

### **A note about this book extract**

This book is an outcome of M.A. course (WS: 10 - Caste and Gender in Modern India: History and Memory). In this project, several dalit men and women were interviewed by students, who narrated about their food practices and also described unique recipes. A theme that was conceptualized by Prof. Sharmila Rege, who wrote the preface and edited the volume along with a team.

It was also an attempt to create bilingual books. This particular book has both English and Marathi sections within the same book

To give you a larger perspective of the project, the PDF has substantial extract of book.

To get the book or to get more details, you may contact:

**Krantijyoti Savitribai Phule Women's Studies Centre,**

University of Pune.

at

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Gender Studies: Student Project Series

# Isn't This Plate Indian?

Dalit Histories and  
Memories of Food

# ही थाली भारतीय नाही का ?

अन्नाविषयक दलित  
आठवणी आणि इतिहास



Authors

WS 10 Class of 2009



प्रकाशक

क्रांतिज्योती भाविनीबाई फुले स्त्री अभ्यास केंद्र  
पुणे विद्यापीठ, पुणे

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*Gender Studies: Student Project Series*

**Isn't This Plate Indian?  
Dalit Histories and Memories of Food.**

Authors : WS 10 Class of 2009

Editorial Team: Sharmila Rege  
Deepa Tak  
Sangita Thosar  
Tina Aranha

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**Remembering WS-10:  
Studying Caste and Gender:  
Issues in History and Memory**

“We live our lives sunk in a vast forgetting, a fact we refuse to recognise” (Milan Kundera, *Ignorance* 2002)

The Course WS -10 on ‘Caste and Gender in Modern India: History and Memory’ was floated this semester (Jan-April 2009) at the Krantijyoti Savitribai Phule Women’s Studies Centre as an open course. WS-10 is a course propelled by dalit life narratives, seeking to draw all participants into recognizing histories of caste and gender ‘usually forgotten’ in the official structuring of curricula. The memories that constitute the narratives have a moral and political force that confronts the ‘officially forgotten’ histories of caste and gender oppression, resistance and struggles. WS-10 is a modest attempt to open ourselves to the turbulent processes of learning and thereby intervening in the ignorance on caste and gender in modern institutions and practices; an ignorance manufactured and sanctioned by our academic practices. Twenty-two students registered for this course, ten opting for Marathi and the remaining twelve for English as their medium of expression. Reading materials were made available in both the languages and it was decided that preparatory reading for classes would be ensured by designing ‘surprise comprehension exercises’ and students’ participation in teaching of the course. All narratives in the course it was decided would be introduced in the classroom by students who would work in four groups sometimes across languages at other times around a common language of expression in order to ‘read collectively in translation as many dalit narratives as possible.

The course began with reading the classics on caste and gender which are often forgotten in constructing the classical tradi-

tion in the curricula. We began with reading Jotiba Phule's *Satsaar* and Sarvajanic Satyadharm Pustak before turning to feminist explorations of Dr Ambedkar's *Castes in India, Rise and Fall of Hindu Women, Riddles in Hinduism* and Ramaswamy Naicker Periyar's critique of enforced motherhood. Ironically, as we were reading these texts and were turning to writings and memories of women in the *Satyashodhak, Ambedkarite* and *Self Respect* publics the visual space of Pune city came to be occupied by hogrdings of Parshurama (who beheaded his mother and later fixed a 'matangi's' head to restore her to life) calling for participation in Multilingual Brahman Parishad. The Multilingual Brahman Parishad meeting in Pune city, boasting of star speakers passed resolutions against inter caste marriages and for vegetarianism and in a sense drove home the 'contemporary relevance' of the classics we were reading in class. The students articulated the complex ways in which class, region and moral economy of the household mediated in their caste communities to actively discourage, limit the boundaries of or violently oppose intercaste marriages. Students, especially first generation learners argued that the economic insecurities in higher education were rendering them more dependent on family and kinship networks and reducing the already shrunken space for independent decisions on life and family.

The discussion on history and memory began with students introducing and initiating discussions on four narratives – Vasant Moon's 'Growing up Untouchable in India', Baby Kamble's 'Prisons We Broke', Sharan Kumar Limbale's 'The Outcaste' and Om Prakash Valmiki's 'Jhootan'. Vasant Moon and Baby Kamble's narratives were discussed as offering from two different locations contesting narratives of the nation. These memories of Moon and Kamble allowed an understanding of the ways in which differences of gender, caste and region mediated the Ambedkar movement. Sharan Kumar Limbale's and Om Prakash

Valmiki's narratives created discomfort that comes with recognizing the violence of 'our ignorance'. Groups discussed memories of caste in Nehruvian India from locations stigmatized by 'scavenging' labour and 'illegitimate' birth. The consumption of Jhoota food and the sexual violence that structures and is structured by caste was the focus of discussions. Questions of identity – as they emerge in Valmiki's family name and Sharan Kumar Limbale's 'impossibility of belonging to any one single community' generated considerably emotionally charged discussions. Can the violence of caste become a ground to justify violence of rape? The issue of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities produced by the caste/gender nexus and the complicity with hegemonic models was the focus of much heated discussion. What was most encouraging about the discussions was the absence of posturing of politically correct positions by participants thus producing the classroom as a space for reflecting on caste inside and outside the classroom. Discussing the significance of memories of caste for the troubled relations between feminism and history, we tried to compare the case with memory work on partition in rewriting the histories of the nation. Detailing the conjuncture that makes doing history and memory of caste and gender possible, the class discussed why this called for a democratization of the methods of knowledge. In other words, we asked why and how dalit narratives constituted by memory, experience, identity, embodiment and agency democratize methods of knowing caste and gender.

At this point in the course, the centrality of hunger and food in memory and articulations of pain, humiliation, assertions of self respect, taste of own culinary skills and distaste for 'bland brahmanical' food was pointing to the limitations of structural anthropological discourse on caste and food and the sanskritisation model of understanding changes in caste based eating and drinking practices. The idea of doing a food project – of undertaking

an analysis of representation of dalit food practices and documenting memories and recipes began to float in the classroom but had not generated immediate responses. Infectious enthusiasm and engagement came much later when students began to document memories of food and recipes.

The groups of students now working separately in Marathi and English were asked to introduce and discuss Bama's *Karraku* and Uttam Kamble's 'Aai Samjun Ghetana'. It was heartening to see students introduce a third text Shantabai Kamble's 'Majhya Jalmachi Chittarkatha' that was not 'a part of the assigned task for class'. As a course co-ordinator who has often been thoroughly depressed trying to figure out why many of the students resist reading for class discussions- this was a pleasant shock. It had nothing to do, needless to say, with 'pedagogical talents' of the teacher or teaching assistants but the discourse of participation that dalit life narratives generate as against the discourse of distancing that some of the 'more regular' readings produce. These narratives were discussed to detail the memories of kinship – fictive and real, patriarchies and caste in diverse times and spaces. The works of two feminist historians on caste, kinship and patriarchies in diverse settings – matrilineal Malabar and patrilineal Haryana was introduced to detail routes that make a historian challenge 'the field' through a re-reading of the archives and memoirs as also take 'routes to the field' to document oral histories to make sense of the archives. The relations between memory, contexts and concepts in 'doing caste and gender' were discussed by Uma Chakravarti in a two hour presentation on how she came to 'Brahmanical Patriarchy'. A detailed discussion on Urmila Pawar's 'Weave of my Life', detailing the memories of labour, household, food, culinary skills, romance, conjugality, migration, routine violence of caste in the city and its institutions and of 'becoming Buddhist' focused on dalits as producers of modernities countering the dominant discourse



of dalits as 'poor consumers' of modernity.

At this point in the course students and the team of Tina Aranha, Sangita Thosar, Deepa Tak got down to nitty-gritty for doing memory work on food and culinary practices. Rough list of questions were drawn, circulated, appointments made with our respondents and schedules for collective work drawn. The sensitivity of the group on ethics of doing memory work, the genuine engagement in learning from 'live memories' was appreciated by the respondents. There was no 'classical anthropological gaze' at the 'other' during the three days on intense memory work that we did collectively. As the reflections in this book will bear out, the exercise in documenting memories made us throw the gaze of the respondents on 'ourselves', 'our lives' and academic practices. The axes of power in our classroom were considerably destabilised as students and team members from the Centre working in Marathi and coming from marginalized communities 'lead' the exercise of memory work as many of 'us' were at a complete loss to understand what 'Vazdi' and 'Chanya' or Ghoul Sabjee meant. The class discussed the process of putting the documentation together before moving on to the next module in the course.

The discussions on caste, violence and sexuality began by addressing the question of 'official forgetting' of caste violence in postcolonial India and the documentation of memories of holocauste being limited to fact-finding reports and testimonies. Drawing upon the writings of Ravi Kumar on caste violence in Tamil Nadu, the class discussed the limitations of social science methods and tools in documenting this violence. Recalling Chundurur, the Khairlanji massacre was detailed to locate the gendered grounds of changing caste relations in post 1960s rural India. Why does the attack on pubs in Karnataka generate a 'nation wide' protest campaign by women and Khairlanji fail to be inscribed in the 'collective memory' of 'women' despite the

marches, protests by dalit women across Maharashtra? Asking why and how 'we' forget the sexual atrocities, rape and massacre at Khairlange, it was argued that this has much to do with the complicity with structures of caste and class and the routine violence of caste and gender. Groups presented Aravind Mallagatti's 'Government Brahmana' and Baburao Bagul's 'Mother', to discuss the routine violence that is produced by institutionalized stereotypes and binaries of love and dharma, desire and nurture, caste and merit in caste-patriarchal society. Methodological questions raised by the research on caste, labour and masculinities in a Tamil village were discussed - and the possibilities and limitations for studying the production of hegemonic and exaggerated subordinate masculinities were detailed.

