

PART IV:

GENDER, IDENTITY,
'INVENTION' AND FOOD
HERITAGE



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FOODWAYS, IDENTITY AND SELECTIVE TRADITION IN ŽRNOVO: REPRESENTATIVE AND FORBIDDEN FOOD

ABSTRACT

In this paper I will analyse two directions in which *selective tradition* operates in the case of Žrnovo foodways. The first refers to *makaruni*, a special type of pasta that over time became a representative heritage food for Žrnovo, Korčula Island, Croatia, and a strong marker of its identity. The second direction follows the developments around a once typical, but a now forbidden Žrnovo food.

INTRODUCTION: AMBIGUITY OF FOOD HERITAGE AT A GLANCE

During last year's (2024) conference dedicated to the Žrnovo-born famous writer, Petar Šegedin, I had the chance to participate in a special conference programme organised in his birth place.¹ Part of the programme consisted of a performance organised by pupils and teachers from Žrnovo elementary school. Among other things, the pupils staged an imaginary *Talent Show* with a jury consisting of two girls, while several other pupils exhibited their various talents in front of the jury and an audience. Some were praised for their performance while others were 'sent home'. At the very end of the programme, a pupil with a hat, a small flat stone brick, and a small wooden stick, appeared. One of the jurors asked: "What is your talent, Peter²?" And Peter replied that he is the last inhabitant of Žrnovo who knows how to install stone-crush traps. The audience, made up mostly of locals, broke into laughter after this statement. Then, while the audience still laughed, the boy started to install the

1 Reference to this study: Olga Orlić: Foodways, Identity and Selective Tradition in Žrnovo: Representative and Forbidden Food. In Anikó Báti and Patricia Lysaght (eds.): *Living Eating Habits, Revitalized Foodways and the Concepts of Tradition and Food Heritage*. Budapest: ELTE RCH Institute of Ethnology – Museum of Ethnography, 2025. pp. 267–281.

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2 A pseudonym is used here.

stone-crush trap on the podium, and the jury members seemed to be very upset, stating:

Oh my God! We have to report this to the Animal Protection Society! Audience, please do not take any photos! Peter, please, go home...

Peter seemed confused, as if he did not understand why he was at fault, and replied:

But, why? If you only knew how tasteful this is with *makaruni*.

The audience continued to laugh and even applauded. The show ended as Peter walked down the podium steps, after having been dismissed by the jury for referring to now forbidden practice of bird hunting by using stone-crush traps. Despite the fact that a blackbird was not explicitly mentioned, the meal he was referring to was *makaruni na kosiće*³ (pasta [a type called locally *makaruni*] with blackbird meat). And while the *makaruni* (usually prepared with beef) became a symbol of Žrnovo and their foodways, *kos*, 'blackbird', is a protected species in Croatia since 2013, similar to some other wild species that used to be consumed in various Croatian regions.⁴

Sani Sardelić has described this particular type of trap as follows:

This method of hunting is, of course, prohibited by law today, but they remember the method of hunting and know the procedure, even the younger informants. The procedure is quite simple and very efficient. You need one big and one small stone slab, a 'tile', two or three twigs, and a small trough with water.⁵

Her research revealed that even the mentioning of the meal, *makaruni na kosiće*, for the people of Žrnovo, evokes 'exciting memories'.

FOOD AND IDENTITY: NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS ON KORČULA ISLAND

Anthropologist Cristina Grasseni, in her work on alternative food networks in Italy, analysed food as a total social phenomenon,⁶ according to Marcel Mauss's definition

3 Sardelić, Sani: 'Tradicijska kultura Mediterana – proučavanje i prezentacija' ('Traditional Culture of the Mediterranean – Study and Presentation'), *Etnološka istraživanja* 17 (2012), 87–105.

4 Rittig-Beljak, Nives: 'Puh – od ulova do regionalnog specijaliteta' ('The dormouse – from catching it towards creating regional identity'), *Studia ethnologica Croatica* 10/11, no. 1 (1999), 111–124.

