International Conference on
Foodways and Heritage
A Perspective of Safeguarding the Intangible Cultural Heritage

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Background

Foodways is considered an important cultural marker of identity in societies, and it has provided a medium for the understanding of social relations, family and kinship, class and consumption, gender ideology, cultural symbolism, etc. Nowadays, much scholarly attention has been on the socio-political construction of foodways; in particular, there is a growing interest in considering foodways an intangible heritage reflecting the significance of being part of people’s life in the era of globalization. With the understanding that some ingredients and culinary skills became more difficult to be inherited and sustained, the possibility of losing them should not be overlooked. Traditional cuisine has been mostly changed or even disappeared, and some culinary skills are known among a handful of people. So, are we going to witness the dying of traditional foodways? Or, are we going to keep it documented in the last minute because this is part of our general support of cultural diversity? This conference looks at the politics of foodways and heritage, and investigates how different kinds of food are produced, sustained and inherited while at the same time how they are preserved as intangible heritage for various reasons. We have papers that examine what foodways is considered a kind of local/national heritage, why people think foodways can be heritage for preservation, and how it has been culturally invented, conceptualized, and marketed in various societies. We have presenters researching foodways in the context of heritage politics on local/regional levels, looking into issues such as transnational relations, globalization and localization, ecology and natural resources management, transformation of traditions and technical interventions etc. Lastly, this conference is interdisciplinary and we have scholars from different disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, history, and gender studies.
Learning is Like Chicken Feet: Assembling the Chinese food system
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Chinese food has a history of tens of thousands of years, but Chinese food as we know it really began with the origin of agriculture about 10,000 years ago. Millet cultivation in the Yellow River drainage and rice agriculture in the Yangzi drainage began about the same time, possibly started by the ancestors of the Chinese (and Tibetans) and the Thai, respectively. Vegetable and tree crops were slowly added to the mix. Pigs were apparently domesticated very early. Wheat, barley, cattle, sheep and goats were introduced from the Near East about 2000-3000 BCE. Horses came from Central Asia around 1500 BCE. The Book of Songs, compiled around 500 BCE, reflects a complex, sophisticated agriculture, based on several species of grains, beans, and vegetables. In the next few centuries, especially in the late Warring States and early Han Dynasty, an ideology of support for agriculture arose. Agriculture was considered “the basis of the state” by almost all political philosophies, and farmers were given high prestige. There was a great deal of attention to soils, crops, and agricultural techniques. The world’s first direct government sponsorship of agricultural research and development took place, leading by the middle of Former Han to the world’s first case/control experiments in agriculture and the world’s first agricultural extension manual. Over the next several centuries, foods came from the west. Everything from grapes and alfalfa (in Han times) to coriander, cumin, and spinach came to China. Last of the medieval foods were carrots, which apparently came in the Mongol period, having recently been developed in Afghanistan. Foods also came from the south, with the Nanfang Caomu Zhuang in 304 CE describing many foods from what is now south China—and a separate realm—and from southeast Asia. Yuan Dynasty cookbooks range from the Mongol court cookbook, consisting largely of Near Eastern and Central Asian recipes and foodways, to the cookbook of the artist Ni Zan, whose cuisine was typical of the lower Yangzi Valley and had no significant foreign influences. In the late Ming Dynasty (or very soon after), foods from the New World began to appear, including chilies, maize, sweet potatoes, white potatoes, and probably others. Later, in the Qing Dynasty or sometimes even later, most of the New World crops came to China: tomatoes, pineapples, guavas, and dozens more. Many were confusingly named after local crops—tomatoes are “foreign eggplants,” guavas are “foreign pomegranates,” and so on. This causes endless confusion. The most recent major introduction is the “dragon fruit” or “fire dragon fruit” (lung guo or huo lung guo), the fruit of a cactus domesticated by the Maya Indians of Mexico and Central America. Another very odd introduction, which I have not seen in South China but have seen in Vietnam and Cambodia, is “Tabasco parsley” (Eryngium foetidum), a southeast Mexican cooking herb. Overall, China’s food history has been characterized by continued intensification. More and more is produced from less and less land. More sophisticated irrigation techniques, cropping systems, flood management, government relief and planning, and food processing techniques have been added to the steady accumulation of more and more productive crops.
PANEL I

HOW FOODWAYS IS CONSIDERED INTANGIBLE HERITAGE?
Chair: Jean-Pierre Williot, University of Tours, France

Two or Three Things I Know about Hong Kong Food Heritage
Sidney Cheung, The Chinese University of Hong Kong

Chinese foodways is a complex mix of regional elements including a wide range of ingredients and culinary skills, and is considered a system of knowledge not only inherited from the past but also determined by socio-political changes in different eras. Even though great differences can be found between northern and southern ingredients and culinary skills, there are common characteristics shared among cuisines in various regions through internal migration as well as importation of ingredients and cooking skills. Apart from studying Chinese foodways as regional traditions in the historical context, we should look at it as a kind of intangible heritage from the socio-political perspectives regarding the current debate on cultural preservation. In this paper, I would like to investigate Chinese foodways related to heritage preservation focusing on culinary resource in the local agricultural/fishery and wholesale/retail trade network in Sheung Wan, in order to have a better understanding of food heritage in the fast changing Hong Kong society.

Gateways to Heritage: Who owns history?
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*How to Cook and Eat in Chinese*, first published in 1945, enjoys a reputation for being the first “authentic” Chinese cookbook published in the United States. Quite naturally this claim raises the question of how and by whom such “authenticity” is judged. Exploring the context of the book’s publication, and locating its creation in the history of Chinese presence in the United States sheds light not only on the emergence of Chinese cuisine as a topic of interest among the food interested public, but also on how the American public came to recognize “authority” and “authenticity” when it came to questions related to China. This paper is concerned with questions of “authority” and “authenticity” with respect to questions of heritage, specifically Chinese food heritage, as they played out in the United States in the 20th century, and as they are reflected in the history of cookbook and recipe publication; in this history *How to Cook and Eat* occupies a central position. In addition the paper goes on to address, more generally, questions of authorship and ownership. In the legal traditions of Anglo-America recipes as recipes are not subject to copyright. Over time recipes in fact are copied and re-copied often without attribution. Commonly professional cooks and food writers do attribute. *How to Cook and Eat* is eminently copyrightable, inventing, as it does, many new food terms that have come into common use, including: stir-fry, and pot-sticker. But the book’s central body of ideas comes from a common heritage of cookery, and this raises questions about who should benefit from the transmission of this heritage.
Family Cooking and Inter-generational Communication: A case study in intangible cultural heritage
Casey Man Kong Lum, William Paterson University, U.S.A

