



Critical Heritages of Europe

FOOD HERITAGE AND NATIONALISM IN EUROPE

Edited by
Ilaria Porciani



Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe

Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe contends that food is a fundamental element of heritage, and a particularly important one in times of crisis. Arguing that food, taste, cuisine and gastronomy are crucial markers of identity that are inherently connected to constructions of place, tradition and the past, this book demonstrates how they play a role in intangible, as well as tangible, heritage.

Featuring contributions from experts working across Europe and beyond, and adopting a strong historical and transnational perspective, this book examines the various ways in which food can be understood and used as heritage. Including explorations of imperial spaces, migrations and diasporas, the role of commercialization processes, and institutional practices within political and cultural domains, this volume considers all aspects of this complex issue. Arguing that the various European cuisines are the result of exchanges, hybridities and complex historical processes, Porciani and the chapter authors offer up a new way of deconstructing banal nationalism and of moving away from the idea of static identities.

Suggesting a new and different approach to the idea of so-called national cuisines, *Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe* will be a compelling read for academic audiences in museum and heritage studies, cultural and food studies, anthropology and history.

Ilaria Porciani teaches modern and contemporary history at the University of Bologna. She has published widely on the history of education, culture, the university, historiography and nation-building, often incorporating a gender approach. Her present research interests focus on public history, history museums and food history.

Critical Heritages of Europe

Series editors: Christopher Whitehead and Susannah Eckersley, both at the University of Newcastle, UK

The *Critical Heritages of Europe* series seeks to explore the cultural and social politics of the European past in the present. Bridging theoretical and empirical research, the series accommodates broad understandings of Europe – a shifting and historically mutable entity, made both of internal tensions and exogenous encounters, re-imaginings and influences. ‘Heritage’ too is taken as an expansive paradigm, made in myriad practices where the past is valorised for the present, from folk traditions to museums and memorials, the management of historic sites and traditions, and everyday matters such as education, political discourse, home life, food consumption and people’s relations with place. Consequently, the series spans a broad array of foci, disciplinary approaches and ways of investigating and questioning the diverse meanings of European heritages today.

Classical Heritage and European Identities

The Imagined Geographies of Danish Classicism

Lærke Maria Andersen Funder, Troels Myrup Kristensen and Vinnie Nørskov

Heritage and Festivals in Europe

Performing Identities

Edited by Ullrich Kockel, Cristina Clopot, Baiba Tjarve and Máiréad Nic Craith

Dimensions of Heritage and Memory

Multiple Europes and the Politics of Crisis

Edited by Christopher Whitehead, Susannah Eckersley, Gönül Bozoğlu and Mads Daugbjerg

European Heritage, Dialogue and Digital Practices

Edited by Areti Galani, Rhiannon Mason and Gabi Arrigoni

European Memory in Populism

Representations of Self and Other

Edited by Chiara De Cesari and Ayhan Kaya

Populism and Heritage in Europe

Lost in Diversity and Unity

Ayhan Kaya

Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe

Edited by Ilaria Porciani

<https://www.routledge.com/Critical-Heritages-of-Europe/book-series/COHERE>

Food Heritage and Nationalism in Europe

Edited by Ilaria Porciani



Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First published 2019
by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

and by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2019 selection and editorial matter, Ilaria Porciani; individual chapters,
the contributors

The right of Ilaria Porciani to be identified as the author of the
editorial material, and of the authors for their individual chapters,
has been asserted in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the
Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

With the exception of Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6 and 12, no part of this book
may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any
electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter
invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information
storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing
from the publishers.

Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6 and 12 of this book are available for free in
PDF format as Open Access from the individual product page at
www.routledge.com. They have been made available under a Creative
Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-No Derivatives 4.0 license.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks
or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and
explanation without intent to infringe.

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Porciani, Ilaria, editor.

Title: Food heritage and nationalism in Europe /

[edited by] Ilaria Porciani.

Description: Abingdon, Oxon ; New York, NY : Routledge, [2020] |

Series: Critical heritages of Europe |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2019029096 (print) | LCCN 2019029097 (ebook) |

ISBN 9780367234157 (hardback) | ISBN 9780429279751 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Food habits—Political aspects—Europe. |

Food habits—Social aspects—Europe. | Nationalism—Europe. |

Cooking, European. | Europe—Relations.

