

A Taste of Intangible Heritage: Food Traditions Inside and Outside of the Museum¹

As nourishment, food consists of tangible, material substances which humans consume. But the knowledge and practice of food preparation, etiquette of eating and symbolic meanings tied to various foods are all intangible. How does this affect the work of museums?

Key words: intangible heritage, food, musealisation of food processes

The Unesco *Living Human Treasures* program states that: "...although the techniques for producing artefacts and even preparing food can be put in writing, the actual act of creation has no physical form. The performance and the act of creation are intangible; embodied in the skills or techniques of those who do them."

A focus on intangible cultural heritage must: "give precedence to ways of presenting traditional and popular cultures that emphasize the living or past aspects of those cultures (showing their surroundings, ways of life and the works, skills and techniques they have produced)"

http://www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/html_eng/index_en.shtml

In other words, a focus on intangible heritage is *context oriented*. It promotes processes more than products, thereby contending a pure object-orientation.

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In the following examples, I wish to discuss 3 ways that food can be integrated with the goals of museums:

- Food processes *IN* the museum
- Museum *presentations* of food processes
- Museum collaboration to present food in *traditional settings*

Food processes *IN* the museum

Anyone who has worked with museum pedagogy knows that special arrangements can activate groups, giving positive results for both the museum and the community. One particularly successful example of museum/community collaboration is the annual New-years *mochi* pounding ceremony at the San Francisco Asian Art museum. *Mochi* is a Japanese desert made from sweet, glutinous rice which is pounded and pulled until it can be formed into ball. It may be eaten at any time, but has a special ritual significance in symbolizing prosperity for the new year. Since the early 1990s the Japanese American group Kagami Kai has performed the ritual within the museum, pounding the warm rice in wooden mortars accompanied by singing and the rhythm of *taiko* drumming, and sharing the finished *mochi* with museum visitors.

When they bring this ritual into the museum, Kagami Kai shows that it is not only a product – *mochi* – which has been created, but also sets of relationships between participants in the ritual. And as this is an annual event, lasting social relationships are also maintained between the minority community and the museum.

Museum *presentations* of food processes

A visitor to Korea learns very quickly about the symbolic importance of certain types of food. For example, during a previous trip to Seoul, I could see large food storage containers seemingly everywhere, even in downtown parking lots. And of course, in each container, one would find variants of pickled vegetables know as *kimchee*. Kimchee storage is obviously a living tradition, but how can we learn about its production?

The National Folk Museum of Korea, has made a diorama showing traditional processes in kimchee-making. Ingredients, tools, and methods of preparation are all presented in a simple, but effective manner. Although this presentation may be based on historical, rather than contemporary techniques, the tradition itself still seems to be very much alive. Even though living practitioners are not present, the exhibit shows a process which can provide an understanding of intangible aspects.

A similar example of Museum presentations of food processes comes from my own work. The travelling exhibition “Farewell - Death and bereavement in multi-cultural Norway” aimed at presenting cross-cultural perspectives on the death rituals of various groups of people in Norway, both in former times, and in contemporary multi-cultural society. In collaboration with the respective communities, the rituals of several different religious groups were brought into focus, as well as common factors which everyone must deal with - no matter what their religious beliefs.

During fieldwork with various communities in preparation for the exhibition, I noticed that presenting how food is used in religious rituals might provide a useful basis for cross-cultural comparison, as well as giving visitors and these communities new insights into their own traditions. Three cases may illustrate this:

Buddhism

One example of food used in religious rituals is from the Khuong Viet Buddhist temple. The temple lies outside of Oslo (in Norway). There, I was allowed to document the ritual held for a recently deceased man. The assembled monks told me that the aim of the ritual was to help the soul of the deceased to gain clarity and peace in the spirit world, so that it could find its way to rebirth in this world.

A large photograph of the dead person was displayed at a memorial altar near the entrance to the temples ritual area. Flowers, candles and incense were all placed at the altar, together with offerings of fruit, cookies, soup and rice. These offerings would provide spiritual sustenance to the dead soul on its journey, and later be eaten by relatives of the dead person as a blessing from the spirit world.

