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You Are What You Eat: Gastronomy and Geography of Southern Spain

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The University of Southern Mississippi

YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT: GASTRONOMY AND GEOGRAPHY OF SOUTHERN
SPAIN

by

Katherine Perry

A Thesis
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The University of Southern Mississippi
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
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Abstract

Using empirical and numeric data, this study explores the use of food as a proxy to understand the cultural-historical geography of southern Spain. After spending three months in Granada, Spain, I compiled the most commonly used thirty-five ingredients from a selection of Spanish cookbooks and contextualized them within the broader history of Spain. The elements of traditional Andalucían cooking fit into three primary chapters of Iberian history: Roman occupation, the Moorish invasion beginning in the 8th century, and the Columbian exchange, or the exchange of goods that took place between the Americas and Old World following European discovery of the New World. Globalization adds an additional and incredibly complex layer to the Andalucían kitchen, making contemporary food in the region a reflection of many outside influences. The wider implication of this study lies in the fact that it sheds light on the character of Andalucían cuisine and demonstrates that what is often perceived as purely Spanish or Andalucían is actually an amalgamation of internal and external forces that have shaped Spain since the settlement of the Iberian Peninsula.

Key words: food, food geography, Spain, Andalucía, cultural geography

Dedication

NiAnna Balzli, Courtney McMullan, Joshua Von Herrmann, and my family:

A million thanks for your warm friendship, endless patience, and wonderful wit.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

An exploration of food as a means to study history and culture is an underused tool that can provide us with a fuller understanding of place. Consider some of the most basic ingredients in a bowl of gumbo: chicken, bell pepper, okra, and bay leaves. This classic New Orleans staple of creole cuisine incorporates vegetables and meats from all over the world (Florio 2014): chickens domesticated in Eurasia; bell peppers from South America; okra, which originated in Africa; and bay leaves from the Mediterranean. With a little background knowledge of commonly consumed vegetables and animals, a pot of gumbo gives us a look into the cultural and economic history of New Orleans, and allows us to better understand the place: a coastal city whose origins in the colonial Atlantic world gave it a unique mix of European, African, and Native American character.

Food plays a large, though often overlooked, role in how we describe and perceive other cultures. By studying the gastronomy of a region, one can come to understand its history and its geography. My thesis explores the culture of food in southern Spain as it relates to the surrounding physical landscapes, the history of the region, and more recent impacts of globalization. It demonstrates that studying regional dishes offers a unique insight into the cultural history and geography of a place.

Andalucía, the southernmost autonomous department in Spain, dominates the southern Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula (see Map 1, page 18). Along its shore, Andalucía possesses a lovely maritime landscape dotted with olive groves and marked by dramatic mountains hugging the coastline while the interior is characterized

by a notably dry climate. Its fertile lands make Andalucía a prosperous producer of fruits and vegetables and a pastoral center for cattle and pork. In addition, its location along the southern coast of Spain makes it well situated to be outwardly oriented. Historically, Andalucía was an important center of trade, not only with the Mediterranean world, but also with the Americas and other overseas colonial possessions of the Spanish Empire. Such geographic elements have had a huge impact on the internal production and consumption of food in Andalucía, as well as in the globalized food market of Spain as a whole.

The impacts of historical events, such as the Roman occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, the Moorish invasion in 711 CE, and the Columbian exchange of goods and crops with the Americas after the late fifteenth century are still apparent in the food culture of Spain. Potatoes, a common ingredient in Andalucía, are native to South America and would have no place in the Andalucían diet had Columbus not reached the Americas, nor would *bacalao*, a cod preserved in salt, be such a pervasive source of protein had the Basque fishermen of northern Spain not traveled to the Atlantic waters off North America to fish. The Moorish influence, however, remains the most significant in Andalucía and is reflected deeply in the food and vocabulary of the region. According to the Real Academia Española, Andalucía, saffron, oil, marzipan and at least one word for olive (i.e. *Andalucía*, *azafrán*, *aceite*, *mazapán* and *aceituna* respectively) are Arabic rather than Latin in terms of their linguistic origin. The Moors introduced many products into the culinary world of Spain, giving them their names and a place in the Andalucían kitchen.

Spain's connection with the contemporary global economy is now ubiquitous throughout the country and it reflects a heavy influence from the United States. American culture has left a noticeable impression on Andalusian gastronomy, one equally prevalent as that of the Moors, though not in traditional cuisine. From ham-flavored Ruffles potato chips to tapas provided by Subway, Spanish gastronomy is now heavily globalized and Andalucía is no exception. As with history and culture, one can gain an understanding of current international relationships and interactions by studying gastronomy and the exchange of products. In the case of Andalucía, the international exchange manifests itself most clearly through fast food chains and snacks.

Studies of common ingredients demonstrate connections and exchanges between faraway places and often explain cultural tendencies that otherwise might go unnoticed. Gastronomy provides a new lens through which we can study history and culture that is not only engaging, but also encourages an open mind and a thorough look at the history of a place. As humans in an intricately connected world, analyzing a plate of food helps us to understand the physical geography of a place and often defines our own cultural backgrounds and histories to show that ultimately, little is untouched by the human and natural forces that shape our planet. Indeed, we are what we eat.

My research began in September of 2013, when I spent three months in Granada, Spain studying Spanish and Andalusian cuisine. Granada, a gem of Andalucía, was the final kingdom to be conquered by the marauding Catholic armies, and as a result, holds onto much more of its Moorish history and charm. During my time in Spain, I lived for five weeks in an international dorm run by Spaniards and then moved in with my Spanish host family for the remaining time. I ate at countless tapas bars and cafes, always seeking

to try something new and to bring to life the images and recipes I had learned.

Additionally, the cooking of my host mom formed my understanding of Andalusian cooking. My days in Granada were marked by countless conversations about the delicate flavor of *jamón ibérico*, the process of making *Manchego* cheese, and what makes the perfect *paella*. I documented my gastronomic journey through photographs and notes, many of which are included here. The trends I noticed in ingredients and flavors formed the foundation of my conclusions about how Andalucía and Spain as a whole deal with outside influence, and how the past continues to affect Andalusian cuisine today.

This thesis is structured around eight chapters. Following this introduction (Chapter One), I provide a literature review (Chapter Two) and outline my research methodology (Chapter Three). I turn next to geography (Chapter Four) and overviews of key episodes in the history (Chapter Five) of Spain. I then focus on my analysis of Spanish cookbooks and my contextualization of the most common ingredients and dishes found in them (Chapter Six). I conclude this thesis with a discussion of globalization and its contemporary and future impacts on the Andalusian kitchen (Chapter Seven).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

The geography of food is defined by its production and consumption, but most geographical research to date has focused on production. By contrast, research on food consumption is more recent and less widespread. Statisticians and economists conducted the first studies of food consumption to measure the quality of life of the lower and working classes in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, focusing mostly on financial expenses (Grigg 1995). Most food consumption studies followed similar lines of inquiry until the growth of the science of nutrition, when the focus shifted to public health. In time, the study of food consumption took on a greater anthropological meaning; as Jane Dusselier (2009, 31) noted, food is not “solely nutritional and physiological.” Today, the field of research, now including food as a way to study history and culture, has expanded to include cultural geographers.