Classification: LCC GT2853.E8 F69 2020 (print) |

LCC GT2853.E8 (ebook) | DDC 394.1/2094—dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019029096>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2019029097>

ISBN: 978-0-367-23415-7 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-0-429-27975-1 (ebk)

Typeset in Bembo
by Newgen Publishing UK

Contents

<i>List of figures</i>	vii
<i>Notes on contributors</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi

Introduction I

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Food heritage and nationalism in Europe | 3 |
| | ILARIA PORCIANI | |

PART I

Heritagization and political uses of food 33

- | | | |
|---|---|----|
| 2 | Heritage and food history: a critical assessment | 35 |
| | LAURA DI FIORE | |
| 3 | Tradition, heritage and intellectual property in the
global food market | 51 |
| | FABIO PARASECOLI | |
| 4 | Food and locality: heritagization and commercial use of the past | 65 |
| | PAOLO CAPUZZO | |
| 5 | In the kitchens of '68: the impact of student protest and
counterculture on attitudes towards food | 83 |
| | MARICA TOLOMELLI | |
| 6 | A place at the table? Food in museums as an
“ <i>Ersatz</i> politics” of difficulty | 98 |
| | SUSANNAH ECKERSLEY | |

PART II

Contact zones and exchanges 123

- 7 A taste for diversity 125
MASSIMO MONTANARI

- 8 Franz Joseph's *Tafelspitz*: Austro–Hungarian cooking as an
imperial project 138
CATHERINE HOREL

- 9 Images, perceptions and authenticity in Ottoman–Turkish cuisine 155
ÖZGE SAMANCI

- 10 Station buffets and universal exhibitions: places of
mobility for crossing food cultures 171
JEAN-PIERRE WILLIOT

- 11 Canteens, cafés and cabarets: the food culture of the
Russian diaspora in Shanghai, 1920–1950 188
KATYA KNYAZEVA

Conclusion 205

- 12 Careful with heritage 207
ILARIA PORCIANI AND MASSIMO MONTANARI

- Index* 214

Figures

2.1	Food in UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage	40
3.1	Geographical Indications in the World	57
3.2	Slow Food – Ark of Taste	60
4.1	Pellegrino Artusi, <i>La scienza in cucina e l'arte di mangiar bene</i> . Recipes. Place of origin	68
5.1	Slow Food presidia and earth markets	92
5.2	Slow Food Italy	94
6.1	CULINARIUM exhibition as part of Open Air Museum Domain Dahlem Berlin, display: “So isst Berlin”	102
6.2	CULINARIUM exhibition as part of Open Air Museum Domain Dahlem Berlin: teacups and table setting display	103
6.3	Döner kebab display, Museum Europäischer Kulturen – Staatliche Museen zu Berlin	105
6.4	CULINARIUM exhibition as part of Open Air Museum Domain Dahlem Berlin: display board “Eating in East Germany”	109
6.5	CULINARIUM exhibition as part of Open Air Museum Domain Dahlem Berlin: display board “Eating in West Germany”	110
6.6	a–c Gdańsk Museum of the Second World War, children’s exhibition	114
6.7	Gdańsk Museum of the Second World War, highly designed area with food-related content	116
6.8	a. Auschwitz Museum, large display of cooking pots. b. Auschwitz Museum, small display of food utensils	117
8.1	Austro–Hungarian Empire	141
9.1	Ottoman Culinary Empire	163
10.1	Chemins de fer de l’Etat, <i>La gare est aujourd’hui ce qu’è tait autrefois la place de la ville, Paris</i> , Draeger imp. [1930]	175

- | | | |
|------|---|-----|
| 10.2 | Chemins de fer du Nord, <i>Guide du voyage</i> , Paris, Bonaventure et Ducessois imp. [1850] | 176 |
| 10.3 | <i>Tableau auxiliaire Delmas pour l'enseignement pratique des langues vivantes par l'image</i> . Série III: N°12- La Gare, Delmas (G.), Bordeaux (circa 1900) | 181 |

Notes on contributors

Paolo Capuzzo teaches world history and Italian contemporary history at the University of Bologna. He is the chair of the Department of History and Culture. His research interests focus on two main fields: the history of material culture, food and consumption, and the global history of communism and Gramscian studies.