The course ended with groups presenting Narendra Jadhav's 'Outcaste: A Memoir' to delineate how an archive of the public and private and of structure of feelings of the Ambedkar movement is built from fragments. We discussed how the notes in a diary that comes to be kept to 'keep a retired father busy' and reconstruction of memories by a family produce radical empiricism and alternate histories that move beyond the evidentiary rules of social science.

This collection of narratives 'Isn't This Plate Indian?': Dalit Memories and Histories of Food, has emerged from the collective efforts of all involved in WS-10. I would like to put on record my heartfelt thanks to Dr. Raosaheb Kasabe and Dr Sulbha Patole who helped me to think through the project before floating the idea in class. Kasabe Sir in his characteristic style narrated his own memories of food, kinds of meat, nausea and attempts to get the better of socialized limitations of taste. Sulbha's enthusiasm and sharing of memories outside Namdeo sabhagraha convinced us that such a project was indeed needed. This project was not possible without the 'insider's' perspective that Sangita Thosar and Deepa Tak lent to the project besides their efforts

in organizing the meetings with respondents and editing the narratives. Tina's translations and painstaking efforts at editing both the Marathi and the English narratives have made this 'in record time' publication possible. The faculty members, non-teaching staff and research team at the centre, particularly Nirmala Jadhav who assisted the teaching of this course but could not be a part of the project due to other research commitments have helped in diverse ways to make this project possible. Thanks are due to Deepak Kasale for typing and typesetting of this book. Lastly, a big thanks to all the students who participated in the course and the project for their insights, hard work and the enthusiasm they brought to the project. It has encouraged me to restart my long pending work on 'Ambedkar: Feminist Explorations', a reader in the Navayana Series. This book will be for the WS -10 batch of 2009.

Sharmila Rege

April 2009

## Preface: Process and Reflections

The journey of this project has been like a roller-coaster taking us to the heights of excitement and joy as well as the depth of pain and deprivation. Having never truly experienced hunger, this project gave us a slice of the pain of hunger, desperation for food as also the joys and aspirations associated with food.

The course on Caste and Gender in Modern India: History and Memory involved reading lot of Dalit autobiographies which we feel truly directed us towards the dynamics of food practices. For example the name 'Joothan' itself is a strong statement that indicates how food is central to the sustenance of the caste system. It has been emphasised through varied texts and experiences that food is an identity marker and this project truly brought this thought alive underlining its regional specificities, personal histories and as a marker of social status.

Acknowledging that modern institutions and practices have reinvented caste, the class reflected on cookbooks and the absence of Dalit recipes in them. It led to the pertinent question of 'Why are not Dalit cooking practices worthy of study or why are they not to be considered as knowledge and documented in a cookery book?' It is towards unearthing these invisible histories and demanding their value, that this project took shape.

Indian society is a caste-based society and its hierarchy revolves primarily around paternal residence, food practices and marriage. Food was central to the practice of untouchability – first because who could eat what was regulated by the brahmanical ordering of society and then this itself became a marker of pure and impure status. Recognising this fact, this project looked to engage with memories of Dalit women and men to explicate the caste and gender intersections on the site of food.

While the class consisted of 22 students, the editorial team comprised of the course coordinator Sharmila Rege alongwith

Deepa Tak, Sangita Thosar and Tina Aranha. The team, over several meetings, worked on the conduct of the interviews, identifying and sourcing resource persons, distributing work within the team, finalising 'the space' to conduct interviews and crucially managing available time. There was much disagreement within the team over the number and the specific resource persons we ought to include in this project. After much discussion, we came up with a rough list of resource persons who would be approached by Deepa and Sangita (many of them they knew personally) to ask if they would agree to be part of this project. The consent was sought and thus informed to the team.

Meanwhile the entire team decided to prepare a questionnaire schedule and likewise students came with possible questions they would want to ask. 22 different set of ideas were put together and the team discussed the prepared interview-guide. This schedule was given beforehand to students to help them familiarise themselves. The team also used it to inform resource persons of the type of questions that would be asked. The team then arduously made a timetable to ensure that one English medium student and one Marathi medium student engaged and wrote one life narrative.

Selection of resourcepersons was an intimate and conscious decision. It was earlier decided that 6 Dalit women would be interviewed recognising that food is intrinsically linked to women. This number rose to 8 and on the insistence of students, two male resourcepersons were added. Students wished to interview more male resource persons to trace the gendered nuances of food practices, but time constraints meant we had to limit them to two. Hence we had 10 resourcepersons – 8 women and 2 men: They belonged to Matang, Valmiki, Neo-Buddhist and Pinjari castes.

The interviews were conducted across three days – 17<sup>th</sup>, 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> March 2009. The students were divided into groups

and students opposed this idea. When the rationale of conducting the interviews was explained, they agreed but insisted that all students would attend all interviews. Thus the timetable included one Marathi/Hindi speaking student as the main interviewer while one English medium and one Marathi medium student wrote out the interviews. This timetable underwent many changes with resource persons either being unable to come for the interviews or requesting for change in date. Since the resource persons spoke in Marathi and Hindi, Sharmila and Tina took charge of translating the interview into English for the benefit of students who didn't understand Marathi and Hindi. Even as much care was taken to take note of every detail and translate it, it was understood that nuances of spoken word/expressions do get lost in translation.

In order to ensure that the resource persons spoke freely, they were informed of the project in advance. The classroom was organised in such a way that students sat around the resourcepersons to make it less intimidating. There were discussions with students over the manner to ask questions as well as informal meetings with the resourcepersons when they arrived at the Centre.

Our resourcepersons were shy, humble, extremely gregarious and with a funny bone. They shared their lives and recipes with us even as it opened up sore points as well as tickling memories of the past. Every moment was savoured, all recipes baked in the specificity of the individual/region/community and all memories deep fried with questions, comments and sharing of experiences by students and the team.

When the students' enthusiasm dipped or there was hesitation sensed in students or resourcepersons, the team took over and intervened. This helped because when resourcepersons felt embarrassed speaking of some aspects of their lives or called some meat as 'mothyacha mutton' (big mutton) the team ensured they felt comfortable as also asked pointed questions to

cull out that ‘mothiyacha mutton’ means beef or asked for the meaning and recipe of ‘chania.’

Each recipe was mouth-wateringly explained, some almost as if cooked right there with gestures of mixing the mutton or sprinkling the masala. Questions of the recipe of the masala always brought a twinkle in the eye of the resourcepersons and as one of them responded “Saying swadanusaar (as per your taste) for any measure in recipes is the most misleading piece of information!” Interacting with the resourcepersons opened up a new world of finger-licking savouries and everyone on board felt that they were participating in a food festival!

While students had to write one life narrative each, they were advised to write in third person format. Yet some students felt it lent much more to the subject and hence wrote in first person format.

Moreover since this is the first attempt to document these memories and histories, the lives and recipes do not follow pre-ordained formats of narration and hence writing. The resourcepersons didn’t always follow a chronological format in narrating their lives nor gave quantitative measures in describing recipes.

The students submitted the essays in 5 sections: Why this project, Connecting read passages with the project, Analysing Existing Cookbooks on Shelves, Documenting Life Narratives with Recipes and Reflections. The editorial team looked at the essays and edited them for factual accuracy, copy-editing and sometimes length. Care was taken to ensure original thought was retained. Editing was an arduous task what with bringing together 22 voices across 2 languages ensuring that arguments made by students came across in their continuities and discontinuities to build a coherent text- produced at once individually and collectively.

The editorial team noted that across essays there was una-

nimity in the selection of passages, critique of cookbooks and also the critical act of reflecting on their lives and practices and hence learning relationally. There was variation in what they noticed in the cookbooks depending on their location as also their specific styles of sketching out the narratives.

Coming from very diverse locations, we as a team disagreed immensely on issues as also brought specific flavours to the plate of this project.

For Sangita, this project underlined that food can be knowledge and acknowledged that it granted legitimacy to her childhood memories of struggling to assert her food choices even as she questioned the right of others granting it legitimacy. She recalled how as a child she would remain silent on the question of eating beef but later as she joined the Satyashodhak Movement, started sharply asserting her food choices as a spontaneous reaction against the years of silenced oppression against her and many like her who didn't have a voice. She truly believes that this project has shown how caste and its cultures determines what we eat as well as what we 'prefer' to eat. She asserted how in the city one would hide the act of eating beef and she recalls how her mother instructed her that in case anyone asks, Sangita should say 'today we are eating potatoes at home.' She believes that this project has truly brought alive the concept that one learns of how caste and gender construct division of labour as also indicated pertinent points of the relation of food to the caste economy. The possibility of a project that researches food that we eat surprised her, and later she enjoyed it immensely.

Deepa pointed out that through the course on Caste and Gender and this project; she truly understood how food can also be a site for knowledge. She notes that her own experience always reflected that food was a site of oppression – of deeming people like her lowly due to their food practices. The project made her think on the need for documenting this knowledge as well as led



her to the Food Section of a bookstore marvelling at the titles like *Buddhist Peace Food*. As someone who doesn't consume pig meat and had hidden it from her friends in college, Deepa has always revelled in the 'shuddhata' (purity) attached to her in her family. She sees this act as having ingrained the dominant belief of pure and impure food. Even as she has never truly experienced hunger, she recalls how she would wonder why males in the family would always get a larger share. She also underlines how it wasn't always easy to convince the resource persons for this project who laughed it off or hesitated and how many of them placed their trust in her to discuss their lives. In this process, she believes being an 'insider' helped.

