

One of my favourite Mozambican desserts combines cassava cooked in cinnamon-infused coconut milk and sweetened with brown sugar. In late 2016, as we were savouring such delicacy at the kitchen of Kaleidoscopio (our research institute on Culture and Public Policy), Euclides and I started reflecting on how much we could understand about Mozambican history and heritage through food. We felt dissatisfied about the fact that transmission of the country's history through the educational system in Mozambique focuses greatly on political, administrative and governmental façade of it. The history curriculum emphasises exploitation events (such as slavery and colonialism), struggles and heroic men that contributed to the liberation and democratization of Mozambique. We felt the absence of social history – the narratives about the

interactions of different groups in society. Thus, we decided to tackle such gap through an analysis of history under the lenses of food. We ventured into the production of a cookbook that would present a summary of the context, rituals and social dynamics associated with selected dishes of the Mozambican cuisine. That was the birth of the Cooking History Project!

The focus of the project was to work with primary school pupils. We organized three workshops. For each session we invited a 6th grade class from a specific school. Our school sample included a private school; a school from a peripheric neighborhood and finally a public school from the city center.

In each workshop a cook would prepare a list of selected dishes while interacting with the children. Invited researchers, as well as researchers from Kaleidocopio and a nutritionist, presented and discussed evidence and narratives about the circulation of ingredients from around the world to Mozambique. The presentations also explored the social, historical, economic and political context in which specific dishes were created or ingredients incorporated in the local cuisine. Finally, we investigated cooking techniques, nutritional information, myths about and contexts in which dishes are cooked and consumed in order to apprehend its symbolic value. A photographer captured interactions at the workshop and took pictures of dishes as well as food on the streets of Maputo city, where we are located. We have compiled 20 recipes that in-

The hinterland has a strong shepherding culture though still modest if compared to other African countries. Cattle are more common in the South while goat in the Central and Northern region. Still, the hinterland communities are mostly vegetarians. Cows are considered currency rather than bred for consumption. Also, cattle is a distinctive element to represent social status: the more cows, the higher social status. The animals are sold to cover unforeseen expenses (such as illness, death or further education) or to maintain family's lifestyles in times of crisis or scarcity (as happens under the current prolonged drought faced by the country). Also, in Southern Patriarchal Mozambique, as groups that survive out of agriculture and shepherding, marriage has a significant value as it signifies the possibility for procreation, for increased labor

for agriculture and prosperity. Thus, families wanting to marry their sons pay compensation in cattle to the bride's family as a reposition for the offspring that she will generate. Exceptional moments to the consumption of meat are celebrations: weddings; when babies are born; funerals and end of the year are events in which cattle are killed for consumption. The meat peanut curry is an example of a celebration dish. In Gaza, a southern province, the recipe is prepared with pounded peanuts boiled in water, onions and tomatoes into a thick sauce with various cuts of beef seasoned with salt.

A significant number of rivers from the Southern Africa region cross Mozambique to reach the sea. River fishing is also a common practice in communities close to rivers. Frequently, fish is dried

under the sun covered with salt as a conservation mechanism. The tilapia from the Zambezi River, named *Xikowa* in Tete province (central Mozambique), is a trademark: it is desalted in cold water and deep-fried. A tomato sauce reduction and xima accompany it. Drying food is a widespread practice in the country. Not only river fish but also meat, sea fish and vegetables are dried and kept to be used on future occasions.

Food, its narratives and practices about it have interesting social structuring and organizing principles. Throughout the country, food preparation is the realm of women. Through such a role, in rural spaces fundamentally based on subsistence production, women achieve a significant social status. Rituals to evoke rain and establish a connection with ancestors tend to use the staple cereal of the specific region and thus associated

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Cooking history: food recipes and heritage in Mozambique

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clude main dishes, starters and desserts.

Our findings inform us that most groups in Mozambique have a vegetable based diet. Indeed, agriculture is the mainstay of the Mozambican economy and 80% of it consists of subsistence farming¹. Throughout the country, communities cook leaves from different roots (such as cassava, sweet potato and pumpkin), vegetables (like collard greens and spinach), green creeping plants [such as cacana (form the Cucurbitaceae family)] or coastal plants [such as the siri siri (*Sesuvium portulacastrum*)]. These greens are boiled, sometimes mixed with garlic, onions and tomatoes and, depending on the region, peanuts or cashews and coconut milk can be added. The accompaniment is maize, cassava or sorghum thick porridge (*xima*) or cooked rice.

Food cultures vary in the hinterland and on the coast. Communities at the long 2000km coast tend to incorporate fish and seafood more frequently in their diet as fishing is a parallel social, economic activity to agriculture.