Laura Di Fiore teaches the history of political institutions at the University of Naples Federico II. She studies institutions in a social and global perspective. She has published books and articles on different topics, including the construction of European borders between the 18th and 19th centuries, identification practices and political police and 20th-century British imperial history.

Susannah Eckersley is Senior Lecturer in museum, gallery and heritage studies at Newcastle University, UK, with expertise in museums and difficult heritage (in particular relating to German history). She was the deputy coordinator of CoHERE: Critical Heritages – performing and representing identities in Europe. She is the project leader for *en/counter/points* – a new collaborative research project on culture and integration in Europe from 2019 to 2022.

Catherine Horel is the research director at CNRS, SIRICE, Paris I University. She is a specialist in the history of Central Europe, the Habsburg Empire and Hungary. Her many publications deal with sociopolitical structures and with urban, military and Jewish history, as well as with *lieux de mémoire*. She is currently serving as the general secretary of the International Committee for Historical Sciences (CISH).

Katya Knyazeva, from Novosibirsk, Russia, is a journalist and a researcher with a focus on urban history. She is the author of the two-volume historical and photographic atlas *Shanghai Old Town* (2nd edition 2018). Since 2016 she has been pursuing her second master's degree in global cultures at the University of Bologna.

Massimo Montanari teaches medieval history at Bologna University. He has been a pioneer in food history, including wide-ranging areas such as economics, social issues, politics, culture and religion. From 1979 onwards, he has published a number of books about these topics, translated into several languages. He is the founder and director of the “food history and culture” master’s degree instituted in 2002 at Bologna University.

Fabio Parasecoli is a professor of food studies at New York University. His research explores the intersections between food, popular culture and politics, particularly in food design. Recent books include *Al Dente: A History of Food in Italy* (2014), *Feasting Our Eyes: Food, Film, and Cultural Citizenship in the US* (2016, authored with Laura Lindenfeld) and *Knowing Where It Comes From: Labeling Traditional Foods to Compete in a Global Market* (2017).

Ilaria Porciani teaches modern and contemporary history at the University of Bologna. She has published widely on the history of education, culture, the university, historiography and nation-building, often incorporating a gender approach. Her present research interests focus on public history, history museums and food history.

Özge Samancı is an associate professor of Ottoman food history and head of the Gastronomy and Culinary Arts Department at Özyeğin University in Istanbul. Her studies and research focus on the modernization process of Ottoman–Turkish culinary culture and Ottoman food historiography. She is the author of *Flavours of Istanbul* (2007), *Turkish Cuisine* (2008) and *La Cuisine d’Istanbul au 19e siècle* (2015).

Marica Tolomelli teaches contemporary history at the University of Bologna. She gained her PhD at the University of Bielefeld. Her research interests are 20th-century European history and social, labour and gender conflicts in the 1960s and 1970s from a comparative and transnational approach. She is the editor of the online journal *Storicamente* (www.storicamente.org).

Jean-Pierre Williot is a professor of economic history at Sorbonne University, Paris. His fields of research include the history of innovation with topics on the history of food, energy and railways. He is the author or co-author of 20 books, and he is the co-director of the collection *European Food Issues*.

Acknowledgements

This book is a result of the European Union-funded Horizon 2020 research project CoHERE (Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe). CoHERE received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under grant agreement no. 693289.

I have been working on nationalism for a very long time, and on heritage for the past few years, but until 2010, when together with Massimo Montanari I started a seminar on political cuisine at the University of Bologna, I had never translated my curiosity about food and cooking into a topic to work on. Thanks to the EU Horizon 2020 project CoHERE, I have been able to focus on food, nationalism and heritage together. Without the support of that project this book would have never been written or published. Therefore, I wish to express my gratitude for being given this great opportunity to engage in a broad European project, one which has brought together many scholars from many different countries and backgrounds and widened our knowledge and perspectives.

Firstly, I should like to thank Christopher Whitehead and Susannah Eckersley, coordinator and deputy coordinator of CoHERE, who accepted the challenge as well as the burden of coordinating this intellectually rich, multi-focused, interdisciplinary and diverse research project. I also wish to thank my colleagues in this adventure, especially those at the universities of Bologna and Athens who were members of the working package focusing on food as heritage.

