

# Food and Memory

Jon D. Holtzman

Department of Anthropology, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, Michigan 49008; email: jon.holtzman@wmich.edu

Annu. Rev. Anthropol. 2006.35:361-78

First published online as a Review in Advance on June 14, 2006

The *Annual Review of Anthropology* is online at [anthro.annualreviews.org](http://anthro.annualreviews.org)

This article's doi:  
10.1146/annurev.anthro.35.081705.123220

Copyright © 2006 by Annual Reviews.  
All rights reserved

0084-6570/06/1021-0361\$20.00

## Key Words

sensuality, nostalgia, identity, invented traditions, history

## Abstract

Much of the burgeoning literature on food in anthropology and related fields implicitly engages with issues of memory. Although only a relatively small but growing number of food-centered studies frame themselves as directly concerned with memory—for instance, in regard to embodied forms of memory—many more engage with its varying forms and manifestations, such as in a diverse range of studies in which food becomes a significant site implicated in social change, the now-voluminous body relating food to ethnic or other forms of identity, and invented food traditions in nationalism and consumer capitalism. Such studies are of interest not only because of what they may tell us about food, but moreover because particular facets of food and food-centered memory offer more general insights into the phenomenon of memory and approaches to its study in anthropology and related fields.

## INTRODUCTION

In considering how notions of memory are infused within the food literature, one may feel somewhat in a role imagined by Jorge Luis Borges (1970) in his short story *Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius*. Critics, writes Borges, “often invent authors: [T]hey select two dissimilar works—the *Tao Tè Ching* and the *1001 Nights*, say—attribute them to the same writer and then determine most scrupulously the psychology of this interesting *homme de lettres*. . .[.]”

I will, of course, be inventing neither authors nor a subject. Yet the topic of food and memory is in several ways far less conventionally defined and bounded than would be, for example, “Kinship Studies Since the 90s” or “Change in African Pastoralist Societies.” First, few anthropological studies explicitly frame their focus as food and memory—books by Sutton (2001) and Counihan (2004) are the principal full-length works. Consequently there is, by and large, not a self-defined and readily contained literature that need merely be surveyed to assess the current state of the field. Rather, the strands of significantly varying processes commonly construed as “memory” implicitly inform much of the literature on food, such that the task becomes largely to tease out and to disentangle these strands within differing approaches focusing on differing processes. Specifically, my goal is to understand how varied notions of memory emerge within much of the burgeoning literature on food in anthropology and related fields, with a secondary goal of understanding how the processes described in these works could provide some broader insights into more general approaches to memory.

I do not question that a powerful connection exists between food and memory. Their inexorable relationship is frequently offered to us initially in short-hand, via Proust, in which the canonized taste of the squat little madeleines is the catalyst for remembrances to fill dense, thick volumes. Yet precisely what

the relationships are between food and memory (as phenomena and as objects of study) is complexified by a second critical issue. Each half of this relationship—food and memory—is something of a floating signifier, although in rather different ways. As for food, we may readily define it in a strictly realist sense—that stuff that we as organisms consume by virtue of requiring energy. Yet it is an intrinsically multilayered and multidimensional subject—with social, psychological, physiological, symbolic dimensions, to name merely a few—and with culturally constructed meanings that differ not merely, as we naturally assume, in the perspectives of our subjects, but indeed in the perspectives of the authors who construct and construe the object of food in often very different ways, ranging from the strictly materialist to the ethereal gourmand. And memory is much thornier. What we homonymically label as “memory” often refers to an array of very different processes which not only has a totally different dynamic, but which we aim to understand for very different reasons—everything from monumental public architecture to the nostalgia evoked by a tea-soaked biscuit. In a sense, then, exploring approaches to food and memory is akin to examining the neck of the Great Roe—Woody Allen’s mythological beast with the head of the lion and the body of the lion, although not the same lion—the intersection of two objects that are potently linked but each is, to varying degrees, shifting and indeterminate.

This chapter focuses principally on the anthropological literature, although both food and memory are subjects that intrinsically demand a cross-disciplinary approach. Memory ties anthropology to history, and in a different sense psychology, whereas food studies cross-cut sociology, literature, and even culinary science. I thus seek to address the ways that key questions concerning memory have been treated (explicitly or implicitly) in the study of food in anthropology and related fields. For instance, which facets of food—or what configuration of its varying facets—render it a potent site for the construction of memory?

Which kinds of memories does food have the particular capacity to inscribe, and are there other ways that food may be implicated in a conscious or unconscious forgetting? How are food-centered forms of memory—conscious or unconscious, publicly validated or privately concealed—linked to other mediums for memory? How does dietary change become linked in complex, and perhaps contradictory, ways to broader understandings of change? Or how, alternatively, does real or perceived resilience in foodways speak to understandings of the present and imaginings of the future through reference to a mythic or historicized conception of past eating?

Before turning to these questions, however, I first survey the parameters of my two floating signifiers.

## DEFINING MEMORY

Despite the recent surge in memory studies, the concept is often treated in quite disparate ways. This review cannot fully engage with—much less resolve—all the issues incumbent in these disparities. However, I briefly address some key tensions in approaches to memory, both to clarify how I treat it and to foreground reasons why food provides a particularly rich arena to explore memory's complexities.

As some have suggested, the current scholarly excitement over the study of “memory” is to a great extent framed in juxtaposition to its older, frumpier sibling “history”—although history is frequently tied to empiricism, objectivity, and as Hodgkin & Radstone (2003) note, “a certain notion of truth” (p. 3), memory intrinsically destabilizes truth through a concern with the subjective ways that the past is recalled, memorialized, and used to construct the present. This, of course, occurs through a diverse range of processes, both individual and social, some of which constitute quite different faculties within remembering subjects, whereas others concern social processes that mark, inscribe, or interpret the past. That such diverse processes

are often considered under the single rubric of memory—some literal forms of remembering, some more metaphorical uses of the term—infuses a fuzziness into many studies of memory that can be intrinsically problematic. Beyond this, however, the fact that the disparate nature of these different processes is not often acknowledged can lead to a failure to underscore the multiple readings and affective ambivalence that often characterizes even a single individual's reading of the past, much less social renderings of it. Thus, even the most nuanced treatments of memory can, perhaps inadvertently, imply that the complex intersecting messages elucidated in their studies might be ultimately interpreted as being principally about some main thing in particular, such as colonialism (Cole 2001) or the state (Mueggler 2001). Although ambivalences and dissonances are sometimes noted in anthropological treatments of memory (e.g., Jackson 1995, Ong 2003, Ganguly 2001), only rarely are they treated as deeply fundamental to the fabric and texture of memory, as in Smith's (2004) treatment of heteroglossic memory.

For reasons I return to near the conclusion of this review, I see food as a particularly rich arena in which to explore such complexities of memory, but for now I simply highlight the fairly broad parameters I employ while exploring it. In my own uses of the term memory I take as fundamental to its definition the notion of experience or meaning in reference to the past. This working definition nonetheless includes quite a broad array of disparate processes, including (although not exhaustively) events that subjects recall or emotionally re-experience, the unconscious (perhaps embodied) memories of subjects, how a sense of historicity shapes social processes and meanings, nostalgia for a real or imagined past, and invented traditions. From this I exclude historically sedimented practices that neither reflect the (conscious or unconscious) captured experience of remembering subjects, nor the experience of temporality or historicity in subjects' present engagement with the world. Examples

of such “unremembered forms of memory” would include such notions as Shaw’s (2002) “practical memory” or James’ (1988) notion of a cultural archive, and within food studies a broad range of scholarship which is principally interested in history in the strict sense of how processes unfolded over time rather than how subjects in the present remember or construe these processes [e.g., Cwiertka 2000, 2002; Mintz 1985 (and to a great extent 1996); Lentz 1999; Brandes 1997; Plotnicov & Scaglione 1999; Trubek 2000].

