceremonial dishes are cooked and are the common property of the village community, wooden cooking utensils and copper or zinc service plates are washed together after the ceremony and are carefully preserved until the next ceremonial dish. This equipment has begun to be replaced by plastic table d'hôte containers. Although these containers provide ease of use, since recycling is difficult in rural areas, they create environmental pollution.

Conclusion

Food has an impact that strengthens communal belonging, supports the harmony between socio-cultural groups, and unites. We see that this uniting effect of food is stronger in common community ceremonies. The traditional cooks who prepare these dishes for specific ceremonies are tradition transmitters who provide knowledge transfer between generations. The knowledge that she has gotten from the elderly women of the family and other traditional cooks within the kitchen since her childhood, that which

has remained from her observations and the meanings that she has gathered from the food stories told constitute genuine data in the memory of the cook. The knowledge, skill, and experience of traditional female cooks, who manage the crowded and multi-tasked ceremonial dishes, different from the daily cooking practices, constitute a continuously updated field of cultural heritage.

Traditional female cooks, who are the leading representatives and transmitters of rural culinary culture, have an important role in transmitting "knowledge based on experience related to nature and universe" as defined in the UNESCO 2003 Convention. The analysis of knowledge transmission regarding the preparing, cooking, and serving the dishes and creating and producing food related to different ethnic, religious, and cultural groups is important. A regional inventory work in the name of the Cultural Research Foundation (KAV) is being carried out regarding traditional female cooks.

In addition to inventory studies, KAV is carrying out studies to convey the knowledge and skills of traditional female cooks to urban environments. The aim of these studies is to enable traditional female cooks to communicate traditional knowledge within their context in academic institutions where cooking education is given, in education centers affiliated to local governments and formal education programs, and in NGOs. A report is being prepared on the establishment of environments that will enable this transfer and recommendations for the protection of places where food traditions can be practiced.

It is thought that the culinary knowledge and experiences of traditional female cooks can only be carried to urban life through widespread education.

Résumé

De nombreux aliments syriens sont associés à des coutumes et à des événements sociaux, et il est essentiel de documenter ce patrimoine immatériel en tant que partie intégrante de l'identité culturelle des communautés et du développement d'une nation et de sa civilisation. De nombreuses recherches sur la cuisine syrienne ont été présentées dans des ouvrages et des encyclopédies, tels que La gastronomie de la femme au foyer damascène de Munir Kayyal, L'Encyclopédie d'Alep de Khair Al-Deen Assadi ou La cuisine aleppine de Lina Baydoun.

Avec la participation des communautés locales, un certain nombre d'éléments liés à la nourriture traditionnelle ont été ajoutés à l'Inventaire national du patrimoine culturel immatériel de la Syrie afin d'encourager leur transmission et leur continuité. Des efforts additionnels de sauvegarde comprennent des festivals commandités par des ONG et des gouvernements, tels que le Festival annuel de la nourriture de rue ainsi que d'autres festivals folkloriques. En mai de chaque année, La Fondation syrienne pour le développement s'associe aux communautés locales pour l'organisation du Festival de la rose damascène, dans le but de connecter les publics urbains à la campagne syrienne et de présenter les pratiques, les performances et la gastronomie traditionnelles des agriculteurs de la rose damascène. Parmi les mets réalisés et promus pendant le festival, on peut citer la boisson, la confiture et les sucreries faites à la main à base de rose damascène.

Cependant, étant donné que la continuité et la transmission du patrimoine culturel immatériel sont liées à bien des égards à la durabilité économique des communautés, l'engagement de préserver le patrimoine culturel immatériel repose essentiellement sur la reconnaissance du fait que la culture peut avoir un impact positif bien au-delà de la seule préservation en étant également un catalyseur d'opportunités économiques et de revitalisation sociale. La Fondation syrienne pour le développement a mis au point des programmes de microcrédit qui encouragent la revitalisation du patrimoine culturel et la croissance économique dans les zones rurales. Les sommes sont réparties en 700 différents fonds à travers la Syrie et administrées par des comités de village, dont les membres sont élus sur la base de leurs connaissances des besoins et des réalités culturelles de leurs communautés. Le fait de fortifier les villageois avec cette responsabilité a énormément renforcé l'esprit et la solidarité de ces communautés et soutenu le développement et l'indépendance financière des familles dirigées par des femmes qui ont utilisé leurs connaissances traditionnelles pour mettre sur pied des projets à domicile. Le financement par microcrédit a aidé les communautés à restaurer les machines traditionnelles pour la production de confiture de fruits et à produire des bonbons, des fromages et des mets raffinés traditionnels, faisant ainsi revivre de vieilles pratiques et permettant aux communautés de continuer à transmettre leur patrimoine alimentaire.

Note

1. Personal communication with N. Mıhçı (Traditional Cook, age 55), Çorum, October 2000
2. Personal communication with M. Köseoğlu (Traditional Cook, age 57), Çanakkale, June 2010
3. Personal communication with M. Demir (Traditional Cook, age 65), Balıkesir, May 2014
4. Personal communication with Ş.Kublay (Traditional Cook, age 61), İzmir, July 2016
5. Personal communication with Fevziye K. (Traditional Cook, age 50), İzmir, May 2017
6. Personal communication with A. Kuru (Traditional Cook, age 48), Manisa, March 2018
7. Personal communication with L.Özcezar (Traditional Cook, age 64), Kastamonu, May 2018

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CHAPTER 13

The Pastellessa between Music and Traditional Food

Emanuela Esposito
Coordinator, ICARO Consortium

Vincenzo Capuano
Associazione Sant'Antuono & le Battuglie di Pastellessa

The term *pastellessa* represents an extraordinary combination of food, culture, music, and folklore, an expression of the people of Macerata Campania. It's a term with a very rich history and tradition, relating to the celebration of a religious event: the Feast of Sant'Antuono (St. Anthony the Abbot).

The Feast of Sant'Antuono, celebrated on 17 January, in Macerata Campania, a small town in southern Italy, is characterized by a traditional parade *carri di* Sant'Antuono (Sant'Antuono floats—that is, parade floats dedicated to St. Anthony the Abbot), on which the particular musicians of *battuglie di pastellessa* repeat the ancient sonorities of music of St. Anthony, commonly called *pastellessa*.

These particular musicians called *bottari* (barrel-beaters or barrel-players) produce a magic sound by beating farming instruments, such as barrels, vats, and scythes made by the local craftsmen: a sound that is an expression of the rural culture of the community, but it is best known as a cathartic ritual to ward off evil spirits and to awaken the land for the new harvest.

The music is part of a rite that originated at Macerata Campania and dates back to pre-Christian times, when the town was a district of ancient Capua. The tradition is repeated every year with the same passion and zeal, involving the entire population, from the youngest to the eldest.

The common denominator of the event is *pastellessa*, a typical dish prepared for the Feast of St. Anthony: *pasta con le castagne lesse* (pasta with boiled chestnuts), called *past' e 'llessa* in the Neapolitan language.

The main ingredients are chestnuts, as always an essential element of Italian *cucina povera* (poor cuisine) and comfort food.

> Italian "poor cuisine" has an ancient tradition, belonging to the people, to the peasants and to the poorer classes; it is an expression of the art of cooking, mixed to the well-known art of getting by. According to the local tradition, it comprises recipes made of simple and genuine ingredients, based on the use of what is available, including the leftovers from the day before. A lot of creativity and a little shopping are requested (Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2015).

Since ancient times, in areas with difficult geography and during times of adverse weather conditions or abject poverty, chestnuts were the only

source of income. Over the centuries, the extent of reliance gave chestnuts the name "tree bread." They are consumed in a lot of ways—roasted, boiled, or even ground for use as a flour—as a fruit, they're particularly calorific (100 grams are equivalent to 174 calories). They are rich in minerals and vitamins, with high antioxidant content. They reduce cholesterol and are high in carbohydrates and gluten-free. Chestnuts can be turned into a bread, pasta, or flour, indicated for people with coeliac disease (Cocolo, 2018).

Even though Macerata Campania is situated in flat plains and has a mild climate, from the reading of a few ancient documents, it emerges that in the nineteenth century, in the locality Caturano, there was chestnut production, currently non-existent (Capuano, 2017). The existence of a booming chestnut trade as early as the eighteenth century, helped by the proximity to hilly area of Roccamonfina, Italy, known for centuries for its chestnut production, can be confirmed too. In fact, in the census of 1754 the ancient craft of chestnut dealer is recorded, practiced by a man named Marcantonio Iannotta, a chestnut merchant and shopkeeper who, in addition to his wife had nine sons, two of whom, Cesare and Francesco, of 18 and 14, practiced the same activity as their father. On this occasion Marcantonio Iannotta defines himself as a chestnut merchant and a foodstuffs salesman (Massaro, 1987).

So no wonder that *past' e 'llessa* has been elected as typical dish of the Feast of Sant'Antuono; it turned out to be, over the years, an exclusive and a representative element of the culture of Macerata Campania, in Italy and the rest of the world.

Macerata Campania Town of the Pastellessa © Vincenzo Capuano

Battuglia di Pastellessa (folk music group)
© Vincenzo Capuano

It is no coincidence that in 2011, *past' e 'llessa* was included by the Association Sapere Sapori among the 150 traditional dishes indicated as the most representative of Italian culture and history (Sapere Sapori and Associazione Nazionale Città del Vino, 2011).

Moreover, in 2012 Macerata Campania was designated by the Municipal Authorities as the Town of the Pastellessa, to remark the strong link with the Feast of Sant'Antuono, declared as intangible cultural heritage of the community, according to 2003 UNESCO Convention (Municipality of Macerata Campania, 2012).

Lastly, the research published in 2015 by the Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, included *past' e 'llessa* from Macerata Campania among the most representative foods of Italian "poor cuisine" (Italian Ministry of Education, University and Research, 2015).

To support and promote the dissemination of such a cultural heritage, in 2015 the Educational Establishment of Macerata Campania with its own teachers and students started the Knowledge, Arts, and Traditions in Teaching Post project (*Saperi, arti e tradizioni in cattedra*), aimed at safeguarding and enhancing the town's cultural heritage, according to 2003 UNESCO Convention. Over the years, the project actively involved the community and the local elderly; the latter, as guides and keepers of the intangible cultural heritage of the community, passed on to the young students their knowledge and values, the music of St. Anthony and the secrets of pasta, raising the awareness about the importance of the intangible cultural heritage and the preservation of it, as well as teaching them how to recognize dangers and threats.

