

REVIEW

Colonialism, War and Globalization: The Making of Korean National

Katarzyna J Cwiertka
Leiden University

INTRODUCTION

The manners in which people prepare and consume their food, and the attitudes they bring to food and eating are historically derived habits. They are continuously shaped by political, economic and social conditions and are repeatedly adjusted to newly emerging circumstances and needs. Today, we customarily classify food by referring to its 'nationality'. The employment of cuisine as an emblem of national identity belongs, along with nutritional science, industrial food processing, and restaurant culture, to the vital characteristics of culinary modernity. Despite the fact that common elements of culinary identities can sometimes be traced to the remote past, it seems safe to assume that nations came to consciously identify themselves with a specific cuisine relatively recently, in most cases not earlier than a century or so ago. Culinary nation-making went hand in hand with the rise of modern nationalism, a phenomenon that took place at different parts of the world at some point between the early nineteenth and the late twentieth century.

One of the groundbreaking ideas in the scholarship of nationalism was the concept of a nation as an 'imagined political community', which proposes that any community larger than a group of people who all know each other is imagined, and that this 'imagined' national consciousness is continuously reinforced through the unified 'national culture' manufactured by the state and distributed through its educational and bureaucratic networks.¹ Thus, similarity of culture constitutes a fundamental social bond within nations. In other words, a 'nation' can be defined as people who share the same culture that is relatively free of internal nuances, and closely linked to the political boundaries of the unit with which it is identified.² In these circumstances, a cuisine - as a component of national culture - functions as a means of keeping national consciousness near the surface of everyday life, since it serves as a powerful reminder of

nationhood 24 hours a day, seven days a week.³

According to Anne Murcott, expressing nationality in terms of food is widespread due to 'the malleable, modular nature of national identity and the flexibility and ubiquity of food as a medium of communication'; due to its being a biological necessity food is impossible to avoid, along with whatever messages it carries.⁴ As Raymond Grew has observed, the attractiveness of food as a bearer of culture lies in the fact that the representations of other societies seem 'more immediate and concrete when they treat the common experiences of hunger and eating, inevitably invoking personal memories, sentimental association with familiar foods, and a shock of delight or revulsion at descriptions of strange foods'.⁵

The most salient feature of a national cuisine is bridging regional, ethnic, class and gender differences, creating a cuisine with which entire populations, not just elite minorities, willingly and often ardently identify. It can be generally defined as a repertoire of ingredients, flavouring agents, cooking techniques, menu combinations, and dining conventions grounded upon a selection of local practices characteristic of social groups and communities that occupy (or at a time used to occupy) the nation-state territory.

It has been only relatively recently that scholars began to seriously examine the characteristics of national cuisines, to trace their origins and to analyze trajectories of their construction.⁶ Cases analyzed so far signify that national cuisines tend to be much more recent in origin than it is

¹Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (1991).

²Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (1997), pp. 20, 45.

³Catherine Palmer, 'From Theory to Practice: Experiencing the Nation in Everyday Life', *Journal of Material Culture*, III/2 (1998).

⁴Murcott, Anne, 'Food as an Expression of Identity', in *The Future of the Nation State: Essays on Cultural Pluralism and Political Integration*, ed. S. Gustavsson and L. Lewin (1996), pp. 50-1.

⁵Raymond Grew, 'Food and Global History' in *Food in Global History* (1999), pp. 1-2.

⁶See, for example, Jeffrey Pilcher, *Que Viva los Tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (1998); Igor Cusack, 'African Cuisines: Recipes for Nation-Building?', *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, XIII/2 (2000), pp. 207-25; Richard Wilk, 'Food and Nationalism: The Origins of "Belizean Food"', in *Food Nations: Selling Taste in Consumer Societies*, ed. W. Belasco and P. Scranton (2002); Katarzyna J. Cwiertka, *Modern Japanese Cuisine: Food, Power and National Identity* (2006).

*Corresponding author
Tel: +31- 71-527-2599
E-mail: K.J.Cwiertka@let.leidenuniv.nl

often presumed. Moreover, it is not unusual for foreign elements that were carried - sometimes relatively recently - by colonists, traders and aggressors to assume a prominent role in the process of culinary nation making.