I now turn from memory to a brief discussion of food, before returning to their confluence.

### WHAT IS FOOD?

This is not a stupid question. If the answer seems obvious (we can point to food; we have all eaten food) we should consider the extent to which the anthropological enterprise has aimed to destabilize categories drawn from the commonsense architecture of Western thought. Thus, food—like the family, gender, or religion—must be understood as a cultural construct in which categories rooted in Euro-American experience may prove inadequate. Although space does not allow a full elaboration of this assertion, I would contend that as a collective body the scholarly treatment of food often relies fairly explicitly on Western constructions of it; however, certainly many individual scholars rely on more culturally specific (e.g., Meigs 1984) or highly theorized notions (Sutton 2001).

An important aspect of this is that the scholarly literature on food has the blessing and the curse of having potential carryover to an educated lay market. That is, where a book on structural adjustment programs, for instance, has little potential for popular appeal, a book on camembert (Boisard 2003) has potential marketability among high-brow, deep-pocketed cheese lovers. Venues, such as the intriguing new journal *Gastronomica*, similarly have a vision that combines “luscious im-

agery” and “a keen appreciation for the pleasures and aesthetics of food” with “smart, edgy analysis” and “the latest in food studies,” a vision that can, therefore, encompass not only articles by anthropologists and historians, but also special issues devoted to the life of Julia Child. Ethnographic cookbooks (e.g., Roden 1974, Goldstein 1993) might be viewed in a similar light.

This natural potential link to a popular audience has implications for food studies in anthropology and elsewhere. Thus, I argue, that although the rise in anthropological interest in food is quite consonant with Stoller’s (1989) call for a more sensuous, experience-near ethnography elaborated in the *Taste of Ethnographic Things* (see also Classen 1997), often what emerges is the ethnography of tasty things—food-centered analysis that feeds on Western epicurean sensibilities, popular culture notions concerning how foods serve as markers for immigrant communities, the nostalgia that wafts from home-cooked broths, and the connections forged between mothers and daughters through food. Indeed, it is notable that Stoller’s (1989) discussion of an intentionally awful meal cooked for him in Mali is atypical by virtue of its focus on unappealing food. In sum, then, I argue that a limitation of food studies (anthropology not wholly excluded) is a tendency to construct the multi-dimensional object of food within a particular Euro-American framework.

I now consider some of the dominant relationships between food and memory, which have been explored within anthropology and related fields. These relationships include embodied memories constructed through food; food as a locus for historically constructed identity, ethnic or nationalist; the role of food in various forms of “nostalgia”; dietary change as a socially charged marker of epochal shifts; gender and the agents of memory; and contexts of remembering and forgetting through food. In conclusion, I consider some themes and directions for further study, which may enhance our understanding of both food and memory and the relationship between them.

## FOOD AND SENSUOUS MEMORY

Sutton's (2001) *Remembrance of Repasts* is an important starting point for considering the relationship between food and memory by virtue of his efforts to deal with issues of memory from a variety of perspectives. Framed as a prospective and theoretical look at a little-explored topic, his starting point is what he terms a "Proustian anthropology," derived from his observation that his informants on the Greek Island of Kalymnos frequently remember far-off events through food—for instance, the apricots they were eating while exploring an abandoned synagogue during the Nazi occupation. One important dimension to this book is that he deals with many of the varied phenomena that we label memory. For instance, how the seasonal food cycle shapes "prospective memory" by causing one to looking forward (e.g., pears in August) in reference to past events: how the repetition of everyday habits [such as Seremetakis's (1996) account of drinking a cup of coffee] in some sense still time, by recreating past occurrences; how the longstanding anthropological interest of exchange can be understood through reference to memory, since social relations are constructed through narratives of past generosity (or lack thereof); and how (per Douglas 1975) one meal is understood in reference to previous meals. This broad-ranging treatment of memory offers a range of creative insights into the phenomena we term memory, although also to some extent elides the above-discussed ambiguities concerning the disparities among the varying phenomena we term "memory."

Sutton's (2000, 2001) most central concern is how the sensuality of food causes it to be a particularly intense and compelling medium for memory. The experience of food evokes recollection, which is not simply cognitive but also emotional and physical, paralleling notions such as Bourdieu's (1977) habitus, Connerton's (1989) notion of bodily memory, and Stoller's (1995) emphasis on embodied memories. Indeed, varied exam-

ples show food to be an important engine for the construction of intense bodily memories. Powles (2002) argues that the collective memory of displacement for refugees she studied in Zambia is constructed most poignantly through the corporeal experience of the absence of fish. Harbottle (1997) considers how the taste responses of Iranians in Britain are embodied experiences of pollution, purity, and ethnicity, seeing the mouth "as a gateway through which a person guards and protects the self from the outside." Giard (1998 with De Certeau) construes the everyday practice of eating as making "concrete one of the specific modes of relation between a person and the world, thus forming one of the fundamental landmarks in space-time" (p. 183). Batsell et al. (2002) have found that in the United States childhood experiences of being forced to clean one's plate form compelling "flashbulb memories," recalling in vivid detail aspects of early childhood when little else may be remembered, while Lupton (1994, 1996) similarly examines how the emotional embodied memories surrounding particular foods are implicated in structuring eating habits. And Seremetakis's (1993) reflexive montage aims at developing a memory of the senses—for instance, the exchange of saliva in the mashed bread that passes from grandmother to child's mouth—to understand the lost experiences that are not part of the public culture of Greek modernization.

Thus, the sensuousness of food is central to understanding at least much of its power as a vehicle for memory. Yet, as with food studies generally, we need to be wary of taking for granted Euro-American constructions both of this sensuousness and the body experiencing it. If recalling through the sweet, moist delights of a fig (Sutton 2001) is of a piece with Western Epicurean sensuality, the sensuality associated with the sorcery-induced diarrhea central to the political contestation of memory at Lelet mortuary feasts in New Ireland (Eves 1996) is rather not. Thus, while concurring that the power of food in constructing memory is intrinsically tied to its sensuality,

we need to remain wary of too readily relying on familiar constructions of it.

## FOOD AND ETHNIC IDENTITY

Ethnic identity forms a central arena in which food is tied to notions of memory, although not necessarily framed in those terms. Notably, even if an identity is constructed through a historical consciousness, it is quite possible to make a synchronic analysis of how it is marked or performed. Thus, for example, although Bahloul's (1989) analysis of the Seder shows Algerian Jewish ethnicity to be constructed by multistranded historical elements, the study does so through a somewhat ahistorical structuralist framework. Similarly, Searls's (2002) ethnography richly shows the historical elements in aspects of Inuit collective identity constructed through contrasts between Inuit and "white" food but does not emphasize how Inuit people experience this through a lens of historicity.

A vast literature—some in anthropology, although much in folklore and other fields—has been concerned with how American ethnic identities in particular are maintained and performed through food. Thus, a plethora of studies demonstrate how various ethnic American groups use food—in festivals or in the family—to maintain a historically validated ethnic identity (e.g., Brown & Mussel 1984, Comito 2001, Douglas 1984, Gabbacia 1998, Gillespie 1984, Humphrey & Humphrey 1988, Kalcik 1984, Lockwood & Lockwood 2000, Powers & Powers 1984, Shortridge & Shortridge 1998). Although a rich and engaging literature exists, many studies tend toward the atheoretical, relying on popular culture notions of the resilience of ethnic difference within the melting pot, rather than theorizing this phenomenon. There are, of course, exceptions, such as Spiro's (1955) Freudian-inspired argument that "the oral zone is, of course, the first to be socialized" (p. 1249) (and hence less easily acculturated) or Goode's (Goode et al. 1984) use of Mary Douglas's (1975) notion of meal

format, to explain what they saw as greater resilience in prosaic, everyday eating than in the festive contexts typically emphasized. Diner's (2003) historical study of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century immigration to the United States also provides an interesting counterpoint to the widespread focus on food as a valorized site of ethnic resilience, emphasizing memories of hunger—rather than tasty ethnic dishes—in structuring immigrant experience. Thus, Diner suggests, "as hungry people found food within their reach, they partook of it in ways which resonated with their earlier deprivations. How they remembered those hungers allows us to see how they had once lived them, and how they then understood themselves in their new home without them" (pp. 220–21). Tuchman & Levine (1993) also present an interesting twist on stereotyped versions of American ethnic identity, by pointing out through the New York Jewish love of Chinese food that even self-defined traditions need not be of great historical depth, tied to a mythical past, nor some essentialized notion of core identity.

