REGIONAL MUSEUMS AND LOCAL GASTRONOMIC HERITAGE

Proceedings Of The 2011 And 2012 ICR Conferences

Kristiansand, Norway, 22-28 August 2011

Belgrade and Prijepolje, Serbia, 23-28 September 2012

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The content of articles and photographs as well as the accuracy of quotations and correct attributions is responsibility of authors.

FOREWORD

Dear Colleagues and Friends of ICR,

Gastronomy was chosen as the theme of ICR's conferences in 2011 and 2012. As will be obvious from the present publication, there was great and even worldwide interest in contributing papers to the conferences dealing with this theme.

As Chair of ICR, I have been given the honor and privilege of sending a greeting via this publication to my fellow ICR members and to our other colleagues in ICOM. The present publication constitutes a further example of the high standards of ICR's professional activities and qualities.

ICR's professional activities and annual conferences have had long-lasting results in the form of a long list of publications. The present volume covers the 2011 conference held in Norway and the 2012 conference held in Serbia. Most of the papers presented at these conferences are to be found in this publication. Both conferences were well planned and both were carried out in a cordial atmosphere marked by professionalism and communal friendship.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank ICR's former secretary, Susan Hanna, and our present secretary, Jean Aase, for their editing and administration of this publication. I would also like to express my deep thanks to Metka Fujs and her staff in Slovenia for their work on the publication's layout and photo editing.

In conclusion, I hope that all ICR members and other interested persons will enjoy reading this publication and learning from it.

Rune Holbek
Chairperson of the International Committee for Regional Museums

EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Jean Aase
Secretary of the International Committee for Regional Museums

The titles of ICR's 2011 conference in Kristiansand, Norway and the 2012 conference in Serbia were both indicative of the interest shown in gastronomy by regional museums. Because both conferences dealt with gastronomy, it was felt that issuing a joint publication covering both would be most practical.

The title for 2011 was "Changing tastes: Local gastronomy and regional museums", while the 2012 title was "Home and hearth: Regional Museums and Gastronomic Heritage". There are obvious similarities between these two approaches in that both deal with human nutrition, but it is also obvious that there are subtle differences between them. In both cases, however, food is seen as being an aspect of both the tangible and the intangible heritage.

In 2011, participants were invited to examine the following topics: the role of museums in supporting the revival and promotion of regional gastronomy; the challenges of presenting local food history while complying with health, safety and hygiene regulations; effective partnering with culinary tourism initiatives; dealing with controversial topics such as obesity, famine, food shortages and/or alcoholism. Regional museums' presentation of their rich resources of tangible and intangible gastronomic heritage was an additional topic which participants were invited to consider.

In 2012, focus was narrowed to center more on the household. The kitchen itself, the center for the preparation of food, was among the topics suggested for further analysis. Other topics included the unwritten laws regarding food selection, preparation, presentation and consumption and the effect that households' cultural, religious and ethnic backgrounds might have on such unwritten laws. Food for festivals, family celebrations and other special occasions was another topic suggested for consideration. Yet another dealt with the utensils and containers used in preparing foods.

Presenters of papers at the two conferences came from the Far East, the Middle East, Africa, Europe, the Americas and New Zealand. A total of 29 of the two conferences' papers are included here. Because no divisional sections were set up for the presentations during the conferences, it has been decided to print the papers *en bloc* under the title chosen for each conference and in the same order as they were presented at the relevant conference.

2011: Changing Tastes - Local Gastronomy and Regional Museums

Mila Popović Živančević presents an overview of gastronomic traditions as these have been used and transmitted over the generations in Serbian families. Li Hong's survey of ancient eating habits is based on archaeological finds from the impressive Han Dynasty tombs excavated in the Central Plains area of China. Chen Jianming discusses food ingredients, their storage and preservation and cooking culture as based on artefacts found in the tombs of a noble family of the Han Dynasty in the Hunan District of China. Sophie Forgan invites us to sit at the shipboard table provisioned by Captain James Cook for his voyages with an eye to optimizing his crews' diets and preventing disease among them. Wilbard Lema, ICR's 2011 ICR Young Peoples' Travel Grantee, shows how the founding of a National Culture Day Festival has given Tanzanian ethnic groups the opportunity to demonstrate their cultural aspects and helped both them and the general public understand and respect each other's ways of life.

Goranka Horjan discusses official efforts to preserve the Croatian culinary heritage and food preparation, rounding off by describing popular gastronomic festivities and events in her own home region. Elzieta Grygiel and Piotr Gorajec demonstrate how culinary traditions at the Wilanow Palace Museum are presented as programs and events for the public based on the history of Polish cuisine and nutrition. Irena Žmuc discusses royal cuisine and contrasts this with the eating habits of three groups of town-dwellers based on information found in historic documents from Ljubljana. Otto Lohr shows how regional foods such as asparagus, carp fish, beer and bread can be used to promote local and regional museums in Bavaria. Carrie Lunde discusses traditional food items brought to Canada by various immigrant groups and used as the basis for events that preserve their sense of community.

Blanca González traces the development of chocolate from its pre-historic Mayan sources to its use and export in colonial times and its later industrial development as cacao and chocolate bars. Azucena Suarez de Miguel discusses the history of the hot, spicy chilimolli-sauce first created and savored in ancient Mesoamerica and produced industrially in modern Mexico. Henrique de Freitas shows how the culinary references developed by Brazilian natives, Portuguese colonizers, black slaves are represented in the regional museums of Goias, Brazil.

Yiannis Markakis describes a project in which edible wild greens are collected by museum guests and then prepared for cooking and consumption by these same people. Orit Shamir breaks with the conference topic to discuss exhibits shown in other venues than Israel's museum and wonders if this activity encour-

ages the public to visit museums. Sue Hanna introduces LHOAF, a regional center for the advancement of foodways in Pennsylvania, and describes its activities. Jane Legget traces the development of the sugar industry on New Zealand and its path to heritage status. Christina Hsu discusses the growth of Taiwanese *noshes*, a traditional form of regional "fast food".

2012: Home and Hearth - Regional Museums and Gastronomic Heritage

Vesna Bižić-Omčikus discusses not only the food served in three distinct cultural and geographical regions of Serbia – Pannonia, Central Balkan and Dinaric – but also the dietary customs of the country's Jewish, Roma and Muslim populations. Tamara Ognjević reviews research conducted on mediaeval Serbian gastronomy and how this has been used to reconstruct recipes for typical foods at her institute. Jasmina Uroda Kutlić, ICR's 2012 Young People's Travel Grantee, traces the development of Croatian winemaking from the Roman era and up to the present day. Wilbard Lema, ICR's 2011-2012 Young People's Travel Grantee, presents a wide-ranging survey of food habits and taboos among Tanzanian ethnic groups.

Maria José Santos' paper deals with the traditional cuisine of northern Portugal, presenting typical dishes and their ingredients. Azucena Suarez de Miguel describes her institute's efforts to identify and preserve historic Mexican recipe books, and also its publication policy. Jean Aase discusses the importance of commonplace porridge in historic times and in the present-day Norwegian diet. Jane Legget presents her "second chapter" in the saga of sugar production in New Zealand, stressing its current importance as a heritage visitor attraction. Orit Shamir presents Israeli archaeological museums' activities in presenting food and its significance for historic populations. Yiannis Markakis describes the local production of Cretan "raki" and also shows how its consumption is vital to Cretan identity and sense of community.

We might now ask: how then do museums address the history and culture of food production and consumption? How do they present what we might call the "tastes, traditions and transactions" inherent in gastronomy? The papers presented at the ICR 2011 and 2012 conferences and published in the present volume provide some relevant answers to these questions. In noting this, I wish to thank their authors for making their conference papers available for publication. Thanks also to the former members of ICR's Publication Working Group – Sue Hanna and Jane Legget for editorial assistance and Metka Fujs for again taking on the coordination of design and publication of the present Proceedings. Without their help my task would have been difficult indeed.

Thanks are also due our hosts in Norway: Vest-Agder County Municipality, the municipalities of Kristiansand, Åseral, Marnadal and Mandal, the Agder Museum of Nature and Botanical Gardens, Sørlandets Art Museum, Vest-Agder Museum, Lindesnes Lighthouse Museum, ICOM Norway and ICR's local representative, current ICR Chair Rune Holbek. Thanks are further due our hosts in Serbia: the Central Institute for Conservation, the Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, the Regional Museum of Prijepolje, the Great Mosque of Prijepolje, the mountain village of Kamena Gora, the Open-air Museum of Sirogojno, the village and workshops of Zlakuša and ICOM SEE. On behalf of ICR, I express grateful thanks to all of the above and to the many others who made us feel welcome in their regions.

CHANGING TASTES – LOCAL GASTRONOMY AND REGIONAL MUSEUMS

Kristiansand, Norway, 22-28 August 2011

Conference participants shown at the Minne Åseral Culturcenter, Norway, 2010.

TRADITIONAL FAMILY CUISINE IN SERBIA. THE FAMILY AS A CONVEYOR OF GASTRONOMIC HERITAGE

Mila Popović-Živančević
Central Institute for Conservation, Belgrade, Serbia

Serbia is situated in the central part of the Balkan Peninsula where roads have crossed and nations have been migrating between Europe and Asia since the earliest times. The richness of Serbian cuisine originates from its geographic, national and cultural diversity caused by the age-long mixing of Slavic population with various nations. All these influences have left traces in family cookery today and have been skilfully adapted to the specific taste, mentality, needs, capacities and natural resources of individual regions of Serbia. Nowadays, we can distinguish several types of traditional cuisine that can be cherished in everyday or holiday meals in a family according to these basic characteristics, especially in rural communities.

The authentic village in west part of Serbia.

The Old Balkan And Old Slovene Gastronomic Heritage In Serbia

The Kitchen

The kitchen is considered the main part of a residential building. In Serbian villages the word for a kitchen means "home". The word kitchen is mainly used in urban communities. In each rural "home", the hearth represented an important, ritual location and the daily life of a family revolved around it. The dinner table, called *trpeza, sanija or sofra,* is placed in the central part of the kitchen. The host is seated at the east side, the hostess sits to his left and his brother to his right, etc.

The rural "home" and heart in the west part of Serbia.

In Serbia in the second half of the 19th century, the table was used to serve food in urban communities. A *sofra* is round at the back and extending into a parallelogram with 4 half-meter high legs. In the Kragujevac region, a *sofra* is round and one meter in diameter with 15-cm high 4 legs. A *sinija* is smaller than a *sofra*. It is round, sometimes made of a hewn log and standing on three legs (2-3 cm). Family members would sit around the *sinija* on small wooden chairs or on mats on the floor. No table cloths are put over a *sofra* or a *sinija*. In olden days in well-to-do houses in Šumadija, a copper tray was placed on the wooden *sinija* or *sofra* where the meals were placed. Before sitting at a *sofra* or a *sinija*, all family members make the sign of the cross and the host invites them to approach and eat. Cooked meals are brought in wooden dishes and everyone eats from these with wooden spoons.

The villagers themselves usually made such wooden dishware by hollowing out a piece of wood. When a person finishes, he/she makes the sign of the cross and says: "God help us".

Chest to keep dishware and flour.

The simplest cookware was made of half of a pumpkin. It is recorded that the shepherds of Miroč Mountain would milk a sheep into half a pumpkin, and then would add red hot stones to boil the milk. In the mountains of Stari Vlah, dishware was made in the shape of a box of birch or maple bark, and their parts were sewn with twigs of hazel tree.

Pottery dishware is one of the most frequently encountered remnants of the gastronomic heritage of Serbia today. Archaeological findings from the earliest ages speak of a continuity of ceramic production of dishware used daily for cooking over fire or for preparation or preservation of food. Numerous examples of pre-historic, Roman or medieval pottery look almost the same as pitchers that could have been found in the pottery shops in many towns in Serbia until recently. In the region of Užice (Zlakusa), rough, heavy pottery is still being made with a specific technology linked to the local raw material resources, which have not changed for centuries.

Traditional production of pottery today in Zlakusa.

Copper dishware was made by the Roma people, skilful craftsmen who travelled from place to place and made and sold various copper dishes, such as baking pans, cauldrons, ewers, sahan dishes, etc. Nowadays, at marketplaces and fairs in Serbia, Roma people still sell almost identical dishes. Fine copper dishware was expensive in the past; it was made in special workshops or imported, and used only by the rich.

Although an old legend says that gold spoons and forks were once used at the Serbian royal court, most people ate using their fingers. Metal forks may have been used in this area before they appeared elsewhere in Europe. Wooden spoons were used widely in the traditional Serbian kitchen as the main diet was based on soups and cooked meals until the 20th century; Not surprisingly, spoons were the only cutlery for a long time. Forks and spoons were mainly made of wood. It was recorded that in a medieval Serbian family, only the host had a metal fork, which he used to divide pieces of meat for family members and guests, and that our grandfathers only used metal forks and spoons on special occasions.

Cooked Wheat And Flour

Bungur.

It has been a very long tradition, passed from one generation to another for a family *slava* day, pre-*slava* day, wake and post-funeral meal, to prepare *koljivo* – a boiled wheat dish that is linked ritually to planning a plentiful harvest or foreseeing someone's death. In the past, people in Serbia ate boiled wheat and corn and bread made of mixed cereals equally, and it is the same today. Other popular dishes are *bungur*, made from simmered barley or wheat and later beaten in a wooden mortar; *kačamak*, or *pura*, a boiled corn flour, vigorously stirred; often prepared with *kajmak*, butter or cheese; *cicvara,* boiled cornmeal with *kajmak* and cheese, *popara* or boiled bread with cheese; *proja*, corn bread, *jufkara*, baked pie dough boiled in milk; *gibanica*, cheese pie and a number of other pies with cheese.

In rural families, bread has preserved its special importance in the diet. In the past, village people often baked bread from flour that was a mix of wheat, barley and rye. In the region of Užice, bread is even today often made using a mixture of oats, buckwheat and corn.

Traditional oven for baking bread.

Wheat bannocks are kneaded without yeast and their origin is much older than bread. In rural homes, sour bread is baked even today, using sour dough that is 2 to 3 days old as yeast. This type of bread is mentioned in old mediaeval sources.

Bread was baked on the hearth or in masonry ovens separately built of brick and clay found in the yards of the houses. These ovens use the principle of a closed chamber and hot air from the walls to heat up the air inside. Such masonry ovens can be found today in almost every village house in central and west Serbia.

If the mistress does not have a *sač* (a large metal lid like a shallow bell) in order to bake bread on the hearth, then she first places the dough on the plate of the hearth and covers it with leaves of potherbs, cabbage or gentian, to ensure that the bread stays clean when ash and live coals are placed over it.

A *crepulja* is a large heavy container made of unglazed pottery consisting of two equal parts. The lower half containing the bread dough is heated on the hearth and covered with cabbage leaves on which live coals and hot ashes are put. Sometimes the dough in the lower half is covered with the upper half and the whole thing covered with live coals and ashes. However, this is mostly done when baking pies.

Crepulje.

Meat Preparation

Large domestic cattle were reared, which was highly valued for daily subsistence and agriculture depended on them. At feasts or special occasions and during holidays, there was sheep, lamb, and pork meat on the table. In everyday family life, small animal meat or poultry was used for meals, or meat from salt brine was used once or twice a week, most frequently on Sundays. Meat was roasted on a spit or on heated stones. Folk poems tell most frequently about roasted meat on a spit, particularly "fat ram's meat". In medieval Serbia, people mostly ate sheep, much later using pork and very rarely beef. A traditional rural diet never mentions beef.

Grilled meat has a long tradition as it is most easily prepared; pieces of meat are skewered on a spit and then rotated over the fire or by the fire. Roasting piglets or lambs on a spit is certainly common on the family *slava day* or holidays, particularly in rural communities, even today.

Leskovac grilled meat is prepared all over Serbia today. The flavour of Leskovac grilled meat is indeed exquisite and specific. Each family has its own recipe

Grilled meat with kajmak.

passed from one generation to another, which always has a secret ingredient. Pieces of meat can be fried or simmered in fat, a little water and their own steam and juices in covered ceramic dishes. Meat prepared this way is always juicy, tender and savoury. Lamb or beef can also be prepared in a *sač* in hot ashes with live coals.

Cooking with red hot stones was a very old way of cooking among the shepherds in the highlands who did not want to drink raw milk. After milking it into a bowl, they placed red hot pebbles in it to bring it to the boil. Red hot stones were also used for roasting larger piglets for Christmas. On Boxing Day, a piglet is cleaned and prepared for roasting and several red hot pebbles are placed inside it. Then, the piglet is wrapped in a clean cloth and rotated so that the piglet's inside is evenly roasted. The next morning the pebbles are taken out and it is put on a spit to roast in the usual way. Sometimes in the winter, when the village people want some hot rakija, they put a red hot pebble in a pot and pour the rakija over it. In Aleksinac, red hot pebbles were a very important viticulture tool in the process of wine production.

Dairy Products (White Fat)

In Serbia, cow's milk was drunk predominantly, then sheep's milk and rarely goat's milk. Mare's milk was only used as a cure. Many dishes were made of conserved and salted milk. In the autumn, when milk is naturally thicker, they made only *gruševina*. *Gruševina* is made of fresh, sweet milk that is heated over fire and stirred continuously with a wooden ladle until it thickens. When it cools off, it is thicker that Greek yoghurt. *Gruševina* remains unchanged for two days at the most. Then it becomes yellowish from the thick *kajmak* that forms on it. It is delicious and guests were treated regularly with it. People believed that it was great for the health of the host, his guests and their cattle.

White cheese is certainly one of the most famous dairy products and a lot of skill and effort is needed to make it. Cheese was made of both whipped milk (non-fat milk from which the butter has been skimmed out) and unstirred milk (with butter). Each part of Serbia has its own characteristic white cheese with

a different flavour and different preparation and conservation techniques. Various types of cheese are made: hard, soft, cheese spread (*isitnjen*), creamy, ricotta, young, etc. In the mountainous areas around Pirot and Kopaonik, high quality yellow *kačkavalj* cheese is made of sheep's milk. In the eastern Serbian mountains, people still make *urda* – curd – a dry and lumpy cheese, made of sheep's or goat's milk. Some cheeses, for example *brnzi*, a very hard and salty cheese from the east Serbian mountains can last up to 3 year. Before being used, it is boiled in water to soften and desalt it. Nowadays in Serbia, each open green market has special sections for the sale of homemade dairy products from the region: *kajmak*, butter, sheep's, cow's or goat's cheese, homemade cream, etc.

Mason (Butter) was mentioned in the oldest written documents and was used both as food and a cure. The simplest method of making such butter is to leave milk that has just been milked for half an hour to allow the foam to settle and to "get ready for churning". Then this uncooked milk is poured into wooden butter churn and churned in a shady place. When the milk is properly churned, butter separates on the surface. This is removed, placed in a wooden dish and finally washed in cold water. If there is a need to keep butter for a long time, it is melted and the pure butter is separated from the *mlečavina* – the buttermilk and poured into ceramic pots or wooden buckets for storage.

Cream is made of cow's milk. After milking, fresh milk is warmed a little, stirred and poured into wooden dishes overnight to cool. The cream is skimmed from the surface in the morning. It is believed that real cream is made after the milk is boiled and then left to cool. Then a thick layer of *kajmak* forms on the surface, which is skimmed off first. After that, liquid that is thicker and fatter than milk but more viscous than *kajmak* floats up onto the surface – and that is cream.

Kajmak (or *skorup*) is the thick crust that forms after boiled cow's milk is poured into broad bowls to cool. This is skimmed, salted and laid down in layers, most frequently in wooden dishes. Generally, *kajmak* is one of the products that have remained a favourite food in some parts of our country for ages. It represents a unique product that is related to the mountainous and hilly regions of central and western Serbia. It cannot be found east of the Morava (east Serbia) and north of the Sava and the Danube.

Milk soured in *mešina* (animal-skin bags) is mentioned in antique sources when speaking of the territory of today's Serbia. There is still an old custom of preparing a special kind of soured milk, *jardum***.** It was known that milk thickens best when boiled milk is salted and then becomes sour. The day it goes sour, it is put in linen bags so that the water drains out of it, and then it is put in small wooden barrels and stored for the winter.

Beverages

Alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages have always been home-made especially in rural families. Many shepherds' summer drinks, such as *musa* and *mezgra*, are drunk not only to quench thirst but also because of their sweetness. *Musa* is obtained from collecting the sap of acer or other kinds of maple trees. *Mezgra* is similar to *musa* but is obtained from the bark of young beech trees or from turkey oak, birch or hornbeam trees. There is a long tradition of making fruit juices from various seasonal fruits cooked with no preservatives. Even today, juices made from sour cherries, plums, raspberries, strawberries, blackberries, blueberries, apricots etc. are favourite drinks. *Boza* was popular in the summertime. This is a drink with a slightly acidic sweet flavour made from millet or wheat flour, half and half, and soured with ordinary baking yeast. One can find it confectioners even today.

There are many milk drinks in Serbia, which is understandable in regard to its mountainous regions, cattle breeding and shepherd tradition. For instance, *buza* is made by putting cooked milk in a barrel and leaving it for a couple of days until it turns yellow and foam appears on the surface. It is then ready to drink. Yoghurt is also a popular dairy drink. It is made of boiled sheep's milk. When taken off the fire, it is cooled and poured into a *mešina* or *djban* (animal-skin bag), where it thickens. Milk was made into yoghurt very quickly, especially if the weather was warm. It has always been a refreshing drink. In the summer fresh milk is added to yoghurt to make the quantity that is to be drunk during the day.

Medovina (mead), an original Slavic beverage with about 17% alcohol, was the main drink of our ancestors. It is still produced by a simple method with no aromatic herbs, yeast or hops by mixing honey and water and then storing this for a while before it is drunk. Or when empty honeycombs are rinsed over a dish, the resulting liquid is boiled and stored in buckets or barrels and drunk during the winter as *thin mead*. Beer also has a long tradition in the Balkans. A form of beer called *alovina* is made from fermented popped oats. The oats are stored in sealed buckets and when ready, this *alovina* is poured into glasses and drunk in the morning instead of *rakija* or coffee, or during lunch instead of wine.

Wine cellars Pimnice near Rajac village.

Wine is based on the long Serbian tradition of grape growing and wine making However, the expansion of vi-

ticulture is linked to the Romans in these regions; in some viticulture regions, some old Roman wine production techniques still survive. The rulers of medieval Serbia were also very active in developing viticulture. The grape growing tradition and wine making has not changed for centuries in the rural households of central and southern Serbia where different wines are made and high quality wine is drunk.

Nowadays, *rakija* is the most typical Serbian strong alcoholic drink with almost every village house having its own distillery. *Rakija* is drunk as an aperitif before the meal or with a cold buffet. Very strong and top quality brandies are produced from various fruits such as plums, grapes, apricots, pears, quinces, apples, cornelian cherries, mulberries. The famous *šljivovica* is, however, the most predominantly produced. It was a custom to have a small glass of strong, matured *šljivovica* in the morning, right after getting up, while lighter *šljivovica* was drunk with meals.

Traditional Cuisine Linked To Customs And Holidays

Serbia is a country of hospitable, friendly people who like having guests. The biggest honour for any guest is to be invited to *krsna slava* - the holy day for every Serbian family. The biggest Serbian holidays besides *krsna slava* are Christmas and Easter. However, Serbian families have a series of customs linked to various celebrations: the birth of a child, birthday, coming of age, going to the army, wedding, the start of construction of a new house, *zadušnice* (All Souls Day) and New Year. People eat and drink most before the Christmas and Easter fasting periods; and also on *slavas*, weddings, *zadušnice* and other occasions. Each of these special days had its special, ritual meal.

Slava cake.

Krsna Slava

Krsna slava is an annual Serbian Orthodox tradition celebrating the family's patron saint where the household members recall in their prayers their forefathers who celebrated the same Saint. The Serbs celebrate *krsna slava* with their family and friends, they prepare festive and

diverse dishes and a holiday atmosphere fills in the house. The main rule is to prepare *žito* (cooked wheat) and *slava cake* that are blessed by the priest. The holiday menu depends on religious Orthodox rules, i.e. whether it is a *fasting* or *non-fasting slava day* and also on the season.

The following typical *slava* lunch is prepared during a fasting period:
Aperitif: homemade *rakija*, mainly *šljivovica*
Cold buffet: seasonal salads, baked peppers (*pečene paprike*), pickled vegetables
Meal: baked beans *prebranac;* bell peppers stuffed with rice, vegetables and herbs
Main course: fish
Dessert: various small fat-free cookies made of fruits and nuts
Beverages: homemade wine (mainly red), fruit juices

The following typical *slava* lunch is prepared during a non-fasting period:
Aperitif: homemade *rakija*, mainly *šljivovica*
Cold buffet: cheese, *kajmak*, boiled eggs, smoked meat, *pihtije* (aspic) of pork, *proja* (wheat bannocks)
Cooked dish: sarmica of pork or lamb entrails, sarma of sour cabbage, wedding pot
Main course: roast piglet or lamb on a spit
Salads: seasonal salads, baked bell and chilli peppers, pickled vegetables
Dessert: various small cookies made from fruits and nuts
Beverages: homemade wine (mainly red), fruit juices

Christmas Customs

In Serbia, Christmas is celebrated according to the Julian calendar on 7 January. The Nativity fast begins 40 days before Christmas when all food coming from animals (meat, milk and dairy products and eggs) is forbidden. Fish is allowed only on certain days. Early in the morning on Christmas Eve, the host leaves to fetch a *badnjak* (yule-log), which is brought into the house at sunset. Christmas Eve dinner is strictly of non-animal food: fish, honey, wine, baked beans (*prebranac*); then apples, pears, dried plums, dried fruits and nuts. The fast is over on Christmas Day, 7 January.

Christmas lunch is solemn and plentiful and certain ritual dishes must be served prepared only on that day. The following dishes are prepared:
Aperitif: home-made *rakija, šljivovica* and other fruit brandies
Cold buffet: cheese, *kajmak, proja*, smoked meat, *pihtije*, pickled vegetables (*turšija*)
Cooked dish: *sarmica* of pork entrails, *sarma* of sour cabbage, wedding pot

Main course: roast piglet on a spit
Salads: sour cabbage, salads, baked bell and chilli peppers, pickled vegetables (*turšija*)
Dessert: cookies and cakes made from butter, eggs, nuts, almond and hazelnuts.
Beverages: homemade wine (mainly red), fruit juices

Easter Customs

Easter is also marked by a series of church rules and traditional customs that have not changed much. The fast of the *Great Lent* lasts for 40 days. During this period, food prepared with water is eaten on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, and food prepared with vegetable oil is eaten on Saturdays and Sundays. Eggs are painted on Good Friday; traditionally, no other work is done on that day. On the Saturday before Easter, food is prepared for the Easter lunch which must include roast lamb.

Easter lunch includes the following**:**
Aperitif: home-made *rakija, šljivovica* and other fruit brandies
Cold buffet: cheese, *kajmak, proja*, smoked meat, *pihtije*, boiled eggs
Soup: lamb pottage, potherbs soup or pottage
Cooked dish: *sarmica* of lamb entrails, potherbs *sarmica*
Main course: roast lamb on a spit
Salads: seasonal salads, fresh cabbage, tomatoes etc.
Dessert: various cookies and cakes made from fruits and nuts

Conclusion

Although modern family life dictates a different way of living and relationship to food compared to the past and although the number of "old-time" housewives who exclusively take care of the family is ever decreasing, traditional methods of the production and preparation of food are still alive, particularly in rural communities. Modern Serbian cuisine represents a centuries' long mix of old Balkan, Slavic, Oriental, Mediterranean and Central European influences. Therefore it is characterised by contrasting and diverse foods prepared by every family from the north to the south and from the west to the east of Serbia. Almost every family enjoys cooking and often uses old recipes, to which they add a new dimension of gastronomic enjoyment with imagination and goodwill. All these formed the modern national cuisine of Serbia, tasty and aromatic, which intensifies appetites and satisfies all the senses, meal by meal.

EATING HABITS AMONG COMMON PEOPLE AS REFLECTED BY ARTIFACTS FOUND IN HAN TOMBS IN CENTRAL PLAIN

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The Han Dynasty was the first dynasty to achieve remarkable development and great prosperity after the establishment of feudalism in China. It existed for more than 400 years and left us with an abundance of cultural remains. Among these are large numbers of artifacts unearthed from Han tombs, which, diverse as they are, reflect a wide range of aspects of the Han society like an encyclopedia. The Central Plains played a central role in the Han society in both economic and political terms. One of the cities in the region, Luoyang, was the capital of the Eastern Han Empire; another city, Nanyang, was the hometown of the imperial family. Dozens of years of archaeological work has revealed many important findings from this region. These include: the survey and excavation of Luoyang City of the Han and Wei Dynasties; the discovery of well-known iron-smelting sites at the ancient Town of Ying in Zhengzhou, Wafang Village in Nanyang, Tieshenggou in Gongyi, and Zhaoxian Village in Wen County; the discovery of Sanyangzhuang, the site of a Han manor, in Neihuang; and, in particular, some ten thousand Han tombs and countless Han artifacts. All these have provided plenty of material for the study of the era.

The Han Dynasty emphasized agriculture as the foundation of the state and regarded food as the most important of the Eight Aspects of Administration (bazheng). Great importance was attached to the production and storage of grains by both the government and the common people. With vast and fertile farmland fit for dry crops and a people well-versed in the cultivation of the Five Cereals, the Central Plains had a long tradition of farming. During the Han Dynasty, a remarkable progress was made in agricultural production in the region thanks to its dense population, convenient transport by water, the increase of irrigated fields, the wide use of iron tools and new farm tools, the advent of farming with cattle, and the improvement of farming techniques. The artifacts buried in Han tombs, which are related to food, clothing, shelter and transport, present a colorful picture of daily life in an agricultural civilization.

Two thousand years ago, the Han Empire and the Roman Empire were situated at each end of the Silk Road. Despite a world of difference in culture, they had one thing in common--the emphasis on agricultural production, for any change in this respect would have a tremendous economic impact on the empires. However, what was advocated in China was an agriculture based on individual families, and the vast plains of inland China were primarily fit for the cultivation of the Five Cereals. The discovery of the ruins of a Han village at Sanyangzhuang in Neihuang, Henan has revealed the pattern of Central-Plains agricultural economy during the Han Dynasty. The site offers us a glimpse of the life of the dynasty's common people. More than two years' excavation has uncovered four courtyards from a five-meter-deep accumulation of sand. All the houses face south and therefore receive plenty of sunlight. Each courtyard consists of two rows of houses, between which there is a small area for activities; it is equipped with a well, a toilet, and tools like stone mortars and rollers, thus forming a self-contained system. Around the spacious courtyards were mulberries and elms, the cultivation of which was advocated by the government. Under the sand around the courtyards are fields that were being tilled and clear prints of cattle hooves and cart wheels. Also found at the site were large iron ploughs. The life of Han farmers would be vividly described by a great poet called Tao Yuanming in the third century:

Back To Country Life
...
My farm contains a dozen mu of ground;
My cottage has eight or nine rooms around.
The elm and willow cover backside eaves
While peach and plum trees shade my yard with leaves.
The distant village dimly looms somewhere,
With smoke from chimneys drifting in the air.

Whereas small and medium-sized farms played a major role in the kind of agriculture advocated in the later years of the Roman Republic, Chinese manors were founded on the basis of individual families. They were at once origins of means of production and wealth, the residences of family members, and fortified fortresses for the self-defense of clans. These enormous manors, which were highly self-contained, engaged in certain handicrafts or business and usury as well as farming, fishing, forestry and animal husbandry. The model of a manor found in Huaiyang, Henan represents an estate that served for both residence and farming. The house consists of a front yard, a central yard and a backyard, with horses in

the central yard, a banquet for guests entertained by musicians, and a storehouse, a kitchen, a sty and a toilet in the backyard. Outside the house are wells and fields crisscrossed by irrigation canals and ditches. These present a picture of the life of middle and small landlords of the Han Dynasty in their self-contained manors, which served for production, defense and entertainment.

The ruins of a Han village at Sanyangzhuang in Neihuang, Henan.

The Han Dynasty marked an important stage in the maturing of Chinese food culture, and the Central Plains played an important role in the Han society on the strength of their dense population, advanced living standard, and uniform cultural customs. Next, with reference to the suites of implements and utensils unearthed from Han tombs in the Central Plains, we will discuss the evolution of eating habits among the common people of Han in terms of harvest and food storage, the processing of grains and the preparation of food, and cooking utensils and tableware.

Harvest And Food Storage During The Han Dynasty

Han farmers followed the solar terms in their age-old lunar calendar, sowing seeds in spring, tilling fields in summer, harvesting in autumn, and storing food in winter. A progress in agriculture was achieved in the Central Plains through the implementation of dai tian fa ('ridge-ditch rotation', an early form of crop rotation,

in which farmers divided their land into two portions -- ridges and ditches, one of which would be planted, the other being left fallow), a method suited to dry farming in the north. Such 'ditches' and 'ridges', each measuring one chi deep and wide, are visible on the farmland left at Sanyangzhuang. All the farming and harvesting methods used in the Central Plains are depicted in Han stone reliefs, including deep ploughing and quick aeration, spaced sowing and dung collecting, intertillage and weeding, harvesting with sickles, and grinding, husking and winnowing.

Han stone relief unearthed in Suining, Jiangsu, which depicts men ploughing with cattle and a cart.

The Han Dynasty had a population of about 50 million, 40 million of which worked in agriculture. Assuming that each family had five members, two of whom were capable of physical labor, each producing 1,000 kg of food grains each year, then the total annual yield of food grains would be around 16 billion kg, with 320 kg for each person. Since the Han Dynasty, the Chinese has subscribed to the motto that 'people could not observe etiquette or tell honor from disgrace unless they are adequately provided with food and clothing'. This idea is also reflected in the things that were buried in Han tombs so that the dead would be as well provided for as when they were alive. During the Han Dynasty, food grains in the Central Plains were stored in granaries, cellars, or large vessels, which were referred to by particular names--cang, qun, yu and lin for granaries and dou, ming and jiao for cellars. All such names can be found in ancient books like Book of Songs and Book of Rites.

Thanks to consecutive good harvests, the granaries of the government and wealthy people began to overflow with grains. According to 'Treatise on Food and Money' in Book of Han, in the reign of Emperor Wu, 'Each household was well provided for, and all the granaries in all the cities, large or small, were filled to the brim...The contents of the imperial granaries had accumulated for so many years that some of them overflowed and became rot and inedible.' Granaries were erected by the central government, the local governments of counties and

common people alike for the storage of grains, and a system of detailed rules came into being for their management. This is reflected in particular by large models of multi-storied granaries unearthed in the Central Plains. Such models, which come in various forms and heights, represent pavilion-style wooden constructions with solid eaves and walls, floors raised above the ground, lean-tos under the eaves, and roofs covered by pan tiles and semicircular tiles. They offer physical evidence of the existence of well-ventilated, damp-proof large granaries.

A pottery model of a seven-storied double-tower granary was unearthed in Jiaozuo, Henan, which consists of four parts--a courtyard, a primary tower, a secondary tower, and an attic. The stories are assembled one by one, reaching a total height of two meters. A building like this served as both a granary and a residence. A salient feature of Han tombs in the Central Plains is the advent of large numbers of vessels for the storage of grains. In the Han cemetery in Shaogou, Luoyang, almost each tomb contains pottery 'granary jars' buried with the dead, the number of which ranges from three or five to a dozen or several dozen. The words in red or white on their shoulders, such as 'millet' and 'wheat', suggest that different kinds of grains were stored in differently structured granaries.

Pottery jars filled with grains in a Han tomb.

The Processing Of Grains And The Preparation Of Food

Food is the primary factor on which humankind depends for survival and development. A saying well-known in China goes, 'For the common people, food is heaven.' A wide range of artifacts related to the processing and cooking of grains has been unearthed from Han tombs. The first steps for the processing of grains were pounding, pestling, husking, hulling and grinding, which were required by the dominance of millet and wheat in the grain structure of the Han Dynasty. This is evidenced by artifacts unearthed in various parts of the Central Plains, including pestles and mortars, figurines of grain-pounding laborers, real pestles and millstones or their models, and workshops in which such tools were used. These not only attest to the large-scale cultivation of wheat and other cereals during the Han Dynasty, but also reflect the progress from the direct consumption of grains to that of flour.

There appeared a succession of millstones and stone pestles operated by men or driven by animals or water, and a winnower was invented that could clean grains with the force of wind. All these helped to complete the array of farming tools used during the Han Dynasty. The red pottery winnower unearthed from a Han tomb in Jiyuan was an efficient tool for sifting and cleaning grains; when it turned, the wind it produced would separate the husked grains from the chaff; and pestles were placed in the model of a mill with one side open. The vivid and realistic figurines operating the winnower and the pestles in the mill faithfully represent a scene of grain processing during the Han Dynasty.

Though the Five Cereals were the staple food for Han people, the dietary level of a wealthy family was marked by the class and quantity of meat. Large numbers of figurines related to the consumption of meat have been unearthed from Han tombs, which represent animals, butchers and chefs. These status symbols also reflect a significant increase in the proportion of meat in those people's diet, which had come to play a major role in it, as a result of an improved understanding of the nutritional value of meat.

First of all, beef was a top-class food among all the kinds of meat consumed during the Qin and Han Dynasties. Before the Qin Dynasty, the consumption of beef was confined to aristocrats during sacrificial ceremonies and banquets. During the Han Dynasty, most cattle was used for ploughing, yet the development of cattle farming caused beef to claim the largest share of all meats used as food. In China, mutton has been traditionally regarded as a fine meat. In fact, the Chinese character for 'beauty' is made up of the character for 'sheep' and the character for 'large'. In literary works, 'lambs and good wine' are used as a byword for delicious food laid out for a banquet, whereas pork is rarely mentioned in this sense. Sheep

were bred in large numbers in the Central Plains as well as on the northern prairies. Pottery models of sheep and sheep sties have been frequently unearthed from Han tombs, and the butchering and skinning of sheep is a common scene in Han stone reliefs. Pigs are also often seen among Han artifacts. According to Huai Nan Zi, pork was regarded as the 'best sacrifice' because the raising of pigs was common, which made pork readily available. In cooking images, which are rather common in Han stone reliefs, scenes of the butchering of pigs are often accompanied by pigs' heads and hind legs hung from hooks. Pottery models of pigsties have also been found in large numbers in Han tombs.

Dog meat was also one of the primary meats consumed during the Han Dynasty, when dog butchering was a specialized trade. In Huai Nan Zi, dog meat and pork are mentioned in the same breath--'skin a dog and cook a pig, with all the Five Flavors well-balanced'. Chicken and fish were also common dishes served to the elderly and guests. Apart from these major meats, Han people were also accustomed to eating the entrails of animals. This practice is frequently mentioned in the texts of the Han bamboo slips found in Juyan, referring to such entrails as livers, stomachs, kidneys and intestines. Cooking images in Han stone reliefs suggest a diversified diet among Han people, in which meats figure most prominently. The cooking images in Han stone reliefs found in Zhucheng, Shandong are dominated by butchering scenes--domestic animals like cattle, pigs,

Restored cooking image based on a Han painting unearthed from a Han tomb in Mixian, Henan.

sheep and dogs, and domestic fowls like chickens, ducks and geese, complete with fish and entrails. The cooking images found in a Han tomb at Dahuting in Mixian, Henan show various processing methods like steaming, boiling, mixing and frying as well as the dressing of meat, the stirring of wheaten food and congee, and the cutting of vegetables. Additionally, it can be known from 'Treatise on Salt and Iron' that a variety of cooking techniques had been developed, including stewing, stir-frying, frying, boiling, sauce-pickling, salting and roasting.

The markets in Chang'an City of the Western Han Dynasty and Luoyang City of the Eastern Han Dynasty featured a multitude of restaurants along the streets filled with heavy traffic. The markets were devoted to grains, meats, vegetables, fruits and seasonings, offering large quantities of grains, poultry, domestic animals, aquatic products, vegetables, fruits, salt, sugar, oil, sauces, vinegar and tea as well as all kinds of cooking utensils and tableware. All these came from towns and villages situated far and near across the empire.

Cooking Utensils And Tableware Of The Han Dynasty

Cooking utensils and tableware became more diverse and practical during the Han Dynasty as compared to previous eras. The fu was one of the most enduring cooking utensils. The zeng was a traditional utensil in which food was cooked by steam rising through the perforated bottom; at first it was made of pottery or bronze, which would give way to copper and iron. There was also a version made of bamboo, which was known as food steamer (zhenglong). A li and a zeng could be combined to form a yan. Vessels for food and liquids included bowls, plates, basins, boxes, pots and cups; tools for picking food included chopsticks, spoons and ladles.

Pottery stoves are the most common kind of cooking equipment found in Han tombs in the Central Plains. 'Treatise on the Five Elements' in Book of Han contains the remark that the stove plays a fundamental role in humans' survival. As many as thirty-one pottery stoves were found in the forty-six Han tombs excavated at Liujiaqu in Shanxian, Henan. Together with pottery granaries, these implements, which are strongly reminiscent of daily life, play a central role in the articles buried with the dead in Han tombs. The importance attached to stoves by Han people was reflected in their diversity in form and function: there were fixed stoves for routine use and portable metal stoves; a stove could have one burner or several burners for simultaneous steaming and boiling. Most of the pottery stoves unearthed in Henan are square or U-shaped, with multiple burners. The more recent ones among them are equipped with various forms of chimneys, which were possibly the result of influence from other regions. The tops of the stoves

are molded into various tools and foods, such as fire hooks, knives and chopping blocks, pot covers, spoons and ladles, cups and plates, beef, mutton, fish, tortoises, chicken, ducks and kebabs. Apart from the image of fire inside, some stoves also feature foraging or scurrying mice or old women tending the fire. These reflect people's wish for a well-to-do life in the nether world as well as the basic pattern of the traditional Chinese kitchen.

'The delights of today's dinner party/Cannot be recounted without omission'; 'We cannot live for a hundred years/So why not wander about at night with a candle?' These poetic lines reflect a strong sense of carpe diem among Han people. As a way of dining with cultural features, banquets figured prominently in social life. From the very beginning of ancient etiquette, it had been customary at a banquet to 'lay out the sacrifices, prepare the trays and cauldrons, and arrange the zithers, flutes, drums, bells and chime stones'. It was believed that this was the only way to secure the blessings of Heaven. The banquets of common people were usually enlivened by songs, dances and various games including pitch-pot. While listening to music, people might forget the restrictions of propriety as well as misunderstandings and achieve harmonious and pleasant communication. At funerals, music and fine food served to attract and appease the souls of the dead, among other purposes. Moreover, at banquets during the Han Dynasty, etiquette was observed and food was offered in individual servings. All the participants, host and guests alike, sat on mats, and food was placed on the table or simply the mat in front of each person. That was the origin of such Chinese words as yanxi (banquet), jiuxi (banquet), and xiwei (seat), all of which contain the character xi (mat). The Han tombs in the Central Plains are embodiments of daily life in the Han society in this region as well as its culture. Study and analysis of various artifacts related to food culture can shed light on how people lived and worked during the Han Dynasty and the tremendous impact of their ways of life on today's Chinese culture.

ON CHINESE DELICACIES 2.100 YEARS AGO A CASE STUDY OF THE MAWANGDUI HAN TOMBS IN CHANGSHA

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In the 1970s, archaeologists excavated the Han tombs at Mawangdui in Changsha, Hunan, China. This event caused a sensation in the world at the time. This family burial ground included the tombs of Li Cang – the Marquise of Dai and the first prime minister of the Kingdom of Changsha, his wife Xin Zhui and their son. Apart from the well-preserved corpse of Xin Zhui, these tombs yielded over 3,000 precious cultural relics including silk fabric, lacquerware, bamboo and wooden utensils, books copied on silk and silk paintings, which form an epitome of the highly-developed material and spiritual civilization of the early Han Dynasty.

Unearthed from these Han tombs were a large number of food and drink material objects (amounting to some 70 bamboo cases, with some stored separately in silk bags or sacks, earthen and lacquer utensils). The Inventory of Burial Objects (hereafter abbreviated as The Inventory) from the tombs, the wooden tablets attached to the bamboo cases, the books copied on silk and the medical books written on the bamboo slips also recorded a multitude of food names. When we put these together for study, we can picture the cates the Chinese people could enjoy 2100 years ago. The raw materials of staple food included rice, wheat, millet, glutinous millet, beans and hemp seeds while non-staple food included all sorts of meat, vegetables, fruit, spices and wine. The staple food included different kinds of rice and glutinous rice while pastries included all kinds of rice cakes and rice pudding. Dishes were prepared with different methods: made into a thick soup, roasted, steamed, boiled and instant-boiled. Food was also preserved by ways of smoking, drying and curing. The focal point of this paper is to restore the different cates as revealed by the Han tombs at Mawangdui and to reconstruct their recipes so as to provide service to the development of present-day culinary cultural resources.

Food Ingredients

Based on the actual food, the Inventory[1], the wooden tablets attached to the bamboo cases, and the records in the books copied on silk and the bamboo slips unearthed from Han tombs 1 and 3 at Mawangdui, we know that the food ingredients used by the Han Dynasty people at the time can be divided into three categories: agricultural products, meat and spices.

The agricultural products fall into three kinds. 1) Grains and beans: mainly rice, non-glutinous rice, glutinous rice, barley, wheat, glutinous millet, millet, soybean, adzuki bean and hemp seeds (food at the time). Rice again is subdivided into the glutinous and the non-glutinous, the awned and the non-awned, the long-grained, the medium-grained and the short-grained. Millet also has different kinds: the glutinous and the non-glutinous. 2) Fruit: melon, jujubee, pear, plum, bayberry, tangerine, loquat, pomelo, water caltrop, water chestnut, chestnut. Most of these fruit ripen in summer or autumn. 3) Vegetables: taro, ginger, bamboo shoot, lotus root, celery, gourd, tarragon, bitter chrysanthemum, mioga ginger, mustard, cabbage, *fructus ulmi*(which can be used to make *wu* sauce), malva Jeaf, leek, green onion and other kinds of gourd.

Among these, tangerine, pomelo, taro, ginger, bamboo shoot, lotus root, water caltrop and water chestnut are still loved by the people of Hunan today.

Meat: mammals, birds and fish, including domesticated animals, poultry and all kinds of games. Mammals included sheep, ox, piglet, pig, puppy, dog, horse, deer, rabbit, etc., with special names for the different parts of the body: head, shoulder, shin, breast, skin, sirloin, liver, stomach, tripe, spleen, tongue, heart, lungs, kidneys, fatty meat, forelimbs and lips. Birds included pheasant, wild goose, wild duck, crane, swan, quail, mandarin duck, partridge, owl, magpie, sparrow, turtledove, wild chicken and domesticated chicken. Fish include crucian carp, Hemibagrus, gurnet, carp, bitterlings, blanquillo, yellowcheck carp, bream, Xenocypris argentea Gunther, and mandarin fish. One bamboo case full of eggs was also found respectively in tomb 1 and tomb 3.

Spices: People of the Han Dynasty had a heavily seasoned taste. When preparing food, they tended to deliberately make their food bitter, salty, sour, spicy or sweet. *Spring and Autumn Annals of Master Lu ·The Chapter on Flavor*: "When flavoring, it is always sweet, sour, bitter, spicy or salty; add profusely at first and gradually reduce the amount until the flavor is just right." The Inventories from tombs 1 and 3 [2, 3]

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[1] Han tomb 1 at Mawangdui yielded 312 Inventory of Burial Objects bamboo slips while tomb 3 yielded 410 bamboo slips, of which the ones about food numbered some 160.

[2] Hunan Provincial Museum and The Archaeology Research Institute of The Chinese Academy of Sciences, Han Tomb 1 at Mawangdui of Changsha, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1973. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of the Inventory from tomb 1 come from this book.

