VOLUME XXXIII, NUMBER 2 SPRING 2017

Repast

Quarterly Publication of the Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor

The Food Culture of Portugal, Part 2

Small Nation, Huge Footprint

Carne de vaca estufada (stewed beef), a dish of Portuguese origin, as made in Macau, a former colony in southeast China. Here it is made with star anise, a spice from the region.

Photo: Koon Ming Tang

MORSELS & TIDBITS

In addition to the five ongoing exhibits mentioned in this space in our last issue, we note two more as follows:

- CHAA member **Margaret Carney**, director of the Ann Arbor-based International Museum of Dinnerware Design, has announced a one-weekend pop-up exhibit, "Dining Mid-Century", scheduled May 12-14, 2017 at the Stone Chalet Events Center, 1917 Washtenaw Ave. in Ann Arbor. The exhibit "captures the flavor and essence of dining in the 1950s and 1960s, including furniture, dishes, glassware, flatware by leading mid-century designers and an occasional tableau of special dining moments possibly involving ants, a TV, and more", Dr. Carney notes tantalizingly. The opening reception on Friday at 5:30 to 7:30 p.m. will feature 1950s-60s light snacks and jazz by the Dukes of Ann Arbor.

Repast

ISSN 1552-8863

Published quarterly by the
Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor (CHAA)

http://culinaryhistoriansannarbor.org/

An archive is available at http://cooks.aadl.org/cooks/repast

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- In conjunction with the sesquicentennial of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, the McLaughlin Library at the Univ. of Guelph, Ontario, has an exhibit running April 7, 2017 to December 2017, "Tried, Tested, and True: A Retrospective of Canadian Cookery, 1867–1917". **Melissa McAfee**, Special Collections Librarian, notes that the exhibit was curated by students at the university based on materials drawn from the library's Culinary Arts Collection— one of the largest in North America. with approximately 18,000 books and archival materials. The aim is to use cookbooks and domestic manuals as a glimpse into Canadian society at the time. The display cases and accompanying online exhibit focus on eight themes: Domestic Housewife Manuals; Cooking in Agriculture and Rural Life; Cooking in Guelph and the Surrounding Area; Community Cookbooks; Advertising Cookbooks; Cooking in the First World War; Economical Cooking; and Nutrition and Health. One of the highlights is a displayed copy of *The Canadian Receipt Book: Containing over 500 Valuable Receipts for the Farmer and the House Wife* (Ottawa, 1867), one of only two copies known to exist in the world.

"Food Cultures, Mobility and Migration" is a conference scheduled Sep. 15-16, 2017 in New Bedford, MA. The event forms part of the project "*Pão e Vinho sobre a Mesa*: Portuguese Food Cultures, Mobility and Migration" and is organized by the Ferreira-Mendes Portuguese-American Archives (Univ. of Massachusetts at Dartmouth, MA) and the School of Modern Languages (Cardiff Univ., Wales, UK), with support from the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian. The conference will explore food cultures and practices in the context of mobility and migration, addressing ways in which food is a marker of culture, to what extent food enables tracing the histories of daily life for specific communities and groups, and techniques for recording and archiving food experiences. The keynote speaker will be David E. Sutton (Anthropology Dept., Southern Illinois Univ.) on "Cooking, The Senses and Moral Economies: Reflections on Food in Crisis Greece".

The third annual Smithsonian Food History Weekend is scheduled for Oct. 26-28, 2017 at the National Museum of American History in Washington. With the theme "Many Flavors, One Nation", the event brings together culinary leaders, researchers, practitioners, and scholars to inspire Museum visitors to understand the history of food in America and the role people play, individually and collectively, in shaping the future of food. Through live cooking demonstrations, hands-on learning opportunities, talks, and experiences with incomparable collections, visitors will explore where our food really comes from, how foods migrate with people, and how food has been both a bridge and a barrier to cultural connection in America. ■

PORTUGUESE INFLUENCE IN BRAZILIAN CUISINE

by Cherie Y. Hamilton

Cherie Yvonne Hamilton of Minneapolis, MN, is the author of the cookbooks Brazil: A Culinary Journey *(Hippocrene, 2005) and* Cuisines of Portuguese Encounters *(Hippocrene, 2008). Fluent in Portuguese, she has lived in or visited most of the Portuguese-speaking nations of the world. That odyssey began more than 50 years ago when she first traveled to Brazil with her husband, Russell G. Hamilton (1935 - 2016), who was a professor of Spanish and Portuguese language and literature, as well as a dean, at the Univ. of Minnesota and at Vanderbilt Univ. Cherie holds degrees from the Univ. of Connecticut and the Univ. of Minnesota, and spent most of her career as a recruitment director, first at General Mills Corp. and later at Vanderbilt Univ.*

Cherie Y. Hamilton in a Univ. of Minnesota photo.

One might assume that Brazilian cuisine was influenced solely by the Portuguese, and while the Portuguese did contribute greatly to what today is called Brazilian food, the heritage of this food must be traced back to its ethnological Luso-Afro-Indian origins, "Luso" being the root referring to the Portuguese contribution. The ingredients first used by the native peoples, including *cassava, guaraná, açaí, cashew*, and *tucupi*, formed the roots of Brazilian cuisine. The Portuguese, who arrived in the 16th Century, brought with them the practice of cooking with wine; the use of eggs, sugar, and cinnamon; and the introduction of codfish dishes and stews. Enslaved Africans introduced new cooking styles and tastes, such as cooking with *dendé* (palm oil). Each of these groups has left a definitive mark on present-day Brazilian cuisine.

The Amerindian Roots

When the Portuguese mariners first arrived in this new territory, they encountered a semi-nomadic native population that subsisted on hunting and gathering, as well as fishing and migrant agriculture. Food was eaten either raw, lightly cooked, or roasted.

The Amerindians' diet relied heavily on fish from the surrounding waters, the giant *pirarucú* being the most popular along with the *peixe boi* (ox fish) and turtles and their eggs. The starchy, tuberous root of the cassava plant, often called *manioc* or *yuca*, also played a large role in the diet. From the cassava, which the Indians grated and pounded to a pulp, they made a type of bread baked in clay ovens. The pulp was also dried, toasted, crumbled and eaten with fish that had been smoked and roasted on a wooden rack over a fire. The roasted fish could even be ground and mixed with the roasted cassava to serve as rations for hunters. The natives hunted wild boars, which usually traveled in herds, roasted and smoked the meat, and then pounded and mixed it with cassava. The toasted cassava meal also formed the basis for many dishes popular today, such as tapioca and the sweet crackers called *beijús*, the latter often made with the addition of grated coconut.

Corn, also native to the New World, was another staple of the Amerindian diet. The Indians ground the corn to make a porridge known as *mingau,* or steamed it with coconut in corn husks as a dessert. Corn was also fermented to make an alcoholic drink. Fruit was seasonally plentiful, and some of the more popular varieties were the cashew (which produces the cashew nut), the pineapple, and the avocado. Other additions to their diet include a range of peppers, leaves of the cassava plant, lizards and their eggs, snakes, termites, and large female ants. Cacao seeds were roasted, ground, and shaped into loaves that were then grated and added to their drinking water. A beverage stimulant called *guaraná* was made in a similar way by the Maués Indians from powdered seeds taken from the fruit of the *guaraná* tree (sometimes called *cipó*), which grows in the Amazon forest.

This indigenous diet, which fed a migrant people inhabiting semi-permanent camps, is the one that the Portuguese encountered in the new territory.

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What the Portuguese Brought to the Table

The Portuguese mariners were used to a diet based mainly on foods influenced by the Moors, who had occupied the Iberian Peninsula for 800 years. This was a wheat-based diet that entailed frequent consumption of bread and cheese, rice, couscous, noodles, leaf vegetables, potatoes, fava beans, tripe, fish, and shellfish. Therefore, it would take the Portuguese quite some time to adapt to the foods of the new land.