One important question that the American ethnic literature tends to elide is what the significance is of this identity—everyone has origins and ancestors, but not everyone performs them through food—particularly when such an identity may not have much life outside festivals or public displays. This is a question that Brown & Mussel (1984) allude to, although mainly in an empiricist sense of striving to identify their unit of analysis of "ethnic" or "regional" foodways. Buckser's (1999) analysis of Kosher practices in Denmark also problematizes the significance of identity by exploring how Jews do (or do not) maintain a historically validated identity through food in a context where a Jewish "community" arguably does not exist. Abarca (2004) is also useful in problematizing notions of identity through a contrast of notions of "the authentic," an overly essentialized historical identity, versus "the original," which acknowledges the agency of cooks within that identity.

## THE GASTRONOMIC MEMORY OF DIASPORA

Food-centered nostalgia is a recurring theme in studies of diasporic or expatriate populations. Unlike the just-discussed examples, here the emphasis is on experience of displacement rather than construction of identity. Sutton (2000, 2001) emphasizes the longing evoked in diasporic individuals by the smells and tastes of a lost homeland, providing a temporary return to a time when their lives were not fragmented. Such sentiments can be found in direct texts, such as Roden's (1974) *Book of Middle Eastern Food*, inspired by memories of her Cairo childhood evoked by brown beans. Composed of recipes and stories/ethnographies collected from other displaced Middle Easterners, it is both cookbook and work of nostalgia. Apropos to this is Appadurai's (1988) characterization of Indian cookbooks as the literature of exiles.

The theme of gustatory nostalgia is particularly evident in analyses of Indian immigrants, such as Roy's (2002) (mainly literary) analysis of the "Gastropoetics of South Indian Diaspora." Mankekar (2002) argues that Indian customers do not go to ethnic markets in the Bay Area simply to shop for groceries, but also to engage with representations of their (sometimes imagined) homeland. Like Sutton and others, she sees the gustatory as central to the creation of memory, ranging from the sensory clues the shops evoke, the cultural mnemonics of the commodities purchased, and how the goods acquired allow for practices that foster historically validated forms of identity. Ray's (2004) full-length work takes food as a potent and broad-ranging realm to understand changes in everyday life brought about by migration and globalization among Bengali-American households, with particular emphasis on the ways that food becomes a nexus of nostalgia and diasporic identity. In a different ethnographic context, Lee (2000) provides an interesting contrast to notions of diasporic gustatory nostalgia in showing how the inability of older Korean migrants to Japan

to stomach spicy Korean food as they age problematizes self-identity because they interpret their changing tastes as the moral failure of not remaining sufficiently Korean.

## GUSTATORY NOSTALGIA, EXPERIENCED AND INVENTED

As a form of memory, "nostalgia" has several different senses, generally and in respect to food. Some food literature (particularly outside anthropology) relies on a lay notion of sentimentality for a lost past, viewing food as a vehicle for recollections of childhood and family. Winegardner et al. (1998) contains varied accounts by mostly American writers reflecting on their family histories through the lens of food. Similar themes are developed in several interesting and creative pieces by contributors in Weiss (1997), blending a range of artistic and humanistic genres in exploring aspects of childhood nostalgia. Food-centered reminiscence is articulated within genres of food-centered memoirs (e.g., Clarke 1999, Keith 1992), the most well-known within this genre being Fisher's (1943) classic *The Gastronomical Me*.

Yet, in contrast with viewing nostalgia as a re-experiencing of emotional pasts it may also be seen as a longing for times and places that one has never experienced. Appadurai (1996) characterizes this as "armchair" nostalgia, suggesting that in late capitalist consumerism "the merchandiser supplies the lubricant of nostalgia" and the consumer "need only bring the faculty of nostalgia to an image that will supply the memory of a loss he or she has never suffered" (p. 78). The literature on food is rich with such nostalgia. Kugelmass' (1990) playful analysis of the carnivalesque in a New York Jewish restaurant offers a particularly rich description of the evocation of a schmaltz-based version of nostalgia for experiences that patrons at the restaurant never had. This type of nostalgia is also not discrete from the experience of actual loss. Mankekar (2002) emphasizes the extent to which the

gustatory nostalgia Indian shoppers experience is for representations of a homeland that is largely imagined. Lupton (1994, 1996) argues that the nostalgic remembering of comfort foods need not be linked to a happy childhood but can serve to create the fiction of one, a theme also developed in Duruz's (1999) analysis of "Eating the 50s and 60s" in Australia.

Several studies emphasize a kind of false colonial nostalgia entailed in eating "ethnic food" sometimes construed as "eating the Other." Narayan's (1995) multilayered analysis of the invention and meanings of curry speaks directly to such issues. Cook & Crang (1996) employ a cultural studies approach to the ways in which geographical knowledge is constructed in encounters with exotic "ethnic" foods, cooked by Others who were once in the distant reaches of Empire, but who now constitute London as the quintessential globalized city (see also Goldman 1992, Heldke 2001). Bal (2005) takes a novel approach to similar issues concerning how *glub*—a kind of seed eating prevalent among immigrants in Berlin—is part of the aesthetic that shapes the Berlin art world, suggesting that it stands for cultural habits through which artists "participate in other people's memories" (p. 66). Notably, to Bal the exposure to culturally deep culinary habits, rather than the literal consumption of "ethnic food," is central here.

The link of Appadurai's "armchair nostalgia" to consumerism is seen in studies that illustrate how "tradition"—often invented—serves in the selling of consumer goods, using notions of history to convey a particular unique panache to a product. Most analyses focus on elite foods, although certainly the idiom is not limited to them; that Budweiser has been brewed since 1876 is significant to its slogan "The King of Beers," but it makes no parallel claim to being the "Beer of Kings." Typically, however, historical notions construct claims of distinction. Thus Ulin (1995, 1996) has analyzed the political maneuvering of French wine producers in arguing that "Bordeaux's paramount reputation follows from a social history and a

hegemonic, invented winegrowing tradition that enabled winegrowing elites to replicate and profit from the cultural capital associated with the aristocracy" (1995, p. 519). Terrio's (2000) examination of the history of French chocolate also notes the ways that chocolatiers romanticize their history through an "ideology of craft" expressed in memoirs, public histories, lectures, and window plays that are integral to selling their chocolate.

## FOOD, NATIONALISM, AND INVENTED TRADITIONS

Many studies consider the creation of nation through the invention, standardization, or valorization of a national cuisine, often drawing on Anderson's (1983) conception of the imagined community and Hobsbawm's (1983) conception of invented tradition. Cookbooks are one important avenue for this process, for instance in Appadurai's (1988) classic study of the creation of Indian national cuisine through cookbooks from the 1960s–1980s, where forging the nation out of distinct regions is a prominent trope. Zubaida & Tapper (1994) note the shared tendency among nationalist ideologues and many writers on food "to be drawn to explanations in terms of origin and to assumptions of cultural continuity in the history of a people or a region" (p. 7). Roden (1974), for instance, unabashedly ties contemporary everyday Middle Eastern cooking methods, from Iran to Morocco, to the medieval al-Baghdadi cookbook, whereas Perry (1994) similarly enters into nationalist debates concerning origins of baklava. In a more critical vein, Fragner (1994) looks historically at Persian cookbooks as a form of literature and the agendas to which historical ethnography is employed within them.