Up to now, more than four hundred students between the ages of 7 and 13 and twenty teachers have participated in the education activities. The project, carried out in cooperation with the Municipality of Macerata Campania, St. Martin's Parish of Macerata Campania, the UNESCO-accredited NGO Associazione Sant'Antuono & le Battuglie di Pastellessa and the Historia Loci Study Centre, allowed the Educational Establishment of Macerata Campania to adhere to the national UNESCO Associated Schools Network.

For about three years in Macerata Campania, the ICH safeguarding policies have also involved the weaker groups of society, in particular people affected by mental illness and social difficulties. This was made

Past' e 'llessa (traditional food)
© Vincenzo Capuano

possible thanks to the Better Together project (*Meglio Insieme*) implemented at the mental rehabilitation facility in Galluccio, Italy, by Icaro Consortium with the *battuglia* di *pastellessa* Suoni Antichi and the social cooperative Aria Nuova, by experiencing the use of *pastellessa* music as musicotherapy (Esposito and Capuano, 2017).

In particular, the combination of music and tradition touched the culinary field here too, convincing the project coordinators to experience the realization of a cooking workshop aimed at passing on the basic *past' e 'llessa* recipe to promote the social inclusion of people affected by psychiatric distress.

The first workshop, held in 2018 at the mental rehabilitation facility Tifata in San Prisco, Italy, and managed by the social cooperative Santiago, was organized by the NGO Associazione Sant'Antuono & le Battuglie di Pastellessa, involving six patients between the ages of 26 and 50 and consisting of the following phases:

1. preparing the workplace, the tools, and the food to be used;
2. explaining the recipe, with reference to its historical and cultural tradition;
3. preparing the meal;
4. tasting and sharing; and
5. cleaning and reorganizing the rooms.

Such a culinary activity let the users express their capacity, respect their commitments, realize a product, and keep and develop special skills to achieve greater autonomy and personal fulfilment. To have a "made together" meal represented an intimate emotional moment of sharing, lived not by the usual group but by a wider and (above all) different one. Preparing a traditional meal linked to a particular moment of happiness allowed a cultural exchange, approaching a common tradition and story well known from a musical point of view. Furthermore, preparing *past' e 'llessa* was an environmentally sustainable choice, by using typical regional products.

The long-term goal is to facilitate the development of skills related to the gastronomic field and to promote public events, attributing to disadvantaged people new social roles to be expressed through participation as well as to combat the stigma of mental health.

So, food and music are the instruments used by the Better Together project to

- promote and support social integration of disadvantaged people;
- eliminate prejudices by facilitating contact between "abled" and "disabled";
- give a chance to know people with psychiatric disease, by showing their social and productive potential and skills;
- help patients understand, or understand again, their cognitive and manual capacities, essential to work and achieve functional and social autonomy;
- orient patients towards some new external job/training opportunities.

It may be a coincidence, but we like remembering that the present article was written in 2018, the inaugurated Year of Italian Food by the Italian Ministry of Agricultural, Food and Forestry Policies and Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism.

The music of St. Anthony, commonly called Pastellessa (traditional music)
© Vincenzo Capuano

The experiences realized by the community of Macerata Campania may be considered unique opportunities to pay tribute to the products from our land, to the beauty, and to the tastiness of Italian food and of the typical regional dishes, testifying the close connection between food and tradition in our culture.

Chestnut trees are considerably important socially and economically, especially in Campania. In fact, this region is the largest chestnut producer in Italy, and the covering of these trees shows, in addition to an economic interest, a landscaping, a recreational, and an environmental role played by chestnut groves, allowing the local communities to implement a sustainable development policy. Chestnuts woods on which mountain and hill landscapes are modelled represent an intense call to the social traditions, to the rural culture, and to the ancient customs of the local communities. Lastly, chestnut groves protect against landslides and represent an indirect but effective defense against the occurrence and spreading of fires (Cristinzio and Testa, 2006).

We are reminded of Antonio Di Matteo, nicknamed *zì Antonio 'e pastellessa*, who lived in Macerata Campania from 1872 to 1951. Famous in his time for his tavern in the town, where patrons could taste the *past' e 'llessa*. Like so many other *capobattuglia*, he used to organize one of the Sant'Antuono floats for the parade in honor of the Saint. As happens today, each group is identified by a name, and the name of Antonio's float was, precisely, the *battuglia di pastellessa*, linked to his nickname. The fame of this group and the skill of Antonio Di Matteo, even outside the city, brought with time indicating all groups arranged on Sant'Antuono floats with *battuglie di pastellessa* nomenclature and increase the spread of the term *pastellessa* (Capuano, 2017).

Let's cook together…

The recipe for *past' e 'llessa* is easy and requires about twenty minutes.

Ingredients for four people

- 200 grams of boiled chestnuts
- 300 grams of pasta
- garlic
- extra virgin olive oil
- chili pepper
- salt
- parsley

❶ The ingredients of the past' e 'llessa
❷ The past' e 'llessa, pasta with boiled chestnuts

Method

1. Take a large pan and start your *soffritto*, by lightly frying a clove of garlic and some chili in olive oil, until garlic gets brown.
2. Then complete your soffritto, by adding some boiled chestnuts
3. Make a basic sauce by adding some blended chestnuts.
4. Let everything simmer for a few minutes (so that a richer flavor can develop).
5. Boil a pot of water and cook the pasta, adding salt to taste.
6. Drain the pasta "al dente" (cooked until it's just firm)
7. Stir-fry the pasta with the soffritto
8. Serve the dish steaming, add parsley if you like

Variant

- before adding chestnuts, add a lightly fried bacon (100 grams for 4 people) and a little jowl bacon
- Cook until all the ingredients are brown.

Résumé

Les principaux ingrédients sont les châtaignes, comme toujours un élément essentiel de la cucina povera italienne (littéralement « cuisine pauvre »), appelées « pain aux arbres » au fil des siècles. En fait, elles sont si bonnes et nutritives qu'elles peuvent être consommées de nombreuses façons : rôties, bouillies ou même moulues et utilisées comme farine.

Les marronniers revêtent une importance considérable du point de vue social et économique, en particulier en Campanie. En effet, cette région est le plus grand producteur de châtaignes d'Italie, et la couverture de ces arbres montre, outre un intérêt économique, un aménagement paysager, un rôle récréatif et environnemental joué par les châtaigneraies, permettant aux communautés locales de mettre en œuvre une politique de développement durable.

Même si Macerata Campania est située dans des plaines et se caractérise par un climat doux, il ressort de la lecture de quelques documents anciens qu'au XIXe siècle, il existait une production de châtaigniers qui n'existe plus aujourd'hui. L'existence d'un commerce florissant de châtaigniers peut également être confirmée par le recensement de 1754.

Il n'est donc pas étonnant que le past' e 'llessa ait été élu comme plat typique de la fête de Sant'Antuono ; au fil des ans, il s'est révélé être un élément exclusif et représentatif de la culture de Macerata Campania, en Italie et dans le monde, ajouté en 2011 aux 150 plats traditionnels les plus représentatifs de la culture et de l'histoire italiennes. De plus, en 2012, les autorités municipales ont attribué à Macerata Campania la dénomination de « Ville de la Pastellessa », ce qui témoigne d'un lien étroit avec le patrimoine culturel immatériel de la communauté, conformément à la Convention de l'UNESCO de 2003.

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Le terme « pastellessa » représente une combinaison extraordinaire de nourriture, culture, musique et folklore à Macerata Campania, une petite ville du sud de l'Italie. Ce terme vient du plat typique « past' e 'llessa » – des pâtes aux châtaignes cuites – préparé à l'occasion de la fête de Sant'Antuono, c'est-à-dire de saint Antoine abbé.

CHAPTER 14

The Safeguarding and Diffusion of Native Traditional Foods of Baja California, Mexico

Carolina Gutiérrez S.
Doctoral Program in Environment and Development, Food Studies Specialty,
Autonomous University of Baja California

Christine Alysse von Glascoe
PhD, MD El Colegio de la Frontera Norte,
Department of Population Studies, Program in Population and Health

Introduction

Traditional food systems of native peoples around the world are critical to cultural identity and customs as well as to the continuation of biological genetic diversity. However, such traditional cuisines are becoming increasingly vulnerable due to the advent of global food systems, agro-industry, and changing lifestyles as well as to shifting preferences and ignorance of original ingredients. Furthermore, territorial transformations and distancing from ancestral lands have led to the loss of knowledge regarding the benefits of diverse ecosystems and their natural resources.

This narrative focuses on traditional native foods of the indigenous peoples of the Baja California peninsula of northwestern Mexico. The natives of this region stem from the Yuman-cochimi language family of the southwestern United States and northwestern Mexico, groups characterized by a nomadic lifestyle that allowed them to take advantage of seasonal variations in the ecosystems. Their principal subsistence activities of hunting and gathering allowed them to adapt to extreme environments (Rogers, 1945:167-198), and seasonally move between inhospitable territories and those that offered enough water to allow them to stock up for future need. The native population was eventually subdivided into clans: the Kiliwa, Cucapá, Paipai, and Kumiai, distributed in different areas and ecosystems of the current state of Baja California (Martinez, 2011:608). These clans developed a relationship with the land and the ingredients it provided, which are still found in the cuisines of native communities.

There follows a description of the traditional native cuisines of Baja California and the actions that have been implemented in recent years to maintain and revive them. We obtained the information by interviewing native elders about the ingredients of their traditional cuisines and their preparation and customs surrounding their consumption.

The Journey of Tradition

The food history of the indigenous peoples of northwestern Mexico is very different from that of the civilizations that developed in the center and south of the country. The arid ecosystem of the northwestern desert zone required a nomadic orientation toward the attainment of food sources, which became diversified upon contact with Spanish missionaries who brought

agricultural practices and livestock, thereby introducing new species of animals, vegetables, and fruits.

