SECOND SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

'Foodism – Philosophy or Fad?'

Proceedings
Adelaide, September 29-October 1, 1985

Proceedings of the Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy

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‘Foodism — Philosophy or Fad?’

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Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy
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PROLOGUE

The first symposium had been exciting enough that the organisers not only feared being swamped by applications to attend this next occasion, but also were a little apprehensive about it proving an anticlimax. Yet the second event attracted only a handful more participants, and, perhaps even more surprisingly, matched the delight of the original event. Whether contributing to the flow of meals or ideas, we participants again shared our passion for food.

The form of the event was much the same, rendezvousing at the admirable Carclew mansion overlooking Adelaide, although this time adding the Sunday evening to two days of eating and talking. We again started by ritually "bringing our own", this time a range of savoury and sweet pies. In such a way, every meal "made a statement", as with the Monday lunch, when we tramped through the East End Markets, which re-developers have pressured the government to relocating in July, 1988, because "every other major city" has done so (and regreted). But how can we ever forget coming across its lost alley-way, whose peeling walls Gay Bilson kept photographing, and where Philip White nonchalantly poured tressle tables of riesling? Moving on to Ruby's Cafe, 50 picky palates dissected dishes served by staff dressed as vegetables.

Before Monday evening's drinking-party, or symposium-within-a-symposium, we were treated to an appropriate, simple and thus superb spit-roasted lamb out in the garden. The second lunch,

meant to celebrate the variety of the morning's papers, was coordinated by Cath Kerry, whose family had all contributed to a definitive cous-cous, which more one than participant selected as the "dish of the symposium". When we toasted another successful confernece at the final evening's "Australian Dinner", the team from Glo-bos Restaurant, not daring compete against Phillip Searle's original and unsurpassable banquet, provided kangaroo and quandong tart.

There was an upgrading in the overall standard of the papers, such as Lynne Chatterton's delightful essay about the eater-traveller, and Betty Meehan's description of one Aboriginal tribe's dining. There were fewer debates about being too "Franco-phile" and more thoughtful attempts at deciding if we were fad-dists or philosophers.

The ideas circulating at the second symposium confirmed at least to me that we were indeed "food philosophers", and even the existence of a definite school of "Australian Gastronomy", ex-emplified by Graham Pont's course at the University of NSW. Inhabiting an "upstart culinary country", lacking the security of tradition and dominated by global food corporations, we need to intellectualise. How else can we decide our next meal! This "gastronomy" takes from ecology, sociology and cultural studies, as much as from Athenaeus and Brillat-Savarin and the entire store of gardening, culinary and aristological wisdom.

As well as inspiring meals and ideas, the symposium com-prises a productive mix of cooks and eaters, experts and readers, many of us now friends. Could we now imagine a symposium without Gabriel Gate's sensible advice? Where we would be if other busy

professionals - restaurateurs, communicators and scientists could not fit us into their diaries? And yet would not it stultify without the enthusiasm of the "passionate amateurs"?

In these proceedings of the Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, you can read the menus and winelists and most of the papers, along with a summary of some of the discussions. We've also included a transcript of the summing-up by our oveseas visitor, the English food journalist, Christopher Driver. For further impressions, you can consult his report in the Guardian (Friday, October, 25, 1985; and reprinted a few days later in the National Times). Our hard-working organiser, Barbara Santich, provides yet another perspective in Petit Propos Culinaires 22 (March, 1986).

The Third Symposium of Australian Gastronomy is to be held in Melbourne in March, 1987, seemingly confirming an 18-month periodicity. The plan is for a "Bicentenary" symposium in Sydney in 1988. Whether the symposium continues beyond that, let alone returns to Carclew or even Adelaide, is yet to be determined, but those of us privileged to have attended the first two are surely already grateful enough.

- Michael Symons

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

An event such as this symposium would not be possible without the spontaneous support of so many participants. Contributions of food, wine and discussion papers are acknowledged in these proceedings, but credit should also be given to those who chaired sessions and offered practical and administrative assistance. Particular thanks go to Cath Kerry who, with the services of Howard Twelfthtree, ensured that catering arrangements at Carclew proceeded smoothly, and to Lois Butt, Nola Kenny and Gwenda Robb who baked the biscuits which converted Adrian Read to a 'born-again biscuit-eater'.

Again we express our gratitude to Roger Chapman and the staff at Carclew, and to Robyn Ravlich, who recorded the entire proceedings.

As is only natural, meals were an integral part of the symposium, and we thank Stephen Grieve and the staff of Ruby's Café, who so enthusiastically entered into their roles for the market lunch; to Janet Jeffs, who arranged for the lamb for the Monday dinner, and to Jonathan Philips who cooked it; and to Louis Thyer and his staff, who were responsible for 'The Australian Dinner' which concluded the symposium.

Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy

"FOODISM - PHILOSOPHY OR FAD?"

Carclew, Adelaide, September 29-October 1, 1985

OFFICIAL PROGRAM

SUNDAY

5.00 pm. Pie Tea at Carclew
In the tradition of last year's "Brown Bread" lunch, participants are invited to bring their own pie

MONDAY

9.00 am. Registration at Carclew

9.30 am. "Food as Philosophy"
Chair: Gay Bilson

Anthony Corones: "Gastronomy and the transcendence of 'foodie' consciousness
Graham Pont: "The philosophers' banquet - Athenaeus and the traditions of classical gastronomy"
Michael Symons: "Epicurean politics"

10.30 am. Coffee

11.00 am. "If it tastes good is it good for you?"
Chair: Diana Hetzel

How correct is Brillat-Savarin when he says: "The Creator, who made man such that he must eat to live, incites him to eat by means of appetite, and rewards him with pleasure" (Aphorism V)?

Barbara Santich: "Menage à trois: gastronomy, food, medicine"
Max Lake: "Flavour power
Ian Pollard: "What is health food?"
John Wilson: "Wine and health"

12.00 pm. Introduction to lunch

12.30 pm. Lunch at the East End Market
Catered by Ruby's Cafe. Market display by Margot Osborne

3.00 pm. "Market Against Supermarket"
Chair: Michael Symons

How do we rate various Australian markets, and do they represent an "alternative" economy?

Panel discussion

4.00 pm. "Gastronomic Education"
Chair: Graham Pont

How do we educate cooks, eaters, producers, politicians?

Panel discussion: Stephanie Alexander, Duré Dara, Janet Jeffs, Victoria O'Neill

5.00 pm. Break

6.00 pm. Drinks

7.00 pm. Pre-symposium meal at Carclew Spit-roasted lamb

8.00 pm. Drinking-Party: "Foodism: Philosophy or Fad?"
Symposiarch: Max Lake.

TUESDAY

9.30 am. "The Upstart Cuisine Revisited"
Chair: Gay Bilson

Betty Meehan "Aboriginal food traditions"
Marion Halligan "The role of food in Australian literature"
Rebecca Zuesse: "Consuming symbols - an anthropological analysis of Australian food in high culture, industry and popular culture"

10.30 am. Coffee

11.00 am. "The Upstart Cuisine Revisited (ctd)"

John Possingham: "Nuts - old, young and new"
Jill Stone: "The time has come the Walrus said.
Lynne Chatterton: "One pot, one flame, sahib"
Gabriel Gaté: "The future Australian cuisine

12.30 pm. Lunch. "Australian Bazaar" at Carclew
Inspired by the morning's papers

2.00 pm. "What do we do next?"
Chair: Brian Chatterton

Christopher Driver invited to offer impressions of symposium
Discussion of future activities

3.00 pm. Panel discussion
This session is left open perhaps for the swapping of experiences of using indigenous ingredients

7.00 for 7.30 pm. The Australian Dinner
Cummins House, Novar Gardens
Cooked from indigenous ingredients by Lewis Thyer, Mary-Jane Hayward and colleagues from Globo's Restaurant

PIE TEA

Carclew, September 29, 1985

A tradition has developed, both here and at the Oxford Symposia, of having a contributory meal. At the First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, participants were asked to bring their own brown bread to the first lunch, and on the second day lunch was a spread of terrines, galantines and pates. The tradition has been continued, and the Second Symposium began with an informal gathering at Carclew, the Pie Tea.

Cheshire pork and apple pie	..Stephanie Alexander
Pheasant and chicken pie	..Maggie Beer
Mincemeat pie	..Gay Bilson
Leek pie	..Gabriel Gate
Brain tartlets	..Wayne Hargreaves
Game pie	..Natalie Leader
Veal and sweetbread pie	..Scott Minervini
Onion and roquefort quiche	..Ian Pollard
Platina's herbaceum maiale	..Barbara Santich
Modest meat pie	..Michael Treloar
Italian pizza rustica	..Colin Turner
Apple and grand marnier pie	..Jen Forbes
Lemon and raisin tart	..Diane Hetzel
Lemon meringue pie	..Jennifer Hillier,Michael Symons, Anthony Corones
Black bun	..Cath Kerry
Apple pan dowdy	..Jill Stone
Apple and rhubarb pie	..Rebecca Zuesse
Rhubarb pie	..Sue Zweep

Seppelt's Sparkling Burgundy

GASTRONOMY AND THE TRANSCENDENCE OF 'FOODIE' CONSCIOUSNESS.

by Anthony Corones

At the heart of the philosophical mythos lies the Socratic dictum to 'Know Thyself'. It is the search for meaning, for identity; its goal, self-realization and fulfilment. This paper is nourished by that mythos. It is not directed to me as an individual, however. Rather, it represents the introspective murmurings prompted in me by this gathering. Why are we here? Why are we doing this again? And who or what are we anyway?

Such questions with regard to the identity of this gathering and its chances for expression and fulfilment are not to be interpreted as a crippling form of doubt, but as philosophically foundational. Being the first speaker at this symposium, I shall make use of the opportunity to take you through a radical consideration of the nature of our gathering, and hence to produce a prolegomenon to any future gastronomy.

Why do we need such a paper? There are many reasons, some of which will become clear as the paper progresses. The 'raison d'être' of this paper, however, is not to be equated with these reasons. It is, rather, the result of the soul-searching occassioned by the First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy. I went not quite knowing what to expect, and left, following the chaos of influences and viewpoints, more confused than I had been on arrival. I have since been trying to come to terms with the 'soul', as it were, of this symposium, its meaning and identity.

Indeed, the search for identity is the underlying theme of this opening session. With Graham Pont's paper, we shall be examining the classical tradition in gastronomy through Athenaeus, to see what has gone before. With Michael Symons' paper, we shall be exploring the thought of Epicurus, examining the possibility of developing an Epicurean philosophy of gastronomy.

Both of these papers constitute an exploration of the past in search of gastronomic identity. But what are the signs of our times? It is to the present that this paper looks.

Where do we begin to look? Let us begin with a question: What is the food consciousness of our times? Fortunately, I have been spared the task of isolating and defining it because it has in fact already achieved self-consciousness - 'Foodism' has arrived. 'Foodies' were identified by the 1982 Harpers & Queen article, 'Cuisine Poseur' [1], and have since been described in depth by The Official Foodie Handbook[2]. A number of factors have led to the foodie phenomenon, but it is the characterization of foodism which interests us here. Foodism has become, in a mock version of Karl Marx, the 'opium of the stylish classes'; indeed, to 'be modern', the Handbook tells us, is to 'worship food'. The idolatry of the foodie sect has come under the satirical eye of the media, and the product is a contemporary comedy of manners which hits home. The accuracy of the portrai is attested to by those foodies who find themselves embarrassingly revealed; and no small wonder, as it was drawn by foodies.

Foodism, the Handbook tells us, 'was a craze whose time had come'[3]. And like all crazes, it 'carries the obligations of fashion'[4]. In the light this analysis, I began to wonder whether this gathering was not symptomatic of the foodie movement, a fashionable thing to do. The Handbook certainly regards the Oxford Food Symposia as gatherings 'par excellence' of the foodie sect[5]. Why should we be any different? After all, many of us would find ourselves described in one way or another by the Handbook. There would thus be some point to considering this Symposium to be a foodie affair.

What would this entail about the nature of this gathering? Well, according to the Handbook, this gathering would be a reflection of the self-interests of the bourgeoisie, or in newspeak, the 'yuppies' and

'noovos', the 'whole monstrous crowd of...arrivistes'[6]. It would thus be an expression of class interests, an attempt to eke out a particular form of social status (which, incidentally, has always been done with regard to food), and thus exclude social undesirables (I draw your attention to the virtual disappearance of the representatives of the catering colleges this year following the uneasy tensions of last year). In short, foodism is represented by the Handbook as a form of snobbery.

Such cultural elitism inevitably leads to a kind of cliquishness, a sense of a foodie community, of those 'in the know', the arbiters of 'good taste'. The continued existence of this symposium, like that at Oxford, could, in these terms, be indicative of the formation and maintenance of such a clique. The symposium would thus tend to be a rather private 'invitation only' affair. If the Handbook is anything to go by, this clique would be racked by 'petty jealousies', 'buzz with envious snidderies'[7], and reek of sycophantism. In a memorable line from 'Cuisine Poseur', 'the people they really get out the Sabatiers for is each other'[8]. Consider, if you will, what all this implies about the internal and external politics of the group.

In economic and social terms, there are a number of things necessary to foodism. As the Handbook expresses it,'it takes several things to support a foodie culture: high-class shops, fast transport bringing fresh produce from the land, enlightened well-paid eater-outers who will support the whole expensive edifice, and lower paid workers to make the food'[9]. A monied, motivated group is thus needed for the restaurant-hopping, gastronomic touring, book buying, and exotic shopping essential to foodism - just so long as they avoid the dreaded 'supermarket' (and note, in this regard, the inclusion of a session at this symposium entitled 'Market Against Supermarket).

There are, of course, many other factors relevant to the foodie craze, but we need to bear in mind that it is merely one among many such outbursts

throughout history, such as the one in ancient Athens which prompted Plato to refer with approbrium to those Athenian delicacies which were 'supposed to be so delicious'[10], or the one which confronted the French philosopher Montaigne in the form of an Italian Renaissance foodie who

> pronounced a discourse on this science of stuffing one's face, with gravity and a magisterial seriousness, as though he were discoursing to me of some capitol theological point: he distinguished for me a number of different appetites...; the order of sauces, first in general, and then describing more specifically the qualities of ingredients and their effects; the differences in salads according to the seasons; the one that ought to be heated, the one that ought to be served cold; the way to decorate and embellish them to make still more pleasing to the eye...And all this in the most high-flown style, with rich and magnificent words, the very ones that are used to treat of the government of an empire. 11

Regardless, then, of the specific historical trappings, at the heart of foodie consciousness lies the passion and obsession with food. It manifests in what we might characterize as 'recipe consciousness'. Recipes and cookbo the Handbook tells us, are avidly collected by foodies. Indeed, at the First Symposium we had an entire session devoted to a discussion of the criteria for the perfect cookbook. Cookbooks are the pornography of foodies, and the lust they induce is often better than the final eating; as Baudelair wrote, 'No restaurants. The means of consoling oneself: cookbooks'

The cookbook mentality constitutes, indeed, the paradigm for foodie thought. Jean-Francois Revel, for example, in his recent book Culture and Cuisine[13], wrote a history of food which is really a history of cookbooks, chefs, and food tastes. But foodism, for Revel, is not allowed to parade about with the obscene nakedness of such a crass label. Revel dignifies it, rather, with a more sophisticated epithet - that of gastronomy.

It is in the cookbook mentality that we come to terms with the nature an limitations of foodism. For Revel, gastronomy is synonymous with cookery (and hence with the cookbook). Once we make such an equation, the relentless drive for novelty results in the faddishness characteristic of foodism, and fashion takes over the kitchen (as all foodies know, for example, kiwi fruit

is passé - but rest easy; new 'designer fruits' have arisen to take its place, only to be themselves replaced when they have been vulgarized by the masses). But it is not just the faddishness of foodism which stands forth. It is plagued by a certain tunnel-vision, a refusal to see things from a wider perspective.

By equating gastronomy with cookery, Revel argues that the real gastronomers are the professional cooks who write professional cookbooks. This is tantamount to saying that gastronomy is what is taught and practised in the professional catering schools. Thus, when Revel comes to consider the first printed cookbook, Platina's 1474 De honesta voluptate et valetudine, or On Decent Enjoyment and Good Health, he regards the medical and ethical aspects of the book, its concern with manners and the art of living, as obscurantist, so that it is 'a cookbook only to a very limited extent'[14]. Brillat-Savarin's Physiologie du goût suffers the same fate under this analysis, and, as Revel tells us, those who view either of them as gastronomical works 'are wrong to do so'[15]. Rather, he argues, both books are 'owed to cultivated men who were more painters or teachers of the manners and morals of the worldly class of their time than technicians peering into the bottoms of pots and pans'[16]. For Revel, it is the technicians who represent gastronomy, and Brillat-Savarin, the great theorist of gastronomy, is merely a historical curiosity, a reflection of his times.

The equation of gastronomy with cookery, however, is not one we need accept. Revel does not seem to have read Brillat-Savarin at all. Had he done so, he would have realized that Brillat-Savarin had no intention of writing a cookbook, nor did he choose to define gastronomy as cookery. He defined it, rather, as 'the reasoned comprehension of everything connected with the nourishment of man'[17]. Brillat-Savarin's regard for food was such that, as he wrote in the Preface to the Physiology of Taste, 'When I came to consider the pleasures of the table in all their aspects, I soon perceived that

something better than a mere cookery book might be made of such a subject, and that there was a great deal to be said about such a basic everyday function, bearing so closely upon our health, our happiness, and even our work'[18]. I began to wonder why such explicit avowals were ignored, and it was only then that I realized the power of the cookbook paradigm. Not seeing it as a cookbook, Revel was not disposed to see Brillat-Savarin as belonging to the gastronomic tradition at all, let alone understand the elaborate theorizing about gastronomy in the Physiology of Taste. I recall asking Alan Davidson last year about the impact Brillat-Savarin had had on the Oxford Symposia, and was very surprised to hear that he had never been mentioned, and that no-one took his book seriously. Now I understand why. But why had I taken the book seriously? The answer was quite simple. Having been trained in the theoretical discipline of philosophy, I possessed the hermeneutic skills with which to read the book and to see from its theoretical intentions that it was rather more than a cookbook.

From such a position, the theoretical inadequacies of Revel are obvious. It is not, in other words, a matter of opting for one opinion rather than another. Revel's practice specific position is not, in fact, a theoretical position at all. Brillat-Savarin's is. It allows us to locate Revel. Not reject him. Locate him. That is, Brillat-Savarin's theory of gastronomy at once encompasses and transcends Revel. As the subtitle to the Physiology of Taste, Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy indicates, Brillat-Savarin conceives gastronomy as a transcendental discipline. What could this possible mean?

To answer this question, let us return to the contemporary situation. Earlier in this paper, I asked the question, what is the food consciousness of our time? Foodism presented itself as the obvious candidate. But in our analysis of foodie consciousness, we have seen that it represents only a particlar position or mentality. In its elitism and culinary chauvenism, it

it excludes other aspects of the food consciousness of our time. There is in fact an entire agonistic field at play. The Handbook actually recognizes two of the other protagonists - the 'Wholefoodies'(or health food proponents) and the vegetarians, both of whom foodies hold in contempt. As the Handbook says, these other two just can't cook, and foodies would never let health or morality get between them and a good meal[19]. But there are other protagonists also: there are the 'supermarket masses' and the junk-food manufacturers; the nutritionists, dieticians, naturopaths, food scientists and technologists; nor can we omit the agricultural community either, for here also we see conflict - conflict between the various lobby groups, between the petrochemical monocultural mentality of agribusiness and the organic farmers, permaculturists, and biodynamic farmers, all of them involved in food production, some of them vitally concerned about the quality of their food.

When we take all of this into account, foodism, as presented to us in the Handbook, even if we want to say that it is in some sense the 'right' position, is not in a theoretical position which can account for, and provide the necessary tools for studying, the entire agonistic field. But Brillat-Savarin's theoretical gastronomy, in its transcendence of foodie consciousness, is. And this gathering, to the extent that it contains within its ranks representatives from many of these areas (cooks, caterers, restauraters, dieticians, nutritionists, doctors, farmers, academics, scientists, and so on), is only likely to come together, to realize and fulfil itself, under such a transcendental conception of gastronomy. Otherwise, it will continue to exclude people until only the foodies are left, preaching to the converted, capable of speaking only to each other, incapable of addressing larger issues in food.

As far as self-interested groups go, however, this is par for the course.

There is, in the mentality of such a proup, no reason why they should be concerned with larger issues. Until, of course, they realize their dependenc on the larger context, and in their consideration of their relationships within that context, attain to a perspective which transcends their position a gastronomic perspective in this case.

A great deal could actually be said in favor of foodism in this regard. It is, in some sense, one of the necessary conditions for the emergence of gastronomy. Indeed, gastronomy might be regarded as a kind of philosophical foodism; but in this case food is not an end in itself - and this is one of the reasons why gastronomy is transcendental.

To illustrate the case in a more immediately obvious fashion. Let me present you with an analogy. Consider sexuality. The foodie concern for a good meal is akin to the concern for good sex. But good sex is not the only concern in the consideration of sexuality. To adapt Brillat-Savarin's definition of gastronomy, the 'reasoned comprehension of everything connected with the sexuality of man' is to point not just to good sex, but to bad sex and perversion, to rape, male-female relations, marriage, procreation, social roles, economic roles, sexual politics, feminism, physiology, anatomy, science, and sexual morality in general. If you read Brillat-Savarin, you will see how gastronomy can be similarly broadly conceived. A complete book on gastronomy, therefore, is not just a collection of recipes or a cookbook, just as a complete book on sexuality is not just a collection of recipes for sex like the Kama Sutra. But gastronomers may well write such a book, because it is part of the field of their consideration (Brillat-Savarin, for example, has a chapter concerned with the theory of frying which is a guide to good practice).

There are, needless to say, a number of theoretical problems with gastronomy which need to be worked out. You may well ask how anyone could

encompass such a wide field. Clearly, gastronomy is an interdisciplinary study. Brillat-Savarin is mistaken, I feel, in considering it to be a science. It draws on many sciences, but its concern is not, in the final analysis, scientific. It is scientifically or epistemically transcendent. Its concern is with life and values. We don't quite have a word for it, so I shall coin one by borrowing from the Greek roots 'bio', for life, and 'sophia', for wisdom. Gastronomy is a 'biosophic' study. It is concerned with wisdom with regard to human life. As such, it provides us with an interface between science and humanity, and speaks to the human condition.

I would like to conclude this paper by suggesting to you the possible value of such a conception of gastronomy to this group. At a time when the group has not yet crystallized or realized a strong sense of identity or purpose, this conception of gastronomy is a way of opening up communication channels, and bringing several different interest groups together in a common forum. These different groups already have, for the most part, their own organizations, conferences, etc., from the academics, to the cooks, caterers, nutritionists, doctors, farmers, and so on. These symposia need to serve and fulfil something other than what these groups can already realize on their own. If this group takes on the limited identity provided by foodie consciousness, then it may continue to operate, but it will never realize the possibilities open to it through a transcendental conception of gastronomy. It is, however, one thing to point out these possibilities through such a consciousness raising exercise, and quite another to actualize them. Whether or not we rise to the occassion remains to be seen.

References:

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4. Ibid., p. 26.
5. Ibid., p. 32.
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10. Plato, Republic III, 404.
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12. Revel, J.P., Culture and Cuisine, Doubleday, New York, 1982, p. 8.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 119.
15. Ibid., p. 119.
16. Ibid., p. 119.
17. Brillat-Savarin, Physiologie du goût, translated as The Philosopher in Kitchen by Drayton, A., Penguin, 1970, p. 52.
18. Ibid., p. 22.
19. Barr & Levy, op.cit., pp. 33-34.

Athenaeus and the Traditions of Classical Gastronomy

by Graham Pont (University of New South Wales)

Since it was first published at Venice in 1514, the Deipnosophists of Athenaeus has been continuously quarried by students of classical art, literature and manners, and it might have been known to Platina who published the first printed gastronomy, De honesta voluptate, at the same city in 1475. The oldest manuscript of the Deipnosophists was brought to Venice from Constantinople in 1423; and, even though Platina does not list Athenaeus among his classical authorities, the De honesta voluptate has so much in common with the Deipnosophists, not only in subject-matter but also in philosophic spirit, that some influence must surely be inferred. Platina presumably modelled his epicurean handbook partly on the gastronomic lexicography of Athenaeus and partly on the recipes of Apicius - who is acknowledged, being better known than Athenaeus to the humanists of the 15th century.

In its present form, the Deipnosophists is a bulky and erratic compilation in 15 books of which the first two and part of the third are anonymously epitomised. Though the general structure of the work appears to be complete, there are many lacunae amounting perhaps to another 15 books. Nevertheless the Deipnosophists remains the most important source of later classical literature, as it includes excerpts from about 1,250 authors, including more than 10,000 lines of poetry. About 700 of these writers are not otherwise recorded. All that is known of Athenaeus has been communicated by his sole surviving work: he was an erudite Greek from Naucratis (Nabira) in Lower Egypt, and he lived during the late second and early third centuries A.D. According to his epitomiser, Athenaeus boasted of owning 'so many ancient Greek books that he surpassed all who have been celebrated for their large libraries' (I/11); and he may well have had access to the famous library at Alexandria and other archives that have perished. According to the translator of the standard Loeb edition, C.B. Gulick, the Deipnosophists can be dated to c.228 AD.[1]

As a literary work, the Deipnosophists purports to imitate Plato and the other authors of symposia, compositions modelled on formal discussions over wine that usually followed the Greek deipnon or dinner where wine was traditionally not served during the eating. However, as Gulick points out, Athenaeus actually follows the form of the Roman dinner where the wine and conversation are enjoyed throughout the meal, just as they are today; and so the Deipnosophists technically belongs to the genre of the

deipnon or 'banquet letters',[2] which long outlived the symposium proper and gave rise to the modern literature of table-talk. Yet the influence of the older Greek institution is evident throughout the Deipnosophists, for example, in the topics first discussed, such as toasts, singing, dancing, games and drunkenness - all appropriate to a late stage of the symposium rather than the opening of a dinner-party. But, since wine is the animating spirit of such discussions, these topics naturally arise at the beginning of the dinner, when the deipnosophists have the first cup (I/101), and some appear again, rather redundantly, in their traditional place at the end of the symposium (VII/65ff, 115, 209ff). Because of this fundamental confusion of genre, the artless Athenaeus lacks any stable or coherent principle for ordering his discussion. As the epitomiser has noted, 'the plan of the discourse reflects the rich bounty of a feast, and the arrangement of the book the courses of the dinner' (I/3; cf. IV/365); but, while the topics of discussion loosely follow the order of service from the gustatio (I/217ff) to the secundae mensae (VI/449ff), the conversation allegedly being stimulated by the ingredients, associations, etc. of each dish in turn, the occasion begins and ends more like a symposium. Before any food is served, there is an extensive discussion of wine and water, the inseparable beverages of the symposium (I/113ff), and the concluding rites are also traditional symposiac observances (VII/267ff). The tasting of unmixed wine by the deipnosophists at the end of their discussion (VII/213) was a ritual usually observed at the beginning of the symposium, before the wine was diluted with water in the proportion agreed on by the company. As well as being conceptually muddled, the structure of Athenaeus' composition is hopelessly overloaded: again anticipating familiar modern practice, the symposium of the deipnosophists begins as a Platonic 'feast of reason' (I/5), to be enjoyed during a single evening, and ends up being an encyclopaedic miscellany of second-hand information paraded over a period of three days, without reaching any definite conclusion.

Nominally set in imperial Rome, the discussion of the deipnosophists is a far cry from the days when the symposium of the Greeks was the sacred ritual of heroes, the nurse of poetry and philosophy and the ancestor of academic education. Yet something of the dignity and prestige of the old symposium is still evident in Athenaeus' conceit of imagining himself sharing the triclinium with a group of philosophers, physicians, public officials, grammarians and musicians (including the most eminent Roman physician, Galen of Pergamum). Their mode of discourse is educated and erudite - but no more than that. The Dionysiac enthusiasm, the poetic inspiration and the Apollonian eloquence of the ancient symposium have become little more

than well-rehearsed anecdotes, learned citations and pedantic exegesis. The deipnosophists still ritually invoke the powers of Apollo, Dionysos and the Muses; but, in an age of burgeoning Christianity, the old pagan spirits had almost departed, leaving only faint and feeble pens to record a dying culture. Athenaeus was no poet, philosopher or rhetorician; but he was Hellenist enough to preserve for posterity a treasure-house of classical lore and learning.

The title of the Deipnosophists would not have appealed to Plato, who despised the arts of the table and regarded cooks and sophists as equally impostors; but this arresting neologism, which has often been misunderstood, happens to convey a very precise definition of Athenaeus' main subject. The root-words are deipnon ('dinner') and sophistes ('learned person'); but deipnosophistoi does not simply mean 'the sophists at dinner' (I/viii) or 'banquet des savans', as the title was rendered in the sumptuous French edition of 1789-91. Michael Grant's more exact translation is 'the specialists on dining';[3] but, as Gulick himself had to admit, the best modern equivalent is 'the gastronomers' (I/ix). Such a translation would not have been possible before 'gastronomy' and its equivalents were adopted into the modern languages during the first half of the nineteenth century; yet, more than a century after Brillat-Savarin had published, Gulick still felt that the name 'gastronomers' was 'witty' and suggestively 'windy' rather than straightforwardly acceptable English for the range of topics covered by Athenaeus. So, while the terms 'gastronomia' and 'gastrologia' are duly recorded in Gulick's Greek index, their English equivalents are quietly omitted from the corresponding vernacular list (VII/285; cf. 431). Gulick's limited appreciation of gastronomy comes out incidentally in his otherwise valuable introduction, when he describes the Deipnosophists as 'the oldest cookery-book that has come down to us' (I/viii). But, just as Brillat-Savarin saw the Physiologie du goût as 'something better than a cookery-book', so the Deipnosophists should be recognised as the oldest book on the larger subject of western gastronomy - the first cook-book proper being the collection of recipes ascribed to Apicius which, like many such works, is of uncertain authorship and date.[4]

Like Brillat-Savarin, Athenaeus does record some recipes; and, like the Physiologie du goût, the Deipnosophists is an encyclopaedic treatment of gastronomy. Were it not for the voluminous fragments preserved by Athenaeus, we would be almost completely ignorant of the theoretical traditions of classical gastronomy and the first western literature of erudite

gourmandise. Invaluable as it is, however, the evidence of the Deipnosophists must be treated with extreme caution by the historian of gastronomy, if only because Athenaeus was as far removed from his original subject as the modern student is from medieval food - that is, by six hundred years or more. Towering on the horizon of this long prospect is the shadowy figure of Archestratus who, like an ancient Brillat-Savarin, has obscured his more distant predecessors and almost obliterated the achievements of the older gastronomic writers. The literature of western food long antedated the introduction of the term 'gastronomy' to the modern vocabulary in 1801; and, similarly, there is clear evidence of an ancient gastronomic literature preceding Archestratus, who is thought to have been a contemporary of Aristotle. Greek doctors, for instance, were interested in dietetics, though it is doubtful whether the Hippocratean treatise On Diet, cited by Athenaeus (I/199, etc.), was really composed by the great fifth-century physician. Plato, who regarded cookery as a sophistic counterfeit of dietetics, mentions the fifth-century practitioner Herodicus of Selymbria as one who tried to cure illness with a prescribed regimen (Republic 406A); and, during one of his several diatribes against fine food and culinary artists, Plato refers to Mithaecus, the author of a treatise on Sicilian cookery (Gorgias 518B; cf. Athenaeus II/29) which must have appeared fairly early in the fourth century BC. Some of the lexicographers quoted by Athenaeus are older than Archestratus, including Plato's nephew Speusippus (c.407-339 BC): he is credited with writing the earliest known encyclopaedia, and Athenaeus quotes many extracts of gastronomic interest from his treatise on Similars (VII/548). Athenaeus also refers, tantalisingly, to the teacher of Archestratus, one Terpsion, 'who was the first to write a Gastrology and to direct his disciples in what they should avoid' (IV/29). Like Brillat-Savarin, Archestratus was not the first gastronomic author of his era, but the first to achieve classic or canonical status.

Despite his numerous references to Archestratus, it is very likely that Athenaeus did not have access to a complete text of the first gastronomic classic, and that he took his quotations from later sources. Athenaeus is not even sure of the original title, which he sometimes gives as 'Gastronomia' (I/19, 245, etc.), and other times as 'Gastrologia' (I/445; II/237, etc.). Two of his sources use the title 'Hedypatheia' (I/19) which the Roman author Ennius (239-169 BC) adapted for his Hedyphagetica, in imitation of Archestratus; another calls it 'Deipnologia' which Gulick translates, somewhat misleadingly, as 'The Art of Dining'; and yet another calls it 'Opsopoeia', or 'The Art of Fine Cookery' (I/19). Whatever the original title was, the use of the technical

suffixes '-nomia' (from nomos, 'law') and '-logia' (from logos, 'discourse' or 'theory') suggests that Archestratus, like Brillat-Savarin, was parodying the philosophers of his time - both making a mundane, epicurean joke of their more transcendentally-minded predecessors.

The age of Aristotle and Archestratus saw a great expansion in theoretical studies, when the former, for example, coined the term technologia for his systematic discourse on the art of rhetoric (c. 330 BC); and it would not at all be surprising to find intellectuals and scholars in this period trying to develop a theory of gaster, the 'belly' - that is, a science of the alimentary system. There may be a hint of more serious theorising in the association noticed by Athenaeus between the Gastrology of Archestratus and another poem entitled Astrology (III/249-51); and, whether or not it was used by Archestratus, the term deipnologia could be understood as meaning 'the science of dining', just as astrologia could then refer to the scientific study of the heavenly system (as well as the more practical concerns of astrologers). It is also true, however, that deipnologia could mean no more than a 'discourse on dining', just as the modern expression 'aristology' usually refers to advice on the practical art rather than any real science of dining. Athenaeus also calls Archestratus' work an opsologia, a 'treatise' or 'discourse' on fine food, and he elsewhere speaks of 'oenologizing' or 'talking about wines' (I/177): 'logos' is such a broad term that it could mean anything from the diner's or drinker's bill to a full-blown philosophy.

From what is preserved in Athenaeus, it seems that Archestratus anticipated Grimod de la Reynière and Brillat-Savarin in gastronomic tourism, on an international scale:

> 'This Archestratus, impelled by love of pleasure, diligently traversed all lands and seas in his desire, as it appears to me, of testing carefully the delights of the belly; and imitating the authors of Travels and Voyages, he aims to expound accurately whatever and "wherever there is anything best that is eatable or drinkable"'
>
> (III/251; cf. III/469, II/47).

Commenting on this legendary voyage gastronomique, one of the deipnosophists reveals an all-too-familiar inability to distinguish genuine research from mere hedonistic indulgence: 'Archestratus...made a voyage around the world to satisfy his stomach and appetites even lower...' (II/47).

Whatever the historical justification for this particular gloss, there were at least some philosophical critics who associated Archestratus' gastronomy with the theory and practice of erotics (IV/23, 575; cf. II/237), anticipating similar associations in the thought of Grimod de la Reynière and Brillat-Savarin. Like his modern successors too, the archetypal gastronome had to endure the wrath of the professional cooks:

> 'Archestratus is an authority who has won repute in this way among certain persons, as though what he said were good advice. But he is ignorant of most things, and doesn't tell us anything... So far as books are concerned, what there pertains to our art is more useless than it was when the the books had not yet been written. No, you can't explain the art of cookery...' (IV/335).

In fact, much of the advice offered by Archestratus is specific, practical and sound. Some of his recipes are recorded by Athenaeus (e.g. III/281, 395), as well as various instructions for marketing, preparation and service, including recommendations for the simple roasting of goose and hare which can hardly be improved on (IV/237, 309). His careful suggestions on the choice of flour for bread baked in the ashes also seem far from amateurish (II/17, 25-7). When Archestratus recommends the Phoenicians or Lydians as the best bread-bakers (II/27), Athenaeus solemnly rejects these in favour of Cappadocian bakers, in what is either a remarkable testimony to the survival of classical traditions of boulangerie or - more likely - a revealing insight into the deipnosophistic sense of history! It must be remembered that when the deipnosophists indulge in the semblance of symposiac debate, most of their subjects are no longer live issues but conventional topoi and rhetorical or literary commonplaces.

Ancient and modern gastronomy were both inaugurated in verse. Berchoux's 'La Gastronomie' (1801) was modelled on the poetry of Archestratus which, in turn, was a parody of Homer and Hesiod. Archestratus' opening verse, 'Of learning I offer proof to all Hellas' (I/19), suggests that he was also parodying the philosophers who pretended to inherit the mantle and moral authority of the poets, thus combining - in a genre imitated by Brillat-Savarin - the didactic and the mock-heroic. While Archestratus failed to achieve a permanent place in the history of poetry or philosophy, it is clear from the evidence in the Deipnosophists that he once enjoyed a considerable reputation: he was significant enough to be

recognised as a forerunner of Epicurus (I/437; cf. III/253) and attacked by the Stoic Chrysippus (IV/23-5), to be satirised by the contemporary comic poet Antiphanes in his Archestrata (III/449) and imitated by Ennius.

Even so, in the image of Archestratus that emerges from the Deipnosophists, there is doubtless a good deal of mythopoeic embroidery and rhetorical licence. Indeed, the various characterisations of him that have been preserved or interpolated by Athenaeus suggest that a popular misconception of theoretical gastronomy was already prevalent in ancient times. The direct quotations that appear in the Deipnosophists show that Archestratus was a literary gourmand who recorded his gastronomic observations and advice in the form of an epic poem, the precursor of the modern gourmet's guide-books and the tradition of gastronomic journalism established by Grimod de la Reynière. Yet, in his frequent apostrophes, Athenaeus calls Archestratus a 'Daedalus' or 'artificer of fancy dishes' (opsodaidalos: I/435; cf. II/17, IV/309), a 'chef' (II/47, 'entrée-artist' (III/249), 'fancy cook' (III/443) and even 'company-commander of banquets' (III/351). It may be that Athenaeus, viewing his subject through the mists of the centuries, mistook the dilettante for the professor, the Brillat-Savarin for the Carême, just as Gulick has mistaken the Deipnosophists for a cook-book. A more correct description of Archestratus is 'encyclopaedist' (polyhistor, a term that Gulick rightly applies to Athenaeus himself: cf. III/465 & I/xvi).

