

For the last few years, more than half the world's population has lived in cities; a turning point in society has been reached and humanity has changed its ancestral way of living. This book examines and considers these epochal social, cultural and economic changes and outlines a cognitive framework through which the cities, using a widely tested methodology, can discover the cultural and gastronomic heritage of their own territories as trajectories for a creative future. The collection, survey and communication of the cultural data belonging to the order of orality – in our case the traditional gastronomic resources – can be a precious capital of knowledge, a resource of memory, of identity and of heritage for the present which, now as never before, feels the need to digitally connect with its analogical past.

The University of Gastronomic Sciences and Slow Food, together with a partnership of public bodies and cultural associations – beginning from the experience of the *Granaries of Memory* and the *Ark of Taste* – have organised a vast and in-depth research project in Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Italy, as part of the Interreg *Central Europe SlowFood-Ce: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* project. The aim of the study was to supply theoretical and practical solutions for the capitalisation and valorisation of the gastronomic cultures, in various geographical and cultural contexts.

The volume aims to be a working guide, a sort of manual that gives the basic instructions through which to approach the study of the urban gastronomic traditions, always starting with the city/countryside relationships. Thanks to the practical, applicative, experimental nature of the survey model proposed, the aim is to provide an agenda through which other cities in Europe and throughout the world, can set up virtuous processes of capitalisation and valorisation of their gastronomic resources, in a profitable and virtuous dialogue between the rural and the urban dimensions. A dialogue that will make it possible to restore to the city the spatial-temporal rhythms of the countryside, and with them the reproductive and affective traits that sustainable and supportive food preserves for humanity who rediscovers in nature the values that complexity seems to have lost for ever.

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Piercarlo Grimaldi, Gianpaolo Fassino,
Davide Porporato

Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food

A Methodological Approach

**Percorsi
di ricerca****FrancoAngeli**

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Piercarlo Grimaldi, Gianpaolo Fassino,
Davide Porporato

Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food

A Methodological Approach

Foreword by Carlo Petrini



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This QR Code refers to the page of *The Granaries of Memory* which includes all the interviews gathered during the project.



Translated by Katherine Clifton

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Foreword

The gastronomic heritage of the European cities

by *Carlo Petrini*

President of the University of Gastronomic Sciences

We are what we are and what we will be in the future partly because popular culture, which rarely relied on writing, has so far been able to pass on from generation to generation, knowledge, poetry, and manual skills that now seem to be relegated to a subservient role in stable memory. Memory now appears to be true, scientific and certified only if it is deposited on paper and stored in digital media. Mnemonics, proverbial structures and idioms have allowed humanity to conserve, elaborate and creatively re-elaborate the knowledge that the past handed down, using these fragile, iterative lexical structures that only find their natural archive and their elaboration and re-elaboration in the mind.

Today, the culture of traditions appears to be endangered, threatened by a world that desperately seeks to obliterate the past. To counteract this perilous drift that delegates to others the conservation and processing of memory, a course that is certainly not innocent since, as we used to say, it brings both joys and sorrows, it is necessary to awaken the consciences laid to rest by a hegemonic information system that wants to design the future for us. It is therefore essential to collect the testimonies of the communities, in order to prevent their dispersion. Once upon a time, there was the oral memory that guaranteed the transmission of this heritage. Today we must construct 'granaries' in which to store against the famine of ideas, to counter the dominant mass culture that has taken away the voice of the precious knowledge of our old people. I don't want to leave these battles to others. We must all defend the biodiversity of cultures, restoring dignity to indigenous languages and dialects. On the other hand, saving ethnodiversity means actively participating in protecting biodiversity; two models of development that today appear to be of little interest and even in contrast with the ideas of those who doltishly govern the world. They do not understand that these two pillars of traditional critical knowledge were, until recently,

when the countryside still provided biological and affective nourishment, experienced as a single great project of significance, a granary that provided food and that encouraged good community practices.

Starting from this awareness, in 2010, the University of Gastronomic Sciences in Pollenzo launched the project *Granaries of Memory*, an ambitious research project that concerns the memory of the world, the recovery of oral and gestural knowledge, a constitutive part of mankind's evolutionary process (Grimaldi, 2012b; Grimaldi, Porporato, 2012). A vast programme of anthropological research that has gathered the life stories of over a thousand peasant farmers, breeders, cheesemakers, artisans and cooks, people who in various capacities work every day to safeguard the world's gastronomic heritage. Over the years, the Pollenzo anthropologists have investigated and explored the study and collection of videotestimonies concerning rural contexts, recording the voices of the farmers of the Earth, of the people of *Terra Madre*, of the cheesemakers who flock to Bra – my home town – every two years on the occasion of *Cheese*, the fishermen who animate the port of Genova during SlowFish. The students of the University of Pollenzo have also helped to expand this extraordinary collection of testimonies during educational trips throughout the world, joined by other collaborative networks, starting, of course, with the global SlowFood network, through food *presidia*, *condotte* and communities (Fassino, Porporato, 2016, pp. 187-189). Specific research projects have given rise to themed sections aimed at documenting, particular gastronomic traditions – this is the case of the Alba white truffle (Grimaldi, 2017) and traditional Italian espresso coffee (Fassino, 2018b) – and defined geographical areas.

Among the many, I would like to mention the one dedicated to the river Po, *Alla ricerca del grande fiume*, which presents the results of ethno-anthropological research conducted during the journey we made along the Po in 2007, on the fiftieth anniversary of Mario Soldati's TV documentaries *Viaggio nella valle del Po alla ricerca dei cibi genuine* [exploring the Po valley in search of wholesome food] (Capatti, 2007; Grimaldi, 2012a, pp. 205-227; Petrini, 2007b; 2017, p. 265). The Laboratory '*Granaries of Memory*' has also built and consolidated over time significant scientific cooperation with other universities and research centres that have further enriched this archive.

It was a vast and ambitious work that could not, however, be limited to the sole – necessary and inescapable – activity of collecting and filing testimonies on the stories of agriculture, food and gastronomy. It inevitably included a more complex activity of experimentation in the field, also with-

in new geographical and social contexts, expanding and refining the theoretical and methodological framework on which it was based. The opportunity to take this further step arrived in 2017, within the framework of the Interreg Central Europe Project called SlowFood-CE: Cultures, Heritage, Identity and Food of which this volume summarises the theoretical premises and narrates the investigative and scientific principles. The University of Gastronomic Sciences, along with five major European cities, Venice, Dubrovnik, Brno, Kecskemét and Kraków, the SlowFood network and other local associations and cultural organisations have conducted an innovative survey of the gastronomic heritage within historically, geographically and culturally diverse contexts. It was a complex project in which the investigation into ethnodiversity (a fundamental element of the *Granaries of Memory* project) was combined with awareness of biodiversity, part of the *Ark of Taste* project, which aims to survey products – fruit, vegetables, animal breeds, cheeses, breads, desserts, cold cuts, etc. – that belong to the culture, history and traditions of the entire planet. The fruitful encounter between these two perspectives of investigation has made it possible to undertake, in the context of the Central Europe project, an innovative investigation protocol, a theoretical and technical-methodological framework in an area still little explored as regards food and the gastronomic traditions: that of the cities.

For a long time, studies on gastronomic heritage have preferentially and primarily looked at rural contexts, the agricultural world where everything we eat is generated and located. In reality, a well-established historiographical tradition has amply ascertained that cities are the place where gastronomic traditions have consolidated and settled. The research conducted by my friend Massimo Montanari and many of the other scholars who have followed in his footsteps have clearly shown the inseparable and inescapable relationship between city and countryside that has deeply scored the Italian gastronomic culture, becoming one of its distinctive features (Montanari, 2010, pp. 7-12; Bevilacqua, 2017, pp. 37-41). The British historian John Dickie remarked that «it is no coincidence that so many products of Italian cuisine and dishes are named after cities: *bistecca alla fiorentina*, *prosciutto di Parma*, *saltimbocca alla romana*, *pizza napoletana*, *risotto alla milanese*, *pesto genovese*, *pesto trapanese*, *olive ascolane*, *mostarda di Cremona...*» (Dickie, 2007, p. 7). However, this link is not exclusive to the Italian context; it is to be found in different forms in other areas. Each city has generated and developed a special relationship with the culture of food. It is determined by the surrounding territory, by the history of customs, by the creativity and *savoir-faire* of its citizens and by the culture and influ-

ences of the immigrant communities. Additionally, in recent years, virtuous paths of rediscovery and enhancement of the gastronomic heritages of entire territories have started from the cities, thanks to the commitment of eminent chefs, who now pay more attention to local agricultural produce, to the spread of the Farmer's Markets, which made an essential contribution to renewing the sometimes frayed links between the urban and rural world, between the city and 'its countryside'. These are just a few examples that highlight a multifaceted, complex phenomenon that I have repeatedly witnessed, in various parts of the world, during my travels (Petrini, 2013).

Analysing all these different aspects in the heart of Europe has been the ambitious challenge that, for three years, has involved the many people who worked on the SlowFood-CE project in the various territories. A project, I would like to emphasise, not only involving scientific investigation of the gastronomic heritage in urban contexts, but also a virtuous course aimed at its enhancement, expressing the contemporary value of the gastronomic traditions in various fields: from education to tourism, from capitalisation to the creation of supply chains that integrate economic, environmental and social sustainability. A project that is not just research, but genuine and mature applied anthropology.

One of the main objectives of the SlowFood-CE project was the creation of a study and enhancement model – that is to say, 'a catalyst for promotion' – that could be transferred to other urban contexts, primarily European, but also non-European. Thanks to its applicative nature, this model fittingly aims to recognise the true value of traditional food, through an understanding of the producers, plant varieties, animal breeds, traditional processing techniques, folklore and the cultural landscape, in a holistic reading, where the various elements combine to define and restore the gastronomic heritage in its cogent and complex historical-cultural unity. This book presents the innovative survey model and its feasibility: a programme that other cities in Europe and throughout the world will be able to adopt and adapt, thus enriching the knowledge of their own gastronomic heritage. I am therefore grateful to Piercarlo Grimaldi, Davide Porporato and Gianpaolo Fassino for their commitment to this project, to the construction of the theoretical and methodological model that substantiated it, and for having now shared it in this book.

Introduction

by *Piercarlo Grimaldi, Gianpaolo Fassino, Davide Porporato*

For the last few years, more than half the world's population has lived in cities; a turning point in society has been reached and humanity has changed its ancestral way of living. This book examines and considers these epochal social, cultural and economic changes and outlines a cognitive framework through which the cities, using a widely tested methodology, can discover the cultural and gastronomic heritage of their own territories as trajectories for a creative future. The collection, survey and communication of the cultural data belonging to the order of orality – in our case the traditional gastronomic resources – can be a precious capital of knowledge, a resource of memory, of identity and of heritage for the present which, now as never before, feels the need to digitally connect with its analogical past.

The University of Gastronomic Sciences and Slow Food, together with a partnership of public bodies and cultural associations – beginning from the experience of the *Granaries of Memory* and the *Ark of Taste* – have organised a vast and in-depth research project in Croatia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland and Italy, as part of the Interreg *Central Europe SlowFood-Ce: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* project. The aim of the study was to supply theoretical and practical solutions for the capitalisation and valorisation of the gastronomic cultures, in various geographical and cultural contexts.

The volume aims to be a working guide, a sort of manual that gives the basic instructions through which to approach the study of the urban gastronomic traditions, always starting with the city/countryside relationships. Thanks to the practical, applicative, experimental nature of the survey model proposed, the aim is to provide an agenda through which other cities in Europe and throughout the world, can set up virtuous processes of capitalisation and valorisation of their gastronomic resources, in a profitable

and virtuous dialogue between the rural and the urban dimensions. A dialogue that will make it possible to restore to the city the spatial-temporal rhythms of the countryside, and with them the reproductive and affective traits that sustainable and supportive food preserves for humanity who rediscovers in nature the values that complexity seems to have lost for ever.

In particular, the first chapter *Food: a European culture and identity heritage*, invites us to consider how the ethno-anthropological cultural heritages can become an excellent starting point for triggering good, clean and fair community practices. The text deals with key questions of the contemporary debate on topics such as the relationship between ethno- and biodiversity and the bond between city and countryside, developing specific anthropological aspects that are also the basis of the gastronomic sciences. Never before has the scientific concept of memory been of such theoretical and methodological interest. The oppositional concepts of orality and writing have been complexified and it seems opportune to reconsider these categories in the light of the new technologies that tend to make oral that which seemed the exclusive dominion of the written. In the anthropological field many experiments have been carried out through the gathering, the cataloguing and the communication of cultural data that belongs to the order of orality. This heritage of knowledge becomes a resource of memory, of identity and of heritage for the contemporary world, which has an increasing need to connect technologically with the past in order to define new trajectories of a creative future, of narrations that know how to combine the myth with the innovations born of the intelligence of the present.

The second part – *Seeking gastronomic know-how. Ethnography in the Interreg SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food project* – provides an understanding, through a sort of ethnography of the project, of the way the theoretical and methodological framework of *Slow Food-CE* came about and how the fieldwork in the five urban contexts surveyed: Brno, Dubrovnik, Kecskemét, Krakow and Venice was conducted. Starting with the analysis of the individual local environments, a shared transnational working method was established. Following the initial, challenging, phase of study and cataloguing of the urban cultural and gastronomic heritages, the project continued with the planning and organisation of good practices to valorise these heritages (sustainable tourism, cultural events, food education, public markets, etc.). The chapter presents the basic stages of this work: an experimental methodology of knowledge and action that can become – we hope – a model for the interpretation and valorisation of the cultural gastronomic heritages of other cities.

The third chapter of the book, *Collecting gastronomic cultures, learning online. An operative approach for Slow Food-Central Europe*, describes the training activities that characterised the *SlowFood-CE* project. Based on an ongoing discussion between social actors who were working together for the first time, within an innovative theoretical and methodological framework, this course found a key ally in multimedia and interactive technologies. The chapter illustrates the structure of the course and the principal content of the teaching units. In the appendices there are a series of questionnaires used in the qualitative interviews, and the surveys designed to catalogue the gastronomic biodiversities.

The book is the result of shared and communal work but the volume is divided as follows: the author of the first chapter is by Piercarlo Grimaldi, the second by Gianpaolo Fassino, the third by Davide Porporato.

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We authors owe many debts assumed during the writing of the volume and, above all, during the research work that took place in the previous years. Particular thanks go, undoubtedly, to the European partners who shared with the University of Gastronomic Sciences the inspiring challenges of the Interreg project *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food*. A wide-ranging and complex partnership, formed of representatives of public bodies and the community. In recalling the names of the partner institutions and associations we wish to mention also and above all the organisational, cultural and affective intelligence of the individual people involved – it is impossible to list them all here – who, in the various cities, accompanied us in the project and shared and experimented the working method established: in Croatia, the City of Dubrovnik Development Agency and Kinookus Association, in The Czech Republic, the Tourist Authority South Moravia and Slow Food Brno, in Hungary, the Municipality of Kecskemét and Kiskunság Tradition-bound, Artisans and Tourism Association, in Poland, the Municipality of Krakow and, although only for the first year of the project, Slow Food Poland. As Italians, allow us to emphasise that the opportunity of working with the City of Venezia – ‘the pearl of Italy’ – was not merely a profitable occasion for study and research, but also an honour and a particular pleasure.

The associate partners also offered precious support for the collective work: City of Dubrovnik, Ston Tourist Board, City of Brno, Małopolska Tourism Organisation, Academy of Physical Education and Tourism in

Krakow (Tourism and Leisure Faculty), European Institute for the History and Cultures of Food, Europa Nostra.

Slow Food – represented in particular by Paola Roveglia, Serena Alaimo and Elisa Peirone – was once again an essential travelling companion in this adventure of awareness and understanding. Raffaella Ponzio, Alice Pettenò and Michela Lenta contributed significantly to the setting up of the work method, starting with the *Ark of Taste* experience. The entire structure of the University of Gastronomic Sciences accompanied with professionalism the development of the *SlowFood-CE* project: we owe an informal thank you to the director Stefania Ribotta, to Chiara Monge, Serena Rinaldi and Maurizio Tomalino, who followed us step by step in the complex management that always accompanies these vast and multifaceted international projects. At the Unisg Laboratory *Granaries of Memory* the work of Luca Ghiardo and Luca Percivalle was precious.

The president of the University of Gastronomic Sciences, Carlo Petrini, shared our belief that it was necessary to use scientific methods to survey the gastronomic heritages of the cities of our beloved Europe – as witnessed by the foreword to the book that he has offered – he gave precious support not only to the authors, but to the entire SlowFood-CE partnership. After all, the name itself of this project shows how the work and the ideas of Carlo Petrini were the seed from which this research bloomed: and for this, we thank him.

Food: a European culture and identitary heritage

by *Piercarlo Grimaldi*

1. Culture and memories

The concept of memory is one of the scientific categories that, more than any other, has traversed the numerous academic fields to become a key disciplinary sector¹. A topic that is now facing an important change of direction in the evolutionary journey of humanity, coinciding with the disappearance of memory based on orally transmitted knowledge in favour of the written and the digital. A difficult moment of transition that requires a strong, demanding and pondered commitment in order to glean what remains of the past and understand how we can use it in the new, reinvented course of memory. A process now based on stable knowledge props that define and change the immutability and, at the same time, on the transience of oral knowledge, proposing interpretations not yet fully understood that pertain to new forms and practices of historicity of data. Then again, inventing tradition is a concept on which much work has been done and that has opened up interesting processes of knowledge (Hobsbawm, Ranger, 1983).

New advanced models of storage, elaboration, transmission and communication of memory abound. While on the one hand, at first glance, they seem to offer scientific solutions of memories that challenge time, on the other, the externalisation of the oral memory based on information that flows from one generation to another, seems to dispense with excessively naïve certainty a heritage that allowed us to be who we were. The artificial nature of the digital technology underlies this memory project and seems to become a heritage that no longer belongs to the individual, but to a technological programme that hands over to politics and to the global powers that

¹ Some of the considerations in this chapter derive from texts, discussion materials and work elaborated during the recent years of my study and research activities.

possess the new technologies needed to store and critically control the information, a knowledge that is either collective, or is not. A decisive stage of sharing on the web, of multimedia virtual social relationships, a new way of interpreting knowledge that can also foster a desirable willingness to consider a holistic framework, a theoretical and methodological agenda that allows us to critically examine the topic through different approaches, in an organic, systemic and transdisciplinary way. A method that allows us to define, through the joint contribution of the single disciplines, a means of reaching new, creative and original, interconnected knowledge.

Memory is a keystone of the construction of time and place. It is a constitutive part of the rhythms that define the evolutionary process of man and of his becoming humanity (Leroi-Gourhan, 1964-1965). It is also the theme that underlies the research that follows, because it is within our collective capacity to maintain the memories of the world alive, those past, those that make up the present and those that are to come, on which man constructs his future (Le Goff, 1979; Augustine of Hippo, 2003; Severi, 2018; Di Pasquale, 2019).

2. The orality of the gesture and of the word: from anthropological urgency to oblivion

It was during the nineteen-seventies that the topic of the tradition of orality, of popular culture and folklore appeared with renewed and unheard of commitment in the scientific and political debate of the West. A new anthropological vision of the cultures began to impose itself on an increasingly vast academic and social debate. The traditions that had interested the romantic progress of the nineteenth century, assumed ideological connotations with profound political implications. At the turning point of the seventies, popular culture, mostly considered a nostalgic whiplash, *neige d'antan* with which to amuse oneself, a pleasant flavour that lingers on the tongue, was instead recognised, interpreted and valorised as a subaltern culture oppositional to the dominant hegemonic one (Cirese, 1973, 1997; Lombardi Satriani, 1980). In Italy, many scholars and academics have discussed the strong upsurges of reasoning and developments in the youth and student movements of the second half of the sixties, which then also became mass revolt, the workers' struggle against a model of exploitation, of fragmented factory and city time. A revolt that challenged the dominant culture of the time and tried to recover a model of freedom that also intersected a new interpretation of tradition. In this generalised questioning of a

society considered authoritarian and falsely democratic, the reference framework developed by Antonio Gramsci in the twenty years he spent in fascist prisons prevails. The declared aim of the imprisonment was «to stop his mind working», it was to fail. In fact, Gramsci wrote *Quaderni del carcere* (Prison Notebooks) which contain extraordinary reflections and notes on folklore that interpret popular culture and tradition in an original manner, as a heritage of a subordinate condition, the fruit of orality, gesture and the word still present in the peasant world, of which he recognised oppositional traits, otherness and artistic forms of significant and autonomous expressive interest. Gramsci captures the political need to collect this knowledge, which is substantively unstable because it passes from mouth to ear, from one person to another, from one generation to the next, an inexhaustible supply chain of knowledge that is transformed as it passes from mouth to mouth, while remaining unchanged over time because the mythological traits that underlie the project of knowledge find in the ancestry of the explanations of the world the immutability of the narration of the human journey.