Within geography, there is limited literature that explores the role of food as an understanding of geography, history, and culture and an even smaller collection focusing on Spain. Massimo Montanari approached the question of food as a way to study culture in its most general sense in his book *La comida como cultura*. Beginning with the invention of fire and global diffusion of agriculture, Montanari follows the development of food and the kitchen, exploring their transformations of meaning over time. In the English translation of his book, Montanari writes that, “Far more than spoken language itself, food can serve as a mediator between different cultures, opening all methods of cooking to all manner of invention, cross-pollination, and contamination” (134). He

explains that interactions between different cultures often manifest themselves on the dinner plate as food items, cooking techniques, and flavors are exchanged. He highlights the influence of history on gastronomy, writing that a food-based identity is the product of the history of a region, while understating the significance of geographical and environmental aspects. It is important to keep in mind, however, that geography and the environment at least partly form the foundations of kitchens in any region, as the physical landscape determines which resources each culture begins with before trade. The concept that intercultural exchanges are expressed on the dinner plate is an idea I will apply to the region of Andalucía, but with greater emphasis on geography and the physical landscape.

Thelma Barer-Stein claims similar sentiments in her book, *You Eat What You Are: People, Culture, and Food Traditions*, writing that

Food plays an inextricable role in our daily lives.... Food is a source of pleasure, comfort, and security. Food is also a symbol of hospitality, social status, and religious significance. What we select to eat, how we prepare it, serve it, and even how we eat it are all factors profoundly touched by our individual cultural inheritance. (14)

Barer-Stein investigates the food traditions, ingredients, and dishes of over fifty countries and regions to determine their origins and variations. In each chapter, she details the domestic life, dairy products, fruits, vegetables, meats, and grains of the given country or region, and explores the history as well as its significance in terms of the geography of food.

In describing Spain, she highlights the use of common Mediterranean ingredients considered *indigenous* as well as the fruits, vegetables, and spices that arrived over the centuries thanks to many changes in leadership, global explorations, and a globalized commodity chain (393). Barer-Stein (1999) identifies olives, olive products, and grapes as the most famous crops of the Classical Era while she traces peaches, lemons, almonds, cinnamon, cumin, and saffron to the Moorish occupation of the Iberian Peninsula (393). Barer-Stein notes the archetypal dish of Andalucía gazpacho, which is a cold tomato-based soup commonly consumed during the hot summer months (396). I will compare my data from cookbooks with her understandings of Spain to determine if the cookbooks capture the same essence of the Andalucían kitchen.

Minimizing the realm of study, Jane Dusselier writes about food as culture on a very personal level, referencing the “identify formation” of individuals based on gastronomic preferences unique to Asian American culture (334). My thesis will not delve into personal experiences and individual stories of a food-based identity, but rather will attempt to connect the character of Andalucía with its food consumption, as represented in a sample of cookbooks, as well as my own experiences there. Dusselier refers often to a book written by Doreen Fernandez, who studied the food culture of the Philippines, discussing the local process of indigenization that “brings in, adapts, and then subsumes” culinary traditions of outside cultures (Fernandez 1997). Dusselier notes that Fernandez interprets food as “dynamic, emergent, fluid, evolving, momentary, and improvised” (Dusselier 2009, 332) because the fundamental nature of local cuisine is constantly influenced by its history, such as shifts in political power, immigration, or

religion. Both the ephemeral nature of food and its process of absorbing other cultures are key aspects of Fernandez's study in that they are widely relevant ideas and can be applied especially to the character of Andalusian cuisine, one reflecting heavily the influence of many outside cultures.

A study more closely related to my own is one by Barbara Shortridge (2003) who characterized the identity of the Great Plains by collecting lists of foods most closely linked to the region. Shortridge surveyed local people and asked them to plan a menu characteristic of their region. She then compiled 744 survey responses and mapped them, paying special attention to the geographic distribution of certain ingredients and dishes and connecting their locations with historic cultural occupation. She astutely remarked that people adopt and adapt both new and old food traditions to "increase [a] sense of attachment to a place" (507). The process of adoption and adaptation is exactly the indigenization referred to by Fernandez and is the way in which culinary traditions form in multicultural regions such as Andalucía. Shortridge divided the Great Plains into smaller subsections based on differentiated culinary customs and demonstrated the efficacy of those traditions as a way of studying and understanding food culture.

As demonstrated by this collective body of research, food often reflects the history and exchanges among cultures. William and Carla Phillips (2010) explore the history of Spain, detailing the many changes Spain underwent as countless rulers gained and lost control. Such an assessment of Spanish history is crucial to my thesis, as the food of today reflects past cultural occupations and influences on Spanish, and more specifically Andalusian, culture. Especially pertinent to my thesis is Muslim rule, which endured from 711 to 1492 CE and had a strong impact on Andalucía that can still be seen

today in the region's food, architecture, and language. Mark Williams, however, in his book *The Story of Spain: the Dramatic History of Europe's Most Fascinating Country* (2009), makes an astute observation contrary to the common assumption and hackneyed expression that the entire Iberian Peninsula was under Moorish control for seven hundred years. This view inaccurately portrays Muslim influence in the region. In reality, "the mostly Berber-Hispanic Muslims inhabited two-thirds of the peninsula for 375 years, about half of it for another 160 years, and the tiny kingdom of Granada – the present-day provinces of Málaga, Almería, and Granada – for a final 244 years" (84).

Another of the greatest influences on Andalusian culinary tradition was the arrival of Cristóbal Colón to the Americas. Nathan Nunn and Nancy Qian studied the impact of the Columbian Exchange, or "the exchange of diseases, ideas, food, crops, and populations between the New World and the Old World" (163), and the depth to which New World foods now pervade the global diet. They calculated the world's most popular foods in 2000 based on caloric consumption and found that maize, potatoes, cassava, sweet potatoes, and tomatoes – all of which were originally domesticated in the Americas – are five of the twenty most consumed food items globally (168).

Pedro Plasencia delves into the indigenous agricultural practices of Latin America and references the travel journals of Spanish explorers to ascertain how new crops, spices, and animals were incorporated into the changing Andalusian diet. Plasencia offers a reflection of the vibrant, diverse markets, meticulous methods of production, and the perspectives of the Spaniards as they became exposed to new agricultural systems and culinary traditions in the Americas. Their assessment of South American crops and animals is crucial in the exchange that ultimately took place between Spain and the

Americas, as those perceptions determine which products made it across the Atlantic into Andalusian gastronomy and ultimately, the Andalusian kitchen.

Finally, the concept of the “alternative geography of food,” as presented by Nicholas Parrott, Natasha Wilson, and Jonathan Murdoch (2002), plays a role towards a more thorough understanding of Andalusian gastronomy. They describe the conflicting forces of globalization that have shaped the tastes and flavors of kitchens worldwide with the increasing sense of locality associated with European products labeled with the DOP stamp (*denominación de origen protegida*), indicating a very strict regional association. Parrot, Wilson, and Murdoch (2002) highlight that the globalized food commodity chains focuses on efficient food production (i.e. economically efficient methods of production) while regional trends value artisanal production (246). Such a concept is highly relevant to a discussion of Andalusian food, as the Andalusian kitchen has evolved through centuries of globalization, most notably under the influence of the Moors, and continues to respond to the powerful force of worldwide change and increased connectivity. Although Spain participates in an international exchange of foods, however, it also places heavy significance on its local products such as olive oil, grapes, cheese, fruits, and other food items by marking them as exclusively Spanish or Andalusian.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The data needed to study the gastronomy of Spain as it relates to its geography and its cultural-historic background is a combination of empirical and numeric information and their correlations with historic events. During my three-month residence in Spain in the fall of 2013, I took note of and photographed the most common dishes, ingredients, and methods of cooking. From countless visits to tapas bars in Granada to cooking in the kitchen with my host family, I experienced both the traditional and globalized nature of the Andalucían kitchen. Drawing from menus of tapas bars I frequented, I built a base of ingredients and dishes that seemed most common in Granada. My experience alone, however, cannot capture the depth of Andalucían tradition or the globalized market and will be paired with empirical data in order to fully understand food as a way to study culture.