The display case made for this part of the exhibition attempted to recreate this scene, to show how everyday foodstuffs could become imbued with power far beyond their nourishment value. The display also shows the importance of memory in Buddhist death rituals.

Sikhism and Christianity

Starting in the early 1970s, Norway experienced a wave of immigration, many of whom came from India and Pakistan. Some of these immigrants belong to the Sikh religious minority. When a Sikh dies in Norway, he or she is cremated, and the ashes are normally sent to India for spreading over running water. Mourners assemble after the cremation for recitation of religious poetry, as well as for the distribution of *parsad*, a kind of bread/pudding which is a symbol of Gods blessing. One man at the sikh *gurdwara* temple told me that “Parsad bread is warm, soft and sweet, just as God is warm, soft and sweet”. And since *parsad* represents Gods blessing, it should be accepted enthusiastically, with both hands.

It can be useful to compare the blessing of eating *parsad* bread with the Christian ritual of communion.

The Christian New Testament tells that by dying on the cross, Jesus Christ atoned for the sins of humanity throughout all time. Three days after burial, Jesus supposedly arose from the dead and traveled to heaven. Christian belief teaches that one-day in the future, Jesus shall return to earth in order to judge the living and the dead – which will complete creation by opening the kingdom of heaven.

The ritual of communion is seen as a preparation for this day of judgement. Communion refers to the last supper that Jesus had with his disciples, when he gave them bread and wine as symbols of his body and blood, and said that “Whoever eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day” (John 6:54)

Each of the above museum examples *show* and *describe* food processes. However, in the museum, it is difficult to create “total sensory experiences”. Exhibitions are normally not made for eating, health restrictions can hinder the serving of food in many unlicensed localities and some kinds of ritual foods may be reserved for certain groups of believers. Perhaps museums could help provide these “total sensory experiences” to their public through community involvement?

Museum collaboration to present food in *traditional settings*

Istria is the westernmost county in Croatia. In the mid 1990s, county tourism authorities looked for a tool on how to reinvigorate the county’s rural hinterland. The answer they found was to encourage agrotourism. Agrotourism is another name for farm holidays, or rural agricultural tourism. This form of tourism may entail guests staying and eating at living, working farms, but can also pertain to rural bed and breakfast facilities, as well as rural restaurants.

Ideally, agrotourism is presented as a mark of natural quality:

“To stay at an agrotouristic farm in Istria means to stay in a natural environment, in contact with nature and its beauties, in contact with the cultural heritage of Istria, with traditional life in a village; it also means to enjoy the specialties of traditional Istrian cuisine, dishes prepared in the traditional, home made way, with ingredients produced on the farms and with the hands of your hosts.” (Sinčić 2003:215)

County authorities profile agrotourism as a sharing experience between host and guests:

“You have a unique chance to be among the first to pave the way for agrotourism in this region, to discover the atmosphere of the home of your hosts [...] to taste with

them the autochthonous food, to drink home-made wine to give way to the senses.” (Istria County Tourist Association 2003:3)

The Ethnographic Museum of Istria has been involved in the process of re-invigorating rural cuisine through publications, workshops, ‘stunt’ exhibitions (such as a one-day exhibition about local “easter bread” traditions at a regional wine festival) and consultations. The museum has also had deeper involvement in some projects, however- as the sponsoring institution for private persons who apply for government funding in order to remodel their farms for agrotourism. Here, the museum provides a guarantee that funds will be used in an appropriate manner, and that the heritage value of the premises will be upheld.

Engagement in activities outside of the physical museum premises can be fundamental if museums aim at supporting intangible heritage as living tradition. Not only for the preservation of food traditions, but for studying and promulgating any social phenomena.

I believe that museums can benefit from inviting community participation in their projects and activities. They can also benefit by trying to show processes in their exhibitions, their publications and their documentation work.

