



# **FOOD CULTURE OF THE FERGANA VALLEY POPULATION: TRADITIONS, TRANSFORMATIONS, AND LOCAL CHARACTERISTICS (EARLY 20TH– 21ST CENTURIES)**

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## **Abstract**

This article examines the food and dietary culture of the Fergana Valley population from an ethnographic perspective. Drawing on the "food system" approach proposed by E.V. Migranova, the author explores the historical development of grain-based, meat-based, and dairy dishes, as well as bread and ritual foods (sumalak, holvaytar, chalpak, atala, and others), including their preparation technologies and associated customs and beliefs. The article reveals transformational processes in food culture under the influence of economic and political changes, interethnic integration, and globalization across three stages of the 20th century (the Tsarist period, the Soviet era, and the years of independence). It examines the preservation of traditional dishes alongside the introduction of new ones (laghman, macaroni, modern spices), the transformation of plov into an everyday meal, the role of meat and dairy products, customs related to beverages (tea, musallas), and their socio-spiritual significance. The study draws on local ethnographic observations and sociological survey data to compare the local distinctiveness of the valley with broader Uzbek food culture.

**Keywords:** Food culture, Fergana Valley, traditional dishes, ritual foods, food transformation, national food system, plov and bread culture.

## **Introduction**

Food, like clothing and housing, constitutes an important component of a people's material culture. According to E.V. Migranova, the ethnographic study of food and dietary culture requires not only an explanation of food preparation technology, but also an examination of dietary traditions from the perspective of everyday culture as connected to both the material and spiritual spheres.

E.V. Migranova considers foods prepared at celebrations and ceremonies to be an essential component of national cuisine. Bringing together foods prepared at such communal events under the concept of a "food system," she includes the following elements within that system:

all primary foodstuffs used in the preparation of dishes;

the varieties of dishes prepared from various products and the different spices added to them;

preferred methods of food processing;

rules of conduct related to cooking and eating, and so forth [1].

The system also takes into account the existence of local variants in dietary practices [2]. In our view, the method developed by E.V. Migranova represents an effective approach to the study of food and dietary culture, since it enables a deep and comprehensive examination of foods as processes of "everyday culture."

The foods of the Fergana Valley population have a long history. The formation of their cultural characteristics has proceeded in step with the development of Uzbek culture as a whole. The cuisine of the region's population developed in connection with both sedentary agricultural culture and nomadic culture.

The transformational processes that took place in the dietary practices and food culture of the valley's population during the period under study can be divided into several historical stages. These processes are directly explained by changes in the economic and cultural living conditions of the region's population and by the intensification of interethnic integration.

The first stage covers the period from the beginning of the 20th century to 1917, associated with Russia's conquest of Turkestan. During this period, the economy and livelihoods of Uzbekistan's population were largely dependent on goods imported from Russia.

The second stage is the Soviet period, during which the "New Economic Policy," collectivization, the famine caused by the war of 1939–1945 [3], the hardships of

the post-war years, and on the other hand the development of industry all had a significant impact on changes in Uzbek dietary practices. These changes were naturally reflected in the food culture of the Fergana Valley population as well. The third stage begins with the years of Uzbekistan's independence — a period also associated with market relations, international integration, and globalization. Thus, on one hand, the revival of national and religious holidays, traditional customs, and ceremonies under conditions of independence, along with the transformation of these to some degree, affected food culture; on the other hand, under conditions of deep integration and globalization, the introduction of various food assortments and dishes exerted its influence on national cuisine and food culture.

Since the majority of the region's population was engaged in agriculture, the basis of the traditional food complex consisted of grain products. The technology of grain preparation evolved over time, and a variety of methods have been developed to the present day. Among the oldest grain products is wheat, and the technology for extracting wheat flour developed in a distinctive manner.

According to available data, roasting wheat flour in fat is one of the oldest methods [4]. Traditional ceremonial dishes prepared in this way — such as holvaytar and sumalak — continue to be preserved not only among Uzbeks but also among all Turkic peoples and the peoples of Iran.

Sumalak, noted in the works of Abu Rayhan Biruni [5], was traditionally prepared for the Nowruz holiday. During the Soviet period, particularly from the 1970s–80s when communist ideology reached its peak, Nowruz, along with many other national customs, was condemned. Due to the inappropriate actions of certain local officials, the population was compelled to refer to the holiday as "Navbahor" [6].