Embedded in our quest for ways to preserve tangible and intangible heritage is a genuine sense of an impending loss, an anxiety or appreciation that one day we may lose something that we deem culturally significant or a distinct way of life that has long been treasurable to us. From this perspective, this study is an attempt to understand family cooking and the sharing of family meals as a form of intergenerational communication. No claim is made herein that the study will provide any concrete answer, let alone recommendation, about how and the extent to which we can come up with ways to preserve family cooking and commensality within the family as intangible heritage. After all, this study is resting upon a more or less debatable, if not risky, assumption, that the preparation and sharing of family meals is on the decline to such an extent that we may need to find ways or begin to think about finding ways to preserve it. The social and cultural value of the family meal as a daily ritual has attracted much attention in diverse disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology, food studies, sociology and so on. Family histories, memories, relational orders, norms, values, and gender roles are believed to be encoded, practiced, and passed on from generation to generation through the communicative processes of preparing and sharing of family meals. However, there has been an increasing amount of literature in the field in the past two decades on how the family meal may have been on the decline. Of notable mention is the fact that the analysis of the purported decline’s negative social, moral, and health consequences has in part been set within the so-called moral panic paradigm. As such, this study aims to address some of the issues relating to the changing nature, form, and significance of the family meal, as well as its preparation and sharing. How and to what extent can the (supposedly) daily ritual of the family meal be conceptualized or considered a form of intangible cultural heritage? Why has the family meal been regarded important or what good can it do (and for whom) as a social institution for intergenerational communication? How or in what sense and to what extent has the family meal been viewed or characterized as “disappearing” or being “on the decline”? What can or would be lost if the family meal as a social institution should one day cease to exist? If so, what can and should we do about it and why? In addition to concepts relating to intangible cultural heritage, communication across generations, and commensality, this study is also inspired in part by various other related concepts or issues such as knowledge transfer, urbanization, Slow Food, cultural communication in the diaspora, and moral theology.

The Indigenous Cooking of Macau: Under threat?
Annabel Jackson, Macanese Gastronomy Association, Macau

The Macanese, descendants of the Portuguese born in Macau, can be considered the indigenous peoples of Macau. When the Portuguese arrived in Macau some 450 years ago, there was scant population save for a few fishing families. The lack of existing culture left the way wide open for the development of a hybrid cuisine which gave the Portuguese a feeling of the food of home, while incorporating not only locally available ingredients but also plenty from around Southeast Asia (and from Portugal itself) which arrived in Macau on trading vessels. Particularly in the last 50 years, the Macanese have become more integrated in Chinese (as opposed to Portuguese) society, bringing challenges to their culture. Lack of career opportunities in Macau saw many leaving Macau – particularly for Hong Kong – and the run-up to Handover in 1999 saw a more severe diaspora. There was a sense that the Macanese were losing their homeland. Many moved to Portugal, and Brazil, but also to America, Canada and Australia, where today there are thriving Macanese communities with their “Casas” – clubs. What effects have the diaspora had on the preservation of culinary culture?
What is the attachment of Macanese who were born overseas, or have only one Macanese parent, to their traditional cuisine? What of Macanese food cooked in the “modern” manner without, say lard, or much salt? Bacalhau is no longer a daily staple, but a luxury ingredient. Critically, people don’t have time to cook. Why do we want to safeguard Macanese cuisine? Much of Macau’s colonial architecture is already recognized by UNESCO, and so we come to the intangibles. Macanese cuisine speaks of the history of the once great seafaring nation of Portugal; of the beginnings of trade between east and west; of cross-cultural relationships and the mixing of ethnic bloods. It gives us a sense of history in a city re-inventing itself. What we can do to ensure that it does not disappear is the subject of this paper.
Whale Meat Foodways in the Contemporary Japan:
From fish sausages in the 1960s to whale tongue dishes in the 1990s

Akamine Jun, Nagoya City University, Japan

Whaling has been a high political issue for the last several decades. One of the main points in dispute is how “traditional” whale meat consumption custom in Japan is. This question is often discussed both in terms of time length and quantity consumed. However, this paper will investigate a manner of being consumed, trying to have macro views to analyzing whale meat foodways in relation to changes in lifestyles in Japan especially after 1960s, what we call rapid economic growth period. Two intangible examples that support whale meat foodways as cultural heritage in Japan are explained. One is “fish sausage”—a Japanese invention, which once consisted of tuna and whale and became “people’s food” in 1960s when Japanese commercial whaling was at its peak. Japanese favored it not because of appreciation of intangible whale meat foodways but because of substitution for the “real” sausage. Another intangible example is inheritance of mind from whale meat foodways in Edo Period (1603-1868) to the present. We can clearly see it in the recent high appreciation of whale tongue recipe after commercial whaling suspended in 1986. Whale tongue was not evaluated in Edo Period because of its oily taste and hard texture. When many other species were regulated and only meat from minke whale was available to the market in the late 1980s, whale specialists developed the whale tongue dish. This became possible from their deep knowledge on whale and whale meat as well as from their wise use spirits. This is the inheritance of what the whale meat foodways in Edo.

When Does Foreign Cuisine Become Local Heritage?:
The case of western cuisine in Shanghai

James Farrer, Sophia University, Japan

Cuisines are changeable and one important source of change in the foodways in any society is the influence of imported products, imported recipes, and even of entire imported cuisines. However, if cuisine is to be treated as a protected heritage, then clearly one problem scholars and other interested parties must confront is when to consider imported cuisines to be a part of the local culinary heritage and worthy of protection or celebration. Clearly, Goan pork vindaloo, originally a Portuguese dish though greatly modified, is already part of the cultural heritage of Goa in India. But can the same be said of chicken vindaloo in the UK? Many people would say yes. But when does a cultural heritage begin, and who decides? The example of culinary cultural heritage I would like to consider is the case of western cuisine in Shanghai. While traditional western cuisine in Japan (yoshoku) has been enshrined as one of the three pillars of modern Japanese cuisine and treated with a great deal of reverence and nostalgia by Japanese foodies, traditional western food in Shanghai (xican) has not met with the same fate. Indeed the rush to import new types of western food into the city has only further marginalized traditional Shanghainese western food, which arguably had enjoyed a central place in the culinary life of the city as late as the 1990s. This paper will examine the current condition of
Western food (xican) in Shanghai, and examine the politics of culinary heritage in this case.