Contrary to the today so commonplace presumption that every food has a 'nationality', in fact foods have no inherent national identities, but acquire them in time, or rather are assigned ones by chefs, food writers and journalists. There is probably no cuisine that at one time or another did not rely on foreign borrowings. As James Walvin has shrewdly observed, 'the migrations of peoples, animals, flora and fauna, from one region to another so transformed the human and natural habitat that what is local and indigenous, what is alien and exotic, is now barely discernible'.⁷ What is more British than a Christmas dinner of turkey and roast potatoes? The fact that both those elements originated in the New World is of little consequence here. By the nineteenth century, these foodstuffs were not only successfully accommodated into British diet but have also acquired cultural and ideological connotations of a greater importance than indigenous food. These kinds of occurrences are so plentiful in human history that one ought to view them as a norm rather than an instance of something different. However, they tend to become contentious when the borrowings are relatively recent and/or have taken place in the complex circumstances of conflict and exploitation.

In this paper, sustained by two different examples, I will focus on the role foreign elements can play in the construction of a national cuisine. I will begin with Great Britain, which has developed a truly multicultural cuisine mainly through the adoption of 'ethnic food' (a term commonly used when referring to culinary elements that had originated outside of European tradition). Then, I will introduce the case of Polish cuisine, which consciously borrowed from western Europe in order to enhance its prestige. Finally, I will conclude by returning to the Korea case, trying to sum up how a comparative perspective can contribute to the study of Korean national cuisine.

The British Case

In his recent book entitled *Spicing Up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (2008), Panikos Panayi focuses on the role of foreign influence as a major force that shaped British cuisine into its present, multicultural form. Himself a son of Cypriot immigrant pastry chef working in London, the author deals with the period of hundred and fifty years of British culinary history (from the mid nineteenth century to the present) arguing that it was the period following the Second World War which marked the British culinary revolution, delineating British national

cuisine as we know it today.

Panayi identifies Indian, Italian, and Chinese immigrants who opened restaurants and take-out outlets, where they served British versions of their home dishes, as initiators of a sweeping shift in the consumption practices of the British people. An important factor behind the growing popularity of foreign food served by the immigrants was its association with freedom from the confinements of tradition and freedom from the age of austerity represented by the wartime and postwar rationing.⁸ During the 1960s, eating exotic food in Great Britain was the culinary equivalent of the sexual revolution.

Panayi stresses that the twentieth century immigration played a central role in the culinary development of Great Britain, despite the fact that unlike the United States, where immigration was central for the country's creation myth, it has never been considered important in British historiography. A very telling is the example of 'fish and chips', currently perhaps the most potent symbol of British culinary culture, a dish which enables 'every Briton symbolically - if only for a while - to reassert his national identity, his oneness with a culture in decline'.⁹ Research into the origins of this dish reveals that fried fish most probably evolved from Jewish traditions, while chips have definitely French origins; potatoes chipped and fried in a French manner were introduced in the UK during the 1870s.

The link between fish and chips and Britishness had emerged even later, around the 1930s, and only after 1945 assumed an undisputable status of quintessential culinary signifier of Britishness that continues until the present day. The experiences of the author of *Spicing Up Britain* during his research on the origins of fish and chips are quite telling in this respect. It reveals how strong popular sentiments that are attached to newly constructed national cuisines can in time become.

During the early stages of the research for this volume, a press release calling for interviewees was taken up by the Press Association and turned into a story about the foreign origins of fish and chips, which led to media attention throughout the world. Even the Financial Times of 9 January 2004 carried an article entitled 'Kosher French Connection with Fish and Chips', while the Daily Star on the same morning ran a story under the banner 'Le Great British Feesh and Cheeps: It's Frog Nosh Claims Prof'. The BBC asked a representative from Harry Ramsden's fish and chip chain to comment on the story. An official statement declared: 'It's very interesting to hear the professor's findings on the origins of the ingredients that are still, and we're sure will always be, a great British tradition'. The press release

⁷James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660-1800* (1997), p. x.

⁸Panikos Panayi, *Spicing up Britain: The Multicultural History of British Food* (2008), p. 37.