[3] Hunan Provincial Museum and Hunan Provincial Archaeological Research Institute, Han Tombs 2 and 3 at Mawangdui of Changsha: Field Report, Cultural Relics Publisher House, 2004. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations of the Inventory of tomb 3 come from this book.

record such spices as sauce, meat sauce, fish sauce, fermented soybeans, salt, sugar, honey, sweet wine, ginger, mustard, and bitter leaves; books copied on silk and medical books copied on bamboo slips record spices such as wild pepper, chive, orange peel and cornel. These indicate that people in the Hunan region had the habit of eating sour, spicy, pungent and bitter food at that time.

Different sauces constituted a major form of spice during the pre-Qin period and the Han dynasty. Most of these were meat sauces prepared with salt and vinegar. The meat used could include that from ox, sheep, rabbit, horse, deer and fish. *Erya: Explanations of Objects* says, "Fish sauce is called *zhi* and meat sauce is called *hai*." *Analytical Dictionary of Characters: Fish* says, "*zhi*, fish sauce, a product of central Sichuan." This method uses microbial nutrition hydrolized protein to produce amino acid and a tasty flavor. It is also a way of processing and preserving meat. Beef, mutton, pork, venison and rabbit can all be made into meat sauce. *Rites of Zhou: Meat Sauce Makers* says "Meat sauce makers must first of all dry up the meat, mince it, add in yeast and salt, soak it with high-quality wine and put it in a bottle. It will be ready in 100 days." The Inventory from tomb 1 records "one pot of horse meat sauce", "one jar of meat sauce", "one jar of bird meat sauce", "one jar of mix meat sauce", "one jar of fish sauce" and "one jar of ginger-flavor fish sauce". There were also sauces prepared with plant materials at that time, such as mustard sauce, elm-seed sauce, jam, and other sauces prepared with fermented beans, wheat or vegetables. The Inventory from tomb 1 records "one jar of chive sauce", and those from tomb 3 record "one jar of gourd sauce" and "one bottle of elm-seed sauce".

The Inventories from tomb 1 and tomb 3 record "fish *shen*" and "meat *shen*". *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* says "*shen,* watery meat sauce." *Explanation of Names: Food* says "juicy meat sauce is called *shen*." From these, we can see that *shen* refers to juicy meat sauce.

Dou chi is a spice that appeared in the Han Dynasty. *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* explains it as "fermented bean with salt". *Explanation of Names: Food* says "fermented soybean is cured with five flavors". Its specific preparation can be found in *Encyclopedia in Shot Story Style*: "There is one way of making fermented soybeans in foreign land. Ferment the beans with bitter wine, expose them to the sun until they are absolutely dry, steam them with spunjam, expose them to the sun again. Repeat this process for three times and then pound them into crumbs. Add them to any dish according to your taste. They have the medical effect of smoothing your stomach." From this, we can see that fermented soybeans were very popular at the time. The bamboo slips from tomb 1 recorded "one jar of fermented soybeans". The city of Liuyang near Changsha is still known for its fermented soybeans today.

At that time, people used salt, sauces and fermented soybeans to create saline taste, bitter leaves to create bitter taste, mustard and wild pepper to create spicy taste, wine, shallot, ginger, sauces and fermented soybeans to create sour taste or aroma, and sugar, honey and rice sugar to create sweet taste. "Rice sugar" is actually maltose, made from fermented rice. *Regional History of Southern China* records "drinking spiced sake and eating sticky maltose". *Compendium of Materia Medica* quotes Tao Hongjing's words in its entry of maltose: "the doctor uses maltose which looks like condensed honey". Of these, salt, sauces, ginger and mustard are among common condiments.

Recipes Of The Cates

Staple Food

The ingredients of staple food included rice, wheat, millet, glutinous millet, beans and hemp seeds, much like what they are today. We can learn from the Inventory from the Han tombs at Mawangdui that the ingredients of staple food at the time had the names of "rice", "non-glutinous rice", "glutinous rice", "wheat", "yellow millet", "white millet", "beans" and "hemp seeds". As these grains were all packed in cloth pouches, they should be uncooked grains. Staple food prepared with these ingredients can mainly be divided into cooked food and sticky food.

Cooked food refers to cooked grains. The Inventory from tomb 1 records "cooked rice", "cooked wheat", "cooked yellow millet" and "cooked white millet". *Rites of Zhou: Imperial Officials: Chef* says "the chef is in charge of the food and drinks of the monarch". Zheng Xuan explained that the food here actually referred to "cooked food". *Analytical Dictionary of Characters: Food* explains the character *fan* as cooked grain food put in a bowl for religious purposes.

Sticky food refers to grains cooked with other ingredients. The Inventory from tomb 1 records "one jar of 糜然". "糜"means "sticky" and "然" here means "橪" or jujubee. From this, we can know that it is sticky food made from glutinous millet and jujubee.

Thus, the staple food recipes as reflected by the Han tombs at Mawangdui include cooked rice, cooked wheat, cooked glutinous millet, cooked yellow millet, cooked white millet, and glutinous millet cooked with jujubee.

The bamboo slips unearthed from a Han tomb in Huxishan of Yuanling, Hunan, record one recipe of preparing rice.[4]

[4] Zhang Chunlong, "Selected Bamboo Slips from Huxi Mountain in Yuanling", Unearthed Document Research, Vol.9, Zhong Hua Shu Ju, Dec.2009

Pastries

From the Inventory and the wooden tablet attached to the bamboo cases, we can also see that people at the time used some staple food ingredients to make various kinds of pastries. These were called *qiu*, *ju nv* and *pu zu*.

Analytical Dictionary of Characters defines *qiu* as "rice or wheat". *Explanation of Names* says "*qiu*, ground rice or wheat". From the various classics, we can know that *qiu* is a kind of cake-shaped food made of grains cooked first and then pounded into powder. The Inventories from the Mawangdui tombs record "*bai qiu* (white rice cake)", "*dao qiu mi bei* (rice cake prepared with honey)", "*mai qiu* (wheat cake)" and "*dao qiu* (rice cake)". The characters on the wooden tablets "yellow cake", "honey cake", "honey and water chestnut cake" and "jujubee cake" all are pastries of this category.

According to *Poetry of the South* and *Phonetic and Semantic Commentaries to Buddhist and Vernacular Writings*, *ju nv* is a kind of cake made by boiling honey, rice, wheat, glutinous millet and millet together.

Pu zu is so named, because of its vowel rhyme. Chinese classic works such as *Rites of Zhou*, *Dialect Dictionary*, *Book of Poetry*, *Official History of the Han Dynasty* and *Encyclopedia from the Taiping Period* all mention *pu zu* as a kind of wheat cake fried with a little oil.

The Inventory from tomb 1 also mentioned "one portion of *luan zi*". After strenuous study scholars such as Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xiyao eventually define it as "egg and millet cake", specifically millet cake prepared with eggs added.

To sum up, the Mawangdui tombs have shown us many Han Dynasty pastries: white rice cake, rice cake, wheat cake, yellow millet cake, honey rice cake, honey rice cake with water chestnut, jujubee rice cake, honeyed rice cake, honeyed rice pancake, fried pancake, and egg and millet cake.

Dishes

As feasting was an activity very popular among the upper class in the Han dynasty, their food and dishes showed a great variety. From the dish names recorded in the Inventories from the Mawangdui tombs, we can see the following features: 1) the ingredients included poultry, domesticated animals and game as well as all kinds of vegetables and bean products; 2) the ingredients should be both fresh and particular about the different parts; 3) the cooking techniques included boiling, steaming, frying, roasting, braising, instant-boiling, etc; 4) the finished cates included all kinds of thick meat soup, roasted meat and vegetables, fried meat, steamed dishes and hot-pot.

Thick Meat Soup

Thick meat soup is cooked with meat or vegetable with the five flavors (sweet, sour, bitter, pungent and salty). It has been mentioned and explained in such Chinese classic works as *Analytical Dictionary of Characters*, *Erya*, *Book of Documents* and *Poetry of the South*. According to the records in the bamboo slips from the Mawangdui tombs, thick meat soup can fall into the following five categories:

A. The grand thick soup. This is the most important of all thick soups, used in religious ceremonies or in entertaining guests. *Rites of Zhou: Imperial Officials* says "use grand thick soup for religious sacrifices, and for entertaining guests". *Book of Rites* says "if the soup is not thick, the reason lies in its quality". According to the Inventories from tombs 1 and 3, grand thick soups include: ox head grand thick soup, mutton grand thick soup, pork grand thick soup, piglet grand thick soup, dog grand thick soup,, duck grand thick soup, pheasant grand thick soup, chicken grand thick soup, carp grand thick soup, and ox head and bamboo shoot grand thick soup. These names are in full agreement with document records. Apart from "ox head and bamboo shoot grand thick soup", all other soup use meat only.

B. White thick soup. This kind of thick meat soup uses meat as the main ingredients, but is prepared with crushed rice, bamboo shoot, taro, beans, gourd and lotus root. The Inventories from tombs 1 and 3 record the following white thick soup names: beef white thick soup, venison, salted fish and bamboo shoot white thick soup, venison and taro white thick soup, bean and venison white thick soup, chicken white thick soup, carp white thick soup, fresh mandarin fish, lotus root and salt fish white thick soup, and fresh bitterling white thick soup. As the names indicate, these thick soups, though using meat at the ingredients, also have other ingredients such as crushed rice, bamboo shoot, taro, beans, gourd and lotus root.

C. Violet thick soup, namely thick soups prepared with violet or celery. *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* defines the main ingredient either as "violet whose root looks like shepherd purse and leaves look like tender willow and which tastes sweet after being steamed" or as "celery". The Inventories record such names as dog violet thick soup, wild goose violet thick soup, carp and lotus root violet thick soup and crane violet thick soup, which certainly should be thick meat soup with violet or celery added.

D. Turnip thick soup, namely thick meat soup with tarragon or turnip added. The recipes of this category as recorded in the Inventories include beef and tarragon thick soup, beef and turnip thick soup, and pork and tarragon thick soup.

E. Bitter thick soup, namely thick meat soup with bitter vegetable added. Such recipes as recorded in the Inventories include beef bitter thick soup and dog meat bitter thick soup.

The Inventory from tomb 3 also recorded "one *ding* pot of rabbit thick soup", "one *ding* pot of venison thick soup", "one *ding* pot of ginger and fresh carp thick soup" and "one *ding* pot of fresh fish thick soup".

Braised and Roasted Dishes

Zhi rou, or roast meat. Analytical Dictionary of Characters says "*zhi*, roast meat or meat roasted over fire". *Book of Poetry: Book of Epics: Roadside Rush*: "Sauce brought with prickles ripe/And roast or braised meat". *Book of Poetry: Book of Odes: The Gourd Leaves* contains these lines: "When baked or roasted" and "When braised or roasted". The method used here calls for one to cut through meat and hold it over fire until it is fully roasted. The Inventories from tombs 1 and 3 record such recipes as roast beef, roast pork, roast venison, roast chicken, roast dog meat, roast dog liver, and roast fish. Of these, roast pork and roast venison call for one to cut the meat up before roasting; chickens are roasted whole and then put in bamboo cases. Archaeologists discovered wooden tablets with inscriptions such as "roast beef bamboo case", "roast pork bamboo case" and "roast venison bamboo case" attached to different bamboo cases.

The bamboo slips also bear the characters "鱨  炙" and"鯉炙". Archaeologists Zhu Dexi and Qiu Xiyao defined them as a kind of dried fish.The remains of carp kebabs prove that "鱨炙"、"鯉炙"refer to crucian carp kebab and carp kebab. "炙"

Pao rou calls for one to unhair the meat, coat it with mud and put it in the fire. In this sense, the meat is more or less baked. The word "*pao*" is mentioned in a number of Chinese classic works, such as *Analytical Dictionary of Characters*, *Dictionary Arranged in Rhyme Groups, Book of Poetry*, *Book of Rites* and *Etiquette and Rites*. This culinary method involves coating marinated meat (such as animal shank) and yam or sweet potato with mud and baking them in the fire.

Fried and Deep-fried Dishes

The word  appears frequently in the Inventories and wooden tablets from tombs 1 and 3. The word, a variant form of the word熬, means "dry fry or fry without oil". *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* defines "熬" as "dry fry". This meaning can also be found in *Book of Rites*, *Dialect Dictionary*, and *Official History of the Later Han Dynasty*. The Inventories from tombs 1 and 3 record altogether 11 bamboo cases of "fried piglet", "fried rabbit", "fried swan", "fried crane", "fried duck", "fried wild goose", "fried pheasant", "fried partridge", "fried quail", "fried chicken"

and "fried birds". Judging by the wooden tablet attached to each bamboo case and the remaining bones in the cases, we can safely say they are all fried poultry or birds. From this, we can conclude that the fried dishes at the time included at least the following: fried piglet, fried rabbit, fried swan, fried crane, fried duck, fried wild goose, fried pheasant, fried partridge, fried quail, fried chicken and fried small birds.

The Inventory from tomb 1 also records "one bamboo case of deep-fried loaches" and bamboo slips from tomb 3 record "one bamboo case of deep-fried fish". One wooden tablet from tomb 3 bears the writing of "deep-fried carp". From these, we can know that during the Han Dynasty there were such dishes as deep-fried loaches, deep-fried fish and deep-fried carp, much like today's culinary art.

Steamed Dishes

The Inventory from tombs 1 and 3 records "one bamboo case of steamed loaches" and that from tomb 3 mentions "one course of steamed mandarin and one bamboo case of steamed leiocassis". The earthen utensil for steaming food unearthed from tomb 1 proves the cooking method of steaming. Dishes of this category certainly include steamed loaches, steamed mandarin fish and steamed leiocassis.

Instant-boiled Dishes

The Inventory from tomb 1 and 3 frequently records "instant-boil such and such". This culinary art calls one to put meat or vegetable into boiling water or soup and take them out quickly, much like today's hot-pot. According to the Inventory from tombs 1 and 3, dishes prepared in this way include instant-boiled ox stomach, instant-boiled ox heart and lungs, instant-boiled piglet pork, instant-boiled chicken slices and instant-boiled sliced lotus root.

Drinks

According to the records of the Inventory, the books copied on silk and the medical bamboo slips, the drinks at that time included at least wine and cow or goat milk.

"Wine" was a common drink. People at the time gave it different names on the basis of its color, state or function and of how long ago it was made. The Inventory recorded four types of wine: the mellow and strong "white wine", the sweet "rice wine" because of its high content of rice, the "warm wine" made by constantly adding in new yeast, and the clear "filtered wine".

The Inventory from tomb 1 records "one pouch of yeast" which refers to distiller's yeast for making wine.

Both tomb 1 and tomb 3 yielded a large number of utensils for storing and drinking wine. For example, tomb 1 yielded two pieces of lacquer *zhong* and four pieces of lacquer *fang*, with the Chinese characters "*dan*" and "four *dou*" written on them respectively. One can still see wine dregs in them. The medical book on bamboo slips *Ten Questions* supports the idea of moderate drinking. It believes that "wine is the essence of the five grains", therefore it has the effect of promoting the circulation of blood and "enhancing health and longevity". The books copied on silk, *Prescriptions for Maintaining Health* and *Miscellaneous Prescriptions*, also contain prescriptions of drinking wine-egg mixture to enhance skin beauty.[5]

The medical book on bamboo slips, *Ten Questions*, twice mentions "drinking the essence of animals". Studies show that "the essence of animals" actually refers to milk. We can thus see that cow and goat milk was a common drink at that time.

As the Inventory from the Mawangdui tombs is too obscure, there are still some passages undeciphered or arousing too much controversy. Examples include "取  一器"[6]、"牛乘炙一器"、蘩蒙四、  無一器、合無一器". For this reason, the table of food names attached at the end of this paper is still incomplete. We need further studies to unlock all the secrets.

Food Storage And Preservation

With the development of the society and the economy, people began to have higher and higher demand for what they could eat or drink. Consequently, the issue of food storage and preservation closely related to people's daily life became ever-increasingly important. The Inventory and the wooden tablets recorded such methods of food preservation as *la, fu, bao* and *zu*. These represent the unique and scientifically reasonable way of food storage and preservation.

La, according to the definition given by such classic works as *Analytical Dictionary of Characters, I Ching, Rites of Zhou* and *Character Textbook*, refers to the food preservation method of cutting meat into pieces, marinating it and then drying it in the wind, the sun or over the fire. The Inventory and the wooden tablets from tombs 1 and 3 both record bamboo cases of dried mutton and rabbit. The dried mutton was cut up into small pieces, but the rabbits were dried whole.

Fu refers to dried meat slices or strips. The Inventory and wooden tablets record "dried beef slices", "dried venison slices", "dried ox stomach", "dried stomach slices" and "dried tender beef slices". According to the explanation in such classic works as *Analytical Dictionary of Characters, Official History of the Han Dynasty*,

[5] Zhu Dexi, Qiu Xiyao, "Supplement and Correction of the Textual Criticisms of the Inventory of Burial Objects from Mawangdui Tomb 1", Literature and History, Vol.10, Zhong Hua Shu Ju, 1980

[6] The Research Team of Books Copied on Silk from the Mawangdui Han Tombs: Books Copied on Silk from Han Tombs at Mawangdui, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1985, P.102, 126

Rites of Zhou and *Character Dictionary*, dried meat slices again can be divided into two kinds: cooked and uncooked. In the case of uncooked dried meat slices, beef, mutton or pork is cut into slices or strips, marinated and then dried. In the case of cooked dried meat slices, meat is cut into slices or strips and boiled. When it become cold, add salt to it and let it dry up. The best known delicacy of the Han Dynasty is dried stomach slices. Fruit can also be treated in this way for preservation.

Bao stands for salted fish. The Inventory from both tomb 1 and tombs respectively recorded "one *ding* pot of venison, salted fish and bamboo shoot white thick soup". Both *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* and *Explanation of Names* define *bao* as "salted fish". The method of salting food for the purpose of preservation is still very popular in the southern part of China. People in Hunan still love to eat "salted fresh fish" today.

Zu stands for pickled food. The Inventory from tombs 1 and 3 records "pickled lotus root", "pickled bamboo shoot", "pickled gourd", "pickled mustard" and "pickled cabbage". The word *zu* is mentioned in a number of Chinese classic works, such as *Analytical Dictionary of Characters*, *Explanation of Names* and *Character Dictionary*. *Zu* again can be divided into pickled meat and pickled vegetables. This method can prevent food from going rotten for quite a long time.

The Characteristics Of The Cooking Culture Of Hunan Region During The Han Dynasty As Reflected By The Han Tombs At Mawangdui

A Well-balanced Diet of Staple and Non-staple Food. The Han tombs at Mawangdui reflect a great variety of food, including grains, meat, fruit, vegetables, spices, wine and milk. Shi You of the Western Han Dynasty wrote in *Character Textbook*, "Rice, millet, glutinous millet, yellow millet and hemp seeds,/Cakes, pastries, cooked wheat, sweet beans and thick soup,/Leek, chive, shallot, smartweed and ginger,/Fructus ulmi, fermented soybean, pickles and sauces./ Rue, garlic, mustard, cornel and chufa,/Mioga ginger, lotus roots and products of the winter./ Pear, persimmon, crabapple and peach,/Jujubee, apricot, melon and maltose./Vegetables and fruit go with grains,/All awaiting for you to enjoy." Most of these can be found in the Mawangdui tombs. From this, we can see the diversification of food in the early Han Dynasty and that a well-balance diet had already formed at that time, with grains at staple food and meat, vegetable and wine as non-staple food.

Advocating Meat and Game, with "*Cai*" Not Suitable for Banquets. "*Cai*" in ancient China stood for vegetables and edible wild herbs while "*yao*" for meat and fish dishes. The list of dish names from the Mawangdui tombs shows very

clearly the characteristic of "*cai* not suitable for banquets". "*Cai*" originally referred to potherbs of a great variety. However, in noble and rich families, "*cai*" was not used in banquets unless serving for flavoring or garnishing purposes. *The Yellow Emperor's Classic of Medicine: The Five Flavors* says, "The five potherbs: the sweet big-flower plant, the sour chive, the salty pulse plant, the bitter shallot and the spicy green onion." From this we can see that these were mainly used for flavoring. On the other hand, vegetables stood for what were grown in the garden or fields. *The Philosophers of Huainan* has this sentence: "Pick fruit and gourd in summer, but store up vegetable and grains in autumn." Gao You explained "*Cai* food is called *shu* (vegetables) and *gu* food is called *shi* (grain food)." The Inventory records such vegetables as gourd, bamboo shoot, lotus root, taro, celery, squash, tarragon, bitter leaves, mioga ginger, leaf mustard, cabbage, elm leaves, and fructus ulmi. These, rather than forming an independent dish, served only as subordinate ingredients in meat dishes or thick soups. On the other hand, there were numerous meat dishes and this was closely related to the social hierarchy of the people. In ancient time, people of the upper class were called "meat-eaters". Meat was expensive at the time, particularly meat from ox, goat and pig. *Book of Rites* regulates that "The dukes should not kill any ox without any reason; the ministers should no kill any goat without any reason; the scholar-official should not kill any dog or pig for no reason; and common people should not eat delicacies for no reason." This reflects the dietary hierarchy in ancient China. The meat dishes recorded in the documents from the Mawangdui tombs mostly used beef, pork and mutton as the main ingredients, made into thick soups, roasted or boiled. Furthermore, potherbs were not allowed on the table. All these not only reflected the social position of the tomb occupant but also decided the honorable and luxurious nature of this food mixture. Apart from beef, mutton, pork and poultry, games and aquatic products also constituted a large proportion. This reflects the Han people's concept of eating wild games. This on one side enabled the people to fully utilize the local food resources and expand the diet to its full extent, and on the other hand helped the development of culinary art.

Meticulous Selection of Material and Superb Cutting Skill. From the cultural relics unearthed from the Mawangdui tombs, we can see that the people of the Han Dynasty were very particular about the materials used. They chose the young rather than the strong and the strong rather than the old. They especially loved puppies and piglets. Analysis of the meat samples unearthed from the tombs indicates that people at that time favored puppies younger than one year old and piglets only two months or half a year old. When they ate fish, they favored the best part – the belly (The Inventory from tomb 1 mentions "one Bamboo case of

fish bellies.)[7] For beef and venison, they ate the tender part near the spine. (The Inventories from tomb 1 and 3 mention "one bamboo case of sirloin" and "one bamboo case of tender venison".) The cutting technique was also very important. For example, meat should be cut into thin slices. The Inventories from tombs 1 and 3 mention "one pot of beef *kuai*", "one pot of mutton *kuai*", "one pot of venison *kuai*", "one pot of fish *kuai*", "one bamboo case of beef *zi*", "one pot of dog meat *zi*", and "one bamboo case of pork *zi*". *Kuai* and *zi* both refer to different cutting methods. *Analytical Dictionary of Characters* defines *kuai* as "cutting meat into small pieces". It also defines *zi* as "cutting meat into big pieces". We can see from this that people at that time were quite particular about their cutting technique.

People at the time had a heavily seasoned taste and favored smoked and dried food. The Mawangdui tombs yielded many spices and condiments. This shows that people in the Hunan region had the habit of eating sour, spicy, aromatic and bitter food. Together with the Inventory were unearthed many wooden tablets written with different names of smoked and dried food. The burial objects also included a large amount of smoked food and dried meat slices. This indicates that people at the time loved smoked and dried meat. Smoked and dried meat also constitutes the most common dishes in Hunan today, so this tradition certainly has a very long history here.

Particular attention was paid to the culinary art and the making of thick soups. The Mawangdui tombs have shown us a great variety of culinary art in the Han Dynasty, including boiling, steaming, frying, deep-frying, roasting, broiling and instant-boiling. Some of these have continued until today. Great attention was paid to the making of thick soups – the number of thick soups recorded in the Inventory reached some 30 kinds. Thick soup was a traditional delicacy of the pre-Qin period, consolidated in the Han Dynasty. Huan Kuan of Western Han Dynasty in his *Discussions about Salt and Iron* listed over 20 dishes that appeared in restaurants in the early Western Han Dynasty, including "roast lamb and piglet", "eggs fried with leek", "dog meat and horse penis cooked with brown sauce", "fried fish and boiled pig liver", "smoked mutton and chicken cooked in soy sauce", "sweet horse milk and wine", "boar ham and stomach cooked in soy sauce", "braised lamb and tender beancurd", "abalone and sweet melon", and "glutinous millet rice and baked cake". If we compare this menu with the actual objects and the Inventory from the Mawangdui tombs, we can see that many culinary methods were more or less the same. We can see from this that the culinary art had reached a fairly high level in the Han Dynasty.

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[7] The Research Team of Books Copied on Silk from the Mawangdui Han Tombs: Books Copied on Silk from Han Tombs at Mawangdui, Cultural Relics Publishing House, 1985, P.145

We can see from the meat food unearthed from the Mawangdui tombs that people in Hunan loved dog meat during the Han Dynasty. Much of the food discovered in the Mawangdui tombs was dog meat. For example, "one *ding* pot of dog meat grand soup", "one *ding* pot of dog meat and celery thick soup", "one *ding* pot of dog meat bitter soup", "one pot of dog sides", "one pot of dog liver", "one pot of dog shoulders" and "one pot of dog meat chunks". This indicates that the dog was still widely used in sacrificial, funerary and exorcising activities in the Han Dynasty, and this practice is shown in ancient tombs. It also indicates that in the pre-Qin period and the Qin and Han dynasties, the dog was a domestic animal raised mainly for its meat, much like the goat and the pig. Dog meat plays the function of keeping off the cold, relieving oliguria and nourishing the body. Winters in Hunan can be very humid and cold. When Jia Yi of the Han Dynasty served as minister of the King of Changsha, he was often sick because he could not get used to the humid and cold climate of southern China. It is therefore no coincidence that such a large amount of dog meat should have been unearthed from the Mawangdui tombs. Even today, in much of Hunan Province, people still keep the habit of eating dog meat in winter.

We can see from the above analysis that over 2100 years ago the cooking culture of Hunan in China had already developed into a relatively complete system of dietary structure, eating habit, culinary methods, style and flavor. The great variety of raw materials used, the complicated culinary technique, the unique flavors – prove that the cooking culture in Hunan has a long history. If we can fully utilize these resources, we can provide service to today's cooking culture.

Excursus

In 1999, *Recipes of Cates* copied on bamboo slips was unearthed from the tomb of Wu Yang, the Marquise of Yuanling in the Western Han Dynasty, in Huxi Mountain of Yuanling, Hunan. His father was Wu Chen, the second King of Changsha Kingdom. He was conferred the title Duke of Yuanling in 187 B.C.E. and died in the second year of Houyuan Reign Period of Emperor Wendi, i.e. 162 B.C.E. The date of this tomb was more or less the same as that of the Mawangdui tombs. As most of the content of this book has not been published, the author lacks a detailed a knowledge of it. According to the information provided by Guo Weimin, the director of Hunan Provincial Cultural Relics and Archaeological Research Institute, *Recipes of Cates* was unearthed from the north partition of the coffin. Most of the 300 bamboo slips were in fragments. The intact ones were 46cm long, 0.8cm wide and 0.1cm thick. The title was added by the researcher. The handwritings on these bamboo slips were very neat. The remaining contents

show that the recipes of vegetable food and meat food were recorded separately. There were 7 entries of how to make vegetable food, with each entry copied on one single bamboo slip. Examples included yellow rice and millet rice, each being fairly simple. The recipes for making meat dishes numbered 148, including pork and chicken dishes. The steps of making these dishes were rather complicated, involving killing the animal, unhairing it, repeated steaming or boiling it, and adding spices to give it a special flavor. Each of these recipes was copied on two or three bamboo slips.

The raw materials used to make these dishes included meat of the horse, ox, goat, deer, dog, pig, fish, magpie, chicken, wild goose and parrot. Based on the characteristics of each dish, the different parts of the animal and its entrails were processed separately. The bamboo slips mentioned ox shoulder, ox back, backbone, heart, lungs, fat, deer's stomach, and fish guts. Most plant materials were used simply as supplementary ingredients. Examples of these were leaves of some herbaceous plants with big flowers, Chinese gromwell, glutinous rice, and glutinous millet. The condiments included salt, wine, sweet wine, white wine, meat sauce, bean sauce, ginger, magnolia, cornel and amide.

The Mawangdui tombs yielded many dish names, but did not provide any record of how these dishes were made. The Chinese classic – *Three Rites* – did record dishes but also failed to provide any information about how these dishes were made. This work was compiled in the Han Dynasty too, later than the *Recipes of Cates* unearthed from Wu Yang's tomb.

Recipes of Cates recorded very complicated process of making dishes. For example, in the case of mutton and beef, the process involved killing and cleaning the animal, adding spices to marinate the meat, and steaming the meat (including how long, how strong the fire should be, and what should be used to cover the steamer) before it was finished.

In the early Western Han dynasty, the traditional Chinese food was either steamed or boiled. This is why most archaeological findings only included the oven and the steamer. Stir-fried dishes had not appeared yet. Consequently, *Recipes of Cates* only recorded steamed and boiled dishes. "One pot dish" still popular in Yuanling and western Hunan region today calls one to put all ingredients into one pot for boiling and braising.

Addendum: Main Food Names as Seen from the Mawangdui Tombs

Category		Names
Staple Food		Cooked Rice, Cooked Wheat, Cooked Glutinous Millet, Cooked Yellow Millet, Cooked White Millet, Cooked Glutinous Millet with Jujubee
Pastries		White Rice Cake, Rice Cake, Wheat Cake, Honeyed Rice Cake, Honeyed Rice Cake with Water Chestnut, Rice Cake with Jujubee, Honeyed Rice Pudding, Honeyed Grain(Rice, Wheat, Glutinous Millet, Millet) Cake, Fried Cake, Millet Cake with Eggs
Beverages		White Wine, Rice Wine, Warm Wine, Filtered Wine, Milk
Dishes	Meat Thick Soup	Ox Head Grand Thick Soup, Mutton Grand Thick Soup, Pork Grand Thick Soup, Piglet Grand Thick Soup, Dog Meat Grand Thick Soup, Duck Grand Thick Soup, Pheasant Grand Thick Soup, Chicken Grand Thick Soup, Fresh Carp Grand Thick Soup, Ox Head and Bamboo Shoot Grand Thick Soup; Beef White Thick Soup, Venison, Salted Fish and Bamboo Shoot White Thick Soup, Venison and Taro White Thick Soup, Bean and Venison White Thick Soup, Chicken White Thick Soup, Carp White Thick Soup, Fresh Mandarin Fish, Lotus Root and Salt Fish White Thick Soup, and Fresh Bitterling White Thick Soup; Dog Violet Thick Soup, Wild Goose Violet Thick Soup, Carp and Lotus Root Violet Thick Soup and Crane Violet Thick Soup; Beef and Tarragon Thick Soup, Beef and Turnip Thick Soup, and Pork and Tarragon Thick Soup;Beef Bitter Thick Soup and Dog Meat Bitter Thick Soup; Rabbit Thick Soup, Venison Thick Soup, Fresh and Ginger Thick Soup
	Braised and Roasted	Roast Beef, Roast Ox Sides, Roast Pork, Roast Venison, Roast Chicken, Roast Dog Meat, Roast Dog Liver, Roast Leiocassis; Crucian Carp Kebab, Carp Kebab; Baked Yam or Sweet Potato Covered with Mud, Baked Animal Shin Covered with Mud
	Fried and Deep-fried	Fried Piglet, Fried Rabbit, Fried Swan, Fried Crane, Fried Duck, Fried Wild Goose, Fried Pheasant, Fried Partridge, Fried Quail, Fried Chicken, Fried Small Birds; Deep-fried Loach, Deep-fried fish, Deep-fried Crucian Carp
	Steamed	Steamed Loach, Steamed Mandarin Fish, Steamed Leiocassis
	Instant-boiled	Instant-boiled Ox Stomach, Instant-boiled Ox Heart and Lungs, Instant-boiled Piglet Pork, Instant-boiled Chicken Slices, Instant-boiled Sliced Lotus Root

FISH & SHIPS! A JOURNEY ROUN THE WORLD AT CAPTAIN COOK'S TABLE

Sophie Forgan
Captain Cook Memorial Museum, Whitby, UK

I ought to explain for non-British participants that my title is a mildly anachronistic play on words: Fish & ***C****hips* is a favourite British dish and Whitby is particularly famous for its delicious fresh fried fish and chips. That dish did not however become widespread until the late 19th century. However the play on words, Fish & ***S****hips,* was a nice way of linking a favourite food dish with the Museum.

First, who are we? The Captain Cook Museum is a small independent museum, run entirely by volunteers, housed in a 17th century building on the harbourside belonging to Captain John Walker, the master-mariner to whom the young James Cook was apprenticed. We have an important collection of original material relating to Cook's voyages. So how does a 'personality museum', dedicated to an 18th century maritime explorer who sometimes generates controversial reactions, find interesting ways to tell stories and create fresh displays? 'Fish & Ships' is a two-year project which links Whitby, food and Cook's voyages.[1]

Some essential background to Whitby: it is a small town on the northeast coast, now famous more as a tourist destination than for a range of maritime activities. In the mid-18th century, when the young James Cook was learning his craft during 9 years in the town, Whitby was a very different place. It was the sixth biggest shipbuilding port in the country. Whitby men owned around 300 ships, most engaged in the coal trade or in trading across to the Baltic for timber, tar, flax and other shipbuilding supplies. The town had at least two dry docks, several rope-making plants and numerous shipyards along the banks of the tidal river Esk.[2] It was an exceedingly prosperous town, but with limited agricultural hinterland – the North Yorkshire Moors rise steeply just outside the town. The majority of the population were connected in some way to shipbuilding or maritime trading activities.

So how can we connect what Nicholas Rodger has evocatively called 'the wooden world' of the 18th century ship, that floating world which encompassed some 100 souls, with Whitby and food culture at that time?[3] There are two rel-

[1] Funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund.
[2] L. Charlton, *History of Whitby, and of Whitby Abbey &c.*, York, 1779.
[3] N.A.M. Rodger, *The Wooden World: An Anatomy of the Georgian Navy*, London, 1988

evant factors: first, the influence of place – its products and specialities; and second, the influence of culture – attitudes to food, and in Whitby that meant above all a Quaker culture based on thrift, hard work, and quality.

The influence of place: Whitby on its own could not fully provision a fleet of the size owned by the local master-mariners and merchants, and most provisioning was done in the larger ports of the Tyne or in London. But we know much about the foods that were taken on board or purchased en route.[4] Certainly the pastoral hinterland would have provided some day-to-day supplies, for example butter.[5] Butter was used for cooking, eating and, when it went rancid, for greasing the masts. But certain items do stand out in the voyage book accounts – vegetables and fresh fish. Even in the 17th century, the good ship *John* took on board cabbages, turnips and carrots. Local vegetables were a normal part of the local seafarers' diet. Fresh fish was not surprising in a port where there was much inshore fishing, but ships also often bought fresh fish from passing fishing boats in the course of their voyages down the east coast or across the North Sea. Milk was provided for the boys and beer for the men. Superior 'Hoisin tea' was drunk by officers, and 'common tea' by the men.[6] As a port, Whitby naturally looked outwards, and would have been accustomed to a reasonably varied range of goods brought back from London and other ports to satisfy the demands of its prosperous citizens. The inventory of kitchen goods made in 1752 in Captain Walker's house (which houses the Museum) shows that they were used to plentiful supplies of tea and coffee, spices such as pepper and nutmeg, fancy cakes, brewed their own beer in the cellar and cured their own hams.[7]

Add to this the dominant culture of the town, its Quaker ethos. Quakers, a quietist Christian sect, were noted for their hard work, honest dealing and lack of ostentation. Quakers dominated Whitby's marine industries and expected their ships to be soundly built, and capable of being sailed by a small crew of perhaps only 12 men plus some boys. Sailing a 300 ton barque laden with coal involved heavy physical labour, and master-mariners had to feed their men well so that they were capable of doing the work. Plentiful fresh food, combined with fair dealing and the absence of violent punishment, must have contributed enormously

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4 This is because of the survival of many voyage books in the Archives of the Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society.

5 A network of stone 'trods' or pathways linked Whitby with a far wider area including moorland villages and farmland to the south. Carriers, with or without a pony (formerly the small and strong Cleveland Bay which might carry panniers on either side) would travel a considerable distance, bringing fresh fish inland and returning with local produce; various local history societies have traced surviving parts of the trod network.

6 Rosalin Barker, 'Tea for the Cabin, Milk for the Boys and Butter for the Ship', forthcoming *International Journal of Maritime History*.

7 Inventory 1752, original in Borthwick Institute, York; copy in Whitby Literary & Philosophical Society. The Inventory lists two 'Tin Cake pans', still quite an unusual item in the 1750s. Walker sent Cook in London a gift of ale and hams in 1777.

to the marked absence of deserters from Whitby owned ships.[8] Whitby was an attractive port for training young men, with apprentices coming from as far afield as the Orkneys and Edinburgh. Part of a young seaman's duties involved doing the shopping for the ship, negotiating with shopkeepers in port and carrying out errands for the master. They would quickly learn to avoid purchases of rotten or inferior supplies.

When it came to provisioning ships for long voyages, perhaps three years or more, Cook therefore knew more about the nuts and bolts of this than many a conventionally trained Royal Naval officer. Nine years service in Whitby familiarised him with every aspect of ship management, and nine years in a Quaker household shaped many of his attitudes, though he never became a Quaker. When it came to his voyages, Cook oversaw the supply and loading of *Endeavour*, and acted, unusually, as purser as well as captain for *Resolution* on the second voyage.[9] He brought to the task strong views about diet and the prevention of disease, especially scurvy, and a determination to carry into effect his views. Thoroughness, attention to detail, and an emphasis on providing the maximum amount of fresh food as opposed to relying on salted or dried provisions were his key characteristics.

So our aims in the Fish & Ships project are to explore the food heritage of Whitby and its influence on the young Cook's training and development; to mount two exhibitions and refresh our kitchen display; to deliver a programme of education, outreach and community activities; and to build new audiences for the Museum. Along the way we hope to refute some of accepted stories about seafarers' food, and disease in the scurvy-ridden Navy. Furthermore we will bring together evidence about the food economy of Whitby, the style and manner of eating on board Cook's ships, seafarers' reactions to unfamiliar foods, and the different roles that food played among the indigenous societies encountered for the first time.

The project has now been going nearly six months and we have our first exhibition up – "Fish & Ships: A journey round the World at Captain Cook's table". This examines the provisioning of Cook's ships, problems of preservation, how supplies were supplemented during the voyage, the types of food eaten by men and officers, and ways of combating scurvy. Throughout the exhibition, quotations from the journals of Cook and others are used. Food indeed figures prominently in the voyage journals – at times they were all hungry and depended on what they could fish or shoot to add to the pot; they compared the food they were eating nostalgically with foods from home. The wealthy young botanist, Joseph Banks, who accompanied

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[8] This can be traced through the muster rolls; information from Rosalin Barker.
[9] Janet Macdonald, *Feeding Nelson's Navy,* London, 2004/06; for the role of the purser, see pp.91-96.

Cook on the first voyage, was extremely interested in all types of food, and describes in detail how salted cabbage was prepared, and how to cook an albatross.[10]

Around the exhibition, we have designed a programme of activities. The project grant enabled us to employ a part-time Activities Coordinator. She has put together a 'picnic hamper', containing handling items (a square plate, a ship's biscuit, stuffed rat) with equipment and recipes for talks and cooking activities with school children. The hamper can be taken out to schools as we have no suitable space for such activities. This has really taken off, with the schools devising projects around the theme, and using their kitchens to do simple cooking. In the Museum there are trails and quizzes relating to the exhibition.

The project had a successful public launch event, complete with grog table, members of the Historical Maritime Society in costume, sea shanty singing, beer provided by the 'Captain Cook Brewery' (the name of Cook is still used to good marketing effect in numerous food industries), and food provided by a local chef using 18th century inspiration but with a modern twist. We are soon to launch into an ambitious project, based on the humble sandwich. This is underwritten by the fact that John Montagu, Lord Sandwich, was First Lord of the Admiralty at the time of Cook's voyages and a great supporter of Cook. We have his portrait by Gainsborough. According to somewhat scurrilous contemporary reports, Sandwich was a gambler who was so devoted to cards that he refused to eat and demanded that a slice of cold beef between two pieces of bread be brought to him at the gaming table. This is a piece of largely undeserved bad press – Sandwich gambled no more than was normal in polite society at the time – but the origin of the sandwich is firmly attributed to him.[11] To make it more creative, we have decided to launch the 'Great Sandwich pic-knit' – a competition to 'knit a sandwich', and invite knitters and local groups to join in, and will extend it to the wider region in the coming year. 'Creative knitting' seems to be having something of a worldwide revival. A lobster baguette is in course of preparation….

Next year, we will build on education and outreach activities, work on our permanent kitchen display, and mount a second exhibition. This takes the theme of food into the Pacific, 'Eating the Exotic', and examines indigenous foods, how they were gathered or cultivated, and the ceremonial meanings of food, particularly through the kava-drinking ceremony which was widespread throughout Polynesia. It will also highlight the introduction of new animals, plants and crops to the Pacific, starting with Captain Cook, as well as transplantation of plants from Polynesia to other parts of the world.

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[10] He became the *de facto* purchasing officer for the ships in Pacific islands, negotiating with islanders. This was in part because he quickly picked up enough language to communicate relatively easily.

[11] A detailed and more balanced view of his life and achievements is provided in N.A.M. Rodger, *The Insatiable Earl: A Life of John Montagu, fourth Earl of Sandwich 1718-1792,* London, 1993

In conclusion, this may all seem a long way from regional food cultures. But it is the crossovers between regional influences and the wider world which interest me. Cook's voyages mark the start of a new stage in the globalisation of food economies, and it is an extraordinary story to trace the trajectory from the Quaker simplicity of the Whitby food culture in which Cook matured to the consumption of exotic foods from faraway islands.

THE VILLAGE MUSEUM. NATIONAL CULTURAL DAY FESTIVAL

Wilbard Lema
National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Saalam, Tanzania

The National Museum of Tanzania is a body corporate established by the National Museum Act No. 7 of 1980. The Museum of Tanzania incorporates six museums including the Museum and House of Culture (Dar es Salaam), the Village Museum (Dar es Salaam), the Arusha Declaration Museum, the Natural History Museum (Arusha), Mwalimu Julius K. Nyerere (Butiama) and MajiMaji (Songea). The Village Museum is an open-air museum established in 1966 with among other duties to collect, research, preserve and maintain different styles of traditional architecture of Tanzania ethnic groups and their associated collections and information. This specific museum is also charged with interpreting the housed cultural heritage and making it available to the public for social, scholarly and research purposes. Apart from that the Village Museum deals with culture preservation and promotion through various events and programs. The most notable event is The Cultural Day Festival established in 1994. In this particular event, which lasts for three consecutive days, particular ethnic groups are invited by the Museum to present aspects of their culture including construction of their traditional houses, preparing traditional foods and drinks, and displaying traditional dances. This makes the Village Museum a unique place for people to learn and understand diverse cultures of the more than 120 ethnic groups found in Tanzania.

OBJECTIVES OF THE CULTURAL DAY FESTIVAL

This program was established with the following objectives:

- To give room to Tanzanian ethnic groups to demonstrate their cultural aspects to their fellows so as to help them understand and respect other people's ways of life. This enlightens the public to the importance of cultural tolerance and hence strengthens national unity.
- To identify different cultural traditions which have the potential to be inherited from one generation to another while leaving behind any bad cultural aspects
- To publicize the Village Museum as the true expression of cultural ways of Tanzanian life.

ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE PROGRAM

Since its establishment in 1994, the Program has contributed a number of positive impacts to the Village Museum and to the nation at large. The achievements are twofold:

a: Achievements for the National Museum of Tanzania

- The program has publicized the museum and made it known to nearly the whole nation
- The number of museum visitors has increased
- The Village Museum has gained public trust and become the best arena for Tanzanians to express their culture
- The number of cultural collections has increased tremendously
- The exhibitions and collections have been improved
- The Museum has fulfilled its objective of serving the public

b: The Countrywide Achievements

- The occurrence of this festival implements the national Cultural Policy
- The festival accelerates the identification and preservation of the rural community and its cultural aspects for present and future generations
- The festival is a catalyst for the development of the rural community via the development groups formed as a result of the festival
- The event has activated public awareness in presenting and preserving their culture and as such a total of 24 ethnic groups have already participated in the event and more are enthusiastic to participate.

The following ethnic groups have presented their culture since the commencement of the program:
Gogo (July 1994), Zaramo (July 1995), Ngoni (July 1996),Chagga (July 1996), Haya / Nyambo (March 1998), Maasai (November 1998), Nyakyusa (November 1999), Makua /Yao (December 1999), Ha (July 2000), Sambaa/Digo/ Segeju/Zigua (March 2001), Sukuma (September 2001), Kwere /Doe (October 2002), Mwera (December 2003), Bena (August 2004), Iraqw (December 2004), Kerewe (2008), Hangaza na Shubi (2009) and Nyambo January (2010).

The village museum has also sustainably managed to preserve the traditional ways of different ethnic groups not necessarily those mentioned here. Collections have been made of different objects used by ethnic groups for traditional ways/ methods to serve and preserve food and local brews. Most of the objects collected are made according to the function and the raw materials available in the area. The following are some of the ethnic groups and their collections;

CHAGGA

The Chagga descend from various Bantu groups who migrated from the rest of Africa into the foothills of Kilimanjaro. While the Chagga are Bantu-speakers, they do not speak a single language but rather a number of related Chagga dialects. These dialects are related to Kamba, which is spoken in northeast Kenya, and to other languages spoken in the east such as Dabida and Pokomo. The Chagga area is traditionally divided into a number of chiefdoms. The Chagga are culturally related to the Pare, Taveta and Teita peoples. They follow a patrilineal system of descent and inheritance. The Chagga subsist primarily by agriculture, using irrigation on terraced fields and oxen manure. Although bananas are their staple food, they also cultivate various crops including yams, beans, and maize. In agricultural exports, the Chagga are best known for their Arabica coffee, which is exported to American and European markets, resulting in coffee being a primary cash crop.

Chagga traditional Objects of Storing and Serving Food and Drinks.

ZARAMO

The Wazaramo are a coastal community inhabiting an area immediately surrounding the city of Dar es Salaam. They are predominantly Muslims and share many other cultural traits with the people of Zanzibar, Pemba, Mafia and Comoro Islands. The Wazaramo keep few cattle or none at all, and subsist primarily on agriculture. They also keep poultry and often have beehives. Special huts are built by farmers on their farms to guard their crops against wild animals and birds. From this shelter they can pull strings that are attached to cans that jangle at the edge of the field to scare away birds and animals.

Zaramo Objects for Storing, Processing and Serving the Food.

BENA

The Wabena are inhabitants of the Iringa Region, mostly in Njombe district. They are primarily agriculturists who grow maize, wheat, potatoes, groundnuts, banana, tea, coffee, and fruits. They also keep small numbers of cattle, goats, and chickens.

Bena Objects for Storing, Processing and serving of Food.

SUKUMA

The Wasukuma live in the Mwanza and Shinyanga regions, located along the West and Southern part of Lake Victoria (the world's second-largest lake). They are believed to have originated from the north-western part of Africa. Their livelihood depends on animal keeping (cows, goats, and sheep), fishing, farming, and mining activities. They also grow maize (corn), sorghum, potatoes, millet, cassava, beans, rice and cotton.

Sukuma Objects for Storing Food and Drinks.

HAYA

The Haya or Wahaya are the largest ethnic group who live on the western shores of Lake Victoria. They are known as the banana growers of the country because of the indigenous culture's flourish. The Buhaya landscape is made of two components: *Kibanja* (the banana home-base garden) and the *Iweya* (the open grass and bush land). All the ceremonies (funeral and marriage) take place at the Kibanja. The major crops grown in Kibanja besides bananas and coffee are maize, potatoes and the common bean.

Haya Objects for Storing Food.

The future plan of the festival

The program has attracted the public positively and different ethnic groups have shown interest in demonstrating their culture. Through regional participa-

tion in the program, the regions of Dar es Salaam, Coastal, Tanga, Kilimanjaro, Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Mbeya, Lindi, Mtwara, Kigoma, Kagera, Mwanza and Shinyanga have participated. This regional participation has a weakness in that some ethnic groups are left behind while others present their culture given the fact that one region accommodates more than one ethnic group. Only 1/6 of the more than 120 ethnic groups have been covered.