**Regional Variations and Local Interpretations of the National Food:**

*The case of Japanese noodles*

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This paper depicts, historically and ethnographically, the interactions between the regional developments of a national food and the process of its local recognitions as heritage by using the case of wheat flour noodles in Japan. Especially, the regional variation of Japanese soup noodle dishes and the preservation and promotion of them in Oita prefecture are exemplified in detail. Differed from the recent image of Japanese dishes like Sushi in the world, wheat flour has been much more important than rice in traditional meals of the Japanese people. One of the most representative Japanese folk dishes using wheat flour is Dango, dumpling knead by hands. Some typical noodles of wheat flour are Udon and Somen. Udon is made by cutting the dough on a wooden board by a kitchen knife at home. Somen is made by extending the dough and hang it on the wooden shelf to dry. The local types of Dango and Udon are produced, cooked and consumed in many parts of Japan today. The technique of processing Dango, Udon, and Somen were come from China in ancient and medieval ages step by step. At the first stage, these wheat flour products were very exclusive foods for high-class and used for the offering to gods and Buddha, or gifts on the special occasions. The term, Dango, comes from an offering in Buddhist temples, and the terms, Udon and Somen, come from the dishes for the Zen monks in medieval ages. Apart from this unity of the national food in Japanese history, individual local communities have their own interpretations of the origin and history of the food. In this decade, “the boom of B classed gourmet (bi kyu gurume bumu),” the national boom of local cuisine for promoting domestic tourism, is flourished in Japan. The local knowledge and techniques of producing local foods and dishes are discovered as heritage in this trend.

**Minority Memories and Creations:**

*The gendered heritage of Hoklo salty tea in Hong Kong*

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Salty tea, or xiancha, is a savory food in a tea base, produced and consumed by Hoklo women in Hong Kong. The Hoklos are a small sub-group of Han migrant descendents in Hong Kong, who came mainly from the southern Chinese provinces of Guangdong and Fujian. The Hoklos are reputed to be a male-dominated community, in which women take up the bulk of labor both within and beyond the household. Whether from farming or fishing background, the women in the community were responsible for carrying out back-breaking duties as part of the household subsistence strategies. Salty tea is a food genre that has developed in response to a highly gender-unequal environment in which women were restricted in accessing social capital compared to their male counterparts. This paper offers a feminist analysis of salty tea, in relation to what the food means to those who practice the custom of making and consuming it, how the food has transformed after Hoklo migrants brought it to Hong Kong, and whether memories of the food have helped women create social and cultural space across geographical and social boundaries. There are regional differences of salty tea, such as Lufeng tea, Shanweie tea, and Puwei tea, etc. As well, the chefs each have their own favorite recipes and so may alter the ingredients and composition according to personal tastes. Often the recipe would be
improvised according to availability of seasonal vegetables, or the significance of the occasion for which salty tea was made. Notwithstanding these variations, salty tea was very much a women’s affair. It was taught, learned, made, and eaten almost entirely by women. In everyday life, women would make and eat a simplified version of salty tea after work. This would involve only women, in small groups, particularly kinswomen of the same patrilineal family. On special occasions, such as weddings or birthdays, which were community-wide parties, men may take part in the eating, to assert their membership of the village or family, but they would never participate in the production of salty tea. To the women, eating/drinking salty tea served multiple purposes: it was a source of nutrition, a way of social cohesion and source of family and village identity, as well as a platform for the formation of same-sex support networks that allow the development of social and cultural capital. After settling in Hong Kong, the Hoklo community has found themselves living in a different social environment, and salty tea has transformed according to changing needs. The younger generation has adopted an urban lifestyle, with access to similar levels of nutrition, education, employment and recreational opportunities. There was substantial improvement in the gender asymmetry within the Hoklo community and the ethnic marginalization that earlier generations have experienced. This has meant a diminished role that salty tea could play in everyday life, especially among female members of the Hoklos. Salty tea, if not forgotten and disappearing all together, may very well be entering a new stage of its life as one of the utilitarian heritages in the local discourse of collective memory.
This paper is a companion piece to a previously published article on laksa, a Chinese-based dish localized in Southeast Asia through the addition of distinctive Malay ingredients. Traditionally, laksa is associated with Singapore’s Peranakan community, and is found, famously, in the cafés and hawker stalls of the Joo Chiat/Katong neighborhood on Singapore’s east coast. This current paper proposes a return to East Coast Road, now popularly known as Food Street. Specifically, the paper will trace the development of a Peranakan business, Kim Choo Kueh Chang, through its signature product – ba chang or Nonya rice dumplings. Drawing on extended interviews with Raymond Wong (the founder’s grandson) and on field observations, both at Kim Choo Kitchen and Gallery and at other food stalls and cafes in the Katong neighborhood, the paper unravels a nostalgic narrative of memory, heritage, tradition and creativity and, to some extent, tradition under threat. The story travels from its point of origin, with Madam Kim Choo as a young girl hawking food to workers under the banyan tree near Joo Chiat Road in the 1940s, to the present, with Kim Choo offering tastes of the “local” to international travelers at Changi airport. As a boutique business incorporating a gallery/museum, tours and culture courses, Kim Choo is engaged not only in selling beguiling products in sophisticated packaging but also in promoting meanings of cultural heritage – its “rags to riches” story becomes, in fact, a marketable commodity. Nevertheless, I suggest the story of Kim Choo, offers more than a “feel-good” romance of the poor but enterprising making good, or more than a successful promotion of nostalgic commodification. Instead, it is embedded in a wider narrative of changing foodscapes in Katong, with struggles over meanings of place and competing claims for ownership of its material culture and histories.