⁹Gilbert Adair, quoted in Panayi, p. 18.

attracted attention among the extreme right in Britain, so that my name appeared on Neo-Nazi website, with numerous public figures, under the heading 'Know Your Enemy'.¹⁰

Another interesting observation made by Panyi is that the popularization of foreign food following the Second World War greatly influenced the popular attitudes towards native, British food. One of the key claims of the book is that before the 1950s the idea of British food remained relatively undeveloped and cookbooks specifically focused on British food rather rare. The author maintains that the concept of British food, and popular sentiments described above, have emerged to a large extent as a counter-reaction to the encroachment of foreign food and rapid changes in the consumption practices. In other words, the interest toward British culinary heritage, and the efforts towards defining culinary Britishness was intricately connected with the shift toward multicultural diet.

It needs to be pointed out that the incorporation of foreign food into British cuisine took place before 1945 as well. The impact of French cuisine, for example, remained quite powerful, especially during the nineteenth century when French models were dominant at the highest levels of society. This had serious consequences for Victorian cookery as a whole, initiating a process that Steven Mennell called the 'decapitation of English cookery'.¹¹ First of all, then largely unquestioned superiority of French cookery produced a corresponding sense of the inferiority of English cookery. Secondly, English-style cookery was deprived of elite models of its own to copy, and this probably contributed to the mediocrity which both contemporary and subsequent observers remarked on in English cookery in the Victorian era. Finally, in these circumstances, there was no opportunity for professional cookery in the English style to develop.

Another long-standing trend in the process of construction of British national cuisine was the incorporation of Indian food to the home cookery, long before the 'revolution' caused by immigrant restaurants took place. The case of Indian food is particularly important for the sake of comparison with Korea, because it represents the colonial connection in the culinary history of Great Britain.

Indian food was first brought to England in the eighteenth century, becoming fashionable throughout the highest social ranks. The first Indian recipes printed in England were 'To make a Currey the India way' and 'To make a Pellow the India way' included in Hannah Glasse's *The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy*, published in 1747. These recipes already displayed several English modifications, such as the omission of chilies. Nevertheless, no flour was yet used to thicken the sauce, and the combination of different spices

had not yet been replaced by curry powder - a British invention.

By the mid-nineteenth century, approximately a century after the arrival of curries and chutneys as exotic novelty, they began to spread down the social ladder, becoming mainstays of the middle-class British cookbooks. For example, Eliza Acton (1799-1859), the author of *Modern Cookery for Private Families* (1854), the first cookery book dedicated to urban middle-class households with modest incomes, devoted an entire chapter to curries. Acton's book included a recipe for 'Mr. Arnott's Currie-powder,' and the author advised to use this powder instead of mixing one's own spices for each curry dish. She also provided recipes for Chetney Sauce, Mushroom Catsup, and Real Indian Pilaw. Isabella Beeton (1836-1865) was the most popular cookery writer in Great Britain before the emergence of Nigella Lawson, Jamie Oliver and other celebrity chefs. Her *Beeton's Book of Household Management* first published 1861 went through many editions and it is still in print. 1923 edition of *Mrs. Beeton's Cookery Book* included several Anglo-Indian recipes: Curry Sauce, Curried Cod, Lobster Curry, Curry of Prawns, Salmon Curried, Curried Beef, Veal Curry, Curried Chicken, Curried Fowl, Rabbit Curried, Curried Mutton, Curry Butter, Curried Eggs, Beef or Mutton Curry, Curried Tongue, Indian Chutney and Lentils Curried. Interestingly, almost all these dishes were prepared with meat or fish. Vegetables, so characteristic of Indian cookery, were virtually absent from the pre-World War II British culinary variation on the Indian theme.

Such modifications seem to have had an effect of domesticating Indian food, making it appear less 'foreign'. A variety of other methods were employed for this purpose, often motivated by practical rather than ideological considerations. For example, ingredients, such as coconut, that could not be easily obtained in England were omitted or replaced by an easier available substitute, such as grated dried coconut. Moreover, *ghee*, or clarified butter, was always substituted by fresh butter or lard, and later margarine.¹² Culinary publications dating from the first half of the twentieth century advised English housewives to substitute Indian green mangoes and guava with green apples, rhubarb and tomatoes. Common European vegetables, such as cabbage, peas, carrots, turnips, tomatoes, potatoes and beans were added to curries as well. Apart from vegetables, other English ingredients were also added to curries. For instance, a recipe for Curried Salt Fish appeared in the women's magazine *Home Chat* in 1905,¹³ and Eliza Acton's *Modern Cookery for Private Families* included a recipe for Curried Sweetbreads.