The numeric data I used for this thesis are derived from the ingredients and dishes that appear in a selection of contemporary Spanish cookbooks. By uniting the southern Andalucían gastronomy found in cookbooks with the practical interactions I had in the region, I hope to present a more complete portrait of what Andalucían food is both in the minds of people and in local kitchens. In so many cases, what a person perceives as traditional and typical does not correspond with what people actually eat. For example, one can find hamburgers on many menus and in many homes in southern Spain, but never in a Spanish cookbook. In addition, the collection of food items with the D.O.P. stamp, or “*denominación de origen protegida*,” a stamp of authenticity, denote food

products that contribute to the food identity of Andalucía. Products with the D.O.P. label come exclusively from one place or region. By studying the food items from Andalucía with the *denominación de origen* stamp, many of which are types of ham, cheese, and oil, I can study which products are truly Spanish in their production and origin.

After compiling a thorough list of food items, I explored the origin of the most common thirty-five ingredients, or the ingredients occurring ten or more times. In doing so, I produced a representation of the complexity of the Andalusian kitchen. After determining those key parts of Andalusian gastronomy, I identified their origins and examined how they connected with Spanish history from the time of the Roman Empire through to the present day. I expected that each historic period would create a new layer of food items that would help to shed light on the diverse cultural background of Spain. Of the many periods of Spanish history, I believe that Roman settlement, Moorish invasion, Columbian Exchange, and the forces of globalization have the most significant impacts on the character of Andalusian food.

Finally, through my experiences in Granada, I hope to demonstrate that the forces of globalization affecting the food of Andalucía over a thousand years ago persists today and plays a role in the Andalusian kitchen. Though I was not able to study every traditional recipe in southern Spain, I was certainly exposed to the impacts of globalization there. The most fundamental identity of food in southern Spain continues to be shaped by the surrounding physical landscape as well as political and economic variables, an impact one sees today in every McDonalds and convenience store in Andalucía. As the world becomes more globalized, the interactions between Spain and

its neighbors, both near and far, will continue and can be studied by what is on the dinner plate.

The research and writing that went into this thesis manuscript took approximately two years to accomplish. The first phase was my three-month residency conducting field research in Granada, Spain between September and December of 2013. During my residence in Granada I took extensive notes about the food I most often saw and ate. The second phase, comprised primarily of conducting my literature search, lasted from May through August of 2014. During those four months, I read books on the history of Spain in order to have a more thorough understanding of the country. From December 2014 to December of 2015, I focused on counting ingredients, collecting my empirical data, and finally the writing and revision of the thesis manuscript.

CHAPTER 4: GEOGRAPHY OF SPAIN AND ANDALUCÍA

From the sunny, dry summers on the beaches of Andalucía to the wet, emerald bluffs of Galicia, the Iberian Peninsula features a wide variety of landscapes and weather. Spanish geography is dominated by mountain ranges and plateaus with five key rivers, all of whose characteristics have many implications for the climate and agriculture of the region (Cereceda 1922, 333). Geography intuitively shapes what sorts of food items are native to an area and what survives, determining what one could call the *base* of the kitchen. Additionally, geography affects the future of nonnative species in an area and the breadth of diversity among vegetation of a place.

The Pyrenees Mountains tower above the borderlands between France and Spain and reach heights of 11,000 feet in some areas (see Map 3, page 19). The Cantabrian Mountains extend the length of the northwestern coastline of Spain, stretching from Asturias to Galicia, the westernmost department of Spain. The northern coast of Spain has a marine west coast climate, a climate type influenced heavily by maritime air masses that generate mild temperatures year round and regular precipitation (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39). Due to the frequent rain, the region supports deciduous forests and varied flora including ash, linden, beech, birch, maples, and heather (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 44). The Ebro River, Spain's largest and one of Europe's most important rivers (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 35), flows southeastward through northern Spain to its mouth along the Mediterranean coast.

South of the Cantabrian and Pyrenean axes sit the Iberian Mountains, which hug the Ebro River along its southern side and reach southeast from central Spain to the Mediterranean. The Central Mountains meet the Iberian Mountains at their center, and with the Cantabrian Mountains, form the Northern Meseta, one of the great plateaus of the peninsula. The primary feature of the Northern Meseta is the Duero River, which drains into the Atlantic Ocean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 8). Finally, the Sierra Morena, Baetic Mountains, and Sierra Nevada are the key mountain ranges of the southern half of Spain, and abut the Southern Meseta (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 6). With peaks as tall as 11,500 feet, the accumulation of snow provides a key source of seasonal runoff water for the people of Andalucía (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40).

Though the mountains and rivers of Spain are influential on the peninsula's climate, the moving air masses and resulting precipitation are far more impactful. The southern half of Spain is significantly drier in the summer and consequently, the area has a very different climate type from the north of Spain. Because of the Pyrenees and Cantabrian Mountains, the maritime air masses that sweep over the peninsula lose their moisture due to the orographic effect (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39).

The orographic effect is the process by which moisture is precipitated from air masses as they encounter increased elevation. When an air mass moves over a mountain or other geographic feature, the masses are forced upwards. The air cools as it rises, a result of the adiabatic effect, and because cooler air holds less moisture, the excess moisture is released in a form of precipitation. As a result, the windward side of a topographic feature receives significant precipitation while the leeward side receives none, a phenomenon known as a rainshadow. Andalucía and other southern departments

of Spain typically receive far less precipitation as a result of the orographic effect. Due to the North Atlantic Oscillation, however, the hemispheric air masses shift southwards during the winter, meaning that the lower half of the peninsula receives some precipitation, as it misses the Cantabrian and Pyrenees Mountains (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 39).

This phenomenon lends the greater two-thirds of the Iberian Peninsula a Mediterranean climate, dominated by dry summers and wet winters, and sets Andalucía's food tradition apart from the rest of Spain. Some regions are highly productive agricultural zones, while other areas are too dry and mountainous for any type of cultivation (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40). The Mediterranean landscape is characterized by olive groves, chestnuts, walnuts, and cypresses (Murphy, Jordan-Bychkov, and Jordan 2014, 40). Because of the dry summers, the vegetation of this region has sclerophyllous, or drought resistant, characteristics. Andalucía, recognized for its rich agriculture, benefits greatly from the Guadalquivir River, which runs from the central region of the department to the Atlantic Ocean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 9). While food items naturally move throughout the Iberian Peninsula, increased agricultural activity in the south means greater supply and variety of mild-weather fruits and vegetables that are integrated into the Andalusian kitchen.

