



Think 53: Food Talks

Dan Jurafsky & Yoshiko Matsumoto

Food Migrations

Thursday, May 25, 2017

Three variations on the theme of ketchup

1. Ceviche / Fish&Chips / Tempura / Aspic / Escabeche
2. Fortune cookies
3. Macaroon-Macaron-Macaroni

Hidden in the name of our national sauce: A history of innovation!



- Tai tribal fermented fish and rice
- Japanese sushi
- Vietnamese fish sauce
- Anchovy, mushroom, walnut ketchups
- Modern sweet tomato ketchup

Recipes are just a technology

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, composed of two parallel lines in shades of orange and brown.

The ketchup theory of innovation

Innovation happens at interstices, as we borrow and extend the ideas of our neighbors

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, composed of two parallel lines: a thicker orange line and a thinner yellow line.

Story 1

ceviche

A dish of raw **fish** or seafood **marinated** in lime or **lemon juice** and **onion**.



Ceviche is Peru's national dish

EL PAÍS.com | Internacional

Miércoles, 20/5/2009

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URGENTE



El desplome del consumo y la inversión aumentan la caída del PIB al 3% en el primer trimestre - 09:0

ELPAÍS.com > Internacional

Perú decreta el 28 de junio como el Día del Seviche

El Gobierno reconoce este plato típico de Perú elaborado a base de pescado crudo macerado con limón y ají

EFE - Lima - 19/09/2008

Vota ☆☆☆☆☆ Resultado ★★☆☆☆ 1 votos



El Gobierno peruano declaró ayer el 28 de junio de cada año como el Día del Seviche, un plato típico de Perú elaborado a base de pescado crudo macerado con limón y ají, que desde 2004 es parte del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación. De acuerdo a una resolución del Ministerio de Producción publicado en la gaceta oficial, la decisión pretende "fomentar y difundir el seviche peruano, tanto a nivel nacional como internacional, como plato de bandera nacional, estimulando su consumo culinario".

El seviche o cebiche ?en Perú se usan ambas



escabeche

A dish consisting of **fish** which is cooked (usually fried) and then soaked in a **marinade** of seasoned **vinegar** and **onions**, and often **served cold**.



aspic

A savoury meat jelly, composed of and containing meat, fish, game, hard-boiled eggs, etc.



fish and chips



tempura (天ぷら, 天麩羅)



Sassanid Persian Empire 224-651 C.E.



Music, poetry, art

- Chess introduced from India
- Plato and Aristotle translated into Persian

Global exports of pearls, textiles, etc.

- Paper and silk from China, spices from India

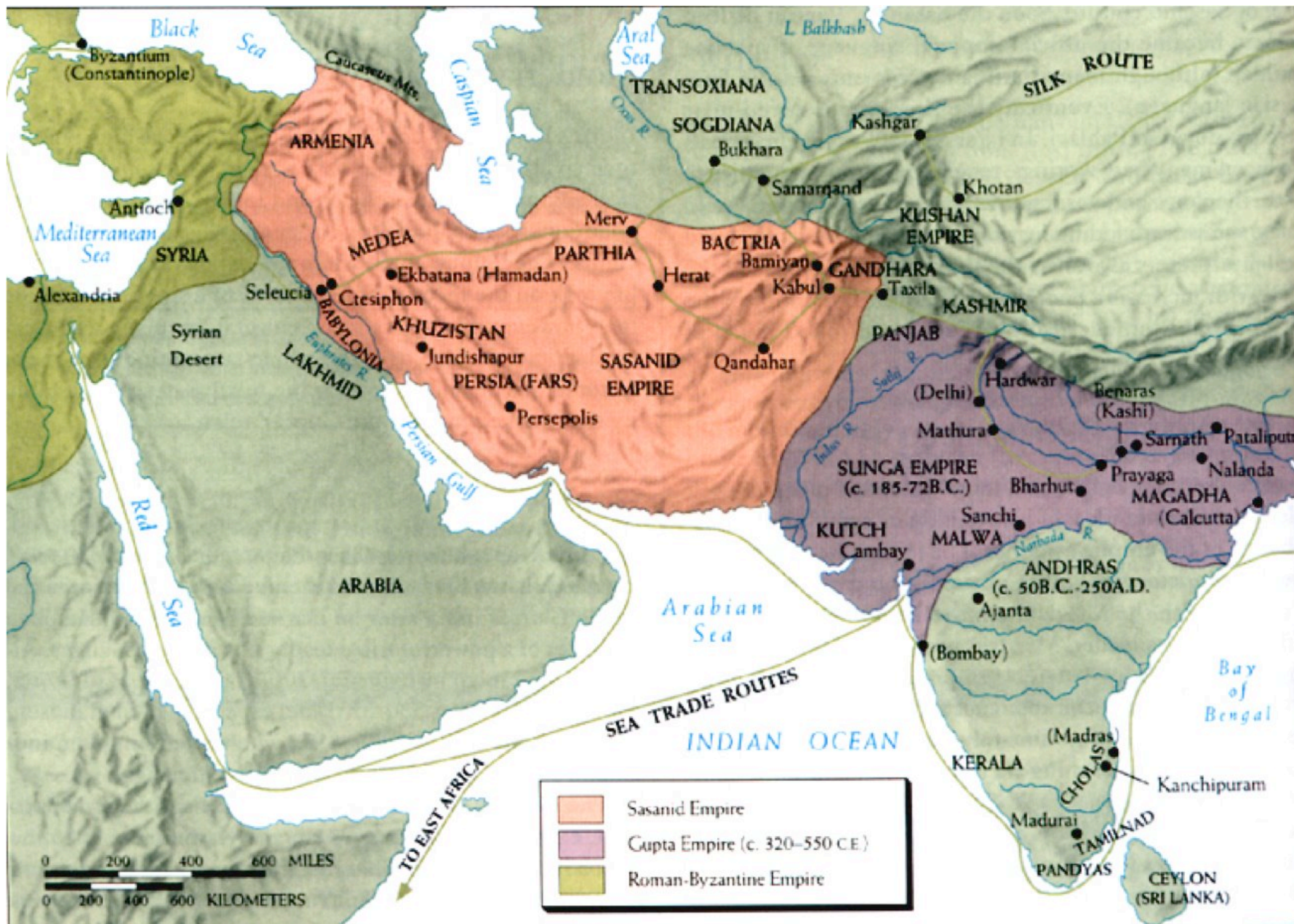
The kings (Shahanshah) ruled from Ctesiphon.

