

Cultural Gastronomic Traditions from the city of Rio de Janeiro - Brazil

*Mariana de Oliveira Aleixo^a, Edmilson Rodrigues^b, Roberto Bartholo^a

^aProduction Engineering Program - Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil.

^bRio de Janeiro State University and PUC-RJ - Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro

Article History

Received: 16.11.2017

Accepted: 16.03.2018

Keywords

Brazilian gastronomy

Rio's gastronomy and cultural traditions

Debret

Abstract

This article discusses how Rio de Janeiro's gastronomic identity was formed upon a blending of European, indigenous and African cooking traditions. Following the transfer of the Portuguese Empire's capital to Rio, in the break the XIX century, the city's urban life was greatly impacted as the city saw a surge in the slave trade and immigration, in addition to the Portuguese Court's presence. Consequently, food and eating habits were substantially influenced by the city's new life, which involved a clear duality of the aristocratic and popular segments of society. French painter Jean Baptiste Debret accounts for masterly portraying the urban life of Rio, especially regarding its slavery social injustice and how it deeply influenced the city's life. If food is indeed an important variable for understanding cultural traditions, Rio's gastronomy reflects historical experiences that translate Rio's soul to the present. The article is a case study based on bibliographic research of the Brazilian gastronomic formation.

* Corresponding Author

E-mail: marianoaleixo@gmail.com (M.D.O. Aleixo)

INTRODUCTION

This article is part of my Master's research "Situated Gastronomy and street food in the city of Rio de Janeiro", carried out by the Technological Laboratory for Social Development (LTDS) and Production Engineering Program of COPPE/UFRJ – Brazil. The purpose here is to acknowledge an eating identity for the city of Rio de Janeiro, which comes out of a city's local gastronomy history study. It enables us to acknowledge food as culture and as a representative of how human experiences pulse and ascribe personality to the city.

Our findings derive from readings of the urban history of Rio de Janeiro, upon which we might uphold the Rio's extreme particular urban profile and daily was life geared to the streets, the quintessential space for experience exchanges and encounters - street food and bars being evermore essential and an enchanting part of urban life - which expresses the city's gastronomic identity. In the early XIX century, Rio de Janeiro lived an intense modernizing process based on European standards. Alencastro (1997) states that Rio de Janeiro then took over the role of being the European cultural reference for Brazilian colonial cities.

A lively urban and street life enabled the city of Rio de Janeiro to have an authentic gastronomic identity. Its local gastronomy clearly portrays thus how the city was meant to be divided; in that of a white European culture, part of the city prevailed as a ruling and conservative segment, whereas a large number of African slaves and inherited indigenous traditions (CASCUDO, 2011) prevailed on the innovative side. Such duality, however, could not for long prevail but for gastronomy. Urban "Carioca"¹ life was separated on one hand - by the European culture, represented by the house, and on the other, by the African culture, which was found in the streets; the two ended up blending and becoming a single culture. As an exploratory bibliographical research that uses the Brazilian gastronomy as a case study (GIL, 2008), this article aims to discuss how history, gastronomy, culture and city stands altogether for Rio de Janeiro and Brazil. Cultural foreign influences are obviously noticed in the city's gastronomy identity, given that Rio's cuisine was blend out of both cosmopolitan (European and African) and native traditions.

CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS

Rio de Janeiro both as a colonial and imperial capital

Brazil had been under Portuguese rule since 1500. In 1763, the colony's capital was transferred from the city of Salvador (northeastern Brazil) to Rio de Janeiro. It was a first moment towards increasing the city's exchange experiences with Europe, Africa and Asia. Following the transfer of the Portuguese Court to Brazil, led by the court's flight from the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, Rio de Janeiro became the Empire's capital, since it became both the colony and the metropolis capital.

"When the French occupied Lisbon, the Portuguese royal family and all the state apparatus moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1808. On 16 December 1815, the city of Rio was decreed the capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal" (SILVA, 1993 p.51).

¹ Carioca refers to those who were born in the city of Rio de Janeiro

Rio de Janeiro, “came to serve a new function, that of replacing Lisbon, since dominated by Napoleon Bonaparte as from 1808.” (RODRIGUES, 2009, p. 92). Long before it, Rio de Janeiro was essentially a merchant city, providing enough room for an extremely rich environment of exchange, driven by different social levels that clearly represented the city's aristocratic/popular duality.