A reduction in the use of spices seems to have been the

¹⁰Panayi, p. 18.

¹¹Stephen J. Mennell, *All Manners of Food: Eating and Taste in England and France from the Middle Ages to the Present* (1985), p. 206.

¹²'Indian Cookery. For use in all countries,' *Times Literary Supplement* (3/10/1936); Owen, Gladys (1955), 'Hungry as hunters,' *Home Chat* 3163: 39.

¹³(1905) '— are cheap today!', *Home Chat* 41 (523): 57.

major modification as far as the flavoring of curries and chutneys in the United Kingdom is concerned. This tendency was most probably determined by the preference of the British upper and middle classes for unspiced food. While reduced in dishes of India origin, curry powder was in turn added to various British dishes, providing for some variation in the middle-class cookery. For example, the Curry Croquettes introduced by *Home Chat* in 1905¹⁴ were conventional croquettes made from boiled rice and cold meat, with the addition of curry powder to the sauce; Curry Salad Dressing, which appeared in *Good Housekeeping* in 1926, was a mixture of olive oil, vinegar, minced onion, pepper, salt, and curry powder. Indian Buttered Eggs included in the same publication were made by baking hard boiled eggs in the oven, covered with a mixture of beaten raw egg and bread-crumbs flavored with curry powder. *Mrs. Beeton's Cookery Book* featured a recipe for Curry Butter, which was to be made by beating butter into a cream, stirring in curry powder, lemon juice, and salt.

The addition of flour to thicken curry sauce was generally practiced in the recipes created by Eliza Acton, Mrs. Beeton and other British cookery writers of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century. This was a major modification in the technique for cooking curries. However, curries were also transformed further into even more creolized forms. For example, the Curry Cakes introduced by *Home Chat* were made of curry and boiled rice, covered in bread-crumbs and deep fried. In *Home Cookery*, a 1911 textbook compiled by the superintendent of the Leicester Municipal College for Domestic Subjects, a recipe for a kind of jellied curry could be found under the name Cold Curry.

By the time they reached middle-class cookery, Indian dishes were usually incorporated into British menus. For example Bengal Curry was included in a middle-class luncheon menu suggested by the magazine *Home Chat* alongside Fish Cakes, Stuffed Tomatoes, Chocolate Tartlets, Baked Semolina Pudding, Stewed Cherries, cheese and biscuits.¹⁵ A vegetarian lunch introduced by the same magazine in 1906 assimilated Curried Cauliflower into a Anglicized French menu containing Carrot and Lentil Soup, Macaroni Cutlets, Savoury Eggs and Salad Savarin a la Chantilly.¹⁶

In time Indian foodstuffs and food items were also used in the preparation of English dishes. For example, the magazine *Home Chat* advised in 1911 that 'quite one of the most useful things to make is chutney. It is delicious to serve with cold meat of any kind, and a little added to stews or hashes improves the flavour tremendously.'¹⁷ By the 1930s, making

home-made chutneys and ketchups became a skill that British country housewives were supposed to have mastered to perfection. An article on pickling, that appeared in a 1934 edition of the magazine *Good Housekeeping*, gave many chutney recipes: two for Green Tomato Chutney; one for Old Dower House Chutney made of plums, apples and tomatoes; three recipes for Apple Chutney; one for Red Tomato Chutney; and two for Gooseberry Chutney. Lucy H. Yates also offered several suggestions for home made chutneys and ketchups using English fruit and vegetables in her *The Country Housewife's Book*, published in 1934.

