

The Making of Brazil's Black Mecca: Bahia Reconsidered

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Chapter 12
“Now You’re Eating Slave Food!”
Scott Alves Barton

No nation now but the imagination
—Derek Walcott, *The Schooner*

The first step in liquidating a people is to erase its memory...Destroy its books, its culture, its history. Then have somebody write new books, manufacture a new culture, invent a new history. Before long the nation will begin to forget what it is and what it was. The world around it will forget even faster.
--Milan Kundera

Bahia is the typical cynosure of West African cultural heritage and its influence upon Brazilian popular culture. The legacy of colonial enslavement to the present day has included objectification and fetishization aligned to the traditions of Diaspora religious practice, expressive cultures of music, dance, and drumming, exoticized feminine beauty, and idiosyncratic cookery. The imaginary of the *Nêga Baiana*, a black Bahian woman, begins historically with *as ganhadeiras nas ruas*¹, itinerant enslaved female street vendors. Their history of colonial/postcolonial street food vending provided an ability to expand the network and taste of and for regional foods, both sacred and profane. They evolved into the iconic *Baiana do Acarajé*, the vendors of black-eyed pea fritters who continues to this day to ply their wares on the streets of Salvador, throughout the state of Bahia, and the nation. Their role as vendors has been conjoined with their evolution from enslaved West Africans to creolized *mulatas*, and a mythos of being alternately licentious seductresses, purveyors of *macumba* (black magic), *Candomblé* adepts, and/or simply excellent cooks. One of the outlets for minimal economic independence and assertion of cultural identity was expressed through foods sold on street corners². Prepared foods that were often signified in both secular and sacred realms. This essay uses *feijoada* as a lens between secular and sacred African-Brazilian foodways to analyze questions of cultural and national identity. Foodways practices and commensal traditions act as cultural texts that reflect an inherently idiosyncratic expression of the economics, taste and skill of the producer, and, their knowledge of their intended audience. By drawing links between secular and sacred foodways we can discover another level of

¹ Reis, João José. 1997. "the Revolution of the Ganhadores': Urban Labour, Ethnicity and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29, no. 2: 355-393.

² Moura, Clóvis. 2004. *Dicionário da escravidão negra no Brasil*. São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Edusp, 150.

understanding about the varieties and relationships that exist between prayer and cultural identity as an important aspect of modern societal and cultural formation.

“Now you’re eating slave food!” In July 2011 while conducting fieldwork in the state of Bahia in Northeastern Brazil, I heard this refrain from a diverse cadre of people nearly every time I was served *feijoada*, the universally acknowledged Brazilian national dish³. It was spoken to me by white, black, and, brown people, representing a variety of religious orientations, class, and, educational levels. Obviously the comment was pitched for my benefit, as the foreign fieldworker, the African American, or potential “roots” tourist, but telling nonetheless. What is implied by the real and imaginary ingestion of slave food: solidarity, shame, transubstantiated visceral bonds? The iconic dish *feijoada* is said to honor slave creativity, ingenuity, and the legacy of Africans struggling in colonial Brazil. Another inference is related to the deity *Ogum*, which suggests that in addition to nourishment and gustatory pleasure consumption engenders an African presence within the bodies of those who consume the dish *feijoada*. I had learned from previous trips that many of my Bahian colleagues often felt that they held a unique knowledge base. Since Salvador was the largest port of entry for enslaved West Africans, its culture was the locus of cultural links wrought by the lacuna generated by the Middle Passage. Foodways may provide continuity fosters greater understanding of cultural identity.

The quotidian mundanity of food and commensal traditions frequently obscures the value of foodways as a focus for scholarly inquiry. Contained within cooking’s workaday conventions are skills that reflect embodied knowledge, physical coordination, is the “knowledge embedded within local experience,” what James Scott refers to as *metis*. He identifies any skilled practitioner as someone who develops “discriminating gestalt for assessing the work as well as a range of accurate intuitions born of experience that defy being communicated apart from practice”⁴. This inherent cognitive, rational and objective methodology presupposes both skill and intelligence. Cognitively one’s display of expertise is reflected in the synergy of information-processing strategies in tandem with skill in related physical practice⁵. Therefore this essay asks why is it so difficult to attribute cultural value to the enslaved, and the epistemologies that arrived with them? The West Africans brought their own knowledge. With limited agency they employed ingenuity to adapt to the ways of the colonizers. Initially perceived as primitives lauded for their iconic cultural expression. Late nineteenth century Social Darwinism rejected

³ Fry, Peter and Peter Fry. 1982. Para Inglês Ver: Identidade e Política Na Cultura Brasileira- (“Feijoada e “Soul Food”): Notas Sobre a Manipulação De Símbolos Étnicos e Nacionais”). Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Ed., Artigo publicado originalmente em 1977.

⁴ Scott, James C. 1998. Seeing like a state: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 329.

⁵ Keller, Charles, and Janet Dixon Keller. 1999. "Imagery in cultural tradition and innovation". *Mind, Culture, and Activity*. 6 (1): 3-32.

the primitivism identified with West African culture⁶. Theories of positivism, favoring scientific method critiqued bodily ills and the black body as pollutants on Brazilian culture—thereby denigrating blackness and African-Brazilian culture. Quoting, Nina Rodrigues “in Bahia all classes, even the so-called superior class, are prone to turn black...”⁷. This essay interrogates culinary cultural contributions and influences of the enslaved. The association and intimacy of *feijoada* with the enslaved West Africans is a direct result of their subjugation, and subsistence on beans, rice and corn. The dish may not have begun with them, but their embrace of it, gave *feijoada* lasting value as a marker of cultural identity and nationhood.

The identification with food and cooking as an African-Brazilian space, a gendered space, a location of racial identity marked by the acquisition of certain technical skills, ingenuity, and a capability to create and evaluate relative qualities of taste are conjoined to the pseudo valuation and respect for black identity. Peter Fry’s comparative analysis of food and culture, *Feijoada e Soul Food* (*feijoada* is soul food), in *Para Inglês Ver: Identidade e Política na Cultura Brasileira* (for the English to see: identity and politics in Brazilian culture), opens by drawing cultural parallels between Alabaman “Soul Food” cookery and the production of the slave stew, *Feijoada*, the Brazilian national dish, as products of the collectivity of African Diaspora culture⁸. Fry’s essay continues with an analysis of Samba and *Candomblé* as additional cornerstones of Brazilian culture and tropes of national identity and black liberation. With reference to Fry’s work, Ruben George Oliven’s essay, *The Production and Consumption of Culture in Brazil*, critiques the appropriation of African heritage cultural practices, such as the preparation of *Feijoada*, *Candomblé*, *Samba* and *malandragem*,⁹ as a process of re-inscription by an elite group to elevate components of cultural identity while furthering the marginalization of the Diaspora populations. Food can be seen as essential to the marginalized, as nourishment, when a paucity of economic options causes food to become recreational entertainment, and, for the primacy of pleasure that consumption conveys to satisfy hunger and stimulate the palate^{10 11}.

This essay interrogates the value of *feijoada* as a marker of African-Brazilian Diaspora culinary and cultural identity with respect to and in relation to sacred and secular foodways. Secondly it

⁶ Butler, Kim D. 2001. "Africa in the reinvention of nineteenth-century Afro-Bahian identity". *Rethinking the African Diaspora: the Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil*. 135-154.

⁷ Borges, Dain. 1995. "The Recognition of Afro-Brazilian Symbols and Ideas, 1890-1940". *Luso-Brazilian Review*. 32 (2): 59-78.

⁸ The book title phrase, *Para Inglês Ver* is drawn from the post independence Regency period, 1830-40 during the formation of the independent nation of Brazil, when England pressured Brazil to enact laws to halt the Atlantic Slave Trade. Brazil created laws that weren’t enforced, solely ‘*For the English to See*’.

⁹ The idle, flimflamming lifestyle of the iconic hustler, petty thief, or scoundrel popularized in popular music, dance and film.

¹⁰ Fry, ob. cit.

¹¹ Oliven, Ruben George. 1984. "The Production and Consumption of Culture in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives*, 103-115.

addresses skill and the agency ascribed or denied to African-Brazilian cooks. Following my initial exposure to *feijoada* as a marked food of slavery by some Brazilian respondents and colleagues, I have since heard a contrapuntal narrative, delegitimizing *feijoada* as a food created by slaves. While I can stand in partial agreement with the naysayers, their vociferous tone gave me pause. Three of these comments sum up this alternate discourse and signpost the ongoing struggle in the politics of race relations

They couldn't have created dishes. They were just slaves. They had no power, no agency.

They were just cooks. They had no money to purchase ingredients, or experiment in the kitchen.

It is a Portuguese dish, historically¹²

Masters and Slaves

O que se sabe de concreto / é que as referências mais / antigas à feijoada não / têm nenhuma relação / com escravos ou senzalas, /mas sim a restaurants/ frequentados pela elite/ escravocrata urbana.

What is concretely known/ regarding the oldest references to *feijoada* do not have any relationship/ with slaves or slave quarters, / but to the restaurants/ frequented by the elite urban slave¹³

Isabel Burton, wife of British explorer, Richard Burton and friend of Emperor Dom Pedro I, described a dish of beans covered with manioc flour as the favorite dish of Brazilians. Having not had it for twenty years following their departure from Brazil, she said, “*É deliciosa, e eu me contentaria, e quase sempre me contentei, de jantá-la.*” It is delicious. It contents me, and almost always it contented me to have it for dinner.¹⁴ Nineteenth century English traveler Thomas Ewbank proclaimed, “*Feijão com toucinho é o prato nacional do Brasil,*” beans with bacon is Brazil’s national dish.... “Mandioca, coffee, beans, pork and mutton are raised in sufficient quantities for the family and negroes”¹⁵. Anthropologist and folklorist, Luís Câmara da Cascudo’s *Cozinha Africana no Brasil* identifies *feijoada* in the lexicon of African-Brazilian dishes, but distinguishes cooked beans from *feijoada*

¹² Barton, Scott Alves. n.d. Research Field Notes, 2009-2016, personal discourse.