5 Sardelić: 'Tradicijska kultura Mediterana – proučavanje i prezentacija', 87–105.

6 Grasseni, Cristina: *Beyond Alternative Food Networks* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

of the term,⁷ i.e. as a social fact that integrates seemingly unrelated aspects of everyday life: family, economic, legal, religious, moral and aesthetic aspects, and manifests itself as a totality in the individual experience. Research confirms the existence of a strong link between food and national,⁸ regional,⁹ and local identity. Barnhill, Budolfson, and Doggett, rightfully emphasise that “Food practices and customs are one way in which we construct personal identities and group identities, and they are a powerful way to communicate our identities to others.”¹⁰

Foodways, defined as patterns “determining what we eat, as well as how and why and under what circumstances”, play the same role in identification processes.¹¹ On the other hand, what we do not eat (and why) can be perceived either as food avoidance or even as food taboo. Marianne Elisabeth Lien argues that, “Because food is such a powerful medium for expressing group identity and social differentiation, the explicit avoidance of particular foods is an effective means to establish boundaries between self and other.”¹² Food taboos or avoidances or food preferences can, therefore, be an important driver of auto- and hetero-stereotypisation,¹³ playing an important role in identification processes. Identities, being flexible, contextual and situational,¹⁴ are usually constructed around the features that communities themselves ‘decide’ should be distinctive,¹⁵ and that are created in interaction with the Other.¹⁶ One approach to ‘deciding’ what is distinctive involves, what Raymond Williams has termed the ‘selective tradition’, a process connecting lived culture and

7 Mauss, Marcel: *The Gift. Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London: Cohen and West, 1966 [1925]).

8 Guptill, Amy E. – Copelton, Denise A. and Lucal, Betsy: *Food and Society: Principles and Paradoxes* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013).

9 Orlić, Ivona: ‘Tradicionalna prehrana i turistička ponuda Istre: obilježja istarskoga regionalnog identiteta’ (‘Traditional food and tourist offer of Istria: characteristics of Istrian regional identity’), *Etnološka istraživanja* 10 (2005), 63–76.

10 Barnhill, Anne – Budolfson, Mark and Doggett, Tyler: *Food, Ethics and Society. An Introductory Text with Readings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 226.

11 Edge, John T. ed.: *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture: Volume 7: Foodways* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 8.

12 Lien, Marianne Elisabeth: ‘Dogs, Whales and Kangaroos: Transnational Activism and Food Taboos’, in Lien, Marianne Elisabeth and Nerlich, Brigitte eds.: *The Politics of Food* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2004), 180.

13 Lien: ‘Dogs, Whales and Kangaroos: Transnational Activism and Food Taboos’, 180–181.

14 Hall, Stuart: ‘Introduction: Who Needs Identity?’, in Hall, Stuart and du Gay, Paul eds.: *Questions of Cultural Identity* (London: Sage, 1996), 1–17.

15 Barth, Frederik: *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social Organization of Cultural Difference* (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget – Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1969).

16 Berger, Peter L. and Luckmann, Thomas: *Socijalna konstrukcija zbilje* (‘The Social Construction of Reality’) (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1992).

the past.¹⁷ According to his understanding of the process involved, each generation decides what its traditions are or will become. Laurajane Smith described a similar approach when analysing heritagisation processes. According to her conclusions, discursive practices are crucial in the creation of what becomes the *authorised heritage discourse*, and what does not.¹⁸ The same can happen to food that is increasingly perceived as being cultural heritage (and becoming a sought-after commodity), usually “in the name of its ‘typicity’”.¹⁹ According to Cristina Grasseni, “Typical foods are not just ‘traditional’ but are bearers of the historical know-how that would flourish in that particular locality.”²⁰