After the turn of the twentieth century, curries and chutney were also often combined with bread, rather than served with rice. For example, a booklet of curry recipes published by The Wine and Food Society in 1938 recommended curry paste 'for use on biscuits, fried bread or as sandwiches'.¹⁸ Various recipes for curry on toast and curried croutons could also be found. The advertisement for Sharwood's Green Label Chutney, included in *Good Housekeeping's Cookery Book* from 1948, recommended the product as a 'perfect addition to all cold meats, curries, stews, etc.'

The Anglo-Indian culinary tradition continued to diffuse down the social scale in England during and after the Second World War. *Win-the-War Cookery* by Lydia Chatterton, published in 1941, included recipes for Curried Rabbit, Curried Eggs, Vegetable Curry, and Fish Pudding made from cooked fish, margarine, onion, rice, and apple, with the addition of curry paste and chutney. The *Good Housekeeping Cookery Book*, published in 1948, included standard curries from Eliza Acton's and Mrs. Beeton's cookery books. However, the scarcity of meat caused by the burden of war, was the primary reason for the inclusion of more meatless curries than had been the case in earlier decades.

The post-war editions of British women's magazines and cookbooks continued to feature Anglo-Indian cookery. For example, Green Tomato Chutney was included in the September 1950 edition of *Home Chat*,¹⁹ and Green Gooseberry Chutney, Rhubarb Chutney, and Mild Curry throughout 1955.²⁰ By then, similarly to fish and chips, these recipes were utterly domesticated and considered part of the British culinary tradition. Their taste and appearance did not even resemble the Indian food sold by ethnic restaurants newly established by the Pakistani and Bangladeshi immigrants, regardless various modifications that the latter implemented in order to appeal to the British customers.

¹⁴(1905), 'Carefully chosen recipes: tempting - delicious - and digestible,' *Home Chat* 41 (529): 356.

¹⁵'Weekly menus for tired housekeepers,' *Home Chat* 14: 31-32.

¹⁶(1906), 'A seasonable lunch,' *Home Chat* 45 (577): 163-164.

¹⁷Owen, Gladys (1911), 'For the store cupboard,' *Home Chat* 851:179.

¹⁸Jessop Hulton, *Curry Recipes. Selected from the Unpublished Collection of Sir Ronald Martin* (1938).

¹⁹Owen, Gladys (1950), 'You asked for it,' *Home Chat* 222 (2895/6): 469.

²⁰Owen, Gladys (1950), 'Green gooseberries,' *Home Chat* 3139: 41; 'June Medley,' *Home Chat* 3141: 35; 'Hungry as hunters,' *Home Chat* 3163: 39.

The Polish Case

The history of Polish food culture has thus far not been well studied, which makes a balanced comparison with the United Kingdom rather difficult. However, the fact that few Asian influences have reached Polish kitchens so far provides an interesting comparison for discussion on foreign food adoption.

Throughout the centuries, the food culture of the Polish upper classes was continuously enriched by foreign influences, and some foreign elements subsequently trickled down the social ladder. Borrowings from western Europe appear to have been the most consistent trend. Italian culinary supremacy in Poland extended throughout the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century. The migration of Italians to Poland, many members of Polish elite traveling to Italy, and the Italicization of the Polish court under the influence of the Italian wife of King Zygmunt I (1467-1548) were the most important incentives for the Italianophilia that overwhelmed the Polish upper classes at the time. Italians introduced new sorts of vegetables and fruits, as well as some Italian dishes, did not only reach elite tables, but diffused among the wider fractions of the society in the seventeenth century, under the circumstances of a flourishing economy.²¹

At approximately the same time, Turkish, Hungarian, and Armenian foodstuffs and dishes entered Poland through its eastern and southern border (Meller 1994a: 39). Armenian merchants were the most important carriers of middle-eastern spices, nuts and exotic fruits, which continuously appeared on the tables of the Polish elite up until the seventeenth century. Turkish influences increased during the mid-seventeenth century due to the war with the Turkish empire, and can clearly be seen in the seventeenth century Polish confectionery and the diffusion of the habit of drinking coffee.