Food is often used explicitly in the invention of national identities, a prominent theme in many of the contributions to Bellasco & Scranton's (2002) collection on the role of food in consumer societies. Murcott (1996) also emphasizes food as a symbol for creating imagined communities of nation in Europe.



Wilk's (1999) analysis of the recent rise of Belizean cuisine is particularly interesting because both nation and cuisine are more intrinsically imagined than in most contexts. Developed in response to the perceived need for a culture of nationhood after independence in 1981, Wilk contrasts 1970s meals of bland, imported food with the 1990s, when Belizean "local food" had become an important imagined tradition of Belizean authenticity. The need for "authenticity" in the tourist industry is a second driving force, a theme also emphasized in Howell's analysis of the lamb dish *mansaf*—traditionally the quintessential Bedouin food of hospitality—as a symbol of Jordanian national identity, constructing nostalgic identities based in notions of Bedouin hospitality, which serve both nationalist discourse and the tourist industry. Closer to home, Siskind (1992) elucidates the invention of Thanksgiving (a.k.a. Turkey Day) as a ritual of American nationality.

Boisard's (2003) study of camembert explores how this smelly cheese has become a concrete mythic symbol of the Republic and French national identity. Through a range of historical transformations camembert is a malleable symbol upon which other struggles are layered: For instance, pasteurized versus unpasteurized camembert comes to represent a struggle of tradition versus modernity within such anxieties as the impact of the European Union. Similar themes form an important dimension in Ohnuki-Tierney's (1993) nuanced study of rice in Japan, explicating how rice constructs Japanese conceptions of self in ways that are intensely historical and mythic, both overdetermined and invented. Rice has diffuse symbolic and material significance ranging from cosmogony, the aesthetics of consumption, the centrality of the rural rice paddy in nationalist natural aesthetic, and of course dietary staple. Yet it is also a metaphor viewed through a highly selective lens, particularly because it was not always the staple food, especially for nonelites in central Japan.

Integration into the European Union (EU) has been a particularly important arena tying

food to notions of memory and historical consciousness, particularly the threat of homogenization of national and regional difference—both in scholarship and within the popular culture slow food movement. Seremetakis (1996), for instance, considers what she sees as the erasure of unconscious memory, as special varieties of food are lost through standardization. Leitch (2000, 2003) provides a particularly rich analysis of the politics of memory in regard to a specific food item, *lardo di Colonatta*, a pork lard native to a town in Italy. Both the food and its artisanal production techniques were valorized in the town's collective memory through annual lardo festivals until health standards imposed by the EU placed restrictions on production techniques. Its identification by the slow food movement as an endangered food subsequently enhanced its marketability, in what Leitch argues was (as in some studies cited above) a commodification of tradition, where the nostalgia surrounding lardo became the commodity sold.

Other studies, although of a more literary or historical bent, offer to constructions of nationalism other insights into the relationship of food-centered memory. Lyngo (2001) examines the public construction of memory in nutritional exhibitions in Norway in the 1930s using a lens of modernity to contrast the science incumbent in a "new Norwegian diet" with supposed nutritional problems found in past methods of Norwegian eating. In a different vein, Morton's (2004) collection ties food to notions of English romanticism, and although many of the pieces are restricted to literary analysis, others elucidate vivid forms of nostalgia historically or in contemporary life. Fulford (2004), for instance, focuses on the importance of breadfruit in the imagination of Empire by evoking mythic images of lost Eden in which Tahitian islanders could supposedly get bread without work. In the contemporary context, Roe (2004) examines how the recent foot and mouth epidemic was read through the lens of nostalgic notions of Romantic England, being not just an animal epidemic but a threat to the romantic notion

of the countryside as “a haven, a blessed sanctuary” (p. 110).

### FOOD, GENDER, AND THE AGENTS OF MEMORY

Gender forms a central theme within many analyses of food and memory, emphasizing its role as a vehicle for particularly feminine forms of memory. Thus, for instance, Counihan (2002a, 2004) explicitly uses her food-centered life-history approach as a means to “give voice to traditionally muted people . . . especially women” (2004, pp. 1–2; emphasis added). Christensen (2001) views the kitchen as a repository for memory; describing his mother’s experience he asserts that “to open the skin of a garlic and dice its contents into grains allowed her to become a daughter again, to reenter the female world of her childhood” (p. 26). Thus, a wide body of literature emphasizes memory structured through what is construed as women’s special relationship to food, providing access to histories and memories not found in other types of accounts. Meyers (2001) sees “food heritage” as a gift that mothers give to their daughters in an account that seeks to correct for the widespread emphasis on dysfunction in mother-daughter relationships. Berzok (2001) similarly provides a very reflexive recounting of memories encompassed in recipes her mother has given her. Innes’s (2001a) varied edited collection examines how gender politics and memory are constructed through food. Thus, for instance, Blend (2001) construes tortilla making as a prosaic, but ritualized activity, which ties Latina women to a historically constituted subjectivity grounded in a gendered cultural identity, “tortilla/tamale making as a woman-centered, role-affirming communal ritual that empowers women as the carriers of tradition.” Kelly (2001) takes as her starting point a grave marker memorializing “Helga, the Little Lefse Maker,” deftly offering a more ambivalent view on the forms of memory laden with the contradictions entailed in women’s valorization through

activities that simultaneously index their subordination.

These studies, many reflexive, and most not by anthropologists, illustrate both the strengths and weaknesses of food scholarship discussed earlier in this review. Although the insights they reveal about food are accessible and appealing to a student and educated lay audience, their familiarity may not push food studies to uncharted terrain. Most deal with American contexts and can imply stereotypical notions of Western womanhood by suggesting the natural feminine gendering of memories surrounding food. In contrast with the significant body of woman-centered food literature, relatively few studies examine masculinized memories through food, such as Taggart’s (2002) use (per Counihan) of food-centered life histories among Latino men in the American southwest or Weiner’s (1996) historical study of the role of Coca Cola in the nostalgic yearnings (and subsequent wartime memories) of American soldiers in World War II (see also Mintz 1996). Moving beyond Western contexts, however, one may encounter forms of food-centered memory that are far more masculine, such as memory creation enacted through the feasts of Melanesian big men (e.g., Eves 1996, Foster 1990) or in memories of male food-centered communities among Samburu pastoralists in Kenya (Holtzman 1999).

A handful of studies examine more novel figures who serve as the mediators of memory and tradition through food. Chatwin (1997), for instance, engages in an extended discussion of the *tamada*, the head of the table at Georgian drinking occasions, seen as a “world maker,” a mediator of tradition and nostalgia who has the authority to construct a particular vision of the past. In a different context, Prosterman (1984) presents an interesting view on public memory by focusing on the kosher caterer as a professional who stores, refracts, and mediates collective ideas about a historically validated identity, through the selection of arrays of foods appropriate to particular groups and particular events, tailoring

“tradition” to the individualized tastes of particular clients.

## FOOD AS THE MARKER OF EPOCHAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Dietary change marks epochal social transformations in a wide range of contexts, serving as a lens both to characterize the past and to read the present through the past (e.g., Holtzman 2003). Often this entails “memories of Gemeinschaft” (Sutton 2001), where previous foods tasted better or where food was shared more freely in precapitalist relations. Sometimes this feeling is expressed by the subjects themselves, but other times it is inferred by anthropologists and other writers on food. Thus, for instance, the desperation to acquire food is the central trope in Turnbull’s (1972) narrative concerning the total dissolution of sociality, love, and kindness among the Ik, although absent is an account of how the Ik viewed themselves in relation to food and their past. In a different sense, Watson’s (1997) collection implicitly engages with arguably nostalgic discourses concerning the loss of the unique non-Western Other, by looking at the localization of the quintessential symbol of cultural imperialism and homogenization—McDonalds—in a range of East Asian contexts. Field (1997) employs a genre blending cookbook with “salvage ethnography,” although the nostalgia that laces her account is mainly that of the older Italian women who serve as her informants.