But what happens when an interruption, in form of a legal act, intervenes in these processes and puts environmental concerns ahead of local traditions, with the result that such traditions cannot be considered representative heritage food? Jelena Ivanišević has discussed the situation which arose when European Union (EU) legislation imposed certain restrictions (due to food safety concerns) on the selling of cottage cheese and sour cream (Croatian: *sir i vrhnje*), a dairy product typical of northwestern Croatia and an important part of the Zagreb farmers’ market identity. *Sir i vrhnje* became the symbol of fears that European Integration – raised by one Eurosceptic political party prior to the accession of Croatia to the EU in 2013) – would eventually destroy ‘our’ traditional way of producing and selling food.²¹

While the women selling cottage cheese and sour cream had to adapt to the new EU regulations in order to be able to continue selling their products, the same mechanism could not be applied in the case of *makaruni na kosiće*. Regarding the ban on hunting migratory birds (and other protected species, including dormice and frogs), imposed by the regulation: ‘Pravilnik o strogo zaštićenim vrstama (NN 144/13)’ (‘Rulebook on Strictly Protected Species, The Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, 144/13’),²² contemporary environmental care took priority over hunting for

17 Williams, Raymond: *The Long Revolution* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1961), 57–88.

18 Smith, Laurajane: *Uses of Heritage* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2006).

19 Grasseni, Cristina: ‘Of Cheese and Ecomuseums: Food as Cultural Heritage in the Northern Italian Alps’, in Brulotte, Ronda and Di Giovine, Michael A. eds.: *Edible Identities: Food as Cultural Heritage* (Farnham, Surrey, UK – Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2014), 55–66.

20 Grasseni: ‘Of Cheese and Ecomuseums: Food as Cultural Heritage in the Northern Italian Alps’, 55.

21 Ivanišević, Jelena: ‘Sir, vrnje, tradicija i politika’ (‘Cottage cheese and sour cream, tradition and politics’), in Rittig-Beljak, Nives and Belaj, Melanija eds.: *Turist kao gost – prilozi kulinarskom turizmu* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2009), 65–72.

22 *Pravilnik o strogo zaštićenim vrstama, Narodne novine 144* (2013) (‘Rulebook on Strictly Protected Species, The Official Gazette of the Republic of Croatia, 144 [2013]’). <https://narodne-novine.nn.hr/clanci/sluzbeni/2013_12_144_3086.html> accessed 28 April 2025.

subsistence, and, as there were no options for adaptation available, as in case of the selling of *sir i vrhnje*, this practice had to be abandoned, or go underground.

FOODWAYS AND IDENTITIES IN ŽRNOVO

Korčula is the sixth largest Croatian Island by size, located in the southeastern part of the Adriatic Sea, next to the Pelješac peninsula. According to the last Census of population held in 2021,²³ the Island has 14,594 inhabitants – representing a slight decline in population in the last 10 years, as according to the 2011 Census, there were 15,524 persons on the Island at that time.²⁴ Today, the Island has five municipalities, including Korčula town, with nine major settlements, and it is an important tourist destination in Dalmatia.

Local identifications on the seemingly culturally undifferentiated Island were/are strongly expressed, revealing, not only previous mutual relations between those nine settlements, but especially antagonistic ones.²⁵ The most common basis for stereotypisation is language,²⁶ traditions, and customs (including those related to food), and perceptions about the mentality of the Other. Similar to other parts of Croatia,²⁷ the inhabitants of Korčula's settlements use nicknames – usually of a mocking character – for each other. These ethnophaulisms, as Abraham Aaron Roback²⁸ called them, represent stereotypes compressed into just one word. *Žrnovci*

23 *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova u Republici Hrvatskoj 2021* ('The Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Croatia 2021') (Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku [Croatian Bureau of Statistics], 2021).

24 *Popis stanovništva, kućanstava i stanova u Republici Hrvatskoj 2021* ('The Census of Population, Households and Dwellings in the Republic of Croatia 2021') (Zagreb: Državni zavod za statistiku [Croatian Bureau of Statistics], 2021).