The city's income surpassed that of the twenty other provinces of the Empire altogether. The port of Rio was almost a mandatory stopover for ships that crossed the Atlantic Ocean towards the Spanish colonies located in the Pacific Ocean. Rio the Janeiro was both the starting and redistributing point of the national Brazilian economy. Half of the Brazilian foreign trade, during the XIX century, was exported from the ports of Rio (Lobo, 1978). Being the capital of the United Kingdom of Portugal also represented a unique momentum for the city of Rio de Janeiro. The Monarchy's presence in Rio – the political, economic and cultural capital of Brazil for that time - meant imposing a behavior standard that came to be widely found in the country, from the XIX century onwards.

Once the capital of the Portuguese Empire, Rio became the most important political and economic center of South America, but it has been, since then, a so-called divided city that might share the same space. Rio was on the one hand, the city that tried to welcome the Portuguese-European values of nobility, and the city that incorporated, on the other hand and since its foundation, a blending of African and indigenous traditions (CASCUDO, 2011) - whose resistance against Portuguese oppression, never ceased.

Gastronomy and slave trade in the City-Court

As of the transfer of the Portuguese royal Court to Rio de Janeiro, the city became the largest slavery trade terminal of Portuguese America and of the South Atlantic. Available data regarding slave trade Brazil reveal how startling numbers:

“Between 1550 and 1855, four million slaves came in through Brazilian ports. Most of them were young males. Where they came from depended on how the slave trade was organized, on the local conditions in Africa, and to greater extent, on the preferences of Brasilia Slave owner”. (FAUSTO, 2014, p.18)

The city of Rio de Janeiro itself accounts for having received half of the Africans taken as slaves to Brazil. On 1839, with an estimated population of 115.000 inhabitants, half of Rio's population was composed of African slaves - the other half accounting for “free men and women”.²

Portuguese brought their government body in addition to many of their cultural traits. Owing to the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal, Rio de Janeiro became the safest city for the Portuguese monarchy to take refuge in.

In indigenous land, exchanges among Brazil, Europe, Africa and Asia became more intense and new habits were incorporated to the city's emerging tradition. Not only did the royal family and the aristocrats have to adapt to the life in the New World, as likewise did the city's daily colonial life: for the Portuguese Royal Court, Brazil's rich variety of ingredients could not meet their European/French cuisine's high-standard demands (EDMUNDO, 1956).

² Data obtained at slavevoyages.org

It reveals a lack of creativity of the Court's cuisine on how to adapt uncommon ingredients to the European cuisine, but also, how easily the Portuguese refused to use the same ingredients as enslaved Africans did. The aristocratic sociability, hugely marked by its fanciness, as opposed to the simplicity of the common Brazilian citizens eating habits - introduced etiquette, table manners and a standard course menu.

Fancy European restrictions, however, could not for so long prevail in the New World, since food was a matter of survival. Different social segments started then to exchange European eating habits; quality and quantity became new appreciated measures. By gathering available ingredients found in Brazilian soil with three different cuisine traditions, Rio de Janeiro launched a very particular gastronomy, which blends Europe, Brazil and Africa (CASCUDO, 2011) a key issue for Rio de Janeiro's eating culture.

In addition to the exchange that cuisine experiences promoted, the Court sought to make their French habits regarding dress codes, music and dances, prevail. Brazilian weather conditions, however, greatly differed from that of Europe, and made it difficult, especially during the Brazilian summer (December-February), for the Court to maintain their Portuguese/French winter dress codes and cultural habits. Brazilian tropical weather was also determinant for increasing cultural and cooking exchanges that took place either by assimilation, distortion or by differently interpreting how to handle three cooking traditions in the same very context. *Carioca's* gastronomy indirectly absorbed French cuisine methods (EDMUNDO, 1956), upon their previous use by the Portuguese Court. Ingredients like ham, boudin, sardines, plum, olive, raisin, figs, cheeses from the Portuguese regions of Alentejo and almonds from Algarve, disembarked in the Brazilian Colony and became part of the country's new gastronomic dimension - built together with indigenous and African ingredients and cooking techniques.