- famous for its murals

Ctesiphon (modern ruins)



Sassanid Empire 224-651 C.E.



The favorite food of Khosrau I Anushirvan

(Born 501, ruled 531–579)

Patron of letters

Favorite food: *Sikbāj*

- = Persian *sik* VINEGAR *bā* BROTH

“Khosrau ordered all his cooks to prepare their favorite dish and all of them made *sikbāj*”



Khosrau's recipe for sikbāj: Meat Stew with Vinegar

Kitāb al-tabīkh: 950-1000 CE

- Zauoali, L. 2007. *Medieval Cuisine of the Islamic World*. UC Press, Nasrallah, N. 2010. *Annals of the Caliph's Kitchen*. Brill

Cover 4 lbs of beef with sweet vinegar, boil ...

Pour out vinegar, add 4 pounds of lamb, cover again with fresh vinegar, and boil again.

Add chicken, watercress, parsley, cilantro, rue, citron leaves. Boil...

Add coriander, garlic, honey, saffron, lovage....
simmer and serve

Muslim World up to 750 C.E. (End of the Umayyad Caliphate)



The Abbasid revolution: 750



The new Abbasid Caliphate

762 CE: Abbasids move the capital from Damascus

Build Baghdad, their new capital city

- Near Ctesiphon
- Area of Persian language and culture

The Sikbāj of Hārūn al-Rashīd

a sheep cut up into large pieces

a whole lamb, large quantities of giblets

three hens, five chickens, five chicks, thrushes

eggplants, carrots, onions

a great deal of vinegar and saffron

- various spices, cheese, herbs, and wheat-flour cakes

amber and Indian aloe wood to smoke the meats
and the other ingredients

The story is told...

- Of Caliph al-Mutawakkil (9th C.)
- sitting with his courtiers and singers on a terrace overlooking one of the canals of Baghdad...



Fish sikbāj

The Book of the Wonders of India, 900-953 CE

- Collected by the Persian sea captain, Burzug Ibn Shahriyah

A Jewish merchant, Ishaq, returns from a voyage to China...



- “a golden fish, with ruby eyes, garnished with musk of the finest quality”

Meat **sikbāj**: Egypt, 13th century

Cut some fatty **meat** put into a pot, cover with water, add salt, galangal, and cinnamon boil.

Boil **onions**, carrots, and eggplant, add to meat.

Make a sour-sweet mixture with **vinegar**, verjuice, honey, cook down, add to stew.

Turn off fire, let cool for an hour, sprinkle with **rose water**, serve.

Fish sikbāj, Egypt, 13th century

Provide yourself with some fresh **fish**, **vinegar**, **honey**, **atraf tib** [spice mix], **pepper**, **onion**, **saffron**, **sesame oil**, and flour.

Wash the **fish** and cut it into pieces then **fry** in the **sesame oil** after dredging in flour. When ready, take out of the pan.

Slice **onion** and **brown** it in the **sesame oil**.

Crush pepper and atraf tib in mortar. Dissolve the **saffron** in **vinegar** and honey and add. When **sauce** is ready, pour over the **fish**.

Sikbāj goes west!





Provençal recipe for **scabeg** c. 1380

Carole Lambert. 2002. "Medieval France B. The South". In *Regional Cuisines of the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Melitta Weiss Adamson

To make the sauce:

- Take **ginger, pepper, cloves, cinnamon**, boiled **saffron**, grind and dilute with **vinegar**
- Add some ground bread with more **vinegar**
- Add fried **onions**, ground and diluted in wine

Fry fish in oil, and then pour the **sauce** over the fish

Catalan recipe for Escabeyg, c. 1330

Libre de Sent Soví (Book of Saint Sofia)

Pex Frit Ab Escabeyg

- Take good **fish** and fry it
- Then take finely chopped **onion**, and **fry** in oil
- Then take roasted **bread** soaked in **vinegar**, and some of the flesh of the fish with **spices**, and grind all these with the fried onion... **vinegar** for seasoning
- **Pour it over the fish** on a platter....