Involvement with these aspects may not only provide a ‘taste’ of intangible heritage to participants, but perhaps also create an appetite for understanding how traditions are kept alive.

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Okus nematerijalne baštine: tradicije u prehrani izvan i unutar muzeja¹

Hrana se sastoji od opipljivih, materijalnih tvari koje ljudi konzumiraju. Međutim, poznavanje i praksa pripremanja hrane, pravila ponašanja pri jedenju i simboličko značenje vezano uz razna jela jest nematerijalno. Kako se to odražava na rad muzeja?

Ključne riječi: nematerijalna baština, prehrana, muzealizacija prehrane

UNescovu programu *Živa ljudska blaga* kaže se da “premda se tehnike proizvodnje artefakata, čak i pripremanja hrane mogu zapisati, sam čin pripreme nema fizički oblik. Priprema i čin stvaranja su nematerijalni; utjelovljeni su u vještinama ili tehnikama onih koji ih čine.”

(http://www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/treasures/html_eng/method.shtml)

Usmjerenost na nematerijalnu baštinu mora “dati prednost načinima predstavljanja tradicijskih i popularnih kultura, koji naglašavaju žive ili prošle vidove tih kultura (pokazujući njihovo okruženje, način života i rada, vještine i tehnike koje su proizvele).” (http://www.unesco.org/culture/heritage/intangible/html_eng/index_en.shtml)

Drugim riječima, bavljenje nematerijalnom baštinom mora biti *usmjereno na kontekst*. Budući da više promiče postupke nego li proizvode, ono je suprotno čistoj usmjerenosti na predmet.

¹ Izlaganje s paralelne sesije Muzeji i živa baština održane na Općoj konferenciji Međunarodnog muzejskog savjeta (ICOM), Seul, Koreja, 2004, objavljeno na stranici: <http://museumsnett.no/icme/icme2004/papuga.html>

Kroz sljedeće primjere razmotrit će se tri načina na koja se hrana može povezati s ciljevima muzeja. To su:

- postupci pripreme hrane u muzeju,
- muzejsko prikazivanje pripreme hrane i
- suradnja muzeja pri pripremi hrane u tradicijskom okruženju.

Postupci pripreme hrane U muzeju

Svatko tko se bavio muzejskom pedagogijom zna da poseban način prikazivanja može potaknuti grupe, što donosi dobre rezultate i muzeju i zajednici. Jedan od posebno uspješnih primjera suradnje muzeja i zajednice novogodišnja je priprema jela *mochi* u Muzeju azijskih umjetnosti u San Franciscu. *Mochi* je japanska slastica od slatke, ljepljive riže. Riža se tuče i miješa sve dok se ne dobije smjesa od koje se mogu oblikovati kuglice. Može se jesti u bilo koje doba, ali posebno obredno značenje ima u simbolici blagostanja za Novu godinu. Obred u Muzeju izvodi japansko-američka skupina Kagami Kai od ranih 1990-ih, lupajući toplu rižu u drvenim mužarima uz pjevanje i ritam *taiko* bubnjeva te dijeleći gotove *mochije* posjetiteljima.

Donijevši taj obred u Muzej, Kagami Kai je pokazao da nije nastao samo proizvod - *mochi*, već i skup odnosa između sudionika u obredu. A budući da se radi o običaju koji se ponavlja svake godine, uspostavljeni su trajni društveni odnosi između etničke manjine i Muzeja.

Muzejsko prikazivanje pripreme hrane

Posjetitelj Koreje vrlo brzo nauči simboličku važnost pojedinih vrsta jela. Na primjer, tijekom prošlog posjeta Seulu, mogao sam gotovo posvuda zamijetiti velike spremnike za hranu, čak i na parkiralištima u središtu grada. U svakom su se spremniku mogle naći razne varijante ukiseljenog povrća poznatog kao *kimchee*. Čuvanje *kimcheeja* očito je živa tradicija, ali kako možemo saznati ponešto o njegovoj proizvodnji?