Past ways of eating can alternatively contrast the present to a better past, or an inferior past to an enlightened modernity. These alternating themes are developed in contributions to Kahn & Sexton’ (1988) collection on change and continuity in Pacific foodways, where traditional foods serve as cultural markers in the context of dietary change. Flinn (1988), for instance, examines how Pulpalese assert moral superiority in relation to others on Truk through their comparatively greater reliance on traditional foods, whereas Lewis (1988) looks at “gustatory subversion” on

Kiribati, where the local cuisine is undermined by associating new foods with a superior modernity. I, however, argue that among Samburu pastoralists, the same individuals ambivalently mix these themes, viewing new ways of eating on the basis of purchased agricultural products simultaneously as markers of diffuse cultural decay and as the triumph of practical reason over the irrational cultural practices of an unenlightened past (J.D. Holtzman, unpublished manuscript). In a different sense Noguchi (1994) argues that the same food—ekiben, or train station lunch boxes—can simultaneously represent “high speed Japan” and a venerated past.

Counihan’s *Around the Tuscan Table* (2004)—one of the few full-length works specifically concerned with food and memory—employs “food-centered life history” to use food as a window into the key changes in the lives of late twentieth century Florentines. Focusing on experiences and memories concerning all manners of eating, and changes in food over time, Counihan shows that food serves as a vivid medium for understanding perspectives on modernity often invisible within public debates. Many of the essays in Wu & Tan’s (2001) edited collection on changing Chinese foodways develop similar themes, including the ways foods are used to define both tradition and the hybridity/syncretism of modernity.

Several studies look through the lens of food at epochal transformations in post-Socialist societies. Farquhar’s (2002) full-length work addresses the question of “appetites” (encompassing food and sex) in postsocialist China. Emphasizing an embodied approach to history and memory, Farquhar examines the changing meanings and contexts of desire, in which 1990s consumerism is read in reference to the embodied asceticism and altruism that characterized Maoist ideology. Chatwin (1997) describes the “urgency and nostalgia” that accompanied food insecurity in post-Soviet Georgia. In the context of growing chaos, nostalgia emerged both for the distant culinary past—partially a

Hobsbawmian tradition for the new Georgian nation—and for the more recent orderliness of the Soviet system.

Specific foods can also be vehicles for re-connecting with a lost past. Pollock (1992) notes how traditional Polynesian foods, once viewed in negative terms, are now revalorized as the “roots of tradition.” Erikson (1999) focuses on the controversy surrounding renewed whaling by Makah native Americans who, in the face of often racially charged opposition, viewed it as a means for reinvigorating a historically validated identity centered both on food procurement and consumption, contending both that the hunt is a “cultural necessity” and that adding whale back to their diet would ameliorate health problems.

### RITUALS OF REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING THROUGH FOOD

Ritual has been viewed as a potent site for constructing food-centered memory—and food-centered forgetting. Dove (1999), for instance, looks at the ritual encoding of “archaic” plant foods as a mythic means for perpetuating cultural memory. In contrast, Singer (1984) shows how within a Hindu sect food is used as a medium for forgetting, creating new identities through the intentional erasure of the sediments of other ones.

Mortuary feasting is a particularly important arena for memorializing and forgetting through food, viewed in some instances as a context that creates a space of temporary memorialization, after which the person can be (at least publicly) forgotten (Munn 1986, Battaglia 1990). In contrast with public forgetting, Sutton (2001) suggests that the offering of mortuary food (and later devotions to dead relatives) begins the creation of a new person, by reediting memories of the deceased in reference to their generosity while alive. Hamilakis (1998) comparatively draws from Melanesian ethnography in his archaeological examination of funerary feasting from the Bronze Age Aegean, concerning how food

may offer a range of devices to generate memory and forgetting. Foster (1990) argues that forms of ceremonial exchange—ambiguously read as nurturing and/or forced feeding—is the medium for creating matrilineal continuity through time among Tangans of New Ireland. Eves (1996) also focuses on the memories created by and concerning the givers and receivers of mortuary feasts, specifically how the embodied experience of the feast (particularly sorcery-induced diarrhea) serves to create a remembrance of the feast that is transformed into fame for the feast giver.

An additional context is the literal or figurative eating of the dead themselves. Bloch (1985) focuses not on eating the dead, *per se*, but on metaphorical quasi-cannibalism when Merina “almost eat the ancestors” in the form of rice and beef, in an intriguing analysis of how particular foods become tied to mythic forms of identity. A range of studies focuses on funerary cannibalism, (e.g., Conklin 2001, McCallum 1999) and the culturally variant ways that eating the dead serves to deal with issues of grief, remembering, and forgetting in culturally specific ways. Stephen (1998) presents a more general psychological argument that funerary cannibalism (and other forms of corpse abuse) is tied to deeply embedded memories of other types of bereavement and loss, particularly the severing of the mother-child bond.

### CONCLUSION

Here I have sought to discuss a confluence that is powerful, yet also in many ways is indeterminate. On one hand, we have food, which may be construed as principally fuel, a symbol, a medium of exchange, or a sensuous object experienced by an embodied self. On the other hand, memory may be private remembrance, public displays of historically validated identity, an intense experience of an epochal historical shift, or reading the present through the imagining of a past that never was—all processes in which food is implicated. In conclusion, I aim to consider some questions and

themes that may provide further insight into what dynamic could link these various processes in ways that are generalizable or particular to specific contexts and historical/cultural milieus.

The most central question, sometimes addressed quite deliberately, but sometimes elided, is, “why food?” What makes food such a powerful and diffuse locus of memory? The most compelling answer, as many studies discussed here illustrate, is that the sensuality of eating transmits powerful mnemonic cues, principally through smells and tastes. However, this answer also has limitations. I suggest that scholars tend to emphasize forms of bodily memory consonant with Western views of food and the body—the pleasant smells and tastes of good food with far less attention to other types of sensualities, less epicurean, and sometimes less pleasant—whether fullness, energy, lethargy, hunger, sickness, or discomfort. This is less a critique of an approach based on sensuality than a call to problematize it deliberately. However, the sensuousness of food does not fully explain the widespread “armchair nostalgia” surrounding many foods nor how rarely eaten “heritage foods” are sometimes those most closely tied to collective memory. Indeed many studies successfully emphasize the symbolic importance of food without reference to its bodily experiences.

One potential, though so far underdeveloped, theme that might illuminate some of these linkages is the extent to which food intrinsically traverses the public and the intimate. Although eating always has a deeply private component, unlike our other most private activities food is integrally constituted through its open sharing, whether in rituals, feasts, reciprocal exchange, or contexts in which it is bought and sold. One might consider then the significance of this rather unique movement between the most intimate and the most public in fostering food’s symbolic power, in general, and in relation to memory, in particular. At the same time, we must maintain an awareness

of the fact that this attribute has a particular cultural-historical dynamic in the Euro-American contexts that are disproportionately represented in food studies. In America (unlike in some cultural/historical contexts), for instance, what one eats at home is relatively unmarked—even valorized, as an enduring symbol of the melting pot—whereas in the public sphere ethnic food is a particularly palatable form of multiculturalism, in contrast with the conformity expected, demanded, or even legislated in areas such as language and clothing. One might, then, consider what the ubiquity of food in maintaining historically constituted identities owes not only to the properties of food itself, but also to the social and cultural conditions that allow or encourage this to be a space for resilient identities where other arenas are far more stigmatized.