In addition to its physical geography, Spain's location has shaped the nation's relationship with its neighbors, enabling it to engage in international trade and opening up the country to many outside influences, as it did during the Moorish occupation that began in 711 CE. Spain occupies 85% of the Iberian Peninsula and has nearly 5,000 kilometers of coastline, totaling more than twice that of the state of Florida. The Spanish

coast touches the Bay of Biscay, the Mediterranean Sea, and the Atlantic Ocean, making it uniquely well-suited as a maritime trading hub, especially after the Columbian Exchange began. The impact of its geography cannot be understated. Spain's success in its colonial conquests depended greatly on its location, Atlantic coastline, and proximity to the Americas. Consequently, the variety of ingredients in the Andalucían kitchen, which borrows a lot of American food items and flavors, depends also on Spain's location.

MAPS



Figure 1: Political territory of Spain and the bound



Figure





Figure 3: Shaded relief map of Spain. Map by author.



Figure 4: Major rivers of Spain. Map by author.

CHAPTER 5:
A HISTORY OF SPAIN

Introduction

Spain has long captivated outsiders with its alluring sounds of flamenco, the lively sensation that fills the streets at dusk, and the enthralling smells of paella that float through the air. The country that today is a member of the European Union, the largest economy on earth, produces the most olive oil of any country (Food and Agriculture Organization 2014), boasts two globally recognized soccer teams, and has a long and complex history of caliphates, monarchs, and dictators that all contributed in myriad ways to contemporary Spanish society. The flavors and traditions of the Andalucían kitchen are a direct reflection of the history of the nation, blending the tastes of Roman civilization, Jewish communities, Moorish Spain, the Americas, and the modern global exchanges of foods and spices to create the enticing Andalucían plates enjoyed today.

Early Settlement: Celts & Iberians

Iberian and Celtic peoples of the First Millennium BCE can be considered the first permanent and culturally dominant populations of the Iberian Peninsula. They developed various advanced skills, including of agriculture, mining, bronze-working, and iron-working (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). The Iberians brought with them from North Africa knowledge to mint coins as well as a written language based on Phoenician and Greek. The Celts, who arrived from across the Pyrenees in the northeastern part of the peninsula between the sixth and fourth centuries BCE (Chapman 1918, 8), focused

primarily on herding, though they also mastered bronze working when the technology reached them from their neighbors (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). The Celts dominated the northwestern region of the Iberian Peninsula while the Iberians occupied the southern and eastern portions of the peninsula (Chapman 1918, 8).

In time, however, the two distinctive groups mixed with the pre-existing cultures to form the more homogeneous populations of Celtiberians (Chapman 1918, 8) that the Romans referred to generally as the Hispani. Hispani society was characterized by a “warrior aristocracy” with lower classes of workers and slaves (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). Despite having a relatively uniform culture, the people organized themselves into small city-states rather than establishing a central system of governance and lacked any shared sense of identity (Chapman 1918, 8). For the sake of war, tribes would often create federations; the names of some of these federations are still commonly associated with place-names today (Chapman 1918, 9). For example, the Galicians were a federation of forty different tribes while the Lusitanians were a federation of thirty different tribes (Chapman 1918, 9).

The economies of the cities were based on herding, metalworking, and agriculture (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 14). Metalworking became such an important industry, in fact, that southwestern Spain was transformed into a trading hub for metals. The proximity of the Guadiana and Guadalquivir Rivers facilitated trade and travel in the region and helped create a cluster of trade and metalworking that ultimately attracted the Phoenicians, a powerful seafaring culture that eventually defeated the Hispani (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 15).

Phoenician, Greek, & Carthaginian Influences in Iberia

The Phoenicians, recognizing the potential for great wealth in southern Spain, began to establish a series of trading posts around the peninsula (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 15). They were the first group of people to establish a working relationship with the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula (Chapman 1918, 10). With the hope of trading metals, fruits of the sea, and timber, the Phoenicians founded the city of Gadir around 800 BCE, which is recognized as the first city in Europe, according to Phillips and Phillips (16). In addition to Gadir, known today as Cadiz, the Phoenicians founded Malaca, today Malaga, and Onuba, today Huelva (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16). In exchange for Iberian goods, the Phoenicians traded gold and artisan products from Greece (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16). The Phoenicians maintained healthy trade relations with the local Hispani even after Babylonian invasions threatened Phoenicia (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 16).

As the Greek empire expanded around the Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula became increasingly attractive as a site for Greek city-states engaged in trade. The first Greek expedition to the Iberian Peninsula is said to have taken place in 630 CE (Chapman 1918, 11). Indeed, Greece set up colonies to ease the ever-growing population in the center of Greece. Emporion, called Ampurias today, was the first of these (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17). The Greeks and Phoenicians were responsible for the introduction of many crops now widely considered to be staples in the Spanish and Andalusian kitchen. The grapevine, the olive tree, and grain were the most significant of the new plants and remain invaluable sources of income for Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17). In addition to these agricultural innovations, the Phoenicians and Greeks

introduced metal currency and a written language that was eventually adopted by the locals Iberians (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 17).

The Carthaginians, a society descended from the Phoenicians and located in North Africa, were often at odds with the Romans. In an attempt to solidify their power in the region, the Carthaginians sought to conquer the Iberian Peninsula beginning in 236 BCE under the leadership of Hamilcar Barca (Chapman 1918, 12). Prior to the arrival of the Carthaginians, the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula lacked a central government and political authority and Barca hardly managed to unite the divided groups (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 18). In 226 BCE, Rome and Carthage agreed to use the Ebro River as the boundary between their two kingdoms, with Rome in the north and Carthage in the south (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 18). However, in 219 BCE Hamilcar Barca's son, Hannibal, attacked Saguntum, a city that officially fell within Carthaginian borders (Chapman 1918, 13). Regardless, the people of Saguntum summoned Roman aid but the Romans failed to protect the city from the marauding Carthaginian armies (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 19). After several indecisive battles, Rome defeated Carthage in North Africa in 206 BCE and assumed control over the entire Iberian peninsula (Chapman 1918, 14).

Rome: The Beginning of Modern Spain

The Spanish physical and religious landscape deeply reflects Roman presence at the beginning of the first century. "Roman innovations and foundations underlay many medieval and modern developments in Spain and remain strong and apparent in Spain today in such areas as language, law, and religion" (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 21). Chapman also emphasizes the impact of Roman occupation of Spanish culture, writing

that “. . . [u]ndoubtedly, the greatest single fact in the history of Spain was the long Roman occupation. . . All that Spain is or has done in the world can be traced in greatest measure to the Latin civilization which the organizing genius of Rome was able to graft upon her” (1918, 15). Even after Rome defeated Carthage, the expansion of Roman power in Iberia took time (Chapman 1918, 20). A deeply rooted sense of localism and isolation made conquering and controlling Spain difficult, but in 200 years, the process of Romanization was complete. For the first time in its history, Spain was a relatively well-connected nation that participated in the wider Mediterranean economic and political sphere (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23). Under Roman rule, Spain became an important trading hub with Gaul, Britain, and the Rhinelands (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 22). In addition, the Christian legacy of the Roman Empire persists today, as it was the Romans who legalized Christianity and later imposed it as the state religion throughout the empire (Phillips and Phillip 2010, 29). It is important to note, however, that while the impact of the Romans was profound, the occupation of the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Greeks had laid the foundation for the transformations that occurred during Roman occupation and colonization (Chapman 1918, 14).