Apart from some isolated comments on bread (II/17, 25) olives (I/245) and cheap relishes (I/279), the quotations from Archestratus amount to a gastronomic encyclopaedia of Mediterranean fish, from the eel ('the king of all viands': III/339; cf. 317) to the man-eating shark (another 'heavenly viand': II/243). Most of these extracts appear in Book VII of the Deipnosophists, accompanying the service of the fish dishes (III/11ff, 243ff). Athenaeus' treatment of fish is encyclopaedic because fish then, as now, was generally speaking a luxury food for the urban-dweller, and an indispensable part of fine eating. The association between fine-eating and fish-eating was even stronger in the Greek mind, because the word for 'gourmet', opsophagos, contained the root opson, which originally meant any relish taken with the staple bread or meat but came to mean a specially prepared or 'made' dish, particularly of fish (III/243). Thus a 'gourmet' was almost by definition a 'fish-eater'; and so Athenaeus' discussion of gourmets and gourmandism (opsophagia) naturally occurs during the fish course. Athenaeus' roll-call of distinguished opsophagoi (IV/31ff) and his use of the

term opsophagia (IV/32-3) suggest that these equivalents of 'gourmet' (or 'epicure') and 'gourmandism' were once part of the ancient gastronomic vocabulary, having perhaps the systematic associations of a technical terminology. If so, then Brillat-Savarin's fundamental conceptions of gastronomie and gourmandise were anticipated by, and presumably derived from the classical terminology of gastronomia and opsophagia. The significance of this historical and conceptual connection is lost on Gulick who not only seems to suggest that the ancient philosophie du goût was the creation of cooks alone (I/vii-ix), but also leaves an incomplete index of 'opsophagos', as well as entirely omitting any entry for 'opsophagia' (VII/310)[5]. He does, however, list a single occurrence of 'deipnomanes' (II/241) describing a 'dinner-crazed' philosopher - someone still easily confused with the gastronomically-informed gourmand.

The Deipnosophists has long been recognised as a principal source of fragments from a later Greek literature that has mostly vanished, but its significance for the history of gastronomy and theoretical gourmandise has been greatly under-estimated. Most historians of food have been content with collating and embellishing Athenaeus' references to practical gastronomy - the details of ingredients, recipes, table manners and so on; but even the systematic commentators like Gulick and Schweighaeuser have generally ignored the evidence that Athenaeus has preserved of philosophical gastronomy. Both Gulick and Schweighaeuser omit the key-word gaster ('belly') from their extensive indexes and consequently neither is able to connect and compare the views of the philosophers cited by Athenaeus, on what is in fact his main subject of concern. It hardly needs to be added that the references works on classical philosophy are no better. The best guide to the ancient philosophy of gastronomy is Brillat-Savarin; for, even though he rarely acknowledges his sources, it is clear that he read Athenaeus very carefully and took some of his leading ideas from the philosophers and poets quoted in the Deipnosophists. It is mainly to Brillat-Savarin's sympathetic reading of Athenaeus that the Epicurean traditions of classical gastronomy owe their continued vitality today, despite the almost complete loss of the original writings.

Since Athenaeus is unrivalled as a source of Epicurean ideas on gastronomy, it is not surprising that the Physiologie du goût often reads like a direct commentary on the Deipnosophists. Perhaps the most striking parallel is the quotation, twice given by Athenaeus, from the Letters of Metrodorus of Lampsacus:

> 'Yes, Timocrates, devoted to the study of nature as you are, it is indeed the belly, the belly and nothing else, which any philosophy that proceeds according to nature, makes its whole concern' (III/257; V/479).

Metrodorus (331/330-278/7 BC) was the friend and colleague of Epicurus and the second most important founder of the school. The term used by him in addressing his correspondent, physiologos, may well have inspired Brillat-Savarin's conception of gastronomy as a 'physiology' of taste; for, in the personification of the tenth Muse, Gastéréa, Brillat-Savarin represents a gastronomic world-view that is no less comprehensive than that of Metrodorus:

> 'She might lay claim to the empire of the universe, for the universe is nothing without life, and all that has life requires nourishment ' (Méditation XXX).

The occurrence of the technical term logos in the quotation from Metrodorus confirms the expectation that his 'physiology' was indeed a general theory or philosophical account ('logos') of nature ('physis') particularly human nature. It seems that Athenaeus has here preserved a precious fragment of Epicurean gastronomic thought, from a tradition of speculation that has been almost completely overlooked by historians of Greek philosophy. The existence of that tradition is sufficiently documented by other citations in Athenaeus, but the full extent of the thought and writing that have disappeared can only be guessed at. 'Whole schools of philosophers', according to Athenaeus, 'have claimed the pursuit of luxury as the guiding principle of life' (V/463): this claim is supported by what we know of the philosophers he mentions, from other sources.

Contrary to modern expectations, those gastronomic philosophers were not all Epicureans. One, whom Athenaeus frequently quotes, is Chrysippus of Soli (c.280-207 BC) who became head of the Stoic school at Athens. His essays contained gastronomic maxims such as 'never eat an olive when you have a nettle' (II/221) and 'the free goblet must not be neglected; nay, it must be pursued' (I/35). Chrysippus is an undeniable example of a distinguished philosopher who interested himself in the details of food, wine and good living. He forcibly reminds us of Brillat-Savarin with the picturesque anecdote of the gourmand who specially trained his hand and

throat to tolerate hot food, and then got the cooks to serve dishes so hot that no one else could eat them before him (I/23). Chrysippus also seems to have commented on the table manners in Homer (I/79), recommended certain vinegars (I/293), recorded details of philosophical banquets (II/129), classified domestic staff (III/201), and speculated on gastronomic etymology (VII/33; cf. 177). His gastronomic interests were clearly encyclopaedic, and his work 'On Pleasure and the Good', which Athenaeus cites by name several times, appears to have included very specific information on food (IV/191; cf. I/41, 385; II/129, 221) as well as the history of manners (VI/51, 317). His essay 'On Things to be chosen for their own sake' evidently extended the philosophical study of ethics to the comparative sociology of foods such as fowl and small fry (III/281). There is no suggestion that an interest in such matters (which would usually be despised by modern philosophers) is at all unbecoming for a thinker whom Athenaeus describes as 'most admirable', 'noble', 'a solemn writer' and 'a real philosopher in all respects' (VII/177; cf. IV/21; I/445 & II/223; VI/503; III/253, etc.).

As one would expect of such a prominent Stoic, Chrysippus has criticisms to make of the rival school, the Epicureans. As well as being a primary source for evidence of the Epicurean tradition, Athenaeus has preserved the crucially important observation of Chrysippus that 'the very centre of the Epicurean philosophy is the Gastrology of Archestratus, that noble epic which all philosophers given to hearty eating claim as their Theognis' (I/445-7; Gulick notes that the verses of the 5th-century poet were used for reciting at dinner-parties). In another passage, Athenaeus reports Chrysippus as saying that 'Archestratus was the forerunner of Epicurus and those who adopt his doctrines of pleasure, which is the cause of all corruption' (III/253). Elsewhere, Chrysippus is quoted (from 'On Pleasure and the Good') condemning Archestratus' Gastronomy, along with the erotic manuals of Philaenis, as 'trash' (IV/23; cf. 575).

Chrysippus was obviously an unsympathetic critic of Epicureanism but his comments, as preserved by Athenaeus, strongly suggest that the gastronomy of Archestratus was subsequently adopted by the Epicurean school and became part of their philosophy and practice. Chrysippus no doubt had his reasons for arguing that 'one may not learn by heart the writings of Philaenis or the Gastronomy of Archestratus with the idea that they can contribute anything to better living' (IV/23); and he was probably trying to damn Epicurus by associating him with notorious voluptaries (IV/23-5). But, nonetheless, he has left compelling testimony to the

existence of philosophical gastronomy, both Epicurean and Stoic, in the fourth and third centuries BC. Chrysippus' testimony is confirmed by what appears to be a direct quotation from one of Epicurus' writings:

> 'as for myself, I cannot conceive of the Good if I exclude the pleasures derived from taste, or those derived from sexual intercourse, or those derived from entertainments to which we listen, or those derived from the motions of a figure delightful to the eye' (III/259; V/477-9).

The spirit of this ethic is wholly in accordance with that of Brillat-Savarin; but even he, for all his candour, does not go quite as far as Epicurus, preferring a more intellectualised philosophy of goût to the earthy canon of gaster: 'the beginning and root of all good is the satisfaction of the belly, and all wise and notable things have in this their standard of reference' (III/259). A similar reticence has evidently prevented modern students of Epicureanism from frankly admitting the alimentary or ecological basis of that practical moral philosophy which was the chief concern of Epicurus and his followers.

Given the long history of vilification and distortion suffered by the Epicureans since ancient times (see, e.g., VI/171), it becomes all the more necessary to insist on the existence of serious gastronomic philosophy outside of the dominant, and much better documented traditions of Plato and Aristotle. But, as Athenaeus points out, there were philosophers of pleasure other than the Epicureans (III/257), including Aristippus of Cyrene, grandson of a similarly-named friend of Socrates (in his account at V/463ff, Athenaeus has probably confused the two). It was the later Aristippus who is thought to have restricted the Good to the pleasures of the immediate moment, a doctrine of 'kinetic hedonism' that quite possibly included the enjoyment of food and wine. 'Not far removed' from the hedonists, according to Athenaeus, was Plato's nephew and successor Speusippus (III/257; V/477) who extended the Platonic science of classification to all kinds of edible plants and animals. Another distinguished philosopher who was a gourmand and gastronomer was Aristotle's pupil and successor, Theophrastus (c.370-288/5 BC). His encyclopaedic writings included a treatise On Pleasure (V/299); and it is said that once, during a lecture at the Lyceum, he mimicked an epicure by poking out his tongue and licking his lips (I/91). Both Aristotle and Theophrastus wrote treatises on drunkenness. Like Theophrastus, Phaenias of Eresus (fl. 320 BC), another pupil of Aristotle,

wrote a book on Plants from which Athenaeus quotes much that is of gastronomical interest (VII/507). Another, lesser-known philosopher, Aristoxenus of Cyrene, 'practised literally the system of philosophy which arose in his country' - that is, hedonism - and had a special kind of ham named after him (I/31). Not all theoretical gastronomy, it should be remembered, came from the hedonistic schools: the Pythagoreans were long known for their dietary principles and Athenaeus makes several allusions to their vegetarianism (I/13, 203, 263, etc.).

As well as preserving some remarkable relics of gastronomic theorising by leading minds of antiquity, Athenaeus leaves abundant evidence of a less speculative literature contributed by poets and playwrights, scholars, medical practitioners and cooks. Much of the Deipnosophists is simply a compilation from and commentary on this more practical or utilitarian kind of gastronomic writing, which must have become very extensive by the time of Athenaeus. He twice quotes a passage from a play by the New Comedy poet Hegesippus, where a cook protests the dignity and erudition of his profession, offering sound advice that few of his colleagues have followed:

> 'My good sir, much has been said by many men on the subject of cookery. Either, then, you must prove that you can say something novel, as compared with the other authorities, or else stop making me tired'
> (III/303; cf. IV/337).

Athenaeus was certainly not alone in his love of culinary and other gastronomic literature. He quotes from an amusing scene in another play which represents the hero Heracles being educated in a private library where he is invited to choose a book to read. Heracles makes an unusual choice, passing over the classics of poetry, tragedy and history, and his host asks him about it:

> 'Tell me first what it is' -
> 'Cookery, as the title declares' -
> 'You are a philosopher, that's very plain...' (II/247).

Buffoon cooks were stock characters of Greek comedy, but Athenaeus, like his most eminent modern successors, clearly had a higher conception of the culinary artist. Near the end of the discussion, he introduces 'one of

those cooks famed for learning' whose posing of a philological riddle for the symposiasts leads to a general apology for his profession (VII/31ff). At another stage of the proceedings, a cook is represented as eloquently discussing his creations with the guests and being applauded 'for his ready speech and the ingenuity of his art' (IV/223-7). In his defence of such superior artists, Athenaeus mentions the crowning of inventive cooks by the Sybarites (V/341) and the prizes given by the Persian kings for culinary invention (V/315). In a remarkable passage (which fortunately survived the editing of the epitomiser), Nicomedes I, the third-century king of Bithynia, praised his cook for making a turnip taste like an unprocurable anchovy, in the highest terms:

> 'The cook and the poet are just alike:
> the art of each lies in his brain' (I/33).

Cookery, in ancient times, was generally regarded as a mechanical art and most cooks were illiterate slaves. The special emphasis placed by Athenaeus on the learned cook (sophistes mageiriskos: III/313; cf.VIII/31) is historically significant as it indicates unmistakably the existence of a superior kind of cookery, something like a fine or liberal art, endowed with its own technical literature and practised by recognised artists for a cultivated and discerning clientele. As might be expected, much of the technical literature on food was written by liberally educated professionals, notably medical practitioners such as the third-century physician Erasistratus of Iulis, who wrote an Art of Cookery (III/457), and his pupil Hicesius, who wrote on Materials for Food (II/51). Other medical writers whom Athenaeus cites include Mnesitheus of Athens who wrote one or more works entitled Edibles, Victuals, or Food (VII/482), Phylotimus (VII/516) and Diphilus of Siphnos, who wrote on Diet for Sick and Well (VII/413). Another important source of technical gastronomy was the interested scholar, like Athenaeus himself. Grammarians, philologians and lexicographers figure prominently among Athenaeus' citations, for example, the grammarian Artemidorus of Tarsus (second-first century BC), who 'collected words pertaining to cookery' (I/21) and left a Glossary of Cookery (IV/251; VII/51, 55). Much of the Deipnosophists consists of little more than extracts from word-lists, dictionaries and encyclopaedias on a wide variety of gastronomic subjects, including cooking utensils (II/267ff), bread (II/13ff), fruits (I/217ff), vegetables (IV/171ff), fish (III/245ff), cakes (VI/475ff) and even the different kinds of dinners, festivals and other celebrations (IV/137ff). Of exceptional interest is the long disquisition on

the names and kinds of cups (V/5-259), obviously taken from a very systematic and exhaustive treatise which does not seem to have its modern parallel. Philology and lexicography enjoyed a high prestige among the grammatically-educated savants of Hellenistic times: an extreme example of the gastronomic philologian was the man who 'observed a law peculiar to himself, of never tasting food until he had asked whether or not a word was to be found in literature' (I/7).

Some of Athenaeus' borrowed references to educated cooks are purely satirical (e.g., IV/215) or farcical - like the story of the cooks who were forced learn the dialogues of Plato and recite them during the service of the meal (IV/227). But Athenaeus himself was probably responsible for the exaggerated claim that 'as a matter of fact, the great majority of cooks have inquiring minds in matters of history and the use of words' (IV/233). Indefensible as it is, this claim shows a remarkable sympathy for the class of artisans once despised by Plato and Aristotle; and it does seem likely that some of the culinary literature cited by Athenaeus was produced by such self-made men. From the information he gives, however, it is difficult to distinguish the Carêmes from the Brillat-Savarins, and it must be admitted that in his list of culinary writers (e.g. V/323), the educated class seems to predominate. It would still be interesting to know the social and educational background of some of those named as authors of cook-books, such as the two writers called Heracleides of Syracuse (VII/440), Epaenetus (VII/418), and Glaucus of Locris (VII/432).

There are clear signs in the Deipnosophists that ancient cookery sometimes aspired to the status of a fine and a liberal art. The most prestigious of the Greek fine arts was music (which included poetry and dance); and, in the application of musical concepts to cookery we find the classical antecedents of Brillat-Savarin's gastronomical philosophy. In seasoning his dish, the cook is advised to 'tighten it, as you would a harp, until it is in tune. Then, when you think that everything is by this time in harmony, bring on your chorus of dishes, singing in unison' (IV/69).

Unfamiliar though it might be to modern readers, the analogy of music and cookery was common enough to be satirised on the stage:

B. 'Your must be a musician, not a cook!'
A. 'Play fortissimo with the fire. Make the tempo even. The first dish is not simmering in tune with the others next it... It's

beginning to look like an art to you, what? You see, I serve no course without study, I mingle all in a harmonious scale'.

B. 'What does that mean?'

A. 'Some things are related to each other by fourths, by fifths, or by octaves. These I join by their own proper intervals, and weave them in a series of appropriate courses. Sometimes I superintend [conduct?] with admonitions like "What are you joining that to?" "What are you going to mix with that?" "Look out! You are pulling a discordant string..."'
(I/441-3; cf. IV/219 & VII/45).

Evidence of musical gastronomy is seen in the extension of technical terms of musicology to the senses of taste and smell: possibly in referring to different regional styles drinking as 'modes' (tropoi: V/21; cf. VI/39) and certainly in describing the odour of incense as 'Phrygian', in the language of musical ethos (VI/379). Since the author quoted is one Agias, 'the writer on music', I regard the first of Gulick's alternative interpretations as being the more likely: see footnote h). The theory of musical ethos, traditionally ascribed to the fifth-century authority Damon of Athens (VI/389), is parodied by a cook pretending to erudition: 'every one who dines on hostile food becomes quarrelsome and loses his self-control' (III/307). Similarly, Brillat-Savarin's most famous aphorism, 'Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are' has its origins in Greek music theory, which thus provided the intellectual foundations for the raising of both ancient and modern gastronomy to the status of a fine art[6].

Brillat-Savarin's proposals for the institution of academic gastronomy are also anticipated by Athenaeus, in the comedian's plan for the education of a 'complete cook' (III/307). Though the intention here too is satirical, the idea of establishing a higher education in cookery, as an extension of medical or architectural training and the pre-requisite encyclopaedic curriculum of the liberal arts (astrology, geometry, etc.) may well have been seriously canvassed (cf. III/307 & IV/211-13). Had any such schemes been introduced to the Roman system of education, they might have resulted in something like the modern academic studies of dietetics, nutrition and food technology, as well as a scientific and liberal art of cookery, enjoying the high esteem of the other liberal arts and professions (III/307). But that ambitious programme had to await the rebirth of philosophical gastronomy in the 19th century and the full revival of the classical spirit in creative and critical gourmandise.

Notes

1. Athenaeus: The Deipnosophists with an English translation by Charles Burton Gulick... 7 vols. (London & New York, 1927-41), Vol. I, p.viii.

2. See The Oxford Classical Dictionary, edited by N.G.L. Hammond and H.H. Scullard (second edition, 1970), pp.1028-9. All biographical dates are taken from this source.

3. Michael Grant, Greek and Latin Authors 800 B.C. - A.D. 1000 (New York, 1980), p.56. Cf. the 'connoisseurs on dining' in The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature, edited by Paul Harvey (1937), p.55.

4. The Roman Cookery of Apicius Translated and Adapted for the Modern Kitchen by John Edwards (London, 1984), pp.ix-xi.

5. This omission is probably the result of Gulick's relying on pre-gastronomic scholarship. Opsophagia is also omitted from the Index rerum et personarum of Johannes Schweighaeuser, Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas tomus nonus... (Argentorati, 1807).

6. See Graham Pont, 'Brillat-Savarin's Bouquet' in The Upstart Cuisine; Proceedings of the First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, edited by Barbara Santich (Adelaide, 1984), p.99; also pp.28-30. I thank Barbara Santich for her comments on the draft of the present paper.

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EPICUREAN POLITICS

Michael Symons

> We must laugh and philosophise at the same time and do our household duties and employ our other faculties, and never cease proclaiming the sayings of the true philosophy (Epicurus, Vatican Saying XLI).

The exclusion of gastronomy from the Academy can be traced back to Plato, who rejected cookery as a form of "pandering" (Corones, 1984: 100). However, Corones is misled when he goes on to consider that food is a "non-issue in philosophy". In particular, he is wrong to suggest that all the "Greek fathers of the philosophical tradition" judged food unworthy of consideration. In this paper, I wish to outline the case of Epicurus (341-271 BC), who opposed Plato on most points, not the least this.

According to modern textbooks, the philosophy of Epicurus is not to be confused with epicureanism, as we know it[1]. Certainly, his thought bears little resemblance to mindless foodism. However, "the pleasure of the stomach" is axiomatic to Epicurean philosophy.

Conversely, virtually no modern epicureans (of the "foodie" variety) refer explicity to the philosophy of Epicurus. This even includes Brillat-Savarin, who pays Epicurus no credit other than in his crack, when discussing Greek banquets: "More than one Aristippus who arrived under Plato's banner made his final retreat under that of Epicurus" (Meditation 27, 127; 1949: 299).

This neglect also needs rectification, and I will review the main elements of the philosophy. It indicates how we can place our own epicureanism within an existing epistemological, scientific, ethical and political framework.

It is my intention to publish a book based on the considerable body of epicurean literature, in the combined sense, throughout the ages. However, I will restrict myself here to a discussion of some of the original, ancient sources.

Virtually every scholarly reference to Epicurus includes the caveat that his philosophy has nothing to do with with the popular conception. Jones speaks of the development in the Middle Ages of a "second" Epicurus, "the champion of sensuality, the proprietor of the kitchen, the tavern and the brothel" (1981: 212).

Geer writes: "The teachings of Epicurus soon became an excuse for self-centred hedonism, and the term 'Epicurean' on most men's lips came to have the meaning that it usually has today" (Geer, 1964: xxxiv). Strodach writes: "The public image of Epicurus has come down to us gravely flawed. The educated layman has picked up various stereotypes to the effect that he was an epicure, an atheist, a pleasure-monger, and an ethical materialist" (1963: vi).

According to Novack, Epicureanism is equated in popular speech with: "sensualism, deliberate indulgence in coarse pleasures, submergence in bodily appetites. An epicure is a person fond of foods, wines, etc. This would more properly apply to the school of hedonism founded by Aristippus at Cyrene than to

the doctrines of the historical Epicurus" (1965: 248-9).

Describing how the original Epicureans ate "nothing but bread as a rule with the occasional addition of a relish", the great Epicurean scholar, Bailey, writes: "This is far enough removed the living of an 'epicure'" (1928: 224). Even the best of all modern writers on Epicurus, DeWitt, stoops to declaring: "His pleasures were not the pleasures of the flesh" (1954b: v).

Each of the above examples exhibits sloppiness. In the name of separating a "true" from a "popular" conception of Epicureanism, the authors seek to divide Epicureanism (as enunciated by Epicurus) from epicureanism (as some kind of celebration of food). Of course, scholars should endeavour to isolate the "historical" Epicurus. But equally they should endeavour to understand the "real" epicure.

The authors assume that epicureanism is merely ignorant self-gratification, perhaps decadent novelty-seeking or just gluttony. Without devoting too much attention to defining this second kind epicureanism, we must agree that that within it a similar battle is conducted against the same misconception.

Time and again, writers like Brillat-Savarin (and as a first approximation, surely we can term Brillat-Savarin an epicurean"?) argue the depth of their convictions. To take an example, he persuades us that he had a double purpose in writing his book, La Physiologie du gout:

> The first part of it has been to set forth the basic theories of gastronomy, so that it could assume the rank among the sciences which is incontestably its own; the second, to define with precision what must be understood by gourmandism, and to separate from this social grace, once and for all, the gluttony and intemperance with which it has for so long and so unfortunately been linked (1949: 363).

As another instance, Edward Bunyard defines his way of life in the Epicure's Companion (1937) as the "temperate enjoyment of the good things of this world". Quoting this in his interesting talk to the Wine and Food Society of NSW, Francois de Castella, describes his Eubiotics, or the Art of Good Living as balancing on two ancient slogans, "While we live let us live" and "Nothing in excess" (1945).

On this sort of evidence, the scholars will have to find other reasons to deny Epicurus's "epicureanism" than to assume some unreflective over-indulgence within this latter. Brillat-Savarin goes on to explain the root of such confusion:

> This equivocation has been instigated by intolerant moralists who, led astray by their extravagant zeal, have pleased themselves to find excess where there was but an intelligent enjoyment of the earth's treasures, which were not given to us to be trampled underfoot (1949: 363-4).

Here too is the explanation for the scholars' hasty caveat. Epicurus has been among the most reviled of all thinkers, and relatively little studied, such that DeWitt has recognised that "the feat of rescuing Epicurus from the injustice of centuries will not be accomplished at a blow" (1954a: Preface). The detractors have smeared him as some kind of idiotic epicure. Unfortunately, the scholars have then sought to protect Epicurus from the calumnies of "intolerant moralists" by casting slanders upon epicureans in our sense.

In my book, I will show how this policy has failed for nearly two millenia. It is time to recognise the epicureanism in Epicureanism. Similarly, epicureans should come to the aid of Epicurus. Then, both groups might find the strength in unity.

Do not be misled: Epicurean thought has been dismissed,

maligned, and divided because it has been so revolutionary. As I will indicate below, it became a significant force in the ancient world. As to Epicurean thought in the modern world, let us just accept for the moment that the "secret influence upon the trend of political and philosophical thinking... has exceeded that of all other ancient philosphies" (DeWitt, 1954a: 356).

While Epicurus was one of the most voluminous authors of antiquity, relatively little of his writing remains. Unlike the books of Plato, all of which survive, his were largely destroyed by the "intolerant moralists" of the Dark Ages. The fourth-century emperor, Julian, while forbidding his priests to read the Epicureans, noted that the "gods" had already destroyed most of their works (301CD), while Augustine declared that the "ashes" of Stoicism and Epicureanism were so cold that not a single spark could be struck against Christianity (Ep. 118.12).

The main remains, three letters to friends and a list of aphorisms, were preserved in Diogenes Laertius's history of Greek philosophy (1925). A longer version of the aphorisms was found in the Vatican last century. Beyond this, the surviving works of others contain frequent quotations and references. Although many ancient discussions were antagonistic, the remarkable poem of Lucretius is regarded as a rephrasing of one of the scientific books of Epicurus.

The loss of his writings means that it is easy to misconstrue his thought. Nevertheless, we have a clear statement of the centrality of food for Epicurus:

> The beginning and root of all good is the pleasure of the stomach; even wisdom and culture must be referred to this (Athenaeus, xii, 546; Bailey, 1926: 135).

Much the same idea is displayed by Epicurus' collaborator, Meterodorus, when he declares:

> It is indeed the belly, the belly and nothing else, which any philosophy that proceeds according to nature makes its whole concern (Athenaeus, xii, 546).

Such statements would appear difficult to deny. Yet they are dismissed. Two-thirds of the way through the most recent and relatively thorough textbook, Rist at last declares: "We are now at the point where we can consider one of Epicurus' most notorious sayings, which has come down to us from many ancient sources and has been much misunderstood."

When Epicurus says that the beginning and root of all good is the pleasure of the stomach, Rist asserts that this is "paradoxical" and "exaggerated by the Epicureans themselves for polemical reasons". "He means not that eating is fun, but that beginning and root of all good is not to be hungry and not to be thirsty" (Rist, 1972: 104-105).

Yet Meterodorus writes:

> It is our business, not to seek crowns by saving the Greeks, but to enjoy ourselves in good eating and drinking (Plutarch, Adversus Colotem, 1125 D).

I do not consider that Epicurus is just bothered by hunger and thirst, but is making the same point which is contained within the first six or seven "Aphorisms of the Professor" (Brillat-Savarin, 1949: 1). Similarly, at our first symposium I set out three "tenets" of gastronomy, the first of which is: "Eating is what life is all about" (Symons, 1984: 64).

The dispute is further illustrated by another oft-quo statement by Epicurus that:

> Send me some preserved cheese, that when I like I may have a feast (Bailey, 1926: 131).

Now this is usually taken to prove how Epicurus was not an epicure, since he could make a feast out of cheese. But where does the epicure stand on this? At this forum last year, Max Lake declared that "nothing in the world" was better than the "marvellous, simple, primitive balance of oily pasta with an aggressive young red". He just happened to appreciate "fresh, free-run olive oil", "hard-wheat" pasta and a young red "really chock-a-block with acid and tannin" (Proceedings, 1984: 38).

Another "misleading" statement of Epicurus is:

> I am thrilled with the pleasure in the body, when I live on bread and water, and I spit upon luxurious pleasures not for their own sake, but because of the inconveniences that follow them (Bailey, 1926: 131).

This is, of course, much more polemical. Yet he is plainly making two points, the first that it is possible to enjoy bread and water, and would any real epicure disagree? And the second that a fancy banquet is not to be dismissed for any other reason than the discomforts, particularly the "morning after".

It reminds us of the First Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, when we joined in not only a banquet, after which we might have felt somewhat replete, but also what we called the "brown bread" lunch, which we claimed to have "strong symbolism" and to "stress simplicity" (Proceedings, 1984: i).

While Epicurus argues that the everlasting desire for varieties of dainty food derives from the "ungrateful greed of the soul" (Vatican Saying LXIX; Bailey, 1926: 117), elsewhere he provides a very epicurean observation about fine food:

> Those have the sweetest pleasure in luxury who least need it (Letter to Menoeceus, 130; Bailey, 1926: 89).

We get close to Epicurus's real view on the pleasures of the

table when he writes to a young colleague:

> To grow accustomed therefore to simple and not luxurious diet gives us health to the full, and makes a man alert for the needful employments of life, and when after long intervals we approach luxuries disposes us better towards them, and fits us to be fearless of fortune (Epicurus, Letter to Menoeceus, 131; Bailey, 1926: 89).

That is, Epicurus clearly recommends practising frugality, but not excessively (Vatican Saying LXIII), and he explains:

> We think highly of frugality not that we may always keep to a cheap and simple diet, but that we may be free from desire regarding it ... Most men fear frugality and through their fear are led to actions most likely to produce fear (Bailey, 1926: 127 & 137).

Here Epicurus is beginning to draw political lessons from food, which we will return to. For the moment I will conclude this part of the discussion by noting that true epicureans have always needed to defend themselves against misunderstanding. Epicurus, who is said to have suffered a life-long illness, himself writes:

> When, therefore, we maintain that pleasure is the end, we do not mean the pleasures of profligates and those that consist in sensuality, as is supposed by some who are either ignorant or disagree with us or do not understand, but freedom from pain in the body and from trouble in the mind. For it is not continuous drinkings and revellings, nor the satisfaction of lusts, nor the enjoyment of fish and other luxuries of the wealthy table, which produce a pleasant life, but sober reasoning, searching out the motives for all choice and avoidance, and banishing mere opinions, to which are due the greatest disturbance of the spirit (Letter to Menoeceus: 131-132; Bailey, 1926: 89-91).

I have more than amply set out a prima facie case, and the evidence will continute to mount, that is wrong to assume that epicureans are necessarily without a "philosophy". I have also shown that food is central to the original Epicurean writings. However, modern scholars are correct to the extent that they argue that Epicurus says much more than this. I now will

endeavour to explicate the main points of Epicureanism as a whole, consequently hinting why epicureans should, and probably do implicitly already, embrace the totality.

Philosophers refer back to the ancient Greeks not only because they were the earliest practitioners but also because to a great extent they marked out the basic positions. The conventional account tends to concentrate attention on the successive pupils, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle. From then on, Greek thought allegedly went into decline. However, Epicurus, whose lifetime overlapped Aristotle's, should also be regarded as epitomising a particular position.

Epicurus owed much to, say, Democritus, all of whose works were destroyed. As Bonnard says, Plato could not conceal his desire to consign Democritus's works to the flames, and within a few centuries his wish was realised (1961: 61-62). But not only a debt to Democritus, Epicurus owed much to the Platonic critique, enabling considerable refinement, until he culminated the philosophical speculation of the ancients.

The basic distinction between Plato and Epicurus is that between "idealism" and "materialism". Simply, the difference is that idealists reduce reality to "ideas" and materialists reduce reality to "matter". By positing an ultimate world of "forms", Plato outlined the basic metaphysical position. Against this, Epicurus seeks ultimate reality in atoms. Indeed, to him nothing exists but void, atoms and their manifestations.

Both these positions were highly developed. But I hope that it is easy to see why Plato, who prefers the "mind" and "spirit", might belittle earthly pleasures. Similarly, it should be

possible to accept how Epicurus, whose position is unquestionably prosaic, might find importance in eating, which links us with the material world.

Admittedly, little of the extant writings state this explicitly, although Epicurus's satirical off-sider, Colotes seems to have this distinction in mind when he asks how come Socrates puts his food in his mouth and not his ear (Plutarch, Reply to Colotes, 1108). Similarly, when arguing in an extant extract from his Symposium about how wine might make a person warm, Epicurus says:

> Wine often enters the body without exerting any power either of heating or of cooling, but when the structure is disturbed and an atomic re-arrangement takes place, the atoms which create heat at one time come together and by their number give heat and inflammation to the body, at another they retire and so cool it (Bailey, 1926: 123).

Idealists have difficulty explaining the material world, possibly finding it a manifestation of the world of "forms", regarding it as some embodiment of God, or denying it altogether. Platonic truth also tends to lie outside us. Arguing against such Platonic contemplation, Epicurus declares an inability to conceive the good" if he is without the pleasures of taste, love, hearing and sight (Bailey, 1926: 123).

It is just as hard for materialists to explain the non-material. Materialists are frequently atheists, but Epicurus is a "deist", that is, believing in a non-providential, absent God. He writes: "The impious man is not he who denies the gods of the many, but he who attaches to the gods the beliefs of the many (Bailey, 1926, 83-85). In similar manner, Epicurus denies an after-life, and seeks to banish death's terror (Bailey, 1926:85).

Further, how does the materialist explain ideas? These might just be the movement of atoms in the brain. But what about ethical truths? How can right and wrong even exist? The solution for Epicurus is to seek knowledge through the sensations, moods and feelings within each of us. Being guided by pleasure and pain, he is a hedonist.

At the beginning of his "Letter to Herodotus", Epicurus recommends, consistently with his stress on individual responsibility, a "comprehensive grasp of things not so much a knowledge of particulars" (Bailey, 1926: 19). Although historians of science look favourably upon Epicurus, because he outlined not just atomic physics but the theory of evolution, he regards science not as an end but as a means, particularly of removing superstition. "Without natural science it is not possible to attain our pleasures unalloyed" (Principle Doctrine XII; Bailey, 1926: 97).

To summarise so far, Epicurus is frequently described as a "materialist", "atomist", "deist", "hedonist", and perhaps "empiricist". With two exceptions, I do not wish to question or particularly elaborate the conventional account, which can be found in many places, for instance, Bertrand Russell's History of Western Philosophy.

The first exception is stressing, as I have already begun, the importance within Epicurean thought of that most material and pleasurable substance, food, and the second exception is to highlight the ethical, ideological or what can be called the political aspects, to which I now turn.

The materialist is most conscious of the here and now and

Epicurus keeps referring to limits, the limits of life, the limits of pleasure and pain, the limits of nature. These limits make nonsense of a quest for glory and riches. "The wealth demanded by nature is both limited and easily procured; that demanded by idle imaginings stretches on to infinity" (Principal Doctrine XV).

He also counsels moderation and prudence:

> The greatest good is prudence. Wherefore prudence is a more precious thing even than philosophy: for from prudence are sprung all other virtues, and it teaches us that it is not possible to live pleasantly without living prudently and honourably and justly, not, again, to live a life of prudence, honour and justice without living pleasantly (Letter to Menoeceus; Bailey, 1926: 91).

This is utilitarianism, the plausibility of which is indicated by the aphorism: "Let nothing be done in your life, which will cause you fear if it becomes known to your neighbour" (Vatican Saying LXX; Bailey, 1926: 117).

This emphasis on prudence, which he presumably learns well from the "pleasure of the stomach", leads him to recommend against the quest for public office. "To secure protection from men anything is a natural good," he writes (Principal Doctrine VI; Bailey, 1926: 95). He observes that some people have wished to become famous and conspicuous, thinking they would would thus win safety from others (PD VII). Instead, they lose their freedom. "We must release ourselves from the prison of affairs and politics" (Vatican Saying LVIII; Bailey, 1926: 115).

Rather, Epicurus sees greatest rewards in seclusion, extolling the "immunity which results from a quiet life and the retirement from the world" (Principal Doctrine XIV; Bailey, 1926: 99). He offers the simple injunction: "Live unknown" (1926: 139).

Within this context, he constantly upholds the value of friendship:

> Of all the things which wisdom acquires to produce the blessedness of the complete life, far the greatest is the possession of friendship (Principal Doctrine XXVII; Bailey, 1926: 101).

Note that, typically, the basis of sound friendship is self-interest, since Epicurus says: "All friendship is desirable in itself, though it starts from the need of help" (Vatican Saying XXII; Bailey, 1926: 109). He offers much advice, for instance, on making friends: "We must not approve either those who are always ready for friendship, or those who hang back, but for friendship's sake we must even run risks" (Vatican Saying XXVIII; Bailey, 1926: 111).

While Epicurus and his offsiders were vigorous polemicists, the main method of propaganda was through friendship: "Friendship goes dancing round the world proclaiming to us all to awake to the praises of a happy life" (Vatican Saying LII; Bailey, 1926: 115).

Before drawing from the historical evidence of practical Epicurean politics,, I will sum his view up in terms of conventional "isms For a start, he might irritate the highly political by being so avoidist, to such an extent that he might reasonably be considered pacifist. Such is his advocacy of living by nature - "We must not violate nature, but obey her" (Vatican Saying, XXI; Bailey, 1926: 109) - that he could be said to be an ecologist.

You might notice the importance Epicurus awards freedom, with such a high regard for individual rights as to be termed an

individualist, even anarchist. Indeed, such is his egoistic-hedonism and his utilitarianism that he might at first sight appeal to right-wing thinkers, except for the negative value he awards wealth. "A free life cannot acquire many possessions", he says (Vatican Saying LXVII; Bailey 1926: 117).

Although Epicurus nowhere states it plainly, within his thought particularly on friendship is also a firm commitment to equality. He explicitly believes in the social contract, and is thoroughly humanist. Furthermore, he opposes superstition and imposed power. To these extents, he is socialist, and in many ways he can be said to have commenced a socialist revolution.

He is not communist, arguing from self-centredness that the sharing of property indicates distrust (Bailey, 1926: 147). Rather, if a free person by chance came upon many possessions, "it is easy to distribute them so as to win the gratitude of neighbours" (Vatican Saying LXVII; Bailey, 1926: 117).

I submit that Epicurus's political position, which is considered to be exceptionally self-consistent, fails to conform to contemporary ideas of right and left-wing. Nevertheless, I submit that, to the extent that he favours the domestic to the public, that he preachs friendship, that he encourages generosity, that he might support small enterprise against big, and so forth, his would make a fine gastronomic position.