Many studies have been conducted on traditional cuisine in southern Mexico, from the biology of species to the sociology and anthropology of food. Our literature review revealed few sources of information regarding the forms of alimentation and their relationship with indigenous groups in the northwest of Mexico (Gutierrez, 2016). Although the native groups of the Baja California region did not play an important role in the development of major civilizations such as the Maya or the Aztecs of the central and southern regions of Mexico, an understanding of their territorial knowledge is of great cultural and ecological value, due to their intrinsic relationship with nature and the austere way of life required to survive. This situation brings with it distinctive values and perceptions regarding the importance of food and a recognition of the nutritional properties of native flora and fauna.

Native Foods and Traditional Ways of Obtaining and Preparing Them

Mexico is recognized for its rich cultural, biological, and botanical diversity, about which most of the knowledge is held by its various ethnic groups, including the native populations of the arid northwest region. These groups represent knowledge about the diverse ecosystems of Baja California, ranging from desert to mountain, from rivers and valleys to ocean and sea, where they established and consolidated their food bases and cuisines. The migratory routes of these groups provided crustaceans and other seafood in times of desert scarcities (Garduño, 2015).

The Kiliwa group, having settled in the deserts and warm mountain ranges of Baja California, had to adapt to extreme temperatures and food shortages. This group fed on available fauna and certain cacti such as the *biznaga* flower, which is still consumed today with different accompaniments and presentations (for example, scrambled with egg and onion). The Kiliwa also took advantage of the food benefits of the peninsular pines, especially those found in the Sierra de San Pedro Mártir. In the mountains they could find the sacred piñon and game meats that they left to dry to reserve for long trips.

The Kumiai possess a thousand-year-old culinary knowledge. The Kumiai inhabit the Neji, Guadalupe, and Ojos Negros valleys of the region.

Preparation of flower biznaga and nopal, accompanied by flour tortilla
© Carolina Gutiérrez, 2017

However, this was not always the case. The Kumiai of 200 years ago were still a semi-nomadic group that lived permanently in one place during certain times of the year and moved according to the seasonality of food availability.

Doña Jobita is one of the elders who knows the traditions of the Kumiai, and only sometimes cooks traditional food. She says that she prefers 'ancestral food over Mexican food, recalling: "The bread was baked with lard, there was no oil, only lard and pork were used to cook in the communities. The kitchens had to be separated from the rooms, [because] they used the brown stick to light the fire and cook. The utensils were made

of clay and the knives [were fashioned from] stone." (Personal conversation with Jobita, in the Kumiai community of La Huerta, B.C., Friday, May 13, 2016).

Acorns constituted one of the basic elements of their traditional diet. During acorn season (from October to November), they would settle down in the valleys to collect enough to have for the whole year. The women were in charge of making the mystical "*atole de bellota*", a thick drink made with acorn flour. It is described as "mystical" because only one person had the knowledge required for its preparation. The *atole* was accompanied by dried venison meat, a "delicacy" for those who still remember. That delicious combination is still consumed in traditional festivals and on special occasions (in modest amounts due to the regulation of deer hunting).

> "Now, I followed the tradition and I still make acorn atole. Yes, not everyone likes the taste. But we eat it with food with salecita, although some people add honey or sugar and milk." (Personal conversation with Beatriz Carrillo, in the community of San José de la Zorra, B.C., Thursday, July 21, 2016).

The acorn harvest, fruit of the oak tree
© Carolina Gutiérrez, 2017

The cuisine of these native groups includes a large number of edible native plants that are still consumed today. In the case of the Kumiai, the consumption of the leaf of the flower of *kyote* (flower of the mezcal plant, a variety of agave or maguey) is considered a seasonal delicacy. Traditional Kumiai cooks collected it in the spring and then boiled it to remove the bitterness to consume it. The process requires much patience since a large number of flowers must be washed up to six times. The Kumiai cook these flowers with onion and lard.

In all of the native communities we can still find older people who have transmitted the traditional knowledge of the food from generation to generation, such as Doña Conchita, who knows very well how to prepare the mountain flowers; remember that they went to the hill to cut and collect them, and then they cooked and prepared them with eggs for breakfast.

> "Before, *kuakjentil* ("deer meat" in the Kumiai language) was hunted; it was the meat they ate the most in the area; it was cooked in order to soften it, and it could also be roasted in the coals. I remember when I was a girl they used bow and arrows to hunt. Then you could cook with scallions from the bush and with butter made from cow's milk. The green onion of the mountain was obtained in the trips to the hills. The boys went out to look for it to give another flavor to the food, since at that time, there were no stores nor are there now, *we used what we knew and what we had at hand*; in addition in the same community, they exchanged products that they grew or obtained " (Personal conversation with Doña Conchita, in the Kumiai community of San José de la Zorra, B.C., Friday, May 13, 2016)

At present, the native groups of the region are sedentary, established in different communities in the region. At the end of the ninteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, they worked on ranches established by settlers who arrived from other countries and regions of Mexico (England, Russia, Japan, Korea, Switzerland, and France to name a few). These changes in work activities coupled with the blending of different cultures resulted in dietary variations and modified food-related practices, such as the domestication of cattle and availability of crops of different grains and vegetables. The evolving cuisine of the native ranchers incorporated new cooking techniques and ingredients they had at hand, creating what is known today as barbecues and *birrias* accompanied by flour tortillas. An important addition to the evolving diet was cheese, introduced

by Swiss and other European settlers. Regional cheeses comprise an important part of the gastronomic boom that is currently being experienced in the areas settled over a hundred years ago, along with preserves and seasonal marmalades as well as products that continue to be collected, such as acorn, sage, and honey.

Although traditional ingredients are no longer used as often as before, some of the elders are trying to revitalize their use. We discovered a wide range of food biographies that describe the characteristics and uses of wild game and edible plants, influenced by varying histories, identities, ecosystems, and cultures. The native cuisines of the region are present and past, forming a gastronomic identity shaped by territorial and environmental modifications. Their genetic diversity forms part of the historical, biological, and creative legacies of a people whose challenging physical environment enabled them to achieve food self-sufficiency using a harsh ecosystem as their experimental kitchen from time immemorial.

Working with Indigenous Communities and Their Food

The main impulse for working with communities and their traditional diet is to strengthen their knowledge about the use of the region's natural food resources by identifying them and generating strategies through respectful, reliable and attractive documentation of their food traditions. The aim of this collective work is to recognize ancestral knowledge regarding arid-zone food diversity and to make it available to both the communities and the general population, with the goal of contributing to an appreciation of the culture and native regional ingredients.

The reexamination of traditional foods of indigenous peoples, and their integration into contemporary diets, is an urgent international issue for the conservation of cultural biodiversity as well as for improving the health of those who increasingly rely on vitamin-deficient diets. Studies have shown how wild food and traditional knowledge about its use form part of the cultural heritage as well as constitute an adaptive laboratory that has evolved through generations as a vital source of food security.

We engaged native actors in an exercise designed to plan a scenario for developing a means of building a more resilient food system. The goal was to promote knowledge and the development of recipes whose ingredients constitute part of the identity of the native communities of Baja California

as well as to foster a consciousness of native traditions and the use of natural resources through traditional native flavors and cooking methods among residents of the larger community that surrounds the native territories.

To this end, the Native Traditional Cooking contest of Baja California was developed in 2017, in conjunction with the Institute of Native Cultures of Baja California. The objective is to collect recipes from traditional chefs and cooks, make the community known in general and encourage interest in the ancestral food practices of native cultures. From this event and its success, more proposals emerged to promote traditional native cuisine. These proposals grew out of field and document research in collaboration with the Institute of Native Cultures of Baja California as ways to present the knowledge and create experiences with traditional cuisines of native communities.

The research project and the recipes collected resulted in a proposal for a cookbook (as yet unpublished) based on the practices and ingredients

Traditional native food contest 2018
© Carolina Gutiérrez, 2018

used by traditional cooks. The knowledge incorporated in the recipes allows us to contextualize the historical and ecological dynamics of the traditional native cuisine of Baja California, within the kitchen and outside of it, including the obtaining of ingredients, use of spices, and respect for the natural environment. The following recipe highlights the diversity of ingredients and flavors found in the arid zones of northwestern Mexico.

Atole de bellota with deer meat, accompanied by wild flowers and sage seed

This recipe integrates the knowledge of people from two different Kumiai communities: Rigoberto Aldama and Magdalena López from La Huerta located in the Ojos Negros Valley, and Beatriz Carrillo from San José de la Zorra in the Guadalupe Valley. Members collect the ingredients according to their availability during particular seasons.

Ingredients

From the harvest…

500 gr. of acorns
2 gr. white sage seed
200 gr. wild greens
10 pieces white sage (leaf)
50 ml. wild honey.

From the hunt…

250 gr. deer meat

From the contemporary kitchen…

100 ml. Vegetable oil
1 white onion
20 liters of water (for washing the plants and acorn)
Salt.

The complements…

Pinole (traditional wheat drink), made from 80 gr. ground toasted wheat, 20 ml. wild honey, and 200 ml. of cow's milk

Preparation:

Acorns are harvested from October to November. Doña Beatriz remembers that during her childhood they "filled baskets for the whole year" (personal communication, August 2017). After the harvest, the acorns are left to dry and then subjected to a special process wherein they are beaten to remove the yellow seed. The acorn seeds are then ground using a stone mortar to create a yellow powder that is placed in a cloth filter and washed several times to remove the bitterness. The final consistency is thick, like a dough.

Beatriz remembers that they collected the white sage seeds from the dried flowers still on the bush. The seed was consumed directly, at times to quell hunger on long trips. They also used the stems of sage bushes for hydration during long treks across dry areas. The leaves were, and are still used as incense for festivities or ceremonies, traditional medicine, and cooking of stews with game meats. They are also sold in small bundles to those who lack access to the bushes.

As described by Rigoberto and his wife Magda, from the community of La Huerta, the dried meat can be of deer or beef (depending on availability). After hunting or slaughter, fillets are cut, sprinkled with about 1½ tablespoons of salt, and left to dry in the sun. After drying, a *machaca* is formed by crushing the meat in elongated stone mortars until it crumbles into small pieces. The final dish is accompanied by the acorn *atole*, wild greens, freshly made wheat tortillas, and a nice portion of ranch cheese.

Rigo and Magda gather wild greens around their ranch and community. The flowers, leaves, and fruits are used, depending on the species. For this recipe we use the *ejotillo del monte* (*peritoma arborea*), from which the flowers and beans are used. The flowers are placed in boiling water and then drained and placed in fresh boiling water. This procedure is repeated as many times as necessary to remove the bitterness. They prepare this dish whenever the plant is available, incorporating different ingredients such as onion and scrambled eggs.