Holvaytar is a type of ritual dish prepared at funeral and memorial ceremonies and at certain other rites [7].

In the Fergana Valley, holvaytar was prepared primarily at mourning ceremonies and distributed to women [8]. In particular, in the Sokh and Rishtan districts, holvaytar was invariably cooked at the third-day, twentieth-day, and fortieth-day memorial ceremonies [9].

Another product made from grain is bread.

Bread is one of the oldest and most important foods. The valley's population traditionally bakes bread in a tandoor oven, and various beliefs are associated

with this practice. For example, if a neighbor enters while the hostess is baking bread, it is customary for the neighbor to taste the freshly baked bread and comment on its flavor [10]. Another custom associated with bread is that no one should stand behind the person baking it. People believe that if someone stands behind the baker, the bread being baked may fall [11].

Similar beliefs exist among Caucasian peoples: it was believed that no man or nursing infant should be present near the tandoor, as their presence might cause the bread to fall from the tandoor into the fire [12].

In the region, bread is held in the highest esteem, and the view has formed that "bread is bread, and even its crumbs are bread" [13]. If bread has not baked well, the fault is considered to lie not with the bread but with the inexperience of the baker.

Throughout the 20th century, bread remained the principal food in the social consciousness of traditional Uzbek society. As with other peoples of Central Asia, bread — which forms the main part of meals — has come to serve as a general term for eating. For example, in Uzbek, nonushta means "eating bread." Indeed, for breakfast, the people of the valley are served bread, tea, cream, butter, or boiled milk [14].

Reverence for bread has been preserved among Uzbeks to the present day. Bread that falls to the ground is picked up, touched to the forehead, and set aside in a place of respect, since even treading on a crumb of bread is considered wasteful [15]. For this reason, most of the Fergana Valley population — especially elderly people — teach children from an early age to pick up every fallen crumb of bread [16].

According to beliefs passed down from ancient times, "if bread falls, one must touch it to one's forehead, raise it up, ask forgiveness, and kiss it; otherwise it may reach the evil spirits dwelling in that place" [17].

During meals, bread was traditionally broken into pieces by hand; cutting bread came later, introduced through Russian influence. Among the region's population, there is a belief that "if a knife touches bread, misfortune will befall the household, livelihood will be cut off, and bread will lose its capacity to preserve the home's prosperity and abundance" [18]. Similar beliefs exist among other peoples — for instance, among Armenians there was the idea that "if someone cuts bread, they may deprive a person of their prosperity" [19]. According to Russian customs, bread was cut with a knife [20].

Today, the people of the Fergana Valley place both whole flatbreads and bread cut with a knife on the table together. According to traditional custom, bread is placed on the table first when the cloth is laid, because bread is regarded as the foundation of life, a symbol of abundance, sustenance, peace, and prosperity [21]. Among the population, bread is also considered a measure of dignity and truth. An oath sworn on bread is equated with an oath on one's life. As among other Central Asian peoples, the custom of swearing on bread exists among the Fergana Valley population. If doubt arises about the truth of someone's words, the custom of administering an oath is practiced using the phrase: "Swear on this bread — tell the truth! If you lie, may bread strike you!" [22].

In the Fergana Valley, qatlama, cho'zma, yupqa (also called tunukcha by the Tajik population), chalpak, and bo'g'irsoq are prepared from unleavened dough. It should be noted that these dishes were typically prepared at weddings, family celebrations, and funeral ceremonies. In particular, chalpak is among the widely distributed ritual foods of the region. Some sources note that chalpak was most often baked at funeral and memorial ceremonies [23]. The dough for this dish is prepared with flour and salt, divided into small balls, and prepared by stretching and rolling. For this reason, in certain parts of our country — particularly in Uzbek villages of Navoiy Province — it is called cho'zma, and in Tajik-populated villages of Bukhara Province it is called chak-chak. Today, chalpak is observed to be prepared not only at ceremonies but also as an everyday food.

Atala is also considered a ritual food. Not everyone consumed this dish; according to informants, the spirit of the deceased would wait for up to forty days asking "when will atala be cooked?" According to local beliefs, "only when atala is prepared will the body of the deceased be delivered from suffering."

From the 1950s onward, the appearance of macaroni in the diet was directly connected with the opening of factories and plants in this region. Macaroni dishes began to appear in the fast-food menus for workers. The most complex method of preparing it is boiling macaroni [24].