Particularly, if we, as participants as this symposium, are to learn from him, we should recognise that Epicurus eschews formal political structures and literally fights his political revolution over the dinner table. To find out whether this is practicable, we might glance at the original Epicureanism in

practice.

Just as Plato instituted the Academy and Aristotle the Lyceum, Epicurus established a school in 306 BC on the outskirts of Athens which was called the Garden. Incidentally, perhaps through the influence of the contemplative model, most commentators have assumed that this was a floral garden, roses and violets being especially fancied. However, I would guess further research might establish this was the then much more common kitchen garden.

The group were noted for their egalitarianism, since, unlike their rivals, they included slaves and women. The women were mainly former prostitutes, which only encouraged the sect's bad reputation. Among the scandals Diogenes Laertius passes on was the claim that Epicurus wrote many letters to the former prostitute, Leontion, with whom Metrodorus was also in love (Bailey, 1926: 143). Yet Epicurus remains in his writings conspicuously dubious about sexual pleasures, considering that: "Sexual intercourse has never done a man good, and he is lucky if it has not harmed him" (Bailey, 1926: 123).

An even more notorious activity of the Epicureans became their monthly banquets, the banquets of the Twentieth. The occasions were sufficiently distinctive to warrant a book by the Cynic satirist, Menippus, and for Epicureans to gain the nickname eikadistae, "Twentyers". That date was chosen because the twentieth in the Greek calendar (which was based on the lunar month) was invested with something of the sanctity of the sabbath.

The customary austerity of diet was abandoned, and the wine and viands were of the best. Discussions were philosophic

(DeWitt, 1954a: 104). The feast was originated by Epicurus, and in his will he asked followers to maintain them in memory of him and Metrodorus (Bailey, 1926: 153).

One of the few defectors from the group, Timocrates, wrote that Epicurus used to vomit twice a day owing to his luxurious living. For many years he was unable to rise from his portable couch (Bailey, 1926: 145). However, in reporting these and all the other allegations, Diogenes Laertius, who was undoubtedly a supporter, declares: "But these calumniators are all mad. For Epicurus has witnesses enough and to spare to his unsurpassed kindness to all men." In all countries, he became honoured with bronze statues, he says. Entire cities adopted his philosophy (Bailey, 1926: 147).

I shall now turn to some of this enormous Epicurean influence on the ancient world. Due to the vilification and neglect of the movement, scholars are only beginnning to document its success, perhaps most notably (within the confines of this discussion) in shaping Christianity.

At least one Epicurean document found its way into the Old Testament, by mistake, as is now recognised. This is particularly ironic given that "Epicurean" came to mean infidel in Hebrew (Sarton, 1959: 237), not to mention the eventual persecution of Epicureans by the Christian Church.

This is the book of Ecclesiastes, written by a "property owner in Jerusalem", Qoheleth, in the early years of Epicureanism ("Ecclesiastes" in Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1971). Indeed, Ecclesiastes can be read as a quick introduction to the philosophy. Qoheleth has suffered great despair, and now recognises

that "all is vanity" (1.2), perhaps indicating that he has read the text composed by the early (woman) disciple of Epicurus, Themista , on the vanity of glory (DeWitt, 1954b: 8).

Out of his despair, Qoheleth has made many discoveries, the best-known a regard for the seasons: "To every thing there is a season, etc" (3.1-8). But as well, he finds that: There is no new thing under the sun (1.9). It is better to be a poor and wise child than an old and foolish king (4.13). God is in heaven, and thou upon earth (5.2). The living know that they shall die: but the dead know not any thing (9.5). Wisdom heard in quiet is better than the cry of rulers, and the weapons of war (9.17-18). Most importantly, while Qoheleth is not a crude voluptary and has a horror of empty carousing (2.2-3; 7.2-4), he keeps repeating:

> There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour (2.24).

Or, in the familiar phrase, God has arranged things such that:

> A man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and to drink, and to be merry (8.15)

DeWitt argues that Christianity arose out of the world of, and through a polemic with, Epicureanism (1954a & especially 1954b). DeWitt points to the similarity of the Christian <u>agapai</u>, or love-feasts, to the monthly Epicurean banquets, only one among many similarities too numerous to be merely coincidental (1954a: 105).

The Christian religion taught much that conflicted, particularly the need for faith in an intermediary and the hope of an after-life. Epicureans are scarcely mentioned (Acts 17.18 is an exception). But, especially ethically, when we hear such state-

ments as that the meek shall inherit the earth, we are reminded of such Epicurean doctrines as: "Poverty, when measured by the natural purpose of life, is great wealth, but unlimited wealth is great poverty" (Vatican Saying XXV; Bailey, 1926: 109).

Indeed, in his second book, St Paul and Epicurus, DeWitt attempts to document the entire message of St Paul in the light of Epicurus. And it is difficult to imagine to whom else St Paul might refer when he writes such as:

> As I have often told you, and now tell you with tears in my eyes, there are many whose way of life makes them enemies of the cross of Christ. They are heading for destruction, appetite is their god, and they glory in their shame. Their minds are set on earthly things. We, by contrast, are citizens of heaven, and from heaven we expect our deliverer to come, the Lord Jesus Christ (Philippians 3.18-20).

The means by which Epicureanism became a "bridge from paganism to Christianity" is perhaps too complex to be more than alluded to here, but I will draw attention to St Paul's message in the Epicurean town of Corinth, which sarcastically contradicts the thought of Ecclesiastes:

> What advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink; for to morrow we die (I Corinthians 15:32).

I now return to the slightly better charted ground of Epicureanism within ancient Greece and Rome. To take one out of numerous cases among Epicureans within the medical profession, Erasistratus of Chios (c300-250 BC) is called the founder of physiology. He regarded the blood and two kinds of pneuma (formed from air in the lungs passed to the heart) as the essential sources of nourishment and movement. He consistently opposed violent remedies and, since he considered the chief cause of disease to be excess blood, he treated with fasting, regulated

diet and exercise and the vapour bath (Singer and Underwood, 1962: 49-50).

The first important medical scientist in Rome was another Greek and Epicurean, Asclepiades of Bithynia (c124-40). He introduced atomic ideas into medicine, disease being the disturbance of the atoms in the body (Sarton, 1959: 404). Asclepiades also avoided violent cures. He used heat and cold, also sunshine, hydropathic treatment (giving water internally and externally), and massage, and these methods were supplemented with a strictly regulated diet. He also wrote a treatise on the curative values of different wines (Sigerist, 1933: 59).

As well as the list of philosophical writers within the Epicurean fold, great influence is found among playwrights and poets. The so-called New Comedy is full of culinary chat, and the leading exponent, Menander, whose plays feature cooks, was a companion of Epicurus (Allinson in Menander, 1921: xiii). The most popular writer of the time, Philemon, includes among his amusing observations:

> This fellow [Epicurus] is bringing in a new philosphy; he preaches hunger and his disciples follow him. They get but a single roll, a dried fig to relish it, and water to wash it down (Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, ii.493).

The best-known Epicurean disciple of the ancient world has been Titus Lucretius Carus (99/94-55/51 BC), author of what is acclaimed as one of the best poems ever written, De Rerum Natura (On the Nature of the Universe, 1951). In this long poem, having declared gratitude to Epicurus as saviour, Lucretius teaches Epicurean natural philosophy, dealing with atomic theory, the mortality of the soul, sensation and thought, the origins and

history of the world and society and miscellaneous natural phenomena. The wise do not write poetry, Epicurus says (Diogenes Laertius, 10.120), and, to my taste, the intensity of De Rerum Natura is atypical of Epicurean literature.

I thus prefer to pay more attention to a second Latin poet, Horatius Flaccus, Quintus (65-8 BC). Horace was an Epicurean, at the least shared many of the views of Epicureans (Classen, 1978: 346). He refers to himself in Epistle IV: "As for me, when you want a laugh, you will find me in fine fettle, fat and sleek, a hog from Epicurus's herd" (1926: 277). Certain of his Odes can be better appreciated in the light of Epicurean ethics, as when the poet praises his country retreat, the secluded life and friendship. While the public figure dominates and is dominated by his wealth or fame, the poet is simply free (Macleod, 1979: 21-25).

Of especial interest is the Fourth Satire in Book II. It is strikingly simple. Horace meets Catius on the way from a lecture. Catius is excited to have learned some new precepts, which surpass those of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato. Naturally, Horace is eager to know the philosopher's name. Catius replies that this must remain secret, but he can recite the sage's wisdom by heart. Catius begins:

> Give good heed to serve eggs of an oblong shape, for they have a better flavour and are whiter than the round; they are firm and enclose a male yoke. Cabbage grown on dry lands is sweeter than from farms near the city; nothing is more tasteless than a watered garden's produce.
>
> If a friend suddenly drops in upon you of an evening, and you fear that a tough fowl may answer ill to his taste, you will be wise to plunge it alive into diluted Falernian: this will make it tender.
>
> Mushrooms from the meadows are best; others are not to be trusted.

> A man will pass his summers in health, who will finish his luncheon with black mulberries which he has picked from the tree before the sun is trying.

This recital continues for a further three pages. While he opens with the gustatio (eggs typically began a meal) and finishes with fruit, the order and value of the advice is deliberately amusing (Classen, 1978: 338). When Catius is finished, Horace begs to be taken next time, saying: "I have no slight longing to be able to draw near to the sequestered fountains, and to drink in the rules for living happily" (Horace, 1926: 187-197).

There has been much speculation both as to Catius' identity and to the purport of this Satire. The earlier view of scholars was that it satirises Epicureanism, especially because the concluding remarks about fountains are an unmistakable reference to Lucretius. The problem with this view is that Horace was himself an Epicurean (Fairclough in Horace, 1926: 183-4). Some scholars have thought Horace attacks gluttony or those who spend all their money on exquisite meals. However, most recipes point to wholesome, tasty dishes.

I find Classen's recent explanation attractive. Catius, he says, was a noted Epicurean, dead by the time of the poem. And Horace's target is not likely to be Epicurus or Epicurus's philosophy as such, nor Catius as an individual, but followers of Epicurus who do not understand his philosophy, and instead concern themselves solely with "cookery books and wholesome and tasty food" and think they "make important contributions to the master's doctrine when they introduce new recipes (Classen, 1978: 345). For a satirist, a lecture on cookery, and wine and food snobs, seemed appropriate subjects, especially as the philo-

sophical relevance of eating and drinking was at that time generally accepted (1978: 348).

And so Horace brings us back to the beginning, the problem of "true" Epicureanism.

Modern scholars reject the idea that Epicurus was in any sense an epicure by seeking to separate him from any real concern with food. I consider that Horace makes precisely the opposite point. Horace ridicules the preoccupation with recipes not because that over-values food, but because that under-values it. The true Epicurean, rather than trivialising food, considers that food is what life is all about.

FOOTNOTE

(1) I use capital-E and small-e to distinguish between Epicureanism, as presented by Epicurus, and epicureanism in the food sense. Some writers have preferred "epicureanism and "epicurism". However, I argue that they are ultimately identical.

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MENAGE A TROIS: GASTRONOMY, FOOD AND MEDICINE

Barbara Santich

> "The poets did well to conjoin music and medicine in Apollo, because the office of medicine is but to tune this curious harp of man's body and reduce it to harmony." (1)

It is easy to scoff at the follies and superstitions of a pre-scientific age, to dismiss as more extravagant than myth folkloric beliefs in the curative powers of garlic for the bite of a mad dog, or in the benefit of a drink of wine mixed with seawater to avert seasickness. In their specifics, the classical and mediaeval texts can be largely discounted, yet their rationale is still supremely relevant. Until about the seventeenth century, medicine - in both theory and practice - was linked to, and sometimes indistinguishable from, dietetics and gastronomy.

> "I prescribe a regular diet for all people;
> A proper diet is one of the foremost goals of medicine:
> What kind? What? When? How much? How often? Where to be given?
> These things a doctor should quickly take note of while prescribing a diet.' (2)

The classical and mediaeval model in western Europe (in this paper, I will be restricting my study to western Europe) was one of balance: health is a condition of perfect equilibrium. If the balance is upset, it should be restored, and the means of restoration is through diet (and also music, for the Pythagoreans).The basic tenets of the doctrine of Hippocrates were:

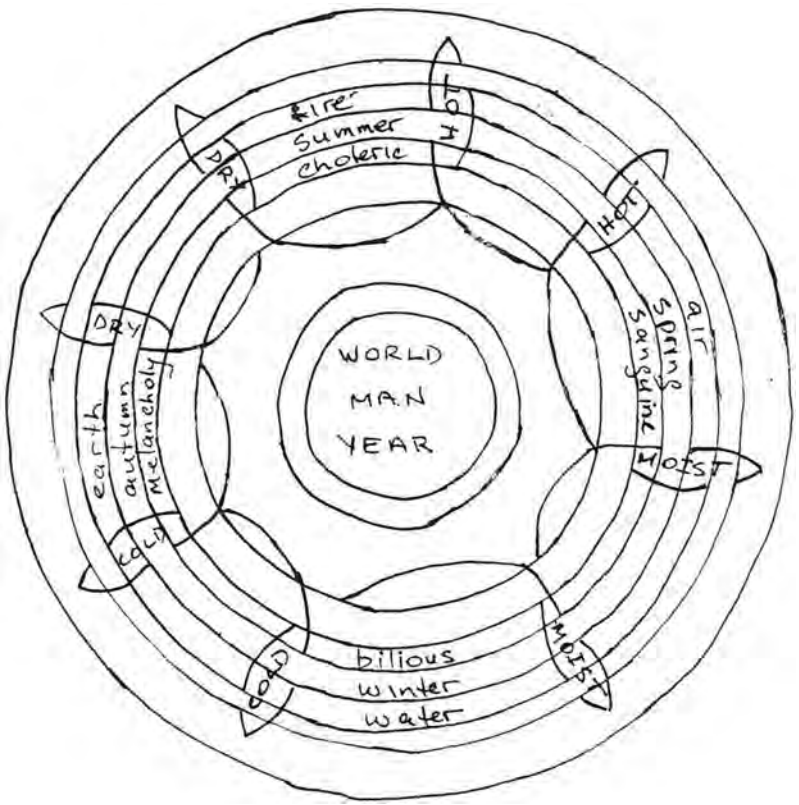
the well-being of man is influenced by the quality of the air, water, food, and by his general living habits

health is an expression of harmony (with the environment, within the body)

health means state of mind as well as state of body

whenever the equilibrium is disturbed, it should be corrected by means of diet, drugs or surgery

Hippocrates, or one of his contemporaries, detailed the theory of the four humours which was accepted, if slightly modified, by all leading physicians up to the seventeenth century. This doctrine - and all the analogical concepts related to it - fitted particularly well with mediaeval thought (and religions): belief in the infinite wisdom and omnipotence of the creator who made everything to a particular and determinate end. The nature and structure of the universe (macrocosm) were thought to foreshadow the nature and structure of man (microcosm)



(based on a schema of Isidore of Seville, about 6th century)

This is not the place for a detailed exposition of the humours theory, but since it is fundamental to an understanding of mediaeval dietetics I will give a brief summary. Corresponding to the four basic elements of the world (macrocosm) - earth, air fire, water - were the four humours of the body (microcosm) - blood, phlegm, yellow bile, black bile. Each element and each humour was represented by a binary combination of the basic 'states' -

hot/cold, dry/moist. These combinations also characterised the four seasons and the winds from the four cardinal points. The balance of humours in the body determined temperament, or complexion, and the four ages of man were related to the four temperaments. Similarly, all foods were described in terms of these combinations; thus, spices were hot and dry, fresh cheese was cold and moist but aged cheese hot and dry, onions and garlic were hot and moist.

Avicenna described how to diagnose an individual's temperament by using a sense of touch and temperature to identify dry or moist, hot or cold and by looking at his complexion, his nails and hair, physique, etc. The Phlegmatic individual was cold and moist, pale, pasty, lazy and overweight; the Sanguine, hot and moist, was healthily plump and merry, the archetypical gourmand; the Melancholic, cold and dry, was sad, solitary and suicidal; and the Choleric was warm and dry, slim, quick-witted, impetuous and ambitious. (The reason they were also called complexions was that each temperament was believed to correspond to a certain skin colouring - respectively, fair, ruddy, muddy; yellowish.) Diagnosis of temperament was necessary to prescriptions of diet. Any upset in health was assumed to result from an inbalance of the humours, which was to be counteracted by a diet in which the opposite qualities were dominant so as to restore the equilibrium.

These fundamental concepts are repeated and elaborated in all the influential treatises on diet and gastronomy until the invention of the microscope brought bacteria into man's vision, and the scientists of the Enlightenment came to regard the body as a machine, subject to the laws of physics and chemistry. Indeed, assuming that the laws of gastronomy are designed to offer optimum pleasure without disturbing the equilibrium of the body, the dietetic works can be more properly considered gastronomic texts. As Brillat-Savarin wrote:

> "Gastronomy ... examines the effect of food on man's character,.... determines the point of esculence of every foodstuff ... It is gastronomy too which classifies all these substances according to their various qualities, indicates those which may be eaten together ... It is no less closely concerned with the various drinks which fall to our lot, according to time, place and climate." (3)

The introduction to the Tacuinum Sanitatis clearly states the mediaeval doctrine and demonstrates the importance of food in medicine. (4)

"THE TACUINUM SANITATIS is about the six things that are necessary for every man in the daily preservation of his health, about their correct uses and their effects. The first is the treatment of air, which concerns the heart. The second is the right use of foods and drinks. The third is the correct use of movement and rest. The fourth is the problem of prohibition of the body from sleep, or excessive wakefulness. The fifth is the correct use of elimination and retention of humors. The sixth is the regulating of the person by moderating joy, anger, fear, and distress. The secret of the preservation of health, in fact, will be in the proper balance of all these elements, since it is the disturbance of this balance that causes the illnesses which the glorious and most exalted God permits.

The Tacuinum Sanitatis was one of many medical/dietary works produced for an educated lay reader. Basically, it was a reference work, summarising for each ingredient or dish its qualities, usefulness, possible dangers and how to avoid them; similar summaries were given for the four winds, the four seasons and mental and physical states such as anger and drunkenness.

Natur c ī i s ī 2ᵃ Melius ex eis marones debri
anga bene maturi Iuvamentum movent coytū
& multum nutriunt. Nocumentum inflant & do-
lorem capitis faciunt Remotio nocumenti cocte in
aqua

130. CHESTNUTS (*CASTANEE*)

Nature: (According to Albulcasem), warm and dry in the second degree. *Optimum:* . . . *Usefulness:* They are very nourishing when cooked; raw . . . *Dangers:* They are difficult to digest. *Neutralization of the Dangers:* Cooked in water and served with good wine. (*Paris*, f. 11)

131. CHESTNUTS (*CASTANEE*)

Nature: Warm in the first degree, dry in the second. *Optimum:* The marrons of Brianza, well ripened. *Usefulness:* They are favorable to coitus and are very nourishing. *Dangers:* They inflate and cause headaches. *Neutralization of the Dangers:* By cooking them in water. (*Casanatense*, f XXIV)

Most of the mediaeval works were translations or adaptations of earlier Arab texts. One of the most widely circulated (it has been called "the most popular medical work ever written" (5)) was the Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum, a poem of some 360 lines, of which more than 300 editions have been printed. It, too, was an everyman's guide to practical dietetic medicine and it, too, began with a series of general rules for health:

> **The Salerne Schoole doth by these lines impart**
> **All health to Englands King, and doth advise**
> **From care his head to keepe, from wrath his heart,**
> **Drink not much wine, sup light, and soone arise.**
> **When meat is gone, long sitting breedeth smart;**
> **And after-noone still waking keep your eyes.**
> **When mov'd you find your selfe to Natures Needs**
> **Forbeare them not, for that much danger breeds.**
> **Use three Physicions still ; first Doctor Quiet,**
> **Next Doctor Merry-man, and Doctor Dyet.**
>
> (6)

The rest of the poem takes a rather erratic course through the properties of selected foods, but the importance of food in medicine is repeatedly stressed. Thus it states that peaches should be eaten with grape juice, and grapes with nuts; that if you add wine to pork, it is both food and medicine. It suggests which foods should be eaten for particular disorders: cabbage broth has a laxative effect; mint helps expel worms; sage calms the nerves; hyssop cooked with honey is good for the lungs. It relates temperament to physique and physiognomy and, always in accord with the ideal of harmony, relates foods and activities to the seasons (in summer, serve foods of cold and moist qualities; in winter, eat as much as you like). The poem is also notorious for its hangover cure: "If you develop a hangover from drinking at night, drink again in the morning; it will serve as your medicine." (lines 45-6) (7)

In the same tradition were several English works. Although not simply a dietary text, the De proprietatibus rerum of the Franciscan monk Bartholomew the Englishman (thirteenth century) expounded a belief in the necessity for a moderate diet, in accordance with the state of the individual, his age, and the season, for the maintenance of good health. The English versions of the Arab text known as the Secretum Secretorum (8) , supposedly based on letters

from Aristotle to his pupil Alexander, offer advice to kings and princes, and emphasise the importance of health,

> "Ther is no way to do no thyng by, ... but only by myght and potencie. And potencie is not had but by helthe." (9)

To remain healthy, the ruler is advised to eat and drink according to his age and nature and to the time and season of the year. Incidentally, the ruler was expected to be knowledgeable in the theory of the elements and its extension to foods and drinks. Andrew Boorde's Dyetary of Helth (10) treats firstly the desirable location, siting and construction of one's house and outbuildings, then turns to matters such as the need for exercise and sleep, moderation in food, drink and love-making, and to the properties of foods and diet, both for the maintenance of health and for specific conditions or illnesses.

Finally, the culmination of all mediaeval gastronomic, culinary and dietetic lore was Platina's De Honesta Voluptate, perhaps the most influential and popular (deservedly so) work of the late mediaeval and renaissance period. Platina advocated, as his untranslatable title indicates, an ethic of 'honest indulgence and good health' (E.B.Andrews' translation) or rational pleasure, an art of living that is equally relevant to the twentieth century, and which I will discuss later.

Many of the particular recommendations of the mediaeval dietetics might be regarded today as just plain common sense, others considered as little more than curiosities; although I maintain that, especially in a gastronomic context, much of the dietary advice is still relevant. (The Regimen Sanitatis says that eggs should be fresh, and that soft-cooked eggs are more easily digestible; wine should be brilliantly coloured, clear and fragrant, cool and fresh.) Underlying this, however, was a belief in an intimate and harmonious relationship between gastronomy and diet, and medical theory and practice. Indeed, the relationship was so evident that one wonders where it vanished to.

Mediaeval medicine recognised and treated the person as a whole and as an individual; the central concern was the maintenance of good health.

Modern medicine tends to diagnose the disease or abnormal condition and cure or correct this particularity, almost oblivious to the rest of the body. The only gesture towards individuality is to check on allergies and to take into account age or weight when prescribing the remedy, a highly-refined weapon destined for a specific kind of warfare in a certain zone of the human map. I cannot argue that the mediaeval treatment was more effective, and in any case comparisons of this sort are impossible, but it was consistent with a philosophical system which is hard to discern in modern practice.

In the classical and mediaeval period, medicine and dietetics were closely related; today, medicine and nutrition/dietetics are two separate professions. Doctors are not obliged to study nutrition as part of their training (at both Adelaide medical schools) - which is probably for the best, given the general reductionist approach to nutrition. In mediaeval dietetics, each ingredient or food was considered as a whole, and all foods were regarded as intrinsically good, though not for all persons nor for all times, and not if eaten in excess. Open almost any standard nutrition text today and the same pattern is evident; food is no longer something to be eaten but an elaborate chemical system of carbohydrates, lipids, proteins, vitamins and minerals. Dietetics is concerned less with the maintenance of good health than with deficiency diseases, and diets are prescribed in terms of absolute, invariable amounts. 'Balance' takes on a different meaning to that intended by Max Lake (11); according to Renner, "In dietetics, one speaks of a balanced diet, meaning a diet so constituted as to afford proper nourishment. What proper nourishment is, is determined by the experts of the moment." (12)

Even a contemporary book with the promising title of Good Food, Good Health, the aim of which is "to show the way towards better health with a longer life freer from disease using nutrition as the means to this end" follows the reductionist approach, finally offering sets of rules on what to eat and what not to eat. (Significantly, wine - or any alcoholic beverage - is excluded.) (13)

Contrast this with the philosophy of the Venetian centenarian, Luigi Cornaro (1464-1566); according to Dr. William Kitchiner, his code of longevity consisted in steadily obeying the suggestions of instinct, economising his vitality and living under his income of health, and regulating his temper and cultivating cheerful habits. (14)

This picture of modern medicine and nutrition is obviously a generalised one, although not, I believe, exaggerated. Certainly, there are many individual exceptions, and there are indications that nutritional scientists and doctors are becoming more concerned with the relationship of food to well-being, and thereby good health, and with the concepts of optimal, or best possible, nutrition and biological individuality. As a generalisation, however, it is valid. It is also anti-gastronomic.

Brillat-Savarin defined gastronomy as 'la connaissance raisonnée de tout ce qui a rapport à l'homme, en tant qu'il se nourrit." It is an understanding of man as an eater more than an understanding of what he eats. The definition is, I believe, mistranslated by the two modern translators, Anne Drayton and M.F.K.Fisher, who prefer to paraphrase the expression to stress man's nourishment instead of 'man as an eater' (the translation adopted by Anderson and Crowninshield).

The 'understanding of man as an eater' was inherent in the classical and mediaeval doctrines of medicine and dietetics; modern theory tends to disregard the human element and to focus on the composition of what is eaten.

I will now return to the fifteenth century and Platina, whom I consider the father of renaissance gastronomy and the precursor of Brillat-Savarin. (Incidentally, a copy of the 1475 printed edition of his work, thought to be the editio princeps, brought the highest price of almost $US 40,000 at the auction last year of the Crahan collection.) Platina was exceptional in that he was the first "scholar" (since Athenaeus) to write a book on food (and in Latin). Its full title is De Honesta Voluptate ac Valetudine, for which I can

suggest only Proper Pleasures and Good Health as a less than adequate translation. ('Voluptas' has something of the sense of Brillat-Savarin's 'jouissance du goût', which is within the ambit of gastronomy. (15))

Platina's book represents a synthesis of all previous gastronomic writing. He takes cues from Athenaeus (in his references to classical authors); from the Persian traditions of the pleasures of the senses; from Apicius; and from mediaeval medicine, dietetics and cuisine. Of the ten 'books', about one-third consists of recipes, almost all lifted (with acknowledgment) from an earlier cookbook by Maestro Martino. More importantly, it lays down a gastronomic ethic inspired by the model of a healthy life and a fundamental concern for harmony between man and his world.

Brillat-Savarin said of gastronomy that it should consider taste, in both its pleasurable and painful aspects; that it should consider the effect of what one eats on one's character, imagination, wit, courage: that it should determine, for each food, when it is best eaten; that it should classify foods according to their different qualities. These are precisely the concerns of the mediaeval dietetic texts, and they are epitomised in De Honesta Voluptate. The non-recipe part of the book is in the style of a discursive, encyclopaedic dietary, in which foods are described according to their origins, varieties, qualities and culinary/dietetic/medicinal uses, and advice is given on choosing, cooking and eating the foods. Thus he writes that sugar comes from Arabia and India, also from Crete and Sicily; that mulberries are very juicy, and have hot and moist qualities; that dried almonds are useful against drunkenness; that the best honey is thyme honey. He says, too, that the best meat has a good proportion of lean and fat, and that fat meats are better roast than boiled; and that asparagus should be boiled and served with salt, oil and vinegar (although some people add a sprinkling of spices).

Like Brillat-Savarin, Platina incorporates his advice on foods and eating into an art of living. He justifies his choice of title in the introduction; "What evil can there be in well-considered indulgence? For pleasure and health

are called the mean between good and evil. ... I speak of that indulgence which is within the bounds of good living and of those things which human nature seeks." (16) He stresses that the pleasures of life - eating, drinking, making love, sleeping - are to be enjoyed, but enjoyed in moderation and within an ideal of harmony. Aesthetics is also his concern; after sleeping or reading, when gentle exercise is in order, he suggests a stroll in the grounds of the house, where one can look at the fields and gardens, or take pleasure in the fragrance of herbs or the music of songbirds. The siting of one's house is important - "The civilised and clever man should choose ... a place that is salubrious, pleasant and charming where he may build , till the earth, work, and where he may also sing, read, study and pray." (17) Choice of the room in which to eat, and its decoration, should be in accord with the seasons - "In winter in a closed, warm place, in summer where it is cool and in the open. In spring in a cosy place, spread with flowers; ... In autumn ripe grapes, pears and apples should be hung from the ceiling." (18) Freshness and cleanliness of table linen, plates and glasses , plus the welcoming aromas of herbs and flowers, arouse the guests' appetites; the total environment is designed to favour 'honesta voluptas'. Brillat-Savarin's Gastéréa, who presides over the 'jouissances du goût', would be completely at home.

Both Platina and Brillat-Savarin espouse an art of living centred on 'man as an eater', a code whose 'rules' require self-discipline and the exercise of discrimination, yet do not condemn the pleasures of the senses. Like the centenarian Cornaro, one obeys "the suggestions of instinct" while living under one's "income of health". Their gastronomy, in its recognition of the individuality of each person, and of the importance to good health of the appropriate foods, is akin to the medical doctrine of the mediaeval period and of some later doctors - such as Dr.William Kitchiner, in his The Art of Invigorating and Prolonging Life by Diet and Regimen (1822). Similarly,Dr.

George Cheyne, in An Essay of Health and Long Life (early eighteenth century) states in his introduction that it is easier to preserve than recover health, to prevent than to cure diseases; and that to preserve health, the quantity and nature of our food must be proportioned to the strength of our digestion. He concludes: "If men would but observe the golden mean in all their passions, appetites and desires ... they would enjoy better health." (19)

Modern medicine and nutrition are the offspring of technology. By the end of the eighteenth century, when Lavoisier and Laplace instituted nutrition as an exact science, belief in dietetic medicine had almost disappeared, and Lavoisier was able to write: "La vie est une fonction chimique." (20) Even in 1960, a nutritionist could make a statement like the following, which may be well-intentioned, but is definitely not in the spirit of 'honesta voluptas':

> "The total number of essential elements at present known is 47 ... With each discovery of a new nutrient [in the 1920's], the scope of constructive thought about diet-planning was broadened. Recommended allowances for the essential nutrients were decided upon by well-informed committees. Meal planning reached the stage where expanding scientific data were employed." (21)

(It is perhaps ironical to note that many of these 'essential nutrients' were 'discovered' after observations that animals fed on purified foods or single-ingredient diets were not healthy.)

More recently, the United States Department of Agriculture could envisage nutrition as a chemical technology:

> "Nutrition should be engineered into foods the public likes." (22)

With the development of the science of nutrition, medical dietetics was split in two, and nutrition and medicine went their separate ways. Walker and Cannon remarked that until recently, the British medical profession had regarded nutrition as an unimportant subject. "The Lancet's features [entitled Nutrition: The Changing Scene] marked an irreversible and profound shift of British medicine towards the realization that nutrition is of central importance us all." (23)

Coincidentally, the development of the science of nutrition created a chasm

between gastronomy and medicine. Only in popular culture has a nexus remained; until recently, any basic, comprehensive cookbook would invariably include a chapter on invalid food and one on household cures and remedies. Even if the pseudo-sophistication of our society eschews such fantasies in a practical book, oral tradition keeps them alive. ("For arthritis, tip a packet of prunes into a jar, pour over half a bottle of gin. I have a prune every morning, and don't get any arthritis. Doesn't work for all kinds of arthritis, but it works for me."(24))

The distancing of medicine from gastronomy and from the classical/mediaeval ideals of harmony and equilibrium has also been responsible, in part, for the misconception that gastronomy is the appreciation only of fine food, of elaborate, rich and sophisticated dishes. Certainly, gastronomy includes the appreciation of 'good' food, not as an end in itself but as part of the process of discrimination, of the exercising of judgment. 'Good' refers not only to the intrinsic qualities of the food but to its harmony with the individual, the time, the place, the season.

It is time to bring medicine and nutrition together again, within gastronomy. The gastronomic philosophies of Platina and Brillat-Savarin offer the models for the twentieth century, as they did for the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries. The mediaeval goals of moderation or tempered pleasures and harmony between the individual and his diet and environment provide a sound philosophic base for 'rules of healthy living' - avoid too much fat, avoid too much sugar, use less salt, control weight - as recommended, in isolation, by the Department of Health. The justification is given by Platina himself:

> "I have written about the nature of things, and of meats, of health and a scheme for living, which the Greeks call diet, adding instructions for curing the sick. For indeed this little work and institution is proper and necessary to every citizen, according to the authority and teachings of the philosophers; as in olden times he who in war saved a citizen's life deserved much civic recognition, so now in time of peace he who saves others by giving a plan for living well would seem to merit the same." (25)

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SECOND SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

Adelaide, September 29 - October 1, 1985

FLAVOUR POWER

Max Lake

(This paper is adapted from the author's Start to Taste: Food.)

Bon Appétit. A frequent French greeting before a meal.

Hunger increases strong and weak flavours to the point of prepossession. Flavours may be added to food for their own taste, to enhance it, or to mask some characters. Sugar in coffee is a common example, it does the lot; adds sweetness, increases aroma, and lessens sourness and bitterness.

We have seen how simple cooking processes ( ) increase flavour.

Another simple enhancement occurs when the flavour elements are offered to a bigger area of reception, as in rice with curry, potatoes with gravy and so on. Some odorants are more volatile when dilute.

Threshold is the start of flavour. The smallest amount awakening the palate to the first dawning of identity. Each of us has an individual range from that point and on, to a cut off where no further addition is tasted as such, a sort of adaptation. Within this range there may be a clear level of preference. Add more, pleasure may cease. Indifference may become disagreeable, leading to disgust. Professionals talk about

hedonic profiles, but you and yours can easily do simple ratings that are good communication.

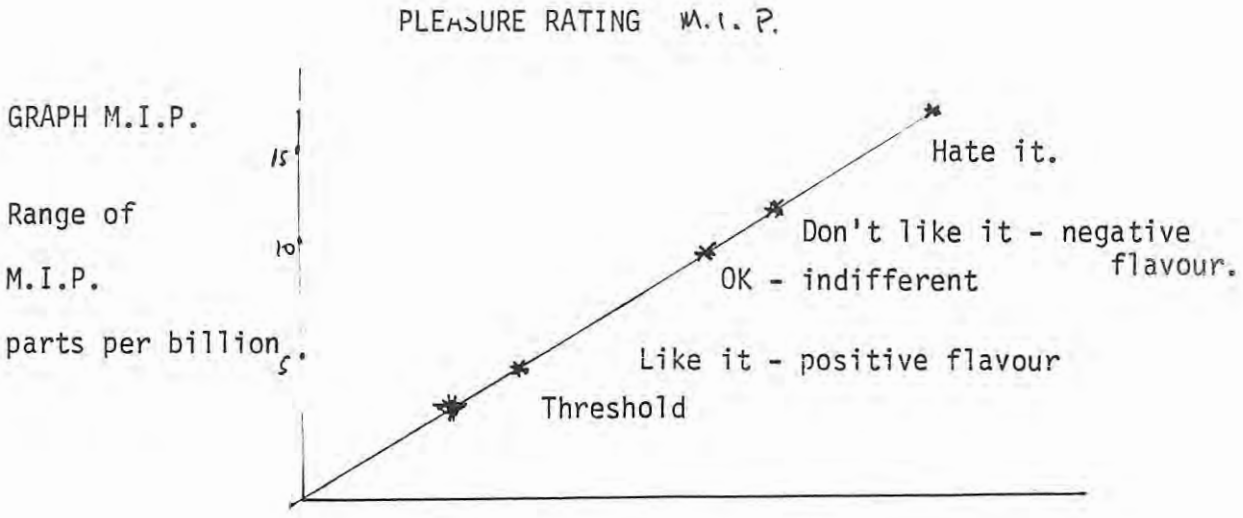
1. like very much
2. like
3. indifferent
4. dislike
5. dislike very much

For certain flavours, a lesser amount may be acceptable or pleasant. It is then said to be positive. A greater quantity may be disagreeable, and then becomes negative. Positive and negative levels of the same flavour are common. For example, chemists have found in the synthesis of food flavours, without infinitesimal bits of some disgusting odours, fruit fragramces do not taste "natural" (see graph of m.i.p.) M.I.P.

Thresholds can be lowered by training, one of the aims of the tasting trials mentioned in this book. As an experienced winemaker, this still continues to apply. I am tasting more detail now, than ever before. Fatigue works the opposite effect.

Taste thresholds may be several times higher in the elderly, for some foods. All is not lost however. Training can help, and the steroids (among which are some of the sexual pheromones) may be better perceived with age.

Many goods have single specific flavour compounds. M.i.p. is selected as a common example (see graph).



Threshold and pleasure rating, one individual's test results.

*M.I.P. *is the main smell of capsicum and bell pepper, and in the wine of cabernet sauvignon grape grown in very cold climates. In varying amounts it is one of the principal parts of many vegetable aromas.*

There are other variations in the M.I.P. example selected. Some can't smell it at all; some dislike it at threshold; others adore it at 20 p.p.b.

Flavour additions fall naturally into six groups.

Salt

Sugars

Acids

Chilli-hot

Protein derivatives

Specials

The simplest addition is salt, but so little as not to be perceived as such, or the result is spoiled. It may be surprising how acid (eg wine or vinegar) in cooking increases this; a bland addition like potato absorbs it. Sea salt is the best flavour, it has other goodies in it.

Sugar increases flavour, and fragrance, especially below its threshold. Vast amounts are used commercially. Many Asian dishes have a skilful sugar support. Brown sugars have flavour notes of molasses, maple, etc.; these are removed from white sugar. Malt, from roasted barley sprouts, is an attractive aid. Fermented soybeans have worked for thousands of years in the East, with the addition of salt, which is how M.S.G. was discovered. The three powerful synthetic sweeteners, saccharin, cyclamates, and aspartame, were all found by accident, while inventing something else. Cynarin, from artichokes, only works in some people. Monosodium glutamate is a specific flavour enhancer. It tastes slightly salty, to some it is a little sweet, or meaty. Added to anything in small amounts, the definitive flavour of that food ~~does~~ may go through the roof Thresholds are interesting, depending on the vehicle.

