

Changes in Nikkei Cuisine, as Viewed from Recipe Books (Brazil)

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Introduction

Japanese who have migrated overseas have made diverse contributions to their new countries. Many famous *Nikkei* (Japanese immigrants and their descendants) can be found in diverse fields such as agriculture, education, culture and sports. At the same time, contributions made by less lauded common Nikkei are also important. The term "*Japonês Garantido*" (literally meaning Japanese guaranteed) heard in Brazil is evidence of the favorable contributions Japanese have made locally. It signifies not symbolic contributions made by particular individuals, but that the multitude of ordinary Nikkei people as a whole have been recognized and appreciated as being diligent, honest and trustworthy by the communities they live in. It reflects a collective heritage of community. Among the contributions made by these nameless ordinary Nikkei that haven't received much attention are those made by the women who take care of the home.

The woman's role has included, in addition to housework, child rearing, helping with family work, and community activities as members of *fujin-kai* (women's societies), as evident from the fact that this

Japanese term is still used in many parts of Brazil. What comes to our mind first when we think of the contributions these women made, as mothers in Japanese immigrant families, are recipes. I thought that recipes would reflect the efforts and ingenuity of these women, and represent the thoughts of mothers living in a foreign land, though individual names of the contributors are not shown. That was the reason I began collecting recipe books.

While collecting recipe books, I found that there are more records around, including those published, printed or otherwise, than I had expected. Although I have already collected a considerable number of recipe books, I am still continuing to collect as I learned from Nikkei women in many parts of Brazil that a great number of them have been made through the years. This article is a report on a work in progress.

Research of Recipe Books

Looking through the recipe books I have collected so far, I have come to notice that four points stand out for me. Hence, I introduce the contents of these books with a focus on these four points:

- Classification of recipe books: What kinds of recipe books can be found?
- Producers and purposes of the recipe books: Who made them and why?
- Background details of the books production and era: For what occasions were they published?
- Contents of recipe books: What are the contents? And most particularly, how have the dietary habits of Japanese in Brazil changed?

Classification of recipe books:

What kinds of recipe books can be found?

Recipe books introduced in this article are listed as references at the end of this report. As I collected only recipe books in which Nikkei or Japanese who went to live abroad are somewhat involved, the books are limited to those planned and published outside Japan. In an attempt to classify them, they can be divided into the following four categories:



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studies in Curitiba, the capital of the state of Paraná. He lived there for roughly 10 years before returning to Japan. He worked at a university and elsewhere, and helped establish the JICA Yokohama Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, where he currently works in the Project Management Division. He is interested in the history of Japanese immigrants, the identity of the Nikkei, and changes in Nikkei communities in multicultural societies such as Brazil, the US and Canada. His main research themes include festivals, ethnic enclaves, foods and translation.

- 1) Recipes written by Nikkei women for Nikkei people
- 2) Recipes that introduce foods as part of an introduction of immigrant culture
- 3) Recipes written to introduce healthy foods and local foods
- 4) Recipes written to introduce Japanese dishes and Japanese cuisine to Brazilians

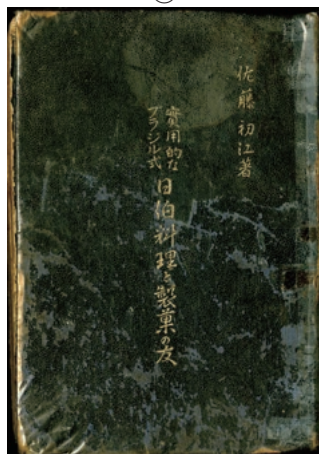
Although above four categories are not necessarily distinct, they serve as a rough guide. However, as space is limited, this article will focus on the first two categories.

1) Recipes Written by Nikkei Women for Nikkei people

The books in this category are listed from ① to ⑦ in the references. Their authors are first, second or third generation Nikkei, though in later publications non-Nikkei authors are included.