This paper attempts to consider two questions surrounding the recognition of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) today by examining foodways in Goa, India today. In the case of Goa, the history of the Portuguese rule between 1510 and 1961 is nowadays a major asset for tourism. As for Goan foodways, the recipes characterized by Indo-Portuguese culinary exchanges, Cavala recheiado (stuffed fish) or Chicken Xacuti, for instance, are considered to be typical Goan dishes among tourists. However, they are mostly Goan Catholic recipes and do not represent other communities in Goa, whereas xitkodi (rice and fish curry) is an embodiment of Goaness regardless of religion or caste. Following the principle of the ICH convention, not only tourist-oriented recipes, but also the recipes that other Goan communities have developed should be given more attention as heritage. However, xitkodi is eaten everyday by Goans and so ordinary that it could not be recognized as heritage at the global level. Rice and fish are the two main elements of Goan foodways and agriculture and fishery in
Goa have been facing rapid changes. In terms of agriculture, Goan lands used to be, and some of them are still, cultivated based on the comunidade system. Comunidade system is managed by a group of villagers called gaunkars who claim that they are the first settlers of the village. They own lands jointly and decide who cultivate which plot by auction every five years. The rights of gaunkars, such as the reception of a dividend on shares and the privileges on village festival, can pass through a male line. Recent years have seen comunidades become nominal and many gaunkars stopped cultivating rice. As more lands are in demand for development, it is more profitable to sell lands. As a consequence, rice production has been dropping. Goan fishery is another that faces transformation. Mechanical fishing was introduced and Goan ramponkars (fishermen) became boat owners. Instead of being on board a vessel, they hire migrant fishermen. With these changes in the production of foodstuffs, we need to consider what aspect of xitkoddi can be qualified as ICH.

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**The Reinvention of Nasi Goreng**  
*Michael John Hitchcock, Macau University of Science and Technology, Macau*

Nasi goreng means fried (goring) rice (nasi) in Indonesian and Malay and it is popularly regarded as the national dish of Indonesia. The dish usually comprises pre-cooked rice that is stir fried in cooking oil with a small amount of sweet soy sauce along with garlic, shallots, chili and tamarind. The other ingredients comprise chicken and prawns, and it is often served as a special fried rice, nasi goreng istimewa, with a fried egg, mata sapi (mata = eye; sapi = cow) on top. Alternatively it may be made with salted dried fish, ikan asin, and there are numerous other recipes. Nasi goreng’s origins are obscure, but some analysts trace its origins to Chinese fried rice and the introduction of stir frying with a Chinese wok, which is still widely used in Indonesia. The Chinese presence in the archipelago can be traced back to at least the Srivijaya period in the 10th century and became well established in the 15th century in the Majapahit era, not least because of the voyages of the celebrated Ming Dynasty admiral known as Zheng He. Chinese settlers presumably brought their food habits with them and these customs were copied with some significant modifications by the host population. What make Indonesian fried rice distinctive are the use of soya sauce and the adoption of a stronger and spicier taste. Nasi goreng spread to Europe through the link with the Netherlands and was brought in by migrants from the former colony, as well as returning Dutch traders and officials who had developed a taste for Indonesian food or at least an adapted version of it. By the early 1960s nasi goreng was being sold in restaurants and from mobile kitchens, and had become a popular holiday dish in Holland’s seaside resorts. Realizing that Europeans would be unfamiliar with the strong taste of the original nasi goreng, cooks started modifying what they prepared to suit local tastes, a practice that was to become commonplace as the demand for this dish spread worldwide. Today one encounters many versions of this profoundly global cuisine be it Dutch, Australian, Thai or even Cantonese nasi goreng.

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**How Local “Local Specialties” Are? – Contested culinary heritage in Hoi An, Vietnam**  
*Nir Avieli, Ben Gurion University, Israel*

Like in many other tourist destinations, “Local Specialties” sections are the first items on most of the menus in the two hundred or so tourist-oriented restaurants in the UNESCO world heritage site of Hoi An (Central Vietnam). These include cao lau noodles, “white rose” dumplings, fried hoanh thanh (wontons), fish grilled in banana leaves and a few other dishes. While Vietnamese and foreign tourists
who flock to town feast on these dishes, the locals consciously avoid them. They opt for other dishes, such as mi quang noodles, Hoi An style chicken rice (com ga pho co), undercooked beef (thit bo tai) and sizzling pancakes (banh xeo), thus defining an alternative culinary heritage, which is beyond the reach of tourists. In this article, based on anthropological fieldwork conducted in Hoi An since 1998, I address the idea of “contested culinary heritage.” I argue that the locals are well aware of the invented or imposed nature of the town’s “official” local specialties in the context of state-controlled tourism. They are also aware of the industrialization of these dishes, as a consequence of mass tourism. They therefore opt for other dishes, which partake in the construction of local and class identities that by pass and even challenge the official version. In recent years, however, some of the local specialties are (re)incorporated into the menu of the emerging Hoianese middle class, as tokens of economic and symbolic capital and as expression of sophistication and modernity. Concomitantly, some of the local favorites are “discovered” by tourists and added to some of the menus in tourist-oriented restaurants. I conclude by arguing that culinary heritage is neither an authentic cultural package, nor an invented tradition whose authenticity is staged by the tourism industry. Rather, culinary heritage is dynamic and multi-leveled space in which dishes and foodways are adjusted, transformed, invented and removed within changing contexts.
Heritage-oriented Gastronomy and Local-regional Food System Development in Sweden

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Sweden has identified heritage-oriented gastronomy as a strategic development priority, seeking to become “a culinary nation for the future” by 2020. The country also ratified the European Landscape Convention (ELC) in 2011. The ELC emphasizes sustainable landscape management and encourages regional economic and community development initiatives. Sweden’s emphasis on artisanal food production may offer new opportunities for implementing the ELC, especially if such gastronomy is framed more broadly as local–regional food system (or foodscape) development. Within this context, there is growing consensus in the scientific literature that local–regional food systems can improve the three dimensions of sustainability (environmental, economic, and social effects). Research has shown that such systems can enhance community resiliency, create economic development opportunities, and improve environmental performance. Research has also shown that such foodscape can foster landscape and heritage management, and that the notion of heritage, itself, can be an important catalyst for initiating sustainability efforts. As a result, policy makers are now promoting local–regional food systems as sustainable development strategies worldwide. Yet there is little scientific evidence demonstrating how stakeholders can implement these systems to achieve their intended sustainability outcomes. This paper reports on a proposed comparative study of two local-regional foodscape efforts in Sweden. The two proposed study sites are: Östersund-Jämtland and Vänerskärgården/Kinnektule Biosphere Reserve.

Italianità in America: A history of the cultural politics and social construction of authentic Italian cuisine in the U.S.