Perceptible M.S.G. effect.

0.03% - distilled water.

0.015% - chicken stock

0.002% - fizzy drinks*

Other synergisms are well known and widely used, e.g. the protein derivatives 5 - I.M.P., and 5 - G.M.P.

The side effects of some of these are interesting. The Chinese restaurant syndrome is described, from M.S.G., chest pain & headache etc. in susceptible people. It is short lived.

There was an unforgettable Honan style meal in a Chinese restaurant in San Francisco. Well signposted with large banners "We do not use M.S.G." It was intense flavoured, authentic food. Except it was followed by a classical "trip" all that night. I don't know yet what did it, having never needed marihuana. It certainly wasn't M.S.G.

The breakdown of protein, particularly seafood, produces potent flavour stimulants. In the west, anchovy sauce or paste, the ancient Roman liquamen, seems to be identical to the nuoc nam and fish sauces of Thailand, Vietnam, and the Chinese oyster sauce. Rumour has it the (shell)fish are left in a closed barrel, packed with salt, the liquid drained off to be used after some months. Not so very different from the method Italian farmers process pork to proscuitto. The almost putrid balachan of Malaysia and Indonesia, is from prawns dried in the sun. Yet tiny amounts of these, added to drab nourishment picked in the jungle by one resistance fighter, ensured his survival during four years, in his own emotional words.

The hard three year old cheeses of the Mediterranean, Parmesan, Romana (Italy), Sardo (Sardinia) (Bulgaria) (Greece) and others, are superb flavour enhancers, grated over anything; the fatty and protein acids and lactose help.

* *The Coca-Cola flavourists would have some interesting observations on the public's reception to the change in flavour of their 100 year old recipe.*

We have already seen how the rare slow seething of the stocks of most meat, fish or poultry concentrates flavour. The great cooks of old, both East and West, rarely travelled without them, adding small amounts to whatever they prepared. The stocks worked their magic then, and now, by the protein acids, salts, sugars etc. they contain.

The use of acid juices, wine, and fruit and grain vinegars to sharpen flavour goes back to antiquity. The sauces mentioned (perform in similar ways. But there may be little need of complicated sauces. Some of the more traditional took days in preparation with little more result in some cases, than help the food slip down. Reductions possibly plus a lift from one of the sour elements, gives flavour without fat. That is, if the basic natural flavour of the food is lacking. It may be that no Australian cuisine has emerged, because our primary ingredi are sufficiently acceptable. The fruit vinegars are a great source of flavour lift. Malt vinegar is too heavy usually, but good wine vinegar. white or red cider or raspberry, can become your secret weapon.

If wine is added early in cooking, its aromas tend to be lost to the air, or combined beyond recognition. Only the wealthy waste great wine needlessly. However a tiny amount of a top wine, perhaps the one to go with your meal, added to the pot or sauce, to finish before serving, does wonders. Inexpensive or left-over wine is a good base flavour for slow stews.

Fat depresses flavour, by and large. It is so popularly used (cream, butter, the oils,* etc) for the intrinsic flavour and smoothness each possesses. The bonus is storage by the fat emulsion, of the aromatics of the dish.

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*Taste trials with different oils - butter, olive, peanut, corn, coconut, sunflower.

Some flavours show little odour increase with amount e.g. vanilla. Not everyone would agree. On the other hand the intensity of the rancid (butyric) acid odour in stale butter, increases as the amount rises. Because it is such a common food, this may be an evolutionary survival marker. The pungency of cut garlic and onion increases as they are exposed, due to enzyme action. They are already among the highest flavoured vegetables.

I ask you now to think hungry; about a still, sunny day, tablecloth on the grass, a hard-crusted loaf, tasty old cheese, a fruity young red wine crunchy pears, to share with an agreeable companion.

That concludes my reflections on flavour power.

WHAT IS HEALTH FOOD?

IAN POLLARD

August, 1985.

In a sense there is no such thing as health food. There is no intrinsic quality in any food that makes it specifically healthy or unhealthy. For example, fat is an essential component of our diet, but it has a reputation as being unhealthy because it is a very concentrated source of food energy, and can easily be taken in excessive quantities. However it would be a mistake to try to eliminate animal fat or total fat intake to negligible quantities. The principle of balance in our diet might seem obvious but it is surprising how often this principle is totally ignored. On the one hand some fad diets totally restrict certain foods such as sugar, alchohol and animal fat. Severe restriction of concentrated energy sources is unnecessary, and may well provide other nutritional problems in the long term. Conversely, it is commonly assumed that if a food component such as vitamin is beneficial in moderate quantities, then it must be even more beneficial in high doses. The principles of a simple healthy diet are almost exactly the same principles that a gourmet would follow, those of balance, moderation and variety.

By far the commonest nutritional problems in our society are problems of excess. A high energy intake leads to obesity which is a health problem in itself, and in turn is a major cause of vascular disease such as heart attack and stroke. This group of diseases is the biggest cause of

premature death and disease in Western society. The particular foods that are usually blamed for obesity are fat, alchohol and sugar. However the influences of these substances on vascular disease are complex. For example, alchohol taken in excessive quantities certainly is very fattening, apart from its toxic effects on the liver and other organs. However there is increasing evidence that small quantities of alchohol taken on a regular basis have a protective effect against various forms of vascular disease. Moderate drinkers taking approximately two glasses of wine daily live longer than non-drinkers.

In preventing and treating obesity, emphasis is often placed on foods that have a low concentration of energy such as vegetables and in particular salads. These foods certainly do have a role in displacing more concentrated energy sources from our diet and in a sense can be regarded as a useful nutritional vacuum. The positive nutritional contribution of a salad vegetable such as lettuce, however, is almost negligible. Certainly its fibre content is negligible in the usual sized serve, and also its vitamin content is very small.

Salt intake is also relevant to vascular disease, through its effect on blood pressure. Once again it would be unhealthy to totally avoid salt, but the daily salt requirement is probably only a small fraction of the average intake in Australia. In the light of recent research on the effect of salt on hypertension, it now seems ironic that Vegemite, for example, which has a high salt content would now be regarded as a less healthy breakfast spread than jam.

So far my emphasis has been on dietary excess, and I have not

mentioned deficiencies in our diet. I am not sure that there are any common deficiencies. Vitamin deficiency simply from reduced intake is quite rare except in severe alchoholics, and in certain special disease entities. I would regard proprietary vitamin supplements as being one of the greatest nutritional confidence tricks of the century. There has been considerable scientific research into the possible role of vitamins in preventing infection, and in preventing or treating malignant disease, but so far no conclusive positive results have been demonstrated.

Is deficiency of dietary fibre important? When fibre first became fashionable, its most important potential role was in the prevention of bowel cancer. Unfortunately the original evidence has not stood up very well to close scrutiny and it is now doubtful whether fibre has a major role in preventing this disease. Much more research is needed in this area, but it seems likely that other dietary factors are equally important. In fact surprisingly little is known about the effect of diet on the risk of other forms of cancer. From the preliminary evidence that is available it seems that each form of cancer may be caused by different dietary factors, and this makes it unlikely that a single diet will offer protection against malignant disease in general.

There are many other aspects of physical health and diet that could be discussed at the symposium. For example, "Fresh is Best?", also "Is Coffee a Health Hazard?"

WINE AND HEALTH

John Wilson, vigneron-winemaker of Polish Hill River near Sevenhill, and medical practitioner.

Wine is as old as civilisation. It has even been speculated tha the vine was responsible for civilisation as the requirements of its culture were incompatible with a nomadic existence. Just as civilisati is believed to have originated in Asia Minor, so too it is believed that vitis vinifera (the wine grape) had its' origins in the same region: civilisation spread and so did the vine. We know that it was the Romans who introduced the vine to France quite deliberately to make the Gauls less restless.

Other fermented beverages followed wine, first mead, and later beer which became the wine-substitute in those countries unable to grow the vine. For some 4000 years civilised populations enjoyed wine without any understanding of the nature of its major active ingredient nor any anxiety that any harm should come from its consumption: on the contrary, it was the only panacea to remain in vogue throughout that time. It had surely passed the test of time.

The secret of that active ingredient of wine was uncovered by the Arabs about 800 A.D. - they called it al'kohl - they had produced t by distillation using another Arab discovery, the alembic still. It was about the time of the rise of Islam, which is notable as the first doctrine preaching abstinence. We can only speculate that the Arab people took a strong liking to the newly discovered al'kohl, that and Islam's abstinence doctrine was a timely salvation for the social consequences.

Until the 1600's Western society used alcohol spirit for medication purposes, principally as a vehicle for herbal extracts. It was the Dutch who popularised spirit drinking with their brandy and gin and gave their name to that popular expression of "Dutch courage". Not good could gin be produced cheaply but it was a convenient way of solving

a grain surplus prevailing at the time. The results of cheap gin rapidly became a social disaster in England and with it came doctrines calling for abstinence from all forms of alcohol. The U.S. experience with prohibition earlier this century was equally disastrous.

We now recognose that alcoholism is a major health problem in the community; but the question remains why was it not a problem in ancient Roman, Greek or Biblical societies? The answer may well rest in an observation of two modern cultures, the French and Italians. Both are at the top of the list in terms of wine consumption per capita, and yet whilst the incidence of alcoholism in France is high that in Italy is low. In Italy wine is consumed in the home as part of the meal, but not in sufficient quantity to produce intoxication; it is socially unacceptable to be drunk in Italy. Italian children are brought up with an understanding of the benefits of wine and a respect for its effects if taken in excess. There is strong evidence that a person whose upbringing was in a family exercising education and example in the sensible use of alcohol will be at far less risk of developing alcoholism than those brought up in either a drunken or wowser environment.

There may be unfortunate consequences of even a moderate alcohol consumption in a few situations; they include pregnancy, certain medications, liver disease, pancreatic disease, stomach ulcers and driving motor vehicles. With the exception of the last mentioned, these are all in the same perspective as the numerous medical conditions that require people to beware such things as salt, sugar, cholesterol, cheese, potassium, etc. etc. The major proportion of the population is able to enjoy alcohol without need for concern about any of these abovementioned problems.

The physiological and pathological effects of alcohol are documented and it is often convenient to assume that if wine is

purely a 12% (or thereabouts) solution of alcohol that it will have precisely the same effect or that it can be equated with any other alcoholic beverage so long as the quantum of alcohol is equal. With the possible exception of the finest Polish vodka, all alcoholic beverages contain other substances which may have a major influence on their bodily effect. Social customs associated with the taking of the particular beverage vary.

There are good medical reasons for drinking wine in preference to other alcoholic beverages.

In the days before a chlorinated water supply wine could always be relied upon as free from disease-producing organisms, and therein probably was one of its greatest attributes in ancient times. More recently it has been discovered that wine has a potent anti-bacterial effect even when considerably diluted with contaminated water, although the process takes some hours. This effect is not seen with the equivalent dilution of alcohol or other alcoholic beverages. It is agreed that one of the hundreds of naturally occurring lesser substances in wine exercises a potent anti-bacterial effect.

Pub brawls and footy brawls are invariably related to beer intoxication, and indeed it has been discovered that aggressive behaviour is observed in beer drinkers as opposed to those consuming neutral alcohol. In contrast the wine drinker becomes placid, and even moreso the drinkers of red burgundy, for the wines of the Pinot Noir, it has been discovered, contain a substance which has a potent euphoriant effect. Some reporters describe the effect of Pinot Noir as being in the form of an aphrodisiac; 'm not aware of any valid research on that point and assure you all that purely coincidental that 'm planting more Pinot vines this year.

It has long been observed that the person who regularly drank in moderation lived not only to a greater age but also enjoyed a far

better quality of life than those who drank either not at all or to excess. Medical science has now confirmed a link between moderate alcohol consumption and a reduced incidence of atherosclerosis - the cholesterol-related hardening of the arteries responsible for coronary artery disease and vascular brain disease. One of the greatest causative factors in coronary artery disease is stress; the pressures of modern society are creating more and more sources of stress, (just imagine how more blissful things would be if we could eliminate the clock, the telephone, and the ATO). The pharmaceutical companies seem to think that they can offer the solution, when really the answer has been there for 5,000 years.

Some understanding of the dynamics of the metabolism of alcohol is necessary.

Ingested alcohol is absorbed by the upper gastro-intestinal tract, and becomes evenly distributed throughout all body tissues. The potential blood alcohol level therefore depends on both the quantity of alcohol consumed and the mass of the individual. ts excretion by urine, faeces, and exhaled air is minimal. t is removed only by the liver, which can metabolise only at a limited rate (about 8gms per hour) that means 12 hours to metabolise 1 bottle of wine.

The time taken for the potential blood alcohol level to be achieved is dependent on the rate of absorption from the upper gastro-intestinal tract. Alcohol taken with food will be absorbed much slower.

There is no way of speeding the body's clearance of alcohol. Black coffee does not have any effect other than making a "wide awake drunk". There is a current vogue for fructose-rich drinks; their rationale is that alcohol reduces fructose in certain brain cells and the resulting depletion causes the hangover. Quite possibly these drinks are of some benefit in the prevention of hangover, but they have no effect on the rate that alcohol is cleared from the body.

A major problem now facing those who would wish to dine out and dine well is to get home either in one piece, or without an encounter with the RBT people. think that there is enough evidence that as a result people are dining out less.

I want to make it clear that entirely support RBT, having worked long enough in the Casualty and Orthopaedic Departments of various hospitals. think that the 0.08 limit currently applying in South Australia is realistic. wonder if the 0.05 limit applying in other states is realistic.

It should be possible for a person to dine out enjoyably, drink good wines, and still remain within the .08 limit. believe, however that there is need for a number of modifications in our current eating and drinking practises.

1) Pre-dinner drinks should be non-alcoholic.

2) The first part of the meal should be substantial and should be served promptly.

3) There should be water available on the table.

4) There should be an avoidance of those dishes, particularly desserts, which contain substantial amounts of alcohol.

5) There should be greater emphasis on wine in ½ bottles.

LUNCH, Monday September 30, 1987

Ruby's Café, 255b Rundle Street, Adelaide

Fresh asparagus with hazelnut vinaigrette
Consommé with spring vegetables
Baby chicken and artichoke stew
with fresh oregano and tomatoes
Individual apple and strawberry meringue tarts

Heggies Rhine Riesling 1985

Seppelts DP 119 sherry
Mountadam Pinot Noir 1983
Petaluma Botrytised Rhine Riesling 1984

MARKET AGAINST SUPERMARKET

A Report to the Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy

Adelaide, September 29-October 1, 1985

MARKET AGAINST SUPERMARKET

Jennifer Hillier and Michael Symons

Markets can be said to start at the level of the "gimwali" exchanges recorded by the anthropologist, Malinowski, in the Trobriands, where agriculturists occasionally swapped yams for the wooden bowls and other utensils carved by visiting hawkers (Dalton, 1974: 240).

Towards the other end of the scale, the Spanish conquerors were stunned by the grandeur of such Aztec marketplaces as Tlatelolco, where 50,000 traders assembled on market day. Yet in the great contemporary Andean empire of the Incas, the conquistadors found neither market places nor merchants. Instead of trade they found royal monopolies in gold, silver, coca and fine textiles (Mintz, 1960: 112).

With increasing commercialisation during the Sung dynasty (960-1279 AD), markets were already common in China. Merchants even delivered to the lucrative urban markets live baby fish,

which were carried in bamboo and paper baskets by couriers who had constantly to replenish and agitate the water.

In Hangchow, Marco Polo wrote, there were perhaps 414 small markets and ten principal open spaces. "And on each of the said squares three days a week there is a concourse of from forty to fifty thousand persons who come to market and bring everything you can desire for food, because there is always a great supply of victuals; that is to say of roebuck, francolins, quails, fowls, capons, and so many ducks and geese that more could not be told..." (Chang, 1977: 148-9).

In Europe, since at least the fifteenth century, food markets have been central to towns, the market square lying within the shadow of the cathedral. Increasingly, even small villages gained them (Braudel 1982: 27-8).

Les Halles of Paris, "the belly of Paris", date back to Philip Augustus (1180-1223). "No map of the Halles can convey a faithful image of this huge combination of covered spaces and open spaces, its pillars holding up the arcades of neighbouring houses, and surrounded by a bustling commercial life on the fringes of the central market, taking advantage of the disorder and sprawl and creating more of both to its own profit". Even in the eighteenth-century, plans were always being put forward to improve and relocate the Halles, "but the huge complex (50,000 square metres of land) stayed not unreasonably where it was (Braudel, 1982: 36)

When London began its celebrated expansion, it was invaded by a multitude of uncontrolled markets. Unable to fit into the original spaces reserved for them, they spilled over into the

nearby streets, which each became a sort of specialised market. By Elizabethan times, they were expanding daily, and blocking up the busiest thoroughfares of the capital. The great fire of 1666 finally made reorganisation possible. At London's Leadenhall, the biggest of all - some said it was the biggest in Europe - in one courtyard, a hundred butchers' stalls sold beef; in another, a further 140 stalls were reserved for other meats" (Braudel, 1982: 37-38).

The market gardens outside Amsterdam were already famous in the early fifteenth century, the raising of especially lettuce and other salad plants becoming a highly developed industry. With the knowledge and skill of the Dutch gardeners brought to England towards the end of the fifteenth century, market gardens began to spring up on the outskirts of large towns. London's first market gardens were mainly in the north and north-east, supplying the market at St Paul's (Drummond & Wilbraham, 1939: 96).

When an open space became available, a market took it over. Every winter in Moscow, shops, booths and stalls were set up on the ice of the frozen Moskva river. Goods could be easily transported by sled, and meat was deep-frozen by the open air. Likewise, London celebrated Christmas at the Fair on the frozen Thames (Braudel, 1982: 32).

In 1891, the English socialist, Sidney Webb, deplored the "the greatest city in the world" having to depend on "two unrepresentative and sectional public authorities, two philanthropists, and two private monopolists, feebly supplemented by a few insigificant so-called 'street markets'". He complained particularly that the Duke of Bedford could inherit the right to

collect the tolls for Covent Market, originally granted by Charles II in 1661. The Duke, like Sir Julian Goldsmid of Spital-fields Market, had the right to prohibit competing markets within six miles and two-thirds. "This is an utterly unjustifiable tax on the food of the people", said Webb (Fabian Tract No 36).

In Australia, as soon as farmers had produce to sell, markets were being set up, becoming fashionable, losing custom, burning down and being rebuilt. Governor Bligh apparently opened Sydney's first market in 1806. A "new" market was opened on March 4, 1809, situated in Market Square in Market Street. A little further out, the Hay Market opened in 1834.

The first Melbourne market, the Western, opened in December, 1841. A hundred years ago, Melbourne was "pretty well off for markets", boasting eight - two for vegetables and dairy produce (the Eastern and Victoria) and one each for meat, fish, fruit, hay, horses and cattle and pigs (Symons, 1982: 70-71).

* * *

Markets are the meeting place of town and country, of workers and farmers. By their number and indefinite repetition, they represent the bulk of all known trade, as Adam Smith remarked (Braudel, 1982: 29). For the town dwellers, the market has been the daily source of fresh produce, while the farmers have found necessities, entertainment and gossip. Since people went there on set days, it was a natural focus of social life. It was at market that the townspeople met, made deals, quarrelled. All news, political or otherwise, was passed on in the market.

Markets are a region's traditional showplace of food, the pride of Venice being the Rialto fish market. "The light of a

Venetian dawn in early summer - you must be about at four o'clock in the morning to see the market come to life - is so limpid and so still that it makes every separate vegetable and fruit and fish luminous with a life of its own, with unnaturally heightened colours and clear stencilled outlines. Here the cabbages are cobalt blue, the beetroots deep rose, the lettuces clear pure green, sharp as glass. Bunches of gaudy gold marrow-flowers show off the elegance of pink and white marbled bean pods, primrose potatoes, green plums, green peas" (David, 1969: 169).

They have many secondary benefits, such as the conglomeration of cheap, good restaurants drawn to the immediate environs. The cafes at Les Halles are now legends. In Sydney, "Chinatown" is on the doorstep of the Haymarket. Some of Adelaide's best and cheapest restaurants are adjacent to the Central Market and East End (wholesale) Market, where the owners of Ruby's Cafe are required to open for market breakfasts.

The dense network of countless exchanges is attracted to a central location. Out of the apparent chaos differentiation occurs, so that competitors gather nearest each other, the butchers lining up, the cheese stalls finding their own corner. The market divides, the most fundamental split occurring between wholesale and retail activities. Sometimes the overnight wholesale market gives way at sunrise to retail stalls in the same spot, but often the separation is geographic.

Despite differences in colour, to a great extent, markets share the same form. "If this elementary market has survived unchanged down the ages, it is surely because in its robust simplicity it is unbeatable - because of the freshness of the

perishable goods it brings straight from local gardens and fields. Because of its low prices too, since the primitive market, where food is sold 'at first hand', is the most direct and transparent form of exchange, the most closely supervised and the least open to deception" (Braudel, 1982: 29).

In the past, their growth has allowed no obstacle: they could with impunity impose on their surroundings their congestion, their rubbish and their obstinate gatherings of people. The solution was to send them to the outskirts of the towns, outside the walls and towards the suburbs. But the old rendez-vous survived: indeed it was quite a business even to move them a little distance, for instance from the Pont Saint-Michel to the far end of the same bridge in 1667 (Braudel, 1982: 31).

However, the once colourful Les Halles have been shifted from the centre of Paris, along with the characteristic nightlife of bars and cafes. The German withdrawal in 1944 had left Paris intact (to the chagrin of some planners), and one of De Gaulle's first acts in 1958 was to rule the future of the Parisian wholesale markets to be a matter of "national interest". In 1962, the government decreed the markets would move out along the autoroute du sud to Rungis. No sooner had the markets moved in 1969, however, when the pavilions were taken over by impromptu shops, cafe-theatres and the "spirit of May, 1968". This eventually forced the compromise of erecting the Pompidou Centre, so that demolition could begin on July 16, 1971 - such festive timing having "become a feature of the way the matter was handled" (Russell, 1981).

Similarly, in November, 1974, and amid enormous protests,

the activity at Covent Garden was shifted out to 68 acres south of the Thames at Nine Elms, the buildings preserved as shells for shops (Thorne, 1980).

In Australia, the Brisbane market was moved 11 kms from the city in the early 1960s. The Melbourne market was relocated in 1968. The Haymarket was shifted to Sydney's Flemington in 1975, the so-called Paddy's Market hanging on tenaciously, with overflowing support.

Now Adelaide's East End Market, centrally located in Rundle Street, is to be dismantled, according to the July, 1985, statement of the Minister of Agriculture. During Dunstan's time, the SA Department of Agriculture argued for its retention, issuing a comprehensive report (East End Market Committee, 1978). But subsequent governments have wanted, in the name of efficiency, to move it to the outskirts beyond Gepps Cross, tying it in with the giant Coles "distribution centre", as well as food processing and frozen food facilities. Another of the attractions of the move is the financial rewards promised by redeveloping the large and central site.

The East End market has been relatively locally-sufficient, and its end can be linked with the steady demise of the encircling ring of market gardeners, exploiting the varying climates of Hills and coastal plains (Hillier, Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy, 1985). The "efficient materials handling" of giant distribution centres tends to favour both large sellers and buyers, against flexible small-scale market gardeners and local fruit and vegetable retailers. At Sydney's Flemington market, the bulk of distribution is in the hands of

agents.

In this country, the pressure towards large-scale food distribution comes to a large extent from the three supermarket chains which have dominated food retailing in each city since the arrival of the family car and refrigerator. Because of the short "shelf-life" and seasonal fluctuations of fresh food, supermarket growth has generally been achieved with tinned, bottled, frozen and other preserved foods (Symons, 1982: 177-185). However, through contracts, supermarkets have pushed market gardeners into the role of supermarket gardeners, with quality and variety sacrificed to price, packaging and consistency of supply.

The decline of market gardeners is accompanied by the loss of greengrocers. Ten years ago, supermarkets handled about one-quarter of fresh fruit and vegetables; they have now penetrated the majority retail share. Several surveys have demonstrated the usually higher prices of supermarket fruit and vegetables. But they attract consumers with advertising, loss leadering and "one-stop" shopping.

Similarly, in France, the marketing of agricultural products has been in "a state of crisis since the appearance of the great food chains" and the increasing part taken by the "abstract" market (setting of prices without central physical distribution). But fairs and "physical" markets have not only economic, but also social and cultural functions (Wackermann in Etudes Rurales, 1980: 338).

When a market is relocated, the town loses more of its colour, its food showplace, its link with the farm, its traditions, its fruit and vegetable shops, its appropriate locus of

restaurants. From a gastronomic point of view, townspeople lose fresh, carefully-grown food in favour of the the "rationalised" supply of industrial farming, food processors and supermarkets. The quality and variety of the true free market is squashed by the bulk-handling, monotonous supermarket.

* * *

At first sight, the global economy consists of two enormous areas: production and consumption. Working and eating seem to be the two purposes of our existence. But between these two worlds slides another: exchange, trade, in other words the market economy (Braudel, 1982: 25).

Braudel recommends thinking of the market economy as being built up step by step (1982: 225-228). First, the cash economy grew out of the markets, the markets spreading their influence throughout the surrounding rural areas, penetrating self-sufficient farms. Out of the market, too, shops of all categories came to conquer towns, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe.

Adam Smith joked that the faculty of reason and speech meant people truck, barter and exchange. "Nobody ever saw a dog make a fair and deliberate exchange of one bone for another with another dog". But for Braudel, the reason for the explosion of shops was credit (1982: 72-73).

According to Daniel Defoe, the spread of shops occurred monstrously": in 1663, the London "mercers" numbered only about 50 or 60, but by the end of the century, there were 300 or 400; luxury shops were transformed at great expense with mirrors, gilded columns, bronze ornaments and candelabra (Braudel, 1982:

68-69). The first supermarket arrived in the United States in 1932 and in Australia 20 years later (Symons, 1982: 177-8).

An influential theoretician of the origins of our modern world, Immanuel Wallerstein, has commenced his projected series of books on the "Modern World-System" with the agricultural advances of the sixteenth-century. However, the the sixteenth-century was the great age of the bustling, gay and commercial fairs, and, according to some theoreticians, this activity provided the economic boom that explains capitalism. But during the Enlightenment, surely the stock exchanges provided the stimulus to the modern economy? After studying markets throughout all time, Karl Polanyi and colleagues (1957) consider that only when capitalism burst on the scene in the nineteenth century did the real market economy replace "false" markets.

Wherever the origins of capitalism are located, with this process, the term, the "market", has come to have two meanings. Anthropologists and geographers refer increasing to the original, physical kind as the "periodic market", because economists have tended to usurp "market" for more abstract notions.

The original market, in the sense of the gathering of buyers and sellers, has become emblematic of our own economy - out of it developed capitalism and its supermarkets. The physical market remains omnipresent. So why is it so invisible? Why is it neglected in public policy? The explanation may be that other institutions seek to replace the true open market.

In describing the "industrial system", J.K.Galbraith divides the economy in two parts, the world of the "thousands of small and traditional proprietors" (the market system) and the "few

hundred...highly organised corporations" (the industrial system). This is what Lenin meant about the coexistence of ordinary capitalism, based on competition, and "imperialism", the new monopoly capital of this century.

Braudel agrees, but goes further, adding a third sector, the "lowest stratum of the non-economy, the soil into which capitalism thrusts its roots but which it can never really penetrate" (1982: 229). This is the everyday activities or ordinary existence - "people go on sowing wheat as they always have done, planting maize as they always have done, terracing the paddy-fields as they always have done, sailing the Red Sea as they always have done." This rich zone, like a layer covering the earth, he calls for want of a better expression, "material life" or "material civilisation" (1981: 23, 28).

In recent years, sociologists have paid increased attention, on the global scale, to underdevelopment and, at the micro-economic level, to family farms and households. They have begun to focus on this "material life", "natural economy", or what we might really call the true "economy

Since the time of Aristotle, "economics" has been what we now refer to as "home economics (somewhat tautologically, because the root is "oikos", Greek for house). Thus for William Cobbett, introducing his Cottage Economy in 1822, "Economy... is generally applied to the affairs of a house and family.. and the ability and character of a people depend, in a great measure, upon the economy of the several families which, all taken together, make up the nation".

But the then "political economy" has gradually usurped the

name, in just the way the term "market" has been taken over. Indeed, the appropriation of the names, "market" and "economy", mirrors the intrusion of the giant corporations into the original marketplace and true economy of the home.

Despite Braudel's assertion that capitalism can never really penetrate" the domestic sphere, Symons has demonstrated the three-step "industrialisation of the garden, the pantry and the kitchen". The successive "revolutions" of agriculture, food preservation and food preparation have progressively separated eaters further from the source of food (1982: 228-9).

For much of the past century, the political agenda has revolved around the national "economy", particularly the struggle between capitalist and worker. However, for a decade, theoreticians of underdevelopment, ecology and feminism have turned the debate back towards the original idea of "economy". As gigantic capitalism pushes aside our small businesses and thrusts its way further into our gardens, cellars and kitchens, shall we see increased self-awareness among the caretakers of "material life"?

As gastronomers, we see the peak, oligopolistic economy in the few supermarket chains and the few food manufacturers. We see the true market economy surviving to some extent in our family farms, food markets, small shops and even in the competition between restaurants. We also see everyday material life - our "domestic economy continuing in our own gardening, cooking, entertaining and washing up.

As gastronomers, we recognise that good food has not come from factory farms, process lines, canteens, supermarkets and fastfood chains. It still belongs here at the bottom of the

total economy, to careful vegetable gardeners, proud egg producers, painstaking cheese-makers, hard-working fruiterers, dedicated chefs, and attentive home cooks, who all meet in the true marketplace.

SURVEY OF AUSTRALIAN MARKETS

Colin Turner

These are preliminary results of the survey. I would appreciate further information and comments before and during the symposium (Colin Turner, PO Box 778, Norwood SA 5067. Tel: (08) 42 5201).

BRISBANE: The Brisbane Market Trust, a statutory authority created by the City of Brisbane Act, 1964, operates a wholesale market at Rocklea, 11 km from the city centre. It is a 125-acre site, of which 56 are developed. 850 licensed retailers supplying the metropolitan area and many parts of Queensland country may operate from 7.30 am. The market also retails to the public, with minimum purchases of one case, from 9.30 am. The market is described as "very much like Sydney".

There appears not to be a central retail market in Brisbane.

SYDNEY: The Sydney Farm Produce Market Authority, a government instrumentality, oversees the wholesaling of fruit, vegetables and flowers in the Sydney metropolitan area from its base at Flemington. Although this is 15 km from the central business district, it is allegedly closer to the centre of the metropolis. The bulk of the sales are conducted by agents. The market was

relocated from the original Haymarket in September, 1975.

Sydney appears to have five retail markets, four of the Paddy's market type, two at Flemington and two at Haymarket. Only one of these is devoted primarily to produce, at Flemington at weekends and attracting about 15,000 people weekly.

Another statutory authority, the Fish Marketing Authority, supervises fish distribution to retailers and promotes the public's appreciation of fish. Since 1965, it has occupied a 5-acre site in the city, soon to expand to 8 acres. It oversees the auctioning of fish to about 200 of its 400 registered buyers daily. Five retailers are also tenants of the site. An Authority-controlled restaurant is planned.

MELBOURNE: Metropolitan wholesale distribution is handled by the State government from Footscray, open from 4am daily other than Saturday.

The Queen Victoria Market is a retail market, occupying 16-1/2 acres in the city. Established on the present site (formerly a cemetery, after the bodies were removed) in 1878, it is run by the Melbourne City Council. It opens five days a week, Tuesday-Thursday, 6am-2pm; Friday, 6-6; Saturday, 6-12; and Sunday Paddy's Market, 9-4. There are 300 fruit and vegetable stalls, 48 dairy, 45 meat (including fish).

Melbourne also has several suburban "markets", really collections of retailers. On the outskirts, there are other "markets" (usually held on Sundays in empty carparks), a mixture of home-grown produce and other cottage industries and cheap factory goods.

HOBART: Hobart has no centralised market. Fruit and vegetables appears to be sold through individual fruiterers. Open-air markets of the flea-market type are popular at weekends, with minor fruit and vegetable elements.

Some fish is sold directly at dockside from trawlers.

ADELAIDE: The East End Wholesale Market is operated by two private companies in the central city. It is marked by a relatively high participation of growers (as opposed to agents). Successive governments have planned to remove the market to the outskirts at Gepps Cross.

The Central Market is a popular retail market, operating with about 100 stalls on Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays. The Adelaide City Council requires a high proportion of fruit and vegetable sellers. There are numerous other retailers, including an avenue of butchers, clustered around the market. Adjacent developers, first the Hilton International Hotel and now the builders of a shopping complex, have sought the "upgrading" of the market, and now also the extension of opening days.

At Port Adelaide, there is an open-air Sunday morning market of great character, with fish from boats and fruit and vegetables from nearby gardens.

DARWIN: Presently three major fruit and vegetable wholesalers supply local retailers. However, Coles and Woolworths do most of their own procuring, and mostly interstate. There is no central retail market, although some Paddy's Market-type selling at weekends.

For five years Darwin has had an Agricultural Development

and Marketing Authority. Local production was once the preserve of Chinese settlers. Since the establishment of the NT government in 1978, intensive efforts have been made to boost local horticulture, leading to a growth rate of 60% in each of the past three or four years. It is mostly grown during the "dry" season, June to October, when much (including strawberries) is sent to the south-eastern States. Tomatoes are sent to SA and Tasmania in winter because those two States quarantine Queensland produce because of fruit-fly fears, while Queensland produce goes to NT!

PERTH: The Metropolitan Market Trust operates a wholesale market in the city centre with about 30 tenants. Monday, Wednesday and Friday are the main days. Much produce comes from the eastern States. It uniquely operates under an auction system. Occupying the present location since 1929, it will be relocated around 1990 to a 50-hectare site at Canning Vale.

There is no central retail market. There are open-air markets at weekends, usually run by one business-person and usually "marketed" as "growers'" or "farm-produce" markets, although, in fact, an extension of the fruiterer's weekday set-up.

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CHANGES IN THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF PICCADILLY VALLEY MARKET GARDENERS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE EAST END MARKET[1]

Jennifer Hillier

Fernand Braudel chooses in the second volume of his history of Civilisation and Capitalism: 15th-18th Century to study markets. For him, markets represent the evolution of a second economy, which shows itself as a layer just above the "material life" of his first volume (which covers demography, food, costume lodging, etc). Something called the market economy still controls the great mass of transactions that show up in the statistics, but free competition is very far from ruling the present-day economy. For above both layers is a third, the real capitalism of multinationals, from the great Indies companies to the monopolies of today. Braudel sees capitalism in the zone of the "anti-market", where the great predators roam and the law of the jungle operates, and from which roots are thrust, without really penetrating, into the rich earth of material life (Braudel, 1981: 23-4).

Just as Braudel observes markets acting between material life and capitalism proper, I have used the market as an avenue of enquiry to investigate the situation of market gardeners. I have studied proposals for the relocation of Adelaide's East End Market, especially as perceived by market gardeners in the Piccadilly Valley, and under "market forces" being exerted by the large supermarket chains. For Braudel, the market exists between production and consumption, the market economy is a "turbulent river" of exchange and trade. Studying market gardeners in relation to their market directs my research to what Marx referred to as the "sphere of circulation" (Braudel, 1982: 25). Just as Braudel is able to criticise capitalism through a conceptual separation of the "free" market from monopoly capitalism, I am able to more clearly define

the relations of exploitation in connection with small commodity producers who are caught in the nexus between the "true" market and the "anti-market".

The empirical data employed in this paper were collected in in-depth interviews with four market gardeners from Uraidla, which is situated in the Piccadilly Valley market gardening area, directly behind Mount Lofty in the Adelaide Hills. Mr A and Mr B belong to two of the largest family companies in the area. Mr C is a small market gardener, the only member of an old market gardening family who survives on the land. Mr D is a retired gardener, who used to cultivate raspberries, and who contributes valuable historical insights.

The changing social structure of the market gardeners is illuminated by the theoretical approaches of Marx, Weber and many of their successors. Apart from my reference to recent sociological debates surrounding the topic, I also refer to a wide variety of background material, like historical documents, which help to fill out the historical, cultural and social context of my discussions. I also follow this approach in regard to the East End Market and its relocation, with the important addition of Government reports.

THEORETICAL DISCUSSION

The impact of the development of capitalism on small agricultural producers, their potential for exploitation, and the underlying instability of their positions have long been recognised (Marx, 1959: 802-813) Concerns stemming from this have been the process of concentration of capital, the emergence of capitalist relations of production, the growing dominance of agribusiness, the mechanisms by which surplus labour is extracted, as well as proletarianisation. Marx and Engels described:

> Society as a whole is more and more splitting into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat (1967: 80).

Thus, according to them, small farmers can expect to be pushed from the ranks of the middle- to the working-class:

> The lower strata of the middle class - the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants - all these sink gradually into the proletariat, partly because their diminutive capital does not suffice for the scale on which Modern Industry is carried on, and is swamped in the competition with the large capitalists, partly because their specialised skill is rendered worthless by new methods of production. Thus the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the production (Marx and Engels, 1967: 88).

Kautsky, writing at the turn of the century, argues: "The further capitalism penetrates agriculture, the deeper becomes the technical gulf separating the large holding from the small" (Kautsky, summarised in Banaji, 1977: 21). Kautsky believes that industry and agriculture develop in the same direction (1977: 2). "The marxist theory of capitalist production does not reduce the development of capitalist production to the simple formula: 'disappearance of the small holding before the big'" (Banaji, 1977: 2). Marx argues that under capitalism agriculture is bound to oscillate between concentration and disintegration, this tendency shows how absurd it is to suppose that if small holdings continue to survive, then it must be because they are more productive (more competitive). The real basis of their survival is the fact that they cease to compete with the large capitalist farms which develop by their side (Banaji, 1977: 34).

Luxemburg's elaboration of Marx gives particular prominence to the persistence of what she calls "natural economy", "fertile soil for capitalism" (1951: 416). This is reminiscent of Braudel's level of economy beneath the market, his "material life". Luxemburg's work also provides a discussion of three stages of penetration of the capitalist mode of production into the "natural economy":

> As soon as simple commodity production has superseded natural economy, capital must turn against it. No sooner has capital called it to life, than the two must compete for means of production, labour power, and markets. The first aim of capitalism is to isolate the producer, to sever the comunity ties which protect him, and the next task is to

> take the means of production away from the small manufacturer (1951: 402).