Similarly to the case of Italian culinary borrowings, French influences were also channeled through the court culture, initiated by the French wife of King Jan II (1609-1672), who arrived in Poland in 1646. The refinement of Polish *haute cuisine* continued under the guidance of French cooks who were employed by the Polish elite in great numbers (Czaplicki and Dlugosz 1976: 120). French culinary fashion reigned completely at the tables of the Polish gentry in the late eighteenth century, and French cookery techniques, such as stuffing, jellying, and glazing were also adapted (Meller 1994a: 51). However, it took another few decades before the French influences began to reach urban middle-classes as a result of conscious efforts of culinary reformers. Their activities included popular and professional publications, public lectures, and cooking courses.

One of the most influential culinary reformers of the late

nineteenth century was Lucyna Cwierzakiewiczowa (1829-1901), the author of a 1860 culinary best-seller, *365 Dinners for Five Zloty*. This book was very influential for the diffusion of foreign dishes into Polish cookery, since it adjusted their novelty and refinement to the urban middle-class home budget. The nineteenth century French cuisine, along with Austrian, English, German, and Italian dishes, formed the main inspiration for the author. Cwierzakiewiczowa's efforts to modernize Polish diet were not limited to cookery books. The first culinary exhibition, which took place in Warsaw in 1885, inspired by similar exhibitions in Paris, Vienna, and Berlin, was organized under her initiative. For almost thirty years, from 1865 to 1894, Cwierzakiewiczowa also propagated foreign recipes through cookery columns of the women's magazine *Ivy*. This magazine, published from 1865 to 1939, was the most popular of all pre-war Polish women's magazines. After 1894, its cookery column was continued by Marta Norkowska, another culinary personality of the time, and director of the renowned Norkowska's Higher Household School in Warsaw.

Cookery columns in *Ivy*, by both Cwierzakiewiczowa and Norkowska, were inspired by developments in western Europe, and often included translation of foreign recipes or recipes inspired by them. Another popular women's magazine, *Good Housekeeper*, published from 1901 to 1939, regularly carried cookery columns written by Jadwiga Izdebska, the author of a popular cookery book with the title *Young Housekeeper* published in Warsaw in 1894. The same recipes often reappeared in different cookery columns and cookbooks. For example, the recipe for Green Beans English Style could be found in Cwierzakiewiczowa's *365 Dinners*, Izdebska's *Young Housekeeper*, Norkowska's *The New Refined and Plain Cookery*, and in Ochorowicz-Monatowa's *Universal Cookery Book*. English Ox-tail Soup also appeared in the Cwierzakiewiczowa's, Norkowska's, and Ochorowicz-Monatowa's works, as well as in *Modern Home Cookery* published in 1931. The reappearance of the same dishes in various cookery books indicates that some of the dishes introduced in the late nineteenth century were on their way to acquiring a firm position in the Polish culinary repertoire. A few of them were even propagated among the lower social classes. For example, *Rural Housekeeper's Cookbook*, published in 1935 with the aim of modernizing the diet of the rural population, contained a number of recipes of foreign origins, such as French Dumplings and Omelet.

After the Second World War, fancy recipes disappeared from culinary publications, partly due to the post-war food shortage and partly due to the communist ideology of the new political rule. Although the majority of cookbooks that were published in post-1945 Poland relied chiefly on the Polish folk kitchen, many dishes of foreign origin that were adopted in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were also included, but stripped of their foreign-sounding

²¹Beata Meller, 'Obce wpływy w kuchni polskiej' in *Wokół stołu i kuchni* (1994).

names. For example, a booklet entitled *On Feeding the Family* published in 1948 featured a recipe for Coated Veal Cutlet - a veal cutlet that was to be coated in flour, egg yolk and bread - crumbs and pan fried in fat. Today this dish is considered a traditional item in the Polish national cuisine. Before World War II, however, this very same dish appeared in several middle-class cookbooks under the name Cutlet Viennese Style (*Sznycle po Wiedensku*), or Viennese Cutlet (*Sznycle Wiedenskie*).