Although the preparation of macaroni became widespread, it could not displace grain-based dishes from the diet of the local population; rather, it enriched the menu by adding another dish to its composition.

The transformation taking place in dietary culture is defined not only by the enrichment of the population's diet with modern dishes but also by the introduction of national dishes from other peoples.

As mentioned in a previous section, the Uyghur national dish laghman has managed to find a place among Uzbek national foods. According to sociological survey data conducted among the population, this dish has today become one of the favorite dishes of the Fergana Valley population [25].

It was noted that plov and shurva (soup) are the favorite dishes of the Fergana Valley population. It should be said that today in the Fergana Valley, the word plov has acquired a semantic breadth, being used in reference to other thick dishes as well — for instance, kartoshka palov (potato plov), makaron palov (macaroni plov), non palov (bread plov), and so forth. Almost all of these dishes are prepared in approximately the same manner (fried and braised) [26]. In today's time of prosperity, rice plov is prepared and consumed not only on some ceremonial or festive occasion or when guests arrive, but also as an everyday dish prepared and eaten every Thursday and Sunday of the week.

This view is confirmed by sociological survey results. When respondents were asked how many times plov (osh) is prepared in the family per week, 44 percent of Andijan respondents indicated "1–2 times per week," 52 percent of Namangan respondents said "2–3 times," and 44 percent of Fergana respondents said "2 times." Overall, across the Fergana Valley, 36 percent of respondents indicated that plov is prepared "2–3 times per week" [27]. The results show that plov has taken a central place in the everyday diet.

Samsa, chuchvara, manti, and xonim are considered delicacies prepared primarily for hospitality and festive occasions.

It was noted that dishes prepared from various meat products also occupy an important place in the preparation of Uzbek national foods. As noted above, meat dishes are consumed less in the Fergana Valley compared to the Surkhan region. To be more precise, the Fergana Valley population uses meat sparingly in their cooking.

During the research, when respondents were asked "What proportion of meat products makes up the dietary menu of the population in the area where you live?", respondents indicated that "meat products constitute 14 percent" of the diet.

However, in the Fergana Valley, 65 percent of respondents (52 percent from Andijan, 56.4 percent from Fergana, and 50 percent from Namangan) indicated that they "consume meat every day."

Ethnographic data revealed that the Fergana Valley population attempts to compensate for meat products with beans, eggs, and dairy products. According to informants, "if beans are added to a dish, less meat is used, since beans are rich in protein just like meat" [28].

The following methods have primarily been used in processing and preparing meat products and in cooking dishes: smoking, boiling in a pot, frying, braising, and others.

Analysis of field research showed that among the Fergana Valley population, domestic animals were considered indicators of material wealth and social prestige and played an important role in social relations.

Domestic animals — cattle, sheep, goats, chickens, and the like — were used in wedding ceremonies, in the process of paying for labor, and in the giving of gifts. At the beginning of the 20th century, the region's population primarily preferred beef and mutton, while fish and chicken were occasionally used to prepare dishes. However, as noted, in the past, poor families consumed meat rarely — mainly only on festive occasions.

From the 1980s onward, consumption of fish and poultry among the population increased.

Dishes prepared from the meat of a novvos (bull), horse, or ram are considered prestigious dishes and continue to be widely used to the present day at celebrations (wedding ceremonies, circumcision ceremonies), as well as at memorial and dedicatory ceremonies (mainly beef and mutton).

Xasip and qazi are among the widely distributed dishes among Uzbeks [29]. These dishes form part of the traditional cuisine of the Fergana Valley population. In Kokand in particular, there are even neighborhoods specializing in the preparation of qazi.

At present, the development of animal husbandry in the Fergana Valley and the growth in the number of farming enterprises engaged in livestock raising have led to an increase in the variety of meat products in shops and market stalls. Noteworthy in particular is the establishment of production of semi-finished and ready-made products (sausage, frankfurters, smoked meat, ham, and so on) from goat, horse, and beef. This will in the future give rise to pure competition in gastro-markets.

Among the Uzbek people, the proverb "a chicken is one of seven treasures" is widely known. For this reason, the Fergana Valley population pays special

attention to poultry farming. The belief has formed that if chickens or any type of poultry are kept at home, prosperity will come. For this reason, egg-based dishes are widely consumed in the diet. Eggs have always been used in the preparation of numerous dishes, and today they are also used in making dough and in confectionery.

