



Critical Heritages (CoHERE): performing and representing identities in Europe

Work Package 6: Food as Heritage

Report: The Historical Roots of the Construction of Food as Heritage

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CoHERE explores the ways in which identities in Europe are constructed through heritage *representations* and *performances* that connect to ideas of place, history, tradition and belonging. The research identifies existing heritage practices and discourses in Europe. It also identifies means to sustain and transmit European heritages that are likely to contribute to the evolution of inclusive, communitarian identities and counteract disaffection with, and division within, the EU. A number of modes of representation and performance are explored in the project, from cultural policy, museum display, heritage interpretation, school curricula and political discourse to music and dance performances, food and cuisine, rituals and protest.

Work Package 4, **Food as Heritage** focuses on food as a fundamental element of heritage, and a very important one in times of crisis as a means of exploring identities. By adding culinary traditions to other forms of heritage, WP6 establishes an innovative synergy and adds value to the project by bringing together the cultural construction and invention of traditions, social practices, commercial practice, tourism, public policies and marketing strategies. The WP proposes food heritage as a basis for inclusive actions toward European citizens as well as immigrants who have not received citizen status.

This document collects three publications produced by WP4 researchers. Ilaria Porciani's paper (pp. 2-33), '*Cibo come patrimonio. Un'introduzione*', looks at the role of food within the frame of banal nationalism and with attention to recent debates on heritagization. The paper suggests that in order to show the historical complexity of this topic it is necessary to engage with the long history of the heritagization process as an important part of the nation-building process.

Laura Di Fiore's paper (pp. 34-60), '*Patrimoni di origine protetta. Le procedure di Food Labelling nelle istituzioni internazionali all'incrocio tra nazionale, globale e locale*', examines the role of food labelling procedures on the shaping of territorial identities at different spatial levels. The paper analyses the entanglement between local, national and international identities in the process of heritagization of food and related issues of authenticity, tradition and terroir.

Finally, Laura Di Fiore presents a Food as Heritage Bibliography (pp. 61-238), conceived as a selection of international literature on food as heritage. The bibliography provides a marker of identity within the huge amount of recent work produced on the topic of food.

Keywords: Food and identity, European food heritage, place, belonging, place identity, intangible heritage



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Cibo come patrimonio. Un'introduzione

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In the last years, attention for food as heritage has massively increased. This article presents the research agenda and the first research results of the COHERE WP6, which focuses on food as a fundamental element of heritage - and therefore a very important one in times of crisis.

This research reaches back to the historical roots of culinary traditions as intangible heritage. It aims to deconstruct inventions and stereotypes of food. Adopting a historical perspective, as suggested by the Reflective 2 call of the Horizon 2020 program, it highlights the geteilte Geschichte (a history both shared and divided) of European cuisine, as well as the food plays a role in shifting over borders or between dimensions, i.e. local, national, and European. It also uses gender as a useful category of analysis, in part because of its fit with the research and in part because of the need to incorporate gender into heritage paradigms as recognised in the overall CoHERE project. The transmission of recipes and traditions is strongly embedded in local, regional and national identities; it is crucial for the self-perception of communities is deeply rooted in gender relationships. Traditionally women were devoted to the preparation of food and kept the memory of recipes. Since professional cooking has acquired social and economic value, men powerfully entered in this arena. The recent media turn of culinary practices is also deeply gendered. The WP research will engage with these gender aspects which strongly influenced the status of food as symbolic capital of food as cultural heritage and social distinction marker.

This article focuses on the role of food in the broader frame of banal nationalism, and on recent debates on heritagization. It discusses new concepts and terms such as gastronationalism and gastrodiploacy. It also points out at the role of recent food wars that have hit the headlines. Furthermore, it suggests that in order to show the historical complexity of the topic is crucial to reach back in time to the first steps of the heritagization processes after the French Revolution as well as in important nation - building process, such as the Italian one.

Un tema nuovo

Solo pochi anni fa il tema enunciato nel titolo avrebbe richiesto ben più di una spiegazione. Nella fase in cui l'attenzione degli studiosi e in particolare degli storici si è concentrata sul nazionalismo, il cibo ha occupato a lungo un posto insignificante.¹ D'altra parte anche il concetto di patrimonio (*heritage*) è a lungo rimasto fuori dall'orizzonte degli storici, ed è entrato tardi nel discorso sul nazionalismo, portato avanti per lo più da studiosi provenienti da campi disciplinari quale quello dei *museum studies*. Negli ultimi anni tuttavia le cose sono profondamente cambiate. L'attenzione da un lato per il rapporto tra cibo e nazionalismo, nella vecchia Europa così come nei paesi che hanno sperimentato la decolonizzazione, è cresciuto a tal punto che un nuovo termine ha fatto il suo ingresso nel lessico degli studiosi: quello di *gastronazionalismo* [De Soucey 2010] o di nazionalismo culinario [Ferguson 2010, 102]. Nel contesto di un notevole allargamento di prospettiva proposto dagli studi sul nazionalismo banale [Billig 1995] ci si è accorti di quanto anche la cultura del cibo e la sua consapevolezza contribuiscano sia a costruire che a percepire la nazione. Si è anche cominciato a vedere quanto abbiano contato le politiche culinarie nazionaliste – che si tratti del Giappone dei Meiji a fine Ottocento o nel secondo dopoguerra in Israele [Ichijo, Ranta 2016] – e quanto esse siano state capaci di consolidare i legami di comunità e di affermare, in modo talvolta polemico e gravido di conseguenze, identità politiche forti [Gvion 2011]. Le guerre del cibo che si sono combattute a proposito del *falafel* [Raviv 2003] o dell'*hummus* [Ariel 2012] tra israeliani e palestinesi, tra greci e

¹ Questo contributo è stato presentato al convegno Food as Heritage organizzato al Dipartimento di Storia Culture e Civiltà dell'Università di Bologna nei giorni 2 e 3 febbraio 2017 nell'ambito del progetto CoHERE. Il progetto è stato finanziato nell'ambito del programma di ricerca e innovazione dell'Unione Europea Horizon 2020, convezione n. 693289. I punti di vista espresso in questo contributo sono responsabilità esclusiva dell'autore e non riflettono necessariamente i punti di vista della Commissione Europea.

ciprioti a proposito del *lokoumi* [Welz 2013], o tra coreani e giapponesi a proposito del *kimchi*, presentato per la candidatura all'UNESCO come una parte essenziale della vita dei coreani², o ancora tra armeni e turchi a proposito del *keşhkek* e di *tolma* o *dolma* [Aykan 2016, 803-805] e tra indonesiani e malesi [Chong 2012] hanno diretta attinenza con la questione del cibo come patrimonio culturale e identitario. IMMAGINE: Kimchi² Esse vanno evidentemente ben oltre l'impatto sul mercato, che emerge in modo chiaro nella contestata attribuzione del Tocai o nelle tensioni tra Grecia, Germania e Danimarca a proposito del formaggio *feta*. Per quanto riguarda il nostro paese – nel quale la cucina ha giocato da sempre un ruolo importante – non sono mancati, accanto all'accentuazione di un'identità alimentare basata sulle 'nostre tradizioni', gli spunti razzisti: si pensi a quanto è avvenuto in Italia quando la Lega Nord ha polemicamente contrapposto all'estraneo e straniero couscous la nordica polenta.

D'altra parte, negli ultimi decenni abbiamo assistito – anche questa volta in tutto il mondo – a un frenetico moltiplicarsi di processi di patrimonializzazione in parte connessi con lo smarrimento di un presentismo all'interno del quale si finisce per voler includere e musealizzare tutto [Hartog 2007], nell'incapacità di scegliere e di leggere il presente sulla scorta di un robusto passato e in vista di un regime di storicità che guardi con decisione a una prospettiva di futuro.

Anche la letteratura – davvero multidisciplinare e interdisciplinare – sul cibo come patrimonio è aumentata in modo quasi esponenziale, e ha mappato in tutta la loro complessità i versanti economici, politici, identitari, antropologici e simbolici di un processo che chiama in causa soggetti e ambiti assai diversi. Ne fa fede l'ampia bibliografia, contenente più di 3000 voci, magistralmente curata da Laura di Fiore nell'ambito

² UNESCO nomination file n. 01063 for inscription on the Representative list of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity.

del progetto CoHERE e di prossima pubblicazione sulle pagine di questa stessa rivista.

Qui non interessa seguire le traiettorie distinte del tema del cibo e di quello del patrimonio, bensì riflettere sul convergere di questi temi e sul prender forma di un oggetto nuovo per la ricerca: quello del cibo, appunto, *in quanto* patrimonio.

Di recente si è parlato, a ragione, di una «food heritage fever» [Aykan 2016, 799; Demossier 2016] a livello mondiale. Una riflessione sul tema mi sembra tempestiva e opportuna, tanto più alla luce di un dibattito ormai sia europeo che globale, sulle politiche di indicazioni geografiche protette e controllate e su complessi processi di *labelling* [Parasecoli 2017]. Si pensi soltanto che nel 2016 [Aykan 2016, 799] erano già 1300 i prodotti agricoli e gastronomici registrati nell'ambito dell'Unione Europea per promuovere e proteggere aspetti di unicità del patrimonio alimentare europeo tramite i marchi di denominazione di origine controllate e protetta. Un'analogha tendenza si è manifestata in seno all'UNESCO, a partire da quando i paesi in via di sviluppo e il Sud e il Nord globale hanno cominciato a premere per definizioni più larghe ed inclusive di patrimonio, capaci di tener conto di quello che percepivano, in antitesi agli standards eurocentrici, come il *loro heritage*.

***Food as heritage* nel progetto CoHERE**

In questo contributo, il cui scopo è quello di introdurre il tema³, cercherò di presentare le linee guida del lavoro del gruppo bolognese impegnato nel segmento dedicato a *Food as Heritage* del progetto CoHERE. Formulerò poi alcune riflessioni sul modo in cui la letteratura appartenente a vari ambiti disciplinari ha tematizzato il cibo come patrimonio

³ Per una più dettagliata indagine sui processi di denominazione e di *labelling* cfr. il contributo di Laura Di Fiore in questa stessa rivista.

e sulle definizioni specifiche che ne sono state date. Rifletterò quindi sulla periodizzazione.

Fare riferimento al concetto di presentismo ma anche all'inizio delle nuove politiche di *heritage* dell'UNESCO e considerare pertanto il 1989 come il vero momento di svolta, sia pure con la dovuta attenzione per le premesse poste negli anni Settanta, consente a mio parere di inquadrare il problema in modo al tempo stesso preciso e fuorviante.

La mia ipotesi è che per far emergere in modo adeguato la profondità dello spessore storico di questo tema sia opportuno risalire ben più indietro nel tempo, per indagare le grandi narrazioni storiche delle nazioni e scoprire fino a che punto la cucina le ha compenstrate. Suggestivo dunque di estendere l'analisi ad aspetti cruciali del processo di *nation-building* sia come tipologia che come spazio temporale. Varrà dunque la pena di riscoprire come i primi processi di inventariazione del patrimonio gastronomico rimontino all'età della Rivoluzione Francese, che fu anche quella della costruzione consapevole di un *heritage* della nazione. A mio parere anche i momenti dell'unificazione, o in alcuni casi della riunificazione, dovranno essere esaminati con attenzione particolare per fare emergere l'intreccio tra aspetti che soltanto la recente letteratura sul nazionalismo banale ha contribuito a proporre all'attenzione degli storici.