Regardless French influence, a Portuguese cuisine habit prevailed and challenged the French etiquette: the Portuguese eating voracity. Offering banquets represented one of best Portuguese cordiality formulas.

Salad with meat became more popular in Brazil after Prince regent John disembarked in Brazil in March 1808. (...) He was welcomed by a banquet with 15000 noble guests from the Portuguese Royal House. This aristocratic stream gradually took shape, both by developing relations with the patrician dwellers already established in the country and by welcoming noble newcomers. Eating. Drinking. Residing. (CASCUDO, 2011, p. 496)

Combined with the Court's eating voracity, the aristocracy ended up pressuring for a gradually wider use of Brazilian products, since it became even harder for imports to follow the pace of voracity. Brazilian typical products became part of the Court's daily eating diet.

Regardless the Court's and aristocracy's efforts to maintain the so-called spirit of the French art of cooking alive, manioc flavor, corn, black beans, meats and a large variety of fruits drew the aristocracy's attention. Considerable use of condiments like onions, garlic and spicery could also impress them. Driven by curiosity, the Court became gradually surprised by the broad and unique variety of ingredients found in Brazil.

The Court's kitchens, a place where a large number of slaves worked by the order of Portuguese cooks, were the quintessential space for exchanging cultural experiences.

Maria Graham, the writer-traveler

Maria Graham (2011), an English writer who lived in Brazil in 1821, took very attentive notes regarding politics, social and the daily life of the Royal Family. She highlighted the king-size appetite of John VI, King of the United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and the Algarves, from 1816 to 1825. She states his enthusiasm for the Portuguese *cabidela* stew, traditionally prepared with the fowl's plumes, wings, hackle, toes, liver, spleen, and heart; and cooked with cedar sauce, which is in turn, prepared with blood and vinegar. Cabidela stew was then incorporated to the Brazilian menu.

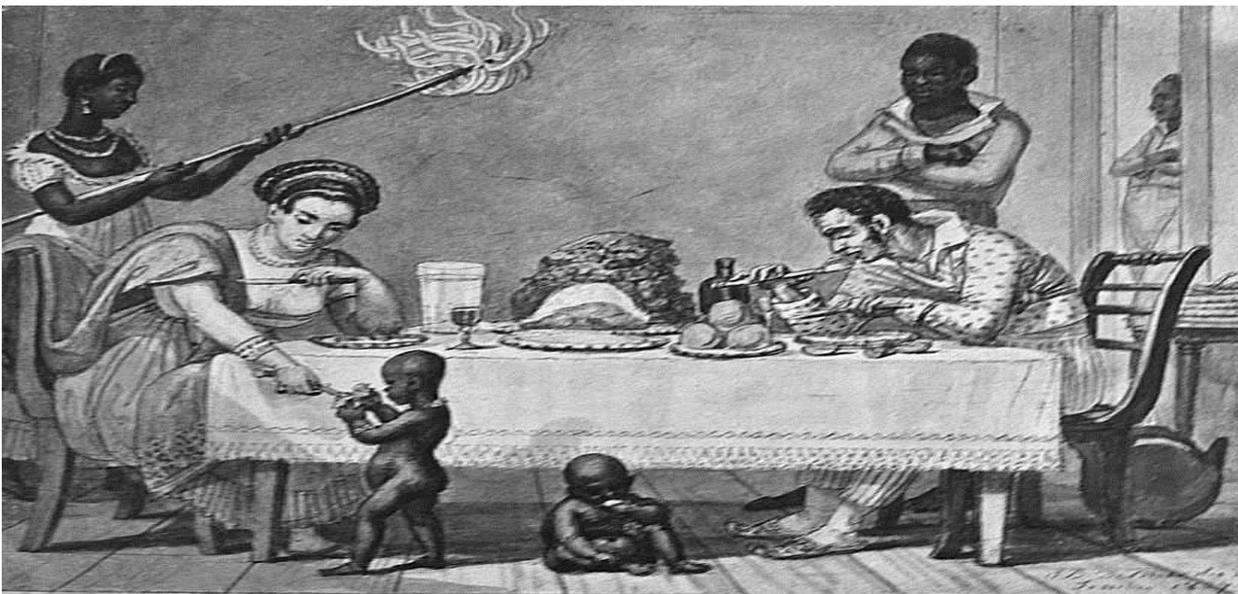
Thus, Graham described her food perceptions in Rio:

I began to devote some attention to land matters. We found great vegetables and poultry, but not cheap; fruits are very good and cheap, fresh meat is cheap, but tastes awful; Lamb is scarce and not good. Pork tastes wonderful and looks great, they are fed mainly with manioc and corner. (...) fish is not abundant as it should be, but is great though. Oysters, shrimps and crabs are as good as everywhere. Wheat bread made in Rio is mainly prepared with American flour; generally speaking, it is very good. (...) Greatest staple here is manioc flour. Usually eaten dried, it is found in all dishes served on wealthy families' tables, likewise we eat bread. Beans follows manioc as the favorite food, and is prepared on all possible manners, the most common being cooked with slices of pork, garlic, salt and pepper. (GRAHAM, 2011, p. 196)

DISCUSSION

Debret, the painter of urban Carioca's life

The French painter *Jean Baptiste Debret*, greatly depicted the daily life of the city of Rio de Janeiro. A great example of his mastery comes from his watercolor *A Brazilian dinner* (Debret, 1940, prancha 7, p.132-133) - a unique testimony of the colonial social injustice.



In regards to tradition, the watercolor shows how integrated European, African and indigenous cuisine traditions were: European traits are found in table manners and meats; African hands prepared the meals; and the indigenous presence is found by the use of manioc and chili.

As for the city of Rio, it served as a cultural resonator box for the rest of country:

Rio de Janeiro came to be the “main center for welcoming the concepts of progress and civilization, reproducing a social aristocratic atmosphere that required the city to transform its emerging architectural and cultural traits.” Theaters and opera houses were then built, dress codes gained momentum, cultural standards were being reproduced from elsewhere, but gastronomy was creative (RODRIGUES, 2009, p.130)

The Court brought together political and cultural properties that underscored the contrasts of an urban slavery in the city of Rio de Janeiro, clearly placed between the duality of being both a Court noble ruling city and a popular Colonial one. The city’s many social segment levels could interact and exchange experiences along the XIX century, mainly because hand labor was in high demand due to the city’s modernization services. Because of the court’s transfer to Brazil, Rio de Janeiro’s population immediately increased. Many non-noble immigrants also came to Brazil. An intense interaction between slaves and non-noble European segment took place - gastronomy being a large part of this interaction. Even though carioca's society is extremely stratified, gastronomy had a particular status of being more opened towards a mutual exchange relation.

According to El-Karek and Bruit (2004), in addition to the Court, the economic elite and slaves, the city of Rio de Janeiro was inhabited by a large number of immigrants who shared a low/medium purchasing power, merchants and public officials who were naturally influenced by European values and foreign habits. Many French immigrants came to Brazil. Some ended up opening restaurants or cooking, though French sophistication did not meet the Brazilian reality. A free but poor population of Brazilian men and women sought to find in Rio de Janeiro working and living opportunities.

Urban Carioca slavery differed considerably from other prevailing slavery regimes of Brazil, like rural slavery. The urban mass of slaves could freely circulate in the city, enhancing cultural exchanges and access to information. Court Slaves, in their turn, were allowed to eat the Court's leftovers, which also meant an opportunity for exchange. Slavery was, nonetheless, an obstacle for social integration. Being the capital of the Empire - in terms of foreign diplomacy - and having the largest port of the area, enabled Rio de Janeiro to serve as the political resonance box for Brazil, which happened to be the main stage for the various contradictions of the Empire.

According to Alencastro (1997), the main contradiction was maintaining a regime based on slave trade in a world and time when England and the Industrial Revolution fought slavery; such a regime then came to represent an obstacle for the state’s civilizational ambitions. Racial tensions were/are broadly found throughout the country.