U Nacionalnom korejskom muzeju narodne kulture izrađena je diorama koja prikazuje postupak pripreme *kimcheeja*. Sastojci, pribor i načini pripreme prikazani su na jednostavan, ali djelotvoran način. Premda se ta prezentacija temelji više na povišnim nego li na suvremenim tehnikama, čini se da je tradicija još uvijek vrlo živa. Iako priređivači *kimcheeja* nisu prisutni, prikazani postupak omogućuje razumijevanje nematerijalnih vidova pripreme hrane.

Sličan primjer muzejske prezentacije postupaka pripreme hrane prisutan je i u mom radu. Putujućom izložbom *Zbogom – smrt i tugovanje u multikulturalnoj Norveškoj*

unakrsno su prikazani kulturalni pogledi na prošle i sadašnje pogrebne običaje različitih etničkih skupina u Norveškoj. U suradnji s pojedinim zajednicama, pozabavili smo se obredima nekoliko različitih vjerskih skupina kao i sa zajedničkim faktorima s kojima se svi susreću bez obzira na religijska uvjerenja.

Pripremajući izložbu, tijekom terenskog rada u različitim zajednicama zamijetio sam da predstavljanje načina na koji se hrana koristi u vjerskim obredima može biti temelj za unakrsne kulturalna usporedbe. Istodobno, ono može pružiti posjetiteljima i zajednicama nove uvide u vlastite tradicije. Tu tvrdnju ilustrirat će tri primjera koja navodim u nastavku.

Budizam

Jedan od primjera upotrebe hrane u vjerskim obredima uzet je iz budističkog hrama Khuong Viet pokraj Osla (u Norveškoj), gdje mi je bilo dopušteno zabilježiti obred za pokojnika. Redovnici su mi objasnili da je svrha obreda pomoći duši pokojnika da dosegne jasnoću i mir u duhovnom svijetu kako bi se mogao ponovno roditi na ovom svijetu.

Velika fotografija pokojnika bila je izložena na oltaru blizu ulaza u obredni dio hrama. Cvijeće, svijeće i mirisi bili su porazmješteni na oltaru zajedno sa žrtvenim darovima koji su se sastojali od voća, kolačića, juhe i riže. Ti darovi trebaju osigurati duhovnu okrepu duši preminulog na njezinu putovanju. Kasnije će ih pojesti pokojnikovi rođaci kao blagoslov duhovnog svijeta. U prikazu tog dijela izložbe obnovljena je opisana scena da se pokaže kako se svakodnevne prehrambene namirnice mogu prožeti moćima koje nadilaze njihovu prehrambenu vrijednost. Prikaz također pokazuje važnost sjećanja u budističkim obredima za mrtve.

Sikhizam i kršćanstvo

U ranim 1970-im Norvešku je zapljusno val imigracije, mahom iz Indije i Pakistana.

Neki od tih imigranata pripadnici su vjerske zajednice Sikha. Kada Sikh umre u Norveškoj, spaljuje se, a pepeo šalje u Indiju kako bi se prosuo u potok ili rijeku. Ožalošćeni se poslije spaljivanja okupljaju i recitiraju vjersku poeziju te dijele *parsad*, vrstu kruha odnosno slatkiša koji predstavlja simbol božjeg blagoslova. Jedan mi je čovjek u hramu Sikha *gurdwara* rekao da je “kruh *parsad* topao, mekan i sladak kao što je i Bog topao, mek i sladak”. I kako *parsad* predstavlja božji blagoslov, treba ga prihvatiti ushićeno, s obje ruke.

Uputno je usporediti blagoslov jedenja *parsada* s kršćanskim obredom pričesti.

Kršćanski Novi zavjet kaže da je umiranjem na križu Isus Krist iskupio grijeh čovječanstva za sva vremena. Treći dan od ukopa, Isus je, prema vjerovanju, uskrsnuo od

mrtvih i uzdigao se na nebesa. Kršćansko vjerovanje uči da će se jednog dana Isus vratiti na Zemlju da bi sudio živima i mrtvima, što će dovršiti stvaranje otvaranjem kraljevstva nebeskog.