In the majority of Uzbek families, consuming boiled or fried eggs at breakfast has become a regular part of the daily diet. In many cases, eggs substitute for meat. According to informants, "when meat cannot be purchased, eggs are used for everyday cooking" [30].

In recent years, one can observe the consumption of the following meat-based dishes among the valley's population: kabob, boiled shurva, qovurma dimlama, qozon bosma, ko'za shurva, banka shurva, kalla-pochcha, and others [31].

Comparing with other regions, in the Surkhan region meat dishes such as tandir go'sht, yumshoq go'sht, cho'poncha, and bug'lama are enjoyed [32]. Drawing on the data of researcher M. Fayzullayeva, it can be said that in the region people prefer to cook and consume meat on its own (that is, without mixing it into other dishes) [33]. In the Fergana Valley, by contrast, meat is more commonly consumed as part of composite dishes. This also demonstrates the existence of distinctive local differences in food preparation and consumption.

In recent years, one can observe a growing trend among the population toward preparing fish-based dishes — fried fish, fish shashlik, fish braised dishes — and poultry dishes such as chicken shurva, braised chicken, fried chicken, chicken shashlik, partridge shurva, quail shurva, and others. In addition, various dishes are prepared from turkey, duck, goose, and sparrow meat.

We noted in earlier sections that dairy products occupy an important place in the diet of peoples whose households are dominated by animal husbandry. It is known that traditions of preparing food from milk and dairy products have been forming over the centuries. As a result of the economic, social, and technological changes that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century, dairy foods, like other dishes, underwent certain transformations. In particular, new methods of heat-treating milk appeared. Using lactic acid, the fermentation method was gradually introduced in factories, enabling the preparation of milk, qatiq (yogurt), and suzma (strained yogurt) [34].

As noted, among the Fergana Valley population, the most widely used dairy products are qatiq and suzma, which are consumed as additions to many dishes.

Especially in summer, mastava with qatiq, sutli go'ja, and shirguruch are consumed.

In reality, dairy products such as qatiq and suzma are an ornament of the Uzbek table. However, regional differences can also be observed in the use and naming of these products. In Surkhandarya and Qashqadarya provinces, strained qatiq (suzma) is called chakki and qatiq, and the strained variety is consumed more widely; in the valley, freshly fermented qatiq is called qatiq, and the strained variety is called suzma. In Surkhandarya and Qashqadarya, the strained form — that is, the suzma — is consumed more widely, and chakki is even considered one of the regular dishes placed before guests. In the Fergana Valley, it is consumed more in the freshly fermented form, and particularly in the city of Namangan, no table is laid without (freshly fermented) qatiq. This dairy product symbolizes the openness and hospitality of the host toward the arriving guest.

Another dish prepared from dairy products — specifically from dried suzma — is qurtoba. Many consider qurtoba to be a national dish of the Tajik people. According to available data, the origins of qurtoba actually trace back to Turkic tribes [35].

At the beginning of the 20th century, qurtoba was consumed primarily by the poorer segment of the population in the region [36]. To prepare qurtoba, qurut (dried sour cheese) was first soaked in hot water in a wooden bowl. It was then mashed with a spoon, hot water was added, and once it reached a porridge-like consistency it was placed in a pot and boiled. The dish was then removed from the fire, butter was placed on top, and it was served at the table. Because it is prepared from salted qurut, no salt is added to qurtoba. This custom of preparing food from qurut is apparently characteristic of the majority of Central Asian peoples [37].

The dish qurtoba was served to in-laws in bowls after the presentation of ceremonial robes at the "kuyov chaqirdi" (calling of the groom) ceremony [38]. Today this dish is consumed in the foothills of the valley during spring and summer as a thirst-quenching refreshment.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Fergana Valley population used primarily sheep fat (dumba), beef fat (charvi), butter, cream, and plant oils extracted by pressing in oil presses (sesame, linseed, cottonseed oil) for food preparation [39]. Plant oil in particular is widely used. Packaged butter has become very popular in the districts of the Fergana Valley and is among the prized

foods consumed especially during the winter season and during the month of Ramadan. Butter was also used in treating certain childhood illnesses. In the Fergana Valley, sheep fat is regarded as particularly caloric and valuable. Sheep fat is also used as a remedy for many illnesses.