Similarly to the case of Great Britain, in the nineteenth century the Polish elite dined French style and Italian confectionery was in fashion. Combining Polish and foreign elements in one meal was very typical for the adoption of foreign dishes at the Polish upper middle-class, and later the average middle-class table. The infatuation with foreign cookery decreased during the 1910s and 1920s, partly as a result of the economic depression that followed World War I. However, foreign dishes continued to appear, even on less elaborate menus. The wartime edition of Ochorowicz-Monatowa's *Cookery Book* still included recipes for French Soup with Parmesan, Neapolitan Soup, French Dumplings, Dutch Sauce, Sirloin Natural English Style from the Oven, Chops Nelson Style, Viennese Cutlets, Spanish Layer Cake, French Omelet with Preserve and many other foreign dishes.

Generally speaking, late nineteenth century Polish middle-class cookery underwent a similar transition to that of Great Britain. However, it should be borne in mind that the Polish middle-class was much less homogeneous than the British one. In the western areas Protestant Germans were intermingled with the Polish population, and the influence of the culinary habits of Lithuanians, Ukrainians, and other peoples could be ascertained in the north and east of the Polish territory. Moreover, Jewish customs prevailed among a considerable number of Polish middle-class communities. Several recipes from the Jewish cuisine, especially fish dishes, even entered the general Polish culinary repertoire. For example, the cookery books of Norkowska and Cwierzakiewiczowa included Stuffed Carp Jewish Style, Bream or Carp Jellied Jewish Style, Stuffed Pike Jewish Style and Stewed Carp Jewish Style.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the interest of the Polish middle- and upper classes in adopting foreign commodities and ideas were relatively strong. However, this interest was almost exclusively channeled toward western Europe and the United States, which were considered the source of economic, scientific, and cultural advancement, a model to learn from and to adopt. Apart from a few exceptions, there is hardly any trace of Far Eastern influence in Polish cookery prior to the 1980s. The popularization of ethnic restaurants began in the 1990s and is very slowly gaining ground, although mainly in the large cities.

This lack of Anglo-Indian recipes in the Polish household literature seems peculiar, if we consider that English influences reached Poland at approximately the same time

that they reached Japan where Anglo-Indian curries soon gained popularity. Similarly to Japan, Poland kept adopting western European recipes in order to enhance its self-esteem. Interestingly, however, the recipes that were chosen for this purpose differed, despite the fact that the source and the motives were the same.

CONCLUDING REMARKS: Korean National Cuisine

The Korean Food Guide in English, published in 2003 under auspices of The Korea Foundation, explains '800 terms for *traditional* and *modern* Korean foods' to the global audience. Along with *samgyet'ang* (Chicken Ginseng Soup), *kalbitchim* (Braised Beef Ribs) and *p'ajjn* (Green Onion Pancake), it also lists less orthodox staples of contemporary Korean diet such as *kimbap* (Rice Rolled in Laver), *saengsn ch'bap* (Raw Fish on Rice), *pokkmbap* (Fried Rice), *ramyn* (Instant Noodles) and *pudae tchigae* (lit. 'Military Unit Stew'). The fact that equally popular *chajangmyn* (Noodles in Soybean Sauce) - a signature dish of Chinese restaurants in Korea - and ubiquitous *tonkasu* (Breaded Pork Cutlet) are missing from the selection indicates that the guide includes only dishes and ingredients that have by now acquired a decidedly Korean identity. Indeed, as the preface specifies, the guide consists of '800 terms for *traditional* and *modern* Korean foods' (emphasis added).

Before the publication of *The Korean Food Guide in English* the Korea Foundation had already been seriously involved in disseminating information on the Korean foodways through the quarterly *Koreana*, a journal dedicated to 'increasing awareness about Korea's cultural heritage overseas'. *Koreana* has been published since 1987 and distributed free of charge to universities, libraries, museums, research centers and other cultural institutions in over a hundred countries. Conform to the general character of the journal, food-related articles featured in *Koreana* tend to emphasize the unique characteristics of Korean cuisine, highlighting the time-honored traditions surrounding the production, preparation, and consumption of food in Korea²². Very little attention is devoted to the developments of the twentieth century, which - as elsewhere - constitute an important component of the Korean national cuisine.

Three episodes in the history of modern Korea have had a decisive effect on the daily life of contemporary Koreans: the Japanese colonial rule (1910-45), the Korean War (1950-53), and the US military presence following 1945. While these forces are unanimously recognized as critical, their concrete impact on the Korean society and culture remains little understood.