Sikbaj becomes a fish dish in Christendom

Christian “fast” days:

- No meat or milk on Wednesdays, Fridays, Lent
- Cookbooks had large sections on “lean” recipes

Aspic

- A. Martellotti. 2001. Il Liber de ferculis di Giambonino da Cremona: La gastronomia araba in Occidente nella trattatistica dietetica.

14th C. Latin medical texts

al-sikbāj transcribed as ***assicpicium***

- The medicinal broth of the sikbāj
- The tart jelly of the cooked-down sikbāj

Escabeche in Spain

After the Reconquista

- Catalan cookbooks translated into Spanish
- *Escabetx* becomes *escabeche*

And the conquistadors head to the New World

Ceviche in Peru

Raw fish dish of the Mochica

Francisco Pizarro González
conquers Peru, 1531-1533

Brought escabeche

New fusion food created

- fish raw rather than fried
- but cured in the acid (now sour-orange or lime juice)
- and still with onions



Gastón Acurio's Ceviche

Sea bass fillet cubes

Chili, chopped

Cilantro, chopped

Key lime juice

Red onions, sliced

Boiled sweet potato

Corn kernels



Rub a stainless steel bowl with red hot chili pepper.

Add sea bass, season with salt, pepper, cilantro, key limes, sliced red onions, mix well.

Serve in a cold plate, garnished with lettuce, sweet potato and corn kernels

The Portuguese go to Asia

Arrive in Japan in 1543, Jesuit colony in Nagasaki

By 1639, “Southern Barbarian Cookbook” 南蛮料理書 (*Nanban ryôrisho*) has this recipe:

- **Fish dish.** It is fine to use any fish. Cut the fish into round slices. Douse in flour and fry in oil. Afterward, sprinkle with powdered clove and grated garlic. Prepare a stock as desired and simmer.

A related dish of fried chicken with spices in stock was called *tenporari*, from Portuguese *tempêro* “seasoning”, the name tempura stuck to the battered seafood by 1750.

tempura (天ぷら, 天麩羅)



At the same time

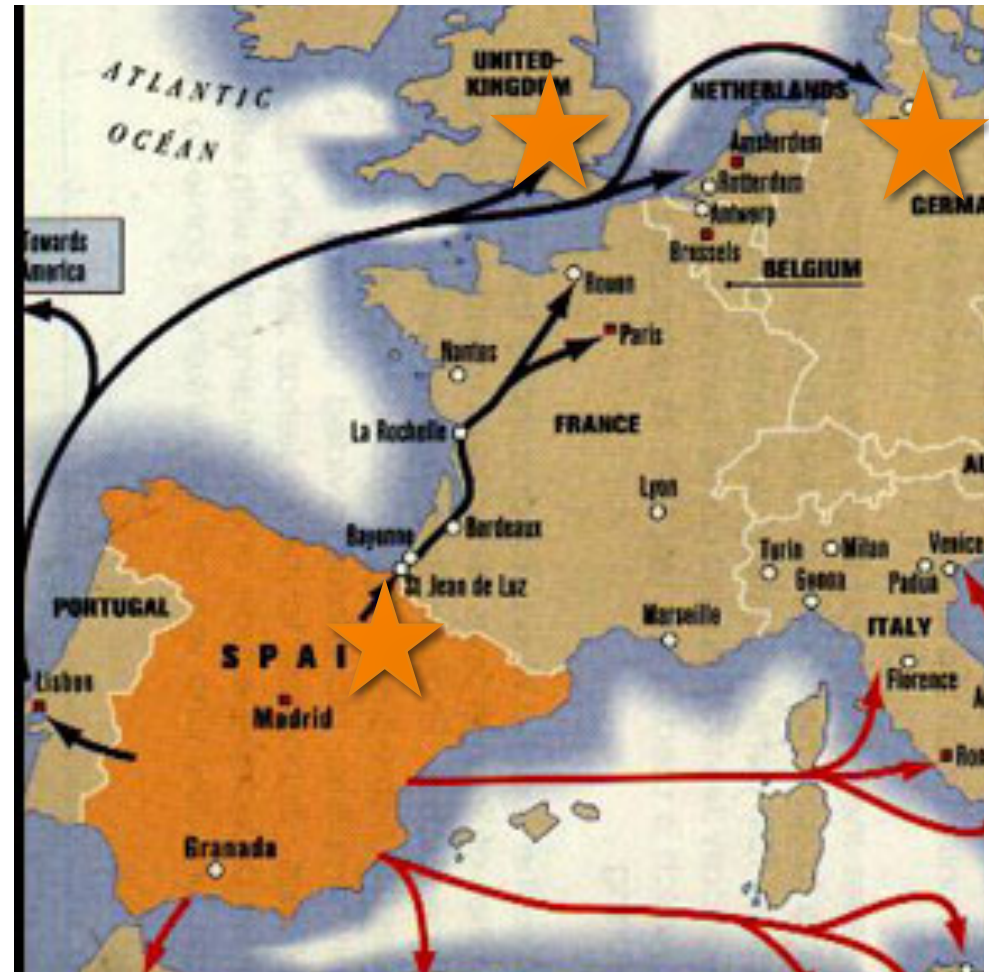
Jews expelled from Spain

Many Spanish (“Sephardic”) Jews ended up in Holland

17th-18th century

England rescinds ban on Jews

Some Sephardic Jews immigrate to England



By 1796 in London:

Battered fried fish served cold with vinegar

Hannah Glasse, 1796, "The art of cookery, made plain and easy"

The Jews way of preserving salmon, and all sorts of fish.