I am deeply indebted to Massimo Montanari, who brought his extensive knowledge of food history to the project, and to Paolo Capuzzo, who has been interested in the history of consumption for many years and who gave excellent suggestions for the preparatory conferences. Laura Di Fiore compiled the impressive bibliography: the first fruits of our working package and a resource of substantial help in putting together this book. Laura was also an outstanding organizer of two conferences held at the Department of History and Culture (Bologna University): “Food as Heritage” (2017) and “Taste of Diversity” (2018). These gatherings provided a great opportunity to meet scholars from various countries and to involve them in different ways in the project.

Not all the participants at these conferences have been published here, but all of them made our discussions richer. I would like to express my special gratitude to Peter Scholliers, who gave invaluable suggestions, and to Davide Domenici, who provided an external perspective on food as heritage starting from the “margins”, that is from the Mexican case. Every other meeting of the CoHERE project was also rich in suggestions, from the review meeting in Brussels – and here I wish to thank Peter Aronsson for his comments – to the closing general CoHERE conference “Who Is Europe?” held in November 2018 at Polin, the Museum of Polish Jews in Warsaw. Ultimately, this is what EU research is about: constructing truly European international communities and sharing ways of thinking, exchanging opinions, approaches and perspectives, and providing open-access results.

I wish to thank Nieves López Izquierdo, who prepared maps on food as heritage, some of which are published here.

My special thanks go to Giacomo Bonan for his careful updating of the bibliography and for assisting me in the final preparation of this book with constructive criticism, creativity, promptness and good humour. Ralph Nisbet translated and carefully edited the English of most of the chapters. Michael Godfrey translated Jean-Pierre Williot’s chapter and edited Özge Samancı’s.

I had several opportunities to present this project to other scholars from whom I received stimulating feedback: Mahnaz Yousefzadeh and Mark Swislocki at New York University–Abu Dhabi; Paula P. Johnson and Ashley Rose Young, curators in the food department at the Smithsonian Museum of American History, who gave me a better understanding of the use of food in museums as well as of the culinary transfers of cuisines between Europe and the United States; and the director and staff at the Casa Artusi in Forlimpopoli. Many excellent and precious suggestions came also from Chris Whitehead and the anonymous reviewers, as well as from Heidi Lowther at Routledge. I should like to express my gratitude to them.

I also wish to thank my students at the University of Bologna: I have always found it an enriching experience to discuss the topic of this book with them.

Last – but by no means least – I wish to thank the library of the Department of History and Culture of the University of Bologna and the library of the European University Institute in San Domenico di Fiesole. The countless books and digital resources that they have provided, as well as the great competence and helpfulness of their librarians, constituted the *conditio sine qua non* of my work for this book.

In closing these acknowledgements, I feel I must think back to all those who gave me a true sense of different cooking traditions and local or national tastes. The list starts with my two grandmothers: Augusta, a great cook who never wrote down a recipe on her own, and Clelia, the daughter of a restaurant owner, who combined a Tuscan taste with her deep knowledge of international cuisine. As a teenager living with a French family in Tain l’Hermitage I learned the secrets of *potages* and *pot au feu* long before reading Jean-Louis Flandrin’s

book *La blanquette de veau. Histoire d'un plat bourgeois* (2000), and I started getting a sense of the important role that cuisine has long had for the French. In my student years my flatmates in various Italian cities as well as in my German *Wohngemeinschaften* helped me to learn how much cooking together leads to an understanding of different cultures. My son Niccolò had a similar experience during his Erasmus year. My own work on this book is therefore dedicated to him and to his wife, Virginia, both great cooks with a curiosity about old recipes and the skill to transform them into wonderful home cooking.

Ilaria Porciani
Bologna, January 2019



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Introduction



Taylor & Francis

Taylor & Francis Group

<http://taylorandfrancis.com>

Food heritage and nationalism in Europe

Ilaria Porciani

Food: heritage for uncertain times

More than ever, food occupies a central place in our thoughts and our imagination. The less we cook or eat in a decent way, the more we are concerned with the meaning and strategies of cooking, the authenticity of recipes and their normative grammar. Food, the most accessible threshold of culture (La Cecla 1997), is ubiquitous in television series and programmes, films (Saillard 2010), magazines, newspaper articles and novels (Biasin 1991; Ott 2011), as well as in recent and very popular detective stories. Commissario Montalbano, created by Andrea Camilleri, makes a point of praising the true Sicilian cooking of his housekeeper while despising the cuisine from distant, albeit Mediterranean, Liguria as prepared by his fiancée. The hero of Petros Markaris's detective novels, Inspector Costas Charitos, a Rum – that is, a Greek born in Istanbul – explores contact zones and frictions between the often overlapping cuisines of the two communities. The detective created by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán constantly describes local and national dishes from his country in vivid detail, and mirrors the tension between local, Catalan and national cuisine. Why should this be so if these attitudes did not speak immediately to everyone?