The first book of this category is Jitsuyotekina Brazil-shiki Nippaku Ryori to Seika no Tomo (A Guide to Practical Japanese-Brazilian Dishes and Confectioneries) ①. The author, Hatsue Sato was born in 1901, and moved to Brazil in 1924. She published the first edition of this book 10 years later in 1934. According to the 13th edition (4th bilingual edition in Japanese and Portuguese) in 1983, the 8th edition published in 1963 was the first Portuguese edition, and the 10th edition in 1971 was the first bilingual edition in Japanese and Portuguese, making the book a longtime seller. It is a handbook of life in general as it relates to food in Brazil, and serves as a virtual bible on foods. It appears that many Nikkei women have gained a lot from this book. H. Sato was an immigrant and imparted broadly ranged knowledge and techniques gained from her experience in living in Brazil to other Nikkei women throughout this book. Its preface states that the base of any culture is nutrition, and that the book is intended to be used as a cookbook of dishes that anyone can easily prepare using inexpensive ingredients obtainable in Brazil. The book is divided into the large categories of Must Do's at the Table, Manners and Etiquette, Brazilian Dishes, Sweets, and Japanese Dishes, each of which is further subdivided into specific items. Typical subdivisions include the following:

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Hatsue Sato, Jitsuyotekina Brazil-shiki Nippaku Ryori to Seika no Tomo, 1940

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How to discern and buy good ingredients, How to prepare meat, Soups, Sauces, Salads and gelatin, Seafood, Pasta, Rice, Meat, Offal, Eggs, Bread, Beans, Vegetables, Sandwiches, Candies, Biscuits, Cream, Cakes, Sweets, How to make *dashi* broth, *Kamaboko* (steamed fish paste), Simmered dishes, Sushi, Vinegared dishes and sashimi, Deep-fried dishes, Roasted dishes, Japanese confectioneries, Coffee and teas, Preserved foods, One week menu plan, Japanese meal menus in Brazil (for guests and for ordinary meals), Menu for wedding receptions

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The contents cover topics exhaustively and in great detail. The 13th edition was a voluminous, 3-cm thick book of 432 pages. The preface to the second edition in 1940 stated that it was hoped this would be a guidebook to those who want to get a *cozinheira* (cook) or *doceira* (confectioner) job in upscale Brazilian households. As such, this book contains detailed information concerning food culture in Brazil that would assist people looking to work for Brazilian families. Considering the language handicap, social status and other conditions faced by Nikkei at that time, it was an astounding feat to complete such a voluminous book only 10 years after her arrival in Brazil.

This book has some unique characteristics. For one, it has remained generally consistent without any major changes, though gradual revisions were made as newer editions were published. Secondly, it is written in the *colônia* language (a pidgin language of Portuguese and Japanese that was spoken at that time by Nikkei in Brazil).

Because of this book's consistency over the years, we can learn more about how people ate and prepared food at the time it was first published. For example, reading through the book, I came up with a question about ingredients and seasonings referred to in the recipes. I wondered how available the ingredients were that frequently appear in the book, such as soy sauce, sake, Ajinomoto (monosodium glutamate), *wasabi*, burdock, *daikon* radish, lotus root, *shiitake* mushroom, *kamaboko*, *konjac*, *aburaage* (deep-fried sliced tofu), *kombu* kelp, and *kanpyo* (dried shavings of gourd). I presumed they were readily obtainable, as this book was read broadly and people would not buy a cookbook filled with ingredients that were difficult to find. Certainly, soy sauce and miso would have been readily obtainable, as commercial brewing of soy sauce began in Brazil around 1913, while soy sauce breweries and tofu and *udon* noodles shops were established in increasing numbers in the 1920s and 1930s. Ajinomoto would not have been broadly marketed before World War II, as Ajinomoto Company only established a sales office in Brazil in 1954 (and an import and distribution company in 1956). However, it may have been readily available before that time via unofficial distribution channels and independent importers. Regarding ingredients, the background is described by Hiroshi Saito (Reference ⑧).

"Bamboo shoots of *moso* bamboo and *rakkyo* (Japanese shallots) are already used in salads in Brazilian homes and drive-in type diners. *Hakusai* (*napa* cabbage) is popular as a salad ingredient." (P. 166)

The use of the *colônia* language also makes this book an interesting resource for sociolinguistic research. It serves as a valuable record of food-related vocabulary as it was used in conversation at Nikkei homes. Expressions such as those shown below are seen in the book.

Ingredients, tableware and cookware for which transliterated Portuguese vocabulary is used in lieu of Japanese frequently included the following:

There is almost no doubt that these ingredients and tableware were used more or less every day by the Nikkei. It may be said that the fundamentals of their culinary life can be seen here. Writing with the vocabulary actually used in daily conversation most likely came from the author's desire to pass this knowledge on to the next generation with an emphasis

A comparison of the three editions of this book collected (2nd edition in 1940 ①, 5th edition in 1955 ② and 13th edition in 1983 ③) presents some changes. Among them are changes in how the Portuguese vocabulary is written using the Japanese writing system. Some examples of these changes are shown below.