In addition to the economic, political, and religious relevance that Romanization brought the Iberian Peninsula, the Romans also established significant physical and societal infrastructure that survives today (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23). Spanish cities reflect the grid-like pattern that Romans used to organize their communities with a plaza at the center. Tiled roofs, walls, bridges, aqueducts, and other public improvements are all common features of modern Spanish cities, but date to early Roman settlement (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 23).

Among the cities Rome established, Tarragona (known then as Tarraco) and Córdoba (known then as Corduba) were regarded as the regional capitals of Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior, the two divisions of Roman Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 25) (Pierson 1999, 19). Meanwhile, Zaragoza (originally named Caesar Augusta), Cádiz (called Gades by the Romans), and Seville (Hispalis) all were important trading ports (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 25-26). Because Barcelona, Segovia, and Merida maintain a significant amount of Roman infrastructure, including aqueducts, walls, and theatres, they reflect most distinctly the impact of Roman domination (Chapman 1918, 25).

Even though Roman authority was powerful and left a significant legacy in Spain, its impacts were far from homogeneous across the peninsula. Cities and towns were notably more Roman than rural areas and housed a wider diversity of people; after Rome destroyed the Temple of Jerusalem in Israel, many Jewish people sought refuge in Spain, giving rise to many Jewish immigrant communities in Roman cities throughout the peninsula. The history of Roman society is most clear in the south and east of Spain whereas it is less obvious in the west and north (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27).

The Roman economy of Hispania was divided between agriculture, the production of artisan goods, and metal extraction. Before the arrival of the Romans to the Iberian Peninsula, the regional agricultural system was divided and unorganized (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). Under Roman rule, many small farms were consolidated into larger estates, or villas, that were owned by the elite and operated by slave labor (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). This system, under which the villa was the most important unit of the agricultural economy, carried a legacy that persisted for millennia.

Present-day rural Spain, especially in the south, is still characterized to some degree by large landownership with much of the population poor and landless. The landowners of the large estates produced olive oil *en masse*, which was sold to consumers all over the Mediterranean (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27). Among the other exports of Hispania were fish and fish processing. The Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts offered plentiful fish, and garum, a sauce made from fermented fish that served as a preservative (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 28). In addition to the production of grapes, olives, grains, wool, and other artisan goods produced in the region, the Romans depended heavily on metal extraction, a trend that ultimately depleted the peninsula's resources of gold, silver, copper, and cinnabar (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 27).

Gothic Spain

The Roman Empire maintained special relationships with the Germanic groups that occupied the borderlands of the Iberian Peninsula during the last centuries of Roman rule (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 30). Of these groups, the Visigoths had the largest impact on Spanish history. In the early fourth century when the Roman Empire was in decline, the Visigoths, exhausted by constant attacks from neighboring groups and in need of Roman technologies and agricultural practices, moved into the Roman Empire (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 31-32). Though the Visigoths and the Romans coexisted in relative peace, pressure increased from the aggression of outside attackers paired with conflicts within the two groups ultimately led to a breaking of the treaty between them (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 34) (Chapman 1918, 27). War broke out in 378 CE and the Roman Empire fell by the beginning of the fifth century CE, leaving the Visigoths in

control of the Iberian Peninsula and beyond (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 32-34).

However, other Germanic groups soon challenged their power, splintering the political cohesion built by the Romans (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 35).

Many Visigothic kings ruled Spain from the late fourth century to the early eighth century CE, but little remains of their dominion in the peninsula (Chapman 1918, 26).

While the Visigoth kingdoms in Iberia mixed Roman and Gothic elements in their society, the Roman influence far outweighed the Gothic influence; this legacy persists even today, as most Gothic structures have long since vanished from the landscape whereas Roman infrastructure still stands (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 41). King Roderick, the last Visigoth king, fell to the marauding Muslim armies that ultimately captured the bulk of the peninsula in 710 CE (Chapman 1918, 32).

Moorish Spain

The Muslim forces invaded the Iberian Peninsula in July of 710 CE, ushering in a seven hundred year chapter of Spain's history whose cultural impact endures today (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 42). Phillips and Phillips write that because the Visigoth kingdom was so weak, the invaders met little resistance and defeated Roderick's forces handily (42). By 718 CE, the entire peninsula was under Moorish control except for the northern mountainous regions of modern-day Asturias, Cantabria, and the Basque Country (Chapman 1918, 40). The territories conquered by the Moors were given the name Al-Andalus and fell under the control of the Umayyad caliphate in Damascus, the center of Muslim authority at that time (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 48). From its beginnings, the Moorish occupation signified a time during which Christians, Muslims,

and Jews lived together in peaceful community (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 47) (Chapman 1918, 49). In addition, the Muslims brought with them a new set of ingredients and flavors to the Andalusian diet, including citrus fruits, the fig, saffron, almonds, sugar cane, and rice. These additions were integrated seamlessly into the kitchen and continue to be commonly used by Spaniards today.

Despite the fact that the Iberian peninsula was relatively secure, the caliph struggled to maintain control over its expansive empire. In 750 CE, the Umayyad caliph was overthrown by the Abbasid family, but the change in power was fleeting; six years later, ‘Abd al-Rahman I, a member of the family formerly in charge, assembled an army of Yemenis, Berbers, and Syrians and took over the city of Cordoba and declared political autonomy (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 51). ‘Abd al-Rahman I built a professional army to quash the internal struggles Cordoba experienced, allowing for its blossoming as a center of culture and wealth and the largest city in Europe (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 52). “[I]deas and intellectuals traveled to Spain from the Islamic heartland, and al-Andalus changed from a far-western outpost of the Islamic world to become a vital part of it” (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 52).

In Baghdad, where the center of the caliphate had moved with the Abbasid family, political strife weakened the Fatimid dynasty (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 53). In response, ‘Abd al-Rahman III declared al-Andalus completely independent from the caliphate and declared himself caliph of the newly autonomous territory (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 53) (Chapman 1918, 45). However, in 1031, increasing localism spread through al-Andalus, which still covered two-thirds of the peninsula, and the caliphate was abolished after its leaders were deposed (Chapman 1918, 46). The leaders scattered

throughout the Iberian Peninsula began to pursue their individual agendas, creating divisions that provided opportunities for the Christian armies of the north to begin to assert their own power (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 54).

Christian Spain

The *Reconquista*, or Reconquest, of Spain began in 718 CE with the efforts of Pelayo, a man who, according to legend, descended from Visigoth nobility. The first battle took place at Covadonga, a cave in the Cantabrian Mountains, where Pelayo defeated a Muslim army (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 55). He encouraged other bands of Christian warriors to join him in his fight against al-Andalus; it is important to note that the motives behind the Christian advances were entirely territorial in nature rather than religious or economic (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 55). He called his kingdom Asturias and passed his authority to Alfonso I, who firmly established his monarchy and began to expand the borders of Asturias with the help of the clergy. Bitter fighting led to widespread Muslim retreat across large swaths of territory in the north (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 56). However, as Alfonso I consolidated land in the north, ‘Abd al-Rahman I had just established an independent caliphate with a powerful center of authority in the south, making further advances into the Moorish kingdom impossible (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 56).