In every culture, “foodways constitute an organized system, a language that – through its structure and components – conveys meaning and contributes to the organization of the natural and social world” (Counihan 1999, 19). Worldwide, as well as across social classes and different milieus, food conveys feelings of community and inclusion. Food reminds us of the protective intimacy of the private home and the national home at one and the same time. Besides being a powerful means of integration within a group for some, it enables recognition within a taxonomic classification (Fischler 1988). Yet it can also effectively voice “othering” and disgust for others. Thus the emotional connection between food and the feeling of national belonging is also used and misused by politicians in various countries to mobilize the masses.

In times of presentism (Hartog 2015), heritage-making is a response to anxieties about *malbouffe* – fast food, bad food and bad eating habits (Binet 2016) – “MacDonaldization”, the consequences of extreme industrial food

manufacturing and the fear of globalization and mass immigration. The need to create food heritage is partly the result of a longing for grandmothers' "authentic" cuisine, with its supposedly deep roots in our traditions, which are meant to be rediscovered and protected. Edible chronotopes (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, xiii) contain and embody the memory of people and places through time and space. When food is designated as heritage it "takes on even greater emotional weight" (Brulotte and Di Giovine 2014, 2).

These fantasies are often entangled with the nostalgia (Boym 2001; Duruz 1999; Renko and Bucar 2014; but also Holak 2014; Holtzman 2006, 367–8; Mannur 2007) characteristic of the most extreme cases of contemporary nationalism. Often it is nostalgia for a rural "countryside-nation" such as is proposed in open-air museums (Skansen in Norway or Beamish in the United Kingdom being two good examples) or in the English television heritage series devoted to Avis Crocomb, which attracted not fewer than 12 million viewers online alone. The chief cook of Lord and Lady Braybrooke at Audley End House in the Victorian age is shown picking fresh fruit from a very English orchard, or preparing English breakfast in the authentic castle's historical kitchen. A wave of nostalgia for the rural past was evident in Japan as well (Cwiarta 2006).

While our society becomes liquid (Baumann 2000) and our world is characterized by a "global ethnoscape" (Appadurai 1996) largely deterritorialized and marked by a new irrelevance of space, we are drawn to imagine food in terms of authenticity, tradition and *terroir* – a French word which designates a rather small terrain "whose soil and microclimate impart distinctive qualities to food products" (Barham 2003, 131; Demossier 2016; Saillard 2010). Because we are losing contact with things and practices which used to be alive and familiar, we turn them into heritage (Nora 1989). This trend is by no means confined to food: heritagization is a much wider phenomenon in almost all countries – Europe being probably at the forefront.

Closely connected to this context is the "heritage vegetable discourse" centred on guardianship. Its linear narrative presents the past "not only as better, freer and more diverse, but also unchanging", and emphasizes a continuity with past generations, which may be "a matter of centuries as in the documents issued by the British National Trust, millennia or even prehistory as in the Science and Advice for Scottish Agricultural Website" (Wincott 2015, 577–8). Abigail Wincott classifies the British organizations involved under the following broad categories: "heritage conservation bodies (such as the National Trust and the Heritage Seed Library), activist groups (for example Reclaim the Fields), lifestyle journalists and experts, seed catalogues and garden centres, those selling heritage vegetables and fruit as luxury or premium food (these include restaurants and supermarkets, selling heritage vegetables in their luxury food ranges) and academics studying traditional crops". The mapping of the field of actors – she points out – "is successful in giving an indication of how broad the range of activities is, stretching from anticapitalist agitation to fine-dining and it throws up some interesting questions about the role of mainstreaming and

different models of funding” (Wincott 2015, 574–5). Although related only to the United Kingdom, this picture mirrors the variety of subjects and agencies involved in the process of heritagization.