Weber's approach of the spirit of work and the calculating mentality is also useful. Weber sees the shift from traditional to capitalist economy and change within the capitalist economy is not solely governed by conflict between classes but by other non-economic relations to the market such as status factors. Weber finds that "one of the fundamental characteristics of an individualistic capitalist economy is that it is rationalised on the basis of rigorous calculation, directed with foresight and caution towards the economic success which is sought in sharp contrast to the hand to mouth existence of the peasant" (Weber, 1958: 76). The scientific has always been admired in Australian farming, indicated by the high status of the CSIRO in the consciousness of rural Australians. Certainly, social change is often rationalised in the economistic language of rationality and effiency.

The rural sociology of the late 50's and 60's, with its strong Gemeinschaft orientation of Tonnies, emphasising internal solidarity and kinship ties, generational continuity and traditional face-to-face society, is replaced by the more present studies which argue that the importance of effective Gemeinschaft ties are not necessarily a distinctly rural feature. It is fruitless to attempt to tie patterns of social relationships to specific geographical areas. Not only are these researchers theoretically inadequate, but modernisation of agriculture. production and accelerated changes made them quickly outmoded at the empirical level (Marsden, 1984: 206).

The new focus of rural sociology seems to centre on the simple commodity production of the household/family farm (Friedmann, 1978; Hedley, 1981; and Marsden, 1984). Friedmann finds household production an essentially non-capitalist form of reproduction, as it involves only one class, which both owns the means of production and provides the labour power to set them in motion; relations of production within the

enterprise are based not on the wage contract, but on kinship. When household production is specialised and competitive, and means of production and subsistence must be purchased, it is simple commodity production (1978: 548). She argues that commercial production of wheat during the emergence of a world market came to be dominated by the household, thus undermining reproduction of capitalist producers. The simple commodity form of production survives and reproduces itself by limiting "personal consumption" and by processes of what Chayanov refers to as "self exploitation" (Friedmann, 1978). Large numbers of simple commodity class producers persist in modern social formations. Their existence in contemporary class structures and their political activities have been important not simply in agrarian matters. They are forms of non-capitalist production, which, as Marx notes, sometimes put up a stubborn resistance to products of the big industries" (Marx, 1959: 334).

Marsden, in his analysis of capitalist farmers in lowland Britain, attempts to expose the inter-relationships between family household processes, on the one hand, and the growth of capitalist farming, on the other. He says that the tendency to interpret the growth of modern farming in strictly economically "rational" terms has avoided an examination of the farm family as a central institution. He concludes that in a period when increasing farm size and the use of intensive methods of production and increased capital investment, the significance of the family and extended kin in establishing and maintaning viable farm businesses has become more acute, both for the survival of the relatively small farms and the dominance of the multiple organised family businesses (Marsden, 1984).

Modernisation of agriculture and rural communities was generally seen as reducing the significance of kinship and neighbourhood ties, suggesting a more rational agricultural structure (Hannan, 1974; 1977). Straus (1969) argues that modernisation in farming is inversely related to kin interaction. However, Marsden concludes that perceiving farmers

and their families as rational "economic men" manipulated by economic and political trends alone is wrong. "Farms are not simply run 'by' families but they are also developed 'for' families" (1984: 221).

The changing conditions of production and reproduction of small market gardeners and the relocation of their East End Market reflect significant changes in the social structure of the capitalist system. In Australia, there has been no pre-capitalist formation of agriculture (apart from the tribal subsistence of the Aborigines). It is therefore clear that the initial and sometimes prolonged reliance on subsistence production and patterns of mutual aid which characterised the early market gardens of the Adelaide Hills was shaped by the conditions of reproduction through commodity production. As the conditions of reproduction changed, these practices underwent transformation.

HISTORY OF MARKETS

Braudel asks: "If Roberto S. Lopez's theory that religious buildings are a good economic indicator", why can't "we promote market halls, whose history has never been written, to the dignified status of economic indicators?" (1982: 35). Just as the raw life of Les Halles fascinated the naturalist writer Emile Zola, and the fierce culture of the Cockneys commemorates Covent Garden, the market attracts Braudel by its conspicuousness. "The clamour of the market place has no difficulty in reaching our ears" (1982: 25). He claims "without exaggeration to see the dealers, merchants and traders on the Rialto in the Venice of 1530 through the very window of Aretino, who liked to look down at the daily scene" (1982: 25). By their number and indefinite repetition, they represent the bulk of all known trade, as Adam Smith remarked (1982:29).

Drummond and Wilbraham's eighteenth-century description of barges taking vegetables to London market and returning laden with excrement and "night-soil" is a tangible demonstration of the reciprocal links between town and country (1957: 192). Towns and villages of medieval

urope conformed to the old pattern of a day's walk to the market and ack (Tannahill, 1973: 162). "The marketplace was not only a place to rade but also an attitude, a frame of mind" (Weber, 1972: 412). E. eber also suggests that: "The evolution of sociability in the country- ,ide can be studied - and it should be studied- in the domain of the ublic marketplace". He quotes Arthur Hugh Clough: "Grace is given of but knowledge is bought in the market" (1972: 407).

By standing in the marketplace, Braudel traces the appearance of: hops or "stalls with windows" in the eleventh century, with the new istinction between town and country; merchants, who in the thirteenth entury in England; market gardens in Amsterdam in the fifteenth cent- ury; and, with the increased population of towns in the sixteenth and eventeenth century, the rise of private trading.

In their elementary form, markets still exist today. One can visit he marvellous Rialto markets in the opalescent light of early morning, ander through the maze of vibrant colour and bustle of the street arkets of Palermo or purchase leather crafts under the loggias of lorence. And Braudel suggests that: "if the elementary market has urvived unchanged down the ages, it is surely because in its robust implicity it is unbeatable - because of the freshness of the perishable oods it brings stright from local gardens and fields" (1992: 29). He emarks that this market is the most equitable too. For it is the most irect and transparent form of exchange, the most closely supervised and he least open to deception. "The German expression for this is Hand-in- and, Auge-in-Auge selling hand to hand, eyeball to eyeball" (1982:29).

In other cities similar changes took place. Adelaide experimented ith a private market at one end of the city and a municipal market at he other. In 1891, The Sydney council began pulling down the structure n the original market site, replacing it with the new Queen Victoria Building. But its soul had departed and the cavernous building had to be

converted into offices (Cannon, 1975: 33-35).

Braudel notes that in the past growth of markets knew no obstacle: they could with impunity impose on their surroundings their congestion, their rubbish and their obstinate gatherings of people. The solution was to send them to the outskirts of the towns, outside the walls and towards the suburbs. But the old rendez-vous survived. Indeed, it was already quite a business to shift them a little distance, even from the Pont Saint-Michel to the far end of the same bridge in 1667 (Braudel, 1982: 31).

Nevertheless, the once colourful Les Halles have been shifted from the centre of Paris, along with its characteristic nightlife of theatres, bars and cafes. Similarly, Covent Garden has gone.

Paul Bocuse indicates on television that good food and good markets are inseparable. However, France, that emblem of good eating, is also changing. The physical agricultural markets in France are in a state of crisis since the appearance of the great food chains and the increasing part taken by the abstract markets in the general economic development (Wackerman, 1980). However, Wackerman finds fairs and physical markets do not play only an economic part: their social and cultural function remains important. His study shows that these places of exchange are true observatories of social behaviour.

Eisner and Bertrand's study of the weekly market held on Saturdays at Nogent-le-Rotrou shows the historical evolution of an agricultural market which from being the scene of economic exchange of cereal, cattle and market garden produce has turned into a place where mass production and the excess of the local production of agriculture and crafts converge. Their research shows that the market survives but its function has been transformed (Eisner and Bertrand, 1980).

Adelaide's wholesale fruit and vegetable market, the East End Market, centrally located in Rundle Street, is presently under threat. The Department of Agriculture has argued for its retention, issuing a

comprehensive report (East End Market, 1978). This report established that already not just the East End Market but the "whole" market determines prices. Then, during the Conservative interregnum, the government decided, in the name of efficiency, that it should move to the outskirts at Gepps Cross, tying it in with the giant Coles "distribution centre", as well as food processing and frozen food facilities (Kime, 1984). The Kime Report in 1984 recommended a 30-hectare site. The "efficient materials handling" of giant distribution centres tends to favour both large sellers and buyers, and in the importation of more produce to compete with local growers. Sydney's Flemington Market is no longer dominated by producers and small retailers, but by agents and supermarkets (Kime, 1984).

The Kime Report makes a misleading assertion about support among small retailers for relocation, of interest to my discussion. According to the questionaire (Annexure "1" question 1e), 238 out of 265 respondents propose to use a new market close to the city, Against this 23 will drop out (and 4 are unsure, depending on the location). This is a possible loss of 10 percent of the small retailers from the market. However, the questionnaire fails to ask whether the retailers favour relocation. Instead, Kime claims that "the majority (91%) retail fruiterers and greengrocers who presently attend the Adelaide wholesale market support proposals to relocate the markets". This is incorrect, as the above figures show.

In each Australian city, food distribution is in the hands of three large supermarket chains, particularly since the advent of the family car and refrigerator (Symes, 1982:177-184). In 1968-9, supermarket penetration into the fresh fruit and vegetable marker was 23 percent. By the time of the East End relocaion committee's report, this had risen to 42 percent (East End, 1978). My impression is that they have now the majority share.

PICCADILLY VALLEY

The Piccadilly Valley is adjacent (about 15kms) to Adelaide, with a distinctively different (cooler and wetter) micro-climate and plentiful underground water. From its settlement the valley has been a market gardening area - its agricultural production geared to the needs of Adelaide and structured around exchange at the East End Produce Market. Even though most of the farmers were self-sufficient in food and ties of kinship and community were strong, their conditions were shaped by the capitalist market economy. It was described in 1900:

> The countryside is nearly all garden. Apple orchards, cherry orchards and fruit plantations of other kinds, vast strawberry beds, vegetables gardens and flower beds not reckoned by the acre but by the square mile as far as the eye can see. Most of the uncleared ground shows forests of stringy bark gums. The landscape is extensive and beautiful and the climate bracing. Churches by the dozen, and schools wherever convenient, a fine institute at Uraidla. Clubs and societies flourish. Several jam factories and a stream of traffic to the East End Market on market mornings is almost continuous (Liebelt, 1984, my italics).

Another report describes the market gardens of a few years earlier

> The market gardens near Uraidla are some of them exceedingly interesting. The sources of income of the residents are decidely varied and miscellaneous. To take an example, there is one man who obtains about one hundred and fifty pounds per annum for the vegegables and fruit, which he conveys to market by the road three times a week. He has a few acres of grazing land and grows some fodder in the gully for about half a dozen cows, more or less. He always keeps a number of sties of pigs, and from his live stock he makes about as much as by his gardening. Then he is able to do a little wattle-stripping, partly from his own ground and partly by arrangement or licence from other localities. Probably he nets about seventy pounds each season from this source. He has also several hives of bees, which have not been long in operation, but which will turn in a few pounds each year. Altogether I should say this man's income, clear of all expenses, is over three hundred pounds per annum, although his operations are certainly not on an extensive scale (Sutherland, 1889).

DISCUSSION

The transformation of market gardeners in the Adelaide Hills mirrors the fate of small farmers over Australia and the world generally. During the period of research, 25,000 farmers marched in Adelaide and

Melbourne with the cry of "a fair go for farmers". This is the season of rural discontent, with calls to government for respite from costs and charges, especially fuel, which is allegedly 50% dearer here than in the US. In the American heartland, the small farmers have found their voice to protest at 125,000 farmers forced off their land this year. This process seems to be following a path marked by proletarianisation and concentration.

Of the four gardeners I interviewed, Mr A and Mr B regarded themselves and each other as the largest gardeners in the district. Their two enterprises were able to expand and mechanise to a high degree through the family structure of their businesses. Mr B, whose family is one of the original settlers, is the "managing director of a company with three directors, all brothers". Mr B told me that "they had bought all the land back that they lost twenty years ago just in this generation. We bought O---'s, E---'s and S---'s, although we haven't expanded as much as the A's." Mr A, who at 28 is the key partner in his family company, remarked that "there is over-production at present and the smaller growers are being squeesed out... You have to change with the times and keep up with the latest technology. Those that don't keep up, fall under."

Mr A's family enterprise is proud of its state-of-the-art techno-

They own three trucks: a tray-top, a truck of 41ft and a semi-trailer freezer van which is for interstate orders which by-pass the market. Their production is specialised. They grow produce all year by moving part of their production to the dry area of Naracoorte. Mr A said: "You have to change with the times to keep up with all the latest technology". The firm recently opened extensive hothouses for raising seedlings, market gardeners no longer employing direct sowing of seeds.

Luxemburg says the "triumphant march of commodity economy begins with constructions of modern transport" (1951: 386). Symons describes this process as the "tyranny of transport". He says that "most farms in

Australia were producers of durable foods to be rushed to the cities and the world" (1982: 85). Mr A's semi-trailer freezer van may look out of place crawling along the tiny roads in the valley, but the expressway is a stone's throw away at Crafers. In the early hours of the morning, it is not unusual to see "semis" taking on loads from local growers at the junction of Tregarthen and Greenhill Roads. These assignations are not the "free" dealings of Braudel's true market economy but the transactions between small commodity producers and monopoly capital.

Things have changed much since the horse and cart days of Mr D's childhood. Mr A found his business "bigger than we ever imagined. One day we'll have to compete with all Australia. One day Victoria will ship lettuces here." Mr B said that "local market gardens and orchards are supplying the world now. Products go to the Middle East, Singapore and the northern hemisphere."

Mr C. with his "tiny scale of business" which is "just a husband and wife partnership", is still just making a living. We make ends meet with the help of the Labor Government's family income supplement." He blames the big growers, like the A's and the B's, for price-cutting. "They are willing to supply supermarkets less 15%. Two weeks ago the market price for sprouts was 70 cents and at Foodland they are marked at 58 cents. How can a greengrocer or small market gardener compete with that? We don't have the bargaining power." Mr C suspects the larger gardeners of cutting prices in order to force the smaller gardeners out of the industry. "They are making it bad for all. [Mr A] is always under the market price. Most gardeners stick together, the few that don't cause havoc. What can you do, everyone is free to enterprise" the retired gardener, Mr D. suggested that the markt had been truly open and "frae", that attempts at price-fixing by grower grops always failed.

The gardeners showed a definite inclination to perceive themselves

as belonging to a dichotomous class structure, to this extent bearing out Marx's conception. Both larger growers identified with the capitalist class, while both smaller growers identified with the working-class. However, it must be pointed out that many of their comments were more ideological than scientific. Of the two big gardeners, Mr B said that he was a capitalist. However, his class consciousness was such that he did not define capitalist as one who owns the means of production, but, like Mr A, defined himself very strongly as a "worker": "We are capitalists because we are always at work on Sundays at 7am. We work hard. We have a high standard of living because we work twice as hard." Both Mr A and Mr B said they worked up to 80 hours a week in their busy periods. Mr. D the retired gardener, remembers his olded German grandmother "would hang the food up in the tree for the chooks, because they had to work for their living as well." This strong work ethos would thus also tend to bear out a Weberian approach to social change. One is forced to take into account the prevalance of all those churches described in the historical anecdotes and the dominance of the Puritan religious orders in this area.

Both of the large family enterprises confront the market in an extremely business-like, competitive way. The two large growers interviewed were in a sense self-selected from within the businesses as being the most managerial in their approaches. They both proudly suggested that they were the most able to withstand the pressures of competing in the market place. Mr B remarked: "You need to run a farm business with a business attitude, otherwise it will fail. We run our family with the same guidelines you'd run any successful business. My brother didn't want to run the business this way. so he got out of the company." An expanding market must be able to cope with risk-taking, the calculating approach and modern managerial practices. Certainly, Weber's fundamental characterisation of capitalist development as rationalised on the basis of rigorous calculation is as embedded in the attituds of

the large gardeners as much as can be applied to the authors of the government reports which recommend relocation of the East End Market.

My research largely bears out Nalson's Weberian analysis, which sees farmers as "brainwashed on the virtues of scientific agriculture, profit maximisation and the adoption of materialistic goals and conspicuous wealth as measures of status and prestige" (in Symons, 1982: 243). However, I was struck that, while the large gardeners appeared to seek wealth, Mr A made their wealth conspicuous in a giant freezer van rather than in, say, his home, which was notably modest. Nalson also sees family farmers surviving in some wildly fluctuating export industries, while "agribusiness" succeeds in the intensive production of eggs, poultry, pig meat and vegetables, geared to the stable local market. On one hand, these market gardeners still belong to a "stable" local market, yet they are seeking a wider market.

The situation of the market gardeners in the Piccadilly Valley does not support the conclusions of Friedmann (1978) and Marsden (1984). Their category of simple commodity production is a useful tool in analysing the signficance of the family structure in relation to its ability to peproduce itsels, it is also a theoretical means osseparating the larger family simple commodity producer from the large corpora-tion of advanced capitalism. However, my research supports evidence from the United States that petty commodity production is not able to reproduce itsels. Hedley states that, stlthough there have, been regions and variations, the sate ossmall producers has been the same every (1981:73).

According to Banaji, Kaursky says that the real basis of the survival of simple commodity producers is the fact they cease to compete with the large capitialist farms which develop by their side. "far from selling the same commodities as the large farms these small holdings are often buyers of these commodities. The one commodity which they do

possess in abundance, and which the bigger holdings need, is their labour power" (Banaji, 1977: 34). Meillassoux expresses the same finding that off-farm labour is in effect a source of cheap labour to other farmers, and to capital in others sectors, because the family subsidised their labour (1973). This was borne out by the comment by Mr C that: "I'm still making a living. If I have to get out, I'll get a job with the bigger ones. I'd be a good asset."

Domestic producers in agriculture are normally defined in terms of the ownership and operations of the means of production by the direct producer. They are part of what is more generally known as a petit bourgeoisie (Poulantzas, 1973: 3; Marx, 1967: 108). The basic structure of their relations of production involves a situation in which the direct producers apply their own labour to means of production which are owned by them, and by virtue of this ownership retain the produce of their labour. Ideally, there is not exploitation of labour in the direct sense. Consequently, there is a clear contrast with capitalist relations of production in which the direct producer must sell his labour power as a commodity to the owner of the means of production and be deprived of his surplus labour. Domestic commodity production also contrasts with feudal relations of production, in which a non-labouring class owns the land, a basic means of production for the agrarian peasant, and derives the surplus labour from the direct producer by virtue of his ownership. However, this does not mean that the domestic producer is not himself vulnerable to exploitation (Marx, 1959: 807). He is exexploited through purchase of commoditiess egs farm equipment. He is heavily mortgaged and forced to cut his prices in order to compete for the favours of supermarkets.

The household structures which are competitive and able to reproduce themselves are those of the larger dominant family enterprises. And from my research these enterprises bear little resemblance to those kinship groups described by Friedmann and Marsden. Mr A and Mr B are

"rational economic men" who are manipulated by economic and political trends, their farms are run "by" families rather than being developed "for" families. Although Mr A has a strong feeling of country identity, he doesn't have time to be involved: "We have little time for social activity while we are expanding our business."

The difference in the attitude to the East End Market of the four men interviewed was a strong indication of the importance of "market forces The two large gardeners regularly visit the market. However, a lot of their produce by-passes it for sale to the supermarkets, a portion is sold interstate, and Mr B has begun to sell leeks to Japan. Mr A shared the view of Mr B and Mr C that the market needed to be relocated to enable efficient, larger and modern handling of produce.

In the past, the market had more social significance to the gardeners than it does today. It represented the link between town and country, Mr D described the old days when he " used to get a lift back from school in Adelaide on the horsedrawn trolleys returning from the market loaded with manure." As a gardener, he enjoyed going to the market, you'd fraternise and exchange views with gardeners from Lockley's, Montacute and the Hills". Mr D had breakfast at Mrs C----'s restaurant near the Stag Hotel: "you could get three courses for a shilling". Mr D also appreciated Ruby Jones from Ruby's Cafe, who was a "well-known character, a real no-nonsense sort of person". He said: "You could get a drink at the two 'gardeners' hotels, the Stag Hotel, and the Producers in Grenfell Street, which both opened at 3am." Mr D described "yarning with the men on the way home, the horses knew their stops for spells. In the days before Mr A's family, there were some beautiful teams of four or five horses." It appears from these recollections that the market has changed from a locus of social interaction and exchange of views

When asked if they socialised at the market, the others all said they didn't have the time. Mr B said: "We used to go to Ruby's cafe for

breakfast, but all that's changed. Now we've got to be loaded and out by 8am. There's a lot of pressure too." Mr A's father has breakfast before going to the market. "Some people have drinks down there, but we don't, we come straight home, we've got too much work to do at home."

As a final point, it is worth noting that the rationalisation of market gardening has possible quality detriments. Two of the gardeners, Mr B and Mr C, volunteered that they felt deep satisfaction at seeing a healthy patch of cabbages. From the consumers' point of view also, the supermarkets represent a threat. Mr B admitted: "The supermarket is always buying at a 'fair price', which is less than the market price. I always give second-grade quality to the supermarket." Mr C, from his side, supported this: "It's vital that the greengrocer has contact with the grower. I pride myself on what I grow. I don't want to be known for growing rubbish."

CONCLUSION

Although the social transformations in market gardening in the Piccadilly Valley could be interpreted as the struggle between larger and smaller petty commodity producers, the concentration of ownership in the hands of a few larger family companies has been brought about by the oligopolistic corporations. The supermarket chains, coming to dominate and manipulate the marketing process, have created pressures on gardeners, big and small alike. Furthermore, the relocation of the East End Market, indicating the loss of the true "free" market, can be interpreted as also the effect of the same forces operating on the gardeners.

Perhaps it indicates genuine sociological research when a project does not finish up as envisaged. This project was to have been a study of the impact on social structure of the proposed relocation of Adelaide's wholesale fruit and vegetable market. However, I've found that the relocation of the market, rather than creating change, is more a result of processes of change which have already altered the practices

of the market and the farming practices and social structure of market gardening. I am aware that feeling a loss of tradition is interpreted as nostalgia for the rustic. However, I am enough of a sociologist to be unsatisfied with the heritage types, concerned with saving historic architecture, preserving the shell and changing the use. It is the use that is important, not a quaint enhancer of Adelaide's physical charm.

The market is emblematic of our own economy; out of it developed capitalism and the relocation of the East End Market is the physical manifestation of the process whereby the original open market is being replaced by what J.K. Galbraith has described as the "industrial system", which we can see acting through supermarkets and few food manufacturers (Braudel, 1982: 229). My research has resulted in a clearer idea of the meaning of the market to a city both in terms of its material and its cultural base. The analysis of the loss of a market can be the analysis of the loss of free exchange and what is perceived as the free market of capitalism. My objections to the relocation of the market, as I suspected, were not shared by the gardeners themselves.

NOTE

1. This is a slightly amended version of a research project undertaken in an undergraduate sociology course at Flinders University. It is submitted to the Symposium to show how, as a gastronomer, I have attempted to incorporate my interest in food in a course, "Introduction to Social Structure", which examines "basic macro-sociological concepts dealing with the origin and nature of social inequalities, stratification, social class and power".

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MARKET DISCUSSION

Summarised by Colin Turner

The suggestion at pre-symposium meetings by Jennifer Hillier that markets should be a central theme of the conference and the enthusiastic discussion which actually took place indicates our concern with ingredients as a vital link in the quality of food which we prepare and eat, in the quality of our lives.

Michael Symons, as chairperson, opened the discussion by suggesting that a basic function of a classical free market was the meeting of grower and consumer to exchange views as well as produce. Despite a shortage of time, many details and insights about their local experiences were then described by those at that forum, to supplement the preliminary survey prepared in advance by myself.

Sydney's story of gains and losses was in some senses archetypal. Max Lake, amongst others, waxed enthusiastic over the fish market, where the quality and variety have grown dramatically, not least due to improved handling and distribution of fish under the direct stimulation of the Japanese sashimi market and the many Japanese consumers in Sydney demanding a very high standard. At this point, Michael Treloar read from an account of the Melbourne fish market in 1872, in which it was considered that 142 varieties then available was very limited"!

On the other hand, there was less enthuasiasm over Sydney's principal fruit and vegetable market, especially after the move from Haymarket to Flemington. However, Max Lake suggested that recent developments in large "market" retailing of produce were quite successful. This anticipated later comments by Michael Symons to the effect that supermarkets had increased their market share at the expense of small fruiterers in part because they were beginning to

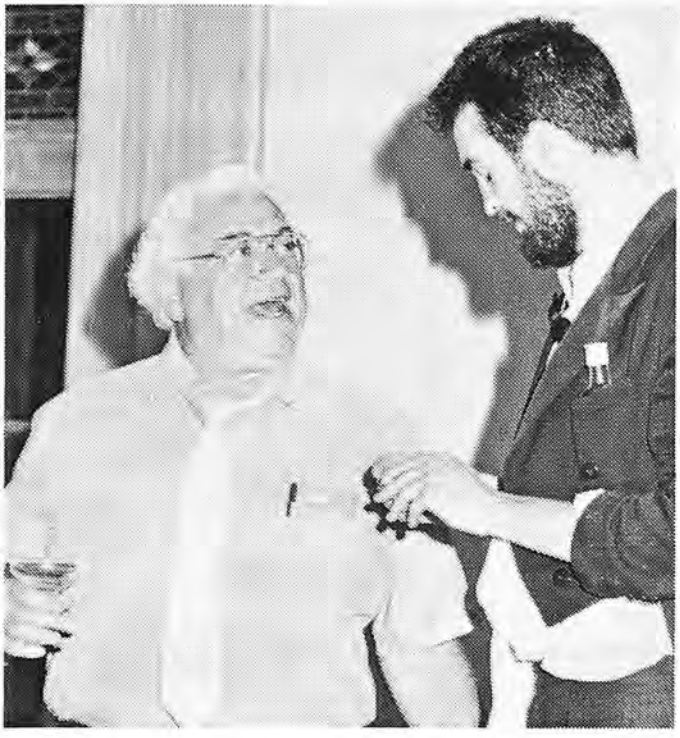
meet some of the difficultites of handling fruit and vegetables properly. They had not, however, made any impression on the sale of fresh fish.

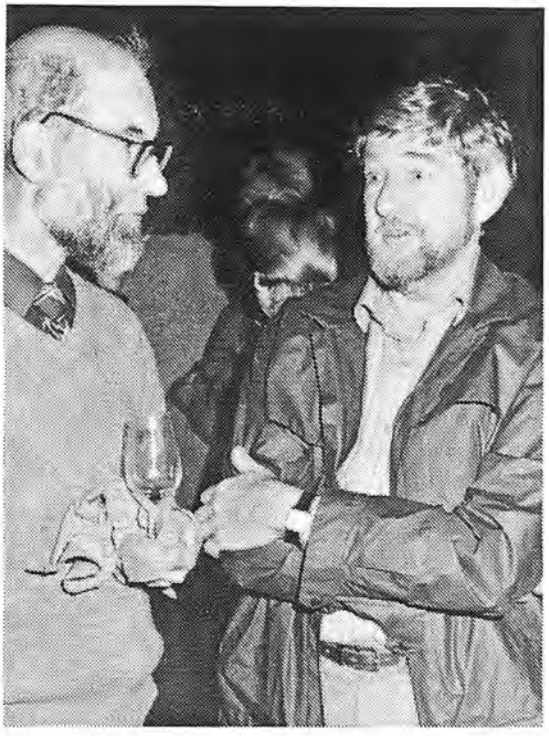
Marion Halligan and Betty Meehan complained of a failure by most of Canberra's retailers to specialise and compete. Speakers who regularly used Melbourne's array of city and suburban, wholesale and retail markets reported very much the opposite. The variety and quality of foodstuffs available was, at the upper level, highly praised. Gabriel Gate and Stephanie Alexander commented upon how cosmopolitan and, consequently, exciting this was, particularly with the arrival of South-East Asian peoples and their food cultures.

Nevertheless, throughout the discussion there was an obvious concern that the overall quality of produce was not as satisfactory as it could be, although no-one would deny that as a society we have now made a satisfactory quantity of food at an "acceptable" quality available to all. Lois Butt and Diane Holuigue both stressed their belief that a knowledgable local fruiterer was invaluable. Diane encourages her students to cultivate their local greengrocer, to encourage their friends to do likewise and to be unafraid of speaking out to demand higher quality and diversity. The greengrocer often had growers whom he communicated with directly as his chosen suppliers. This struck a responsive chord, as Michael Symons observed in his summary of the session. To some degree, he felt, this was still not the ideal situation since there was still not a personal, intimate, one-to-one communication between grower and consumer.

In the end, of course, despite the wide range of styles of market and marketing of produce throughout Australia, much still depends upon what the consumer wants or perceives that he or she wants. The issue of how best and most quickly to re-educate consumers <u>en masse</u> to seek only highly quality produce, to reject once per week, convenience

shopping remains central for me. The personal strategies proposed during the discussion to counter the mediocrity of institutionally-distributed produce remind me of an assertion of feminist struggle in the last twenty years: "The personal is political". I am sure that, although they may feel depressed by the persistence of the problems they sought to meet, there can be no doubt that the efforts of radical feminists have done much to raise people's consciousness about the important issues involved. As Christopher Driver suggests, for us it is important to apply persistent pressure by personal example and by organising. I wish you good luck in the various strategies you employ.





DINNER, Monday September 30, 1987

Carclew, North Adelaide

Spit-roasted lamb
(Suffolk-cross lamb from the Clare region)

Fresh pita bread

Green salad

Cheeses

Coffee

Swiss Glory chocolates

Prieuré Lichine 1978

Beaucastel Châteauneuf-du-Pape 1981 (magnums)

Jacky Janodet Moulin à Vent 1983

Champagne cup

Bailey's HJT Liqueur tokay

Kellybrook Calvados-style Pot Still Apple Brandy

Crozet Frères fruit liqueurs:
Crèmes de Fraise, Framboise, Mûre, Cassis

Drinking-Party: "Foodism - Philosophy or Fad?"

Report by Michael Symons

Ours is a relatively correct use of the title, "symposium", which in ancient Greece was a post-prandial, philosophical drinking-party, usually bringing together a group of eight. Numerous classical authors borrowed the form, Athenaeus' Deipnosophists being of particular interest, since the participants discussed eating-matters. The most celebrated is Plato's Symposium, at which love is discussed by Socrates, Aristophanes and other Athenian celebrities, until they are interrupted by the brilliant and, on this occasion, drunken Alcibiades. Then, Socrates heroically outdrinks his lessers.

To underline our use of the term, we held a symposium-within-a-symposium, a literal philosophical drinking-party after Jonathan Philips' excellent meal of spit-roasted lamb. We sat in a large circle, with Max Lake acting as "symposiarch" (not only chairing the discussion but theoretically also dictating the speed of drinking), and Graham Pont serving a "champagne cup" from a central bowl. The topic was meant to be "Foodism - Philosophy or Fad?"

Max Lake introduced the discussion by claiming optimism about establishing our own gastronomic traditions, and asserting that education starts in the home. He quickly got to a subject "I feel deeply about", tasting. "I have tried to switch my own family onto flavour by lining up 28 honeys one Sunday morning, with little squares of Vogel toast and they went along systematically tasting honey. On other occasions we have done tea tastings, coffee tastings, lettuce tastings. But the most important thing in these family times - and it probably surprises you to hear probably the most advanced roue in this country talking about families, but I am devoted to my family - is to talk about what you're tasting. The education process begins at your own

table. It is too late for most of us; we're beyond redemption, but the generations that are coming on are not only ready to be educated, they are eager. And all they need is to be able to talk about what they can smell and taste. That gives them, first of all, terrific confidence in their own judgement and, second of all, increases vastly their pleasure in life."

Gay Bilson introduced another direction by saying: "At the last symposium I suggested, and I still believe this, that writing about food could cause you to feel something akin to lust. I would like someone to explain why it is that imagination, which I see writing being, moves me more than the actual eating. What is the something between the actual and the suggestive? So much is left to the imagination in the writing, the plate of food is too concrete." This topic proved controversial.

Coming to Bilson's aid, Cath Kerry claimed that the "anticipation" could be greater than the "satisfaction afterwards". Gabriel Gate pointed out that Paul Bocuse had said on television (and in French not translated) that the greatest pleasure in being a great chef was being able to share his knowledge, rather than being able to cook for others. Adrian Read went so far as to add that "writing can be art, but food can't. The writing can make you feel something akin to lust over and over again in slightly subtly different ways, a dish of food can't. If it does, it does only once, and it's gone and you shit and piss it the next day". After Gay pointed out that she referred only to great writing, "the word or phrase", Philip White contributed: "If the writing is good, it is always better than food." He added: "There would be no well-attended chefs without great writers."

Jennifer Hillier became the first to defend food, with the thought that, "There is something in good food that's in good writing and that

is that writing for me goes off the page, and a good meal goes off the plate. And the analogies and symbolism in good food can be just as encompassing an experience as good writing. I can see the literature in Gay's food." White responded: "The difference is that food occurs with one person, who is wealthy enough to afford that food. Writing is universal." Then either proving or destroying his own point, or saying absolutely nothing at all, depending on your point of view, White pronounced: "Literature is an art which is involved with the study and love of words: food is what you eat."

Gabriel Gate's accent then caused a momentary confusion, when he said: "I can go anywhere in the world and communicate with my art". Some of the participants thought he said, more scandalously, that he could go anywhere and "communicate with my heart". This having been sorted out, he continued, "My cooking would be understand by anyone, whatever language they speak. However, if an English writer goes to France, he won't be understood." This was an argument for food as the universal language.

Christopher Driver contributed: "There is an elementary distinction to be between creative arts and performance arts. And surely the point of food lies in its evanescence, just as the point of the dancer's or the violinst's performance lies precisely in its evanescence. We have chosen to put performances on record or video, but all of us knows in our hearts that it's not the same. Food is of this kind. It is a metaphor for itself, and words are quite useful, when applied to food, for technical purposes or instruction or evocation purposes, but no way can the word be the thing itself, which is created to perish." To which Gay chipped in: "No, but because the thing is created to perish, the word becomes extraordinarily important."

Michael Symons, probably just restating Christopher's point, then

upbraided speakers "for suffering from the illusion created by the idealists that somehow the word is more powerful than the fact or the reality. You should be ashamed, since we here should be agreeing that eating is so much more intrinsic to us, and so much more social. You might well argue that language makes us social and self-conscious, and yet you could equally argue that we are a social through our way of eating. This debate was summed up by an off-sider of Epicurus who asked, although it would have applied better to Plato, 'Does Socrates eat with his ear?'... You'll get it." This last comment was in response to stunned silence.

After it was pointed out that the topic for discussion had been set down as "Foodism - Philosophy or Fad?", Barbara Santich pointed out that the discussion had been moving around to that. "In the book about Foodism, I think a foodie is defined as somebody who not only eats but thinks about food all the time."

Gay said: "I want someone to stand up for this word, 'foodism'. I can't understand we'd be using such a terrible word." Lake argued: "I think the people who coined it did so with a smile on their face." Cat Kerry pointed out that just as the sarcasm had been lost from "The Lucky Country", we were letting ourselves be laughed at by this book.

Hillier said that "I was interested in what Gay said first, starting it off. Christopher Driver said he was impressed by what he said was our existential fervour, you were suffering the opposite, a feeling of detachment."

Becoming noticeably much more enthusiastic as the night progressed, Gay then recounted a story, the point of the retelling of which was that various participants had thought the occasion really sufficiently special and private as not to be written about. "It was close to the contemporary notion of performance art", Driver said.

"Sharing and communicating is the highest activity", Max Lake commented. Gay said that the sharing of the night's cup gave her the same sense of freedom. Apparently distingishing between public and private communication, Michael Symons responded that as a result of this event, he thought he had written her a "bloody good letter".

Anthony Corones then said he wanted to stick up for the poets. "I'm carried back to classical Greece, in particular to the period before writing, as we know it, was invented. Occasions like these weren't written down, but spoken in verse. Great poets and bards would come and sing their songs. For the Greeks, one of the most significant things about this particular performance art was that, once it had been performed, it became a kind of sacrifice to the gods. The next day it had vanished. It didn't become a piece for a museum to be admired and adored by people after. It was a lesson in life: that we only have the moment we are living now, and there is no point clinging to it. The enjoyment of it is the sacrifice of that event itself. In the end, we too are consumed to the ashes and dust. It is the conviviality of that experience, the sharing of it, that celebrates life. Here were invoking the same kind of spirt. As Gay says, it is a warm occasion. And we can revel in the poetry of it all. Maybe tomorrow we mightn't remember what happened. But we can be assured we had a good time." Gay interrupted: "But is foodism a philosophy or fad?"

To a certain extent it was a fad, Anthony said. "Kiwi fruit and tamarillos are the new designer fruit." After a while it gets to such an extreme, as in Ancient Rome, the entire thing just collapses, people become bored. That's what's faddish about it. The fact that it resurges is what ultimately is significant. The passion for food is the perennial thing. To get to the philosophical aspects, you conceive what it is philosophically to dance or compose a poem. As in Athenaneus,

all the arts rightly should come together. Food, poetry, literature, should meet, and this is the highest expression of that culture.

Graham Pont said that the "lamb tonight was a wonderful attack on the foodies, because it was a reaffirmation of an Australian tradition and completely successful." "You're creating a fad, you know," said Barbara. Philip White asked whether the fad for Kiwi fruit and tamarillo was initiated by cooks or by writers, to which Anthony responded: "I think it's the photographers." Philip continued: "I think the photographers are 12 to 18 months behind the very quickest chefs." When several participants mused that they didn't like Chinese gooseberries and tamarillos, Gabriel said, "I think they are both marvellous", causing Gay to blame the French. Marion drew attention to the new class of rich New Zealand farmers. Cath Kerry said sympathetically, "It's not Kiwi fruit's fault". Diane Holuigue told of the visiting Michelin inspector who was stunned by the passionfruit souffle at Fanny's and Glo Glo's, saying it was just like the latest success at Taillevent.

"I'd like to argue that even philosophy is in a sense a fad," Michael Symons commenced, most promisingly. "You'd have to agree that French and Italian food are different, and you have to explain why..."