It is proposed that because of the pace of society and the high rate of future culture change that instead of focusing on one group, the festival will cover the whole region at once. This means that, at one particular time and event, all the ethnic groups in a specific region will demonstrate their cultures and have their cultural collections are collected. It will also be necessary to have regional museums where the cultural collections of the specific groups can be preserved.

Conclusion

The national cultural day festival which established in 1994 has progressively incorporated Tanzania ethnic groups in presenting, preserving and inheriting the Tanzanian culture for the present and future generations. The festival continues to conduct its program every year at the Village Museum. The experience from different ethnic groups on how to preserve and serve food has motivated the Village Museum to the extent of serving the traditional food at its restaurant where the public meets and enjoys the changing tastes of Tanzanian foods. However, the protection and development of their culture is the responsibility and pride of every Tanzanian.

FROM GOURMET'S TABLE TO THE INTANGIBLE HERITAGE LIST. A CROATIAN EXAMPLE

Goranka Horjan
Museums of Hravatsko Zagorje, Gornja Stubica, Croatia

Regional diversity

It is always interesting to see how the creativity of local people entwines with the richness of soil, heritage and wealth of ingredients to indulge human fascination with good food. From the distant past to the present-day, food is not only used to satisfy our basic needs for nourishment but also as a kind of practical art favoured by many followers who can even invest a lot of money to pursue such pleasures. Therefore, food becomes important in various aspects including culture and tourism, which often go hand in hand when the story of regional cuisine is told.

Regional museums are good places for such a narrative to start. The Museums of Hrvatsko Zagorje began a project in 2002 called Museum Professionals are Cooking, which was inspired by various European initiatives. In fact, this was a cooking contest for Croatian museums that were competing for the gold, silver or bronze ladle. This competition showed the enormous richness of Croatian regional cuisines – and truly there is no single, unique national food but a whole range of regional specialties that make Croatia a land of gastronomic delight. Local flavours inspired colleagues to explore traditions and historic records in creating delicacies that were judged by professionals from regional restaurants. Natural history museums invented healthy menus based on rare herbs, city museums referred to old cookbooks while ethnographic museums used traditional knowledge and tools. The food not only tasted good but also looked attractive, served in innovative ways based on heritage.

Although Croatia may not yet have been recognised as a gastronomic destination, many connoisseurs praise the variety and richness of food that be found in the country because of turbulent historical events. Any country that remembers ancient culinary recipes from Roman times, can track cooking habits from Neolithic vessels or investigate Palaeolithic habits from the Neanderthal period creates a solid basis for a gastronomic success story. Regional differences are caused

by various influences thus enabling the development of local flavours. Intercultural background is best seen in everyday life, so food and drink help professionals in creating the sense of place.

Croatia could be roughly divided into four distinctive culinary regions. The eastern part, mainly Baranja and Slavonia, is famous for the extraordinary quality of its smoked and cured meats. Red paprika is something they are proud of and this spice pushed its way into lot of meals leaving a mild or hot burning taste in the mouth. River fish delicacies are also a strong point of local gastronomy. The north-western part of the country, Zagorje and Međimurje, belong to the central European circle with delicious creamy sauces, various dumplings and tasty cakes. Since the medieval times records describing festive events and weddings of feudal lords mention the abundance of their tables. Many cookbooks found in castles and manors bring interesting recipes to daylight and some writers in the 17th and 18th centuries even complain about too excessive feasts. Some historians even use humour in trying to teach readers how to keep their manners and behave well at the table.

When we leave the continental part of Croatia, a completely new attitude is encountered in the coastal regions. Istria and Primorje have developed many types of food, some resembling those from neighbouring Italian regions. However, the specific flavours are emphasized and food grown in a healthy and natural way puts those regions at the top of gastronomic pleasures. One might mention that the largest truffle, which entered the Guinness Book of Records, was found in Istria. Every year the little village of Livade in inland Istria hosts a truffle festival, Lovran celebrates chestnuts while Istrian olive oils regularly win the most prestigious international medals.

Dalmatia is a paradise for those who are hard to please since their cuisine is a guarantee for a long and happy life. The high-quality sea food is the highlight of the cuisine and should be offered fresh and in one piece. Fish is broiled whole on a grill and accompanied by homemade vegetable dishes, salads, and olive oil. The Mediterranean diet was jointly inscribed on the UNESCO list of intangible heritage in 2012 and Croatia was one of the partners in the successful application.

Besides these main four regional cuisines, there is an abundance of local specialties that enrich the food offered in certain areas. Cultural exchange enriched gastronomy. Thus in the border region towards Bosnia and Herzegovina, we can notice the significant influence of Turkish origins while in the east a Hungarian influence is noticed. Geography also plays an important part. Mountains are famous for their game specialities and varieties of mushrooms. On the other hand, grazing grounds on the Adriatic islands exposed to the bura wind and rich in wild plants provide the best quality lamb.

Cultural impact

The importance of food can be seen even in Croatian literature. Some famous books have food as the main subject. Veljko Brabijeri is well known for his writings in which he connects history and culture with food preparation. In his *Mediterranean Breviary*, every recipe is a poetic discourse, an ode to human creativity and quality of natural ingredients and when in harmony they can create a gastronomic paradise. In the *Epitaph of the Emperor's Gourmet*, the main hero finds the meaning of his life in hedonistic food pleasures and therefore falls as a victim of a totalitarian regime that forbids any extravagance in satisfying basic needs. The book was written in 1970s and can be relevant reading even today when we are confronted with the ideas and trends of complete food control. Of course, the main parole is that the control is meant for our own good but a lot of traditional eating habits and kinds of food are in fact excluded from markets and suppliers work at the edge of law. Regulations limit local production and homemade food is often banned. Massively produced industrial products may have passed the control and fulfil all the standards but there are still people who can remember how a tomato used to taste long ago without leaving a taste of fish in the mouth. Therefore, food can be also a means for manipulation; one of the most profitable industries certainly does not leave the decision on what to eat to a gourmet's taste.

This puts additional responsibility on culture and museums. The question is how to protect all those riches of local gastronomy, traditional ways of preparing food, usage of specific vessels or food customs related to some festivities. The Croatian author Barbijeri wrote other books that have food as a topic like *Gourmet's Memories of the Mediterranean* or *Chef's Book of Ballads* and *134 Short Food Stories*. He also initiated the Council of Europe project on European cookbook in collecting three chosen recipes from each member state country with an introduction on national gastronomy.

Food and Intangible Heritage

The Ministry of Culture of Croatia was among the first countries in Europe to ratify the Convention of Intangible Heritage and takes its leading role and commitment seriously. Culinary heritage and food preparation has been seen as a valuable traditional heritage right from the start. Therefore, some well-known dishes from different parts of the country have already been inscribed on the list while the others are being prepared. There have been local activities to foster some traditional ways of growing food together with accompanying customs.

In Hrvatsko Zagorje, the region where I come from and which is situated in the north-western part of the country, pastry products are a specialty. Štrukli are the regional protected brand. They are a kind of pastry that could be prepared in different ways, as a soup, a starter a dessert or a main dish. They can be cooked, baked or cooked and then baked; salty or sweet and they really deserve their popularity. They even have their own song "Mother Making Štrukli" and their own event Štruklijada. Today it is fashionable to recall simple traditional food made at home and based on healthy grown ingredients. Besides štrukli in Zagorje we can find bučnica – a variant of rolled out dough with pumpkin and fresh cheese. There are also more simple dishes made in similar way like strepa and zlevka. Zagorje is also famous for its "moving cakes" gibanice, which are a delight for every cake-lover with a filling that can be made of nuts, poppy, cheese, home-made plum-jam, etc.

Cheese is frequently used in Zagorje dishes. The most famous is fresh cottage cheese with cream. There is a long tradition of buying them at local markets and for decades, town families have had their own "kumica", i.e. a woman who makes and sells homemade cheese and cream. Such cheese goes perfectly well with home-made ham, sausages and green onions. Zagorje turkey is highly-prized served with special dumplings called mlinci, but the certificate can be given only to traditionally grown, free-range turkeys. The protected brand on a local farm was even visited by the Japanese prince when he came on an official visit to Croatia in 2013.

Pigs grown at home are a guarantee of the quality of smoked and cured meats like pressed sausage, greaves, blood sausages etc. Industrial breeding of pigs cannot provide the necessary characteristics of meat for traditional delicacies. Perhaps someone will be horrified with the still existing custom of pig-slaughter in some villages of Zagorje but those pigs at least had a better quality of life and lived longer than their "industrial peers".

Together with food, we have to mention drinks and drink in Croatia is wine. It is unimaginable to have a dinner or supper without a glass of wine. In many regions local wines do differ a lot. Even in the Middle Ages, wine-growing was one of the main branches of economy on feudal estates in Zagorje. Wine has found its place in many poems and songs. Today the hard work of our wine-growers brings more and more awards to Zagorje from prestigious European competitions.

Festivities and Food

Many traditional Croatian festivities are clearly linked with food regardless of whether they are related to strenuous labour like crop harvesting or threshing, to the grape harvest and baptising wine or to religious occasions, mainly Catholic, like Christmas, Easter, pilgrimages or local saints' days. Food customs accompany memorable moments in an individual's life like baptism, wedding, birthday, name

day, funeral wakes or even when the young couple builds a roof on their house. Some festivities have a typically public character, such as the Dionysian St. Martin's Day, celebrated in private farmhouses, wine cellars and restaurants. Others are almost exclusively family reunions (weddings, baptism, Christmas Day, New Year's Day, Easter, etc.)

Every holiday has its typical dish. Pork and potato stew is eaten on pilgrimages and at fairs; cod is prepared for Christmas Eve and Good Friday; pork is eaten on New Year's Day. Different doughnuts are an inseparable part of carnival festivities, and in the south they prepare a similar fried sweet dish known as hrostule. Ham and boiled eggs with green vegetables are served at Easter, while desserts comprise traditional cakes (e.g. pinca). Kulen (hot-pepper flavoured sausage) is served at harvest time, a goose on St. Martin s Day, turkey and other fowl on Christmas Day. Sarma (meat-stuffed cabbage leaves) is a winter-time meal while light cucumber stews are served in summer.

At weddings, a variety of dishes with dozens of cakes and biscuits are served, including breskvice, shortbread bear paws, gingerbread biscuits, fritule - plain fritters, etc. The custom is also to give some of those cakes to families who came to the wedding.

Many people's favourite meals on all occasions include spit-roasted lamb and suckling pig, grilled fish, calamari cooked in various ways, barbecue dishes - raznjici, cevapcici and mixed grill - prosciutto and sheep's cheese, or smoked ham and cottage cheese with sour cream, fish stew, venison…

The cuisine of north-western Croatia is characterized by many simple, delicious dishes. Bread is mostly made from maize, barley, or a mixture of the two, and cakes are often similar in texture to bread (kukuruznjaca - made from maize; periaca, zelevanka, buhtli, doughnuts, walnut and poppy-seed loaves). A whole range of different names for breads enrich the vocabulary and significant differences in dialects are noticed.

Gastronomic events in Hrvatsko Zagorje region

The vintage in Pregrada dates back to 1939. An Association initiated it for the development of Pregrada, and the trip starts in Zagreb. People came by bus and participated in the grape harvest and local party.

"Grandma's cakes" is a competition for local women from Zagorje in preparing delicious homemade cakes. The event is organised in different places each time and many woman won medals for their skills.

The event that is 100% from Zagorje is a touring activity which brings products from Zagorje region to large Croatian cities like Zagreb, Split or Rijeka. Local producers prepare their gastronomic delights and sell them at the fair.

"Zagorje Turkey Days" are devoted to this most popular speciality. Turkey with *mlinci* (a boiled pasta dish), strudels of various kinds, and pumpkin cake with poppy seeds have spread from the region of Zagorje throughout Croatia.

Zagorje is also famous for its sausages – blood-sausages, garlic-sausages and other special sausages. Vincekovo event (St Vincent's Day) on 22 January starts the working season in vineyards and in order to encourage good luck and excellent harvest, sausages are hung on vines.

"Mushroom Days" in Stubičke Toplice is a special event because visitors first go to the woods and pick mushrooms led by experts, then select delicious ones for a mushroom stew, which is cooked in a large pot. Experts also give lectures on different kinds of mushrooms and how to preserve environment when going to the woods. Other autumn gatherings are "The Chestnut Days". They are organised in almost every village and they are usually served with young wine.

"What our ancestors ate" is an event that gathers local experts on traditional food and allows visitors to enjoy food they can hardly find today.

Gastronomy as a Heritage Realm

In the country like Croatia, food has a central place in family life and community life. The sphere of private and social gatherings intermingles. Many festive events took place outdoors and include huge gatherings while those held at home also follow many social and religious rules.

Intangible heritage experts have done a lot of work to document specific food preparations. Some delicacies have found a place on the national intangible heritage list like special cheeses from islands and mountains, cured meat from Slavonia, *soparnik* dish from hinterland of Dalmatia or *vitalac* from the island of Brač.

Gingerbread making has been inscribed on the UNESCO representative list of intangible heritage as phenomena from north-western Croatia that is still kept alive in all its richness. The craft not only produces excellent colourful pieces made of dough used as decoration on celebrations but they also produce delicious honey-cakes and mead. The traditional drink, *gvirc* (mead) is sipped and consumed with gingerbread biscuits.

Food-related heritage quickly reaches peoples' hearts and that is a good guarantee of its survival.

THE CULINARY TRADITION AT THE WILANOW PALACE MUSEUM

Elzbieta Grygiel and Piotr Gorajec
Wilanow Palace Museum, Warsaw, Poland

Works of art and everyday articles making up the collection of the historic royal Wilanów residence tell a lot about the tradition of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations. Joined by the 1385 union, two countries – Poland and Lithuania – constituted a territorially vast, multinational and multicultural structure until the end of the 18th century. Lasting four centuries, the state union of Poland and Lithuania is considered by Polish historians as an example of implemented federalism, with three arguments in support of this theory. Firstly, within the Commonwealth Lithuanians maintained their own institutions and law. Secondly, the union contributed to an increased significance of the two states in the international arena. Thirdly, the mutual support enabled both Poles and Lithuanians to refute claims of two powerful and aggressive neighbours, namely Moscow and the Teutonic Order. From then on, the Commonwealth grew in importance at a meeting point between the East and the West.

As one of the largest states in Europe, the Nobles' Commonwealth comprised within its borders numerous ethnic groups: Poles, Lithuanians, Ruthenians, Germans, Jews, Tatars, Armenians and strangers immigrating to the Commonwealth until the 16th – 17th century in search of better living conditions and careers (Italians, Scots, Dutchmen). The role of the political nation in the Commonwealth, i.e. a community exercising the right to voice its opinion in political matters and to choose a king in a free election, was fulfilled by the nobility. The sense of community within the noble class was based on a common ideology and a system of values, shared political culture, customs and artistic tastes. Class-related bonds uniting the nobles of the Commonwealth were stronger than ethnic or religious ones, as exemplified by the practiced tolerance for representatives of various religious denominations, guaranteed by the *sejm* (lower chamber of parliament) in resolutions passed in 1573.

Wilanów Palace raised for Jan Sobieski, the king chosen in the 1674 free election, constitutes one of the most valuable monuments of baroque art in Poland. The palace was constructed in keeping with the French *entre court et jardin* formula, with decorations of its elevations and interiors containing references to antique art, which the king knew well and in which he was enrooted as much as

in the entire Commonwealth culture. Sobieski himself approved materials for the erection of his palace as well as the iconographic programme of its decorations (from 1677 until his death in 1696). Sculptures and paintings not only glorify the king's military achievements and political prudence but also his passion for farming and cultivation. Paintings containing scenes taken from Virgil's *Georgics*, representing farmers' work and feasts, decorate the walls of the king's bedchamber and antechamber to this day. Wilanów was home to Sobieski, a king-and-landlord in one, a patron of arts and sciences, who read books even during his numerous war campaigns, and between successive expeditions enjoyed the company of interesting conversationalists seated at his table. When in Wilanów, one is invited to contemplate the question of taste, inevitably a good taste.

"Referring to European tradition of research initiated in the 1980s by Jean-Louis Flandrin, it is worth observing that to a large extent 'cuisine' constitutes an

Wilanw Palace.

insubstantial sphere. To begin with, it is by no means the same as food itself, as it rather represents a set of skills, knowledge, ideas, notions and techniques, and at the same time a product of a specific sensitivity. It is a process of creating and recreating rules determining how something inedible becomes a meal or how the meal gains (or perhaps loses) its cultural and social value (…). In this context, the term 'cuisine' becomes an important part of culture and a tool for today's scholars in better understanding it, an opportunity for grasping its values, notions and the practices used to express them". (J. Dumanowski, *Compendium Ferculorum*, Warsaw 2009)

Our knowledge about past culinary preferences, cuisine and table etiquette is obtained from historic sources which we continuously study and interpret together with scholars from academic circles. Of particular importance is the museum's cooperation with the Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń and a team

of experts led by prof. Jarosław Dumanowski, head of the Centre for Research on the History and Culture of Nutrition (a research station of the Polish Historical Society).

Wilanów Palace Museum is looking for ways of addressing potential visitors, gaining their interest in the collections and their meaning for society's historical and cultural awareness. Appealing to the currently fashionable concept of conscious nutrition and a trend to upgrade one's culinary skills, we pose questions about historical dietetics, about what our ancestors ate, what importance they attached to food, how they evaluated meals, and finally what all this can tell us about regional, national and social differences.

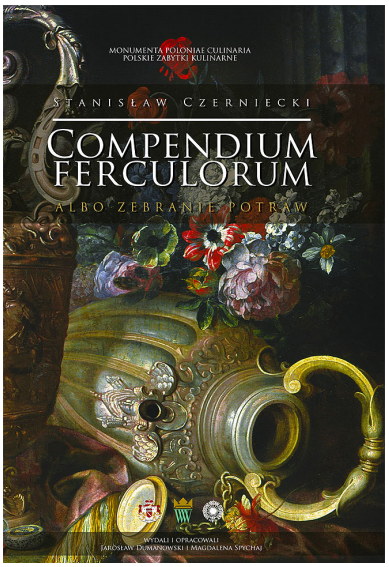
Cookbooks have played an important part in development of research on the history of cuisine and nutrition. In collaboration with university historians,

Gallery.

Faience Cabinet.

we publish cookbooks with original recipes from the 17th and the 18th century. In 2009, our museum published the first cookbook written in 1682 by Stanisław Czerniecki, court cook to the Lubomirski family residing in Wiśnicz. Scientifically edited by prof. Jarosław Dumanowski and Magdalena Spychaj, *Compendium Ferculorum or a Collection of Dishes* is a cookbook which influenced Polish culinary tastes for at least a century, circulating in countless copies and numerous editions around aristocratic manor houses and noble home farms of the Commonwealth. This year we will publish a consecutive volume in a series named *Monumenta Poloniae Culinaria*, which will contain a recently discovered and previously unpublished manuscript from our archives of a cook to the Lithuanian aristocratic Radziwiłł family of Nieśwież, dating back to the end of the 17th century, entitled *A Very Good Fashion of Frying Various Sweets*…. The scientific editors of the publica-

tion are prof. Jarosław Dumanowski and Rafał Jankowski. The *Monumenta Poloniae Culinaria* series is a long-term project aimed at getting Polish readers acquainted with customs practiced in Poland from the 17th to the 19th century. The published books contain lavish artwork and illustrations of objects from the Wilanów Museum collection.



Compendium ferculorum, cook book from 1682.

Apart from scientific publications of culinary treaties, Wilanów Palace Museum also publishes popular books containing historic recipes adapted to the potentials and skills of present-day food lovers. Amateur cooks willing to sample old tastes and flavours are helped to prepare period dishes with the use of currently available ingredients. The first in the series of books contained recipes for soups, meat and fish dishes. The second one, currently in print, will be mainly dedicated to sweet dishes. The authors are prof. J. Dumanowski and cooking practitioners A. Pawlas and J. Poznanski.

Distinctive features of Stanisław Czerniecki's *Compendium ferculorum* are a lavish artistic layout and the surprising ideas of the author who upholds national Polish cuisine. The book is a culinary and philosophical treaty conveying the baroque style and art of native cuisine as well as Czerniecki's own mission. Speaking of which, Czerniecki perceives a head chef as not so much of a kitchen supervisor and high-ranking court official but above all as a creator, artist and "kitchen instructor" capable of sharing his talent, skills and knowledge with others. Characteristic features of old Polish cuisine according to Czerniecki are a generous use of hot spices, frequent combinations of sweet and sour flavours, substantial amounts of fats (pork fat above all) and an element of surprise in the presentation, decoration and ways of serving his dishes. A similar approach is found in the aforementioned cookbook employed at the Radziwiłł's court whose work, currently in print, contains not only recipes for ordinary dishes but also for various potions healthful for people and animals.

Fasting, observed in Poland in a particularly strict manner and lasting altogether more than 150 days per year, was one of the key factors shaping the cuisine and alimentary customs of 17th-century Catholics. Local culinary fasting specialities were appreciated throughout Europe, as testified by records of travellers visiting the then Commonwealth. It is therefore not at all surprising that the best de-

veloped dishes in old Polish cuisine were those made of freshwater fish seasoned spicy and sour (in his 1682 cookbook Czerniecki included as many as one hundred diversified fish dishes; the jewel in the crown among them was the so called "head chef's secret", namely a genuine baroque recipe for an undivided pike, partly boiled, partly fried and partly roasted…). Long periods of fasting and the accompanying hunger (even among elites) resulted in a craving for meat dishes and fat outside the fasting time. In view of reluctance to eat pork rooted in cultural and religious taboos, game played an important part in Polish noblemen's diet, alongside fattened poultry (capons, geese) and mutton obtained from fattened wethers.

Most opinions concerning Polish cuisine expressed by foreigners, diplomats, soldiers and travellers to the Commonwealth in the 17th and the 18th century were rather unfavourable. Poles were criticized for exaggerated lavishness in banquets lasting for hours, for gluttony, boasting about their wealth, excessive use of hot spices and alcohol. The outstanding 17th-century cartographer Guillaume le Vasseur de Beauplan on the other hand admired Polish recipes for fish. Travellers to Poland relished dishes made of elk meat, beaver tails, but also bread, coffee and fruit such as apples, pears, quinces, cherries and last but not least sweet desserts.

There are many precious culinary artefacts in the Wilanów Palace collection. Among these, silver and bronze sets, pottery, glass and plated tableware are presented in the palace and at temporary exhibitions illustrating celebrations and the richness of old Polish cuisine. Although the original kitchen area is regrettably no longer extant, there are plans to create "palace back rooms" in one of the residence buildings, i.e. a Wilanów China room and servants' quarters. The permanent display currently being created is based on information found in 19th- and 20th-century inventories of the Wilanów China room, including among other listed items those of silver, bronze, porcelain and glass tableware as well as copper kitchen utensils.

China set.

Table set.

As the palace is small we are constantly struggling with insufficient exhibition and reception space. Nevertheless, we organize miscellaneous workshops for children and culinary presentations for adults.

The programme *Secrets of Jan III Sobieski's Cuisine*, addressed to children aged 4 to 8, presents selected functions and significance of the Wilanów Palace. The king rested here, gave sumptuous receptions and held meetings with friends, organized theatre performances and concerts of music. Museum educators recreate the course of an old Polish banquet, the dishes served and customs which were an inherent part of contemporary banqueting culture. During the workshops children find out about ingredients used in old Polish cuisine, including various kinds of groats, and get acquainted with fanciful ways of folding serviettes. They also learn to identify spices by their smell and look, participate in a presentation of *savoir-vivre* rules applied in the 17th and the 18th century, and compose puns using vocabulary related to old Polish banqueting culture.

Exhibition, pantry.

The topic of an open workshop is *History Scenting*. It is a tale for coffee lovers who get to know where coffee originated, how it was transported to Europe, and what are the common features of coffee and more about Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland. Following the Victory of Vienna in 1683, bags of coffee captured from the Turkish tents formed a share of the spoils won by Franciszek Kulczycki, one of Jan III Sobieski's brave comrades in arms. Kulczycki knew the merits of coffee and he is believed to have opened the first coffee house in Vienna; a street in the Austrian capital bears Kulczycki's name to this day.

Coffee workshop.

Obtained from Nature is the title of workshops dedicated to teaching children aged 7 to 9 what types of vegetables and herbs grown in a utility garden can be used in food preparation. Children learn to identify herbs

by smell and taste, they get to know when and how individual herbs were imported from foreign countries to Poland, get acquainted with recipes from Jan III Sobieski's time and compare them with present-day cuisine. Workshop participants also learn about being a forest bee-keeper, how to make use of wild-growing plants, what plant is needed to prepare an infusion for common cold, what is wicker and what can be made of it.

We further organize workshops based on the old saying "The way to a man's heart is through his stomach". We discuss the importance and the use of plants in love-related customs practiced by country folk and nobles. Participants in these

Wilanow Palace and garden.

Herbs garden.

meetings learn how pepper, apples, saffron and lovage helped many to win the affection of their beloved ones. They also look for tastes of love found in a menu based on the 1682 *Compendium ferculorum* cookbook, and bake aphrodisiac biscuits.

Dishes prepared according to 17th-century old Polish recipes have been served at scientific conferences and seminars organized by our museum. Such presentations attract a lot of interest. Each October Wilanów also focusses on the Far East. Exhibitions and workshops are organized under the title *Japanese October* to introduce the culture of Japan. This cycle refers to the extensive collection of Far Eastern art which our museum takes pride in. An essential element of *Japanese October* always is the ceremony of tea brewing with an accompanying presentation of proper tea serving. The workshops enable us to set up a context helpful in the contemplation of Far Eastern art and in a better understanding of its artists.

Easter table exhibition.

Cooperation between Wilanów Palace Museum and scholars studying old Polish cuisine and culture has resulted in the publication of various scientific and popular books and also in educational stories and programmes. The lack of an original kitchen area is compensated for by our efforts to disseminate knowledge about cuisine as a national phenomenon. The museum portal on the Internet contains a Silva Rerum encyclopaedia comprising over 2000 articles, among them more than 300 texts dedicated to the culinary tradition of the Commonwealth in the 17th to 19th centuries. The texts are illustrated with photographs of paintings and marvellous handicrafts from the museum collection. The next step may consist in a transformation of the existing information resources and education programmes into a product and a development of a cultural industry.

Wilanów Palace Museum is looking for partners willing to cooperate in further research and popularization of culinary tradition. It seems that the common feature of Poland and Norway is the historic tradition of cooperation within political and territorial unions, and the resulting idea of highly developed tolerance, of which today's Norway is an estimable example. As for the history of cuisine

and nutrition, the common feature of our countries is our shared love for fish, naturally determined by economic and cultural factors, and also the present need to promote education, in which museums play a significant role. We also consider it necessary to create cultural industries and "historical" certification of regional products which maintained their distinctive identity in the European Union.

QUESTIONS OF TASTE. "DE GUSTIBUS NON EST DISPUTANDUM"

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Food is a constituent part of man's everyday life, inherent in all segments of life. Today food is increasingly being seen as a way of documenting individual civilisation periods and man's lifestyles. New technologies for investigating the past, written documents about food and, primarily, interest directed to everyday life have elevated food to the status of a fashionable research topic.

Food can always be classified in sociological terms and cannot only be identified with how cooking was described in the first Slovenian cooking book by Valentin Vodnik: "to cook means to make food a man's pleasure, to maintain health and to use healthy ingredients". These words sound very relevant today, don't they?

The maxim *De gustibus non nest disputandum/ One must not dispute about tastes* implies that opinions about matters are not objectively right or wrong. This maxim is still valid today. With the topic of the conference ***LOCAL GASTRONOMY & REGIONAL MUSEUMS*** we seek to analyse and identify the *gustus,* the *tastes* of local meaning and also different periods.

Non est disputandum or why not to discuss it – because food history is an interdisciplinary broad field that examines the history of food and its cultural, economic, environmental and sociological impacts. Food history has been a new discipline since 1979 when the first Food Symposium conference was held in Oxford. The reality of this new awareness of well-being sees us rediscovering old, local and healthy food. We understand that climate, natural resources, the environment, political and economic changes influenced behavioural patterns in the past as they still do today.

Food or a lack of food was/is always a concern of human life. Museums have different answers to the food issue; mostly we have stored enormous quantities of cookbooks and kitchenware and different types of memorabilia in repositories since our earliest days, we even organise workshops on cooking etc. Botanical forensics could give astonishing information on food.

In museums we also use new technologies and via new social and anthropological studies we also observe day to day in the past. Apart from keeping objects intended for the preparation and consumption of food, we also organise various

workshops which regularly attract many participants, such as on Ancient Roman cuisine, or on our grandmothers' cooking. They also serve as a vehicle for passing on culinary local traditions, the art of laying a table etc.

What can food tell us about the past? Remember the banquet of Trimalchio and exotic delicacies such as a live bird sewn up inside a pig? This was not only an upstart's conspicuous luxury in Roman society; it shows the political and sociological changes that affected Roman society, however unbelievable – the Roman *virtus* was exemplified by a freed slave who made a fortune.

In contrast to the extravagant Trimalchio, one could mention the 17th century with its long-lasting wars and the famines suffered at its beginning affecting the way people ate. Thus, the dish *ragout* (a highly seasoned meat stew as we all know) dates back to 1642. It had to be eaten with a spoon because it no longer contained any big chunks of meat. This also brought with it a revolution in the way of cooking, of using new vessels and new utensils, in how people behaved at the table etc. Just think about today, when cooking in some places is done by means of liquid nitrogen and the significance of food decoration exceeds that of its taste and, in particular, only occupies half the plate!

On the other hand the soup *olli podridi* or *olla podrida*, a simple dish from Spain that won Europe over in the 17th century. One German cookbook even advertised it as follows: it is good for kings, emperors, princes and sires. Sancho Panza, in Cervantes' Don Quixote, says: What appears in front of me should be *olla podrida* because of all the diverse ingredients on the plate.

Being most interested in the Early Modern Age, I see a change there in the new culinary wave. The new world, the new economy, different ways of transportations, new spices and new ways of life led to changes in daily life such as new needs and new patterns in fashion, in eating, table behaviour, new kitchen elements, new hygiene regulations due to pests etc.

Yet what was going on with food, as we can certainly speak of food for the rich and food for the poor? I found some interesting information suggested by the French historian Fernand Braudel, who investigated this segment of Western Europe thoroughly. Namely, that one-quarter of Paris ate what had been left on the King's table! The better leftovers were eaten by the servants with the remains of the remains later being sold.

I will now present the eating habits of three groups of town-dwellers based on three documents: descriptions of food preparations in the Carthusian Monastery at Žiče, the diet of a townsman living in an almshouse, and the way food was consumed according to the inventory of an estate of a deceased nobleman living in a town palace.

Monastic cuisine in affluent religious orders was certainly special. Monasteries mainly lived as closed, independent and self-sufficient communities. Some dietary choices in the Žiče Carthusian Monastery are known to us. It is hard to say what the Carthusians ate every day, but today some recipes for Baroque-style dishes still seem amazingly exquisite and refined. By way of an example, a recipe dating back to the early 18th century proposes well-seasoned butter-fried croquettes made of minced crayfish meat served with fried onions – and this was the eighth side dish. This is extraordinary, yet such food was clearly not intended for all the brothers of the monastery. However, we know that they tried to comply with the rule imposed by Saint Benedict in the year 534 according to which all monks had to stop eating the meat of four-legged creatures. As a result, there were attempts to cultivate a pig with three legs, an otter with scales etc.

Let us now move from monastic recipes to the diet of an elderly and poor townsman who had to spend his last years in an early 18th century almshouse. Noting that more people died from excessive eating and drinking than from the sword, a late 17th- century physician based in Ljubljana suggested that in order to eat healthily, a man should have two meals a day: the first at 10 a.m. and the second seven hours later, when the first meal had already been digested. A snack was proposed later, at least for manual workers. The Town Almshouse The instruction that was issued specified weekly, recurring diets. For instance, a working-day diet comprised one-fourth litre of vegetables with approx. 320 grams of butter, and one-fourth litre of flour for flour paste with 320 grams of butter.

The prescribed diets also contained meat soup, 320 grams of meat five times a week, and cabbage or turnip (local vegetables) with 320 grams of homemade minced lard as a side dish. Apart from this, every person was assigned one-fourth litre of wine. For supper, a flour paste with 320 grams of butter was typically served. Quite a lot of fat we would say today, but one must not forget that they only ate twice a day and that they consumed no sugar etc.

The basic foodstuffs eaten by the lower classes were cereals, mainly poor quality ones such as rye, spelt and oats (black rye bread was baked for prisoners; white flour bread and cakes, croissants and pretzels were intended only for noblemen). Thus, the poor inhabitants of the almshouses ate meat (although no mention is made of what type and quality) and fat, vegetables, rarely fruit and, *nota bene*, wine with each meal. According to the recorded diet, their food was simple and somewhat bland, but still sufficient.

By way of digression: we know that Ljubljana is a city with a good geographical position, and this is also reflected in the food eaten by its inhabitants. Fresh and varied seafood was supplied daily from Trieste, a town situated on the Adriatic Sea approx. 100 km away, so that Ljubljana's inhabitants lacked neither fresh sea

fish and mussels nor quality vegetables. The people concerned here were certainly the higher classes of city-dwellers who could also afford better wines and not just homemade plonk.

One might ask what and how much was eaten by the rich, who, in the words of one Slovenian literary figure from peasant ranks, are not keen on eating at all, as they could eat whatever they wanted and whenever they wanted. If we can imagine the diet in a monastery then we can also imagine the diet of a nobleman. However, when real documents are taken into account, a diet could be composed of the monastic diet and the diet of a townsman. When we consider a count, we should imagine how food was served in the mid-17th century and what people could afford at that time.

A mere inventory of the estate of the Count of Auersperg, who died in the mid-17th century, can tell us more than the simple total of his assets. As the Imperial-Royal Chamberlain, the Count of Auersperg occupied the post of minister or adviser for economic and financial issues in the Habsburg Monarchy. Moreover, he came from a noble family which had produced many generals who had fought along the border with Ottoman/Turkish Empire. This is not unimportant since it was also from beyond that border that novelties came to our country, in particular clothing fashions, weapons, new foods, e.g. corn.

The Count was willing and able to follow Europe's privileged social class of the time. This is not only evidenced by the silverware decorating his tables, but also by the table sets, where even toothpicks, vinegar bottles and already sugar tongs are mentioned. What are concerned here are the cups, bottles, the plates sporting the family coat-of-arms, the goblets and drinking cups, the trays and table sets, as the entire set is mentioned as consisting of a cup, a knife, a fork, a spoon, a salt cellar, even a toothpick and an egg cup.

It is extremely important that the inventory mentions tablecloths, napkins and serviettes which were used at the table. We also know that fine textiles were in use, such as damask and fine-thread linen. As early as in the late 15th century, a report prepared by Paolo Santonino, the envoy of Pietro Carli, the Vicar-General and Bishop of Caorli, implies that tables in the castle were laid using roses, other flowers and sweet-smelling greenery. So the setting for enjoying meals was important too.

Many details are also given about the equipment in the palace kitchen, although not much time was spent there by the people who prepared the inventory. In big kitchens, the cooking was done in cauldrons, roasting on grills, on pans and on grates for the family and for guests. We do not know what kinds of food and what quantities of it were snatched away by the servants from this common kitchen or from what was left over.

Thus, the inventory tells us, indirectly, a lot about the new dietary habits. Along with novelties in the cooking and serving of food, a new lifestyle was also gaining ground. This style was not simply reflected in one segment, but could be observed in overall terms.

Let us now return to the count of Auersperg. In all segments of his life there was modern luxury: he built a new baroque palace; he and his family slept on exquisite bedclothes: black silk thread, golden lacework, coloured silk embroidery, red needlework made from fine thread etc.

The presence of sideboards in the dining room reflects a new, higher standard of living. As the distance from the kitchen to the table was longer, both serving plates and the food were first placed on sideboards and only then served to guests sitting at the table. Novelties can also be seen in other equipment, such as an octagonal table which in the early 17th century was still a rarity in Europe, writing desks etc.

Clothing fashions also made progress. Ever since the early 17th century, Spanish fashion had been giving way to German and French fashion, as is also reflected in the inventory of the Count's clothes. Strict Spanish models were replaced by more cheerful colours, patterns and accessories such as ribbons, stones, lace, embroidered shoulder straps etc.

Let me conclude:

"Whatever you research in a correct way can display the whole relevant society" is the maxim presented by the French historian André-Georges Haudricourt. It means that within any unique theme we can gain an understanding of economy, ideology, politics, social history, ethnography, ethics, symbolism, culture, emotions etc.

So in preparing food, it was not only 'reasonable that women cook as they take better care of cleanliness, are quicker to react and have sharper taste. And healthy cooking in pharmacies is reserved for men.'

It is true. Food is a cultural element showing the complexity of both cooking and culinary linguistic abundance. But it is also much more than this.

REGIONAL FOOD AS CULTURAL HERITAGE. AN ATTRACTIVE TOPIC IN BAVARIAN MUSEUMS

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Bavaria is the Federal State in Germany with the most museums with 1350 museums of different size and level actually reported. One strategy for developing museums is to focus on regional or local specialties. This can reduce the number of rather similar traditional heritage museums; on the other hand an individual museum can create a unique feature in its region. One very attractive topic for museums seems to be regional food. Around 30 museums deal solely with the food topic. Half of them are related to Bavarian beer culture, the others offer a wide range of food topics from asparagus, horseradish, fish, potato, cheese, bread, and confectionary to wine.

My paper will focus on three examples of food museums in Bavaria and how they interact in the region. The examples are: The European Asparagus Museum in Schrobenhausen, The Aischgründer Carp Museum in Neustadt an der Aisch and The Beer and Bread Museum in Kulmbach.

The European Asparagus Museum in Schrobenhausen

Schrobenhausen, a small town in southern Bavaria, is one of the asparagus growing centres of Germany. In 1985 the "German Asparagus Museum" was founded and installed in a former fortified tower, which is part of the surviving 15th century town wall. In 1991, the enlarged museum reopened as "The European Asparagus Museum". The permanent exhibition shows a depiction of the European asparagus market, the history of asparagus and gives botanical information. Objects document the medicinal use of asparagus. Another section informs about special tools for asparagus farming, asparagus processing and various bleaching methods. „Eating Asparagus", one of the main sections, offers recipes and cookbooks, and also a collection of precious asparagus dishes from the 18th to the 20th century made of porcelain, faience and silver. Original artworks and reproductions from the 17th century to the present are presented in the section "Asparagus in Art". Up to now the museum has attracted more than 180.000

visitors. According to the visitors' book people have come from every continent, most of them during the very short asparagus season from mid-April to mid-June during which the museum, town and restaurants offer a variety of events and special packages including a museum visit. Visitors mostly arrive by an organized bus tour for a daily visit to the museum, have lunch or dinner at a local restaurant, visit the asparagus market or buy fresh asparagus at one of the numerous asparagus farmers. During that short period the whole region is busy with asparagus. Giving the activities a little bit of glamour, a so-called product queen, in 2011, Her Majesty the Asparagus Queen Monika I., promotes the local product and holds court at fairs, exhibition openings, visits of twinned cities and the asparagus market. During the season around 100 performances are accomplished by Her Hajesty and her entourage.

The Aischgründer Carp Museum in Neustadt an der Aisch

Well known for beer and wine, Franconia also enriches the menu with the Aischgründer mirror carp. Presumably, carp fish farming dates back to the time of the Franconian kings of the 8th and 9th century. Fish was mainly delivered to monasteries, peers and noblemen. In the 16th century, the former Lenten food became a luxury food. For hundreds of years carp has been a highly estimated product. As a result of long-term fish breeding, the Aischgründer mirror carp with its high dorsal shows a distinctive shape.

The museum is installed in an old water castle of the 15th century constructed during the regency of Margrave Albrecht Achilles. His second wife Anna, Duchess of Saxony, lived there after his death and converted the castle into a cultural centre. Today the old water castle, one of the numerous monuments of supra-regional importance in Franconia, is revived in its function as the city's cultural landmark.

Changed into a topic museum, it is now a major attraction in the region. The permanent exhibition has already attracted 5000 visitors after a nine-month opening. That reveals three points:

1. Aischgrund possesses a touristic potential which is worth discovering.
2. Museums still play an important role for touristic development of a region.
3. Gastronomic specialities significantly influence tourists choosing their destinations for excursions and daily tours.

As a gastronomic specialty, local carp breeding has produced numerous Fischküchen, which offer fresh carp in different versions. A carp passport was created to stamp the carp-lover's passion each time. In 2010, the trophy was given to a man who had proved his passion with 165 entries during the eight-month season. After the opening of the museum, the augmented attendance was quickly noticed by the local gastronomy.

Carp fish-farming has not only shaped the landscape with its 4000 ponds, it also has influenced cultural life decisively. Numerous art exhibitions are dedicated to the carp. A huge stone carp named Fridolin campaigns for the whole region. Songs, even an Aischkarpfenwaltz, were composed, books were written containing legends and histories around the fish, but also many cooking recipes. The marketing of the carp seems to be without limits. Carp is part of logos, printed on T-Shirts, offered as chocolate and shaped as fruit gums. Since 2001, similar to Schrobenhausen, a product queen, this year Her Majesty Barbara I promotes the regional fish specialty. Sporty visitors bike on a carp route between the pond areas. The region will be stimulated by tourism for the benefit of fish farmers, gastronomy and retail shops. The carp museum in Neustadt an der Aisch can be considered a good example for the interplay of preserving a cultural landscape and promoting tourism and regional gastronomy.

The Bavarian Brewery and Bread Museum in Kulmbach

The last example is The Bavarian Brewery and Bread Museum in Kulmbach, a traditional centre for food and brewing in northern Bavaria. Since the beginning of the 1990's, the buildings of the old Mönchshof brewery, established in 1884, are planned to become a museum. In total the regional museum will cover more than 5.000 square metres. The first part was opened in 1994. Equipped with many interactive terminals, the visit to the museum is a great event for the whole family. A guided tour explaining the historic brewing industry gives an introduction into the topic on the basis of historical objects. The permanent exhibition titled "Beer Culture over the Change of Times" opens the world of beer culture giving a survey over the tradition of brewery from the Egyptian time until the modern high tech production of beer in our days. Further topics advertise beer, beer bottles from all over the world, beer mats and beer posters. Strolling through the old brewery visitors have a look at the boiler house and power house of the former brewery. They are also able to learn how industrialization has decisively influenced the brewing industry. Visitors also experience that brewing a good beer still depends on the skill of a master brewer in spite of all the modern computer technology. The most enjoyable peak of a circuit is the museum's own little brewery where beer is actually brewed.

Adjacent to the Brewery Museum, the Bakery and Bread Museum gives a survey over the history of bread and baking on two floors. A show bakery introduces today's mechanical production. 35.000 visitors on the average come every year. With the entrance fee visitors acquire a coupon for a fresh glass of beer at the end of their visit. That may be, I suppose, why the museum is one of the hot spots

for groups in the region. Most of the visitors come in organized groups by bus. The "Mönchshof-Bräuhaus" a restaurant, a pub and a beer garden belonging to the museum invite visitors to taste Franconian beer and delicious local specialities.

The Bavarian Beer Museum offers a variety of guest programmes around the so-called liquid gold. Bestsellers are naturally beer tasting and one-day seminars lead by a master brewer. Guests learn about the processing of beer in theory and practise. At the end every participant will get a diploma attesting to being graduated to a beer expert level.

The museum is part of a network to open up the various tourist attractions in the region and also part of the German "Beer and Castle Route", which connects the more than 500 kilometres of important touristic attractions from Lower Bavaria to Upper Franconia and further on to Thuringia. Initiated by a local restaurant owner, around 100 members have until now joined the network connecting culture and sociability. Most of the museum's visitors were usually attracted by the annual beer festival which takes place in Kulmbach at the end of July. After the "Munich Oktoberfest" it is one of the biggest beer festivals in Germany.

Many guests take a journey on one of the historic trains starting from the German Steam Engine Museum in neighbouring Neuenmarkt, a small village a distance of 15 kilometres away, directly to the Beer Museum.

Traditionally connected to the Bavarian culture, regional food and beverages do not only represent a long history, but first of all stand for a strong cultural presence.

FROM PANCAKES TO PEROGIES. ALBERTA'S INTANGIBLE CULINARY HERITAGE

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Culture is a set of learned behaviour that is shared and adapted to engage with the world around us. It is not reinvented by each generation; rather, the knowledge passed on by the social groups with which we identify is later modified by other social influences and interactions. Many aspects of culture that are learned (such as table manners and what food is good to eat) are not actively learned but absorbed in the course of daily living.[1] Therefore, while culture is used to create a sense of continuity between generations, it adapts and evolves to suit each new influence. These concepts are the basis of intangible cultural heritage as it relates to the transmission of traditional practices that can influence cultural identity.

While fragile, intangible cultural heritage is an important factor in maintaining cultural diversity in the face of growing globalization. An understanding of the intangible cultural heritage of different communities helps with intercultural dialogue, and encourages mutual respect for other ways of life.[2]

Canadian identity and traditions are unique in the way that they encompass multiple levels of cultural, social, and ethnic associations. Canadian multiculturalism is built into our constitution through the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal.[3] The idea is that by adopting multiculturalism as an official policy, citizens can take pride in their ancestry while still having a sense of belonging as a Canadian and a feeling of security that will make them more accepting of diverse cultures.[4] This mutual respect can help develop common understandings and worldviews. While Canada is looked at as

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1 Emily A. Schultz and Robert H. Lavenda, Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition, 5th Edition (London: Mayfield Publishing Company, 2001), 18.
2 UNESCO – Culture, What is Intangible Cultural Heritage, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00002 (Accessed 17 July 2011).
3 Department of Justice Canada, Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, "Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982," Assented to March 29, 1982, http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/charter/ (Accessed 31 July 2011).
4 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship, http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/multiculturalism/citizenship.asp (Accessed 31 July 2011).

an example of successful multicultural interaction and understanding, there is still work that needs to be done on the ground level to have true, holistic representation and inclusion. As cultural institutions, it is the key role and responsibility of museums to participate in this work and find ways for their diverse communities to be engaged by and receptive of multiple worldviews.

One of the means by which museums have a unique opportunity to influence awareness about cultural inclusion and celebration is through the expression of traditional culinary practices. Food is something that everyone can identify, enjoy, and participate with as it is the most basic element for survival and social celebration. Food brings people together — every culture gathers around food; and the social custom of "breaking bread" together is prevalent in most cultures around the world as a symbol of acceptance, hospitality, and unity. By using traditional culinary practices to communicate to the general public, museums can help to raise awareness of a region or cultural group. This enables the museum to communicate how the community was uniquely shaped by different groups, experiences, and influences that is evident by the different culinary traditions. In Canada, Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) is living history that:

Encompasses many traditions, practices, and customs. These include the stories we tell, the family events we celebrate, our community gatherings, the languages we speak, the songs we sing, knowledge of our natural spaces, our healing traditions, the foods we eat, our holidays, beliefs, and cultural practices.[5]

Intangible heritage has significant implications in terms of museum practice and the role for museums in society, and there are already dynamic ICH practices occurring. The challenge is encouraging museums, in particular small, rural, volunteer-run museums, to recognize and celebrate that what they are doing is in fact ICH when they are performing food preparation traditions. The kaleidoscope of culinary traditions engaged in by regional museums in Alberta celebrate the preparation of food and the way it brings a community together while transmitting aspects of cultural heritage. In Alberta, however, museum staff or volunteers rarely self-identify as preserving intangible cultural heritage or as facilitating the creation of a sense of community by their participants. Intangible cultural heritage can only be successful when it is recognized by the communities — without their recognition the practice will not be understood as their heritage or something they can identify with.