TAKE either salmon, cod, or any large fish, cut off the head, wash it clean, and cut it in slices as crimp'd cod is, dry it very well in a cloth ; then flour it, and dip it in yolks of eggs, and fry it in a great deal of oil, till it is of a fine brown, and well done ; take it out and lay it to drain, till it is very dry and cold.

They will keep good
a twelvemonth, and are to be eat cold with oil and vinegar: they
will go good to the East-Indies.

Jewish fried fish in London's East End

1838, Charles Dickens, *Oliver Twist*:

Confined as the limits of Field Lane are, it has its barber, its coffee-shop, its beer-shop, and its fried-fish warehouse. It is a commercial colony of itself: the emporium of petty larceny

1852, London Times:

“strange Jewish alleys impregnated with the **scents of fried fish**.”

1855, Soyer's cookbook

75. Fried Fish, Jewish Fashion.

This is another excellent way of frying fish, which is constantly in use by the children of Israel, and I cannot recommend it too highly;

1860 Jewish proprietor Joseph Malin

Adds (newly-arrived) potatoes, served hot: “fish and chips”

Fish and chips today



Fish and chips with matso meal



And the sikbaj recipe is even older

Yale Culinary Tablets

Written (in Akkadian) in
Babylon, 1700 BCE

Has recipes for meat
stew with vinegar,
smoked woods, rue



Lesson

The cultural treasures of many nations

- Peruvian and Ecuadorian ceviche
- British fish and chips
- Spanish escabeche,
- French aspic
- Japanese tempura

were

- invented by the (Marduk-worshipping) Babylonians and the (Zoroastrian) **Persians**,
- perfected by **Muslims**,
- adapted to fish by **Christians** and to other foods in **Japan**
- merged by Peruvians with **Moche** fish and chile
- brought to England by **Jews**

Story 2: Fortune cookies



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Classic Chinese American Food

But doesn't exist in China

Where did it come from?

Researchers



Yasuko Nakamachi



Jennifer 8 Lee


Fortune Cookie Chronicles



Modern Tsujiura Senbei 辻占煎餅(fortune cracker) from Kyoto



<https://www.pinterest.com/pin/462674561690346945/>

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Compared to American fortune cookies

“They are bigger and browner, as their batter contains sesame and miso rather than vanilla and butter. The fortunes are not stuffed inside, but are pinched in the cookie’s fold”

Dates back to Meiji period: making tsujiura senbei, print from 1878

Grilling wafers in black irons over coals



San Francisco's Japanese Tea Garden

Makoto Hagiwara, 萩原 眞
(1854-1925)

Created the Tea Garden 1895,
ran until 1925

From the 1894 World's Fair

He served fortune cookies
made by Benkyodo bakery

He died in 1925

His daughter Takano Hagiwara
ran the garden until she and
her kids were sent to the
internment camps during WWII



Benkyodo



Senbei irons from Benkyodo, supplier to SF Japanese Tea Garden in 1920s and 1930s



Initials of Makoto Hagiwara



Smithsonian Museum

Fortune cookie mass production

1924 Japanese bakery Umeya is founded in LA

The first mass production of tsujiura senbei

Before the war, 2000 per day, sent to chop suey houses run by Nikkei (American-born Japanese)

Sally Osaki: born in the 1930s, remembers the fortunes were written in Japanese, and that they were Japanese-American snacks to bring to drive-in movies.

Steven Tong, made fortune cookies as a child in the 1930s. (His Chinese family owned Peking Noodle, founded in 1922).

- Says at the time they were still mainly a Japanese snack.

During WWII

Japanese Americans sent to internment camps

- Most lived on West coast
- 120,000 Japanese sent to camps in spring of 1942

Japanese businesses all close

- Including bakeries like Umeya, Benkyodo, Fugetsu-do

During WWII

- Chinese cookie manufacturers expand.
- Fortune cookies (still called “fortune tea cakes” in the 1940s) become a regional specialty, served in California Chinese restaurants
- When Sally Osaki gets out of the camps she said she noticed the cookies were now in English.
- American servicemen passing through California ate fortune cookies, requested them when they got back to rest of country.
- Restaurants around the country start serving them

Implications

Story of how a food gets adapted and adopted

- Although adaptations were much less drastic than ketchup or sikbaj

Why the expansion?