Ken Albala, University of the Pacific, U.S.A

This paper recounts the changing ways Americans have viewed authentic Italian cuisine in the US through history. The conception of traditional cookery has undergone numerous shifts stretching back to the 18th century, when the Grand Tour, Italian fashions and the image of the “macaroni” in the era of Thomas Jefferson was largely inherited from Britain. 19th century immigration and a significant population largely drawn from Southern Italy introduced a whole new set of foodways toward which Americans were extremely ambivalent. They feared strong aromas and garlic and consciously sought to assimilate immigrant children under the pretext of improving nutrition, introducing mainstream Anglo-Saxon foods in government programs. Despite these efforts Italian cuisine became mainstream in the early 20th century. This was thanks to industrially made pasta, canned tomatoes and other vegetables grown in the US, and of course through pizzerie. Italian cuisine, or an Italian-American
version of it, more heavily based on meat and a profusion of ingredients gradually became ubiquitous, especially in restaurants featuring red checked table cloths and raffia covered bottles of chianti in the “dolce vita” era. Gastronomically minded authors soon found a series of very different cuisines among the regions of Italy and in cookbooks of the latter 20th century introduced several “authentic” Italian cuisines based on fresh ingredients and hitherto unknown techniques and cooking equipment. Americans raised on canned spaghettios soon learned how to make fresh pasta, drank espresso and Super Tuscan Reds, discovered dishes like polenta and moved far beyond the spaghetti and meatball version of Italian cookery. These books were targeted to social aspirants for whom cooking became a leisure activity and an expression of class. It took another generation, in the past decade or so, to recover and Italian-American cuisine, abandoning the pretentions of expensive imported cheese, wine and prosciutto and revalorizing the native local Italian-American cuisine which they perceived was in danger of being lost. Authentic in this case was drawn not from elitist products and recipes, but from nonna’s lost recipes cooked from scratch. These shifts reflect not only generational shifts among immigrant populations: the first generation holding on to foodways of their homeland, the second for the most part assimilating and the third desperately trying to hold onto their traditions, but also reflects a dramatically changing attitude toward Italy among all Americans. These various attitudes will be analyzed in terms of larger political and social movements, shifts in the economy and other historical forces including agriculture and patterns of import. How Americans conceive of real Italian food is a product not only of changing culinary fashions but larger socio-economic forces.

Rice and Empowerment in Taiwan

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Evidences showed that westernized lifestyles have resulted in an increase of wheat consumption and decrease in rice consumption over the past decades in Taiwan, in the past decade new movements to scale up local food production have thrived to change people’s perception of rice from simply staple food to delicacies and expensive gifts. Different ethnic rice products represent a lively multicultural abundance among the Hakka, South Fujianese, mainlander and aboriginal groups. Since Taiwan signed into the WTO in 2002, new production modes have been created to increase the growing of domestic rice fields and wheat to counter the waves of globalization. Rice is an important food crop found in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. In the “rice societies” of Asia, rice is also a cultural symbol, associated with folk tales, cultural celebrations and religious ceremonies. It has also evolved from a daily necessity to an adequate gift choice for guests at weddings in high-end banquets. In my paper, I will present a case study of these new types of community supported agriculture in central Taiwan. In Shetou, Changhua, a group of members of Homemakers’ Union Consumer’s Cooperative, mostly city dwellers, first collaborated and subsidizes farmers in growing rice in June 2010 with three principles: there is no specific goal for the final quantity of production; using no fertilizers, using no chemical pesticides. In December 2010, the harvested rice became very popular, and the participant consumers also proved that it is possible to sustain non-industrial rice production in the field. Now, their experiences have extended to more fields in Mingjien, Waipu, Tangzi and Fengyuan in central Taiwan. On the other hand, the Homemaker’s Union Cooperative also makes rice hamburgers with organic rice and ingredients from selected suppliers, including pork, onions, soy sauce, mushrooms, and dressings. The re-invention of rice dishes not only exists in consumer’s cooperatives, they also appear in new chic ice cream shops in ice cream and tea selections in the most popular areas for young consumers in the Art Museum District in Taichung, Taiwan. These new types of rice consumerisms have founded new paradigms to support and empower farmers to scale up local production, and shed light on our reflections about the relationship between human beings and the land. In terms of methodology, I use qualitative approach, which includes interviews and participant
observation. I participate observe the Homemaker’s Union Consumer’s Cooperative as an active member from February 2012. I have attended the conferences, food writing workshops, and assisted in organizing events about environmental education.

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**Nostalgic Imagination: A study of the sweet potato in Taiwan**  
*May Yu-Hsin Chang, Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture, Taiwan*

Sweet potato has been the main staple food for Taiwanese instead of rice in Taiwan before the World War II. However, sweet potato now has become the symbol of Taiwan due to its shape similar to Taiwan and also its history along with Taiwanese life experience. Sweet potato is also the food most the elderly Taiwanese missed to recall their memory, but nostalgic imagination for young generation. This paper will examine the history of sweet potato in Taiwan and the role it played in Taiwanese society. I will conduct the in-depth interview to explore the current image of sweet potato from Taiwanese. It will then explore how sweet potato evolved from the peasant food to an item of high cultural value and how Taiwanese adopted it as a symbol of Taiwan. It will conclude with projections of the cultural value of sweet potato in the future.
The High Quality Products of the Past
Alain Clement, University of Tours, France

Self-sufficient food consumption is still very common today in the Combrailles region of Auvergne, bordering on the Basse Auvergne. It is all the more worthwhile for those who have recourse to it as it combines less expense with the consumption of foodstuffs considered as superior both in terms of quality and taste. Indeed country people with considerable nostalgia of the former high quality taste of foodstuffs which were almost all produced on the family farm. The high quality taste referred to here is emblematic of a time when everybody was, or was said to be, self-sufficient. In fact this ideal situation was rarely attained as peasant families were obliged to sell their produce on the market without always having the possibility of consuming it themselves. Self-sufficiency might have been attainable after the Second World War as the result of more efficient methods of production and conservation. Though rural families wanted to produce their own foodstuffs, the need to integrate the market economy has implied greater specialization and the abandoning of a number of rare foodstuffs previously giver over to direct consumption.