Date l'importanza del tema del cibo come patrimonio e le sue molteplici e fertili implicazioni, alcuni anni fa il gruppo di ricerca bolognese da me coordinato – composto da Massimo Montanari, Paolo Capuzzo, Marica Tolomelli e Raffaele Laudani oltre che da me – ha dunque deciso di dedicare proprio a questo tema un intero *Working Package* del progetto CoHERE, che, rispondendo alla *call* di Horizon 2020, si concentra sull'analisi critica delle identità. Nel più ampio contesto di tante e variegate forme di *heritage* abbiamo scelto di mettere a fuoco proprio il tema del patrimonio gastronomico. Non diversamente dalle politiche della memoria, dai monumenti e dai musei, che hanno occupato l'attenzione di tanti storici negli ultimi decenni, anche i processi di patri-

monializzazione che investono il settore alimentare meritano di essere studiati come un momento significativo della costruzione culturale e dell'invenzione delle tradizioni. Vale dunque la pena di fare il punto sui molti studi già avviati negli ultimi anni e di aprire su nuovi temi, non trascurando di analizzare i soggetti coinvolti e gli attori pubblici e privati più direttamente implicati nei processi di *labelling* e *heritagisation*, così come le pratiche sociali, le politiche pubbliche e le strategie di mercato, i luoghi e la diffusione di stereotipi e di immagini collegate alla patrimonializzazione della cucina.

Il gruppo di Bologna ha avviato la sua indagine adottando un approccio eminentemente storico, al fine di mettere in evidenza le radici profonde e complesse, talvolta antiche, delle tradizioni culinarie proposte direttamente o indirettamente come patrimonio immateriale. Esso lavora a decostruire i discorsi sul cibo sedimentatisi nel tempo, e mette a fuoco, con un approccio critico, stereotipi e affermazioni dati per scontati [Montanari 2002; Claffin, Scholliers 2012].

Adottando una prospettiva storica, la nostra ricerca mette in luce la *geteilte Geschichte*, la storia insieme condivisa, ma anche frutto di fratture e talvolta divisiva perché memore di conflitti e scontri, della cucina europea, se pure è possibile parlare di una cucina europea in senso stretto [Montanari 2008] come un insieme unico definito da contorni netti e da elementi distintivi riconoscibili.

Vuole infine capire meglio qual è il ruolo del cibo – elemento tanto decisivo nella autopercezione di una comunità – nello slittamento tra la dimensione locale e quella nazionale, tra quella europea e quella globale. La trasmissione di ricette e tradizioni culinarie è profondamente radicata in identità locali, regionali, nazionali, diasporiche, e spesso le une si intrecciano e si sovrappongono alle altre. A questo tema dedicheremo un prossimo convegno, dal titolo *A Taste of Diversity*, che farà seguito a quello organizzato nel 2017 e che era stato intitolato proprio *Food as Heritage*.

Nel prosieguo della ricerca è apparso però altrettanto importante mettere in evidenza un'altra opposizione legata al carattere dei luoghi: quella tra città e campagna, e dunque tra urbano e rurale, spesso declinata come parallela alla coppia concettuale artificialità – natura, nella quale l'idea di *terroir* gioca un ruolo decisivo.

Patrimonio di ricette e cucina di genere

La tradizione culinaria e più in generale la cucina sono state da sempre profondamente segnate anche da rapporti di genere. Il genere ha influenzato in modo marcato lo statuto del cibo come capitale sia simbolico che culturale e come indicatore di distinzione sociale. Nel prosieguo della ricerca varrà la pena di prestare attenzione a questi aspetti tenendo presente l'origine culturale di quella che stata a lungo accettata come una divisione naturale dei ruoli, tanto più che si tratta di aspetti non ancora esplorati in modo esaustivo. È probabilmente un paradosso, ma proprio una pratica come quella della preparazione del cibo, caratteristica di quella sfera domestica a lungo interpretata come l'unica all'interno della quale le donne avessero diritto di cittadinanza [Sarti 1999] è stata una delle meno studiate in un'ottica di genere. Forse non per caso. Le donne intervistate da Luce Giard – quello che questa studiosa definisce in modo efficace come «le *peuple féminin des cuisines*» [Giard 1979] – sono state spesso assai riluttanti a esprimere l'importanza del loro contributo.

È forse superfluo sottolineare come un po' dovunque siano state tradizionalmente le donne a occuparsi della cucina e a mantenere viva la memoria delle ricette familiari o del gruppo di appartenenza. La questione è più complessa di quanto appare a prima vista, e andrebbe misurata anche su uno studio più accurato dei ricettari. Nell'Ottocento ad esempio – proprio in rapporto a una supposta vicinanza delle donne al

territorio, al paese, comparivano già ricettari firmati da donne (e che in realtà erano stati scritti da uomini, come Montanari ha messo in evidenza) proprio in rapporto a questo stretto legame [Montanari 2013]. Sta di fatto che l'ingresso degli uomini in veste di protagonisti è stato per lo più legato a un mutamento di scala e di scenario, ed è stato facilitato e reso quasi obbligato – nel tempo e su un'ampia scala – dal processo di professionalizzazione del mestiere di cuoco.

Questa svolta di genere appare oggi ulteriormente accentuata sulla scena mediatica. Qui, la nuova grammatica normativa dell'apprendistato gastronomico struttura gerarchie di mestiere e di saperi, standard, codici e metodi che a loro volta si riflettono in gerarchie di genere. Essa trasforma così le pratiche culinarie domestiche in elaborate tecniche di ristoratori certificati che finiscono per essere in misura crescente appannaggio di autorevoli e talvolta autoritari chef maschi. Anche in cucina, insomma, il genere si articola in rapporti di autorità e di deferenza, al punto che si è parlato di *samurai showmanship* per le apparizioni televisive degli chef che trionfano in programmi come *Master Chef* [Gvion 2011, 411]. È forse per questo ribaltamento dei ruoli di genere che nei programmi conati sul modello di *Master Chef* il riferimento identitario regionale, locale o nazionale ai cibi viene sminuito se non scompare del tutto, mentre prevalgono altri aspetti e scale di valori che premiano l'esattezza dell'esecuzione e in parte la sua artificiosità, tagliando il cordone ombelicale con tradizioni o radicamenti locali, pratiche casalinghe e approssimazioni domestiche. In tal senso l'opposizione tra i generi potrebbe anche essere interpretata alla luce delle coppie oppostive cucina di casa-cucina professionale, territoriale-globale, o tradizione-innovazione.

Utili spunti di riflessione emergono da nuovi casi di studio, dove il genere si intreccia con la custodia dell'elemento percepito come tradizionale e identitario. Ancora Gvion sottolinea come mascolinità, ruoli di genere e cucina si articolino in modi vari ma anche netti proprio in rapporto al patrimonio gastronomico in una situazione di conflitto le-

gata all'identità nazionale e al tema della statualità: quella dei palestinesi di Israele. In primo luogo sono soltanto gli uomini a cucinare negli esercizi pubblici, dai quali invece le donne palestinesi sono del tutto assenti. In secondo luogo, i cuochi palestinesi preferiscono cucinare piatti non direttamente legati alla propria tradizione. Infatti, la cucina tradizionale, e dunque considerata patrimonio del popolo palestinese, è praticata dalle donne all'interno del nucleo familiare, quasi che fossero le donne, conservando segretamente le ricette e le abitudini alimentari tradizionali, a coltivare la nazione all'interno dello spazio privato, ma anche politico, della casa, non permettendo che essa sia mercificata nei ristoranti dell'altro, dove essa finirebbe per essere troppo facilmente condivisa, ma soprattutto annacquata e in ultima analisi snaturata e dispersa. Come scrive Gvion, è anche mantenendo la distinzione tra cibo di casa e cibo consumato in esercizi pubblici che gli uomini esprimono la loro resistenza rispetto al posto loro concesso all'interno della società israeliana e si impegnano attivamente nel controllo e nell'appropriazione del cibo palestinese da parte di ebrei che esercitano un ruolo attivo in ambito gastronomico [Gvion 2011, 411].

Il caso palestinese è quello che è stato forse studiato in modo più attento a questi elementi, ma altre osservazioni utili emergono da recenti lavori sul cibo e la capacità di preservare identità etniche e di genere nel caso degli armeni [Avakian 2005].

Heritage Turn

Di fatto il concetto di cibo come patrimonio è entrato a pieno diritto a far parte del discorso accademico. Non per caso, poco dopo l'inizio del progetto CoHERE, è stato pubblicato un lavoro che includeva questa espressione nel sottotitolo [Brulotte, Di Giovine, Ronda 2014].

L'emergere di una vera e propria svolta nel senso della patrimonializzazione del cibo è stata sottolineata da Anneke Geyzen nella sua eccellen-

te rassegna su *Food Studies and the Heritage Turn* [Geyzen 2014]. Il primo aspetto che emerge da questo contributo, così come più in generale da uno sguardo agli ultimi lavori usciti, è l'estrema varietà di approcci disciplinari che si sono misurati con questo oggetto di ricerca. Dopo i romanzieri, sono stati gli antropologi a mettere in evidenza come il cibo sia un elemento identitario profondo [Lévy-Strauss 2009; Douglas 1966]: proprio in virtù del cibo che si assume si è integrati in un particolare sistema culinario e in un gruppo, e persino in una classificazione tassonomica che costruisce modelli e schemi di riferimento e definisce la possibilità di identificarsi e riconoscersi [Fischler 1988].

Più di recente e in modo più specifico sugli aspetti di patrimonializzazione hanno lavorato in modo crescente scienziati politici che fanno ricerca e insegnano in ambito accademico, o che sono stati ingaggiati da amministrazioni provinciali e regionali per capire l'impatto del patrimonio alimentare in rapporto alla tradizione, ma anche alla creatività e all'innovazione, come è accaduto a coloro che hanno collaborato a una ricerca sulla regione del Midi-Pyrénées [Bessière 2010b], i quali si sono confrontati con la ricaduta economica di processi di valorizzazione socio-culturale e hanno messo in evidenza quanto il confine tra questi due spazi finiscano per assottigliarsi e quasi per scomparire.

Del cibo come patrimonio si sono poi occupati, con ben diverso impegno e con responsabilità precise, gli esperti che hanno costruito tesi a sostegno di specifiche politiche agroalimentari e turistiche. Si tratta per lo più di studiosi che hanno lavorato e che lavorano per gli uffici studi dei ministeri, come quelli reclutati dal governo della Corea del Sud per capire quale impatto avrebbe avuto l'etichettatura come parte del patrimonio di un certo tipo di thè [Suh, Macpherson 2007].

Si devono poi ricordare gli accademici che hanno direttamente lavorato alla costruzione dei dossier da produrre per richiedere l'inclusione nelle liste UNESCO del patrimonio immateriale di piatti, cibi e momenti legati alla gastronomia. Poiché il termine "momenti" può apparire vago, vale la pena di precisare subito che la sua apparente genericità è

legata alla curiosa invenzione del *repas gastronomique français* al quale ha lavorato Julia Csergo [Csergo 2016; Tornatore 2012] che di per sé non si rispecchia in un piatto o in un rituale ma che abbraccia complesse ma anche difficilmente definibili convivialità.

Scienziati politici e storici della diplomazia e delle relazioni internazionali interessati al *soft power* hanno da tempo concentrato la propria attenzione sulla ‘*gastrodiplomacy*’: un nuovo vocabolo che tende a distinguere pratiche di *branding* dalla tradizionale e consolidata ‘diplomazia culinaria’⁴.

Da quasi dieci anni a questa parte il termine di *gastrodiplomacy* ha fatto la sua comparsa nel mondo accademico anglosassone, che ha cominciato a riflettere su questa nuova forma di diplomazia che usa i piatti tradizionali e l’*appeal* del cibo per destare interesse e consapevolezza per l’immagine o come ora si tende a dire, con una forte accentuazione sugli aspetti di mercato, il *brand* nazionale, e promuovere il «soft power – the power of attraction», o, per dirla in parole più povere ma anche più forti, per «conquistare i cuori e le menti passando per lo stomaco» [Rockower 2012, 1].