Viewed from the other side, one may ask, conversely, what food could illuminate about memory as a more general phenomenon or set of phenomena. As Wiley (2006) has recently noted, food studies is one area that remains relatively at ease among the often fractious debates concerning the continuing value, or inevitable unbundling, of anthropology’s four fields. Few dispute that the salience of food emanates not only from its material centrality as the nutritional source of life, but also from the ways that this key facet articulates with densely intersecting—yet to some degree discrete—lines of causality and meaning in ways that are deeply symbolic, sensuous, psychological, and social. It has the uncanny ability to tie the minutiae of everyday experience to broader cultural patterns, hegemonic structures, and political-economic processes, structuring experience in ways that can be logical, and outside of logic, in ways that are conscious, canonized, or beyond the realm of conscious awareness. And so too are many of the disparate phenomena we term memory—social, psychological, embodied, invented, private and political, discrete yet also interconnected and reinforcing. Food, thus, offers a potential window into

forms of memory that are more heteroglossic, ambivalent, layered, and textured. I, thus, suggest that understandings of food and memory would benefit from studies that more deliberately aim to understand the intercon-

nections among the varying aspects of food, the varying phenomena of memory, and their confluences—how these in some senses constitute a whole, albeit a messy and ambiguous one.

## LITERATURE CITED

- Abarca M. 2004. Authentic or not, its original. *Food Foodways* 12(1):1–25
- Anderson B. 1983. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso
- Appadurai A. 1988. How to make a national cuisine: cookbooks in contemporary India. *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 30(1):3–24
- Appadurai A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
- Bahloul J. 1989. From a Muslim banquet to a Jewish seder: foodways and ethnicity among North African Jews. In *Jews Among Arabs: Contacts and Boundaries*, ed. M Cohen, A Udovitch, pp. 85–96. Princeton, NJ: Darwin
- Bal M. 2005. Food, form and visibility: glub and the aesthetics of everyday life. *Postcolon. Stud.* 8(1):51–73
- Batsell WR, Brown A, Ansfield M, Paschall G. 2002. “You will eat all of that!”: a retrospective analysis of forced consumption episodes. *Appetite* 38:211–19
- Battaglia D. 1990. *On the Bones of the Serpent: Persons, Memory and Mortality in Sabarl Island Society*. Chicago, IL: Univ. Chicago Press
- Bellasco W, Scranton P, eds. 2002. *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*. London: Routledge
- Berzok L. 2001. My mother’s recipes. See Innes 2001b, pp. 84–101
- Blend B. 2001. “I am an act of kneading”: food and the making of Chicana identity. See Innes 2001a, pp. 41–62
- Bloch M. 1985. Almost eating the ancestors. *Man* (n.s.) 20:631–46
- Boisard P. 2003. *Camembert: A National Myth*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Borges JL. 1941. Tlön, Uqbar, Orbis Tertius. In *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*. New York: Penguin
- Bourdieu P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Brandes S. 1997. Sugar, colonialism and death: on the origins of Mexico’s Day of the Dead. *Comp. Stud. Soc. Hist.* 39(2):266–95
- Brown L, Mussell K, eds. 1984. *Ethnic and Regional Foodways in the United States*. Knoxville: Univ. Tenn. Press
- Buckser A. 1999. Keeping kosher: eating and social identity among the Jews of Denmark. *Ethnology* 38:191–209
- Chatwin ME. 1997. *Socio-Cultural Transformation and Foodways in the Republic of Georgia*. Com-mack, NY: Nova Sci.
- Christensen P. 2001. Mac and gravy. See Innes 2001b, pp. 17–39
- Clarke A. 1999. *Pig Tails ‘n Breadfruit*. New York: New Press
- Classen C. 1997. Foundations for an anthropology of the senses. *Int. Soc. Sci. J.* 153:401–12
- Cole J. 2001. *Forget Colonialism? Sacrifice and the Art of Memory in Madagascar*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Comito J. 2001. *Remembering Nana and Papu: the poetics of pasta, pane and peppers among one Iowan Calabrian family*. PhD Diss., Univ. Iowa

- Conklin B. 2001. *Consuming Grief: Compassionate Cannibalism in an Amazonian Society*. Austin: Univ. Tex. Press
- Connerton P. 1989. *How Societies Remember*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Cook I, Crang P. 1996. The world on a plate: culinary culture, displacement and geographical knowledges. *J. Mater. Cult.* 1(2):131–53
- Counihan C. 2002a. Food as woman's voice in the San Luis Valley of Colorado. See Counihan 2002b, pp. 295–304
- Counihan C, ed. 2002b. *Food in the USA*. New York: Routledge
- Counihan C. 2004. *Around the Tuscan Table: Food, Family and Gender in Twentieth Century Florence*. London: Routledge
- Cwiertka K. 2000. From Yokohama to Amsterdam: meidi-ya and dietary change in modern Japan. *Japanstudien* 12:45–63
- Cwiertka K. 2002. Popularising a military diet in wartime and postwar Japan. *Asian Anthropol.* 1(1):1–30
- Diner H. 2003. *Hungering for America: Italian, Irish and Jewish Foodways in the Age of Migration*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press
- Douglas M. 1975. *Implicit Meanings*. London: Routledge
- Douglas M, ed. 1984. *Food in the Social Order: Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*. New York: Russell Sage
- Dove M. 1999. The memory of agronomy and the agronomy of memory. In *Ethnoecology: Situated Knowledges/Located Lives*, ed. V Nazarea pp. 45–66. Tuscon: Univ. Ariz. Press
- Duruz J. 1999. Food as nostalgia: eating the fifties and sixties. *Aust. Hist. Stud.* 113:231–50
- Erikson P. 1999. A-whaling we will go: encounters of knowledge and memory at the Makah Cultural and Research Center. *Cult. Anthropol.* 14(4):556–83
- Eves R. 1996. Memories of things passed: memory, body and the politics of feasting in New Ireland. *Oceania* 66(4):266–77
- Farquhar J. 2002. *Appetites: Food and Sex in Postsocialist China*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- Field C. 1997. In *Nonna's Kitchen: Recipes and Traditions from Italy's Grandmothers*. New York: Harper Collins
- Fisher MFK. 1943. *The Gastronomical Me*. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pierce
- Flinn J. 1988. Tradition in the face of change: food choices among Pulapese in Truk state. *Food Foodways* 3(1,2): 19–37
- Foster R. 1990. Nurture and force feeding: mortuary feasting and the construction of collective individuals in a New Ireland society. *Am. Ethnol.* 17(3):431–48
- Fragner B. 1994. Social reality and culinary fiction. See Zubaida & Tapper 1994, pp. 63–72
- Fulford T. 2004. The taste of paradise: the fruits of romanticism in the empire. In *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, ed. T Morton, pp. 41–57. London: Palgrave
- Gabbacia D. 1998. *We Are What We Eat: Ethnic Food and the Making of Americans*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press
- Ganguly K. 2001. *States of Exception*. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
- Giard L. 1998. Part II: doing-cooking. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Vol. 2, *Living and Cooking*, ed. L Giard with M de Certeau P Mayol, pp. 149–48. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
- Gillespie A. 1984. A wilderness in the megalopolis: foodways in the Pine Barrens of New Jersey. See Brown & Mussell 1984, pp. 145–68
- Goldman A. 1992. I yam what I yam: cooking, culture and colonialism. In *De/Colonizing the Subject*, ed. S Smith, J Watson, pp. 169–95. Minneapolis: Univ. Minn. Press
- Goldstein D. 1993. *The Georgian Feast: The Vibrant Culture and Savory Food of the Republic of Georgia*. New York: Harper Collins

