

RETHINKING TOURISTIFICATION AS A LONG-TERM PROCESS

THE IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE MADEIRAN CUISINE (19TH-21ST CENTURIES)

REPENSANDO A TURISTIFICAÇÃO COMO UM PROCESSO A LONGO PRAZO
O IMPACTO DO TURISMO NA COZINHA MADEIRENSE (SÉCULOS 19-21)

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ABSTRACT

In the last decade, we have witnessed a growth of contestation movements against touristification on the global scale. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, the intensive, disordered flux of travelers in some popular destinations was blamed for negatively affecting the everyday life of local inhabitants. One effect was the degradation of their intangible cultural heritage (ICH), including culinary legacies, and more research has focused on this issue from different disciplinary areas. However, the approaches usually adopted only consider the immediate consequences of the ongoing phenomenon that can be observed during a field enquiry. This paper explores a new path. Assuming that cultural heritage is a long-term social construction, an historian's outlook is needed to see the big picture. The case study of the Madeiran cuisine allows us to understand to what extent receiving guests has long-term effects on the ICH of host communities. Madeira is one of the oldest destinations of the world, with a hospitality industry in activity since the early 19th century. Additionally, numerous documents attest the evolution of dietary patterns of the insular society, not only at this period, but also before and after. From this point of view, it is an excellent place to monitor the socio-cultural impact of tourism. Historical sources from different periods are confronted to understand the dynamic of the culinary repertoire in the archipelago. The point of view of local stakeholders currently involved in this arena are also considered. The results obtained by this diachronic approach enable us to relativize the Manichean vision of holidaymakers as a threat to cultural heritage, demonstrating that touristification studies should take into account the *longue durée*.

Palavras-chave: Touristification, Intangible Cultural Heritage, History, Food Traditions, Madeira

RESUMO

Ao longo da última década, os movimentos contra a turistificação têm-se multiplicado, assumindo-se que o fluxo intenso e desordenado de viajantes nos destinos mais populares tende a afetar negativamente a vida cotidiana dos seus habitantes. Um dos efeitos nefastos usualmente apontados é a degradação do património cultural imaterial (PCI), incluindo legados culinários, tendo-se multiplicado os estudos sobre esta questão em diferentes áreas disciplinares. No entanto, as abordagens usualmente adotadas apenas consideram as consequências imediatas desse fenómeno que podem ser observadas no decurso de um trabalho de campo. Este artigo explora uma nova forma de equacionar essa problemática. Assumindo que o património cultural é uma construção social na longa duração, impõe-se a perspetiva do historiador. O caso de estudo da gastronomia madeirense permite-nos perceber em que medida os turistas têm um efeito duradouro no PCI das comunidades de acolhimento. A Madeira é um dos destinos mais antigos do mundo, com uma indústria hoteleira em atividade desde o início do século XIX. Para além disso, um vasto corpus de documentos atesta a evolução dos padrões alimentares dos ilhéus, não só ao longo deste período, mas também antes e depois. Deste ponto de vista, é um verdadeiro laboratório vivo para compreender o impacto sociocultural do turismo. São confrontadas fontes históricas de diferentes períodos para compreender a dinâmica do repertório culinário deste território ultraperiférico. O ponto de vista dos atores locais também é tido em consideração. Os resultados obtidos através desta análise diacrónica permitem-nos relativizar a visão maniqueísta do forasteiro como ameaça ao património cultural, demonstrando que os estudos sobre a turistificação devem ter em conta a “longue durée”.

Keywords: Turistificação, Património Cultural Imaterial, História, Tradições Culinárias, Madeira

1. Introduction

Presently, holidaymakers are increasingly attracted by the cultural heritage rather than by the sunny beaches (UNWTO, 2001; Fernandes et al., 2007; Cameron et al. 2008; doValle et al., 2011; WTO, 2018). They are more committed to incorporating the spirit of the places, and particularly, to tasting the local food, in lieu of simply visiting historical monuments and hearing 'soft' narratives about the past (Silva, forthcoming). In turn, the commoditization of the traditional cuisine and other kinds of intangible legacies increases the impact of tourism on the host communities. Indeed, the intensive and disordered flux of travelers transforms destinations, not only physically, but also in terms of their customs and the identity of their inhabitants. In recent decades, scholars from different disciplinary areas have debunked the effects of the so-called touristification, warning of the escalation of this threat (Mendes, 2017; Freytag et al., 2018; Bol Esteve et al., 2020; Andrade et al., 2020; Dali et al., 2021; Simas et al., 2021). Nowadays, local, national, and global stakeholders of the heritage arena are charged with protecting the culture of those who live in the most popular destinations. Their actions to minimize these effects, however, often fall far short of the residents' expectations, sometimes having nefarious consequences (Salazar, 2012). The relative lack of success of the policies implemented is symptomatic of our misunderstanding of this phenomenon, which calls in question the limits of the approaches previously adopted to investigate these kinds of issues. This paper explores a complementary outlook, adopting a qualitative approach, in line with the grounded theory (Chun Tie et al, 2019). It seeks to extend the insight—until now temporally restricted to the duration of fieldwork—to a longer period. Indeed, even if former research assumed that

cultural heritage is the product of a social construction (Konsa, 2013), the need to consider the long term is not usually considered.