This theoretical framework continued to accompany the course of knowledge and the recovery of ethno-anthropological knowledge throughout the 1980s. Then the Gramscian debate that represented a novelty in the framework of anthropological studies, a fruitful Italian way of interpreting cultures faded and was shelved with the fall of Marxist ideology (Cirese, 1977). However, in the meantime, the project was taking root in nations and on continents that still had to deal with issues and processes related to industrialisation and overcoming poverty. Gramsci's interpretation became a novelty that democratised the Marxist hegemonic panorama and is still an active part of this elaboration, which seeks, within a socialist vision of the means of production, the redemption from poverty and the achievement of an industrialisation that evens the score with first world countries who have already experienced these productive, social and cultural changes (Cirese, 1976). In the West, the interest in cultural heritage has been structured through the major themes of the collection, storage, organisation and dissemination of information. A path that has also given rise to interesting anthropological concentration on in-the-field surveys, the collection of rural knowledge perceived to be in transition and, above all, on the great exodus from the countryside to the cities, which deprived the people of orality and tradition. Scholars and the national and local political institutions were led to work in this direction by the shared conviction that the world was now experiencing an anthropological urgency; the need to save what remained of the culture of the gesture and of the word, which had preceded the story

and had been part of the story and which written works were now relegating to oblivion. It is on the principle of the stability of the medium of communication that the indispensable presuppositions for the construction of science, part of the epistemic principles of the knowledge of reason, are also based.

However, it was during the last two decades leading up to the hairpin bend of the Millennium that digital technology and multimedia communication distorted the consolidated current opinion that writing had decreed the death of orality. Previously, the word and then the gesture found a perfect representation of reality in the new techniques for documenting cultural facts. Film, which, until a few decades earlier had been an expensive project used by specialised personnel and researchers, became the most user-friendly means of documenting the gesture and the word as widely as possible (Artoni, 1992). With extreme rapidity and ease, it was possible to film testimonies, production processes and rituals, storing them in memories that knew no limits and therefore utopically preserved the knowledge of the world. Technologies have, with unexpected speed, moved from computer to mobile and the Internet has reached every corner of the world, making it a global country, a digital community in which it is the algorithm that recognises man and not vice versa, as occurred in the analogous community of the spoken word.

Meanwhile, over the course of a few decades, the imperative anthropological urgency and therefore the need to gather from the last generations who inherited oral and gestural knowledge from parents, grandparents, the extended family and the community definitively lost contact with the language. Imagery whose furthest roots sank into the first expressive traits that finally induced the separation of human traits from the animality that possessed them.

Nearly twenty years on from the start of the new century, we can certainly argue that the anthropological anxiety of saving what can be saved has been overcome in practice, because today there are no longer generations that have known and experienced primary orality. Today, people over seventy or eighty years old, when interviewed, have a vague and confused knowledge of their ancestors' world. Usually, the memories are confusedly interpolated with a televised communication that the latest generations have experienced in a hegemonising manner. Memory is generally the fruit, the result, of persistent traces of a splendid, visually appealing project from the television or the media in general, with smatterings of some traditional knowledge no longer tested. Remnants of a second orality, third hand, that

has little or nothing to do with their past, but that impose themselves by drowning out the orality chain.

In recent years, some decades later, it is impossible to retrace one's scientific steps, to conduct investigations on specific and precise themes pertaining to the world of tradition, orality, to the magical and religious world of the countryside, to the popular imagination. The most recent experience of reviewing those fields of research made us aware that when we tried to collect the same testimonies, driven by the instance of anthropological urgency, was no longer feasible. The elderly people interviewed at the time – in the nineteen seventies and eighties – had passed on and the younger generations of that time, who no longer practiced primary and secondary orality, ignored the oral narratives of the community and, above all, they transmitted nothing to their children, delegating to the television and subsequently to the digital world the training that in the past occurred through the family; forming new generations that built their knowledge of the future within a scholastic world of education, based on writing. This epochal transition, empirical verification of the biblical fear of the millennium, has been irreparably accomplished and now, that could be collected, in fact, has been collected. Through the last generation, it was possible to gather the proverbs that characterised the peasant language of tradition, to interpret the dense mythical knowledge that today risks being merely depleted linguistic blocks of the repetition of an orality without content. It is obvious to some who possess a firm and certain memory of sayings no longer used, of the orality of their fathers, that it is still possible to find it. During our field investigations, we have all encountered some witness who still possesses a fertile memory of the rural past and we resort to this more and more insistently to interpret shadows of an increasingly erased memory, progressively obscured by oblivion. In the same way, it is evident that it is still possible to find areas and enclaves to mine, from which to extract interpretative fragments of dwindling expressions of tradition that otherwise we would no longer be able to understand. However, scientifically we have realised that the comparative model with which we methodologically manage to find confirmation or negation of the information gathered because it is the result of a collective ethnic memory, is increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to achieve at our latitude.

If this is so (and we are certain that it *is* so), it is clear that anthropological fieldwork must find new theoretical, technical and methodological horizons so as to be able to retrieve information and design new interpretative paths. A challenge that is still to be faced, but of which, we would like, somehow, to be part, starting from this mandatory awareness of new scien-

tific strategies, even with anthropologically small steps. In this brief outline, we have tried to define the state of the art of traditional culture, of what is present today amongst the generations who are building and defining the future and the oral memory of the past. The latest field investigations of an anthropological terrain that we travelled just a generation earlier tell us of a universe of tradition that has permanently disappeared. In other words, we have acquired the certainty of having reached an evolutionary bend in the road, of which we record radical, profound and disturbing cultural transformations. If the past of gesture and word is only more oblivion, it is from this assumption of knowledge and responsibility that we must start to design new scientific strategies that can help us to face this difficult, epoch-making moment; so that man can recover, not waste, the past acquired so far, and find new ways to start a renewed memory that capitalises on traditional values. It is not with the certification by UNESCO and other praiseworthy institutions, nor with the museum of the world, definitively transforming it into a «harbourage of dead civilisations» (Augé, 2014, p. 101) that we can identify new active paths of tradition. The museums, the protected areas, the protected sites, if they become reserves, monuments, documents of a past consigned to memory, are not a path to be pursued at all costs. A memory that is a testimony of a future realised and of trajectories that tradition as a successful innovation contains, can be a prospect to pursue, serving a good purpose. Museums, ethnographic collections and the themes represented are undoubtedly a positive chain of knowledge if they lie within a critically founded perspective aimed at interpreting the context that the change brings: a framework of development that our field research must not neglect (Porporato, 2007).

3. SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food

The scientific opportunity for dealing with this essential topic, seeking a new and original model of community life in the elective reasons of the past, in the increasingly felt need for cogent understanding of the rhythms of nature, was offered to us by participation in the European project *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food*. This research project starts from cities that in various periods, due to the capricious history of the construction of Europe, were committed to seeing the budding of gastronomic traditions as a new heritage of culture and identity of the metropolises. An innovative journey that tends to travel in the times and places of communities, seeking elective affinities that virtuously link tradition with social

complexity, the values of the past with those of the present, the affectivity of living according to nature with the instrumentality of artificial living. Oxymoronically, we could summarise the research process as the need to make cities less disoriented.

3.1. To the east of our orient, the west of our occident

To the east of our orient, the west of our occident: we all see the sunrise and set, the light and dark of the day in a daily alternation of nature. This reminds us that we occupy a place in the world that is neither the first nor the last. A single, infinitely small dot on the globe, memory of our memories that invite us to ponder who we were, who we are and who we will be. To remind us that the result of these temporal trajectories is the fruit of a single solidarity of which the cultural traits, our ethnicity, is nothing more than values in which we must recognise ourselves as a universal principle of cohabitation.

A simple consideration from which to start a search that stresses that the cultural specificities can be read as a meta-language of diversity and at the same time of universality. The method and techniques of life histories and autobiographies lies behind an in-depth, multifaceted and complex qualitative investigation in search of values, lifestyles, rites of passage, to identify the logical and affective reasons that can direct, guide and plan the eco-sustainable development of the five cities in the European survey (Brno, Dubrovnik, Kecskemét, Krakow and Venice). They represent stories, experiences, epoch, past, cultures that are the foundation of new footprints of humanity. An original project that looks into the heart of the communities through appropriate methodological spectacles, to better understand and interpret the world, the horizon that we all share and that, with an increasingly collective consciousness, we feel to be in serious danger. That nature is rebelling against the selfishness of man is increasingly evident in the eyes of the world. The climate is changing at a great rate and the threat of standing exposed under a sky that does not want us anymore, because we do not love it, is becoming increasingly noticeable. Yet man does not yet seem determined to face the question of ecology, of a just, sustainable relationship with the nature that surrounds us, nourishes us and allows us to live. Foolishness and selfishness are still the vices to which we all resort, chasing after a foolish vision of the world. The qualities that we need to face the new and swiftly approaching global drama that threatens the survival of the next generations and therefore the children and grandchildren for whom we fear

the dawn of tomorrow, still do not meet with a consensus sufficient to make us believe that soon we will see a new, collective, sustainable, equitable and inclusive project for the world (Pope Francis, 2015; Petrini, 2014, 2015). In the meantime, we must all work to form the collective conscience that we lack today, also starting from research like this, so that, in the new relationship between city and countryside, between naturalness and artificiality, we can find an unexpected harmony of logical and emotional intent.

3.2. Metropolises: into the countryside and back again

The hypothesis of the research is that cities, the metropolises of the European Union, increasingly represent a space and a time of postmodernity ready to hybridize, to become culturally fruitful by seeking and fostering implants of traditional forms and practices that hold values pertaining to the world of orality, of the sacred and of quality. The city, having explored the countryside as an affective commutator of metropolitan instrumental living, as a resource for rediscovering in the space-time rhythms of nature, the values that the city, with its artificial and chronometric rhythms, does not contemplate, today appears ready to import positively and actively the tangible and intangible assets carrying the qualities that they sought in the countryside. New geometries of visible and invisible borders redesigned according to new and ancient traditions (Fassino, 2018a). Over the last few decades, the farming world has developed a project of structural and value nourishment in the city with the creation of a system of small farms, family-run farms and an increasingly shorter food supply chain which exports nature and integrates it with the metropolitan system. A path generally dictated by a subjective vision that the people of the countryside devised without a political directive, demonstrating how an intelligent desire to contribute can help open the city to the resources that nature dispenses. Cities and countryside do not necessarily have to be experienced and interpreted as logically opposing realities. The natural and cultural resources that seem to be the constitutive features of the rural world can also be part of the metropolitan reality. Obviously, this path of engagement with the metropolis must pass through cultural procedures that allow us to communicate with the knowledge of the city, long considered a place of instrumentality, because it is not permeable to the traditional knowledge that the countryside expresses. For a long time it has been rightly theorised that the search for nature that governs traditional communities was the source of a return to circular space-time rhythms that bear a mythical vision of the world, of the

sacred (Eliade, 1949, 1956). Linear time originates in the city where industrialisation and the process of Taylorisation introduced a quantitative time, devoid of the qualitative traits typical of circular time, through the chronometric division of labour (Bravo, 1984).

Until now, the search for the time that still lives in the countryside – nature – was the expression of a bereavement, of a loss of values that were part of the tradition betrayed by the metropolitan complexity. A life choice that severed a recent past because, often, only one or two generations separate the individual from having always been part of the countryside, of the time of nature. If we observe the results of the agrarian inquiry into the conditions of the agricultural class (Jacini, 1881-1886) which analyses the rural condition of the Italian countryside in the late nineteenth century, we can see how the four-fifths of the population of the nascent nation lived in small communities and worked within the rural world. Therefore, it is evident that almost all of those who live in the city today come from a countryside that was depopulated by the rural diaspora, the biblical exodus especially of the 1950s and 1960s. The search for past times initially considered extreme nostalgia and later as a real strategic need to recover the oscillation between city and country, the desire to find the abandoned community of one's ancestors, is a consolidated epochal fact (Bravo, 2005; Grimaldi, 1993). A community that bears witness to the passage of those who are part of it and that has a collective memory that narrates and remembers people, whether alive or dead, keeps alive a testimony that makes both worlds participative and unique. A heritage of sharing of two times and spaces that the intelligence of the present, the intelligence of the metropolis does not know at all.

A process that we believe is reversing the spatial-temporal trajectories that have governed it because the two opposite poles seem to commute their vision of the world. The city appears mature to receive and dialogue with the apparatus of tradition, reserving a welcome and an interpretative capacity previously unforeseen. What is more, new forms of identity are the result of conjugated experiments of ecology that can be pursued in the metropolitan complexity.

3.3. Biodiversity and ethno- cultural diversity

The vast cultural quadrant that includes the five cities surveyed in the field is the bearer of profound ethno-cultural diversity that are strictly binding on the concept of biodiversity. Cultures that intersect giving life to an

overall synchronic and diachronic framework not always identifiable and comparable with other cultural quadrants. A heritage that is the fruit of deep historical, social and cultural roots, of hereditary processes of long duration, altogether of a *Mitteleuropa* that directs the horizon of our cities. A vision that helps us to understand and act on the metamorphosis of the cultural processes that define the complex relationships between city and countryside. A project that can no longer be derogated is to research into the diverse ethno-cultural and bio- heritages that concern and belong to the city, as a long history of transformations. At the same time, it is essential to import into the metropolises those aspects of nature that are now above all the fruit of agricultural practices that pay increasing ecological attention to food with ethnic and biological values. In this case, it is a matter of planting the generous and sustainable rural roots in the city cement, perhaps just one of the ways to erode a dull agglomeration of resistance to the culture of nature. Since recent times, just over a decade, more than half of the world's population has lived in a city, a disturbing statistical datum on which we must reflect, because it increasingly marks the *caesura* that man is carrying out with the earth, nature and the world that nourished and accompanied him in his evolutionary process (Raisson, 2010). Among the rich countries, including the cities involved in our survey, the phenomenon of urbanisation is an epochal factor with a long history and it is expected that, within a few decades, much of the population will abandon the villages and communities we surveyed for metropolises that have not yet elaborated cultures of collective living, that do not possess imaginary narratives of the new areas of co-existence. This is a further, urgent reason to start from our precarious ethno-cultural and biodiversity to protect an increasingly orphaned human nature and to nurture the new trajectories of existence and survival that it sees in the instrumental resources of the city. Be that as it may, our research has a scientific hope as a mission, because it tries to valorise all that nature has bequeathed us to conserve it at all costs, because it represents the most precious heritage that man possesses.

3.4. A manual of humanity

The purpose of this volume is to supply a sort of manual that guides the individual research units towards a cognitive and protocolled theoretical and foundational course. On the conceptual level, the volume deals with certain anthropological topics that are the basis of the hypotheses and of the research framework. With regard to the method of investigation, we chose

to work on qualitative data, in particular and above all, the technique of life stories and autobiographies. A scientific course that we have designed and experimented for some time at the University of Gastronomic Sciences and with Slow Food.

For more than a decade, the *Granaries of Memory* have formed a workshop of excellence that now includes more than one thousand autobiographies, visible and critically analysable online. The theoretical and organisational framework has already originated a complex and analytical set of manuals that has made it possible to organise research workshops at other universities and international centres of learning. From this protocolled scientific project we began to prepare a manual that was a practical guide not only for the research units of the five cities, but also a training course for other areas, other cultural and ethnic quadrants, where protection and valorisation of the cultural data was undertaken. In particular, projects relating to the gastronomy – which are important at this critical moment of our collective passage between different times and spaces.

4. The cultural pillars of the research

The research explores issues central to a better understanding of the fact that cities no longer need to seek affective resources on which to base their identity outside their own milieu. The city, the metropolis, after decades spent searching for qualitative resources outside the urban context, in circular time and the sacred rhythms of nature, today offers promising alternative experiments. A social and cultural workshop where it is possible to hypothesise that the commuting between different times and spaces sought outside metropolitan borders has led to the development of a consciousness and that the city is now ready to experiment with forms of aggregation, of association and of communities that they looked for elsewhere. A hypothesis that we can sum up in the question «where to find the lost city?». An anthropological question whose answer, as Marc Augé has authoritatively pointed out, is all in «rethinking the local» (2014, p. 58). Today it is the countryside that looks with interest to the city and contributes to inverting or at least to balancing, the pendulum that, while it previously swung towards the countryside to find meaning, today also looks at the city as the ultimate value of hopes for the future. Food, gastronomy, the short-chain fruits of the land that surrounds the city walls, are increasingly becoming a part of the new metropolitan life. Small virtuous steps, good practices of a new model, of lifestyles that seem to be more and more insistently

knocking on city gates; at the same time open up new paths marked by an economy of equitable material and non-material solidarity. Leading to new values inspired by the ecology of the mind and the body that run through the two actors: the city and the countryside.

The theoretical project and the fieldwork is based on the conceptual pillars that we find in the title. In giving an account of the results of the survey, we consider it appropriate to analyse some of these useful categories also to better interpret the volume's function as a manual. Concepts that are certainly useful and that should be shared with the five research units of the Central Europe cultural quadrant to direct the understanding of the creative and original re-constructive model of the metropolis as a place where the values of tradition actively participate in the construction of new paradigms of coexistence between diachronic traits of different cultures.

4.1. Cultural assets and cultural heritage

The concept of cultural heritage is an important part of the demo-ethno-anthropological sciences and has become increasingly central since the second half of the twentieth century. It is a theme that has authoritatively traversed the Millennium, becoming central to the thinking of post-modern society that, in the capitalization of tangible and intangible cultural assets, finds the reasons to initiate a new course, also economic, of society. The recognition that UNESCO assigns to the excellent assets in the world was, until a few decades ago, considered little more than a medal that did not seem to involve important economic implications if not vital to the territory. Today, it is the desired fruit of places that see in it logical and affective reasons to protect and enhance the territory on which the cultural asset bases and defines its cultural identity. Two concepts: cultural assets and cultural heritages that represent the passing and the change of meaning of an anthropological category that in passing from asset to heritage acquires the function of inheritance, of value generated by past generations and as such is proposed as an inalienable resources for the generations to come (Bravo, Tucci, 2006).

It is now widely recognised that in the Western post-industrial societies, the demo-ethno-anthropological cultural heritages are seen as fundamental assets not only for human knowledge and history but also as inherited capital, a succession flow, as Thomas Piketty (2014) suggests, a vital asset for the nation's economic development. This interest relates to knowledge long held to be beliefs, superstitions, objects of everyday life strongly linked to

the subordination of the traditional rural world. The industrialisation that bases its development on procedures concerning writing, besides stripping the rural world of the tradition of labour attracted by the *magnificent fortunes and progress* that Leopardi saw in the metropolises, based on the factory, tends to separate these cultures from their pre-historical foundations, even leading to their total disappearance. An epochal trajectory functional to a civilization founded on the fragmentation of work, on the division of knowledge that deprives man of that expressive creativity that orality has cultivated in his essential contribution to the evolutionary path, to the incessant progress of humanity. This is an expectation that today – we are certain – has not been realised, because over the last few decades an increasingly transparent awareness has grown up that the heritage of the tradition can represent a fundamental resource for the future of companies, especially mature ones, those that have interpreted, even productively, the quantitative and qualitative properties of writing.

In this framework of traditional recovery, communication technologies have played and continue to play an important role. Speech has returned to being an expressive model that tends to the re-hegemonisation of social traits to the extent that they are increasingly becoming an indispensable mould for culturally promoting goods, production, operating virtuous processes of expressive and substantial value. Being a digital native today means being part of the generation whose main language involves the transmission of information on digital media, languages that are not cogent to the forms and practices of writing received in legacy by the post-war generations, those who have abandoned and, in some ways betrayed, the last orality in favour of the written text.

4.2. Narrated heritage, liberated heritage

With the consolidation of the concept of cultural heritages, the narrative capacity enters the debate, a way of telling stories used at the time of orality, of the relaxed, confidential story, of a text that made use of the narrative characters that educated and shaped, they sanctioned the popular beliefs through fairy tales, stories. In recent years, the social sciences, the knowledge processes that relate to disciplines that are also far from each other, have been increasingly questioning the concept of narration and storytelling and how it is possible to scientifically protocol this path of knowledge which, in many ways, escapes the scientific rules even of the present. In societies still traversed by active elements of tradition, there are

people whose function in the community relies on knowing how to narrate, in knowing how to memorize long epic oral tales, with a mnemotechnical peculiarity based on the recurrence and the analogies that the language of orality suggests. They are the storytellers, the griots, the bards, the epic singers and other figures recognized by the community, who know the oral rules handed down from generation to generation with the gesture, the word and the images. Starting from the representation of the world, they oxymoronicly embroider the immutability of variability that, in their expressive forms and practices, many times historically conflict with the rules of writing (Ong, 1986; Havelock, 1987; Artoni, 1996, 2005; Goody, 1977, 2000).