Through a series of small victories, however, the Christian armies were able to successfully remove Muslim occupants from the northern areas of the Iberian Peninsula and to create an empire that extended from Galicia eastward across the Cantabrian Mountains to the Pyrenees, as far as Barcelona (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 61). Though

the Christian territories of northern Iberia shared a religion, they were separate and independent states; by the end of the eleventh century, León-Castile, Aragon, Catalonia, Navarre, and Asturias filled the upper third of the peninsula, each with different kings (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 66). Slowly, Christian armies moved further and further south and Alfonso IV of Castile conquered Toledo, marking a new phase in the Reconquista (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 66). By this time, religious fervor fueled the continued invasions as tolerance for diversity lessened in both the Christian and Muslim kingdoms (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 67-9).

In 1212, the Christian armies of Castile, Aragon, León, and Navarre joined forces to defeat the Muslim armies at Las Navas de Tolosa. Christian victory eroded what remained of Muslim power in Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). The conquest of Córdoba, Murcia, Seville, and Jaén followed in 1236, 1241, and 1246 respectively, though the kingdom of Granada remained intact (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). Because Granada had aided the Muslim armies during their conquest of other southern cities, it was able to maintain its sovereignty if it paid dues to the Muslim rulers (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 70). The monarchs of Spain that followed embraced the three religious communities – Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – and encouraged peaceful coexistence (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 72-74). The state of peace among them and between the Christian and Muslim kingdoms lasted for two centuries (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 83).

In the late 1400s, this *détente* changed dramatically. Isabel of Castile and Fernando of Aragon married, uniting the two largest Christian kingdoms, and with a shared zeal for expansion and religious war, conquered Granada in 1492, sealing their

authority over the territory that became modern Spain (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 112). With dominion over the entire Mediterranean coast as well as the Guadalquivir River, the monarchs were able to control the Strait of Gibraltar and to successfully build a powerful trade network among their cities and with other kingdoms in the western Mediterranean and northern Africa (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 84). Spain maintained especially strong connections with the Genoese and Venetians, as they had supplied Christian armies with supplies during the Reconquista (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 84).

The Columbian Exchange

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese man with sailing experience in Portugal, set out from Spain after convincing Fernando and Isabel that he could secure a westward route from Europe to Asia to circumvent the Portuguese presence in the East (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 120). His arrival to the Americas marked a huge change in global relations, as Spain sought to establish colonies in the Americas and to integrate them into the wider global economy through resource extraction and the exchange of goods (Nunn and Qian 2010, 167). This interchange between the Americas and the Old World came to be known as the Columbian Exchange and had a significant impact on the Andalusian kitchen, as many new food items were introduced and widely adopted, including tomatoes, peppers, potatoes, peanuts, cashews, chocolate, vanilla, and many others (Nunn and Qian 2010, 163).

Royal & Modern Spain

Two major families characterized Spain's chapter of absolutist monarchy: the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. The Habsburg dynasty, which lasted from 1516 to 1700, began with the rule of Carlos I, the Belgian grandson of Fernando and Isabella and successor to the throne of the Low Countries (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 134) (Pierson 1999, 58). It was under the rule of the Habsburg family that Spain experienced its Golden Age and the birth of some of its most famous artists and writers, including Diego Velazquez, El Greco, and Miguel de Cervantes. By accident, Carlos I inherited a united Castile and Aragon in 1516 at only sixteen (Pierson 1999, 59), though Fernando had never intended for the union to be permanent (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 127). After a historic reign by Fernando and Isabella that earned Spain a place in the New World, Carlos I was faced with ruling not only Spain and its territories, but also the Low Countries.

Though the beginning of his reign was marked by general disapproval of the people for favoring his native Holland, he quickly reoriented his strategies to regain the loyalty of his Iberian subjects (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 137). Carlos I focused heavily on the expansion of the Spanish empire in the New World. It was during his reign that Cortés and Pizarro conquered the Aztec and Incan civilizations respectively (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 139-140). Carlos I was also responsible for the New Laws of the Indies, a set of laws written in 1542 designed to protect the rights of the indigenous people and to provide him with stricter control of the colonies (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 142). After fighting many wars, many of them associated with the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, Carlos I was able to build an empire that stretched from contemporary Peru

to Hungary. In 1556, Carlos I abdicated his Spanish throne to his son Phillip, who later married a French princess and moved the capital of Spain to Madrid in 1561, according to Phillips and Phillips (145).

However, after two more monarchs and many costly wars, Spain reached what Pierson describes as its low point with the reign of Carlos II in 1665 (Pierson 1999, 69). Its wealth in the New World was neither sustainable nor sufficient to cover the costs of the constant battles and Spain could hardly fend off aggression from England, France, and the Netherlands (Pierson 1999, 70).

Because Carlos II was unable to produce an heir, Spain's neighbors took the question of Spanish succession into their own hands (Pierson 1999, 68). The English and Dutch kingdoms, former enemies, worked together to prevent French domination; Carlos II, however, named the grandson of the French king, Louis XIV, as his heir (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 170-171). Phillip of Anjou took the throne in 1700 as the first Bourbon king. He was met immediately with aggression from England and the Netherlands, who feared French dominion and sought to displace Phillip as king (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 171). Two treaties ultimately resolved the conflict and cemented Phillip's role as head of the Spanish empire, both in Europe and overseas (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 171). During Phillip's reign, Spain underwent *afrancesamiento*, or "Frenchification," a process that dramatically shaped culture, music, dress, and politics (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 173). Phillip ruled Spain until 1746, with only one brief interruption. Under Bourbon rule, Spain became a far more functional state with uniform policies and regulations (Phillips and Phillips 2010, 173-175).

The Bourbon dynasty ruled Spain uninterrupted until 1808, when Napoleon Bonaparte placed his brother in charge. Since then, the Bourbon monarchy has experienced interruptions three times: twice by civil war and declarations of independence and a third time by Francisco Franco, who established a dictatorship that lasted from 1938 until 1973. At the time of Franco's death, Spain hardly participated in the wider European market, which was on its way to becoming a powerful economic union, and its fascist government prevented it from gaining any legitimacy from other foreign powers (Pierson 1999, 161).

When Franco died in 1975, he passed political control of Spain to his protégé, Juan Carlos, a descendant of the Bourbons, who Franco had trained with the hopes that Juan Carlos would sustain his legacy (Pierson 1999, 170-5). However, upon taking the crown, Juan Carlos bravely and competently instituted a democracy that would stand against one attempted coup d'état and the vestiges of a fifty-year-old totalitarian state (Pierson 1999, 175-9). In the summer of 2014, King Juan Carlos I abdicated as king of Spain and his son, Felipe VI is now the reigning monarch (BBC 2014). Spain has been a member of the European Union since 1986 and adopted the euro in 1999 (European Commission 2014). It would be difficult to understate the role of Juan Carlos's leadership in Spain's transformation to its contemporary state. Formerly isolated by Franco's fascist policy, Spain transitioned remarkably well into global politics and into the worldwide economy.

CHAPTER 6:
THE GLOBALIZED ANDALUCÍAN KITCHEN

In order to understand the geography of food in Andalucía, I based my research on observation and numeric data collected from a selection of Spanish cookbooks. Both the empirical and quantitative data play an important role in capturing the traditional and contemporary manifestations of Andalucían cooking, as well as the intersection of the two. While globalization has an enormous impact on food in Spain, one might not realize the depth of its influence based on traditional Andalucían recipes, which reflect far more Spain's history from Roman occupation to the Columbian exchange. The streets of Granada, however, very ostensibly indicate the effects of global trade and commercialism in Spain, as Subway, Burger King, and other American chains dot the streets. Understanding the importance of both traditional and current cooking is crucial when studying the food geography of Andalucía.