Moreover, the heritage of the coastal Mozambique in the centuries-long Spice Trade Route has left a legacy. Spices like cardamom, cinnamon, saffron, ginger and pepper are common ingredients in the dishes cooked in the coastal regions of the country. That is also the case among Islamic communities – that are significantly represented in Northern Mozambique. The coconut has been introduced in the East African region by the Indonesians who came from Java, Sumatra, and other south-east Asian islands in the years before AD 500. However, it was

from the late 1800s, under the Portuguese colonization and the establishment of international companies² – that explored parts of the Mozambican land and labour for generations under a fee for the Portuguese regime – that coastal Mozambique developed a coconut economy. While such economy produced copra to be exported to the European market, the coconut became the essential ingredient in the gastronomy of most Northern coastal Mozambique³. The sweet potato, coconut and sawfish, a featured recipe in the book, is an example of a coastal dish that combines all the historical dynamics mentioned here. Fried fish is added to a sauce of sautéed garlic, onions, saffron and bay leave cooked in coconut milk with sweet potato. Pieces of green dried mangoes are added for flavour.

with women and her role in society. Food prohibitions are widespread in the popular discourse. An example: children are forbidden from eat eggs! This illustration has compelling social organizing principles. Breeding chicken is a common practice for peri-urban communities, used as a means to increase household income. The prohibition for the consumption of eggs emerges from the need to guarantee the reproduction and more animals to be sold. Thus, as children are in higher number than adults in households, eggs are only allowed to adults.

Mozambique is very diverse in regards to its social and economic conditions among and within rural and urban areas. Such diversity means, for example, that while some areas have no access to electricity and a variety

of processed food, others do. The dynamics and practices of food consumption are consequently influenced by the specificities of the location and its social and economic context. For example, food shortages and restrictions in the post-independence Mozambique (from the late 1970s and early 1980s) due to a combination of devastating factors: a prolonged drought that significantly impacted the production of food in the country; a non-productive centralized economy closed to the liberal market; and the intensification of the civil war⁴ – promoted a creative take on cooking in urban areas. As the two main available products were mackerel and cabbage, women would invent a plethora of different dishes based on these two ingredients. The fish was eaten boiled, fried, baked, grilled, in cakes, mixed with staple maize and rice, in loaves of bread and so forth.

This project was a contribution to a better understanding of the Mozambican living heritage by highlighting the place of food in different moments and dimensions of everyday life.

¹ <http://www.fao.org/mozambique/fao-in-mozambique/mozambique-at-a-glance/en/>

² Negrão, J. 1995. One hundred years of African rural family economy: The Zambezi Delta in retrospective analysis. PhD Thesis. School of Economics and Management/Department of Economic History. University of Lund, Lund, Sweden.

³ Ribeiro, C. 1932. Coqueiros. Boletim da Sociedade de Estudos da Colónia de Moçambique 1(5):127-33.

⁴ Civil war between Renamo, a rebel movement that rally against Frelimo socialist under the context of Cold War



Pupils and cook interacting at the second cooking history workshop



Beef peanut curry with xima



Fish and seafood on sale at Praia Nova beach in Beira city, Sofala province in central Mozambique

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ナモンで香りをつけたココナッツミルクでキャッサバを炊き、黒糖で甘みをつけたデザートは私(サンドラ・マニユエル)の大好物です。2016年末にカレイドスコピーオ研究所の厨房で、この美味を楽しんでいる折、エウクリデス・ゴンサウヴェス(本稿共著者の一人)と私は、食を通じてモザンビークの歴史と遺産をどれほど理解できるかについて思いを馳せ始めました。この国の公教育ではモザンビークの歴史を生徒に伝えるにあたって、政治、行政、政府に焦点を当てることに二人とも不満を覚えていました。歴史のカリキュラムでは、奴隷制や植民地主義といった「搾取」や、モザンビークの植民地主義からの解放や民主化に貢献した戦いや英雄たちのことを強調します。ところが、モザンビークの多様な人々についての歴史を綴る社会史は存在しないのです。そこで、食という視角を通じた歴史の分析をすることで、このギャップを埋めることにしました。

このプロジェクトを実施する中で私たちが発見したのは、モザンビーク人の多くが基本的に肉食だということです。実際、農業がモザンビーク経済の主流ですし、その80%が自給農業です。国中で、庶民はキャッサバ、甘薯、南瓜、緑菜、ほうれん草、更にはカカナと呼ばれる蔓草、ミルスベリヒユと呼ばれる浜草の葉っぱを調理します。これらの緑のものは、大蒜、玉ねぎ、トマトなどと共に煮つけられ、土地によってはピーナッツ、カシューナッツ、ココナッツミルクなども加えます。食べ合わせるのには、トウモロコシ、キャッサバ、ある

ほど、社会的地位が高いという具合に社会的な地位も示します。家畜は病氣や葬儀、高等教育といった予定外の出費を賄うために売られるか、あるいは長期の干ばつといった物不足や危機的状況の中で家族の暮らしを守るために売られます。