Hatsue Sato, Jitsuyotekina
Brazil-shiki Nippaku Ryori to
Seika no Tomo. 1955



Hatsue Sato, Jitsuyotekina
Brazil-shiki Nippaku Ryori to
Seika no Tomo. 1977

These changes in the Japanese representation of Portuguese words interest me a great deal in terms of their relationships with the *colônia* pidgin. They would be valuable data from a phonetics point of view as well. Other changes are found in the pickle recipes. While the book contained only *fukujinzuke* (finely chopped vegetables pickled in a soy sauce based marinade) and salt-pickled vegetable recipes in 1940, a large variety of pickle recipes were added to the 1955 edition, including *kasuzuke*

(vegetables pickled in sake lees), pickled eggplant, *makizuke* (pickle rolls), *takuan* (dried *daikon* radish pickled with salt, rice bran, etc.), and *rakkyo* pickled in vinegar. Recipes for tofu, *aburaage*, *konjac* and Brazilian-style Edo *miso* were also introduced. Among them, the recipe for Brazilian-style Edo *miso* is especially intriguing:

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"Rinse 18 liters of soybeans in water and leave them to soak for one day. Boil the beans in a pot until they become very tender, which will take roughly 7 to 9 hours, or roughly 50 minutes if a *panela de pressão* (pressure cooker) is used. Scoop up the tender boiled soybeans while they are still hot and grind them in a meat grinder or pound them in a *mochi* mortar. Take 8 kg of well-granulated salt, and mix it with *koji* (malted rice) and ground soy beans in a *bacia* (bowl). Mix in roughly 5 liters of the water in which the soybeans were boiled. Then, place the mixture in a well-sterilized *kit* (? unknown), flatten the surface, sprinkle salt on top, and neatly cover it with paper or a cloth. The prepared mixture should be roughly 63 kg, which means a roughly 70% increase in volume. Thereafter, mix the prepared mixture once each month. It can be eaten after seven months, but it matures well when kept for 10 months or longer. Depending on the climate, temperature and saltiness, it may be opened for consumption early or left for maturity for 10 months. Other than soybeans, the required ingredients are roughly 18 liters of *koji* made from 9 kg of rice, and 8 kg of salt." (Jitsuyotekina Brazil-shiki Nippaku Ryori to Seika no Tomo, 1955, P. 326)

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In a turnabout, the pickle recipes were reduced in the 1983 edition to include only a few such as *fukujinzuke* and vinegar-pickled *rakkyo*. What does this signify? One assumption might be that regardless of the era, *fukujinzuke* and pickled *rakkyo* remained popular dishes. It makes sense when thinking of North America, where canned *fukujinzuke* that became available in prewar days is still marketed today. Another is that people were trying to restore their normal lives following WW II, and the 1950s and 1960s would see people doing as much as they could at home. That same post-war period coincided with a flood of newly arrived immigrants who were making efforts to live through trial and error. After this period of time, Japanese foods were more likely to be produced on an industrial scale, and were distributed in abundance. It was only until the 1970s that the Nikkei community was led by the first generation. The transition from the first to the second generation meant that labor-intensive foods made at home would have gradually become less common.

Delícias da Mamãe (Mama's Delights) ④ is a recipe book published by ADESC. The term ADESC is well known in the Nikkei community in Brazil. It is an acronym for Associação dos Departamentos de Senhoras Cooperativistas (Association of Agricultural Cooperative Women's Departments). ADESC's predecessor was the Women's Department of Cooperativa Agrícola de Cotia (Cotia Agricultural Cooperative: CAC), which was the largest agricultural

cooperative in Brazil. It was established by Japanese immigrants in 1927, but was sadly forced into dissolution in 1994. At the time the book was published the Women's Department had 75 branches with 2,000 members. Currently many ADESC members are second generation Nikkei, but some first generation members remain as well. Succeeding with the aims of the CAC, the Women's Department has been conducting activities as ADESC. ADESC published these recipe books four times, from the 1st Volume ④ in 1994 to the 4th Volume ⑦ in 2010.