Initially, the explorers traded some of their own rations for various exotic fruits and vegetables. Slowly, they assimilated a number of the indigenous foods into their own diet. One of the first was manioc, which the Portuguese found similar to the yam that had been introduced to Europe from Africa. They also learned how to smoke and roast the local fish and game and to use cassava meal as an accompaniment to meat. The native peoples, however, were less inclined to adopt the foods brought by the Portuguese mariners. But with time, certain introduced foods, some of them indigenous to other parts of the Americas, entered into the Indian diet, such as plantains and bananas, squash, sweet potatoes, lettuce, and beans.

Coffee cultivation was brought from Africa to Brazil by the Portuguese in the 16th Century, and African slaves were brought to work the coffee, sugarcane, and other plantations in the northeast of the colony. Mills came into wide-scale operation, producing various types of sugar, molasses, and alcoholic beverages (notably *cachaça*) for human consumption, as well as byproducts that were used as feed for cattle and other farm animals that the Portuguese introduced to Brazil.

With the establishment of the Catholic Church in Brazil and the construction of convents, the nuns, who were famous in Portugal for their egg-based sweets, continued with their tradition as confectioners. There is a tale that the nuns in Portuguese convents used egg whites to starch their robes. So what were they to do with the enormous amount of leftover yolks? They were very creative and began making egg-yolk sweets such as *quindins* (Golden Coconut Cupcakes; see recipe sidebar, next page), *Barrigas de Freira* (Nun's Tummies), *Papos de Anjo* (Angel's Cheeks), and other puddings and custards.

When mining was introduced to the southern part of Brazil, food supplies had to be brought in from other areas to feed the miners. With the importation and sale of foodstuffs such as sausages, ham, olive oil, cheese, marmalades, vinegar, and alcoholic beverages, especially wine, new eating habits arose and cookery took on a different form. The Portuguese introduced to this new diet a reliance on tomatoes and potatoes, two New World foods that had become indispensable to Portuguese cooks as ingredients in soups and codfish dishes. Farmers introduced the cultivation of new crops, such as rice, to Brazil. By the end of the 1800s the production of coffee had expanded, with plantations as far south as Minas Gerais and São Paulo.

Banana *Tacate*
(Portuguese-Amerindian Influence)

The original *Tacate* arose in the Amazon region. To prepare the dish the Indians used a local fish mixed with bananas, and served it in banana leaves. The Portuguese prepared this Indian dish with sausage instead of fish. The assimilated version later became a popular dish of the northern region.

10 green plantains
Salt to taste
½ pound fresh Portuguese sausage links
2 Tablespoons olive oil

Peel the plantains and cut them into 1-inch slices. Place in a medium-size pot and barely cover with water. Add salt to taste and cook until soft, about 15 minutes. Drain and mince the plantain. Slice the sausage links into 1-inch pieces. Heat the olive oil in a skillet and add the sausage. Cook for about 20 minutes, turning frequently, until brown on all sides. Mix the sausage slices with the plantain pieces. Serve warm.

Note: Some cooks remove the sausage from its casing and sauté it, breaking it up like ground beef. It is then mixed with the plantains, rolled up in a banana leaf, and baked. If banana leaves are unavailable, use corn husks.

Photo by Humberto Medeiros, from Arthur Bosisio et al., *Culinária Amazonica: O Sabor da Natureza* (São Paulo, Brazil: Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial [SENAC], 2000).

The African Contribution

Brazilian cookery was also tempered by an African influence. In the late 16th Century the Portuguese had introduced sugarcane, a plant native to Southeast Asia, to the northeast region of Brazil. The first sugar plantation was established in the state of Pernambuco, and this opened the way for more plantations that drew additional settlers to the region. The settlers brought in African slaves, who became a dynamic factor in transforming the culture and establishing that region's cuisine.

Eating habits were influenced by the culinary customs that the slaves brought with them. The cuisine that began to take shape was also known as *comida de azeite* (food with oil), referring to the palm oil that is still an important ingredient in a number of dishes found in Northeastern states such as Pernambuco and Bahia. This palm oil, known as *dendem,* is extracted from the pulp of the red fruit of a species of the *dende* palm tree, which was brought to Brazil from Africa in the early 1600s and was soon planted throughout the Northeast. The extracted red oil imparts a color and flavor that is characteristic of Afro-Brazilian cookery.

Palm oil is not the only African contribution, however. For example, although the hot peppers used in Bahian food are of pre-Colombian Mesoamerican origin, they were taken to Africa in the 16th Century and returned to northeastern Brazil with African slaves in the 17th Century.

By the late 17th and early 18th Centuries many African dishes, already common in Brazil, were sold by slaves on the streets of the city of Salvador, Bahia. Some of the foods sold were *acarajé* (black-eyed pea fritters), *abará* (baked black-eyed pea cakes), *caruru* (shrimp and okra stew), and *vatapá* (shrimp and bread pudding). Today, many of these foods are still sold on street corners by women who are dressed in the traditional white lace blouse and skirt worn by members of the Afro-Brazilian religious sects, *Candomblé.*

During this same period, slaves of the Fon and Yoruba ethnic groups, originally from Dahomey (now Benin) and Nigeria, respectively, began to organize themselves into structured religious communities in Bahia. The African priests re-established their places of worship— the sanctuar-

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Golden Coconut Cupcakes *(Quindins)* (Portuguese-African Influence)

Legend has it that the Portuguese Nuns, who were well known for their tasty custards, brought this recipe to Brazil. Coconut, which is not native to Portugal, was added later by the African slaves. *Quindins* are very sweet cupcakes that were popular during slavery in the master's house on plantations in the northeast of Brazil. They are baked individually or in pastry tins, and as they cook the coconut rises to the top and forms a light brown crust. When inverted, the coconut is on the bottom and the yolks form a golden dome on top. These cupcakes have become popular throughout Brazil.

Photo from Cherie Y. Hamilton, *Cuisines of Portuguese Encounters* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 2008).

1 stick butter plus additional melted butter for greasing tins
1½ cups extra-fine sugar, plus additional for dusting tins
15 egg yolks
1 whole egg
1½ cups fresh or frozen unsweetened grated coconut

Preheat the oven to 350° F. Using a pastry brush, grease a muffin tin with melted butter and dust with sugar.

Beat the sugar and butter in a medium-size mixing bowl until fluffy. Add the egg yolks and the whole egg, one at a time, beating well after each addition. Fold in the coconut and mix gently just to incorporate.

Fill the tins almost to the top with the custard. Set the muffin tin in a baking pan. Pour hot water into the pan to a depth of 1 inch to make a *bain-marie*. Bake the *quindins* for about 35 minutes or until they are firm and slightly golden. Cool in muffin tin for 10 minutes on a rack and then chill for at least 4 hours or overnight. Remove from the tins by running a knife around each custard to loosen. Invert onto a plate and place in silver cups or arrange on a serving dish.
Makes 12 cupcakes.

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ies that congregated the community of initiated believers. These slaves began to observe rituals from their African religions— dance, music, sacrifices, and offerings— whose practice had previously been circumscribed by their masters. It was during this period that much of the daily food eaten by slaves or offered by them to deities— since they believed that their gods, called *orixás,* ate the same foods as humans ate— was reconstructed from African tradition. Then, as today, more elaborate foods were prepared for religious feasts and votive celebrations.

Enslaved cooks often prepared Portuguese menus, but substituted African ingredients, colored the stews with red palm oil, and invented a variety of porridge dishes using bananas and yams, boiled or fried in oil. Dishes were heavily laced with ground shrimp that had been dried and smoked, peanuts or cashews, and a variety of spices such as ginger, coriander, and cumin. They also created new dishes with an old taste, using palm oil, hot peppers and okra that enabled them to maintain and preserve the diet of the African deities. Thus, the African gods were able to eat their favorite foods in Brazil.