Eating Patterns, Mixings an Crossbreeding: Between rural and urban areas, between heritage and external influences
Isabelle Bianquis, University of Tours, France

Traditionally, Mongolians are herders and they exclusively feed from their livestock products, especially dairy products and meat. These products are highly valued both as symbols and for their taste. They are key to their rituals; in the calendar, in social relations and hierarchies of kinship, they are always the guarantee of future prosperity and health. However, the transition from a rural society to a predominantly urban population has considerably changed the food fads of the past fifteen years. These transformations are the result of many factors: difficulties in finding countryside products, economic issues, diversification of available foods, creation and proliferation of large supermarkets, and models from abroad through the media. For traditional Mongolian herders, eating means eating meat. In rural areas, vegetables are rarely present in a stable diet. So, how can we understand the transition from a traditional model to a very different one? What impact does it have on representations of health, body, sociability, and hierarchies? Is it a political or a religious option? In this paper, I would like to start with a mapping of restaurants in the capital and a user survey. The objective is to examine the logic of food choices and to understand the relationship between an idealized heritage and actual practice.
The Fabrication of the Renowned French Cuisine, 17th – 18th Centuries
Florent Quellier, University of Tours, France

Published in 1651, La Varenne’s Cuisinier François is the first printed evidence of the birth of a new cuisine in France which was quickly renowned as the best European cuisine. This paper discusses how a famous food culture in the early modern period was born. Politics, religion, economy and geography explain the rise of the French cuisine from the 17th century. Of course there are some evolutionary European reasons (process of civilization, food market improvement, a catholic table culture) but also some typically French reasons, like the rise of the Monarchy, a highly centralized cultural model, and a political shift of the nobility’s role. Furthermore, French cuisine had the advantage of a eulogistic discourse on the French wealthy soil (mercantilism) and a larg social imitation of the royal cookery. This imitation process was essential in transforming court cookery into national cookery. In the 1650’s the most important French cookery books used the same adjective in their title: Le Cuisinier Français (1651), Le Pastissier François (1653) and Le Confiturier François (1660). “François” means French. Sold in the country and translated into European languages, these books promoted a well-known cuisine in France and in other countries. The fabrication of the renowned French cuisine was so successful that the birth of French regional cuisines from the middle of the 18th century demonstrated the wealth of the French national cuisine. As building, gardening or painting, the art of preparing, cooking and eating food is a part of the French cultural model built during the Bourbon’s reign. With a Frenchification of Italian’s food discourse and an elaboration of strict cookery rules, the seventeenth century had formed a new cuisine in France. Since the middle of the seventeenth century, French cuisine has carried on a strict code of cookery, but also a discourse about a model of society and a way of life.

The Couscous: History of a reinvented heritage
Mohamed Houbbaida, Ibn Tofail University, Kénitra, Morocco

Couscous is the Maghreb meal by excellence. The North Africans make use from the oasis of M’zab in the South of Tunisia to the High Atlas in the region of Marrakech in the South of Morocco, since the ancient times, before Islamic time. It has always been a main food in rural populations. But in the Middle Ages, and especially from the 13th century, couscous begins to appear in the culinary books for the urban elites. Since then, couscous continues to conquer the tastes, seduce the other culinary cultures and travel in time and in space. The objective of this communication is to see how this Maghreb food heritage has turned people’s food at a luxury food, how it has continually reinvented itself as it marked its territorial expansion in the Arab world, in Europe and elsewhere, by opening on other ingredients, other flavors, and other culinary ways. Three main components will guide this contribution:

- Couscous as food, as a culinary practice. Through the centuries, this food, which originally, “costs little, but feed lot,” according to a text of the 16th century, has developed a culinary feature combining the cooking water and steam cooking, maintained until today. The Couscous has changed, but the principle of cooking remained the same, namely cook vegetables and flour separately, but at the same time, through a special kitchen utensil: the couscoussier.
- Couscous as cultural identity, by the attachment of the ordinary people and the elites to this food, as demonstrated by the historical sources of the pre-colonial period. People eat couscous not only to provide for their biological needs, but also to respond to their environment patterns and their socio-cultural motivations.
• Couscous as factor of interculturality. It seduced Europe and even the Brazil. The texts of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, regarding culinary treaties, attest its presence in Spain, heir of the medieval Andalusian traditions, Italy and France. The cookers, working among the nobles of the South of Europe, prepared the couscous, by adapting it to European taste. In the Brazil, the Portuguese expelled in 1769 from the city of Mazagan, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, have introduced the couscous in Brazil and adapted it to the grain of the country: the maize couscous, still in use today. People cook nowadays two varieties, the cusczu paulista and cusczu nordistino.

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**Family Recipes as Intangible Cultural Heritage**

*Sidney Cheung, The Chinese University of Hong Kong*

In this paper, I would like to consider the family recipes as a kind of intangible culture heritage that we would like to preserve and pass down to our future generations in many countries. Family recipes are different from other food as they are neither systematically documented nor preserved at the governmental as well as institutional levels. They represent foodways inherited within families reflecting the most sensational and emotional aspects of inter as well as intra generational bondages and communications, and can only be inherited by individual passion with strong family attachment, commitment and devotion, which should not be overlooked in the context of intangible heritage preservation.
Many of the social and economic institutions which arrived in India with the advent of the British rule have been studied in depth by the scholars in fact; some of these institutions are hailed as the harbinger of modernization of India. Restaurants are one of those modern institutions which evolved in India during the colonial period. The paper is a journey through history and politics as restaurants are an example of both, tangible and intangible influence of the colonial rule. The study seeks to explore the role played by the restaurants in marketing traditional food cooked in family kitchens especially those restaurants which were established by Hindu Brahmin proprietors in the city of Mumbai. Thus the regional focus of this paper is on the city of Mumbai, erstwhile Bombay which can aptly be called the culinary capital of India. These restaurants which were called as Upahargrihas served tea, coffee and light refreshments but no meals. To start a commercial establishment to sale food was indeed very adventurous decision for these Brahmin proprietors as caste system and religious scriptures prohibits the Brahmins to serve or sale food to person belonging to other castes. Dietary restrictions imposed by the caste system were the reason that the food served by the Brahmin cooks of these establishments was basically home style food which was simple, wholesome and robust. This feature was particularly highlighted in the advertisement to tempt the most conservative clients. This paper especially examines the contribution made by restaurateur Mr. Balkrishna Tambe in popularizing traditional dakshini/Brahman style food among the other Hindu communities as well as non-Hindu clientele. A staunch follower of Mahatma Gandhi he accepted this profession with nationalist fervor and missionary zeal. Like Gandhi he too experimented with unconventional food articles as well as food articles from New World such as potato, tomato and reinvented traditional dishes. His most significant contribution was to promote buttermilk a traditional drink of India as a substitute for tea.
experiences.” In times of catastrophic loss, narratives can transform individuals and aid in the rebuilding of community. Culinary narratives, always present in New Orleans, do just this work while also marking the difficulty of achieving this. These narratives, oral, written and performed, play an integral role in post-Katrina New Orleans. Culinary narratives do the work of rebuilding community and of observing and documenting the rebuilding that is not possible, the loss that is still present. While considerable attention has been accorded the ways in which food constructs identity, less is understood regarding food as performance of loss and rebirth. This paper examines memory of food and loss as it relates to Hurricane Katrina. New Orleans, in particular, grants food a very large stage in which to perform cultural meaning. Culinary narratives in New Orleans are performed through recipe collections, restaurants, festivals, rituals, cooking, eating and celebrations. These performances of cultural meaning are full of symbolic value. Victor Turner writes of the importance of performance in everyday life. The cultural performances and narratives I am most interested in are the rituals of sharing food whether through recipes or meals and the recounting and sharing of culinary memories. The act of cooking and eating together produces a powerful sense of community. Perhaps at no time is community more important than after trauma. Intense community was formed and revived in post-Katrina New Orleans. This paper seeks to examine the ways in which foodways served as a site of community in post-Katrina New Orleans.