Volume 1 was published while the CAC was still active. The introduction describes the intent of the publication. The project was started to raise funds for an ambulance for a hospital owned by the CAC, and for community education. A cooking competition using local ingredients was held, which resulted in the more than 500 recipes compiled in this recipe book. CAC members, mostly the wives of farmers, were experienced cooks who made a habit of finding the best ways to use local ingredients in season. Above all, their efforts were always based on the warmth they felt toward their families. It was decided that their wisdom in daily living should be compiled into a book. With the hope that children would remember the taste of their mothers' meals along with the deep love they received, the book was entitled "Mama's Delights." The preface also states, "By publishing recipes that often tend to end up being forgotten in drawers, we aimed to repay the kindness of those who helped us, and wanted to introduce simple and easy-to-use recipes."

Volume 1 contains 299 recipes, divided into the following 12 categories:

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Salads and pickles, Chicken, Pork, Fish, Eggs, Vegetables and greens, Potatoes, Soybeans, Rice and pasta, Sweets, Desserts, Cakes, pies, breads and biscuits

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Each recipe includes the name of the place where it was created, and each volume is laid out so that both ingredients and instructions fit on one page. The book has 392 binder-bound pages, and is 2 cm thick.

④



Departamento de Senhoras C.A.C., Delícias da Mamãe, 1994

Delícias da Mamãe Volume 2 ⑤ was published in 1998, the 90th anniversary of Japanese immigration to Brazil. Despite the dissolution of the parent organization, the CAC, members from its Women's Department have been steadily conducting activities, carrying on Cotia's cooperative spirit. It is a manifestation of their enthusiasm and strength that is truly worthy of admiration. The following is stated in the preface to Volume 2:

"We mean to record the meals served on the table by Japanese immigrants in Brazil over the past 90 years. Amid the mixture of cultures, customs and seasonings, meals passed on from generation to generation that maintain the essence of Japanese cuisine are recorded." Through publication of Volume 2, commemorating the 90th anniversary of Japanese immigration, the importance of recording meals (home food culture) was confirmed, and this project was to be continued thereafter. With the recognition that "meals help family and friends bond," it was aimed at easing the workload of housewives and changing what they saw as a duty to the joyful performance of skills. This recipe book started off as a way to raise funds, but became a commemorative project that opened a path leading to further continuation of publications.

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ADESC, Delícias da Mamãe Vol. 2, 1998

The contents of Volume 2 are divided into the following 17 categories, with slight change from Volume 1:

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Salads, Pickles, Chicken, Meat: pork and beef, Fish, Eggs, Vegetables, greens and potatoes, Rice, Pasta, Brazilian-style snacks, Soybeans, Sweets, Desserts, Cakes, pies, breads and biscuits, Alternatives to animal protein, Healthy-focused menu, Tricks and hints

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Beef was newly added to the meat category, and the new categories of Brazilian-style snacks, alternatives to animal protein, and healthy-focused menu were added. While beef and snacks, which are familiar foods to Brazilians, were added, it also reflects an increased interest in health consciousness. Volume 2 has 442 binder-bound pages filled with 281 recipes, with the thickness increased to 2.5 cm.

Delícias da Mamãe Volume 3 published in 2004 ⑥ shows the impact that Japanese food has had in Brazil since the earlier volumes. Thus it presents prominent differences from the first two volumes, and states that "many of the members expressed their wish to keep records of Japanese cuisine." Further, recipes that originated in various prefectures around Japan were added, and recipes featuring a "slightly sweet and less salty taste, with more soy sauce and less sugar" were added. "Slightly sweet and less salty, with more soy sauce" describes how Japanese food was perceived by Brazilians. Unlike Brazilian dishes, Japanese dishes often use sugar, and they use less salt. The frequent use of soy sauce compared to Brazilian cooking is also particular to Japanese cooking. "Less sugar" also indicates that Japanese sweets are less sweet than Brazilian ones. Understandably, this shows that Nikkei people had become accustomed to Brazilian tastes by this time.

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ADESC, Delícias da Mamãe Vol. 3, 2004

The number of categories in Delícias da Mamãe Volume 3 grew to 19 as shown below.