According to Silva (1993), a census from 1849 showed that one in every two Rio de Janeiro’s inhabitants had been born in Africa. The urban space of Rio de Janeiro was predominantly black. Therefore, the city's daily gastronomy cannot be reduced to a single and aristocratic one, as recipe books state. Whereas quantity was the typical distinctive feature for the most privileged sectors of society, simplicity and satisfying basic needs was the priority for the less privileged segments of society. *Carioca* gastronomy was found in-between simplicity and cosmopolitanism. While women usually worked as house slaves, a portion of urban male slaves worked as cash-earning day laborers, selling food in the streets of the city. In order to work in the streets, they needed a municipal

license to sell fruits, vegetables, poultry, eggs, meat, fish and sweets. This type of work was carried out on Sundays, holidays and evenings, deemed as time-off opportunities. Their aim was to obtain extra gains for their owners, as a mean to buy their own freedom. Slaves in Rio de Janeiro were allowed to have a greater integration with city, as opposed to other slavery regimes from other colonies.

Debret followed the daily life and work of these slaves, and painted *Juice saleswomen in the Paço square* (Debret, 1940, prancha 9, p.132-133):



Debret also masterly portrayed the street market trade of Rio de Janeiro in the following paintings: *Negra tatuada vendendo caju*, *Vendedoras de aves*, *Vendedor de palmito e de samburás*, *Vendedoras de milho e carvão*, *Vendedoras de capim e leite*, *Transporte de café e vendedoras de café torrado* e *Vendedoras de pão de ló* (Debret, 1940).

“Boteco”, a Brazilian unique bar

By eating outdoors and carrying a duality of sophistication or roughness, *cariocas* increasingly started a culture of eating in the streets, especially in low-cost bars, aimed to sell alcohol beverages together with snacks, appetizers, noshes and pastries. Commonly known as “*botecos*” they would allow intimate and open encounters with the streets. Such establishments became an intrinsic element of city life and reflected new eating habits that represented the effervescent *carioca* society life. There was no defined food standard for the *botequins*, which linguistically speaking is the diminutive of *boteco*, and functions as a name to convey either the smallness of such establishments or a related sense of intimacy or endearment.

Botequins’ offers ranged from: coffee to alcoholic beverages (RIO, 2010), like *cachaça*, a Brazilian distilled spirit made from fermented sugarcane juice; from pastry to *Feijoada*, the quintessential Brazilian national dish (SILVA, 1993), whose origin comes from the African slave cuisine, and is made out of black beans and mainly of

the pork's ear, jowl and tail; *Pastel* (FAUSTO, 2009), a triangular savory pastry fried in ghee or oil, containing meat or cheese, was also a very common meal of the *boteco*, together with condensed milk pudding and many other dishes that served as a fast menu.

One of the oldest dishes of the Empire's capital, and part of the *botequins* menu, was the *angu*, a Brazilian type of grit. *Angu* is also a very representative Brazilian dish: corn is boiled without salt to a creamy polenta, then poured with meat pieces like heart, kidney, haslet, and tongue. *Angu* is a synthetic dish for the blending of cultures in Brazil (DEBRET, 1940), since it gathers indigenous, European and African cultures. It is similar to the indigenous *maniçoba*, to the European porridge and to the slave mush.

Angu is portrayed by Debret in *Angu Saleswomen*. (Debret, 1940, prancha 35, p. 212-213).



Female slaves “dominated in-house cooking art, and were responsible for cooking for Lord's families” (KARASCH, 2000, PP. 313). It enabled them to be creative, since they had access to restricted ingredients like eggs, meat, coconut milk, dried shrimp, ginger, pumpkin, eggplant, okra, banana and pepper (CASCUDO, 2011).

Their unique recipes included *moqueca*, a typical Brazilian dish made out of a slice of salt water fish cooked in coconut milk and palm oil, along with tomato, garlic, onion and coriander. All those cooking experiments are still present not only in the current widespread menus of the city's botecos, but also in fancy carioca's restaurant menus. Food and social life relation came to express Rio's urban culture, greatly by sharing a street-boteco encounter. Up to the present, alongside samba - brazil's unique music genre - being played in the same boteco-style bars, the essence of carioca's culture is there ultimately found. Slave cuisine was intimately connected to their religious cult. Since eating was sacred for African slaves, they also began to consider sacred many other dishes that came from other religious traditions. Slaves, however, were never granted the right of having an eating autonomy (KARASCH, 2000).