Il successo del termine e in qualche modo la sua validazione a livello internazionale sono apparsi con evidenza anche nel nostro paese a partire dal convegno *Soft Power, Made in Italy e Italian Lifestyle nel mondo – Quale ruolo per la gastronomia?* del 2016, organizzato da Nomisma e dal Ministero degli Esteri. La cautela linguistica, di cui è testimone il trattino che unisce i due termini nell’espressione gastro-diplomazia nel pubblicizzare l’evento, nulla toglie al suo affermarsi anche nella nostra lingua e dunque nell’uso della comunicazione, della politica e del marketing. Il convegno appena ricordato del resto era volto a potenziare

⁴ Anche questo neologismo non trova tutti d’accordo, se è vero che Chapple-Sokol [2013] preferisce utilizzare ancora il termine più consolidato di diplomazia culinaria per mettere a fuoco pratiche comunque nuove, che ritiene utile distinguere dalla diplomazia degli aiuti alimentari, definita in genere come *food diplomacy*.

le opportunità commerciali implicite nel promuovere anche attraverso la cucina l'immagine del Paese, «non solo sfruttando le potenzialità economiche del settore, ma anche impegnandosi per valorizzare quel patrimonio immateriale di tradizioni e “sapienza artigianale” che può sollecitare l'opinione pubblica estera a riconsiderare il ruolo dell'Italia nel mondo.»⁵ Se è vero che si può parlare di *heritage* solo quando lo si nomina come tale, è evidente come di questo processo faccia parte integrante la stessa costruzione di uno specifico linguaggio gastronomico che prima crea e poi propaganda l'identità gastronomica di un luogo [Fox 2007, 554].

Del cibo come patrimonio si sono inoltre occupati sociologi, storici culturali, come pure studiosi che si concentrano sul turismo [Timothy 2016; Sims 2009; Alonso, Krasich 2013; Hall, Gössling 2016], o che studiano l'impatto di singole culture gastronomiche. È il caso di coloro che hanno analizzato la costruzione di una cultura gastronomica malese al fine di fidelizzare gli oltre 25 milioni di turisti che visitano il paese ogni anno (per la precisione il dato era di 25,72 milioni di visitatori nel 2013) [Omar 2015]. Non sono mancati neppure gli studiosi interessati ai GIS, i quali hanno dato il loro contributo a problemi legati alle denominazioni d'origine. In breve, si sono misurati col tema – in modo spesso impressionistico – studiosi provenienti da molti ambiti disciplinari. Se ne sono occupati di recente anche gli studiosi di *public history* [Elias 2012]. Forse gli ultimi ad affrontare il tema del cibo sono stati gli studiosi del patrimonio, in genere più attenti a musei, siti e monumenti. Forse proprio per questo motivo è mancato un collegamento più stretto tra l'ambito della valorizzazione patrimoniale del cibo e quella di altri tipi di *heritage*.

⁵ <<http://www.gamberorosso.it/it/news/1026133-l-istituto-nomisma-spiega-all-italia-cos-e-la-gastro-diplomazia-il-soft-power-di-cibo-e-cucina>> visitato nel dicembre 2017.

Una definizione sfuggente

Molti libri e articoli recenti, così come anche raccolte di studi di carattere introduttivo agli studi sul cibo, utilizzano ormai volentieri l'espressione *food heritage*, ma a guardare più da vicino appare evidente come l'uso che ne fanno sia spesso sfuggente e poco preciso. Talvolta il cibo è presentato ancora in modo generico come indicatore di identità: uno degli strumenti per stabilire le identità e i loro confini a livello internazionale [DeSoucey 2010]. Per Bessièrè [2001] come pure per Matta [Matta 2013] il cibo come patrimonio è un insieme di elementi materiali e immateriali della cultura alimentare, riconosciuti dalla collettività come l'eredità condivisa di un bene comune [Bessièrè 2001]. Questo *food heritage* include dunque prodotti dell'agricoltura, ingredienti, piatti, pratiche, ricette e tradizioni culinarie. Include il modo in cui si sta a tavola e le buone maniere collegate al consumare i pasti, la dimensione simbolica del cibo così come i suoi aspetti più materiali, le creazioni della cucina e persino gli oggetti che si adoperano per apparecchiare una tavola o per cucinare, come gli utensili, i piatti, i bicchieri adoperati e così via: una definizione dunque davvero ampia e forse addirittura onnicomprensiva [Bessièrè 2001], che non esclude l'innovazione [Bessièrè et al. 2010a e b].

Ramli, Zahari, Ishahk e Sharif [Ramli et al. 2013] si concentrano sul rapporto che intercorre tra il cibo come patrimonio e il territorio o la sua storia, con l'origine regionale di prodotti come frutta, verdura e animali da carne. Questi autori mettono al centro della loro riflessione il modo in cui la patrimonializzazione del cibo si connette con la tradizione di piatti in vario modo classici e tradizionali, preparati e consumati da una sequenza di generazioni, senza soluzione di continuità. Leggendoli tuttavia sorge immediatamente il dubbio che queste tradizioni non siano in molti casi così continue e che non manchi qualche processo di invenzione e di reinvenzione, come quelli ai quali Hobsbawm e Ranger ci hanno insegnato a prestare attenzione [Hobsbawm, Ranger 2002].

Altri tendono a dividere il patrimonio gastronomico in due categorie: quella dei cibi che fanno realmente parte della nostra vita quotidiana e quella dei piatti e degli alimenti che avevano fatto parte della nostra cultura ma che stanno ormai scomparendo e appaiono destinati all'estinzione. Entra in gioco dunque anche la dualità tra effettivo consumo di piatti e il loro posto nell'immaginario collettivo. Anche questo sembra un tema al quale prestare attenzione. Al proposito, prima di perdersi nella selva di nuovi termini e di elaborate strategie postmoderne, varrà la pena di non dimenticare l'apporto solo apparentemente datato dei folcloristi. Da molti decenni alcuni di essi avevano infatti attirato l'attenzione sul fatto che la memoria di un cibo interpretato come tradizionale, così come l'elaborazione di un discorso e di una narrativa su di esso possono persistere a lungo anche dopo la scomparsa di queste abitudini alimentari. Questo suggerimento, proposto nel 1942 da Estyn Evans in riferimento al *porridge* irlandese, fatto di avena trattata in modo speciale (i celebri «soured meal seeds sifted from the oatmeal»), mi sembra ancora valido [Evans 1942, 73].

L'immaginario conta, e non poco. Il cibo e la cucina – proprio in quanto connessi a specifiche identità – fanno parte in maniera rilevante del modo in cui percepiamo le comunità immaginate nelle quali viviamo o delle quali vorremmo tornare a far parte. Come ha scritto in modo lapidario ed efficace Claude Fischler: gli esseri umani sono onnivori che si nutrono di carne, verdura e immaginario [Fischler 1979, 1].

In apertura di un recente volume dedicato alle identità 'da mangiare', gli autori [Brulotte, Di Giovine, Ronda 2014, 2] hanno sottolineato quanto il cibo, di per sé carico di connotati emozionali, porti con sé implicazioni ben più forti proprio laddove sia definito come 'patrimonio'. La scala può variare, e si può parlare di cibo-patrimonio anche per piccoli gruppi o per comunità circoscritte. Più spesso però si fa riferimento a un ambito nazionale. In questo caso il cibo inteso come patrimonio può servire a consolidare ideologie nazionaliste o viceversa ideali multiculturali che contribuiscono a unificare, rendere omogenee,

o celebrare la diversità culturale all'interno di un paese che accoglie gruppi etnici o comunque culture materiali diverse.

In ciascuno di questi casi, è chiaro che il patrimonio proietta particolari valori sulle persone, sulle loro storie, sulle strutture sociali e sulle tradizioni. È capace di contenere e incorporare le memorie di persone e luoghi, attraverso il tempo e lo spazio: quelli che Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett ha definito «edible chronotopes» [Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2004, xiii]. È in questo senso che il cibo come un bene culturale è davvero 'buono da pensare' come ha scritto Lévi-Strauss [Lévi-Strauss 2009].

Molti studi recenti che si sono occupati della svolta della patrimonializzazione alimentare non sono stati capaci di sottrarsi a concettualizzazioni impressionistiche e hanno fatto spesso riferimento a presupposti dati per scontati. Come ha sottolineato Geyzen, la quale appartiene all'ambito disciplinare dei *food studies*, il rapporto tra cibo e patrimonio è comunque complesso, e chiama in causa i nessi con la memoria, la nostalgia, l'autenticità, la tradizione, la 'cucina della nonna', il territorio e le indicazioni geografiche [Geyzen 2014, 68]. Questo rapporto è determinato essenzialmente dall'impatto della globalizzazione, che ha funzionato da leva e da acceleratore per processi di recupero il cui punto di partenza è di frequente rintracciabile nella perdita della continuità di abitudini alimentari radicate e nell'interruzione di un rapporto diretto con la 'cucina di casa'. È stata ancora Geyzen a sottolineare l'evoluzione del paesaggio gastronomico (*foodscape*) in termini di ibridazione e transculturalità.

E il patrimonio?

Fino a questo momento ho posto l'accento sull'ambito disciplinare dei *food studies*. A questo punto vale però la pena fare un passo indietro e considerare il tema dal punto di vista degli studi sul patrimonio. Questo

può infatti aiutarci ad aggiustare la periodizzazione e a considerare con più attenzione la cronologia.

Se vogliamo passare da definizioni imprecise o vaghe e onnicomprensive a una maggiore specificità del tema, e marcare un momento di svolta ben documentabile nell'approccio al cibo come patrimonio, dobbiamo fermarci a considerare i tempi e i modi in cui è emerso con forza, in senso anche più generale, il tema stesso dell'*heritage*. Una data importante è senza dubbio quella del 1989, il cui valore periodizzante almeno per il mondo occidentale appare indiscutibile. Non sono mancati precedenti specie a livello della Comunità prima e poi dell'Unione Europea [Parasecoli 2017].

Proprio nel 1989 l'UNESCO ha menzionato per la prima volta i beni culturali immateriali (*intangible heritage*) nella sua *Recommendation for the Saving of Traditional Culture Folklore*. Quel testo importante, risultato di una svolta relativistica influenzata dal postmodernismo [Logan 2002] stabiliva che «il folclore fa parte del patrimonio universale dell'umanità e [...] è un potente mezzo per avvicinare popoli e gruppi sociali diversi e per affermare la loro identità culturale». L'accento passava dall'interesse in qualche modo oggettivo del Patrimonio dell'Umanità consistente essenzialmente in monumenti, siti e paesaggi, a quello soggettivo delle comunità [Blake 2009] per le quali questa o quella pratica costituivano un valore. Determinanti erano i soggetti non europei e l'idea di una globalizzazione dal basso [Appadurai 1988]. Questa consapevolezza si manifestava anche nella capacità che questi soggetti acquisivano di imprimere una svolta evidente anche nel parallelo campo della museologia [Karp 2006].

Tra i nuovi beni culturali immateriali figuravano tra le altre cose lingua, letteratura, musica, danza, giochi, mitologia, rituali, consuetudini, artigianato. In tutti questi ambiti, un orientamento relativistico che lasciava ampio spazio alla soggettività si accompagnava peraltro alla rigida costruzione di standard dall'alto imposta degli stessi organismi internazionali come l'UNESCO. Questo contesto genera l'evidente contradd-

dizione che gli Stati nazionali che oggi chiedono l'inclusione di alcuni beni culturali nelle liste UNESCO, allo stesso tempo li impongono a livello mondiale (e serbano dunque guardare all'intera umanità) ma di fatto hanno un forte impatto soprattutto a livello nazionale [Anheir, Isar 2011; Isar 2011].