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[5] Heritage Foundation of Newfoundland and Labrador. What Is Intangible Cultural Heritage? Booklet, St. John's, NL, 2008, 1.

An interesting example of how food is used to connect communities throughout Alberta is the phenomenon of the pancake breakfast. Nearly every community in Alberta uses the pancake breakfast to mark special occasions and to bring people together around those occasions. Many regional museums in the province are only open during the summer months (May to September), and they often celebrate opening day with a pancake breakfast. Pancakes are an accessible, easily recognizable, and non-threatening food; the variations of which can be found in almost every culture around the world. There is a ritual around pancake breakfasts in Alberta that includes volunteers cooking for groups of people in celebration of an event, which is usually held outdoors in the summertime. Pancakes are round and served with sausage or bacon topped with maple syrup. Ingredients are easily accessed in a prairie environment and everyone who participates knows what to expect from a pancake breakfast. Local pancake breakfasts are an act of intangible cultural heritage that engage people on multiple cultural and social levels and are excellent opportunities for museums to take an active role in the community.

Prime Minister Stephen Harper serving Pancakes.

An end goal of ICH initiatives is to engage communities to interact, celebrate, and understand the worldviews that shape not only ourselves, but those from other social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds. Successful community engagement relies on mutual trust between the institution and the community it serves. This takes many years to establish and requires that the staff of the museum make a commitment to engaging with the local community. Mutual trust means that when the museum goes outside of the institution's four walls, it is understood that it is asking for something and the community will get something in return. It means participating in community events like pancake breakfasts even if not hosted by the museum, so they are identified as full members of the community by its residents. Regional museums are often very successful at this because they were established by local people who had a passion for their community's history. The community-based museum is one of the "concrete ways to involve communities as the principle actors of intangible cultural heritage" by using participatory

and interactive programs to actively engage their visitors.[6] Through this presentation, the Alberta Museums Association aims to raise awareness that the local culinary celebrations are examples of museums participating in and promoting intangible cultural heritage, which creates a sense of cultural belonging. By showing that the celebration around food is an act of intangible cultural heritage that leads to community engagement, Alberta's museums can join the effort to support the signing of the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.[7] The Convention promotes the use of ICH by encouraging museums to open the way to a more active, participatory, and sensorial experience of heritage.[8] Museums in Alberta are already utilising ICH practices to engage their communities, but if it keeps happening by accident, there will not be an impetus to affect change or influence the Canadian government to safeguard these practices by signing the Convention. The Alberta museum community can build on well-established food preparation practices to build a more robust understanding in the community of what needs to happen for ICH ideas to thrive.

The following case studies will explore the creative ways regional museums in Alberta, Canada use components of ICH practice to engage with their communities through culinary traditions.

Case Study 1: Historic Markerville Creamery Museum[9]

Intangible cultural heritage is not merely valued as a cultural good, on a comparative basis, for its exclusivity or its exceptional value. It thrives on its basis in communities and depends on those whose knowledge of traditions, skills and customs are passed on to the rest of the community, from generation to generation, or to other communities.[10]

One of the most successful examples of community engagement using culinary traditions is the Historic Markerville Creamery Museum in Central Alberta. The hamlet of Markerville only has about fifty residents, but through successful

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[6] Cécile Duvelle, "Is There a Place for Intangible Cultural Heritage in Museums?," Musées: Enjeux et défis du patrimoine immaterial / Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums: Issues and Challenges, vol. 29, Société des musées québécois (2010), p. 39.

[7] For more information on the Convention, please visit http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00001

[8] Laurier Turgeon, "Towards a Museology of the Intangible," Musées: Enjeux et défis du patrimoine immaterial / Intangible Cultural Heritage and Museums: Issues and Challenges, vol. 29, Société des musées québécois (2010), 18.

[9] Information about the Historic Markerville Creamery Museum was gathered in an onsite interview with the Icelandic Ladies Aid Vonin members on July 14, 2011.

[10] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), "What is Intangible Cultural Heritage," http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00002 (Accessed 21 July 2011).

programs and nurtured relationships, the museum has helped to keep the community alive by using cultural and traditional practices to connect with multiple groups. This is accomplished through the tangible exhibitions explaining the role of the creamery in the history of the community as well as the intangible by creating hands-on or sensory experiences, such as butter production and consumption of traditional Icelandic pioneer dishes.

Food is the hub of this charming community. The Creamery Museum offers an amazing opportunity to recapture the history of butter-production in dairy-rich Alberta. Costumed interpreters guide visitors through the museum and explain the history of the homesteaders, the process of making butter, and the 'open-door' policy that the community was built on. Visitors learn how butter was made and the economic stability that it brought to a struggling agricultural community.[11] The heart of the museum is the Kaffistofa (coffee shop), which sells ice cream, coffee, and light lunches, including traditional Icelandic dishes, to the visiting public.

Markerville Creamery Bakin Day.

While it is not unusual for a museum to have a restaurant, what is unique about the Creamery Museum's Kaffistofa is its success as a tool for community engagement. Every week at the Kaffistofa, the museum hosts a "Coffee Club," which has brought a lot of people together that never would have thought about joining in and getting to know their neighbours. More people attend the Club than there are in the population of Markerville. Over the years, the Coffee Club has become such an important part of the community that people come from neighbouring regions to participate. The goal of the Coffee Club is to carry on the social tradition of their community to come together and have coffee and visit with one another:

Folks travelling the west country knew they would be invited in to Icelandic homes for a cup of mola sopa (strong coffee and lump sugar, the sugar is put between your teeth and the coffee sipped through the sugar) and home baked goodies.[12]

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[11] Alberta Museums Association Recognized Museum website, "Historic Markerville Creamery Museum" profile, http://public.museums.ab.ca.

[12] Stephan G. Stephansson Icelandic Society, "Recipes from Pioneer Days," unpublished document, n.d.

The Icelandic Ladies Aid Vonin, which supports the museum, is 120 years old this year and has a long tradition of participating in and supporting the local community. One of the original purposes of the Ladies Aid Vonin was to help the poverty-stricken and those suffering illness or hardship. Every year, the Ladies Aid meets to distribute cookie boxes to those in need. "Vonin" is the Icelandic word for "hope," which is what the Ladies Aid brings to these members of the community.

The Icelandic Ladies Aid Vonin members also meet twice a year with staff and volunteers of the Creamery Museum to help bake the Pönnukökur (Crepes), Flatbrauð (Flatbread), and Vinarterta (Vienna Torte) that is served in the museum's Kaffistofa. Like other Canadian pioneers, when the Icelandic settlers came to Alberta, they brought their own traditions of food and food preparation with them. Old recipes that were handed down through the generations were adapted to suit the new climate and resources available. These ladies have learned the recipes from their mothers and grandmothers, and use this knowledge to celebrate Icelandic heritage while providing an opportunity for members of the community from any ethnic background to socialize and engage with each other. Through such activities, the society has evolved to include members from different towns within the region who have diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The Ladies Aid has built a reciprocal relationship of trust with the people so that when initiatives are undertaken by the museum, they are supported by the general community.

Markerville has successfully used the museum and its culinary activities to engage their community in the truest Canadian sense of the word, by including all those who want to participate and celebrate the history of the community as a whole.

Case Study 2: *Chop Suey on the Prairies: A Reflection on Chinese Restaurants in Alberta* Travelling Exhibition[13]

One of the largest challenges faced by regional museums in Alberta is to be truly holistic and inclusive in their representation of the history of the community. All too often, the museum's exhibitions focus on the history of the "founding families" — the white pioneers who settled in the community. While this history is important, it excludes other ethnic groups in the community and projects a very narrow and static view of the community's history. This approach engages a limited percentage of the community and does not address other cultural change that

[13] Information about the Chop Suey Travelling Exhibition was gathered in interview with T. Linda Tzang, Curator, Cultural Communities, Royal Alberta Museum on July 6, 2011.

has happened in the course of the community's history. *Chop Suey on the Prairies* is a travelling exhibition developed by the Cultural Communities department of the Royal Alberta Museum. The travelling exhibition was developed to showcase the role of Chinese restaurants in small communities throughout the province. The exhibition was designed to be arranged and displayed with the opportunity for each museum to add their local stories and artifacts. The intent is to use Chinese restaurants to talk about the Chinese immigrant experience and to engage with different cultural groups by looking at the history of the community in a new way.

Chinese restaurants can be found in almost every town and hamlet in Alberta and are indispensable centres of small town life. They are completely immersed in the Alberta landscape, but regional museums rarely sought to explore their role in the greater community. What is interesting about this project is that it has shown that the development of Chinese restaurants had very little to do with practicing and sharing traditional Chinese food, but rather is an example of how Chinese entrepreneurs used food to create a sense of place in rural communities where they had little in common with the other European settlers. Restaurants in the rural communities developed as social centres as farmers would come to town for supplies and then stay and visit with other members of the community. As businessmen, the Chinese owners of these restaurants would change their menu to accommodate the demand of their customers. As communities in Alberta come from a variety of backgrounds — Ukrainian, Danish, English,

Chop Suey, travelling exhibition.

French, etc. — each "Chinese" restaurant evolved to suit the culinary traditions of their patrons rather than Chinese customs. The Chinese restaurant may be a food business first, but it is also a bridge between different cultural groups and a way for the owners to become integrated into the general community.

Projects such as *Chop Suey* not only benefit the general community by exploring and representing the heritage of other ethnic groups in the community, but provide an opportunity for the owners or descendants of owners of Chinese restaurants to explore their own identity through the transmission of their intangible heritage by their oral testimonies. This allows for a greater understanding of their own heritage and the layers of cultural identity they experience as Albertans, Canadians, and members of a rural community.

After travelling around the province, the final exhibition is intended to be housed at the Royal Alberta Museum and will explore what makes a Chinese Restaurant "Chinese." It will showcase how the menus and food served at Chinese restaurants evolved and changed to suit the needs of each community and culinary trend. Each regional museum shares the stories about the role of the Chinese restaurant in their community with the Royal Alberta Museum. This phase of the project is still in development, expanding as the stories from the different museums come in, and will be on display at the Royal Alberta Museum in 2013. Through the inclusion of ICH practices, such as oral testimonies and interviews with the Chinese families who own the restaurants, this travelling exhibition encourages its regional museum hosts to engage with their community by opening an opportunity for conversation and contribution to the history of the community, making it an inclusive and holistic experience. By opening the conversation with food, which the community is familiar with, a door can be opened for discovering more about the historical and contemporary Chinese-Canadian experience.

Case Study 3: Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village[14]

The Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village is an open-air, living history museum that showcases the Ukrainian pioneer experience in East Central Alberta from 1892 to 1930. In the late nineteenth century, Alberta became the home of the largest settlement of Ukrainian pioneers in Canada. Most of the settlers were peasant farmers who brought with them the knowledge and skills to develop agricultural land along with their own culinary traditions for the harvesting and preparation of food. This knowledge was passed down orally and in practice from generation to

[14] Information about the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village was gathered in interview with Lessia Petriv, Senior Interpreter on July 5, 2011.

generation. Arriving in a new land had unique challenges. The climate was vastly different, the land was undeveloped, and the settlers were isolated. Pioneers often settled in communities with other Ukrainians, forming new bonds and support to help get through rough and challenging situations. These settlements had people from different regions of Ukraine who brought with them different dialects, customs, and culinary traditions. Upon arrival, settlers had to change their food, diet, and methods of preparation compared to the old country to accommodate all of these new influences.[15]

Costumed interpreters bring history to life by acting the roles of different members of the community. As every family has particular customs that they pass down through the generations, the Ukrainian Village has four houses dedicated to four different families each with its own unique recipes and gardens to represent the influences that contributed to the community. The Village is very successful at using intangible cultural heritage practices to engage visitors with the Ukrainian pioneer experience. Every aspect of the Ukrainian pioneer experience is recreated at the museum: they grow wheat and mill it to bake bread in clay ovens; have animals to provide eggs, milk, and meat to prepare the dishes; and maintain their own gardens for vegetables. Interpreters work just as the immigrants would have to prepare each of these ingredients for meals and maintain the homestead, and

Ukrainian Village.

[15] Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village, "Ukrainian Heritage Food," programming materials for interpreters, unpublished document.

visitors are shown and participate in these experiences. The program explains how the diet of each household also reflects the ethnic affiliation, social standing, and rate of assimilation of each family based on what food was prepared in the house. The Village uses archival collections, interviews with descendants of the original families, and extensive research to determine the food practices of each family.

The Village has established itself as a reliable source for culinary experience for Ukrainian pioneers within a specific time and place. They aspire to be as authentic as possible in the experiences that they create for visitors; as such, the community feels trust that they are an authority in the cultural experiences they provide. While it purposes to convey the historical experience of Ukrainian settlement, the Village also wants to challenge visitors to understand the worldview of the Ukrainian settlers and impart lessons that are still relevant in modern society. Thereby, food is used as a dialogue for cultural heritage by exposing visitors to the social and cultural aspects that surrounded the preparation of food.

The Village shows visitors how to make traditional Ukrainian dishes from scratch to show the history and heritage of a food that is well-immersed in the Alberta landscape. For example, perogies, which are dough dumplings filled with potatoes and cheese then boiled or fried and served with sour cream and onions, were brought over by the Ukrainian pioneers, but quickly became appropriated by Albertans with diverse ethnic backgrounds. Perogies are available at grocery stores and farmers markets; are served at restaurants; and made at home by people who do not have a Ukrainian ethnic background. Perogies have come to be tied into our regional identity, but they started as an immigrant food dish. At the Village, visitors are shown how perogies were traditionally made to create a sensory and participatory immersion in heritage that is relatable to most Alberta residents.

Large perogy in Glendon, Alberta.

As Alberta works toward creating a greater understanding and appreciation for intangible cultural heritage, it will be up to museums to build a commitment to local practices to ensure access to a wide range of cultural experiences. The social

practices of ICH thrive in many of Alberta's communities, and the museums in these communities are often active in these events. The disconnect is the widespread recognition within museums as well as from their audiences that the activities they are participating in, and being successful at, are forms of ICH and are routes to active community engagement. Initiatives undertaken by such museums as the Ukrainian Cultural Heritage Village and the Historic Markerville Creamery Museum and projects like the *Chop Suey* travelling exhibition demonstrate the success ICH can have on visitor experience. Through the use of culinary experiences to connect visitors with heritage, Alberta can take the lead in engaging people to truly accept other cultural perspectives and raise awareness about ICH practices to influence the Canadian government to sign the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage; demonstrating that Canada is truly a multicultural nation worth celebrating.

FROM MAYA CACAO TO CHOCOLATE

Blanca González
The Regional Museum of Anthropology of Yucatan, Merida, Mexico

GASTRONOMY IN YUCATAN

In 2010, Mexican food was included in UNESCO´s Intangible Heritage List. Yucatan is a Mexican state known for its culinary tradition, the result of Maya and Spanish fusion. Throughout time, this tradition has been enriched by the contributions of different groups, such as Lebanese migrants and Yucatecan housewives.

Lebanese immigrants arrived in Yucatán at the end of the 19th century and even before they fully adapted to their host society, they shared and exchanged their food and beverage recipes with Yucatecans. Nowadays, there are some traditional restaurants that offer both Yucatecan and Lebanese food in their menu. In the 1950s and 1960s, middle and upper-class Yucatecan housewives began to develop catering services and home-made fine bakery businesses of pastries and desserts. This small local activity evolved into successful and nationally recognized regional businesses.

As in many other cities, Merida, capital of Yucatán, has been invaded by the fast food industry in the past 30 years. But at the same time, recent immigrants have also brought their best flavors to Yucatán. The Italian menu of *Villa Italia* and the Irish pub *Hennesy* are two examples. Another recent interesting case is that of a Belgian couple living in Merida who opened a chocolate shop in town. Not only has the store been successful, but it has been included in the local dessert tradition. Its products are now part of wedding banquets and other social events, a very lucrative business in Merida. Mathew and Stephanie Vrees, the shop owners, in association with Puratos and Belcolade, Belgian dessert and chocolate companies, have developed a new project: the Ecomuseum of Cacao, which opened in July 2011. The museum is built with regional materials, its facilities imitate traditional Maya houses and it has a cacao plantation. The project rescues and revives an ancient crop: the cacao plant, used by Pre-Columbian Maya to make an exclusive beverage for their ruling class and also used as currency for commercial trade.

CACAO IN PRE-COLUMBIAN TIMES

It is thought that cacao has been present among the Maya of the Low lands ever since 400 B.C. (Pérez Romero, 1988, 67) The cacao plant (*theobroma cacao*) grows in humid regions and in optimal conditions, in the shade of trees. Its origins go back to the low Amazon rainforest in Ecuador and Colombia, as well as to parts of Costa Rica that have a similar environment.

It must be pointed out that the spread of cacao was due to human actions related to commerce and migration rather than to natural dissemination of the plant. Because Yucatan is a flat region without surface rivers, cacao was cultivated in restricted areas known as *hoyas* o *rejolladas*. These are land cave-ins measuring between 3 and 18 meters in depth and up to 30 meters in diameter. They have three main features: their closeness to the water table provides the required humidity for the cacao plant to grow; their ground has a sediment-enriched soil; and their walls are perpendicular to the ground, protecting the plant from animals and natural phenomena such as hurricanes. In addition, the trees that grow inside the *rejolladas* provide shadow for the cacao plant.

The fact that cacao could only be cultivated in *rejolladas* or through irrigation limited its production in the Yucatan. Pre-Columbian Maya obtained most of the cacao they consumed through trade. As a result, Ek Chuah, the Maya god of commerce was also the god of cacao. The main trade routes went from the Yucatan to Tabasco and Honduras. Cacao was the most important product in all cases. Maya from Tabasco controlled long-distance trade by means of canoes that surrounded the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, the Yucatan Peninsula and the Gulf of Honduras. By land they went as far as Central Mexico. The commercial relationship between the Maya and the peoples from Central Mexico can be seen in a mural located in the city of Tlaxcala. In this mural, the Mayan god of commerce and cacao is standing in front of a cacao tree (Coe and Coe, 2000)

Many representations of cacao have been found in different Maya archaeological sites in Yucatán. In Chichen Itza, there are columns that show the god Kawiil surrounded by cacao plants. In Dzibinoac, the same deity appears with loads of cacao. Furthermore, most sites had remains of ruling-class pottery with some kind of allusion to cacao.

CACAO IN COLONIAL TIMES

Cacao cultivation and trade prevailed during Colonial times. There is a lot of information about its colonial uses, as well as the ingredients with which it was mixed: chili, maize, honey, among others. At that time cacao had many functions,

both in Yucatan and in Central Mexico. It served as food (the Aztecs drank it cold while the Maya preferred it hot), as medicine, as an aphrodisiac, as a ritual drink and as currency. Some examples are shown next.

Concerning the use of cacao as food, Fray Bernardino de Sahagún wrote, "… finishing their food, they washed again their hands and mouths, and then they put in front of them their bowls of cacao and they drank, and then canes to smoke were brought" (Sahagún, 1985, 494) Concerning its use in ceremonies, the same author refers to a group of warriors who offered their support to the Aztec king Cuauhtémoc: "… Right after they give them weapons, shields; they give them cacao to drink, a bowl of cacao for each one" (Ibid 969)

Others tell us about its exclusivity: "… In ancient times it was so precious that no one drank cacao unless he were a chief, great noble or brave soldier" (García de Palacio, 1983, 74) Cacao was also considered an aphrodisiac: "…They brought… some kind of drink made of the same cacao; they said it was to have access to women…" (Díaz del Castillo, 1970, 167) Finally, its use as money was emphasized: "Cacao beans also served as currency, and of these they used more in their transactions…" (López de Cogolludo, 1954, 330 Tomo I) Some equivalences of cacao in Colonial economy: the price of a turkey was 200 cacao beans, and a rabbit, 100 beans. A tomato was 1 cacao bean, and a fish wrapped in maize leaves was 3 beans (Coe and Coe, op. cit., 130)

During the time that cacao beans served as coins, they were sometimes falsified. Merchants and forgers replaced cacao beans with other grains or bee wax. An important fact is that cacao was used as currency until early 20th century. In 1843, traveler and explorer John L. Stephens visited Yucatán and wrote: "I noted then a thing that I had heard of but had not seen until there: that cacao beans circulate among Indians as their money. In Yucatán there is no copper money (…) and this lack is substituted by means of cacao beans" (Stephens, 1984, 185)

Priest José María Camacho, one of the two monks who gathered the first collections and established a museum in Yucatán, wrote some verses describing himself. We reproduce the first and the third, where he refers to money and cacao.

If I had any money
I would have my portrait made
With its glass, of course
And its golden frame…
But a poor person who does not have
Not even ten cacaos
Could not even have an ugly drawing made"
(Seller, 2010, 67)

Oral information collected in 1988 notes of the use of cacao as currency until 1905 in western Yucatán when such use was banned due to the insertion of the copper coin. (Pérez Romero, 1988, 41)

In time, probably because of the aforementioned ban, the reduced areas for cultivation and the difficulties it entailed, Yucatecan cacao production was gradually substituted by the import of beans and chocolate bars made in Tabasco, Chiapas and other Mexican regions. It then became destined to be consumed only as food and for some rituals such as the Day of the Death.

THE SPREADING OF CACAO

On his fourth trip to America, Christopher Columbus came across a canoe with Maya traders from Yucatan, who transported different products, cacao among them. But since he did not know what it was used for, he did not pay attention to it. Years later, Hernán Cortés, Mexico´s conqueror, sent to Spain many ships loaded with cacao. This began its use as medicine and energy drink in Europe.

In the following decades, Spanish monks established in the Americas transformed the ancient tradition of cacao into a sweet drink. They began to sweeten cacao with sugar cane, an imported product. They also preferred to drink it hot, like the Maya. And they invented a beater to whisk it and make foam. They were who most contributed to the expansion of chocolate among the Spanish conquerors.

The drink began to be consumed in Spain in the late 16th century, and because of commerce and inter-dynastic marriages it spread to the rest of Europe in the 17th century. In the middle of that century it began to be mixed with milk. All the spices it used to be mixed with were eliminated. The result was a frothy drink made of cacao, sugar and water or milk.

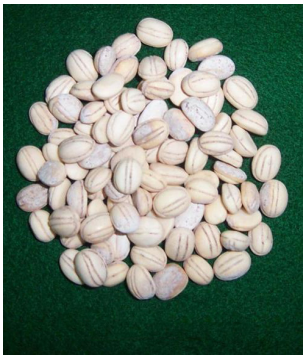
In the 18th century, the love for cacao reached Austria and the United States. In 1777 the mechanical production of chocolate was created in Barcelona. In the 19th century there were other improvements such as the solidification of chocolate which allowed the production of chocolate bars. A hydraulic press was invented to press ground cacao beans in order to separate the fat from the cacao powder. In Switzerland, soon after Henry Nestlé invented powdered milk, chocolates and the mix of chocolate with powdered milk were created.

CACAO AND MUSEUMS IN YUCATAN

The Regional Museum of Anthropology of Yucatan

Cacao is very much present at the Regional Museum of Anthropology of Yucatan. The artefacts found there point to the importance of cacao in different domains of ancient Maya social and cultural life. In the permanent exhibit, the room dedicated to production shows cacao seeds made of ceramic. In the room dedicated to commerce, cacao seeds are shown next to a group of red shells and small jade and metal objects, as evidence of their use as money by the Maya.





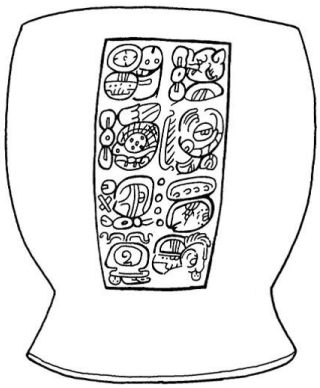
Maya objects on permanent exhibition.

Among the Maya deities, there are representations of the Classical-period god of commerce, Bolon Yak Te´, called Ek Chuah in the Postclassical. This god accompanied, guided and protected merchants in their long journeys.

In 2006, the funerary offering of Ukit, Kan Lek Tok, the king who ruled the city of Ek Balam between 770 and 830 A.C. was added to the permanent exhibit. This is related to cacao and is a very significant example of its importance in Maya culture. Because it belonged to a person of much importance, the offering only has pieces that are either very valuable or exquisitely made. The key stone that served to lock his tomb shows a representation of the king as the young god of maize. The king´s death offering consists of different objects made of jade, alabaster and obsidian. Since these materials did not exist in Yucatán it is most likely that they were imported from volcanic and faraway regions. The most interesting fact is that next to the king´s body there were found 134 cacao beans carved in shell and a ceramic vase with hieroglyphs indicating that it was used to drink cacao:

"K'in… jal yuCVluul yuk'ib' kakaw Ukit Kan Le'k… laj Chan K'awiil, Ajman, Ocho'm, CUE RDA-I-TZ-I, Ch'ak O'hl B'a(')te, Pitzil, B'a(ah)Kab', k'uh(u)l Tal(o)l ajaw. Ukit Kan Le"t- was the name of the king

"It… the carving of Ukit Kan Lek cacao vase… laj Chan Kawiil, that of Man, Eight"m ROPE (…), the Heart cutter warrior, the beautiful, prince of this Land, sacred king of Talol" (information provided by Arq. Leticia Vargas, Director of the Ek"Balam project)



Ceramic vase with hieroglyphs.

In 2007, the Belgian citizens mentioned above visited the museum. Back in their home country, they worked in the chocolate industry. They were eager to see the museum´s pieces related to cacao, and also to learn more about the history of the plant and its importance in Pre-Columbian Maya society. Such interest resulted in the development of the project that today is the Ecomuseum of Cacao.

The Ecomuseum of Cacao

The Ecomuseum of Cacao is located in Southern Yucatan state near Uxmal, the ancient capital of this Maya region known as Puuc. More specifically, the museum is located between Labná and Xlapak, two archaeological sites from the Classical Maya period. These two sites, along with Uxmal, Sayil, Kabah, the Loltún caves, and the haciendas Yaxcopoil and Temozón, constitute an important route for cultural tourism. Other attractions of the area include handcrafts and traditional Yucatecan food made by the population of the nearby villages. The cultural tourism route of the Puuc region includes archaeology, nature, haciendas, handcrafts and gastronomy. Due to its excellent location, the Ecomuseum of Cacao can link its own permanent exhibit with Pre-columbian Maya culture.

The Ecomuseum of Cacao was created to show the history of cacao, its use among the Maya, and its transformation into chocolate. In other words, this museum allows the visitor to come closer to Maya culture through the history of cacao.

The visit to the museum is very didactic and attractive. The visitors can see a real cacao plantation as well as different spaces built with local materials, resembling the original Maya constructions. There are also local orchid trees and many native plants. The visit consists of a tour through five Maya houses that show different aspects of the history of cacao and its place in Maya culture. The first house provides a general overview of Maya culture. It focuses on the ways in which the Maya used cacao and the symbolism of the plant. The second house shows how the Maya arranged, shared and inhabited their homes. It illustrates Maya family life through typical objects and local handcrafts. Next to the house there is a *milpa* (maize plantation), an orchid garden, a *K´aanché* (suspended garden patch) and trunks like the ones used by ancient Maya to raise local Melipona bees. Outside the house, there is a typical Maya kitchen.

The Ecomuseum of Cacao near Uxmal.

In the third house the visitors discover information related to the cacao plant: its origins, varieties, diseases, and the agricultural techniques to grow it. The ancient cacao beverage is made in the fourth house and visitors can participate in the preparation of this traditional drink.

In order to get to the fifth house, visitors walk across a banana plantation. This last house illustrates the complete process that cacao undergoes to become chocolate: bean reception, fermentation, drying, roasting and the formation of cacao mass. The house also shows the health benefits of cacao.

In addition, the museum has a cafeteria specialized in products made of cacao, a shop with local handcrafts, and an area with turtles and macaws.

The contributions of the Ecomuseum of Cacao are:

- Diversification of the regional cultural offer, for both local population as well as for tourists
- A sustainable and ecological model of museum
- Improvement of the financial situation of local families with the creation of jobs and the commercialization of handcrafts
- The rescue and promotion of a patrimonial plant, strongly related to the history and gastronomy of Yucatan

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THE SAN LUIS POTOSÍ PROJECT

Azucena Suarez de Miguel
Herdez Foundation, Mexico City, Mexico

To begin with, I would like to mention that we are very proud that Mexican cuisine has recaptured importance and become an unchallenged heritage. It is an honor to be here presenting a project for an industrial heritage rescue of an industrial facility which produced the very well-known Mole Doña María; a brand which represents not just a product, but that has positioned itself in such a way in Mexico and the world that it is associated with a traditional Mexican product.

Since we are talking about a project that will be developed I will describe the activities and structure in which this new project will be based. To do so, I must first say that I am Azucena Suárez, director of Herdez Foundation, the main office of which is located in the Historic Downtown area of Mexico City. This 18th-century building has been certified by the INAH (Institute of National Anthropology and History) and was restored by the renowned architect Luis Ortiz Macedo

The mission of Herdez Foundation is to encourage research and rescue and to promote the rich heritage of Mexican cooking. Many different activities take place here: our Mexican Cuisine Library is very important and receives many visitors every day as does the museum "Nuestra Cocina Duque de Herdez Gallery". In addition, many lectures and courses are given at the Interpretation Center. The topics of such are as varied as workshops on tamales (corn muffins), chiles en nogada, and Mexican desserts, and we also participate in the Downtown Festival that takes place every Spring with children´s courses like Molinillo chocolate, El chef de lata y their historias del año del caldo… ("The tin chef and stories of long ago").

We also have nutrition experts at academic events like "What happens when overweight weights? (I should mention that Mexico has one of the highest levels of overweight people in the world). To celebrate the Bicentennial of our Independence and the Centennial of the Mexican Revolution, we planned something more interactive as a whole. We chose CHILI as the topic and invited researchers who have specialized on the subject. The choice was no coincidence. The Herdez Group has produced and marketed chilies and sauces since 1960. This year the firm reinvented the chili category with a new image and updated formulas. And on this occasion a group of experts was asked to explore the subject of chili from different points of view. Historians, biologists, nutrition specialists delivered their lectures on Saturdays after which a delicious tasting related to the topic of the

lectures took place. We wanted this knowledge to supplement the taste, giving the audience a complete interpretation of chili in this case. Of course, the chefs own creations contributed to the view and taste. These lectures were compiled in a free publication as a gift for the special occasion that is also online and in Open Access (the English version will be ready very soon). This had very good results and also has the advantage that the information will reach many, many people, not only those who could pay for the lectures but every interested person who clicks on the word chile or chili in the net. We followed the same scheme with the new topic Frijol, beans.

We have also promoted other food projects just to support products of origin like "Cotija Cheese" (a kind of cheese originally made at Jalmich Sierra in the state of Jalisco) and "Ecological preservation of the Xochimilco, Chinampa products".

Now, after this overview we can return to our main topic: San Luis Potosí. The success we have had makes it possible to rescue the former industrial heritage of Mole Doña Maria. The purpose of this is not only to have a library, a museum and an academic area (classrooms, auditorium and others, a bookstore and a souvenir store), but also to participate directly with the community so that all these facilities can reach the people of the surroundings by offering gastronomy courses, making donations focused on education, and providing information on nutrition so that they have a better way of life. In this way the heritage of the patrimonial asset will not only will rescued, but the area that was the source of so much wealth will be promoted for the development of its inhabitants.

It is very important to repeat that in this factory the industrialization of a true Mexican product "MOLE" began: The traditional Mexican mole: Doña Maria mole.

I would like to speak about the general history of the Mole (chilmolli), so that you understand the context and thereby the importance of this project. To do so I will read a fragment of the text "The Sesame of all Moles", written by Eduardo Merlo. It is included in the publication mentioned before, our "Chili – a Key Feature of Independence and Revolution" with his text

Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, illustrious Franciscan chronicler, mentions the dish that bring us to this occasion: CHILMOLLI; a word from the NAHUATL language that is formed with the word CHILLI, referring to capsicum, and MOLLI or MOLONQUI, which means grinding, crushing, this being a combination, like many others, with Spanish words. By the way the word CHILLI means "irritating" because it first irritates the mouth and the nose.

It was the sauce most widely available and was available to guests, who, as we said, were squatting around these vessels, were they could dip their tortillas or

tamales as often as necessary in the foods of Asia. The variety of tamales (CORN MUFFINS) or TAMALLIN was infinite.

Each region prepared chilmolli in accordance with their customs, so it could be thicker or thinner, with varying degrees of hotness. Different mixtures are registered.

It must be said that the CHILMOLLI was, above all, food for the gods. The divinities received CHILMOLLI bowls and different meats in their sacred chambers.

So we have to take into account that the famous chilmolli and its variants were created and savored from the earliest stages of the Mesoamerican culture and like all foods of humanity, became more varied and richer with every generation.

The first tradition that suffered an immediate alteration was the preparation of Chilmolli because the process of frying the peppers and the meat was added.

After the armed conquest ended, missionaries arrived in the region. The friars were the first to teach the natives how to prepare Spanish cuisine. The convents had huge fireplaces in their kitchen.

Puebla de los Angeles prospered and was filled with monasteries and convents. They were all Catholic nuns: The Capuchins, the Orders of St Clare, the Immaculate Conception, the Augustinians, the Carmelites, the Hyeronimites and the Dominicans, took the best of the indigenous culinary tradition, except for insects and strange animals.

The ancient chilmolli continued to be seasoned and enriched, changing gradually. Its spicy paste was used to prepare marinades, pepianes, chanfainas, enmoladas, wraps, and the famous enchiladas.

It is known that among all the convent kitchens, the Augustinian nuns of Santa Monica, fondly known as the "Monicas" were considered the best. They always cooked the most complicated dishes that were strategically sent to the Bishop on his birthday, to aristocratic families on any of the days they celebrated or to monks, canons or professors.

At this point, history combines with legend. It is said that the Viceroy himself announced his arrival in Puebla de los Angeles, which was unusual, except when he came from Veracruz to take office or when he retired to Spain

Since welcoming visitors with food was by now a well-established custom, they wanted to tickle the Viceroy`s palate with the finest possible food. The bishop suggested that a non-spicy mole would be good to avoid irritating the noble taste buds not yet accustomed to chili, which was a must in these dishes. The nuns took this as an order and began to experiment in their well-stocked kitchen. It`s important to recall that, at that time, Puebla was part a of Spain itself.

And that was the key issue: producing a mole that was not too spicy, but one that did not lose its essence. And this way the Mole we know nowadays was born.

And now a bit of history about Doña Maria:

Doña Maria, or María Pons Nicoux de Degetau was born in San Luis Potosí on August 13, 1893. Her sister, Doña Enriqueta Pons (Doña Queta), married Don Ignacio Hernández Del Castillo, founder of Grupo Herdez (1895-1972) who also was born in San Luis Potosí. In 1953, when she was 60 years old, Doña María Pons shared her most valued secret, "El Mole Rojo". Her strategy was to gather a group of beautiful young ladies who represented Mexican beauty. They dressed up like "Chinas Poblanas" (a typical dress from Puebla, Mexico) and they walked around the seven "barrios" of San Luis Potosí sharing samples of Doña Maria´s home-made mole.

This event made such a good impression among the consumers that Doña María was soon able to build a little factory to satisfy all her new costumers. With the intention of growing, she named the company "Marpe S.A." (a combination of the names Doña María and Don Pedro) and hired 50 employees. In 1955, the factory moved to Av. De la Paz No. 216 in the Barrio Santiago, changing its name to "Productos Doña María". And this is the Factory that will be rescued. It is considered the first one that produced a high quality mole. The demand of this product was so important that the factory grew and it was necessary to buy the nearby houses.

There were periods when the factory was not used anymore, other facilities were bought with new equipment, and then some companies reopened it for a while. Nowadays this property is mainly used as a temporary warehouse.

We will reopen it with a historical purpose which is linked to the brand, but also because there is a feeling of gratitude towards the state that made this company possible. We hope this will change many peoples' lives and that our whole country will benefit from it. Of course people from all over the world will be invited as soon as it opens.

THE REPRESENTATION OF REGIONAL CULINARY REFERENCES IN MUSEUMS OF GOIÁS

Henrique de Freitas
Museo Goiano Zoroastro Artiaga, Goiania, Brazil

This paper focusses on the representation of the regional culinary references in the museums in the state of Goias, Brazil. The cookery of the Brazilian hinterland region was influenced by different cultures and tastes such as Brazilian natives, Portuguese colonizers, African slaves and other cultures. The traditional cookery is still part of local culture and several regional museums exhibit aspects of kitchens and related culinary objects as a reference to historical, sociological and other aspects of food, environment, myths and rituals; testimony of all heritages and exchange of human culture.

To think of the cookery of Goiás is to think of the identification process of a regional hegemony and the understanding of the habits of eating, in this case, of the culture of Goiás, where we first realize the difference between food and meal. What is seen as food?, And would be the meal? "Eating is a central human activity not only by its frequency, constancy and necessity, but also because early on it becomes an area where choices are allowed" (Fernandez-Armesto, 2004). As with sex, food culture also acquires a mythological aspect for the maintenance of life: what one should eat, what food should not be eaten, what combinations of food are improper, etc.

In the case of the "construction" of the regional cookery of Goiás, which was structured in the region of the Cerrado ecosystem of South America, the issue of nourishment as diet and the processing of food also becomes a nomenclature support to distinguish the traditions of prehistoric groups of the Brazilian Cerrado. A region where "the human occupation of the area that corresponds to the state of Goiás goes back at least 9,000 years BC, and is characterized by a significant diversity of adaptations to different ecological and social environments" (Wüst 2001:13). Hunter/gatherers (9000 BC-2000 BC) had in their diet especially game, wild fruits, fish and snails, while farmers and potters (2,000 BC -700 AC) domesticated the cassava (Manihot esculenta Crantz) and other edible vegetables, which then formed the basis for the diet of the traditional populations of pre-colonial Brazil. Archaeological sites of the Sambaquis clearly show a diet based on the marine and lake ecosystem of the Brazilian coast, which "are archaeological sites mounds ... and can reach impressive dimensions, 70 meters high and 500 meters long with layers of shells ...." (DeBlasis, 2007).

Culture is the standardization of social action in the smallest dimension, and yet what goes beyond this standard is the other (Mintz, 2001). What leads to the insecurity of eating other foods that differ greatly from the culture of the individual is on the threshold of this norm, because eating another type of food is to push the limits, a taboo, and exceed a law which is not a legal norm, but an internal law linked to the community. Crossing this barrier imposes a contingency unknown to the individual. An important example for scoring norms established by a culture is given by Levi Strauss in "The Raw and the Cooked", where the author analyzes various myths of Brazilian Indians. Myths 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13, from the peoples of the group Jê, concern the acquisition of fire. In all myths the story generally develops in the same way, about how the fire belonged to the Jaguar and

Museu Goiano Zoroastro Artiaga, Goiânia, Goiás.

the man who was attacked by birds and taken by the Jaguar as his son. When the man arrives at the house of the Jaguar he is offered a different kind of meat than he is used to eat. It is roasted meat, and he is introduced to the fire used to cook the meat. The man returns to his tribe and serves the meat to others, who then return to house of the Jaguar and steal the fire. Since then the Jaguar eats raw meat and men eat roasted or cooked meat.[1]

[1] Levi Strauss, the myth, M7, M8, M9, M10, M11 and M12 discussed the variations in the myths of various peoples of the group Je. These myths have all variations: M7 - Legend Gorotire Kayapo. M8 - Myth-Kubenkranken Kayapo, n M9 - Myth Apinaye; M10 - Myth Timbira East, M11 - Myth Krahô, M12 - Myth Xerente with some variations, follow the storyline.

The elements of the myths refer to specifics – practices, objects, methods and other elements that are present in the lives of the groups holding these myths. Thus through this myth we perceive the way that indigenous cultures 'regulate' their social actions. Other cultures also regulate their 'social action/eating habits' through myths, including the Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Jew, aboriginal, and cross-cultural communities. Their myths standardize some aspects of their way of life.

Eating certain dishes which carry the identity of certain people, such as sushi (Japan) or feijoada (Brazil), becomes a 'memorial act', and this act relegates to certain regional and national dishes the honor of being the flagship of the local cuisine, so they become the hallmarks of an identity.

The Modern Age that began in the fifteenth century led to the expansion of commercial marine routes to the colonies, as well as an expansion of options of food on the European continent. This trade included imports of spices and new food choices such as rice from the East and the Mesoamerican[2] potato, pumpkin and corn. These foods changed the eating habits of the continents. Today the agricultural production, especially in tropical countries, is based on exogenous plant species of the original ecosystems.

In Brazil, the Portuguese colonization brought the culture of sugar cane and cattle, first to the coast of the colony, and later rice, coffee and other foreign products. The Portuguese colonization reached Goiás through the routes of the pathfinders/explorers called bandeirantes Paulistas. In 1596, the first large Flag that entered Goiás was raised by Domingos Rodrigues, who continued the expedition of João Pereira de Souza Botafogo, where gold prospecting and exploitation of Indians established the settlements of gold-mining towns during the eighteenth century in the vast territory of Central Brazil. According to Zoroastro Artiaga "the food of the bandeirantes consisted of rice, beans, dried meat, hearts of palm, fish and manioc flour. To this menu were added birds, chameleons, armadillos and other game. Several groups settled for months to farm the land (Artiaga, 1947. MUZA Archive).

With the decline of gold mining at the end of XVIII century and consequently the arrival of the subsistence economy and livelihoods, the provincial governor was ordered by the King to promote agriculture in the region because "the

[2] "The Mesoamerica have deserved a place in the human pantheon if its inhabitants had only created maize cultivation, whose cultivation is the world's most important in terms of weight of the harvest. The inhabitants of the northern part of Mexico and Central America also developed important crops such as tomatoes, now basic to Italian cuisine, spices, essential to Thai and Indian, all the pumpkins in the world (except for a few domesticated species in the United States), and many beans in the pods and meals in the world. One writer has estimated that Indians developed three-fifths of the crops grown today, most of them in Mesoamerica. Having secured their food supply, Mesoamerican societies turned to intellectual pursuits. In a millennium or less, a comparatively short time, they invented their own writing, astronomy and mathematics, including zero "(Mann, p 188)

question is not only to encourage the miners to take up agriculture, to show them the benefits of this economic activity, but also the nobility of an art that depends on their conservation" (PALACIN.1979: 146). The historian of the Province of Goiás, José da Cunha Matos, reported in a letter dated from 1824[3] to His Imperial Majesty the diversity of marketable varieties, both within and outside the province, which covered a wide range of products based on minerals, vegetables and animals.

The writer and folklorist Bariani Ortencio describes the formation of Goiás "cookery" as a diverse mix of cultural habits that were "…inherited from indigenous culture foods such as cassava, its flours and bejus. From the slaves in the mining sites, came food made of corn cream, bacon and some meat, and occasionally game and fish. From the African slaves originated the pamonha – made of grated corn stuffed in corn straw, bundled, and then cooked in a pan of hot water. Also from the corn diet we have the curau, a sweet porridge of corn starch, corn pudding, cornmeal cakes, polenta, cornmeal mush and muffins "(ORTENCIO, 2004).

The traditional cookery of Goiás was formed in an environment with a blending of tastes, ingredients, healing and religious and folk practices. As elsewhere in Goiás food has a defining role in the culture category. The 'kitchen environment' acquires new contours where ritualization blends folk medicine and nutrition. According to Bariani Ortêncio, the inhabitants of Central Brazil "have taken care of their illnesses and discomforts ... dividing and dispersing alternative medicine in several other denominations and sects and even created synonyms: popular, homely, domestic, rustic, empirical '(Ortêncio, 1997). The brewing of teas and bottled potions and specific diets for certain illnesses is based on the relation of empirical and traditional knowledge of herbs which are cultivated in the backyards of homes. The kitchen is a mythical and ritualized place, where the maintenance of life takes place, whether with food or folk medicine, which uses an extensive collection of complex medicinal flora. Today, both the knowledge about medicinal flora of the biome cerrado and their use are at risk of extinction.

According to Levi Strauss 'The kitchen is the environment where food is transformed into culture', and "[...] the way of folk cookery is personal, when the cook does not follow cookbooks or a scale to weigh the ingredients, but a shallow or a deep plate of this or that. In the folk kitchen or among the common people, the gram and kilogram is not used" (Ortencio, 2001:136).

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[3] "Gold, diamonds, coral, river flints from Paraná river, crystals that can supply the manufactures of the world; soles, hides of cattle, horses, wild pigs and tapirs. Tiger skins and pumas, maned wolves or: different qualities of deer, capivaras, howler monkeys; sucuris skins for bags and shoes, hair of oxen and horses, and goat skins , lamb's wool, cotton, fabric from yarn, cattle, horses, sheep and goats, birds of various tipes, grades for kitchen, rice, beans, corn, coffee, little wheat, castor oil, copaiba, five of the district of Santa Luzia,… sarsaparilla, iron of very high quality, mineral salt of good quality when well purified, bacon , beef and salted pork quality, tobacco excellent and abundant; emu feathers for dusters; chill, oakum to caulk and cordage; plumage of birds for ornament, different qualities of wood for construction, etc.." (MATTOS, 1979:71)

Through a 'selective memory' (Woortmann, 1998), the pleasure of a certain generation related to a particular dish determines the length of its placement in the memory of certain groups. This way it becomes naturalized as an innate social action of this group. A prime example is the Empadão Goiano – Goiás pie which seems to be culturally innate to Goiás. Today we can relate to the Goiás pie the same way that we refer to the sushi in Japan, among other culinary

Museu Histórico De Goianésia, Goiás.

diversities that make reference to regional ties. In order to to preserve the unique and diverse culinary heritage of Brazil, there is the Registry of Intangible Heritage[4].

"Another dimension of Goiás cuisine is manifested as delicacies in traditional folk celebrations. In this sense, the fish on the tile, the pasta of the Folia, the sweets with syrup for the Feast of the Holy Spirit, the crystallized sweets, the pamonha, the chicken, the rice cake, a bowl of guariroba, among others, are dishes that combine tradition and innovation" (Péclat, 2005).

We have also Alfenim made in the city of Goiás, a sweet white batter of sugar and lemon shaped in accordance with Christian iconography.

In Goiás some women are considered innovators for creating or changing the way to make certain dishes. When one of them comes to Goiás, they can taste the Goiás pie with different types of filling, although some cooks are responsible for the sources or the maintenance of recipes. Cookery in Goiás is also directly linked to the female figure, where the exchange of recipes among 'housewives' is a common gesture of thank you in exchange for the invitation to a dinner, and com-

[4] The Registry of Intangible Heritage of Brazil was established by Decree 3.551/2000, establishing the Registry of Cultural Assets Intangible Nature of the methodology of the National Inventory of cultural references - INRC) (Intangible Heritage: The Registry of Intangible Heritage: Brasilia: Ministry of Culture / IPHAN. 2006 Minas cheese, crafts and Acarajé Baianas of the Office of Paneleiras Goiabeiras

pliments are symbols of social reciprocity. One does not invite someone to dinner because the person is hungry, but because it is a social event. The traditional rice with pequi is always served on social events.

Events such as the "pamonhada" (Tamales) are usually celebrated after the corn harvest, which is abundant in the Goiás cerrado. The entire manufacturing process of the pamonha is a social event. It's like a party where certain tasks are assigned distinctly to men and to women.

"The chicken and rice like the pamonha, is no longer just a dish in Goiás,, but a delicacy. In fact, it becomes a social gathering. Ritualized, these dishes express social integration. On Sunday, at dawn or dusk, the chicken and rice and pamonha are eaten, typical foods which represent the table fellowship. The same applies to Goiás pie and rice with pequi. Expressed by the sense of Goianidade, each of these dishes has in itself a totemic value" (Péclat, 2005).

Museu Pedro Ludovico, Goiânia, Goiás.