A narrative richness, therefore, that on the one hand tends towards transformation, if not to disparity, in the measure in which tradition is subject to strong structural changes, while on the other it seems increasingly to be a fundamental cognitive need of the society of the present: a communication poetic that in the traditional structure of the story sees a fundamental, indispensable resource to promote and enrich the product with values. The commodity that without added emotional qualities turns out to be less and less competitive and appreciated by the consumer, what today is increasingly considered a co-producer (Petrini, 2005), finds in the narrative the intangible reasons for assuming a defined identity, a profile authoritative that distinguishes it and makes it free: therefore narrated heritages, liberated heritages. It is from this oral framework, an expression of identity of plural territories, of spaces and times that give rise to the substantial reasons that contribute to defining the new narrative language that contemporary society seeks. At the end of the Millennium, a widespread awareness of roots, land and country gradually progressed around themes such as environmental protection, ecology, economic and social sustainability of crop and cultural cycles and led to the establishment of a new language on food. A language that returns to innovation as a ritual in the new expressive forms of the city, in function of the increasingly evident imposition of food in the everyday dialectic and of the exceptional (Grimaldi, 2012a).

4.3. Slow Food: a case study

The *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* research project explains in its very title the pillars that support the theoretical framework and the *terroir*. With regard to Slow Food, it is necessary to ponder its brief but intense history and to understand the principle reasons that make this praiseworthy association of free persons a valorous project for

the future. Slow Food is an institution born *in tempore non suspecto*, not in the wake of already acquired knowledge about food and its complex and scientific original interpretation of the society of how it works and how it is transformed. Thirty years have passed since, in order to give back to humanity the happiness that comes from tasting life with reflexive slowness, people began to think about good practices of food sovereignty, the right and freedom of every individual to equally share that which the earth gives us. Traces of virtuous paths that in the small town of Bra, outpost of the hills described by Pavese and Fenoglio, tried to define a course, at that time the preserve of small groups, of sporadic academic reflections around the theme of food, as an indispensable cultural heritage. Food was also a theme for overcoming the dramatic shortfall that had followed the hopes of freedom and democracy claimed by the youth of the world in the late 1960s. Gastronomy became a theme through which to recover pleasure, a significant feature of the protest and at the same time, it matured the idea that food traversed and united the whole world, a daily problem of hunger and abundance, of democracy and authoritarianism, of equity and inequality. The contribution that Slow Food has made since its foundation is of great importance and the organisation increasingly directs its attention towards a critical, interpretative knowledge of food with substantial ethical contours. The patrimonial excellence of Slow Food can be traced back to four trajectories that distinguish it and make it become a project that can, as in this research, be a heritage of knowledge of original evolutionary perspectives:

- the creation of a new language;
- making the city aware of the countryside;
- '68 activist origins;
- eco- and biodiverse food.

4.3.1. The creation of a new language

In just a few years, the association took on a recognised international position and benefitted from the authoritative creation of a new expressive code by an important neuroscientist and professor of Cognitive and Behavioural Biology at the California Institute of Technology in Pasadena. In developing his study of consciousness, Christof Koch speaks of language as a peculiar human trait: «True language enables *Homo sapiens* to represent, manipulate, and disseminate arbitrary symbols and concepts. Language leads to cathedrals, the Slow Food movement, the theory of general relati-

ty, and *The Master and Margarita*. Such things are beyond the capabilities of our animal friends» (Koch, 2012, p. 38).

The common thread that unites Slow Food and the fundamental expressions of humanity is a just recognition that enriches the movement, which bases its logical and affective reasons on the constitutive values of food. Language is not just a set of rules, of words. Language is a faculty of the mind, a grid through which to think, to live the world. We can ideally say that the passage to the new Millennium has marked, in this sense, a fundamental bend in the world. For this reason, language can be considered the deep base of our relationship with other men, with the earth, with its fruits. Our thoughts develop in language and, through it the great masterpieces, the great space-time changes are made possible. Its evolution marks the passing of eras: from orality to writing, from the language of stones to that of parchment, the book, the digital, tracing a complex evolutionary path between past and future, realising the present. The transformation of which we have been witnesses and actors is linked to thinking and living food. In less than a century, Europe and the West have seen the setting of a world, that of the rural tradition, marked by hunger, darkness and cold, in which food was experienced as a precious resource, medicine, heritage of the family and the community. The emergence of a new, modern, industrial society, marked by abundance, comfort, has rapidly transformed food into a commodity that often has no cultural value, the object of a chain of mercantile exchanges, driven by careless logic of price and power. If on the one hand we have embraced the overcoming of hunger and endemic poverty as a great victory, on the other we soon realized the repercussions of this new model of life, based on the environmental and social unsustainability, on the absurdity of the economy of the ostentatious waste.

On this basis the new language was formulated, which embraces categories such as those of green economy, fair trade and which saw the Slow Food movement as one of its most important creative expressions. This language speaks of territory and roots, of environmental sustainability, of social and food justice, of food as the highest form of democracy and freedom, of a renewed relationship between science and technology, of men who eat food, and not vice versa – for, to paraphrase the words of Carlo Petrini, who was the creative soul of this new language, in search of a direction of sustainable, good, clean and fair meaning, the ultimate figure of common action (2009). A linguistic project of the future that can really contribute to changing tomorrow and that, in the end, finds its originality, its deeper substratum in the fact that it is the fruit and generator of the nar-

ration we are discussing, of a harmonious path to organize, integrating languages considered oppositional and distant in space and time up to now. We are therefore faced with a new mnemonics that subsumes the various technologies that pass from orality to writing, aimed at intercepting and processing what Claude Lévi-Strauss (1955, 1964) could define a new «fabulative function», its own narration.

4.3.2. Making the city aware of the countryside

However, seen today, it is evident that the true transformation behind Slow Food was the realisation, when the city sought the countryside as an affective and identity resource that urban life denied, that the metropolis could also become a place of welcome. That it could open up to what at the time seemed mere nostalgia that the key to interpreting the new world could be found in food, the food of tradition that captured the slowness, the contemplation, the space-time rhythms substituting those of chronometrics. Perhaps the Trojan horse has already entered the city, the walls that symbolized hostility towards nature have been demolished and today the metropolis seems to breathe a new air, that of the slowness that starts with daily eating to become the everyday life of human existence.

4.3.3. '68 activist origins

The cultural and political origins of the gastronomic association were born in the extraordinary cultural soup of the late sixties, a universal movement of freedom, hope and democracy, of the lack of prohibition and in the cogent Gramscian graft to interpret the cultures of the tradition, the folklore. A historical trajectory of freedom that is also a constituent part of the project that has brought food to the attention of man and the world. A vital well-being that has been made over time by those who have not been invited to share the table from history, to those who do not even have the right to a well-deserved snack, a fragment of our daily eating which we always prepare with pleasure. A moment in our quadrant of the world to take a breath, which does not serve much to take away an evening hunger not yet expected but, rather, a well-deserved break in the happy interpretation of the senses that are part of our evolutionary trajectory not to be forgotten, even with a small well-deserved snack, reminding us that the term derives from the Latin *merēre* which means merit. An alimentary merit that in so

many parts of the world is not deserved, because it is denied by the struggle for survival of which food is a constitutive trait.

It is for this reason that we lingered in the second chapter to outline Gramsci's process of knowledge and interpretation of subordinate cultural facts. Pondering a cultural process with ideal and political implications that were part of a transformation whose deep roots still nourish the contemporary debate on cultural heritage as a legacy of a past that knows how to become a future, even though this development process, starting from the concept of cultural heritage, does not always remain historical cognition.

4.3.4. Eco- and biodiverse food

The movement immediately understood how important it was to safeguard the gastronomic ecodiversity that modernity and postmodernity foolishly tended to underestimate and to simplify, in a process of extreme and sometimes irrational rationalisation of the precious seeds of life that natural selection had given us. The *Ark of Taste* is an original project that has opened new paths of knowledge and conservation by investigating the products, foods, production processes, supply chains, forms and gastronomic practices that are disappearing. A path that has seen the choral participation of the members of the association worldwide. This pillar for safeguarding the world's biodiversity was followed by that of the *Granaries of Memory*.

A scientific scheme that follows two trajectories to protect the intangible heritage. Trajectories that inevitably tend to unite because salvation, memory, the continuity of biological and cultural varieties go hand in hand. They are part of a mutuality that supports, integrates, agglutinates the two trajectories in a single project that can be saved to the world by becoming the salvation of the world if fruit, result of this model of virtuous cultural and biological symbiosis.

4.4. *The University of Gastronomic Sciences*

The Slow Food movement originated, in 2004 in Pollenzo, a parish near Bra. It is home to the first university in the world that thematically places gastronomy declined in all its academic and scientific expectations at the centre of scientific interests. Although the University of Gastronomic Sci-

ences has a short academic history, in three decades of activity, it has contributed to making food a scientifically universal project, an academic path that has already demonstrated a strategic congruity with the discovery and revival of productive assets and ethical resources of great perspective and, more generally, in the processes of globalisation. The University has undertaken the difficult task of defining the disciplinary boundaries of gastronomy, of critically analysing the diachronic and synchronic path of this complex knowledge and of ensuring that, although until recently it was perceived as an imprecise science, based on shaky epistemological foundations; it is now endowed with solid theoretical and methodological apparatuses.

4.5. Food

Food is one of the biological and cultural devices that, together with sexuality, are the foundation of man's evolutionary path, from the dawn of his hominization process, yet, strange to say, it paradoxically does not pertain to the scientific consciousness of the world. The assumption of food is also largely based on the principle of happiness, on the fact that several times a day the senses of the individual practice a biological and affective counter-motion which relates to the history of man which is founded on pleasure and therefore, as suggests François Jacob, on «one of the most ingenious findings of evolution» (1978).

The possibility of having food and its appropriate and wise use was one of the constitutive traits that marked the space-time rhythms of our common path. Today our society seems to have forgotten this cultural direction which, even ritually, taught us to share bread in a thrust of common survival which should also be the deepest sign of the continuous search for sustainability, a relationship that does not see food as a warrior commodity, as a product of conquest, but as a patrimony of ethical values, solidarity that must be shared with everyone, even facing the risk of having to take less aggressive, less selfish food lifestyles, in which the individual well-being is not the cause of the other's malaise. A cognitive teaching in this sense comes to us from the Kwakiutl people of British Columbia, who associate hunger with greed «because this, like hunger without brakes, causes people to accumulate belongings much higher than their needs, often taking them away to others, who remain so deprived» (Robbins, 2009, p. 43). Eating therefore becomes an indigenous metaphorical measure of the world, which

allows this people to interpret the meaning of life and for us, to make itself a precious teaching.

The pioneering steps of the Napoleonic era by Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (1825) were the first scientific approaches to the theme of food. Obviously, even before that, there had been talk and writing about nutrition, but such gastronomic prefigurations, although they were important for the establishment of nutrition as a science, did not have an epistemological reference structure. Two thousand years ago Gaius Pliny II wrote in *Natural History*: «We will now begin to treat the most magnificent work of nature: we will expose man his food, and we will force him to admit that he is unknown what makes him live» (Pliny, XX, 1). An interesting reflection that, in some ways, is still part of the contemporary common sense, a contribution to the strategic hairpin, decisive for a liberated gastronomy (Petrini, 2013).

The post-modern era we are experiencing every day will be, as has already been said, in a perspective of progress, the harmonious outcome of the encounter between traditions and innovations, which may constitute the action and wisdom of a past to nourish the future. We must move towards the construction of a society that in shared food finds the reasons for new lines of research, with an eye to the construction of a global *societas* where food is not stolen from each other, where individual well-being that comes from proper nutrition can mean for a part of the world the desperate lack of sufficient calories to be in the world.

4.6. *Thinking holistically*

The term holism derives from the Ancient Greek word *holos*. The totality of the person is at the centre of the disciplines that investigate the body, mind and spirit. Jack London's Martin Eden reasoned holistically, when, during his thirsty and late journey towards «the correlation of knowledge, of all knowledge» as an expression of beauty, he asserted that: «All things were related to all other things from the farthest star in the wastes of space to the myriads of atoms in the grain of sand under one's foot. This new concept was a perpetual amazement to Martin, and he found himself engaged continually in tracing the relationships between all things under the sun and on the other side of the sun». The affinities of and between things are the building of consciousness to which the desire for knowledge of Martin Eden aspires, who had within himself «some childish notions, a few *half-baked sentiments*, and a lot of undigested beauty». An all-

encompassing journey, in which «And the *more he knew*, the *more passionately he admired* the universe, and life, and his own life in the midst of it all» (London, 1909). An example of how holism can open us to a critical interpretation of knowledge can also be drawn from a reflection by Gramsci on the well-known and abused statement by Feuerbach: «man is what he eats» (1975, pp. 883-886). In a brief note, Gramsci highlights the plurality of readings that can, in some way, indicate how only a critical vision of the topic shared by several disciplines can allow us to derive scientific benefit from such an extremely powerful as well as being an extremely powerful aphorism.

Holism is an interpretative project of knowledge that requires that each of us to strip off our corporate defences, to abandon the disciplinary partitions to which we are accustomed and on which we sometimes even founded academic careers, in order to share categories, paths of knowledge that, instead, must open up to the other in a vision of scientific critical cultural relativism stripped of the ethnocentric resistances and of their own precincts of knowledge. It is necessary to be interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary, to cross and explore the visible and invisible barriers of knowledge, to look for hybridisations and contaminations, aware that the distrust of this new direction of scientific meaning is merely a screen behind which we hide. We must commit ourselves to thinking about research that can put together, in authentically dialectical terms, scientific resources that are traditionally distant from each other.

5. Granaries of Memory

The introductory picture narrated so far provides an overall view of the theoretical and methodological traits that define the research. The enunciation of the hypotheses and the results of the investigation of the fieldwork seem to find confirmation in the light of the information elaborated, of the documents and, above all, the analyses of the autobiographies that make the process authoritative and confirmatory of the survey work.

Below is a brief conceptual framework of the multimedia system *Granaries of Memory* drawn from the study by the same name published in 2012 and entitled *Manuale di umanità 2.0* [Manual of Humanity 2.0] (Grimaldi, Porporato, 2012).

5.1. *The granaries: a digital mind to capitalise ethno- and biodiversity*

The *Granaries of Memory* valorise the gestures and words of the world. They are an external digital mind that allows us to face the many material and immaterial famines that increasingly seem to threaten the contemporary life of humanity. A resource for remembering what we are made of, to draw on to ensure that biodiversity and ethno-cultural diversity do not die, that they do not dissociate themselves, that they become the joint foundations on which to rebuild in a sustainable way the process of humanity that the present seems so foolishly to interrupt. The knowledge of *granaries* must nourish the memory, remembering that man has always based his evolutionary path on the concept of procreation, fertility, which passes from nature to man. The genetically modified organisms that contain within their seed the concept of sterility represent a sacred incurable anthropological disagreement because they are opposed to the cyclical thought of tradition, even magical-religious, and a fundamental collective direction of meaning. Therefore, recovering and conserving biodiversity means recovering and conserving ethno-cultural diversity. Two patrimonies that, as they nourished the memory, mother of thought, up to the present, continue holistically and cognitively to nourish that of the future that we see in danger, threatened by a vertigo of today aimed at erasing a past considered useless, outmoded. Instead, we have to work towards a vertigo of knowledge as Umberto Eco (2009) appropriately suggests.

5.2. *The memories of food*

Gestures and words, in particular those that relate to the forms and practices of food must be saved, archived and communicated because today the knowledge that passed from mother to daughter, from grandmother to nephew was interrupted. A fundamental cultural process that taught and transmitted the formularity of recipes, forms and practices of the kitchen: for example the expressions 'just enough', 'a fistful', the rosary and its multiples and submultiples, as empirically experimented rhythms to mark the cooking time of foods and equip them with the sacredness that today's oblivion of modernity has erased. It is therefore necessary to recover this knowledge and present it again with the support of images because it is the only way to give an overall organic sense of orality. The gastronomic culture risks losing one of the largest and in many ways forgotten cultural heritage if the stories of the elderly disappear with them.

The kitchen is the essence of our being: we know that we are what we eat and eat what we are. However, to reproduce the vitality, the creativity that accompanies the preparation of a dish, it is necessary to have adequate documentation that represents holistically the whole gastronomic project. Hence, the greatness and the unavoidability of the *Granaries* project, also with regard to food sciences.

*Seeking gastronomic know-how.
Ethnography in the Interreg SlowFood-CE:
Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food project*

by *Gianpaolo Fassino*

1. From the conception to the territory: ethnography of the journey and the meeting

It was clear from the moment it was conceived, that the *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* project was an ambitious undertaking, both in the methodology and in the quantity and nature of the data¹ to be gathered and managed by the five different local work groups during the study. In particular, for the University of Gastronomic Sciences and, specifically, for the Laboratory *Granaries of Memory* (Fassino, 2019) there were two challenges on the horizon; the fact that it was necessary to work in urban contexts and that the research area included profoundly diverse territories, scattered between the Mediterranean and Central Europe².

As a group of cultural anthropologists and visual anthropologists who had been working since 2010 on the *Granaries of Memory* project – a major archive of life stories gathered all over the world – we had, until summer 2017, when the project kicked off, been involved in the study and gathering of testimonies (our method of ethnographic work) in rural contexts. This was not because there were no opportunities for gathering life stories in an urban context, it came about in an unsystematic manner, as a contingency rather than as a deliberate survey option. Nonetheless, we explored the centrality and the intensity of the urban contexts in the definition of precise gastronomic horizons in the study *Fame di lavoro* (Hungry for Work) documenting the forms and practices of consumption of food within the artisan and industrial production facilities, during the years

¹ Bibliographic, archival, iconographic sources, video interviews, field surveys, etc.

² The Interreg Central Europe aimed to encourage transnational cooperation in a vast area of the European Union from the Adriatic Sea (Croatia, Italy and Slovenia) to the heart of the continent (Austria, Czech Republic, Germany, Hungary, Poland and Slovakia).

of the major industrial development of Italy (Porporato, Fassino, 2017). In particular, this research involved the case study of Turin, the factory town *par excellence* and we realised that the gastronomic heritage in urban contexts was an area of study not to be neglected in the future.

The city, in the work we were about to undertake and which we describe in this volume, was not merely the marginal place in which a single witness had matured all or part of their biographical experience, it became the centre and the heart of our survey, the specific terrain of the research on which the partners would come together. It was therefore, for the anthropologists coordinated by Piercarlo Grimaldi, necessary to study and understand the city as an anthropological place «source of meaning and relationship» (Augé, 1992; 2017, p. 31) starting from the specific observation point of the gastronomic heritage. After all, as has now been shown by the vast and authoritative historical and anthropological literature (Fava, 2015; Cruzzolin, 2017), nowadays, «the contraposition of the modern urban and rural worlds is a dichotomy that only partially explains the plurality of experiences that characterise human life in the countryside as in the city». For too long, city and countryside have been seen as «two distinct, antithetic worlds», while in fact they are «the extremes of a *continuum*, poles between which information, exchanges, relationships and reciprocal information flow» (Bellagamba, 2006, pp. 62-65).

The gastronomic cultural heritage of the city – the specific subject of the *SlowFood-CE* project – was the most symbolic and meaningful paradigm of a network of exchange and relationships that has always intimately and historically united the city and the countryside (Berengo, 1999, pp. 111-170; Mioni, 1991; Bertuglia, Vaio, 2019). The many products and recipes whose names are undeniably linked to those of a city bear witness to this bond. There is, for example, the widely known (but it is useful to mention it, because it is symbolic and exemplary) *Parmigiano*, the famous Italian cheese, produced in a prescribed area of the Pianura Padana. «The association with the city», explained the historian Massimo Montanari, «is even more explicit than would appear at first. For in the local vernacular still today, *parmigiano* refers to anything (people or things) related to the city, whereas *parmense* indicates inhabitants of the country[side]. The mechanism is therefore clear: the countryside produces; the city (which controls the rural economy through the property of the citizenry) directs the produce to the urban market and gives it the *denomination* of its own identity (*parmigiano*, *piacentino*, an so on); the urban market distributes the product in a commercial space. The cultural result is that this movement

of products leads to shared alimentary tastes and practices» (Montanari, 2013, p. 8)³.