Tina hadn't fathomed the deeply enriching journey this was going to be when she agreed to be a part of the project. Even as this project was underway, she read many dalit autobiographies like *Weave of my Life*, *Joothan*, *The Outcaste* and *Outcaste: A Memoir*, which brought to her attention the question of food, it being site of humiliation and a site to claim modernity. As someone who has never regarded cooking as a skill or been interested in cooking, this project led her to reflect on the violence she inflicted by brushing off her mother's battle in building a 'negotiated taste' across two cultures in an inter-religious marriage. It also brought back memories of how there would be 'controversies' over what kind of food was served, how it was served and to whom was it served first not so much in marriages (what with marriages now having buffets) but with death ceremonies and rituals. For her, being a part of this project has underlined her privileged upper caste status as also made her recall and appreciate her childhood fetish for bhakris and chutney, eaten relishingly at a neo-Buddhist neighbour's home. It has resolved for her many disturbing questions of the past as well as provided answers to the many nagging questions of the present.

Even as this was an effort to document the process, it has

made us reflect on the materiality of the everyday, convincing us of the diverse paths this project will take hereon. In essence, this project doesn't end here.

**Deepa Tak**  
**Sangita Thosar**  
**Tina Aranha**

(April 2009)

*आमच्या दहा उत्तरदात्यांकरीता तसेच भूकेंच्या  
व जातीयवादाच्या सत्तासंबंधांच्या विरोधात  
संघर्ष करताना 'चव' निर्माण करणाऱ्या असंख्य  
दलित' स्त्री-पुरुषांकरिता...*

*For our ten respondents and innumerable  
dalit men and women who created 'taste'  
struggling against hunger and resisting  
power of caste regimes...*

## अनुक्रमणिका

विभाग १ :

ही थाळी भारतीय नाही का?

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ही थाळी भारतीय नाही का?  
अन्नाविषयक दलित आठवणी आणि इतिहास

**भूमिका:**

भारतीय समाजव्यवस्थेत हक्क, अधिकार, सत्ता, संपत्ती व अस्मितांचे 'केलेले' असमान वाटप व ह्याच वाटपाचे 'केलेले' नैसर्गिकीकरण हेच खऱ्या अर्थाने दलित समाजाला शोषित, अस्पृश्य बनवण्यास कारणीभूत आहे.

दलित समूहांचा इतिहास जर बघितला तर त्यांचा संघर्ष हा ज्याप्रमाणे अस्मिता जपण्यासाठी होता त्याचप्रमाणे तो स्वाभिमान जपण्यासाठीचा होता त्याचबरोबर 'अन्नासाठीचा' देखील होता. कारण दलित समूहांचा अन्नासाठीचा लढा हा एक-दोन पिढ्यांचा नसून तो सात-आठ पिढ्यांचा मोठा संघर्ष आहे. कारण उत्तम कांबळे म्हणतात त्याप्रमाणे, "माझ्या सात पिढ्या ह्या भाकरीसाठी खपल्या आहेत."

दलित साहित्याच्या लिखाणाचे प्रमुख आधास्तंभ जर बघितले तर त्यात 'भूक' हा कळीचा मुद्दा आहे. भारतीय समाजव्यवस्थेत एकीकडे 'काय खावे' असा प्रश्न आहे तर दुसरीकडे 'हे का ते खावे' ह्या बद्दलची छापील पुस्तके आहेत. एकीकडे अन्नाच्या निवडीचे स्वातंत्र्य नव्हते तर दुसरीकडे जातिआधारीत अन्नाची 'खासियत' (speciality) हा सामाजिक गतिशीलतेचा मार्ग बनतो. समाजामध्ये काय खावे शाकाहार की मांसाहार, शाकाहारामध्येही ताजे की शिळे, मांसाहार ते पण कुठल्या प्राण्याचे, कुठल्या भागाचे या गोष्टी माणसाचा दर्जा ठरवितात. जातिवर्ग पितृसत्ताक समाजव्यवस्थेतील हा विरोधाभास आहे.

भारतीय समाजव्यवस्थेत जे जातिधिष्ठित अन्न व अन्नपदार्थांचे राजकारण होते, ते सत्ताधारी जातींच्या हितसंबंधांची जोपासणा करताना 'एतर' (excluded) जातींना 'अस्पृश्य' व 'घाणेरडे' ठरविण्यासाठीचेच राजकारण होते. याला अन्नाचे जातिधिष्ठित राजकारण म्हणावे लागेल. तसेच या राजकारणाचे लिंगभाव आधारित पदर लक्षात घ्यावे लागतील.

स्वयंपाक ही कला स्त्रियांशी जोडली गेलेली आहे त्यामुळे खाण-पानामध्ये

जातीय रचना तर आहेच पण लिंगभावात्मक रचना सुद्धा आहेत.

उदा. पुरुषांनंतर स्त्री ने जेवणे, जेवताना ताट कसे वाढावे ह्या बद्दल नियम असणे, मांसाहार असेल तर कुठला भाग पुरुषाला दिला जातो तर कुठला भाग स्त्रीला दिला जातो यामध्ये भेद असणे, तसेच सणासुदीला कोणाकडे ताट पाठवायचे व घ्यायचे यातून स्त्रियांमार्फत खाण-पाण विषयीची जातीय विषमता जोपासली जाते.

‘आमच्यात’ हे चालते, ‘तुमच्यात’ नाही असे म्हणताना अन्नाधारीत जातिधिष्ठित विषमतेच्या वाहक म्हणून स्त्रियाच पुढे येतात.

इतिहासात मागे वळून पाहिले तर राष्ट्रवादी विचारप्रणालीत देखील अन्नविषयक भिन्न परिप्रेक्ष्य पुढे येताना दिसतात. गांधी उपवासावर भर देतात तर डॉ. आंबेडकर अन्नाच्या राजकारणाच्या गाभ्यावरच हल्ला चढवतात. मेलेल्या जनावराचे मांस न खाण्याच्या व स्वाभिमान जोपासण्याचा आदेश ते देतात. या ठिकाणी राष्ट्रवाद्यांनी आयोजित केलेल्या सहभोजनांच्या कार्यक्रमांचे विश्लेषण करणे महत्त्वाचे ठरेल. भारतीय राष्ट्रीय सभेने किंवा सावरकरांनी आयोजित केलेल्या सहभोजनाच्या कार्यक्रमातील पदार्थ जर आपण बघितले तर ते तथाकथित उच्चभू जातींचेच असत (जिलबी, वरण, भात इ.) बोकड, रेडा, डुकराच्या मांसाचे सहभोजन झालेले दिसत नाही. ‘आम्ही सवर्ण तुम्हा दलिताना आमच्यात सामील करू परंतु आमच्या पद्धतीने तुम्ही खावे हे ठरवूनच सामील करू’ असे हे सामिलीकरणाचे राजकारण स्पष्ट दिसते.

एखादा अन्न पदार्थ दर्जेदार तर दुसरा तुच्छ किंवा कमी दर्जाचा हे ठरविण्याचे निकष कोणते? हे ठरविणारे कोण? असा जेव्हा खडा सवाल येतो तेव्हा असे म्हणावे लागते ज्याच्या हाती ससा तो पारधी म्हणजे इतिहास घडविणाऱ्यापेक्षा तो लिहिणाऱ्यांचाच अधिक! परंतु हा इतिहास आपल्याला अमान्य असेल तर त्यात काहीच वावगे ठरू नये कारण ह्या इतिहासाचे ठोस निकष व पुरावे प्रस्थापित व्यवस्थेकडे नाहीत.

दलित समाजात फुले-शाहू व आंबेडकरांच्या प्रेरणेने प्रगती झालेली आहे. दलित समाजाने ह्या प्रेरणेच्या जोरावर प्रस्थापित समाजव्यवस्थेचे बुरूज खिळखिळे केले आहेत. उदाहरण सांगायचे झाले तर आज राजकारण, शिक्षण, साहित्य, विज्ञान इ. क्षेत्रात दलित समुदाय स्व सामर्थ्यावर प्रवेश करत आहे. जातिआधारीत

समाजाने लादलेल्या नकारात्मक अधिकारांना विरोध करत आहे व या नकारात्मक अधिकाराला अनेक पिढ्यांनी केलेल्या प्रतिकाराचा इतिहास मांडत आहेत.

ज्या अर्पित दर्जाला प्रस्थापित व्यवस्थेने डोक्यावर धरून मिरविले होते त्या अर्पित दर्जाला उपडे करून अर्जित दर्जा प्राप्त करण्याकडे प्रवास केला आहे व त्यातून एक समांतर पर्यायी व्यवस्था आज दलित समाजाने दलित साहित्य, दलित पक्ष, दलित वृत्तपत्र, दलित चळवळ, दलित साप्ताहिके-पाक्षिके या स्वरूपात उभारली आहे. थोडक्यात सर्वच क्षेत्रात आज दलितांनी केवळ प्रवेशच केला आहे असे नाही तर प्रतिक्षेत्रेही उभी केली आहेत. पण ज्या गोष्टीसाठी अनेक पिढ्यांनी उपासमार झेलली, संघर्ष केला त्या अन्नाच्या क्षेत्रातील दलित संघर्षांचा व सृजनशीलतेचा इतिहास अजूनही टिपायचा आहे. कारण आजही आपण पाककलेच्या बुक स्टॉलवर गेलो किंवा रेस्टॉरंटमधील मेनूची यादी बघितली तर दलित पाककला कुठेही नोंदवलेली दिसत नाही. परंतु दलित स्वकथनातून मांडलेल्या इतिहास व आठवणींमधून अन्नासाठी केलेला संघर्ष हा केंद्रस्थानी असलेला दिसतो.