La dichiarazione dell'UNESCO del 1989, pur presentando una lista abbastanza ampia di manifestazioni culturali intese in senso lato, non includeva però ancora esplicitamente il cibo tra di esse. Come ha messo in evidenza Chiara Bortolotto [Bortolotto 2010] e come mette in luce anche Laura Di Fiore nel contributo che appare su questa rivista, il cibo è stato per la prima volta compreso nella lista del patrimonio immateriale nel 2003. Nel 2012 il pane tedesco, in tutte le sue circa 300 varietà (peraltro a mio parere non facilmente distinguibili da quelle dell'Austria e di altri paesi della Mitteleuropa), entrava anch'esso a far parte del patrimonio immateriale dell'umanità, seguito due anni dopo dal pane piatto chiamato di volta in volta *lavash*, *katryma*, *jupka*, *yufka*, condiviso da tante comunità tra Turchia e Asia, la cui candidatura era stata promossa congiuntamente da Iran, Azerbaijan, Turchia, Kirgizstan e Kazakistan⁶. Nel 2010 hanno fatto il loro ingresso nelle liste UNESCO elementi come il già ricordato GMF (*Repas Gastronomique Français* o *Gastronomic Meal of the French*), piatti della cucina messicana, e la dieta mediterranea (2013) proposta da un consorzio transnazionale, così come il *washoku* giapponese (2013), definito come una pratica sociale basata su abilità, conoscenza e tradizioni [Cang 2015] IMMAGINE:washoku.jpg. Ha in tal modo preso forma, in modo altamente problematico, come ben si vede dall'analisi dei dossier, una tassonomia globale in realtà contrassegnata da spinte nazionali evidenti e determinata da *agencies* che si fanno portavoce dei diversi regimi patrimoniali dei diversi Stati membri. L'Expo tenutasi a Milano nel 2016 ha ribadito questo punto,

⁶ <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/RL/lavash-the-preparation-meaning-and-appearance-of-traditional-bread-as-an-expression-of-culture-in-armenia-00985>> visitato nel marzo 2017.

concentrandosi proprio sul cibo e mettendo in evidenza in vario modo il tema del patrimonio alimentare.⁷

Ma l'UNESCO non era stata la prima a muoversi. A livello nazionale, ampie ricognizioni relative al patrimonio alimentare erano iniziate in un paese particolarmente legato proprio all'idea del patrimonio, la Francia, almeno a partire dagli anni Ottanta.

La Francia, autoproclamatasi paese del cibo e del vino, è stata il luogo nel quale è stato coniato il concetto di patrimonio alimentare [Demossier 2016, 87]. La decisione, presa nel 1984, di produrre una compilazione del patrimonio culinario della Francia definito come un inventario culturale, oltre che economico, dei piatti e della cucina regionale [Coquart, Pilleboue 2000], rifletteva ben più che un puro e semplice interesse verso il passato. La creazione di questo inventario illustra in modo evidente le varie trasformazioni sociali ed economiche sperimentate dalla società francese nei decenni recenti [Demossier 2001, 141]. L'attenzione della politica culturale francese al tema del patrimonio e, all'interno di esso, in particolare al cibo è stata una risposta a una crisi economica che ha toccato quasi ogni ceto sociale.

Il Regno Unito non si è impegnato quanto la Francia, forse per motivi legati alla assai minore popolarità della sua cucina. E tuttavia, il *National Heritage Act* redatto per preservare edifici e monumenti di importanza nazionale, e che ha visto la luce in parallelo rispetto a un curriculum nazionale per l'istruzione che dava la priorità assoluta alla storia *britannica*, ha aperto la strada a una identificazione più specifica di prodotti e di una cucina britannica. È interessante notare che i ristoranti situati all'interno di edifici storici definiti come *national landmark* sono stati obbligati a servire soltanto prodotti e piatti britannici. Nei decenni successivi, in varie aree del mondo sono state poste in essere commissioni per la conservazione e la protezione del patrimonio storico di varie

⁷ <<http://www.fondazionefeltrinelli.it/project/patrimonio-alimentare>> visitato nel marzo 2017.

città e in moltissimi casi esse hanno proposto iniziative incentrate sulla cucina intesa come parte integrante di questo patrimonio, tanto più se collegata a luoghi specifici come ristoranti o locali. Un esempio tra i tanti è quello fornito dal volume *La cocina como patrimonio (in) tangible* promosso dalla commissione per la protezione dell'*heritage* storico e culturale della città di Buenos Aires, che nel 2002 ha pubblicato gli atti di quelle che ha definito le prime giornate del patrimonio gastronomico [C.P.P.H.C. 2002]

Ma questo movimento, avviato negli anni Ottanta, è davvero il primo esempio di una vera e propria ondata di patrimonializzazione del cibo? Se il recente sviluppo è correlato alla più generale crescita dei processi di patrimonializzazione nell'età del presentismo e della globalizzazione, così come alla perdita delle grandi narrative storiche e al trionfo della memoria sulla storia, dobbiamo peraltro far riferimento anche a una preistoria di questo fenomeno, che è stata meno considerata dalla letteratura recente.

Tre cesure e tre proposte di percorsi di ricerca

Quella del patrimonio è una continua costruzione sociale e politica più che uno strumento trasmesso di per sé, e d'altra parte il bisogno di tutela del patrimonio nasce in rapporto a cesure e svolte profonde. A questo punto vorrei dunque attirare l'attenzione su tre cesure, sulle quali sarebbe forse opportuno condurre indagini più precise: la stagione di patrimonializzazione apertasi con la Rivoluzione Francese; quella apertasi in vari paesi con le unificazioni o la costruzione dello Stato unitario nell'Ottocento; la creazione e soprattutto l'allargamento dell'Unione Europea.

L'attenzione al cibo nel più ampio contesto del patrimonio si è manifestata in modo evidente – e però sottovalutato – fin dal primo momento del prender forma del concetto di patrimonio in rapporto allo Stato.

La Francia è stata all'avanguardia di un movimento che ha cominciato a profilarsi con la Rivoluzione Francese: poco dopo la creazione del Louvre e la musealizzazione del passato francese antecedente alla monarchia, fu infatti avviato anche il primo inventario della gastronomia del paese.

Un ulteriore consolidamento di questa patrimonializzazione è stato legato al confronto fra nazioni avviato a partire dal 1851 dalle grandi esposizioni universali che fornirono un nuovo strumento per mettere in mostra il patrimonio anche gastronomico e che continuarono a svolgere questo ruolo nell'età dei nazionalismi. Il Giappone uscito dalle riforme dell'età Meiji e la Svezia agricola che inventava i propri costumi nazionali utilizzarono le esposizioni universali come vetrina anche dei prodotti alimentari (per la Svezia soprattutto quelli caseari). Se alcune indagini hanno già messo a fuoco questi aspetti [Tellström, Gustafson, Lindgren 2008; Teughels, [Scholliers 2015], resta a mio parere da allargare lo sguardo dagli inventari degli spazi espositivi codificati a quei luoghi liminari e meno formali, di solito sminuiti da una storiografia che opponeva il museo alla fiera e il patrimonio alle *commodities*. In questo senso forse andrebbero studiati, se possibile, anche i luoghi adibiti alla ristorazione, i caffè e i luoghi di ristoro interni alle esposizioni ma collocati immediatamente al di fuori dell'area dei padiglioni e che talvolta erano segnati da marchi connotati etnici. Essi sono stati di solito visti come aspetti-fiera secondari rispetto al carattere normativo delle esposizioni stesse, ma potrebbero assumere maggior rilievo se letti in un'ottica di ostentazione del nazionalismo banale.

Ancora meno indagato, e meritevole di più specifiche ricerche, è il tema dell'attenzione al cibo nella fase delle grandi unificazioni nazionali, in particolare quella italiana e tedesca, nelle quali fu cruciale la dimensione della *Kulturnation*.

Per quanto riguarda l'Italia, possiamo suggerire di esaminare più da vicino la politica culturale che, negli anni dell'unificazione, fu in qualche modo attenta a tutelare e ricostruire la memoria storica delle varie aree

in genere corrispondenti agli stati preunitari. Nella tensione tra centro e periferia [Troilo 2005] pur tra molte difficoltà si cominciò a prestare attenzione a un inventario di documenti e monumenti. Del resto gli stessi 'documenti' venivano non per caso definiti anche 'monumenti' del passato: il sovrapporsi dell'attenzione per le fonti scritte con quella per i monumenti artistici è un elemento costante dell'erudizione dei dotti del tempo e rinvia proprio alla loro attenzione per il patrimonio. In questa fase, le identità locali e regionali erano importanti in quanto le élites – specialmente quelle dell'Emilia e della Toscana – temevano di perdere il ruolo che avevano per lungo tempo giocato e di venire bruscamente subordinate alla classe dirigente di Torino, che minacciava di avviare una politica accentratrice anche sul piano delle istituzioni preposte alla cultura storica [Porciani 1978]. Proprio in questo contesto il decreto del 9 febbraio 1860 firmato dal ministro del Governo provvisorio Antonio Montanari stabiliva tra gli scopi della costituenda Deputazione non soltanto la raccolta delle voci dialettali emiliane, incluse quelle vernacolari e popolari, delle «leggende, tradizioni, ed anche superstizioni popolari che durano ancora presso le classi meno colte». Esso suggeriva anche di «descrivere le costumanze domestiche, le abitudini, le forme che si danno al pane, alle focaccine (*sic*); e le speciali maniere di cibi e di bevande»⁸. Forse questa fase precoce di attenzione al patrimonio locale merita di essere in futuro indagata più da vicino, estendendo l'analisi ad altri casi e ad altri paesi.

Al proposito, in rapporto non a una unificazione ma alla riunificazione tedesca vale la pena di ricordare come immediatamente dopo fu pubblicato un libro di cucina tedesca di Hannelore Kohl – che includeva anche un testo del Cancelliere – che aveva evidentemente un preciso significato identitario e politico come appariva dal titolo che suonava come *Un viaggio culinario nelle terre tedesche* [Kohl 1996].

⁸ «Atti e memorie delle RR. Deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie modenesi e parmensi», I, 1863, Modena: Vincenzi, X.

Un ulteriore momento di indagine, per quanto riguarda l'Europa, potrebbe essere quello costituito dalla cesura costituita dalla creazione e dall'allargamento dell'Unione Europea, che ha significato un momento di omologazione introducendo da un lato un notevole ampliamento del mercato e una più dinamica circolazione di merci soprattutto nell'Europa dell'est, e dall'altro l'imposizione di standard piuttosto rigidi legati alla produzione di generi alimentari, quelli che hanno animato ad esempio la protesta di tanti agricoltori francesi.

In questo contesto torna anche l'attenzione al pane e alla tutela delle sue forme di produzione. Elemento fondamentale dell'alimentazione al quale non per caso è in genere dedicata tanta attenzione in musei all'aria aperta dagli inizi fino ad oggi [Gentner 1991; Kaiser 1989] oltre che in musei specificamente dedicati, tra i quali emergono in Germania quelli di Ulm e Ebergötzen, il pane costituisce dunque una frontiera anche sul fronte della cultura materiale e più in generale del patrimonio. In Bulgaria, un paese in cui per lungo tempo è mancata una lingua nazionale e nel quale dunque la cultura materiale ha da sempre avuto tanta importanza, il fatto che i centri culturali includano anche luoghi per la panificazione tradizionale è un dato di fatto di grande importanza. Partendo da questo caso di studio, Savova ha preso in considerazione anche il caso del Brasile e di Cuba, in cui si sono fatti sforzi notevoli per ottenere il riconoscimento di cibi così come di pratiche culturali tradizionali, sia per opporsi alle nuove e rigidissime normative internazionali sulle caratteristiche degli ambienti nei quali si producono alimenti (è il caso della Bulgaria), sia per opporsi alle limitazioni relative alle imprese private (è il caso di Cuba), mentre in Brasile la strada per il riconoscimento del pane come un elemento del patrimonio culturale è stata trovata tramite la creazione di ristoranti tradizionali affidati alle donne nella casa *do Samba* [Savova 2013].