25 Orlić, Olga: *Identifikacijski procesi na otoku Korčuli* ('Identification processes on the island of Korčula'), Ph.D. thesis, unpublished (Zagreb: Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences University of Zagreb, 2011).

26 Joseph, John. E.: *Language and Identity* (Palgrave: Macmillan, 2004).

27 Perinić Lewis, Ana: *Otoci otoka Hvara. Pluralizam lokalnih otočnih identifikacija* ('Islands of the Island of Hvar. The Pluralism of Local Island Identifications') (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 2017); Blagonić, Sandi: *Od Vlaha do Hrvata: Austrijsko-mletačka politička dihotomija i etnodiferencijski procesi u Istri* ('From Vlachs to Croats: The Austrian-Venetian political dichotomy and ethno-differentiation processes in Istria') (Zagreb: Jesenski and Turk, 2013).

28 Roback, Abraham Aaron: *A Dictionary of International Slurs (Ethnophaulisms); With a Supplementary Essay on Aspects of Ethnic Prejudice* (Cambridge, MA: Sci-Art Publishers, c. 1944).

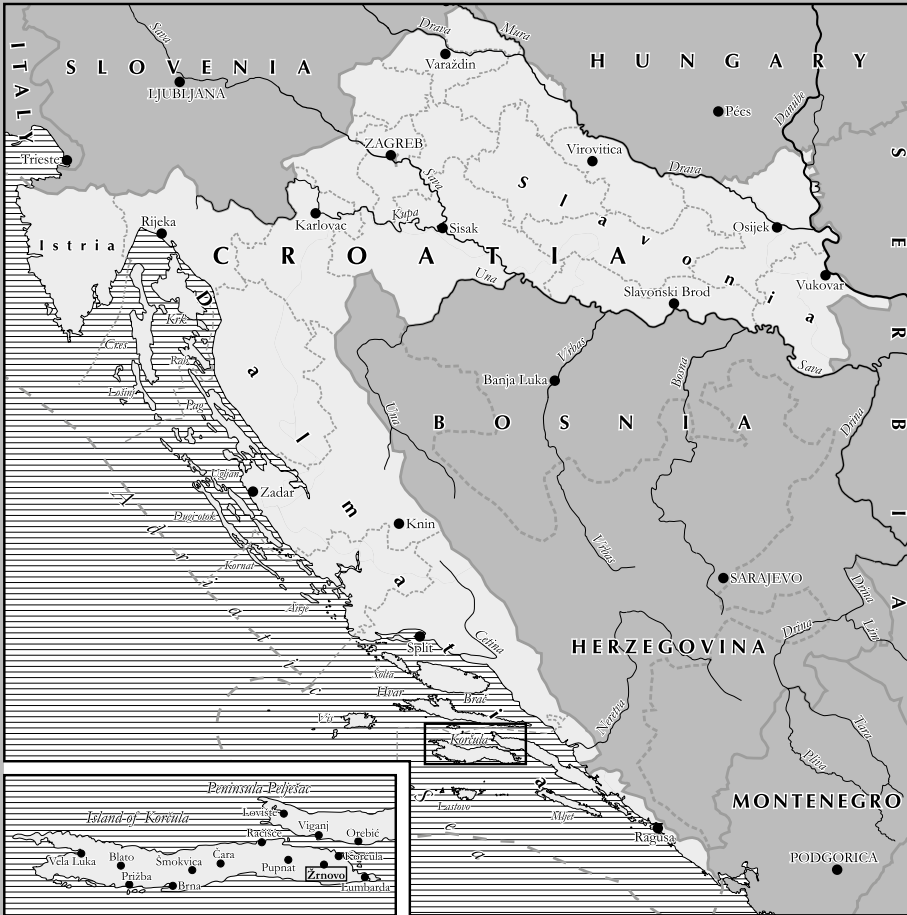


Fig. 1. Location of Korčula Island in the Adriatic Sea²⁹ and location of Žrnovo on Korčula Island³⁰. Map by Béla Nagy