- Chinese meals traditionally didn't have dessert
- The grammar of Chinese cuisine didn't include it
- Americans expected a meal to end with dessert
- Fortune cookies filled a natural gap

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Story 3: Macaroon, Macaron, Macaroni

The coconut macaroon



The Parisian Macaron



Macaroni



Early dough 1st-5th century CE

Itrios (Greek)

- oilcakes

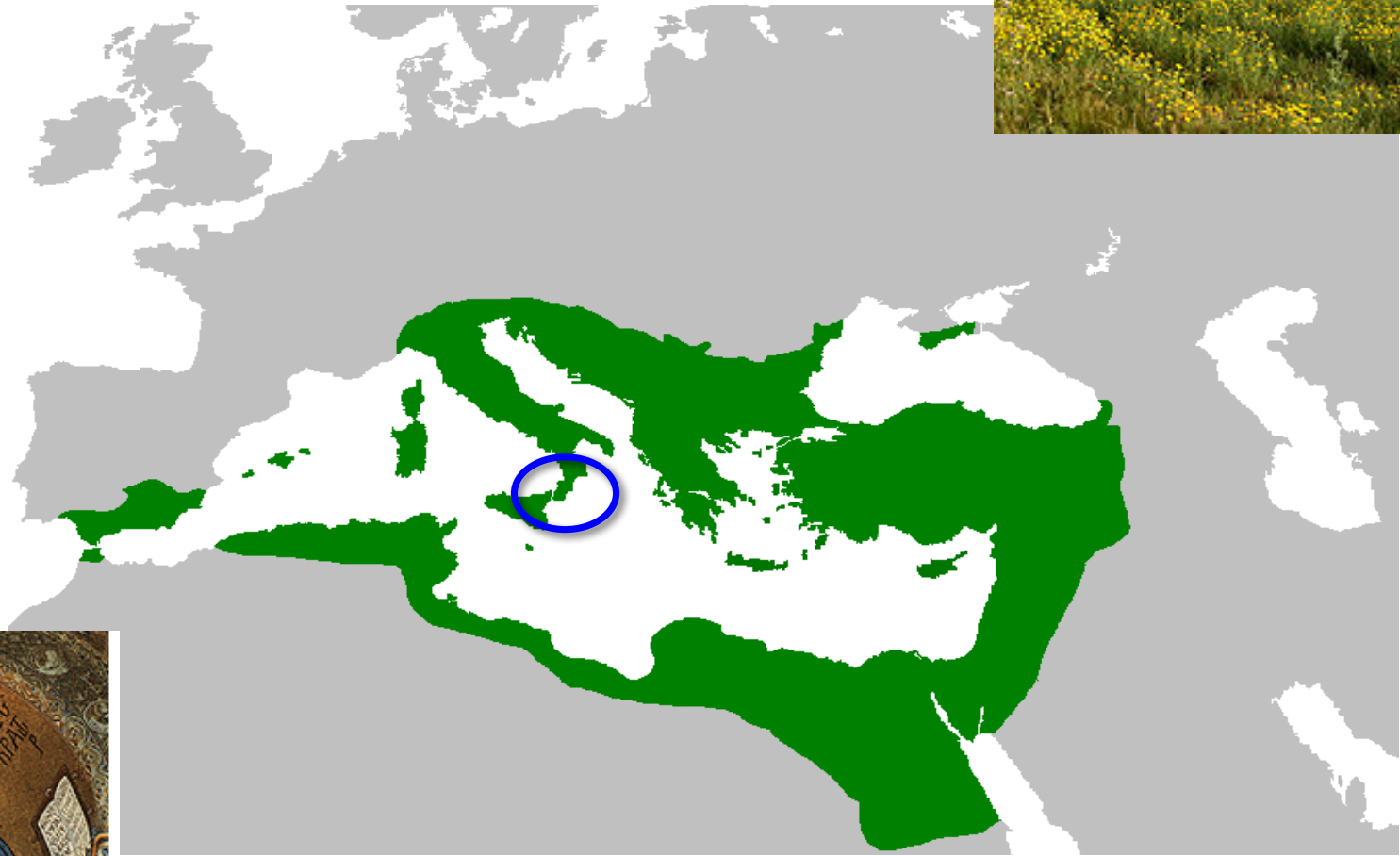
Laganum (Latin)

- Flat cakes of dough, fried in oil

Itriya (Aramaic)

- dough
- Jerusalem Talmud: fried or boiled.

535 CE: Sicily in the Byzantine world



Arabs come to Sicily

By 965 ruled by Arabs from Ifriqiya (modern Tunisia)

- Palermo one of largest cities in the world

New foods introduced to Europe:



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Arabs also introduce:
Sassanid Persian candies

Faludhaj

Lauzinaj

Appear in medieval cookbooks throughout Muslim world

Al-Andalus

Baghdad

These are eaten throughout the Arab world

Candies like *lauzinaj* and *fālūdhaj* ancestor of macaroons and marzipan

Pound together finely

- 1 pound sugar
- ⅓ pound almonds

Dissolve on a quiet fire

- ⅓ pound sugar
- ½ ounce rose water

When cooled, combine, knead together.