डॉ. आंबेडकरपूर्व काळातील अन्नगृहणाबाबतची नकारात्मक हक्क, सक्ती, हालअपेष्टांच्या आठवणी या स्वकथनातून मांडलेल्या दिसतात. तर आंबेडकरी चळवळीतून मिळालेल्या अन्नाविषयीच्या नव्या संदेशाच्या स्मृती चळवळीचा दैनंदिन इतिहास सांगतात.

बारात खाना खा रही थी। माँ टोकरा लिए दरवाजेसे बाहर बैठी थी। मैं और मेरी छोटी बहन माया माँ से सिमटे बैठे थे। इस उम्मीद में कि भीतर से जो मिठाई और पकवानों की महक आ रही है, वह हमें भी खाने को मिलेगी।

जब सब लोग खाना खाकर चले गए तो मेरी माँ ने सुखदेव सिंह त्यागी को दालान से बाहर आते देखकर कहा, “चौधरी जी, ईब तो सब खाणा खाँ के चले गए... म्हारे जाकतों (बच्चों) कू भी एक पत्तल पर धर के कुछ दे दो। वो बी तो इस दिन का इंतजार कर रे ते।”

सुखदेव सिंह ते जूठी पत्तलों से भरे टोकरे की तरफ इशारा करके कहा, “टोकरा भर तो जूठन ले जा री है... उप्पर से जाकतों के लिए खाणा माँग

री है? अपनी औकात में रह चूहड़ी। उठा टोकरा दरवाजे से और चलती बन।”

सुखदेव सिंह त्यागी के वे शब्द मेरे सीने में चाकू की तरह उतर गए थे, जो आज भी अपनी जलन से मुझे झुलसा रहे हैं।

उस रोज मेरी माँ की आँखों में दुर्गा उतर आई थी। माँ का वैसा रूप मैंने पहली बार देखा था। माँ ने टोकरा वहीं बिखेर दिया था। सुखदेव सिंह से कहा था, “इसे ठाके अपने घर में धर ले। कल तड़के बारातियों को नारते में खिला देना...” (ओमप्रकाश वाल्मिकी : १९९७)

ही बातमी आमच्या आयला कळली, ती लालूच्या घरी गेली. आय लालूला म्हणली, “आगं लालू, मका कशी खाल्लीच? बारा दिसाचं प्वार कसं करल?”

“गवळाबाय, त्याला काय होत नाय. तुला आठवतं का? माझा तुका बारा दिसांना. तुमची नाजा बारा दिसाची. आपून बाळातीन झालू तव्हा खाया कायच नव्हतं. तवा तुमी म्हणला, ‘लालू, दंडाच्या वाडीला गोडस्याची बाजरी मोडायला चल संगं. बुकाबी इतीया.’ आपून बारा दिसाची पोरं कैकाडी पाटीत घातली. आन् दंडाच्या वाडीला बाजरीची कनसं मोडायला गेलू. मुलाच्या पाट्या गुराच्या गोट्यात ठिवल्या. आपून बाजरीची कनसं मोडायला लागलू. वारा सुटला. आबाळ काळकुट्टं झालं. दुपारीच पाऊस पडायला लागला. पाऊस काय थांबना. आपून गोट्यात गेलू. गोटा पन गळायला लागला. पोर्याच्या पाट्या उचलून जितं गळत नाय तितं ठिवल्या. पाऊस बंद झाल्यावर, मालकानं दिलेली कनसं हातावर चोळून ती प्वाटभर खाल्ली, बाकीची कनसं घरी आनली. ती बडवली. बाजरी जात्यानं दळली. भाकरी केल्या. तवा मुलाबाळांनी खाल्ल्या. जरा बरं वाटलं. भुक्क्या पुढं काय करनार?” (कांबळे शांताबाई : १९९०)

जनावरांची वाटणी गुडशांप्रमाणे होई. गुडसा हा काय शब्द आहे, म्हणून कुतूहल वाटेल. लक्ष्मीबाई टिळकांच्या आत्मचरित्रात हा गुडसा



शब्द आलेला. मराठी सारस्वतांना पण ह्या शब्दाचा अर्थ लागला की नाही, कुणास ठाऊक! पण लक्ष्मीबाईंना ठाऊक होता. महार खिरचनांची ओळख होती ना? तेथे पाहिजे जातीचे, हेच खरं. काय सांगत होतो? गुडसा प्रकरण. जनावरांच्या शरीरातील हाडांचं हे नाव. काही गुडशांची नावं आजही आठवतात. कमरेजवळची मांडी तो धान्या, घोट्यापासून वर तो चाकळ्या, आणि गुडघ्यापासून वर तो मेट्या. ह्या गुडशांवरून महारवाड्यात भांडणं होत. कधी मारामान्या. बाया एकमेकींच्या झिज्या उपटीत. त्यात आईमाईचा उद्धार. आजही ह्या समाजाचं भांडण म्हणजे गुडशाचं भांडण. सत्ता-स्पर्धेचं भांडण भेगू असलेला गुडसा कुणाला मिळावा? जाऊ दे. विषयांतर झालं. (दया पवार : १९८९)

कुणीच वाटा माझ्या आजीला आदलून बदलून देईना. तेव्हा माझी आजी फारच चिडली आणि रागाच्या भरात म्हणाली, “आज पसनं जी ढोरराचं मांस खार्इल त्याला सोराचा आन. (सोर म्हणजे डुकर)” ह्या डुकराचं साधं नाव घेण्यासही महार आणि मुसलमान यांना धर्माप्रमाणे शपथ होती. डुकराचं नाव काढलं की गडीबायका पचापचा थुंकू लागल्या आणि गाड्यामडक्यांत भरलेले वाटे त्यांनी कवड्यावर टाकून दिले. काही बायका माझ्या आजीला मारायला उठल्या. काहीजणी हातपाय चोळून तिच्या सत्यानासाची ओवी गाऊ लागल्या आणि जी तरणी पोरं जमली होती त्यांनी माझ्या आजीची पाठ थोपटली. “शाब्बास सीतायवैनी! आज बरीक तुम्ही म्हारवाड्याला डोळं दिलं. आंबेडकर सांगत्यात तीच सीतावैनीच्या शिपतीतून आपून पाळू.”

मग ढोरमांस न खाण्याच्या तिथंच शपती घेतल्या आणि आपोआप त्यांच्या तोंडून पहिली घोषणा निघाली, ‘भीमराव की जय!’ अशी गर्जना करून त्या दिवसापासून वीरच्या महारवाड्याचं मढं खाणं बंद झालं. अजूनही वारच्या माणसांची गाठ पडली तर ती जुनी आठवण काढून म्हणतात, ईरातील पहिलं मढं सीतायवैनींनी बंद केलं. ही मडीपडी म्हणजे महारांचं वैभव होतं. (बेबी कांबळे : १९९०)

तर अनेक लेखक/इतिहासकार अन्नाभोवती असलेल्या विशिष्ट नैतिक अर्थकारणाशी त्यांच्या स्वकथनातून आपली ओळख करून देतात.

भाकर माणसाऐवढी. भाकर आभाळाऐवढी. भाकर सूर्याऐवढी प्रखर. भूक माणसापेक्षाही मोठी. भूक सात पाताळापेक्षाही दांडगी. माणूस भाकरीऐवढा; भुकेऐवढा. पोट माणसापेक्षाही दांडगं. एक पोट म्हंजी पृथ्वी. पोट असतं ईतभर; पर सारं जग गिळून ठेकर दील. पोट नसतं, तर कशा झाल्या असत्या लढाया, चोऱ्या, मारामाऱ्या? पोट नसतं, तर कसे झाले असते पाप-पुण्य, स्वर्ग-नरक आणि ईश्वराची निर्मिती? पोट नसतं, तर झालाच कसा असता देश, सीमा, नागरिक आणि संसद, घटना वगैरे? पोटातून तर जन्मले जग. जगाचे संबंध. आई-बाप, बहीण-भाऊ वगैरे वगैरे. (शरणकुमार लिंबाळे : १९८४)

सारं ऐकल्यावर आक्का म्हणाली, “उतम्या, आता एक गोष्ट लक्षात ठेव. माणसानं मरणासाठी खायचं नसतं. जगण्यासाठी खायचं असतं. जास्त खायची इच्छा झाली की पाणी प्यायचं. जेवणाच्या अगोदर पाणी प्यावं. जेवता जेवता पाणी प्यावं म्हणजे अन्न लागत नाही.”

आक्काने दिलेला हा फॉर्म्युला मला पुढं उपासमारीच्या काळात खूप उपयोगी पडला. पाण्याचा मारा करून भूक दाबून टाकता येते काही क्षणांपुरती याची मला खात्री झाली. आक्काही जास्त पाणी का पिते हेही समजाला लागलं. आपल्या सारख्या गरीब माणसाला पाणी किती उपयोगी पडतं हेही कळायला लागलं.