In being turned into heritage, food becomes part of a transaction. Like every other kind of heritage understood as such, it is the object of a pact (or unspoken contract) between those who confer heritage status on it and the people. In the 19th and 20th centuries the blueprint of this quite informal pact “profoundly linked to nation-building” (Adell, Bendix, Bortolotto and Tauschek 2016, 7) was written by national intellectuals and folklorists engaged in researching the national traditions of the people, and producing the national-popular master narrative in order to promote what they called the national “awakening”. Ministries and public bodies of newer or older nation states and also supranational institutions contributed further, and so did many cooks and middle-class housewives, aristocrats and gourmets who volunteered to participate in the informal task of creating a culinary identity for the nation.

In recent times, new tools have been created to “enhance and protect the legal, commercial and cultural values of foods and customs whose characteristics and reputation can be variously attributed to their origin” (Parasecoli 2017, 2). On one hand are place-based labels such as Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) as well as the broader category of Geographical Indication (GI); on the other hand is UNESCO’s list of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH). UNESCO mentioned intangible cultural heritage in its 1989 Recommendation for the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture Folklore. However, it was not until 2003 that UNESCO’s Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was passed, and only from 2010 was food included (Clough 2015; Di Fiore 2018a).

More than ever this process of heritagization of food (as of other “things” and tangible or intangible practices) is characterized by the logic of cultural engineering based on nation states (Adell et al. 2016; Hannerz 2006, 79; Kuutma 2012, 30) and can lead to ambiguities and shortcomings (Hertz 2017). It is governed by a *nomos* and enters a complex system of negotiations. While free intellectuals are still vocal about the topic, it is public bodies that are appointed as culinary or food quality authorities. In this case the pact becomes more complicated and its effect more coercive. The official grammar triumphs over vernacular languages and dialects, and hierarchies are constructed. Some foods are included; others are necessarily excluded. French scholars have reflected on *surclassement patrimonial* – that is, the effect of skating over a great variety of possible heritage while projecting a highly selective light of heritage only on a few things or practices. The picture becomes complicated and conflictual, because authorized heritage discourse – be it local, national, multinational or supranational – privileges some actors while disengaging others from the active use of heritage (Smith 2006).

Food heritage reconfigures relations of power and meaning as well as practices, and has an immediate impact on production, consumers and commodities: in

short, on the market. Put succinctly, heritage becomes one arena of cultural propertization (Bendix, Eggert and Peselmann 2012). Moreover, it brings about a new way of constructing a narrative about what has been recognized as heritage (Fox 2007, 554). This happens in the case of geographical quality indications as well as in UNESCO's list of intangible heritage. In both cases, competitive confrontation among states or regions – originally probably unintended – is in reality a major result of these procedures. Moreover, food is part of the important recent process of commercializing memory cultures (Narvselius 2015, 417): the market amplifies constructed memories and traditions and makes intensive use of often simplified and invented culinary traditions.

Discussing food heritage implies navigating between operational definitions (principally UNESCO's) and the scholarly ones, including the definition suggested by Christopher Whitehead, Gönül Bozoğlu and Mads Daugbjerg (2019): heritage is “a representational, discursive and performative practice involving conscious attempts to symbolically valorize aspects of the past in the present”. This prompts useful considerations. First of all, it brings to light how difficult it is to define heritage, and how senses of heritage have changed over time. Secondly, it sheds light on the implicit or explicit political intentions behind inventories and norms of protection, but also the accurate definition of the specific qualities needed in order to consider a practice as part of *patrimoine*. Thirdly, it helps to better understanding what David Lowenthal already pointed out many years ago: heritage “*distinguishes* us from others. It gets passed only to descendants, to our own flesh and blood; newcomers, outsiders, foreigners all erode and debase it” (Lowenthal 1994, 47). Working on the complexity of food as heritage can help to deconstruct such assumptions showing entanglements and overlaps, as well as highlighting shared practices among many people in Europe and sometimes across the Mediterranean.

The long-term perspective of most of the chapters of this book will help to focus on how these perspectives have changed from the long 19th century – the century of nationalisms, when heritage was inextricably connected to nations – to recent steps aiming to establish certain foods as world intangible heritage. Moreover, the double nature of food as a material “thing” made of ingredients and as a long-lasting but also perpetually evolving practice complicates the picture. As Laura Di Fiore explains in Chapter 2 of this volume, the UNESCO 1972 definition of heritage at first did not accommodate food as heritage: food came later, and not without problems.