For the people of the community who cook, it is important to transmit traditional flavors to the new generations so that the knowledge and taste of their natural milieu are not lost. "The community grew up with [Magda's] grandmother, who taught them their customs," and how to use ingredients found in nature to create flavors that typify these communities (Rigoberto Aldama, personal communication, August 5, 2018).

Flower of the arid zones (*Peritoma arborea, Ejotillo*) prepared with onion and oil/lard
© Carolina Gutiérrez, 2018

Challenges and Experiences in the Safeguarding and Transmission of Native Knowledge

The tradition that has existed for millennia is not always recognized, much less appreciated by those who colonized and settled the region. We are working to explore the native food paradigm with the goal of enhancing its resilience in the context of present-day resources and cooking crafts, and in light of the gastronomic developments of the region. There is interest on the part of native communities to reclaim and reinforce ancestral knowledge and its cultural landscape. Despite the fact that Ensenada sees itself as a multicultural tourist and port town with ample food diversity, attention to the intangible native heritage needs to be integrated into the larger offering to provide an integrative gastronomic experience as part of the essence of this region's cultural blend.

The integral development of a regional cuisine requires the production and sustainable distribution of crops produced by indigenous communities, along with participation on the part of the larger community to achieve sustained economic viability. This kind of collaborative endeavor aims to promote and defend the agri-food heritage and sustainable education about it. The process begins by identifying regional natural resources and landscape biodiversity, assessing the food culture and reinforcing the use of local techniques for food production. Actions are being taken to create support programs for traditional cooks that promote their incorporation into the circuits of production and sale of a more diverse and inclusive regional food system.

Community members preparing mustard leaf © Carolina Gutiérrez, 2018

Résumé

Cet article fournit un exemple de la façon dont la cuisine traditionnelle des peuples autochtones peut être revitalisée, dans le contexte de pratiques actuelles et historiques qui reconnaissent la valeur d'utiliser des éléments naturels sur lesquels a reposé leur subsistance pendant des millénaires. Les cinq peuples autochtones de la Basse-Californie (Kumiai, Paipai, Kiliwa, Cochimí et Cocopah) ont développé leurs connaissances et leurs pratiques conformément aux modes de vie nomades qui les obligeaient à s'adapter à différents écosystèmes pour survivre. Pour ces groupes, le recours aux pratiques culinaires traditionnelles – en décroissance globale – connaît actuellement un effort de revitalisation. Ces groupes autochtones sont actuellement confrontés à des inégalités économiques, écologiques, politiques et en matière de santé. Dans une certaine mesure, les défis auxquels ils sont confrontés conditionnent et reflètent les formes modernes d'alimentation et de préparation des aliments. Face à ce type de situation, la FAO reconnaît les systèmes alimentaires traditionnels des peuples autochtones, leur régime alimentaire traditionnel et leur gestion durable des ressources naturelles en tant que moteurs de la diversification des alternatives alimentaires. La recherche sur les cuisines traditionnelles est associée à des interventions réalisées en collaboration avec les communautés autochtones de la région, afin de générer des propositions impliquant des ingrédients traditionnels, la conservation du patrimoine culinaire, la revalorisation des ressources de la nature et la promotion de pratiques d'alimentation ancestrales.

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CHAPTER 15

Traditional Food in Syria

Syria Trust for Development

Introduction

Long known as the cradle of civilization, the area that bounds from the fertile valleys of Al-Hasakeh, across the ancient deserts of Palmyra, and westward to the Mediterranean Sea, includes present-day Syria. Due to the vastness of the region, it is no wonder that Syrian cuisine boasts a rich culinary heritage defined by exceptional diversity and human creativity.

With the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world, Syria and its culinary skills, which were influenced by the caravans and expeditions that once travelled the Silk Road, have thrived and developed as part of the cultural and social expressions of Syria's ethnically and culturally diverse communities. A heterogeneous mixture of Muslims, Christians, Armenians, Kurds, Circassians, and others lends extreme importance to preserving these traditional skills and knowledge to guarantee their transmission as part of the intangible cultural heritage of communities and a tool for socio-economic development.

The diversity of Syria's ethnic, religious, and cultural fabric is complemented by its fertile natural environment. Traditionally, Syrians do not consume canned or processed goods—their food relies on fresh local ingredients and spices free from artificial additives, as there is an abundant supply of vegetables, fruits, and grains produced from family-owned gardens and orchards, milk from their own livestock, and fresh yogurt and cheese prepared at home. With these essential and easily accessible food products, most families in rural areas are nutritionally self-sufficient, and certain dishes are specifically associated with particular cities and villages, allowing each area to offer a distinctive set of aromas, flavors, and colors as symbolic markers of their cultural identity.

A folkloric performance in Sweida before the feast © Syria Trust for Development

Mansaf with lamb
© Syria Trust for Development

Since ancient times, Syrian communities have competed for the unofficial title of the nation's most exquisite cooks. Like most confident culinary masters, they all laid claim to the crown.

Mansaf

South Syrian communities, such as Sweida, Daraa, and Golan prepare a renowned, a deep circular two-handled platter filled with a thick layer of cooked *burghul* and *kibbeh* (fried burghul balls stuffed with minced meat) and topped with large pieces of lamb boiled in a liquid of spices, until tender. Sometimes, chicken substitutes the lamb, but in communities with strong practices and traditions associated with honoring one's guest are prevalent, a mansaf with a large serving of meat signifies the host's generosity and his honoring of an important guest, especially when offering

A Halaweh Homsiyeh street vendor- Homs, Syria © Syria Trust for Development

the more costly lamb over chicken. In some cases, an entire lamb is cooked whole and placed to sit on top of the burghul; this is called *karrouf mkattaf*, which translates to 'crossed-arm lamb.'

Due to the social and cultural connotations of this dish, it is prepared on special occasions, such as weddings and Eid celebrations, where hundreds of people may be invited to the feast to share the meal. When preparing for these feasts, women gather the day before to prepare the burghul and the kibbeh while male relatives arrive in the early morning to slaughter the animals according to certain rituals that are believed to bring blessings to the home. "We are known to make mansaf for only special occasions, and while outsiders might say that it gets boring eating the same thing, mansaf to us is an expression of our communal values—it represents honor and unity among our community, and we all understand it as such," says Abu Mazen from northern Sweida.

When lunch is served, and before the guests are invited to start eating, the male host, or someone chosen by him, pours a supersized ladle of a warm yellow yogurt (called *mlehiyyi* or *mleihi*) over the dish, followed by a ladle of hot *samneh* (intensely flavored animal ghee). As this ritual takes place, the host and the guests exchange pleasantries and wishes for wealth and abundance, and then it's time to eat—*ya hayyala*. (A traditional community phrase used specifically in Sweida to greet and welcome guests.)

Halaweh Homsiyeh

Halaweh homsiyeh, also known as *halawa khubziyeh*, is a bright pink and white layered confectionary with a sweet honey-like taste. This sticky treat is usually cost effective to make, which is one of the reasons why it is so widely consumed across the country.

The tasty Homs trademark of central Syria is made from a mixture of different flours, salt, and water and kneaded until thick. Pink coloring is added to half the mixture, which is then rolled out into thin sheets, torn into uneven bite-sized pieces and then tossed into hot oil. After the pink and white pieces are deep-fried separately, they are smothered in a sugar syrup and then layered shaped into a pyramid- tower or stacked into containers. When sweetening, it is important that the syrup is warm, so it is completely absorbed by the pastry.

Each year, the people of Homs celebrate the Halaweh Thursday Festival the week before Easter. During the festival, the city is decorated in floral

pink and white, the colors of the halaweh, to signify the welcoming of spring. Families flock to the streets to purchase the halaweh for their friends and distribute servings to the poor in memory of their lost loved ones. The halaweh can be found in almost every corner store in Homs and piled onto the carts of street vendors. Visitors to the city consider it a must-purchase before they travel home.

Burghul wa Hommus

Burghul wa hommus, or burghul with chickpeas, is a traditional dish passed down through generations of Syrians hailing from Syria's coast. Meat and chickpeas are boiled in water with laurel leaves, rosemary, and dried lemon. After this, the meat and chickpeas are removed from the water to cool, only to be put back in for a second time to slow cook with the dried burghul until softened. Before eaten, servings are drizzled with pure home-pressed olive oil, accentuating earthy flavors of this homey meal.

Burghul wa hommus
© Syria Trust for Development

Children dressed up for the St. Barbara feast- Damascus, Syria
© Syria Trust for Development

But the addition of meat to this staple dish was integrated at a later stage. Burghul wa hommus was previously prepared by the farmers of Lattakia and Tartous without meat, due to the abundance of chickpeas and burghul in the area and the low accessibility of these ingredients to low-income communities providing them with a cost-effective protein-rich sustenance for a day's work in the fields.

Communities say that this dish was consumed since the early Islamic periods and that it now carries cultural and spiritual meaning when prepared during religious events, such as the celebration of Nusf Shaaban or the middle of the month of Shaaban, which precedes the month of Ramadan on the Islamic calendar. Ansaf Alloush from Lattakia says "We cook burghel wa hommus and feed it the poor and disadvantaged as part of our religious obligations." During this religiously significant celebration, communities commemorate the Prophet Mohamed taking refuge in the Sawr Cave during his migration to Medina. Other events associated with the dish include Eid Al-Ghadeer, also known as the Event of Ghadeer Khum, celebrated in to mark the appointment of Imam Ali Bin Abi Taleb as the successor of the Islamic prophet in 632 CE.

The skills, knowledge, and practices associated with burghul wa hommus are still prevalent today, and despite its humble beginnings, this preferred traditional food can be ordered by diners in many high-end restaurants, each time sparking a conversation about its history and its place in the cultural memory of communities.

Kebab Halabi

Although kebab is prepared in many cities around the world, Aleppo is the citadel of kebab, with twenty-six varieties of mouth-watering grilled deliciousness. Minced lamb, nuts, onions, parsley, and a pinch of salt are added to the original mixture before being hand-molded onto long skewers and grilled over glowing hot embers. Different types of Aleppan kebab include vegetables, such as eggplant, hot peppers for spiciness, lemon juice for sourness, or pomegranate molasses, which gives a tangy taste. Farangali kebab includes tomatoes and peppers while thyme-infused kebab has a dry and minty aroma. The epitome of Aleppo's large ensemble of kebab, however, is *kebab bi karaz*, or cherry kebab. Communities in Aleppo prepare this dish by first picking washneh cherries, a type of cherry characterized by its smaller size and sour taste that is natively grown in Syria's north.