In order to capture the true essence of traditional Andalucían cooking, I read three Spanish cookbooks, each of which were written by Spanish chefs and food experts: *The Cuisines of Spain: Exploring Regional Home Cooking* (Barrenchea 2009), which designated each recipe by its region of origin; *Rustica: A Return to Spanish Home Cooking* (Camorra and Cornish 2009), which divides its chapters based on primary ingredients and home regions; and *Spain: Recipes and Traditions from the Verdant Hills of the Basque Country to the Coastal Waters of Andalucía* (Koehler 2013), which splits the fifteen chapters based on the phase of the meal and primary ingredient. I read through each recipe in the three cookbooks, totaling over two hundred recipes.

From a total of 212 recipes and 1,379 different ingredients, I compiled the most common 35 ingredients, all of which are shown in Table 1 at the end of this chapter (page 42). A breakdown of the most commonly used ingredients from each cookbook are shown in Tables 2-4 (page 42). The number of ingredients included in each list is uneven because of the volume of ingredients with the same value. For example, there are twelve more ingredients that occurred only twice in *Cuisines of Spain*. For clarity, I combined shrimp (*camarón*) and prawns (*gamba*) into one category, though they technically are different species of shellfish. Additionally, any recipe described or labeled as coming from a region other than Andalucía was excluded; recipes with Catalan names were also excluded.

In order to study the true core of the Andalucían kitchen, I removed the following ingredients, which can be considered ubiquitous around the world and contribute nothing to the uniqueness of Andalucían cuisine: salt, pepper, eggs, sugar, bread, flour, butter, milk, and water (totaling 533 ingredients of 1,379). The remaining ingredients can be neatly broken up into three distinctive categories based on their origin, each of which reflects major geographical features and historical chapters of Spain.

Of the thirty-five most common ingredients, the greatest number of them (14) can be considered native to the Iberian Peninsula, totaling 564 appearances of local ingredients. Food items and by-products including extra virgin olive oil, garlic, white wine, onions, and parsley have histories among the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula dating back to Roman civilization. Meanwhile, pork and its Spanish variations have been staples in the Andalucían diet since the days of the Celtic occupation of the Iberian

Peninsula (Pollack 1992). *Jamón asado*, shown in Photo 1 (page 37), is a dish of roasted ham with olive oil, parsley, and salt, and is typical of tapas bars throughout Andalucía.

These and other foods are considered to be native given the environments they require and the long record of cultivation in the region. For example, olives and grapes require a Mediterranean climate, with wet winters and dry summers, to thrive. As one might expect, the physical geography is the greatest determinant in the most commonly used ingredients, as native ingredients have the longest and most persistent history of use. The climate not only sets Andalusian cuisine apart from other food traditions around the world, but from food traditions in other regions of Spain. The mild weather allows for cultivation of Mediterranean fruits and vegetables that can of course be transported to other places, but leave the most significant mark on food in Andalucía.



Figure 5: *Jamón Asado*. Photo by author.

Seven of the top thirty-five ingredients trace their origins to northern Africa, totaling 150 instances. Cinnamon, orange, saffron, and almonds among other ingredients, appear widely in the three cookbooks and have distinctive histories in northern Africa and throughout the Middle East. These food items correspond to the centuries-long occupation of the Iberian Peninsula by the Moors. In addition to appearing with great frequency in side dishes, main dishes, and desserts, North African ingredients appear in

what could be called the most quintessentially Spanish dish: *paella* (shown in Photo 2, page 38).

Similarly, the Andalucían kitchen deeply reflects New World influences, which makes sense given Spain's profound involvement in the colonization of Central and



Figure 6: *Paella*. Photo by author.

South America. Five of the top thirty-five ingredients are of American origin, and represent 132 of the total ingredients in the three cookbooks. Tomatoes, bell peppers, paprika, and potatoes all have roots in this agricultural hearth of tropical America and appear with striking frequency in Andalucían cooking. The arrival of the Spanish to the Americas in the late 15th century marked the beginning of the most influential exchange of goods up to

that point, the Columbian Exchange. The persistent influence of American food items is reflected in the most famous and ubiquitous Andalucían dish, gazpacho, which takes its base from tomatoes and bell peppers (shown in Photo 3, page 38).

In fact, the influence of the Americas, and in particular of the United States, continues to leave a mark on the culture of food in Spain and in Andalucía. A Burger King restaurant, located in the center of Granada, always has a bustling crowd; and in a perfect example of cultural convergence, the local Subway sold tapas, or small plates of appetizers that very traditional in Spain. Lays chips were available in a



Figure 7: *Gazpacho*. Photo by author.

number of flavors one will not find in the United States, including *jamón*. From Granada, one does not need to travel far to reach the nearest KFC®, and there is a Taco Bell in Málaga, another Andalusian city just an hour and a half away. Hamburgers, certainly a dish made famous in the United States, have been adopted by many restaurants and were a particular favorite of my host family. However, they were typically prepared with pork instead of beef, giving them a bright pink hue. Such an alteration of a very typical dish of the United States is appropriate given the widespread accessibility and consumption of pork.

While the forces of contemporary globalization were evident in how people nourished themselves, there are contrary forces of “glocalization,” a term coined by Swyngedouw (1992, 39-67) and refers to the “contested restructuring of the institutional level from the national scale both upwards to supra-national or global scales and downwards to the scale of the individual body, the local, urban or regional configurations” (Swyngedouw 2003, 24). This is a particularly fascinating phenomenon when considered in the context of products marked with a *denominación de origen protegida* label, or DOP. This mark, officially given by the national governments, makes a product exclusively from one place. Gruyère cheese, for example, is labeled with a DOP stamp in Switzerland and no other cheese, regardless of compositional similarities, can be called Gruyère cheese unless it is produced in the Canton of Fribourg, Gruyères, Switzerland. The label, however, does not control the production of the good; rather, it controls the use of the name, and any use of the name outside of its home region means an infringement of copyright. By virtue of this fact, products with the label are embedded with a deep sense of locality and asserted authenticity.

Not surprisingly, Spain boasts an enormous list of species of olives, types of ham, cheeses, and other food items native to the Iberian Peninsula with a DOP stamp. *Queso manchego*, perhaps the most famous Spanish cheese, dominates tapas menus nationwide and comes from the province of La Mancha. Producers of *jamón de Huelva*, a type of cured pork from Andalucía, take pride in its careful manufacture and drying processes.

A more distinctive element of *denominación de origen protegida* are products that are native to regions outside the Iberian Peninsula, but have variations labeled as exclusively Spanish. For example, the *chirimoya de la costa tropical de Granada-Málaga* is strictly an Andalucían food item. Curiously, the cherimoya is a fruit native to Peru and Ecuador that made its way to Spain in 1757, and later gained prominence in the province of Granada (Morton 1987, 65-9). The cherimoya does not stand alone as a non-native food item embedded with this sense of glocalization; there are variations of peaches, melons, lentils, and rice, all of which were introduced from outside Spain, and despite their faraway origins, are now considered inherently Andalucían.