पुढं मला मधुमेह झाला. जेवणावर मर्यादा आल्या. कडाडून भूक लागली तरी मर्यादित खायचं असतं. प्रत्यक्षात खूप खूप खायची इच्छा होते. मर्यादित जेवणामुळे पोटातला खड्डा काही बुजत नाही. तो बुजण्यासाठी मग पाण्याचा तांब्या उचलतो. अशा वेळी आक्का शेजारीच बसली आहे असं वाटतं. ती सांगू लागते, “आतडी मोकळी आहेत का? उचल पाण्याचा तांब्या आणि लाव तोंहाला...” (उत्तम कांबळे : २००६)

काही स्वकथनातील आठवणी दलित समाजातील पाककलेच्या स्वादाचा इतिहास ताजा करतात. तर काही स्थलांतरानंतर होणाऱ्या शहर-गाव यांच्यातील देवाण-घेवाणीच्या आठवणी नोंदवतात.

गावी जाताना लोक पाव-भटार आणि सुके बोंबील मासे घेऊन जायचे. येताना शेतातला हरडा घेऊन यायचे. त्याला 'वानावळा' म्हणतात. या वानावळ्याचा सर्वत्र एवढा सुकाळ असे की 'ज्याच्या कड्याळा, त्याचाच वानावळा' अशी म्हणच प्रचलित होऊन बसली होती. फारच चैन म्हणजे गावाकडून येणारी मंडळी बेसनाचे गोड 'लाल शेंगुळे' किंवा कुळीथाच्या पिठाचे तिखट शेंगुळे आणीत. मात्र, अशा प्रकारे गावाकडून कोणत्याही कुटुंबाकडे आलेल्या गोष्टी तत्काळ चाळीत सर्वांना वाटून दिल्या जात. (नरेंद्र जाधव : १९९४)

महार समाजाध्ये मुलगी पाहायला जाणे हा एक सोहळा होता. साधारणपणे मुलगी दिसायला सुंदर, शालीन व चारित्र्यवाण असावी ही अपेक्षा असे. परंतु मुलीकडून आणखी एका गुणाची अपेक्षा करीत. तिला मांडे करता यावे अशी बऱ्याच कुटुंबाची मागणी राही. जेवणात मांडे असले की मुलगी सुगरण आहे असे समजत. मांडे म्हणजे लंब्यारोट्या बनवणे ही महार-बौद्ध समाजातील नष्टप्राय होत चाललेली एक पाककला आहे. उपड्या घागरीवर पाणी भलेही न थांबो, परंतु मांडे मात्र उघड्या मातीच्या घड्यावरच करण्यात येतात. या घड्याला 'रान्ने' हा खास शब्द आहे... मांड्यांसाठी कणीक तिंबताना बायका मात्र नवऱ्याचे उट्टे भरपूर काढीत. चांगले परातभर पीठ घेऊन त्याचे कणीक, आटीव दुधाच्या रबडीसारखे फार पातळ नाही परंतु घट्टही नाही असे तयार करायचे. मग तो संपूर्ण कणकेचा एकच 'उंडा' दोन्ही हातांनी उचलून डोक्यावर उचलायचा नि परातीत जोराने आपटायचा. पुन्हा पुन्हा पाण्याने पिठाला गोंजारायचे व आपटायचे. या कणकीतील कण नि कण एकजीव होताना अधूनमधून त्यावर उठवणारे फुगे कणकेचा रुसवाच व्यक्त करीत. अशी आपटून आपटून तिंबलेली कणीक खरोखरच एकजीव झाली की नाही, हे रान्नावर छोटीशी रोटी टाकून पहायचे असे.

डॉ. बाबासाहेब आंबेडकर नागपूरला आले की ते आवर्जून या मटन मांड्यांच्या पाहुणचाराचा आस्वाद घेत. १९३० मध्ये योगेश वराडेची आई सगुणाबाई हिला बाबासाहेबांनी बोलावले. लंबी-रोटी समोर धरीत बाबा म्हणाले, “या पातळ रोटीतून तुझा चेहरा दिसतो. इतकी सुंदर कला तुझ्या हातात आहे.” त्याती तिला चोळीच्या खणाकरिता स्वतः पैसे दिले. (वसंत मून : १९९५)

साधारणतः सणासुदीला किंवा भेट पाठवायला हमखास केलं जायचं ते भानोरं. हे भानोरं केकसारखं लागायचं. मला ते फार आवडायचं. ते करायची पद्धत सोपी असायची.

तांदळाच्या जाडसर पिठात पाणी गूळ, खोबरं, हळद, चिमूटभर मीठ घालून ते मिश्रण आतून तेल लावलेल्या पातेल्यात ओतायचं. मग पातेल्यावर झाकण ठेवून झाकणात व पातेल्याखाली फुललेले निखारे ठेवून भानोरं अंगच्या वाफेवर शिजवायचं. आई, विशेषतः रात्री ते शिजायला लावायची. रात्रभर त्याच्या कमंग वासानं झोप उडायची. शिजलं की केळीच्या पानावर पातेलं ‘भानोरं’ उपडं करायचं. मग त्याचे केक सारखे तुकडे पाडायचे. हे भानोरं आठ आठ दिवस टिकायचं. बोटीतून मुंबईला येणाऱ्या माणसाकडे भेट हमखास असायची. (उर्मिला पवार : २००३)

बारीक माशांमध्ये मला विशेष आवडायचा तो ‘काटांचा मोटला’ बोटाएवढा बारीक ‘काटा (बोटपडवे) किंवा नदीचे बारीक मासे धुऊन, साफ करून त्यांना तिखट, मीठ, हळद, आमसूल व तेल चोळून कुंभ्याच्या भरपूर पानांत गुंडाळून, वेलींनी बांधून घेत. मग जरा चपटा आकार करून तो मोटला चुलीत राखेखाली ठेवत. वर राख पसरून स्वयंपाक वगैरे करत. तीन-चार, कधी सात-आठ दिवससुद्धा हा मोटला गरम राखेखाली शिजवत. ते मासे फ्रिजमध्ये ठेवल्यासारखे चांगले राहात व हवे तेव्हा काढून खाता येत. फारच रुचकर लागत. ते संपेपर्यंत जीभ पाझरत राही.

हे असलं डब्यातून वर्गात किंवा सहलीला नेणं दूरच, पण आपण ते खातो हे मुर्लीना सांगायलाही मला लाज वाटायची. आपण त्यांच्यापेक्षा खरोखर हीन आहोत असं जाणवत राहायचं. (उर्मिला पवार : २००३)

वरील सर्व उतान्यांवरून पुढे येणारा इतिहास प्रमुख प्रवाही इतिहासलेखनात तसेच पाककलेच्या समाजशास्त्रीय विश्लेषणात कधीच दिसत नाही. जातिधिष्ठीत शोषण व संघर्षाला पुन्हा एकदा सिद्धांकनाच्या विश्वात अदृश्य (invisible) केलेले दिसते.

## विभाग २ :

### राष्ट्रीय व प्रादेशिक पाक कलांची पुस्तके: दलित थाळी भारतीय नाही का?

'How to make a national cuisine : cookbooks in contemporary India' या लेखामध्ये अर्जुन अप्पा दुराई पाककृतीच्या सामाजिक इतिहासाबाबत विवेचन करतात. भारतात १९६०च्या दशकापासून इंग्रजीमधील पाकशास्त्राच्या प्रकाशित पुस्तिकांच्या संख्येत वाढ झालेली दिसते. ही पुस्तके पाक कला सांगताना संस्कृती रचत असतात व गृहीणीविषयक विचारप्रणालीही मांडत असतात. घरादाराच्या अंदाजपत्रकाविषयी ते महत्त्वाचे स्रोतही ठरतात.

भारतामध्ये जी पाककलेविषयक पुस्तके प्रकाशित झाली ती 'राष्ट्रीय' स्वयंपाक व 'प्रादेशिक' अशा द्वैत विश्लेषणांमध्ये अडकलेली दिसतात. अप्पा दुराई यांच्या मते या पुस्तकांच्या माध्यमातून आधुनिक समाजात समुह दुसऱ्या समुहासमोर आपले प्रतिनिधीत्व करू शकतो. एकमेकांच्या चवी, आवडीनिवडी याबाबतही देवाण-घेवाण करू शकतो. अप्पा दुराईंच्या या वक्तव्यालाही देवाण-घेवाण नक्की कोणते समुह खुलेपणाने एकमेकांशी करतात हा प्रश्न विचारावा लागेल.

आधुनिक भारतात आणि प्रामुख्याने स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काळात शहरात उदयास आलेला नवा मध्यमवर्ग रोटी व्यवहाराची बंधने शिथिल करतो असे अप्पा दुराईंचे मत आहे. भिन्न पाककृतींची देवाण-घेवाण सुरू होऊन वेगवेगळ्या जाती समुहातील माणसे एकत्र अन्न ग्रहण करू लागतात असे ते मानतात. पण आम्ही आभ्यासलेल्या दलित स्वकथनातील इतिहासाच्या व आठवणींच्या आधारावर ही देवाण-घेवाण नेमक्या कोणत्या जातींमध्ये होते किंवा शहरी मध्यमवर्गात अन्नविषयक स्पृश्य-अस्पृश्यच्या कल्पना कोणती नवी रूपे धारण करतात हे अभ्यासावे लागेल. थोडक्यात अप्पा दुराई म्हणतात त्याप्रमाणे जर खुली देवाण-घेवाण व्हायला लागली असेल तर पाककलेच्या पुस्तकातून मासिकांमधून दलित पाककृती आजही अदृश्य का राहतात. म्हणजे कोणाच्या पाककृतीला ज्ञान समजून ते छापले जाते व इतर त्या पाककृतीचा प्रयोग केला

जातो का हे प्रश्न विचारले तर आमच्या या छोट्याशा अहवालाचा उद्देश वाचकांच्या लक्षात येईल.