¹³ Elias, Rodrigo. 2006. "Feijoada: breve história de uma instituição comestível." *Revista Textos do Brasil* (2006): 33-39.

¹⁴ Elias. 2006., ob. cit.

¹⁵ Ewbank, Thomas. 1856. *Life in Brazil; or, A journal of a visit to the land of the cocoa and the palm*. New-York: Harper & Bros, 113, 365.

A feijoada completa já possui os padrões fixos, carioca, baiano, nortista... Continuam sendo denominados comida de brasileiro, moqueca de crustáceos e de peixe, feijoada, mocotó, caruru de quiabos and galinha de caçarola...

feijoada completa already has fixed standard bearers: Rio, Bahia, and the Northeast ... Key dishes that constitute Brazilian cuisine are moqueca, shellfish and fish stew, feijoada, mocotó, cow's foot, caruru, okra stew, chicken casserole¹⁶.

O feijão com carne, água e sal, é apenas feijão. Feijão ralo, de pobre. Feijão todo-dia. Há distância entre feijoada e feijão. Aquela subentende o cortejo das carnes, legumes, hortaliças.

Beans cooked with meat, water and salt, are only beans. Beans grate on the poor classes, Beans all-day, everyday. Yet, there is a distinction between *feijoada* and beans. The latter implies the “procession” of meat, legumes and vegetables¹⁷

Sociologist Roberto Doria creates a distinction between *feijão*, *feijoada*, and *feijoada gorda*. According to him, the enslaved consumed *feijão*, beans, evolving a meager repast into a simple *feijoada*. “Fat” *feijoada*, laden with variety meats is the dish ascribed to the elites¹⁸. There are several *feijoada* references in the nineteenth century elite public sphere. One of the earliest references of *feijoada* being served in restaurants is in the *Diário de Pernambuco*, August 7, 1833, at the Hotel Théâtre do Recife, “*às quintas-feiras seria servida “feijoada à brasileira,”* Friday we serve *feijoada* Brazilian style. In a *Pernambuco* newspaper article, March 1840, father Miguel Gama condemned “*feijoada assassina,*”murderous *feijoada*, a scandalous dish favored by “*homens sedentários e senhoras delicadas da cidade,*” sedentary (lazy) men and delicate women in the city. The first mention of *feijoada* in the Rio press occurred on January 5th 1849 in *o Jornal do Commercio*. Pig’s ears, feet, tongues and tails; offal, or variety meats, ingredients common to *feijoada*, were an integral part of Portuguese and Brazilian cookery. Some of these same ingredients added to beans and farinha were the staple food in the slave quarters. Therefore while these notices link *feijoada*, or *feijoada gorda* to the elites it is not without its penurious roots^{19 20 21}.

Numerous scholars have identified the epistemologies, culture and tacit knowledge that arrived with the enslaved. Diaspora art historian, Charles Daniel Dawson adroitly frames Middle Passage tacit knowledge, “We may have arrived empty handed, yet we were not empty headed.” Intrinsically the

¹⁶ Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. 1964. *A cozinha africana no Brasil*, 16-17.

¹⁷ Cascudo, Luís da Câmara. 1967. *Historia da alimentação no Brasil. 1, 1*. Sao Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 113.

¹⁸ Dória, Carlos Alberto. 2009. *A formação da culinária brasileira*. São Paulo: PubliFolha.

¹⁹ Elias, ob. cit.

²⁰ Costa Filho, Almir Henrique da and Maria Clara Pecorelli. 2012. *A Verdadeira História da Feijoada*. Blog-Sala, January 28, 2012, <https://sala19.wordpress.com/2012/01/28/a-verdadeira-historia-da-feijoada/>

²¹ Bruno, Ernani Silva. 1967. *Historia do Brasil geral e regional. 3, 3*. [S.l.]: Editora cultrix.

argument rests on the provenance of the printed word and the perceived fallibility of oral history.

Quoting Castillo

In the scientific literature, orality, generally tends to be considered as an evolutionary scheme, which is characteristically considered a primitive stage of human intellectual development...it would be better to think of it as a dialogue between “peers” whose positions are not fixed, but related, configured and reconfigured according to changes in the social context²².

Orality is the foundational method of inscribing Diaspora knowledge. Few tracts exist that identify the role and contributions of African-Brazilians, particularly within food and cooking. The pejorative nature of these citations eliminate the potential for culinary epistemologies, grounded intelligence and honed skill with one’s craft initiate a racist discourse as a master narrative for the black cook. Therefore how do we define the contribution and power of African influences to culinary culture of the Americas? The practice of memory and memorialization may begin with the foodstuffs before it can address the practitioners. Foods such as black-eyed peas and okra may provide one lens as another type of *lieux de memoire* or point of entry.

The Negro is a born cook. He could neither read nor write, and therefore he could not learn from books. He was simply inspired; the god of the spit and the saucepan had breathed life into him; that was enough—Charles Gayarre, *Harper’s Magazine*, 1880²³.

A generative definition of the contribution of black women’s efforts, ingenuity and creativity to Diasporic foodways references can be drawn from creating a discourse between Brazilian culinary texts and U.S. counterparts from the Civil Right’s Movement, Second Wave African American Feminist Movements and colonialism. Psyche Williams-Forsen’s 2011 foreword to *Vertamae Grosvenor*²⁴’s *Vibration Cooking: or The Travel Notes of a Geechee Girl*, heralded Grosvenor’s book as a touchstone that stressed the importance of our culinary foremothers, foodways traditions and heritage practices to shape lives, reveal Diasporic epistemologies and valorize Africans in the Americas. In cookbooks, literature and scholarly texts numerous authors have repositioned the agentive position of black women in the kitchen. Karen Hess’s historization of two receipt books, Sarah Rutledge’s 1847, *The Carolina Housewife: House and Home* and Mrs. Stoney’s 1901, *Carolina Rice Cookbook*, supplied an African connection to some of these recipes. Here we meet subaltern slave women like Maum Sarah rendered barely visible in the plantation era of the Carolina Housewife and Mrs. Samuel G. Stoney.

²² Castillo, Lisa Earl. 2008. Entre a oralidade e a escrita: a etnografia nos candomblés da Bahia. Salvador, Bahia: EDUFBA, 12.

²³ Harris, Jessica B. 1989. Iron Pots and Wooden Spoons: Africa’s Gifts to New World Cooking. New York: Atheneum.

²⁴ Grosvenor, Vertamae and Psyche Williams-Forsen. 2011 (1970). *Vibration Cooking, Or, the Travel Notes of a Geechee Girl*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1970). Georgia: University of Georgia Press.

The importance of a white elite mistress to name her recipes, ‘*Maum Sarah’s Dirty Rice*,’ ‘*Maum Peggy’s Breakfast Fry Breads*,’ ‘*Maum Maria’s Woodlawn Rice Pudding*,’ or refer to the skill of Maum Grace²⁵. The plantation mistresses may have solely thought that they were illustrating their worldliness, power and personal agency yet their actions brought visibility to black women cooks. With the visibility by default there was inferred the acquisition of knowledge, skill, memory based upon the Diaspora oral traditions and the discourse constructed as dictation between enslaved cook and her mistress in menu planning. Toni Morrison’s *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination* accurately interprets these references of blackness as a means of naming whiteness through sublimation of the black character, rendering them invisible while concurrently inflating white dominance. Ultimately, these unheralded women are given voice and identity despite their status as chattel²⁶.

Afro-Bahian scholar and activist Manuel Querino wrote the first and the foundational book on African-Bahian secular and sacred cooking²⁷. Since then numerous cookbooks have been, and continue to be published about Bahia two groups beginning at mid-century bear mention in relation to *feijoada* and regional identity. The other texts are generally written by whites about African-Brazilian food and cooking. The imaginary of *Nêga Baiana* suggests that her skill is magical and fleeting similar to many of the popular lyrics composed by Dorival Caymmi, Ari Barroso and Luis Gonzaga²⁸. Bahian cuisine is often viewed as idiosyncratic and serendipitous, a legacy of the ingenuity of the enslaved and subsistence level poverty. These mid-to late-century cookbooks either attempted to concretize the cuisine, or presented a legendary homage to *Baianidade* as exotic and mythic. Obtaining the version that was apparently the authentic expression of regional cookery became the prize. Yet in this period access to local ingredients outside of the northeast or the nation was virtually impossible. The cookbooks can be viewed as trophies, marking place, and the physical reminder of embodied experiences. Concurrently books were being published with recipes from the sorcerer’s formulary.

Significant titles are: Sodre Vianna’s *Caderno de Xangô—50 Receitas da Cosinha Bahiana do Litoral e do Nordeste: Uma Reportagem de Sodrê Vianna*, 1940, (Xangô’s notebook—50 recipes for the cooking of Bahia and the northeastern coast: a report from Sodrê Vianna), Darwin Brandão’s *A Cozinha Baiana*, 1948, (the Bahian cuisine), Roger Bastide’s *A Cozinha dos Deuses: Alimentação e Candomblês*, 1952, (the cuisine of the gods: food and *Candomblês*), Hildegardes Vianna’s *a Cozinha*

²⁵ Hess, Karen and Samuel G. Stoney. 1992. *The Carolina Rice Kitchen : The African Connection*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 25, 41, 57, 130, 135, 142, 155.

²⁶ Morrison, Toni. 1992. *Playing in the Dark : Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

²⁷ Querino, Manoel Raymundo. 1928. *A arte culinaria na Bahia: breves apontamentos*. Bahia [Brazil]: Papelaria Brasileira.

²⁸ Barton, Scott Alves. 2012. "Can you take a picture of the wind?" : Candomblês Absent Presence Framed through Regional Foodways and Brazilian Popular Music". *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies/Revue Canadienne Des Etudes Latino-Americaines Et Caribes*. 37 (74): 137-172.