Apart from its use in *Candomblé* and *Macumba,* as the religion is known in Rio, this markedly African cuisine is not only present in the daily fare of Brazilians, but also in folk celebrations and festivals, and at lunches and dinners to celebrate birthdays, anniversaries, and other special occasions. There are many restaurants that serve this food, known as "typical". This cuisine is not confined to Bahia, but has spread throughout the country from the state of Amazonas in the north to Rio Grande do Sul in the south, not usually as daily fare, but more often as a cuisine that is served for special occasions.

Broader Portuguese Influences

The Portuguese heritage in Brazilian cookery is easily identified even after the many contributions from other cultures— some very strong— and changes that occurred quite naturally. The Portuguese brought to Brazil their cooking lore— their ways of preparing, handling, seasoning, and preserving food and using ingredients. They also brought their utensils, mealtimes, the order of meal courses, weights and measures (the proportions of foods), and religious restrictions.

The Portuguese made extensive use of the native corn and transformed it into cornmeal. With cornmeal they produced delicious soups, mush, puddings, *broas* (a type of round salty cornbread, the forerunner of Brazil's famous sweet *broinhas*), and creamed sweet corn. The latter gave rise to a white corn preparation called *canjica*, akin to our hominy. The Portuguese word for corn, *milho,* was introduced to Europe and Africa in the early 17th Century.

The *Festa de São João* (St. John Festival) was introduced to Brazil by the Portuguese in the 1500s. It is a traditional old pagan festival from Europe, where for centuries it had honored the Summer solstice by offering up food and drink to Juno, the god of fertility. The food, drink, dances, and bonfires are intended to scare away evil spirits. This festival also coincided with the Brazilian Indians' rituals related to the harvest of corn. Every type of corn-based food is served during these festivities, which begin one week before St. Anthony's Day (June 12) and end after St. Peter's Day (June 29). St. John's Day is June 24th. The largest festivals are mainly in the Northeast. They are very colorful and festive and include fireworks and bonfires.

Brazil's Contribution to World Cuisine

Brazil has also contributed much to world cuisine. The Portuguese established the first empire upon which the sun never set. By virtue of their early presence in Africa, Asia, and South America, the Portuguese became the first major carriers of language, social norms, culture and agricultural products to different parts of the globe. Not only were they the first intercontinental and interregional carriers of agricultural products, they were also the purveyors of many food cultures.

From Brazil, the Portuguese took tomatoes, potatoes, peppers, avocados, chocolate, manioc, and the drink *guaraná*. The Portuguese also took the sweet potato from its native South America to Africa; from there it spread to Europe, North America, and Asia.

Another fascinating example is that of the peanut. This legume, native to South America, traveled in the cargo of Portuguese merchant ships to Africa. It was then brought back across the Atlantic with enslaved Africans, and thereby introduced to North America. As a matter of fact, in Kimbundu, a Bantu language of Angola, the word for peanut is *nguba*, which gave rise to "goober", a dialect term for peanut in the U.S., especially in the South.

Okra, a vegetable native to Africa, was taken by the Portuguese to Brazil. Indeed, the term "okra", and *quiabo,* the Portuguese equivalent, as well as *gumbo,* are all words of West African origin. When okra was introduced to Brazil, it was noticed to resemble a local thick-leaf plant called *caruru* by the Tupi-Guarani Indians. And, indeed, okra is the main ingredient of a now-classic shrimp and okra stew known as *caruru.*

The story of okra stew does not stop there. The dish *caruru* was taken to Africa by the Portuguese and became a part of Angolan cuisine. Contract workers, known as *Angolares,* took the dish to the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, a former Portuguese colony in the Gulf of Guinea. There the original Tupi word was modified to *calulu,* the name of a much-loved chicken and okra dish. Finally, the Brazilian word, variously spelled *calalu, kalulu*, or *callaloo,* emigrated to Jamaica and to Louisiana as the name of a variety of leafy greens used in Creole cooking, particularly soups. Whatever the word, its orthographic variants, and the dishes to which it refers, the Portuguese, and Brazilians, were the original propagators. ■

AROMA, TASTE AND MEMORY AT HOME AND IN THE DIASPORA

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MACANESE CUISINE AND CULTURAL IDENTITY

by Annabel Jackson

Raised in a farming family in the English countryside, the food and wine expert Annabel Jackson lived in Hong Kong for many years. There, she specialized in teaching members of the business community the etiquette of dining and of hosting dinners, and also became an expert on the indigenous cooking of nearby Macau. Ms. Jackson has authored several food and travel books about China, Vietnam, and India, including Taste of Macau: Portuguese Cuisine on the China Coast *(Hong Kong, 2003). Recently she moved back to England, where she is Lecturer in Wine Business at Plumpton College in East Sussex. She has adapted the essay below from research that she carried out while studying for her M.A. degree in the Anthropology of Food at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London.*

The tiny landmass of Macau represents a classic example of how, according to anthropologist Sidney W. Mintz (2008), "Human movement is a primary cause of changes in food behaviour." Located on the southern coast of China, Macau is today characterized by casino 'culture', while historically it has been heavily influenced by Portuguese culture.

The place was "legitimized" nearly 450 years ago by Portuguese merchants and seafarers, and one of their legacies was the mixed-blood "Macanese" people. They consider themselves the *fialho* (sons) of the land of Macau— the indigenous people— yet the land that they called home was "handed over" (or "back") to China in 1999, leaving them, according to popular perception, stateless. What are the cultural implications of this sense of "nowhere?" We may find some very interesting answers in Macanese cuisine.

As a result of Handover, the Macanese who identify as part of the diaspora outnumber those who today live in Macau. But that diaspora retains a strong relationship to the cooking of their ancestors, a relationship that can be seen to differ in character from that of the Macanese who have remained in Macau. Indeed, the contemporary "status" of Macanese food in Macau is quite changed.

The Early Days

It is not every day that a new cuisine is born. The circumstances have to be rather special, and in the case of Macau, the prior absence of any peoples— or culture— was key.

But there was rich agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing. The hybrid cooking that began to emerge drew heavily on Portuguese cooking styles, techniques, and provisions such as olive oil, but incorporated herbs and spices from across Asia, and utilized core agricultural produce from the south of China. The Portuguese traditionally consume potatoes, onions, garlic, and cabbage; favor chicken and pork; and love fish and seafood. All of these were in abundance in the waters and lands surrounding Macau.

When the Portuguese docked in Macau it was atypical of a colony (and indeed was never referred to as such, instead known as an "enclave"), since there was no indigenous population with the exception of a few fishing families who lived on their boats. Given this lack of existing culture, or indeed population, it is hardly surprising that a distinct, historically defined Creole "class" was to emerge.

Some of the Portuguese seafarers (traders) arrived with wives and servants from existing Portuguese colonies or trading partners in Asia: "The first *Macaense* was probably the child of a Portuguese father and a Malaccan, Japanese, Malay or Goanese", wrote António Jorge da Silva (Jackson 2003, p. x), a lighting designer who has long researched Portuguese history and Macanese culture. He stressed that the Portuguese were only allowed to marry Christians— hence the importance of the early missionaries. Certainly there were very few European women in the enclave before the end of the 18th Century, and Chinese were not living in Macau either, returning home each night to China through the border gate, "so the men took servants or slaves as mistresses and wives" (Pons 1999, p. 101). Such unions, Pons notes, were encouraged "in order to lay down roots for the Portuguese presence."

Somewhat idealized tales of how the cuisine was born have been handed down through the generations, describing what

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Map: TravelChinaGuide.com

might have gone on in the kitchen in those early days, as proud, pirate-fighting Portuguese returned from a tough day in the high seas, gripped with *saudade* (an intense sorrow at being away from the motherland, as expressed in the mournful music tradition *fado*) and longing for a taste of mother's cooking. The master, we might imagine, would describe, or demonstrate, a Portuguese dish. The wife or servant, unable to find the right ingredients, would begin to substitute: coconut milk instead of cow's milk, say; and considering a dish rather bland, toss in some chili for heat or tamarind for a sour flavor which, in turn, reminded *them* of home (Augustin-Jean 2002, p. 122; Doling 1994, pp. 56-57).