Pur nella loro diversità il caso dell'unificazione italiana, quello dell'allargamento dell'Unione Europea e quello dell'imposizione di standard internazionali individuano momenti importanti di patrimonializzazio-

ne e pongono il problema del modo in cui si guarda al passato, proteggendolo e magari irrigidendone alcuni aspetti, proprio nel momento in cui si impone una fase di modernizzazione e di cambiamento.

Osservare o normare? Il modello Artusi

Molti di coloro che hanno cominciato a studiare le politiche di patrimonializzazione del cibo e la questione dell'inclusione nelle liste dei beni immateriali dell'UNESCO [tra gli altri Parasecoli 2017] si sono chiesti se valga la pena di proteggere in modo rigido e tassonomico il patrimonio immateriale e se una tutela troppo rigida porti a fossilizzare la sorgente viva della società e della cultura che li producono. Ci si è domandati cosa accade in realtà quando fenomeni di cultura e di folklore vengono in qualche modo politicizzati per il tramite di programmi internazionali poi posti in essere dai singoli Stati, quali siano i risultati di una politica culturale globale e che tipo di consenso venga poi prodotto da queste giurie globali. Se è vero che la stessa tradizione è sottoposta a modificazioni e a cambiamenti, non sarebbe meglio lasciarla libera di svilupparsi in modo creativo o all'opposto di deteriorarsi e di sperimentare un declino talvolta quasi inevitabile? [Nas 2002, 140]. Forse anche in rapporto allo specifico tema che qui ci interessa possiamo trarre qualche suggerimento da un'osservazione fatta a proposito di una pratica che rischiava l'estinzione: il teatro giavanese delle ombre. Negli anni Ottanta esso attraversava una crisi profonda, ed è stato salvato non perché era stato fatto oggetto di tutela ma perché è stato capace di trasformarsi e in qualche modo di corrompersi. È andato oltre la tradizione codificata facendo ricorso a nuovi strumenti musicali e rompendo regole che ormai erano diventate troppo rigide e inattuali. Una tipica arte del luogo si è salvata trasformandosi in forme che non hanno nulla da spartire con l'invenzione della tradizione dall'alto. Parrebbe dunque più utile osservare e studiare che non normare in modo rigido dall'alto.

Forse qualche indicazione può sorgere anche da un esempio classico della storia della cucina italiana, che suggerisce come sia possibile re-

gistrare, e comunque indirettamente salvaguardare un patrimonio gastronomico flessibile privilegiando un movimento dal basso piuttosto che una norma dall'alto. Un esempio potrebbe essere proprio quello del lavoro fatto da Pellegrino Artusi [Montanari 2012, 8] che fu il primo a tracciare un inventario delle cucine locali creando una lingua nazionale per la gastronomia italiana. Artusi costruì la sua opera a partire dalle ricette che gli giungevano da quasi tutta l'Italia. Furono per lo più le donne a scrivergli correggendo e integrando il suo ricettario o suggerendogli nuovi piatti.

Forse non è l'unico esempio di lavoro dal basso per una composizione sincretica di un ricettario nazionale e forse anche per la costruzione, sulla base di una cucina assai varia ma comunque nell'insieme condivisa, di un senso comune di appartenenza. A questo proposito il discorso di Artusi potrebbe forse essere utilmente comparato con il caso dell'India studiato da Appadurai [1988].

È possibile che inventari costruiti dal basso, meno rigidi e normativi, possano portare un contributo più positivo alla percezione del cibo come di un patrimonio immateriale importante, ma anche sincretico ed elastico, mobile e frutto di scambi, incontri e mutamento? È possibile che questa strada sia migliore di quella politica di certificazione [Clough 2015] che ancora anche il patrimonio gastronomico a identità fisse che si coniugano con quello etnico e forniscono parole a nuovi e magari intolleranti nazionalismi? Mi pare che a queste domande si possano dare, almeno provvisoriamente, risposte affermative.

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STUDI E

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*Patrimoni di origine protetta. Le procedure di Food Labelling
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Patrimoni di origine protetta. Le procedure di *Food Labelling* nelle istituzioni internazionali all'incrocio tra nazionale, globale e locale

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Food labelling procedures, with their focus on geographic origin of food, contribute to shape territorial identities at different spatial levels. International institutions, above all UNESCO and the European Union, become guarantors of local identities linking food traditions to specific places. However, to support in international arena local claims are the nation-states, which end up using international institutions to achieve global recognition for their national branding. The paper aims at analysing the entanglement between local, national and international identities in the process of heritagization of food, related to issues of authenticity, tradition, terroir.

Premessa

Le procedure di *food labelling* svolgono un ruolo centrale in relazione alla costruzione del cibo in termini di patrimonio. Come è infatti ampiamente riconosciuto, il patrimonio e le identità a esso connesse non costituiscono entità ontologiche, quanto piuttosto il risultato di proces-

si di appropriazione ad opera di determinati gruppi, comunità, società [Bienassis 2011b; Geyzen 2014].¹

Questi processi di patrimonializzazione (*heritagization* o *patrimonialisation* [Grasseni 2013a]) si fondano su una costruzione culturale del cibo. Le culture del cibo naturalmente non sono statiche, ma vengono costantemente riprodotte, reinventate e corredate di nuovi valori simbolici [Grasseni 2013b]. Il presente saggio si concentra sul ruolo cruciale giocato dal sistema di *food labelling* in relazione a questi processi di costruzione culturale e produzione di patrimoni. In particolare, a essere prese in considerazione sono le procedure attivate a riguardo da due istituzioni internazionali, l'UNESCO e l'Unione Europea.

Nonostante le differenze, entrambi i sistemi enfatizzano una profonda relazione tra cibo e luogo, chiamando così in causa un senso di appartenenza legato a identità di tipo territoriale. Queste identità in alcuni casi sono preesistenti, in altri vengono trasformate o costruite ex novo dalle stesse procedure di *labelling*. Dal momento che esse tendono a strutturarsi contemporaneamente su diversi livelli spaziali, l'articolo si concentra specificamente sull'incrocio tra differenti identità spaziali – locali, nazionali, sovranazionali – sviluppate in relazione al cibo come patrimonio e attivate dalle procedure internazionali di *labelling*. Dopo un primo paragrafo teso a illustrare analogie e specificità delle procedure di *food labelling* attivate dall'UNESCO e dall'Unione Europea, il saggio analizza i rapporti tra identità culinarie declinate su differenti dimensioni spaziali prendendone in considerazione le relazioni binarie. Verrà quindi messa a fuoco in primo luogo la relazione che si stabilisce tra cibi (e identità) locali valorizzati dal *labelling* allorché esse vengono inglobate in una sfera sovranazionale. Le identità alimentari locali saranno indagate poi in relazione alla dimensione nazionale, che tende ad

¹ Il saggio è frutto di una ricerca condotta nell'ambito del progetto *Food as Heritage* attivo al Dipartimento di Storia, Culture, Civiltà dell'Università di Bologna nel quadro del progetto *Horizon 2020 CoHERE, Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe*.

assumere a riguardo un ruolo ambivalente, di protezione per un verso, di appropriazione per un altro. Infine, verranno analizzate le modalità di azione nell'orbita sovranazionale proprio dei soggetti nazionali, interlocutori privilegiati delle istituzioni deputate al *labelling*.

Il focus sulla dimensione spaziale dei processi di costruzione identitaria consente di mettere in luce la portata delle procedure di *labelling* in relazione alla costruzione di un patrimonio alimentare che finisce per essere cristallizzato in forme rigidamente nazionali e sostanzialmente a-storiche.

UNESCO e Unione Europea: differenze e punti in comune

Per cominciare, l'UNESCO e l'UE perseguono scopi differenti attraverso i rispettivi sistemi di *food labelling*.

L'UNESCO, inserendo determinati piatti, tradizioni culinarie o cucine nella sua *Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (ICH) mira a preservare e valorizzare la «cultural diversity and human creativity»², considerati come bene comune della comunità umana. Ma cosa si intende per «Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale»? Il concetto è stato elaborato nel 2003 dalla *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* [Lixinski 2014; Blake 2006], che tentava di compensare lo squilibrio occidentale-centrico riscontrato nei riconoscimenti legati alla World Heritage Convention del 1972, dedicata al Patrimonio naturale e culturale dell'Umanità. Nella definizione della Convenzione del 2003, il Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale indica:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals reco-

² UNESCO, *Convention for the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage*, art. 2, <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>>.

gnize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity³.

I modelli alimentari e le culture del cibo sono comprese tra queste pratiche e forme di conoscenza. Inoltre, a partire dalla prima iscrizione nel 2010 di specifiche cucine e modelli alimentari, il cibo ha notevolmente incrementato la propria presenza nella Lista del Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale⁴.

Per quanto riguarda invece l'Unione Europea, sin dal 1992 venne avviato un programma volto a registrare con marchi specifici determinati cibi o prodotti alimentari, al fine di evitare che la Politica Agricola Comune (PAC) potesse pregiudicare la ricchezza e la varietà delle coltivazioni e dei prodotti agricoli europei. Il programma si basa sullo strumento dell'Indicazione Geografica, intesa come «a distinctive sign used to identify a product as originating in the territory of a particular country, region or locality where its quality, reputation or other characteristic is linked to its geographical origin»⁵. Perciò, in relazione a cibi specifici, i produttori possono avanzare una candidatura per ottenere uno dei tre tipi di marchi di origine riconosciuti dall'Unione Europea, attualmente regolati all'interno di un unico quadro normativo⁶:

- Denominazione di Origine Protetta (DOP), che identifica alimenti che vengono prodotti, lavorati e preparati in un'area geografica specifica, facendo ricorso a competenze riconosciute di produttori locali e ingredienti originari della stessa regione. Questo mar-

³ Ibidem.

⁴ <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/lists>>.

⁵ European Commission, *Geographical Indications*, <<http://ec.europa.eu/trade/policy/accessing-markets/intellectual-property/geographical-indications>>.

⁶ Regulation (EU) No 1151/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 21 November 2012 on quality schemes for agricultural products and foodstuffs.

chio riconosce «the strongest link to the territory, requiring that all aspects of production, processing and preparation originate from that region»⁷.

- Indicazione geografica Protetta (IGP), che designa prodotti la cui qualità o reputazione è legata al luogo o alla regione in cui vengono prodotti, lavorati o preparati, senza che gli ingredienti utilizzati provengano necessariamente dalla medesima area geografica.
- Specialità Tradizionale Garantita (STG), che indica prodotti alimentari di tipo tradizionale, senza tuttavia riconoscervi un legame specifico con un'area geografica in particolare.

La “registrazione” attraverso uno dei primi due marchi assicura dunque l'unicità di un prodotto dovuta alla sua provenienza da un luogo preciso, rappresentando una garanzia tanto per i consumatori quanto per i produttori, dal momento che impedisce un uso inappropriato del nome registrato. Il sistema di denominazioni di origine e indicazioni geografiche mira infatti a proteggere «the quality and diversity of the Union's agricultural, fisheries and aquaculture production» in quanto «a major contribution to its living cultural and gastronomic heritage»⁸. Nondimeno, nel caso del sistema di *labelling* dell'UE il nesso con il mercato è più forte e gli effetti sul piano economico più immediati. Le indicazioni geografiche e di origine costituiscono una componente del sistema del commercio internazionale del cibo, laddove l'interesse principale dell'UNESCO risiede in aspetti di carattere culturale. Anche l'iscrizione nella Lista Unesco dell'ICH ha senz'altro un impatto a livello economico, in particolare nel campo del turismo [Bessièrè 2013; Timothy 2016]. Tuttavia, un recente studio dedicato al ricorso, in termini di marketing, al riconoscimento tributato a determinate cucine e ga-

⁷ European Commission, Foodstuff and agricultural products, <http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/schemes/foodstuff_en>.