Obred pričesti smatra se pripremom za taj sudnji dan. Pričest upućuje na posljednju večeru na kojoj Isus, dajući svojim učenicima kruh i vino kao simbole svoga tijela i krvi, kaže: "Tko blaguje tijelo moje i pije krv moju, ima život vječni i ja ću ga uskrisiti u posljednji dan." (Ivan 6:54).

Svaki od navedenih muzejskih primjera *pokazuje i opisuje* postupke pripreme hrane. Ipak, teško je u muzeju ostvariti *potpuno osjetilno iskustvo*. Izložbe se, naravno, ne priređuju da bi se na njima jelo. Iz zdravstvenih razloga može se zabraniti posluživanje hrane na brojnim neovlaštenim mjestima ili pak neke vrste ritualnog jela mogu biti namijenjene samo određenim skupinama vjernika. Možda bi tješnijim povezivanjem sa zajednicama muzeji mogli osigurati to *potpuno osjetilno iskustvo* za svoje posjetitelje?

Suradnja muzeja pri prezentaciji hrane u tradicionalnom okružju

Istra je najzapadnija hrvatska županija. Sredinom 1990-ih, nadležni za seoski turizam tražili su način kako oživjeti sela u unutrašnjosti Istre. Odgovor koji su našli govorio je da treba poticati agroturizam. Agroturizam je drugo ime za odmor na seoskim imanjima ili seoski agrikulturni turizam. Taj oblik turizma može se sastojati od boravka i prehrane na seoskim imanjima, ali se može također odnositi i na noćenje s doručkom na selu kao i na seosku restoransku ponudu.

U idealnom slučaju, agroturizam se promiče kao znak prirodne kvalitete:

"Biti na seoskom gospodarstvu u Istri znači biti u prirodnom okolišu, u kontaktu s prirodom i njenim ljepotama, u kontaktu s kulturnom baštinom Istre, s tradicijskim seoskim životom; to također znači i uživati u specijalitetima tradicijske istarske kuhinje, jelima pripremljenim na tradicijski domaći način od sastojaka koji su proizvedeni na gospodarstvima rukama domaćina." (Sinčić, 2003:215).

Županijske vlasti opisuju agroturizam kao razmjenu iskustva između domaćina i gostiju:

"Imate jedinstvenu priliku biti među prvima koji će utrti put agroturizmu u ovoj regiji, otkriti atmosferu doma vaših domaćina ..., okusiti zajedno s njima autohtona jela, piti domaće vino i prepustiti se osjetilima." (Turističko društvo istarske županije, 2003:3).

Etnografski muzej Istre bio je uključen u procese oživljavanja seoske kuhinje različitim izdanjima, radionicama, izložbama tradicijskih vještina (primjerice, jednodnevna

izložba o lokalnoj tradiciji pripreme *uskršnjeg kruha* na regionalnom festivalu vina) i predavanjima. Muzej je također bio uključen u neke projekte kao sponzor osobama koje su tražile sufinanciranje za obnovu svojih gospodarstava u svrhu pokretanja agroturizma. Muzej, naime, jamči da će novac biti upotrijebljen na pravi način, a baštinske vrijednosti zadržane.

Uključivanje u aktivnosti izvan samog muzeja može biti od presudne važnosti ako je cilj muzeja podupiranje nematerijalne baštine kao žive tradicije, ne samo radi zaštite prehrambene tradicije, već i za proučavanje svake društvene pojave.

Vjerujem da muzejima može koristiti pozivanje zajednice da sudjeluje u njihovim projektima i djelatnostima. Oni mogu imati koristi i od prikazivanja postupaka na svojim izložbama, te u svojim publikacijama i dokumentacijskom radu.

Uključivanje tih vidova muzej može sudionicima pružiti ne samo *okus* nematerijalne baštine, već i stvoriti želju za razumijevanjem kako se tradicije održavaju živima.

Prevela Sanja Novak



2.01



2.02



2.03



2.04