Baiana: Seu Folclore—Suas Receitas, 1955²⁹, (Bahian cuisine: its folklore and its recipes), and several later titles, Hildegardes Vianna's *A Bahia já foi assim*, 1973³⁰, (this was what Bahia was like), Mário Souto Maior's *Comes e Bebes do Nordeste*, 1985, (food and drink of the northeast), Joaquim da Costa Pinto Netto's *Caderno de Comidas Baianas*, 1986, (notebook of Bahian foods), and Olga Francisca Régis, Olga do Alaqueto *A Comida de Santo Numa Casa de Queto da Bahia*, 2010, (food of the saints in a Kétu house in Bahia).³¹

This list of emblematic texts falls into two to three categories. Those books that address, attempt to codify and record sacred cookery are Sodrê Vianna's, Bastide's, Olga's, and Ribeiro's. Junqueira, Lobo and Costa Pinto's books resolved to do the similar organizational work with secular cookery. Finally texts by Darwin Brandão, Hildegardes Vianna or Mário Souto reflect a broader spectrum of Bahian culture. Souto³² and Costa Pinto Netto³³ provide detailed instructions for preparing beans and turning them into a proper *feijoada*. Sodrê Vianna's book opens,

This book is made for:

The *Baianos* who go to Rio and find themselves out of place with the meals served. In restaurants that are presented as though they are examples of Bahian cuisine. They are not at all reflective of our cooking. Leave the fantasies to those cooks. And, with a handful of badly grated pepper, a string, and poor quality palm oil, quietly those dishes recklessly intrude in the most traditional Brazilian menu³⁴.

Bastide refers to the Rabelaisian gluttonous gargantuan character *Pantagruel* in relation to the *comida de santo* (food of the gods)³⁵. His vivid description celebrates sacred gastronomy and excess without denigrating the *orixá*, (deities) or their supplicants. Vianna continues by degrading Rio's interpretations of Bahian cuisine. He cites bastardized dishes served in 1930 at the Bahia Cavern near *Teatro João Caetano*³⁶. Brandão native to Espírito Santo state (seven hundred miles south of Bahia) wrote his book in homage to the food and culture of Bahia. Half of the book is either written historically or poetically about Bahian foodways and commensality. Evocative pen and ink illustrations romanticize the culture. The text references Indigenous and Portuguese aspects within Brazilian cuisine, yet emphasizes the African contributions to food, cooking and religion.

²⁹ Vianna, Hildegardes. 1955. *A Cozinha Baiana : Seu Folclore, Suas Receitas*. São Paulo: Edições GRD.

³⁰ Vianna, Hildegardes. 1973. *A Bahia já foi assim*.

³¹ Olga., Lima, Vivaldo da Costa, Arlete Soares, and Cida Nóbrega. 2010. *A Comida De Santo Numa Casa De Queto Da Bahia*. [Salvador]: Corrupio. Olga's book co-authored with her friend and colleague, culinary anthropologist Vivaldo da Costa Lima, *A Comida de Santo Numa Casa de Queto da Bahia* was published in 2010, but the research and writing was done in 1965. Olga does not include *feijoada* as a vital food, or *ebô* for Ogum.

³² Souto Maior, Mário. 1985. *Comes e bebes do Nordeste*. Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 103-5.

³³ Pinto Netto, Joaquim da Costa. 1986. *Caderno de comidas baianas*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil: Tempo Brasileiro com a participação da Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 148-151.

³⁴ Vianna, Sodrê. 1940. *Caderno de Xangô: 50 receitas da cosinha bahiana do litoral e do nordeste : uma reportagem de Sodrê Vianna*. Bahia: Livraria Editora Bahiana.

³⁵ Bastide, Roger. 1952. *A Cozinha Dos Deuses : Alimentação e candomblês*. Rio de Janeiro, Brasil: Serviço de Alimentação da Previdência Social.

³⁶ The nineteenth century theatre is Brazil's first theatre in a then elegant neighborhood.

African cuisine is not present in the daily Bahian diet, it is restricted to the city of Salvador and some of its neighboring municipalities...The establishment of African cuisine in Salvador is not solely the result of a national phenomenon, but also a Bahian one³⁷.

The goal of a more inclusionary narrative is to critique prior historical tracts so as to acknowledge all participants. For example, deceased slave Nearis Green owned by Dan Call was finally credited with developing Jack Daniel's whisky, and teaching Jack Daniels distilling³⁸. We herald Thomas Jefferson's botanical research, his agency to travel and embrace French cuisine, and import seeds and rootstocks. We need also include Sally Hemings' brother James, Jefferson's French trained chef, Edith Fossett and Fanny Hern who served as cook's in the White House kitchens, and Sally's other brother Peter who served as brewmaster at Monticello, having been trained by British brewmaster, Captain Joseph Miller, hired by Thomas Jefferson. The inference in Isaac Jefferson's slave of daily life at Monticello suggests that the enslaved cooks were apparently self-supervised^{39 40}.

Jefferson had a clock in his kitchen at Monticello; he never went into the kitchen except to wind his clock. He never would have less than eight covers at his dinner even only dinner was for himself⁴¹.

Revisiting Fry's discourse between Brazil and Alabama, via an interview with an Alabama black chef,

When people ask me if I cook soul food, I tell them that I have been cooking "soul" for forty years—only we did not call it that back home...Soul food cooking is an example of how really good southern Negro cooks cooked with what was available to them, such as chickens in their backyard, collard greens...and chit'lins and *dubie* (berry cobbler)—Bob Jeffries, a black chef from Alabama.

In analyzing Jeffries narrative Eugene Genovese identifies his skill as a chef by his deftness with spicing.

The subtle flavors of the gumbos and jambalayas—"two distinct dishes foreign to European cookery"—arose primarily from black skill at combining herbs⁴².

³⁷ Brandão, Darwin,. *A Cozinha Baiana*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Letras e Artes, 1965.

³⁸ Risen, Clay. 2016. *Jack Daniel's Embraces a Hidden Ingredient: Help From a Slave*. June 25, 2016. ©New York Times organization. <http://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/dining/jack-daniels-whiskey-nearis-green-slave.html>

³⁹ Craughwell, Thomas J. 2012. *Thomas Jefferson's crème brûlée: how a Founding Father and his slave James Hemings introduced French cuisine to America*.

⁴⁰ Rhodes, Jesse. 2012. *Meet Edith and Fanny, Thomas Jefferson's Enslaved Master Chefs*. July 9, 2012. ©Smithsonian Magazine, <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/meet-edith-and-fanny-thomas-jeffersons-enslaved-master-chefs-1121916/?no-ist>.

⁴¹ Jefferson, Isaac, and Charles Campbell. 1951. *Memoirs of a Monticello slave*. Charlottesville, Va: Published by the University of Virginia Press for the Tracy W. McGregor Library, 12-13.

⁴² Genovese, Eugene D. 1974. *Roll, Jordan, roll; the world the slaves made*. New York: Pantheon Books, 542.

Therefore there are distinctions to be made between dishes that are created by the enslaved West Africans, and those preparations that are interpreted and revised by them.

A stew of beans plus meat, preferably fatty, such as bacon, sausage, pork, etc⁴³

Comida de Negro brabo
Quatro laranjas num gaio,
Uma cuia de farinha,
Cinco ponta de vergaio⁴⁴

Food for the brutish Negro
Four oranges in a bowl
One gourd full of manioc flour
Five lashes from the whip

Os porcos tinham melhor alimentação, ou quando nada mais farta, porque era preciso engordá-los para o abate. “Comida pouca e bem salgada, pro negro beber muita água”, tal era o mote de muito senhor

The pigs had better food. They had to be satiated since it was necessary to fatten them for slaughter. "Give little food that is quite salty. Allow the Negro to fill himself with lots of water" This is a folkloric master's motto.

The slave farmer in this province has a power that would envy the indigent classes of Europe and a lot of free people living in our old towns ... The staple food of the slaves is the beans, and cornmeal without yeast. It has the euphonic name of *fuba*, (mush). This gruel made in a pan with hot water, as well as beans, is given to the slave at the discretion. There is always so much left over that they maintain with it their dogs. Bacon is provided to them to season the beans. Furthermore the slave has herbs to add to their food, herbs such as mustard and milkweed that grows spontaneously in all fields. They have fruits, especially orange, which are so abundant that they rot underfoot. Often they have meat that he raises, *caipira*, (backyard chickens), or from hunting. They have palm, manioc, and potatoes, et cetera. Almost every slave has their own garden, which they grow on holy days. In years of bad harvest products are traded or purchased. Others plant tobacco and cotton, which they sell to buy Sunday clothes and other necessities. In addition to these legitimate profits, as a rule, every slave stole from his master⁴⁵.

Depois que se entra na Província de Goiás - asinalava êsse observador, em tórno de 1868 - "acha-se, em alguns pousos que têm moradores, galinhas e ovos e, às vêzes, leite. A não ser isto é infalível o clássico caldeirão de feijoada."

⁴³ Freyre, Gilberto. 1966. *Casa-grande & senzala: formação da família brasileira sob o regime de economia patriarcal*. Rio de Janeiro: Jose Olympio. Fundação Casa de Jorge Amado. 1987. *Exu*. Salvador, Bahia: A Fundação, 485.

⁴⁴ (ver.ga.lho) sm. 1. *Pênis de boi ou cavalo, extirpado e seco*. Severed and dried ox or horse penis/ 2. *Chicote feito desse órgão dissecado e preparado*. Whip made from the dissected organ/3. *Qualquer chicote*. Any whip. "Cinco pontas do vergalhão" – five tailed whip, similar to a cat-o-nine tails, <http://www.aulete.com.br/vergalho>.

⁴⁵ Freiro, ob. cit.

After you enter the Province of Goiás – In 1868 a observer reported this analysis of local foodways - "In some places what you may find are local folk, chickens, eggs, and occasionally milk. If you do not find these foodstuffs, you will encounter the classic cauldron of feijoada."⁴⁶.

The previous citations identify the role and importance of beans, cornmeal and manioc flour to the slave diet as well as the presence of slave gardens, consumption of citrus, and wild herbs to enhance their meals. Joan Nieuwhof; seventeenth century Dutch Protestant explorer noticed how the indigenous of Pernambuco threw dry grains into their mouths...