A critical reflection regarding so-called racial democracy in Brazil might be encouraged by looking to the Feijoada, the quintessential national gastronomic symbol. Conventional history attempts to draw European roots.. Ingredients and cooking techniques that resemble those of Feijoada, produce similar versions of the dish in Europe. Portuguese prepare the *cozido*; Italians, the *casoeula* and the *bollito misto*; french prepare the *cassoulet*; Spanish, the *paella*, prepared using rice but not beans.

This being the case, common historical views assume the following roots for the Feijoada: beans are native ingredients; pork parts, the cheapest ones. Cooking techniques, in its turn, would come from Europe. Nonetheless, such interpretations do not take into account cooking traditions and techniques from the same African female hands who indeed prepared the Feijoada, for which they are more likely to take protagonist role rather than that of simply being African female cooks using European techniques for preparing the so consecrated Brazilian national dish. It sounds reductionist not to critically consider how the technique is, intentionally, granted as European.

Portuguese colonization harmed Brazil directly and indirectly. It affected how the sense of national identity is considered. Surprisingly, such preference for granting European roots for the Feijoada is often found among Brazilian so-called chefs and cuisine experts, who argue in favor of diminishing the country's African history and trying to support a more swayed European one. Granting and giving due value to the Feijoada's roots, and how Africa historically played a crucial role in the country's history, is at least a legitimate and rightful act.

CONCLUSION

This article offered an interpretative model for the *carioca's* gastronomy history, based on the premise that the city's development and modernization, alongside the blending of African, indigenous and Portuguese traditions, opened a path for a gastronomic local culture. Rio's culture is composed of a diverse array of traditions and cultural traits that, once gradually blend, created the carioca's identity. Gastronomy being one of such traditions, it performed a protagonist role in this article. In the first place, owing to the fact that such a blend of cooking savoir-faire and flavors marked the city, encouraging its cosmopolitan food traits and ultimately establishing the Brazilian gastronomic identity; in the second place, because street food and *botecos* are democratic and had made food a means for social integration.

Cultural exchanges altogether revealed and manifest the city's creativity, actively encouraged by the Court and city relation - the city metaphorically representing the authentic side of the carioca's life, where African, indigenous and popular traditions had opened paths for innovation and creativity. *Botecos*, street bars and markets gave place, as from the XIX century, to the city's gastronomic tradition. They meant popular culture resistance (RIO, 2010) against changes, restrictions and impositions. Every corner of the city is likely to offer a variety of creative Brazilian dishes.

A single analysis parameter will never suffice for comprehension of the *Carioca* gastronomy history, for which the duality of aristocratic/popular gastronomy is ultimately present. The Court's gastronomy habits could not meet, ethnographically speaking, the eating needs of the *carioca* people. Cooking creativity, arising from cheap and national products, was an innate skill gradually built by the Brazilian people. A concept of a situated and local gastronomy is part of the cultural tradition blend, whose dialogue opened the path for food survival alternatives.

Giving the many cultural encounters, exchanges consequently resulted in a very particular eating culture, as opposed to the rest of the Brazilian Colony. Foreign eating culture traits could not be erased. Every culture tradition was naturalized, either by a simple adaptation to local ingredients or exchanges, and certainly, by imposition.

In fact, the *Carioca* gastronomy is certainly much more local than imported - it resulted from convergence but never from a single (deemed European) determinant element. Unsurprisingly, we found Rio's cultural gastronomic identity throughout Brazil. Gastronomy in Rio followed the pace of modernization, always defending original traditions (ZAOUAL, 1998) while never closing its eyes to the world.