Round balls of Kebab mixture are either pan-fried or barbequed and set aside. Fresh cherries are pitted, halved, and hand-squeezed over a bowl to extract their juices, which are then set to simmer on top of a stove before adding beef broth, lemon juice, sugar, seven spices, and cinnamon. Once the juice has simmered down to a thick liquid, the cooked kebab is added and allowed to further simmer. The deep-red sweet and sour concoction of cherries and kebab is served over a shallow tray lined with Arabic flat bread, with the inner side of the bread facing upwards to allow the bread to soak up the cherry juices, and the tray is garnished with toasted pine nuts and parsley. Kebab bi karaz is a seasonal dish, mostly prepared in June and July, when the washneh cherries are ready to be picked.

Unlike their coastal compatriots, Aleppo's industrialist communities came from a higher economic social class, which is why their food is overwhelmingly based on meat and always decorated with pine nuts or pistachios. The prime location of their city on the Silk Road enabled them to import ingredients from far-away cities, adding to the creativity of their culinary inventions.

Kebab bi Karaz- Aleppo, Syria
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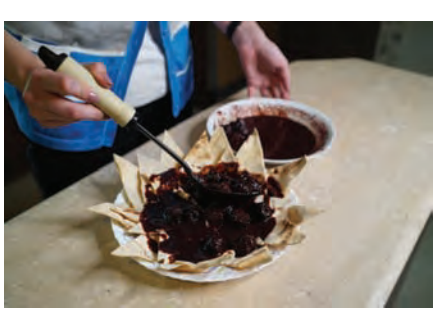
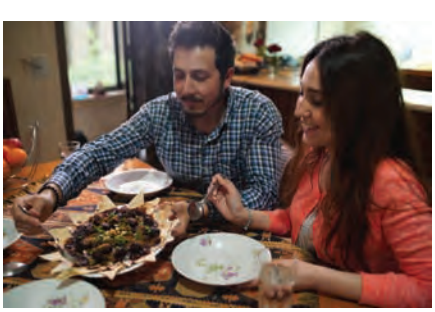


Food, Traditions and Beliefs

Most home-cooked meals are prepared in large quantities since mealtimes are always shared with extended family and friends. This captures what is more important than the dishes themselves—the social bonding of communities.

Traditional food is an expression of the spiritual and social sentiments that communities inherit and hold. It is a link to their past, to family, and to home. Whether weddings, funerals, or big or small celebrations, food always plays a part on these occasions and in social life.

The Damascene Hammam

Along the narrow alleyways of Old Damascus are the hidden ancient hammams or souk baths. Hammams for women and men are usually segregate. Soon-to-be brides are taken to the hammam as part of the wedding rituals of communities. The women relax in the steamed-stone rooms and sing and dance for the bride as they paint her hands with henna before she is reunited with the groom. As these rituals continue for several hours, the women bring along their lunch, consisting of a traditional dish called mjaddara. Mjaddara is made from cooked lentils, rice (or burghul), and fried onions and eaten with red pickled turnips. Mjaddara is the main dish associated with the hammam.

Neighbours gather around the Mansaf- Sweida, Syria
© Syria Trust for Development

Besides weddings, hammam is a weekly tradition of housewives in Damascus, where neighbors and friends meet and socialize. "Other than bathing and relaxing in hammam hot sauna-like rooms, we spend hours together exchanging stories and jokes while sharing a light meal," says Munira, a Damascene housewife. Women prepare these foods in hammam to bring the extended family, friends, and neighbors together in an atmosphere of love and cordiality. Munira continues, "mjaddara and pickled turnips always strikes a nice gustatory balance between salty and sour, with the bright red color of the turnips, adding an element of visual delight".

Preparing Damascene Rose jam- Mrah, Rural Damascus
© Syria Trust for Development

Mbarak ma Ijak

"*Mbarak ma Ijak*" is Syrian saying to congratulate the birth of new baby. As in most cultures, the welcoming of a new baby holds its own traditions. In Syria, newborns are doted on by their close female relatives, usually grandmothers and aunts, who spend the first forty days after the birth assisting the new mother in adapting to her new role. These forty days are vital to the health of the new mother, where certain foods are prepared to help her regain her strength. Some of these foods include large amounts of cooked garlic to strengthen her immunity as well as sheep liver to increase iron and protein intake.

When welcoming a new baby, Syrians prepare nutritionally beneficial teas, such as *meghleh* or *karawiya*. Meghleh is made from ginger, galangal, cinnamon, anise, and caraway and slowly boiled until the tea is dark reddish-brown and has a pungent smell of spice.

The Sweetness of Martyrdom

The Christian feast of St. Barbara is widely celebrated in Syria, with the participation of young and old. Leading up to the day, Syrian families begin preparing *awwamat*. Wheat dough is mixed and kneaded with yeast and sugar, then cut into pieces and rolled into small balls. The balls are then deep fried and dipped into thick sugar syrup while still hot. Awwamat symbolizes the sacrifice of St. Barbara, and the overly sweet taste of the dish tells of the sweetness of martyrdom and its heavenly reward. Awwamat is usually made in large batches by groups of women and delivered to neighbors and relatives, reinforcing the social values that these communities carry and continue to pass on.

Preparing Mjaddara in the Hammam- Old Damascus, Syria

Table Manners

In Syria, people are told to satisfy their eyes before their tummy, meaning that the dinner has to not only taste good but look good as well. Family mealtimes traditionally begin with speaking the phrase "Bismillah" (in the name of God), and end with "Alhamdillah" (thanks be to God). Although not followed as strictly as before, families refrain from conversation during mealtimes, which is traditionally considered a form of respect for the blessing of food.

Many Syrian foods are accompanied with flat bread, and should there be a guest during dinnertime (most of the time there will be), the bag of bread is placed next to the guest to make it easier and more convenient for the guest to reach for more.

Traditionally, Syrian communities stored food in an ornate brass container called the safertas to keep the food warm. The safertas are much heavier than modern plastic containers and comprise of several stacked layers with a handle over the top. Syrian housewives, keen to impress their husbands at work, would fill each layer with a different dish and place them outside their front doors ready for collection at noon by a delivery boy who knew which safertas needed to be delivered to which merchant. The delivery boy could be seen around noon with several safertas dangling from a wooden stick held atop of his shoulders.

Preserving the Intangible Heritage of Traditional Food

Many Syrian foods are associated with customs and social occasions, and it is critical to document this intangible heritage as part of communities'

Preparing the Mansaf- Sweida, Syria
© Syria Trust for Development

cultural identity of and the development of a nation and its civilization. There has been extensive research on Syrian cuisine presented in published works and encyclopedias, such as Munir Kayyal's *The Gastronomy* of the Damascene *Houswife*, Khair Al-Deen Assadi's ***The Encyclopedia of Aleppo***, and Lina Baydoun's *The Aleppan Kitchen*.

With the participation of local communities, a number of traditional foods have been added to Syria's National Inventory for Intangible Cultural Heritage to encourage transmission and continuity. Other safeguarding efforts include NGO- and government-sponsored festivals, such as the annual Street Food Festival as well as other folkloric festivals. In May each year, the Syria Trust for Development partners with local communities in holding the Damascene Rose Festival with the aim of connecting urban audiences with the Syrian countryside and showcasing traditional practices, performances, and gastronomy of the Damascene rose farmers. Delicacies made and promoted during the festival include homemade Damascene rose drinks, jams, and sweets.

However, as the continuity and transmission of intangible cultural heritage is in many ways linked to the economic sustainability of communities, a central commitment towards safeguarding intangible cultural heritage is the recognition that culture can have a positive impact well beyond preservation by acting as a catalyst for economic opportunities and social revitalization. The Syria Trust for Development has developed microcredit programs that encourage cultural heritage revitalization and economic growth in rural areas. These resources are distributed into seven hundred funds across Syria and administered by village committees, whose

The Safertas © Syria Trust for Development

members are elected based on their insight into the needs and cultural realities of their communities. Empowering villagers with this responsibility has immeasurably boosted the spirit and solidarity of these communities and supported the development and financial independence of women-headed families who have used their inherited traditional knowledge to establish home-based projects. Microcredit funding has helped communities

The Syria Trust for Development at the Damascene Rose Festival- Mrah, Rural Damascus © Syria Trust for Development

in restoring traditional machinery to produce fruit molasses and traditional sweets, cheeses, and delicacies, reviving old practices and enabling communities to continue the transmission of their food heritage.

Young men in a Damascene Hammam
© Syria Trust for Development

Résumé

De nombreux aliments syriens sont associés à des coutumes et à des événements sociaux, et il est essentiel de documenter ce patrimoine immatériel en tant que partie intégrante de l'identité culturelle des communautés et du développement d'une nation et de sa civilisation. De nombreuses recherches sur la cuisine syrienne ont été présentées dans des ouvrages et des encyclopédies, tels que La gastronomie de la femme au foyer damascène de Munir Kayyal, L'Encyclopédie d'Alep de Khair Al-Deen Assadi ou La cuisine aleppine de Lina Baydoun.

Avec la participation des communautés locales, un certain nombre d'éléments liés à la nourriture traditionnelle ont été ajoutés à l'Inventaire national du patrimoine culturel immatériel de la Syrie afin d'encourager leur transmission et leur continuité. Des efforts additionnels de sauvegarde comprennent des festivals commandités par des ONG et des gouvernements, tels que le Festival annuel de la nourriture de rue ainsi que d'autres festivals folkloriques. En mai de chaque année, La Fondation syrienne pour le développement s'associe aux communautés locales pour l'organisation du Festival de la rose damascène, dans le but de connecter les publics urbains à la campagne syrienne et de présenter les pratiques, les performances et la gastronomie traditionnelles des agriculteurs de la rose damascène. Parmi les mets réalisés et promus pendant le festival, on peut citer la boisson, la confiture et les sucreries faites à la main à base de rose damascène.