It was at this moment that three dinner-suited drunks staggered into the proceedings. "We've come in the wrong door," they said after blundering around. This was a pre-arranged "interruption" as had occurred at the Symposium recorded by Plato. The three "drunks" were drama students from Flinders University. They burst into occasional song, "For he's a jolly good filo, for he's a jolly good filo..." etc. They contributed the Monty Python philosophical drinking song. Much of what they said is blurred on the tape, and some now doesn't seem quite so funny. So, unfortuately, I now get my own back.

AN ABORIGINAL FOOD TRADITION

Betty Meehan*

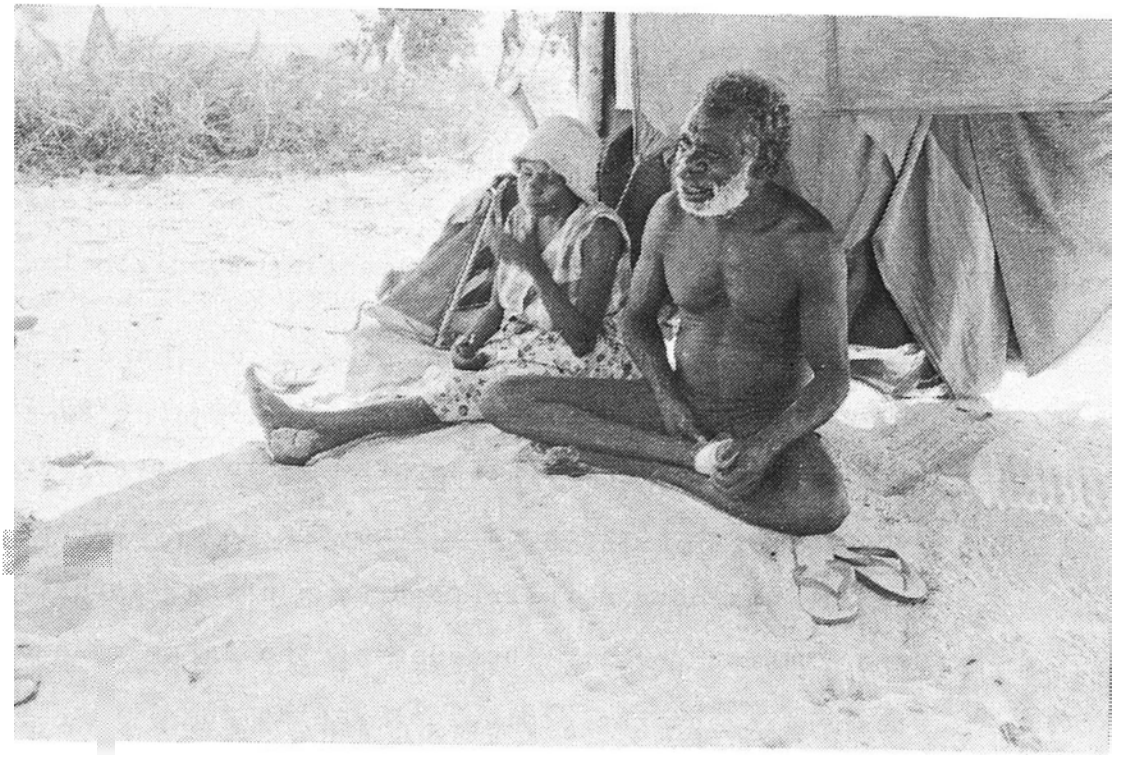


Plate 1

In Plate 1 Frank Gurrmanamana is explaining to Rhys Jones and me the order of appearance of plant foods throughout the annual cycle. In front of him are two parallel rows of small hollows pressed into the sand, one representing plant foods gu-man-nga (of the jungle i.e. fruits) and the other gu-djel (of the ground i.e. tubers). Each hollow referred to a named plant, and parallel ones were ready to eat at the same time of the year. The order of appearance of the plants began at the outbreak

* Division of Anthropology, Australian Museum, Sydney

of the wet season, continued through the dry season and ended with the oncoming wet of the following year.

Frank's illustration encapsulates the concept behind Anbarra cuisine. It is that concept I wish to talk about here. Before I expand upon that topic however, a few misconceptions concerning Aboriginal dietary habits need to be dispelled:

1. There was no single Aboriginal cuisine. Even though all Aboriginal inhabitants of this continent were what anthropologists call "hunters and gatherers" - people who obtain their food by hunting, gathering and fishing for it - because of the large size of Australia and the ecological variation within it, cultural response resulted in, at the simplest level, great diversity in what Aboriginal groups ate, how they obtained their food and how they prepared it.

2. Aborigines did not eat every species of food available to them.

3. Aborigines were not all living on the brink of starvation.

4. Aborigines were not indifferent cooks; they did not invariably throw a carcass on to a fire, cook it for a few minutes, then pull it apart with great haste as if they had not eaten for weeks.

But let us return to Frank Gurrmanamana and his blueprint for the seasonal exploitation of plant foods. Frank belongs to a group of Aboriginal people who speak Gidjingali. This language group, numbering some 400 members at the time of their contact with European Australians and owning collectively approximately 650 km^2 of land draped around the mouth of the Blyth River in Arnhem Land, is divided into four communities. Frank belongs to one of these, the Anbarra, which contains about 140 members and owns a small but resource-rich estate of coastal plain a mere 20 km^2 in area, mostly located on the western side of the Blyth River where it enters the sea. The Anbarra have access to the rest of Gidjingali land some areas of which they visit intermittently in order to participate in ceremonies and at the same time to exploit seasonally available food.

Much has been written about the Gidjingali - the Anbarra in particular - concerning their social structure, language, ceremony and subsistence and it is clear throughout much of this literature just how much ecological knowledge about their estate and its resources they possess. When moving around their land to forage or to attend ceremonies they chat constantly about the location and density of various food species - when will they be "ready"? When will they be in prime condition to harvest? When will an expedition return to a

particular location to forage? Conversation of this kind is interspersed with religious commentary about the same tract of land: certain "dreaming" places are singled out as "dangerous", some as benign. Individual ownership of specific areas is publicised and behaviour believed to maintain they countryside in a"quiet" state is described. So too are methods designed to placate malevolent spirits.

Because they possess this ecological knowledge the Anbarra have been able to enjoy a high quality diet ample in proportion, varied in content, simply and tastefully prepared and containing products which are always fresh.

CONTENT

Anbarra diet contains the flesh of a wide range of animal and plant foods. They eat approximately 29 species of shellfish including oysters, mussels and the delicious bivalve Tapes hiantina sometimes known as tapestry shell; 10 crustaces species including the superb rurgurdagurda or mud crab (Scylla serrata); and 45 species of fish such as barramundi (Lates calcarifer), threadfin, snapper and catfish the latter being great favourites. They also eat shark and stingray flesh when the individuals caught are in good condition - but certainly not invariably. Reptiles, 10 species, are

part of the diet and include goannas, snakes, freshwater terrapins and saltwater turtles.

Anbarra territory abounds with bird species about 20 of which form a regular part of their diet. These are harvested at various times during the year but the most highly-prized are magpie geese (Anseranas semipalmata) which are hunted at the end of the dry season (September-October) when the freshwater swamps are beginning to dry up. The large and unwise plains turkey (Eupodotis australis) falls easy prey to Anbarra hunters and its flesh is considered to be excellent red meat. A small number of mammals (10 species) are included in Anbarra diet: wallabies, kangaroos, dugong and nowadays feral cats and water buffaloes (Bubalus bubalis).

Plant foods play an important role in Anbarra cuisine providing approximately 50% of their total energy intake. About 40 species are harvested throughout the annual cycle including the refreshing bukgrarrkgrarrk or "red apple" (Syzygium suborbiculare), the nuts garmanamal (Sterculia quadrifida) and the delicious, energy-packed djingga (Pandanus spiralis) which tastes somewhat like a pine nut. Root crops include the yam manbandi (Dioscorea transversa), the corm of the water lily (Nymphaea sp.) and of the water chesnut kulaitj (Eleocharis dulcis). Ngatja (Cycas media), although highly toxic, continues to be gathered.

I noticed in one of the Newsletters (Number 1:1) that Stephanie Alexander included in a banquet menu a sorbet made from the nectar of Grevillea pteridiflora. The Anbarra also harvest these blossoms which they call wardparrk.

QUALITY CONTROL

Where possible, all foods are gathered by the Anbarra when they are in prime condition. According to Anbarra tradition this means when each item is "young" and "fat" for animal flesh and "ripe" and "ready" for fruit, roots and nuts.

For the Anbarra, markets are not built environments where they go to purchase high quality fresh food grown or captured by someone else, but actual locations where they themselves can harvest what they want. For example, when the tide is big - either during the new or full phase of the moon- they go to the shell beds at the mouth of the river to collect diyama (Tapes hiantina). In the early dry season they travel from their home bases on the coast to the hinterland where they harvest the corms of Eleocharis dulcis and the geese who have also congregated on the swamps to eat the corms!

VARIETY

Given Anbarra knowledge of the food resources on their land, and their habit of harvesting these seasonally, they think about their diet in a series of opposing

propositions. They talk about white or "clean" flesh (fish, shellfish, goanna) and "flesh with blood inside" or red meat (wallaby, kangaroo, buffalo); about "dry" flesh and "wet" or moist flesh. Then again, animal flesh (mindjak) is contrasted with balidja or plant food and, of course, as we have seen in Plate 1, plant foods themselves are further subdivided into those which come from above ground and those that are gathered from within the soil. Molluscan flesh is divided into kapara (that derived from bivalves found in the open sea tidal situations) and ngal (category of flesh which includes most gastropods but other non-molluscan flesh as well).

CHOOSING A MENU

The most important Anbarra meal takes place during the middle of the day. In its ideal form it consists of one type of food - that is, fish or shellfish or yams or buffalo though, of course, it does not always work out like that. Within this framework people are keen to vary the focus of their meals frequently. If they have been eating lots of red meat they express a desire for white animal flesh; if they have been consuming dry flesh for several meals they look for moist flesh. If the community has been living on a diet of animal flesh (red and white, moist and dry) they show a keenness to collect balidja (plant foods) such as yams or or water chestnuts.

THE DINING AREA

Most days several foraging expeditions leave Anbarra home bases - usually located on coastal beaches - to forage for food. Depending on what food each expedition is targeting upon, they move out into the intertidal zone, the tidal creeks, along the beaches, into monsoon thickets, across the black soil plains or onto the edges of the freshwater swamps. They forage for several hours and then, if this period of foraging has been productive, stop to partake of a main meal at what they call rrauwa djigudaridja or "dinnertime camp". These are situated anything from 0.5 km up to 6 km from home base. Pleasant locations are chosen - on clean sand, beneath deep shade, adjacent to fresh water, in the path of a gentle breeze and with a pleasing view of the surrounding countryside or seascape. Here, the foragers prepare and cook the food that has been collected up to that time. They then eat as much as they want and rest, even sleep, before resuming the afternoon's foraging which will eventually lead them back to home base about dusk.

TABLE SETTING

Before the arrival of Europeans in their country the Anbarra used only the products of the bush to serve the food they prepared. Raw and cooked food was presented on sheets of freshly pulled paper bark or on piles of fresh green grass or leaves. Water was collected in palm

or bark containers as well as in large sea shells (Melo amphora and Syrinx aruanus) which had string twisted from the bark of fig trees (Ficus virens) attached as handles. Stingray spines or slivers of hard wood were used to remove nuts from pandanus husks and bivalve shells, especially Batissa violacea, were used as spoons. Fruits, seeds and corms were crushed in elegant hardwood mortars with round, smooth river pebbles. Nowadays these items continue to be used together with metal, plastic and ceramic objects purchased from European shops or manufactured from waste materials.

RECIPES

I do not expect that everyone would enjoy the entire Anbarra cuisine. Some of it however, in my opinion, is excellent. Hopefully, a few examples will illustrate what I mean.

FRUITS AND NUTS

All fruits are picked from trees, shrubs and bushes when in prime condition by the people who wish to eat them. They are eaten immediately, on the move, or on the same day somewhere else. Bukgrarrkgrarrk (Syzygium suborbiculare) begins to ripen in the late dry season (October) and can be harvested until February or March. It is considered to be most delicious when it has attained a dark red colour. The flesh tastes a little like that of a quince though its texture is less dense. Its flesh

is eaten unmodified or after it has been crushed in a mortar. For a short time during my fieldwork in 1972-3 I had a small gas refrigerator at my disposal. During the "red apple" season I prepared granita from some beautifully ripe fruits; it was exquisite.

The small bright red fruit bulba (Mimusops elengi) is prolific during the mid dry season. These are eaten raw or roasted ever so lightly in ashes.

The important midjingambur (Morinda citrifolia) is a large, greenish yellow, soft fruit. It tastes somewhat like apples which have been cooked with cloves and has a hot after taste. This fruit is available for a long period beginning in December and continuing until June or July of the following year. Parts of this plant are also used for medicinal purposes: the fruit is said to make one feel "clean"; the leaves are used to make an inhalation and to flavour some foods during cooking.

VEGETABLES

Several species of Nymphaea, water lilies, provide various interesting foods. During the late wet - early dry season the stems of the flowers can be eaten. They have a fresh moist quality a little like celery but much blander. Later in the dry season the corms are collected from the swamp muds and either eaten raw or roasted lightly in sand ovens. They taste like the flesh of a

dry avocado. Later still in the seasonal cycle, small black seeds (resembling poppy seeds) can be collected, ground and fashioned into flat cakes before they too are roasted and eaten.

Swamps on Anbarra estates abound with kulaitj or water chesnuts. These are collected at the end of the dry season as the swamps begin to shrink. They can be eaten raw or lightly roasted. Sometimes, late in the dry season a special effort is made to collect E. dulcis from the by then, rock-hard mud. This collecting is hard work, labour intensive and utterly inefficient in terms of the amount of effort invested for the quantity returned. However, the Anbarra say - and I have to agree with them - that "late-picked" kulaitj are the best of all: manmolamola or as translated into English by the Anbarra, "very sweet".

Many kinds of yams were collected by the Anbarra though quite a number, usually those requiring intensive processing, have dropped out of the diet since they have had access to flour. The most popular species utilized today is manbandi (Dioscorea transversa) which is gathered from the monsoon thickets in the early to middle dry season. At this time when the tubers are young they are cooked in a sand oven for about 40 minutes before being eaten.

An interesting plant food that continues to be prepared by the Anbarra despite its toxicity and the large

amount of time it required to render it edible, is ngatja (Cycas media). These attractive trees grow in dense groves on Gidjingali land and their "fruits" are harvested in the early dry season when water holes are full. They are de-husked, exposed to sunlight for a week or so, then roughly crushed, before being placed in loosely woven containers. These containers are immersed in fresh water for five or six days after which time the leached fruits are further crushed, fashioned into loaves then wrapped in paper bark and secured with strips of pandanus. These bundles are baked in carefully prepared ovens for four or five hours after which the "bread" can be eaten. This "food" has the consistency of a sweet and sour loaf. The taste - well, interesting, bland, strange... perhaps an acquired taste! Cycas bread is one of the few prepared foods that Anbarra people store. I have seen it eaten several months after preparation. This food, which is prepared in large quantities, is an important item of diet during large ceremonial occasions when anything up to 400 people might be congregated in the same place for two or three weeks.

SHELLFISH

In general Anbarra people prefer kapara shellfish flesh (see p.7) to ngal. The main kapara species are tapestry shells (Tapes hiantina), mussels (Modiolus micropterus) and oysters (Crassostrea amasa).

Several other species are valued but eaten in smaller quantities.

There are two ways of cooking shellfish - a third if steaming in a metal container is included. When large quantities (50 kg) need to be prepared they are cooked in a manirra oven. To construct these dead shells, firewood, green branches and paper bark are collected. A large fire is allowed to burn until it is a mass of glowing coals when the dead shells are thrown upon it. These and the coals are mixed with a long fire stick. When the shells have had time to absorb the heat and the fire has died down a little, the newly collected bivalves are placed on top. All is swiftly covered with green branches and paper bark in order to prevent the steam from escaping. In about two minutes the coverings are thrown back and the air is filled with a delicious aroma of ready-to-eat shellfish.

When smaller quantities are to be cooked an area of clean sand is cleared of rubbish, made smooth and level. Fresh bivalves are stacked carefully against each other lips resting in the sand, hinges uppermost. Small sticks and dead grass are arranged on top of this phalanx of shells and ignited. If a breeze is blowing, which it nearly always is, the fire is started at the end so that the flames are blown along the arrangement. Sizzling and "plopping" noises indicate that the shells are open

and that the "milk" or juices are escaping. What is left of the fire is immediately removed and the hinges are swept clean with a bunch of leaves. The cooked bivalves are then removed from the sand, placed on a pile of fresh leaves or grass until cool enough to be eaten.

Oysters are collected from two ecological zones: rocky islands and mangrove forests. Usually they are gathered in large chunks several kilograms in weight. These are placed upon a fast burning fire briefly. It is important to the Anbarra that all shellfish are only lightly cooked. (I was often chided because of my shortcomings as an oyster cook: "Dry one, eh?" they would comment.). Flesh was removed and eaten immediately or accumulated in a small container and taken back to home base.

Shellfish flesh is only rarely eaten in an uncooked state and is usually associated with testing the quality of the flesh for gathering rather than with eating.

CRUSTACEA

Large mud crabs are common in mangrove forests on Anbarra land. They are captured by women and roasted live on glowing coals until their mossy green colour has changed to rich orange. Body flesh is highly-prized and said to be "sweet" or anmolamola. This is a delightful way to eat crab.

Several species of prawn are included in Anbarra diet but the best eating are small school prawns which are only occasionally gathered using a mulitja or butterfly net. The prawns are placed on a warm fire of coals and ashes and then manipulated with two cooking sticks as if they were being tossed in a wok. As soon as they turn pale apricot in colour they are freed of ashes by being shaken in a loosely-woven pandanus bag. They are then placed on paper bark or fresh vegetation ready to be eaten when cool.

FISH

Anbarra cuisine contains a host of delicious fish, barramundi probably being the best know. Anbarra hunters know a great deal about the ecology of the barramundi and monitor its growth by distinguishing several named stages in its life cycle. The preferred age, radjara, refers to barramundi when it is young and still living in the open sea. When speared these specimens are grilled whole on coals. When cooked (just) scales and skin are carefully peeled back to reveal the succulent flesh. Older barramundi, djanambal, are captured at the beginning of the dry season after they have travelled onto the flood plains from the river and the sea. This flesh has a slightly earthy taste. Sometimes they are placed in an oven by being laid on a bed of coals and ashes and covered for about 40 minutes. On other occasions the head is removed and a bowl-shaped section is fashioned from the body, the ventral side, forming the base. This is placed securely

on top of a pile of glowing coals and supported in this position by a series of large coals some of which are also placed on the "rim". Fat from the fish and its liver are placed in the cavity and for 40 minutes or so the cook sits patiently overseeing the process stirring the "sauce" and re-organizing the coals so that the rim and the outside of the bowl gradually become golden brown and crisp. The fish bowl is then removed from the fire and placed upright on a thick pile of grass. When cool enough to handle, small pieces of flesh are broken from the rim, dipped into the "sauce" then eaten. Lovely!

When a stingray is speared and it is of acceptable quality - that is, "young" and "fat", it is regarded as a delicacy and prepared accordingly. The animal is roasted on coals until cooked. The flesh is then removed from cartilage frame and washed several times in fresh water. It is vigorously squeezed until it has been transformed into a mass of dry fibrous flesh. In the meantime a large baler shell (Melo amphora) has been placed on a medium-hot fire and in it the liver and fat transformed into "soup soup" or sauce. Small quantities of the flesh are picked up with the finger tips. This is dipped into the sauce then eaten.

BIRDS

Most birds eaten by the Anbarra are prepared and cooked in the same way. They are plucked and gutted with

some of the internal organs being griled on the coals and eaten immediately. The carcass is then opened out in a most unusual way so that when ready for cooking it forms a flat arrangement of flesh and bone. Goose, the high point of Anbarra bird cuisine, after being prepared like this is roasted on hot coals until crisp and golden-brown in colour. It is then allowed to cool on a pile of grass before being eaten. Inside the flesh is pink and tender. The larger bones are cracked for marrow.

CONCLUSION

The Anbarra are fortunate that they live in a beautiful environment in which food resources are varied and abundant. They harvest their food according to a well-understood seasonal cycle and a set of dietary preferences that are accepted by all members of the community. Their cooking methods are simple but enhance the taste and quality of each food type. They serve food with a minimum of fuss but attractively by making use of bush products. Most importantly of all, they eat in pleasant surroundings and in a relaxed manner. Eating is not merely a means of physical survival for the Anbarra; it is a way of life that they and their ancestors have developed over many milleniums. I am sure there is much we can learn from them.

EPILOGUE: THE ANTIQUITY OF ABORIGINAL CUISINES

Considerable archaeological evidence exists concerning the diet of hunter-gatherers who have lived in this continent over the past 30,000 years. For example, at Lake Mungo in southwestern New South Wales between 25,000 and 30,000 years ago groups of people sat on the shores of the then large fresh water lakes and ate fish (Golden Perch), shellfish (fresh water mussel: Velesunio ambiguous), emu eggs and the hare-eared bandicoot. Some 10,000 years later, when parts of the Australian mainland and Tasmania were glaciated, Kutikina Cave on the Franklin River in Tasmania's wild Southwest was occupied by people who ate large numbers of red-necked wallaby and wombat. At that time, because of the glacial conditions, the cave stood in a treeless environment. As conditions began to warm up and the trees re-established themselves, the glacial occupants of the cave abandoned it for more favourable areas.

Further north in Tasmania some 8,000 years later at a series of sites called Rocky Cape situated on the coast near the city of Burnie, a great deal of dietary debris has been found. In one of those shelters people ate seal, fish and shellfish - mainly abalone. However, in a sealed cave adjacent to this site an undisturbed camp floor was discovered by archaeologists. The excellent preservation of organic remains in this cave meant that a much more complete record of the diet was found.

Evidence here suggests that people were eating fish, shellfish, seal and bird plus a variety of plant foods such as bracken fern, Xanthorrhoea and cutting grass.

After this period and right down to the present, evidence for diet is more common in archaeological sites - especially in middens which consist mainly of the remains of shellfish but also of fish, mammals and birds. Plant remains are rare.

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THE ROLE OF FOOD IN AUSTRALIAN LITERATURE

Marion Halligan

> Sadian food is functional, systematic. That is not enough to make it novelistic. Sade adds to it a supplementary utterance: the invention of detail, the naming of dishes. Victorine ... eats for her meal a truffled turkey, a Perigueux pâté, a Bolognese Mortadella, and drinks six bottles of champagne; elsewhere Sade notes the menu of "a highly irritating dinner: soup, made from the stock of twenty-four small sparrows, with rice and saffron, a pie stuffed with chopped pigeon and garnished with artichoke bottoms, ambergris compote." The passsge from the generic notation ("they eat") to the detailed menu ("at dawn they were served scrambled eggs, chincara, onion soup, and omelettes") constitutes the very mark of the novelistic: we could classify novels according to the frankness of their alimentary allusions: in Proust, Zola, Flaubert, we always know what the characters eat; in Fromentin, Laclos, or even Stendhal, we do not. The alimentary detail goes beyond signification, it is the enigmatic supplement of meaning (of ideology); in the goose the aged Galileo stuffs down there is not only an active symbol of the situation (Galileo is out of things; he eats, his books must act for him), but also something like a Brechtian tenderness for bliss. Likewise, Sade's menus have the (non-functional) function of introducing pleasure (and not only merely transgression) into the libertine world.
>
> Roland Barthes: Sade, Fourier, Loyola

Roland Barthes' typically sweeping and gallocentric statement, that novelists can be classified according to the frankness with which they talk about food, started me thinking about English fiction in these terms, and I began to wonder what part food plays in contemporary Australian fiction.

In an article in The Atlantic Monthly I found this remark: "You won't meet with a first class novel, certainly not a first class novelist, without finding gustatory enjoyment making part of the work." The article was called 'Food in Literature' and was written in 1892, so the idea is certainly not a new one. It goes on to list a great many writers who do good food: Defoe, Bunyan, Smollett, Swift, Austen, Bronte, Thackeray who said that "next to eating good dinners a healthy man with a benevolent turn of mind must like I think to read about them." Dickens, Trollope, Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and lots more. Homer has as much feasting as fighting, he says. Scott describes numerous banquets.

This started me thinking about the different kinds of role that food has in literature. The anonymous author of the 1892 article with his mentions of 'gustatory pleasure", banquets, feasting, has in mind the recreation of interesting eating occasi the reader is meant to share in the pleasure of simple or spectacular meals. This is probably the most basic part that food plays in fiction; I've named the category vicarious food. The reader eats by proxy.

There doesn't seem to be much of this kind of eating in contemporary Australian writing, or contemporary English either: There are always implications. In Iris Murdoch's The sea, The Sea

the main character's idiosyncratic meals are given in detail, so that we can perfectly imagine them, but this has another purpose altogether. Possibly there are sociological reasons for the dearth of vicarious eating in modern novels it's one of the many possible paths of research in this hardly explored subject. There may be something to do with female novelists refusing to seem housewifely. David Malouf in one of the stories in Antipodes describes the supper after a lecture on the arts in a Queensland country town: "sausage rolls, anzacs, rainbow cake, date-loaf and pavlova .... its impressive abundance determined less by the expected size of the audience than by their own sense of what was due to the Arts the Arts, out here, meaning Cookery, of which the higher forms are cake-decoration and the ornamental bottling of carrots." Writers are happier with sarcasm than celebration. Or the reasons might be literary. The novel has changed since the 19th century, and pleasure by proxy is no longer one of its interests

But, if I didn't find much evidence of vicarious food in contemporary fiction, I did come across examples of the other five categories that I identified. These are: wallpaper food, mood food, plot, theme, and character food. They are obviously not exclusive; mood food is possibly a sub-branch of wallpaper, or perhaps a more intrusive version of it, and something could quite easily be all at once.

Wallpaper food is probably the most pervasive; I think there would be few novels which didn't make use of it somewhere. It can do a lot of useful things in the way of scene-setting, and scene-vitalising. It can create an economic situation, a period, a class, a country, especially one left behind. At its crudest, it's a kind of shorthand, as in foie gras and caviar, or bread and dripping; it can degenerate into cliché, but imaginatively used it's a rich device.

When Herbert Badgery in Illywhacker cooks Bungaree Trout over an open fire during the Depression, a number of things are established:

> The three of them sat in the firelight watching me prepare a meal, a dish known as Bungaree Trout which is made by slicing large potatoes, dipping them in batter, and frying them. If you eat it in daylight your eyes will tell you that you are eating fish, but if you eat it in the dark there is no fooling yourself: you're a poor man eating spuds. (p227)

Why Bungaree? It's where the potatoes grow. On the other hand the dinner in a private room of Sydney's Hyde Park Hotel in 1949 is no more than a mention of oysters and roast beef, and that says enough.

Then there is character in setting. When the cleaning woman heroine of Elizabeth Jolley's stories eats avocado pear and cocoa at one of her ladies' houses, and says sardines are more elegant, she places herself. When Dorton Serry, in Man of Letters, takes Ursula, his first post-marital love, out to dinner thirty years on, to a hotel called the Brittania, and says:

> Would you let me suggest what we might eat? You have an air of such quality, my dear, not of past times but timeless, so that if you agree, I'll order consommé, sole, roast beef and yorkshire pudding. (p17)

he places himself. So does George Highwire, taking leave of the man of letters:

> "I'll say goodbye to Lady Serry on the way out. I want to get on with my share of the cooking."
> "What is that?" amused and asking to be convinced.
> George actually smiled for the second time during this indescribable visit.
> "I'm doing the main course, Steak Diane. Of course, that's last minute, but there's the parsley and garlic to chop for the sauce, and a fruit salad not the old orange, banana and pineapple variety. A few rare fruits, French style, with bitter Jugoslav cherries. You serve them almost whole and they need to blend. Diane's making the soup and a rather touchy seafood mousse."

> "Yes, I can see you are yearning to be at it. The dinner sounds not only mouth watering but most affluent." pp 171-172

A whole subtle range of things is being said here, about the two men and about our society. And as well it's comic there's great potentiality for that in attitudes to food. I mentioned Murdoch's The Sea, The Sea and the detailed weird meals of the hero; their main purpose is to tell you about his character and personality, his age and quirkiness, but they are also funny. Productive of a vicarious shudder.

Food has a significant role in Kate Grenville's Lilian's Story, a fiction based on Sydney's legendary Bea Miles. Every time there's a family meal it's mutton, with her father Albion flourishing the carving knife and bullying. Both his children use food to escape him: Lil, secretly fed goodies by the maid, becomes obese so that when he beats her it can't hurt; her fat is a symbol of her rebellion against the accepted idea that women should be "thin and thick". Her brother becomes a vegetarian and eats his way through noisy food so he can't hear his father shouting facts:

> Across the table from me, John ate and ate. He did not eat trifle, however, or cold pikelets under the plumbago, or potatoes from last night. Across the table he refused meat, Cook's soggy cabbage, anything silent. He had grown dangerously thin before Father had agreed to his demands, but now while we all became greasy from mutton, John crunched his way through entire heads of celery, bunches of lettuce, raw green beans, apples that sprayed juice, anything loud. John! Father would exclaim, I cannot hear myself think! and John would stop chewing, staring at the tablecloth with a mouthful of carrot until Father began to speak again or left the room. p 20

Apparently there's a Chinese saying that patriotism is the memory of foods eaten in childhood. They are certainly a good way of evoking one's native land, or a foreign one. The Austrian aunts in Jolley's Milk and Honey retain their country through its food.

But there is more to it than that. The Austrian food is an emblem of the good life, which is made fruitful by effort. The "sweet cakes and the milk biscuits, madeira encased in frail wickerwork" that reward the hero after his cello playing, the five bean soup, the chicken liver pâté, the real coffee, "the pleasant fragrance of cloves from a tray of hot baked apples", all signify comfort, order, and care. It ought to be possible to enjoy them for their own sakes the vicarious category again but they usually appear in a context of weariness, or difficulty, disgust or despair, so that possibilities of simple pleasure are always qualified. And in fact they hide a rottenness which finally destroys even the semblance of the good life. Including the good food. Now there is a plastic tablecloth and dishes of cabbage and cheap mince and pale overcooked vegetables. This is not Jolley writing realistically; the bad food isn't a matter of economic necessity poverty hadn't defeated the delicious Austrian food - it's a symbol of a failure of the will and of the spirit. This corruption of the food is one expression of the theme of the book.

Having set up my neat list of categories I've produced examples that show just how fluidly they run into one another. The last writer I'm going to talk about is a good example of the whole range.

Beverley Farmer happened on to a good thing in the Greece-Australia connection, and has mined it ever since. The stories I'm discussing all come from her new book, Home Time, and as is usual with her a lot of them are about Australian girls marr to Greek men and living in Greece with their in-laws. The two-wa culture shock is the theme of these stories. Like Jolley, Farmer

is using the food of another country. It works very well because it is a peasant country, and vegetables, fruit, hens, milk for cheese from a cow, are all very evident and immediate. She describes them lovingly and poetically, for a wonderful effect of local colour. (She's also very keen on markets, which is relevant to this symposium.)

> Kyria Sophia has her vegetable garden, fenced with beans and morning glories. Her tomatoes hang in skeins among yellowing leaves. She has round peppers and long ones, deep red, and black eggplants curved like horns. Hens scratch and flounce, and two scraggy turkey cockerels. The flowers on her basil are like lilac, white and mauve. p 170

This is not just for fun. A bit later there are pomegranates:

> Along the fence there are trees with round red fruits too bright to be apples and besides they have tails: pomegranates, full of red glass seeds. p 170

But they are more than picturesque. Bell the daughter-in-law has left her Greek husband and gone home to Australia. She is just visiting. The Persephone image is thus indicated. In 'Market Day' mezedes are poetically evoked:

> ...the black bitterness of olives, sour peppered cheese with a green gloss of oil, hair-boned anchovies crusted with salt. p 64

Vicarious food at its best. As is the imam bayeldi (p156) made at home and cooked at the baker's, in 'Our Lady of the Beehives'. But again it has other functions: the old woman knows it will please her son, but she also wants to spite her Australian daughter-in-law (Barbara this time) with the effort of it.

The story in which food is most thoroughly involved is 'Place of Birth'. There Bell, of 'Pomegranates', is still living with her husband's family, in their remote village. She is pregnant. The story begins with the old woman cracking walnuts for baklava; the dish recurs in a contrapuntal fashion for much of the story. There's a Greek daughter-in-law there too, who buys

extravagant bananas for her small daughter "six yellow-green crescent bananas blue-stamped Chiquita". She won't even sell any to Bell, who craves them. One day, as a treat, the Australian woman flours and fries a banana for the little girl, who spits it out, nasty unfamiliar thing. Bell guiltily finishes it, Chloe finds out. "No more bananas! Wicked Auntie! Where will I get some more?" In the meantime Bell voluptuously eating the baklava has triggered off a toothache which is so terrible she takes too many aspirins and goes to bed for days bringing more blame on herself. Thus the food shapes the plot of the story, and at once creates and emblemises the tensions involved.

There is much more of it than I have described, particularly the recurring meals which are the women's duty. One night the evening's milk is thrown out by the old man who does not trust either of his son's wives to deal with it properly. The story ends with Bell's having a couple of hours to herself before she needs to start cooking lunch.

I've talked about only a small sample of Australian writing, and an arbitrary one, mainly what I happened to be reading at the moment. The books are new, most of them published in the last few months, and are by some of our finest writers. What I haven't done is refer to all the novels that have no food at all in them, or very little, and derive some theory from that. And I have taken examples that are generally attractive, intrinsically if not contextually. No images of disgust or nastiness. of Patrick White's burnt and rancid chops. There are a lot of places to go from here.

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CONSUMING SYMBOLS

AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF AUSTRALIAN FOOD IN HIGH CULTURE, INDUSTRY AND POPULAR CULTURE

Rebecca Zuesse

There is hardly a more commonplace and elementary sphere of our life than food and the way we treat it, yet recent studies have begun to show that few cultural topics are more revealing of underlying social divisions and ideological structures (Douglas, 1966, 1975, 1976-7; Levi-Strauss, 1964, 1978; Nicod, 1980). This study takes such seemingly obvious food categories as "gourmet," "health," or "junk" foods in our own society, and asks what the constitution of these tell us about Australian culture. In particular, we shall find that the conceptualization of "gourmet" foods as distinct from "industrialized" or "processed" foods is of great symbolic significance, and has resulted from a complex interaction of social, economic, cultural and historical factors. High culture food symbolisms, or gourmet food, gain meaning from their opposition to and criticism o f everyday "mass" or "popular" food. However, the elite creation of symbols of exclusivity must be constantly renewed as popular culture, through the medium of Industry, continually appropriates these symbols for itself, but in doing so, the symbols are reconstructed within a different context and thus change meaning. Yet once appropriation has occured, there is the demand for the resurgence of new symbols.

Gourmet cuisine and popular "industrial" food can be considered as opposite categories, as belonging to "High" and Popular" cultures respectively. Herbert J. Gans, in Popular Culture and High Culture, demonstrates that "in heterogenous societies, the struggles between diverse groups and aggregates over the allocation of resources are not limited to strictly economic resources, but also extend to cultural ones" (1975:3). Food and food categories represent an extremely powerful cultural resource, I would suggest. Gans particularly underlines the struggle between the "cultured," educated, sophisticated and affluent practitioners of high culture and the rest of society which prefer mass or popular culture, and "in each case, the former criticizes the latter for not living up to their own standard of good life" (26). This "mass culture critique" has several characteristics; it critisizes popular cultures mass-

production for the profit motive, its negative effect upon high culture by borrowing from it, and its effects upon the mass audience of society as a whole by lowering the general level of culture (Gans:63). As we shall see, these four reproaches are also made by devotees of gourmet cuisine against popular food tastes. In this way, the two spheres are defined and mutually contrasted. The demarcation of boundaries is an important matter, reflecting the social concern about encroachment and assimilation (as Mary Douglas showe in Purity and Danger). Through its mass-culture critique, the high culture group seeks to define itself as the creators of "true" culture, but constantly threatened by popular culture. A significant irony, as Gans notes, "is that to defend its creator-orientation it requires status, and to claim status it must compare itself to something lower. In short, the critique is partly an ideology of defense" (63). Jean Baudrillard also stresses that the primary purpose of the creatio of high culture is "to be distinctive signs, to be objects which will distinguish those who distinguish them" (1981:48). Thus the meaning of High Culture (and its "Gourmet" food specifically) is to be found above all in its opposition to and tacit critique of Popular Culture. These are symbols of identity and difference.

However, there is a complication: the creation of symbols of exclusivity by the high culture must be an ongoing effort, because mass culture is constantly absorbing it. "When an item of high culture is borrowed, the high-culture public may thereafter consider it tainted because its use by the popular culture has lowered its cultural prestige" Gans:28). In other words, the boundary that is so necessary to High Culture's self-definition has been crossed. As a consequence, High Culture is necessarily constantly re-creating itself through new symbols, or re-working and transforming old ones. Ironically, it often borrows from popular culture, e.g., jazz, folk-music, "primitive art," "Op-Art," "Pop-Art," and, I would suggest, "folk" or "traditional" cooking, "ethnic cuisine" and "regional cooking." As more and more of the traditionally high-culture symbols are adopted by popular culture, high culture is driven to a desperate rummaging through popular culture, the past, and other possible untapped sources of symbols (e.g., foreign cultures) for material to transform into symbolisms of the elite.

While High Culture with its mass culture critique is elitist and pleads for a restoration of an elitist hierarchy, Popular Culture is user-oriented and democra ic

in that it shapes culture into a "mass-society,"in which the central institutions and value systems have extended their boundaries (Gans:52-62). There is an increasing availability of cultural symbols as well as of material goods. The process seems to follow the "trickle-down" pattern; new elite symbols and models progressively filter down through all levels of general society. That this is true of food consumption patterns has been proven by the statistical analysis of the National Food Surveys of Britain, 1955-71, by J.W. Marr and W.F.C. Berry (cited by Douglas, 1976-7:73), and also by Piatiers survey throughout the Common Market and Great Britain, who concludes, "in the process of development of consumption, (the upper class group) could constitute a sort of directing schema towards which the rest of the population would gravitate as its revenues increased" (quoted by Baudrillard, 1981:58).