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**How French Cheese Went from Being Indigestible to Cultural Treasure**

*Sylvie Vabre, Université Toulouse, France*

At the end of the 18th century cheese was truly a marginal food product. Doctors even advised their patients to avoid cheese because they viewed it as harmful. Men were deemed more capable of consuming cheese without ill effect because their stomachs were less sensitive. Now, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, cheese is an integral component of the French gastronomic meal sanctioned by UNESCO as an intangible world heritage. Served just before dessert, cheese contributes to the French cultural identity as much as wine. Indeed, these are the only two food products identified by UNESCO as uniquely characteristic of the French gastronomic meal. Thus, within the span of two centuries the status of cheese underwent a radical transformation: from a nausia-creating, barely digestible food to a national treasure. This paper will examine the economic and social actors, institutions, discourses, and their contexts in order to explain this historical transformation. The long journey of cheese’s transformation into a cultural heritage occurred in three consecutive stages. First, in the nineteenth century cheese consumption became an increasingly common eating habit among the French. It appeared on all meal tables, offering a wide array of choices to its new consumers. Whether local or of world renown, individual cheeses became defined, named, and increasingly distinguishable from others. This new multi-layered discourse supported producers’ creation of a veritable cheese sector in the food industry. Second, the 1920s witnessed a critical development. In July 1925 Roquefort cheese producers obtained by law the right of “appellation d’origine contrôlée (AOC),” which created a strict legal connection between product and region of production. Thereafter, alongside Roquefort, other cheese producers successfully sought legislation that bolstered particular definitions of individual French cheeses according to their region of production. This economic strategy did not prevent the industrialization of cheese production and was particularly well suited to the integration of cheese identities into existing regional folklore. This “invention of tradition” gained momentum beginning in the 1980s. The last stage of cheese’s journey from marginal product to cultural heritage was aided by a worldwide quest for “the natural” among consumers. This development provided a new boost to earlier stages that created a synergy between regional folklore and heritage foods. The creation of cheese as cultural treasure is a phenomenon that worked in tandem
with industrialization and the development of a society of consumption. In this context, UNESCO’s recognition of the gastronomic French meal represents a new stage that affirms the uniqueness of nations.

Cooking the Cultural Revolution: Food and the Politics of Cooking and Culinary Knowledge in Guangzhou
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This paper focuses on the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) in China and its foodways, engaging with the use of food in cultural and political rhetoric during this time. Bountiful harvests, endless fields of grain, and well-fed, smiling babies and children were captured in the realist propaganda posters of that period. These images gave the impression of plentiful production, and by suggestion, adequate consumption for the people. In actuality, this period was marked by food instability and culinary upheaval. Food was rationed, famine and starvation was rampant in many parts of the country, and those responsible for producing fine cooking and cuisine – chefs, restaurateurs, and other members of the catering industry – were sent down to the countryside for their “exploitative” activities. The use of food in political rhetoric was also potent. Mao Zedong’s famous lines, “Revolution is not a dinner party” and “You can’t be a revolutionary if you don’t eat chilies” linked food to the political fervor of the times. Mao’s words recognized the importance of food in both everyday and political life. His words connected the fiery spirit necessary for fighting ideological and political battles by equating it to the stamina and tenacity for consuming the fiery heat of chili peppers. But this period was not simply about politics of eating and consumption. The politics of production via cooking and culinary skills were also key to the shifts in the foodways of this period. During this time, places of food production and skills training were also subjected to politically motivated change. Restaurants were shuttered and closed, or they were re-organized under state control. Cooking schools were also formed during this period, and recipes were codified and organized (Klein 2008) as part of wider culinary campaigns to control the dissemination culinary knowledge and production. I further this narrative by suggesting that in this period in Guangzhou, cooking and cuisine was also “traditionalized” as part of this process. The establishment of cooking schools, recipe collections, publication of cookbooks and culinary manuals created a codified, systematic “tradition” of cooking which set up formal boundaries and outlines for Cantonese and other Chinese regional cuisines. Among culinary professionals in Guangzhou, I suggest that this period was framed as one of positive development in terms of culinary education and the wider vocation, as almost a period of “liberation” amidst the revolutionary fervor of the times. Therefore, I ask how a “tradition” cookery and cuisine was able to emerge out of a politically fractured period; one that in essence centered on the removal and destruction of “traditional” culture.
香港潮人盂蘭勝會的食品和祭品——以貴嶼和記隆餅家為例
楊子儀，貴嶼和記隆餅家，香港
林錦源，香港文化博物館，香港