According to the analysis of the folklorist Regina Lacerd, "The kitchen is frugal, with basic dishes like rice and beans; vegetables, pasta and lots of meat. Between October and December, pequi is the delight of all the tables. On feast days, the Goias pie presence is mandatory. Desserts of sweet figs in syrup; oranges; lemons; sweet pastes; banana; guava; coconut palm tree; milk, ambrosia of eggs and cheese, bomangê, various puddings, crystallized fruits and dehydrated cashews; papaya and cider and even mandacuru dried paste" (Lacerda. Archive MUZA).

Also, the poet and cook Coralina Cora describes the pastry sweets of Goiás, one of which deserves a special note:

"The alfenim is unique, and only the fingers of the humble fairy of the goianas know how to make them with so rare perfection, modeling sugar into an entire fauna of miniature poultry, fish, fabulous entities, dragons, and mermaids along with the exquisite creations of a delicate and snowy flora with such fairness, balance and accuracy that makes a simple sweet a fine work of art" (CORALINA, 1980).

The representation of kitchens in Goiás museums is a reference of regional cookery, which in the museological context acquires interesting and revealing aspects of regional rural life, traditions, folklore, environment, building techniques and social imaginary, acquiring the role of witness to the cultural and natural heritage of man" (Gonzalez 2006:25).

Regina Lacerda describes the kitchen of the farm houses as follows: "The wooden stove counterweighes the cold of homes of mud (adobe) and thatched roofs. One could see the light of wood stoves on the walls and beamed ceilings of kitchens, covered in soot, the flames being extinguished only after drinking tea at night. During the rainy season, with damp wood, the smoke penetrates into every room. In some houses a second kitchen exists (outside) where sweets are cooked, and food which required laborious preparation and melting pork fat" (Lacerda, Archives MUZA)

The question of cooking as an aspect of human culture and expression of regional intangible heritage is addressed in the regional museums of Goiás and reflects the views of the ICOM Roundtable held in in Santiago, Chile in 1972. Here it was considered as an institution at the service of the community, and an integral part of the formation of the conscience of the communities, an integrated museum which is "built" and ready for a localized action. The Charter of the ICOM roundtable also contemplates non-traditional disciplines for museums and a role in the "recovery of cultural heritage, to enable it to play a social role" (Primo.1999: 101).

However the important thing in this context is the relationship between the museum and the memory of rural and urban areas. It is a memory that builds awareness and proposes solutions to social development problems, a platform also envisaged by the eco-museums. This relationship is also part of the proposed role of the new museum - the territory – the communities[5]. Would cookery then form the structure of the current cultural heritage of all social groups?. Would its transactional symbolism contemplate all cultures and expressions of the infinite cuisine? Somehow the representation of culinary references in museums through kitchen objects and its specific stage settings is of paramount importance for the preservation and the exercise of memory and a critical look at the traditions of regional cuisine. The preservation of this type of intangible heritage is tenuous and subject to radical changes which are influenced by global food policies.

[5] M. Iniesta: Els gabinet del món..., cit., pp. 68-71. Apud. CARREÑO, Francisco Javier Z. Somonte-Cenero. Gijón. Astúrias. 2004

The arrival of new industrialized foodstuffs and the institutionalization and commercialization of trend foods through the market, pressure such as from Fast Foods, and in the Brazilian case the restaurants of 'food-by-kilo', bring certain issues to the discussion, such as the sustainability of the memory and know-how of the regional cuisine. In this regard, one could question whether the referenced traditional cuisine in the museums can be "musealized", and whether this "musealization" would follow the same fate of a disused object?

Memorial Do Cerrado – Pontifícia Universidade Católica - Puc, Goiânia, Goiás.

Education in the museums enables the development of the visitor's critical eye vis-à-vis the interpretation of cultural heritage. Cookery as intangible heritage can be seen in inclusive narratives, as a reflexive act of our own lives in the community. The re-contextualization of the objects of this cultural practice through the "exhibit", provided for preservation of objects of reverence by the design exhibit, is where the museum qualifies itself as an institution that represents regional identity.

In the museums of Goiás the reference of culinary representation of the state is constant. The exhibits mimic the wood stove and display cooking utensils , old clay and iron pots, objects for cooking traditional recipes. The utensils for processing food from the fields including pestle, grinding mills, objects from the time of the pioneer artisans who produced the wooden pestle, the water mill and also objects of cast iron – an advancement of rural machinery from the early nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The machines facilitate the manual work incorporated in the body techniques.

Traditional recipes of Goiás (Annex 1) not only bring the experience of subsistence farming in the fields, but also the knowledge of the kitchen gardens of the most humble and the wealthy; recipes that include the bounty from the fields as predicted by the vision of Don Bosco as the "land of milk and honey". The cookery of Goiás comes from the countryside, the terraces of the Quilombo, the huts of the Indians and the urban/global environment. It is a cultural heritage of and for us all.

Annexi

- Maria Isabel: dried beef with dry rice and manioc flour pestle;
- Rice Pequi: boiled rice with pequi fruit, scientifically known as Caryocar brasiliense;
- Pie Goiano: food with various recipes with different content, the most widely sold in the city of Goiás is composed of chicken, pork sausage, cheese, guariroba (Syagrus oleracea) and palm (from the middle of the trunk of the açaí - Euterpe oleracea); these dishes, in short, are the flagship of the culture of Goiás.
- Pamonha: Mass of grated corn, placed inside the husk of corn, seasoned with salt or sugar to taste, lard and blanched in boiling water. The great majority is filled with pieces, or pieces of meat and sausage.
- Guariroba Rice cooked with chicken, onion, tomato, parsley and salt.

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CRETAN VEGETABLES IN THE MUSEUM 'LYCHNOSTATIS" FROM COLLECTING TO COOKING

Yiannis Markakis
Cretan Open-air Museum "LYCHNOSTATIS", Hersonissos, Crete, Greece

During the last 5 decades, a great interest is being evolved about the Cretan diet and its benefits to the health of the island's inhabitants. Medical researches have proven that the percentages of mortality on Crete were much lower than other regions of Hellas or in other Mediterranean countries and the reason for that were the exceptional nutritional habits of the locals, based on 2 main ingredients; the extra virgin olive-oil and the wild vegetables.

More specifically, a comparative study known as **the study of the Seven Countries**, as it involved Hellas, Italy, Yugoslavia, Spain, Finland, Holland and the USA, was carried out in 1956 by the doctor Ancel Keys, a pioneering investigator and health revolutionary American, and lasted for 15 years. The research was based on the idea that lots of illnesses are connected to the diet of the population.

The most important conclusion of that study is that the inhabitants of the Mediterranean area have better health than the ones who live in the northern countries. 700 Cretan men participated in the study and are still under medical observation. So far this group has had the lowest percentage of deaths caused by heart attacks and different kinds of cancer (Table 3).1

The nutritional habits of the groups and their way of life were also under study. It was found that, 40-50 years ago, the Cretans exercised a lot during their daily activities, they enjoyed their social gatherings that were always accompanied by wine. Today, of course, the modern way of life, the imported products and the genetically modified food have caused substantial changes to the nutritional habits.

Actually, the Cretan cooking is really simple. Only local products are used, spices are avoided as much as possible –even salt is not widely used- and flavor additions have no place in it. Through the simplicity of the ingredients, the imaginativeness and the cooking abilities of women emerge. The variety of the products and their numerous combinations bring every day different tastes on the Cretan's table.

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[1] Kafatos, A. 2000. Foreword, in *Psilakis, N. & M., Cretan Cooking, Heraklion: KARMANOR*, 11-12.

The nutritional habits of the Cretans include:

1. The Olive-oil, which is being consumed in portions, but most of the times raw, in salads or with bread, whereas animal fat is almost completely avoided.
2. Cretans eat the largest amounts of fruits than any one else. The foreigners that visit the island admire the particular taste and aroma of the local fruits, such as the grapes, the oranges, the figs, the prickle-pears, etc.
3. Big quantities of pulses were consumed at a daily level. The pulses that are cultivated are the lentils, fava beans, chick-peas, beans and the green pea. No more than two or three days would go by without pulses on the table.
4. Wild and cultivated vegetables were essential, cooked or uncooked. Raw artichokes with a bit of salt and lemon juice and wild vegetables found in nature, prepared as green-pies or combined with meat, fish, potatoes and snails, give a different 'taste' to the daily food .

Concentrating on vegetables, we should focus not only in the quantities and varieties of vegetables that are consumed but also the way of collecting, conserving, preparing and finally eating them. In Crete, almost every plant is a possible food. An old joke said in other parts of Greece is that it is better to leave a goat in a field than a Cretan man/woman, because he/she will collect and eat the vegetables faster than the goat.

Historically, vegetables are an integral part of the Cretan diet since the Minoan age. In several wars like the 21-year besiege of Handacas (1648-1669) by the Turks, or the 4-year Occupation of Crete by the Nazis (1941-1945) in the 2nd World war, the Cretans had no famine because they ate vegetables that they could find in abundance in the countryside.

However, nowadays the trend of 'fast and junk –or ‚convenience' food', the imported products, the recipes -as part of the oral culture- overtaken by the rapid development have almost destroyed the 'culture of diet' that connected nutrition to health and life in nature and related with social rituals and beliefs.

For that reason we decided last year in the Cretan open-air Museum "LYCHNOSTATIS" to organize an educational program that would revive the dietary experience based on the Cretan vegetables; we named the programs "from collecting to cooking".

Goals

Much of our primary concern was not only to show to local people –adults and youngsters- how to cook vegetables but to let them live the experience of finding and collecting wild vegetables in the fields, washing and preparing them to become food and finally cooking and tasting them. The side and hidden goals

were to build a team activity and to step back in time and comprehend the self-consuming societies of the past in contradiction to the modern urbanized food model that disconnects food from its own ingredients.

Participation & Structure

As the interaction between man and nature was the focal point of this initiative, we decided to structure teams from 3 different generations of people;
Older people, who had been eating vegetables from their early childhood and had collecting experiences.

Young parents, who are eager to introduce the vegetables in their customary diet habits to benefit themselves and their children. Children that go with the flow and have a lot of 'fast and junk food'.

The scientific support of this program was done by the botanist and University professor Mihalis Damanakis with the aid of my father Yiorgos Markakis, doctor and ethnographer, also a professor of the University of Crete. The documentation on film was done by the writer of cookery books and researcher of Cretan diet Nikos Psilakis and the film director Kostas Ntantinakis.

Description

The operation is done in 2 places ; in the countryside, more specifically in chosen fields that lie between olive-trees and vineyards and in the open-air Museum grounds and gardens.

In the 1st stage, the older people together with the young parents spot the edible vegetables, taste raw some of them, exchange knowledge on various green, discuss cooking recipes, share jokes and build a friendly group atmosphere.

In the same time, children share roles. The 'explorers' explore the ground and help the team orientation, the 'botanists' record the vegetables found and match them with the ones in the lists, the 'journalists' take down the stories narrated by the grown-ups and make photos of the beautiful nature.

Overall, a cozy atmosphere is generated between almost strangers, a feeling of community quite similar to the unity felt in villages in the past years.

Moving to the 2nd stage, the group arrives in the Museum full of the trophies gained in the battlefields. Wild vegetables that will be washed of the soil, cut in small pieces, soaked in lemon and olive-oil and then boiled or fried. Before this procedure, the group plays a game of identifying green and vegetables in the Museum's collection and gardens. The children are involved in hand-milling to grind flour that will be used afterwards in cooking the miller's-pie. In the past,

that pie was the favorite dessert of children in the poor village families. A Cretan lady from the Museum's staff fries the dough while the participants taste various dishes made in the open fireplace like vegetables, omelet with wild green, snails with rice and grape-juice dessert. The gathering ends with dancing and music, as it normally happens in most village feasts in Crete.

Evaluation Formules

Although rather new program added in the Museum's activities around foodways, it is almost as popular as the other interactive programs and hands-on activities of the Museum; Cretan cooking seminars for foreigners, grape picking and treading, raki-feasts and fruit-days like fig-feast and pumpkin feast that attract even international press, the school program "From vine to wine" , are among the activities related to Cretan diet and operated for many years with various Museum's audience. In the same time, our modest department of traditional products (with just one employee) experiments in new recipes based on the local products (fig-pies – that have been included in the most prominent Cretan cookery book- , grape & carob bars of chocolates made of grapes or carobs, vinegar balsamic made of fig and "agrithamos", e.t.c.) and plans to launch them in the local market. Of course, these products are available in the Museum's shop too.

In other words, we strongly believe in the Museum's role in preserving and promoting the local diet by enhancing the indigenous knowledge on the various cultural, ethnographical and scientific aspects of the regional nutritional habits and customs. It is not only a matter of recording, collecting, interpreting and presenting some food-related material. This is inevitable in most Museums' work and concern. A regional museum should share its resources of tangible and intangible gastronomic heritage with their visitors by organising;

- festivals associated with local food,
- demonstrations which follow the farming year,
- markets to support artisan growers and producers,
- partnerships with agrotouristic accommodations and shops to contribute in culinary tourism attracting active foodie travelers,
- public debates about genetically modified (GM) foods, healthy eating movements and climate change.

In these ways -and perhaps several others- Museums will help people develop different attitudes about food and their dietary choices. And as we all know, food and drink are essential ingredients of life. *The act of eating binds us to the land every day from birth to death. Especially when eating products literallly bound to earth like the modest but full of health wild vegetables.*

EXHIBITS OUTSIDE MUSEUMS IN ISRAEL. DO THEY ENCOURAGE THE PUBLIC TO VISIT MUSEUMS?

Orit Shamir
Israel Antiquities Authority, National Treasurers, Jerusalem, Israel

In Israel there are about 250 archaeological museums and exhibits around the country, some of which are decades old. About 100 of these exhibits are local and regional. Since the establishment of the State of Israel 65 years ago, regional archaeological museums and exhibits have become very popular. Public interest in archeology led to the creation of large collections, some of which are presented in museums.

All the archaeological artifacts in these museums are registered at the Israel National Collections of the Israel Antiquities Authority. In order to increase public awareness and interest in the country's archaeological heritage, we monitor these archaeological displays and assist in updating them.

These exhibitions have educational and cultural value, as they enable people to appreciate the historical material culture of the environment.

The Israel Antiquities Authority lends out archaeological artifacts and encourages the establishment of exhibits around the country: museums, national institutions, public institutions, research and educational institutions, national parks, visitor centers, schools and more.

Exhibits in local and regional councils allow residents to recognize the remains of the cultural heritage of their surroundings. Exhibits in schools often supplement textbook material. Construction of visitor centers at cultural heritage sites and national parks complement visitor experience such as at the Masada Museum.

Many of the exhibits are held in open gardens with architectural items, agricultural installations and mosaics. Sometimes the exhibits are held in enclosed spaces, displayed in show cases containing small artifacts such as candles and coins.

Over the years awareness for these exhibits has grown. Last year for example, 150 applications for borrowing artifacts were submitted, for both short term and long term exhibition.

We divide the exhibitions and exhibits in Israel into a few sectors:

Sector	Number of Exhibitions and Exhibits
Kibbutzim*	65
Educational Institutions	56
Public Entities	45
Museums	32
Visitor Center and National Parks	22
Commercial companies	15
Sum	235 Every year we add around 15 new exhibits

Display and Collections at Kibbutzim*

*A kibbutz is a collective community in Israel. Kibbutzim began as utopian communities, combining socialism and Zionism. In recent decades, many kibbutzim have been privatized and changes have been made in the communal lifestyle.

Examining the geographical distribution of archaeological museums and exhibits shows that they have been concentrated mostly on Kibbutzim (65 out of 250).

Many archaeological artifacts were collected by Kibbutz members while farming and others were revealed during plowing the fields. These collections were established by local interest. The Kibbutz Movement successfully established museums and other cultural institutions in many areas such as art, Judaica, nature and history of settlements. People in the periphery did not need to import culture from Israel cultural centers and during the 1950's and '70's; they often even dictated cultural trends.

Kibbutz Gilead is a typical example of the development of an archaeological collection. It began as a private collection and is now established as an impressive showroom. It should be emphasized that the kibbutz did not receive outside financial assistance, and that all work was carried out by members of the Kibbutz, who were aware of the importance of the findings.

In some kibbutzim the archaeological collections became a museum, such as in **Ein Dor**, which is located near an important biblical site, and shed light on the region's rich past through permanent display, external display and temporary exhibitions.

Due to budget problems some of the exhibits in kibbutzim were not renovated and the number of visitors diminished. A few kibbutzim closed their museums and the finds were returned to the Israel Antiquities Authority.

However, some of them upgraded their exhibits, such as the Kibbutz Bror Hail where the findings lay under the trees and were damaged from the ravages of time. The architectural finds and the olive oil presses indicated that extensive activity occurred during the Roman and Byzantine periods, which allowed tracing the lives of residents.

Kibbutz Mishmar Haemek had thousands of archaeological items that were returned some 15 years ago to the Israel Antiquities Authority because the Kibbutz no longer could manage this. Now the younger generation at the Kibbutz wants the items returned and displayed. At Tel Abu-Shusha, which can be seen from the window of the showroom, hundreds of items were found including cooking pots, storage vessels, eating and drinking utensils, jewelry, candles, glassware, agricultural installations, tombs and more. They tell about the vibrant life that took place in a mixed population of pagans, Jews, Samaritans and Christians at the site.

Educational Institutions

Many exhibits in educational institutions were established in the last few years. In the city of **Rosh Haayn** a Junior High School created an archaeological park at the school yard which was divided into different tiny landscape units of Israel with different vegetation, topography, rocks and archaeology. Different kinds of materials such as basalt, limestone and marble are exhibited through architectural items.

The courtyard is designed to enable multi-disciplinary experience outside classrooms. School pupils guide groups from the school and from other schools.

Qasemi College (College of Education) is located in an Arabic city. The exhibit tells the history of the Islamic periods representing daily life through houseware, candles and cooking pots, along with items for care of the body and beauty including glass cosmetic bottles and kohl sticks.

The exhibit at **Ben Gurion University** shows the Architecture of the Roman and Byzantine Periods in the Land of Israel. These period (1st century BCE–7th century CE) cities were built with column-lined streets, wherein plazas, temples, churches, entertainment buildings, and bathhouses were constructed in keeping with the best of Classical construction. The architectural elements exhibited in the Archaeological Garden were found in archaeological excavations and surveys. These finds provide us with a glimpse into the realm of public architecture in the settlements of the Land of Israel from these periods and the architectural connection with the culture which ruled the lands surrounding the Mediterranean.

'Ashqelon – Bustling Commercial City' is an exhibition at Ashkelon Academic College about the city which was an international commercial center whose products, renowned for their excellent quality, were traded abroad. The city's economic and civil power was derived mainly from its harbor and the sea lanes leading to it.

The exhibit presents a variety of items indicating its economy and government administration system, aspects of the city's cultural life, gods and worship, and ways in which urban planning existed, marine traffic and Jewish life.

Public Entities

At **Rambam Hospital** in Haifa the display focuses on the issue of health in the country and ways to implement and maintain it. The archaeological collection includes items dating from the Canaanite period to the end of the Muslim period. The exhibit is divided into three topics: medicine and faith, hygiene and body care, and medicine and pharmacy.

At the **Acre municipality** building there is a large and impressive new archaeological display reflecting the city's glorious past. The oldest item on display is about 4,000 years old. The display includes 300 artifacts and focuses on the special relationship between Acre and the sea: seafaring and seamanship, battles and conquests, commerce, religion, Acre as a metropolis, and everyday life. Among the items worth mentioning are tiles from the bath (hamam) from the Ottoman period, Crusader coins minted in Acre indicating the centrality of the city periods mentioned, arrowheads, sling stones and stone catapults offering silent testimony to the power struggle and control that characterized Acre for generations. There are also abundant jars and handles, sealed wine jars from the Greek islands, and pottery imported from Cyprus, Spain, Italy and others, all attesting to its extensive trade conducted with Mediterranean countries. Local artifacts include coins such as half shekels used by Jews as payment for annual tax to the temple, an Ottoman chamber pot, a Cube Crusader game, and much more.

Museums

Over the years the number of regional archaeological museums has decreased due to closure of some of them. Some were improved and updated. For example, the historical archaeological museum of **Ramla** follows the medieval history (eighth century CE), through the days of the Ottoman and onwards. The museum also houses unique artifacts including a hoard of 376 gold dinars and six bars of gold from the city.

Visitor Center And National Parks

3000 visitors arrive at **Caesarea** every day. The elements exhibited in the garden – columns, capitals, sarcophagus – represent a fraction of the city's political power, as well as its economic and cultural richness during the Roman and Byzantine periods (10 BCE–640 CE). A unique item is a marble sarcophagus lid from the late Roman period (second–third centuries CE) which is decorated at both ends with mythological Gorgon heads in relief.

The Jewish National Fund and the IAA established a visiting center – **Cabri** Forestry and Archeology Center – at the northern part of Israel in a beautiful area representing a variety of forest trees. The story of the oil press, wine press and wheat mills developed in the Land of Israel is represented. One can follow the history and progress of ancient oil production while enjoying and learning about the trees and forests in Israel.

Commercial Companies

Archaeological exhibits at commercial visitors' centers such as **Carlsberg** in Ashkelon display beer production – an ancient process thousands of years old. It started in the Near East – Egypt, Mesopotamia, and our region, which were areas of vast grain fields, vital for making beer. Jars, pots, jugs of beer, strainers, bottles and more are exhibited. At Castra Mall in Haifa, the findings presented come from the nearby site with ancient wine and oil industries, manufacturing glassware, pottery, and production of jewelry and figurines. The display includes glassware such as bowls, bottles, jars and bracelets, ceramics such as amphorae, gold earrings, architectural elements belonging to the churches, and much more.

Summary

Innovative ideas are born at small museums struggling for their existence. Local museums can not compete with the great museums in terms of the archaeological findings available to them and therefore they must focus on a rich variety of activities.

The main task is still ahead of us – to advise museums and collections on how to improve the means of display and content, and improve the maintenance and preservation of the artifacts.

We lend artifacts to bring archeology to the public, as well as to those who seldom visit museums.

The Education Unit of the Israel Antiquities Authority guides at some of these exhibits. Our website presents information about these exhibits and publishes it in the media. Israel Antiquities Authority is working to engage the community, and build a fruitful relationship with institutions, communities and interested public.

LHOAF. SOMERSET HISTORICAL CENTER'S LIVING HISTORY ORGANIZATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF FOODWAYS

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Pennsylvania Historical & Museum Commission, Pennsylvania, USA

Mark Ware, Katie Kordek
Somerset Historical Center, Pennsylvania, USA

Background

The Somerset Historical Center is located in rural Somerset County in southwestern Pennsylvania. Somerset County is 1,085 square miles (about 2,810 square kilometers) with a population of 77,752 in 2010. The county was relatively isolated until the opening of the western section of the Pennsylvania Turnpike in 1940. A limited access highway across southern Pennsylvania, the Turnpike became the primary east/west route across the state. While the number of farms continues to decline, as of 2006, agriculture was still the leading industry followed by tourism and manufacturing. [See http://www.co.somerset.pa.us/comprehensiveplan/plan_document.asp and http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/42/42111.html]

Operated by the Historical and Genealogical Society of Somerset County in partnership with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Somerset Historical Center also serves as the county historical society. Its mission is to interpret the everyday, rural life of southwestern Pennsylvania from its earliest settlement through the mid-twentieth century with special emphasis on the impact of industrialization and technology

Adam Miller Farmstead and detached Summer Kitchen.

on agricultural lifestyles. http://www.somersethistoricalcenter.org In addition to a Visitors Center, the Somerset Historical Center includes a reconstruction of 1770's log house (Settler's Cabin); Adam Miller's 1830's Farmstead and detached "Summer" Kitchen; and a recreated 1860's Maple Sugar Camp.

Somerset Historical Center's major public program and fundraiser is Mountain Craft Days featuring traditional food and crafts. First held in 1970, this annual event draws 7,000 to 10,000 persons to the Center's grounds during the second weekend of September. The Historical Center relies on numerous volunteers and community organizations to prepare and serve food and demonstrate historic crafts and other activities.

The Challenge

While Mountain Craft Days continued to grow in popularity, the Historical Center was faced with declining numbers of active volunteers with first-hand knowledge of farming and the old ways of doing things. Young people were now accustomed to "store bought" rather than foods made "from scratch."

Many aspects of food preparation and consumption are intangible heritage, i.e. not included in cookbooks or home recipes. The Center was concerned that significant aspects of rural life would soon be lost.

How could the Historical Center work with the community to preserve and document local food and foodways?

How best to pass this knowledge onto the next generation?

LHOAF: **L**iving **H**istory **O**rganization for the **A**dvancement of **F**oodways

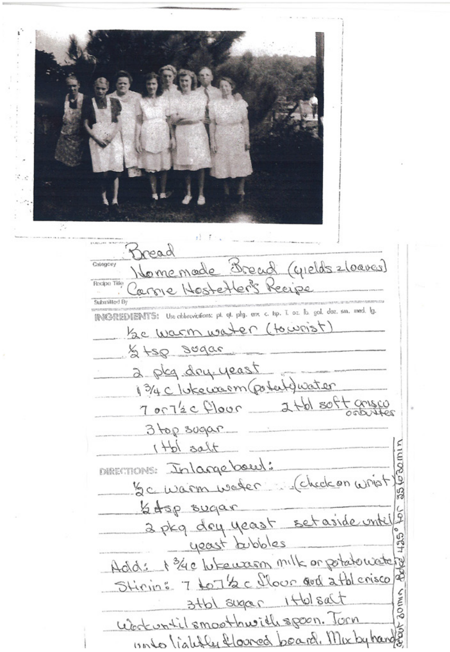
In 2004, the Historical Center started a new membership organization, LHOAF. [Pronounced "Loaf" as in a loaf of bread.) LHOAF stands for the **L**iving **H**istory **O**rganization for the **A**dvancement of **F**oodways. Its purpose is "to research, study and document historic foodways practice in Western Pennsylvania." There are no dues but members must belong to the Historical and Genealogical Society of Somerset County. Members must also be willing to serve as volunteers.

A May 2004 press release announcing the creation of LHOAF notes that potential members should be interested in researching, studying, documenting and preserving historic foodways of Western Pennsylvania. LHOAF's volunteer members will also interpret foodways at Mountain Craft Days and other events.

The same press release announced the completion of a new foodways pavilion--an open building containing a large fireplace for open hearth cooking, a beehive bake oven and an early 20th century cast iron cook stove in addition to

numerous picnic tables. The pavilion is large enough to accommodate groups and allow for hands-on teaching that was not possible in the cramped spaces of the site's historic buildings. Shifting some of the food-related activities from the historic buildings to the new pavilion also helps preserve the older buildings by limiting use of fireplaces to special events.

LHOAF, now in its seventh year, has been a success. Its twenty-seven members vary in age and educational backgrounds, but share a common interest in food and food preparation. Members are encouraged to conduct research using original diaries, cookbooks and other primary sources to assist Somerset Historical Center in documenting regional foodways.


Bread
Category
Homemade Bread (yields 2 loaves)
Recipe Title
Carrie Hostetler's Recipe
Submitted By
INGREDIENTS: Use abbreviations: pt. qt. pkg. env. c. tsp. T. oz. lb. gal. doz. sm. med. lg.
1/2 c warm water (to wrist)
1/2 tsp sugar
2 pkg dry yeast
1 3/4 c lukewarm (potato) water
7 or 7 1/2 c flour 2 tbl soft crisco or butter
3 tsp sugar
1 tbl salt
DIRECTIONS: In large bowl:
1/2 c warm water (check on wrist)
1/2 tsp sugar
2 pkg dry yeast set aside until yeast bubbles
Add: 1 3/4 c lukewarm milk or potato water
Stir in: 7 to 7 1/2 c flour and 2 tbl crisco
3 tbl sugar 1 tbl salt
Work until smooth with spoon. Turn onto lightly floured board. Mix by hand
about 30 min Bake 425° for 25 to 30 min

Carrie Hostetler's bread recipe and 1936 family photo.

The organization's broad scope encompasses food and related activities and encourages members to pursue their own interests within the group. Activities include heritage gardening to produce the proper varieties of plants and crops, food preparation techniques, recipes, utensils and cooking devices, and a living history component preparing, serving and eating these foods.

Members meet monthly. Recent programs included cheese making, visiting a local farm that makes and sells cheese, sauerkraut making, bee hive oven cooking, and cooking with cast iron cookware. Tinsmithing and pottery classes were also offered. The group stepped into the present when it toured a historic mansion and enjoyed an Italian dessert prepared by the Italian innkeeper.

During Mountain Craft Days, members make fried cornmeal mush, boil fresh corn on the cob and demonstrate how to dry corn and apples ["apple schnitz" or "snitz" in Pennsylvania Dutch.]

LHOAF holds one fundraiser a year, the annual "Six for Supper" raffle. Members sell tickets for one dollar each or six (6) tickets for five dollars. In past years, 500-1,000 tickets have been sold. The holder of the winning ticket wins a complete supper for six in the Historical Center's 1770's Settler's Cabin. The five course meal features historic recipes cooked and served by costumed interpreters who are LHOAF members.

Bill of Fare
Six for Supper

Appetizer

"Forced Eggs"

(Hardboiled eggs wrapped in country sausage, fried and served with brown gravy)

Soup

"Mostoller Wild Goose Bean Vegetable Soup"

(Somerset County's heritage bean combined with a variety of fresh vegetables, served over bread)

Salad

"German Cabbage Salad"

(Cold, shredded cabbage, tossed with a hot dressing of vinegar, egg yolks and other flavors)

Bread

"German-Style Wheat Bread"

(A coarse ground whole wheat bread baked in a wood-fired oven)

"Amish White Bread"

(A dense white bread with a slight sweetness)

Main Course

"Baked Whole Ham with Maple Sugar Glaze"

(Smoked ham covered with Somerset County's famous maple syrup)

"Sautéed Venison with Sauce a la Robert"

(Tender venison in a pungent vinegar and mustard sauce)

Vegetables

"Green pumpkin fried with apples"

(Fresh pumpkin sautéed in butter with crisp apples)

"German Potatoes with Mustard"

(Boiled potatoes with a sauce of onions, mustard and parsley)

Desserts

"Cinnamon Cakes"

(Small round cakes or cookies made with almonds, lemon and cinnamon)

"Queen's Cake"

(Flavorful pound cake with orange peel, caraway and brandy)

"A Variety of Pies"

(Somerset County's maple sugar, apple butter and apple snitz pies)

Beverages

"Gingered Cider"

(Hot apple cider with tangy ginger)

"Mountain Wine"

(A fruity, light wine with an aroma reminiscent of Somerset County's mountain laurel)

"Syllabub"

(A frothy drink of thick cream, sugar, mountain wine and lemon, well beaten)

"Fresh Roasted Coffee"

(Green coffee beans roasted over an open fire and ground fresh)

"Tea of Choice"

(Several hot teas)

Menu, "Six for Supper" Fund Raiser.

The organization also helps train younger generations. LHOAF members work with Junior Historians, student members of the Historical and Genealogical Society of Somerset County, who churn butter and roast and grind coffee beans during Mountain Craft Days. The Junior Historians also bake gingerbread in "Dutch" ovens.

Gardens and food have also been part of the Historical Center's summer History Camp. Young people whose mothers buy frozen pie crust learn to bake "from scratch."

A Junior Historian demonstrates butter making.

Open hearth cooking in the Foodways Pavilion. Two Junior Historians use the bake oven and a dutch oven.

Junior Historians cooking outside the 1770's Settler's Cabin.

Learning to make a pie "from scratch".

Conclusion

While this approach-- creating a membership-based organization devoted to foodways--may not work for other institutions, it has been a success for the Somerset Historical Center. LHOAF has increased community involvement in foodways programs by providing resources and skilled volunteers for interpretation and living history programs. LHOAF members work with the Historical Society's Junior Historians and Summer History Camp to teach cooking skills to another generation. LHOAF also assists the Somerset History Center in collecting and documenting local foods and recipes as well as cooking techniques.

SWEET HISTORY. FROM SUGAR AS INDUSTRY TO SUGAR AS HERITAGE

Jane Legget
New Zealand Tourism Research Institute, Auckland, New Zealand

Sweet Introduction

Many of the presentations at this conference are about traditional foodways in certain regions and/or at specific seasons or points in times in history. In contrast, this case study focuses on a common kitchen ingredient, sugar, universally available commercially. New Zealand is not known internationally for iconic artisan dishes, mostly because, as a settler society, the early colonists brought their own British cuisine with them. In trying to create a second Britain in the South Pacific, they introduced from Northern Europe their crops, livestock and game and adapted many recipes to include endemic fish and birds and some plants. It must be noted that the indigenous Maori had already their own food traditions, and many tourist visitors experience a hangi, a feast of meat and vegetables cooked by steaming in a traditional earth oven. Maori cultural heritage has been central to New Zealand museums from their origins in the 1840s, whereas it took longer for the significance of non-Maori history and culture to be given serious attention in museums and in the wider heritage sector which began to emerge after World War Two. Much of this non-Maori culture was imported, along with basic foodstuffs such as sugar.

I would like to shine a light on a building assemblage which I see every day as I cross the Auckland Harbour Bridge on my way to work - The Chelsea Sugar Refinery. This striking salmon-pink industrial complex is a rarity in New Zealand - a manufactory operating continuously from its original premises - with some later additions. New Zealand does not immediately come to mind as a centre for the sugar refining industry, but the Chelsea Sugar Works on Auckland's North Shore is a distinctive landmark on the Waitemata Harbour. Unrefined sugar cane, currently imported from Queensland, Australia, has been processed here since 1884, when it operated as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company. Its site includes native bush and a deep-water dock, as well as historic structures. The original Chelsea Sugar Refinery Estate now incorporates public parkland managed by the local authority. As such, it remains a rare survival in New Zealand - a complete industrial unit, once the largest sugar refinery operation in Australasia, and one that represents the sweet heritage of sugar. This case study traces the changing perception of the site from sugar industry to sugar as heritage. It is very much a "work-in-progress".

The Chelsea Sugar Works

Bulk raw sugar cane has been processed on the Chelsea for over 125 years. What began as an isolated site across the Waitemata Harbour from Auckland with access only by boat developed of necessity as a self-sufficient operation. Fresh water for the refining process was captured via a system of dams and ponds, and the surrounding land was acquired to control and protect the quality of the water catchment. Sugar cane arrived from Fiji, so the deep-water dock was needed for unloading the shipments. A "company township" evolved to house employees - it became New Zealand's largest industrial complex. In addition to the syrup house where the actual refining took place, a range of other structures housed the supporting activities: various means of transport, specialist workshops for maintaining the equipment, storage for both raw and refined sugar, stabling and grazing for the workhorses (see Figure 1.)

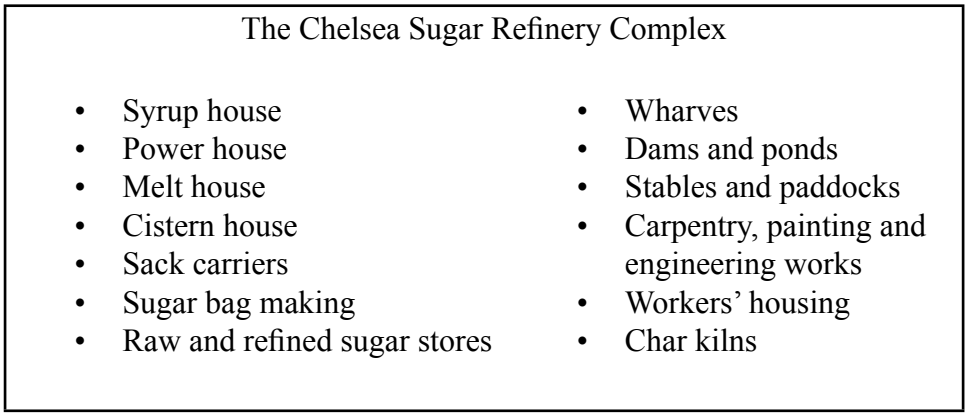


Figure 1. Key elements of the industrial complex at the Chelsea Sugar Refinery, Birkenhead, Auckland, New Zealand.

Over time, a residential township, Birkenhead, developed on the ridge above the Sugar Works, to service the local community of sugar workers with shops, churches and schools, gradually supplanting the wooden houses of the earliest employees. Once the Auckland Harbour Bridge opened in 1959, the city's North Shore was in easy reach of the commercial centre by roadand residential development increased rapidly. Part of the Chelsea Estate had already been sold for suburban housing in the late 1960s. In the late 1990s local residents who had enjoyed many years of recreational access to the natural bush and parkland of the Chelsea Estate recognised that this had become prime real estate, at risk of being sold off for housing development, should the Sugar Company decide to realise the value of its landholdings. Self-interest drove action once this became imminent, and

environmental lobbyists initiated a campaign to persuade the North Shore's local government to become involved in 'saving' the largest undeveloped area of bush still in private ownership readily accessible to the city's business district.

The Path To Heritage Status

When the company applied for permission to designate further land for building, Birkenhead and North Shore residents began the hard work to get recognition for complex's heritage status, in order to protect the asset for the people of Auckland. Environmentalists promoted the Estate's value in providing a haven for native plants and wildlife directly connected to the surrounding public parkland. The Birkenhead Historical Society Museum played only a very modest role through its somewhat random documenting of the working life of the industry and its impact in its community. There are many challenges in protecting the site for both its heritage status and public access, and the concept of the Chelsea Great Park emerged in 1997 as an urban tourism amenity and visitor destination in an area keen to attract tourists but notable for its dearth of accessible heritage attractions. Not least among these challenges is the very notion of "industrial heritage", which is little recognised in New Zealand, because the economy has primarily depended on agriculture and forestry.

The local authority, North Shore City Council, had declared one of its community goals to be to: "protect, promote, celebrate and cherish our natural and built heritage". (North Shore City Long Term Plan 2006-2016). This Council had a very limited track record on heritage protection, but the recent Local Government Act 2002 had required it to take heritage more seriously. Public statements indicated a shift towards recognition of the value of heritage to the community: "As with any asset, we must work together to nurture the tangible and intangible benefits that flow from the rich and varied strands of knowledge and cultural heritage, now and in the future." (North Shore City Long Term Plan 2006-2016). The Council's District Plan had five criteria which it considered when recognising the significance of local physical heritage: architecture, history, environment, garden and integrity (see Table 1.), and the Chelsea Sugar Works had been identified in the Plan as important, but with no legal protection. Tireless efforts by Chelsea Great Park campaigners by 2005 had conditional agreement from the company for 37 hectares to be purchased and protected as urban parkland. By this time the company was seeking resource consent (planning permission) from the Council to subdivide part of their estate for development, although without immediate plans to enact this. There was considerable local opposition, and the debate drew in a wider network of stakeholders.

Aspect	Element
Architecture	Style, Construction,/Craft technology, Age, Architect, Design, Interior
History	Person, Event, Context
Environment	Continuity, Setting, Landmark, Rarity
Garden	Garden - historical cultural landscape
Integrity	Site (on original site), Alterations, Condition

Table 1. The criteria used by North Shore Council to assess a site for local heritage status on its District Plan.

The potential loss of a much loved recreational amenity and threats to the environmental heritage generated more than local interest in the Sugar Works complex, and a fund-raising campaign to purchase land to be known as the Chelsea Great Park began. Other parties now involved included the Birkenhead Residents Association and, more significantly, the national heritage agency, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. It was time to make an assessment of the significance of the Chelsea Sugar Works in a national context. The formal process was started to assess the industrial complex against the national criteria, set out in the Historic Places Act 1993 (see Figure 2). In 2008 the complex comprising the industrial buildings, waterside structures, the manager's house and eight remaining brick cottages which housed the workers achieved national heritage building status. It was fully designated as a Historic Place Category One, recognised for its aesthetic, archaeological, architectural, cultural, historical, social and technological value. It thus acquired legal heritage protection, restricting the company's powers to alter the structures radically.

Significance Value Factors	
• Aesthetic *	• Scientific *
• Archaeological *	• Social *
• Architectural *	• Spiritual *
• Cultural *	• Technological *
• Historical *	• Traditional *

Figure 2. Significance value factors used in assessing heritage status under the Historic Places Trust, 1993. * denotes those values identified for the Chelsea Sugar Works.

Achievement of national heritage status made it easier for a broader range of partners to come together with the new Chelsea Park Trust and the North Shore City Council to raise funds to secure the purchase of much of the Chelsea Estate parkland and bush for the public. Contributors included the New Zealand government through its Departments of Conservation and Internal Affairs, the Auckland Regional Council, the ASB Community Trust and the Chelsea Regional Park Association. Success led to the formal establishment of the Chelsea Estate Heritage Park in 2009, managed on a day-to-day basis by North Shore City Council. This has raised general awareness of the role of the Sugar Works in Birkenhead's history. An annual Heritage Festival has been initiated in the Park, and a public artwork was commissioned on a prominent hill with views over the Works, based on a sugar grabber. The grounds are now a shared and co-managed recreational space although the manufactory remains operational and therefore off-limits to the public. The eight workers' cottages are rented through the Council and as heritage gems are much in demand.

A Role For The Local Museum?

There is still more to be done and this is where the local museum could play a role. It is itself a heritage building, a small wooden villa, former home to a junior manager of the Works and moved to its present site some years ago. In New Zealand terms, it is a 'micro-museum', meaning it has no paid staff and unreliable finance. Being volunteer-run, it is only open to the public on Sundays for two hours in the afternoon. Its object collection is eclectic but it has local history resources and local knowledge in the heads of its longer-standing members which would be invaluable for interpreting the Sugar Works. There is potential to tell a unique New Zealand story and various themes come to mind:

- the history of an industry
- the development of suburban life
- the social history of a 'company town'
- sugar as a commodity
- colonial trade and commerce
- the Fiji connection (many Fijians, especially Fijian-Indians now live in New Zealand)
- the Labour History Movement
- links to Australia

Unfortunately, the museum's situation reflects that of many small communities. Its few active volunteers are aging. They have not been very engaged in the local community, partly because the museum's present location away from Birkenhead's commercial centre lacks visibility. They have few resources and no planning or overall vision. They have failed to capitalise on a rare opportunity, and have neither recognised or tested the value of the sugar story. However, there is still potential to respond and contribute to the higher profile of local history generated by the Chelsea Estate Heritage Park, depending on future directions.

The Heritage Winners

There are a number of winners from the developments so far. Firstly the people of Birkenhead and the greater Auckland region have a new public open space offering amenity value, heritage features and a protected natural environment. The City Council has acquired a new land asset and a positive reputation as a responsive local authority which takes heritage matters more seriously. The heritage community has achieved recognition for an urban industrial site. The Chelsea Sugar Refinery Company has gained a positive image as a good corporate citizen. It has reinforced the heritage value of its iconic brand and it is still able to operate alongside the local community, through building constructive relationships.

There are further opportunities ahead. Under a restructuring of Auckland's local government in 2010, North Shore City has been absorbed into a larger authority, Auckland Council, which is committed to culture. While it will take a couple of years at least for the new Auckland Council to establish itself fully, it already supports a city-wide annual heritage festival with more funding and event managers. There is a strong recognition now of the contribution heritage gives to community identity and distinctiveness. A Conservation Plan is being developed for the whole park and will include interpretation. There is greater local interest in the Sugar Works because of its greater visibility through the Heritage Park. The public is more confident that its responses to community consultation is actively heard and considered. There remains the possibility that the Chelsea Sugar Refinery Company will move its operations overseas, but the achievement of Category One heritage status means that the buildings have a high degree of legal protection. One option is to develop a sugar-heritage theme more fully for Birkenhead, and if this is pursued, it is to be hoped that the Birkenhead Historical Museum engages in the next phase. Another is to adapt part of the Refinery site as a sugar-based heritage attraction, incorporating its own museum to tell a food story to which everyone can connect. It will be interesting to see what happens next.

For a fuller account, see:

Legget, J. (2013). From Sugar as Industry to Sugar as Heritage: Changing perceptions of the Chelsea Sugar Works, pp 189-207 in Jolliffe, L. (ed). Sugar Heritage and Tourism in Transition. Channel View Publications: Bristol, UK.

A CASE STUDY OF A FUTURE REGIONAL MUSEUM OF NOSHES IN TAINAN

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Introduction

When seeking the origins of museums in different societies and cultures at different times, and presenting the different landscapes of a museum's social and cultural background, we must view them against a backdrop of the formations of their nature and history, especially in the daily life of different regions. Regional museums have a special responsibility to preserve documents, records, collections and objects of daily lives, including food, clothes, residences, transportation, leisure-time activities and beliefs. The National Museum of Literature is located in the first city of Taiwan, Tainan, which was built by the Dutch after landing at Tayouen in the 17th century. Preserving written works about Taiwanese life is their main mission, and most of the works in their collections are concerned with all the aspects of life of all the different people who have invaded or immigrated to Taiwan. Here diverse noshes and snacks were developed by different immigrants at different times during hundreds of years. Last year the museum invited some of the oldest food stands, restaurants and even peddlers to demonstrate their special foods in the museum's front courtyard. Mr. Cai, one member of this group, started a web-museum listing the person, date of founding, food materials that changed over times, utensils for cooking and eating, and locations that are still standing today.

Now the Museum is trying to use their collections to build a database for these materials already posted on the web. Some sellers of these noshes are also trying to establish their own museum. The first thing they have done is to set up a mission statement for this future museum: it is to connect the nature and people of Tainan with their foods. In the following, I am going to introduce you to what they have done and to the person who is working on this future regional museum.

History

Tainan City, the oldest city in Taiwan, was established in the age of colonialism by the West in the 17th Century. The first Western people to arrive in Tainan were the Dutch, who landed at Tayouen (An-ping Port) in 1624. They built a seaport called Fort Orangie on the shore of this city and named it Fort Provintien in 1627. In order to develop their business in the Far East, the Dutch moved deeper inland on Taiwan Island, and built the city of Tainan and the castle Chi-Kan to protect their people and their trading interests. At the same period of time as the Dutch occupied southern Taiwan, the Spanish had landed in northern Taiwan. These establishments by Western colonists were obviously a kind of balance of power in politics at the time. The Western Age of Taiwan came to an end when the son of a pirate prince of Taiwan Strait, Zheng Cheng-Gong, defeated and chased the Dutch off the island. Prince Zheng had led the Ming Dynasty forces on the Mainland but they were defeated by the Manchus in 1644. Zheng's struggles to re-establish the Ming government were unsuccessful, so he sailed from the Mainland with his army and established Tainan as the capital of his exile Ming Dynasty government in 1661. Many historians have therefore considered him the first Emperor of Taiwan, not only because he always tried to recover the Ming Dynasty, but also because he planned to build a country in Taiwan. Although his descendants did not succeed in returning to the Mainland, because the Manchu had established a major country controlled by the Qing Dynasty (1636-1911). Taiwan itself was unified by the Qing government in 1725. Political control from the Mainland ended as a consequence of the first war between China and Japan in 1894-95, when the Qing government was forced to cede its territory of Taiwan to Japan. It remained a colony of Japan until the end of the Second World War in 1945. When Taiwan was freed from Japanese occupation, it entered into the martial control of General Chang Kai-shek, who had just retreated from battles with Communist China. His army also brought new people to Taiwan from all the provinces in Mainland China in 1949.

If we study the brief history above, it is easy to understand that Taiwan can be divided into several different political periods by colonial governments, mainly because of the richness of the Island. This is the political reality that the people in Taiwan have faced over these several hundred years. But the people who came to this island were not enemies of each other. They were here in search of a better life, especially those who chose to stay in Tainan City. It is a seaport with protected by many layers of natural sandbars that give Tainan many chances to develop fishing, trade and cultural exchanges with the outside world. On the other hand, the broad and fertile hinterland surrounding Tainan can produce many natural and

agricultural products, such as camphor, tea, and other natural products that had been the goal attracting Western people in 17th century. The immigrants from the southwest provinces of the Mainland harvested the best rice not only because of the tropical climate and the traditional agricultural technology they brought from the largest agricultural country in the world, but also because its salty soil had been washed out by the water of the greatest dam in Taiwan, the Coral Dam, built in 1912 by a Japanese engineer. Since then, the Jia-Nan Plane in southern Taiwan has been able to benefit from three harvests of rice a year. The lives of the common people in this prosperous capital were enriched by all these factors, both natural and man-made, for many centuries.