In these contemporary surveys the adoption of High Culture by Popular Culture is shown to be a remarkably rapid process, but the same dynamic can be seen to have occurred in earlier ages, albeit in slow motion. One example is spices. The very word itself is derived from the Latin species, meaning "a commodity of special distinction or value in contrast to the articles of ordinary commerce" (Goody, 1982:105). Together with sugar and salt, spices were precious and rare imports that were restricted to princely tables. Increasing trade and prosperity, however, had by the end of the Middle Ages brought their price within reach of ordinary folk, making them no longer a proof of wealth, so then the wealthy ridiculed the lower classes for using excessive amounts (Braudel, 1927:184). With the coming of industrilization, this process was speeded up and might occur even within a few decades, as McCance and Widdowson document in their study of the history of bread. White bread was considered a luxury item until the invention of roller mills, when it came within the reach of the lower classes. The upper classes then discovered a certain distinction in rough brown breads, which eventually became more costly than white. The espousal of brown bread by the intellectuals of the Romantic Period followed many of the classic "mass-culture critique" lines: it was affirmed that white bread, milled by artificial means, was poisonous to society, and was only produced for crude mercantile motives thus debasing the general community, while brown bread was "natural" and "wholesome" (1965:46). Early modern movements aiming at overthrowing dominant social hierarchies gave their accord to such sentiments and sought to eliminate the distinctions between

high and popular cuisine in favour of the latter: at the fall of the English monarchy in1684 the Cromwells brought in "simpler tastes"; the same occured after the French Revolution and even after the modern Communist revolution in China.

The Industrial Revolution and the increasing dominance of the middle class in England eventually stimulated a whole new wave of gourmet interest, however. The middle class first played the part of popular culture as they transgressed the boundaries that had once defined high culture. Cookbooks and manuals "helped them to breach the hierarchical organisation of cuisine, since the 'secrets' of rich households were noe revealed and sumptuary laws prohibiting imitation were no longer effective" (Goody, 1981:182). The opposition between high and popular cultures took on a new form as it became more closely related to money, reather than to birth.

However, we must not, as Gans has done, reify popular culture. The appropriation of high culture symbols is not done directly, but through the medium of Industry, with these symbols turned into commodities. It is possible to see this as Gramsci does; as the naturalization and legitimation of ruling class hegemony. Industry also appropriates symbols of working class opposition, for example punk style, and reconstitute them by placing them in the context of mass-production of commodities (punk fashion), thus their meaning is changed so as to support the system that it originally opposed. In the case of gourmet food, this process seems to be reversed -Industry or capital appropriates elite symbols but it appears as if the working classes have appropriated them, and this appearance prompts the high culture critique of popular foods. In this schema one could say the producers of these symbols, as members of an elite, are actually working in their own interests, yet do not see this yo be so. Jean Baudrillard (For a Critique of the Political Economy of the Sign., 1981), views Industry and the ideology of consumption as a hegemonic device, in that it "resolves" the contradiction of modern industrial capitalist society; that while the social system is really inert, the ideology of democracy espouses social mobility, and so the real demand for mobility "frolics and loses itself" in the consumption of material goods and of fashion. In other words, people see the signs and material symbols of the elite and appropriate them, but that can never touch the actual absolute privileges of the ruling class: powers of "decision, direction, political and economic power...manipulation of signs and men" (Baudrillard, 1981:62).

There are several important problems with Baudrillards approach, and others like it. First of all he fails to see that while the hierarchy remains intact and permanent, it is mobile. While the elite will always exist, it must continually re-present itself as its symbols are adopted by the rest of society, as the movement of Australian food fashions will illustrate: the very existence of the elite makes the society aim for it, elusive though it is. This agrees with his theory of the articulation of binary terms, one of the terms always being privileged, in order to set the system in motion (1981:17). Also, Baudrillard underestimates all of the political and economic progress that has been made, and the growing influence of money over privilege. This brings us to another criticism, that the upper or ruling classes are not necessarily, as Baudrillard assumes, the creators of these symbols, nor are the creators necessarily connected in any way with Industry -in fact the gourmet elite is very critical of Industry and its "translation" of their symbols into commodities. And how then do we account for the fact that working class symbols are also absorbed by Industry and commoditised? Those who purchase punk jewelry do not necessarily aspire to the bleak conditions that engendered the punk style. Wlad Godzich, in his article on "the Semiotics of Semiotics", argues that capitalism is coming to a "crisis of meaning" and a "shift in the mode of production," in that mass-production, or the "repetition" mode of production (as opposed to the "representation" mode, the traditional Marxist way of seeing the commodity as representing the labour or act that produced it) the commodity does not stand in a direct relation to the labour that produced it, and thus enables one designers "work" to be used over and over again such as in work done for royalties rather than wages by composers, writers, etc. The income from this repetition depends upon the demand that the product generates, and Godzich links the production of demand with the production of <u>meaning</u>, and the establishment of <u>use-value</u>, usually accomplished by advertising, but also, he finds, by the "science" of Semiology (Godzich:11). Meaning is necessary because "the mode of production of representation so taxes the surplus value of the commodity, in order...to produce demand by establishing meaningfulness, that it grinds up its own productive codes and resources, and produces <u>greater disorder</u> and less meaning" (Godzich:21).

In sum, mass-production depends not only upon the invention and production of new material commodities, but also upon the <u>creation of meaning</u> for these commodities.

To make consumption continuous, the meaning must be changed or the use-value limited. However, meaning is not only created by advertising and Semiology, or by the other methods of analysis of production (psychological, historico-cultural, etc.) and other "intellectual fields", but also, and perhaps primarily, by symbol-creating sub-cultures and elites such as high culture, youth cultures, health cultures and "ethnic revivals" (Gans,1979; Smith, 1981). Regardless of their class origins, they position themselves "outside" of mass-society, and critically comment upon it. Unlike the analytical fields, they constitute a visble, accessible, whole and lived relation to society, and thus are even more available as pools of symbols for Industry to draw upon and refer to. Thus we find that even hyper-industrial structures in themselves cannot generate creativity, and so, paradoxically, utilize precisely the creativity generated by a plethora of counter-industrial and modern capitalist society-cultures.

Early Food Trends and Industrialization in Australia

The colonialization of Australia took place at the peak of the Industrial Age, as a total institution in the form of a penal colony. From the start, diet was standardised, mass-produced by Industry, and transportable in the form of ships rations of biscuits, salted meats, flour, rice and tea. Food was thus in the hands of the state, the ruling classes, instead of the individual, and unlike the English situation there were no peasants or rural poor to be converted from their own food production and consumption to industrial food. The reliance upon English rations continued for many years, even by the self-employed who would take rations into the bush with them, and rations constituted payment for many who worked for the state (Symons, 1982:15-30).

Furthermore, the pastoral age was instigated by the state, motivated by the need to produce food for the colony. The land was in the hands of the military officers and government officials, granted to them by the governor, and was worked by free convict labour. Thus the beginnings of capitalism in Australia began with the production of food, and the production of food was form the start within a bureaucratised and standardised frame.

It was the growth of the middle classes in the cities that laid the foundation for a diversification of diet- before this, cookbooks had reflected the social reality of a wealthy class, served by imported English cookbooks, and a poor working class to whom were peddled rough "bush style" cookbooks (Symons:42-45). The Gold Rush and sub-

sequent immigration created a middle class large enough to stimulate widespread competition for status among relatively equally moneyed groups, and the new middle class also competed with the older established ruling class. The cookbooks with their imitation of British aristocratic cuisine can be seen as part of what Ward has described as the rise of a native "Bunyip aristocracy" by the squatters and propertied interests (Ward, 1967:80).

"Progressive" cookbooks catered for the newly prosperous dealing with a servant shortage. They aimed at raising the general level of culture, and were part of a popular middle class proselytising campaign concerned with the health and hygiene of the masses. For example, the social "editress" of the Melbourne Herald, "Rita", preached against vulgar eating habits and promoted table ettiquette. She and the rising middle class, with the ethos of progress and civilization, created desirable symbols out of "modern" cooking methods, mass-produced pots and pans, gas and iron stoves, etc., as "they make cooking easier, cleaner and healthier" than the old use of knife, pannikin, billy and wood fire (cited by Symons:67-68). The intervention of the middle class into working class life can be seen as an attempt to nuetralize the growing public awareness of class opposition by securing the aid of women, working within the family to discipline labour by generating desires for consumer goods (this intervention was also part of the new liberal humanism and "reform" -universal male suffrage, etc.). In any case, along with industrial growth, an "egalitarianisation" of food began to take place. Processed versions of the handmade luxuries of the rich (biscuits, jams, pickles etc.) became widely available as transport and technological breakthroughs in preservation and farming improved (Symons:60-70, 85-97).

This new "industrial" food, writes Goody, tends to "reduce the differences within and between socio-cultural systems...the aim of the manufacturers is to get as wide and standard a distribution as possible...such items are rarely directed at an eltist or specialist market; the gneral aim is to cross class as well as regional boundaries" (1982). E.G. Tueteberg agrees, adding: "The emancipation from a rather monotonous local and regional diet and from the strictures of a social or religious nature...and the stimulation of new desires by advertising, have considerably lessened the differences in taste between the lower and privileged upper classes leading to the

beginning of something that might be called the 'democratization of dietary gratification'" (1975:79). The equalization of food corresponds to the absorption of the working class into middle class society (and the creation of a "mass-society" -the opposite to Marx's prophesized "polarization of classes").

When the food industry expanded the culture of the "masses" to include aspects of once exclusively "High Culture," high culture was driven to search for new symbols of exclusivity, and the Gourmet Boom of the 1880's found it by turning to foreign foods as yet beyond the reach of popular culture. Especially in vogue were French, Italian and German food, and in contrast to the older "sixpenny restaurant" style that offered cheap and muttonous fare, Parisian-style restaurants opened that "elevated dining to an art" (Symons, 1982:114).

Industrial Food as High Culture in the Early Twentieth Century

Restaurant and High Cuisine society seem to have been killed off or dormant after the Great War, and though one of the reasons for this seems to have been war-time austerity (Symons, 1982:124-9), the fact that it lasted up until the 1950's and 60's seems to indicate that during this period High Cuisine shifted from foreign food to interest in the latest industrial foods and products. During this period there was a continual stress upon "newness", the latest industrial gadgets, and feminine dainty food as opposed to "old-fashioned" crude (masculine) bush-style food. Australian females were encouraged to become the leaders of the new consumerism, touting the "civilised" way of life, complete with "at home" teas, convenience foods, and package cake mixes. Convenience foods such as breakfast cereals, vegemite and condensed milk answered the previous eras philanthropic health concerns (Symons, 1982:128-9, 141). Industry emphasized the once upper class consumption arena, the home that every ... Connell and Irving see the period from 1920 to 1950 as a time of establishment of ruling class hegemony on the new basis of restructuring the economy around manufacturing and industry, developing mass retailing, the welfare state, and extending suburban home construction and ownership to the general population (1980:270). The philosophy of conspicuous consumption and the "tradition of the new" has been remarked upon by many critics of culture -some regard it as a secular religion of progress, attempt to create a this-worldly Promethean Eden (e.g. Wright and Snow, 1980). Another possibility for interpreting this is given by John Carroll, who suggests that during the growth of the middle class, the upper middle class failed to enshrine its

values that reflected British aristocracy due to the development of an egalitarian "bad conscience" of 19th-century liberalism (Carroll:150). Therefore, the symbols that Industry adopted were instead consumption, modernity and ownership of goods. The growth of supermarkets and mass retailing contributed to the stimulation of demand as well as the glorification of modernity. Curry and Jiobu point out that their wide choice meant that the products must be transformed into symbols in order for any one to be recognized and chosen (1980:251). During the 1970's a large marketing industry arose to gauge consumer tastes and facilitate the symbolization process; it is against this backround that the current situation and present "Gourmet Boom" can be seen.

Current Food Patterns

The present Gourmet Boom started in the 1960's with an emphasis on foreign and ethnic cuisines. One of the most popular held theories about its cause is the "multi-cultural society"theory -that the influx of migrants after the war enlarged our culinary vocabulary (also see the "Big Trip", the influential personalities, the general affluence theories, Symons,1982:222-28). Symons, however, sees the three crests of gourmet interest in Australia (the 1850's, 1880's and 1960's on), as having one characteristic in common -industrialization- first of the garden, then the pantry, and lastly the kitchen (Symons, 1982:228). However, the food industry's need for new symbols to create demand was constant, and included the use of symbols of modernity and industrialism during the first half of the century, as well as the gourmet booms. The "gourmet booms" have another characteristic in common: they all occur during times when liberalism, egalitarianism and Popular Culture were seen to be spreading, and thus the "booms" were a symbolic opposition to this and the absorption of High Culture symbolisms by Industry. Thus the industrial advances indirectly caused the "gourmet booms" by spreading Popular Culture and absorbing High Culture's symbols.

The "new bohemian" of the Sixties held red wine and spaghetti bolognese parties, and while thenumber of Chinese restaurants increased rapidly, French cuisine reigned supreme as a more exclusive High Culture food. As in the gourmet boom of the 1880's, foreign symbols were chosen to oppose the national cuisine. However, they were soon absorbed by Industry and Popular Culture. For example, a recipe in a mid-Sixties magazine under the heading of "Oriental Fried Rice" included many industrial ingredients, and started off with three chopped brown onions, one pound of sliced bacon,

a cup of peas, and included a can of crushed pineapple and three sliced fried eggs instead of the Chinese sliced omelette (Beckett, 1984:157). A popular version of spaghetti bolognese was "boiled mince and onion with bottled tomato sauce, served with grated Kraft cheese topping" (Beckett, 1984:157). Despite this absorption by popular cuisine, ethnic emphasis in gourmet High Culture are still continuing today, as all of the possible cuisines and their variations have not been exhausted as yet; for example, a brief glance at the 1984 Australian Epicurean and Gourmet magazines yeilds such topics as "Spicy Chinese Schezuan Cooking", "A Taste of Haiti," "The Yum Cha Boom," "A Taste of Spain," etc.

The gourmet boom of the 1960's also included a restaurant boom; for example, in N.S.W. in 1966 there were 392 licensed restaurants, and by 1980 it had mushroomed to 1,622 (Symons, 1982:229). French food was still considered the main high cuisine, especially when the styles of "nouvelle cuisine" and "cuisine minceur" appeared in the 1970's. In France, these styles had been reactions against the heavier, roux-based sauce traditional style: the philosophy was "less is more", and in Australia this gained added value as a counterpoint to the heavier and plainer British-influenced Australian diet. To some extent its stress upon "freshness and lightness" was a combination of health food ideas with gourmet ideas.

"Health food" is another food category that deserves at least brief notice. In its symbolic positioning as opposite to modern, industrial, scientific Western culture it shares a characteristic with gourmet cuisine, and is therefore used in High Culture cuisine. However, if gourmet cuisine seeks to position itself at the apex of the cultural hierarchy, health food seeks to destoy that hierarchy, or to place itself outside of society altogether. Health food started with the Romantic reaction against industrialism and middle class society in the late 18th century, and was part of a Rousseauian attempt to discover the culture already latent in nature, thus overthrowing the "artificial" distortions and excesses of historical culture. In Australia, the "health" aspect of food was made much of during the "philanthropic" critique of mass culture of the 1880's. However, during the expansion of industry and the identification of High Culture with modernity, health food seemed to fade away as an elite symbol. White bread, for example, was again in favour as a "badge of modern life," to qoute a master-baker: "it belongs to the world of today, to freedom, to constitu-

tional governments, to all cleanliness of living, to all that is worthwhile. Black bread is the bread of serfs, ground on coarse stones and baked in a hovel..." (Quoted by Symons, 1982:99). But by the 1960'S, Vogel brown bread had been introduced and was sold in increasingly busy health-food stores. It again became "a symbol of trendy eating" (Symons,1982:161).

Research done on the health industry in the United States shows that it fulfills a religious need by defining good and evil, and by setting its adherents away from the rest of impure society (Keen, 1978:65-6). It is possible that health food was absorbed early on into mass culture, and now may be used as symbols for several purposes; in its original sense to define a separate group, a counter-culture, or as an alternative elitist group such as Gourmet Culture. We can see that gourmet food often incorporates and borrows health food themes, symbols that support its own ideology, by glancing at any gourmet magazine. The May-June/1984 Epicurean has a lengthy section on gourmet vegetarian food, with much health food rhetoric; "When planning a meal, don't 'invent' meat substitutes. Such perversities as the dreaded 'soyaburger have led food manufacturers to putting the ghastly things in cans." Fresh vegetables "find no replacement in their tinned, frozen or supermarket, celllophane wrapped version." Yet the menu is not what you would expect from a health food version -a buffet-style antipasto with champagne, piroshki and sushi (ibid., p.14). Another example of the High Culture combination of styles is in the Australian Vogue 1984 Winter Entertainment Guide, where a big section on bread-baking has blurbs such as "A healthy way to loaf: bread that's natural, nutritious," "Multi-cultural Breads", "Upper Crust Breads," "Home-Baked Tradition," and "Perfect Simplicity"; thus, health food trends are mixed with ethnic, elitist, traditional and ascetic motifs, and all are incorporated into Industry. Our discussion of health foods parenthetically reminds us of the existence of many symbol-creating subcultures and elites which may often interact and borrow from one another in their common opposition to industrial society, and yet serving, as does gourmet culture, as an unwitting provider of symbols with which Industry creates use-value and demand for its commodities. In any case, the symbols of foreign foods and health foods are now fully absorbed by Industry and Popular Culture. The health food industry is huge, and every local deli has sugarless juices, low cholesterol margarine, muesli, youghurt, etc., next to the packets of instant Paella.

Popular Industrial Food Today

In the process of appropriating High Culture symbols, Industry also "translates" and transforms these symbols into terms that industrial food can turn into products. This change of contexts involves contradictions that negate the original meanings that the symbols had. An example is the translation of foreign foods into dishes that can be made with ingredients "native" to the mass-culture itself. One of the new categories added to the 1984 Women's Weekly Back-to Back Series was "International Recipes", replacing the earlier "Classic", mainly French category of the 1960's foriegn food boom. In the same ways that we saw spaghetti and fried rice translations in the 1960's more exotic recipes such as "Nasi Goreng (Indonesian Rice Dish)" in the contemporary Women's Weekly are a simplified version of the real thing, with accessible ingredie Womens magazines are often used as arenas for establishing use-values and meanings of products, as Symons has illustrated in the case of the drumming up of demand by Golden Circle for its pineapple by sponsoring recipe contests; "The recipe sections of the Weekly and Woman's Day crowned Australian cuisine with the pineapple ring" (Symons 188-193). But back to our Nasi Goreng -it contains rice, prawns, filet steak, onions, eggs and soy sauce. Significantly, while the 1960's fried rice recipe called for "fri eggs", this recipe specifies and teaches the technique for making an omelette. So, not only the ingredients or the style are appropriated by Industry and Popular Cultur but also the techniques are taken: the audience is taught these things (the same issu also advertises The Yes You Can Book of Mexican Cooking and Step by Step Chinese Cooking).

A crucial element to consider when identifying mass food with Industrial food is that of Time. Originally, many industrial foods such as bread, tea, etc. were produced for the specific market of the working classes, who had no time to prepare the traditional braeds, stews or stocks. In a sense, then, industrial food is a circular unending process; it feeds the workers who produce the food. Thus, as a part of the production process -food as fuel- it represents the final incorporation of Labour into Industry. As fuel, popular cuisine is filling, and portions are hearty and large. Popular magazines feature a large proportion of "one-pot" or "casserole" dishes, in the container they are served in, suggesting bulk and quick preparation. Meat is usually portrayed in large hunks, pieces or the whole animal (turkey etc.). In contrast

to the dessication process of Nouvelle Cuisine, there are never merely a few thin slices on an individual plate, garnished and sitting in a sauce.

That food is seen as fual has bearing on the conceptualization of labour and leisure. As apart of Industry, its preparation is relegated to the "labour" sphere, in that one works for the money to buy it already to some degree prepared. In Popular Culture, leisure time, or personally owned time, is carefully budgeted in the preparation of food. This "labour-saving" aspect of industrial food was touted from the beginning; an example is the "30-Second Breakfast" of Kellogs Corn Flakes that replaced the heartier breakfasts of the past (Symons,1982:196). In the period of industrial expansion, ladies magazines often hailed the advent of new labour-saving gadgets and foods, and today popular media cooks such as Bernard King use the latest in technology such as microwave ovens. In 1984 the Women's Weekly replaced its older time-saving convenience category of "Freezer" with the newer "Microwave". And of course there are "T.V." dinners and "fast food". A typical example of the concern with time by popular food is the "zip-out" in the December 1983 Women's Weekly; "Short Cut Cookery for the Holidays", explaining "Time with your family is a vital part of the season, so we've made use of cans and packages to leave you time to enjoy it". Convenience food, foriegn food, and Low-Cal dishes are all rolled into one in Good Housekeeping's "Cook Ahead & Freeze Low Kilojoule Dishes", featuring "Gourmet Diet Specials" such as Chicken Primavera(Nov.: 115).

Roland Barthes sees the tendency of the imagery of food to be based upon human occasions and times, as a modern tendency. Food will "lose in substance and gain in function", and this seems to be especially true of popular cuisine (1975:58). The commodification of time, into rigid and regular units, has a direct parallel in the rigidification of food into standard units; we eat at set times, even our "snacks" are bounded and no longer arbitrary, for example "Have a break, have a Kit Kat." All of the elements of chance that used to be a crucial factor in food, seasonal variations, weather, region, etc., are taken away by the standardization of industrial supermarket food. This is taken to its limit in fast food, composed to a standard recipe at all oulets.

The absorption of Nouvelle Cuisine trends is not as yet complete, although significant p rogress has been made. An advert in Nov. 1984 Family Circle gives a recipe

for an "Edgell Citrus Beetroot Salad" in which onion, apple, orange rind and shallots are sprinkled over canned beetroot in the trendy form of julliene. As we shall see, aestheticization is an important element of Nouvelle Cuisine, and the julliene is one example of the use of this element by popular culture, as is the more ludicrous attempt in Good Housekeeping's "Cooking with Flowers" section. Here, flowers have been used to garnish stuffed eggs, cheese, soups etc., except they are used in such abundance and variety that it seems the high culture theme of aesthetics has been tempered with popular cultures stress upon large amounts and masses. Another element taken from high culture is the adoption of lighter sauces, as opposed to the thicker English and French sauces -this is reflected in the advert for a packaged sauce-mix, in which the photo depicts a carefully-arranged platter of fillets covered with a lightlayer of sauce, - the recipe even instructs; "garnish with lemon-slices, sprig of dill and coarsely ground black pepper." One of the most recent examples illustrates the increasing influence of Nouvelle Cuisine on popular food: in the February 1985 issue of Women's Weekly there is an advertisement put out by the Canned Food Information Service, claiming that for the fresh vegetables "Time stands still" in the can, and illustrated by very nouvelle-looking dishes, whose main course, "Chicken Kebabs" resembles almost exactly an entree in the same month's Epicurean ; "Rabbit Brochettes with Pink Peppercorns and Orange Sauce." The probable world of difference in the tastes reveals the internal contradictions between the ethos of Nouvelle Cuisine and the requirements of Industrial food.

Gourmet Cuisine Today

High Culture's critique of Popular Culture, as Gans has described it, is evident in Symon's history of Australian eating, and in much other writing on Australian f Australian popular industrial food and cooking is characterised as "the world's most artificial and careless", and the pessimistic view of the decline of life since the arrival of urban-industrial society, and the romanticization of the peasant folk-culture is present, that Gans had also noted of High Culture (Symons,1982:1-9,262;Gans, 55). Symons also criticizes modern supermarket shopping, dining habits, convenience foods, take-outs, popularized gourmet-books, etc.

As an opposition to industrial, urban, portable food, the Australian mass-culture critique advocates fresh, regional, locally or even home-grown food (Symons,1982:261

Regional Cuisine seems to be the up and coming trend in gourmet culture. It is elitist and opposes Industrial food in that it puts back the value, the human labour-power time, into the food, that industrialization with its resultant cheapness, takes out. Not everyone can afford either the time to grow their own food, nor the money to pay others to do so. It therefore assumes either a considerable amount of leisure time or of money -both common to the elite.

An assumption of leisure time is also put forward by gourmet cuisine in its preparation of food, done as part of leisure rather that being relegated to the sphere of labour. The finished product constantly reminds the diner of the amount of time and care put into it, as we shall see. Rather than being simply functional ("food-as-fuel"), gourmet cuisine highlights the celebratory aspect of food. The aestheticization of food also mystifies its basic function.

But let us examine the sequence, the "units", as Douglas puts it, of food, of Nouvelle Cuisine, representative of gourmet cuisine in 1984. Nouvelle Cuisine's emphasis is upon the single course, arranged artistically usually on a large white china plate that acts as a "canvas" for the creation. The Vogue Wine and Food Cookbook for 1984 consists only of first and last courses, as "today's trend is toward lighter, smaller courses." Often, however, there are three courses given in restaurant and magazine meals. Unlike in Nicod's study of working class British meals, in which the courses got progressively lighter and more complex, all courses are of similar quantity and degree of complexity (Nicod,1980). Most have a main serving, a sauce, and a garnish. Take, for example, the "Trout, Scallop and Spinach Terrine" in the 1984 March/April issue of The Epicurean; a slice of fluffy terrine with a six-layer structure, each layer prepared separately, with a dollop of sour cream and three carefully-placed chives. The unusual combination of two types of fish is utilized again in the "Lattice of Fish Fillets", a woven assembly of several types of fish, in a sauce, garnished with slivers of vegetables. A glance through any gourmet magazine will illustrate several principles:

1. Complexity: not only in the assembly and garnishes but especially in the preparation and final assembly, "plating". This approach makes food an art that an untrained hand could spoil, and asserts that its function is not important. Food is celebratory, full of personal input. It asserts, therefore, that popular food is

impersonal, plainly functional and related to the labour-sphere.

2. Small Servings: not only in amounts, but even these tiny portions are sliced, or divided into small heaps. As an opposition to popular food, this again asserts that utility or function is not the primary goal. The small servings make even a small steak dinner look crude in comparison and are in total opposition to whole giant roasts and large unsliced hunks of food.

3. Transformed Nature: food is complex and cut-up, and thereby the real nature of the food has been totally changed. Often one cannot tell what is in a dish without asking. The food is thus "super-cultured" as opposed to the "un-cultured" popular food. However, gourmet food also stresses the "Natural" aspect of food as opposed to the Culture-creations of industrial food. It is more a "Raw" in its treatment of food than popular food's "Cooked" aspect; gourmet food is longer in its preparation, but the actual cooking time is often less. In gourmet food, the transformation of actually raw or natural food from its pristine state (the agricul tural industries, middlemen, etc., are often ignored) requires a long process whereby leisure time is invested in it, but a short cooking period, preserving what might be called the cultured Natural states this process is an inversion of industrial food which takes prepared things through a short and anonymous preparation, but with a longer cooking period, producing something "overdone," impersonal, uncultured and unNatural.

4. Unusual and New Combinations: often several meats are combined, or meats with fruit, also unusual accompaniments and ways of doing things, such as buckwheat noodl or stuffed zucchini flowers, etc. The emphasis is on the new; as new symbols are being created, the old ones are reworked or discarded, implying that popular food is staid and dull, not fashionable or "avant-garde." This also illustrates the extent to which High Culture is creator-oriented. The continual creation of new symbols is necessary to keep High Culture ahead of Popular Culture, thus it supplies the direction, the "avant" or front, that mass society aspires to.

5. The Garnish: whether it is just a mint leaf or a complex chive lattice, the garnish is ever-present. Often, it will act as the "vegetable", but always is suggests the great care that has gone into the presentation. It also acts as a reminder of the "Naturalness" of the food, almost a Rousseauian symbol. Popular food is seldom garnished except with something commonly available such as parsley or lemon.

6. The Sauce: this goes back to the transformation of nature. Nouvelle Cuisine sauces are light, often purees, and often need a separately-prepared stock.

7. Absence of Industrial Ingredients: this is obvoius, as gourmet cuisine seeks toposition itself as opposite to industrial food. In fact, this is true to such an extent that the only canned or processed food that can be used in High Culture's food is truffles and caviar, because of their expense, rarity and existing elite-symbolism.

8. Personal Input: rather than the impersonal input of industrial food. Food is taken in its raw, natural state, and transformed by the personal leisuretime effort that is crucial to Nouvelle Cuisine, and is emphasized by the creator-orientation toward thinking up new and unusual ingredients. Popular food, which passes through the many anonymous, impersonal hands of Industry is impure, the processed, cooked, digested excreta of industrial society.

Conclusions

Gourmet Cuisine and Industrial food thus represent two sides of a model of symbol creation and transformation; High Culture and Popular Culture with Industry in the middle. We have seen that Gourmet Cuisine encapsulates a symbolism of opposition, which must continually search for new exclusive symbols to draw the boundary between High Culture and ever-encroaching mass-society. These two social groupings can be seen as symbolic equivalents of two contrasting styles of democracy; Individualism and Egalitarianism. The latter is especially characteristic of Australian working class culture, Oxley contends; there is a strong tendency to deny hierachies and differences, and the more elitist views of Individualism were never strongly enshrined due to what Carrol termed the "failure of the middle-class nerve." Contributing to this is the widespread industrialization of food (a factor which we have seen has always been very strong in Australia), and the affluence of a growing mass-society. In a reaction against this, the gourmet enthusiasm of the elite is all the more intense; a symbolic counterpoint emphasizing the individual and his/her achievement of wealth and leisure. But in Australia's egalitarian, equalizing atmosphere, High Culture's symbols are seen to be quickly appropriated by Popular Culture through Industry. High Culture creators provide in this way the general social, economic and cultural directions of society. And yet the model works both ways, as High Culture often looks within Popular Culture for new symbols, as in regional food. So we can say that the model is one of a con-

stantly imbalanced, dynamic dialectic between High and Popular Cultures, where, as Baudrillard has stated, one of the terms, High Culture, is privileged.

However, whether one sees this dialectic as benefitting either High Culture, in Gramscian terms, or Popular Culture, as an ever-ascending spiral of consumption of benefits, ultimately depends upon ones political beliefs. Regardless, Industry is ultimately the biggest beneficiary, and can be seen to be the instigator of the whole thing in the first place.

How and what we eat thus expresses our relation to modern industrial society, and to culture in general. That food should encapsulate such a range of symbols is not surprising, as it is such a basic factor of existence, but what is really significant is not only that food expresses, but that it also can, through these symbols, mani the relation to society, other subcultures, etc. Thus food symbolism should not be treated as a text that needs decoding, but as an ongoing social process, a cultural arena for the articulation of relationships.

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PAPER FOR PRESENTATION TO THE SECOND SYMPOSIUM OF AUSTRALIAN GASTRONOMY

(September 30 to October 2, 1985)

YOUNG, OLD AND NEW CROPS - MACADAMIAS, PISTACHIOS AND QUANDONGS

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INTRODUCTION

In contrast to the other continents Australia has contributed almost no edible crops to the food supply of the world. A possible reason for this is that we have not looked closely enough at our flora and at the eating habits of our indigenous people in seeking new crop plants. Alternatively, because we are the oldest and most weathered of the continents and as we have had relatively little recent volcanic activity, we lack the rich soils and steep mountain ranges on which plants flourish and develop new species.

To compensate for the lack of edible plants, the immigrants who came to Australia over the first hundred years or so brought with them a wide selection of the crop plants of the world. Most of these have thrived as in this large island we have a wide range of climates. Many crops came with or soon after the arrival of the first fleet but subsequently our plant scientists became overly conscious of the hazards of importing plant diseases and insect pests and made it very difficult to bring in new species and varieties. Thankfully in recent years these attitudes have changed and we now have grape varieties such as chardonnay and pinot noir that were lost from our earlier introductions and a range of tropical and new temperate crops that were not brought by our early European settlers.

This talk is concerned with a young crop, the macadamia, which originated in Australia but which was commercialized in Hawaii and an old crop, the pistachio which has been grown in the Middle East for over 2000 years but which is new to Australia. Finally, I shall discuss a new crop, the quandong, which may eventually become more than a gastronomic curiosity and develop into an economic crop.

MACADAMIAS

Macadamia trees from rain forests on the outskirts of Brisbane were first described by Walter Hill, Director of the Brisbane Botanic Gardens and Ferdinand Mueller, Government Botanist of Victoria in the mid 19th century. The genus which is within the family Proteaceae was named after Dr. John Macadam, Secretary of the Philosophical Institute of Victoria. The main edible species are M. integrifolia which grows in Queensland between Rockhampton and Brisbane and M. tetraphylla found in northern N.S.W. and hybrids between the two. Other Australian species include M. whelani, M. hayana and M. prealta which have bitter tasting kernels containing cyanogens. As well there are species in related genera, Hicksbeachia pinnatifolia and Helicia pinnatifolia which have edible kernels. There is a need to make further collections of Macadamia species and relatives from the remaining areas of tropical rainforests in Northern Australia to see if improved hybrids can be developed from crosses between these and existing commercial varieties.

Australia was slow in exploiting the macadamia as commercial production of this crop first occurred in Hawaii where trees were planted in the 1880's and 1890's by the Jordan brothers. However, it took until the 1930's and 1940's for the Hawaiian industry to become profitable, when high yielding selections became available and were grafted to rootstocks to give productive orchards. By contrast only small areas of seedling trees were grown in Australia until the 1960's when CSR began to develop plantations based on grafted Hawaiian cultivars.

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Over the past decade increased planting has occurred in Australia but for a variety of reasons, including the climate, prevalence of insect pests, and lack of varieties selected for Australian growing conditions, production levels in this country have been consistently lower than those in Hawaii (30 versus 50 kg of nut in shell per tree). A recent important finding by CSIRO has been that some of the commercial varieties of macadamia that were commonly regarded as self-fertile require cross pollination.

In recent years orchards have also been developed in South Africa, Israel, Costa Rica, Guatemala and Kenya. Current world production is approximately 18,000 tonnes (in shell) with Australia contributing about 2,000 tonnes. The edible portion of the nut consists of two hemispherical cotyledons. These are enclosed in a tough brown shell which is covered by a green fibrous husk. The dried kernels which account for about 30% to 50% of the nut, are removed from the hard shell using specialised machines developed for the purpose. The composition of the kernels is given in Table I. They contain about 70% oil and are normally cooked and vacuum packed to prevent the development of rancid off flavours arising from the oxidation of the oil. However, many people prefer the flavour of fresh macadamias which can be easily hand shelled using an inexpensive multigrip wrench.

The future prospects of this crop are good, as it is preferred by many consumers to other nuts because of their crisp texture and distinctive flavour. Alternative commercial names used for macadamia include Australian, Queensland, Hawaiian or bopple nut.

PISTACHIOS

The name pistachio is used for the edible nuts from the tree Pistacia vera which is an ancient crop of the Middle East. This crop is thought to have originated in central Asia and grows naturally from India/Pakistan through to Lebanon, Syria and on the Island of Cyprus.

Pistacia vera is one of 10 or more species in the genus, which is part of the family Anacardiaceae that includes mango, cashew and pepper tree. P. atlantica, P. terebinthus and P.integerrima are used as rootstocks for P. vera while P. chinensis and P. atlantica maybe used as shade and ornamental trees.

The main producers and exporters of pistachios are Turkey, Iran, U.S.A., Afghanistan, Italy and Syria. Smaller amounts are grown in Greece, India, Lebanon, Pakistan and Tunisia. In recent years extensive planting of pistachios have been made in Iran and the USA. Small plantings of some 500 hectares are currently being developed in Australia. World production is in the range of 60-80,000 tonnes with considerable variability as cropping tends to be irregular (Table I).
The pistachio is a relatively small deciduous tree, somewhat like a fig in habit which grows to about 5 metres high. The leaves are leathery, wide spaced and have from 1 to 5 leaflets. The whole plant is permeated by resin ducts giving the plant a characteristic resinous odour. The tree is taprooted and extremely drought tolerant. The male and female flowers are clustered in short spikes and are produced on separate plants (dioecious). Pollination is by wind and it is necessary to have 2 or 3 male selections which flower at different times to be sure that pollen is available when the stigmas of the female plants are receptive.

The fruit consists of a single large seed lying inside a thin, hard bivalve shell which is surrounded by a resinous husk. After pollination the fruit enlarges very rapidly and is full sized with a firm shell within 8-10 weeks. The seed is full sized in 16 weeks and is ripe 3-4 weeks later. When the fruit ripens the fleshy husk separates from the shell which in turn splits to expose the purple red coat of the seed. Dehusking can be done with a potato peeler and the fresh nuts may be directly consumed or used in prepared dishes but cold temperature storage is essential to avoid aflatoxin problems. There is a developing tendency for local growers to market fresh pistachios for culinary purposes but processing them into a deep frozen or blanched product would have advantages. More commonly freshly harvested pistachios are dried and then passed through a brine bath and rapidly redried to give the salt-roasted pistachios of commerce.

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Both dried and fresh pistachio nuts are high in chlorophyll and this provides the green colour of pistachio ice-cream, with some help from green colouring agents in this day and age! Table I provides information about the basic composition of pistachio nuts which are higher in protein and lower in fat than macadamias.

For a crop of such antiquity it is surprising that relatively few varieties have been described. In Australia the main varieties are Kerman a selection in California, Sirora a selection made by CSIRO, and Sfax selected in Tunisia.

QUANDONGS

The fruit of the small inland tree Santalum acuminatum which grows from NSW to WA is known as quandong, native peach or in WA as wolgol. The flowers are self-fertile. The round pendulous fruits are commonly 2 to 3 cm across and change from green to red or in some cases to yellow when ripe. The fleshy layer surrounding the dimpled stone is edible at the time when the fruits fall or can be shaken off the tree. The flesh is high in ascorbic acid, total acid and pectin but can be eaten fresh or made into jams, pies and jellies or alternatively it can be preserved by drying.

The stones are easily removed from the flesh and have been used as ornaments, necklaces or substitutes for marbles, especially in the game of chinese checkers. The kernels within the stones are round, sufficiently high (60 to 80%) in oil to burn and are edible. Their main fatty acids are oleic and santalbic (Table 1). A problem with the nuts is they contain methyl benzoate which imparts a bitter taste but this can partially be removed by roasting. Two related species, S. spicatum, the Fragrant Sandalwood from both W.A. and S.A., and S. murrayana the 'Bitter Quandong' have kernels which are free of methyl benzoate and could be used in breeding for improved nut quality.