REFERENCES

- Aleixo, M. *Gastronomia Situada: Comida de rua na cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. Dissertação de Mestrado. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Engenharia de Produção, Instituto Alberto Luiz Coimbra de Pós-Graduação em Engenharia, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro: Rio de Janeiro, 2014.
- Alencastro, L. F. *História da vida privada no Brasil: Império*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997.
- Azevedo, A. *Da Monarquia à República: um estudo dos conceitos de civilização e progresso na cidade do Rio de Janeiro entre 1868 e 1906*. 2003. Tese (Doutorado), Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social da Cultura, PUC-Rio, Rio de Janeiro, 2003.
- Cascudo, L. C.. *História da alimentação no Brasil*. 4. ed. São Paulo: Global, 2011.
- Castro, H; Frago, J. (org.). *Escritos sobre história e educação: homenagem a Maria Yeda Leite Linhares*, v. 1. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad; Faperj, 2001.
- Coaracy, V. *Memórias da cidade do Rio de Janeiro*. 3. ed. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1988.
- Debret, J-B. *Viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil*. 3. ed. São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1949.
- Debret, J-B. *Voyage pittoresque et historique au Brésil*, Paris: Impremie National Collection, 2014
- Edmundo, L. *Rio de Janeiro no tempo dos vice-reis*. 4. ed. Vol. 3. Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1956.
- El-Kareh, A. C.; Bruit, H. H. *Cozinha e comer, em casa e na rua: culinária e gastronomia na corte do império do Brasil. Estudos Históricos*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 1, n. 33, p. 76-96, jan./jun. 2004.
- Ewbank, T. *Vida no Brasil*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1976.
- Fausto, Boris. *O crime do restaurante chinês: carnaval, futebol e justiça na São Paulo dos anos 30*. Companhia das Letras, 2009.
- Graham, M. *Journal of a voyage to Brasil and residence there during part of the years 1821, 1822 and 1823*, London; Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Karasch, M. C. *A vida dos escravos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.
- Karasch, M. C. *Slave life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Lobo, E. M. Lahmeyer. *História do Rio de Janeiro: da capital comercial ao capital industrial e financeiro*, v. 2. Rio

- 12 *Journal of Tourism and Gastronomy Studies* 6/1 (2018) 3-16 de Janeiro: Instituto Brasileiro de Mercado de Capitais, 1978.
- Luccock, J. *Notas sobre o Rio de Janeiro e partes meridionais do Brasil*. 2. ed. São Paulo: Livraria Martins Editora, s.d.
- Malerba, J. *A corte no exílio*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000.
- Oliveira E Sousa, J. *de S. Marquês de Rio de Janeiro: o marquês de Pombal: sua vida e morte cristã*. Lisboa: 1934(Documento inédito).
- Reis, J. J. *A rebelião escrava no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003.
- Rio, João do. *The encchanting soul of the streets. Rio de Janeiro: Cidade Viva*, 2010.
- Rodrigues, A. E. M. *História da urbanização no Rio de Janeiro: a cidade capital do século XX no Brasil*. In: CARNEIRO, Sandra de Sá; SANT'ANNA, Maria Josefina (org.). *Cidades: olhares e trajetórias*. Rio de Janeiro: Garamond, 2009, p. 85-119.
- Rodrigues, D. *Arte de cozinha: primeira parte*. Trata do modo de cozinhar vários manjares, e diversas iguarias de todo o gênero de carnes, tortas, empadas, e pasteis. Lisboa: s. n., 1765.
- Rugendas, J. M. *Viagem pitoresca através da Brasil*. São Paulo: Universidade de São Paulo, 1979.
- Rugendas, J. M. *Voyage pittoresque dans le Brésil*. Paris: Engelman & Cie, 1835
- Saint-Hilaire, A. *Viagem pelas províncias do Rio de Janeiro e Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 2000.
- Savarin, B. *A fisiologia do gosto*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995.
- SENNA, Ernesto. *O velho comércio do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Casa Editorial, 2006.
- Slaughter, J. (ORGS). *The global south atlantic*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2017, vol. 1, pp. 192-209.
- Silva, E. *Price of the people*. The life and time of Brazilian free man of colour. New York: Versos Books, 1993.
- Silva, M. N. D. *Entre o pão e a farinha: viagens através da cultura europeia e da mesa brasileira no século XIX*. 2008. Dissertação (Mestrado em História), Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora, Juiz de Fora, 2008.
- Sousa, A. J. *Do regime das classes pobres e dos escravos da cidade do Rio de Janeiro em seus alimentos e bebidas*. Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1851.
- Zaoual H.. *La nouvelle économie des territoires : une approche par les sites*. In Kherdjemil B., Panhuys H., Zaoual H. : *Territoires et dynamiques économiques*. l'Harmattan, Paris, 1998.
- Zeldin, T. *Histoire des passions françaises*. Paris: Payot, 1994.