The mission of the National Museum of Literature is to preserve works of literature about Taiwanese life concerning all aspects of the life of all the different people who have invaded or immigrated to Taiwan. As with other regional museums in the world, this regional and national museum has a responsibility to preserve the documents, records, collections and objects about the daily lives of these different immigrants and natives, including their food, clothes, residences, transportation, leisure activities and beliefs. For example, in Tainan, the first people, the native peoples and the different immigrants developed diverse noshes and snacks for hundreds of years. The aim of the National Museum of Literature for initiating this project about some noshes in order to show the foods of Tainan City was not quite clear at first. It became clear only when some participants, several owners, organized a web museum to demonstrate their specialties of local foods. The initial advocate was Mr. Ming-Cai Cai, a second-generation owner of a stand selling rice cakes and cooked glutinous rice. He showed me how he improved the ways of preparing these foods to cope with the tastes of his customers who live in Tainan and tourists. He said he had no intent to derive any financial benefit from this web museum. It is about the place and the people of Tainan and the products from this land. The members of this 'web' group gathered to help me understand more about their intent, and, in turn, they wanted to know more about how to make this 'landless' museum a reality.

Nowadays curatorial work usually includes a substantial engagement with the theory and practice of museum computing. We are witness to a worldwide flowering of modules and programs in what are variously called "museum informatics", "digital heritage" and "cultural technology". Over the past decades, there are sectors in a museum that have struggled with the opportunities offered by new digital media. On the other hand, there seems to be a more essential incompatibility between the idea of the museum and the idea of the computer that might be seen to have stymied the adoption of some of these new technologies. In fact, "incompatibility" was used to describe the gap between technology and the humani-

ties when museums explained the uneasy adoption of computer by some curatorial colleagues. This also points to the problem of the development of machine-based information retrieval. These two sides represent the histories of museums and new digital technology that weave in and out of each other. It is in both these senses of cultural and technical (in)compatibility that members of our museum fields have often discussed the development of computing in museums for the past decades. But when we adopted this new digital technology for computing the intangible heritage at the Museum of Noshes in Tainan, it seemed the contradiction did not exist. The "museum informatics" goes well with curatorial work which suits the definition of museum. The owners of these noshes joined this project just to set up a mission for this museum "without walls" (http://tainanfood.shop.rakuten.tw/). They will extend the cultural concept of the ways they make foods for enriching the lives of the people who taste their foods. We expect that their museum could lead us in a new direction of using this new digital technology.

As they did not have a chance to join us here at ICR's annual meeting in Kristiansand, Norway, they wanted me to pass on their sincere invitation to all of you and to all other ICOM members. Six of their members would like to offer their foods for a teatime break during the ICOFOM's annual meeting in Kaoshong between 24 and 26 October this year. They are:

1. Xiao-Xi-Jau Bowl Rice Cakes: Their rice cakes have been famous since Mr. Ming-Cai Cai's father set up the stand in 1955. It is one of the most popular local noshes for all the tourists in Tainan. Mr. Cai has created a new dish, Eel Glutinous Rice, from a secret recipe in his family tradition.
2. Jing-Yao Grilled Pork Rice: This is a brand-new creation of Mr. Cheng-Xian Zhou, in which he has used some of the natural daily products of Tainan, rice and pork, without any processed additives.
3. Cheng the Short's Shelled Shrimp Rice: The father of Mr. Cheng-Wei Song was called "Cheng the Short" due to his appearance. He was a cook in a Japanese restaurant during the period of the Japanese Occupation, but quit in 1912 and set up a small stand selling rice with shelled fresh shrimp for people passing by on the streets. He loved to serve them rather than the Japanese customers in the luxurious restaurant. Every morning he cleaned fresh shrimp and cooked rice over charcoal from the nearby mountain forests. The method of careful preparation was learned from the Japanese. He also passed on the way of cooking and running this stand to his descendant, Mr. Cheng-Wei Song. Now Mr. Song has expanded the business as modern chain stores in several streets of Tainan where tourists pass by everyday.
4. Leng Tih Tong's Cracker Pancakes: During the Japanese Occupation, the

founders, Mr. Qing-Leng Cai and Mr. Qing-Tih Cai learned the special technique and recipe for making rice pancakes from Japanese. The used both of their first names of Leng and Tih for their store1. The special quality of the rice produced in Taiwan and the innovative technique for making the traditional rice pancakes made the American army personnel stationed in Taiwan at the time some of their best customers while the second generation of the Cais ran the shop. Their stand became famous as the first food patent in Taiwan. Although it was outsold by other new modern products for about twelve years, the technique, recipe and machine were kept until the "Cultural Festival of the Guardian of the North Gate"2 in 2010. Mr. Wei-Zhong Cai of the fourth generation quit his job as bank manager and took over running the store when he was given bad news about his father's sickness. Now, Mr. and Mrs. Cai now still insist working as their ancestors did for eleven hours a day to produce one hundred bags of hand-made cracker pancakes in the family tradition. Each buyer is therefore asked to line up and buy only two packs each time a day. When you have two packs, you can also sense their persistence and value of life in your hand.

5. Tea Serving: The owner, Mr. Dong-Cai Ye, is a humanist who advocates the spirit of mutual help in a traditional agricultural community. Whenever he went out with his parents in childhood, he was told to kick rocks out of the road where a cow was supposed to pass through, just like the temples that prepared tea at the cross roads where passengers are supposed to pass by. That is the original meaning of this store in serving tea for their customers. The store is decorated with old furniture of different sizes to cope with different family groups.
6. Linking Travel Service: This is a travelers' club and not only a travel agent. They invite all their customers to join their club before and after the travel itinerary and programs they provide, very much like AAA in the US. But their office is more like a tea house than a travel agent's office. It also provides vegetarian foods made from local vegetables, allowing travelers or travelers-to-be to enjoy the foods they offer and discuss their travel experiences in this club furnished with old local furniture in an old building. In this homey environment they can exchange their travel experiences and share their memories of their hometown.

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[1] "Tong" literally means "hall" in English, it means a bakery or a delicatessen store in both Chinese and Japanese.

[2] The municipal government of Tainan has divided its city into eight historical and economical areas and started the cultural festivals in 2010 to honor the different life styles historically, culturally or economically. This Cultural Festival of the Guardian of the North Gate is one of the eight.

HOME AND HEARTH – REGIONAL MUSEUMS AND GASTRONOMIC HERITAGE

Belgrade and Prijepolje, Serbia, 23-28 September 2012

Conference participants shown at the Mileseva Monastery, Serbia 2011.

AT THE TABLE IN SERBIA

Vesna Bižić-Omčikus, Tijana Čolak-Antić
Ethnographic Museum, Belgrade, Serbia

"Tell me what you eat and I'll tell who you are and where you come from" (Folk saying)

Serbia stands at a crossroads in the Balkan Peninsula. It has hosted many a nation. Some just passed through, but some stayed and settled. The Serbs are the majority group, but today, Serbia also possesses over twenty distinct peoples and ethnic communities.

Different peoples - invaders, passers-by, settlers, neighbours - have all had a cultural impact on the lives of original inhabitants. This impact may still be recognised. Novelties from other countries were brought by intellectuals returning from their schooling abroad. Various influences have left the mark, mostly on the everyday diet, so the basis for the cuisine of the whole cultural region are domestic products of the old Balkan and Slavic heritage combined with Oriental, Central European and Roman-Mediterranean influences.

Regardless of administrative divisions, Serbia is divided into three discernible cultural and geographical regions: **Pannonia, Central Balkan and Dinaric.**

In the **Pannonia region**, administratively called Vojvodina, the Hungarians and Germans have had the greatest impact. The German influence may be seen in dairy products, particularly the sour cream and white cottage cheese called *švapski sir* (German cheese). Under their influence, people in Serbia started preparing pastries, various cakes, strudels in particular. Also, various sorts of vegetables have been introduced in making all kinds of casseroles (*Zuspeise*). Three meals a day - breakfast (*Frühstück*), dinner and supper - also come from German cultural influence.

Under Hungarian influence, dishes started to be cooked with all kinds of spices, red pepper in particular: goulash, hot meat or vegetable casseroles with sometimes added pork or poultry meat.

Vojvodina-paprikash cooking.

Vojvodina specialties include cured meat products: ham, black pudding, various haggis-like products (*kavurma, švargla, džigernjača*), sausages, pork fat crisps, etc.

In the Central Balkan region, in Šumadija and the Morava valley, there is a strong Turkish influence, as the Turks ruled here for several centuries. This was combined with cultural influences from merchants and travelling craftsmen who travelled from the East. Here we find all kinds of pies: cheese[1], potato, leek, cabbage, apple, sour cherry .); *burek* (*bürek*) - a meat pie; stuffed sauerkraut, cabbage, sorrel or vine leaves; *moussaka*; rice vegetable casserole; stuffed peppers, courgettes and tomatoes; grilled meats of which the most famous are *ćevapcici* (grilled mince rolls), hamburger and kebabs.

This region has always been a farming and animal-herding country, which even today affects the diet. Recipes have been traditionally passed from generation to generation, and each household has its own way of making the dishes. Typical ones on a Serbian table are: *kajmak* (clotted cream), *ajvar* (grilled and chopped red pepper in spices), *proja* (cornbread) and various plum products.

CORNBREAD used to be made only from cornmeal and water during hard times. AS times became more prosperous, the *proja* becomes *projara* as it gets some new ingredients like eggs, cottage cheese, milk, pork fat crisps.

KAJMAK is a dairy product common to the Dinaric and Central Balkan region up to the Sava and Danube rivers. Across these rivers you may seldom find *kajmak*, but sour cream instead. Clotted cream is produced by skimming the freshly boiled milk and then putting it in a layers into wooden vessels.

AJVAR is made of red peppers and is served as a salad, or bread spread (if there is nothing else). The recipe is quite simple, but the preparation takes time. Peppers (the red ones) are first grilled on the stove top, then peeled and cleaned from the seeds and stems, then finely chopped and mixed with seed oil, vinegar and chopped garlic. It may be eaten immediately when freshly made or may be left in a larder as winter preserve.

Cornbread, clotted cream and *ajvar* may constitute a whole meal, but today you may find them in Serbian restaurants as a first course appetizer. As a main course, you may get cooked beans almost as a broth, which, perhaps dependent on the family's prosperity, may be with or without meat, which is likely to be dry or smoked.

Ajvar.

[1] The Serbian version of the cheese pie is *GIBANICA*.

A meal usually starts or ends with some PLUM products. Plum brandy (*šljivovica*) is served as an aperitif, and as a dessert, there are prunes or fresh plums or some cake made with prunes. Children in Serbia often get a piece of bread with plum jam as a midday snack, and in many houses wives welcome their guests with plum *slatko*(sweet preserve) and a glass of fresh water[2].

It became common to grow plum trees in the second half of the 19th century, when phylloxera destroyed all the vineyards and wine and brandy production dropped. A plum species native to Serbia is the *early ripe red*. Plum and its products are of great importance for Serbs, and they have a place in numerous folk-customs: Family Saint's Day (*Slava*), wedding toasts are made with plum brandy; on Christmas Eve or during periods of religious fasting, prunes are always served. It is believed that the best place to build a house is where a plum tree grows best. Until the WWII, Serbia made a substantial income from plum exports.

In eastern Serbia, as well as Serbs, there is a Wallachian population that have affected the diet of the region. The basis of their diet is milk and dairy products coupled with wild produce found in the countryside (wild sorrel, nettles, mushrooms, wild garlic, forest strawberries, blueberries, etc.)

The dishes that are still being produced in the villages beneath the Stara Planina are characteristic of olden times. Food is mostly preserved by drying under the house eaves. The best-known shepherd dish is *belmuž,* made from melted day-old cottage cheese into which white cornmeal is poured and cooked. Characteristic dishes of the region are: *mamaljuga* (Wallachian polenta with cheese or *kajmak*), bean jelly, sauerkraut with crushed walnuts, tripe, prune and mushroom soup, dried fruits (*sušenice*).

Šumadija holiday meal.

There is a saying in Eastern Serbia describing food of the area as being "*for both the fold and the court*".

[2] Besides the plum sweet preserve, in Serbian houses wives make such preserves of various fruits: cherries (white, pink or red), sour cherries, strawberries, apricots, currants, blackberries, raspberries, rose petals, grapes, green walnuts, water melons, etc.

The Dinaric region is spread through mountainous country of Western Serbia. The diet of this region consists mostly of red meat, dairy products and high calorie, but scarcely spiced food. Traditional cuisine consists of fresh, mostly lamb and dry-cured (mutton or beef) meat. The most popular product in Serbia is prosciutto (dry-cured beef). Dairy products consist mostly of sheep's and cow's milk: clotted cream (*kajmak)*, cheese and yoghurt. Dishes made of flour and some dairy product are polenta (*kačamak*), bread pudding (*popara* or *masanica*) and fritters (*uštipci*). Polenta may be made of various meals: barley, corn, wheat or buckwheat, with cheese and *kajmak*. A traditional way of making: it is stirred with a wooden spoon until everything is melted and well mixed. Common meat and vegetable dishes, eaten with a tablespoon include: cabbage and sauerkraut, beans, stuffed leaves, various thick and clear soups.

It is also necessary to mention the cuisines of minorities and religious communities, whose members have always shared both good and bad fortune with foreigners.

Holiday meal in the Dinara region.

Jewish cuisine found in the Balkans

It is difficult to identify with precision the contribution of the Jews to the Balkan cuisine and vice versa, the influence of the Balkans upon the Jewish cooking, given that the Balkan cuisine itself is a mixture of various influences. Still, some of those contributions are quite obvious, like, the *patišpanj* or *patišma*, as it is pronounced in some regions. This corrupt form of the word, which is widely used to denote a kind of a sponge cake, is in fact *el pan di Spagno,* or Spanish bread, a traditional dessert of the Spanish Jews, the Sephardim.

A second, interesting and probably two-way influence is found in the "institution" of *slatko*, or sweet, a kind of fruit preserve served to the guests and consumed on special occasions. This custom exists among Jews and Christians alike in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, but also in Bulgaria, Romania, Greece and Turkey.

Dried vegetables.

Sephardic cuisine is not big on sweets. The few desserts include rice pudding, milk pie, *čaldikus*, *tišpišti*, *patišpanj*, baklava, *roskitas di alšahu*, but there are few others. The sweets have rather been under the influence of the dominant cuisine. In turn, some of those named above were accepted by the communities in which the Jews lived.

The Ashkenazim, present in northern Serbia since the 18th century, had much the same cuisine as the Jews in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This traditionally included goose meat, beans and noodles. The regions to the south of the Sava and Danube Rivers were populated by the Sephardim, whose dishes were a combination of Mediterranean and Oriental cuisines.

The most common spices in the Ashkenazi recipes until the Second World War are cinnamon and ginger. As ginger was not available during and after the war, it was replaced by "*Vegeta*" - a new, industrially produced spice mixture.

The Roma Dietary Customs

Roma cuisine has been strongly influenced by the specifically Roma way of living. Their diet often appears rather scanty and uninteresting when compared to that of others. It is not that the Roma are not interested in food: rather that, for them, food is primarily intended to meet narrowly physiological needs. Making

simple meals and eating only what has been found in a beggars bag are actually cultural elements of the Roma population - "*If we had some butter like we don't have any flour, we could borrow a dish and make a pie*", a Roma woman said according to a story.

The majority of the Roma population in present-day Serbia lives in cities where they improvise their settlements and modest homes. Where a mere hearth, sometimes with an open fire, once used to constitute the whole kitchen, this is now replaced with a cooker.

As they have never done any serious farming, or produced any food (although they often help others in doing the land, or grow some vegetables themselves), the Roma have always known various edible plants and the way of preparing them. Cooked nettle, sorrel, mushrooms are made into simple broth-like meals. This, eaten with cornmeal bread may be the only meal of the day. Meat used to be rare, except on special occasions or holidays. Then a feast is served on a table laid outside the house.

Even if Roma diet may seem to be somewhat limited even today, it does not mean that they eat the same food as their forefathers. They have adopted much from cultures of the peoples they encounter in the different regions, but they have adjusted these influences to their taste and idea of food. When preparing a non-Roma recipe they never stick to the original way of making it, but would always either add to it or leave something out. In the case of a specific group like the Roma, changes and open mindedness to foods of the others is, in fact, acceptance, understanding and even pleasure drawn from a different culture.

One Roma group (*Aškali*) belongs to an Islamic community which in regard to food respects the rules set by the Koran. Besides the Roma, Islamic community also make the Goranci, Albanians, Turks and Sandjakli (from Raška).

Muslim Dietary Customs

Among Muslims, everyday meals are prepared without roux (unlike the Serbian way), with little water and few spices, so that the meat and vegetables are boiled in their own juices. Muslim diet consists mostly of vegetables: spinach, eggplant, courgettes, tomato, peppers, legumes, rice, and is rich in dairy products (clotted and sour cream), milk and yoghurt. Meals consist mostly of onion, cereals (chickpea), butter and cooked tomato. Broths are characteristically Muslim dishes and may constitute a single meal. They contain one or more sorts of vegetables and cereals, pieces of meat and parsley. Meat is prepared as roasts and usually stuffed (vegetables), or grilled. There are also pies, both sweet and salty. Common to all the dishes

is that they should be juicy and soft. That is why they are poured over by milk, butter or sour cream. A special group of dishes is *meze*, which is served with drinks at evening gatherings (*akšamluk*), most often during the Ramadan. *Meze* may consist of some simple raw things, soups, or complicated cooked dishes and meat balls. Among the Muslim community, the most often served sweet dish is *halva*, made of stir-fried flour and poured over by *sherbet* (caramelised sugar with water).

Belmuz/Palenta.

Oriental sweets (*baklava, tulumba, urmašica, kadaif, tufahia*.) are quite common all over Serbia.

Drinks

Drinks, are always served with meals, and in the country are almost always made in each household. National drinks, aperitifs, are plum brandy and grappa. With a main course, there are various sorts of domestic wines (white, red, rose), often with fresh or carbonated water, and in recent years beer is often served. Wine and brandy production is quite substantial all over Serbia. The majority of traditional Jewish families used home-made wine for Pesach, or Passover, made of sultanas. Common to all the regions is to serve black coffee at the end of each meal.

Fasting

When talking about eating habits, one should remember abstaining from certain foods or food in general, in certain periods of the year, which is characteristic to some religious communities.

Orthodox Christians abstain from all foods of animal origin according to special dates in the church calendar. Common to Serbian Orthodox Church is one-day fasting (Wednesday and Friday), and several days fasting, of which the longest are the Great Fast (7 weeks preceding Easter) and the Christmas Fast (6 weeks preceding Christmas). Fasting is thought to establish bodily and spiritual balance, both within oneself and with one's environment, since the Orthodox

believe food also has its spiritual side. It is believed that eating is a sort of service to God, in the same way that we eat during a service, a communion. Forbidden foods during fasts include milk and dairy products, eggs, meats and meat products, except fish.

Muslims avoid certain foods, notably pork, game and any meat originating from a cloven hoofed animal. Alcoholic beverages are also forbidden. During the period of Ramadan, they honour *takvim* (a time period between the prayers, when fasting is restricted to a period between dawn and sunset, from *sehur* - breakfast, to *iftar* - dinner, or better still, from *sabah* - dawn, to *akšam* - sunset), or as Muslims say in Serbia «You *sehur* at *sabah*" - have breakfast at dawn.

City Life

Life in cities differed from life in the countryside not only because the various cultures become interlaced in the cities, but because city people spread European ideas. Parallel to a political struggle for independence from the Turks in the early 19th century, Serbia also strived to become culturally a part of Europe. In cities, open to any changes, not only were different dishes created but the attitude to food was different, and the time of the day for meals and the way of eating them as well. In the country the time for meals was dictated by the work on the farm (breakfast around 10 or 11 a.m. bread, cheese or cheese pie, or cornbread; and when the work in the field is finished around 5 or 6 p.m. a hot, cooked meal). In cities, in contrast, the hours of the workplace often dictated time for meals. Breakfast was in the morning - bread or some pastry with butter and jam and coffee with milk; lunch was around 2 p.m. - soup, meat, vegetables; dinner was around 7 p.m. - cold meal like salads in mayonnaise, meat in jelly, cheese, cured meat products, sandwiches). If in the country, everyone ate from one common dish or large plate and each had his or her own spoon, in cities families ate soup from one plate each, main course from another, whereas on special occasions a dinner crockery service consisted of numerous plates and saucers for the first course, soup, main course, salad, cakes, in the same manner as different pieces of cutlery were used for different kinds of food. The most luxurious meal was made for the *Slava* to which only relatives were invited. To pay one>s respect on that day one did not have to be invited, i.e. it was sufficient that a guest was invited once.

Some more significant changes in eating habits in Serbia occurred after the Second World War. People from Banija, Lika and Kordun (in Croatia), from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro and Kosovo and Metohija colonised

the territory of Vojvodina and also moved to Belgrade in great numbers. They brought their own ways, which had a substantial impact on the city life.

Modern conditions dictate a different way of life, and a different attitude to food from what it used to be only ten years ago. The faster pace of life has decreased the number of traditional "old-time housewives", who only take care of their families and make meals and winter preserves in the way their grandmothers used to. One may still buy fresh supplies in the country and at green markets, but there is an increasing number of supermarkets where you may find all sorts of fresh fruits, vegetables, meats and spices from all over the world. Steadily the European working hours are being set in, and women, who mostly work, do not have enough time to make regular meals for their families. There is also an increasing number of fast-food restaurants where you can find hamburgers that slowly replace homemade ones and *ćevapcici*. At bakeries you may still find *burek*, but more often you'll find Danish pastry; there are more pizza places than ones selling *ćevapcici*, and from recently you may find places selling Greek kebabs. In the Serbian countryside you may still find old fashion inns, but in Belgrade, an odd inn here and there may remind you on the olden days, just as a tourist attraction. Now there are various new restaurants: Italian, Chinese, Tay, Indian, Mexican, Libyan, sushi bars whose owners are not foreigners. However, such an atmosphere lends Belgrade a cosmopolitan glamour.

Although the tradition is slowly fading, and some new quality is emerging, one is certain, in Serbia no guest has ever left hungry.

Project "Child and Tradition"

The Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade has been organizing workshops whereby children acquire knowledge about the Serbian culture and customs. Solving various tasks in contact with the past and present, children discover through games why life had been different in the past, where did their ancestor live, in what houses, how did they dress and eat, in short, how life had been at that time.

The most difficult task is how to present to children aged 6-12, the differences between the past and the present and to make them understand the customs of the past still maintained today, and what could they do to preserve the tradition and cultural heritage.

Within the workshops organized they learn how to do certain things, including preparation of food according to traditional customs. The goal of the workshop "Bread, corn bread and palenta (vretchalo)" is to explain the nutrition in rural areas in the past. Trainers in the workshop are not only curators of the Ethnographic

Museum, but also skilled women coming from the countryside, dressed in national costumes, telling children about the life of their grandmothers, while teaching them how to make bread, as this has been also one of the goals of this workshop. This kind of personal approach (our grandparents are our ancestors) is important to establish a direct link between the past and the present.

"Christmas Yule Log" is a workshop organized in December. After engaging in various activities, like memory game, sentence construction and cross words, helping children to understand in an entertaining way how Christmas is being celebrated in various countries around the world, they learn how to make and bake Christmas cakes.

"Christmas Yule Log" workshop.

The results are that the past has been explained and understood as a period in which had been created something that we consider today as tradition. Understanding the real values of the past, children actively participate in the respect of tradition. By learning about the culture of their nation, as a component part of the general civilization, they develop their personal responsibility and respect for the others, who may be different. Thus, they strengthen self-confidence, become conscious about their own values, their rich heritage, and develop the ability to recognize themselves in the actual world. Participants in the Project "Child and Tradition" are experts in the field of ethnology, psychology, education, ethnomusicology and others knowing how to transmit knowledge and skills.

“Bread, corn bread and palenta “ workshop.

Photos: MA Ivana Masniković-Antić, Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade

A SERBIAN MEDIEVAL FEAST

Tamara Ognjević,
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Reconstructing Serbian medieval menus is the ultimate goal of the research that the Artis Center initiated in the winter of 2009. In order to do this we have experimented with a so-called ideal reconstruction of some medieval dishes. Our intention is to create an exclusive educational program in the field of study and cultural tourism which would encompass Serbian medieval cuisine and fine dining based on the art of cooking in an artistically shaped environment.

To make a perfect reconstruction of the Serbian medieval table, it has been necessary to study traditional foods, as well as those imported to medieval Serbia, the dynamics of retail trade, hunting and fishing, diplomatic activity, various regulations related to agriculture, trade, various permits and fees, and above all, a number of restrictions when it comes to the sale and resale of certain foods. Our focus is primarily on the menu of King Milutin Nemanjić (1282-1321) because of the reports written by people present at the feast held by the king in the winter of 1298.[1] The royal feast of Milutin Nemanjić is interesting because he takes a range of practices specific to the protocol of the Byzantine court (dress code, festive audience, and festive meal).

Dated to the reign of King Milutin[2] there are a significant number of art works in the wider field of Serbian medieval countries that provide direct insight into the possible appearance of Serbian ruler's table. There is no doubt either that Milutin's royal chefs' selection of dishes and desserts to be presented to their sovereign and his guests not only included Byzantium foods, but also local Serbian cuisine and dishes that came from other parts of Europe.[3]

Wedding in Cana, The Presentation of Theotokos, Kalenić Monastery, early 15th century.

[1] Vizantijski izvori za istoriju naroda Jugoslavije VI, SANU, Beograd 1986, 110-114
[2] Arhiepiskop Danilo, Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih, Beograd 1935, 97-106
[3] Metochites explicitly says that at the king's table he ate "their (Serbian) and other dishes", Vizantijski izvori VI, 131

The culinary influences in the Serbian court can be fairly reliably inferred from other facts of cultural history in which, at least when it comes to the culinary heritage, the influence of chosen wives of medieval Serbian rulers is of the utmost importance. It is very probable that they brought with them certain dietary habits, ways of cooking, and even seedlings of certain fruits.[4]

Besides the most immediate impact of royal wives, there were people in Serbian medieval towns and the royal court from various corners of the then-known world. Among these were the large number of mercenaries who formed the king's personal guard and the backbone of his army.[5] Especially interesting are reports related to nutrition of the army and the people who were in charge of supplying such a large army with weapons, equipment and food.[6]

Important for the exchange of all kinds of goods, especially food imports

Tree Angeles as personification of the Holy Trinity in Hospitality of Abraham, King Dragutin's Chapel, St Georg's Pillars Monastery, Old Ras, late 13th century.

and exports were the influence of traders, such as the skilled merchants from Dubrovnik.[7] Documents preserved in the archives of Dubrovnik point in an exact way to the kinds of culinary influences that were transmitted to Serbia and to Dubrovnik from Italy and other areas where Dubrovnik purchased goods. It is reasonable to believe that the Saxon miners, whose settlements have formed the core of large mining towns such as Srebrenica in Bosnia and Novo Brdo in Kosovo, brought their own traditions and customs when it comes to nutrition. Finally, the king considered the Byzantine way of life as being highly ideal. Milutin had a

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4 K.Borojević, Analiza biljnih ostataka sa tvrđave Ras (12. vek i početak 13. veka), *Starinar LI/2000*, Beograd 2003, 201; See also in English: Borojevic, K. (2005) Nutrition and environment in medieval Serbia: Charred cereal, weed and fruit remains from the fortress of Ras. Vegetation History and Archaeobotany 14:453–464.)

5 S.Ćirković, *Rabotnici, vojnici, duhovnici*, Beograd 1997, 349-366

6 M.Popović, *ibidem*, 232-233

7 About Dubrovnik merchants and trade was written extensively, among which when it comes to food trading specially should be mentioned M.Gecić, Dubrovačka trgovina solju u XIV veku, *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu 3*, Beograd 1995, 95-152; D.Dinić-Knežević, Trgovina vinom u Dubrovniku u 14. veku, *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu 9*, Novi Sad 1966, 39-85; D. Dinić-Knežević,Trgovina žitom u Dubrovniku u XIV veku. *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta 10, Novi Sad 1967*, 79-130; D.Dinić-Knežević, Trgovina uljem u Dubrovniku XIV veka, *Historijski zbornik 23-24* (1970-1971), Zagreb 1971, 290-304; M.J.Dinić, *Iz Dubrovačkog arhiva*, Beograd 1967; Đ.Petrović, O siru u srednjovekovnom Dubrovniku, *Istorijski glasnik* 1-2, Beograd 1988, 21-24 i drugo.

special relationship with his mother-in-law, the Byzantine Empress Irina, an aristocrat of western origin with whom he exchanged visits, embassies and gifts.[8] All this data indirectly suggest a variety of influences that could appear on the menu of King Milutin in terms of food choice, its preparation, serving and consumption.

The process of trying to reconstruct the king's table included baking a variation of *"sumješica"* or the medieval Serbian bread that includes at least two types of grains[9], cooking dishes such as spiced lamb in milk in traditional clay pots, fried saffron-flavored perch, a casserole of fresh water fish and wine, wild mushrooms with garlic and local spices, venison in a sauce of onions, almonds and prunes, as well as several kinds of sweets: a cake with fresh fruit and nuts, candy made of dried fruit and carob, pear in wild berry sauce, *"rožada"* (Venetian sweet caramel cream) and a cake made of sweet cheese – *"prijesnac"*.

"Sumješica" – Serbian medieval bread made of at least two types of grains.

The reconstruction of the medieval bread was significantly eased when the site of Ras fort near Novi Pazar was reliably identified. Based on an analysis of residues of different cereals at Ras, we reconstructed authentic medieval bread as well as contemporary, culinary and nutritionally higher quality variations. According to the discovery from Ras, various mashes were used in the Serbian medieval preparation of bread, in addition to wheat and rye, barley and oats, flour. These four grains were combined into leavened bread.

During the first workshop bread is baked in sauce under a cover in the wood stove, and during the second workshop in a classic pan in the gas oven, since it is not now possible to bake bread in a pan covered with coals in an open fireplace. Bread was served with cheese, salt meat and pickled mushroom and the spicy weed that is the Serbian medieval term for onions and garlic.[10] Special emphasis was on the salt meat that is still a specialty of the mountain regions of Serbia. We then had a kind of model of classic dishes using bread, which are still served in inland and in a number of the restaurants, by combining certain components of the Serbian medieval diet in a salad, a form of food unknown in Middle Ages. The decision to make such variation is mainly based on the many frescoes of the Last Supper that

8 Vizantijski izvori VI, 171-175, 178-179; D.Nikol, *Vizantijske plemkinje*, Beograd 2002, 90-91
9 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 116
10 M.Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, Beograd 1973, 169-174

in addition to the precious bowls of lamb, show painted root vegetables that could be identified as a beet or beetroot on the basis of leaf shape, and in some cases as young or wild onions. These unadorned vegetables on fancy, holy tables inspired making a salad of "*sremuša*" (a plant known as bear or wild onion), goat cheese and walnut kernels in combination with olive oil, at that time a precious imported item found only on the tables of the highest social classes.[11] The salad is flavored with lemon juice since there is reliable information that lemons, together with other Mediterranean fruit, were imported to medieval Serbia. [12] Cranberries, which also grow in the mountainous regions of Serbia, are a modern culinary addition to this salad, whose main ingredients are goat cheese and wild onions. Historical sources, above all trade-related documentation, attest to the significant production of various types of cheese and dairy products from the Serbian medieval countries exported to the Adriatic coast.[13] Serbian cheese, or cheesing, as it is called in the charters of rulers and monastery documents, was so important and valued a product that at one time it served as a means of payment.[14]

The Last Supper, Theotokos Church, Studenica Monastery, early 13th century.

A dish of mushrooms sautéed in butter with added spices, garlic and crushed pepper is a variation of meatless stew that undoubtedly could be found on the menu of both Serbian rulers and ordinary people. No medieval regulation prohibits the harvesting of wild mushrooms, and their nutritional value is well known since ancient times. Mushrooms are fried in butter as a finer kind of fat, although it is certain that the medieval cooks in Serbia mostly used lard and mutton fat.[15] Since lard was more appropriate for frying and had a mild smell, while mutton fat on the other had an important purpose in mining, its price was high, and butchers were fined if they did not give the mutton fat to the miners.[16]

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11 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 124
12 V.Živković, *ibidem*, 99
13 F.Miklosich, *Monumenta Serbica spectantia historiam Serbiae, Bosnae, Ragusii*, Viennae 1858, 139
14 Lj.Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma*, knjiga I, prvi deo, Beograd-Sremski Karlovci 1929, 220; Đ.Petrović, O siru u srednjovekovnom Dubrovniku, *Istorijski glasnik 1-2, Beograd 1988*, 21-24
15 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 124
16 N.Radojčić, *Zakon o rudnicima despota Stefana Lazarevića*, Beograd 1962, 51 - 53

The medieval technique of roasting in ceramics dishes and in rare bronze kettles like the one found in Ras[17], includes quickly deep-frying small pieces of meat or fish in boiling fat or oil. This is how we prepared perch that had been covered in a mixture of integral wheat flour, crushed saffron, salt and pepper. The perch prepared in this way was served with prunes stuffed with raw almonds that had soaked for several hours in sweet wine. Fish was regularly used in everyday diet in medieval Serbia in regions located near rivers and lakes.[18] It was especially important for the monastic dining table, as has been documented numerous times in royal founding documents and other important documents requiring the purchase of fish and seafood, even for Serbian monasteries.[19] Fish is a delicacy, and the tables of the sovereigns, and reports suggest that King Milutin could afford some fish species from the Danube that were prized and expensive in Byzantium.[20]

Forest mushrooms with garlic, pepper and herbs.

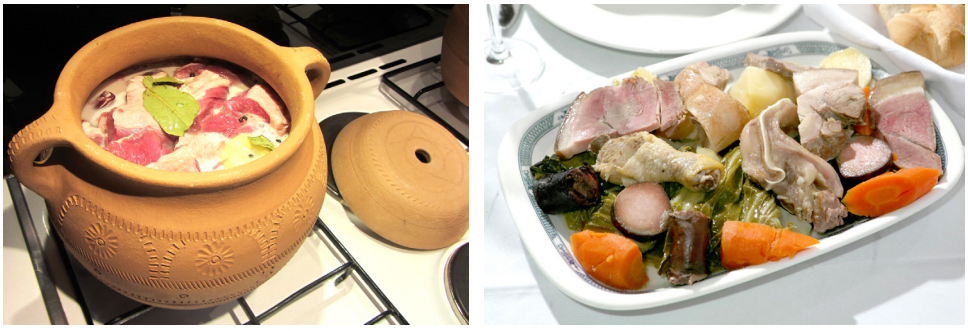
In addition to the deep-fried fish recipe, a recipe for casserole of fish was also reconstructed. This dish using pieces of high-quality fresh water fish (catfish, carp and pike) was prepared in a puree of onion, wine, bay leaf and pepper, after simmering for several hours in a crock casserole type of pot. In Serbia this type of ceramic dish is also called a *"djuvec"*. This method of preparing fish is a variation of the similar kinds of fish meals that were prepared in Serbian Orthodox monasteries for centuries.

Perch with prunes and raw almonds.

River fish casserole with onions and vine.

[17] V.Bikić, Kuhinja i trpeza: Posuđe u svakodnevnom životu, *Privatni život u srpskim zemljama srednjeg veka* (priredile S.Marjanović-Dušanić i D.Popović), Beograd 2004, 147
[18] M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 122
[19] M. Spremić, *ibidem*, 122-124
[20] Vizantijski izvori VI, 114

Livestock in medieval Serbia was the main economic sector, so there was a wide selection of different meats that could be found on the table during a feast. The most popular livestock were sheep, which thrived in mountainous terrain and climate, and also pigs, goats, cattle, horses and poultry. [21] Interestingly, according to the analysis of bones found at the site of the fortress of Ras, poultry was the least used in the diet.[22] When it comes to meat dishes, the decision was to prepare lamb for the model reconstruction according to a cooking technique based on insights into written and visual sources from the era and also from several direct archaeological finds.[23] Lamb is cut into small pieces and arranged in the crock, then a spicy weed is added, carrot, parsley root and wild apples, and then milk is poured over that, as is still done in the rural, mountain regions of Serbia and northern Montenegro, and then cooked in a covered clay pot from Zlakusa.[24] Pottery from Zlakusa, primarily intended for preparing food on an open fire and a



Traditional Serbian medieval style cooking and food.

grill, is the most similar to the medieval pottery used for cooking.[25] At the same time, thanks to the combination of clay and calcite, which allows exposure to high temperature, this cookware allows the preparation of quality food in a modern urban environment where cooking on open fire is not possible. It is particularly important that foods prepared in pots from Zlakusa, are not essentially changed in taste when prepared on stoves using electricity or gas.

In a large ceramic pan with lid like a shallow bell from Zlakusa venison stew with prunes, onions, red wine and herbs was also prepared. Similar traditional Dalmatian food, *"pašticada"*, a way of preparing red meat and game with honey, dried or fresh fruit, is known even in Antiquity.[26] Honey and various aromatic spices and pepper were common addition to wines that were of much lower

21 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 119
22 S.Blažić, Ostaci kostiju sa lokaliteta Ras-Gradina u M.Popović, *Tvrđava Ras*, Beograd 1999, 439-445
23 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 119; K.Borojević, *ibidem*, 200
24 B. Djordjević, *ibidem*, 33-55.
25 B. Djordjević, *ibidem*, 49-51.
26 *Rimski kuvar po Apiciju*, priredila Slađana Milenković, Beograd 2005, 18-20

quality than in the present, and in special way prepared wort, were the base for numerous Roman dishes.[27] Because vineyards were rare in Serbia in the period preceding the Nemanjić dynasty until the middle of the 12th century,[28] wine was imported from the coastal areas. The regulations of its sales were so numerous that this information alone speaks of the importance of this noble drink for Serbian medieval banquet. There was red and white wine in medieval Serbia, with that from Malvasia being especially coveted.[29]

Sweets have a special place in Serbian medieval gastronomy. Documents related to trade and barter with the coastal areas clearly suggest that medieval Serbs loved and ate fruit.[30] The medieval sovereigns' tables had fresh and dried fruit, even in the cold winter months.[31] Rich in forests, medieval Serbia had a most diverse choice of berries. In the Serbian court they ate figs, apples, strawberries, cherries, pears, homegrown plums (*Prunus domestica*), blueberries, blackberries, currants, pomegranates, dates, citruses and peaches. Findings and careful analysis of peach stones (*Prunus persica*) found at the site of the fortress Ras clearly shows that this expensive, juicy fruit, which could only be propagated by plants, was consumed in Serbia in the 12th century.[32]

In addition to fruit, honey was a special treat and long the main sweetener. It was one of the main export items of medieval Serbia.[33] Sugar appears only in the late Middle Ages in the form of so-called heads of sugar that merchants from the coast sold at very high prices almost exclusively to the lords and sovereigns.[34] Merchants of Dubrovnik donated sugar and sweets to the aristocracy in Serbia and Bosnia because their trade depended on the nobles' benefits. Although there

Zlakuša pottery.

Zlakuša venison stew.

27 *Rimski kuvar po Apiciju*, 24
28 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 128
29 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 130
30 V. Živković, *ibidem*, 99
31 Vizantijski izvori VI, 114
32 K.Borojević, *ibidem*, 200
33 M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 126-127
34 Đ.Tošić, *Trg Drijeva u srednjem vijeku*, Sarajevo 1967, 222

is no direct evidence, it is unlikely that late medieval Serbia did not have candy and "rožada", a sweet caramel cream from Venice, as sources show that there were fine sweets such as cakes at the Serbian court in the era of Milutin.[35]

In order to reconstruct the medieval Serbian dessert table, we tried to make both types, those including only fruits, nuts and honey, and also those based on flour, eggs, milk, butter, sugar and fruit. Bearing in mind that nuts such as walnuts, hazelnuts and almonds were consumed in Serbia,[36] we combined these important ingredients in our attempts to reconstruct a treat. So, pear is cooked in a sauce of wild fruits – blueberries, wild strawberries, currants and wild cherries – that also

Pear in sweet sauce of wild red fruits.

Dried fruits candies rolled in carob and walnuts flour and traditional Serbian apple pie with raisins.

contains chopped almonds. Walnuts and hazelnuts were used in making candies from dried fruits, which were then rolled in carob flour. Using almonds, walnuts and hazelnuts, a cake was made of flour, eggs, blueberries, peaches and apples. *"Rožada"* and *"prijesnica"*, or cheese cake (torta de caseo)[37], were made of eggs, young cottage cheese, sugar and flour.

A special part of the "Serbian medieval table" project is serving and eating food in a corresponding proto-medieval environment. The intention to study the customs related to eating, as well as the accessories and other elements vital for serving and eating food, is not aimed at making literal replicas of identified medieval works of art from the era, but at encouraging selected artists to create their own, original designs that incorporate elements of medieval aesthetics and contemporary applied arts, based on medieval tableware, tablecloths, napkins, glassware, wood items, pottery, bone and precious metals.

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35 Vizantijski izvori VI, 114

36 K.Borojević, *ibidem*, 200; M.Spremić, *ibidem*, 118

37 D.Roller, Agrarno-prozvodni odnosi na području Dubrovačke republike od XIII do XV stoljeća, Zagreb 1955, 118,221

WINE FROM THE CLOUDS OF THE EMPEROR CLAUDIUS

Jasmina Uroda Kutlić
Moslavina Museum, Kutina, Croatia

Introduction

Grapevines are among the oldest cultural plants and companions of mankind for millenniums. Wine, the most important product of the grapes, has left its mark on the development of many civilizations and cultures. The bond between the spiritual and the material, which wine effects on humans, its importance for the economy of a community, and its religious and artistic symbolism, have been notable since the earliest periods of the cultivation of vines. For example, the first written monument in Croatia, The Baska Tablet (dated to around 1100 AD) is decorated with vine leaves and tendrils. Archeological and paleo-botanical evidences testify to the presence of vines in the period of the Lower Cretaceous, and certainly in the Tertiary. From this time there are fossil prints of leaves as well as finds of seeds. So the oldest vines date back about 200 million years. The oldest fossil remains on Croatian territory, found near Krapina (a city in the north of Croatia), are older than 60 million years.

Vitus teutnica Al Braun, Radoboj, Croatian Natural History Museum, Zagreb.

Because wild grapes are widespread, it is difficult to say exactly where domesticating of grapes began, but the earliest evidence originates from the Neolithic period (6000 - 5000 BC) and were found along the eastern coast of the Black Sea in an area called Transcaucasia. The oldest remains of wine date from 5400 - 5000 BC and had been found in the northern Iran (the archeological site of Hajji Firuz) .

Container with the remains of wine found at the site Hajji Firuz, 5400-5000 BC.

Around 4000 BC, grape cultivation spread to the area of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt, and it came to Greece from two directions; by land from Asia Minor and from the sea, to Crete and the Peloponnese.

Arrival Of Vine In Croatia

Although it is known that the Illyrian tribes had vines, the Greeks began its systematic expansion in the Mediterranean and southern Europe, and so it arrived at Dalmatian islands and Dalmatia. On the islands of Vis, Korcula and Hvar and towns Trogir and Cavtat, Greeks had their colonies (4th - 2nd Century BC) in which they attributed great importance to the development of viticulture. In the decisions for the establishment of the new settlements allocation of the appropriate land for vineyards were specifically regulated to every settler. Many archaeological remains associated with wine originated from this time, such as the bronze coins from the island of Vis (Issa) dating from the 3rd century BC (photo 3).

Bronze coins from island Issa (Vis), 3rd century BC, showing craters, large containers for wine in the face of money and a bunch of grapes on the reverse, Archaeological Museum Split.

Representation of vines on an ancient sarcophagus, Daruvar, northern Croatia.

Although there is as little historical evidence in continental Croatia as in Dalmatia, it is considered that viticulture had been developed there before the spread of Roman domination, and that the Thracians probably brought it from Asia Minor. Roman colonization of Dalmatia and Pannonia brought to our region a further flowering of viticulture. The habit of enjoying wine was very widespread in the Roman Empire, so the new occupied areas, with appropriate positions, were planted with vineyards and passed on their knowledge to the local population. There are many material evidences of viticulture in ancient times such as grapes and wine on the sarcophagi, tombstones (photo 4).

In the period of the Roman rule viticulture significantly improved and expanded in the province of Pannonia, to which Moslavina belonged. It is known that at the time of the Roman emperor Claudius, in the first century, vineyards were planted in Moslavina. This is the basis of the legend about the name of the region Moslavina, "Mons Claudius" or "Claudius' clouds". Favorable climatic conditions and the extent of soil resulted in wines of exceptional quality. Because of that the Roman emperor Domitian prohibited the planting of quality grape varieties in the provinces of Istria and Pannonia to protect the wine of Rome. During the fall of the Roman Empire, under the onslaught of barbarians, vineyards in Pannonia and in Dalmatia started to fail and only the islands were spared from destruction.

Middle Ages - Blossoms Of Viticulture

After the fall of the Roman Empire, during the vast migration of people, these lands were inhabited by Croats. Being skilled farmers they quickly and gladly accepted the culture of vine growing and wine production. After accepting Christianity viticulture got even greater significance for Croats. The church began to play an important role in the preservation and promotion of viticulture. Some monasteries became proprietors of large vine areas.[1] In Moslavina it was Pauline

[1] E. Maletic, J. Karlogan Kontic, I. Pejic - Vinova loza, Zagreb, Školska knjiga, 2008.

religious order (Order of St. Paul the Hermit).[2] The monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on Moslavina hill is the oldest Pauline monastery in Croatia. It was also the most important ecclesiastical institution in medieval Moslavina. Large Pauline monasteries usually specialized in one of the three largest normal sources of income: milling, grain or wine. The Paulines in Moslavina had of course chosen wine from the earliest beginnings of their settlement. In 1404, the Paulines were granted large areas of land from Slavonian nobles. The land was covered with shrubs, bushes and was uncultivated. The land was ceded to serfs who cleared it and planted vines. Vineyards have consistently been one of the main sources of income for the Paulines. They traded wine for estates and wine was sometimes paid to them instead of money, by giving property in loan. The Paulines also obviously traded with wine because they had disputes for the nonpayment of consumed wine. Serfs at the vineyards had to give a special levy called *gornica*, which usually consisted of nine buckets of must.

Serfs at work in the vineyard.

Permission to start the grape harvest was given by the prior. Monastic vineyards were picked first by sober pickers. It was advisable to take must after the third day of harvest so the serfs couldn't put water in it and thus spoil the wine. The possession of the charter that liberated them from the levy for the bishop of Zagreb testifies to the strength of the monastery Blessed Virgin Mary in this field[3].

Thus in the Middle Ages wine became a very important branch of economy. The great medieval cites got significant incomes from their vineyard holdings. This is why we regularly find regulations on trade, import and export of wine in their statutes. To protect production, medieval towns did not allow the import of wine, except in unfruitful years. Strict penalties were charged for damage to other people's vineyards, but also for the adulteration of wine. The city authorities often determined the price of wines. Royal documents often referred to obligations in wine, as in the aforementioned levy *gornica*, as well as various activities prescribed in the vineyard of the feudatory.

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[2] Paulines or Order of St. Paul the Hermit (Latin Ordo fratrum S. Pauli receives eremitae, OSPPE) is a religious order, which is named after the St. Paul of Thebes, saint from III. / IV. century.Tradition considers him the first Christian hermit and founder of anchoritism. In an era when the Roman emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, he went into the desert, where he lived until the end of life in austere solitude and contemplation. Paulines are also called the Order of St. Paul the Hermit. They are contemplative - active religious order. People call them "the white monks" because of the habit color.

[3] S. Pisk-Pavlinski samostan Blazene Djevice Marije na Gariću (Moslavacka gora) i njegova uloga u regionalnoj povijesti (doktorski rad), Zagreb, 2011.