A Macanese Cuisine?

Could things "thrown together" in the domestic kitchen constitute a new cuisine, rather than simply an offshoot of Portuguese cuisine? Zhang and Pang thought so, drawing a distinction between the place of origin of a dish and its reinvention: "Macanese cuisine has become… a full-fledged cuisine, evolving from home food enjoyed at home to a home food cuisine offered in restaurants" (2012, p. 935). Borrowing from anthropology, Warren Belasco has defined cuisine as:

> a set of socially situated food behaviors with these components: a limited number of "edible" foods (*selectivity*); a preference for particular ways of preparing foods (*technique*); a distinctive flavor, textural, and visual characteristics (*aesthetics*); a set of rules for consuming food (*ritual*); and an organized system of producing and distributing the food (*infrastructure*). Embedded in these components are a set of ideas, images, and values (*ideology*) that can be "read" just like any other cultural "text" (Belasco 2005, pp. 219-220).

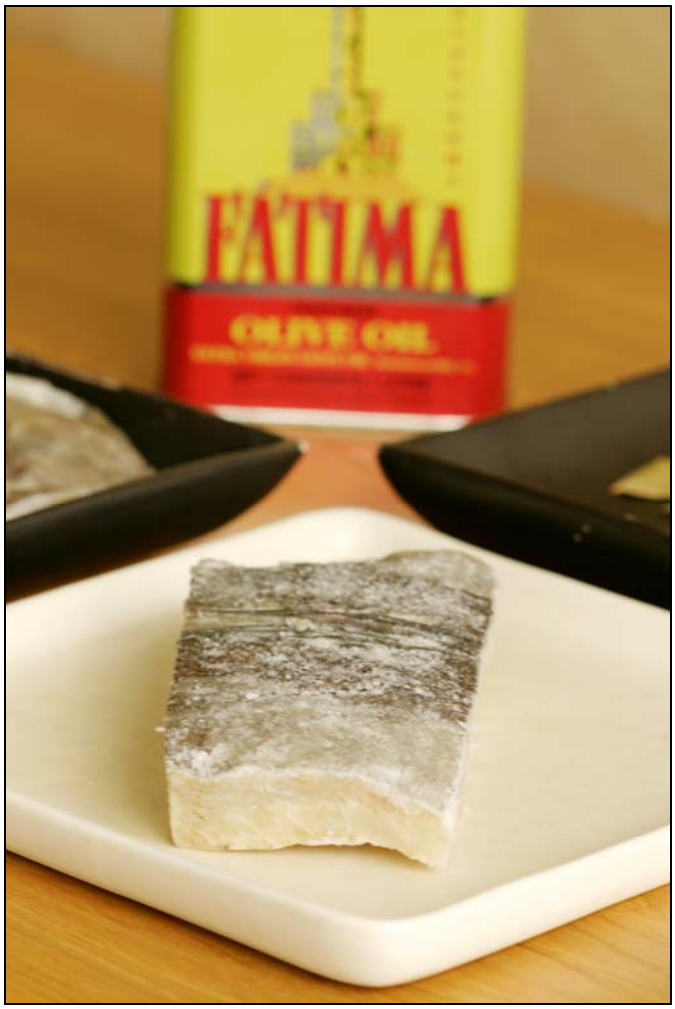

Photo: Koon Ming Tang

A piece of *bacalhau* (salted codfish) about to be prepared for cooking in Macau. In the background is a canister of Fatima olive oil, a Portuguese brand. The tin also includes Chinese characters and an image of the famous ruins of the 17th-Century Church of São Paulo (St. Peter) in Macau.

We see Macanese "cuisine" or "cooking" or "food" in a quite unique light, then. Clearly it does not lay claim to being, and neither does Portuguese, the national cuisine of Macau— that crown would surely go to the cuisine of Canton (Guangzhou). But could it be considered a regional cuisine within Greater China? In a Portuguese cookbook focusing on the country's regional cooking, could the cooking of Macau be privileged? Should its canon of recipes be included in a Chinese, or even Cantonese, cookbook? The answer is surely: yes.

How do we use these ideas to "unpack" a concept of how Macanese dishes might form a cuisine? There's probably little consensus among the Macanese themselves. ForAntónio Jorge da Silva, that would be because "some families in Macau have closer ethnic ties to Portugal than do others: many mainland Portuguese have married into local *Macaense* families. This has a direct impact on the culinary preferences… [and] some mainland traditional dishes have been integrated in *Macaense* cuisine" (Jackson 2003, p. 30).

Photo: Koon Ming Tang

Galina Cafreal (African Chicken)

A Closer Look at Macanese Dishes

There's an extraordinary breadth to Macanese cooking, although it is heavily based on three techniques: frying (a Portuguese as well as a Cantonese tradition), grilling (perhaps universal), and braising (the techniques of cooking a stew could be seen as quite similar to cooking a curry). It runs the gamut from heavy, salty dishes of *bacalhau* (salted codfish, ultimately Portuguese, although dried, salted fish is also important in Cantonese cooking); through to subtle soupy rice noodles cooked with prawns and fresh coriander and seasoned with a little fermented fish sauce (very Asian); with richly aromatic offal dishes and reasonably spicy curries in between. The canon also includes many rich egg- and sugar-based desserts (Portuguese) and baking in the British manner.

The most iconic dish in the Macanese canon just might be *Galina Cafreal* ("African Chicken", although a direct translation would be "Black Chicken"), an aromatic grilled dish that has become something of a tourist attraction, too. Unlike most Macanese dishes created in the domestic kitchen as far back as hundreds of years, this one emerged as late as the 1940s from the kitchens of the now long-gone hotel, Pousada de Macau, at the hands of a Macanese chef Americo Angelo on his return from a trip to Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa. His rendering of it is believed to have consisted of just a few ingredients: in addition to the chicken, just butter and coconut milk, bay leaves and garlic, and chilies. Indeed these materials could be said to be typical of Macanese cooking, borrowing chilies and coconut milk from the cooking of Southeast Asia, while grilling in a typically Portuguese manner.

Comparison with another iconic Macanese dish, *minchi*, is in order. *Minchi* is essentially mixed ground beef and pork, fried in (Portuguese) olive oil with onion and garlic, and dotted with cubes of deep-fried potato. On the top is an up-turned fried egg. A bowl of rice is the accompaniment. On a side plate, there's a bread roll served with a pat of butter. It is a comfort food as much beloved by kids as by grandparents. Acclaimed Macanese writer, teacher, and lawyer Henrique de Senna Fernandes (1923-2010) claimed that he had eaten it at least once a day for his whole life. Critical to the *minchi* flavor is a combination of light soy sauce and dark soy sauce, often the sweet soy sauce *kecap manis* (which is Indonesian), and finally a dash of quintessentially English Lea & Perrins Worcestershire sauce. It is worth looking at the derivation of its name, too, believed to have come from the English "mince", which Cantonese often pronounced as "min-see" (Jackson 2003, p. 79). The Lea & Perrins and the dish's name speak of a relationship between the Macanese community and Hong Kong (which became a British colony in 1841). However, *minchi* could also be a version of an Indian minced-meat dish called *keema* (sometimes instead transliterated as *kheema* or *qeema*).

We are now addressing two main questions: the nature of Macanese food itself, and the identity of the Macanese themselves— and the extent to which these are inter-connected. We shall return to the notion of identity further below. We're certainly looking at something very multi-dimensional. "Rather

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Minchi, a dish of fried ground beef and pork, onion, garlic, and diced potato.