- Goode J, Curtis K, Theopano J. 1984. Meal formats, meal cycles and menu negotiation in the maintenance of an Italian-American community. See Douglas 1984, pp. 143–218
- Hamilakis Y. 1998. Eating the dead: mortuary feasting and the political economy of memory in the Bronze Age Aegean. In *Cemetery and Society in the Aegean Bronze Age*. ed. K Branigan, pp. 115–32. Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Acad. Press
- Harbottle L. 1997. Taste and embodiment: the food preferences of Iranians in Britain. In *Food Preference and Taste: Continuity and Change* ed. H MacBeth, pp. 175–85. Providence, RI: Berghahn
- Heldke L. 2001. Let's cook Thai: recipes for colonialism See Innes 2001b, pp. 164–85
- Hensel C. 1996. *Telling Ourselves: Ethnicity of Discourse in Southwestern Alaska*. Oxford, UK: Oxford Univ. Press
- Hobsbawm E. 1983. Introduction: inventing traditions. In *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. E Hobsbawm, T Ranger, pp. 1–14. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Hodgkin K, Radstone S, eds. 2003. *Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory*. London: Routledge
- Holtzman JD. 1999. Cultivar as civilizer: Samburu and European perspectives on cultivar diffusion. *Ethnology* (Monogr.) 17:11–19
- Holtzman JD. 2003. In a cup of tea: commodities and history among Samburu pastoralists in northern Kenya. *Am. Ethnol.* 30(1):136–55
- Howell S. 2003. Modernizing Mansaf: the consuming contexts of Jordan's national dish. *Food Foodways* 11(4):215–43
- Humphrey T, Humphrey L, eds. 1988. *"We Gather Together": Food and Festival in American Life*. Ann Arbor: UMI Res.
- Innes S, ed. 2001a. *Cooking Lessons*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield
- Innes S, ed. 2001b. *Pilaf, Pozole and Pad Thai*. Amherst: Univ. Mass. Press
- Jackson M. 1995. *At Home in the World*. Durham, NC: Duke Univ. Press
- James W. 1988. *The Listening Ebony*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press
- Kahn M, Sexton L, eds. 1988. Continuity and change in Pacific foodways. *Food Foodways* (Spec. Issue) 3(1–2)
- Kalcik S. 1984. Ethnic foodways in America: symbol and performance of identity. See Brown & Mussell 1984, pp. 37–65
- Keith N. 1992. Nonnibutibus: the sociocultural messages of the Jamaican tea meeting. *Anthropol. Hum. Q.* 17(1):2–9
- Kelly TM. 2001. Honoring Helga, "The Little Lefsa Maker": regional food as social marker, tradition and art. See Innes 2001a, pp. 19–40
- Kugelmass J. 1990. Green bagels: an essay on food, nostalgia, and the carnivalesque. *YIVO Annu.* 19:57–80
- Lee SSJ. 2000. Dys-appearing tongues and bodily memories: the aging of first-generation resident Koreans in Japan. *Ethos* 28(2):198–223
- Leitch A. 2000. The social life of Lardo: slow food in fast times. *Asian Pac. J. Anthropol.* 1(1):103–18
- Leitch A. 2003. Slow food and the politics of pork fat: Italian food politics and European identity. *Ethnos* 68:4
- Lentz C, ed. 1999. *Changing Food Habits: Case Studies from Africa, South America, and Europe*. Amsterdam: Harwood Acad.
- Lewis DEJ. 1988. Gustatory subversion and the evolution of nutritional dependency in Kiribati. *Food Foodways* 3(1,2):79–98
- Lockwood W, Lockwood YR. 2000. Finnish American milk products in the northwoods. In *Milk: Beyond the Dairy. Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1999 Proceedings*, ed. H Walker, pp. 232–39. Oxford: Prospect



- Lupton D. 1994. Food, memory, and meaning: the symbolic and social nature of food. *Sociol. Rev.* 42(4):664–87
- Lupton D. 1996. *Food, the Body and the Self*. New York: Sage
- Lyngo IJ. 2001. The national nutrition exhibition: a new nutritional narrative in Norway in the 1930s. In *Food, Drink and Identity: Cooking, Eating and Drinking in Europe Since the Middle Ages*, ed. P Scholliers, pp. 141–61. London: Berg
- Macbeth H, ed. 1997. *Food Preferences and Taste: Continuity and Change*. Providence, RI: Berghahn
- Mankekar P. 2002. “India shopping”: Indian grocery stores and transnational configuration of belonging. *Ethnos* 67(1):75–98
- McCallum C. 1999. Consuming pity: the production of death among the Cashinua. *Cult. Anthropol.* 14(4):443–71
- Meigs A. 1984. *Food, Sex and Pollution: A New Guinea Religion*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers Univ. Press
- Meyers M. 2001. *A Bite off Mama’s Plate: Mothers’ and Daughters’ Connections Through Food*. New York: Bergin and Garvey
- Mueggler E. 2001. *The Age of Wild Ghosts: Memory, Violence and Place in Southwest China*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Mintz S. 1985. *Sweetness and Power*. New York: Penguin
- Mintz S. 1996. *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press
- Morton T, ed. 2004. *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*. London: Palgrave
- Munn N. 1986. *The Fame of Gawa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge Univ. Press
- Murcott A. 1996. Food as an expression of identity. In *The Future of the National State: Essays on Cultural Pluralism and Political Integration*, ed. S Gustafsson, L Lewin, pp. 49–77. Stockholm: Nerenius and Santerus
- Narayan U. 1995. Eating cultures: incorporation, identity and Indian food. *Soc. Ident.* 1(1):63–86
- Noguchi P. 1994. Savor slowly: *EKIBEN*—the fast food of high-speed Japan. *Ethnology* 33(4):317–30
- Ohnuki-Tierney E. 1993. *Rice as Self: Japanese Identities Through Time*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press
- Ong A. 2003. *Buddha is Hiding*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Perry C. 1994. The taste for layered bread among the nomadic Turks and the Central Asian origins of baklava. See Zubaida & Tapper 1994, pp. 87–92
- Pollock N. 1992. *These Roots Remain: Food Habits in Islands of the Central and Eastern Pacific*. Laie, Hawaii: Inst. Polynes. Stud.
- Powers W, Powers P. 1984. Metaphysical aspects of Oglala food systems. See Douglas 1984, pp. 40–94
- Plotnicov L, Scaglian R, eds. 1999. *Consequences of Cultivar Diffusion. Ethnol. Monogr. No. 17*
- Powles J. 2002. “Like baby minnows we came with the current”: social memory among Angolan refugees in Mebeba settlement, Zambia. Presented at Annu. Meet. Assoc. Soc. Anthropol. Great Britain and the Commonwealth. Arusha, Tanzania
- Prosterman L. 1984. Food and celebration: a kosher caterer as the mediator of communal traditions. See Brown & Mussel 1984, pp. 127–42
- Ray K. 2004. *The Migrant’s Table: Meals and Memories in Bengali-American Households*. Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press
- Roden C. 1974. *Book of Middle Eastern Food*. New York: Vintage Books