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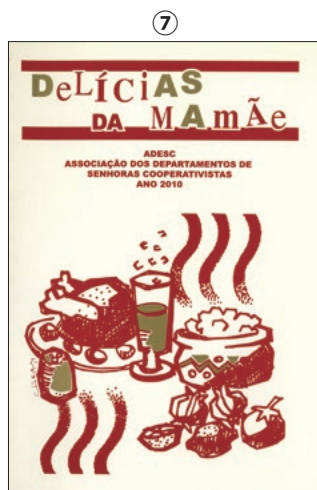
Salads, Meat: chicken, pork and beef, Fish, Eggs and pasta, Vegetables, greens and potatoes, Pasta and Brazilian-style snacks, Breads and rolls, Cakes and pies, Puddings, jellies and cream, Sweets and biscuits, Pasta, pate, sauces and condiments, Alternatives to animal protein, Japanese-style salads, Simple preserved foods and pickles, Rice, Curry flavored *yakisoba* (stir-fried noodles), Soybeans, Dashi broth and soups, Information and hints concerning Japanese cuisine

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"Rolls," "Puddings, jellies and cream," "Japanese-style salads," "Simple preserved foods and pickles," "Dashi broth and soups," and "Information and hints concerning Japanese cuisine" were newly added. Volume 3, also bound in a binder, is 2.8 cm thick, and contains 497 pages, with 308 recipes. Eight pages of this volume also introduce 57 ingredients and kitchen utensils used in Japanese cuisine. For a number of dishes, Japanese names (phonetic transliterations) are used, including *Ma-Bo-Dôfu* (Mapo doufu), *Nasu no Missôni* (eggplant cooked with miso), and *Satoimo*

no Buta Soboro ni (Japanese taro cooked with minced pork). It shows that by this time, with the Japanese food boom, many ingredients and dishes were familiar to Brazilians.

Delícias da Mamãe Volume 4 ⑦ was published in 2010. Unlike the previous three editions, Volume 4 included recipes provided from Japan and Bolivia, further responding to the requests of members to keep records regarding Japanese cuisine. The recipes from outside Brazil were from the *Ie no Hikari Association* in Japan and the *Cooperativa Agropecuaria Integral Colonias Okinawa Ltda. (CAICO: Colonias Okinawa Farming Integral Cooperative)* in Bolivia, with which the ADESC was promoting exchange. Reflecting these characteristics, this volume explains in detail how to cook rice, and how to prepare dashi, sushi, rice bowl dishes and Japanese side dishes. More than half the recipes in the book are Japanese dishes, and transliterated Japanese names are used.



ADESC. Delícias da Mamãe Vol. 4, 2010

Volume 4 has 22 categories as shown below.

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Salads, Rice and pasta, Meat: chicken, pork and beef, Fish and eggs, Potatoes, vegetables and greens, Brazilian-style snacks, Soybeans, Soups, Breads and rolls, Cakes and pies, Jellies, puddings and biscuits, Juice and drinks, Pasta, pate, sauces and condiments, Japanese cuisine, Udon, yakisoba and *somen* noodles, Tempura, Japanese side dishes, Pickles, Tofu, Miso soup, Japanese sweets, Information and hints concerning Japanese cuisine

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The added categories are "drinks" and "Japanese cuisine," as well as some Japanese dishes listed after "Japanese cuisine."

In the category of Japanese cuisine, transliterated Japanese names are used. What is particularly worth noting is that, for the first time, contributors to this book include some non-Nikkei. It shows the emergence of non-Nikkei who evolved from being consumers of Japanese foods to people who prepare and provide Japanese foods. This is a remarkable change, indicating

that at this point in time the dissemination of Japanese foods entered a new stage. Volume 4 contains 496 pages filled with 300 recipes, bound in a binder with the thickness increased to 2.8 cm.

2) Recipes that introduce foods as part of an introduction of immigrant culture

Recipe books that fall under this category are those listed from ⑧ to ⑫ in the references. The authors are first or second generation Nikkei, and in some cases, non-Nikkei.

Brazil Nikkeijin no Shokuji: Sekai no Tabemono No. 56 (Meals of the Nikkei in Brazil: World Food No. 56), South America Part 1, Amazonia, Brazil ⑧ is an issue of the World Food series of publications, and introduces Brazilian foods that focus in particular on meals of the Nikkei. This feature issue came about because Brazil has the world's largest Nikkei community. It was published in 1982. The author, the late Hiroshi Saito, was a sociologist representing Nikkei Brazilians. He was a first-generation immigrant who moved to Brazil at an early age. Although the book does not contain any detailed recipes, it abounds with information that is essential to understanding the transition of diet of the Nikkei. For quite some time, probably since around the 1970s, São Paulo has been known among Japanese expatriates as a city where Japanese foods are readily available. Saito also wrote as follows:



Hiroshi Saito. Brazil Nikkeijin no Shokuji: Sekai no Tabemono No. 56, South America Part 1, Amazonia, Brazil, 1982

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"It was once said that the only Japanese foods that cannot be found in Brazil were *matsutake* mushrooms, clams, and freshwater eels. However, aquaculture has succeeded in breeding eels by importing juvenile eels from Europe. Meanwhile, local mushrooms stand in for *matsutake*, giving a slightly different flavor to *dobinmushi* (clear soup that typically includes *matsutake* steamed in dashi in an earthen teapot). So far as vegetables and fruits, almost all of those found in Japan are also available in Brazil." (P. 165)

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He stated as above regarding comfort foods from home. In addition, substitutes used when ingredients are not locally available are described as follows:

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"When the Japanese immigrant community first formed, those who were from farming villages and had experience were the first to prepare homemade *miso* and soy sauce. When the main ingredient, soybeans, was unobtainable, they used corn instead. When rice bran was unavailable for pickling vegetables in the salted rice-bran paste that is indispensable for Japanese meals, *fubá* (corn meal) was used for pickling. When there was a shortage of vegetables during the early days of Japanese immigration, we ate any wild vegetables we could lay our hands on, including common purslane, purple amaranth, floral buds of pumpkin, and bracken. The pickled green fruit of papaya was especially well received, and many savor it even today." (P. 164)

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Saito also described the dual structure seen at the dinner tables of Nikkei families.

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"Regardless of whether Brazilian foods or Japanese foods are served more, meals in Nikkei households have a dual structure. Pickles are placed next to a plate of salad, and *feijão* (bean) soup is served alongside miso soup. The parents, elderly first-generation immigrants, use a bowl and chopsticks to eat while their children sitting at the same table eat rice and side dishes placed together on a large plate with a knife and fork. It is of course in front of the parents where small containers of pickles such as *fukujinnzuke* and *shiokara* (salted, fermented fish viscera) are placed." (P. 168)

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"This dual structure also can be seen at festivals and wedding receptions. For Japanese, a special feast should include simmered dishes such as *kombu* kelp rolls with fish, in addition to sashimi, rolled sushi, and *inarizushi* (pouches of fried tofu filled with sushi rice). However, these are not enough to satisfy second and third generation Japanese Brazilians. So, a whole roasted young chicken, or sometimes a luxurious dish of whole roasted suckling pig or spit-roasted large chunks of meat (like *churrasco*) are served. Salad dressed with mayonnaise, as well as chicken croquettes and bite-sized pies for snack, cannot be omitted either." (P. 168)

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Which of these Japanese foods would stay, taking root and being passed down as tradition in Nikkei households, as well as among Brazilians? To answer this question, Saito wrote as follows:

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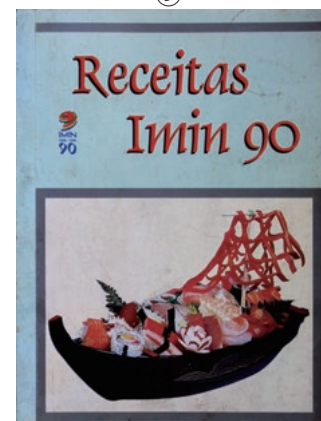
"As far as Nikkei households are concerned, foods that are enjoyed by the second and third generations, and which remain steadfastly on the table of any household, might include pickles, miso soup, noodles, yakitori and *kushikatsu* (deep-fried skewered cutlets and vegetables). As some families serve innovations such as *yuzuke* (rice with hot water poured over it) with olives, *ochazuke* (rice with hot tea poured over it) with unconventional toppings may have staying power." (P. 168)

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Saito's analysis perfectly accords with the recipes introduced by ADESC women. How is the situation now, 30 years later?

Receitas Imin 90 (Recipes Immigrants 90) ⑨ was published by a group led by Nikkei women in Londrina in the state of Paraná in 1998, in commemoration of the 90th anniversary of Japanese immigration. In the introduction, it is explained that the recipe book's publication was chosen to commemorate the anniversary "because the dishes are accurate examples that symbolize the integration of Japanese and Brazilian cultures." In order to reflect the spirit of integration, recipes of Brazilian, Italian and Portuguese dishes were collected in addition to the Japanese dishes. I cannot comment on the entire book because all I could obtain was a photocopied version of the "Oriental Cuisine" section of this publication. Yet, I will comment on the characteristics of this section.