Wrap in fine dough

- Soak in sesame oil and rose-water syrup



Reconstructions by Helmut W. Klug



The ingredients for pasta come together also in Sicily

From the Byzantine East

- Fried flat squares of dough (laganum)
- Boiled bread (lagana)

From the Arabs

- Noodles in soup (itria)

From Sicily

- Tradition of durum wheat

Result: various dough products that could be boiled, fried, baked.

East meets West in Sicily

1072: Normans conquer Sicily

- Roger I and Roger II: an era of mutual tolerance
- Greek, Arabic, and Latin were all official languages
- Government officials were drawn from all three cultures
- Muslims and Jews were governed by their own laws.





Pasta in Sicily.

1154, Sicily is an important center of pasta (itriyya) production

- Exported to Muslim and Christian countries



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Marco Polo didn't bring pasta from China

A myth invented in the 1920's

As a joke in the *Macaroni Journal* in Minnesota.

Polo returned from China in 1296

- Pasta had been a major export commodity for well over a century.

Marzipan and caliscioni: almond pastries wrapped in dough

From faludhaj and lausinaj

14th century

Marzipan

- A pastry casing filled with a mixture of almond paste, sugar, rose water, and sometimes egg whites

Caliscioni

- a tart made by layering almond paste over a layer of sweet dough made with sugar and rose water.

Marzipan from Toledo, Spain



Caliscioni

Could be

- Sweet: filled with almonds
- Savory: filled with cheese



Calzone



Callisons d'Aix

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, composed of two parallel lines in shades of orange and brown.

Why both cheese and almond versions?

Fasting rules of the Medieval Church

No meat **or milk**

- Wednesdays
- Fridays
- Lent

Almond milk was widely used

1279 CE maccarruni

Probably two sweet doughy foods

1. Like gnocchi

- flour paste with rose water, egg whites, and sometimes sugar, with butter or cheese

2. Like marzipan

- almond paste with rose water, egg whites, and sugar.

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, composed of two parallel lines in shades of orange and brown.

1350

Boccacio's *Decameron*

Maccherone:

hand-cut dumpling or gnocchi eaten
with butter and cheese.

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1400 CE

Sicilian maccherone

- Made of flour, egg whites, rose water,
- Eaten with sweet spices and sugar, butter and grated cheese.

1552 CE

Macaron

- A dessert in Rabelais's *Gargantua and Pantagruel*,

Macaroon

- The English translation
- French –on becomes English–oon
 - French ballon, carton, platon
 - English balloon, cartoon, platoon

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, consisting of two parallel lines in shades of orange and brown.

1610-1630 CE

Martha Washington's family cookbook

BOOKE of COOKERY

the first known recipe

“TO MAKE MACKROONS”

Martha Washington's BOOKE of COOKERY

TO MAKE MACKROONS

Take a pound & halfe of almonds, blanch & beat them very small in a stone mortar with rosewater.

Put to them a pound of sugar, & y^e whites of 4 eggs, & beat y^m together.

& put in 2 grayns of muske ground with a spoonfull or 2 of rose water.

beat y^m together till y^r oven is as hot as for manchet, then put them on wafers & set them in on A plat.

After a while, take them out.

A decorative vertical bar on the left side of the slide, composed of two parallel lines in shades of orange and brown.

1650s

Modern French cuisine began to evolve out of its medieval antecedents,

Replacing imported medieval spices with local herbs.