また、家長長制で、農業と遊牧に頼って暮らしている南部では、家族が増えると労働力が増え繁栄につながると考えられていることから、結婚が重要な意味を持ちます。この地域の家族は、自分の息子が結婚する相手の花嫁の家族に家畜を贈ります。というのは、家畜は花嫁が産する子どもと引き換えという訳です。例外的に肉を食べるのはこうした結婚、出産のようなお祝いごとの時と、葬式、年の瀬といった機会です。肉入りのピーナッツ・カレーはこのような祝宴の食事の一例です。南部のガザ州では、このカレーは、茹でたピーナッツをすりつぶしたものと、トマト、玉ねぎで濃厚なソースを作り、それに塩味付けした牛肉数切れを合わせるのです。

多くの河川が、アフリカ南部を水源としてモザンビークを通り海に流れ込みます。このため川沿いでは、釣りをすることがしょっちゅうです。釣り上げた川魚は保存するために、塩をまぶした上で干干しにします。ザンベジ川で取れるティラピアの干物は、中部モザンビークのテテ州ではシコワと呼ばれる特産品です。冷たい水で塩抜きをし、揚げ物にします。トマトを煮詰めたソースをまぶして、お粥のシマと共に食べます。干物は、

「私」のまなざし 26

調理の歴史 モザンビークの食のレシピと伝統

文・写真 ● サンドラ・マニユエル
アネシオ・マニサ
エウクリデス・ゴンサウヴェス



2回目の料理史ワークショップで交流する生徒たちと調理師



牛肉入りピーナッツカレーとシマ



中部モザンビークのソファラ州ベイラ、ブライアノヴァビーチで売られる魚介類

いはトウモロコシ粉から作るシマと呼ばれる粥です。

山 間部と沿岸部で食文化は異なります。2000キロに及ぶ沿岸部では、漁業が農業と並んで盛んなので、魚と海産物を頻りに食べます。更に、数世紀に及ぶ香辛料貿易の残り香が漂います。カルダモン、シナモン、サフラン、生姜、胡椒などの香辛料が沿岸部では頻りに用いられます。モザンビーク北部に多いイスラム教徒のコミュニティも同じです。

ココナッツは、ジャワ、スマトラやほかの東南アジアの島々からやってきたインドネシア人の手により5世紀より前に東アフリカに持ち込まれました。そして、19世紀末からのポルトガルによる植民地化の下でモザンビークの沿岸部ではココナッツ経済が発展しました。ここでヨーロッパ市場に向けたコプラを生産すると共に、北部沿岸部の料理にココナッツは欠かすことができない材料となった訳です。ノコギリエイ、ココナッツ、甘薯の一品には、こうした歴史が含まれています。ソテーした大蒜、玉ねぎ、サフラン、ローリエをココナッツミルクで調理し、ノコギリエイのフライにソースとしてまぶします。甘薯を添え、香りを出すために干したグリーン・マンゴーを刻んだものを付け合わせます。

山間部は、遊牧文化が色濃く残ります。家畜は南部では牛、中央部と北部では山羊です。とはいえ、山間部では基本的に肉食です。牛は食用というよりは貨幣と考えられています。また、飼っている牛が多ければ多い

モザンビークのどこでもよく見かけます。川の魚だけではなく、海の魚、肉、野菜も干物にします。保存して、後で食べるためです。

食 に関する物語や慣習は、社会の仕組みやルールと深い関係があります。モザンビーク全土で食事を準備するのは女性です。このため自給自足の農村部では、女性は重要な社会的役割を手に入れています。雨ごいや先祖を祭る儀式の際には、地元で常食される穀物を用いるので、女性と女性の社会的地位と結びつきが深いのです。食についての忌み事は、庶民の日常会話で頻りに聞くことができます。たとえば子どもは鶏卵を食べてはいけないというようなものです。養鶏は、都市近郊の農業で世帯の収入を上げるためによく行われますが、鶏卵を食べるのを禁止するのは、鶏の繁殖を促し、販売に回すためです。大人より子どもの数が多い世帯がほとんどですから、鶏卵を食べてよいのは大人たちに限るといふ訳です。

このプロジェクトが、日常の暮らしの中の食に光を当てることで、モザンビークの生き生きとした伝統への理解に貢献することを願いながら、この小論の筆をおきます。

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日常から意識する「防災」

地球温暖化の影響なのかどうなのか……昨年は、50年、100年に一度と言われる激甚災害が頻発しました。あたかも、今後しばらくはそのような災害に見舞われることはないと誤解される、そんな表現はそろそろ止めるべきではないでしょうか。来るかもしれない災害に日頃から備えることが大切です。そこで今号の特集テーマは「防災」です。