²²The Korea Foundation, ed., *The Korean Food Guide in English* (2003), p. 6.

The construction of Korean national cuisine, like in the examples discussed above, fall exactly on the period of Korean history which has not been thoroughly studied. Contemporary Korean cuisine, like the national cuisine of Great Britain and Poland discussed above, contains elements that had at one time been imported from abroad, but were ultimately indigenized, entering the pantheon of national dishes. Perhaps the most potent example to illustrate this point is hot red pepper (chili pepper), which has grown into a symbol of Korean cuisine. This plant of South American origin that gives an array of Korean dishes their distinctive red color and pungent taste has began to be used in the Korean kitchens only from the eighteenth century onward.²³ Isn't it an ultimate proof of the fact that foods do not have inherent national identities, but that they acquire them over time?

Although perhaps not as powerful as the case of red pepper, the example of *kimpap* may serve as an effective tool for unveiling the complex legacy of the colonial period in the Korean foodways. Today, *kimpap* is an overly popular lunch item, absolutely indispensable for picnics. It would be difficult to find a Korean child who departs on a school excursion unequipped with a lunch kit with carefully packed *kimpap*.

Both *An illustrated guide to Korean culture* and *An encyclopaedia of Korean culture* include *kimpap* in their food sections.²⁴ Interestingly, the *Dictionary of Korean culinary vocabulary*, published in Korean in 1996 does not list *kimpap* at all.²⁵ This fact notwithstanding, few would argue against the assertion that by now *kimpap* has acquired a status of a national dish in South Korea, the first step in the

direction of entering the pantheon of the Korean culinary 'tradition'. Unfortunately, apart from its Japanese origins, little is known about when and how the process of appropriation of this culinary innovation took place.²⁶ The culinary history of twentieth century Korea is beaming with little understood cases like *kimpap*.

The universality of food gives it enormous potential as an indicator of cultural difference, an effective tool to distinguish members of one's own nation or those belonging to others. This capacity is reflected in the frequency of instances when eating habits have in the past been employed to belittle other nations, for example through expressions such as 'Frogs' (referring to French), 'Macaronis' (referring to Italians), and 'Krauts' (referring to Germans). However, with the rise of national cuisines and other changes that culinary cultures of modern nations underwent since the nineteenth century, the information that can be conveyed through food and eating became much more multifaceted and valuable for scholars. It becomes increasingly evident that we should study national cuisines not only for their own sake, but for the capacity they have for conveying the complexities of modern historical developments. By analyzing how national cuisines are born and how they evolve, what elements constitute their building blocks and who is involved in their construction we can tackle issues that extend far beyond the domains of nutrition, home economics and culinary studies. We can uncover development and identify connections that are of vital importance for the understanding of twentieth century Korea. The purpose of this paper is to emphasize the potential that the study of Korean national cuisine can offer, despite the challenges involved.

²³Except for a special issue on traditional food that appeared in 1993 (vol. 7 no. 3), followed by a special issue on wine and drinking customs in 1996 (vol. 10 no. 4) and one on tea culture in 1997 (vol. 11 no. 4), food has rarely been featured in the journal during the first decade of its existence. Since 1999, however, a 'Cuisine' section has become a fixture of every issue of *Koreana*. Back numbers of the journal are all available at www.koreana.or.kr.

²⁴Boudewijn C.A. Walraven, "Bardot soup and Confucians' meat: Food and Korean identity in global context," in *Asian food: The global and the local*, ed. K.J.Cwierka with B.C.A. Walraven (2002), p. 99.

²⁵The National Academy of the Korean Language, ed., *An illustrated guide to Korean culture: 233 Traditional key words* (2002), p. 90; Cheong-Soo Suh, ed., *An encyclopaedia of Korean culture* (2004), pp. 269-270.

²⁶Yun Sukkyng, ed., *Uri mal chori sajn* (1996).

²⁷See, for example, Han Pokchin, *Uri saenghwal 100myun: mshik* (2001), p. 91; Han'guk chngshin munhwa yn'guwn, ed., *Han'guk minjok munwha taebaekkwajin*, vol. 4 (1979), p. 677; The National Academy, *An illustrated guide to Korean culture*, p. 90.