वसाहतकाळात मराठी भाषेतून 'रसचंद्रिका' नावाचे सारस्वत गृहीणीसाठीचे पाककलेचे पुस्तक मुंबईतून प्रकाशित झाले. या पुढील दशकात पाककलेची जी पुस्तके प्रकाशित झाली त्यांचे शाकाहारी, मांसाहारी तसेच प्रदेशवार वर्गीकरण केलेले दिसते. गेल्या दोन दशकात प्रकाशित झालेल्या पाककलेच्या पुस्तकांची तपासणी आम्ही पुस्तकालयांमध्ये फिरून केली. या पुस्तकांमध्ये तीन प्रकार असलेले दिसतात.

१) आंतरराष्ट्रीय पाककला (चायनीज, मेकसीकन इ.)

२) भारतीय पाककलेची पुस्तके (साधारणतः आंतरराष्ट्रीय वाचकांसाठी भारतातील विविध प्रदेशातील पाककृतींचे संकलन)

३) प्रादेशिक पाककला (साधारणपणे गुजराथी, राजस्थानी, मालवणी, खानदेशी, पंजाबी इ.)

जागतिकीकरणाच्या रेट्यात पटकन बनविण्याचे पदार्थ किंवा कमी कॅलरीचे पदार्थ तसेच एकट्या राहणाऱ्या, नोकरी करणाऱ्यांसाठीचे पदार्थ अशी शिर्षके आम्हाला दिसली.

मराठीतून प्रकाशित झालेल्या पाककलांच्या पुस्तकातून व मासिकातून काहीवेळा 'जातिनिहाय' पाककला मांडलेली दिसली. उदा. १०१ मराठा पाककृती, सारस्वत स्वयंपाक, सी.के.पी. खासीयत, पांचाळ समाजाची पाचाळीची थाळी अशी अनेक पुस्तके आम्हाला उपलब्ध झाली. यावरून असे लक्षात येते की पाककलेतील जातिधिष्ठित इतिहास व आठवणींना एकतर 'राष्ट्रीय' किंवा 'प्रादेशिक' या विश्लेषणांमागे लपवले जाते किंवा पाककलेतील जात दृश्य स्वरूपात पुढे आली तर ती तथाकथित उच्चजातीयांचीच असते. म्हणजे दलित पाककृतींनी वाढलेली 'थाळी' भारतीय नाही का हा प्रश्न पडतो. टी.व्ही.वरील आम्ही सारे खवय्ये, खाना-खजाना अशा कार्यक्रमातून देखील जणू काही पाककला काहीच 'जाती'मध्ये असते असे गृहित धरून मांडणी होताना दिसते.

तथाकथित उच्चवर्णीय व उच्चवर्गीयांनी 'टाकाऊ वस्तूंपासून स्वादिष्ट प्रकार' (Tasty dishes from waste items) अशा शिर्षकांची पुस्तके दिसतात. पण

ज्या समाजाने व वर्गाने आणि प्रामुख्याने या जातीवर्गातील स्त्रियांनी अन्नधान्याच्या तुटवड्याशी, दुष्काळाशी संघर्ष करताना पर्यायी पाककृती नव्याने निर्माण केल्या अशा थाळ्यांची इतिहासात नोंद होताना दिसत नाही. म्हणूनच आम्ही दलित समाजातील भिन्न जातीवर्गातील दहा स्त्री-पुरुषांच्या आठवणींचे संकलन करून प्रमुख प्रवाही इतिहासातील त्रुटी अधोरेखित करून अधिक लोकशाहीवादी इतिहास लेखनासाठी आठवणींचे असलेले असामान्य महत्त्व लक्षात घेऊन पुढील विभाग अन्न व पाककृतींच्या दलित आठवणी मांडत आहोत.

या आठवणींचे संकलन करताना आपल्या मनातील मिथकाला व प्रस्थापित राजकारणाला धक्का बसलेला दिसतो. गोमांस सेवनाविषयी जमातवाद्यांनी केलेल्या प्रचाराला भौतिक पाया नाही हे लक्षात येते. भारतातील बहुतांश दलित समुह 'मोठ्याचे' व 'डुकराचे' मांस खातात व त्यामुळे जमातवादाचा प्रश्न हा जातिच्या प्रश्नापासून सुटा पाहता येणार नाही हेही आमच्या लक्षात आले. म्हणजे अन्नाचे 'खाजगी' वाटणारे प्रश्न थेट जमातवाद्यांपर्यंत जाऊन पोहचतात. खाजगी व सार्वजनिक मधील विभेदनाला प्रश्न विचारून स्त्रीवादी राजकारणालाही पुढे नेणारे ठरतात.

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## Section I

### Isn't This Plate Indian? : Dalit Memories and Histories of Food

#### Rationale of the Project:

As students whose everyday lives make the campus mess and fast food of various kinds issues of immediate concern; two controversies centring on food in the last decade have caught our imagination. In May 2001, McDonald's India was in the news concerning the alleged reports of its 'delicious French fries being laced with beef extracts'. This probably was rooted in the practice in the U.S. where the French fries are indeed made in beef tallow to cater to their U.S clientele who have a preference for French fries with beef flavour. Consequently in India, Managing Directors of McDonald's India had to go live to let the people know that their product of French fries is fried in vegetable oils and that the segregation in vegetarian and non-vegetarian food is maintained even at the farm level. The McDonald's U.S confirmed that its imports of par-fried French fries by McCain Foods India Pvt Ltd and Lamb Weston are par-fried in pure vegetable oil sans beef tallow or any fat ingredient of animal origin.<sup>1</sup> At this juncture it is not difficult to realize that this agitation was initiated by the middle class and upper class consumers of McDonalds, but the focus on beef also 'reveals that they were speaking as so called upper caste Hindus'. It is interesting to note that in the entire controversy upper caste Hindu sensibilities of food were homogenised as Indian sensibilities.

The other incident concerns the meat eating controversy at the Hyderabad Central University where ten Dalit students were rusticated in 2002. One of their grievances was that they were treated differently in college mess because they ate meat. The issue concerned an imaginary symbiotic and direct relationship

between food composition and mess bills. Further the HCU hostel administration followed a policy of segregating vegetarian and non-vegetarian eaters. The Dalit Students Union argued that this segregation structurally reinforces the Varna distinction of Hinduism into impressionable young brains. The concept of 'Indian food sentiments' under the name of secular and pan Indian tradition was being hegemonised as one of vegetarianism. The implication was that rich upper-castes could survive on such diet since they could afford the different vegetables and milk supplements needed for proper nutrition but the lower-castes would have to survive on just cereals, thus denied the meat that could have been a source of nutrition for them. The students argued that in a system where dalits and minorities tend to be alienated culturally, both by the choice of texts and teaching methods, unreflective adoption of vegetarianism only adds to the cultural alienation felt by them.

The students underlined the need to declare food habits as a fundamental right of a citizen and any kinds of impediments, 'hate campaigns' against particular food should be regarded as violation of basic human rights. A couple of years later, the campus saw the organisation of dalit food festival on campus where students had to wage a struggle to serve beef and pork in the festival.

Both the incidents suggest that in a caste-based society like India, foods eaten constitute one of the key elements that distinguish the most valued attributes from the lowest valued ones in terms of pure and impure within the pyramidal structure of the caste system<sup>2</sup>. Eating habits and foods starkly mark the boundaries between the pure and the polluted, as well as between the upper and lower class, male and female, humans and god. Conversely, what kinds of food are 'permitted', 'tolerated' and 'enforced' for consumption and the ways in which they are consumed are structured primarily by the caste, class, gender inequalities in society. This project emerges with a modest aim of

at least untangling caste, class and gender on the food plate and the assumptions in the making of national and regional cuisines.

This project aims to flesh out the politics of caste oriented cultural contestations which are embedded within the discourse of food. Cultural practices of dining, serving and cooking have always been imbued with the quest for social and political power. Historically, the nationalist struggle has also been rife with ideological struggles on practices of food consumption. Gandhi and Ambedkar's views about food reflect political contestations over the idea of modernity. Food in the formation of the nationalist politics is not a neutral or unimportant category as the memories in dalit narratives of interdining<sup>3</sup> would bear out. The practice of interdining between the 'touchable' and 'untouchable' castes for breaking taboos of untouchability, a programme with which V. D. Savarkar's name came to be associated always served vegetarian (if not Brahmin) meal thus not addressing the very act of eating meat that branded some castes as untouchable castes.

According to Ambedkar, the principle of untouchability initially emerged as a practice to ban the consumption of eating beef. The imposition of this ban was articulated in order to win an ideological battle of ethics against Buddhism. The consumption of non vegetarian food has thus been ethically and morally delegitimized by the Hindu discourse<sup>4</sup>. The cow as a sacred animal, D.N. Jha believes, did not really gain currency until Dayanand Saraswati's cow protection movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. "The cow became a tool of mass political mobilization with the organized cow-protection movement",<sup>5</sup> the historian points out. He argues that the killing of cows stopped gradually with the agrarian society and caste rigidity. The Brahmins found it convenient to say that those who ate beef were untouchables. But they themselves continued to consume it, recommending it for occasions such as *shraadh*. In the present era, this history becomes important as the flag of beef eating is wagged by the Hindu fundamentalists to render Islam and Christianity alien and communal

and explains why Jha's book came to be banned and his life threatened. Food is therefore an important site on which the memories of why the question of communalism in India is also at once a question of caste are inscribed.