The considerations of the Italian historian, for the purposes of this discourse, can be usefully integrated and read in parallel with the work of the British anthropologist, Jack Goody, who in his work on *La cultura europea nel secolo XX* [*European culture in the twentieth century*] takes into consideration gastronomy as the paradigm, the common cultural trait of the inhabitants of Europe. However, it is an «extremely variegated identity, in its origins and in its extension», which has generated limited common elements, sedimented in an interlaced and complex system of Chinese boxes. «Some foods», states Goody, «like, for example, bread and cheese, can be found everywhere, although in an impressive number of local varieties; others, like beer and wine, are typical of their regions of origin; yet others have become ‘national’ dishes, like fish and chips, or sauerkraut, but many of them differ from region to region [...]; then there are personal recipes and international products on sale in every supermarket» (Goody, 1993, p. 813). The territorial scale – European, national, regional, linked to a specific city or rural area, but also family and individual – is then further complicated by the historical layering and, above all by the traditions, which are never given once and for all – in an ongoing process of confirmations, overlays and shufflings (Flandrin, Montanari, 1999, pp. 552-553).

Within this framework, it is necessary to consider the signic and symbolic dimension of food, which is at the same time always ‘substance’ and ‘circumstance’, to use the dichotomies and efficacious categories of Roland Barthes. The gastronomic heritage must therefore be considered «an organic system, organically integrated into its specific type of civilization» (Barthes, 2019, p. 19). The risk to be avoided, in a mapping and inventorying work⁴, is always that of creating a mere list for its own good, a mere census of products and recipes, decontextualized from the society and the culture that gave rise to them, usually generating the umpteenth, suffocating «infinity of lists» (Eco, 2009). The metaphor of the Chinese boxes, suggested by Goody, that is, a cultural and gastronomic identity on profoundly different levels, therefore seems to be a particularly suitable key for reading and fully understanding the fascinating complexity inherent in the gastronomic cultural heritage.

³ Other cases are reported by Dickie, 2007, p. 7; Bevilacqua, 2017, p. 39.

⁴ An «impossible and necessary» task, as Loïc Bienassis (2011) emphasised when titling one of his essays on the inventories of the gastronomic heritage.

Aware of this complexity, it is possible to recognise in the gastronomic heritage, in its essential cultural value, a collective and shared legacy (thus originating an alimentary paradigm, a genuine gastronomic system) that marks and defines the belonging to a given community: it has a unifying and identitary nature and its ‘enactment’ becomes, in modern-day society also a powerful instrument in support of the local development projects, «the symbol of a renewed economic, cultural and identitary relationship between the territory and consumption» (Rabbiosi, 2018, p. 51; Corvo, Fassino, 2018). In particular, the gastronomic legacies, in their twofold material and non-material dimension, are revelatory elements of a society, of the material culture that connotes it and of its mentality (Álvarez, 2002). They are above all a legacy from previous generations, living testimonies of alimentary practices at times centuries old, intimately linked to a specific territory, «the gastronomic heritage is firmly tied to a regional rural identity and more specifically to way of eating and to particular ways of producing foodstuffs». Traditional foods are not merely a cultural trait that belongs to the past, but also «a way of understanding the world, a resource for perceiving, elaborating otherness and therefore identity» (Bessière, 2012, pp. 979-980). Contemporary anthropology has widely declared that identity is built «through relations of otherness» (Augé, 2017, pp. 23, 65): therefore studying local foods – in a holistic perspective, as foreseen by our project – is not an antiquated, nostalgic study for elderly admirers of gastronomy and typical products, but a way of understanding and finding profound and pragmatic principles, ‘memories for the future’ useful for the globalised, liquid and confused present-day society (Teti, 2015, pp. 100-102). In this perspective, the cities of ‘old Europe’ appeared to be – and in the course of our work were confirmed as – the ideal context for starting a study into the gastronomic cultural heritages, seen and interpreted both as an expression of the traditions of specific territories and, to some extent ‘algorithms’ of information that are orderly – or at least can be ordered⁵ – useful to «resolve problems and reach decisions» (Harari, 2017, p. 133). This applicative and pragmatic dimension was rightly of interest to the municipalities involved in our Interreg project, since much of the work carried out, like the scientific research *strictu sensu* on gastronomic heritages, reflects the pilot projects that each city is enacting within its own

⁵ It was essential to manage the ethnographic data gathered in the field using databases, as in the *Granaries of Memory* experience and, more recently the *Geoportale della cultura alimentare* (The Food Culture Geoportal) developed by the University of Gastronomic Sciences in cooperation with the Italian Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Activities and Tourism (Grimaldi, Porporato, 2019).

territory and the definition of a transnational strategy that will complete the *SlowFood-CE* project.

A second order of problems to be taken into account during the planning stages and the start-up of the research work was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter – the fact that it was necessary to operate simultaneously in territories scattered over a very wide area, between the Mediterranean and Central Europe, in very different contexts from both an environmental and a socio-cultural standpoint: from Italy to Poland, from Croatia to the Czech Republic, from the coasts of the Adriatic Sea to the Great Hungarian Plain. The territories examined by the research were five important European cities, Brno, Dubrovnik, Kecskemét, Krakow and Venice, a network of cities in which – to simplify a long and complex discourse that would take us far from the topic – we found a variety of evident postmodern phenomena: globalisation, touristisation, disneyfication, gentrification, etc. (Augé, 1997; Giddens, 1999; Semi, 2015; Rabbiosi, 2018). Alongside these trends were well-rooted traditions and precious practices, some of which were gastronomic, that built and renewed the sense of belonging to a community. This made it essential to organise a survey method that could be adapted to the varying contexts and that had to be considered throughout the planning and the subsequent stages of work.

In each city a local research group was organised, formed of public territorial agencies (municipalities, tourist boards, local development agencies⁶) and cultural promotion associations (in the individual territories the Slow Food convivia and other organisations involved in the study and valorisation of the local traditions and gastronomic heritage took part in the project⁷). Slow Food International was the lead partner, coordinating the entire project, while the University of Gastronomic Sciences was responsible for identifying and proposing the study method to be applied, coordinating and organising the gathering of material, the consultation and restitution of the data by setting up electronic platforms for e-learning and for the replicability of the experiences. It can therefore be said that the ethno-anthropological survey behind the *SlowFood-CE* project became

⁶ City of Venezia, DURA-City of Dubrovnik Development Agency, Tourist Authority South Moravia, Municipality of Kecskemét, Municipality of Krakow.

⁷ Kinookus Association (Dubrovnik), Slow Food Brno (Brno), Kiskunság Tradition-bound, Artisans and Tourism Association (Kecskemét), Slow Food Poland (Krakow, this partner left the project during 2018). Working in support of the project partners, as associate partners were: City of Dubrovnik, Stone Tourist Board, City of Brno, Małopolska Tourism Organisation, Academy of Physical Education and Tourism in Krakow (Tourism and Leisure Faculty), European Institute for the History and Cultures of Food, Europa Nostra.

what cultural anthropology manuals now call, on the basis of the theoretical elaborations of George E. Marcus, a «multi-sited ethnography» (Marcus, 1995; Dei, 2012, p. 80).

For the anthropologists of the *Granaries of Memory* Lab a suitable theoretical context within which to ideally and scientifically collocate the work of *SlowFood-CE*, was that of the three ethnologies theorised by Marc Augé: ethnology of residence, ethnology of the itinerary, ethnology of the encounter (Augé, 2011, 2013). These three approaches to the study and exploration of cultural diversity are not alternative or in competition, but co-exist in the work of the anthropologist. The ethnology of residence is what would otherwise be called long-term, many months, a year or even more – of the anthropologist's life within the community being studied. The ethnology of the itinerary is when the scholar carries out the work in shorter periods of time, for example during their journeys, through which it is possible to «compare and study the various ways in which all societies order their world» (Augé, 2014, p. 17). The ethnology of the encounter overcomes the complex limits of ethnology of residence and consists of «careful observation of the anthropological elements of social phenomena encountered throughout our lives»; Augé's innovative work *Traversing the Luxembourg Gardens*, his writings on the country home, on the *metrò* and on the Parisian *bistrot* falls into this category (1985, 1986, 1989, 2015). We anthropologists of the University of Gastronomic Sciences, within the *SlowFood-CE* project, therefore mainly conducted an ethnology of itinerary – this was true in particular on the occasion of the meetings in Krakow (February 2018) and in Brno (March 2019). These meetings represented a precious opportunity to directly know and understand some of the characteristic traits of the gastronomic cultural heritage present in the individual realities of the research, and an opportunity to practice an ethnography of the encounter, that is, to use Augé's words – «an observation inspired by the method, the theme and the theoretical object of the anthropology» (2014, p. 18).

From this perspective, the experience of the training seminar in Krakow, which straddled the ethnology of the itinerary and of the encounter, was of considerable methodological importance. We set up the ethnographic research by creating two model interviews for qualified witnesses in the Polish gastronomic world: Wojtek Komperda, shepherd and producer of *Oscypek* cheese and the Krakovian chef Krzysztof Małocha⁸.

⁸ The two interviews are available in the *Granaries of Memory*, in the SlowFood-Ce archive (www.granaidellamemoria.it/index.php/en/archives/slow-food-central-europe).

In the case of Wojtek Komperda, we gathered the testimony of a sheep farmer, the owner of a flock of seven hundred sheep, from whose milk he produces different kinds of cheese, including fresh cheeses (*Bundz* and *Bryndza*) and *Oscypek*, a smoked cheese with an unusual spindle shape. The interview centred on the practicalities of sheep farming and cheese making. It was, however, considered opportune to ask our witness questions on topics apparently secondary to farming and the actual production of the cheese. Information emerged regarding the role of the women within the agricultural-pastoral society of the Tatra Mountains, where tradition did not allow the women to approach the sheep. In the past, according to popular beliefs, the women were not even to appear in the mountain hut where the cheese was made before the feast of Saint John the Baptist (June 24th), to avoid the appearance of worms in the cheese. Of particular importance was the answer to our questions about the custom of placing bells around the animals' necks. We had already, when interviewing the herders and shepherds of the Italian Alps, realised the extreme importance they attribute to these bells. Recalling this experience, we repeated some questions regarding the use of the bells: «fifteen bells are worn for a flock of seven-hundred sheep, to keep the flock together. That is how the sheep communicate», said Komperda, smiling broadly, «through the bells: it is only when we leave the mountain grazing, in the autumn, that we put a bell on every sheep, using three different types of bell [...]. The size of the bell depends on the size of the sheep. The bells have different tones and make wonderful music, there was competition amongst the Gorals (the highlanders) to establish who had the most musical flock. It was a great *fête*. In the past, when about twenty flocks passed through the town, it was possible to distinguish the flock by the sound of the owner's bells. Now there are only three shepherds left in the town and it's no longer possible to recognise the flock by the sound of their bells». The interview revealed a fine example of how a qualified witness can recall both know-how regarding specific production techniques, for example, the complex production and smoking of *Oscypek*, and memories of non-material aspects, such as the beliefs linked to the negative influence of the women and the sound of the bells during the transhumance (the annual movement of herders and their animals to new pastures).

The second interview we carried out during the training in Krakow was with Krzysztof Małocha, one of the chefs who knows the culinary traditions of southern Poland well. In his testimony, he stressed the importance of the raw materials used, respect for seasonal produce, the direct relationship that the cook must have with producers and suppliers and the need to adopt

simple culinary techniques that respect the ingredients. This is one of the reasons that the restaurant where he works, has an open kitchen, so that the clients can observe the preparation of the dishes. He never uses pre-prepared ingredients or semi-worked ingredients purchased from third parties. «Everything: the bread, the pasta, the *pierogi*, is prepared in the kitchen». Malocha's testimony highlighted the strongly transformative and dynamic dimension of contemporary restaurants: «since I began working, the fashions in types of cuisine have changed. At first the Western cuisines were popular, then it was Italian cuisine, now there is a renewed interest in creative cooking, traditional Polish dishes and elements of Jewish cuisine are also re-emerging»⁹. Even just these few comments revealed the complexity of the idea of 'gastronomic traditions', something that is not fixed once and for all, but the rather the result, as we already mentioned, of an incessant process of confirmation, overlaying, shuffling.

The realisation of these two interviews – available amongst the online teaching materials *Training course on gastronomic cultural heritage identification and documentation*¹⁰ – was, for my colleagues and I a moment of ethnography of the itinerary, an essential part of our anthropological journey. Vice versa, for the participants in the training seminar, it represented a first exercise in ethnographic work and, at the same time, in that specific context, an experience of ethnography the encounter. The ethnography of residence, practised in the domestic setting of anthropology, «in the backyard» (Grimaldi, 2012a, pp. 50-51), was, instead, conducted directly by the local research group that we trained and coordinated as part of the activities undertaken in each city.

The ethnographic research conducted above all through the gathering of autobiographical narrations, aimed at documenting the *ethnodiversity*¹¹ of

⁹ Thanks go to Anna Maria Drozd for her work in translating the interviews with Wojtek Komperda and Krzysztof Malocha.

¹⁰ Cfr. *infra* chapter 3 (§ 4).

¹¹ This term refers to the idea of human diversity foreseen and described by the *Universal declaration on cultural diversity* promulgated by UNESCO in 2001, which states: «Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognized and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations». This concept was further explained in the document *Food Policies and Sustainability* drawn up by the University of Gastronomic Sciences and Slow Food during Terra Madre 2010: «the precious local heritage that distinguishes every human group, achievable – let this be clear – not through isolation and xenophobia, but through exchange and interweaving of traditions and cultures. In other words, ethnodiversity consists of recognizing, embracing and, at once, stressing diversities, linguistic specificities, traditions, knowledge, gestures and

the territories surveyed was accompanied by crucial taxonomic work on the gastronomic products, mapping the *biodiversity*¹² linked to them. For this specific aspect, a precious reference point – for the work we were about to undertake – was the survey methodology developed by the *Ark of Taste*, an ambitious archive of food biodiversity developed by Slow Food, an international catalogue of endangered heritage foods that describes plant varieties, animal breeds and transformed products that risk disappearing, taking with them the traditions and know-how to which they are indelibly linked (Ruffa, Monchiero, 2002, pp. 21-22).

The University of Gastronomic Sciences and Slow Food have presented this ‘dowry’ of collective work – in particular the *Ark of Taste* and the *Granaries of Memory* – which was enhanced through the input and indications that the various partners presented throughout the research and the activities of the project. The periodic meetings for the organisation and definition of the technical-methodological framework were particularly profitable, important moments of sharing and discussion that mark all the work of *SlowFood-CE*.

In a wider and more complex context, such as that of *SlowFood-CE* (eleven project partners and seven associate partners) it was necessary to take small and precise steps, in order to proceed in a coordinated and homogeneous manner throughout the research. Above all, it was necessary to clarify with methodological rigour, for ourselves and the other ‘travelling companions’ our individual needs, intentions and expectations. For this purpose, in the start-up phase of the work, each city drew up a baseline and a needs assessment report. Thanks to these documents, shared and discussed jointly, all the partners in the project were able to reciprocally acquire preliminary knowledge of the territorial and socio-cultural realities involved, and to understand the expectations that each participant placed in the communal work of *SlowFood-CE*. Following examination and

words, figures of speech, formularities and proverbs that are the precarious but, at the same time, solid constitutive elements of the world’s oral memory, in order to construct, among other things, what interests us most here: namely a new eco-sustainable and democratic agrifood system» (Bravo *et al.*, 2011, p. 19). Amongst the cultural differences that contribute to defining the ethnodiversity of peoples and communities there are also the eating habits. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1962) and Marvin Harris (1985) have taught that, although they start from different interpretative perspectives, at times almost antithetic, that only what is ‘good to think’, for a given culture also becomes ‘good to eat’: human groups are therefore distinguished and characterised also on the basis of precise preferences and alimentary choices that nourish not only the body, but also the collective mentality.

¹² On the relation between ethno- and biodiversity, see Chapter 1 (§ 3.3) of this volume; cfr. also Camanni, 2010 (in particular the contribution of Carlo Petrini, Emilio Balletto and Piercarlo Grimaldi); Scaffidi, 2014, pp. 26-28.

discussion of these reports, the interpretative aspects and the most promising threads of common interest emerged (e.g.: borders and territories, eating habits, public markets and street foods; ethnographic museums and eco-museums, and so on)¹³. These important topics for the study of gastronomic heritage became precious elements of the technical-methodological framework of the project, representing research threads that were found to be useful and fruitful during the fieldwork, above all in the stage of identification of stakeholders and qualified witnesses.

Since it is not possible to analyse all five cities involved in the project in detail, we will look at some specific experiences, following most closely, as an example, the activities carried out and developed by the local working group in Dubrovnik. It was an extremely interesting case study, a city with a glorious history as a marine republic, whose historical town centre was declared a UNESCO World Heritage site in 1979, and the object in recent years of evident and pervasive touristisation: «according to the Dubrovnik Tourist Board, in 2016 more than 1 million tourists arrived in the city with approximately 3.7 million overnight stay. This means that on average ten thousand visitors descend into the city daily, creating a considerable impact on the daily routines of local life. During the height of the tourist summertime season this number is manifold. The majority of tourists arrive by cruise ships, which are moored in the Gruž harbour, and then transported by a continuous fleet of coaches to the gate of the old town» (van den Dobbelsteen *et al.*, 2018, p. 169). The gastronomic heritage of the Dubrovnik area, and especially the intangible food heritage has been neglected, and as a resource utterly inappropriately utilized. In the shops and restaurants of Dubrovnik few are the products and dishes coming from the tradition and even fewer of the traditional dishes prepared with local ingredients. As a consequence, there is no joint actions of all interested groups aiming at a strategic valorisation of the rich gastronomic heritage as an exceptionally valuable cultural treasure. Regarding the Dubrovnik area gastronomic tradition there is no integrated multidisciplinary approach in seeing traditional production as a strong engine of sustainable local development.

The approach that would also take into consideration and provide means for preserving local biodiversity, value and help preserve local cultural and natural peculiarities (lifestyle, landscape) as well as strengthen the memory and identity of the local community. In other words, a holistic

¹³ Cfr. the list *infra* chapter 3 (§ 2).

approach that considers food in all its semantic layers, stressing the social, economic and cultural connections with the specific territory.

Dubrovnik, as we have seen, is a globally known tourist destination with hundreds of thousands of people from all over the world visiting it every year. The pressure of mass tourism has considerably changed the social tissue of the town and its countryside while the tourist industry has made the local offer completely uniformed, pushing out almost completely the local traditional products. Even when there are efforts to brand the local traditional products on the market they are conceived solely as a product meant for tourists. The reason behind this problematic situation regarding local, traditional products is in the lack of effort to work on strengthening the local producers' communities or agriculture and cattle breeding, as well as, perpetual lack of developing communities' feeling of identity and belonging to a long and rich tradition¹⁴.

Alongside these criticalities, which originate above all from the summer touristisation and gentrification of the city, in Dubrovnik we encounter other aspects, of a historical-geographical nature, that it was necessary to consider in order to correctly map the gastronomic heritage and the traditions linked to them. The Napoleonic caesura and the subsequent political-administrative transformations throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with the separation of the territory from the Republic of Ragusa (1808) and its division between a number of states introduce the problem of historical and administrative borders as variables and distinctions also in the definition of the cultural heritage in general, and, in the specific case of our work, in the gastronomic field¹⁵. The preliminary report drawn up by the local working group in Dubrovnik foresaw, as part of the project, looking at «the unique gastronomic heritage of the whole territory of the ex-Republic of Ragusa», therefore an overall view, that must necessarily look beyond the municipal borders and covering a wide-ranging historical period. A perspective of reconstruction that was both interesting and opportune, if we wished to avoid the risk of anachronism, of reading the cultural history of the agricultural productions and the traditional local eating habits imprisoned in the cage of present-day administrative and political boundaries. Boundaries that do not reveal the historical-geographical and therefore – in the final analysis – anthropological complexity of our gastronomic

¹⁴ I would like to thank the local working group in Dubrovnik for the information they shared.