– the inhabitants of Žrnovo – have two nicknames. The first, *vilani* ('villagers', 'peasants') was not exclusive to them. Citizens of Korčula town in the east of the Island, once the only urban settlement there, and also sharing the name of the Island itself, used to call all other inhabitants *vilani*, emphasising the urban-rural dichotomy between 'us' and 'them'. The nickname remained for Žrnovci, inhabiting the very next village to the town. However, *Žrnovci* were also called *Kuneji* (a local expression meaning 'rabbits'). This nickname probably alluded to the people's habit of eating a lot of vegetables, and was, most likely, applied to them by the citizens of Korčula town, where perceptions of rural food as being simpler and poorer (such as eating vegetables) no doubt existed.³¹ However, eating vegetables – in this case eating local types of cabbage – called *raštika* or *zeje* in the local dialect – is a common feature of Dalmatian cuisine, or even of a broader area, as Medina puts it, when writing about the Mediterranean diet.³² However, another type of food, one that was not prepared so often, became, in the end, the most representative, and the heritage food of Žrnovo. This is *žrnovski makaruni* with the eponymic adjective '*žrnovski*' in its name. This food became a strong marker of Žrnovo identity, one recognised by outsiders, including tourists.

During my first research visit to Korčula Island in 2007, I remember Sani Sardelić, a curator from Korčula Town Museum, who wrote extensively on various food practices on the island,³³ mentioning efforts around organising the first public display of Žrnovo women preparing *makaruni*. Her diligent efforts, together with other women from Žrnovo, seem to have succeeded, because when I returned to the Island in 2024, I found out that 'Makarunada' (a festival of *makaruni*) had been organised there for the previous fifteen years by women involved in the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) *Žrnovski makaruni*. They prepare and sell

29 <<http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/croatia.pdf>> (modified by Olga Orlić), map by Béla Nagy.

30 <<http://korcula.net/naselja/kormap3.gif>> (modified by Olga Orlić), map by Béla Nagy.

31 Domingos, Nuno – Sobral, José Manuel and West, Harry: 'Introduction: Approaching Food and Foodways between the Country and the City through the Work of Raymond Williams', in Domingos, Nuno – Sobral, José Manuel and West, Harry eds.: *Food between the Country and the City. Ethnographies of a Changing Global Foodscape* (London – New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 1–17.

32 Medina, F. Xavier: 'Mediterranean Diet: From Health to Sustainability through Culture, or on Cultural Models Interpreted from the Urgency of the Present Moment' (Comment in Discussion section of *Etnološka tribina*), in Ivanišević, Jelena – Tominc, Ana – Moro, Elisabetta – Albalá, Ken – Medina, F. Xavier and Babić, Darko: 'Mediterranean Diet 3.0 – From Traditional Food to Sustainable Policies', *Etnološka tribina* 53/46, (2023), 55–59.

33 Sardelić, Sani: 'Wild Edible Herbs – Mišanca, Gruda, Parapač...', *Ethnological Researches* 12/13 (2008), 393–396; Sardelić: 'Traditional Culture of the Mediterranean – Study and Presentation', 87–105.

makaruni for various humanitarian purposes, such as the beautification of the village, for the church, or for the League against Cancer. However, the selling of *makaruni* to restaurants also provided important additional income for many women from Žrnovo (including newcomers from Far East countries). Making *makaruni* became an important economic tool for the community, and I recall the sense of pride I felt when joining Sani Sardelić (at her invitation) and other women preparing *makaruni* in a local school gym, for yet another humanitarian activity due to take place on the following days. In other words – from being a local food prepared only occasionally (and on very special occasions),³⁴ *žrnovski makaruni* became *typical* Žrnovo food, and Žrnovo representative heritage food. The process of selective tradition, in this case, was fuelled by tourism and touristic tastes that quite often dictate the adaptation of local food to new purposes,³⁵ but the efforts of local enthusiasts who recognised its potential has to be acknowledged as well.