Interesting information about the vintage was found in medieval Dubrovnik. This was the central event of the year. At the time of harvest, there was some type of collective yearly vacation during which nothing was opened in the city, not even a court, so if you got subpoena, you had to answer to the court after St. Michael's Day (September 29th) because the harvests were usually finished by that time. Like the prior in the monastery, the prince determined the starting date of grape harvest in the city. The importance of the grape harvest as a special event is witnessed by the rules of the monastery of St. Clare in Dubrovnik. One of the regulations was that the doors of the monastery had to be walled up to avoid scandalous events in the circle of monastery. These were not rare[4].

Unfortunately, with the beginning of the Ottoman conquests, the prosperity of viticulture was stopped and stagnation and failure in the vineyard areas started. The main reason for the decline of viticulture was certainly the attitude of Islam towards the enjoyment of alcoholic beverages (although we can find data about some of the Ottoman feudal lords who owned vineyards, that brought them considerable income), but it is also certain that large areas of vineyards were destroyed because of war destruction.

The Early Modern Period - New Ascent Of Viticulture

It was only after the expulsion of the Ottomans in the late 17th century that renewal of viticulture slowly started. Feudal lords from countries with a long tradition of winemaking contributed to that. They assigned abandoned properties, especially in Slavonia, which became an important wine-growing area. Feudal newcomers brought new vines (Traminer, Pinot noir, Riesling ...). The era of making and equipping modern cellars and accepting new technologies started. It was only in the period between holidays of St. Michael (29 September 29) to that of St. George (23 April) that serfs on their feudal estates could sell wine. The nobleman had that privilege for the rest of the year. Then wine was more expensive and the demand for it was greater. In Dalmatia, viniculture remained the most important sector in economy, followed closely by continental Croatia.[5]

In the 18th century Moslavina also recorded a noticeable increase in the cultivation and processing of grapes and wine. Viticulture became a significant industry. The list of Kutina's chamber property from1736 testifies to a large number of vineyards. 248 listed households possessed 545 vineyards! Two years later Kutina and most of Moslavina were conferred on the noble family of Erdödy by the emperor. They soon owned a large number of vineyards. In 1839, Count Erdödy sent

4 G. Ravancic-Vino u srednjovjekovnom Dubrovniku (diplomski rad), Zagreb, 1996.
5 E. Maletic, J. Karlogan Kontic, I. Pejic, ibid

his wine to Vienna for analysis where he won a favorable rating. A few years later, in 1852, several of Moslavina's wines appeared on the first local products exhibition. Of great significance for the development of the economy, including viticulture, was the activity of the so-called Economic Society and its newspaper *Gospodasrki list* (Economic newspaper). This had subscribers in all the major places of Moslavina as well as in its subsidiaries. Subsidiaries from Moslavina organized local exhibitions and participated in those organized by the state.

At the first international exhibition of economy in Zagreb in 1864, the people of Moslavina received many honors and awards for their wines. Moslavina's viticulture owed a lot to one man in particular, the famous Croatian revivalist Ljudevit Vukotinovic who was a judge in Moslavina. Many extremely valuable details about the viticulture of Moslavina were written by him. He is also responsible for the establishment of the society "Drustvo vinotrzveno", a wine producers' association. In 1858, he published his book "Pametarka o vinarsvtu and vinogradarstvu" (Great book about wine and viticulture), a significant textbook at that time.

The next economic fair confirmed Moslavina's viticulture as being the best in Croatia at that time. But, unfortunately, iIn the late 19th century, the wine growing area got a heavy blow. Vine disease emerged and destroyed the old vines. Renewal of vineyards based on American vines took ten years and during that time Moslavina lost its main source of income. The old grape variety that were grown according to tradition since the Roman times, were not quite gone from Moslavina hills, however; the yellow variety *skrlet* survived. Years of intense replanting of vineyards followed along with a new wave of education for the growers. As early as 1903, "Moslavac" wine became widely known. These actions for planting and restoring vineyards lasted until World War I. The Croatian Wine Growers Cooperative of Moslavina was established in the post-war period and development progressed further[6].

The grape harvest in 1950's.

Modern Viticulture In Moslavina

In the mid-twentieth century Moslavina crowned its long development in the wine industry. In 1957, the construction of a wine cellar began in Voloder. Its capacity was 120 wagonloads. The planting of new vineyards started, followed by the establishment of an independent company called "Moslavina's vineyards" in 1962.

6 E. Maletic, J. Karlogan Kontic, I. Pejic, ibid

Capacities of the basement cellars expanded to an additional 300 wagon-loads and in 1989, a bottling machine was installed with a capacity of 3000 bottles per hour! Unfortunately, the company was destroyed in 1990 at the time of major privatization in Croatia along with many other companies and factories. Luckily, Moslavina's vine and fruit growers worked together and founded the association "Lujo Miklauzic[7]" to achieve a more intense program of development. They organized lectures, provided high quality materials, organized product placement and public promotion of exhibition activities. This association was responsible for the large exhibition of wines that was to be initiated in the next decade[8].

Voloder is also significant for a large festival called "Voloder Fall", which still exists today and is held in early September. The 50-year-long traditional grape and wine festival marks the beginning of the grape harvest. Along with fair for wine and must, there are also folk groups from all over Croatia, ethno exhibitions, as well as oxen roasted on a spit. Every year there is a traditional harvest, and three years ago the grape harvest was monitored by the Romans! There is also an election for the most beautiful harvest girl who must wear a traditional costume. Their appearance and proper dress and the election itself are monitored by the director of the Moslavina Museum who is an ethnologist. Along with the election the museum also organizes a workshop on traditional games

Voloder Fall - the vintage is supervised by the Romans!
The most beautiful harvest girl.

During the Homeland War in Croatia many wine-growing areas were occupied or destroyed and wineries devastated, especially in Slavonia. But as soon as the war ended, we moved into reconstruction and wine became an increasingly important segment of agricultural production in Croatia, including Moslavina.

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[7] Ljudevit Lujo Miklauzic (1926.-1991.) - well-known Croatian viticulture expert who has worked in Moslavina

[8] Matica hrvatska Kutina, ibid

Private initiative and an involvement in global trends as well as the use of new scientific and technical achievements have significantly contributed to the quality of Croatian wines. In recent years the vine areas have grown, but they are still far from "The Golden Days of Croatian Wine", in the 19th and early 20th century.

Moslavina now has 14 private wineries and numerous private winegrowers. Unfortunately, during the turbulent years Croatia indigenous grape varieties suffered. Many of them are gone forever, even though efforts have been made to rescue and revitalize the remaining ones in recent years. Moslavina is the leading in that activity with several indigenous grape varieties, such as *diseca ranina, moslavac* and *skrlet*. *Skrlet* is the most common of the indigenous varieties. It the original cultivar of the noble Moslavinan grapes and has a specific recognition and huge potential.

A project for clonal selection of *skrlet* was launched in 2000. It is the first project of its kind in Croatia and a natural way of getting the best qualities of the individual variety. *Skrlet* will be the first Croatian indigenous variety with registered clones. Last year, winegrowers from Moslavina presented *skrlet* at a large wine exhibition in Moscow where interest was stunning. All wine growers together do not have the amount that visitors wanted to buy. Hence, a bright future is awaiting *skrlet*.

MoslaVINA - Exhibition Of Indigenous Croatian Wines

In 1994, the first exhibition of wine in Kutina was organized at the exhibition of Croatian wines and wines of native varieties. The exhibition was launched by the fore-mentioned association of Moslavina's wine and fruit growers. Moslavina Museum was already linked to this first exhibition because it was held at the Gallery of the Museum. Since then, further cooperation was enhanced. The exhibition was, of course, followed by a catalog, and the following year, articles related to the history of Moslavina's viticulture were added.These articles are about folk traditions related to wine, such as meteorology, architectural heritage, folk songs, traditional ways of growing vines, various customs and beliefs related to viticulture (photos 10 and 11). The museum is always open throughout the wine exhibition, and always sets up exhibitions related to wine and viticulture.

Girls in folk costumes at the first exhibition MoslaVINA in the Gallery of the Moslavina Museum.

In the last few years the exhibition was named *Life with Vineyard* and Wine. The director of the Moslavina Museum and ethnologist, Mrs. Slavica Moslavac, is the curator of the exhibition. She is also responsible for the exhibition catalogs and is on a team that appraises the best wine labels. The exhibition contains documentary material, 200 black-and-white and color photographs, and talks about Moslavina's rituals and customs, traditional dishes, wine production and Moslavina wine. The museum also organizes a painting workshop called *vinorel*. Vinorel is an old, almost extinct technique of painting with (black) wine, that is, red wine mixed with water, blackberry sediment and other additives for pigmentation. It is very similar to aquarelle. One modified shepherd game called - *skrlatanje* is organized every year. In this game a participant wins if he can hit the hat with cloth balls. The prize is, of course, wine tasting.

Detail of the permanent exhibition of the Moslavina Museum related to viticulture.

In addition to these manifestations, there is another link between wine and museum. The city of Kutina has no official tour guide, so I do that job in my free time. The tour guide of Kutina of course includes Moslavina Museum and its gallery and continues to the Wine palace, the headquarters of the association "Lujo Miklauzic." This is another blend of museums, tourism and wine. After visitors learn about the tradition of wine growing, wine making and indigenous grape varieties, they visit the Wine palace for the wine tasting. This combination of learning, fun and friendship has proved to be very successful, and visitors keep returning to Kutina. All those who return always remember at least some facts about the history of Moslavina's winemaking, and they never forget the wine.

Moslavina Museum in vinorel technique.

Wine palace in Kutina- headquarter of the Association "Lujo Miklauzic".

Customs Related To Wine

A man's life from birth to death has some connections wine. It is present in all celebrations, festivities, entertainment. In wine-growing regions it is on the table as a daily supplement. Wine was also a universal medicine. Women were given wine to ease their pain in labor, nursing mothers to have more milk, and when a child was teething, its gums were rubbed with wine to numb them and hurt less. It was given as a medicine to sick people. The Church provided a special blessing of wine, and then this wine, according to popular belief, has special healing powers. In many traditions wine has the role of ritual equipment without which the ritual would not be valid.[9] Due to this deep connection between man and wine it is no surprise that there are a large number of patron saints of vineyards and wine as well as many customs. In Croatia the most significant are St.Vincent, St. Michael and St. Martin.

The first saint is St. Vincent, actually Vincent of Zaragoza, celebrated on 22 January as a protector of growers and vineyards. This festivity is called *Vincekovo*. The feast marks the New Year in the vineyards when it is customary to go to the vineyard for the first time in the New Year. Vineyards are also blessed to ensure a fruitful vine. Regardless of weather, the vineyard owner goes to the vine, cuts three twigs with three buds which are then taken to the house and placed in a pan of water in a window. When twigs start to bud, one can speculate about the kind of the coming year. The vine from which the twigs were cut is then ritually sprinkled, "baptized", with old wine and garnished with smoked sausages, bacon and smoked ribs symbolizing the desire for fertility and good harvests. All that is accompanied by song and music, tasting old and new wines, and delicious homemade meals.

[9] Grupa autora, Martinje blagdan vina, Zagreb, 1992.

Vincekovo - blessing of the vineyards.

On 29 September, St. Michael the Archangel is celebrated. In Croatia this festivity is called *Miholje*. St. Michael is the guardian of vineyards from thieves, pests and birds. Vintages usually begin on this day in certain areas. The successful ending of the vintage is celebrated and toasted with special sayings and thankfulness. When all prayers and sayings are finished, a twig from the last harvested vine is cut and the three finest grapes are put on it. Then the young wife, preferably cheerful and with many children, with everyone desiring that the grapes will be very fruitful, pours brandy on the berries with the words: "Drink, drink, drink, until the next year and bear three times more." Then all the pickers show their happiness by singing. At the end of the harvest the landlady cuts one or more branches of the most fruitful grape and put a large potato at the end of a branch (due to the longer maintenance of fresh grapes), which she stores and keeps until Christmas.

The next big celebration in honor of wine is St. Martin's Day, the so-called *Martinje*. Martinje is an ancient folk custom of transferring must into young wine. Feasts of young wine baptism are usually held on St. Martin's Day, 11 November. The celebration of St. Martin or the baptism must be performed under prescribed ceremony. The householder, or one of the skilled guests, takes the role of a Bishop. Then everybody with the help of several altar boys and men of honor, must answer the bishop's questions on behalf of the must. The bishop and the altar boys are dressed in priestly robes with wine applications. The ceremony begins with a song dedicated to St. Martin. Then the bishop asks the must all kinds of diverse questions; he reprehends it for roaring in the barrels and for its friendship with the daughters of the well (meaning mixing with water). The godfather the must promises that it will behave and obey to the bishop's instructions **t**hat from now on, he will bring joy to hearts, strengthen bodies, make jokes, frolic people, encourage heroes and comfort the sad.

End of grape harvest.

The bishop of St. Marin.

All these celebrations are held in the vineyard houses called *kleti*. These are separate buildings made of wood or brick standing outside the villages. They are used exclusively for vineyards. Vineyard tools are stored there, grapes are crushed, barrels are stored, and this is where people gather on these or other celebrations. They thus become a significant element of everyday life in Moslavina's wine region, as both the practical and symbolic center of work, social and ceremonial life. Today these cottages are partially buried, built structures in which only a small part of the space is intended for processing grapes and care of the wine. The remaining area is designed for everyday life and cheerful wine gatherings. A *klet* is the second home to a winegrower and his sanctuary. Ceremonial functions take place in them, that is, one aspect of the local culture in which people express their attitude towards life, their basic values. Winemakers express that with songs, toasts, drinking songs, labels on barrels, and ritual behavior in different circumstances. Therefore, *klet* and vineyards have inextricable connection. The aforementioned customs are bound to them, along with the rituals of the annual cycle of life. They are the place where winegrowers spontaneously and symbolically express their identity. And this identity and love are beautifully expressed in a sentence from "Danica", an old Croatian newspapers from1887. " To the man of Moslavina, the greatest joy is his beloved vineyards. They are his pride and joy. The vineyard is his first concern and fun, his favorite, where he happily goes at any time of the year. It is beautiful to him when it's green and beautiful when it's full of grapes "[10].

[10] S. Moslavac - Zivot s vinogradom i vinom, Kutina, 2008.

That feeling is kept alive in Moslavina today, the true love for viticulture, wine and tradition.

Traditional vineyard house.

FOOD, HABITS AND TABOOS AMONG THE TANZANIAN ETNIC GROUPS

Wilbar Lema
National Museum of Tanzania, Dar es Saalam, Tanzania

To live one must eat. But we not only eat to live, what we eat also affects our ability to keep healthy, do work, to be happy and live well. Knowledge of what to eat and in what quantities is a prerequisite to the healthy and happy life. The average nutritional requirements of groups of people are fixed and depend on such measurable characteristics such as age, sex, height, weight, and degree of activity and rate of growth. Food is anything solid or liquid that has a chemical composition which enables it, when swallowed to do one or more of the following:

- Provide the body with the material from which it can produce heat, or any form of energy.
- Provide material to allow growth, maintenance, repair or reproduction to proceed.
- Supply substances, which normally regulate the production of energy or the process growth, repair or reproduction.

Africa is the second largest continent and is home to thousands of different cultural and ethnic groups. This diversity is also reflected in the many local culinary traditions in terms of choice of ingredients, style of preparation and cooking techniques (Wikipedia: Sept, 2012). In most cases cuisines consists of a combination of locally available fruits, cereal grains and vegetables, as well as milk and meat products. Most food that makes up Tanzanian cuisine is distinctive throughout all of East Africa. Meat is rarely eaten in comparison with the other areas of the continent. Cattle are normally slaughtered only for very special occasions, such as weddings or births. Cattle, sheep, and goats are raised primarily for their milk and the value they contribute to social status as well as being a form of currency. When meat is eaten, however, *nyama choma* (grilled meat), *ndafu* (roasted, young goat from the Chagga) and soup are most popular.

The Tanzanian diet is largely based on starches such as millet, sorghum, beans, and corn meal. Almost all food is eaten fresh and obtained either from the local market or grown in individual local gardens. A meal that could be considered the country's national dish is *ugali*, a stiff dough made of cassava flour, corn meal (maize), millet, or sorghum, and usually served with a sauce containing either meat, fish, beans or cooked vegetables. It is typically eaten out of a large plate shared by everyone, with a bowl of sauce, milk or greens at a table. *Ugali* is mostly preferred for lunch and occasionally as dinner.

Wali (rice) and various *samaki* (fish) cooked in a coconut milk are preferred staples for those living in coastal communities especially Tanga, Zanzibar, Bagamoyo and Dar es Salaam. The introduction of various spices by the Arabs is highly evident in a popular coastal dish, *pilau.* It consists of rice spiced with curry, cinnamon, cumin, hot paper, and cloves. *Wali* and *pilau* are important dishes used in essential ceremonies and events by almost all Tanzanian ethnic groups and eaten using bare hands.

Just as all Tanzanians unite under the language umbrella of Swahili it is the same with *ugali* and rice. Banana is the next common dish but not as popular as the first two. Despite these common three dishes, each ethnic group in Tanzania has its own traditional cuisine. However, the typical family meal is always prepared by women, usually on firewood or charcoal in an open courtyard, or in a special kitchen that is often separated from the rest of the house.

FOOD HABITS AND TABOOS

Existence of many ethnic groups has resulted in varying food taboos and habits throughout the country. There are common food habits and taboos shared by almost all ethnic groups though some are no longer in practice.

These include:

1. Prohibiting men from entering the kitchen at all. In almost all ethnic groups the food is prepared by women. It was and still is immoral and unusual to find a man cooking. Likewise men at the age of marriage were neither allowed to eat in their mothers' homes nor to cook on their own. For instance in Chagga these people are named as "Iketi" (bachelor). It is a bad name and no man likes it. So to get rid of it the man must get married. On the other hand, women are not allowed to hit a man with a used scoop as this will spoil the man from getting married.
2. During pregnancy, salt must be avoided as well as hot food which was believed might burn the child. In some groups hard food was forbidden because it was believed that it might stock in the throat. Yam was restricted because it was believed that the child might become stupid through its consumption. Likewise eggs, chicken were not consumed by the pregnant women in a belief that the unborn child will never have hair after been born
3. There are numerous taboos relating to milk, the most important being that milk was not allowed in contact with other foods, even in the stomach. Therefore, when milk had been drunk, other foods could only be consumed after 12 hours had elapsed or after purging.

4. Respect must be observed at a table. The elders start to serve the food before the rest. While eating silence must be observed and every one must remain seated and even if they have finished eating, the young are not allowed to leave the table before the elders. Teenagers are supposed to clean the table after the meal.

Apart from these common taboos, there are specific food habits and taboos depending on the nature and origin of the ethnic group. Anly a few ethnic groups were selected for this presentation as it could take ages to write the taboos and habits of the more than 120 ethnic groups found in Tanzania.

Maasai is one of the African ethnic groups known worldwide due to their distinctive ways of life and residence close to many game parks of East Africa. They are a Nilotic ethnic group of semi-nomadic pastoralists located in Kenya and northern Tanzania respectively. The fame of the Maasai emanates from their reluctance to abandon their culture. Indeed this is among the very few ethnic groups that managed to maintain their culture to date as a result many Maasai tribes throughout Tanzania and Kenya have attracted visitors to their areas to experience their culture, traditions, and lifestyle. To date cultural tourism has accelerated due to the existence and persistence of the Maasai culture.

The Maasai diet consists of meat, blood, milk, fat, honey, and tree bark and is taken twice a day, in the morning and at night. Wild animals (except the eland), chicken, fish, and salt are forbidden. Allowable meats include roasted and boiled beef, goat, and mutton. Both fresh and curdled milk are drunk, and animal blood is drunk at special times – after giving birth, after circumcision and excision, or while recovering from an accident. It may be tapped warm from the throat of a cow, or drunk in coagulated form. It can also be mixed with fresh or soured milk, or drunk with therapeutic bark soups *(motori)*. It is from blood that the Maasai obtain salt, a necessary ingredient in the human diet. People of delicate health and babies eat liquid sheep's fat to gain strength. Honey, which is imported from neighboring Sandawe and Hadzabe tribes, is a prime ingredient in mead. Recently fermented maize (corn) mixed with millet yeast or a mixture of fermented sugar and baking powder has been used as a substitute.

Many taboos (prohibitions) govern Maasai eating habits. Mead (fermented local brew) is only consumed by elders. The Maasai have a dietary prohibition against mixing milk and meat. They drink milk for ten days and then eat meat and bark soup for several days in between. For warriors, however, the sole source of true nourishment is cattle. They consume meat in their forest hideaways *(olpul),* usually near a shady stream far from the observation of women. Their preferred meal is a mixture of meat, blood, and fat *(munono),* which is thought to give great strength. Maasai men must not eat meat that has been in contact with women or that has been handled by an uncircumcised boy after it has been cooked.

Nyakyusa are Bantu speakers living northwest of Lake Nyasa, Mbeya Region. They grow a variety of crops including bananas and plantains. They also keep cattle. The field cultivation is done communally. Nyakyusa practice an age-set system in which the boys aged 11-13 years establish the age village and till the land while leaving the herding to theirs little brothers. Until the boy marries he cultivates his father's field and eats food cooked by his own mother but sleeps in the age-village. When the boys begin to marry their fathers hand over the leadership to them in a ceremony called *ubusoka***.**

For ages the Nyakyusa practiced polygamy. Men and boys were encouraged to eat with their age mates and to bring home friends to eat to honor their parents. Eating with age mates was considered proper while it was improper, unseemly and somewhat immoral to eat with juniors or women. Women ate alone with young children and unmarried women. Contrary the **Safwa** from the same region have different food habits and taboos. When the Safwa, the elders first serve the food and if the food consists of meat they are responsible for distributing it to the rest of the family. Girls share the food with their mothers and after the meal teenagers are responsible to clean the place. Another group from this region is the **Sangu**, a kind and very welcoming group. The common food habit for this group is that women and men cultivate separate fields. Unlike other groups crop harvesting is not a communal activity. At the end of season the harvests are stored separately and the daily food prepared depending on either side's needs.

The **Fipa** are a Bantu-speaking people living in the southwestern highlands of Tanzania, the Rukwa Region respectively. They are agriculturalists who cultivate maize, groundnuts and millet. Those who live by the shores of Lake Rukwa include fishing as one of their economic activities. The Fipa have also had a long history of iron smelting since the 17th century.

Traditions and customs are highly valued by the Fipa. Marriage follows the Fipa tradition in which the parents discuss with their son about the proper clan to marry. The clans with lazy people, inheritable diseases and unproductive health are highly discouraged. After their wedding the wife and husband stay in the parent's compound for at least a year to learn family matters before leaving and establishing their own home. During the pregnancy women are forbidden to consume certain parts of animals such as heart, kidney, and diaphragm because the same parts in the child's body will get ill. Most of the taboos were directed toward women. These taboos prohibit things which considered unfit and things which were supposed to be done. Taboos gave the society the proper direction of living.

Among the **Kaguru**, the meat preferably the liver is roasted and given to the boys of the deceased. There is no explanation to this but it must be done to prevent any evil to the family and clan at large.

The **Manda** is another ethnic group residing along the Nyasa Lake in southern highlands of Tanzania. They cultivate and do trade. Their main dishes include *ugali* (made of cassava flour) and rice with fish and greens (cassava leaves). The father is responsible for bringing the meal (fish) home and when that happens, he gets the *malombolo* type of fish while the rest of the family must eat greens with other type of fish as *malombolo* is only eaten by men.

The **Nyamhanga** live in the Mbeya region of the Mbozi district. They cultivate sorghum, beans, sunflower, groundnuts, paddy, banana and maize. Cultivation is done in a communal system. According to their food taboo, if the father has sons, then their wives are responsible for preparing food and serving it to their father-in-law each with her food. If it happens one fails to prepare and serve the food, she will not be accepted into the specific clan. After food is served the father distributes it to the members of family. If someone pays a visit to the family at meal time she/he waits until they finished the food and then they can greet each other and prepare food for the guest. Unlike the Nyamhanga, the **Sukuma** serve their food beside their house in open space so as to invite anyone who comes or passes by while having their meal. When you visit Sukuma and find them eating, you are not allowed to say anything but to wash your hands and join the lunch or dinner. After that you greet the family members and state your matter.

The **Nyaturu** and the **Rangi** live in Central Tanzania, the Singida and the Dodoma Region respectively. They cultivate maize, millet and sorghum which constitute their main cuisine. The Rangi serve their food in pots and women and men eat separately. The Nyaturu cook their food in clay pots as they believe that it makes the food tastier than metal pots. When the food is ready, the first person to be served the food is the father. Women are not allowed to eat until the men finish eating. According to their belief men are hungrier than women so they must be served first. This is more or less similar to the **Chagga** where the men are first served, but unlike the Nyaturu Chagga where women and men eat at the same time and same place. It is still rare for children to share the table with elders. The father or grandfather normally leaves a portion of his food to his wife or the younger son or grandson. On the other hand, there are special utensils for serving the father's food. The Chagga never feed their children animal (cow) tail because they believe that they will ramble around like the tail and never settle. As their taboo, the Chagga leave the exess of their food especially dinner not for unexpected guests but instead to the ancestor's night visits!

The **Hehe** are Bantu speakers living in the Iringa Region. This group is believed to have originated from Dongwa, Bena, Sagara and Kimbu. The kingship in this area began about 1300 years ago where by "Hehe" was the name of the great-

est of the Hehe chiefs. The Hehe practice agriculture and animal husbandry. These activities are communally practiced and the one in course just prepares food and local brew to the fellows. According to their food taboos, if the food is ready and the husband is not around his wife has to wait for him. Likewise, if the children are not around for unknown reasons when food is ready, it is forbidden to keep food for them as they believe doing so shows all family members are equal with no respect to elders.

The **Sagara** are another ethnic group with distinctive food habits and taboos. This group resides in Kilosa and is mainly agriculturalist. Sisal is a major cash crop in this area but as a result of the difficulties in maintaining the crop, the Sagara subsist on other varieties of crops including maize, millet, cotton, paddy, pumpkins and vegetables. In this group women and men eat separately. If the food is covered the man is strictly not allowed to uncover it but the woman must do that. Meanwhile when eating it is not allowed to eat *ugali* from top to bottom but the opposite. Pulling of plate or utensils is forbidden.

The **Haya** are an inter-lacustrine (Kagera in particular) Bantu speaking people whose staple food is banana. Coffee is a major cash crop in this region. The Buhaya landscape has two components: the *kibanja* (the banana home base garden) and the *iweya* (the open grass and bushy land). All the funeral and marriage ceremonies take place at Kibanja. In the Haya tribe, the grasshopper *"orthopterous"* (*senene*) has been highly valued for generations, and a gift of *senene* is attributed different meanings depending on the situation. For example, a plateful of *senene* is considered an excellent gift for a relative returning home from study or work abroad, and it is used often in engagements. The *senene* are used when a woman is first proposed to as her way of accepting the offer, though it is also considered appropriate for an engaged woman to prepare *senene* for her fiancé. Apart from been symbol of respect, it is also a unlucky to dream of seeing many locusts. In history women were not allowed to eat *senene* for unknown reasons but this has changed in recent time. Besides being used as food, grasshoppers are ow a substantial source of income, not only for the residents of the Kagera region, but also for a number of other Tanzanians and Ugandans.

A local brew known as *Rubisi* is also highly respected, because it is served at important traditional functions like weddings. People sometimes find it hard to say which of the two products has higher status. But while thinking of the two, there is a third important cultural food item, raw coffee (*kahawa*). If you visit the Haya and not given any of the three, it surely that you do not have good terms with your host.

Do Food Taboos and Habits have any significance?

Food taboos can help to utilize a resource more efficiently; on the other hand taboos can lead to the protection of resources. A food taboo, whether scientifically correct or not, is often meant to protect humans from different aspects, for example, certain allergies, diseases and depression. This could have led to the introduction of taboos declaring food items to be identified as casual agents for those allergies, diseases and depressions and not healthy. Moreover, any food taboo acknowledged by a particular group of people as part of its customs aids in the cohesion of this group, helps that particular group maintain its identity in the face of others, and therefore creates a feeling of "belonging".

Health-wise food taboos and habits had major significance in stabilizing the health of the community. For instance the taboo of prohibiting the pregnant women from eating eggs and other protein-rich foods had some health precaution reason. Since maternal health services were limited and most women delivered their babies at home, it was crucial to feed them less protein foods to avoid delivery of a heavy baby that could lead to birth complications and unexpected deaths. On the other hand, other taboos like prohibiting men from entering the kitchen or a specific group i.e. children from consuming certain food types was aimed at reducing the muddle of food resources as well as encouraging men to work hard to raise and manage their own families.

As it is a fact that there are no universal taboos and habits concerning food, the same is that the secret behind these practices depends on specific ethnic group(s) What is clear is that there are indeed a lot of advantages when people set up and implement rules and practices regarding the selection, preparation, serving and eating/drinking of food, though in some instances disadvantages are inevitable.

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THE TRADITIONAL CUISINE OF PENAFIEL IN THE CONTEXT OF PORTUGUESE FOOD HISTORY

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This presentation considers the traditional gastronomy of Penafiel, contextualized in Portuguese food history, and aims to show not only the local cuisine, but also how Penafiel's Municipality and Municipal Museum are trying to preserve and evaluate this cultural heritage.

Penafiel is a medium-sized county and city located in north-western Portugal, only 35 kilometres from Porto in the interior countryside area, with slightly over than 70.000 inhabitants, 9.000 of whom live in the city. Its traditional gastronomy reflects the evolution of Portuguese cuisine in general, which is very diverse according to region and characterized by the use of local and seasonal products. It is therefore strongly marked not only by the agricultural calendar, but also by the religious one.

In addition to archaeology and economic geography, there are several other historical and documentary sources that trace the evolution of Portuguese cuisine, to understand the historical background of the Portuguese diet and get a better conception of the gastronomic realities of each historical period along with the transformations undergone over time.

Until the sixteenth century, however, we can only use indirect sources, since the oldest known Portuguese treatise on cooking is the *Livro de Cozinha da Infanta D. Maria*, the recipe book of Princess Maria (1538-1577), granddaughter of King Manuel I. This is a manuscript preserved in the National Library of Naples, in Italy, since she was married to the third Duque of Parma, Alessandro Farnese[1]. More than a hundred years had to pass until the second oldest direct source, the *Arte de Cozinha*, a recipe book by Domingos Rodrigues, chef to King Pedro II, was printed in 1680[2]. Together with the *Cozinheiro Moderno ou Nova Arte de Cozinha*,

[1] The manuscript was first published in Portugal in 1967, by Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda.
[2] In Portugal it was published by Imprensa Nacional Casa da Moeda in 1987, and also by Colares Editora in 1995, and again in 2001.

published in 1780 by Lucas Rigaud[3] (also a chef to the Royal House), and the *Arte Nova e Curiosa para Conserveiros, Confeiteiros e Copeiros*[4], printed in 1788, only these four cookbooks were known in Portugal until the nineteenth century.

In the territory which would later become Portugal, the heritage of Roman cuisine was almost completely lost by the early Middle Ages, and the daily diet was extremely poor, with quite rudimentary cooking processes, essentially based on the consumption of cereals, meat and wine. Therefore, the population suffered an excessive intake of carbohydrates and proteins and had serious deficiencies of calcium and vitamins. This resulted in a very weak resistance to infection and favoured the spread of plagues and diseases. Health problems in the kidneys, vesicle, blindness or scurvy were very common in this period.

The influence of other cultures was not enough to enhance Portuguese medieval cuisine. The Muslims, for instance, had had a very strong presence in the territory since the eighth century, especially in the South. Their influence in Portuguese cuisine was very important, but mostly due to the introduction of many new products, such as lemons, oranges, lettuce, carrots, rice, etc.[5]

The Jews, whose presence in the territory can be observed since the early centuries of the Middle Ages, also left their influence on Portuguese cuisine. After being expelled from Castile and Aragón in 1492, as a result of the establishment of the Inquisition a few years earlier, many Jews came to join the established Portuguese Jewish communities, searching for security and refuge. But in 1496/1497 they were also expelled from Portugal along with the Moors, and were only allowed to stay if they converted to the Catholic faith. Those who choose to convert were known as New-Christians, but many did it only to keep up appearances, maintaining their religion, culture and traditions, and practicing their religious rituals secretly. This situation traditionally explains why the "alheira" (one of the most typical smoked Portuguese sausages, which are mostly made with pork meat) was invented by the New-Christians to deceive their neighbours and make them believe they really converted, since it was made only with bread and poultry or game meat, not pork, but appeared to be a normal sausage which any Catholic and good Christian would gladly eat!

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3 Published by Colares Editora in 1999, and again in 2004.

4 This is considered to be the first Portuguese recipe book exclusively dedicated to confectionery, desserts and sweet pastry, whose author is unknown. It's also published by Colares Editora in 1999, and again in 2001.

5 In 711 the Muslims invaded the Iberian Peninsula, and the Christian Reconquest lasted for centuries. Meanwhile, in the twelve century, the Portuguese kingdom was born, due to the strong will of Afonso Henriques, "The Conqueror" (1108/1109 – 1185), who proclaimed himself King of Portugal in 1139 and whose reign, dedicated to the conquest of territory and expansion of the borders, lasted for more than 40 years. Being one of the oldest nations in Europe, the Portuguese State was officially recognized by the Holy See only in 1179. However, in Portuguese territory, the Christian Reconquest was only completed with the definitive conquest of Algarve in 1249, and in Spain with the conquest of Granada, in 1492, the last Arabic domain of the Al-Andaluz.

Bread had huge importance in the daily medieval diet. There were several kinds of breads but the dark one was the real staple food. The most common was made of rye, millet or mixed floors, which was present at the tables of all social strata. In times of grain shortage, other products were milled to obtain flour and used as substitutes for the regular bread, mainly chestnuts, acorn and sweet beans, which also played a huge role in medieval regular diet. Bread was used at the table not only as food but also as a plate for placing the food on.

During the medieval period the main meals were dinner (today's lunch) and supper (today's dinner) and consisted in most cases of thick soups and broths, prepared with legumes such as peas and lentils, and different vegetables, like cabbages, onions, radishes and turnips. Whenever possible for the people, these soups were enriched with animal fat, such as grease or lard, or even meat, an exceptional luxury. Other lighter meals took place during the day for those who could afford that, particularly with the consumption of fruits and wine.

While most of the population subsisted on bread, soup and wine, eating a meat or a fish dish whenever possible to supplement the diet, the wealthy tables of the nobles and clericals had a large number of dishes for daily meals, ranging from three to four courses at lunch, in addition to soups and desserts, and two main courses for supper. Vegetables and legumes weren't particularly appreciated by the noble class, and most of the courses consisted of several kinds of meats, or the same meat prepared in different ways, since it was considered to be the noble food and the main source of strength.

Meat consumption was indeed great, especially dry and salty, but with quantity and quality closely linked to social and economic status of the consumer. The most usual meats were rabbit, pork, lamb and beef, along with poultry such as chickens and ducks. Besides these domestic species, game animals also played a very prominent role in the diet. The documental references show that deer, bear, partridge, hare and other wild species, now extinct, were commonly hunted in Portugal's woods and forests.

Medieval recipes were not very elaborate. Meat was consumed in most cases roasted on a skewer, but also boiled or stewed, usually on special occasions. There was also great use of many kinds of sausages, which allowed for the use of leftover meat scraps and lower quality meat, and was also a great method for maintaining and conserving it for a long time. Fish, on the other hand, were especially enjoyed fried and covered with a flour batter, a cooking technique later exported to Japan. Food was usually seasoned with fresh or dry herbs, onion and garlic, as well as sour oranges or lemons. Salt was especially used for conserving food and was a very expensive product, only used by privileged persons.

In so distinctly a religious period as the Middle Ages, the requirements imposed by the Catholic Church on the population's diet were very heavy, and transgression was truly exceptional. More than a third of the days of the year were periods of fasting and abstinence. In most cases these periods did not represent a clear choice of fish over meat, but only an inhibition in the consumption of animal fat, meat or eggs.

Nevertheless, fish was also widely consumed, especially by the lower layers of the social pyramid since it was very cheap. Hake, sardines, lampreys, conger eels, shad fish, mullets and trout were the most consumed, usually dry or salted, but other species such as tuna, shark and even whales were also much appreciated, in addition to crustaceans and shellfish.

Apart from meat and fish, there was also great consumption of fruits (mainly apples, pears, plums and figs), and at the nobles' tables, eggs, cheese and even butter. Milk, also used for medicinal purposes, was not drunk as we do today, but was specially used to make butter and cheese, and also in the preparation of sweets and desserts in convent and court cooking.

Wine was always a very important nutritional supplement during all historical periods and was appreciated by the entire population being much appreciated cooked or mixed with water.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought substantial changes to the diet of the Portuguese due to the overseas expansion with the discovery of the New World, the African, Oriental and Asian commercial routes, which led to the development of global international trade. Numerous new products were introduced during this period and quickly became part of our gastronomy, such as the potato, tomato, pepper, maize corn, rice, turkey, sugar cane, tea, coffee, chocolate, cinnamon, and many others. From this period on, the Portuguese began the widespread use of spices, which were taken as a symbol of wealth and used almost indiscriminately in mixed bittersweet flavours of which we can see an excellent example in Penafiel St. Martin's pies.

In this period of expansion with the beginning of global trade, worldwide contacts and exchanges between different cultures and civilizations, Portugal played a major role in connecting Europe with the New World, Africa, the Middle East and Asia. Portuguese influence in foreign cuisine was also felt. One of the examples is the famous Japanese tempura, which is actually a very common medieval cooking technique for frying food with a flour batter and introduced in Japan by Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century.

The import of all these new products and foreign influences led to profound changes in Portuguese habits and diet, mainly felt from the seventeenth century on, especially in new ways of cooking with the ample use of pies and purées, or

the habit of eating buttered toasts. With these changes also came new specialized cooking equipment, furniture and tableware.

These innovations also established new schedules and new rituals associated with meals. Such changes started from top to bottom, from the privileged strata of society spreading very slowly and very gradually to the mass population.

The two daily meals of medieval times, lunch and dinner, were gradually complemented by breakfast and an afternoon snack, a real novelty in the daily diet. When speaking of breakfast in this period, we are talking about a very different reality from today's habits, which still survived in the twentieth century until until a few decades ago. This was the breakfast that Portuguese farmers continued to eat, as they did in the sixteenth or eighteenth centuries, consisting of a broth with wine or a soup with bread, and not milk, coffee and toast.

The afternoon snack, the true novelty of the late seventeenth and eighteen century, has become a moment of fraternization within the high society, a time for leisure and socializing, ideal for drinking tea with toast or crackers. This is the daily habit that Catarina de Bragança, daughter of King João IV who became the queen of England and Scotland by marriage to Charles II, took with her to England, institutionalizing "five o'clock teatime" – after all, another Portuguese import!

During this period Portuguese cuisine was also influenced by European gastronomy, and the rich tables of the nobles experienced flavours from other countries, especially France, mixing tastes and heritages. On the other hand, the mass population continued to adapt its taste to the new products introduced during the period of expansion. These became naturally ours and a part of our cuisine.

The publishing of the book "The Art of Cooking", by Domingos Rodrigues in 1680, represented a milestone in Portuguese gastronomy. It definitely based on a careful text that showed and promoted the taste of the Portuguese nobles, marking what we may call *the classical era of Portuguese cuisine.*

The constant and fast evolution of cooking from the eighteenth century and on marked Portuguese gastronomy until today. At the present time we are its inheritors, although some medieval dishes adapted to our day's taste are still strongly present.

The Portuguese people value this heritage and its diversity as a very strong identity and cultural element. Our cuisine is very rich and very different from region to region. Even the nationalist propaganda of Salazar's period of dictatorship[6], promoting some dishes as "typical national ones" in attempting to create a gastronomic unity of the nation, wasn't able to reduce this wide variety of flavours

[6] After being Minister of Finance for a short period in the 20's, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) was Head of Government from 1932 to 1968, and established in Portugal, since 1933, a conservative dictatorship regime that lasted until 1974, when it was put to an end by the Revolution, on the 25th of April, which allowed Portugal to finally become a democratic nation-state.

that can be so different from North to South, from the ocean coast to the hinterland, from the plains to the mountains. As said before, Portuguese gastronomy is deeply marked by the agricultural and the religious calendar, since the holy celebrations, fairs and festivals influence the preparation of traditional cuisine also today. Therefore, cooking methods, ingredients and flavours differ during the year, depending on the season, and from region to region.

Speaking of Penafiel now, along with other traditional dishes common to the whole country such as boiled codfish and others, we can find that some of the most typical regional delicacies have been cooked in a similar way for centuries, such as roasted lamb with rice cooked in wood oven, fried or pickled shad fish, stewed lamprey in blood sauce, usually accompanied by the excellent "vinho verde", a unique wine in the world.

Influencing traditional local cuisine in early spring, two factors are to be taken into account. On one hand, for Catholics, there is Lent, representing a 40-day period of fasting and abstinence before the Easter celebration. Today this is usually just practiced on Fridays with no consumption of meat. On the other hand, this is the season of spawning shad fish and lamprey, which are characteristic along the waterfront of the Douro and the Tâmega, the two main rivers in Penafiel.

Nowadays, however, it's very difficult to find shad fish and lamprey here, due to the construction of a dam. This makes it difficult for these species to head up the river, spawn and return to the sea. Obviously, this situation greatly increases the price of these products, and it is now a real luxury to have a meal of shad fish or lamprey. Therefore it is always a special occasion to be shared with family and friends. Shad fish can be eaten simply fried or grilled, but are especially appreciated if marinated with vinegar for a few days, and then fried. This process not only gives a lot of flavour but also softens its many fish bones, by action of the acetic acid. For its part, lamprey is stewed with red "verde" wine, added to its own blood. It is served only with sliced bread or with rice cooked in its broth.

When Easter finally arrives, roast lamb or roasted mutton is the main course in all houses, preferably cooked in a wood oven on a bed of rice and potatoes to absorb its flavour. Traditionally, it could be preceded by peeled chestnut soup prepared with smoked ham and white beans, cooked for a few hours and finished with a mint leaf as a final touch.

Bread itself reflects the religious festivity. In local bakeries you can find the well-known "pitinhas" made of wheat bread in a dove shape representing the Holy Spirit and, in the old days, traditionally offered by godparents to their godchildren. As pastry, the "pão-de-Ló", a kind of egg sponge cake, is the king of desserts, enhanced by a glass of port wine.

At the end of spring, Penafiel celebrates the *Solemnity of Corpus Christi*,

which is the city's major festival. Again roast lamb is the obligatory course for that day's lunch. This menu was traditionally preceded by the "bazulaque", a truly documented medieval dish which consists of a stew with the "visera" of the lamb, consisting of liver, spleen, kidneys, lungs and heart, cooked for several hours with smoked ham and peas and served with sliced bread. However, this traditional old delicacy is disappearing quite fast from the local cuisine, because the younger generation doesn't like the particular taste of these internal organs, nowadays considered to be "quite disgusting".

In midsummer, the city of Penafiel is again glad of the feast on St. Bartholomew's day and the traditional onion market, where the population get supply for some months, not only of onions but also of oak bark melons, local species of quite expensive melon with a spicy taste, and other seasonal products. As a season for fresh, sweet and ripe tomatoes, they also come to traditional table, cooked in rice or manioc flour as a side dish for fried sardines and other proteins.

In the harvest season, people traditionally ate one of the most typical desserts of Penafiel, the "sopa seca", consisting of sliced old bread soaked in boiled water with sugar, cinnamon and port wine, arranged in layers in a bowl alternating with mint leaves, and then put in a wood oven to brown. This was the traditional, simple farmers' dessert that celebrated the end of harvest, but is now also made for Christmas and other celebrations.

The great celebration of St. Martin in Penafiel is a perfect example of the abundance at the end of autumn when days are dry and warmed by the so-called St. Martin's summer. Even today there is a big street market that used to last 10 days. It was one of the most important commercial platforms in the North for supplying and distributing products between the coast and the hinterland, since Penafiel is located right on the connecting route used ever since the Middle Ages. This was the ideal period to come down from the interior highlands to sell harvest products and to supply pantries and storerooms just before winter comes and makes regional travel difficult and dangerous for several months.

At St. Martin's fair, new wine and chestnuts are the main stars today. Most of the traditional sweets sold on the streets have been common at least since the sixteenth century. The "bolinhos de amor" ("love cookies), the "pão-de-Ló", the "pão podre", the "rosquilhos", and other sweets are still popular among people on these feast days. One of the most curious sweets in the region is the phallic candy of St. Gonçalo, containing an explicit message and traditionally exchanged between sweethearts and lovers. However, the most typical and exclusive product of Penafiel is St. Martin's pie, which is a minced meat pastry flavoured with nutmeg and covered with sugar and cinnamon, combining a bittersweet taste as it was used in the seventeenth century.

The end of St. Martin's is also the traditional time for slaughtering pigs, a time

for eating "rojões", pork meat prepared with fresh lard, chestnuts and potatoes, and also "sarrabulho", a kind of strong thick soup made of pork blood, bread and flour. It was also the time when people traditionally prepared pumpkin porridges, fresh quince marmalade to supply the pantry, and, for desserts, the "sarrabulho doce", sweet sarrabulho, another delicacy now in disuse made of pork blood and fresh lard, cooked with bread, honey, cinnamon, lemon and port wine. Since this is another odd flavour to our modern taste and takes quite a few hours to prepare just like "bazulaque", this dish is also disappearing with only a few families still making it in Penafiel.

On Christmas Eve, which is still a fasting period, the preferences is for boiled codfish with potatoes, eggs, carrots, cabbages and fresh sprouts, which is also the menu for the King's Day Eve. On Christmas day the table is richer and two or more courses can be prepared. The option goes to roast capon, chosen and castrated in the last days of September, or to pork loin roasted with potatoes, while not forgetting baked rice and sprouts sautéed in olive oil as a side dish. The traditional "roupa velha", which literally means "old rags" because it is made of small pieces of leftover boiled codfish and vegetables from the day before sautéed in olive oil and garlic, can be eaten at lunch or left for dinner. This meal is completed with traditional sweet delicacies such as "rabanadas" (a kind of French toast made with water, milk or wine), "bolinhos de bolina ou gerimú" (sweet fried small pumpkin pasties), "leite-crème" (a milk custard very similar to *crème brulée*), "aletria" (sweet vermicelli pasta boiled in milk, sugar and eggs), "arroz doce" (like "aletria", but with rice instead of pasta) and fruity "bolo-rei" (the so-called King's cake), among others.

On Shrove Tuesday, the last day of the Carnival brings the very popular boiled Portuguese meat to the table, with beef, pork, chicken, smoked ham and cured sausages, all boiled in water that then is also used to cook rice and vegetables. This gives them a tasty smoked and cured flavor, and a distinguished and refined touch. Also white beans with pork's ears, fresh or smoked, ham, cured sausage, pork ribs, streaky meat, all boiled, can be the traditional meal, having "leite-creme" or "aletria" for dessert.

And after this, springtime returns to renew another annual cycle.

After this overview of Penafiel's traditional cuisine, it is time to learn what role and what kind of action the Museum and Municipality play in the preservation and validation of this gastronomic heritage.

One of the direct actions of the Museum through the renewed museography of the permanent exhibition was the allusion to some local and important products, such as an interactive multimedia device where lampreys seem to dance in the water and come to eat from the visitor's hand when touching the device. In

the preparation of the educational service activities related to local cuisine, we also explore, for example, the cycle of bread, teaching children how to prepare traditional "boroa" or "broa", known in medieval times and still much appreciated in typical regional cuisine.

The Museum has always been the Municipality's main partner for the preservation and validating of Penafiel's gastronomic heritage. In 2004, the annual Festival of Lamprey was created and the Museum was asked to develop research for the traditional local cuisine that served as support to the project. This was published in several editions in small handy brochures, distributed to promote local cuisine and to better integrate tourists into the event[7].