It is important to note, however, that just as the border of Spain has allowed for enormous globalization and exchange, the borders of provinces within Spain are equally as fluid. While I focused on Andalucían recipes exclusively, the Andalucían kitchen incorporates cooking traditions from other regions of Spain. Just as one could find *gazpacho* in Madrid, one could easily find *cocido madrileño*, a traditional dish from Madrid, in Andalucía.

Table 1: Overall totals of ingredients.

| Ingredient | Count | Origin |
|------------------------|-------|--------|
| Salt | 164 | U |
| Extra virgin olive oil | 118 | L |
| Garlic | 102 | L |
| Pepper | 67 | U |
| Onion | 63 | L |
| Eggs | 62 | U |
| Olive oil | 61 | L |
| Sugar | 60 | U |
| Lemon | 56 | M |
| Tomatoes | 53 | A |
| Vinegar | 52 | L |
| Parsley | 45 | L |
| Bread | 40 | U |
| Bay leaf | 37 | L |
| Flour | 37 | U |
| Jamón | 31 | L |
| Bell pepper | 26 | A |
| White wine | 25 | L |
| Paprika | 24 | A |
| Butter | 23 | U |
| Milk | 21 | U |
| Potatoes | 19 | A |
| Cinnamon | 18 | M |
| Oranges | 17 | M |
| Saffron | 17 | M |
| Shrimp/Gambas | 17 | L |
| Almonds | 16 | M |
| Carrot | 16 | M |
| Pork | 16 | L |
| Thyme | 15 | L |
| Sherry | 14 | L |
| Water | 14 | U |
| Oregano | 13 | L |
| Artichokes | 10 | M |
| Leek | 10 | A |

Table 2: Totals of ingredients from *Cuissines of Spain* (Barrenchea).

| Ingredient | Count | Origin |
|------------------------|-------|--------|
| Salt | 40 | U |
| Olive oil | 25 | L |
| Garlic | 21 | L |
| Eggs | 18 | U |
| Sugar | 17 | U |
| Vinegar | 15 | L |
| Extra virgin olive oil | 13 | L |
| Tomatoes | 13 | A |
| Water | 12 | U |
| Bread | 10 | U |
| Jamón | 10 | L |
| Flour | 9 | U |
| Lemon | 9 | M |
| Bell pepper | 8 | A |
| Orange | 8 | M |
| Parsley | 8 | L |
| Onion | 8 | L |
| Shrimp/Gambas | 6 | L |
| Milk | 6 | L |
| Pepper | 6 | U |
| Bay leaf | 5 | L |
| Cinnamon | 4 | M |
| Oregano | 4 | L |
| Potatoes | 4 | A |
| Saffron | 4 | M |
| Tuna | 4 | L |
| Almonds | 3 | M |
| Butter | 3 | U |
| Carrots | 3 | M |
| Paprika | 3 | A |
| White wine | 3 | L |

Table 3: Totals of ingredients from *Rustica* (Camorra & Cornish).

| Ingredient | Count | Origin |
|------------------------|-------|--------|
| Salt | 47 | U |
| Extra virgin olive oil | 36 | L |
| Garlic | 31 | L |
| Lemons | 21 | M |
| Olive oil | 21 | L |
| Onion | 19 | L |
| Sugar | 18 | U |
| Bay leaf | 18 | L |
| Eggs | 15 | U |
| Parsley | 15 | L |
| Tomatoes | 13 | A |
| Vinegar | 12 | L |
| Bread | 11 | U |
| Pepper | 11 | U |
| Butter | 10 | U |
| Flour | 10 | U |
| Jamón | 10 | L |
| Bell pepper | 7 | A |
| Paprika | 7 | A |
| Sherry | 7 | L |
| Carrots | 6 | M |
| Potatoes | 6 | A |
| Thyme | 6 | L |
| Artichokes | 5 | M |
| Cumin | 5 | M |
| Green beans | 5 | A |
| Oregano | 5 | L |
| White wine | 5 | L |
| Cinnamon | 4 | M |
| Honey | 4 | M |
| Mushrooms | 4 | U |
| Quince | 4 | M |
| Saffron | 4 | M |

Table 4: Totals of ingredients from *Spain* (Koehler).

| Ingredient | Count | Origin |
|------------------------|-------|--------|
| Extra virgin olive oil | 77 | L |
| Salt | 69 | U |
| Garlic | 50 | L |
| Pepper | 50 | U |
| Onion | 36 | L |
| Eggs | 29 | U |
| Tomatoes | 27 | A |
| Lemon | 26 | M |
| Sugar | 25 | U |
| Vinegar | 25 | L |
| Parsley | 22 | L |
| Bread | 19 | U |
| Flour | 18 | U |
| White wine | 17 | U |
| Olive oil | 15 | L |
| Bay leaf | 14 | L |
| Paprika | 14 | A |
| Milk | 13 | U |
| Pork | 12 | L |
| Bell pepper | 11 | A |
| Jamón | 11 | L |
| Almonds | 10 | M |
| Butter | 10 | U |
| Cinnamon | 10 | M |
| Potatoes | 9 | A |
| Saffron | 9 | M |
| Thyme | 8 | L |
| Carrot | 7 | M |
| Chicken | 7 | L |
| Oranges | 7 | M |
| Leek | 6 | A |
| Pine nuts | 6 | A |
| Nutmeg | 6 | M |

L Local or brought to Spain during Roman occupation **A** American product
U Ubiquitous worldwide **M** Brought to Spain during Moorish occupation

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

While we often do not consider the origins of the foods we eat, they can tell a powerful narrative of our own histories, revealing the most dominant forces that have brought us to the present. Studying the dinner plate can offer a fuller and deeper understanding of the history and geography of a place. Gastronomy can shed light on cultural trends and patterns that might otherwise go unconsidered. While physical geography shapes the base of a kitchen, history lends the food a distinctive character and produces a uniqueness that can be uncovered with careful study.

It is intuitive that the Mediterranean climate of Andalucía determines an enormous part of what and how people eat. A landscape dominated by dry summers and wet winters yields abundant olive groves, pomegranates, onions, oregano, and plentiful agriculture. After combining empirical data collected from September to December of 2013 with numeric data from three Spanish cookbooks, it is evident that the flavors and ingredients of the Andalusian kitchen serve as a direct reflection of both the landscape and the nation's most influential chapters: Roman occupation, the Moorish invasion of 711 CE, and the Columbian exchange. Even paella, Spain's most famous dish, bears the vestiges of the nation's tumultuous history, and its golden saffron hue carries with it a story and a piece of Spain.

The countless dishes and flavors that characterize the Andalusian kitchen are considered inherently Andalusian, despite the fact that they trace their origins far outside

Spanish or even Andalucían borders. From paella to gazpacho, what one might consider 'quintessentially' Andaluz is not purely Andaluz. Such a conclusion has enormous implications for how we approach the idea of authenticity and purity. Truly, nothing can be considered authentic or wholly pure. On the contrary, the character of the Andalucían kitchen, like all kitchens, is constantly shaped by outside influences, from the military occupation of the Moors in 711 CE to the wave of globalization that began after the Columbian exchange, and relies heavily on global connections.

These forces transform nations in the same way they transform the dinner plate, making the kitchen an appropriate lens through which one studies the history of the place. In addition to serving as a reflection of physical geography, food can provide a nuanced understanding of how a nation has interacted with its neighbors throughout its history and how it operates as a modern state today.

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