Cependant, étant donné que la continuité et la transmission du patrimoine culturel immatériel sont liées à bien des égards à la durabilité économique des communautés, l'engagement de préserver le patrimoine culturel immatériel repose essentiellement sur la reconnaissance du fait que la culture peut avoir un impact positif bien au-delà de la seule préservation en étant également un catalyseur d'opportunités économiques et de revitalisation sociale. La Fondation syrienne pour le développement a mis au point des programmes de microcrédit qui encouragent la revitalisation du patrimoine culturel et la croissance économique dans les zones rurales. Les sommes sont réparties en 700 différents fonds à travers la Syrie et administrées par des comités de village, dont les membres sont élus sur la

base de leurs connaissances des besoins et des réalités culturelles de leurs communautés. Le fait de fortifier les villageois avec cette responsabilité a énormément renforcé l'esprit et la solidarité de ces communautés et soutenu le développement et l'indépendance financière des familles dirigées par des femmes qui ont utilisé leurs connaissances traditionnelles pour mettre sur pied des projets à domicile. Le financement par microcrédit a aidé les communautés à restaurer les machines traditionnelles pour la production de confiture de fruits et à produire des bonbons, des fromages et des mets raffinés traditionnels, faisant ainsi revivre de vieilles pratiques et permettant aux communautés de continuer à transmettre leur patrimoine alimentaire.

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CHAPTER 16

Cuire la « fille des cendres »

Témoignage de Mohamed Erzougui, Marrakech, Maroc

Amina Laghidi
Etudiante en Master, Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine, Rabat, Maroc

Ahmed Skounti
Anthropologue, Institut national des sciences de l'archéologie et du patrimoine, Rabat, Maroc

Potter workshop manufacturing tangias
© Amina Laghidi

L'anthropologie s'est intéressée à l'alimentation sous différentes perspectives. Parmi celles-ci figurent notamment les pratiques alimentaires et les manières de table, la diversité des traditions culinaires, la variété des produits consommés, les interdits alimentaires et les repas rituels. Y figurent aussi la place de l'alimentation dans la construction des rapports sociaux, l'importance de la commensalité, la pratique de l'hospitalité, le don de nourriture et l'échange des préparations et des recettes culinaires. Y figurent également l'alimentation comme un indicateur de différentiation sociale entre individus et groupes sociaux, un révélateur d'inégalité et de hiérarchie, en somme un instrument de pouvoir.

Un autre domaine d'étude s'est développé au cours des deux dernières décennies : la patrimonialisation alimentaire. Il s'agit de comprendre les processus par lesquels des produits, des pratiques, des connaissances ou des savoir-faire, ainsi que les objets et les espaces qui leurs sont associés, sont perçus (ou non) comme des patrimoines. Les modalités et les enjeux de ces processus sont examinés et permettent de révéler une variété d'acteurs et d'activités dont il n'est pas toujours facile de démêler les écheveaux. La construction des identités locales à travers l'appropriation de pratiques ou de traditions culinaires y figurent en bonne place (Bessière et Tibère 2011). Néanmoins, leur compréhension n'est pas aisée sans les croiser avec d'autres telles que la valorisation des territoires, le *branding* territorial, le tourisme, le développement, entre autres. La patrimonialisation concerne également la dimension internationale du phénomène, notamment à travers les inscriptions sur les listes de la Convention pour la sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel de l'Unesco de 2003.

On s'intéresse aux acteurs qui interviennent aux étapes principales de la préparation des mets. Certaines catégories ne sont pourtant pas toujours bien étudiées. Les enfants, par exemple, n'ont pas toujours reçu l'intérêt

qu'ils méritent (de Suremain et Cohn, 2015), tout comme certains acteurs qui peuvent être qualifiés de « périphériques » tels que les consommateurs (Chabrol et Muchnick 2011).

En lien avec les acteurs, la question du genre en rapport avec l'alimentation est tout à fait pertinente. Elle nous intéresse particulièrement ici où l'on s'intéressera à un genre alimentaire traditionnellement fait par et pour les hommes. Il s'agit de la *tanjia* à Marrakech, un plat de viande spécial. Il ne s'agit pas d'un article d'ensemble sur ce met, mais d'une présentation de la pratique sous l'angle de l'un de ses acteurs clés : le *fernatchi*. A travers le parcours de Mohamed Erzougui, il s'agira de décrire sur le terrain l'un des plats emblématiques de la ville de Marrakech.

La *tanjia*, un plat d'homme à homme

Faute de recherches approfondies, il n'est pas facile de retracer l'histoire de la tanjia à Marrakech. Le plat remonte au moins à l'époque de la dynastie saâdienne qui a régné au Maroc avec pour capitale Marrakech entre 1554 et 1636. La tanjia est mentionnée dans un manuscrit en arabe du XVIIe siècle. Elle fait également l'objet d'un poème rimé du XVIIIe siècle. Par la suite, elle sera mentionnée par un certain nombre d'auteurs marocains et européens ayant visité le Maroc. Aujourd'hui, elle fait partie des plats emblématiques de Marrakech bien qu'elle soit également pratiquée, probablement depuis longtemps, à Taroudant au sud de l'Atlas et à Safi sur la côte atlantique.

La tanjia consiste en un plat de viande cuit dans les cendres du foyer d'un hammam. Ce plat est traditionnellement préparé par les hommes, surtout les artisans, le jeudi. La préparation « canonique », qui renferme néanmoins des variantes au niveau des ingrédients, comprend les étapes suivantes. Une jarre de poterie dite *qellucha* ou *cheqfa*, munie de deux anses, est utilisée comme récipient de cuisson. On y met de la viande, principalement du jarret de bœuf, mais on peut utiliser d'autres parties ou types de viande. On y ajoute principalement de l'ail, du citron confit, de l'huile, du beurre rance, du sel, du poivre, du cumin ainsi que des pistils de safran et un verre d'eau. On secoue la jarre pour mélanger les ingrédients et on la ferme avec du papier et une ficelle. Ensuite, on l'emmène au *fernatchi*, préposé au foyer de hammam, qui la met, aux deux tiers enfoncée, dans les cendres chaudes qu'il en retire régulièrement. Elle y cuit pendant plusieurs heures. Une fois retirée, on verse le contenu dans un grand plat que les hommes partagent avec du pain.

Le fernatchi, le dompteur du feu

Mohammed Erzougui, connu sous le nom de *maâllem* Hmed, est le préposé au foyer du hammam Dheb au cœur de la médina de Marrakech depuis plus de quarante ans. Agé de 59 ans, il est originaire du village de Beni Ali Sfalat, aux environs de la ville de Zagora, située sur la vallée du Dra, au sud de l'Atlas. Dans sa famille le métier de *fernatchi* est transmis de génération en génération. Dès qu'un garçon atteint la puberté, il est envoyé à Marrakech pour apprendre le métier ; tel est le cas du maâllem Hmed. A l'Age de 14 ans son père l'emmena avec lui à Marrakech pour apprendre le métier. Il commença au début en tant qu'apprenti de *fernatchi*. Il avait pour tâches d'apporter la sciure de bois nécessaire au chauffage du hammam. Il pouvait également être chargé de faire des courses pour son maître. Il arrivait aussi qu'il prenne la place du *fernatchi* si ce dernier devait s'absenter ou voulait se reposer. Il apprit ainsi petit à petit les secrets du métier. Dans les années 1980, il est devenu le *fernatchi* du Hammam Dheb dans lequel il continue depuis à travailler.

Parmi les tâches d'un fernatchi figure la cuisson des tanjias que lui confient les hommes du quartier. Le maâllem Hmed a ainsi appris, en tant que fernatchi, à surveiller la cuisson des jarres qu'il enterre à moitié dans les cendres. C'est un savoir-faire qui s'acquière petit à petit. Tout comme le feu du foyer, il suppose une responsabilité vis-à-vis des clients. Mais alors que le feu est visible et son ardeur contrôlée par le fernatchi, les tanjias sont fermées et ne peuvent être ouvertes pour s'assurer de leur cuisson. Le maâllem doit donc compter uniquement sur son expérience et son intuition pour ne pas retirer une tanjia peu cuite ou en voir brûler une autre trop longtemps restée dans la cendre.

On accède au foyer du hammam Dheb par une porte de dimensions moyennes. Elle est surmontée d'un linteau en bois de cèdre sculpté et

Fireplace of Hammam Dheb, Medina, Marrakesh © Amina Laghidi

surmonté de tuiles vernissées vertes. La pièce du foyer qui constitue le lieu de vie du maâllem Hmed est une pièce presque carrée, le foyer est une fosse qui en occupe la partie droite en entrant. Au fond, se trouve le réduit du maâllem qui comprend le lit où il se repose et parfois passe la nuit, des chaises pour ses invités, des ustensiles divers dont ceux du thé, boisson qu'il prépare à longueur de journée, et sa radio. Au mur sont accrochés des instruments de musique des Gnaoua : le guembri, des crotales (*qraqeb*), un instrument à percussion (*tbel*) et quelques photos de lui et de son père.

Mohamed Erzougui stirring the fire
© Amina Laghidi

Fernatchi, une prison pour la vie

Selon le maâllem Hmed, être fernatchi, c'est être prisonnier du foyer du hammam pour la vie. Il doit s'en occuper une bonne partie de la journée car le hammam ne ferme qu'entre onze heures du soir et six heures du matin. Il peut compter sur un apprenti pour le relayer en cas d'absence. Mais, en tout état de cause, ceux-ci ne peuvent pas le laisser inoccupé, par peur que la réserve de sciure ne prenne feu ou que la citerne d'eau n'explose. Lorsqu'ils ont des tanjias à surveiller, ils ne peuvent pas non plus quitter le foyer. Malgré cette contrainte, il dit aimer son métier.

Car, en plus d'être fernatchi, le maâllem Hmed est aussi maâllem gnaoui. C'est un musicien qui joue du guembri, un instrument à trois cordes. Il se dit doté d'une baraka de guérison des djinns, des esprits surnaturels qui peuvent prendre possession des âmes humaines. Ses passetemps favoris sont la musique et la radio. Ils adoucissent, dit-il, sa solitude. Il reçoit de temps en temps des visites de ses amis qui viennent lui tenir compagnie. Avec eux, il discute et joue la musique des Gnaoua. Il reçoit également des clients qui veulent déposer leur tanjia ou le charger de la préparer pour eux. Il passe le plus clair de son temps sur place, y compris la nuit. Il dit ne rentrer voir sa femme et ses enfants que de temps en temps ; c'est eux qui viennent le voir et lui apporter ses repas. Des touristes curieux entrent parfois dans son foyer et bavardent un peu avec lui.