⁸ Regulation (EU) No 1151/2012 of the European Parliament and of the council of 21 November 2012 on quality schemes for agricultural products and foodstuffs.

stronomie dall'Unesco ha mostrato come in realtà esso si riveli ancora scarso [De Miguel Molina et al. 2016]. Sebbene sia necessario attendere ulteriori ricerche tese a misurare l'impatto economico di un fenomeno tanto recente [Pfeilstetter 2016], è in ogni caso evidente come nel caso del programma UNESCO la dimensione preminente sia quella culturale. Questa differenza nelle finalità delle due istituzioni emerge anche dalle linee guida per la compilazione delle candidature.

Il modulo di candidatura UNESCO richiede una descrizione dell'elemento proposto che enfatizzi:

- «the characteristics of the bearers and practitioners of the element»;
- «the current modes of transmission of the knowledge and skills related to the element»;
- «an explanation of its social and cultural functions and meanings today, within and for its community»⁹.

È inoltre specificamente dichiarato che «overly technical descriptions should be avoided»¹⁰.

Pertanto nelle candidature (*nomination files*) degli elementi che sono stati iscritti nella Lista si trovano molti più riferimenti all'importanza di «a customary social practice» e ai suoi significati simbolici quali «togetherness, consideration of others, sharing the pleasure of taste, the balance between human beings and the products of nature»¹¹ piuttosto che alle caratteristiche dei cibi in senso stretto. Questo taglio della presentazione della cucina o del piatto che viene sottoposto alla Commissione Unesco può essere rilevato anche attraverso le immagini e i video che costitui-

⁹ UNESCO, *Aide-Mémoire for completing a nomination to the Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity for 2016 and later nominations*, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/forms>>.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ UNESCO, *Nomination file n. 00437 for inscription in 2010 on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity*. Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/gastronomic-meal-of-the-french-00437>>. Cfr. Csergo 2016.

scono parte integrante di ogni *nomination file*, incentrato più sulle pratiche di condivisione e consumo del cibo che sul cibo stesso.



Fig. 1 Gastronomic meal of the French.
<https://ich.unesco.org>

Al contrario, nel caso delle candidature per i marchi dell'Unione Europea, viene richiesta una descrizione specifica del prodotto proposto, corredata di riferimenti precisi alle caratteristiche fisiche nonché alle fasi di lavorazione¹².

Tuttavia, nonostante le differenze qui tratteggiate, i due sistemi di *labelling* hanno importanti punti in comune in relazione alla costruzione del cibo come patrimonio. In primo luogo, entrambe le istituzioni mirano a preservare la varietà dei patrimoni alimentari dal rischio di omologazione rappresentato, per un verso, dalla globalizzazione, per un altro, dal mercato europeo comune. Ancora, entrambe le istituzioni stabiliscono un forte nesso tra cibo e luogo, come emerge dalle specifiche sezioni previste nei rispettivi moduli di candidatura¹³. Infine, entrambe certificano un riconoscimento *internazionalmente* valido di

¹² European Union, *Agriculture and rural development, Door*, <<http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/door/list.html?locale=en>>.

¹³ “Geographic location and range of the element” per il modulo di candidature UNESCO, “Concise definition of the geographical area” e “Link with the geographical area” per quello dell'Unione Europea.

un cibo/prodotto/cucina *locale* attraverso una mediazione *nazionale*. Il processo di produzione e legittimazione del patrimonio effettuato dalle istituzioni internazionali attiva un complesso intreccio di questi tre livelli spaziali e identitari, come emerge dalle seguenti analisi delle loro relazioni binarie.

Identità locali/Identità globali

Contributi recenti hanno gettato luce sulle questioni di scala connesse alle procedure internazionali di *labelling*. «Localities are differently incorporated in larger scales of social, economic and political life» while «incorporate broader processes and values into their global story» [Demossier 2015, 112]. Al di là di questa dimensione “glocal”, le procedure di *labelling* attivano dinamiche connesse alle questioni relative a identità e patrimonio che si sviluppano su livelli spaziali multipli e su intersezioni e sovrapposizioni di questi ultimi.

Le politiche di denominazione dell’UNESCO e dell’Unione Europea enfatizzano indubbiamente la dimensione locale dell’*heritage* sottoposto a valutazione. Accanto all’origine geografica del prodotto alimentare, i sistemi di lavorazione riconosciuti dall’UE sono profondamente radicati in un sapere locale e tradizionale. In questo senso, per le Indicazioni Geografiche Protette è il concetto di *terroir* a rivelarsi cruciale. Secondo la definizione degli esperti dell’Istituto francese INAO (Institut national de l’origine et de la qualité), la prima istituzione nazionale dedicata alla protezione del *terroir*, esso consiste in «un espace géographique délimité, où une communauté humaine a construit au cours de l’histoire un savoir intellectuel collectif de production, fondé sur un système d’interactions entre un milieu physique et biologique, et un ensemble de facteurs humains» [Ferrières 2013, 25; Parker 2015]. Pertanto l’unicità di alimenti provenienti da specifici luoghi viene riconosciuta come il prodotto di un complesso *milieu* geo-storico, composto di elementi

tanto naturali (caratteristiche geologiche del suolo, micro-climi) quanto umani (saperi e competenze estremamente risalenti, trasmessi di generazione in generazione). Ora, il concetto di *terroir* rappresenta il fondamento delle Indicazioni Geografiche dell'Unione Europea, al punto che, come ha sottolineato Marion Demossier, esso «has come to encapsulate the European idea of a connection between locality and quality» [Demossier 2016, 119]. La studiosa considera inoltre quest'enfasi sul *terroir* e sulle località come uno strumento di promozione dell'idea di un'«Europeanness based upon the supposedly unique, historically resonant notion of its people and landscapes» [ibidem]. In questo quadro le località, valorizzate nella loro singolarità dal sistema di *labelling*, diverrebbero dei «building blocks» di un'identità europea da costruire – similmente a quanto accadde per i processi di *nation building* che ebbero luogo sul continente nel XIX secolo – sulla base della sua varietà locale e regionale. In questo modo la località stessa, a dispetto della sua centralità per le Indicazioni Geografiche, viene trascesa e inglobata in un più ampio spazio identitario.

Ambiguità simili possono essere rilevate anche per la Lista del Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale dell'UNESCO. Anche in questo caso i moduli di candidatura riservano un'attenzione particolare alla «participation of the communities, groups and, where appropriate, individuals, in the elaboration of nomination files»¹⁴. Il loro consenso libero, preventivo e informato rappresenta una parte obbligatoria della documentazione da presentare. «No topic has received greater attention [than the communities' role] from the Committee»¹⁵. Tra le varie tipologie di comunità prese in considerazione un ruolo centrale spetta alle istituzioni locali, quali municipalità, vari corpi amministrativi sub-nazionali, associazioni di sindaci. Anche le associazioni locali di cuochi e chef, le

¹⁴ UNESCO, *Forms to be used for nominations, proposals, assistance requests, accreditation requests and periodic reporting*, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/forms>>.

¹⁵ *Aide-Mémoire for completing a nomination*, cit., 15.

organizzazioni culturali, vari tipi di associazioni del lavoro rappresentano esempi di comunità radicate sul territorio. In questo quadro, le località e le comunità figurano come i soggetti primari che avanzano all'UNESCO la candidatura di un modello alimentare o una cucina che riveste particolare importanza e significato per il tessuto economico e per l'identità culturale del territorio in questione. Se si considera, ad esempio, la "Dieta Mediterranea" [Scepi, Petrillo 2015; Stano 2015; Turmo, Verdù, Navarrete 2008], il *nomination file* specifica che «the communities that recognize it as part of their common intangible cultural heritage [are] Agros (Cyprus), Brač and Hvar (Croatia), Soria (Spain), Koroni/Coroni (Greece), Cilento (Italy), Chefchaouen (Morocco), Tavira (Portugal)»¹⁶.

Ora, l'iscrizione nella Lista Unesco potrebbe costituire il *trait d'union* tra un «geographic localism» e un «globalizing cosmopolitanism» [Sammels 2014, 142]. Tuttavia, piuttosto che colmare il divario tra "globale" e "locale", l'iscrizione tende ad adattare la varietà e la singolarità delle cucine riconosciute come patrimonio mondiale alle aspettative di un'élite globale di consumatori, finendo per creare quelle che Claire Sammels definisce «haute traditional cuisines» [Sammels 2014, 147-150]. Il caso della cucina tradizionale messicana, la cui iscrizione risale al 2010, viene considerato emblematico in questo senso. La candidatura presentava la cucina in questione come indigena, tradizionale, femminile, con un'enfasi sul suo carattere radicato e praticato e nessun riferimento al suo respiro cosmopolita. Dopo il successo della candidatura, la promozione della cucina messicana venne affidata a chef maschi, espressione di una classe transnazionale di professionisti formati nell'alveo della tradizione francese. Tale promozione enfatizzava inoltre la dimensione

¹⁶ UNESCO, *Nomination file n. 00884 for inscription in 2010 on the representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity*. Intergovernmental Committee for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/RL/mediterranean-diet-00884>>.



Fig. 2 Traditional Mexican cuisine - ancestral, ongoing community culture, the Michoacán paradigm
<https://ich.unesco.org>

globale di ingredienti e tecniche, modellati sulla base del gusto e dei desideri di consumatori cosmopoliti [Sammels 2014, 147-150]. Questa traslazione globale di paradigmi culinari locali non è soltanto frutto di processi *top-down*. Gli attori locali – imprenditori, istituzioni locali, associazioni culturali e di categoria – contribuiscono a creare una struttura narrativa *bottom-up* sull'autenticità del proprio cibo, al fine di renderlo *appealing* per istituzioni e pubblico globali. La promozione dei prodotti e delle tradizioni del territorio conduce così a una sorta di «mercificazione della località» attraverso precise strategie di marketing [Grasseni 2013a]. Modelli alimentari locali vengono caratterizzati come “tradizionali” e presentati come condivisi da intere comunità, adombrando significative differenze sociali, etniche, religiose, presenti all'interno delle stesse. Questa tendenza a trasformare il «locale» in «tipico» [Grasseni 2013a; Vitrolles 2011] e l'uso del «legendary or mythical aspect» [Ceccarelli, Grandi, Magagnoli 2013, 16] della stessa tipicità rischiano di essenzializzare la cultura alimentare locale. L'aderenza esclusiva al luogo geografico nella costruzione del «commodity-heritage» [Grasseni 2005, 80] tende a lasciare in ombra le molteplici differenze culturali, di classe, di genere che caratterizzano riti e abitudini alimentari, nonché fratture e conflitti all'interno delle comunità locali.

Identità locali/Identità nazionali

A uno sguardo ravvicinato, questa tendenza all'omogeneizzazione e all'appiattimento delle differenze si riflette anche su un'altra scala, ossia a un livello nazionale. Infatti, questi modelli alimentari locali così essenzializzati diventano spesso rappresentativi di un'intera nazione, adombrando la matrice locale e regionale di alcune cucine. Nel caso della cucina messicana, questo aspetto emerge in maniera molto evidente, dal momento che una cucina indigena propria di una piccola regione, il cosiddetto “*Michoacán paradigm*”, viene trasformato in un modello culinario nazionale. Ancora, riguardo al *Gastronomic Meal of the French*, le «communities concerned» vengono identificate con:

The French. The community concerned by the element is the entire French nation people. The community is large, diverse and unified. Its collective experience has been built over several centuries. The product of social and cultural mixes, regional plurality and contributions by immigrants, the community is united by shared practices like the gastronomic meal¹⁷.