Photo: Koon Ming Tang

MACAU

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than strive to determine what is or not Portuguese heritage among the delicacies we still so enjoy today, we should try to 'read' between the recipe lines", we note in the introduction to *Macanese Cooking* (Jorge 2004, p. 8). "We should take note of the names (or various names) of the dish, its native and foreign ingredients, how it is prepared, cooked and when it is served. From this 'reading' we can form a notion as to our collective identity." She concludes that: "Macanese miscegenation is, in cultural terms, the result of a process still in transformation and at different rhythms as set by historical events" (Jorge 2004, p. 8).

The Diaspora

Based on the findings of a 2013 survey, it was estimated that there were 198,105 people who identified as being Macanese living in 35 countries around the world (Portuguese and Macanese Studies Project). This figure was immediately contested on the same website by Macanese writer Jim Silva who, in addition to writing that "the definition of who is 'Macanese' is still being debated", posited that the actual figure would probably be 10% of this, and that 80% of those were living beyond Macau, Hong Kong, and Shanghai. Guesses as to how many Macanese live in Macau itself are no more than just that, guesses— with figures of 10,000 or 20,000 mooted. This figure is purported to have fallen as low as 7,000 in 2001 (Larrea Y Eusebio 2013), although a resident Macanese, Luis Machado, who works for the government, said there are no official census figures: Macau is home to a total of 606,000 people "and that's it". What is almost certain is that more Macanese live outside of Macau than within.

Migration of Macanese has seen a number of waves, against a backdrop of a city with a constantly changing identity. The cession of Hong Kong to the British in 1841, and the rapid development of Shanghai, saw the start of Macanese migration. As David Brookshaw explained in his introduction to a story set in Macau: "They took with them their language and cultural traditions, establishing 'Oriental Portuguese' diasporas in Hong Kong, Shanghai, Guangzhou and the other port cities of China" (de Senna Fernandes 2004, p. vi). The 1920s and 1930s, Brookshaw noted, "were decades when the Macanese felt secure, unaware of the great upheavals that were to come, when their culinary arts were practised by the old families and *patuá* was still spoken among an older generation" (p. ix).

In the wake of the disruptions of World War 2, some emigrated to countries in the West, in particular to Portugal and other Portuguese-speaking countries such as Mozambique, Angola, and Brazil. According to Antonia Jorge da Silva, "This was the turning point in the lives of many *Macaense* families" (Jackson 2003, p. xi). As Brookshaw expounded it: "The older Macanese families… [were] convinced that the city's days of Portuguese rule over their tiny homeland were numbered, and that Macao was destined to be surrendered to China at some point in the near future" (de Senna Fernandes 2004, p. viii). This "surrender" was of course to occur in 1999, during the run up to which many more Macanese families abandoned the place, by now moving all over the world to countries including America and Australia.

What we see through analysis of the emergence of the Macanese as an ethnically (and possibly culturally) distinct group,

Photo: Koon Ming Tang

This Portuguese dessert pudding called *serradura* became famous in Macau. It features layers of finely crumbled tea biscuit alternating with whipped cream. The appearance of the biscuit crumbs accounts for the name *serradura*, Portuguese for "sawdust".

and the waves of movement, is "the ways that globalization and local identity are closely related processes" (Wilk 2002, p. 68) and, Wilk begins to argue, these are processes not necessarily in opposition to one another, as people tend to fight for distinction amid a wave of homogeneity. He wrote how "the foundation of a common lexicon of ingredients and condiments, a common set of cooking practices, and a shared repertoire of dishes was being forged in markets, kitchens, mess halls, restaurants, and clubs during colonial times" (p. 76). In other words, "Humanity is distinguished not so much by what people have, but what they do with what they have" (Mintz 2008). We see creolization as unique juxtapositions of ingredients and methods.

Luis Machado, head of the Macanese Gastronomic Society in Macau, has said that in conjunction with the retreat of the local *patuá*, very few people actually cook Macanese food any longer. This is hardly a phenomenon unique to the Macanese, and should not be read as illustrating a lack of interest in Macanese food. Being "global" in the Wilk sense, the Macanese have always been able to enjoy various cuisines (Cantonese and Portuguese being two obvious examples), but at family

gatherings and during festivals, Macanese food is always prepared. With its bubbling stews, its sides of steamed rice and fried noodles, and its traditional *cha gordo* (Portuguese for "fat tea"), a spread of more than a dozen dishes, this food lends itself to being prepared for large parties. Macau-based architect Carlos Marreiros, who was taught how to cook not by his mother in Macau but at university in Lisbon by a Macanese medical student, posited:

> I remember that food was incredibly important to Macanese families— and still is. Every gathering featured food very strongly. But if none of your daughters were getting married, or none of your sons were getting baptised, everyone managed to find an excuse to get together to eat anyway (Jackson 2003, p. 34).

As a cuisine born in the kitchen and not in the restaurant or cooking academy, its visibility in the broader Macau community is quite poor. Restaurants such as Riquexo and APOMAC really only serve the Macanese community, although everyone is welcome, while a few local Portuguese restaurants serve a few Macanese dishes. The question could be asked as to whether the Macanese want their cuisine to be available to a wider community. Even within the community, there has historically been a reluctance to share recipes (Jackson 2003, p. 1), although we can assume that historically servants and cooks would have chit-chatted to each other under the garden papaya tree. Ken Harper, a Macanese in his forties living in San Francisco, had this to say on the subject of recipe sharing: "Forgive me if I decide to be like my grandmother and grandaunts and great-grandmother in being judicious about who I share what with… hopefully someone will come along who I can personally transmit these to. That person will understand this and will need to have an intrinsic commitment to cooking" (personal correspondence, 2012).

António Jorge da Silva, who is from a formerly prominent Macanese family in Macau and now lives in California with his (English) wife and two daughters, described his own experience as an example of Macanese culinary heritage evolving from generation to generation in the diaspora:

> I still carry on the traditions of my family. The recipes, which my mother sent to me when I was in university in England, have been translated by me [from Portuguese to English] and passed on to my children. I have written some of my own, as my ancestors did, based on traditional Portuguese cuisine. The evolution goes on, now with an American touch" (Jackson 2003, p. 30).

Food, Memory, and Cultural Identity

There is no doubt that the Macanese, and most particularly the diaspora, are strongly attached to Macanese food. The politico-geographical loss of the "motherland" with the departure of the Portuguese military and the swelling wave of departing Macanese families have resulted in challenges to notions of cultural identity, notably an increased phenomenon of intermarriage with the (dominant) Cantonese/Chinese society. In this situation, there is a sense that food has become the "glue" to Macanese-ness and that this process has been underway for a long time.

Forty-year-old Isabel da Silva, who left Macau to study in the UK and Australia but returned as an adult, said: "If I had stayed in Macau, I am not sure if I would have realized how important it is to keep my own Macanese-ness alive, nor recognized how fragile is the Macanese identity. In Macau, it is much easier to take Macanese-ness for granted" (Jackson 2003, p. 26).

Within this rather precarious identity arena, Macanese food assumes a central role in representing a lost "space" or "place", and comes to embody identity and a distinct racial validity (Zhang and Pang 2012, p. 939). With particular reference to the aftermath of the 1999 Handover, Augustin-Jean wrote: "By using food as a barometer of culture, it is therefore possible to see how a community asserts its identity" (2002, p. 124). Bosco Correa, who lives in Melbourne, commented that: "Most of us of the Macanese Diaspora *cling* to our heritage, like most migrants, via our traditional food" (writer's emphasis; personal correspondence, 2012). Marina de Senna Fernandes recalled the aromas of Macanese food: "All these aromas remind me of Macau, my granny's place, my childhood and teenage years, and Praia Grande [a famous promenade on the east side of the Macau peninsula]. These are the aromas that I am trying to reproduce in my cooking" (Jackson 2003, p. 28).