O mesmo fazem com feijão e outros alimentos semelhantes, they did the same with beans and similar foodstuffs.

Food was somewhere between dry and somewhat humid. The Portuguese found in the beans all of the qualities that had previously associated with stewing cereals and grains. Mono-crop sugarcane plantation agriculture required the colonizers to rely on indigenous crops that were easy to grow, corn, beans and manioc, or others easy to introduce, including okra, black-eyed peas, watermelon, or dendê palms. Thus certain simple shelf stable combinations, *farinha de mandioca, feijão com caldo, farinha de milho*, (manioc flour, stewed beans, and cornmeal), along with small portions of *carne seca*, (dried beef) were stored and served in gourds to the indigenous, the enslaved (and relative to the grains, also to draft animals) dominated the *sertão*, (the national backlands). The same preparations with the addition of more animal protein, wine and vegetables were served on the plantation master's tables cooked by enslaved cooks. The colonial reliance on these products and the simple culinary preparations foster the initiation of national recognized dishes⁴⁷⁴⁸.

The prevalence of this trinity is still apparent in nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries. João José Reis analyzed the average net worth amongst the poorest segment of Bahian society in the 1820-20's. He illustrated that the annual salary for a second-class clerk equaled the price of one slave, or less than the amount of food needed to sufficiently house and feed a family of three for a year. \$357,220 réis would purchase 4 kilos of beef jerky, 6 kilos of beans and 2 kilos of manioc flour per week and pay rent on a hovel.

By 1834, prior to the Malê Rebellion, the situation worsened with the advent of drought, scarcity and the lack of arable land to grow subsistence, instead of plantation crops. Rising prices of these foundational foodstuffs threatened the health and wellbeing of the local citizens⁴⁹. With black

⁴⁶ Cascudo. 1967:89.

⁴⁷ Silva, Paula Pinto e. 2005. *Farinha, feijão e carne-seca: um tripé culinário no Brasil colonial*. São Paulo: Senac, 99-100.

⁴⁸ Graham, Richard. 2010. *Feeding the City : From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador, Brazil, 1780-1860*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 83-84, 94 158, 184.

⁴⁹ Reis, João José. 1995. *Slave rebellion in Brazil: the Muslim uprising of 1835 in Bahia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 18-19. One arroba, or approximately fifteen kilos, of beef jerky jumped from 1,930 réis in 1824, to 2,600 réis in 1831 and to 3,245 réis in 1834—a rise of 68 percent in ten years. The wholesale price of beans rose 25 percent between 1824-1831,

marketeeing on the rise the Cachoeira city council, the largest municipality in the region drafted a letter to the provincial president asking for manioc shipments. Their constituency included six thousand local residents and sixty thousand in the larger municipality. Previously the council had set up a fine of 30,000 réis and a week's imprisonment for "scalping" staple foodstuffs: manioc flour, corn and beans. Clearly the staples were of prime importance⁵⁰.

Sodre Vianna's twentieth century recipe from his *Caderno de Xangô*, affirms the enduring popularity of Bahian *feijoada*. He begins insisting on the use of *mulatinho*, (pinto beans). He finishes the recipe with serving instructions and a crucial note on proportions,

Feijão na terrina. Carnes, em travessa. Môlho de pimenta e limão, a que se ajuntam um pouco do caldo da feijoada e grandes rodellas de cebola. Place the beans in a dish, and the meat on a platter. Prepare a spicy pepper sauce with fresh limejuice, that is mixed with a little bit of bean broth, and served with raw sliced onion rings.

Note - In the backlands of Bahia they have a measure that does not fail to calculate the amount of beans relative to the number of people invited for dinner. Cup one's hands together over a gourd bowl, and fill the hands full of beans. Each double handful will be the precise quantity necessary to feed your quests in a hospitable manner, and remember to add one more handful to feed the pan⁵¹

Although this essay focuses on Bahia and the northeast, *feijoada* cannot be discussed without referring to Rio de Janeiro and *feijoada Carioca*. Englishman, Hastings Charles Dent, provides a nineteenth traveler's account of *feijoada* that complicates its role as Brazil's national dish, and as a cultural index to slavery while still illustrating its indexical role in the matrix of identity formation

Black beans, the *feijões* (singular feijão) to which I refer repeatedly, is *Phaseolus vulgaris*. When stewed in *toucinho* (lard), they form, with *farinha*, (manioc flour) the staple food of the inhabitants. Another favorite dish is the *feijoada*, a stew of meat and black beans, which is freely covered with *farinha* and made into kind of a thick mess—most unpleasant to look at, but excellent. A *feijoada* is one of the standing dishes at all the meals of his majesty the Emperor. When at Rio de Janeiro I was told of a great dinner given at Paris on the occasion of a national fête by the Brazilian minister to all of the Brazilian residents in that city. The meal was to be *au Brésilien*. Dish after dish made its appearance, but no *feijoada*. The guests were annoyed, and the host sent for the cook. He said no power on earth could induce him to send up such a disgusting dish⁵².

from 1,680 to 2,240 réis per *alqueire* (18.135 liters). The same quantity of manioc flour, which cost 630 réis in 1824, would rise 25 percent in price by 1831 (Reis 1995: 18-19)

⁵⁰ Reis.1995., ob. cit., 12-16.

⁵¹ Vianna. 1940. ob.cit., 57-58.

⁵² Dent, Hastings Charles,.. 1886. *A Year in Brazil, with Notes on the Abolition of Slavery, the Finances of the Empire, Religion, Meteorology, Natural History, etc.,*. London: K. Paul, Trench and Co, 420-1.

Here *feijoada* is seen as a signifier of nation. This is supported by the fact that it was customarily served at the Emperor Dom Pedro's table and the chaos following its unfortunate omission at a foreign state dinner. The implication of *feijoada* signaling disgust for the French (chef), while concurrently being eaten by the emperor, a dish that today the enslaved is credited for perfecting as the exemplar of national identity complicates its identity, the role and the power of the enslaved cook. A simple stew of beans mixed with manioc flour was the cornerstone dish for the enslaved West Africans and the poor. Elevating the meager repast into today's sumptuous *feijoada*, does have European antecedents as well as the aforementioned slave rations.

Empty handed yet not empty headed

I read the signposts of *feijoada* through the shared lenses of identity construction and Diaspora evidenced through Stuart Hall and Eduard Glissant. Stuart Hall's identity politics see identity as a point of origin, return and flux. Identity is in relation to the politics of agency, consciousness, interconnection, and location of the Diaspora. Concurrently identifying the originary and the necessity for adaptation; acknowledgement of creolization and hybridity. The discourse in Eduard Glissant's poetics, is not totalizing, or sedimented but contingent; also adaptive, creating connections and a parallel consciousness of self and surroundings to transform identity construction and reshaping societies. Thus there are those relationships established through hierarchies of power, and those built by social interaction. The latter ultimately define the lived experience observed. That which becomes local—those identity constructions that are known, acknowledged, and accepted by the communities in relation to one another. The cultivation, rationing and distribution of food exist both within a geographic site or place and within a relationship between the producer and consumer. These sites and relationships cemented certain traditions some transferred from those practiced in West Africa, such as the production and sale of *acarajé*, (black-eyed pea fritters). Others such as *feijoada* became adapted to the realities of Brazilian life. In both scenarios African-Brazilians participated in the cultivation and production of food to be consumed within or outside of their communities^{53 54 55 56}.

There is a profound distinction between naïvete, explicit knowledge and tacit knowledge. Colonial elites did not perceive that the Africans were observing, studying and practicing to better themselves and survive the labor and tortuous tasks beset upon them. Gayarre's quote epitomizes this

⁵³ Clifford, James. 1994. "Diasporas". *Cultural Anthropology : Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology*. 9 (3): 302-338.

⁵⁴ Hall, Stuart and Paul Du Gay. 1996. *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London; Thousand Oaks, Ca: Sage.

⁵⁵ Hall, Stuart, and Open University. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage in association with the Open University.

⁵⁶ Glissant, Édouard and Betsy Wing. 1997. *Poetics of Relation*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

seemingly innocent or divine gift to man the stove and demonstrate culinary prowess. If we deconstruct the valorization, mythic status and fetization that shrouds *feijoada*, it may be an exemplar of blackness, but not victimhood.

The inherent skill of the enslaved to adapt to their new environment, creolizing their culture and cuisine with the Indigenous, Portuguese and others warrants praise and acknowledgement of epistemological precedence. Further analysis can be drawn on the premise of creating something from nothing. This ontology often ignores the notion that theory is indelibly tied to practice. One cannot argue that Brazilian cuisine would not be what it is without the contributions of the West African slaves. Yet, the prevailing rhetoric presents black knowledge as novel,

Nos dias de escravidão / quando a mesa estava posta / habilmente e sofrimento / a escrava negra cozido / a caminho de libertação / Na panela ela misturou sua história / com a história de seu proprietário / Seus mestres foram branco / preto eram suas mãos / foram eles que ajudaram / criar com seus segredos africanos / nossa comida brasileira perfumado / E foi mais ou menos assim / nesta saborosa mistura de cultura / que a "feijoada" nasceu / E é por isso que para este dia / quem gosto um "feijoada" / de repente se sente feliz / Porque todo mundo acha nela / o gosto do seu povo ...

In the days of slavery when the table was set
Working deftly and suffering
The black slave woman cooked her way to liberation.
In the pan she mixed her story with her owner's story.
Her masters were white.
Black were her hands.
It was the enslaved that helped create,
With their African secrets our fragrant Brazilian food.
And it was more or less like this,
In this tasty creole culture "feijoada" was born.
That is why to this day
Whoever tastes a "feijoada"
Suddenly feels happy.
Because everyone finds in it the taste of their people...⁵⁷.