Certo, si tratta di casi pioneristici, dal momento che queste due cucine sancirono l'ingresso del cibo nella Lista del Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale UNESCO. Nondimeno, il Comitato UNESCO e i suoi Evaluation Bodies, consapevoli di tale rischio, hanno di recente sottolineato «the persisting problem whereby ‘the communities concerned by the element or activity in question are not well-defined’»¹⁸. E se ciò è vero in relazione alla stratificazione sociale, di genere e generazionale, lo è anche in termini di identità locale. Anche culture del cibo inserite in Lista di recente, come la tradizione della preparazione del *kimchi* o la cultura della birra in Belgio – entrambe iscritte nel 2015 – tendono in ultima analisi a sottolineare la condivisione nazionale del patrimo-

¹⁷ UNESCO, *Nomination file 00437*, cit.

¹⁸ *Aide-Mémoire for completing a nomination*, cit., 16.



Fig. 3 Tradition of kimchi-making in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea
<https://ich.unesco.org>



Fig. 4 Beer culture in Belgium
<https://ich.unesco.org>

nio alimentare candidato, nonostante i riferimenti a comunità locali e gruppi sociali.

Questa tendenza all'omogeneizzazione nazionale è anche dovuta alla preferenza accordata dall'UNESCO alle tradizioni ampiamente condivise, che paradossalmente minaccia la varietà e la diversità culturale che l'istituzione intenderebbe proteggere.

Inoltre, questa predominante dimensione nazionale è in un certo senso costitutiva della stessa procedura di *labelling*. I soggetti locali non possono infatti avanzare candidature direttamente all'Unione Europea o all'UNESCO. Le istituzioni statali filtrano le proposte locali, venendo così a essere gli unici soggetti che interagiscono direttamente con le

istituzioni internazionali. In questo quadro, le identità culinarie locali e regionali tendono a essere presentate e percepite come rappresentative delle nazioni [DeSoucey 2010]. Infine, anche gli effetti economici – sul piano commerciale e sull’industria del cibo, così come sull’industria culturale, come nel caso del turismo – vanno senz’altro misurati in dimensione nazionale.

Ciò non equivale a negare ogni beneficio per le comunità locali. Le istituzioni statali offrono un importante sostegno agli interessi locali e regionali. In alcuni casi, gli Stati si fanno anche promotori della “food sovereignty”, sostenendo le rivendicazioni di produttori, imprenditori e agricoltori concretamente coinvolti nella produzione e distribuzione di cibo, in contrasto con un *food system* globale neoliberale [Andrée et al. 2014].

Più in generale, la dimensione locale è ineludibile per la nozione (e la retorica) del patrimonio, con i concetti a esso correlati di *autenticità*, *tradizione*, *originalità*. In particolare, riguardo all’*autenticità*, questo termine rientra nel cosiddetto «inappropriate vocabulary» da evitare nelle candidature UNESCO, in quanto non in linea con i suoi principi. Come dichiarato infatti dal Subsidiary Body nel 2011 e nel 2012, l’UNESCO non intende «fix intangible cultural heritage in some frozen, idealized form», dal momento che «it is not concerned with the question of how ‘original’ or ‘authentic’ an element is or what its ‘ideal’ form should be, rather what matters is how an element figures in the lives of its practitioners today» [cit. in Bortolotto 2013, 75]. Il principio è quindi quello di *Safeguarding without freezing*¹⁹. Tuttavia, una ricerca condotta da Chiara Bortolotto ha mostrato come il termine *autenticità* continui a essere spesso usato nei *nomination files*, in virtù della sua connessione con l’«idea of antiquity (“thousand-year-old practices”) or to territorially rooted (often rural) communities» [Bortolotto 2013, 76].

¹⁹ UNESCO, *Safeguarding without freezing*, <<http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/safeguarding-00012>>.

La studiosa rileva pertanto come «local understandings of heritage are not ultimately separable from the concept of authenticity» [Bortolotto 2013, 77-78].

Una conferma di questa interpretazione emerge se si volge lo sguardo alle candidature avanzate all'Unione Europea. A dispetto delle raccomandazioni di fornire soltanto descrizioni tecniche dei prodotti presentati, nella sezione del modulo riservata all'esplicitazione del «link with the geographic area», spesso vengono ricostruite le radici storiche di tradizioni radicate in luoghi specifici²⁰. Ciò evidenzia il doppio “ancoraggio” locale valorizzato nei processi di patrimonializzazione del cibo, quello temporale (che evoca autenticità, tradizione, memoria, nostalgia della cucina della nonna) e quello spaziale, sempre localmente individuato [Geyzen 2014, 73; Bienassis 2011a e b].

Infine, il legame con il passato richiama inevitabilmente la dimensione del locale anche perché lo scenario principale della vita delle persone e delle loro proiezioni identitarie è stato a lungo costituito molto più dalle località che dagli Stati-nazione.

Nondimeno, questi ultimi giocano attualmente il ruolo da protagonisti nei sistemi di *labelling*. Come emerge anche dalla loro dialettica con una dimensione sovranazionale.

Identità nazionali/Identità globali

Gli Stati nazionali tendono a strumentalizzare la certificazione ufficiale dell'esclusività di un prodotto o di una cucina fornita dalle istituzioni internazionali. Queste ultime appaiono molto risolte nel rivendicare la propria autorità sulle questioni di *labelling*, come mostra, ad esempio,

²⁰ Esempi recenti sono le candidature dell'olio extra-vergine “Marche” registrato il 20 aprile 2017 e il “*London cure smoked salmon*” registrato il 12 aprile 2017, <<http://ec.europa.eu/agriculture/quality/door/list.html?locale=en>>.

la decisione della Corte di Giustizia dell'Unione Europea di impedire a Francia, Germania e Belgio di utilizzare marchi di qualità di matrice nazionale – differenti dunque dalle IGP – per indicare il territorio di origine dei prodotti alimentari [Charlier, Ngo 2012]. Tuttavia, quanto più chiaramente si profila come esclusivo il ruolo dell'UNESCO e dell'Unione Europea come giudici in campo internazionale, tanto più distintamente si definisce la politica degli Stati di strumentalizzare il crisma del loro riconoscimento ufficiale per promuovere le proprie cucine e la loro *food image*. Infatti, il riconoscimento internazionale legittima le rivendicazioni di esclusività, diventando così parte integrante della politica di *national branding*.

L'uso politico del cibo non è certo nuovo, ma ha assunto nuove forme negli ultimi anni. La categoria di «gastrodiplomacy» [Ichijo, Ranta 2015, 108-112] si riferisce alla produzione e all'uso di *food brands* a opera degli Stati nazionali al fine di esercitare una forma di *soft power*. L'impatto del mercato globale del cibo ha inoltre suscitato forti rivendicazioni della peculiarità delle identità culinarie, declinate principalmente in termini nazionali.

Per analizzare questa giustapposizione tra cibo e globalizzazione, Michaela DeSoucey ha sviluppato il concetto di «gastronationalism» [DeSoucey 2010]. Esso «signals the use of food production, distribution, and consumption to demarcate and sustain the emotive power of national attachment, as well as the use of nationalist sentiments, to produce and market food» [433]. L'analisi della studiosa si concentra sul programma di denominazione di origine dell'Unione Europea, concepito come veicolo di «collective national identity» [434]. Infatti, sebbene gli obiettivi principali del programma vadano rintracciati su un piano economico e di mercato, ciò non esclude «socio-cultural impacts» di recente interpretati in termini di «edible identities» [Di Giovine, Brulotte 2014, 21].

Per quanto riguarda la Lista UNESCO, essa rappresenta un mezzo attraverso cui gli Stati nazionali promuovono il proprio «cultural na-



Fig. 5 *Washoku*, traditional dietary cultures of the Japanese, notably for the celebration of New Year.

<https://ich.unesco.org>

tionalism in response to globalisation» [Ichijo, Ranta 2015, 157]. Ad esempio, quando avanzarono le proprie candidature rispettivamente per il *Gastronomic Meal of the French* e per il *washoku*, sia la Francia che il Giappone enfatizzarono le minacce che gravavano sulle proprie tradizioni culturali a fronte delle tendenze omogeneizzanti della globalizzazione. È vero che in entrambi i casi le associazioni professionali e dei lavoratori del settore espressero le proprie preoccupazioni legate al rischio di vedere scomparire tradizioni culinarie e competenze specifiche [147-157]. Nondimeno, i due Stati adattarono in maniera strumentale le loro candidature ai valori supportati dall'UNESCO, come dimostra il passaggio da un modello alimentare d'élite a uno più popolare e condiviso, tanto nel caso del *Gastronomic Meal of the French* (così definito invece che “*French Cuisine*” o “*French Gastronomy*”) quanto in quello del *washoku* (al posto del “*kaiseki*”, che definisce l'alta cucina giapponese). L'enfasi sulle culture culinarie in declino e le esigenze delle industrie nazionali del cibo non esclude l'obiettivo di esercitare forme di *soft power*. L'indubbio interesse della promozione della nazione come *brand* mostra il paradosso di istituzioni internazionali che «meant to limit the scope of nationalism [...] end up enhancing nationalist case» [Ichijo, Ranta, 157; Sammels 2014; Tornatore 2012].

A seguito dell'iscrizione alla Lista, il marchio internazionalmente riconosciuto a una cucina o a un piatto specifico diviene un *brand* nazionale; e una volta definito “nazionale”, in virtù anche del potere della «gastro-linguistica» [Cavanaugh 2016; Lakoff 2006], un cibo diviene realmente tale e, soprattutto, viene riconosciuto sia all'interno che all'esterno come tale. Il successo della candidatura di una cucina ne legittima allora l'appropriazione da parte di un paese e, allo stesso tempo, ne delegittima le pretese da parte di altri. A tale riguardo, la sezione UNESCO sul Patrimonio Culturale Immateriale è consapevole dell'importanza del linguaggio e dei rischi che esso può veicolare. Nel *Memoire for applicants*, i riferimenti all'«inappropriate vocabulary», accanto alle espressioni ‘pure’, ‘true’, ‘unique’, ‘original’, suggeriscono di evitare un linguaggio «not conducive to dialogue or that had political connotations to be avoided. [...] [L]anguage that risks inciting tensions or awakening grievances, whether between communities or between States, should be rigorously avoided»²¹.

In effetti attorno alle *food labels* sono sorte diverse contese. Un esempio interessante è rappresentato dai conflitti turco-armeni relativi, per un verso, al *keşkek*, a seguito della sua inclusione nella Lista UNESCO per conto della Turchia nel 2011, per un altro verso, al riconoscimento nel 2014 del *lavash* come prodotto armeno, all'origine di un'ampia opposizione nella regione, in primo luogo da parte dell'Azerbaijan [Aykan 2016]. Analogamente alle “*hummus wars*” in Medio Oriente o alle “*kimchi wars*” tra Cina, Giappone e Corea, questi casi mostrano chiaramente come “le guerre del cibo” non riguardino soltanto il cibo, ma piuttosto culture e interessi nazionali, chiamando in causa in alcuni casi perfino questioni di sicurezza nazionale.

Conflitti simili sono scoppiati anche in relazione ai marchi UE, come, per esempio, tra la comunità greco-cipriota e la Turchia riguardo alla tradizione del *loukoumi* [Weltz 2013]. Secondo la definizione di De-

²¹ *Aide-Mémoire for completing a nomination*, cit., 10.