The plant is an attractive small tree with narrow grey-green pendulous leaves which has amenity value in drier areas. We have been experimenting with the quandong at CSIRO since 1973 and in long term trials are selecting trees from seedling populations which give both high yields and high fruit quality. Techniques for reliably germinating the seeds have been developed and methods for successfully grafting desirable scions to rootstocks have been developed. Grafted trees produce crops in 2 to 3 years, whereas seedling trees take from 5 to 7 years. The quandong along with other members of the genus Santalum, is a root parasite and self grafts its roots to lucerne, kikuyu grass and to a range of native species. The trees are frost tolerant and once established are extremely drought tolerant and capable of cropping in arid environments.

At CSIRO, since 1981 we have planted over 400 trees from seed collected from various parts of Australia. The trees respond well to irrigation and some have fruit with an average weight of 10 gms and a flesh ratio of approximately 70%. Some selections in trials at Paringa, S.A., have given yields of up to 1000 fruits per tree which if they can be sustained, place quandong close to being a commercially viable crop.

FURTHER READING

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TABLE I

APPROXIMATE WORLD PRODUCTION AND COMPOSITION OF SELECTED NUT CROPS

NUT	PRODUCTION (Tonnes In Shell)	COMPOSITION - Per 100 gm edible portion					
		Water	Protein	Fat	Carbo-hydrates	Kilo Cal.	Thiamine
Quandong		1.5-3.5	10-20	60-80			High
Macadamia	18000	2.2	8.4	73.8	14.0	707	340
" (Aust)	2000						
Pistachio	60000 to 80000	5.3	19.3	53.7	19.0	594	670
Walnut	290000	4.1	14.8	63.7	14.7	648	380
Almond (kernels)	270000	4.8	19.5	53.8	18.9	598	243

'THE TIME HAS COME' the Walrus said ... by J.M.Stone

My interest in Australian regard for vegetables as food arose from a perusal of South Australia's first newspapers. It was clear that from the start there was a deep interest in and enthusiasm for increasing the range of vegetable foods available. Societies for propagating plants from all over the world, moves to establish the Botanical Gardens where propagation work could take place, commercial plant nurseries, agricultural show entry and prize lists all indicate expectancy of an abundant production far beyond English experience. W. Carlson's The Kitchen Garden circa 1883 lists 48 vegetables, 7 herbs and 9 salad varieties with an enthusiastic preface extolling the virtues of vegetables as food.

All this interest and action seemed strangely at odds with my own early experiences. I was brought up on 'good plain fare' and the 1950's training in use of vegetables was almost entirely confined to consideration of the dozen or so vegetables familiar in English kitchens. We learnt that all vegetables should be boiled, although my teachers had abandoned carb-soda addition and were advocating reductions in the quantity of water deemed necessary to cook vegetables satisfactorily. The only change to all the boiling that went on occurred on Sundays when roast vegetables were allowed to be baked around the roast.

For pre-60's Australians, salads almost always consisted of shredded lettuce topped with diced vegetables left over from the previous meal or a selection from hard boiled egg, sliced tomato, cucumber or beetroot or grated cheese in some combination.

At Sunday tea this one dish salad was supplemented by small accompanying salads of the aforementioned topping ingredients, dressed in vinegar, salt and pepper.

I have consulted as many cooking books published between 1888 and 1950 as I could lay my hands on, in addition to gardening guides, general histories and, most valuably, Michael Symons. My ideas and impressions have also been developed in the process of teaching. Students have been assigned to interview older people about their memories of the pre-war period, and as a result have contributed many valuable snippets and helped confirm my own impressions.

It has been noted often that Australians used English cook books if indeed they used any in the early colonial years. However, it would seem reasonable that once Australian cook books began to appear, there should be evidence of the botanical enthusiasm I had noted. Given the small number of recipe books I have available to me, and acknowledging the problem of accepting that recipe book evidence gives firm evidence of what actually occurs in the kitchens and dining rooms of the country, I want to show that the expectation was not realised, and to speculate about the reasons for the failure of everyday people to establish eating patterns in which vegetables played more than a minor role.

The earliest recipe book I consulted was Harriett Wicken's Kingswood Cookery Book of 1888. Wicken had adapted the book to Australian conditions in unspecified ways, and included mention of but 12 vegetables.

She acknowledged their importance but wrote instructions for preparing and using them only as garnishes for meat, the real substance of meals. Plenty of water and a little carb-soda was the standard recipe for vegetables.
Phillip Musket collaborated with Wicken in a 1893 book which combined a treatise on Australian life and diet - but Wicken's contribution is little developed from 1888. Muskett himself regrets that demand for fresh vegetables is so low as to inhibit growers from risking the time and effort needed to grow a wider variety.

Other cookery instructors wrote recipe books including Amy Monroe and Miss Drake. Writing in 1913, Miss Munroe also promoted vegetable consumption urging that they deserved more attention than they were normally given. She included methods for cooking 16 vegetables principally by boiling but included a section of recipes for dressed vegetables which she suggested as suitable for the second course at a high class dinner.

Miss Drake's Everylady's Cookbook of 1935 contains the earliest reference I have found to vitamins in vegetables, but there is no evidence that any modifications in established treatment of vegetables was warranted. Only 10 vegetables are mentioned, supplemented by 5 salad ingredients.

My copy of the South Australian Education Department's Manual of Domestic Arts was not so fast in its pursuit of the latest in science. In 1938 there was still no mention of vitamins and vegetables received the carb-soda and plenty of water treatment.

New South Wales was no quicker to spread the word about vitamins. The 1941 treatment is identical with the 1927 version - and no doubt back to the 1st.

The two books I found which give vegetables the best treatment for the period are Mrs. McClurcan's top end of the market book and Lady Hackett's Australian Household Guide. The photographs of dinner tables of 1916 completed dishes in Lady Hackett's book leave no doubt about her intended clientele. She included twentyfour different vegetables as well as salad greens and herbs and gave some 150 recipes including many combinations with rice and pasta which we would find quite acceptable today.

My 1920's examples are all much more modest in scope. Many recipe books of this period are published as fund raisers - for disabled soldiers, for schools and churches. I am sure that the picture these (some little more than pamphlets) reveal is much nearer to reality for the majority of people.

Wardmaster included no separate vegetable section. Recipes for a vegetable pie and for cornish pasties are the only dishes utilising significant quantities of vegetables and the menus at the end of the book make no mention of vegetable accompaniments. Stews included small quantities of peas, carrots, onions and potatoes. 13 vegetables get mention as soup ingredients, Salads not at all. Other books of similar genre have brief vegetable sections - but most only mention boiled or roast vegetables.

The 1925 2nd edition of South Australia's Green and Gold has a wider range of vegetables - 24 in all - with 42 recipes extending into white sauce on some vegetables and six salad recipes - all using cooked ingredients from the range.

The most remarkable aspect is, again, that the recipes used in my second edition were not modified in forty odd years. I haven't tracked down the most recent editions to see if to this day there have been any changes. The originals were of the water and carb-soda ilk with one or two white sauces, gratins and one for stuffed tomatoes, and survived intact, with very few supplementations in circa 1960 copies I have seen. (Some cookery books are so well used that identifying information has dropped off the front, or been very much caked in kitchen debris).

However, some speculation about the reason for the improved range is needed, and the best I can suggest is that vegetables were being grown in the private gardens of a few - who were more likely to be represented strongly among parents of boys attending one of Adelaides well established private schools.

So it seems that, for one reason or another, William Carlson and his predecessors were notably unsuccessful in their efforts to encourage general interest in vegetables in the Colonies, but here it was not uncommon for the more established to include a wider range of vegetables in their diets, and for the really affluent - those able to purchase Lady Hacketts comparatively lavish volume - to cook and eat vegetables in many and varied forms.

But the seed and nursery catalogues do offer a reduced range in the 20th Century. It may well be that the earlier settlers were over optimistic about the capabilities of the soil, water and climate, but the part of the answer must be as Muskett perceived it - that demand did not warrant production. It has only been the last ten to fifteen years that have seen a revival of interest in growing and utilising a wider range of fresh produce.

I do think the difficulty of maintaining vegetable gardens in all except the plushest parts has been under valued. There are numerous accounts of struggles to maintain a kitchen garden which eventually succumbed to drought or other disaster and many you can talk to today who have bucketed bath and wash water to save plants struggling under the searing summer sun. Even in cities in 1916 my Yates Gardeners Guide describe watering techniques for use by the average gardener, although that edition advertised a range of pumps and sprinkling systems for commercial growers. These pumps were very large, very expensive and very temperamental. I clearly remember my father struggling with a giant of a thing - he scrapped it as soon as the power came.

Technique as well as equipment must have been very difficult for English farmers. Many, to this day do no irrigating. If rains don't come regularly - as happened last year and eleven years back - then in many places the strawberry season is just curtailed. Two weeks last year - and the nation just imports from France where produce is too much of a big business to be left quite so much to chance.

It is probably one reason why the Chinese were able to survive as growers. They understood irrigation. English settlers didn't like to see such success, and my conviction is that vegetables came to be seen as food fit for foreigners by association with Chinese growers. In the climate of racial bias that existed around the turn of the century, the status of vegetables as food suffered quite a set back.

The survival of the practice of eating vegetables among upper class people had more to do with their European orientation, as can be seen by the use of French in menus and recipes given by Lady Hackett.

That large scale European migration to Australia has influenced eating patterns here is a matter of record. What is not so clear is to what extent other influences have played a part. Prior to 1929 the antiscorbutic qualities of fruit and vegetables were accepted but not understood. The effect of cooking on nutrients was recognised soon after vitamins were isolated, as was the destructive effect of carb-soda on vitamin C.

Tracing the reinstatement of vegetables is another task but I would like to suggest a few of the factors at work. Government intervention and feeding programmes during the Second World War forced vitamins into the limelight, although people were slow to give ground on traditional methods of preparing food.

It is in this sense that the practical example of post war immigrants has been a crucial factor. The 19th Century gardeners had no such advantage in promoting consumption of strange fare. Scientific knowledge of vitamins, the ecology/back to earth/self sufficiency movements from the seventies and the current wave of recognition of the more general links between diet and health have reinforced the change.

America never suffered the vegetable dark ages because the ideas and patterns of adaptation from a variety of cultures including indigenous people militated against such stagnation settling in.

The vestiges of our dark ages still survive but now there is not a pub of any size that does not have a salad bar and supermarkets all have well stocked fruit and vegetable sections, not the case fifteen years ago. Admittedly, there is room to question the quality of much that has survived the rigours of long storage and gas treatment, and the vegetables always offered as alternatives to salads in the pubs are predictably of the blanched and frozen and cooked and held at high temperatures for long periods variety. Many of the salads are straight out of tins. I still see an advance on the almost unredeemed gloom of the century from 1850 - 1950. Nevertheless the problems of getting stocks of anything like the 48 vegetables, 12 salad greens and herbs of Carlson's catalogue on to the market in any scale remain much the same, if for different reasons.

Home meal preparation is more rushed, fast foods represent the lowest common denominator in the interests of fast profits. Demand from specialist restaurants and caring home cooks is not sufficient to make operations viable for "high tech' agriculture.

The result is that the specialist market is highly priced and a bit precious. I find it difficult to see how that can change in the foreseeable future. Perhaps there will be a place for small scale growers of salad vegetables and herbs. I hope so.

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Travellers' Food. - One Pot, One Flame, Sahib.

A Paper for the 1985 Gastronomy Seminar, by Lynne Chatterton.

Eric Newby, that careless, somewhat foolhardy traveller and writer of amusing travel books, is not usually a reflective man. His slapdash attitude to planning and his total indifference to his own and other's comforts give a zip of tension to his accounts of his hairraising journeys. They become hair raising simply because he takes no precautions and so encounters difficulties no sane traveller would face.
In his late middle age however (64 at the time of his last journey around the Mediterranean), he has begun to reflect on the comforts of life -among them, good food.

I always read travellers accounts of what they eat with great fascination. As an inveterate traveller myself, I know only too well that travel has a way of refining down to essentials just what you really can't do without in the way of food.

Penelope Chetwynd, for instance, once rode a donkey through the Himalayas for weeks sustained only by tins of sardines - she also took tins of sardines when she rode a horse through the wild mountain country of Spain all on her own some years later. She was a woman of mature years on both occasions and seemed to suffer no deprivation as a result.She simply loved sardines and couldn't manage without them.

Robert Byron, that precocious adolescent British traveller of the early 20's who died young and never fulfilled his much vaunted promise, made snide remarks about the food proferred to him by the long suffering monks of Athos whose treasures he and several student friends patronisingly photographed for a commercial venture. He consoled his stomach with the tins of pate de fois gras, devilled grouse, chocolates and other delicacies from Fortnum's which he packed in his knapsack of hard rations - together with a soft pillow and pillow case, and a hat box containing a soda siphon.

Byron's contemporary and writing rival, Patrick Leigh Fermor, on the other hand, early developed a love of the simple fare of Greece, and he still lives and writes books he can never quite fit into a single volume, and, (most probably because he never made snide comments about the simple food of his hosts), they learnt to love him and even built him a house in which he lives to this day - happily enjoying simple Greek dishes.

Geoffrey Moorhouse, a much more sophisticated traveller, came to grief and eventually abandoned a very brave attempt to cross the Sahara on a camel (just like the Toureg do), because he simply couldn't stomach the food. An old ram, its throat cut, torn apart with a rusty knife, and then passed over a fire to warm it before being eaten, was too much. He stuck it for a while, but finally said to himself, "What on earth am I doing here, eating this awful mess? London here I come".

Months of planning, enormous deprivations, weeks of boredom and suffering, uncongenial companions and suspicion and danger -all in vain, because he couldn't face any more of the food. Of course, he got his book out of it, but he didn''t achieve his goal, and confessed to a great sense of

failure.

Now Eric Newby could, in his earlier days, eat anything. He proved it first during his monumental walk in the Hindu Kush. The ordering for his tuckerbox went wrong, and instead of a varied diet of spam, tinned ham and chicken and the like, he and his companion were forced to eat flour and marmalade for six weeks while they slogged up and down daunting mountains in snow and sleet. Newby hadn't made much of a job in ordering his gear either, and walked the whole way in a pair of sandshoes instead of the mountain boots that were, and are, de rigeur for serious mountaineers. One of his companions cleared out in disgust over this sloppy amateurish approach to the expedition.

He was a great enjoyer of one pot cooking wherever he was. He was, however, totally uncritical of what was in the pot, often to the enormous irritation of his fellow travellers. His doughty wife Wanda (during their on and off trip boating down the Ganges) threatened to leave him and go home because of the one-pots he expected her to tolerate. She only deigned to remain after he agreed to her taking over the pot for them both, and she developed a splendid line of one pot chicken curries that had even the Indian boatmen drooling.

But, as we age, some of us get more appreciative of the flesh-pots and that's what happened to Eric Newby. (Fleshpots, incidentally, did not originate as a synonym for decadence. They were an original one pot, one flame sahib, ...in this case, it was the term the Israelites used to describe their yearning for a good meat stew after a prolonged diet of heavenly manna and locusts and honey when on their interminable crossing of the desert).
So its quite accurate to say that it is fleshpots that have begun to attract Newby.

All travellers write about the meals they eat en route. This is because whenyou travel your meals assume an importance they don't ordinarily have. For a start, they mark the time of day for you: they provide a reason to leave the 66th museum or archeological site for a good sit down without implying that you're not the culture vulture you'd prefer others to believe. They are your opportunity to speak to the locals - often food words are the only entry you have into the language of the country in which you're travelling. If you're walking or trekking, meals are the highlight of every few hours. It doesn't matter how far from elaborate these meals are, it's what's in them that makes them memorable. It's the fact that you do eat, not that you go through the motions of eating that's the important thing.

However, as I've said, Newby used not to make a big thing of what he ate during his travels. But at the end of this latest book of his early old age, he reveals a yearning for the better fleshpots that many of us have. At the end of the bucketing and putting up with, and all the one pots of all descriptions, he and Wanda craved luxury. And luxury they had. They booked themselves into the Hotel Negresco in Nice for a meal and a bed. The bed cost them $250 for the night(1981 prices) and the meal, served in elegance and style that cost a fortune, set them back $192 without liqueurs. They ate in the Negresco's principal restaurant, the Chanticler.

The chef was the celebrated Maximin, to whom Gault and Millau awarded four red chef hats and 19 points out of 20, in the 1982 Guide France.

Newby described the appearance of the dishes as "of such insubstantial beauty that he was reminded of 18th century water colors of fruit and vegetables". He and Wanda ate courgette flowers filled with truffles and covered with butter sauce; slices of underdone pigeon's breasts with a sauce of fresh cepes and chanterelles; fresh Scottish salmon, steamed and surrounded with freshwater crayfish, minute cucumbers, and carrots and sliced turnips so small they could hardly be seen, served on crystals of sea salt. Then, to finish, wild strawberries in creme brulee and Grand Marnier. They drank with this meal a bottle of still, red champagne - Pinot france, Laurent Perrier. They rose from the table, he wrote, "like balloons, thinking of nothing else but where to find the money to do it again".

During the next day, musing on the whole journey, Newby described the other memorable meals they'd had on the way - avgolemono "delicious rich, spiced soup with oriental affiliations, made with chicken, rice, eggs, and lemon and black pepper" - a one pot, every day Greek dish. In Egypt, they'd eaten dried beans cooked with red lentils very, very slowly over a fire and added to chicken cooked with mulukhia and prickly pears. He gives one the strong impression that given the choice between these one pot peasant dishes and the Negresco, he'd be hard put to choose which better satisfied the demands of the devoted gastronomer.

Often when I'm reading the elaborate recipes in Vogue Living or Harper's Bazaar, or when I watch with amazement the marvellous creations whipped up by Paul Bocuse and Margaret Kirkwood with their wonderful batteries de cuisine that simple folk like myself can only admire and never aspire to, I think of some of the meals that have made my eating day.

The majority have been one pot, one flame dishes. Mensab in Jordan - a leg of lamb cooked in yoghurt with rice, eaten with the fingers; Magsdouf in Kurdestan - a huge but delicately flavored fish caught in the Tigris river (now worth about $100 each as they are nearly fished out) and toasted in front of an open fire ; Mechoui in Algeria - a whole lamb, packed with herbs and spices, cooked on a spit in the open air, with couscous covered with milk and honey to follow; Tajine in Fez, a delicious pyramid of couscous full of delicate pieces of chicken, luscious fruit and swimming in honey and spices; and Chakchouka in the Algerian desert - sheeps brains, tomatoes, thin pancakes, spices, all served in a huge bowl in which stands a wooden spoon for each person to eat with. Less exotically, I remember, freshly caught yabbies, cooked in a copper on a hot summer night, eaten with bread and butter, with a juicy watermelon (picked from the paddock) to follow; saucepans of small green peas, picked agonisingly that afternoon, eaten with butter running off them; and even that splendid Australian classic - the Sunday roast, cooked in a tin baking dish and full of flavor and nostalgia. I also remember a very exotic meal eaten in the splendor of the home of a South Indian millionaire in Cochin. We asked to talk to the cook about the dishes, and were shown into the kitchen where the cook presided over one gas burner and an Indian wok... My next to most recent memorable meal was taken not in tucked away restaurant in Paris where you can eat the arcane dishes of the Auvergne, but one that we ate under the

stars in the middle of the Sahara desert on plastic plates. We'd spent the night almost freezing to death sleeping on desert sands with only a thin blanket as protection from the biting wind and woke at dawn stiff and miserable. All day we jolted over sand hills of monumental size and by evening we needed sustenance.

Abdu, our Toureg guide, sat over the fire, wrapped in his burnous, cross legged, muttering to himself. We had no idea what the result would be. He had only a battered saucepan, water out of a plastic can, some sticks of wood (fallen upon with great delight because firewood of any sort is like gold in that vast degraded vegetationless place) and a gunny sack of hard rations. An hour later, our hearts stout after a whisky or two, we were called to eat and there was couscous -light and delicious, covered with a savoury meat and vegetable sauce - one pot, one flame, sahib.

In the morning we took our coffee from the same pot. The beans were ground with a pestle, and thrown in the boiling water, then poured into our cups. The way Arabs made coffee when they discovered its comforts a thousand years ago.

Back in Australia I listened to my mother-in-law asking a neighbor of hers why she was so determined to buy a microwave oven. The neighbor lives alone and eats very little at home. She wanted it, she said, to make coffee. Her friend does it that way - a teaspoon of Nescafe in a cup, shut it in, turn the switch and there it is...
We've moved a long way in this country from one pot, one flame sahib, perhaps we ought to turn back and have another look.

THE FUTURE AUSTRALIAN CUISINE

By Gabriel Gaté

(Gabriel Gaté's address is transcribed by Colin Turner)

What I want to talk to you about, what I want to share with you is what I think it is like to be a cook, a good cook, a cook in a home situation, not a professional cook. I would like also to tell you my thoughts on how Australian cuisine is going at the moment.

First, I don't remember dates - it's not my kind of study - but a few hundred years ago, the monks would elect the wisest of them to become their cooks, because they would be assured that they would be looked after in the best possible way, that they would look after their health and their happiness. The cook, I think, has a very important role in the family situation. He is the one, or she is the one, that is responsible for the health of the family. When I say the family, it is probably a wrong word because nowadays it is probably not necessary to be in a family. There are a lot of people living by themselves. There is a strong, almost sexual community, there are people who don't want to have children. I think that it is quite fine because really we are ready to live happily when are ready to live independently and to live independently you must be able to cook for yourself. That's the role of the cook - someone who can cook for him- or herself.

So the responsibility of the cook is to make, to cook healthy food, perhaps in the sense of the family for me because that's the way that I know best. I have got a family, I have got two children. Both Angie and I cook at home, depending on who is free, depending on who feels like it. Each time we cook we try to please the other ones. To be cooked for is like being given a present, I really feel that

strongly. Every time someone cooks for me it is like a present because something is given to me. Therefore, it is something very happy and, therefore, to give a present to someone is something very beautiful, so cooking, therefore, becomes very pleasant. Now if you know what you are doing then it's even more interesting and that's the importance of the education, to get into knowing about cooking as early as possible, being introduced to it.

I arrived in Australia eight years ago. I would like you to listen to me as an Australian because I am an Australian, alright? I don't speak English as much, as well as you, but I am an Australian as much as you. If you want to look at it, the people that Betty was talking about are Australians and we are migrants. Whatever I say could be respected as much as any British people would have to say. Now, when I came to Australia my cooking was very French. It was inevitable. It was very French because that's where I was born, that's were I was trained. French cooking has a very strong culture. For example, my parents in the Loire Valley would never eat a curry dish or Italian food or anything like that. They eat French cuisine seven days a week. They live with it, they grow everything. In Australia, the situation is totally different because we have all been imported to Australia, so, therefore, we have no root. The root of Australian cuisine is Betty's cuisine.

We are all bringing something. I brought a bit of French cuisine. But since I have been in Australia the last eight years, my cooking has changed dramatically, completely. I have been influenced very much by Italian cuisine. I have been introduced to olive oil. In France I used olive oil but just very little because I was not from that region of France. It is a southern, an Italian influence. I have discovered about sweet and sour in Chinese cuisine. I have discovered about Indian spices. You can't help it. You have got to take some influence

of all those countries and that brings Australian cuisine about.

I think it's really the country where there is no root and yet there is so much availability in the ingredients. I mean, there is so much food in Australia, in quantity and in diversity. Australia is unique for that. Someone before the session told me you look very enthusiastic about being here. I'm extremely enthusiastic because it's really one of the most interesting countries to be in at the moment if you are are a cook because of the diversity. The number of ingredients is extraordinary. It's like a painter being able to use hundreds and hundreds of colours, more than anywhere else. It's just fantastic.

Now, sure, the weakness in Australia is the mediocrity of some ingredients and that's where the work needs to be done but another part is for people to really appreciate what Australia has to offer. There has been no mention of it, but the fish of Australia is very beautiful. It is as good as anywhere else because men have not mucked it up. That is something they have not put their hands on yet. They can't take it from the fish, they can't change the taste of it unless they don't sell it on that very same day. The fish is really beautiful.

The cooking is changing in the fact that meat is becoming less and less popular because I think - we were talking yesterday about meat - to me meat is a bit masculine and vegetables a bit feminine. It is probably not the right description but when you look at other things: the roast is always cut by men, the barbecue is always cooked by men. We can't close our eyes to that. At the same time, vegetables offer something so special in cooking. When you think of the flavour of asparagus, that is so unique, so extraordinary, so fine, so sweet. Leek! The taste of leek, taken individually, is just fantastic. Celery. Just take them all one by one. Vegetables have more colour or

taste than meat has. Also, when you listen to yourself you will see that when you eat asparagus or other vegetables they are easier to digest than a piece of meat. A piece of meat is hard to digest, you have got to chew, you have got to put some work into it. Vegetables are much easier to eat and we are all influenced by that at the moment which will bring us to a stage where we are not going to talk about having beef with carrots, we are going to talk about having carrots with beef, which means we will have a smaller slice of meat and we will have much more vegetables. I think this is a really good thing to do because it is putting together quality of ingredients and health and happiness because good vegetables, I mean, they bring you so much joy because they are so beautiful.

So my cooking nowadays is a little bit like that. It's definitely less meat, more vegetables, lots of fish, lots of fruits, certainly more healthy than it used to be because I don't feel that I need so much fat in my food. I don't put so much salt because I've improved my techniques by keeping the salt inside the ingredients. For example, today, a dish that I have contributed to lunch - I don't have the final control over it so I I don't know if it's going to be exactly the way I want, but that is no insult to anyone because I have conceived that dish and so, therefore, it would be preferable if I could have finished it all.

It is asparagus - I apologise for that, to serve asparagus again, but I conceived the dish before coming here and I didn't have enough time to change it. Those asparagus are going to be dressed with olive oil. As an ingredient, in the world I would put olive oil in my first twenty most important ingredients. It is a very powerful ingredient. That will be mixed with tomatoes that are chopped together in the dressing, lemon juice and a little bit of spices that a really lovely friend of mine who runs an Indian restaurant in Adelaide grinds. I

have been extremely influenced by that Indian cooking. The Indian spices are so extraordinary. Cumin! I mean, we don't know yet, no? we are just starting to discover these things and they are valuable in Australia. Coriander seeds in Australia are the best in the world, I am told. Coriander as such is an ingredient of world quality. So, that is all I have to say. Thank you.

LUNCH, Tuesday October 1, 1987

Carclew, North Adelaide

This lunch was intended to illustrate the topics of the morning sessions.

Macadamias, pistachios, quandongs

Mediterranean-style pickles:
Tomato, eggplant, artichokes, jardiniére

Fresh asparagus with tomato, coriander and Indian spices

Lamb couscous

Nasturtium and coriander salad

Nouvelle kitsch: cheeses, kiwi fruit and tamarillos

Mountadam riesling 1985

Mitchell shiraz 1984

The Wilson Vineyard Polish Hill River Cabernet Malbec 1984

The Wilson Vineyard Polish Hill River Pinot Noir 1984

OVERVIEW BY CHRISTOPHER DRIVER

We invited the food editor of the Guardian, Christopher Driver, who was visiting from London, to sum up the proceedings. His remarks are transcribed by Colin Turner.

As I know very well from my own feelings yesterday, the role of the first speaker after lunch at these gatherings is not an enviable one. The task of attracting attention is quite severe. You will also know, many of you by now, that this is my first visit to Australia, that I came here without really knowing very much or divining much on the first day except that Englishmen talk with a dying fall and Australians talk with a rising inflexion. Englishmen talk as though they were trying to prevent the plums emerging from their mouths (perhaps it should now be quandongs); Australians talk as if they were trying to prevent the flies getting in.

Apart from that, I must also make it clear, as if the confusion in my mind and what I'm likely to say doesn't make it apparent, that I'm in no way here to score points or award marks for the quite amazingly diverse and, to me, extremely stimulating series of papers and commentaries that we've already heard. I come as a veteran of other symposia, not in America but in Oxford, and I've someties criticised those for a certain desultoriness and amateurishness. It's the last criticism that I would be likely to make of almost all the papers that I've listened to here and I'm keen not merely to take them back home, of course, but to make notes for further explorations, further facts, further lines of thought that have arisen in conversation. I do think there's a marvellous salad of people and interests represented here and I've benefited from that enormously.

I'd started thinking about this and a famous line from a poem by Stephen Spender swam into my mind and I immediately modified it:

In a new land cooking is necessary.

In the original it was "shooting is necessary", but that was from

Spender's Marxist Thirties period. No sooner had I uttered this to myself than Betty Meehan's paper this morning corrected me sharply that actually this is not a new land, although most people here obviously began the sessions thinking that it was. It is an old land where cooking has always been necessary, where cooking has occurred and I'm quite sure this came, or would have come if the message had actually got through - perhaps it did, as much news to ABC television as it did to me.

I certainly don't rank as a traveller alongside the eminent examples that Lynne Chatterton recalled to us this morning, although at least I could claim quite close knowledge of one of those travellers, Geoffrey Moorhouse, an old colleague of mine on the Guardian. I must say I did think that, if after spending eight years of eating in the Manchester Guardian canteen, I couldn't really see that the Sahara would hold any terrors. Still, obviously it did.

Inevitably, because by professional orientation a journalist, I am a journalist and a writer who came to food rather than a food person who came to writing. In view of that professional orientation over twenty years I found myself most interested by material that was wholly new to me. I include in that material, incidentally, not just the words that were spoken or written but also the substances and liquids injested and that ranges from the pies on the first evening through the lamb last night. It does occur to me, thinking back to last night, that we were behaving rather unlike Betty Meehan's Aborigines, who didn't fall upon food as though they hadn't eaten for a week. Also, of course, I've had the opprotunity to taste wines quite obviously at the upper level of this remarkable range that you have, not only in South Australia but from other regions too.

But because of this journalistic zest for novelty, never quite suppressed, inevitably I found myself most entertained by the paper

this morning about those foods that have yet to be rediscovered, those styles of eating that have yet to be rediscovered in this old land which still has material for doing so in a way that hardly any of us in Europe have, who have bedded the ancient culture under so many layers like a compost heap, a very creative compost heap it must be said and, in other ways, a rich provider of foodways and new ideas. Nevertheless, we can never now recapture that particular kind of purity, which links in my mind with what Gabriel and I were saying yesterday about the children's building blocks. Unless you begin wih the building blocks you never really get a taste or an attitude to food precisely clear in your mind. Perhaps we all need, not just in Australia, not so much the materials of the hunter-gatherers but the ecological morality that apparently informed them and the way they went about their business. This, it seemed to me, is perhaps the connexion between what might seem otherwise totally unlike the matter that has been discussed here today and the kind of matter the symposium opened with yesterday.

Now I, before I took to the light-hearted or light-headed practice of journalism, had what used to be called a classical education in the home of it. I was deeply interested in Epicurus, of whom I knew little, Plato of whom I knew something and Athenaeus, of whom I knew a little. I don't want to go into detail about these papers except to disagree with the people who thought it all irrelevant. I do think it matters because the sort of cradle or basin of the culture that all of us, whether on this side of the world or the other, have sprung from is never actually irrelevant.

I think there is another dimension which I would like to spend a little time on because it hasn't come up at all yet and I think it is fairly relevant, perhaps not least so in a city which I have been told is sometimes called the City of Churches. It seems to me that if we

are about to think again about the tradition of Western philosophy deriving from the Greeks in the matter of food and therefore find it desirable to rehabilitate and re-explore the philosophy of Epicurus, we are forced, as post-medieval people to think about redefining Christian theology. Michael touched upon this. For me Christianity is interesting as the most materialist of religions and the most focused upon the here and now, what you can touch and see, if indeed it is properly classified as a religion at all. Quite a lot of contemporary theologians would reject this categorisation and one of the other things they are coming to is a very strong sense of the Jewishness of Christianity. Nobody to my hearing has ever accused the Jews of being uninterested in food. This materiality runs right through the Old and New Testaments and in spasms through Christian history. After all, it deals with a man whose first biographers were capable of absorbing the accusation that he was a gluttonous man and a wine bibber and so on. I don't want to go further into that because, no doubt, you would switch off and anyway it's one of my particular lines of research and interest.

However, I would like to pick out from the vast corpus of church history, if you like, a particular biographical phrase from one of our own seventeenth-century Puritans, who so often are blamed for every-thing that has gone wrong in food and drink throughout the Anglo-Saxon world, perhaps with some justice because "corruptio optimi pessima the corruption of the best is always the worst. There was this woman who was married to one of Cromwell's lieutenants who was a military governor during our civil war. She wrote about her husband after his death and used words I can't quote exactly because I haven't got the book. She described her husband as a man who could dance wonderfully well and whose rule of life was temperance - in the seventeenth-century sense, of course, not the wiser sense - a rule of temperance in meat, drink and apparel and all things that may lawfully be enjoyed. It does

seem to me that the case of mind revealed by this phrase is so interestingly close to the philosophy of Epicurus as we began yesterday that it is worth stating. In other words, what I'm saying is that yes theory does matter as well as the sort of particular things that we've been hearing about.

I think that, going onto a more sort of sociological perspective, anybody from a society as stratified and class-ridden and highly differentiated as mine, must be sensitive when he comes here to the sort of notes of populism, of democratisation, of open access that he at least expects to find in a country like this - and on the whole does. Say what you like, and most of you have said it, about the Australian diet and the indifference of people here to the achievement of differentiated tastes in food, the scale of involvement and, at a certain level, the types of discrimination that are applied by a whole range of people within thirty miles of this city to the wines that are grown here is an absolute revelation to anybody from Europe. I include France in this. The French are extraordinarily ignorant about their own wine as a matter of fact and never let Gabriel or anyone else tell you the other. In order to learn about French wine, Frenchmen have to come to London because it's all there, in the bank as it were. That doesn't mean that English people know about wine, although we're learning pretty fast, because it is all, as I was saying, bound up in the history of the class system and it is not an indigenous industry. There is now good English wine made, I must say. It might be a good idea to blend some of it because our wine-making problems are precisely the opposite. In other words, we can't ripen grapes most years and everything is too acid. Anyway, that by the way.

So I can turn on a radio in Australia and listen to a pop channel telling me about a wine academy where you can learn how to be a wine taster or I can listen to people advertising their vineyards as though

they were a brand of soap, and so on. This, it does seem to me, is an obvious avenue into a popul[illegible] culture of food, if you can somehow get the two connected together. Maybe it will happen naturally anyway. In that connection of populism and democritisation, which also produces, one has to be aware the kind of media that most of us complain about, one can never actually resist all this. One can only use it. In a way, the only times I got uneasy during these two days was when I felt the symposium was manoeuvering itself into a slightly backward, sort of stalling posture in relation to the admitted deficiencies and imperrections and still developing trends of our own society. I think Adrian was trying to project out of this when he tried to propose sort of outre PR stunts to bring the preoccupations of people here, which are very serious ones, to a wider audience. Well, I'm not sure he had a sympathetic audience at that point.

Nevertheless, you're certainly not in a position where you need to be regretful about what is or what has been, but you do need to be more conscious of the incredible opportunities that lie ahead of people who think the way people here do. Gabriel was saying to me that 1985 is a splendid year in which to be cooking, writing about and living food. I'm sure this is true. For instance, yes, we have the undesirable consequences, perhaps, of world-wide air freight ironing out the seasons; we have the undesirable consequences of massification in the food industries and their takeover by people whose interests are not food and not drink and who wouldn't know the real things when their wives put them on a plate in front of them. Nevertheless, we have these amazing opportunities for juxtapositions of foods in recipes, shops and markets, juxtapositions of whole food cultures of different peoples. I don't think we are now really in the situation that I hear you were when vegetables had to be rejected because the Chinese cooked them. It's not really like that any more and, after

all, surely it is the case that the types of engineering, the types of genetic engineering that are capable of giving us the wholly tasteless box-shaped tomato and the featherless chicken that doesn't need to be plucked (to cite an example I once read of in California), the kinds of engineering that are capable of producing these things are also capable of providing us, if they are programmed that way, with for instance, a tomato whose flavour is so intense that it might have to be diluted. All these possibilities are there and I don't think personally that the solution for a gathering, or an ongoing gathering, like this lies in intermittent PR stunts for a camera. I do think that it entails some kind of organisation for, as it were, continuing pressure, continuing education because the one thing that the media always and politicians, especially politicians, knuckle under to in the end is unremitting pressure. I think that the great campaigns of the last century, whether for women's suffrage, prison reform or whatever, they've known that. Okay, they've been very happy to chain themselves to the railings when that has been appropriate but the real battles are gained by this unremitting pressure.

I know it's a tough quandong to crack but I don't think you should leave Barbara Santich to do all the cracking. It's perhaps more a question of dividing the preoccupations here, which are very fruitfully diverse I wouldn't wish to see it more specialised and I think that about our Oxford symposium, too - but, nevertheless, for this kind of pressure purpose I would have thought you might need to divide yourselves into smaller kinds of T-groups with special responsibilities that could make a more narrowly focused attack upon the institutions of the society that you have to live in and wish to transform from within.

Second Symposium of Australian Gastronomy

THE AUSTRALIAN DINNER

Cummins House, Novar Gardens, Adelaide

Tuesday, October 1, 1985

Sparkling:
Orlando NV Brut de Brut
Chateau Remy NV

Sauvignon Blanc:
Wirra Wirra McLaren Vale 1983 (mit semillon)
The Hardy Collection 1984

Blended Reds:
Blue Pyrenees Estate 1982
Mount Mary Vineyard Cabernets 1982

Dessert White:
The Hardy Collection Beerenauslese
1984

Vintage Port:
Hardy's 1973

Harpist: *Susie Morrison*

Actors: *Henry Collins*
Robert Elliott
Petro Giatrakos

Readings from Edward Abbott, Richard Twopenny, H. H. Richardson, Hal Porter, Angela Thirkell, David Malouf, Barry Humphries, Louis Esson, Patrick White, A. D. Hope, Elizabeth Jolley.

Quandongs kindly supplied by Brian Powell, "Ellicoe," Quorn.

Hors d'oeuvres

Seafood platter

Roast roo and vegetables

Variétés

Quandong tart and ice cream

Coffee and chocolates

Dinner prepared by Louis Thyer and colleagues from Globo's Restaurant. Wines selected by Ian Pollard and Philip White.

PARTICIPANTS

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