¹⁵ On the historical-anthropological complexity of these borders, cfr. Matvejević (2006, pp. 126-127).

heritage, which are the children of centuries-old, intimate and multiple relationships of exchange and cohesion between the city and the countryside, between the coast and the hinterland, between the sea and the land. That this is, methodologically, the direction to take is confirmed by Marc Bloch, who in his study entitled *Pour une histoire comparée des sociétés européennes* [*Toward a Comparative History of European Societies*] (1928) said that «for each aspect of European social life, in each historical instant, the appropriate geographical framework must be found. The boundaries are to be determined from the inside rather than from the outside. Only in this way will we at last escape from artificial divisions. This means arduous research, cautions procedures, and a great deal of trial and error» (1953, p. 518). Methodological caution – I would add – that does not involve reticence towards the problems, but rather the capacity to observe and interpret holistically the gastronomic heritage of the cities in their centuries of transformation, being aware of the visible and invisible barriers that have sedimented and followed over the course of the centuries (Fassino, 2018, pp. 13-73).

The question of political and administrative borders and their historical development is a problem of reading the geographical space that is not peculiar to the territories of the ex-Yugoslavia, it is common to many European countries. We could similarly ask how many French *departements* or Italian regions or provinces correspond to an effective unit of ‘rural *terroir*’ to use an expression of Marc Bloch, once again (1996, p. 161). The history of the Polish and Hungarian borders, but also the Venetian ones, show similar problems, on different scales: thus each of the participants in the project – taking up the input from the preliminary report of Dubrovnik – was able to make use of the methodology indicated by Marc Bloch in identifying the most suitable and correct historical-territorial scale for mapping their respective gastronomic heritages.

The situation is in some ways more complex in Dubrovnik, but Venice also shares the intimate and unavoidable relationship that these two cities have with the sea, a ‘variable’ that is lacking in the other three cities. It is a bond that profoundly marks the eating habits of these territories overlooking the Adriatic Sea, undoubtedly making their gastronomic heritage richer, being at the centre of a network of relationships and commerce not only with the coast and the hinterland, but with the entire Mediterranean. It was necessary to take into account this geographical variable during the mapping: the set of activities conducted in these two cities therefore also represented an original scientific contribution aimed at the «construction of a sort of inventory or ‘breviary’ (to adopt a term

dear to Predrag Matvejević) of the foods of the Mediterranean» (Teti, 2007, p. 11)¹⁶.

These were some of the first steps and reasonings that the University of Gastronomic Sciences, Slow Food and the five local working groups took together before starting the research itself. The result of this work was the *Technical and methodological framework for development of the project SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food*, the structure within which the work of mapping the gastronomic heritages took place. The construction of a common technical-methodological framework, but also the acceptance of a shared theoretical framework, were the crucial basis for beginning and realising the work set out in the planning stages.

2. From the library to the field: research into gastronomic heritage

In order to understand a city, it is necessary to experience it intimately, to live in it, to observe it on a «very small scale» as Marc Augé suggests, slipping into its deepest and most hidden crevices, even listening to conversations at the counter of a *bistrot*, at the supermarket checkout, at the grocer's (Augé, 2014, p. 59). Living, experiencing, knowing an urban area «means seizing the human and social characteristics that distinguish a specific world, understanding and enjoying the colours, lights and shades. It means interpreting the city from within, through the persons who give it life, but also that which obliges us to think». Stealing these evocative words from a recent and original book by Adriana Destro (*Il potere delle cose ordinarie*, 2018, p. 165) we can state that the objective of the *SlowFood-CE* research – not an easy objective to pursue or to communicate – was precisely this: to seize the human and social characteristics, understanding and appreciating the colours, the light and shade, interpreting the city from within, in this specific case through the peculiar 'litmus paper' represented by the gastronomic heritage. The know-how that belongs to gastronomy may appear, at first glance, 'ordinary', or to use the words of the French historian Daniel Roche (1997) even 'banal', but in fact, when suitably interrogated, it hands back all the complexity of present times. The ambitions of the research project and the theoretical-methodological model that supported it were not simple, and the work expected of the local research groups was undoubtedly difficult and tiring.

¹⁶ The reference is to *Breviario mediterraneo*, Matvejević (1987); on the Mediterranean as a gastronomic space, cfr. Moro, 2014.

The first phase of the work was (in the lexis of the project) called desk research, an unavoidable propaedeutic and preparatory process prior to the fieldwork. The aim was to organise a virtual dossier for each city, containing the most important bibliographic, archival, iconographic and audio-visual information relating to the topics to be surveyed during the research. A stage whose importance can be seen if we consider the need to reconstruct a gastronomic memory that frequently had to look back to the early decades of the twentieth century, that is before the great transformations of the ‘short century’ came about. We refer in particular to the dramatic caesura of the Second World War, to the decades of homologation of the Communist regime in some countries of Central Europe, to the vertiginous industrial development, to the drunkenness of modernity that, in different ways and at different times has profoundly marked all the countries involved.

The local work groups were initially supplied with a general bibliography on subjects relating to the gastronomic heritage, in order to share a vocabulary and a standardised, up to date cultural reference framework¹⁷. Particular attention was encouraged with regard to the study of communities and research into local history, that of the historical «natives» (Viazzo, 2003, p. 250): information that is often misinterpreted, but frequently essential for understanding the theme to be studied ‘on a very small scale’ indicated by Augé, to which we referred previously. It is necessary to emphasise that this phase, dedicated to the preparatory reading and bibliographic research was always an essential moment in view of the later fieldwork. In fact, the anthropologist «goes into the field to carry out the ethnographic survey, which remains the basis of the proceeding, but he must also read, delving into the literature dedicated to the object of his research» (Augé, Colleyn, 2006, pp. 22-23). In this sense, the anthropologist is also necessarily a ‘bookworm’ as Claude Lévi Strauss described himself (Lévi-Strauss, Eribon, 1988b, p. 70). It is precisely this anthropological capacity to intersect two different methods of data collection – bibliographical and in the field – that «distinguishes the field from reportage» (Augé, Colleyn, 2006, p. 84) and contributes in a decisive manner to ensuring that the ethnographical interview – the heart of the

¹⁷ In particular, reference was made to the books *Slow Food Nation* by Carlo Petrini (2007a) and *Food is culture* by Massimo Montanari (2006) and to the history of food edited by Montanari with Jean-Louis Flandrin (*Food. A Culinary History from Antiquity to the Present*, 1999). The *Training Course on GCH Identification and Documentation* – which we will discuss in chapter 3 below – contains the online version of a special teaching unit (Module 3) dedicated to the desk research, with further bibliographical and methodological indications.

survey methodology of the *SlowFood-CE*, project, as we will see in the next chapter – cannot be compared, either in the method, or in the content, to a journalistic interview (Clemente, 2010, pp. 63, 75-77).

Starting with these methodological coordinates – briefly mentioned here – it is possible to understand the vast amount of desk research and fieldwork conducted in the five cities. I feel it is useful to stress that the five cities, in this phase of the *SlowFood-CE* project were not merely institutional partners, they became, in the perspective of the research work, also genuine case studies. The research work, divided into the two phases, desk and field, took place during 2018 after all the partners had participated in the *Transnational Training in GCH resources mapping* held in Krakow (February 8th-9th)¹⁸. The task of the local work groups lasted about six months and the first results were shared and discussed during the second training session, entitled, *Transnational Training in GCH Resources Valorisation* and during the international convention *Food and the City* held in Turin on the occasion of *Terra Madre-Salone del Gusto 2018* (September 20th-22nd)¹⁹. The phase of valorisation of the heritages mapped began with the Turin meeting.

In order to exemplify the work of the five groups, it may be useful to recall once again the work carried out in Dubrovnik. The project team of the association Kinookus and the City Development Agency DURA undertook the following activities:

- analysis of the present state of the gastronomic heritage, within the territory of the former Republic of Dubrovnik (a territory significantly larger than today's administrative territory of the City of Dubrovnik);
- analysis of written documents, scientific and popular works, talks with the local experts in gastronomic traditions for the purpose of

¹⁸ The acronym GCH indicates the 'gastronomic cultural heritage'. The lecturers on the course were Piercarlo Grimaldi, Gianpaolo Fassino and Luca Percivalle from the University of Gastronomic Sciences, Davide Porporato from the University of Eastern Piedmont, Paola Roveglia and Michela Lenta from Slow Food.

¹⁹ Also taking part in the research during the transnational workshop were: Paola Roveglia (Slow Food), Gianpaolo Fassino (Unisg), Loïc Bienassis (European Institute for the History and Cultures of Food), Piero Sardo and Serena Milano (Slow Food Foundation for Biodiversity); at the convention *Food and the City* speakers were Piercarlo Grimaldi (Unisg), Ferdinando Mirizzi (University of Basilicata and president of Siac-Italian Society of Cultural Anthropology), Paola Mar (City of Venezia), Ivo Kara-Pešić (Kinookus Association), Samuel Nahon (Terroirs d'Avenir), Kenneth Højgaard (The Copenhagen House of Food), Chantal Clément (International Panel of Experts on Sustainable Food Systems-IPES), Donald Hyslop (Borough Market London).

- creating a historical outline of the gastronomic cultural heritage situation throughout the centuries;
- identification of the local stakeholders (representatives of producers, caterers, civil associations, museums, vocational schools, universities, small entrepreneurs, artists, hotel managers, representatives of the city and county authorities, archaeologists, anthropologists, art historians, etc.);
- organisation of a number of project presentations and meetings for the purpose of familiarising the wider public and local stakeholders with the project, its objectives and philosophy, as well as with the general Slow Food principles;
- through the meetings a local working group has been established representing a reliable sample of all social groups that should be involved in the preservation and valorisation of the gastronomic cultural heritage;
- with the support from the external associates the desk research and field research have been completed resulting in a material (video interviews) that is going to be the framework of the multimedia exhibition.

The local work groups operated in a similar manner in the other cities, with the essential adaptations according to the specific local needs. The desk research generated a series of digital dossiers and reports from which an initial picture of the peculiarities of the cities' gastronomic heritage emerged, topics worthy of being further investigated and studied during the following stages of the field research. A series of precise bibliographical indications gathered during the desk research constituted the essential scientific reference literature also for the work that followed, in a constant alternation between library research and fieldwork, typical of anthropology, to which we have already referred.

Some of the documents prepared during this phase of the research have become ethnographic monographs. Zsuzsanna Bereznai, Chief Ethnographer of Museum Research Studies at the Katona József Museum of Kecskemét, edited an in-depth study entitled *Traditional Folk Diet of Greater-Kecskemét and the Kiskunság (Hungary) (18th-20th century)*. While an interesting work *Kulinarne dziedzictwo Krakowa [Culinary Heritage of Krakow]* was written by the gastronomy scholar Magdalena Wójcik.

Starting from the first results that emerged from the desk research, the work groups began, also by consulting the stakeholders, to identify

witnesses and gather video interviews, the heart of the fieldwork. With respect to the gastronomic heritages it is easy to consider cooks, farmers, breeders, fishermen, artisans, cheese makers and pork butchers privileged witnesses, worthy of being interviewed, not to mention those who sell agricultural products, gastronomic products, or scholars and experts in local culinary customs. No minimum or maximum limit was fixed for the number of interviews to be held in each city: the number of witnesses to be involved could also vary during the research. There could be witnesses who were well-informed and who, through their narratives, offered a complete and thorough picture, and those less capable of giving a complete and detailed testimony, thus making it necessary to seek out further observers who could complete and explain the information needed. For a research project like *SlowFood-CE*, on the basis also of previous similar experiences, it was planned to gather around twenty interviews in each city. This indicative number was then increased or decreased according to the documentary needs of each local context.

Tab. 1 – Interviews gathered during the SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food project

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of interviews</i>
Brno (Czech Republic)	14
Dubrovnik (Croatia)	15
Kecskemét (Hungary)	20
Krakow (Poland)	32
Venice (Italy)	6
Total	87

The field research led to the completion of eighty-seven video interviews, a considerable number that made it possible to create the ‘Central Europe’ archive within the *Granaries of Memory* database, of which it is now one of the widest and best organised corpuses: a collection of cohesive testimonies, interesting thanks to the transnational perspective that they offer and for the strongly experimental approach that the entire project foresaw. The inclusion of the testimonies gathered in the *Granaries of Memory* also served the preservation and consultation of the audio-visual documentation collected during the *SlowFood-CE* project. All the interviews were gathered in the national languages of the individual countries, but for each city, some interviews, considered particularly significant and representative of the local gastronomic traditions, were chosen for subtitling in English, in order to allow an international public to understand them.

At the same time, starting with the data that emerged from the desk research and the interviews, twenty-seven products were mapped, an expression of the gastronomic biodiversity of the territories. Of these, twenty-four, following a specific procedure of checking and validation, became part of the *Ark of Taste*. In Venice thirteen products were listed and attested: Moeche crab (soft-shelled or moulting crab), Venetian Lagoon Grass Goby (lagoon fish), Venetian Lagoon Schia (grey shrimp), San Martino cookie, Meraviglia di Venezia bean, Venice white peach, Artisanal Baicoli (typical biscuits), Vartanush (rose petal jam), Bolo (Sephardic dessert for Sukkot), Recie de Aman (Jewish sweetmeat for Purim), Lio Piccolo yellow plum, Cavallino jujube and Dorona grape. The local working group of Brno reported four products: Velkopavlovická apricot, Pohorelice carp, Znojmo cucumber, Panenské Česke apple. Two products were reported by the researchers in Kecskemét: the Hankovszky apricot and the Kövidinka grape. The research work carried out in the territory of the ancient Republic of Ragusa identified five products: Župa Dubrovačka broccoli, Mali Ston oysters, Ston salt, Barrel-Salted damselfish, and the Malvasija Dubrovačka wine²⁰.

3. From the field to the action: the valorisation of the gastronomic heritage

The *SlowFood-CE* project is not simply a ‘purely scientific’ research project, it also foresees a series of activities that belong to what the academic world calls ‘applied research’. In particular, an integral part of the project is a series of activities aimed at the valorisation of the gastronomic heritages mapped during the desk and field research. The applicative dimension is, in fact, an important part of the Interreg Central Europe programme – of which *SlowFood-CE* is part. The institutional mission includes support for projects that, in a transnational perspective, enact cooperation between European cities and regions in order that they may become better places in which to live and work²¹, that is, in which to find «well-being and attachment» (Destro, 2018, p. 170). Increasingly, in research projects that relate to the capitalisation of material or non-material cultural assets, it is one of the expected outcomes – a cogent work and

²⁰ For each of these products see the index cards on the *Ark of Taste* web site (www.fondazione SlowFood.com/en/what-we-do/the-ark-of-taste/).

²¹ Cfr. the documentation of the Interreg Central Europe Programme available on the web site www.interreg-central.eu.

necessary development of ‘pure’ research which becomes the integral and substantial outcome²². The work of the anthropologist cannot stop with ethnography, it must also serve to activate a participated and creative process aimed at the authentic safeguarding of the heritage examined. The simple act of documenting, although necessary, is not sufficient; «the discipline», recalls the American anthropologist Michael F. Brown, «long ago concluded that documentation has only a modest role in the preservation of culture. To think otherwise is to make the classic error of mistaking a map for the territory it represents» (Brown, 2005, p. 48). It is necessary to avoid anthropological work contributing to the construction of a useless «museum of dead civilisations» (Augé, 2014, p. 101), even though it may be maieutical in identifying the tradition of the algorithms of modernity, useful for dealing creatively with the current crises.

Within the *SlowFood-CE* project, the active partners in the five cities involved organised specific pilot activities, aimed at valorising, in the perspective we have given, their own gastronomic heritage. Each city worked on different areas, according to the local specificities and needs: from culinary education to the publication of recipe books and inventories of typical products, from the organisation of cultural events dedicated to the gastronomic heritage to the organisation of markets dedicated to local products, and the creation of sustainable and experiential tourist itineraries.

In each of these actions – which will be complete between the end of 2019 and the early months of 2020²³ – the ethno-anthropological work conducted by the local work groups during the first two years was not merely a formal fulfilment or a mere propaedeutic phase. It also represented a solid base of content and ideas on which the pilot activities could and will grow and develop. The pilot activities – it is important to stress – within the overall *SlowFood-CE* project can therefore be interpreted as the applicative result of the anthropological work, that is «anthropology put to use» (van Willigen, 2002, p. 7). Venice organised *Saòr - Sapori e saperi veneziani in festa*, a local event to discover the real taste of the city and promote its products and gastronomy, in cooperation

²² Some considerations on the valorisation, and the way this term entered anthropological lexis, are given by Viazzo, 2003, pp. 243-244. For example and comparison, we can mention the results of the recent Interreg project *E.C.H.I. Etnografie italo-svizzere per la valorizzazione del patrimonio immateriale*, a vast study developed as part of the *Programma di Cooperazione Transfrontaliera Italia Svizzera 2007-2013*, in which valorisation (*nomen omen* of the project itself) was an integral and important part of the research (Bonato, Viazzo, 2013b, 2013c; Viazzo, 2015; cfr. also the web site www.echi-interreg.eu).

²³ For the development of future pilot projects cfr. <https://foodpathsnetwork.slowfood.com>.

with all the main local food and gastronomy stakeholders. With *Taste the Diversity of South Moravia* programme, Brno will focus on the flavours of the South Moravian region, promoting them through activities with children, exhibitions and markets, such as creating a new seasonal menu for schools, printing a catalogue of local products and organizing meetings with farmers to prepare typical dishes. In Hungary, the Kecskemét Green Market will host training sessions for producers, food education activities, tastings and cooking, guided tours and meetings with local producers. Krakow will present the *Culinary Krakow: Heritage on the plate*. The event gives visitors a chance to enjoy a gastronomic heritage tour of Krakow, thus diversifying the city's touristic offer and encouraging visitors to explore new areas.

As an example, we will examine the activities in Dubrovnik. Here the pilot action involved the organisation of a multimedia exhibition dedicated to the gastronomic cultural heritage of the Dubrovnik area (the territory of the former Republic of Ragusa). The aim of the multimedia and multisensory exhibition *City Breadwinners* set up in the Dubrovnik Natural History Museum will draw the attention of the wider public to a vast cultural treasure that has been undervalued to the extent that it has almost vanished from local menus, the local language, tourist activities, exhibition venues, and scientific research work. The exhibition's central component is a series of video interviews conducted by the project team within the framework of the field research. These are presented alongside the material collected during the desk research phase. The exhibition also involves a sensory component, since some of the products and dishes mentioned by the interviewees will be provided for tasting. Through the exhibition the visitors will gain insight into the gastronomic cultural heritage of the region (there will be a geographic representation of the whole territory showing the places mentioned in the interviews and where the interviewees are from) and they will receive information about the interviewees' professions. Words in the local dialect that refer to traditional production processes, tasting, or food celebrations will be highlighted, as language and dialects are part of the richness of the local culture. The exhibition aims to present visitors a view of the past and current dynamics between the city of Dubrovnik and the surrounding area that 'feeds' the city. It also seeks to help visitors create a mental map of the territory, which functioned as integrated whole for centuries but which has become fragmented into separate units due to the current administrative organization. Understanding these dynamics will let visitors engage with the region in a more meaningful way. As a result of the careful selection of interviewees, the

visitors will get an insight into the social and economic processes that have led to the situation that the gastronomic cultural heritage of Dubrovnik finds itself in today, and they will also learn about how to properly revitalize this heritage in the contemporary context. The pilot action aims to attract attention to the affluence and potential of the gastronomic heritage of the Dubrovnik area. It should raise awareness of the wider public regarding the issues threatening it. The project itself and the related activities should bring together all the relevant stakeholders interested in preserving and appropriately valorising this heritage, and set the foundations for its long-term and strategic valorisation with the participation of the city and county authorities²⁴.

In the light of the aspects described here, it is clear that the transnational projects of the *Interreg Central Europe* programme aim to develop new approaches, methodologies and practices and the pilot activities demonstrate not only their feasibility but also their replicability. The work carried out as part of these projects, of which *SlowFood-CE* is part, must not in fact be limited to the territories of the partnership but, once the methodology has been developed and tested, it must become a shared legacy available to other cities and territories that want to replicate and adapt it. The maieutic and multiplicative effects of these projects based on the active participation of a number of subjects – institutional partners, associations and cultural groups, extensive involvement of all the stakeholders – are often so convincing that the political and administrative heads later create frameworks that facilitate the scaling up of the new solutions tested and enacted within specific projects, thus giving rise to further results in the mid- and long-term, both within the five cities that tested the research protocol and in new territorial contexts.

The results attained so far from the *SlowFood-CE* project, briefly presented here are fully explained and demonstrated on the e-platform *Food Paths Network*²⁵ and the *Slow Food - Central Europe Archive* within the *Granaries of Memory*, confirming that the cities are «dense, active and propositional worlds», «seams of resources and riches that support and teach us. That take us far away» (Destro, 2018, p. 165).

²⁴ I would particularly like to thank Ivo Kara-Pešić, president of Kinookus, for the information supplied regarding the pilot activities in Dubrovnik.