- Roe N. 2004. Eating romantic England: the foot and mouth scare and its consequences. In *Cultures of Taste/Theories of Appetite: Eating Romanticism*, ed. T Morton, pp. 97–112. London: Palgrave
- Roy P. 2002. Reading communities and culinary communities: the gastro-poetics of south Indian diaspora. *Positions* 10(2):471–502
- Searls E. 2002. Food and the making of modern Inuit identities. *Food Foodways* 10(1):55–78
- Seremetakis CN. 1993. The memory of the senses: historical perception, commensal exchange and modernity. *Vis. Anthropol. Rev.* 9(2):2–18
- Seremetakis CN. 1996. *The Senses Still*. Chicago, IL: Univ. Chicago Press
- Shaw R. 2002. *Memories of the Slave Trade*. Chicago, IL: Univ. Chicago Press
- Shortridge B, Shortridge J, eds. 1998. *The Taste of American Place*. Lanham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield
- Singer E. 1984. Conversion through foodways enculturation: the meaning of eating in an American Hindu sect. See Brown and Mussell 1984, pp. 195–214
- Siskind J. 1992. The invention of Thanksgiving: a ritual of American nationality. *Crit. Anthropol.* 12(2):167–91
- Smith A. 2004. Heteroglossia, “common sense” and social memory. *Am. Ethnol.* 31(2):251–69
- Spiro M. 1955. The acculturation of American ethnic groups. *Am. Anthropol.* 57(6):1240–52
- Stephen M. 1998. Devouring the mother: a Kleinian perspective on necrophagia and corpse abuse in mortuary ritual. *Ethos* 26(4):387–409
- Stoller P. 1989. *The Taste of Ethnographic Things*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press
- Stoller P. 1995. *Embodying Colonial Memories*. New York: Routledge
- Sutton D. 2000. Whole foods: revitalization through everyday synesthetic experience. *Anthropol. Hum.* 25(2):120–30
- Sutton D. 2001. *Remembrance of Repasts: An Anthropology of Food and Memory*. London: Berg
- Taggart J. 2002. Food, masculinity and place in the American Southwest. See Counihan 2002b, pp. 305–14
- Terrio S. 2000. *Crafting the Culture and History of French Chocolate*. Berkeley: Univ. Calif. Press
- Trubek A. 2000. *Haute Cuisine: How the French Invented the Culinary Profession*. Philadelphia: Univ. Penn. Press
- Tuchman G, Levine H. 1993. New York Jews and Chinese food: the social construction of an ethnic pattern. *J. Contemp. Ethnol.* 22(3):362–407
- Turnbull C. 1972. *The Mountain People*. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Ulin R. 1995. Invention and representation as cultural capital: Southwest French winegrowing history. *Am. Anthropol.* 97(3):519–27
- Ulin R. 1996. *Vintages and Traditions. An Ethnohistory of Southwest French Wine Cooperatives*. Washington: Smithsonian. Inst. Press
- Watson J, ed. 1997. *Golden Arches East: McDonald's in East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press
- Weiner M. 1996. Consumer culture and participatory democracy: the story of Coca Cola during World War II. *Food Foodways* 6(2):109–29
- Weiss A, ed. 1997. *Taste Nostalgia*. New York: Lusitania Press
- Wiley A. 2006. The breakdown of holism and the curious fate of food studies in anthropology. *Anthropol. News* 47(1):9, 12
- Wilk R. 1999. ‘Real Belizean food’: building local identity in the transnational Caribbean. *Am. Anthropol.* 101(2):244–55
- Winegardner M. 1998. *We Are What We Ate*. Fort Washington, PA: Harvest Books
- Wu DYH, Tan CB, eds. 2001. *Changing Chinese Foodways in Asia*. Hong Kong: Chinese Univ. Press
- Zubaida S, Tapper R, eds. 1994. *Culinary Cultures of the Middle East*. London: Taurus



# Contents

## Prefatory Chapter

On the Resilience of Anthropological Archaeology <i>Kent V. Flannery</i> .....	1
---	---

## Archaeology

Archaeology of Overshoot and Collapse <i>Joseph A. Tainter</i> .....	59
Archaeology and Texts: Subservience or Enlightenment <i>John Moreland</i> .....	135
Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives <i>Michael Dietler</i> .....	229
Early Mainland Southeast Asian Landscapes in the First Millennium A.D. <i>Miriam T. Stark</i> .....	407
The Maya Codices <i>Gabrielle Vail</i> .....	497

## Biological Anthropology

What Cultural Primatology Can Tell Anthropologists about the Evolution of Culture <i>Susan E. Perry</i> .....	171
Diet in Early <i>Homo</i> : A Review of the Evidence and a New Model of Adaptive Versatility <i>Peter S. Ungar, Frederick E. Grine, and Mark F. Teaford</i> .....	209
Obesity in Biocultural Perspective <i>Stanley J. Uljaszek and Hayley Lofink</i> .....	337

Annu. Rev. Anthropol. 2006.35:361-378. Downloaded from arjournals.annualreviews.org by UNIVERSITY OF DENVER on 08/15/07. For personal use only.

Evolution of the Size and Functional Areas of the Human Brain <i>P. Thomas Schoenemann</i> .....	379
<b>Linguistics and Communicative Practices</b>	
Mayan Historical Linguistics and Epigraphy: A New Synthesis <i>Søren Wichmann</i> .....	279
Environmental Discourses <i>Peter Mühlhäusler and Adrian Peace</i> .....	457
Old Wine, New Ethnographic Lexicography <i>Michael Silverstein</i> .....	481
<b>International Anthropology and Regional Studies</b>	
The Ethnography of Finland <i>Jukka Siikala</i> .....	153
<b>Sociocultural Anthropology</b>	
The Anthropology of Money <i>Bill Maurer</i> .....	15
Food and Globalization <i>Lynne Phillips</i> .....	37
The Research Program of Historical Ecology <i>William Balée</i> .....	75
Anthropology and International Law <i>Sally Engle Merry</i> .....	99
Institutional Failure in Resource Management <i>James M. Acheson</i> .....	117
Indigenous People and Environmental Politics <i>Michael R. Dove</i> .....	191
Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas <i>Paige West, James Igoe, and Dan Brockington</i> .....	251
Sovereignty Revisited <i>Thomas Blom Hansen and Finn Stepputat</i> .....	295
Local Knowledge and Memory in Biodiversity Conservation <i>Virginia D. Nazarea</i> .....	317

Food and Memory <i>Jon D. Holtzman</i> .....	361
Creolization and Its Discontents <i>Stephan Palmié</i> .....	433
Persistent Hunger: Perspectives on Vulnerability, Famine, and Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa <i>Mamadou Baro and Tara F. Deubel</i> .....	521

### **Theme 1: Environmental Conservation**

Archaeology of Overshoot and Collapse <i>Joseph A. Tainter</i> .....	59
The Research Program of Historical Ecology <i>William Balée</i> .....	75
Institutional Failure in Resource Management <i>James M. Acheson</i> .....	117
Indigenous People and Environmental Politics <i>Michael R. Dove</i> .....	191
Parks and Peoples: The Social Impact of Protected Areas <i>Paige West, James Igoe, and Dan Brockington</i> .....	251
Local Knowledge and Memory in Biodiversity Conservation <i>Virginia D. Nazarea</i> .....	317
Environmental Discourses <i>Peter Mühlhäusler and Adrian Peace</i> .....	457

### **Theme 2: Food**

Food and Globalization <i>Lynne Phillips</i> .....	37
Diet in Early <i>Homo</i> : A Review of the Evidence and a New Model of Adaptive Versatility <i>Peter S. Ungar, Frederick E. Grine, and Mark F. Teaford</i> .....	209
Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives <i>Michael Dietler</i> .....	229
Obesity in Biocultural Perspective <i>Stanley J. Ulijaszek and Hayley Lofink</i> .....	337
Food and Memory <i>Jon D. Holtzman</i> .....	361

Old Wine, New Ethnographic Lexicography <i>Michael Silverstein</i> .....	481
Persistent Hunger: Perspectives on Vulnerability, Famine, and Food Security in Sub-Saharan Africa <i>Mamadou Baro and Tara F. Deubel</i> .....	521

## Indexes

Subject Index .....	539
Cumulative Index of Contributing Authors, Volumes 27–35 .....	553
Cumulative Index of Chapter Titles, Volumes 27–35 .....	556

## Errata

An online log of corrections to *Annual Review of Anthropology* chapters (if any, 1997 to the present) may be found at <http://anthro.annualreviews.org/errata.shtml>