La tanjia : le témoignage du maâllem Hmed

L'histoire et l'origine exact du plat tanjia n'est pas connu du fernatchi, qui dit ne pas en savoir grand-chose. D'après lui, l'origine de la tanjia est liée aux hommes qui ont passé toute leur vie en célibataires : « c'est eux qui l'ont

créée car ils ne se sont jamais mariés et devaient préparer leur propre repas ». Et « même quand ils sont invités chez quelqu'un, ajoute-t-il, ils apportent leurs tanjia avec eux, car ils s'y sont habitués ». Par la suite, « la tanjia s'est répandue parmi tous les hommes pour son goût et sa facilité de préparation. De plus, ils n'ont pas à se prendre la tête avec sa cuisson ». Plus tard, « elle s'est diffusée parmi les artisans, dont le travail exigeait de rester dans leur boutique, jusqu'à ce qu'ils finissent leur travail du jour. Ils n'avaient donc pas le temps de rentrer chez eux à l'heure du déjeuner ».

Selon le maâllem Hmed, « la tanjia est un plat typique de la gastronomie de Marrakech ; c'est le signe, la couleur, le drapeau de la ville de Marrakech ; c'est son identité culturelle. Une personne ne peut être considérée comme étant originaire de Marrakech si elle ne sait pas préparer la tanjia ; c'est un savoir-faire qui est transmis de père en fils ». La transmission, poursuit-il, « se fait par l'imitation et l'observation ». La cérémonie religieuse musulmane de l'Eid l'Adha pendant laquelle chaque famille sacrifie un mouton est l'opportunité pour les garçons de se rassembler pour préparer la *taqwdirt*, une sorte de mini-tanjia, confectionnée d'après le savoir-faire cumulé en observant les ainés. On leur donne de petits morceaux de viande et ils complètent les ingrédients nécessaires à sa préparation.

Selon le maâllem Hmed, la tanjia est traditionnellement préparée par les hommes et consommée en dehors du foyer familial, contrairement à d'autres plats. Elle a depuis toujours été synonyme d'hospitalité de convivialité, de sociabilité et de partage. La tanjia est préparée pour être consommée en groupe. C'est un « ferment de société » (Frédéric 2014 : 42). Autrefois, le week-end correspondait au jeudi-vendredi. Le jeudi, les groupes d'artisans se rassemblent, préparent la tanjia par cotisation et la déposent tôt le matin au fernatchi. Lorsqu'elle est prête en début d'après-midi, ils la partagent lors d'un pique-nique connu sous le nom de *nzaha*. Il a lieu dans les jardins publics ou privés. La *nzaha*, sorte de récréation joyeuse, donne lieu à des chants accompagnés de musique et de danse. L'art du spectacle dit *daqqa* est intimement lié à ces sorties divertissantes entre hommes. Le Marrakchi étant connu pour son esprit hâbleur, l'occasion donne lieu aussi à des échanges de toutes sortes de blagues, des plus salaces aux plus vulgaires. Entretemps, leurs femmes pouvaient s'épargner la besogne de préparer le repas de midi pour s'occuper d'elles-mêmes en prenant un repas léger et en allant au hammam.

Pour le maâllem Hmed, la tanjia est associée aux moments de bonheur et joie ; elle est le symbole qui reflète la gaité et l'humour du Marrakchi. C'est

Tangia cooking in the hot ashes
© Amina Laghidi

la grâce à la tanjia et à la nzaha qui l'accompagne que nombre de jardins ont été préservés. Elle est également pratique depuis qu'elle n'est plus l'apanage des hommes seuls. Pour le rassemblement des familles et des amis, elle ne représente pas une corvée pour les personnes ; les femmes n'ont pas à se soucier de la préparation des repas ; les hommes non plus d'ailleurs. Ils passent ainsi plus de temps ensemble.

Tout le monde peut préparer la tanjia, poursuit le maâllem Hmed. Mais on désigne toujours « une personne honnête, joyeuse, et porteuse de baraka » pour que le plat soit parfait. Car même si tous les hommes détiennent le savoir-faire de préparation de la tanjia, les préparations ne se ressemblent pas toutes. Ce qui donc fait la différence, à part la cuisson, c'est la personne qui la prépare.

D'après le maâllem Hmed, il existe plusieurs types de tanjia et chacun d'entre eux exige un mode de cuisson différent. C'est vrai qu'elles sont toutes cuites dans la cendre, plus précisément dans un endroit nommé *luza*, littéralement amande. A l'origine, ce mot vient du fait que la forme tracée par la pelle sur la cendre sortie du four qui chauffe l'eau du hammam ressemble à une amande. D'autres disent que ce nom viendrait de la trace que laisse la jarre de la tanjia quand elle est retirée de la cendre.

Il existe trois niveaux thermiques de la *luza*. La tanjia est déposée en premier lieu dans la plus chaude qui sort directement du four. Elle y est laissée pendant quelques minutes. Ensuite, elle est déplacée dans la *luza* moyennement chaude. Elle y reste jusqu'à quatre heures. En dernier lieu, elle placée dans la luza la moins chaude. Elle a pour but de garder la tanjia réchauffée, désamorçant le processus de cuisson.

L'homme qui s'occupe de sa préparation doit tout d'abord faire ses ablutions rituelles « pour que Dieu protège la tanjia ». A vrai dire, précise le maâllem Hmed, « *tanjia, ghir sukhrati Allah* » – ce qui veut dire que « la tanjia est une question de bonne chance ». L'homme se met alors par terre et croise ses jambes. Il demande à un fils ou un apprenti de lui passer les ingrédients. C'est d'ailleurs comme ça que se passe la transmission. Il met tous les ingrédients un par un dans la jarre et finit par mettre un peu d'eau dans lequel il a fait infuser les pistils de safran. Il ferme le tout avec un papier et une corde qui résistent à la chaleur. Une fois fermée, la tanjia ne s'ouvre plus jusqu'au moment de présentation. On ouvre le nœud de la corde fine ou du fil et on verse le contenu dans un plat devant les commensaux.

Pour amener la tanjia chez le fernatchi, la jarre est mise dans un panier en osier pour que personne ne la voie ; on dit qu'elle doit être amenée

Cooked tangia © Amina Laghidi

comme la mariée, *mhejba*, c'est-à-dire voilée, pour la protéger du mauvais œil. Elle est confiée directement au fernatchi et non à un apprenti. Elle « est considérée comme un dépôt en lieu sûr, *amana* ».

Quant à la cuisson, la personne qui s'est chargée de la préparation donne les informations nécessaires au fernatchi : type de tanjia, ingrédients, heure où il viendrait la chercher, etc. Ces informations sont destinées à assurer la bonne cuisson et veiller à ce que la tanjia soit prête au moment voulu. Le fernatchi saisit alors la jarre, la remue en la tenant par les anses, lui donne des coups avec la paume de la main sur les côtés pour entendre le son produit qui déterminera le mode et la durée de cuisson. Bien entendu, le fernatchi n'est pas autorisé à l'ouvrir. Le maâllem Hmed précise que la tanjia est une sainte, *cherifa* ; elle ne doit pas faire l'objet de beaucoup de regards. De plus, c'est un plat qui est parfois servi pour mettre fin à un conflit entre des personnes. Elle doit donc rassurer tout le monde qu'elle n'est pas porteuse de mal ; les commensaux peuvent la consommer avec un cœur apaisé.

La tanjia est une grande responsabilité pour le fernatchi. Il doit la cuire parfaitement pendant des heures sans avoir le droit de jeter ne serait-ce qu'un coup d'œil à son contenu ni s'assurer du niveau de cuisson atteint. Seule l'expérience lui permet de s'acquitter de sa tâche convenablement. Avec le temps il développe une relation étroite avec les personnes qui la préparent. Le fumet qui s'en dégage n'est pas le même d'une personne à l'autre. Le fernatchi arrive ainsi à les reconnaître. Après s'être assuré que la tanjia est bien cuite, il la dépose dans la *luza* la moins chaude des cendres pour rester au chaud sans pour autant tiédir. Elle y reste jusqu'à ce que son propriétaire vienne la chercher. Encore une fois, elle est mise dans un panier et transportée en bicyclette ou en moto pour la livrer toujours chaude aux gens qui l'attendent. Autrefois, le fernatchi se faisait payer par ce que les clients voulaient bien lui remettre, chacun selon ses moyens. Aujourd'hui, il est payé entre un et un euro et demi la tanjia.

En plus de la tanjia commune dite *mkumna*, il en existe d'autres types. La *mqumra* a un goût sucré car elle est préparée avec des dates, des raisins secs, des figues sèches, des oignons, de la cannelle et, bien entendu, de la viande. La *mdeghmra* est préparée à base de coriandre fraîche, de graines de coriandre séchées, de piment, de safran, de poivre blanc, d'ail et de viande. Le tout est cuit à moitié puis déposé dans un récipient jusqu'à ce que la viande absorbe les épices. Le mélange est alors versé dans la jarre de tanjia. Le fernatchi est averti et ne remue pas ce type de tanjia lors de la cuisson.

Mohamed Erzougui is also a musician in his spare time © Amina Laghidi

Un autre type est appelé *chwa*. On met juste de la viande dans la jarre et rien d'autre. On ajoute le sel, le poivre et le cumin au moment de la consommer.

Conclusion

De ce qui précède, il ressort que la tanjia, plat principalement masculin de la cuisine de Marrakech au Maroc, compte un acteur majeur, le fernatchi. La cuisson de la tanjia peut sembler comme d'une incidence mineure ou marginale dans son travail. En réalité, elle peut y occuper une place centrale. Tous les préposés aux foyers de hammams ne cuisent pas des tanjias ; ceux qui le font ne s'y prennent pas de la même manière. Un savoir-faire est accumulé pendant de longues années avant de se voir reconnaître le titre de maâllem dans ce domaine.