²⁵ Cfr. *infra* paragraph 4.

4. The communicative interface of the project: the e-platform *Food Paths Network*

As part of the reporting, restitution²⁶ and diffusion of the results of the project, with the intention of extending it to other cities and territories, at the end of the research phase the University of Gastronomic Sciences coordinated the set-up of an e-platform: a website on which the work was presented to a vast public and to the operators in the sector. The aim was to present the results of *SlowFood-CE* both to the cities involved and to spread the approach, the methodology and the best practices enacted in the five cities where the research method was built, discussed and tested to other urban contexts.

The use of web platforms and internet sites is an obligatory part of every action of valorisation. Laura Bonato has opportunely emphasised the way technology offers the possibility to «elaborate new and even more efficient systems for valorising the local heritage, thus allowing more extensive use. In particular the computer-based technologies are widely used in the management, protection and valorisation of the cultural heritage and we have seen an increased application in the promotion and development of cultural tourism. The positive impact on the territory, in addition to being calculated in economic terms, since these practices create resources for local development and progressively increase activities that generate occupation and professionalism, with regard to the awareness of the local heritage by the population, which becomes more lively from the cultural standpoint, stimulating the presence and the demand from visitors and tourists» (Bonato, Viazzo, 2013a, pp. 22-23).

Starting from this awareness – which, by the way, we had amply verified through the planning and implementation of the web portal *Granai*

²⁶ Pier Paolo Viazzo recently emphasised that nowadays «it is almost axiomatic that the anthropologist can no longer simply study a community, describe it and then valorise it within the academic circuit making it known through his scientific works, but is morally committed to ‘handing back’ that which – through stories, memories, confidences and participated observations – they have received from their interlocutors and more generally from the local population. One of the forms that the restitution can take – but not the only one – consists of giving indications and advice that will allow a valorisation of traditional knowledge that will be of economic and cultural benefit to the holders of the knowledge to which the anthropologist gained access, or which they even appropriated for academic purposes» (Bonato, Viazzo, 2013a, pp. 11-12; Viazzo, 2015, pp. 87-88; see also Viazzo, 2003). A process that – unlike the term ‘to hand back’ – is not always univocal: in the case of *SlowFood-CE*, for example, it took on the form of a co-construction, since there were numerous and constant moments of cooperation, exchange and discussion between the local population, the territorial work groups and the academic researchers.

della Memoria/Granaries of Memory, of the *Atlante delle feste popolari del Piemonte* and the *Geoportale della cultura alimentare* – work began on the *Food Paths Network* e-platform. The name of the electronic platform was intended to be evocative and closely linked to the content of the project, but at the same time it had to possess considerable communicative value. The name of the Internet domain was to be a synthetic expression in which it was possible to recognise the ideal and identity traits that animated the project partners and at the same time interest the intended public. The title of the project – *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* – was too long and formal, not suited to a context like the Net, in which it is necessary to be brief and vivid. *Food Paths Network* is an expression that evokes a space common to all those who are interested in food in its most holistic sense. *Food Paths Network* therefore seemed the right name for an e-platform that, as we already mentioned, was born as a tool for spreading the good practices developed and adopted by the partners of the *SlowFood-CE* project, to be flanked by and integrated with other communication strategies. During the planning stage, the considerations of the work group²⁷ concentrated on certain strategic questions that it was necessary to clarify, in order to reach the desired result, that is, how to create a user-friendly and entertaining communication tool that would reach other subjects potentially interested in valorising cultural veins linked to the gastronomic practices of their territory.

In the first place, we wondered who the potential public could be, which content to use to communicate the course taken, how to organise the structure of the content and how long the ‘life’ of our tool should be. The privileged or primary target we considered most interesting was limited to operators of the public administration or the staff of associations operating in the area of valorisation, promotion and divulgation of the enogastronomic heritage in order to encourage tourism, in educational activities or with ethical-moral aims. Extending our gaze to the secondary target, we included all those who, also individually, have an interest in the cultural material and non-material heritage of their territory.

The platform was structured as a multi-level path. The most superficial level has an entertaining and simple design and gives basic information. It allows the visitor to rapidly understand the opportunities that the valorisation of the cultural and gastronomic heritage offers to the local community. At this level we access the home page, which was constructed

²⁷ The e-platform was created by Gianpaolo Fassino, Luca Ghiardo and Chiara Monge from the University of Gastronomic Sciences and Serena Alaimo, Eleonora Giannini and Elisa Peirone from Slow Food.

with a vertical scrolling function, optimised for smartphone and tablet. The second level gives practical examples to examine as models and as inspiration for future projects. The third level, more technical but still easy to use, presents our visitors with a basic training course. The pages that make up the platform are optimised for search engines and use software to monitor accesses. The platform is built on an open source IT structure and can be updated quite simply.

Once a name had been assigned to the platform the content was added: the methods developed, the bibliographical and local research, the experiences in the field and the resources for training were reorganised and translated for a public that had not taken part in the planning stages. The three principal phases of the project were thus summarised in three key concepts – identify, protect, valorise – three imperatives that invite the reference public to act. The first header that the visitor encounters is «Protecting Food Heritage» and the claim «to make the most of gastronomic capital», which is intended to confirm the two main objectives of the *SlowFood-CE* project: to protect the seams of enogastronomic culture and to capitalise on them. Just below this the first section opens with a brief description of the project's mission and potential stakeholders are invited to follow the tracks of the projects successfully undertaken with the partners.

Scrolling down the home page, we come to the section «Identify», which presents the first stage of the method adopted by *SlowFood-CE*, the desk research with a brief introductory text and five boxes, each dedicated to a concise description of one of the partner cities, with photographs of an important element of their enogastronomic tradition. By clicking on each box, we access the pages that describe the work realised and above all the results attained in each city through the desk research. The page dedicated to Venice, for example, highlights the inhabitants' relationship with sea and land, making the most of the resources of the lagoon and proposing the examples of a fish, the *ghiozzo gò* and a crab, the *moeca*. The delicate equilibrium that has transformed the islands of the lagoon into the ideal habitat for vegetables like the violet artichoke or the Dorona grapevine. A third level is available by clicking at the bottom of each page on a link to the .pdf files with reports on the desk research carried out in the cities.

Returning to the home page and scrolling beyond the invitation to the visitor, the section «Protect» is dedicated to the field research, useful for documenting new resources, what remains and how the gastronomic heritage studied through the desk research has been transformed. The section is structured in a gallery of brief videos, two for each city, each of

which summarises one of the many interviews carried out in the field with stakeholders who for professional or biographical reasons were considered representative witness of the local gastronomic heritage. There follows a brief explanatory text on the fieldwork and an icon that invites the viewer to visit YouTube²⁸ where the interviews with producers, restaurant owners, merchants and other protagonists of the gastronomic heritage of the five cities in the project are collected and catalogued. Each playlist and each individual interview is accompanied by a written summary in English.

The last section of the home page of the site describes the valorisation activities undertaken in the partner cities. The pilot activities were divided into four macro-categories: public markets (collectively managed farmers' markets where artisan producers sell directly to consumers), cultural events (combined with food issues), food education (such as initiatives involving children, young people and families) and sustainable tourism (which integrates historical and cultural heritage, natural reserves or agricultural sites). Each of the boxes dedicated to the activities has an icon that offers immediate understanding of the category, a brief explanatory text and a button that invites further investigation of the best practices enacted by the five partner cities.

A last, but important section, which is accessed through the primary menu on the top right of the page is dedicated to instructions on how to become part of the network formed by the five partner cities of the *SlowFood-CE* project. «Join the network»: a direct message that invites potential cities and territories to follow in the steps taken by the partners and to undertake training in the form of e-learning courses through the dedicated platform.

Overall, the e-platform is present as a web site, optimised for use with any kind of device, aimed specifically at a public of practitioners and enthusiasts of gastronomic culture who wish to organise territorial development projects. Like any other web site, it does not advertise itself, it is necessarily supported by a press campaign through the web and traditional media in order to efficaciously reach its target and realise its task as a tool of dissemination²⁹.

²⁸ The video interview collected during the research can be seen on the YouTube channel dedicated to the project (www.youtube.com/channel/UCy7z2jCV9j2B32XXbzaWV0g), used for the purpose of communication and social sharing of the audiovisual material, and in the archive within the *Granaries of Memory* portal (www.granaidellamemoria.it/index.php/en/archives/slow-food-central-europe).

²⁹ I would like to thank Luca Ghiardo, who built the e-platform, for the information he shared with me when I was writing this paragraph.

Collecting gastronomic cultures, learning online. An operative approach for Slow Food-Central Europe

by Davide Porporato

1. Introduction

The European transnational cooperative project *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* (for the sake of brevity, *SlowFood-CE*) aimed to elaborate a methodology that would allow a plurality of social players to work towards saving, recovering and valorising their cultural and gastronomic heritage, with initiatives that necessarily included economic, environmental and social sustainability¹. The project worked to ensure that the gastronomic dimension included and integrated the valorisation of bio- and ethno-cultural diversity in the local areas and cultures. The gastronomic heritage is a cultural fact transmitted from one generation to another through gesture and the word, a precious legacy that has now become the driving force for the development and the promotion of virtuous economies (Lévi-Strauss, 1962; Harris, 1985; Montanari, 2004; Bessi re, 2012; Grimaldi, 2012a). In order to proceed in this direction, it is necessary to identify the autochthonous plant and animal species, the wisdom and the production techniques that come from the past, the cultural and symbolic dimension of the food: this also means restoring to the production activities and the consumption of the products their rightful value. Only in this way will food reacquire the *status* that has raises it above and differentiates it from other productions, from the idea that considers it merchandise like any other commodity, overcoming the danger, highlighted by Carlo Petrini, of «being devoured by food» (Petrini, 2009).

The *SlowFood-CE* project has built a course of scientific research and transnational cooperation involving five cities: Brno, Dubrovnik, Kecske m t, Krakow and Venice; a study of urban realities conducted using mainly

¹ Some of the considerations in this chapter derive from texts, discussion materials and work elaborated during the recent years of my study and research activities.

qualitative research methodologies, within a perspective of analysis and reading that was prevalently anthropological. The survey model used was designed to valorise the territories through the rediscovery and the mapping of the natural and cultural resources, through consultation of secondary sources and the gathering on video of life stories and testimonies, starting with the topics of food and eating habits. This allowed the groups in the five cities to work on:

- rediscovering and valorising the traditional agricultural products and the age-old techniques necessary for their production and conservation;
- boosting the awareness and self-esteem of the producers;
- promoting the local gastronomic products and the crafts as instruments for developing the territory;
- promoting a new model of development that respects the environment, the traditions and the cultural identity, capable of introducing consumers to the production sector;
- creating a virtuous network of international relations and greater sharing of knowledge and practices;
- strengthening gastronomic culture in all its aspects.

Within this framework, in order to carry out the *SlowFood-CE* project, we used the methodologies already tested during the two projects *Granaries of Memory* and *Ark of Taste*, both promoted by the University of Gastronomic Sciences and Slow Food. The ethno-cultural diversity surveyed by *Granaries of Memory* was compared with the biodiversity dealt with by *Ark of Taste*, two databases that record and communicate a considerable heritage of information and memories, representing a response and an antidote to the oblivion of modernity, which affects the present.

2. *Granaries of Memory*: an archive of life stories

The *Granaries of Memory* project is an ambitious scientific and educational itinerary that aims to preserve the oral and gestural knowledge of tradition. It is a complex and advanced multimedia archive, available online, designed to gather interviews realised during field research² (Grimaldi, Porporato, 2012; Fassino, Porporato, 2016).

² See www.granaidellamemoria.it – the project was presented in Turin during “Terra Madre 2010” and in 2016 it received the European Heritage Award / Europa Nostra in the category ‘research’ (www.europeanheritageawards.eu/winners/granaries-memory-bra/).

The metaphor of the granary was born of the desire to create a space (in our case a digital space) that would preserve the memories of the present generations for those of the future. A heritage of narrations, gestures and words, of memories that, like the wheat stored in the granaries, would continue to nourish memories and humanity. We owe this literary image to Marguerite Yourcenar who, in *Memoirs of Hadrian*, opposing a barrier to the fear of forgetfulness, wrote: «The founding of libraries was like constructing more public granaries, amassing reserves against a spiritual winter which by certain signs, in spite of myself, I see ahead» (Yourcenar, 1954, p. 134).

The granary, the place appointed for the preservation of the grain, has always played a crucial role in the evolutionary process of man; and we find it in the mythical stories. Marcel Griaule, for example, in his *Conversations with Ogotemméli: An Introduction to Dogon Religious Ideas* says that the granaries are made from clay that one of the Dogon ancestors brought from the heavens. «He took a woven basket with a circular opening and a square base in which to carry the earth and puddled clay required for the construction of a world-system, of which he was to be one of the counsellors» (Griaule, 1965, p. 31).

The world, in the Dogon cosmogony has the shape of a granary. Just as for the Dogon the clay forms the walls of the granary, so in cloud computing³ billions of byte take the form of the Granaries of Memory. The Dogon, in entrusting the preservation of the seeds to the technology of the clay, also invented a way of organising their knowledge; in a similar manner, the work carried out as part of the Granaries project, registering, cataloguing and critically communicating the memories of the many and different humanities thanks to the most advanced technologies, reinvented the way of organising cultural memories.

Gestures and words are translated into audiovisual documents, accessible everywhere and can be seen as a small gift offered to humanity. The research project offers the interviewees the gift of taking part in a collective narration, giving their memories a life that will exceed their own. The witness exchanges this possibility with his or her life story: the gift received binds the receiver, obliging them to reciprocity, but the exchange that takes place brings with it a new gift and counter-gift. In fact, the narration becomes a grain in the vast granary, in the network and is in turn a gift shared with the users of the project. The latter, adopting the memories, bring to life

³ *Cloud computing* is the practice of using a network of remote servers hosted on the Internet to store, manage, and process data, rather than a local server or a personal computer.

the words heard and the gestures observed. They can be considered a counter-gift, so that every gift is a counter-gift, every word a memory and every memory a word⁴ (Fassino, Porporato, 2016, pp. 180-181).

Using audiovisual techniques, the *Granaries of Memory* recuperate and restore, through the Internet, life stories that are a constitutive part of the evolutionary process of humanity: autobiographies of farmers, fishermen, shepherds and herdsmen, cooks, factory workers and artisans, who speak of tradition, of modernity, of countryside, of the city, of production cycles, of symbolic and ritual systems⁵. The more than one thousand four hundred narrations recorded and organised in various archives now make it possible to outline a new framework of oral and gestural knowledge based on the sharing of filmed documents and processing.

The memories of men and women of various ages were gathered through unstructured interviews, led by anthropologists and other qualified researchers. The duration of the testimonies, ranging from a few minutes to some hours, varied according to the human experience of the interviewee, their capacity for telling their story and the level of investigation required for a given topic. In the interviews, apart from the content, the intention was not to concentrate on nostalgic yearning for a world that no longer exists, but the tension of knowledge, the recovery of traditional know-how inasmuch as it is necessary for dealing with the present and, at times, also capable of providing sensible indications for the future.

The *Interreg SlowFood-CE* project identified a series of aspects common to the five cities involved in their relationship with the local gastronomic heritage:

- the twentieth-century caesura, that is the break from the traditional cultures and the relative renewed interest that characterises our time;
- borders and territory, the ‘city-countryside’, ‘coast-hinterland’ ‘land-sea’ relationships;

⁴ On the topic of giving, receiving and exchanging and, more generally, on the economy of the gift, see the fundamental work of Marcel Mauss (1923-1924). On the forms of exchange online, in the time of the Internet, which refer to the anthropological dimension of the gift and reciprocity, see the work of Marco Aime and Anna Cossetta (2010).

⁵ The *Granaries of Memory* represent not just an innovative and original documentary and interpretative model, but also a digital space in which scientific and educational research meet. Their use is being developed in other Italian and foreign universities. For example the archive *Granai del Mediterraneo* has been developed to gather testimonies from “MedE-atResearch – Centro di Ricerche Sociali sulla Dieta Mediterranea” by the Università Suor Orsola Benincasa in Napoli (Moro, 2014, pp. 46, 99), and the *Granaries from Ohio Wesleyan University*, developed by the American university of the same name (Fassino, Porporato, 2016, pp. 187-188).

- the ethnographic museums and the ecomuseums seen as gastronomic mnemonics, places where traces of material culture are preserved, relating to methods of cultivation of agricultural products, animal husbandry, ways of storing foodstuffs and cookery;
- the street markets and street food;
- gastronomic practices;
- the relationship between the 'industrial city' as a reality but also as an image and perception and the gastronomic heritage.

The videos made tell of the cultural, social and economic transformations that have marked the territories surveyed, above all starting from the last quarter of the twentieth century. It is a context in which the production techniques, the oral and gestural knowledge of food, a constitutive part of the evolutionary process of humanity and a central element in the definition of ethno-cultural diversities have made room for lifestyles linked to industry and agri-industry, a way of living defined by the concept of 'modernity'. These were the years in which we saw the crumbling of the material and non-material culture of tradition. Piercarlo Grimaldi, speaking of Italy, wrote: «During the nineteen-seventies we still saw traditional knowledge derided as a legacy of a past to be forgotten, to be avoided because it was the bearer of nostalgic torticollis, of rural regrets that became a burden, a hindrance to being fully part of industrial modernisation, of contemporary society based on science and no longer on magical-religious beliefs of the past» (Grimaldi, 2010, p. 118).

The result can be summarised with the words of Eric Hobsbawm: «The destruction of the past, or rather of the social mechanisms that link one's contemporary experience to that of earlier generations, is one of the most characteristic and eerie phenomena of the late twentieth century. Most young men and women at the century's end grow up in a sort of permanent present lacking any organic relation to the public past of the times they live in» (Hobsbawm, 1994, p. 3).

The interviews show that it is possible to start again, precisely from the rediscovery of the gastronomic cultural heritages in order to trigger virtuous processes of sustainable development that are essential for giving a future to entire territories overcome by processes of reconversion, or production and cognitive crises. In this perspective, we can include the absorbing experience of Slow Food and the contribution given by Carlo Petrini (2005, 2013) to the valorisation and development of the agricultural and gastronomic cultures: a virtuous idea of advancement that combines gastronomy

and responsible consumption with capitalisation of the biodiversity and the ethno-cultural diversity of the territories.

The *SlowFood-CE* project worked in this direction, providing the local public institutions with a procedure aimed at mapping the gastronomic resources and a work methodology for understanding and interpreting their gastronomic heritage according to the needs and the opportunities offered by their territories, in order to develop innovative urban policies that could be replicated in various historical, geographical and cultural contexts.

2.1. *Gathering and telling stories*

The gathering of autobiographies is a fundamental trait of cultural anthropology. Collecting life stories means seeking out «a more intimate and personal cultural portrait than would be possible otherwise. Life histories, which may be recorded or videoed for later review and analysis, reveal how specific people perceive, react to, and contribute to changes that affect their lives. Such accounts can illustrate diversity, which exists within any community, because the focus is on how different people interpret and deal with some of the same problems» (Kottak, 2015, p. 44).

It is not sufficient to simply turn on a tape recorder, when collecting them, it is necessary to follow a method, to establish empathy with the witness, to know when to hesitate, to respect their pauses and their silences, leading them to consider the topics of the research without neglecting the unforeseen narrative content, or that which leads away from the theme of the interview.

Nowadays the stories we gather are *multimedia*, because they are characterised by the co-presence and interaction of various languages (written texts, images, sounds); *crossmedia*, because the platforms carry the content across the various channels with stylistic adaptations to align the medium and the language; and at times *transmedia* because they become part of a process in which the «integral elements of a fiction get dispersed systematically across multiple delivery channels for the purpose of creating a unified and coordinated entertainment experience» (Jenkins, 2007). The stories of the *Granaries of Memory* are presented in this way. Gestures and words are translated into digital documents accessible anywhere at any time; each archive contains thematically or geographically homogeneous testimonies, offering a precious contribution to understanding the many and different forms of humanity.

The testimony is encouraged using the *interview* method, a fundamental scientific node of the project, that requires the researcher to anthropologically relate to ‘the other’, in order to correctly document the knowledge in the oral form of the story. The ‘cultural other’ is an important and fundamental anthropological concept, used since the discipline began (Kilani, 1994).

There are a number of models of interview, which vary according to the freedom of questions and answers left to the interviewee and the interviewer. In the specific case of the *Granaries*, we chose the non-structured interview model, which serves to generate a sort of autobiographical story of the interviewee: an exercise of memory that leads the individual to place themselves within the community.