Having existed for centuries on beans, corn and manioc solidifies the need to attribute culinary skill and knowledge to the enslaved. As previously stated several scholars proclaim that slaves would not have had the knowledge, access to ingredients or skill to invent dishes. Historically the Portuguese had preexisting meat stews similar to its Brazilian counterpart made from fava beans or garbanzos, and various cuts of pork and beef. The pork taboo for Jews and Muslims became a marker of Christian fealty. The beans used indicate Muslim influence. Portuguese *feijoada* alternated between fava beans,

⁵⁷ Rosa, Sonia, and Rosinha Campos. 2005. *Feijoada*. Rio de Janeiro: Pallas.

white beans in the Minho and Douro regions or red beans in Tras-os-Montes. The Portuguese versions usually contained vegetables, carrots, tomatoes and cabbage in addition to the various cuts of meat similar to a traditional cozido. Various Iberian and Euro-Latin dishes influence *feijoada*, such as *Cozido Português*, *Cassoulet* and *Olla Podrida*^{58 59}. The Imperial House of Dom Pedro – and not slaves or peasants – bought in a butcher shop in Petrópolis, on April 30, 1889, fresh meat, pork, sausage, blood sausage, kidneys, tongue, heart, lungs, intestines and other meats^{60 61}. While it is an apparently noble gesture to ascribe this dish to the enslaved ingenuity and skill, in fact what the slaves were able to eat was much worse than the rich variety meat and bean stew identified as Brazil’s national dish. In *Life in Brazil; or, A journal of a visit to the land of the cocoa and the palm*, Thomas Ewbank refers to some of the core ingredients in *feijoada*: beans, mandioca, and pork, and their value to plantation owners near Rio,

Four first-rate hands and two children, valued at \$800, recently died of fever. *Mandioca*, (manioc), coffee, beans, pork, and mutton are raised in sufficient [sic] quantities for the family and negroes. The staple of the farm is sugar. Nothing else is cultivated for sale⁶².

Mandioca, (manioc), rice, and beans alone are cultivated, but none for sale. The greater part is consumed on the place, the balance by the fathers in the city. Of the slaves, excluding children, only six are men; the rest, some fifty odd, are women. The owners find it more profitable to raise negroes than coffee, [sic] or aught else⁶³.

In 1816 Jean Baptiste DeBret, artist and visual chronicler of daily life described *feijoada* as one of the delicacies prepared by the *ganhadeiras* of Rio

... “um pequeno caldeirão, pouco maior do que a palma da mão”, no qual cozinhava “alguns feijões pretos e um pedacinho de toucinho”. Este prato modesto, “bastante succulento alias, misturado a um bom punhado de farinha de mandioca bem amassada forma um bolo substancial suficiente para a alimentação diária de um preto”.

In a little cauldron, slightly bigger than one’s palm they cooked some black beans with a small piece of bacon. This modest, yet succulent dish was mixed with a handful of

⁵⁸ Fajans, Jane. 2012. *Brazilian food: race, class and identity in regional cuisines*. London: Berg; 89-97.

⁵⁹ Some of the numerous influences to *feijoada* are various stews or composed meat dishes such as: Portuguese Cozido, Pot-Pourri and Cassoulet from France, Bollito Mixto from Italy, and Olla Podrida, Puchero, Cocido, Pringá, Aroz Pilota, and Labeda from Spain. Fajans, Jane. 2012. *Brazilian food: race, class and identity in regional cuisines*. London: Berg. *Olla podrida*, rotten pot, the Iberian pork and bean stew is mentioned in Domingos Rodrigues’, *Nova Arte de Cozinha* Rodrigues, Domingos, and Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo. 1765. *Nova arte de cozinha dividida em quatro partes ...: obra util e necessaria a todos os que regem e governaõ casa*. Lisboa: na offic. de Antonio Rodrigues Galhardo.

⁶⁰ Elias, Rodrigo.n.d. *Flavors from Brazil: A short history of an edible institution*, <http://dc.itamaraty.gov.br/imagens-e-textos/revistaing13-mat06.pdf>

⁶¹ Vargas, Daniela Pereira de. 2011. “Cozinheiro Imperial – Ou a nova arte do cozimento e do copeiro em todos os seus ramos.” Rosa Dos Ventos.3 (3), <http://www.brasiliana.usp.br/handle/1918/03907900#page/96/mode/thumb>.

⁶² Ewbank, ob. cit., 365.

⁶³ Ewbank, ob. cit., 370.

cassava flour, and kneaded to form a substantial ball. This provided sufficient daily repast for the black [slaves]⁶⁴.

The farinaceous food of the poor is *feijão preto*, black kidney beans and *mandioca* meal. The former is always prepared with *toucinho* fat; the latter is a snow-white powder, from the *mandioca* root, and eaten without any other preparation than drying and grinding it...*Mandioca* is also eaten with *carne secca* [sic]—Robert Walsh (1831)⁶⁵.

A base da alimentação dos escravos é o feijão, e esse pão de farinha de milho (fubá) sem fermento, a que damos a denominação pouco eufônica de – angu.

The staple food of the slaves is beans, and unleavened cornmeal, euphoniouly named mush—Correio Oficial de Minas, Outubro 1859, Conselheiro Francisco de Paula Cândido⁶⁶.

Fazer “(o) capitão”, o qual consiste em juntar no prato com três ou quarto dedo apinhados o bocado de comida que em seguida se leva à boca. Era desta maneira que os escravos negros comiam o seu feijão misturado com farinha de mandioca: amassavam-no todo com os dedos formando bolos que depois atiravam à boca com destreza.

The way that the slaves ate their beans was to “captain”⁶⁷ their food. This consisted of mashing the beans that had been mixed with *mandioca*, cassava flour, then bringing the plate close to one’s mouth while gathering the kneaded viscous cakes of beans and meal between three to four fingers to easily eat small morsels⁶⁸.

Manuel Querino’s 1928 recipe includes: *carne verde*, (fresh meat), *charque*, (salted beef), *toucinho*, (bacon), *lingüiça*, (Portuguese pork sausage), *carne de porco salpresada*, (salt pork that has been soaked to desalinate it), *feijão-mulatinho*, (pinto beans), *cebola*, *alho*, *tomate*, *folha de lauro e pimenta do reino*, (onion, garlic, tomato, bay leaves and black pepper). As with Vianna’s, Querino insists on using *mulatinho* beans, and beans that are newly harvested if one wishes to create an appetizing *feijoada*. He acknowledges that some prefer black beans, and notes that for the elderly the thicker skins of these beans will need to be removed. Querino’s recipe has evolved significantly from the versions served as rations for the enslaved. Those earlier preparations did not typically include the “variety meats” or offal associated with today’s *feijoada*^{69 70}.

⁶⁴ El-Kareh, Almir Chaiban. 2012. *A vitória da feijoada*, 33.

⁶⁵ Walsh, R. *Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829*. Volume 1. Boston; New York; Philadelphia, 1831. 290 pp., 2 vols.

⁶⁶ Freiro, Eduardo. 1982. *Feijão, angu e couve*. Belo Horizonte / São Paulo, Editora Itatiaia / Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, *Reconquista do Brasil* (nova série), v. 72), 142.

⁶⁷ Authors note: Many of my respondent *Candomblé* adepts continue to eat their food in this manner, particularly the middle-aged or senior women.

⁶⁸ Freiro, ob. cit., 85.

⁶⁹ Querino, ob. cit. 89-91

⁷⁰ Some of the numerous influences to *feijoada* are various stews or composed meat dishes such as: Portuguese *Cozido*, *Pot-Pourri* and *Cassoulet* from France, *Bollito Mixto* from Italy, and *Olla Podrida*, *Puchero*, *Cocido*, *Pringá*, *Aroz Pilota*, and *Labeda* from Spain. Fajans, Jane. 2012. *Brazilian food: race, class and identity in regional cuisines*. London: Berg.

**Òrìsà bí ikùn kò sí: Ojoojúmón ló ñ gba ẹ̀bo:
There is no *orixá* as lucky as the stomach, since the stomach receives daily offerings⁷¹**

Within sacred gastronomy *feijoada* has a magio-religious valuation found in legend of the *Feijoada de Ogum*. *Ogum*, the *orixá* of iron and progress, brother to *Exú* and *Oxossi*, clears the pathway for movement to happen. The Haitian revolution began with an offering to *Ogum*.⁷² Ruth Landes interviewed a famous *Pai de Santo* in the 1940's, who is attributed to initiating the custom of preparing and serving *Feijoada de Ogum*.

Procópio Xavier de Souza, known as *Ògúnjobí*, or *Pai Procópio de Ogum*. He was made famous in Jorge Amado novel and subsequent film *Tenda dos Milagres*⁷³. The book and the legend as recorded by Ricardo Oliveira de Freitas following his interview with Procópio's goddaughter Mãezinha said that one day Procópio was eating in his house. One of his *filhos de santo*, (godchildren), came by, who had recently been in an argument with Procópio. The priest ordered his supplicant to leave, and thereby committed a great error within the protocols of *Candomblé*. No one, particularly the clergy is to deny food to any of his or her supplicants.

O orixá pegou Procópio (the deity grabbed Procópio), and chastised him for his error. He was instructed to prepare a *feijoada* in his *terreiro* (temple), the following week and invite the entire community. Procópio was to place a mat on the floor and set the steaming pot of *feijoada* at the edge of the mat. Everyone who came over would be able to partake in the stew. According to this legend allegedly everyone who ate the *feijoada* immediately *caíam no santo*, (fell into a trance). It was not a typical *feijoada*; it was one that Procópio had prepared with special meat and seasonings. Procópio had had a vast knowledge of sacred herbs that he had ostensibly learned from Olga de Alaketu a key high priestess of the twentieth century⁷⁴.

Since this alleged "special" *feijoada* had been prepared nearly anytime a *feijoada* is served in a *terreiro*, (temple), it is often referred to as a *Feijoada de Ogum*, implying that it is a favored food of

⁷¹ Mason, John. 1999. *Ìdáná fún òrìsà : Cooking for Selected Heads*. Brooklyn, N.Y.: Yorùbá Theological Archministry, 14.