Soucey, il cibo può diventare infatti un «contested medium of cultural politics that demarcates national boundaries and identities». Le rivendicazioni di paternità alimentare infatti, similmente ai tracciati confinari, si rivelano cruciali nel definire una connotazione nazionale che, in quanto tale, finisce per definire linee di inclusione e di esclusione. Tuttavia, quantomeno nel caso dell'UNESCO non dovrebbe essere così. Per cibi o tradizioni culinarie diffuse in regioni geografiche trasversali alle partizioni nazionali, la Convenzione consente l'iscrizione a più di uno Stato, prevedendo la possibilità di candidature multi-statali o dell'estensione a più Stati di elementi già inseriti in Lista. Le candidature per questi «shared heritages» sono peraltro fortemente incoraggiati. La *mediterranean diet* è un esempio di questa procedura, ma nei fatti è tra le poche culture alimentari transnazionali presenti nella Lista UNESCO, come

l'*arabic coffee* di recente inserito. Sembra però che sia in atto un cambia-



Fig. 6 Mediterranean Diet <https://ich.unesco.org>



Fig. 7 Arabic coffee, a symbol of generosity
<https://ich.unesco.org>



Fig. 8 “Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka”
<https://ich.unesco.org>

mento. In occasione della sessione annuale del comitato nel dicembre 2016 è stato inserito nel Patrimonio Immateriale UNESCO «Flatbread making and sharing culture: Lavash, Katyrma, Jupka, Yufka» su richiesta congiunta di Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan e Turchia, ovvero i paesi dell’Asia occidentale che avevano contestato il riconoscimento all’Armenia della candidatura del *lavash bread*. Ancora, la candidatura algerina per il couscous è diventata parte di un più ampio dossier incentrato sul Maghreb, coinvolgendo così l’intera area geografica, comprendente anche il Marocco e la Tunisia, dove la tradizione del cibo berbero era effettivamente diffusa.

Attualmente però il numero estremamente ristretto delle candidature transnazionali, a dispetto delle sollecitazioni UNESCO, mostra quanto gli interessi e le identità nazionali mantengano un ruolo cruciale nel “*game of labels*” internazionale.

Conclusioni

L’analisi delle interazioni tra le identità territoriali prodotte o valorizzate dalle procedure di *labelling* consente di evidenziare il ruolo giocato da queste ultime nel processo di costruzione del cibo come patrimonio e di metterne in luce alcune criticità.

Per cominciare, emerge come gli Stati-nazione, muovendosi tra la dimensione locale e internazionale, si rivelino i principali beneficiari dei riconoscimenti internazionali tesi a preservare le risorse locali e, attraverso di esse, la diversità alimentare. È chiara la dominante caratterizzazione in termini nazionali dei cibi riconosciuti, tale da oscurarne i tratti subnazionali. Le cucine regionali, ad esempio, restano in larga parte escluse dai processi di *labelling*, dal momento che tale dimensione non trova spazio né sul piano amministrativo né su quello del discorso culturale proprio delle istituzioni internazionali.

Questa caratterizzazione dell'*heritage* in termini prettamente nazionali viene favorita dagli stessi meccanismi procedurali – dispiegati tanto dall'UNESCO quanto dall'UE – che individuano negli Stati nazionali gli interlocutori esclusivi dell'iter di *labelling*. Una revisione delle procedure istituzionali in direzione del riconoscimento di una maggiore *agency* dei soggetti locali potrebbe indubbiamente contribuire a valorizzare la tutela dei modelli alimentari locali al di fuori della retorica del discorso puramente culturale.

Inoltre, questa produzione di patrimoni alimentari in chiave prevalentemente nazionale non oscura soltanto la dimensione sub-nazionale dell'*heritage*, ma anche quella transnazionale, riconducibile alla dimensione di scambi e interazioni sviluppatasi nei secoli in una dimensione che travalica ampiamente i confini statal-nazionali. Nelle candidature sono per lo più assenti i riferimenti al carattere ibrido delle cucine nazionali europee, presentate come entità semplificate, caratterizzate – dal punto di vista spaziale – da un forte ancoraggio geografico e – da quello temporale – dalla cristallizzazione in un passato mitico più che da un effettivo sviluppo attraverso la trasmissione delle conoscenze di generazione in generazione. Ciò che viene completamente trascurato sono le connessioni nello spazio, ovvero i transfer culturali, la diffusione di competenze, la circolazione di modelli alimentari, che possono essere considerati elementi costitutivi di ogni cucina. Il rischio è quello di sottovalutare il carattere ibrido, contaminato, delle identità europee,

legato a una lunga storia di scambi, a livello tanto inter-europeo quanto globale. Esempi significativi in questo senso sono rappresentati dal sistema di scambio medievale [Montanari 1988; 1993], dallo «scambio colombiano» [Crosby 1972], dalla circolazione di culture alimentari in contesti imperiali [Laudan 2013; Leong-Salobir 2011]. In questo quadro, il patrimonio vivo, «costantemente ricreato» che l'UNESCO mira a tutelare dal rischio di «congelamento» viene sottoposto a una duplice minaccia, per un verso, quella di un irrigidimento dell'*heritage* in un passato a-storico, per un altro, quella di un eccessivo ancoraggio delle culture e delle pratiche alimentari a una collocazione geografica concepita come chiusa verso l'esterno e quindi aliena a fenomeni di connessione, circolazione e scambio. Questi processi, di recente interpretati principalmente – sebbene non esclusivamente – in una prospettiva di storia globale come un tratto specifico della formazione delle culture alimentari del mondo [Grew 2001; Montanari 2002; Pilcher 2008; Claffin, Scholliers 2013], rappresentano anche un aspetto fondamentale delle identità e dei patrimoni culturali europei.

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Bibliography “Food as Heritage”

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Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe.

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The following bibliography is conceived as a selection of international literature on food as heritage and as a marker of identity within the huge amount of works recently produced on the topic of food. The bibliography has been produced within the “Food as heritage” project, being conducted at Bologna University and coordinated by Ilaria Porciani, with a team composed of Massimo Montanari, Paolo Capuzzo, Raffaele Laudani and Marica Tolomelli. “Food as heritage” is part of a wider project financed within the frame Horizon 2020, “CoHERE”, “Critical Heritages: performing and representing identities in Europe”. CoHERE explores the ways in which identities in Europe are constructed: cultural policy, museum display, heritage interpretation, school curricula. In this framework, the Bologna team adds culinary traditions to other forms of heritage, bringing together the cultural

construction and invention of traditions, social practices, commercial practice, tourism, public policies and marketing strategies.

The bibliography is conceived not as an exhaustive product, but rather as a useful tool for food scholars and as a data base to be implemented through time. Publication as an open access online data base clearly expresses this destination.

As the project aims to identify the roots of food as a marker of identity and heritage, the main perspective is a historical one. As is widely recognized, heritage and identities are not existing entities but rather processes of appropriation developed by certain groups, communities, societies. These processes of heritagization (or *patrimonialisation*) are indeed the product of a cultural construction of food. Food cultures are naturally non static, as they are constantly being reproduced and reinvented with new symbolic values. Thus, a historical perspective allows one to deconstruct some cultural paradigms, historicizing them and focusing on the process by which they formed. Nevertheless, studies ascribable to anthropology, sociology, political science and psychology have been included, considering an interdisciplinary approach to be typical of *food studies*.

The bibliography consists of 3,002 entries indexed with 3 different criteria. Firstly, a chronological criterion places the study in its historical period. Then, geographical indexation shows the places and areas involved. Geographical references have been released – if possible– from the national framework, so localities or regions have been specifically indicated. Moreover, the bibliography has been organized into 4 thematic areas, in which food emerges as a marker of identity and heritage.

1. Through its link to a geographic location, food is firstly a territorial heritage, thus marking territorial identities. The *terroir* for example, strongly links food and heritage itself to a precise place, endowed with its own natural elements and a *genius loci* as well. It also refers to culturally rooted food traditions, the knowledge and practice of which

are deeply embedded in a definite geographical space and ritualized on several occasions, from tourist circuits to festivals and memorialization processes. These territorial identities can develop on different levels: local, regional, national, transnational, global.

Deeply connected to territorial identities are the food labelling procedures performed by national and international institutions. Such procedures, especially those under UNESCO and the European Union, tend to recognize and officialise - sometimes even to produce - these territorial identities, occasionally even giving rise to conflicts among contradictory claims.

In referring to these topics, the section devoted to "Territorial identities" is composed of the following tags:

Territorial identities

- *Local identities*
- *Regional identities* (with reference both to sub-state and to transnational regions)
- *National identities*
- *Global connections*: referring to the hybrid character of territorial identities as a result of global (trans-state or trans-local) connections, due to the circulation of foods and food patterns. These exchanges and connections often happened in imperial contexts (*colonialism*) or as a consequence of migrations or diasporas (*migrations*).
- *Food labelling*: referring to food labelling procedures and designation of origin processes introduced by national and international institutions, especially UNESCO (Intangible Cultural Heritage List and Creative Cities of Gastronomy) and the European Union (PDO Protected Designation of Origin, PGI Protected Geographical Indication and TSG Traditional Specialities Guaranteed). This tag has also been used for studies focusing on the topics of terroir,

authenticity, typicality, quality and traditionalism in foods, as being deeply connected to these procedures.

2. The second section of the bibliography focuses on food as a marker of cultural identities. In this case the process of appropriation is performed by definite groups – even transversal to territorial partitions – using food to build social classis, religious, generational, gender and political identities.

Tags have been assigned to these various cultural identities in the following way:

Cultural identities

- *Religious identities*
- *Social identities*: with peculiar reference to the class identities (working class, middle class heritage) but also referring to figures and kinds of work connected to cuisine and gastronomy (chefs, cooks, workers in food industries and the catering field)
- *Political identities*: with reference both to food policies and to movements and activism supporting various different food patterns.
- *Gender identities*
- *Generation identities*

3. The third section is devoted to a specific mechanism in the process of food heritagization, that is the representation and transmission of food knowledge. As regards the transmission of knowledge, oral transmission of family recipes and the circulation of cookbooks are among the most decisive guardians of tradition and contributors to building, reinforcing and reinventing it as well.

A crucial role is also played by the representation of food, both in art/literature and in the media, from newspapers to cinema to television,

especially in the light of contemporary overrepresentation of food in TV shows and Reality TV. In the age of digital reproduction, food is also represented in the social media, for example cuisine and recipe websites and blogs, and in the field of marketing and advertising. An important kind of representation of food as heritage and a marker of identity (mainly territorial identity) is ascribable to tourist guides and brochures, especially at a moment when culinary and gastronomic tourism has gained a pivotal role on tourist circuits. Another field of food representation is medicine and health at various epochs, while nearly all discursive formations about food convey meanings bearing on identity and heritage.

This third section is composed of the following tags:

Representations and transmission of knowledge

- *Transmission of knowledge*: referring to the production of cookbooks and the transmission of culinary knowledge and practices from generation to generation.
- *Representations of food*: referring to representations of food in *art, literature, mass media* (journals, cinema, TV), *social media, marketing and advertising, tourism, medicine and health, discourse* about food.

4. The final section of the bibliography collects various aspects of the anthropology of food, conceived as places, objects, rituals whose evolution historically contributed to marking territorial or cultural identities. The tags for this section are organized in the following way:

Anthropology of food

- *Rites of food identity*: religious rituals, habit of dining out, festivals, ordinary and celebratory meals.
- *Objects of food identities*
- *Places of food identities*: restaurants, dining rooms, taverns, canteens, cafes, kitchens, as well as spaces with a food-connected identity like monasteries, schools, work canteens, hospitals, prisons.

Some classic studies or works of general interest are tagged as “food studies” or “food history”.

The bibliography also has a section composed of websites. Some important newspapers and journals (like *The Guardian* or *The New York Times*) as well as television stations (such as *CNN* and *Al-Jazeera*) devote webpages to the topic of culinary heritage. Moreover, many associations all around the world (from Europe to USA to India) deal with this topic and organize seminars and educational projects, often in collaboration with the main food industries. A part of this website collection focuses on food museums, conceived as spaces of codification and representation of culinary heritage. Some references are finally devoted to research projects on the topic of food as heritage being run in academic institutions.

Food as Heritage Bibliography 1895-2018

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