The interview generally begins with a question that invites the witness to give social and identifying information that places the narration to follow in time and space. This introduction represents the reference framework within which the interviewer stands in order to foster the recovery of memory and to reconstruct certain passages of life that the interviewee considers emblematic. If «the person shows that they have a memory that is spatially and chronologically structured in an ‘organic’ manner, the interviewer need only, when necessary, accompany, encourage and assist them ‘gently’ in recovering and reconstructing their experiences» (Grimaldi, Porporato, 2012, p. 30).

The interview is a central and essential moment of the entire project. For example, when interviewing a cook, it is possible to document the use of the raw materials and their origins, the traditional dimension of the gastronomic traditions, the distinction between festive food and daily food, the specific gastronomic cultural tradition, all in all, the context analysed.

In the project, the interview therefore contributes substantially to the mapping. It is necessary to pay attention to all the agricultural products and foodstuffs, the craft products, the times and the places of production and consumption. All this contributes to the capitalisation of the gastronomic cultural heritage, to planning and enacting policies aimed at the individual contexts that can become the driving force behind the development and the promotion of economies coherent with the communities and the places of production.

Three questionnaires were drawn up, to be used during the fieldwork, based on the professional types considered during the research. [See appendix (1)].

The *interviewees* could be custodians of traditional knowledge, or witnesses of historical events and community phenomena that serve to under-

stand the structure of a social group. They are often the bearers of ethnic narrations, of fragments of memory, capable of illuminating the distinctive traits of a society (Grimaldi, Porporato, 2012, p. 26). The identification of the interviewee, of the privileged informer, is certainly a strategic act in the overall framework of the project. Conrad Phillip Kottak wrote: «every community has people who by accident, experience, talent, or training can provide the most complete or useful information about particular aspect of life. These people are key cultural consultants, also called key informants» (Kottak, 2015, p. 44).

In the *SlowFood-CE* project, we identified and interviewed certain categories of witness, represented by these categories:

- farmers, bakers, greengrocers, coffee roasters, pork butchers, cheese refiners, breeders, winegrowers, distillers, etc.;
- sellers of gastronomic products: market stall holders and owners of specialist shops, cafes, shops selling spices and other specialities;
- cooks and managers of restaurants and tourist accommodation;
- artisans, producers of objects traditionally used for the production or consumption of food (potters, glassmakers, weavers, etc.);
- local historians and journalists, not only with a cultural and gastronomic interest, but also those who have worked in areas relating to the agricultural sector;
- members of associations that work for the capitalisation of the gastronomic heritage.

During the mapping stage, other categories of possible witness may emerge. For example, visiting the areas of the city dedicated to the markets or the places in which local products are historically sold, it is possible to encounter subjects to whom questions can be put in order to analytically verify the gastronomic traditions of the area. In this phase it is necessary to record the names that the interviewees attribute to the products, above all if they are indicated with local linguistic variations; to verify through cross referencing whether the information is recognised and shared; to pay attention to the dynamics of contamination of the awareness that the tradition is an element in continual evolution.

After all, as Carlo Petrini stated, «experience is the foundation on which all theoretical knowledge is built; it will provide the basis for readings and advanced study and for incursions into other field of knowledge» (Petrini, 2007a, p. 160).

From the eighty-six interviews carried out in the five cities, certain recurrent topics emerge. The re-proposition of production cycles and gastro-

conomic practices (for example, the street food of Brno, the recipes of Krakow that disappeared during the Communist regime and have now been recovered) but also the prospect of the return to the land and the recovery of crafts in which the search for a dimension of life that tries to reappropriate and experience the spatial temporal rhythms of tradition is strong.

This project has generated the Central Europe Archive, within the *Granaries of Memory*⁶. The interviews, with additional information, represent an extraordinary opportunity to conduct an anthropological, historical, diachronic and synchronic reading of the topics dealt with in the surveys. In the archive, the visual dimension has been privileged, without excluding the textual narration; the catalogue includes fields where it is possible to add information related to the story. The relational structure of the information is organised in two distinct areas of content, each of which groups specific data.

3. The *Ark of Taste*: saving what can be saved

In recent years, reports have abounded on the anthropic effect on the diversity of animal and plant species, an effect that began with the industrial revolution and increased with the economic globalisation. It is linked to a considerable and worrying impoverishment of the biodiversity: which is to be found at varying levels all over the Earth (Raisson, 2010; Maffi, Woodley, 2010; Bevilacqua, 2006). The causes of the decline are numerous: changes to or destruction of habitats, pollution and climate change (Crutzen, 2002; 2005); the adoption of farming methods that, for economic reasons, encourage the cultivation and breeding of a restricted number of plant and animal varieties and that make the ecosystems more fragile. Moreover, models of production and consumption based on the principle that local agriculture must be at the service of the global market are imposed without adequate evaluation of the effects on the environment and the life of the community.

In this scenario, initiatives were born and consolidated with the aim of increasing awareness and knowledge, while safeguarding local crops, initiatives united by the fact that they consider the safeguarding of biodiversity fundamental. Amongst these is the Slow Food project *Ark of Taste*⁷, born in 1996, which has considered the dimension of biodiversity an intrinsic

⁶ See: www.granaidellamemoria.it/index.php/en/archives/slow-food-central-europe.

⁷ See: www.fondazione Slow Food.com/en/what-we-do/the-ark-of-taste.

part of social and cultural contexts of production and consumption (Ruffa, Monchiero, 2002, pp. 21-22; Milano *et al.*, 2018).

With the aim of conducting a first census of the agricultural products and foodstuffs in danger of extinction – current, possible or foreseeable – an online catalogue of gastronomic products was created (plant varieties, autochthonous animal breeds raised for food and transformed products) strictly linked with the culture, the history and the traditions of a community and/or of a territory. In this way, the actors involved – producers, consumers, cooks, etc. – were invited to take part in the protection and defence of the gastronomic biodiversity.

In the philosophy of the project, the expression ‘at risk of extinction’ does not mean that a product is disappearing in the strictest sense of the term, or from a biological standpoint. What is considered to be at risk is not always the product itself, but rather its use and its production. In fact, often a new product is preferred to a more traditional one simply because it is considered ‘old’ and the reasons are not strictly economic. The explanations can be linked to habits, fads or cultural attitudes: let’s consider, for example, the spread of commercial brands or industrial products that, thanks to advertising, manage to substitute local and traditional products.

Now, the database comprises more than five thousand products identified all over the world. The inclusion of a product in the *Ark of Taste* is a first step that can evolve, where the local community is willing, into specific projects for protection and enhancement.

The criteria for the inclusion of a product in the *Ark of Taste* are:

- its interest as a foodstuff and the fact that it belongs to one of the following categories: a domestic species (plant, ecotype, breed or population of native animal), a wild species (only if linked to traditional techniques of gathering, transformation and use) or local transformed products;
- particular organoleptic qualities (quality defined by local uses and traditions);
- the link with a territory, a memory, the identity of a community and traditional local knowledge;
- production in limited quantities;
- the risk of extinction.

The *SlowFood-CE* project began the census in the areas chosen for assessment by preparing three surveys – animal product, plant, transformed product [see appendix (2)] – that the members of the teams used during the research.

4. Learner communities: the Slow Food-Central Europe training course

The selection and gathering of the data involved a number of subjects (researchers, scholars, and cultural operators) who played an active role in the research, adopting the methods established for the two projects *Granaries of Memory* and *Ark of Taste*. The work groups took part in classroom training activities and, above all, a specific training course online⁸.

The training, on the one hand, shared the theoretical and methodological framework of the research; on the other, it supplied the technical skills necessary for the mapping of the gastronomic cultural heritage, identifying and documenting the gastronomic resources present in the various local contexts, an operation preliminary to every capitalisation intervention.

The training operated on two levels: the cultural operators directly involved in the partnership of the project followed the ‘transnational training’, while the local operators working in the five cities took part in the ‘local training’ activities, organised and coordinated by the members of the first group. Both groups followed an agenda that, in the initial phases, dealt with the identification and documentation (mapping) of the gastronomic cultural heritage, and later investigating the vast topic of capitalisation.

Being multilevel and continually interacting with the social players who were working together for the first time within an innovative theoretical and methodological framework, the training found a fundamental ally in multimedia and interactive technologies. A *blended learning* course was organised, with classroom lessons, both during the initial stages and during the course, and considerable and composite online activities were also available. The networking between the cultural operators in the five cities involved gave rise to a ‘*de facto* community’⁹ that made continual and critical sharing of the operative stages of the project and the content elaborated possible.

The distinctive trait of the training process lay, perhaps, in having «overcome the *social distance*, which allows learning to present itself as a *shared process*, since networks make it possible to establish not only one-to-one or one-to-many communication, so much as many-to-many communication in which each participant [...] can establish interactions and forms

⁸ See: www.granaidellamemoria.it/edu/login/index.php.

⁹ Guglielmo Trentin believes that «a *de facto* community, in order to be successful, must first of all be a *real community*, based on the ‘physical’ knowledge of its members (for example through periodic meetings) on reciprocal trust and respect, and above all on their awareness, willingness and ability to identify as a single body; the *de facto* community» (Trentin, 2001, p. 168).

of cooperation with other whole groups. This makes it possible to create *virtual groups* that provide for potentially analogous, and in some cases, more effective, cooperative and dialogic dynamics than those present in the real classes» (Crispiani, 2006, p. 91).

4.1 Structure of the training course

The training course was organised in five macro-areas, which, in turn, presented further subdivisions of modules and lessons on specific topics. For each didactic unit, it was also possible to activate discussion forums, interactive glossaries, and bibliographic sources and to share specific multimedia resources¹⁰. The *Granaries of Memory* workshop had already tested a similar method of work, although the educational aims were decidedly more circumscribed, within the European research *Open Discovery Space*¹¹.

The macro-areas of the *Slow Food-CE* were:

1. Gastronomic Culture Heritage (for the sake of brevity, GCH) Mapping Model;
2. Training Model: from transnational training to local training;
3. Training Course on GCH identification and documentation;
4. Training Course in GCH resources valorisation;
5. Project Document Repository.

1. The first lesson of the online course presented the *Technical and methodological framework for development of the project SlowFood-CE: Culture, heritage, Identity and Food*; this was a fundamental document for understanding the theoretical and methodological premises of the entire project; the mapping model and the valorisation of the gastronomic cultural heritage; the aims and the system of diffusion of the results attained.

The innovative method of survey was illustrated with particular attention to its fundamental aspects and the strategic guidelines (biodiversity; ethno-cultural diversity; sustainability; *Granaries of Memory*; *Ark of Taste*; training course; mapping model; diffusion of the results): clearly showing the anthropological basis of the project. The model of valorisation of the

¹⁰ The technological infrastructure was a Moodle platform (<https://moodle.org>). This system is widely used in the academic world, allowing easy and intuitive management of interactivity and of the various communication processes between learners and tutors.

¹¹ The research was part of the *ICT Policy Support Programme* (VII Framework Programme) with the aim of elaborating a method of sharing and the use of educational content, aligning and standardising the various educational projects of the European institutions. See: <https://portal.opendiscovery.space.eu/en>.

gastronomic traditions in fact traversed a rediscovered relationship between those who produce food and those who consume it, respecting biodiversity, ethno-cultural diversity, sustainability and re-proposing productive and gastronomic practices that have marked the history, the relationship, between the cities and the countryside of the territories surveyed.

The first level showed a clear picture of the choices and means used to identify and document the gastronomic cultural heritage, according to a participative approach, generating a corpus of knowledge that benefits above all the local administrators and the small enterprises involved in food production and hospitality.

2. The second part of the course, *Training model: from transnational training to local training*, briefly illustrated the overall training given, explaining the stages and the objectives. The aims of the *SlowFood-CE: Culture, Heritage, Identity and Food* project were:

- to develop a training model that will build the capacities of project partners in regard to the identification and promotion of GCH;
- to develop a training model that will be tested by the project partners and then improved, based on the lessons learned in the process;
- to develop a training model to supplement relevant topics with common contents, tools and resources (transnational training), which will subsequently be adapted to local needs (local training) following a cascade approach.

In this framework, the brief module defined the social actors to be trained and established the need for evaluation of the initial knowledge and the time needed for transnational and local training.

3. The third part of the course *GCH identification and documentation* was organised in five modules that, in turn, were divided into lessons. The teaching modules were:

- benchmark theoretical framework;
- mapping;
- desk research;
- field research;
- best practices and useful information.

This structure of online learning made it possible to emphasise some key concepts of the project (*benchmark theoretical framework*), for example, ethno-cultural diversity and biodiversity, through written and multime-

dia documents. Above all, it presented the technical and methodological framework for the *mapping* of the local gastronomic heritage. This stage of the training gave the coordinates necessary for *cultural mapping*, that is, the identification of the traditional gastronomic productions and practices, with reference to each of the territories surveyed. It was a fundamental operation for the process of valorisation and local development.

In particular, it involved:

- identifying the traditional cultural and agricultural and food resources of local areas;
- evaluating their potential in terms of preservation of the local gastronomic cultural heritage;
- evaluating their potential in terms of a local dynamic that is virtuous from the sociocultural, environmental and economic standpoint.

Among the possible areas to be surveyed, we were particularly interested in:

- traditional agricultural and artisanal food products;
- places of production, distribution and consumption;
- trades and skills;
- production and consumption practices/techniques;
- production and consumption tools.

The work required particular attention to the material and non-material cultural heritage linked to the productive cycles and the gastronomic practices, whether still active or part of memory, that characterise the territories surveyed.

For this purpose, the course advised the adoption of a twofold perspective: research into secondary sources (*desk research*) and *field research*. It was, in fact, necessary to explore studies already carried out locally; often little-known research that, nonetheless, provided fundamental anchorage for recovering precious information about animal species and plant varieties, production cycles, gastronomic practices and symbolic systems. Amongst these sources were, for example, the documents of historical archives, the archives of public and religious organisations, local recipe books and history books, texts that bear the historical and artistic heritage from which it is sometimes possible to recuperate precious descriptions and images of the presence and consumption of foods in a certain place¹². At

¹² One example of a repertory particularly useful for this type of iconography is present in Daverio, 2015.

the end of this didactic unit is a list of some works that deal with the topic of European gastronomic heritages on a regional and urban scale and that offer a wide-ranging contribution to the link between food and culture.

This phase of the research – bibliographical, archival and iconographic – was fundamental and propaedeutic to the fieldwork. It is useful to mention a passage from Marc Augé and Jean-Paul Colleyn: «The work of the anthropologist is not limited to adventures in the field, trying to understand a society from within: the researcher travels with a living library in his head. [...] in fact, he must manage a certain tension between the dialogue in the field with his interlocutors and the more abstract one that he maintains with ‘his’ authors. Although it is difficult, he must continually avoid, on the one hand, suffocating the experience in the field with what he already knows and, on the other hand, stimulating curiosity thanks to his anthropological culture. This exercise, practised for a significant period of time, is what distinguishes field research from reportage» (2006, p. 84).

The *desk research* defined the traits of the local food system, from the production to the consumption and the economic, social and cultural field of reference. The inquiry into secondary sources was accompanied by field research which, in the *Slow Food-CE* project was aimed and finalised in gathering life stories, narrations of social actors linked to the territories explored, bearers of oral knowledge, in particular that linked to the production and consumption of food.

The fourth module (*field research*) was divided into three parts and is certainly the most multifaceted and complex module, perhaps the most ambitious.



It began with indications on how to identify the subjects to be interviewed, those privileged witnesses, bearers and custodians of traditional skills relevant to the research; it continued with a list of operative instructions on how to conduct a semi-structured interview and, finally, it presented some models of questionnaire to be adopted according to the context of the research. In the second part, video tutorials explained how to acquire the skills necessary for recording and editing the audiovisual material. The third and last part dealt with cataloguing the filmed document. A first list of

variables – the *interview form* [Appendix (3)] – defined the subject interviewed and the content of the narration. Once the form was compiled, it was possible to upload the interview onto the *Granaries of Memory* database. In addition, if the life story gathered spoke of a particular product, animal or plant, or of a production technique, it was necessary, in order to record this information, to compile one of the three forms available: product of animal origin, product of vegetable origin and processed product.

The fifth and last module (*best practices and useful information*) of the *Training course on GCH identification and documentation* showed interviews that document professions and production cycles through life stories. Amongst these are interviews conducted during the meetings foreseen by *Transnational Training*. Included in the educational resources of this area, is a brief version of the training course, translated into the languages of the countries that took part in the *SlowFood-CE* project, which is particularly useful for the purpose of *local training*.

4. The fourth and last part of the *Training course in GCH resources valorisation* comprised six modules:

- valorisation: what and how;
- public markets;
- cooks and chefs;
- sustainable tourism;
- food education;
- material for local training sessions.

The first introduced the concept and the practices of valorisation of the gastronomic heritage according to the model conceived by Slow Food and enacted over the years in various territorial contexts. The subsequent four modules (public markets, cooks and chefs, sustainable tourism, education) proposed four training courses on the forms and practices of valorisation of the gastronomic heritage.

The *SlowFood-CE* project has chosen to work on *Public markets*, in view of the experience gained through *Slow Food Earth Markets*. The market, as it is seen here, becomes a place in which the farmers and the producers are no longer merely ‘passive consumers’ but, as Carlo Petrini, states ‘co-producers’ who genuinely wish to understand the products that allow them to live and work (2007, p. 1). The *public market* thus becomes a privileged space in which to prompt a virtuous process of valorisation through the meeting, the exchanges, the knowledge and the reciprocal edu-

cation between those who produce the food and those who buy it, between city and countryside.

Ways of valorising the gastronomic heritage, starting with the role of *Cooks and chefs* was the objective of the third module. Starting with the decade-long experience of the *Slow Food Chefs' Alliance* it is clear that cooks can play a key role in promoting the gastronomic heritage of a territory. They contribute to valorising the animal and plant productions at risk of extinction, thus supporting the small producers. The guidelines supplied, adapted to the contexts of the five cities, set out this virtuous and creative method of valorisation.

The fourth module *Sustainable tourism* dealt with the role that this model of tourism can have for the valorisation of GCH: in fact, it must not only pay attention to the environmental aspect, protecting and preserving the natural heritage and the biodiversity, it must also equally consider the cultural dimension, the ethno-cultural diversity that we have widely discussed, which finds in food its most evident representations. The guidelines in this teaching unit were drawn up based on the *Slow Food Travel*¹³, project, born to propose tourist experiences that explore a territory through its food, the artisan practices, the life stories of the farmers, shepherds, the cheese-makers, bakers and so on.

The module *Food education* concentrated on the importance of the educational processes in the valorisation of the GCH. Through carefully planned 'gastronomic pedagogy', the educational institutions can play a key role in elaborating and putting into practice initiatives for the valorisation of the GCH. The teaching unit was born from the experiences of Slow Food and, in particular, the Food Garden project¹⁴. The last module *Material for local training sessions*, presented a brief version of the training course, translated into the languages of the countries that took part in the *SlowFood-CE* project, which is particularly useful for the purpose of *local training*.

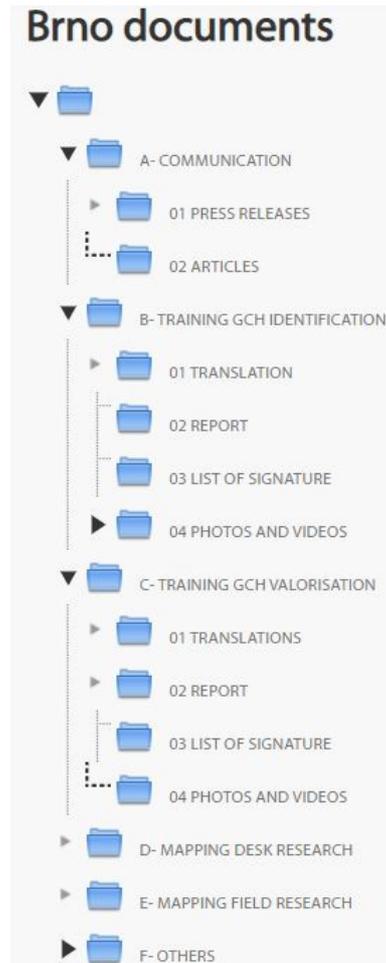
5. The last section of the course, *Project document repository*, collected and recorded the documents produced throughout the project. This space was used by the five work groups to file, recuperate and share documents in the various formats. In order to understand the complex research work and data analysis undertaken over the years, it is sufficient to read the docu-

¹³ For more information see the project website: www.fondazione Slow Food.com/en/what-we-do/slow-food-travel.