In his short story "Candy", the acclaimed Macanese novelist Henrique de Senna Fernandes explored how the protagonist was shocked, after a 24-year absence, by the changes in Macau— "new districts, modern blocks and seething traffic." But re-visiting and eating food made *with locally grown ingredients* was critical. "How could a Macanese turn down the chance of seeing his homeland again when given the opportunity?... He had made full use of his stay. He had satisfied his long craving for Macanese and Chinese food, savoured with their own local ingredients, he had enjoyed the sincere hospitality of friends, had tenderly deposited a wreath on his parents' grave and visited the school where, as a young boy he had dreamed of wider horizons and distant places" (de Senna Fernandes 2002).

Marina de Senna Fernandes said her grandmother was famous for her *sarrabulho* (a dish redolent with spice and made from pig blood and chicken offal). "I was lucky enough to have tried it during my teenage years; but sadly, she didn't leave the recipe written down for anyone. Those who remember say that when she cooked it, the whole neighborhood would know, because of the unique aromas" (Jackson 2003, p. 28). At her adoptive home in Portugal's capital city, Lisbon, she attempted to recreate it. "I am glad to say that I succeeded, but it took me almost five hours in the kitchen to achieve the correct aromas."

Yet the reliability of memory can be questioned, as two migrant Macanese have pointed out. "Many from the community claim they have the 'real' (authentic) recipe for one dish or another, forgetting that 'real' is only their interpretation of the tastes they remember", explained António Jorge da Silva (personal correspondence, 2012). "Sadly with age the memory can play tricks on the taste buds" wrote Ed Rozario, who has lived in Australia since 1985. He continued:

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> One example is the search for Angelo's African Chicken. Within our community around the world, there are legions of amateur cooks experimenting with various ingredients to replicate this famous dish. Funnily, with the passage of time, if we were presented today with a chicken cooked by Angelo himself, we might not recognise it (personal correspondence, 2012).

Da Silva has taken the idea of food memories still further: "Food is a very strong tie to many cultures and its connection to the actual preservation of culture is not as important as the memory of its taste and its relation to some ancestor or other who had prepared the dish" (personal correspondence, 2012).

Historical foodways are thus a means of connecting to the past, particularly important for the Macanese after having lost their motherland. Here, the space/place of Macau is embodied in the practice of continuing to eat the food of the past generations.

Macanese Food in Contemporary Macau

Many Macanese were convinced that their culture would be obliterated after 1999, but this has not proved to be the case. Cultural clubs called "Casas de Macau" are now situated in major cities around the world, partly subsidized by the Macau government. Every three years the Macau Foundation, which is similarly Macau government-funded, invites more than 1,000 Macanese people from around the world to a conference in Macau that includes talks on Macanese identity, and usually a cooking competition.

Within the territory itself, the government has shown no signs of destroying or diluting the sense of Portuguese (and Macanese) history. There are government directives to encourage casino hotels to open Portuguese restaurants and serve Macanese food alongside other Asian cuisines. Even giants such as Wynn and Galaxy comply, while Hotel Lisboa is heading for Michelin stars with its high-end Portuguese restaurant.

But what are the implications of such directives? Is Macanese culinary culture, which few know how to distinguish from Portuguese (Augustin-Jean 2002, p. 122; Zhang and Pang 2012, p. 939), commodified for the tourist to just a couple of iconic dishes (African Chicken, Minchi)? "Undoubtedly, tourism plays a crucial role in the development and transformation of the Macanese food from home food to an appealing cuisine in contemporary Macao. At the same time, it creates ambivalence and misunderstandings concerning the specificity of Macanese food" (Zhang and Pang 2012, p. 939). The final words are reserved for Ed Rozario in Australia: "As a Macanese, I feel our food is an important link to Macau, as well as all the way back to Portugal. But I fear the loss of this linkage as Macau's current prominence rises globally." ■

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THE INCORPORATION AND ADAPTATION OF PORTUGUESE CUISINE IN JAPANESE GASTRONOMY

O mar com fim será grego ou romano: o mar sem fim é português.

(The sea with an end may be Greek or Roman, but the endless sea is Portuguese.)

— Fernando Pessoa (1888 – 1935)

by Amay Borle

Amay Borle, 17, is an aspiring young chef who was born in Delhi, India, and has already travelled widely. In February he graduated from GEMS Modern Academy, an Indian school in Dubai, the United Arab Emirates. His family migrated 10 years ago to Dubai, where his father is employed in the aviation industry. This article is an outgrowth of Amay's research project exploring how the sociopolitical scene in Japan during its early period of contact with the Portuguese encouraged its absorption of Iberian food customs. His mentor for this research, and his culinary tour guide in Japan, was Elizabeth Andoh, who runs a culinary arts center in Tokyo, A Taste of Culture. (Andoh, a Univ. of Michigan alumna, spoke to CHAA about Japanese food and culture in Sep. 1986, by which point she was already a longtime Tokyo resident.) Amay told us, "Living in Dubai has the double advantage of being in a cosmopolitan city— meeting people from every part of the world imaginable, and also being deeply connected to roots in India. I am extremely passionate about gastronomy, and hope to pursue my passion by further studying the culinary arts. What truly fascinates me in culinary history is the manner of exchange and adaptation of different ingredients by different cultures— which to me, is a reflection of the bigger picture of historical trade, politics, and society."

The sea has always been an inseparable part of the *indentidade portuguesa*, the Portuguese identity. The romance between the Portuguese and the sea endowed Portugal with some of the world's finest seafarers, who created a powerful global empire. Thus, the Portuguese left a big cultural and culinary legacy in the places they conquered or traded with, especially in the port cities of Asia and Africa. In the course of their exploration, they became the first Europeans to discover Japan in 1543. A unique Luso-Japanese gastronomy developed in the southern regions of the archipelago, where the influence of the Portuguese traders and missionaries thrived from the 1550s to the 1630s.

This period, known as the Nanban, saw an influx of Iberian traders, missionaries, and merchants and the onset of a new era in the histories of Japan and Portugal. The Portuguese colonial influence on Nanban cuisine is something that many tend to overlook. The Portuguese empire, extending from Brazil in the western hemisphere, to Timor in southeast Asia, left a huge mark on world cuisine by facilitating an exchange of various culinary techniques and food products that were adapted in different ways in their colonies.

What Characterizes the Two Cuisines?

Cooking in Japan has been, and still is, characterized by resourcefulness and practicality. A natural scarcity of combustible resources such as wood and coal made historical Japanese gastronomy lean towards gentler methods of preparing food, such as the use of water-based heat, fermentation, and preparing food raw. With rice as the principal axis, subtly flavored seafood and fresh vegetables are typical accompaniments that increase the appetite for rice. A limited usage of fats, dairy, and meat is seen, as well as minimal flavoring of food— food in Japan is commonly seasoned right at the table, before eating (Andoh 2016).

The influence of Chinese and Korean dietary habits on Japanese cuisine has been extremely prominent. The culture of rice-cultivation originally came from China in the Paleolithic age, and these influences were significant until the 10th Century, after which Japanese food customs were reor-

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ganized into a distinctive sort of national diet, suggests Naomichi Ishige. Culinary author Elizabeth Andoh explains that the principal type of oil in ancient Japan was sesame oil, although Ishige notes that the difficulty and cost of extraction made it rare in cooking, but used more as a seasoning. In contrast to China and Korea, in Japan the consumption of meat, especially of cattle and horses, was formally illegal, reflecting the heavy influence of Shintō and Buddhist doctrines and also the value seen in these work animals (Watanabe 2005). However, in practice, there was a distinct meat-eating culture in Japan, which had almost vanished by the Nara period due to the institutionalization of Buddhism—in fact, a decree issued in 752 by Empress Kōken banned the slaughter of *any* animal, and promised adequate rice supplies to the fisher folk whose professions were jeopardized. The lack of a prominent dairy culture in ancient Japan is associated with the fact that dairy products were limited to aristocrats; texts from the Heian period note the existence of dairies and of products such as white butter (*daigō*) and condensed-milk cheese (*sō*).