⁷² Gates, Henry Louis and W.E.B. Dubois Institute for African and African American Research. 2011. "Black in Latin America." Boston, Massachusetts, Copyright © The President and Fellows of Harvard College, January 27-29, 2011, 160-8. Haitian and Vodun historian Rachel Beauvoir-Dominique has written that the revolution that began on the evening of August 14, 1791 near the port of Cap-Haïtien in then Saint Domingue on the northern coast in the woods, Bois Caïman, on the Normand de Mezy plantation, began with a Vodoun ceremony that necessitated an offering of sacred foods to various deities. Dutty Boukman the priest in attendance is alleged to have divined from the *Orixá*, or gods that revolution was the best course of action. Several scholars name this ceremony as legend or myth and not fact. Whether or not this ceremony can be conclusively verified, the use of African religious practices as a site of divination, community discourse, and expression of cultural traditions is consistent with *Candomblé* traditions in Brazil and thus relevant for inclusion here is as an illustration of the role of food and religion as a lens for cultural identity.

⁷³ *Tenda Dos Milagres*. 1998. Directed by Santos, Nelson Pereira dos., Fonseca, Tininho Nogueira da., Amado, Jorge., Carvana, Hugo., Macalé, Jards., Rocha, Anecy., Amado, Jorge., Regina Filmes., RIOFILME (Organization), Sagres (Firm). [Rio de Janeiro]: Prefeitura Riofilme : Sagres [distributor].

⁷⁴ Freitas, Ricardo Oliveira de., 2003. *Candomblé e mídia : Breve histórico Da tecnologiação Das religiões Afro-Brasileiras Nos e Pelos Meios De comunicação*.

Ogum, and may result in the initiation of *axé*, or *Ogum's* intercession in the life of those who ate it. During my research, upon investigation with various *Mães e Pais de Santo*, including one of the daughters of Olga, I learned that feijoada is not a food for *Ogum*. This misnomer has evolved from hearsay. Apparently Procópio had been ill the day that the *filho de santo* (godchild), had come over. For that reason he did not want to open the door and potentially spread germs to his supplicant.

How foodways can explicate these contrapuntal narratives is one of the challenges and points of inquiry in my research. This legend calls into question the reality and relevance of syncretism as relates to heritage religious practices. Oral tradition, the religious and sacred or secular culinary practices under observation rely heavily on memory and tradition, similar to James Clifford's premise of a centered or rooted cultural identity^{75 76 77 78 79}.

These examples demonstrate how food as a narrative communicates from different registers of our consciousness. Food marks identity and links the quotidian to the divine. Specifically, food can be an interlocutor between particular deities fostering a dialogue between the supplicant and their *orixá*, (deity). Thus within the cosmology of Afro-Brazilian sacred cuisine, gustatory taste exists in realms of both lower and higher senses. Marking the body, the receptacle of comestibles is one of the sites of cultural memory. The body as landscape of cultural memory refers directly to the nineteenth century aphorisms of author and gourmand Brillat-Savarin and philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach: "*Dis-moi ce que tu mange, je te dirai ce que tu es*" ("Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are"), and "*Der Mensch ist, was er ißt*" ("Tell me what you eat and I will tell you what you are"; '(Man is)), "You are what you eat," respectively. These aphorisms explicitly direct the subject towards self-identity via his or her consumption habits^{80 81 82 83}. Understanding the value of these aphorisms, renowned Brazilian poet, lyricist, essayist and playwright, Vinicius de Moraes' song *Feijoada da Minha Moda* links Brillat-Savarin to *feijoada*

*Dever cumprido. Nunca é vã
A palavra de um poeta... - jamais!
Abraça-a, em Brillat-Savarin
O seu Vinicius de Moraes.*

⁷⁵ Amado, Jorge., 1969. *Tenda Dos Milagres; Romance*. São Paulo: Martins.

⁷⁶ Santos, Myrian S. 2013. *Memória coletiva e identidade nacional*. São Paulo, SP, Brasil: Annablume.

⁷⁷ Barton. n.d., ob. cit.

⁷⁸ Matory, J. Lorand. "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yorùbá Nation." *Comparative Studies in Society and History: An International Quarterly* (1999).

⁷⁹ Palmié, Stephan., 2013. *The Cooking of History: How Not to Study Afro-Cuban Religion*.

⁸⁰ Brillat-Savarin, Jean Anthelme and M. F. K. Fischer. 1971. M.K.F. Fischer's Translation of the *Physiology of Taste : Or Meditations on Transcendental Gastronomy*. New York: Knopf.

⁸¹ Shapin, Steven., 2014. "'You are what You Eat': Historical Changes in Ideas about Food and Identity." *HISR Historical Research* 87, no. 237: 377-392.

⁸² Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction : A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

⁸³ Fischler, Claude. 2011. "Commensality, society and culture". *Social Science Information*. 50 (34): 3-4.

Mission accomplished. It is never empty
The word of a poet ... - never!
Hugs her in Brillat-Savarin
Yours, Vinicius de Moraes⁸⁴.

The ongoing challenge is and will be how best to decipher these often legendary narratives without mythologizing the subaltern, while remembering that there is a paucity of narratives aside from orality within the traditions of the enslaved.

Five *Tias Baianas* Bring the Northeast Down South

Since the early nineteenth century northeasterners had moved to the large southern cities for greater economic mobility. Tia Ciata, spiritual daughter of renowned Pai de Santo, João Alaba, provided a lens to view the spread of Bahian sacred and popular culture in the Rio's Belle Époque public sphere. Alaba was spiritually affiliated with Bamboxê Obiticô the last Babalão of the early twentieth century. Bamboxê was affiliated to the founding priestesses of Casa Branca, Ilê Axé Opô Afonjá and Gantois *terreiros*, (temples) in Salvador. Dubbed the capital of "Little Africa in Rio," Tia established a salon-featuring samba and Bahian food, *Candomblé* that placed her in a privileged position in Rio. Ciata was expert at cooking *a cozinha Nagô*, (Yoruba cooking): *Ximxim de galinha*, (chicken stew for Oxum), *acarajé*, (black-eyed pea fritters for Iansã) *sarapatel* (offal stew for Ogum), *Caruru dos Ibêjis*, (okra stew for the twin deities), *abará*, (steamed black-eyed pea dumplings), *vatapá baiano* (unctuous puree made with fish head broth, breadfruit, creamed corn and rice, among other sacred and secular dishes such as *feijoada*⁸⁵.

Bahian *Mãe de Santo*, Tia Ciata's move from Bahia to Rio became a noteworthy catalyst for cultural and culinary change. During the turn of the century throughout Rio's society she was acknowledged for the caliber of her cooking, her spiritual work, and her association with the burgeoning *Samba* school dance movement. Her cooking was heralded as The *Tia Ciata* style of cooking and frequently emulated. She was equally famous for the quality of her Bahian dress and her promotion of the regional festivals for *São Cosmé e Damião*, *Oxum*, and *Samba*. Ciata's fame encouraged four other *Baianas*, Tia Bebianá, Tia Preseliana de Santo Amara, Tia Veidiana and Tia Josefa to follow her and establish themselves there. This began a cultural dialogue between Bahia and Rio that valorized Afro-Brazilian identity, *As Baianas*, *Candomblé*, and regional foodways to the nation. The rise and

⁸⁴ Moraes, Vinicius de. 1962. *Para viver um grande amor; poemas e crônicas*. [Rio de Janeiro]: Editôra do Autor, 98-100.

⁸⁵ Verger, Pierre. 2000. *Notas sobre o culto aos Orixás e Voduns na Bahia de Todos os Santos, no Brasil, e na antiga Costa dos escravos, na África*. São Paulo: EDUSP.

circulation of Tia Ciata's fame in Rio was contemporaneous to that of Carmen Miranda's, leaving them both in good stead in the Brazilian public sphere. The presence and influence of Baianas as an identity construction became a fixture in Rio's public sphere. In 1933 under the aegis of nation building by promoting cultural identity Getúlio Vargas capitalized on Ciata's notoriety. He mandated that *Baianas* be included in the processions of all *Samba* schools. Vargas' mediatization of Afro-Brazilian identity set a precedent that would extend beyond the nation. Music and expressive popular culture will prove to be a good vehicle for Vargas' project to construct a Brazilian identity through northeastern culture^{86 87 88}.

The sambas in Tia Ciata's house were in the oral memory of Rio de Janeiro, affirmed by the testimonies collected by Moura and cited by poets Manuel Bandeira and Mário de Andrade. Quoting Pixinguinha, Tia Ciata's house and sambas were frequented by longshoremen, artisans, some civil servants, police officers, and white elite who wished to see and participate in the rites of the "barbarians". They included sambistas and jazz musicians such as: Pixinguinha, Donga, Sinhô, João da Bahiana, e Heitor dos Prazeres. Saturday *feijoada* was a hallmark in her Praça Onze home. Decades later, 1981-1993, the vanguard Alagoan composer/musician Hermeto Pascoal in the Jabour district established a residence and studio. Pascoal and his Pernambucana wife Dona Ilza also established a Saturday repast, *a feijoada de Dona Ilza*, following Tia Ciata's as a means to gather neighbors, friends and colleagues. One could speculate that through the hands of Tia Ciata and the four Baianas introduced a Bahian influence to *feijoada Carioca* at the turn of the century. Either way these two popular northeastern salons continued to reify *feijoada* as a national dish^{89 90 91 92}.

Following Feuerbach and Brillat-Savarin, Para um Bom Gosto

Numa feijoada celebramos aquelas amizades e aqueles amigos que dão gosto.
At a *feijoada* dinner, we celebrate the friendships and friends that spice our lives⁹³.

Bahia me marcou mais nesse aspecto. ... Havia a carne seca, carne de sol, carne de fumeiro, que eram carnes de muito sabor e que davam um gosto à feijoada, junto com o paio, a linguiça ...

⁸⁶ Oliveira, Eduardo de, and Emanuel Araújo. 1998. *Quem é quem na negritude brasileira*. São Paulo: Congresso Nacional Afro-Brasileiro], 265-66.