¹⁴ For more information see: www.slowfood.it/educazione/orto-in-condotta.

ments produced which not only confirm the progress made, but also represent an extraordinary basis for undertaking similar initiatives.

Fig. 1 – The repository structure



Appendices

1. Types of questionnaire used for the interviews

1.1. Interview template – cooks/chefs

Presentation

1. Self-presentation.
2. How did you begin? Tell us about your professional (and, if you wish, personal) experiences. Where did you begin to cook?
3. What's your restaurant's philosophy?
4. Is your cooking local or influenced by other styles?
5. What are the typical flavours of your local area?
6. Is your cooking more traditional or more innovative?

Cooking

1. What's your favourite ingredient?
2. What colour is your cooking?
3. What's your personal 'madeleine', the dish that sticks in your memory?
4. What did you learn and what have you kept with you from each stage in your experience?
5. What is cooking for you? Heart, mind or hands?
6. Is cookery art?
7. What is the gesture that best represents you in the kitchen?
8. What role does seasonality play in your kitchen?
9. Is there a food product or ingredient from your memory that you find increasingly hard to find on the market?

Cooking and agriculture

1. Which are the ingredients of this local area that you love the most?
2. What's the relationship between your cooking and producers, food artisans, agriculture and the land?
3. How do you choose your ingredients? What are they?
4. What relationship do you have with food producers?
5. How do you see the chef/land relationship?

Cooking and the affective sphere

1. Is cooking for you more masculine or more feminine?
2. What about cooking over a fire in the open air?

Cooking, a changing world, ethics

1. How is cooking changing?
2. How are customers changing?
3. What role does storytelling play in cooking in general and in your cooking in particular?
4. Is cooking more to do with nutrition or with feelings?
5. If you had to cook a dish for love, what would it be?
6. What is the chef's role in a changing world wrestling with major issues such as nutrition, biodiversity loss and climate change?
7. How can a chef help to fuel and support biodiversity and cultural wealth?

Food and conviviality

1. Is the chef a host? If not, can chefs become hosts again?
2. Can or must a restaurant be a place for meeting, conversation and conviviality?
3. What is the chef's function from the social relations standpoint?
4. Why should we go to a restaurant today?

Extra

1. Have you any significant anecdotes to tell?
2. What are your passions, aside from cooking?

1.2. Interview template – farmers/producers

1. Ask the interviewee to introduce himself/herself (name, surname, date and place of birth, profession etc.).
2. Ask the interviewee to provide a brief description of where he/she has lived, what he/she has done in life etc.
3. Ask the interviewee to speak about his/her professional experience and guide him/her in making connections between profession and personal/family history and historical and social context. What are the connections between the interviewee's activity and the historical/social context in which it originated?
4. Get to the heart of the interviewee's production activities:
 - Explain the production cycle of one of your products.
 - What are the main stages in the production cycle you work with?
 - How much tradition is there in your work?
 - How much innovation is there in your work?
 - How much of the local area and its traditions is there in your products? Give an example.
 - Is there a product that you cultivate/raise/process that is increasingly difficult to sell on the market?

1.3. Interview template – general

General questions to begin an interview with different people in different contexts.

1. Ask the interviewee to introduce himself/herself (name, surname, date and place of birth, profession etc.).
2. Ask the interviewee to provide a brief description of where he/she has lived, what he/she has done life etc.
3. Ask the interviewee to speak about his/her experiences. Can you tell us about significant moments/experiences in your life?
4. Ask the interviewee to speak about food-related memories. What are your memories of food in your childhood and youth?
5. Ask the interviewee to speak about changes in gastronomy in his/her lifetime. What are the main transformations you have seen in gastronomy and eating habits in the course of your lifetime?

2. Forms *Ark of Taste*

2.1. Product of animal origin form

Country: Croatia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic.

A)

1. Product name.
2. Name by which the product is known locally.
3. Product category:
 - cheese or dairy products;
 - charcuterie and cured meats;
 - fish preserves;
 - honey and apiculture products;
 - native animal breeds;
 - fish and sea food;
 - miscellaneous.
4. Breeding/production area (indicate the local area – district, region, province – from which the product originates, by specifying the distance in kilometres from the city).
5. Provide a brief description of the *terroir*, that is of the physical and climate conditions that endow the product with its specific characteristics.
6. Animal species of origin: cow, sheep, goat, bird, rabbit, pig, fish, miscellaneous.
7. Name of animal breed (only if native).
8. Scientific name (in the case of fish species).
9. Describe the product's characteristics:
 - size and weight;
 - color and characteristics of coat or plumage;
 - presence and shape of horns;

- distinguishing features of the breed;
 - use (meat, milk, wool, work, eggs).
10. In the case of fish species, describe its appearance and habitat.
 11. Indicate the productive characteristics that make the species or breed particularly interesting and suited to precise local conditions.
 12. Description of rearing methods:
 - indicate rearing methods (e.g., stabled or farmed only, with daily or seasonal grazing, or entirely free-range);
 - indicate the location of farms (specify whether international, national, regional or local);
 - indicate animal feed (stable forage and/or silage and percentage between green and dried fodder);
 - describe any traditional farming/hunting/fishing practices and the time of year in which they are implemented. Indicate any traditional equipment used (e.g., fishing nets, traps, hives etc.);
 - in the case of mountain grazing, when does it occur and where? How are the animals taken to the mountain pastures?;
 - in the case of meat animals, specify when they are butchered, at what age/weight and where;
 - in the case of wild species, indicate the period of the year in which hunting is permitted by law.
 13. Describe a particularly representative processed product (cheese or charcuterie) obtained from the species or breed in question.

A.1)

In the case of a cheese.

- Indicate whether the milk used is blended (specify species: e.g., cow's/sheep's) or from a single species, and whether it is full or partly skimmed or skimmed.
- Indicate whether the milk is used raw or pasteurized or thermized.
- Provide a physical description of the cheese (i.e., shape, size, weight, etc.).
- Describe the sensory characteristics of the cheese (aroma, flavor, texture etc.).
- Provide a detailed stage-by-stage description of how the cheese is produced and matured.
- In which period of the year is it produced?
- What type of rennet is used?
- Are enzymes used? If so, what type (selected or self-produced)?
- Are other ingredients (e.g., spices) added? If so, which?
- Is the cheese eaten fresh? If so, within how many days?
- Is the cheese matured? Describe maturing or storage rooms, methods and times.
- How much of the cheese is produced every year?
- Specify whether the cheesemakers are the same people who farm the animals that provide the milk for the cheese? If not, what percentage of the milk is bought in?

A.2)

In the case of charcuterie or cured meat.

- Besides that is the breed indicated above, are other kinds of meat used? If so, which?
- Which parts of the animal are used?
- Provide a physical description of the meat (e.g., shape, size, weight, etc.).
- Describe the sensory characteristics of the meat (aroma, flavor, etc.).
- Provide a detailed stage-by-stage description of how the meat is produced, from cleaning to aging or preservation, where appropriate.
- Describe aging rooms, methods and times.
- In which period of the year is the meat produced?
- Which other ingredients are used (spices, salt, vegetables, etc.)?
- Is the product eaten raw or cooked?
- How much is produced every year?
- Specify whether the processors are the same people who farm the animals whose meat constitutes the main ingredient of the product. If not, what percentage of the meat is bought in?

B)

14. History of the product and bond with local culture.

Describe the history and traditions of the product, citing, where possible, historical sources and/or oral testimonies of locals documenting the cultivation, harvesting, production and consumption of the product in the past. A product is considered traditional if it has been produced and consumed by a community and handed down for at least two generations, the equivalent of at least 50-70 years.

- Are there any celebrations, festivities (lay or religious) or anniversaries connected with the product? If so, which?
- On what occasions (family, community etc.) is it prepared and/or consumed?
- Is the product associated with local legends, stories, figures of speech and/or proverbs?
- Attach photocopies, photographs, videos, links or other material, if possible.

15. Traditional gastronomic customs.

- Indicate any other traditional processed products obtained from the native animal breed described above.
- Is the processed product (raw or cooked) used as an ingredient in any traditional dishes or recipes?

16. Other uses of the product (e.g.: medicinal or cosmetic, in crafts, building, as a textile fiber or natural coloring agent, etc.).

17. Is the product part of the cultural heritage of historical and/or linguistic minorities? If yes, which? Provide a brief description of the community.

C)

18. Is the product available on the market or only for domestic consumption?

19. On which markets is the product available? Local, provincial, national, overseas.
20. Indicate types of purchaser: end consumers, large scale retail, local stores, direct selling, online, restaurants (specify which, if possible), miscellaneous.
21. Does the product have a brand name and/or production protocol? If so, which (EC denominations such as PDO, PGI etc. or collective commercial trademarks etc.)?
22. Attach the production protocol envisaged by adherence to the denomination or trademark, where possible.
23. Are there associations dedicated to the production, protection and/or promotion of the product? If so, which?
24. Are there commercial versions of the same product? Yes, No.
25. Why is the product's existence limited? Why does it risk disappearing?
 - Scarcity thereof.
 - Inadequate production facilities (sites, equipment etc.).
 - Lack of able workforce.
 - Impossibility of ensuring consistent production for reasons of seasonality or sourcing in certain periods.
 - Consumer alienation (changes in consumption patterns).
 - Lack of adequate product promotion.
 - Commercialization difficulties due to infrastructural problems.
 - Problems due to excessively high prices.
 - Competition from commercial versions of the same product.
 - Problems linked to climate change.
 - Difficulties of access to purchase or leasing of land.
 - Miscellaneous.

2.2. *Product of plant origin form*

Country: Croatia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic.

A)

1. Product name.
2. Name by which the product is known locally.
3. Scientific name. Indicate the scientific name of the plant species.
4. Product category.
 - Cacao.
 - Coffee.
 - Cereals, grains and flours.
 - Aromatic herbs and spices.
 - Fruit.
 - Legumes.
 - Vegetables.
 - Tea.
 - Grape varieties.
 - Miscellaneous.

5. Cultivation/production area. Indicate the local area – district, region, province – from which the product originates, by specifying the distance in kilometres from the city.
6. Provide a brief description of the *terroir*, that is of the physical and climate conditions that endow the product with its specific characteristics.
7. Product description.
 - Shape.
 - Color.
 - Consistency.
 - Weight.
 - Flavor.
 - Aroma.
 - Distinguishing features.
8. The product is: wild, cultivated.
9. Describe the cultivation method: conventional, organic (even if not certified as such), biodynamic.
 - In which period of the year is it sowed?
 - Is it reproduced with local seeds (self-produced or swapped with other farmers) or with bought-in commercial seeds?
 - In which period of the year is it harvested?
 - How is the harvest carried out?
 - Are traditional artisan tools used to harvest/preserve it? If so, which? Specify the local names for the tools and explain how they are used etc.
 - Does the product undergo post-harvest processing? If so, what type (grinding, drying, smoking, etc.)?
 - What post-harvest systems are used? Are methods traditional or modern (e.g., seed drying, sifting with traditional sieves, etc.)?

B)

10. History of the product and bond with local culture. Describe the history and traditions of the product, citing, where possible, historical sources and/or oral testimonies of locals documenting the cultivation, harvesting, production and consumption of the product in the past. A product is considered traditional if it has been produced and consumed by a community and handed down for at least two generations, the equivalent of at least 50-70 years.
 - Are there any celebrations, festivities (lay or religious) or anniversaries connected with the product? If so, which?
 - On what occasions (family, community etc.) is it prepared and/or consumed?
 - Is the product associated with local legends, stories, figures of speech and/or proverbs?
11. Attach photocopies, photographs, videos, links or other material, if possible.
12. Traditional gastronomic customs.
 - Indicate any other traditional processed products obtained from the product described above.
 - Indicate any techniques required to consume/cook the plant product in question (e.g.: poaching in boiling water to remove bitterness, etc.).

- Are all the parts of the plant used? If not, which are used?
 - Is the product used to process traditional foodstuffs (preserves, breads, cakes and confectionery, etc.)? Is it a principal ingredient in traditional recipes? If so, which?
13. Other uses of the product (e.g.: medicinal or cosmetic, in crafts, building, as a textile fibre or natural colouring agent, etc.).
14. Is the product part of the cultural heritage of historical and/or linguistic minorities? If yes, which? Provide a brief description of the community.

C)

15. Is the product available on the market or only for domestic consumption?
16. On which markets is the product available? Local, provincial, national, overseas.
17. Indicate types of purchaser: end consumers, large scale retail, local stores, direct selling, online, restaurants (specify which, if possible), miscellaneous.
18. Does the product have a brand name and/or production protocol? If so, which (EC denominations such as PDO, PGI etc. or collective commercial trademarks etc.)?
19. Attach the production protocol envisaged by adherence to the denomination or trademark, where possible.
20. Are there associations dedicated to the production, protection and/or promotion of the product? If so, which?
21. Are there commercial versions of products processed from the plant in question? Yes, No.
22. Why is the product's existence limited? Why does it risk disappearing?
- Scarcity thereof.
 - Inadequate production facilities (sites, equipment etc.).
 - Lack of able workforce.
 - Impossibility of ensuring consistent production for reasons of seasonality or sourcing in certain periods.
 - Consumer alienation (changes in consumption patterns).
 - Lack of adequate product promotion.
 - Commercialization difficulties due to infrastructural problems.
 - Problems due to excessively high prices.
 - Competition from commercial versions of the same product.
 - Problems linked to climate change.
 - Difficulties of access to purchase or leasing of land.
 - Miscellaneous.

2.3. Processed product form

Country: Croatia, Italy, Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic.

A)

1. Product name.
2. Name by which the product is known locally.

3. Category of processed product of vegetable origin:
 - breads and baked goods;
 - cakes and confectionery;
 - pasta;
 - preserves, jams and marmalades, creams and custards, pickles and products in oil;
 - oils;
 - wines, musts and spirits;
 - miscellaneous.
4. Category of processed product of animal origin:
 - pâtés, creams and sauces made with meat, blood etc.;
 - foie gras;
 - miscellaneous.
5. Production area. Indicate the local area – district, region, province – from which the product originates by specifying the distance in kilometres from the city.
6. Provide a brief description of the *terroir*, that is of the physical and climate conditions that endow the product with its specific characteristics.
7. Product description and production method.
 - Describe the physical and sensory characteristics of the processed product (weight, shape, flavor, etc.).
 - Describe the method preparation, bearing in mind the following suggestions and describing all the various stages and processing times.
 - What are the ingredients?
 - What is their origin?

If the main ingredient is a local variety, compile part A of form *Product of plant origin* (*supra* n. 2.2); if it derives from a local native animal breed, compile also form *Product of animal origin* (*supra* n. 2.1), excluding parts A.1 and A.2.

- What tools or equipment are used to make and/or preserve the product?
- Are the tools or equipment made by local artisans?
- Do these tools or equipment have a local name? (If so, explain the meaning).
- Are special production facilities used (stone ovens, water mills, drying rooms, presses etc.).
- Is there a specific production period for the processed product?
- How is it preserved?
- Specify whether the production technique traditional or modern (if the technique is traditional, specify also the differences detectable in the product's final quality).

B)

8. History of the product and bond with local culture. Describe the history and traditions of the product, citing, where possible, historical sources and/or oral testimonies of locals documenting the cultivation, harvesting, production and consumption of the product in the past. A product is considered

traditional if it has been produced and consumed by a community and handed down for at least two generations, the equivalent of at least 50-70 years.

- Are there any celebrations, festivities (lay or religious) or anniversaries connected with the product? If so, which?
 - On what occasions (family, community etc.) is it prepared and/or consumed?
 - Is the product associated with local legends, stories, figures of speech and/or proverbs?
 - Attach photocopies, photographs, videos, links or other material, if possible.
9. Traditional gastronomic customs.
- Is the processed product used as an ingredient in any traditional dishes or recipes?
10. Other uses of the product (e.g.: medicinal or cosmetic, in crafts, building, as a textile fiber or natural coloring agent, etc.).
11. Is the product part of the cultural heritage of historical and/or linguistic minorities? If yes, which? Provide a brief description of the community.

C)

12. Is the product available on the market or only for domestic consumption?
13. On which markets is the product available? Local, provincial, national, overseas.
14. Indicate types of purchaser: end consumers, large scale retail, local stores, direct selling, online, restaurants (specify which, if possible), miscellaneous.
15. Does the product have a brand name and/or production protocol? If so, which (EC denominations such as PDO, PGI etc. or collective commercial trademarks etc.)?
16. Attach the production protocol envisaged by adherence to the denomination or trademark, where possible.
17. Are there associations dedicated to the production, protection and/or promotion of the product? If so, which?
18. Are there commercial versions of the same product? Yes, No.
19. Why is the product's existence limited? Why does it risk disappearing?
- Scarcity thereof.
 - Inadequate production facilities (sites, equipment etc.).
 - Lack of able workforce.
 - Impossibility of ensuring consistent production for reasons of seasonality or sourcing in certain periods.
 - Consumer alienation (changes in consumption patterns).
 - Lack of adequate product promotion.
 - Commercialization difficulties due to infrastructural problems.
 - Problems due to excessively high prices.
 - Competition from commercial versions of the same product.
 - Problems linked to climate change.
 - Difficulties of access to purchase or leasing of land.
 - Miscellaneous.

3. Interview form

<i>Oral history sources</i>	
Name and surname	
Date of birth	(at least the year)
Place of birth	(city, province)
Education	
Profession	
language spoken during the interview	
Interviewee's contact numbers	(please enter an email address, if available)
Name and address, if any, of company/restaurant etc. to which the interview refers	
<i>Contents of the interview</i>	
Description of the contents of the interview	Write a ten-line abstract in English and in your own language (Italian, Polish, Hungarian, Czech or Croatian)
Period referred to	(Indicate the years or period to which the interviewee's story refers: e.g. 1990-2013)
Country	
Region	
Province	
Town/city	(Indicate the main town/city to which the interviewee refers in the interview)
Keywords	
Form compiled by (name(s) and surname(s))	
Date of realization of audiovisual document	
Author(s) audiovisual document (name(s) and surname(s))	
Time Code	Insert times in minutes and seconds (00':00") with a description of the topics covered in the interview (e.g., 00':08" Personal presentation - 01:29" Taking sheep to pasture - 03':12" Raw milk cheese etc.)
Other information	

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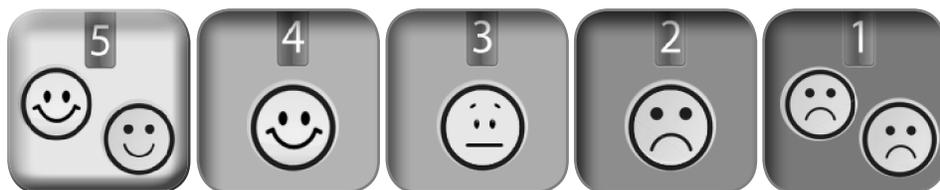
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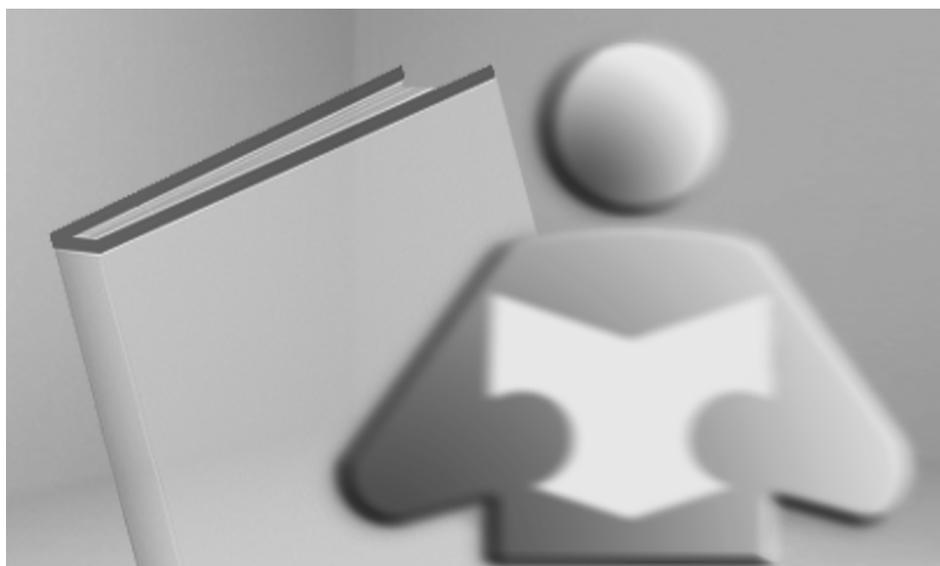


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