Portuguese gastronomy, on the other hand, revolves around bread, wine, and seafood, and is characterized by the extensive use of products such as olive oil, various spices, meat, legumes, dairy and eggs. *"*Uma casa portuguesa fica bem; pão e vinho sobre a mesa...!*"* (A Portuguese house looks best when there's bread and wine on the table!) was a verse sung by the famous *fadista* Amália Rodrigues in her song "Uma Casa Portuguesa". The principal flavors come from peppers, tomatoes, onions, garlic, herbs, and wine, sharing similarities to neighboring Spanish flavours and to Mediterranean cuisine in general. The widespread use of spices, largely absent in other European cuisines, can be attributed to Portugal's historical maritime legacy and powerful colonial empire (Hess 2016). Having established their control in important trading ports, the Portuguese could acquire valuable spices and produce from their colonial possessions.

An example of Portugal's role in the culinary trade is its introduction of the sweet orange from northern India to Europe in the 1500s. Botanist Julia Morton mentions the possibility of Italian traders bringing the fruit as well, but the fact that so many Eurasian languages use "Portugal" as the term for orange (Greek: *Portokali,* Turkish: *Portokal*, Neapolitan: *Purtuallo*, Persian: *Porteghal,* etc.) gives the Portuguese hypothesis a stronger argument.

The Word *Nanban*

The word *Nanban* (南蛮) is key to helping us understand the culinary associations that were made by the Japanese in relation to Portuguese, and more generally western, cuisine. Stemming from the Middle Chinese *nóm mæn*, the term was originally applied to the peoples of South and Southeast Asia as an extension of the Sinocentric outlook that held that all hostile lands to the south of China are barbaric (Itoh 2015). Since the Portuguese sailed from their bases in Malacca and Canton toward Japan, they were considered to be one of these 'southern barbarians'.

Detail of a Japanese folding screen (ca.1593-1600) depicting *Nanban*, or Iberian foreigners, in Nagasaki.[1]

Thus, *Nanban* was initially a pejorative term for foreigners, but it was soon applied in a benign manner to anything new or exotic, as Makiko Itoh explains. The culinary importance of this term is immense, not only because of the "Nanban" culinary style that developed based on the usage of spices, vinegar, and other western ingredients, but also because of the many foods that were brought by the Portuguese and the Spaniards from the New World. For example, corn, which has origins in Mesoamerica, was carried back to Europe by the Spanish in the early 1500s and was later introduced by Portuguese traders to their trading posts in Asia. When it came in to Nagasaki for the first time in 1579, it was called *Nanban-kibi* or *Nanban-mokoroshi* by the Japanese— the *kibi* and *mokoroshi* refer to indigenous varieties of millet (Itoh 2015; Andoh 2016). The name essentially meant "millet of the southern barbarians", which leads us to believe that the Japanese saw corn as a larger-sized variant of the indigenous millet.

Similarly, the chili pepper that was introduced at the same time was named *Nanban-garashi*, meaning "Portuguese mustard". As Itoh explains, the prefix *Nanban* was soon replaced by the prefix *tō* ("Chinese") in the Edo era, during which *tō* was used as a vague stand-in for anything foreign.

The Japanese Historical Context

A new era in Japanese history began when the Portuguese discovered Japan in 1543. Soon after, the rulers welcomed an influx of traders and missionaries as a means of foreign trade and revenue. The Portuguese were able to insert themselves as middlemen in the trade of silk and silver between Ming China and Japan. This led them to have an economic 'upper edge' over trade in far-east Asia. Politically, Japan was on the road to unification from a civil war, and the Nanban period was 'overseen' by the successive rule of three main sovereigns: Ōda Nobunaga, Tōyōtomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu.

The Jesuits, initially headed by Francis Xavier in 1549, had considerable success in proselytizing among the Japanese people in the ensuing decades. They were supported by the provincial feudal lords, or *daimyo*— not necessarily for religious affiliation, but for the trading advantages that associating with the Jesuits offered. Concurrently, Ishige notes the preparation of bread for the Europeans and the Japanese converts, an important requirement for Catholic mass. He makes his argument for the increased consumption of beef very convincing as he cites an event in Easter 1557, near Ōita, where the Portuguese fathers purchased and cooked a cow with rice as a meal for their converts, who were "greatly satisfied". He also notes that even though the bread was not a very popular staple, it was consumed by the Japanese in-between meals "as a fruit would". Tetsuya Etchū amplifies Ishige's point by suggesting that the servants and local wives of the traders, influenced by the Catholic priests who ate European food, picked up Portuguese culinary techniques. Considering these hypotheses, it can be said that the influence of the Catholic priests was instrumental in the adoption of Portuguese cuisine.

By 1580, the Jesuits had considerable influence in Japanese society and had the support of quite a few *daimyō*, who had converted to Catholicism. More importantly, they had the support of Ōda Nobunaga, who saw them as a tool to undermine the interference of the wealthy Buddhist monasteries in political affairs. Historian George Sansom cites Fr. Alessandro Valignano, who in his 1582 archive records the presence of 150,000 converts and 200 small churches in mainly Kyūshū. Their biggest achievement was in 1580, when the already Christian (radical) *daimyō* of Nagasaki, Ōmura Sumitada, ceded the city to the Jesuits. The city had already been an important trading port and the place where the annual Portuguese galleon harbored, and the population had been almost completely converted. With the city directly under their administration, they developed it into a 'little Rome' from an insignificant fishing village, and it became a refuge for Christians of other Japanese provinces, not to mention a cosmopolitan city (Etchu 2003).

After Nobunaga's death, Hideyoshi came to power. Initially secular, he was tolerant of the Jesuits until an unknown event in 1587, when he issued a mandate of Jesuit expulsion that barred only the missionaries, who were accused of preaching a 'pernicious doctrine' at the cost of Buddhism. This was not without basis— for it was known that the Jesuits carried out the active and deliberate destruction of Buddhist and Shinto symbols in their spheres of influence— but the unprecedented and sudden mandate was surprising.

A decline in the influence of the Portuguese is visible from this point forward. Their maintained control over foreign trade was an annoyance to Hideyoshi. He forcibly took back Nagasaki in 1591, but failed to nationalize the micro-economy. This, coupled with the pressure of the growing number of Christians, the continued Portuguese law-breaking, his failing Korean campaign, and Spain's constant interference, made him order the execution of 26 missionaries in Nagasaki, an extraordinary move and a major blow to the missionaries. After Hideyoshi's death, the Tokugawa family took over in 1603. Like his predecessor, Ieyasu was suspicious of the aggressive Christian tactics, and saw them as a major threat to national and political stability. Additionally, Ishige notes that business with the Protestant Dutch and English did not force Christianity upon the Tokugawa, and so they saw no need to continue trade with the Portuguese. Henceforth, during 1614-1640, Christianity was outlawed, foreign travel for the Japanese was banned, imports became highly restricted, the Portuguese were expelled in 1639 and their ships were forbidden to harbor at Japanese ports. Japan was finally unified under the Tokugawa, and the *sakōku* (closed) period began. Japan was effectively sealed off from any foreign influence for about 200 years.

A Unique Luso-Japanese Cuisine

This brings us to our main question: In what way was Portuguese cuisine adapted to the Japanese palate? We can describe Nanban cookery by saying that the dishes retain the Portuguese essence, but are completely Japanese.