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Kimiko Yoshii, *Receitas Imin 90*, 1998

It is safe to say that "Oriental Cuisine" refers mostly to Japanese cuisine, as more than 90% of the Asian residents in Brazil are Nikkei, and as roughly 90% of the recipes in this section are Japanese dishes, with only a few Chinese or Korean recipes. When the recipes in the section are checked based on this fact, we notice the following:

1. 53 recipes are introduced, and the creator's name is given with each. The names suggest that most of the creators are Nikkei, while some non-Nikkei are included.
2. Of the 53 recipes, Japanese (transliterated) recipes account for 21, or roughly 40%, as shown below:
Conhacu (konjac), *Uri no Tsukemono* (pickled gourd), *Raiscarê* (curry over rice), *Ankô* (sweet bean paste), *Dorayaki* (Japanese pancakes with sweet bean paste sandwiched between them), *Okará* (tofu dregs cooked with vegetables), *Fukudinzuê* (*fukujinzuke*), *Gomoku-mushi* (rice steamed with vegetables, meat and other ingredients), *Hiya-yako* (chilled tofu), *Kantem* (agar), *Karashi-*

- zuke* (vegetables pickled with Japanese mustard), *Mandiu no vapor* (steamed bun with sweet bean paste inside), *Moti* (rice cake), *Mitsu Mame* (dessert of agar jelly with fruits and red peas in syrup), *Motigome Gohan* (steamed glutinous rice), *Okowa* (steamed glutinous rice with red beans or other ingredients), *Ossushi* (sushi), Shabu-Shabu, Sashimi, Sukiyaki, *Tiawan Mushi* (unsweetened steamed egg custard with seafood and vegetables)
- There are only three recipes with non-Japanese oriental names:
Guioza - Trouxinha chinesa (Chinese *jiaozi*), *Lombo chinês* (Chinese-style pork), *Tofu ao estilo coreano* (Korean-style tofu)
 - The remaining 29 recipes (roughly 55%) are either Brazilian dishes or modified versions of Brazilian dishes.
 - Of the 43 recipes, after the 8 sweet and dessert recipes as well as konjac and rice cake are excluded, 31 (70%) use soy sauce or miso, typical of oriental (Japanese) cuisine.

These characteristics certainly represent the integration of Japanese and Brazilian cultures.

Mercado Municipal de Curitiba (Municipal Market of Curitiba) ⑩, *Aromas e Sabores do Mundo* (Aromas and Flavors of the World) ⑪, and *Culinária Paranaense* (Paraná Cooking) ⑫ are books written to introduce diverse immigrant cultures, and Japanese immigrants are covered in parts of them. Although not all of these books necessarily focus on introducing recipes, they serve as useful references. So, their contents are summarized below.

Mercado Municipal de Curitiba (Municipal Market of Curitiba) ⑩ was published in 2005 by a Brazilian journalist aiming to introduce the history of the municipal market of Curitiba, in the capital city of the state of Paraná, and people working in the market. Its history is marked by food culture as well as the stories of a variety of immigrants. Among the diverse ethnicities of immigrants who came to settle in Curitiba, sometimes called an ethnic laboratory, Nikkei people have played a central role in the municipal market. Even today, the chairman of the merchants association is Nikkei. The author recorded interviews with several merchants working in the market, including 15 Nikkei. The Nikkei constitute the largest ethnic group here. At the central food court there is a mural depicting Japanese immigrants and honoring their immense contributions to the market. It is said that after many Nikkei went to work in Japan as so-called *dekasegi* around the mid-1980s, the number of Nikkei working in markets decreased dramatically. However, even today, we can see many Nikkei in this market in Curitiba. Of the 15 Nikkei merchants mentioned above, two operate restaurants. One of them offers Japanese cuisine, including sushi, sashimi, yakisoba, *teppanyaki* (foods cooked on a hot griddle), udon noodles and steamed shiitake

mushrooms. Another is a third-generation Nikkei and the third-generation owner of a long-established restaurant, offering Brazilian foods arranged with Japanese flair. Brazilians say that the beautiful colors and delicate taste of the foods offered in this restaurant are somewhat akin to Japanese cuisine.