However, when it comes to meat, that which is usually prepared with *makaruni* is beef, and that was certainly done for all festive or important occasions. Meat was not consumed frequently within the traditional cuisine of rural areas in Korčula Island, but only on special occasions – for many people it was not on the menu even on Sundays.³⁶ Meat was scarce and one would not regularly slaughter domestic animals for household meat provision. This fact was surely partially compensated for by hunting small birds and dormice.

Not all *Žrnovci* mentioned this tradition to me, but this is quite reasonable because I am an outsider. During my research in 2024, however, while talking with one particular gourmand (living on the Island, but not originating there) about meat-eating habits on the Island, he pointed to Žrnovo and said: “Yes, the meat was, for them up [meaning on the hill, where Žrnovo is located], these blackbirds.” He explained, in a jocular way, the taste *Žrnovci* had for avian fauna: “Aviation. That was it.” His wife added: “Today it is forbidden.”

34 Sardelić: ‘Traditional Culture of the Mediterranean – Study and Presentation’, 87–105.

35 Orlić, Ivona: ‘Tradicijska kultura prehrane kao turistička atrakcija: branje voća i samoniklog bilja u Istri’ (‘Traditional culture of food as a tourist attraction: picking fruit and wild herbs in Istria’), in Rittig-Beljak, Nives and Belaj, Melanija eds.: *Turist kao gost – prilozi kulinarskom turizmu* (Zagreb: Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2009), 7–20; Kocković Zaborski, Tanja: ‘Turizam pamćenja i tradicijska prehrana. Okusi i vještine pripremanja jela u istarskim agroturizmima’ (‘Memory tourism and traditional food. Flavours and cooking skills in Istrian agrotourism’), *Etnološka tribina* 47/ 40 (2017), 127–140.

36 Orlić, Ivona: *Istra kroz tri generacije. Između svakodnevne konstrukcije identiteta i turističkog proizvoda* (‘Istria through three generations. Between everyday construction of identity and tourist product’) (Pazin: Etnografski muzej Istre – Museo etnografico dell’Istria, 2013).



Fig. 2. Making žrnovski makaruni. (Photo by Sani Sardelić)³⁷



Fig. 3. Žrnovski makaruni with beef. (Photo by Sani Sardelić)

However, one older member of the community did not hesitate to admit that he used to kill them (small birds) ‘a billion’ by using a stone-crush trap. He clearly labelled this practice a traditional one, passed from generation to generation: “We have traps that my grandfather placed in the woods, and then my father did so, and then I did, also. And now my grandchildren will do it.” He added that each household had its own traps and that no one would ever steal from another house’s trap.

The way he talked about bird-hunting using the stone-crush trap made me wonder if the practice was still alive. I got confirmation on this, together with an explanation about how this activity cannot be compared, in intensity, to bird-hunting of past times. Since blackbirds were caught by using water as a bait, the interlocutor added that, nowadays, they use a piece of a plastic bottle and pour water into it, while once they used to create a trough in the stone (*Žrnovci* were famous for stone carving). He also mentioned that, nowadays, stones from the rooftops of abandoned old stone houses and stables (many of which still exist) are used, and that this also makes the hunt easier. He concluded that blackbird [meat] is good prepared in every way.

Migratory-bird hunting for food and sport has ancient roots in Europe, including in the Mediterranean Basin, where it can be perceived *as longue durée*, i.e. as a “legacy of people-wildlife interactions within a very specific set of historical-ecological conditions.”³⁸ Therefore, Falzon argues that wild foods and “in particular migratory birds thus came to represent a means of topping up marginal agricultural production, and became an essential strand in the fabric of local communities”, especially on the islands.³⁹

In terms of the morality of hunting, Fisher et al. also stresses, that “it implied that the morality of hunting was predominantly judged by the hunter’s intentions, rather than by the outcome of the hunting act,”⁴⁰ thereby marking the difference between hunters for sport and recreation, and traditional hunters that once used to hunt for

37 Figs. 2–5, photographed by Sani Sardelić, Senior Curator at Korčula Town Museum, are used here with her permission.

38 Falzon, Mark-Anthony: ‘Flights of passion. Hunting, ecology and politics in Malta and the Mediterranean’, *Anthropology Today* 24/1 (2008) 15–20; Barca, Benjamin – Lindon, Adrien and Root-Bernstein, Meredith: ‘Environmentalism in the crosshairs: Perspectives on migratory bird hunting and poaching conflicts in Italy’, *Global Ecology and Conservation* 6 (2016), 189–207.