The heavy clampdown on Christians by the Tokugawa forced many to either renounce or hide their faith. This resulted in the famous sect of hidden Christians known as

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Left, Japanese *ganmodoki* (*hiryōzu*), fried patties of tofu and vegetables.[2] Right, *filhóses*, or fried, sweetened pieces of dough, from Beira Baixa province in Portugal.[3]


Left, *hikado*, a stew made from *daikon* radish, sweet potato, and usually tuna.[4] Right, *guisado de vaca*, a Portuguese beef stew.[5]


Left, Japanese *nanban-zuke*, fried fish marinated in vinegar and chilies.[6] Right, *caballas en escabeche*, mackerel escabeche, common in southern Spain and Portugal.[7]


Left, Japanese *tempura*, fried vegetables and seafood in batter.[8] Right, Portuguese *peixinhos da horta*, fried green beans in batter.[9]

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kākure-kirishitan, who abandoned all outward signs of Christian-ness, but kept their belief active. The Shogunate tried to eliminate all traces of Christianity, and any resistance was met with execution. The first step was to ban bread and cow-slaughter. This ban led to some very interesting substitutions in the Portuguese dishes, such as tofu or fish for beef, or the complete omission of not-so-readily-available dairy and fat. Over time, these tastes became more and more Japanized, as the addition of soy and miso significantly altered the original flavors, and the cooking styles started reflecting the ones commonly used in Japan.

One may counter that Dutch culinary styles might have seeped into the existing Portuguese ones in Nagasaki. The Dutch were exempt from the ban on Christians due to their indifference to proselytization. However, all of their economic activity was confined to Dejima, an artificial island built off the coast of Nagasaki. Hence, the culinary influence of the Dutch was not significant. By contrast, due to the significantly close contact that the Portuguese had with the Japanese, their influence was substantial and was transmitted down through the generations.

Following are some examples of Nanban dishes that show complete culinary metamorphosis (see corresponding pairs of photos on pages 15-16).

- *Hiryōzu* is a patty of crushed tofu and vegetables fried in oil. The name is probably derived from the Portuguese *filhóses* (pronounced fil-yò-zesh), a type of dessert involving fried pieces of egg dough with honey. A 1784 book named the *Takushi-shiki* substitutes flour for glutinous rice, and eventually the word may have evolved from an all-encompassing word for 'fried food' to the specific tofu dish.
- *Hikado*, from the Shippoku cuisine of Nagasaki, is made by simmering diced carrots, sweet potatoes, *daikon* radish, and tuna in a seasoned soy broth. The name might have been adapted from the Portuguese word *picado*, "minced". The original recipe called for frying beef in oil before braising it like a normal European stew. The Japanese kitchen switched to tuna and just stuck to boiling, as frying was an unknown cooking process at the time.
- *Nanban-zuke*, or marinated fried fish, is one of the most popular dishes in Kyūshū, and it closely resembles the Iberian *escabeche*. In this process, whole small fish are dredged in flour and fried, and then marinated in vinegar, chilies, leeks, and garlic. *Zuke* is the Japanese term for "pickle".
- *Tempura* is one of the most iconic dishes in Japan. The word is a corruption of *tempôra*, hypothetically referring to the Lenten period when the Jesuits were forbidden from eating red meat (*ad tempora quadragesimae*), and relied on fish and vegetables instead. It is highly likely that the dish is a version of *peixinhos da horta* ("little garden fishies"), which are battered and fried green beans, still popular in Portugal.

A common thread that we see in these dishes is the mention of frying and oil, something not very common to Japanese food. From these instances, it can be said that the people who truly introduced deep-frying to Japan are the Portuguese. It is true that the Chinese had been cooking food in oil for quite some time before this, but the custom wasn't imported to Japan from China. Ishige notes that this art developed in China in the Sung period (960–1279), but Japan had suspended contact with China by then. Combined with the expense of oil production, this led to the absence of fat in Japanese cookery.

Acharazuke, sliced turnips and persimmons pickled in vinegar and chili peppers.[10]

The Portuguese not only introduced their own cuisine to their colonies, but also disseminated other techniques from the many ports from which they sailed. In Nanban cuisine, the most interesting example of this 'layered influence' is given by Ishige: a dish called *acharazuke*, which is a mixture of ingredients such as turnips, *daikon*, persimmons, and lotus roots, all finely chopped and marinated in vinegar, red peppers, sugar, and salt. The word *achar* is originally derived from old Persian, and it was soon adapted into Indo-Aryan languages as *achār* (अचार). Most likely, the Portuguese found this term in Malacca, where a dish called *acar* already existed, made with diced vegetables pickled with vinegar, chilies, and peanuts. This dish ultimately comes from India, where the brine is fermented, includes oil, and uses more spices. Ishige suggests that this sweet-and-sour form of pickling did not arrive with the Portuguese per se, but with Japanese who sailed to and from Portuguese colonies in the Malay Peninsula.

The most enduring legacy of Nanban cuisine is the confectionery, called *Nanban-gashi*. *Nanban-gashi*, a type of *wagashi* (dessert) in Japan, has been most commonly consumed as a part of the tea ceremony, which requires sweets to be aesthetically pleasing but not overbearing on the palate. With the introduction of processed, refined sugar into Japan by the Portuguese, the Japanese confectionery grew exponentially. These sweets have been transmitted throughout the Edo era without many radical changes as seen above, and have been popular among all strata of Japanese society. We see the evolution of these recipes through the *Ryōri-Monogatari*, an Edo-era cookbook illustrating more than 40 different dishes and sweets.

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JAPAN

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The most popular Nanban sweet in Japan is undoubtedly the famous *kasūtera*, a honey sponge-cake normally eaten during teatime. It was adapted from the Portuguese *pão de Castela*, a bread of Castile, also known as *pão-de-lò*. As Professor Makiko Katayose notes, other sweets include *konpeitō (comfeito)* and *aruheitō*, two types of crystallized sugar candies; *keiran-sōmen*, sweetened egg threads, a direct adaptation of the Portuguese *fios-dos-ovos*; and other cakes and sweetened breads. The only Japanizing that took place here was the increased usage of eggs, the omission of cream and dairy, and a decreased usage of wheat flour, which in turn was replaced by glutinous rice flour.

What struck me as truly interesting is how the Japanese substituted for baking yeast. The leavening of bread and cakes was achieved with the use of *amazake,* a sweet wine with a low alcohol content, which has a yeast-fungus that helps breads to leaven. Nor did the lack of ovens in the Japanese kitchen deter people from enjoying these sweets: baking was achieved, according to Ishige, by placing a large iron pot on coals and covering the lid with them as well, to provide heat from both sides, similar to the "Dutch oven" used in Europe and America.

Such elements reveal that the Japanese refined and amazingly adapted the Portuguese confectionery, while adding the quintessentially Japanese elements of subtlety and beauty to these already delicious desserts.

Japan is a land whose cuisine still holds an element of historical mystery in the minds of many. The Japanese rendezvous with Portuguese cuisine presents itself as a riveting evidence of the larger societal fluctuations of the time, reflecting the transition in an interesting, accessible way. ■

Konpeitō, colored sugar sweets, are popular with children.[11]

Kasūtera, a honey sponge cake.[12]

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CHAA CALENDAR

Sunday, May 21, 2017
3-5 p.m , Ann Arbor District Library
Downtown Branch (343 South Fifth Avenue, Ann Arbor),
Conference Room A (4th Floor),
Jane Ziegelman and Andrew Coe
on their new book, *A Square Meal:*
A Culinary History of the Great Depression

Sunday, July 16, 2017
4-7 p.m., Ladies' Literary Club of Ypsilanti
(218 N. Washington St., Ypsilanti),
Members-only participatory theme meal,
"International Vegetarian Cookery" (details TBA).

On the Back Burner: We welcome ideas and submissions from all readers of *Repast*, including for the following planned future issues. Suggestions for future themes are also welcome.

- Summer 2017 and Fall 2017:
  The Food Industry: Pages from History.

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1044 GREENHILLS DRIVE
ANN ARBOR, MI 48105-2722

Culinary Historians of Ann Arbor Volume XXXIII Number 2, Spring 2017

First Class