September 24, 1932 undoubtedly remains etched in the collective memory of the dalits not just as the time when Poona Pact was signed as a result of Gandhi's opposition to the British government's provision of separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes, but also as the moment where the aspirations of citizenship of dalit communities were obliged to conform to the Hindu majority's view through Gandhi's strategic use of fasting. This event proved the experience of hunger would never be politically neutral; while the experiences of hunger of those ascribed as 'pure' by caste society amounted to an empowerment through self restraint; for those inscribed as impure by the same order, hunger and negative rights on food (the compulsion to eat meat of dead cattle) became norms they were obliged to suffer from.

John Thieme and Ira Raja<sup>6</sup> in an anthology on food in South Asia, analyze the dialectic relations between food and culture, by giving emphasis on the communicative dimensions of food and its important role as a signifying system. This immediately raises questions about the limitations of a semiotic analysis for addressing the power and inequalities produced by food practices. As Aravind Mallagati, a folklore scholar in his life narrative 'Government Brahmana'<sup>7</sup> argues that the interpretations of symbolism and exaggerated scholarly comments often say nothing about the violence routinised through practices in caste society. The need to undertake this project on 'memory work on dalit food practices' comes partly from the vacuum that is left behind by most theorizations on food and from seeing food not so much as melting pot, but as an invisibilised site of contentions, where numerous silent battles are raised simply to say 'I exist'.

The project has its beginnings in our reading of dalit life narratives which, as opposed to other life narratives, deal explicitly

with the question of food. Memory here comes to play a significant role in the critical reflexivity that is an integral part of these narratives. Consider for instance the following selections from dalit life narratives:

“During a wedding, when the guests and the baratis, the bridegrooms party, were eating their meals, the chuhras would sit outside with huge baskets. After the baratis had eaten, the dirty pattal or leaf plates were put in the chuhras basket, which they took home to save the jhootan sticking to them. The little pieces of pooris, bits of sweetmeat and a little bit of vegetable would be enough to make them happy. The jhootan was eaten with much relish. The bridegroom’s guests who didn’t leave enough jhottan behind on their pattals were denounced as gluttons. Poor things, they had never enjoyed a wedding feast, so they had licked it all up. During the marriage season, our elders narrated, in thrilled voices, stories of baratis who had left several months of jhootan.”

(Om Prakash Valmiki, 2003)<sup>8</sup>

‘Nobody was ready to exchange his or her share with my grandmother. She got really angry and in a fit of rage she declared ‘ from today on who ever eats the meat of dead cattle will swear by the pig’ ...some women rushed ahead to beat my grandmother. Some began to rub their palms and sing curses that would finish her. The young in the crowd patted my grandmother on her back. “great work sitavahini! Today you have opened the eyes of the Maharwarda .... Later oaths were taken and promises made to give up eating dead cattle and spontaneously the slogan of Bhimrao ki Jai was given’. (Baby Kamble, 2007)<sup>9</sup>

“When the menfolk went out and women and girls remained at home, they dined only on kaat. A small quantity was poured in water and cooked as a soup with chilli powder, salt and piece of raw mango or amsul. This was called saar. Women ate their rice with this watery dish. Similar saar would be made with the stock of other fish. This was an extremely low quality dish with no nutritional value. It would invariably upset the stomach....

... “Hey what is that funny “dug dug” noise,

What is the foul smell spreading all over?

Well, what they cooked was fish water!

Someone’s had a bellyful! And how!

She wears a short sari, down to the feet now

To hide what’s trickling down from her butt!

This saar used to be the regular diet for the daughters in law. The poor things ate it without complaint and naturally faced the consequences. I too grew up on this saar, this why my digestion is excellent”

(Urmila Pawar, 2008)<sup>10</sup>

“Making Mandes , a very thin chapatti ,is an art of cooking in the Mahar community that is dying away. This kind of bread is made on an overturned, heated earthen pot.... Along with Mandes of course mutton or chicken was necessary. It had to be spicy enough so that guests should gasp for breath when they soaked a piece of the Mande in the gravy and ate it.... When ever Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar came to Nagpur he would eat mutton and Mandes. Once in 1930, Babasaheb Called Yogesh Varade’s mother and said, holding out the Mandes “through the almost transparent Mandes your face can be seen. Such a beautiful art in your hands”

(Vasant Moon, 2001)<sup>11</sup>

“Bhakari is as large as man. It is as vast as the sky, and bright like the sun. Hunger is bigger than man. Hunger is vaster than the seven circles of hell. Man is only as big as a Bhakari, and only as big as his hunger. Hunger is more powerful than man..... The world is born from a stomach, so also the link between mother and father, sister and brother”

(Sharan Kumar Limbale, 2003<sup>12</sup>)

“My man licked his lips at the remembered feast..... Whatever meat could not be consumed quickly before it got spoiled, she dried it in the sun. After a few days of drying, the sun turned the meat into thin, crackly strips. Those chanya were so delicious!. Aaee would roast them in the fire for us to eat and for so many weeks, we would beg her for the treat” (Narendra Jadhav, 2003)<sup>13</sup>

On Sunday we usually had a good meal. They butchered a cow exactly at the time when we returned from the morning Pusai. With our midday kuuzh we would be given a little of the meat in its plain stock. For this, the meat was just boiled with a touch of salt, but no masala whatever.... when they were cooking meat, we came home as soon as the prayers were over at the church, without getting led away into anything else....

“Usually we had rice and kuzhambu only in the evenings. Otherwise, it was some kind of kuzh in the mornings and at mid-day. It would be a kuuzh appropriate to the season. To go with the Kuuzh there would be something or the other - onions, groundnuts, moulded jaggery, green chillies. If there was a little money in hand, there might be a relish of roasted and ground gram or a pickle from the nadar shop, or anything else we could buy. This pickle was usually hung up in packets in the shops. The shop owners would usually pre-



pare this 'kadichukira' in their own homes and bring it to their shops. They used to make it full of flavours, with all sorts of good things like brinjals and red chillies. They'd give you five or ten paisa's worth wrapped up in a banyan leaf. To this day, I relish this Kadichukira. It always went very well with our kuuzh. "(Bama, 2000<sup>14</sup>)

It is apparent from these selections that the struggle against hunger and for food is central to dalit life narratives. There are memories of negative rights, compulsions and coercion of eating the meat of dead cattle in the pre-Ambedkar era and those of the message of Ambedkar translating into food related practices in the Ambedkar era. The moral economy of the household how to consume - who consumes what and how much is also an important part of the critical memories. The memory is not always one of pain, so that authors recount relishing a particular dish and also the ridicule of the gluttony and taste of the so called upper castes. The memories often comes heavily tinged with emotion, so that shame, humiliation encountered as part of a process of collecting or begging for food and disgust over what was eaten in a pre- Ambedkar era has the moral and political force that pushes the reader to question such a politics in an effort to unseat such a deeply embedded system of discrimination.

Food, as we have argued in this section, is very much a political question and cannot be equated to personal choice and taste. In a society where what we eat, when we eat, how we eat and how what we eat is produced, is marked by gender, caste and class; the question of food cannot be pushed under the carpet as a private question. Having highlighted the memories of caste and gender in the dalit life narratives, in the next section, we address the gap between these and the world of cookbooks and sociological writings on Indian cuisine.

## Section II

### 'National' and 'Regional' Cookery Books: Isn't the Plate of Dalit Recipes 'Indian'?

“Cookbooks, which usually belong to the humble literature of complex civilizations, tell unusual cultural tales.”

Arjun Appadurai begins his essay on cookbooks in contemporary India by pointing out how cookbooks reflect the logic and economics of household budgets and domestic ideologies. They are meant for a literate society where food displays class and caste hierarchies. What is to be eaten, how and in which order it is to be eaten and when it is to be eaten – all are expressed through cookbooks seen as a communicable variety of expert knowledge.<sup>15</sup>

During the month of March, all of us participating in this project visited bookstores in Pune and one of us also visited a Marathi bookstore in Thane to get a sense of the cookbooks on the shelves – to see the history of cuisines of India as constructed in them. A single glance at the food and cooking section of any major book store in the city was enough to tell us the audience these books are addressed to. There is a tendency to address mostly the urban elite, the upper caste and the vegetarian public.

Our small survey at the bookstores on the variation of cookbooks available reveals that the shelves are full of 'national' and 'regional' cookbooks in more or less equal number. While national cuisine is constituted by selections from different regions, regional cuisines homogenise differences within the region and both show no hesitation in referring to the single, overarching Hindu tradition as 'Indian'. For instance, consider *Dal Chaval* by Satarupa Banerjee (Vasan Publication) and *Non Vegetarian Delights* by Sandhya Kumar (Lotus Press). Banerjee, a Bengali Brahmin, in her preface acknowledges the richness of regional

variations though she put together dal and chawal under one category. The second book is written by non-brahmin and does not acknowledge regional variations of cuisines even within India as if non-vegetarian cooking was the same all over India. Other books, like *Vegetarian Fare* by N. Radha Rao (Longman), seems to cater to cosmopolitan taste of readers by providing a variety of recipes from India and some other countries like Thailand, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Continental, and Iran. Indian foods are divided into some sections that include rice dishes, curries with side dishes, chutney, masala, among others.