⁸⁷ Ickes, Scott. 2013. *African-Brazilian culture and regional identity in Bahia, Brazil*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 119.

⁸⁸ Barton. 2012., ob. cit.

⁸⁹ Neto, Luiz Costa-Lima. 2008. "Da casa de Tia Ciata à casa da Família Hermeto Pascoal no bairro do Jabour: tradição e pós-modernidade na vida e na música de um compositor popular experimental no Brasil." *Música e Cultura* 3, no. 1.

⁹⁰ Sandroni, Carlos. 2001. "Feitiço decente." *Transformações do samba no Rio de Janeiro*.

⁹¹ Duarte, Jefferson. 2011. Tia Ciata, *A Tia Bahiana Mãe da Batucada Brasileira: Para Além da Casa da Tia Ciata—Outras Experiências no Universo Cultural Carioca*, Blog, December 3, 2011. <https://jeffcelophane.wordpress.com/2011/12/03/tia-ciata-a-tia-bahiana-mae-da-batucada-brasileira/>

⁹² Moura, Roberto. 1983. *Tia Ciata e a pequena Africa no Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: FUNARTE, Instituto Nacional de Música, Divisão de Música Popular.

⁹³ Matta, Roberto da. 1986. *O que faz o brasil, Brasil?* Rio de Janeiro: Rocco.

Bahia struck me most in this regard. ... There was dried meat, corned beef, and smoked pork meat. These were the flavorful meats that anchored the taste of our *feijoada*, along with the sausages, *paio* and *lingüiça*—Jorge Amado⁹⁴.

Um cronista brasileiro da segunda metade do séc. XIX, França Júnior, dizia que feijoada não era o prato em si, mas o nome de uma comemoração entre amigos, a “patuscada”, na qual comiam todo aquele feijão.

Joaquim José da França Junior, a journalist writing in the second half of the nineteenth century said that *feijoada* is not truly a dish in and of itself, but it is the name of a celebration between friends. A time to "binge" in which every one ate beans^{95 96}.

*Que prazer mais um corpo pede. Após comido um tal feijão?
Evidentemente uma rede. E um gato para passar a mão...*

What other pleasure does one's body need, after having eaten a plateful of beans?
Evidently, only a hammock, and a cat to pet⁹⁷.

Enquanto o sabão espumava e a peça reluzia, o tempo passava, as paixões se aplacavam, as pessoas chegavam a não sofrer, porque viviam eternamente ocupadas com a visão da futura feijoada ou bacalhoadada da a preparar

While the soap foamed and the crystal glittered, time passed, passions were appeased, and people weren't suffering. They hung on an eternal dream. A vision of a future *feijoada* or *bacalhoadada*, salt cod fest to prepare and savor⁹⁸.

Jorge Amado noted his preference for Bahian *feijoada*. Darwin Brandão's *Cozinha Baiana*, marked Thursday as Bahia's universal *feijoada* day, "*Na quinta feira o prato indicado é a feijoada,*"⁹⁹. Down south, *feijoada* is typically reserved for Saturday's main meal. My local African-Brazilian and non-Afro respondents all identify Sunday as their principle *feijoada* day. These are Bahians who would have been adolescents in the 1970's. Their comments illustrate the primary importance of *feijoada* as a family meal. They reiterate the aforementioned sentiments of journalist/playwright, Joaquim José da França Junior and Hildegardes Vianna. Historically Catholicism is the dominant national religion. Whether or not families attended church, Sunday was, and is considered a day of repose and family gathering anchored by a communal meal.

Bom dia. Na minha família o dia de comer feijoada (na casa de minha avó, minha mãe e minha titia) sempre foi domingo. Naturalmente na segunda-feira ainda se comiam as sobras do dia anterior, que às vezes eram servidas como feijoada mesmo, pirão de

⁹⁴ Abreu, Bráulio de. 2008. *Revista Exu: entrevistas*. Salvador: Casa de Palavras.

⁹⁵ Costa and Pecorelli, ob. cit.

⁹⁶ Elias. 2006, ob. cit.

⁹⁷ Moraes, ob. cit.

⁹⁸ Vianna, Hildegardes. 1979. *A Bahia já foi assim (crônicas de costumes)*. [São Paulo]: Edições GRD.

⁹⁹ Brandão, 31, ob. cit.

feijão e às vezes na terça-feira comia-se uma "ROUPA VELHA" prato que aproveitava as sobras da carne da feijoada, que uma vez desfiadas eram refogadas com cebola, tomate e pimentão. Abraços-Claudio

Hi. In my family the day for eating *feijoada* in my mother's, grandmother's and auntie's house was always on Sundays. Naturally on Mondays we would still be eating what was left. Sometimes my folks would have enough to serve a traditional *feijoada*, or a mush of beans, and occasionally we would have "Old Clothes" on Tuesdays. This consisted of whatever remained of the *feijoada*'s meats that would have reheated and served with sliced onion, tomato and peppers. Hugs-LittleClaudio

A feijoada na minha casa era preparada sábado à noite para comer domingo. Mas a gente roubava feijão da panela sábado mesmo; tínhamos água na boca. —Celeste

The *feijoada* served in my house was prepared on Saturday evenings to eat on Sundays. But we tended to pilfer beans from the pot on Saturday evening because we were so hungry for it. —Celeste

Somente em domingos, Scott. Geralmente não sobrava nada—Nem sempre, as vezes na segunda comíamos o que sobrava do feijão, sem alterações. Mas as formas mais habituais de reaproveitamento/reciclagem do feijão na casa minha mãe eram/são: sopa e roupa velha. A feijoada do domingo às vezes era café de manhã também. —Stella

...Only on Sunday's Scott. Generally nothing was left by the end of the day on Sunday, well not always, occasionally on Mondays we ate what was left of the beans without augmenting it with anything. But the more typical thing that my mother would do was or what she still does is to reuse or recycle the beans into soup or "old clothes". Sometimes Sunday's *feijoada* was also what we ate for breakfast that day. —Stella

Domingo! Feijoada e galinha de molho pardo. Mas a gente começava a comer a feijoada sábado tarde da noite quando nem tinha amolecido completamente. It was delicious. Não sobrava nada. Todos bons de garfo. —Deniece

Yes, we ate it on Sundays. *Feijoada* and Chicken its own blood sauce. But, we began eating the *feijoada* Saturday late in the evening when the beans were not completely tender yet. It was delicious. Nothing was left. Everything stuck to the fork—Deniece

"Eu me metendo". Sempre estou fazendo lá em casa. O que sobrava de feijoada, virava sopa de feijão. Iguamente são bom. Meu filho me disse que é deliciosa; minha feijoada e também minha sopa de feijão.—Dete

"I am getting into it." I always make it at home for my family. Whatever is leftover from our *feijoada* I turn into bean soup. My children always say that they are both delicious—Dete.¹⁰⁰

Deconstructing the dish

¹⁰⁰ Barton. n.d., ethnographic interviews, ob. cit.

While some of the base ingredients that constitute Brazilian *feijoada*, the black beans native to South America preferred for the Carioca version, or the *mulatinho*, pinto beans common to Bahia, and the indigenous *farinha de mandioca*; *feijoada* is not exclusively the food created by the enslaved. The ingredients do reflect the alleged racially tripartite democracy popularized by Gilberto Freyre¹⁰¹¹⁰². As such it has a unifying power when defined as a national dish. Bay leaves, black pepper, collard greens, bacon and salted meats are all of Portuguese or European origin. The mandioca and beans are indigenous, the hot pepper sauce is either of Indigenous or African descent, and the cook is West African. It would be better to state that *feijoada* is a dish that recalls slavery as an act of solidarity not empathy for victimhood.

I argue that the legacy of *feijoada* is inherently linked to slave rations, as bitter nostalgia for the paucity of victuals. Brazil's *Feijoada Completa* needs to be reframed not simply as an exemplar of a racial democracy, but as a reflection of adaptation and re-memory. The Dogma Feijoada Film Collective references the Carioca version to link the beans to blackness. They metaphorically tie the abundant pot of beans to the multitude of African-Brazilians, or slave descendants. Where they use the black beans to reinforce the racial connection, the Bahian preference for *mulatinhos* also has currency here. Etymologically *mulatinho* is the diminutive of mule—a little mule. Mules are born from the union of an ass and a mare, thus it is a “creolized” offspring. Alternately, mule refers to a promiscuous woman or prostitute¹⁰³. Pinto beans is the translation for *mulatinhos*. The etymology of pinto is, a member of any peoples inhabiting southern Mexico, characterized as having mottled skin¹⁰⁴—implying impurity. Both of these definitions have a fetishized pejorative resonance in the depiction of Bahians, as *mulatas*, creole priestesses and licentious women typified by Carmen Miranda's performative persona¹⁰⁵. Thus creolized or pinto beans also stand in for African-Brazilians as reflective of Freyre's racial democracy identity construction.

*Feijão preto, bem preto. Suas raízes tem o sangue negro. O objetivo do movimento é trilhar o mesmo caminho do hoje famoso prato: sair dos guetos, do andar de baixo para atingir o gosto popular e ser símbolo nacional—Feijoada, o movimento em questão, é o apelido da Gênese do Cinema Negro Brasileiro*¹⁰⁶.

¹⁰¹ Weinstein, Barbara. 2003. Racializing Regional Difference: Sao Paulo versus Brazil, 1932, in *Race and nation in modern Latin America*, eds. Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, 237-262, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

¹⁰² Guimarães, Antônio Sérgio A., Vania Salles, and Graciela Salazar. 2002. "Democracia racial el ideal, el pacto y el mito". *Estudios Sociológicos*. 20 (59): 305-333.

¹⁰³ Mule: "mule, n.1". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press.

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:2639/view/Entry/123421?rskey=UgLGOy&result=1> (accessed August 23, 2016).

¹⁰⁴ Pinto: "pinto, n. and adj.". OED Online. June 2016. Oxford University Press.

<http://ezproxy.library.nyu.edu:3578/view/Entry/144336?redirectedFrom=pinto+> (accessed August 25, 2016).