Observations show that the Fergana Valley population prefers fatty and caloric foods. One of the respondents stated: "In summer, we mainly consume fruits and vegetables. These are all considered 'cold' foods. For this reason, caloric products that provide 'warmth' must be added to the food. If this balance of heat and cold is disrupted, certain illnesses arise in the body" [40].

Before consuming fat, the valley's people heat it intensely in a pot to eliminate the harmful toxins in it. As a result, the smell and bitter taste of the fat disappear. More recently, the region's population has been using imported plant oils, particularly sunflower and cottonseed oil.

Throughout the 20th century, the population of the foothills and mountain districts of the Fergana Valley used kavrak, yalpiz (mint), kiyik o'ti, wild onion, gazanda o'ti, jag'-jag', pepper, basil, sedana, sesame, and similar ingredients as spices for their dishes. In recent years, under the influence of the cuisines of neighboring peoples, the use of various spices has become widespread in the Fergana Valley as well: cumin, black pepper, allspice, sweet paprika, dill seed, ginger, turmeric, cinnamon, Korean salt, bay leaves, mustard, saffron, and others. It is well known that from ancient times wheat, barley, rice, chickpeas, mung beans, carrots, onions, turnips, pumpkins, flax, sesame, melons, and watermelons have been the main components of the Uzbek diet.

Today, liquid dishes made from vegetables — cabbage soup, beet soup, potato soup, and others — and thick dishes such as fried potatoes, jarkop, fried eggplant, eggplant ikra, tomato ikra, fried cabbage, and others are actively entering the lifestyle of the population. Salads made from various vegetables served alongside meals (carrot salads, beet salads, potato salads, tomato salads, cucumber salads, radish salads, reddish salads, cabbage salads, bell pepper salads, eggplant salads, herb salads, legume salads, and so forth) and pickles (pickled cabbage, pickled cucumber, pickled greens, pickled mushrooms, valley-style pickles, and others) have also taken their place as an integral part of the Uzbek table.

The region's population widely consumes fresh fruits such as apples, pomegranates, sour cherries, cherries, peaches, apricots (zardoli), plums, quinces,

persimmons, and grapes, as well as dried fruits such as walnuts, raisins, walnut kernels, pistachios, almonds, and chickpeas.

Well-established methods of preserving fruit for winter consumption as dried fruit have been developed. These include dried apple slices, dried apricots, dried melon strips (qovunqoqi), mulberry raisins (tutmayiz), and others. Local inhabitants have traditionally prepared shininni, halva, parvada, sugar, novvot, and other confections.

From the second half of the last century, it became widespread to consume various greens with meals — spring onions, garlic, cilantro, dill, parsley, and so forth. In winter, tea brewed from rosehip (namatak) was consumed for its restorative properties. The use of rosehip as a health-giving and medicinal plant is also observed in other regions [41].

Beverages occupy their own place in the food culture of Central Asian peoples. Especially during hot weather, thirst-quenching drinks are very practical.

Research conducted throughout the Fergana Valley revealed that distinctive local methods of preparing sharbat (fruit drinks) exist among the population.

Among the most widely consumed such drinks are apricot sharbat and grape sharbat. In addition, dried apple tea, kiyik o'ti tea, boymadoron tea (wormwood tea), and others have been widely used.

As with all Central Asian peoples, it is difficult to imagine a single day for the Uzbek people without tea. Morning breakfast, weddings and celebrations, hospitality, and ceremonies do not pass without tea. If a guest arrives at any household, the unique custom of close neighbors taking turns "inviting the guest for tea" has been preserved [42]. Tea is a remarkable drink, and scientific articles have been published on its flavor and medicinal properties [43].

Tea also holds a special place among the Fergana Valley population. Tea is considered one of the traditional beverages not only in the Fergana Valley but throughout Central Asia. According to historical data, until the 1880s of the 19th century, tea was brought to Central Asian cities from India via Kashgar. This is not coincidental — the Fergana Valley has from ancient times been located along trade routes through which tea was transported. After the Russian conquest, other trade routes also began to gradually open. The trade route passing through Afghanistan, in particular, came into wide use [44]. After the conquest by the Russian Empire, the volume of tea imported into the Central Asian territory increased. As a result, tea began to spread widely in the Fergana Valley, and by

the late 19th and early 20th centuries tea had become considerably widespread among the local population.