Another project of touristic and cultural interest, where Museum and Municipality are partners of the local community, began in 2007 with the creation of the Feast of the Soup taking place in the traditional village of Quintandona. This small village is near the mountain and preserves unique architectural features that have already disappeared in Penafiel. Documented since at least the thirteenth century, the village's built heritage has been restored and rehabilitated, but also enhanced through a wide animation program directly involving the inhabitants who support the whole project. With this urban revitalization, it was necessary to rejuvenate and re-develop that community, which was done through the promotion of its gastronomic heritage. This popular Feast of the Soup takes place annually on the third weekend of September and allies the recovery of the local farmer's soup – the symbol of this festival – with performing arts, traditional music, popular theatre, popular games, nature and heritage, all combined together. Nowadays, the three days of the feast bring around 15.000 visitors to the village, where a wine bar, a typical restaurant and a country house also appeared as private investments, bringing a whole new economical dynamic to the place.

Another initiative of the Municipality was the creation of a registered brand called "From our Land", as a label of quality for producers to certify their food products as being local ones for consumers. A small store was first placed right in the city centre where people and tourists could buy local products and delicacies under this certified promotional brand. Today it is located in the Museum, together within the museum store. As a result, visitors have a wider chose of souvenirs, buying not only the museum's publications and merchandise, but also local jams, sweets, cheeses, teas, wines or liquors, and thus get to know some typical food products better.

Other actions are also supported by the Municipality, including the creation of two local gastronomic confraternities, the Oak Bark Melon, and the Onion and

[7] That is the research used as baseline for this presentation, published for the first time in 2004, which is still avaiable online at http://www.cm-penafiel.pt/pt-pt/visitar-penafiel/o-que-saborear.aspx

Ham Confraternity. There are more than 80 associations of this kind in Portugal, most of them registered in the National Federation of Gastronomic Confraternities. They play an important role in the preservation, valuation and promotion of high quality national food products that are now seen as cultural, economic and historical elements of Portuguese identity and heritage.

In addition to these and other projects, the Museum also seeks to find partners with whom it can work towards the preservation and promotion of Penafiel's gastronomic heritage. Several such partnerships have been established. For example, one of the local wine cellars uses the Museum's logo printed in its bottle labels, offering a free entrance for each set of three bottles sold. Or the case of a ecological jam and tea producer who used the aerial view image of the museum's archaeological extension, the Iron Age settlement of Castro de Monte Mozinho, as a logo for his brand, calling it "Mozinho's Flavours".

Aware of the importance of these actions in the promotion and preservation of local gastronomic heritage, Penafiel's Museum continues to work with its community in arousing younger generations to the importance of local gastronomy as being representative of the people's identity, cultural heritage and collective memory. This needs to be protected, enhanced and promoted every day in order to survive the plague of global fast food.

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THE RESCUE OF OLD RECIPE BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS OF LECTURE RECORDS

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The mission of the Foundation is to Promote Research and Development in the area of nutrition and food, in order to carry out social, cultural, educational, scientific and technological projects in this area. With regards to the **cultural** area of the Foundation, its main objective is to do research, preserve, increase and disseminate the rich patrimony of Mexican cuisine.

Because it is extremely interested in rescuing and making this national wealth known among the different segments of the population, the Herdez Foundation has published different gastronomic texts, through its Library and Publishing Program. It is especially interested in the rescue of old cookbooks and in spreading and publishing them.

The importance of the publication program

Publications are important in order to make the knowledge of a few researchers available to a broader audience and thus spread it further. A clear example of this is found among the users of the Foundation Library.

1. The Library of Mexican Gastronomy

The objective of the Library is to promote the use of the collection of documents to spread knowledge, to be used as a tool when doing research on Mexican Gastronomy, and consequently to promote the development of new contributions to Mexican Cuisine.

The Library's target includes researchers in History, Ethnography, Nutrition, Gastronomy, Hotel Management and Tourism, students from different universities and technical Schools, as well as chefs and the general public

During its first 15 years, the Library has provided services to more than 45 000 users.

2. Collections in the Library of Mexican Gastronomy

The Library of Mexican Gastronomy houses a specialized collection in Mexican Gastronomy made up of more than 4,000 volumes, of which 88 are original editions published in the nineteenth century and in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The collection also includes facsimiles of handwritten recipe books dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The Library is supplemented with classic books on world gastronomy by such authors as Ruperto de Nola, Enrique Villena, Carëme, Gouffé, Brillant Savarin, among others.

Included among its more important collections are:

- *Cocina Familiar por Estados* [Family Cooking by States], published by BANRURAL
- *Cocina Indígena y Popular* [Indigenous and Popular Cooking], published by CONACULTA
- *Cocina Regional* [Regional Cooking] by Josefina Velázquez de León
- *Colección La Cocina Mexicana a Través de los Siglos* [Mexican Cooking Through the Centuries], published by Fundación Herdez
-

3. Publictions

Some titles have been also published as part of the rescue program of the rich Mexican Gastronomy patrimony:

- *La Cocina Mexicana a Través de los Siglos* [Mexican Cooking Through the Centuries], Clío Publishers, Mexico, 1997
- *El Libro Verde de la Cocina Mexicana* [The Green Book of Mexican Cuisine], DGE Publishers, 1st edition, Mexico, 1999
- *Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Gastronomía Mexicana* [Encyclopedic Dictionary of Mexican Gastronomy], Clío Publishers, Mexico, 2000

Online publications include:

- Records of the Fundación Herdez Congresses and Lectures Fundación Herdez

1. "El Chile Protagonista de la Independencia y de la Revolución"
   ["Chili, Protagonist of the Independence and of the Revolution"]

Printed Publication 2011

2. "Frijol un regalo de México al Mundo" ["Beans, a gift from Mexico to the World"]

Printed publication 2012
Old documents that have been rescued include:

- Michoacán Cooking Handbook, Facsimile, joint publication with the Government of the State of Michoacán and the San Nicolás de Hidalgo University in Michoacán, Mexico, 2004
- Quadernos de Cosina de Barios Guizados, [Cooking Notebooks including Several Dishes] Hacienda del Peñasco 1773, San Luis Potosí. Facsimile, joint publication with the Government of the State of San Luis Potosí, Gráfica Panorama Publisher, Mexico, 2007

4. Types of Public

The Library spreads knowledge on Mexican Gastronomy:

- to the general public through:

- Lotería, Educational Brochure of the Museum "Galería Nuestra Cocina Duque de Herdez " ["Gallery of Our Kitchen Duke of Herdez"]
- Green Book, Mexican Cuisine through the Centuries

- to specialists and researchers through:

- Encyclopedic Dictionary of Mexican Gastronomy, Rescue of Old Documents

5. The Rescue of old recipe books

All in all, what begins with rescuing a recipe book turns into a historical study that recovers old material and therefore recovers national identity and Mexican traditions.

One example is the *Cuadernos de Cosina de Barios Guizados*, from the Hazienda del Peñasco, San Luis Potosí, 1773.

Its historical value recovers the atmosphere and the study of San Luis Potosí in the eighteenth and twentieth centuries at the Hacienda del Peñasco as carried out by María Isabel Monroy Castillo, Ph. D.

A technical study on an analysis of ingredients, cooking techniques, cooking utensils and other aspects of food culture (such as regional dishes, the kitchen as space, recommendations for cooking) and daily life during that time as done by Cristina Barros and Marco Buenrostro.

A document as a recipe book is not only a set of different recipes, but it is also interesting due to its context. There are things to be rescued in each of the details, such as who wrote it and the daily life in that period.

Since UNESCO classified the Mexican cuisine as world heritage in 2010, each one of the States of the Mexican Republic has searched for oral and written sources to justify the tradition, the authenticity and the originality of their cuisines. The Herdez Foundation has contributed to such rescue activities in promoting and strengthening the initiatives of the states of Michoacán and San Luis Potosí by rescuing old cookbooks that support the work of two women from these different states.

6. Discovery of Quadernos de Cosina de Barios Guizados

In order to pay tribute to the Hernández-Pons family from San Luis Potosí and to "Doña María" mole, having known about the great tradition of the food in that state, I began looking for recipe books, manuscripts and any other documents related to the gastronomy of San Luis Potosí.

After a long and fruitless search in national and family archives, I got a call from Sandra Castro de Gazca who told me she had a manuscript form the Hacienda del Peñasco, which she had received as family inheritance and which had been kept in the family as a valuable treasure.

This was great news, the recipe book had been written by the Countess of the Peñasco herself, María Ildefonso Pérez Calderón, the wife of Francisco de Mora y Luna, both historical characters whose descendants continued writing the book.

7. Constitution of the team of experts

Ever since the beginning of the process the purpose was to acquire and to publish the document. Since that would trigger a series of actions, I therefore asked María Isabel Monroy to form part of this team of experts. Her participation would give the text a peculiar importance. I also asked Cristina Barros and Marco Buenrostro, renowned researchers of Mexican Cuisine, to join the team. They had already collaborated with us when we published *Manual de Cocina Michoacána*. Sandra Castro de Gazca was also asked to participate. She is the one who told in a delicate manner the way this manuscript got to her hands. The publishing team would be formed later.

8. Joint publication

The Herdez Foundation always tries to participate in a joint publication of a text so that they reach the greatest number of people and so that the production expenses do not have to be covered by a single entity. Agreements with the states where the cookbooks were published have been reached In many of the cases.

9. Scope

The scope of the rescue of an old cookbook includes preparing food following the recipes included in the book, and offering small portions to those who attend the presentation of the book.

These are some of the recipes that were prepared:

- Bien me sabe y mas me gusta [This tastes good and I like it more]
- Cajeta de camote y almendra [Sweet potato and almond milk candy]
- Rabbit
- Roscon
- Ravioli
- Zuchini Torte
- Guizado de los trapitos
- San Lorenzo patties

10. Distribution and dissemination

The first presentation of the cookbook took place in San Luis Potosí and the second at the Herdez Corporate Offices in Mexico City.

Chef Ana Benítes Muro and researcher Graciela Bernal from the Colegio de San Luis collaborated in a course and the conference given at the Universidad del Valle de México in San Luis Potosí.

Within the frame of the Exhibition "Private Archives" at the Museo Soumaya, (2011-2012), the Herdez foundation contributed with 8 copies of its reserved fund, among others the Michoacán Food Handbook part of its Rescue of Old Cookbook Program.

11. Means of communication

A news conference was held at the Herdez Foundation with the participation of our collaborators. Interviews were presented on radio and television, there were notes in different local and national newspapers, and distribution of information through the web page.

12. Impact

1,000 copies were printed.

13. The online publication program

To reach a larger number of people with the use of new technologies and to make the rich patrimony of Mexican Gastronomy known, the Online Publication Program was started (Free download) through the www.fundacionherdez.com.mx homepage. This has resulted from the cycle of conferences that have been held at the Foundation to promote the knowledge about and the consumption of Mexican products that prevail in the diet of Mexican people. and in a short period of time tomato will be included. The purpose of this strategy is to link the interests of the company that launches new products with those of the Foundation in promoting research and food development.

14. Publications by the Herdez Foundation:

- **Chili. Protagonist of the Independence and of the Revolution**

To commemorate the Bicentennial of the Independence and the Centennial of the Revolution of Mexico, the Herdez Foundation organized the conference cycle "Chili – Protagonist of the Independence and of the Revolution". The texts of said conferences are included in these Records. In these conferences a group of experts talked about the chili from different points of view. This is how Janet Long Towell, Héctor Bourges Rodríguez, Sergio Hernández Verdugo, Eduardo Merlo, Marco Buenrostro and Cristina Barros contributed to the building of a rich view on the subject. Each lecture was followed by tasting some dishes. Chefs Jorge Luis Álvarez and María Engracia Celis Juárez took turns offering participants delicious treats in which the vibrant flavors were combined with history. Printing: 500 copies in Spanish, 500 copies in English.

- **Beans. A gift from Mexico to the world**

The wealth of the cultural patrimony of Mexico is huge, and in regards to food, beans enjoy a privileged position together with other distinctive products such as corn and chili. Beans are also an important part of our identity.

This publication is part of the publishing Project that the Herdez Foundation has started to disseminate this patrimony. To achieve this, the Conference Cycle Beans, a gift from Mexico to the world was held. In this cycle renowned researchers participated together with two chefs who were in charge of preparing dishes used beans as the main ingredient; this dishes were tasted by the those who attended the conferences.

The essays included deal with beans from different points of view: its natural history and the long domestication process; cultural implications during precolo-

nial times and ritual consumption; processing and industrialization, importance as a staple food in Mexico; etc. The book also includes ten recipes in which the main protagonist is beans. Printing: 500 copies in Spanish, 500 copies in English .

15. The rescue of our traditions

To promote our gastronomic and cooking traditions we have had several courses, workshops and seminars that have already become a tradition within our cultural and educative activities.

The tamales course is one such example. This is offered before the Candelaria festivity in January. The first was held in 2002 and has been organized every year since.

Tamales.

Renowned chefs have been in charge of these courses. They have shared their regional and family recipes with the participants. In this way they have contributed to enrich the rich patrimony of Mexican Cuisine.

This year we had the course "Tamales with precolonial roots". Here rolled tamales mixed with beans were rounded with sauces, then filled and as big as a cake and wrapped with spinach tree leaves. Carp tamales were also prepared.

Later, we visited the Botanical Garden of the National Autonomous University of Mexico where Edelmira Linares and Robert Bye delivered key note addresses on the different products of a *milpa* [corn field]: corn, beans and pumpkins, and on the different kinds of leaves in which tamales are wrapped.

While walking through the Garden, some of the ingredients used to fill tamales such as the moles were analyzed from a botanical point of view, and visitors were able to see a great variety of living plants.

Botanical Garden of the National Autonomous University of Mexico.

PORRIDGE. TRADITION AND NUTRITION IN NORWAY

Jean Aase
Kragerø Museum, Kragerø, Norway

Porridge is the oldest form of warm food still commonly eaten in Norway. Porridge in this context means not merely a hot or cold dish served for breakfast, but instead the main dish at a meal, or even the entire meal in itself.

The history of porridge as a human dietary staple in Norway or nearly anywhere else in the world is almost as long as that of growing grain. The first grains, *einkorn* or *emmer*, were grown in the Neolithic period – in Norway this is about 4500 years ago. Agriculture in Norway was subsistence farming until the late 1800s. The grains grown in this period were barley, oats, rye and some wheat in the best districts. Grain can be grown almost everywhere in Norway thanks to the warming influence of the Gulf Stream on a climate that would otherwise be sub-Arctic.

Porridge was eaten everywhere and often two to three times a day in peasant households. Butter was seldom used since it had to be sold to supply cash or used to pay taxes. Nor was fresh meat eaten; meat used in peasant households was always salted or smoked. The fish eaten in fishermen's households was, however, usually fresh.

The grain used in cooking porridge on any individual farm was the variety that could most easily be grown in the district. Traditional porridges are named according to the type of grain and the type of liquid used. The liquid is usually boiled, salt is added and flour sprinkled in. Then the mixture continues to simmer until it is thickened. Common types of porridge include:

- *vassgraut*: "Water" porridge, made of coarsely ground barley flour sprinkled into salted boiling water.
- *havregrøt*: oatmeal or rolled oat simmered in water or milk.
- *fløyelsgrøt*: "Velvet" porridge, basically a thick white sauce made of a blend of wheat flour and butter mixed with milk.
- *rømmegrøt*: sour cream porridge, made by simmering and stirring the cream until butter appears, and then thickening it with a little flour.
- *risengrynsgrøt*: freshly cooked rice into which milk is gradually added. Rice came into common usage only after imports of it increased in the 1700s.

Cooking of all foods, including porridge, was first done on open hearths, then on fireplaces when they became common after about the mid-1700s, and on enclosed iron stoves from the late 1800s and on. Cooking utensils were always an iron pot and a wooden whisk – a *tvare*.

Sour-cream porridge (*rømmegrøt*) was the variety traditionally served on special occasions in rural households. The food, including porridge, was supplemented by contributions from a group of close neighbours and relatives. Such special occasions included baptisms, weddings and funerals. Or as the saying was: "You are born, married and buried next to the porridge bowl". Neighbours' contributions of food helped the host family feed a large number of guests. And as this was a form of reciprocal assistance, the family was expected to contribute food of similar quality when any of its neighbours or relatives had similar need of help. However, the nourishing sour-cream porridge presented to a newly delivered mother in childbed was an individual gift of food to her from neighbouring housewives.

Any holiday meal served to the household always included porridge. Special porridges were also served to mark the end of seasonal toil: spring ploughing, haymaking, harvesting, and threshing. In fishing communities these porridges were also served when the men departed for the great seasonal fisheries, and after they had returned safely home again.

Porridge has also been a common element in literary and narrative tradition. A tale set in the Viking Age tells of the Icelandic skald Snail-Halle who is said to have insulted King Harald Hardrada (he of Stamford Bridge fame in 1066) by accusing him of being tight-fisted with the rations distributed to his underlings. The incensed king had a huge trough of porridge set in front of Halle, who was then commanded to empty it. At which point Halle is supposed to have said, "Kill me, Sire, but not with porridge". According to the tale, the king found this amusing and his sense of humour saved the skald's skin.

In 1860, when the impoverished journalist and poet Aasmund OlafssonVinje walked from Oslo (Kristiania) to Trondheim, he stayed overnight at an inn called Grut in South Trøndelag County. He arrived late in the evening, was extremely hungry and very happy to share the porridge that the family had been eating. And his description of the meal began in a reasonably positive tone:

This was real oatmeal porridge of the right sort. It was ashy black, with the chaff sticking out like the bristles on a pig's back. I drank thick, rich milk with it, and it scoured my throat like the brush used for sweeping chimneys. I shivered with joy as I savoured every spoonful. And thought of writing a treatise on gastronomy in which this porridge would form the first chapter.

But, unfortunately, he then began to look more closely at the room and its furnishings, and that killed his appetite:

Everything around me was black and dirty – bowls and spoons, table and benches and floor – so that I simply satisfied my worst hunger and stopped eating.

If Vinje had written this in a private letter, it would simply have been an amusing tale. But his account of that journey was published and became very popular. And it was brought to the attention of the young housewife at the inn, who never quite lived it down.

Another literary, or should we say academic study of porridge was brought about by the folklorist Peder Chr. Asbjørnsen's attempt to improve the health of the Norwegian population. He wrote a cookbook in which he criticized the country's housewives for the way they cooked porridge. He thought their custom of pounding raw flour or meal into the already cooked porridge to make it extra heavy and nourishing, was a waste of resources. The human digestive system simply could not absorb raw flour. The fact that farm housewives had been doing this for centuries was, in his opinion, no proof at all. The Great Porridge Controversy had begun. The sociologist Eilert Sundt defended both traditional porridge cooking and common cleanliness, writing that he had instead experienced good cooking and sensible use of ingredients on his many journeys around the country. The discussion raged for two years, until scientific tests determined that raw flours and meal could indeed be digested. And that undoubtedly comforts those of us who eat raw müsli for breakfast.

Porridge also figures in Norwegian folk tales, such as "The Ash Lad who had an Eating Contest with the Troll". The tale begins traditionally with a farmer who has three lazy sons. He sends each of them, one after the other, into the forest to chop wood. This being a Norwegian tale, there is of course a troll in the forest that frightens the two older boys. But the youngest one, the Ash Lad, tricks the troll and challenges it to see who can eat the most porridge. This clever boy empties his share into his rucksack, then cuts a huge gash in the rucksack and as the porridge runs out, says he is ready to eat much more. The troll gashes its own stomach – and that is the end of it. The Ash Lad then gathers up all the gold and silver lying about and returns home with great riches.

Modern consumption of porridge is less all-embracing than in previous ages. But many Norwegian families still eat some form of porridge for a Saturday afternoon meal, and then eat a more trendy supper, such as sushi, later in the evening. Rice porridge is commonly served for lunch on Christmas Eve with the leftover porridge blended with sweetened whipped cream and chopped almonds to be served as *riz amandes* the next day. And any kind of porridge is a cheap, nutritious and easily cooked meal on any day of the week.

How do Norwegian museums present and inform about grain and porridge? In addition to collecting and preserving objects related to grain and to cooking and serving porridge, they organize exhibitions and projects and serve various forms of the dish on special days and occasions. This is also done as a way of recognizing the gastronomic traditions of minority groups. A quick Google check of the subject resulted in 521 000 hits. One such museum is Berg – Kragerø in Telemark County. The museum cooperates with the local Home Crafts Association in arranging an advent workshop for local children in late November. Here the children, often up to 250 at a time, are helped to make simple Christmas decorations and gifts for their family members. An important part of the day for them is, however, being able to eat as much rice porridge as they can hold. They seem to find it a treat.

In conclusion I would like to relate another Norwegian tradition concerning porridge. All Norwegian farms have their own "farm elf" who is supposed to be served a dish of porridge on Christmas Eve so that it will continue to watch over the farm and the family. At last count, nearly 350 000 people admitted to having set out porridge for this figure. I have no idea how many farm elves are left in Norway, but I suspect on that Christmas Eve there are a lot of well-fed Norwegian cats.

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SWEET HISTORY CONTINUED. A SUGAR HERITAGE VISITOR ATTRACTION

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Introduction – A Second Helping Of Sugar

I was delighted when ICR decided to revisit the theme of gastronomic heritage and regional museums in 2012. This paper follows up an initial exploration undertaken for ICR's first conference on this topic - it was a 'work-in-progress' (Legget, 2011). I traced the process by which various parties within the Auckland suburb of Birkenhead – but, surprisingly, not the local museum – had recognised the importance of the Chelsea Sugar works complex as significant built heritage and acted to ensure its survival as an industrial historic landmark. I became interested in the challenges faced in securing official heritage status for a sugar refinery over 125 years old, in a country which barely considers the culture of its (currently) dominant population – European New Zealanders – old enough or interesting enough to have a history, let alone a distinctive heritage. I ended by saying that there was scope for developing a heritage interpretation programme to illuminate both food as a key element of cultural heritage and New Zealand as actually having some fascinating industrial heritage. This preliminary investigation, together with papers heard at ICR's 2011 conference, raised other questions for me, and by continuing the theme, ICR has allowed me to indulge in a second helping of local sugar heritage.

In this paper I wish to consider two interconnected questions, in the context of the Chelsea Sugar works:

- How old does a food tradition have to be in order to be regarded as 'gastronomic heritage'? *and*
- Can a key ingredient processed on an industrial scale, and found in every kitchen, be considered as 'gastronomic heritage'?

Heritage, age and longevity

In addressing firstly the issue of age as a factor in the notion of heritage, specifically gastronomic heritage, the concept may differ between Old World Europe

and newer nation states. New Zealand is a 'young country' which emerged from the encounters between two peoples: the indigenous Maori and, from the late 18th century onwards, European settlers who formally established the British colony in 1840. The Chelsea Sugar company, founded as the Colonial Sugar Refining Company in 1884, is one of the nation's oldest continuing enterprises. Sugar was already a staple of the urban colonial diet, so there was local demand. The government of the day actively encouraged the establishment of a refinery. Protected as a monopoly, sugar became available for every settler kitchen. Sugar remains a key ingredient of what have become 'classics' of New Zealand home baking traditions: Afghan biscuits, ANZAC biscuits, Lamingtons, ginger crunch and the national dessert, the Pavlova (Leach & Browne, 2008). New Zealand cooking has only recently attracted academic researchers, with books such as *First catch your Weka* (Veart, 2008) and *From Kai to Kiwi Kitchen: New Zealand Culinary Traditions and Cookbooks* (Leach, 2010) - promising greater recognition for culinary heritage. British recipes and imported ingredients featured in the settler diet throughout the colonial period, often adapted to local circumstances.

Three bays of Chelsea Sugar products in an Auckland supermarket today.

Gastronomic heritage as a field of study generally brings to mind centuries of tradition - artisan and aristocratic styles of cooking and preserving food, with museums collecting the utensils used to prepare, cook and serve dishes from ingredients grown, gathered, caught or hunted locally, usually on a small scale. This tangible heritage can be documented, researched, exhibited, interpreted and demonstrated in museums. In this case Chelsea Sugar products used in the home might be considered as gastronomic heritage even though mass-produced. Any company operating in the same premises for 125 years has rarity and survival value in the New Zealand context, and earns a certain admiration. The humble sugar packet and tin of golden syrup or treacle have long been features of everyday life in New Zealand, and the company's history has family, local, regional, national and international dimensions. The Chelsea Sugar company has no qualms in capitalising on its unusual longevity to position its products as iconic domestic heritage, instilling intergenerational brand loyalty and the handing down of favourite recipes within families and among friends.

Museums and products

Many regional museums, both urban and rural, hold collections of packaging - tins, packets, jars, storage boxes, sacks - of commercially produced foodstuffs, including 'iconic' brands. These often feature in dioramas depicting farmhouse kitchens or displays of 19th or 20th century grocery stores, or the recreated interiors of historic homesteads in open-air museums. In these cases the packages often serve as 'props' used to suggest the atmosphere of everyday use and exchange. However, at the Museum of Brands, Packaging and Advertising in London, started in 1984, the focus is wholly on the demand side as the history of consumption. There is no equivalent museum in New Zealand, but there are branded products, both local and imported, with a comparatively long history which have achieved iconic status. Chelsea Sugar is one of these.

Tins of Chelsea golden syrup displayed in the Birkenhead Historical Museum with a temperature recorder collected from the Chelsea Sugar works.

A search on the *NZMuseums* website provides examples of branded packaging from the Chelsea Sugar works as accessioned items in New Zealand museum collections - treacle and syrup tins in Omaka Museum on the South Island and sugar sacks in Raglan and Mangawhai Museums on the North Island. In these dispersed small towns, Chelsea's products which have been used by community members are clearly regarded as part of the local material heritage. I would argue, therefore, that when a commercially produced foodstuff has been used in almost every household and hostelry for over a century in a nation's short history, it earns its place as everyday heritage. Once material evidence in the form of packaging appears in community museums, it has acquired a level of recognition as heritage through local associations, although possibly not specifically as 'gastronomic heritage'.

Buildings and brands

The question of equating a mass-produced processed ingredient with gastronomic heritage addresses the supply side story. In the case of Chelsea Sugar works, the strongest physical manifestation of sugar heritage is the building complex. Its bricks and mortar represent the largest artefactual evidence supporting the case for production of foodstuffs on a commercial scale as gastronomic heritage. Its official government designation in 2008 as an Historic Place Category One (Legget, 2013) endorses its status as 'industrial heritage', if not as 'gastronomic heritage'. Engaging with the tourism sector can shift this perception.

Heritage relating to food and beverage produced on a commercial scale is a growing part of the tourism landscape. There is no doubt that domestic and international tourists enjoy opportunities for 'behind the scenes' tours, especially if tasting is involved. This is especially true of the beverage side of the food industry; brewery and distillery tours and, since the 1990s, vineyards with wine-tasting frequently feature as popular regional tourism attractions. New Zealand has its Speights Brewery heritage tours (established 1877 in Dunedin) and the Tui Brewery and Museum in Mangatainoka (1889), and the different wine-growing regions organise vineyard visits and trails. Information about the history and process is shared, and hands-on activities may be available, if local hygiene regulations can be met. Equally popular for visitors are new small-scale productions of artisan cheeses, jams and preserves, with 'farm-gate sales' showcasing the revival (and in New Zealand's case, transplanting) of traditional products and often include creative innovations to satisfy modern tastes and expand the product range. Even modest-scale operations strive to develop a distinctive brand identity, closely identified with 'place', as central to their marketing strategies. Demonstrations and cookery classes may also be offered to deliver a more memorable visit and share the intangible heritage of recipes and culinary skills. Some of these operations have learned from museums about managing visitors and developing engaging interpretation and education programmes.

Heritage as strategic brand positioning

The Chelsea Sugar company has been active in realising the heritage power of its brand identity. The company still uses imagery from earlier packing on its golden syrup tins. Its logo depicts, in stylized form, its melthouse building flanked by its two distinctive palm trees. Versions of this logo now appears with its recipes, available in recipe books and cards in supermarkets and on merchandise – tea towels and specially packaged sugar products. It reinforces the old-fashioned

values of home-baking, looking back to a time when this was a regular household activity – mainly a female one. The revival of interest in domestic crafts – knitting, sewing, cake-decorating, jam-making and preserving - can also bring together the generations. Homely scenes of grandmothers and granddaughters suggest the handing down of traditional skills and family recipes. The popularity of televised cookery programmes has also been a boon, which the company has exploited. It sponsors *New Zealand's Hottest Home Baker*, a television reality show where competitors are given baking challenges, especially cakes and pastries, with sugar as the common ingredient.

Chelsea Sugar company branding honours its built heritage with the melthouse and palm trees.

A visitor attraction

The New Zealand economy is increasingly dependent on its tourism industry, which is the second source of export earnings after primary products (dairy, lamb, forestry). The country may not yet be able to compete with France and Italy in the gastro-tourism market. However, its reputation is growing for the quality of its fresh ingredients - fish, fruit, vegetables, its boutique wines - while its creative chefs and their 'Pacific fusion' cuisine are promoted to high-yield international visitors. As the 'gateway to New Zealand', Auckland has always struggled to capture tourists keen to head south see the thermal wonders of Rotorua and the magnificent South Island scenery. Investment in promoting the harbour city as an attractive destination in its own right is being actively encouraged by Auckland's local government. This, together with an increase in domestic tourists and repeat visitors seeking a wider range of activities, may have prompted the company to commission a feasibility study for a visitor centre. There is certainly scope for explaining the history and providing interactive activities for visitors, and the local museum is in no position to take up this opportunity.

Location, location, location.

With its waterfront location and backdrop of parkland and protected native bush, the Chelsea Sugar works has strong potential as a visitor destination - with its own wharf, it could offer an attractive stop on a boat trip on Auckland's

Families aboard the Chelsea Sugar dray pulled by Clydesdale horses enjoy a ride through the heritage park.

Waitemata Harbour. Crossing from the downtown Ferry Terminal and passing under the Harbour Bridge - whose central span was planned to stand high enough to ensure safe passage of ships bringing unrefined cane sugar to Chelsea - one can imagine alighting at a charming cafe offering 'million dollar views' of the city and home-made cakes, together with an instructive visit to a heritage centre - possibly the *Sugar Story*. Perhaps even hands-on baking or cake decorating or confectionery classes and certainly a shopping opportunity to acquire souvenir merchandise branded with a popular New Zealand logo, recipe books and, of course, items from the sugar product range.

For the development of a visitor centre to succeed, community support would be necessary; linkages to other sites, activities and facilities can create a better tourism experience for visitors. This applies equally to museums. The company has already been building or rebuilding stakeholder relationships. Locally it has supported a heritage trail leaflet, guiding walkers along routes taken by the sugar workers when the refinery was the sole employer. The trail winds through the refinery's grounds, now designated the Chelsea Heritage Park, past a commissioned artwork depicting a sugar grabber, and along streets where some sugar workers' cottages remain. The leaflet is distributed freely at local cafes as well as through the website of Birkenhead Town Centre Association, a not-for-profit voluntary business organisation that fosters local businesses and promotes the community's economy. Prominent signage on the back of a dray drawn by three heavy horses announces the company's sponsorship and interest in its own heritage. The dray provides rides for the public around Birkenhead at local community event days recalling the use of Clydesdale horses on the refinery wharf for loading and unloading raw and processed sugar. It sponsors an annual swimming race across the harbour (held since 1912) and, in a more recent initiative in partnership with the Rotary Club, an annual arts trail of local artists' studios open to the public. These

community activities, co-developed with local interest groups, are re-establishing the company's credentials as a good corporate citizen, echoing the paternalistic altruism of its foundation years.

Local stories, engaging activities

While the company's pioneering history and its role in the development of Birkenhead as a residential suburb are likely to be core themes, a visitor centre based at the refinery could tell other stories: early contact between Maori and the first European settlers in what is now Auckland, national labour history, changing technologies, Auckland as a trading centre, relationships with Australia, urban social history and development. The Great Depression in New Zealand is sometimes referred to as the 'Sugar Bag Years', when sugar sacks were recycled for many uses, including clothing. The company briefly - for three weeks - employed one of New Zealand's premier poets, James K. Baxter, as a cleaner, work which did not suit him and inspired an unflattering poem about the experience. A copy is held in the Chelsea Sugar Archives, a dedicated facility incorporated into the Birkenhead Library and provided by the company, which could be readily 'mined' for rich information to suggest other topics.

Themed educational tours can link with different elements of the New Zealand school curriculum – e.g. history, economics, science, art and design, technology, nutrition and health, tourism and hospitality. For adults and family visitors, booking one-off sessions on baking and cake-decorating could capitalise on current popularity of the culinary arts. The health and safety issues which prevent tours of the refinery operations need not constrain imaginative interactive education in purpose-designed premises.

Sacks of sugar stacked high.

New Zealand's history of sugar has its challenges. The oppressive conditions of sugar plantations and slavery cannot be dismissed as the preserve of the Caribbean and the Americas. The practice of 'blackbirding' brought kidnapped Melanesians from Pacific islands such as Vanatu, Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands to labour under harsh conditions, cutting cane in Queensland. Indentured labourers were transported from the Indian subcontinent and obliged to work under harsh conditions on sugar plantations in Fiji for five years. The Chelsea refinery imported raw sugar from both these sources. Would these stories be told? To do justice to the sugar theme, nutrition science and dietary concerns would also merit interpretation. This might be challenging for Chelsea Sugar for commercial reasons, although given New Zealand's obesity problems, could present opportunities for socially responsible healthy eating information. As yet, the company has not progressed beyond a feasibility study for its visitor attraction concept - it is not known whether some of these issues were considered in any potential interpretation plan.

Concluding remarks

I close by revisiting my two questions. First, when considering how old a food tradition must be to qualify as 'gastronomic heritage', the response in the context of New Zealand settler society is that the 130 years of Chelsea Sugar would be well within the range. This may differ in other older countries, but this would certainly apply to the sweet home baking culture in this former colony in the South Pacific. As to the second question regarding whether the production of a key ingredient processed on an industrial scale and found in every domestic larder counts as 'gastronomic heritage', one answer comes from the fact that tangible evidence of the consumption and branding of New Zealand's sugar history features in the permanent collections of its regional museums. The company takes pride in its history and its building complex. It now has competition in the marketplace. By incorporating its heritage in its marketing strategies and stakeholder relationships demonstrates how identifying and valuing heritage extends well beyond the museum sector.

The Birkenhead Museum may not have capitalised on the local sugar industry as its distinctive local heritage feature with opportunities to tell the unique stories which differentiate Birkenhead from the other harbour-side suburbs in Auckland. The Chelsea Sugar company certainly has and uses it to raise its profile in Birkenhead and in the wider community. It has recognised the value of building

strong relationships with the key players and laying the groundwork for strategic alliances. In doing so, it offers lessons for museums and in time may include the local museum within its partnerships.

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HOW FOOD AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE ARE PRESENTED AT ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUMS AND EXHIBITS IN ISRAEL

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During our previous meetings in China and Norway I presented archaeological exhibitions at regional museums and exhibits outside museums such as in visitor centers, national parks, educational and public institutions. They included the presentation of food preparation and installations such as grinding, oil olive presses, wine presses, and ceramic vessels for wine and beer.

This paper will present two exhibitions.

Jaffa

One is in Jaffa, these days part of Tel Aviv. Jaffa is one of the oldest port cities in he Mediterranean Basin. For over 5000 years Jaffa has served as a gateway between east and west, north and south, a cosmopolitan city that witnessed the passage of warriors, pilgrims and visitors, goods, ideas, fashion, and stories.

The significance of this city is evidenced by its appearance in a number of different historical sources and contexts. Jaffa is mentioned in Egyptian writings dated to the 2nd millennium B.C.E., the bible mentions Jaffa as the place from which the prophet Jonah embarked for Tarshish (Book of Jonah 1:3) and as port-of-entry for the cedars of Lebanon for the Second Temple of Jerusalem (Book of Ezra 3:7). In modern times, the first waves of Jewish immigrants entered through this port, prior to the establishment of the State of Israel. The diverse archaeological remains uncovered in Jaffa indicate the centrality of this city.

Old Jaffa Museum of Antiquities, located in the old governmental Ottoman house, is unique complex, historically and architecturally. It is an Ottoman complex over the remains of a Crusaders Fortress with beautiful curved ceilings. It was re-built in the 17th century and most probably used for lodging. In 1811, Abu-Nabout turned it into the governmental house. In addition to the governmental quarter, there was a big gate, a well, prison, post office, bath-house, mosque, unroofed court surrounded with column or patio, open and closed halls for animals, goods and for lodgers, with heating facilities for its guests and its inhabitants.

The Museum was founded at 1960 by the late Dr. Kapaln, an archeologist pioneer of the new Jewish state who excavated in Jaffa and its surroundings. It contains archeological findings commencing with the Neolithic age to the Roman-Byzantine era, testimony to people, nations, and sequences of historical occurrences.

It combines the permanent archaeological exhibition with temporary contemporary art exhibitions and food activities. It is only natural for ancient Jaffa to combine archaeology and modern art: Jaffa is characterized by an endless cycle of conquest and destruction, followed by creativity drives of construction and flourishing, and a remarkable ability to arise from ashes.

"Jaffa Tales" in Old Jaffa is a new Visitor's Center. As the site advertisement states: "Jaffa Tales" is a Magical and Exciting Multi-Sensory Experience. Come and partake in the renewed experience at the Visitor's Center of Old Jaffa, Tour the archaeological site; walk on the floating bridge into virtual performance that brings past heroes to life, spectacular views and unique creative animation of cultural wealth, beauty and charm. Come experience 5000 years of history in one of the most ancient port cities in the world. Observe the major archeological discoveries found in Jaffa, meet the central characters in the tales of Jaffa, and learn the city's history".

Let's see if we managed to do that. We used wooden boxes and containers for showcases. Jaffa market sold different kinds of goods, some for local consumption and export and some imported such as wine jars, piles of olives, wooden boxes and baskets of date-palm, watermelons, figs, grapes, baskets of wheat, barley and other cereals textiles – white, red and colored linen, ceramic plates and other pottery and stone tools.

Porcelain vessels are exhibited in drawers. These were first only found in the homes of the elite, however later on they became common in middle-class homes. The fragments of porcelain found in Jaffa dated to the 19th century, the Ottoman period, are evidence the high socio-economic level the city had achieved as well as the vast system of commerce.

When we approach the second hall, people can sit on the bridge above the antiquities and see the virtual performance.

Amphorae vessels are also exhibited at the rooms of the site. These vessels were the most common storage containers in the Hellenistic period (3-2 centuries BCE), generally used for wine or oil. The production of amphorae was supervised and most vessels appear with stamped handles attesting to the date and place of manufacture.

The stone vessels from a Jewish House of the Roman period are made from soft chalkstone which was considered to be a material which could not become

impure or defiled according to Jewish Law. It provides evidence that the practice of ritual purity was part of the daily lives of the Jewish population. Further, the presence of these vessels teaches us about the cultural connections between Jerusalem and Jaffa during the 1st century C.E. The film also shows the market and its products during the Roman period.

Tel Aviv

The Eretz Israel Museum in Tel Aviv shows another food exhibition called "The Last Supper at Apollonia - The final days of the crusader fortress in Herzlia" on the Mediterranean Sea. This exhibition presented food. The exhibition is a result of very good cooperation between the curator Dr. Irit Ziffer, the excavator Director of the Excavation, Prof. Oren Tal from Tel-Aviv University, and the designer "Design Mill".

The exhibition reconstructed the table of the knights, the defenders of the Crusader's fortress, at their last supper at Appolonia. The Crusaders captured Apollonia from the Muslims in 1099 CE. On April 29th, 1265, after 40 days of a siege, the soldiers of Baibars, the Mamluk sultan, broke through the walls of the Crusader fortress in Apollonia on the shores of Herzlia, not far from Tel Aviv. The deliberate destruction of the Crusader fortress was systematic and extensive to the degree that it no reconstruction was possible. The signs of destruction were obvious throughout the fortress and in the city, and were far more drastic than those found at other sites that underwent similar processes.

The large population that resided between the fortress walls required reorganization for food preparation and storage. The existing space in the fortress was reorganized so that it could house tools for grinding, cooking and baking food, and washing dishes.

Stoves for cooking and baking were discovered in the kitchen along with sinks for dishwashing. Huge pools of water used for drinking, and installations for grinding wheat were also found. Part of the bathroom was converted into a space for trash; in this space several hundred eating and cooking utensils, storage containers, and lighting equipment belonging to the knights and warriors were found.

As the curator Dr. Irit Ziffer pointed out, it is not easy to reconstruct a Crusader meal in the Land of Israel. However, vessels and organic remains discovered in archaeological excavations, combined with written documents, shed light on the variety of food and eating customs. We can use both to reconstruct the meal.

The Crusaders cultivated vines and olives as indicated by the large quantities of wine and oil presses found all over the country. Other Crusader agricultural products included wheat, sesame, rye, barley, eggplants, lentils and field beans.

Fruit trees such as cherries, apples, pears, walnuts and apricots, were already known from the Crusaders' countries of origin, while others were local. These included subtropical fruits and tropical bananas, introduced in the Near East with the Muslim conquest, and traditional figs, almonds, dates, carobs and mulberries. Local spices and herbs were also used.

Another important Crusader industry was sugar-cane processing. Meat was obtained from black goats and sheep. They apparently never managed to satisfy the market demand for pork. Consequently, cured, dried and smoked pork and even live pigs were imported from Sicily into Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem.

To sum up, many other museums and exhibits also attract the people with food preparations and meals.

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'TSIKOUDIA' (RAKI) – HEATING THE CRETAN SPIRIT

Yiannis Markakis
Cretan Open-air Museum "LYCHNOSTATIS", Hersonissos, Crete, Greece

'If wine is magical, then tsikoudia is alchemical' .
(Elias Castanas, Prof. of University of Crete – Medical School).

Since ancient times the spirit of wine (alcohol) has been considered as the "gift of the gods". The grape stems and skins, the wine-making remnants, were left behind. However, people's ingenuity, the wisdom of the traditional culture led to their use. The remaining sugar in the left-overs of the grapes after the winemaking continues to ferment, giving life to raki, or 'tsikoudia'.

'Tsikoudia' is the local alcoholic drink of Crete, widely known as "raki" in other parts of Greece and worldwide. Actually, the name "raki" was copy-righted by the Turks in 1989, in exchange for the copyrighting of "ouzo" by the Greeks. Since then, the local Cretan name "tsikoudia" is even more frequently used on the island as it derives from "tsikouda", the name of the left-overs of the grapes.

The story of raki is lost in the depths of history. It is estimated that distillations that were carried out in winemaking regions in Greece, such as Crete, possibly date back to 500 B.C. Other regions like Italy, Egypt, the Middle East and China have similar traditions and findings. However, the distillery could be considered a Greek invention as both the term "destilare" is used by the ancient Greek writer Dioskourides and the evolution of the technique of distillation is documented as well in the Hellenictic Alexandreia in Egypt during the years 100 B.C. - 500 A.C.

According to the documentation belonging to the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Constantinople, dating back to 1590, modern distillation begins from Mount Athos and the product becomes popular and rapidly spreads throughout the entire Eastern Turkish Empire by Greek and Armenian distillers.

Since then, generations of *'kazanarides'* (the Cretan name for distillers deriving from the word "kazani", meaning the distilling pot) have tried to locate the soul of this clear drink by means of the thousands of small secrets that come in contact with the raw materials, the handling of the first distillation (*'protoraki'*)

and the last comprising of methanol, the geometry of the 'ambykas', the cooling of the distillation pipe and the herbs used for neutralization, bringing out or replacing the aromas lost during the second distillation.

The improvisation of spirit makers has no limits: Some just distill grapes, others add various herbs, others light fires with specific firewood, some measure and re-measure until it all comes down to the final, clear content of the bottle, which needs to be of crystal clarity and have the required sweetness and aroma.

Until 1988, when the making and selling of tsikoudia was permitted, it was only made by 'kazanarides', who had 'ambykes' dating back to the Turkish occupation. The pot stills were sealed by the police all year round and opened for only a few days each year, from the end of October until January, at which time all the villages, one after the other distill their 'tsikoudia' for the entire year.

Nowadays, the fire does not go out for many days; one distillation gives way to the next and one distiller follows the next. Much happens beside the still, all day and every day. For each household the distillation of raki is a celebration. A celebration, which is shared with friends, many friends. Hundreds of people may sit at the family's table at any hour of the day. Many of these people have not been invited, however, everyone is welcome. Guests will find raki flowing in abundance, 'ofti potata' (baked potatoes) cooked in the still's embers (this titbit is known as the 'raki-killer', because of its neutral taste that softens the raki), as well as fresh seasonal vegetables such as cucumbers, carrots, radishes, cabbage, artichokes, pomegranates, small homemade olives, broad beans, good cheese from a shepherd friend and whatever else the housewife prepares. The rule on selecting the food offered is that there is absolutely no rule; whatever exists in the kitchen and the cellar is brought forth.

These are simple, natural products used to compose basic and unadorned dishes that honor Mother Earth, the mother of the gods and of the people.

Later on, while slowly drinking and slowly eating, as was done in the symposiums of ancient Greece, stories are told, passionate and intense conversations are carried out amongst the people while the tsikoudia, the songs, the dancing and the good spirit offer an atmosphere of companionship. This is a unique tradition found exclusively in Crete.

In our subconscious and in our daily habits, 'tsikoudia' is the dominating drink, offered at home, at the kafenio (coffee shop), amongst friends, at the afternoon raki get-together, at a party or as an aperitif prior to and as a digestive after meals. It really symbolizes Cretan life and plays a significant role amongst friends, tradition and social life.

It can be found in the poorest and most elaborate homes, in large containers but most often in humble bottles and it is offered in small *'rakopotira'* (shot glasses). In Crete it is considered degrading to have a straight drink and to drink that alone. It is always drunk in the company of friends, whether a small or a large group, with jokes and narrations, Cretan rhymes & songs accompanied by the mandolin or the lute and the lyre (the typical Cretan musical instrument), these improvised feasts last for days. This is how the soul of the restless "crazy" Cretan is soothed. *(I will never forget my father – a professor of Opthalmology and founder of our Museum, who 10 years ago when had become a pensioner, left once in the evening for a "raki night" and came back in the following afternoon. He had a voice-recorder with him and had recorded eight hours of the feast. Then, he spent two more days in his bed listening to the recordings and enjoying by himself the songs, the rhymes, the jokes and the special ambiance of the raki-night).*

The Cretan open-air Museum "LYCHNOSTATIS is a living Museum that applies a kind of translational ethnography, encourages activities that date back in time and give the opportunity to use the utensils used in the past. Thus, it organises every year such events, but also collects utensils used in the distillation process and documents "tsikoudia nights" of the past when this special feast was a vital ingredient of the community life in Cretan villages. Stories and rhymes from these social occasions are available also for the visitors, as part of the intangible heritage of the island presented by the multimedia productions of the Museum and a special photographic exhibition. Last but not least, with the educational program *"From vine to wine"*, children can see the distillation process and learn on the spot the long-living tradition of "tsikoudia".

Crete produces large quantities of quality tsikoudia, free from methanol, which can make its mark as an international brand if it is packed and promoted correctly, something that does not happen often. Similar distillation such as 'akvavit' from Scandinavian countries, 'slivovica' from the Balkans and 'vodka' from eastern- Europe (made from potatoes, prunes or grains) have achieved this. However, in the last decade progress has been made and there are now at least 10 'tsikoudia' industries in Crete that produce and promote the drink.

Moreover, a liquor made of raki and honey has now become a very trendy drink amongst youngsters all over Greece. It is called "rakomelo" and is offered as shot in the night bars as well as at wedding receptions. It is so widespread that it appears even as a headline in politics editorials! And of course, it has become a popular word within the Cretan rhymes;

Πίνω κρασί και δεν μεθώ, ρακί δεν με ζαλίζει,
Μα όντε πιω ρακόμελο, ο νους μου ανεντρανίζει

("Wine does not make me drunk, raki makes no hangover
But when I drink rakomelo, my mind shakes over…")

Yiannis Markakis is making raki liquor with Dagmar Bittricher's assistance, Prijepolje Museum, Serbia, 2011.