¹⁰⁵ Barton. 2012, ob. cit.

¹⁰⁶ Excerpt from the Dogma Feijoada manifesto, <http://filozufandus.blogspot.com/2005/09/dogma-feijoada.html>; Jeferson De speaks from behind the screen, Por trás das Telas: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VBWqn8e-7HY>

Black beans, are very black, like African-Brazilians. Within the roots of feijoada is the blood of blacks. The aim of the movement is to tread down the same path as the iconic dish, feijoada: rising out of the ghettos, climbing up from the bottom to stimulate popular taste and become a national symbol—Dogma Feijoada, the movement in question, is the nickname of Genesis Black Brazilian Cinema.

Sweet and acidic oranges, or limes are common in the northeast as well as the south. They are emblematic in the *feijoada carioca* to cut the richness of the organ meats and fatty bacon. In Bahia limes are used to the same effect in the *molho de pimenta*, hot sauce¹⁰⁷.

Does the fiery heat of *molho pimenta* de-colonialize a historically Eurocentric dish, by asserting the tropical heat on the tongue and in the sweat exuded by the pepper's fire? Does the chiffonade of Northern European collard greens wilted in bacon fat and garlic concurrently refer to West African methods for preparing stewed dasheen or indigenous maniçoba greens? These apparently nuanced focal shifts re-center the dish distancing it from Europe. Nose to tail cookery. *Feijoada* redolent of pigtails, pig's feet, bacon, pig's snouts, pig's ears, pork sausage, tongue, tripe, head meat, and fresh and dried beef speaks of abundant resources close at hand. Charles Dent's narrative of the Brazilian feast in Paris that lacked *feijoada* evoked a *saudade*, evocative longing, for the court version of this dish, not the meager stewed beans and bacon version thickened with cassava flour that was served to the slaves.

The aforementioned theoretical construction of Brazil's racial democracy, validating an imagined Afro-Brazilian identity formation and nation-state, has been further promulgated by another aphorism reminiscent of the essay's title: "Now you are eating slave food," or Charles Gayarre's previously cited quote. This third archaic Brazilian colloquialism, "*Eu tenho um pé na cozinha*" ("I have a foot in the kitchen") subtly identifies race, African ancestry, and possible self-reflexive interpretation of personal shame. Any speaker of this phrase is acknowledging their links to African ancestry since black Africans were presumed to be the best cooks. "*Eu tenho um pé na cozinha*—I have a foot in the kitchen—I have black blood inside me—we are all or partially African," supporting the theoretical construction of Brazil's racial democracy; validating an imagined Afro-Brazilian nation-state. Various older women observed cooking or being interviewed in Bahia had used it in conversation. They often tossed off the quote as a self-evident reality since they are clearly racially black. Former president Fernando Henrique Cardoso's use of it to garner black votes in his 1994 election campaign exemplifies the pervasiveness of this expression. Cardoso revisited this expression to acknowledge his awareness and attention to racial discrimination and inequalities while speaking to a largely African-Brazilian audience in Rio accompanied by visiting president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki in 2000,

¹⁰⁷ Freiro, ob. cit.

Branco no Brasil é um conceito relativo... O Brasil gosta de ser misturado, a despeito de tudo... Também eu tenho um pé na cozinha. Eu não tenho preconceito.
Being white in Brazil is a relative concept. In spite of everything Brazil sees itself as being mixed I also have a foot in the kitchen. I have no prejudice^{108 109}.

Cardoso deployed “*Eu tenho*” as a euphemism to draw a proximate relationship between him and African-Brazilian populations. His politically motivated use of this phrase re-positioned it, morphing “*Eu tenho*” into an agentive statement. As abhorrent as the “N” word is to many African-Americans the semiotics of this word when wielded by African-Americans within their own internal communications similarly ascribes agency to this derogatory word. The coded subtexts of words bestow additional weight and meaning to seemingly innocent words and phrases. The deployment of these words or phrases associated with food, cooking, and the role of African slaves as Mammies, cooks and wet nurses re-signifies the word and the person. Thus coded language can provocatively affect those historically maligned by these words and phrases. Cardoso’s campaign rhetoric brought attention to black identity in the Brazilian public sphere. His public engagement opened a debate about racial hierarchy and status.

Conclusion

Concurrently a question arises with the construction of the Brazilian concept of a racial democracy where people self-identify as having black ancestry. Where this should be an empowering practice, it appears to sublimate the black, rendering him or her invisible. In *Toward a Global Idea of Race*, Denise Ferreira da Silva drafts compelling arguments for the sublimation and subsequent erasure of blacks coupled with the simultaneous fetishization of the creole or mixed race populations, particularly the women¹¹⁰. The assertion of African-Brazilian, African Diaspora identity practice and formation is significant as a means to better render African descended populations more visibility. While African-Brazilians currently hold majority population status in the nation, and the state of Bahia, their continued lack of agency marginalizes them to a minority role in government, educational opportunities, intellectual, corporate, or community position. Presenting the heretofore-defined subaltern, African-Brazilians to multiple publics can provide a paradigmatic shift for the subaltern and their relationship to the greater multiple publics within the region or nation. Brazilian dishes occupying

¹⁰⁸ Nahass, Daniela. 2000. "Branco no Brasil é um conceito relativo", diz presidente ao homenagear colega sul-africano, em Florianópolis: *Folha de São Paulo*, 14 de dezembro de 2000, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/brasil/fc1412200022.htm>, © Empresa Folha da Manhã S/A.

¹⁰⁹ Neri, Emanuel. 1994. FHC se diz mulato com 'um pé na cozinha'. *Folha de São Paulo*, 31 de maio de 1994. <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/1994/5/31/brasil/18.html>, © Empresa Folha da Manhã S/A.

¹¹⁰ Silva, Denise Ferreira da.. 2007. *Toward a Global Idea of Race*. Minneapolis, Minn: University of Minnesota Press, 221-252.

the liminal state between sacred and the secular foodways can concurrently strengthen the often-maligned African-Brazilian religious sphere

Social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination - like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today¹¹¹.

Similarly, Levi Strauss and Karl Jung defined historical influences in relation to archetype and personal experience. Archetypal patterns may exist outside of the defined boundaries of history and time. The images that are produced by these archetypes are directly affected by societal and cultural experiences associated with one's upbringing. Thus the emphasis or lack that an individual has related to issues of gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation directly impact one's worldview. The potential for bias predicated on one's exposure to specific social situations can affect the perception and understanding of one's cultural identity. The value of cooking, cuisine and one's labor as a cook are thus contingent on who is defining a cuisine, ideas of culinary heritage, and skills associated with cooking¹¹².

*Uma farofa? - tem seus dias...
Porém que seja na manteiga!
A laranja gelada, em fatias
(Seleta ou da Bahia) - e chega.*

*A farofa? - Has his day ...
But it is in butter!
Chilled orange, sliced
(Seleta or Bahia) - and arrives¹¹³.*

*Mulher, você vai fritar
Um montão de torresmo pra acompanhar:
Arroz branco, farofa e a malagueta;
A laranja-bahia ou da seleta.
Joga o paio, carne seca,
Toucinho no caldeirão
E vamos botar água no feijão...
...É melhor temperar a couve mineira,*

*Woman, you will fry
A crackling heap will follow with:
White rice, farofa and malagueta chili peppers;
Oranges from Bahia or select.
Throw the sausage, beef jerky,
Bacon in pot
And we put water in the beans...*

¹¹¹ Pratt, Mary Louise. 1991. "Arts of the contact zone." *Profession*, 33-40.

¹¹² Baumlín, James S., Tita French Baumlín, and George H. Jensen. 2004. *Post-Jungian criticism: theory and practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 84.

¹¹³ Moraes, ob. cit., 98-100.

...and its better to season it with collards from Minas¹¹⁴.

Quando um hotel ilustre em capital brasileira evita temeroso servir uma feijoada-completa (que é mais ou menos recente) ou fritada de camarão, moqueca de peixe, grudado ao menu internacional, tão internacional que não tem origem nem história.

When a renowned hotel in Brazil's capital becomes fearful of serving *feijoada-completa* (somewhat of a recent occurrence) or sautéed shrimp, or moqueca, items affixed to their international menu, then these dishes have lost their origin and history¹¹⁵.

While both iconic Brazilian songwriters Vinicius de Moraes and Chico Buarque are cariocas, their respective odes to *feijoada* preferences other regions, via the inclusion of Bahian oranges and greens from Minas Gerais. Luís da Câmara Cascudo pleads for an acknowledgement of the nationhood of iconic Brazilian dishes. Recently deceased cultural anthropologist and food scholar Sidney Mintz generally argued against national cuisines, and in favor of regional cuisines. The relationship and limits of a cuisine's agricultural locale defined the boundaries for Mintz. Being able to have a universally accepted cuisine is problematized by this question of access and distribution of product. Secondly, if a national cuisine can be considered it has to be anchored by its ubiquity within the nation. Thus hamburgers and hot dogs more closely define U.S. cuisine since they are readily available in all regions and in some form to all populations. The ubiquity of beans, manioc and dried meats in Brazil argue for *feijoada* as a national dish, albeit with variations¹¹⁶.

In conclusion the iconic foods cited provide a lens with which and through which cultural practices can be observed, shared and used to honor traditions and or alter the ways and signification accorded to specific traditional social practices. If *feijoada* can be "de-colonialized" then the dish and its legacy can be a site of pity or power for African-Bahian descendants as victims, or as survivors. Ultimately this interrogation of *feijoada* reaffirms the primacy of food and foodways to provide a nuanced and profound of disruption to the social order when harnessed for political gain and cultural reaffirmation.

¹¹⁴ Buarque, Chico. 1993. *Chico Buarque*. Rio de Janeiro: Philips.

¹¹⁵ Cascudo. 1967, 192., ob. cit.

¹¹⁶ Mintz, Sidney W. 1996. *Tasting food, tasting freedom: excursions into eating, culture, and the past*. Boston: Beacon Press.