In order to shed light on those issues, the first section of this book deals with the political issue of food in processes of heritagization (Di Fiore, Chapter 2) and labelling (Parasecoli, Chapter 3), within market strategies (Capuzzo, Chapter 4), in politically oriented movements (Tolomelli, Chapter 5) and in museums (Eckersley, Chapter 6). Part II of this book tries to explain why it is difficult to consider food as “original national heritage”, because of the many exchanges and grafting processes over a long period, though more specifically since the Middle Ages (Montanari, Chapter 7) and in the subsequent

empires (Horel, Chapter 8; Samancı, Chapter 9). It also focuses on the 19th and early 20th centuries by drawing attention to restaurants in different global contexts: the Universal Exhibitions (Williot, Chapter 10) and global trade (Knyazeva, Chapter 11).

Food heritage and nationalism: state of the art

In the 1980s nationalism and food studies started to be identified as precise scholarly fields. However, due to the existing disciplinary borders they proceeded in parallel. In the 1980s heritage studies too was established as a specific discipline, but it took some time before it turned towards the topic of food (Poulot 2015). Until a few years ago, cross-fertilization was limited. One important exception was Nora's seminal *Lieux de mémoire*, where a chapter on gastronomy and one on wine (Durand 1992; Ory 1992) figured prominently among the traditions of the nation. For France, it would probably be impossible to omit either of them, both for the role of gastronomy in nation-building and for the early interest in the topic of food shown by French historiography (Flandrin 1992, 1999, 2000; Pilcher 2012, 44; Rowley 1997, 2006; Watts 2012).

Hobsbawm focused on the invention of tradition and on nationalism (Hobsbawm 1983, 1990), but failed to mention food, and so did Ernst Gellner (1983) and many others, including those authors who focused on nationhood from below, or on the gendered nature of nation-building processes (Blom, Hagemann and Hall 2000). Food is quoted only twice (and not in connection with its symbolic power) in Billig's *Banal Nationalism* (Billig 1995).

While in 2004 Ben Rogers still lamented that historians and sociologists had not taken much interest in nationalism of the culinary kind (Rogers 2004), the picture has changed in the past few years. Building on the earlier works of Claude Lévi-Strauss (1958), Mary Douglas (1966) and Roland Barthes (1961), recent scholars have highlighted that food-related practices can be read as signifying systems whose meanings are determined by the cultural context. It has become clear that "in every culture, food-ways constitute an organized system, a language that – through its structure and components – conveys meaning and contributes to the organization of the natural and social world" (Counihan 1999, 19; Counihan and Kaplan 1998). Historians (Scholliers 2001) and anthropologists have discussed the symbolic significance of food in the construction of national self-identity (Ohnuki-Tierney 1993).

In recent years, however, as part of a new attention to banal nationalism, scholars have started to investigate the role of food in the perception and construction of the nation. With the help of historians, anthropologists, sociologists and heritage scholars, research on food heritage and nationalism has grown immensely (Di Fiore 2018b). Bessière (2001) describes food heritage as a set of material and immaterial features in a community's food culture that have become recognized as a common good: a broad set, not excluding innovation (Bessière 2010; Bessière and Tibère 2010) and including foods and recipes,

kitchen utensils or ways of eating together and even of setting the table. This is not without its significance: many national museums have found room for table-laying, a crucial point of middle- and lower-class domestic life and upper-class ostentation.

Some scholars (Ramli, Zahari, Ishahk and Sharif 2013) have concentrated on how food heritagization has tied up with the tradition of foods prepared and consumed over an unbroken sequence of generations. As one reads them, though, the doubt immediately arises that in many cases these traditions may not have been so continuous, and that some invention and reinvention may have taken place (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Holtzman 2006). Others have tried to divide the gastronomic heritage into two categories: foods that form part of everyday life and foodstuffs that are disappearing or have already disappeared. The memory of a food may linger even after it has vanished, and may go on fuelling nostalgia, as some folklorists intuited many years back (Evans 1942, 73).