39 Falzon: ‘Flights of passion. Hunting, ecology and politics in Malta and the Mediterranean’, 20.

40 Fischer, Anke – Kerezi, Vesna – Arroyo, Beatriz – Mateos-Delibes, Miguel – Tadie, Degu – Lowassa, Asanterabi – Krangef, Olve and Skogenf, Ketil: ‘(De)legitimising hunting – Discourses over the morality of hunting in Europe and Eastern Africa’, *Land Use Policy* 32 (2013), 261–270.



Fig. 4. Stone-crush trap. (Photo by Sani Sardelić)



Fig. 5. Stone-crush trap on Korčula Island. (Photo by Sani Sardelić)

subsistence, and because of that, that they had developed different attitudes toward nature and animals, compared to poachers and those involved in illegal markets.

The delicate and/or controversial topic of hunting protected animals (formerly for subsistence), as a type of 'cultural food', requires further research. Authors, especially anthropologists, have been dealing with 'cultural food' and related practices, especially in relation to environmental concerns for protected species (e.g. Lien,⁴¹ Holtzman⁴²). But anthropologists do not waive penalties. However, lawyers dealing with the topic of 'cultural food' within a legal framework have rightfully noted that there are many layers related to the "right to eat culturally appropriate food". Maria Clara Maffei⁴³ emphasised that there are many controversies related to food choices and a choice protected by law, i.e. a right. By analysing international documents related to the protection of cultural diversity as a human right, some of them directly encompassing food and culinary practices, Maffei concluded that some types of food can be treated, even according to EU legislation, as 'cultural food'. She revealed numerous inconsistencies, or a form of vagueness, existing in documents that she had analysed, that make it challenging to unambiguously protect the right to cultural diversity (especially a food related one) as a human right, particularly in relation to some other rights, i.e. those of animals. She points to the 'reasonableness criterion' as being applicable, but stresses further:

Unfortunately, [...] this criterion is neither objective nor 'certain'. The positive aspect is that reasonableness evolves in the course of time and can be influenced by new emerging values, for instance greater consideration for animals and their protection against brutality.⁴⁴

The performance described at the beginning of this paper revealed how the people of Žrnovo today represent their own foodways, consisting of both representative and forbidden foods, in an auto-reflexive and auto-ironic way, playing both humorously and critically with their own food heritage. Whether the practice of hunting blackbirds (and other protected animals, in Žrnovo and elsewhere in Croatia where these animals were once legally on the menu) will be totally abandoned, or

41 Lien: 'Dogs, Whales and Kangaroos; Transnational Activism and Food Taboos', 2004.

42 Holtzman, Jon: 'On Whale: Conundrums of Culture and Cetaceans as Local Meat', *Ethnos* 82/2 (2017), 277–297.

43 Maffei, Maria Clara: 'Food as a Cultural Choice: A Human Right to Be Protected? ', in Borelli Silvia and Lenzerini, Federico eds.: *Cultural Heritage, Cultural Rights, Cultural Diversity. New Developments in International Law* (Leiden – Boston, MA: Martinus Nuijhof Publishers, 2012), 83–106.

44 Maffei, 'Food as a Cultural Choice: A Human Right to Be Protected? ', 99.

whether it will go/stay underground, or gain the status of ‘cultural food’ and, therefore, be allowed to proceed in certain contexts or situations, is as yet uncertain. And the answer to this question will definitively depend on evolutions that will take place, not only within a legal framework, but also within traditions themselves.

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