The population of Central Asia, and particularly the Fergana Valley, has from ancient times possessed distinctive methods of preparing and drinking tea, which were organically connected with the people's way of life. For example, the settled population has from ancient times made wide use of local plants and tree leaves and fruits in brewing tea. In the first half of the 20th century, the ancient method of preparing tea — shirchoy (milk tea) — was also widely popular among nomadic peoples [45]. Additionally, among the Qipchaq population of the Fergana Valley, moyli choy (oil tea) was prepared by crumbling bread into a bowl, adding burnt sheep fat or butter and salt, and pouring boiling tea over it. Tea prepared in this way took on more the appearance of a food and was consumed primarily at breakfast [46]. The Fergana Valley population is accustomed to drinking green tea. Not only the Uzbek and Tajik peoples of the valley but also the Uyghur, Kyrgyz, and other populations enjoyed consuming green tea.

Today, the population of the region mainly drinks green and black tea. Green tea is predominantly drunk in summer, while black tea (pomil, pamil, fomil) is more commonly consumed in winter.

In addition, until the early 20th century, shirchoy (milk tea), moyli choy (oil tea), and other varieties were also widely consumed in the Fergana Valley [47]. Among the population engaged in horse breeding, qimiz (koumiss) also holds a special place.

The traditional Uzbek diet also includes bo'za, prepared from barley, and musallas, prepared from grapes [48].

In Chinese written sources dating to the 2nd century BCE, there is information about the Fergana Valley population preparing and consuming musallas [49]. Subsequently, as a result of the spread of Islam, the preparation and consumption of musallas and wine, though not disappearing entirely, became considerably reduced [50].

During the Soviet period, since a "socialist culture" based on Russian culture prevailed, modern alcoholic beverages from the wider world — vodka, wine, beer — began to find a place on the Uzbek table.

From the second half of the last century, these beverages became an inseparable part of men's festive gatherings. Especially in the 1970s–80s of the last century,



it was difficult for various ceremonies and celebrations to pass without such (alcoholic) beverages.

From the 1990s onward, as a result of the liberalization of national and religious views and the proliferation of religious literature, the younger generation became informed that alcoholic beverages are forbidden (haram) in Islamic belief. On the other hand, the mass media has been providing increasing information about the harm and consequences of alcoholic beverages. This led to the emergence of negative attitudes toward alcoholic beverages in the social consciousness of Uzbek youth. Ethnographic observations conducted in the Fergana Valley show that among today's youth (those up to 30 years of age), those who do not consume alcoholic beverages at all constitute the majority — approximately 75–80 percent. Alcohol consumption has also decreased considerably among the older generation. Especially during the month of Ramadan, such beverages are not consumed. The abstinence from alcoholic beverages during Ramadan is characteristic of the majority of the Uzbek people and has been noted in other studies as well [51].

Survey results aimed at determining the attitude of the population across Fergana Valley provinces toward placing alcoholic beverages on the table showed that, taken across the entire Fergana Valley, 62.4 percent of respondents do not place alcoholic beverages on the table. By region, this figure comprises 68 percent in Andijan, 61 percent in Namangan, and 60 percent in Fergana.

In conclusion, it may be stated that while the traditional foods of the Fergana Valley population — dishes prepared from grains, meat dishes, dairy dishes, confections, and beverages — constitute components of the general Uzbek national cuisine, they possess local characteristics in terms of their naming, preparation, and place in the diet.

Such regional and local distinctiveness is also observed in dining etiquette and in customs associated with eating.

The socioeconomic and cultural changes that took place in the course of historical development also exerted their influence on food as a component of material culture. This applies equally to the spiritual and moral aspects of food culture. The transformational processes in the food culture of the local population of the Fergana Valley during the period under study can be shown in three stages, connected with changes in the economic and cultural living conditions of the region's population and with the intensification of interethnic integration.

The first stage, during which traditional foods were preserved almost in their entirety, covers the period from the beginning of the 20th century to 1917.

The second stage, during which transformations proceeded slowly, encompasses the Soviet era. The political-ideological, economic, and cultural changes of this period gradually began to exert their influence on food culture.

The third stage — during which transformations in material culture, including food culture, are occurring at an accelerated pace — began in the 1990s. During this period, the development of market relations, the intensification of integration among peoples, and globalization led to a transformation of food culture in both form and content.

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