Chef: François Pierre de La Varenne

1652

Macaron (*“La maniere de faire du macaron”*) of La Varenne

Soak, wash, and drain a pound of shelled almonds

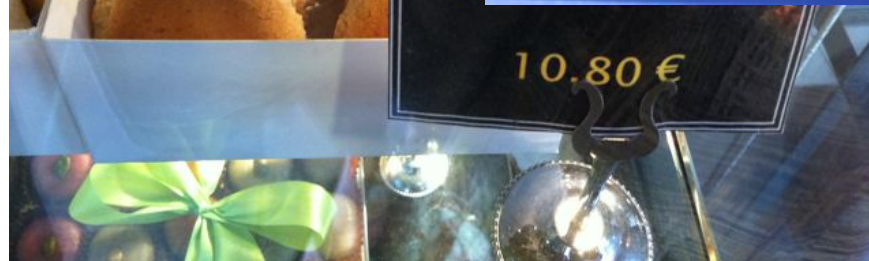
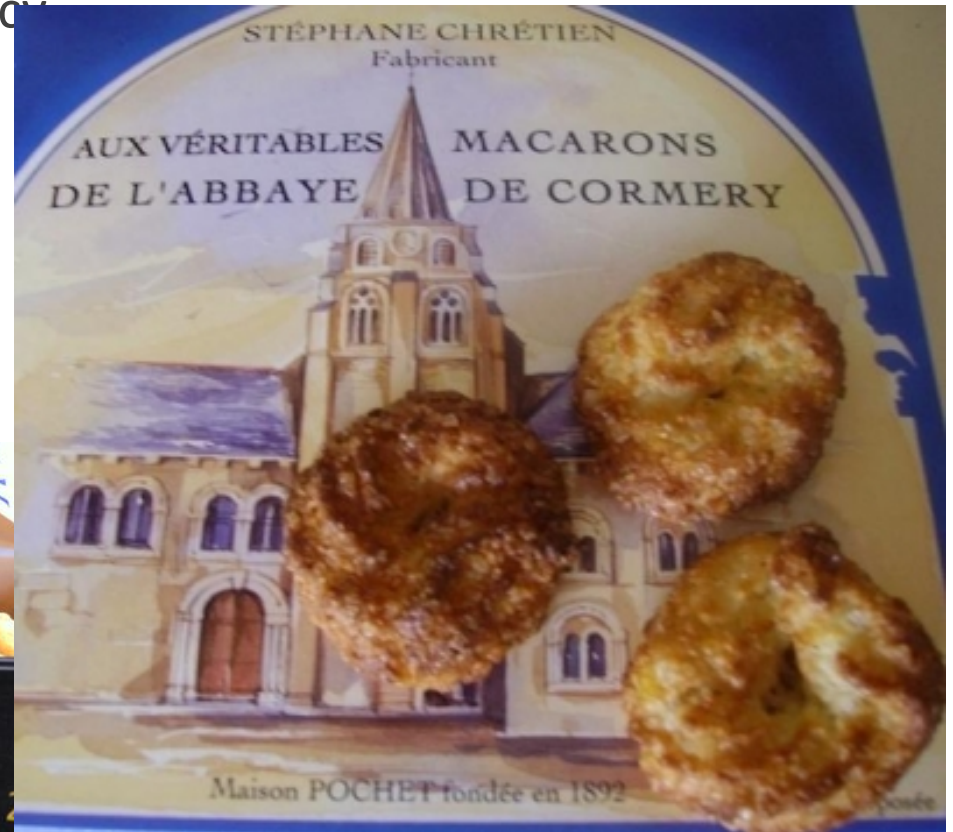
Grind them in a mortar, moistening with three egg whites **instead of orange blossom water**, adding in four ounces of powdered sugar.

Place your paste on paper cut in the shape of a macaroon

Cook it, but be careful not to give it too hot a fire. When cooked, take it out of the oven and put it away in a warm, dry place.

Macaroon recipes develop in convents and around France

Amiens, Melun, Joyeuse, Niorts, Nancy



From 1650 until 1870

macaron and ***macaroon***

Larousse Gastronomique



A small, round cookie, crunchy outside and soft inside, made with ground almonds, sugar and egg whites.

1800s

Exotic new food from India



1871

Esther Levy's *Jewish Cookery*

COCOANUT MACAROONS

To one grated cocoanut add its weight in sugar, and the white of one egg, beaten to a snow;

Stir it well, and cook a little;

Then wet your hands and mould it into small oval cakes; grease a paper and lay them on;

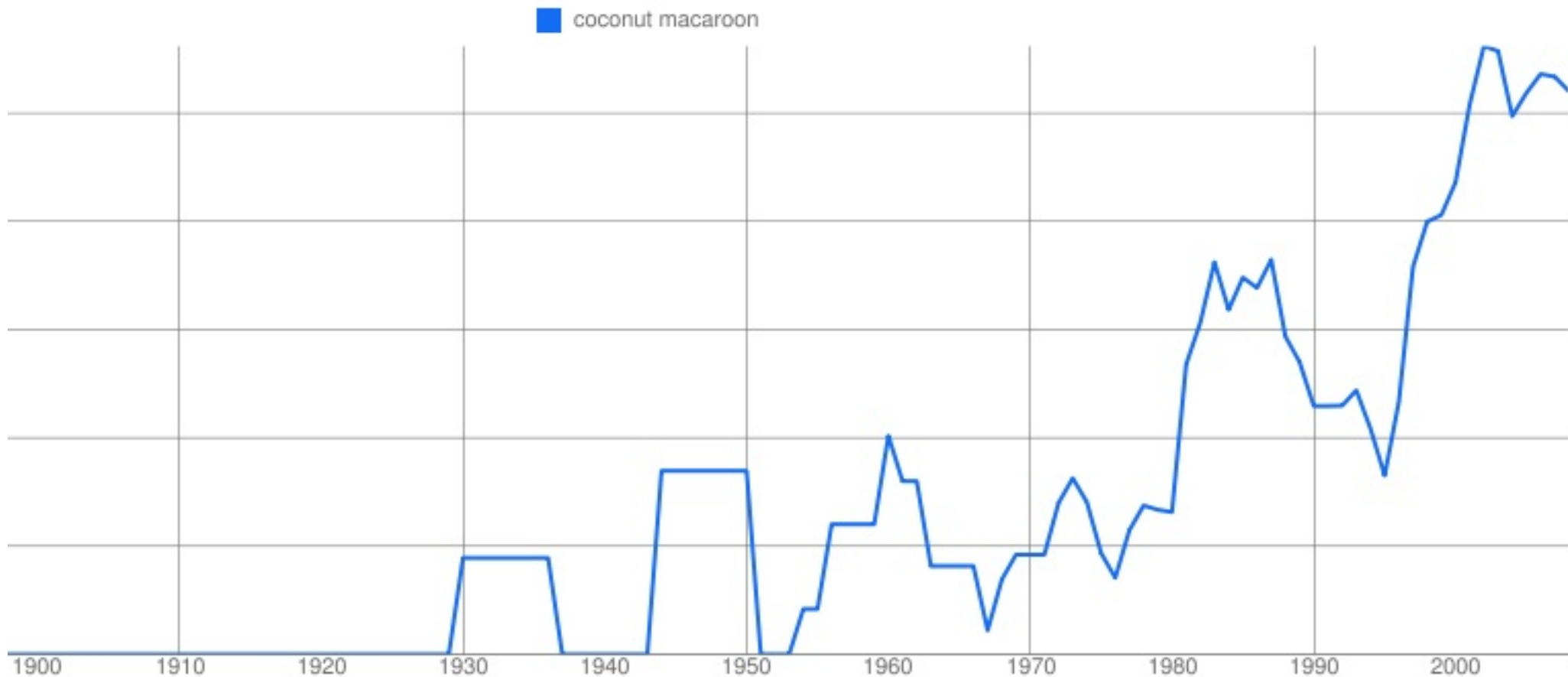
Bake in a gentle oven.