Eduardo Sganzerla, Mercado Municipal de Curitiba, 2005



Eliana Fachim, Aromas e Sabores do Mundo, 2008

Aromas e Sabores do Mundo (Aromas and Flavors of the World) ⑪ covers the Municipal Market of Curitiba, as does the book above, and was published in 2008 by the people involved in the market to commemorate the 50th anniversary of its establishment. The book is brilliantly designed, exploring the immigrants' homelands through the introduction of 32 recipes, and depicting the act of eating as a form of festivity and a celebration of humanity. Its 32 recipes include those provided by four Nikkei, and one non-Nikkei using Japanese ingredients. Their titles are as follows:



Mural in the central food court in Mercado Municipal de Curitiba

...
Yakimeshi (stir-fried rice), Udon noodles, *Bolo de nozes sem gluten* (gluten-free walnut cake), *Macadâmia Nuts à moda Le Caffés* (Le Caffés-style macadamia nut iced coffee), *Quinoa com shiitake, shimeji, nirá e gengibre* (quinoa with shiitake mushrooms, *shimeji* mushrooms, garlic chives and ginger)
 ...

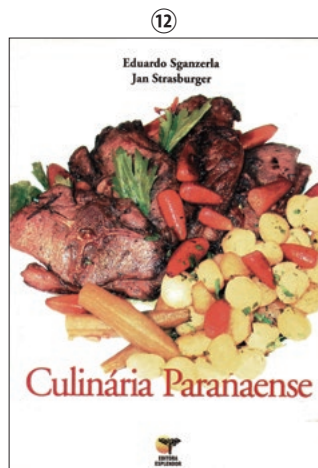
The first two of these recipes were provided by the restaurants with Nikkei owners mentioned above. The yakimeshi recipe reads, "First, stir-fry garlic.

Then, stir fry carrot, green beans, and bell pepper, and season with salt. Thereafter mix in rice and add a small amount of soy sauce. Garnish with thin omelet strips and herbs to add color."

Udon noodles are not served plain, but topped with aburaage, kamaboko and tempura. Sake, soy sauce, dried shiitake, kombu kelp, and instant dashi are used for sauce, and the tempura ingredients include green beans, carrots, onions and cassava.

Stir-frying garlic with oil and the use of cassava indicate a Brazilian influence. The gluten-free dish, iced coffee, and the use of shiitake mushrooms, shimeji mushrooms, and garlic chives suggest the influence of Japan as well as health consciousness.

Culinária Paranaense (Paraná Cooking) ^⑫ was published by the author of Mercado Municipal de Curitiba in 2011. This book describes the influence of immigrants on cooking in the state of Paraná, especially contributions made by German, Italian, Polish, and Ukrainian immigrants. The book introduces dishes made by these immigrants and their recipes. Although no recipes from Japanese immigrants are included, the book refers to them in an overview.



Eduardo Sganzerla, *Culinária Paranaense*, 2011

Many Japanese immigrants arrived here, mainly in North Paraná, especially in the 1930s. The book mentions that they brought great changes to local fruit cultivation, and that fruit production by Nikkei farmers accounts for 80% of all intrastate production. In addition, the presence of Nikkei people in open-air market stalls and public markets is described, as with his other book above, and their dietary customs are introduced, with mentions given to sushi, sashimi, *yakissoba* (yakisoba), *sukiaki* (sukiyaki), *tempurá* (tempura) and *peixes grelhados* (grilled fish) as typical dishes. In terms of historical order, the dishes should appear in the order of *sukiaki*, *tempurá*, *yakissoba* and then sushi and sashimi. However, these dishes are the dishes typically found in local Japanese restaurant menus. Recently, though, Brazilians are increasingly looking for less typical Japanese foods.

As of today, 2017, or in the years to come, I think

these "typical" Japanese dishes will gradually lose their mainstay positions among Japanese foods in Brazil. I expect many Japanese foods (Nikkei foods) that are particular to Brazil, and with marked differences from Japanese foods in Japan, will emerge as favorites.

Epilogue

Childhood memories are certainly linked to the dishes prepared by our mothers. In my family, my mother used to dry and pickle daikon radish, and I remember making mixed tempura of vegetables and seafood, as well as deep fried oysters with her. This study of recipe books vividly brought these memories back. In writing this article, I am indebted to many Nikkei people. Some gave me the only copy of the book they had at hand, and some gave me medicine when I became ill during my field studies. I cannot thank them enough. I will refrain from writing individual names, but I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to these gentle and warm-hearted people.

Thank you! And muito obrigado!

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