Parkhurst Ferguson (2010) reflected on *culinary nationalism* and De Soucey even coined the term *gastronationalism* (de Soucey 2010). Scholars have started investigating culinary politics and its role in the consolidation and transformation of nation states, as in Japan (Ichijo and Ranta 2016); they have highlighted how important those policies were in consolidating community ties and affirming strong political identities (Gvion 2011). Aykan speaks of a new “food heritage fever” (Aykan 2016, 799) while Demossier has investigated the role of *terroir* (Delfosse 1997, 2011; Demossier 2016), which had become a clear issue even in French state banquets during Chirac’s presidency (Roux 2017): in fact, nowhere is the symbolic meaning of food more in evidence than at public events. Julia Csergo wrote of her own experience as a scholar in charge of the UNESCO candidature of the gastronomic meal of the French (Csergo 2016; Tornatore 2012). The debate on the politics of protected and controlled GIs and the complexities of labelling lead on to global issues, as Parasecoli also shows in this book. And it is on a global scale that the issue of immaterial heritage has arisen, as proposed by UNESCO ever since developing countries and the Global South and North began pressing for broader, more inclusive definitions of heritage, taking account of what *they* perceive as heritage, as against Eurocentric standards. Laura Di Fiore explains this well in her chapter for this book.

Old as well as recent hostilities between countries have often fuelled food wars, and clearly impact UNESCO applications. As Ubertaini (2015, 114) has pointed out, “in certain cases, the proposal of these multinational nominations proves impossible for example, when the same states concerned are at war with each other, or are experiencing bad relations for whatever reason.” This is the case with *kimchi* (Han 2011), the candidature for which described it as an essential part of the Korean way of life.¹ Historians have also followed the disputes between Indonesians and Malese (Chong 2012).

Scholars, increasingly interested in conflicts, have followed and interpreted recent food wars, starting from the one between Greeks and Romanians about *sarma* or *feta* cheese (Mihăilescu 2012) and between Greek Cypriots, Turks and

Cypriots, based on the contested UNESCO nomination of Lokoumi (Welz 2013). They have analysed the war over the property of *falafel* contested between Palestine and Israel (Raviv 2003), or over *hummus* among Israelis, Palestinians and Lebanese (Ariel 2012), all increasingly relevant to UNESCO nominations to ICH.

In 2017 a new food heritage war between Israeli and Palestinians crystallized around *zatar*: Palestinians wish to repeat ancient rituals and get together to gather it, while Israeli authorities are trying to protect this herb, probably mentioned in the Bible and in danger of extinction. *Haaretz* pointed out that this war has been going on since 1977, when environmentalists succeeded in transforming the list of 257 protected species into law. The Palestinian Heirloom Society was also set up to protect something belonging intimately to Palestinian identity. Once more, the struggle is both an identity and a commercial battle, while top chefs use the herb to create internationally successful dishes (Frattini 2017).

The case of the protest against the label “Palestinian salad” on a dish with a couscous base, offered by Virgin Atlantic Airlines (which was apparently forced to change the name to “couscous salad”) is a good instance of how the reference to a regional or typical dish in an attempt to be commercially attractive can turn into a disaster. But even more interesting is the airline’s reply: “Maftoul is Palestinian, just like pasties are Cornish and *pâté de foie gras* is French.” But are we sure that the French can claim *foie gras* as a national dish, when precisely this dish has a distinct pre-national origin in Jewish cuisine? Food historians know very well that duck was notoriously the Jews’ pork, and back in the 16th century Bartolomeo Scappi or Marx Rumpolt recommended preparing *foie gras* from the liver of ducks raised by Jews in various areas, especially Bohemia (Toaff 2004, 275–81). This is a clear example of how a dish may become “nationalized” when its long diaspora history, characterized by mediation and hybridism, is neglected.

Food and national branding: gastrodiploamacy

“[Catalonia] is not an invention: there is a territory, a community, a language, a culture and, in my case, a cuisine. Thus, my friends, this is a nation” (quoted in Pujol 2009, 438). In 2006 chef Carme Ruscalleda openly supported Catalan nationalism through gastronomy with this strong statement. The new use of food in national narratives with different aims – as diverse as encouragement of devolution, or promotion of the national brand – has become so important that the old term of *culinary diplomacy*, still used by some scholars (Chapple-Sokol 2013), has often been supplanted by a neologism: *gastrodiploamacy*. This new concept refers to actions taken by governmental, private and public agencies in order to use “soft power – the power of attraction”, and to promote “the art of winning hearts and minds through stomachs” (Rockower 2012, 1). Gastrodiploamacy has been, for instance, at the core of aggressive tourist policies, such as the official Global Thai Program launched in 2002 in order to erase