1930s

Commercial coconut macaroons appear



The phrase “coconut macaroon” on the web



1910

1930

1950

1970

1990

1940s?

Le macaron parisien

Invented by a Parisian baker

- Claude Gerbet or Pierre Desfontaines

Put two macaroons back-to-back

And fill with ganache



1940s?

Popularized by Desfontaines' cousin,

- who owned the pastry shop and tea salon Ladurée,



Macaronis

Rich 18th century
English fops

Elaborate hair
with tiny
feathered caps

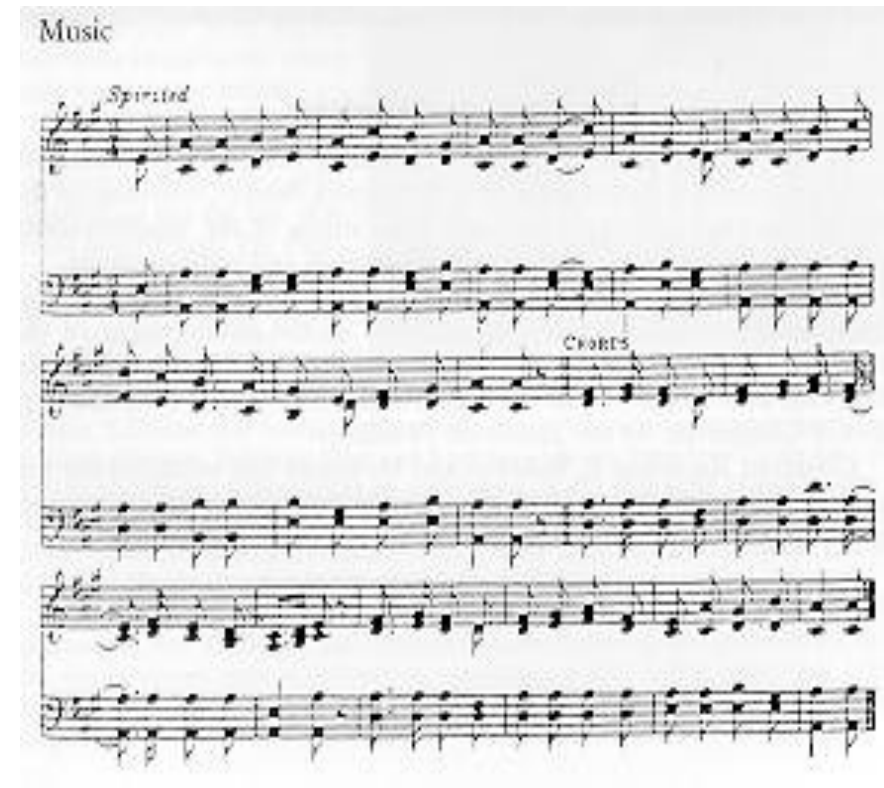
Acquired a taste
for pasta

An exotic foreign
food



Yankee Doodle

Stuck a feather in his hat,
And called it macaroni.





Lesson from our fad for macarons

The coconut macaroon isn't a mistake for the "original macaron"

Both evolved out of something earlier

There is no "original" version of any recipe

Dishes evolve, they are not created



Lesson from our fad for macarons

Or the Macaroni club's obsession for pasta

Or the fad for coconut, or almond pastry:

The ketchup theory of innovation:

Innovation happens at interstices

Great food traditions evolve at the borders between cultures

As we borrow and adapt the recipes of our neighbors.

Today's stories

Following the history of a food tells us

- history of colonization and globalization
- it's not always obvious where foods come from!

Recipes are just a technology, so they also tell us about the history of technology and innovation.

And many of the clues lie in the names, which often get borrowed with the food...



When you read next Tuesday's materials, think about:

Proust

What is your madeleine?

What is the food you remember/miss from your childhood?

Barthes

Does Barthes talk about chopsticks as a familiar user or as an observer?

- How does Barthes' description of sukiyaki compare to Proust's madeleines?