潮式糕、糖、糕、粿這些製作手工藝，不論是從宗教祭品、民間食品、藝術品或送禮佳品的角度看，都有著源遠流長的歷史。開埠初年，不少潮籍人士從廣東潮州、汕頭、澄海、揭陽等地來港謀生，他們將鄉間的風俗文化和飲食習慣一併帶到香港，當中包括潮式糕點的製作技藝，糕點師傅憑藉心靈手巧的技術，世代傳承，大大擴展了本地文化的內涵。自十九世紀中葉富珍齋立足香港上環文咸西街開始，潮式糕點文化曾經風靡一時，零售店鋪也增至高峰期的數十家之多。這些潮式糕點，一方面可以一解潮僑思鄉之情，同時也促進和延續了族群之間的團結和凝聚力。潮州人的糕餅文化和潮式盂蘭勝會對香港而言都是外來文化，但很快就得到本地文化的認同。盂蘭勝會的核心價值講求弘揚孝道、濟貧施孤、敦睦鄉誼和鄰里友愛，是一個十分觸動人心的傳統節慶，與潮式糕點文化結合，從祭品和食品的多樣化款式和豐富寓義中看來，充分反映了潮汕民族的傳統信仰、習俗及糕點本身的吉祥含義和文化象徵意義。潮式糕點文化與潮人盂蘭勝會已植根香港約一百六十多年，彼此相互交融，本文將籍著貴嶼和記隆餅家的創辦與經營，闡述潮式糕餅文化在香港的傳承經過，並重溫其百年滄桑的變遷；文章亦會利用檔案、文獻、老照片和舊報紙，探討盂蘭勝會的核心價值和現實意義；從孟蘭勝會會場的佈置規律到祭祀儀式的先後有序，可深入了解到潮式糕點和紙紮祭品所蘊涵的敬神祭幽、民俗信仰、吉祥含義和人文精神的傳統文化特色；最後，潮式糕餅店的經營和發展從風靡一時而漸歸於衰微，經營者應如何自處呢？政府在保護工作上又可擔當著甚麼角色呢？2011 年，中元節〈潮人盂蘭勝會〉獲選為第三批中國國家級非物質文化遺產名錄，潮人盂蘭勝會雖然是以節慶儀式為主的非遺項目，但當中蘊含著宗教信念、宗教音樂、神功戲、紮作技藝、飲食文化的傳統手工藝和孝道等豐富文化元素和內涵，對弘揚民族，特別是潮汕族群的優秀文化具有重要的現實意義。
特定的食品如三牲、“艾籺”等奉獻於神靈。年俗食品作為人與人、人與神溝通交流的媒介，構建了人與人、人與神、人與祖先溝通的“過年”時空。在這樣一個人、神、祖先之間，無論是世俗的倫理親情，還是對祖先的慎終追遠，或者對神明的崇拜敬畏，都通過年俗食品在人、神、祖先之間的迎來送往、奉獻接納、耗費享受等方式得以充分展現。因此，過年時空中的年俗食品，不僅僅只是各具物理性質的自然之物，也是深具社會、歷史、文化意蘊的“有意味之物”。年俗食品承載了人們關於過年的記憶與想像，參與了地域社會共同體的構建，年俗食品與地域共同體的倫理親情以及民俗信仰相互依存，以宗族、神明為象徵符號構建的地域社會共同體及其文化行為，是年俗食品傳承發展的社會文化生態。

活血

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中國廣西都安縣的布努瑤宰豬殺羊時好做“活血”，有生吃活血之俗，當地有不吃“活血”等於不殺豬（羊）之說。首先，“活血”是友好、熱情、好客的表述。正餐之前，見者有份（主家退讓），大家擁擠在一個狹小的空間裡盡情享用，此時，所有人都具有“客人”身份的“神聖性”。它具有“自生性交融”特點，聯結、協調社會中人與人之間的關係。其次，“血”代表動物獻祭，勾通神靈。春節前“祭三神”要殺羊殺豬，“活血”需要祭祀神靈之後，人們才得以食用，待“神”如待“客”，通過食用“佳餚”之“先後”順序邏輯，把神至於一個“神聖”空間，以示虔誠，以此構建觀念秩序。第三，“血”與人命有關，並含有“危險”之意。布努瑤喪事絕不能做“活血”，否則將再出現死亡。喝“活血”還有“殺人食”之嫌。死者子女三年內也不能喝“活血”，否則會“見血”（發生意外事故）。喪事期間“活血禁忌”，一方面對死者的敬重與深厚感情，另一方面表現對“血”的恐懼。它聯結先人與後人，表達人的情結與情感，並體現社會秩序的力量。“活血”的存在，可以構築“神聖空間”；“活血”不能進入之處，也構築了“神聖空間”。同時，它把人的情感與社會關係納入其中。動物生血，一種自然之物，經過加工，成為上好的營養食及保健品，並被賦予一定的人文價值。它的象徵意義是多元疊加的，根據其背景及分類意義體系不同而有不同的內涵，並發揮不同的效用，以“有形之物”映襯無形之社會觀念及情感。

傳統打油茶與民族的生活習俗

廖昆銘，廣西文化廳非物質文化遺產處，中國

人類社會無不以“食”為生活的第一需要，因而有“民以食為天”之說。“食”不僅用於果腹充飢，維繫生命，更重要的是由“食”而產生形成的文化形式，他延續著各民族的習俗，傳承著千年的族群文化傳統。透過千年的飲食歷史，人們會看到不同族群的食俗、食譜、飯譜、菜譜、酒譜、茶譜等。本文探討打油茶的歷史文脈、傳統技藝、文化習俗及其“食療湯”，以此分析油茶文化的保護及傳承。
粵菜與養生
蔣明智，中山大學，中國

粵菜是我國八大菜系之一，享有很高的聲譽，是廣府地區乃至嶺南飲食文化的代表。它具有“博、精、鮮、潤”的菜式特點和順應“天時、地利、人和”的食制和禮俗，並深受道教重生惡死、順應天時、崇尚自然、克制欲望等文化的影響。

客家婚禮飲食結構展演及其感覺隱喻——以廣西博白縣大安村為個案
謝菲，廣西民族博物館，中國

作為社會記憶的一種傳承方式，婚禮飲食具有程式化與規範化特徵。在整個儀式的行進過程中，飲食物品的陳置、儀式主體的飲食行為與婚禮儀禮的情境相關聯，並彰顯其意義。一方面，這一過程以食物陳列、儀式主體進食以及群體共食的形式予以展演；另一方面，在婚禮儀式上，食物與符號、能指與所指，構成了既任意又縝密的文化語法，用一種分類及價值的社會秩序取代了自然生理秩序，並轉化為物質實體與個人感官經驗的互動，以視覺、聽覺、味覺、觸覺等多種感覺的融合與內在轉換，自然地將族群文化規範與個人社會角色期待相聯繫，持續傳遞族群的道德規範、價值理念以及人生期待。論文以廣西博白縣的一個純客家村落——大安村婚禮飲食為調查點，根據婚禮儀式行進的程式，關照婚前、婚日、婚後男女家飲食物品的陳置以及儀式主角的飲食行為，認為客家婚禮飲食行為通過多種感官知覺的共存與轉換，表達客家社會“禮”的規範和精神訴求，傳承並延續族群文化記憶。從物質、感官與記憶的層面而言，婚禮飲食結構強調物質符碼與感官經驗的共鳴與互動，具有沉澱與轉換的特性。而此種特性的孕育與成型是在特定的社會生態環境中，族群社會成員通過身體感官經驗周遭世界構建自我文化真實的過程，是婚禮儀式情境中，物質符碼與感官經驗交織的一種建構性真實。