Ce qui rend la tâche difficile est que le fernatchi n'a pas le droit d'ouvrir la jarre pour jauger de la cuisson de son contenu. Seule son expérience et sa dextérité lui permettent, année après année, de ne pas décevoir ses clients. La tanjia est un plat d'hommes. Elle renseigne sur la division du travail dans une société traditionnelle où les hommes ont imposé une forme de primauté sur les femmes, largement appuyée sur la religion. Elle renseigne aussi sur les traditions culinaires d'une catégorie, les artisans, qui les accompagnent de pratiques récréatives faisant appel à la musique et au verbe.

La tanjia est aujourd'hui largement perçue comme un patrimoine culturel. Elle fait partie de ces traits culturels qui distinguent la ville de Marrakech et de Taroudant (où elle est également pratiquée) de leurs semblables. Elle n'a pas cessé de se transformer au cours des décennies récentes. Les ingrédients et les modes de cuisson se sont diversifiés à telle enseigne qu'il est difficile aujourd'hui de parler d'une « tanjia typiquement traditionnelle ». Elle est même rattrapée par la globalisation qui la fait voyager aux quatre coins du monde grâce aux restaurants, aux chefs et aux réseaux sociaux.

Summary

The article offers a presentation of practicing tanjia dish through the perspective of one of its key participants: fernachi. A course of Mohamed Erzougui describes the dish as part of the field of heritage dishes because of the cultural traits that distinguish the cities of Marrakech and Taroudant.

Tanjia is a meat dish cooked in a specific way in fireplace ashes of a steam room (hammam). It is traditionally prepared on Thursdays by men, especially artisans. Mr. Erzougui, known as maâllem Hmed, has been the housekeeper of the hammam Dheb in the heart of the medina of Marrakech for more than forty years. In his family, the fernachi profession is transmitted across generation. Tanjia provides information on the division of labor in a traditional society where men have imposed a form of primacy over women, largely based on religion. It also informs about the categories of culinary traditions and artisans who accompany them with recreational practices using music.

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Epilogue

Dr. Seong-Yong Park
ICHCAP and ICH Courier

Defining and Embracing and Reinventing and Sharing Cultural Practices

The legacy of Clifford Geertz's symbolic anthropology has had a tremendous influence in critical heritage studies, particularly if we begin to think of "community" as the representation of the sociological and psychological thickness of time and people, a world in itself, or what he definitively penned in his germinal work *The Interpretation of Cultures*, "the stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures" (1973: 7). It is an imperative to honor the meaning of community in heritage work, both in its study and official protection, for without groups of people who live to define and embrace and re-invent and share their cultural practices we will not be able to trace our linkages, belongingness, and identity. *Traditional Food: Sharing Experiences from the Field* is an evidence of the power of communities to transmit culture not merely inwardly, but also to other people across borders. This book underscores the anthropological value of unity, the appreciation of togetherness from Korea to Italy to Syria to Colombia to Mexico and the rest of the world through food.

When we think of the rapid changes brought by our disparate searches for knowledge and better economy, what seems to be the easiest locatable permanence is our need for food. However, we moderately realize that our ways of preparing food, the ingredients we use, our habits of eating can also make a loose distinction between past and present. We learn from this book that, to varying degrees, we have inherited our memories and tastes. We also learn that the act of transmitting our knowledge and practices related to food can be a social movement as food intersects with indigeneity, social inclusivity, formative development of children, family, ageing, and so on. The heritage transmission of food as a social movement, as we hear from the youth of Colombia, is where young people can enormously bring an impact on re-living traditions, apart from a grand stage, in streets, in our everyday life.

Cross-disciplinary Approach to Foodways towards International Collaboration

It is also noteworthy to mention how cross-disciplinary approach to foodways in this book reveals not only how food can be linked to other fields of thought such as music, medicine, literature, religion, tourism, and agriculture, but also how we are, as communities, as nations are interconnected with one another through flavors and food consumption. In making sure that the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) are met by 2030, SDG 2 or Zero Hunger as directly relevant in this moment, it is crucial that we are able to develop a sense of yearning about how our systems in many respects can relate and, therefore, interact with each other. This is our advantage as humans, our ability to discern what of our food practices can benefit the lives of others, particularly useful in a time when the changing patterns of climate have inflicted hazardous effects on biodiversity and environment.

Significantly, *Traditional Food: Sharing Experiences from the Field* is a multitude of gestures of collaboration. Intangible cultural heritage safeguarding cannot be realistic without intentional commitment to collaborative strategies of heritage protection. ICHCAP, since its establishment in 2011, has always been adept at finding means to cooperate with Member States and allied organizations in assuring that intangible heritage will reach our future. International collaboration and participation at community, national, and regional levels are foundational to ensuring that cultural heritage is perpetually viewed as discursive and open to all. With this book's reach, promoting cultural diversity as reflected by multifarious habits and rituals shaped by food, covering significant issues about food production, and, consequently, demanding for further exploration in the study of intangible cultural heritage, the *Living Heritage Series* will remain mindful about the dynamics of culture in different contexts to expand our views and multiply our thoughts.

Epilogue

Dr. Seong-Yong Park
ICHCAP and ICH Courier

Définir, adopter et réinventer les pratiques culturelles

L'héritage de l'anthropologie symbolique de Clifford Geertz a eu une influence considérable sur les études critiques du patrimoine, en particulier lorsque nous pensons la « communauté » comme représentation de la consistance sociologique et psychologique du temps et des hommes, un monde en soi, ou comme il a clairement détaillé dans son ouvrage majeur The Interpretation of Cultures, « la hiérarchie stratifiée des structures significatives » (1973). Il est impératif de rendre ses lettres de noblesse à la communauté dans le domaine du patrimoine, tant par son étude que par sa protection officielle, car, sans groupes de personnes qui vivent pour définir, embrasser, réinventer et partager leurs pratiques culturelles, nous ne pourrions pas retracer nos liens, notre appartenance et notre identité. *Traditional Food: Sharing Experiences from the Field* est une preuve du pouvoir des communautés pour transmettre la culture non seulement en leur sein, mais aussi à d'autres personnes de l'autre côté des frontières. Ce livre souligne la valeur anthropologique de l'unité, l'appréciation de l'unité de la Corée à l'Italie, la Syrie, la Colombie, au Mexique et au reste du monde, en passant par la nourriture.

Lorsque nous pensons aux changements rapides apportés par nos recherches disparates en matière de connaissance et d'amélioration de l'économie, l'élément permanent le plus facile à repérer est notre besoin de nourriture. Cependant, nous réalisons modérément que nos méthodes de préparation des aliments, les ingrédients que nous utilisons, nos habitudes alimentaires peuvent également faire une distinction libre entre le passé et le présent. Ce livre nous apprend que, à des degrés divers, nous avons hérité de nos souvenirs et de nos goûts. Nous apprenons également que l'acte de transmission de nos connaissances et de nos pratiques relatives à la nourriture peut être un mouvement social alors que celle-ci croise l'appartenance autochtone, l'inclusion sociale, le développement formatif des enfants, la famille, le vieillissement, etc. La transmission du patrimoine de la nourriture en tant que mouvement social, comme le disent les jeunes

colombiens, est le moyen par lequel les jeunes peuvent avoir un impact fort sur les traditions vivantes, hormis une scène grandiose, dans les rues et notre vie quotidienne.

Une approche interdisciplinaire de la culture alimentaire: vers une collaboration internationale

Il est également intéressant de noter de quelle manière l'approche interdisciplinaire des modes alimentaires dans ce livre révèle non seulement comment la nourriture peut être liée à d'autres domaines de pensée tels que la musique, la médecine, la littérature, la religion, le tourisme et l'agriculture, mais aussi comment nous sommes en tant que communautés, en tant que nations interconnectées les unes aux autres à travers les goûts et la consommation de nourriture. En nous assurant que les objectifs de développement durable (ODD) sont atteints d'ici 2030, l'ODD 2 ou le programme de « Faim zéro » étant directement liés actuellement, il est essentiel que nous puissions développer un sentiment d'intérêt quant à la façon dont nos systèmes peuvent se relier, et, par conséquent, interagir les uns avec les autres. Notre atout, en tant qu'êtres humains, est notre capacité à discerner quelles pratiques alimentaires peuvent être bénéfiques pour la vie des autres, ce qui se révèle être particulièrement utile à une époque où les changements climatiques ont des effets néfastes sur la biodiversité et l'environnement.

Traditional Food: Sharing Experiences from the Field représente, substantiellement, une multitude de gestes collaboratifs. La sauvegarde du patrimoine culturel immatériel ne peut être réaliste sans un engagement volontaire en faveur des stratégies de collaboration pour la protection du patrimoine. Depuis sa création en 2011, l'ICHCAP a toujours su mettre en œuvre les moyens de coopérer avec les États membres et les organisations alliées afin de garantir la protection du patrimoine immatériel pour les générations futures. La collaboration et la participation internationales aux niveaux communautaire, national et régional sont essentielles pour faire en sorte que le patrimoine culturel soit toujours perçu comme discursif et ouvert à tous. Avec la portée de ce livre, qui promeut la diversité culturelle reflétée par de multiples habitudes et rituels façonnés par la nourriture, abordant des questions importantes relatives à la production alimentaire et, par conséquent, exigeant une exploration plus approfondie de l'étude du patrimoine culturel immatériel, la *Série du Patrimoine vivant* restera attentive aux dynamiques de la culture dans différents contextes pour élargir nos points de vue et diversifier nos pensées.

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Living Heritage Series

For the past several decades, UNESCO has been increasingly championing the importance of culture as a driving force for the proliferation of cultural diversity and the sustainable development of a global society. Sustainable development in this sense, however, is not equated to economic growth alone, but also to a means to achieve an equitable intellectual, emotional, and spiritual existence among the global community.

At the same time, societies around the world have been facing challenges in promoting the values of cultural pluralism. As such, UNESCO has been an advocate for promoting culture and intangible cultural heritage in particular since the 1980s with the Decade for Cultural Development and later with the Living Human Treasures program (UNESCO 142EX/18 and 142EX/48). These promotions and programs culminated with the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage and the 2005 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions. Both of these instruments recognize the importance of sharing and promoting intangible cultural heritage to enhance understanding and appreciation of the cultural assets of the humanity.

In 2017, ICHCAP, as a UNESCO category 2 center in the cultural heritage field, started the *Living Heritage Series* to promote cultural diversity and the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage In this publication project, ICHCAP teams up with other organizations to share information about heritage beliefs and practices from cultures around the world in the hopes that intangible cultural heritage can be sustained by communities and the broader international society.

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