'Annapurna' written by Mangala Barve and translated by Snehlata Datar is originally a Marathi book and has had the stupendous luck of having 50 editions in 30 years. The author claims that her 'husband and father loved gourmet cooking and were fastidious about nutritious and sumptuous food. So to be happy I had to be a good cook. I began collecting recipes.' Her husband was into advertising, thus she met several elite families from different communities during parties. The translator claims that this book is a popular gift to newly married and those who live abroad.

In this context, it is interesting to look at the creation of national cuisine through the discourse of cookbooks in India. Appadurai (1988) has argued that the authentic Indian cookbook did not hide the regional differences, but rather the regional cuisines came to be represented as national cuisines. Although Appadurai recognizes the homogenization of certain regional cuisines as the 'authentic' national cuisine, he does integrate caste as an analytical category in deconstructing the 'national' cuisine in India. He concludes, perhaps a little too hastily that the cookbooks signify cross-caste flow of recipes in an urban cosmopolitan. The absence of a dalit cookbook or the deafening silence of cookery magazines on the 'dalit food festival' organised by Chandra Bhan Prasad in Delhi would lead us to be cautious about any hastily drawn conclusions.

A brief analysis of the cookbooks revealed that in addition to regional cuisines being represented as Indian cuisine, certain upper class/caste recipes are reproduced as dominant recipes of particular regions. Minakshi Dasgupta's cookbook 'Bangla Ranna' (the Bengali recipes) depicts the 'authentic Bengali recipes' in the so-called traditional way of serving food, in a silver plate, with rice in the middle and curries in separate bowls. This resembles the food habits and practices of the upper caste and class. The recipes of what gets represented as 'authentic Bengali cuisine' is typically upper caste and the use of costly ingredients like ghee and more costly fishes is representative of the taste of Bhadrakalok. The homogenization of Bengali cuisines across erstwhile East Bengal (present Bangladesh) West Bengal is glided over. The authors acknowledge that the use of different types of fish, onion, garlic and poppy seeds vary across social classes. *Panta bhaat* (the cooked rice stored in water) gets recognized as 'what' is consumed by the poor. A case of the classical collapse of caste into class?

There were titles which by their sheer flippancy cannot fail to amuse the readers (in the stores and of our project!!) . There were titles like '*How to forget your Ex With the Stab of a Fork*'-Solo recipes for sporadic singles or titles like '*The cookbook for Girls Who haven't Learnt Much from their Mothers*' or a book called "*Small Tasty Dishes for Moms on the Verge of a Nervous Break-down*" in trying to cope with the food demands of children. Books by Karen Anand, Neeta Mehta, Tarla Dalal and Sanjeev Kapoor were stacked on the shelves along with plenty of other books by foreign authors. Our selection of books was however based on uncommon unheard names of experience in the hope that some authors who are not chefs or professionals may through daily experiences just see the caste differences in food.

What we found was a series of cookbooks on 'satvik' diet and calorie conscious diet. The idea of food devoid of any trap-

pings of desire, food that helps one renounce the desires was what this cookbook on satvik diet tried to endorse. The commonplace items like pani puri, dahi puri were given Sanskrit names like pushpanjali etc. This cookbook performed the enormous feat of invoking what the Right wing has been trying for so long, i.e. a golden Vedic past that is pan Indian. Idli, jostled with Dhokla and Khandvi, as Jalebi, Rasgulla and Gulab Jamun ended things on a sweet note, in this book. There seems to be a trend towards healthy eating as cookbooks for people with high cholesterol or diabetics were seen lining shelves after shelves. These diseases are also seen as afflicting the well to do classes of the society, making the audience of a cookbook amply clear. Food as therapy was a strong theme throughout. Be it eating 'satvik' or going lowcal (low calorie), food was the miracle cure. The multiple discourses on food, of following certain diets could be American or Vedic, their audience and perspective on food was not very different from that of the other.

There were increasing number of 'continental cookbooks', they included Chinese, Italian and Thai cuisines. It marks clearly the upper middle class and elite shopper who is as much at home buying Dior perfumes as while eating 'continental' to carry on the global consumption project. The politics of defining global though can be summed up as First World as continental and Third World as Oriental. Its interesting to see India, carrying on its shoulders the tag of the Orient, now looks at China, Thailand as Orient, Vietnam and Korea are conspicuous by their absence on this Continental/Oriental scene.

It would be too simplistic to say that the English books cater to upper middle class to upper class clientele and regional (Marathi) to a lower middle class. Both address a middle class, largely one where the woman works outside the home, but sees the home as her prime responsibility. In Betty Freidan's words, the woman must be busy enough to buy a cake mix, but not so busy that she doesn't want to bake. Appadurai's study on cook-

books too assumes a housewife, the one who will cook special meals to entertain her husband's boss and different ones for his extended family. Most cookbooks today cater to the working woman, who wants to cook in a jiffy and still impress her guests. It is not only about being a good wife, ideal hostess, great cook, but also being someone who knows a lot about diet and nutrition, while holding down a career and two or more children.

In the English cookbooks while caste differentiation is hidden under the garb of inter- regional cuisine (Maratha cooking called 'Assal Kolhapuri' /Authentic Kolhapuri ), the Marathi books may go as far as titles like 'Maratha Recipes', 'Saraswat Cuisine', 'CKP Specialities' or 'The Plate of Panchali' - Recipes of Panchal Caste Women's Club in Mumbai. Caste when articulated is restricted to the 'upper castes' and the books then claim to be storehouses of information for a new bride and include various party menus, including some caste specific foods with a few 'universal' items thrown in for a good measure.

History as all processes of remembering tends to be selective as this process is often embedded in power, and therefore what comes to be treated as the norm and what gets erased from collective memory all together often has to do with what interests this recording of history served. Thus when Appadurai (1988) mentions that the Mughal texts that have recipe sections are perhaps the first time we have a textualisation of culinary practices in India and further mentions how this *Mughalai* cuisine has now come to be regarded as a pan Indian cuisine; it is a testament to the fact that food like any other social practice comes to be determined by the practice of power. As social science researchers, what gets written of is of immense importance for us but so is that which is written off. It is even more necessary, to excavate if necessary culinary practices that have been marginalised over the years. This process of marginalisation often comes not through direct attacks on particular foods but through insidious attacks on questions of nutrition, hygiene but all importantly

taste.<sup>16</sup>Further, in matters of representation the cookbooks have remained highly selective, thus while they did manage to foray in the direction of what are the types of food popular amongst the Mopallah's or Muslims in Kerala, or among the Boharis; cook-books generally steer clear of beef and pork.

A trend of metropolitan pragmatism is witnessed in food practices through the composition of cook-books. A sense of eroding traditional concepts is found in the role of left over food in the new cook-books. As observed by Appadurai (1988), left over food has been a sensitive category in traditional Hindu thought and even if in certain traditional circumstances they are positively transvalued most often the eating of leftover was equated with the risk of moral degeneration, contamination and loss of status. However these books make no reference to those who driven by the violence of the caste regimes 'discovered' ways of drying and storing food. For a country like India, ridden with droughts, famines and floods, the absence of even one book on how to cook during disastrous times says a lot about which India we are really talking about. While a book on cooking during recession might be in the offing to address the 'needs' of those who might have to give up their international tastes for indigenous dishes who would pick up a cookbook that reminded them about starvation deaths or of castes that learnt to dry stale puris and bhakris for 'even more difficult' times? Our project to publish such a book is not merely to add one more 'different cookbook' to the list but an act of struggling against power by bringing into collective memory that which is 'readily and officially' forgotten.

Today the bookstores seem to have cookbooks that bring about a paradoxical mix of the Gandhian and Savarkarite approach to food and untouchability. There is an exchange of recipes symbolizing inter dining and there is a focus on food as other worldly, as renunciation and as worship. People can now eat food 'belonging to other castes' but within the limits set by the Varna order and 'pure pan India Hinduism'. A Tamilian Brahmin

can cook Dhokla or Khandvi as it is good for the health, and carries the mark of satvik rasa, while a Maharashtrian can take to idlis, yet neither might have ever given a thought to learning to cook what the woman who works in their house eats on an everyday basis.

Modernity of the cookbooks emerges through a displacement of contexts of region, religion and caste in adopting and adapting to culinary practices across the country. Caste though here has not been forgotten: merely garbed differently so that an abundance of books on vegetarian cooking, for instance ‘Satvik Cooking’. Caste can now be written in a discourse of not what is considered as pure and polluted food, but rather through a discourse on health and nutrition which works within the larger paradigm of Hinduism, which the book cover reminds us of.<sup>17</sup>

What do we do then to address the deafening silence on dalit food in both national and regional cuisines - Isn't the plate of dalit food Indian? If it is then what do we do to build an alternate archive of histories and memories of dalit culinary skills and recipes? Our project makes a modest beginning by documenting the memories of food and recipes in practice in dalit households by doing memory work with 10 dalit men and women from Buddhist, Matang, Valmiki and Pinjari castes. As feminist researchers, we believe that the memories of food – of lives lived and the culinary skills and knowledges they make in the process cannot be separated. This is what we present in the next section.

- Aashima,	Amrita,
Christina,	Debasmita,
Gayatri,	Kena,
Marushka,	Pallavi,
Priyanka,	Sarnali,
Smriti,	Supriya.



**‘स्त्री अभ्यासातील अध्यापनक्षमतेचा विकास’  
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- स्त्रीवादी इतिहासाच्या ‘भविष्यरेखा’
- ‘स्वाभिमान विवाहाची कथा आणि त्याचे काय झाले?’
- पितृसत्ता समजून घेताना
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- लिंगभाव अभ्यास: भारतातील सिद्धांत