The cuisine of Madeira is the case study chosen to evaluate the scope of this methodological twist. This autonomous region of Portugal is one of the oldest destinations in the world, receiving foreign visitors soon after the discovery of this insular territory around 1419 (Aragão, 1981). Some scholars still consider them as true tourists (Silva, 1985), meanwhile others do not agree (Silva, 1994). Pointing to the early 19th century is more consensual today (Almeida, 2016). At this time, Madeira took advantage of the European wars that blocked access to the south of France and Italy (Silva, 1985) preferred by the first *faiseurs de tour* (Silva, 2016a). Initially, it was mostly as a stopover or for medical reasons that they sojourned at Funchal, the capital of the island. Later, it would become more and more just for leisure (Silva, 1994; Câmara, 2002).

The evolution of the aristocratic repertoire of culinary recipes before, during and after the birth of the hospitality industry in the early 1800s are mapped. The historical documents used are chiefly from the archives of three convents in Funchal, but also the travel books written by visitors in the 19th century, and the descriptions of the regional cuisine published by Madeiran intellectuals during the period of the dictatorship. The point of view of local stakeholders currently involved in the tourism and heritage arena makes it possible to extend the chronological interval considered up to the present day. Adopting a diachronic perspective allows us to relativize some received ideas about the socio-cultural impact of leisure

mobility, disseminated today to different audiences.

2. Literature Review

In the last thirty years, “touristification” has gained a negative connotation, which the concept did not initially have (Picard, 1997). Currently, this word often expresses an antagonist relationship between two variables—tourism and heritage—the former being intended as the cause of the erosion or even the disappearance of the latter, significantly changing the identity of the host communities (Andrade et al., 2020). Yet tourism is by itself a cultural phenomenon (Wood, 1997; Pereiro Pérez, 2009). From this perspective, its impact on the lifestyle and the identity of the host communities should be understood as the result of interactions between distinct systems of behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols, and not between culture and something else. But for many, touristification is just another achievement of the neoliberal agenda, which dominates all dimensions of society today (Mendes, 2017).

To be fair, the growing tendency to commodify different categories of heritage—including the intangible one (ICH)—such as tourism resources (Walmsley, 2003; Köhler & Durand, 2007; OECD, 2009; Capucho & Francisco, 2010), also has some beneficial effects (Smith, 2003; Smith, 2015). One of them is to improve, up to a certain point, the safeguarding of cultural legacies. In the first place, the recognition of their capacity to attract profit¹ helps increase the public support and external funding for their conservation, which often cannot be ensured by community members

alone. The growing appetite of modern consumers for cosmopolitan-enhancing experiences (Salazar, 2015) has another underrated return: it stimulates the collective self-esteem of the host societies, giving the autochthonous customs a chance to have a bright future. It also generates new opportunities to reevaluate the local identities and to build bridges between different points of view (Gewertz & Errington, 1989; Picard, 1997; Smith, 2003; Coccossis, 2009; Santos et al., 2013).

It is, however, the negative outlook of touristification which has mostly captured the attention today. Claude Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss, 1955; Silva, 2016a) was probably the first to bring to light the threat this emerging trend represents for the indigenous traditions. However, the precocious engagement of the French anthropologist within the UNESCO arena (Stoczkowski, 2007) had no impact on their heritage policies, initially at least. This organization was immediately concerned about the growing interest of middle-class Westerners in the historical and archaeological sites abroad. In the beginning, support for a cultural tourism, friendly to the World Heritage and the humanistic values defended by the institution, was unconditional (Cousin, 2008; Silva, 2016b). For several decades, however, the safeguarding of the local customs was neglected. It was still ignored during the whole Abu Simbel operation (Silva, 2016a), one of the greatest UNESCO’s achievements ever (Save-

¹ And particularly in regard to foodways (Matta, 2015).

Söderbergh, 1992). But recreational travel was soon likened to an instrument of post-colonial domination (Boutillier et al., 1978), also responsible for the commodification of heritage (CMCD, 1996; Choay, 2011; Silva, 2016b).

In 2003, the UNESCO convention for the safeguarding of the ICH marked a real change of paradigm in this arena (Bortolotto, 2011). The food traditions, not contemplated by this normative act, was later integrated into the new category of cultural legacies (Silva, 2016a). Its inclusion marks, in practice, the endorsement of the importance of cuisine as a fundamental element of collective identities, as academics had claimed for several decades (Matta et al., 2020). From that point onwards, ICH would be understood by a growing number of policy makers on a global scale as the result of a social construction process, mixing transmission and creativity (Konsa, 2013). The stakeholders involved in this arena now have an alternative to the methodological nationalism inherited from the 19th century (Beck, 2006; Silva, 2016a). The 2003 convention also recognized for the first time the active role of the tradition keepers (Ciarcia, 2011; Bortolotto, 2012). The ICH is currently set as a foundation stone of their collective identity (UNESCO, 2003: art. 2 al. 1), countering the tendency to value heritage in a fetishist manner (Choay, 2011).

Despite the recent improvements in the legal framework, it continues to be hard, in practice, for host communities to maintain the balance between their customs, their expectations, and the preservation of the natural and cultural legacies—which, by the way, is not always their main priority, contrary to the commonly held belief (Smith, 2015). In fact, previous studies revealed that the safeguarding plans based on UNESCO's normative acts often have

undesirable effects (Berliner et al., 2013). This is particularly true in protected areas, where developers privilege a "green tourism" (Franklin, 2003), and ecological sustainability does not mean obligatory social equity, as observed by David Goeury (2007) regarding the national parks of Morocco. The touristification of the ICH, and especially food traditions, could be, in this case, an effective way to increase the interactions between guests and host communities, guaranteeing the fairest distribution of incomes (Silva, 2016a). Other policies should be implemented to prepare both visitors and the visited to avoid conflicts of interests (Smith, 2003). However, to be effective, any monitoring plan needs to be based on a large corpus of scientific studies supported by solid evidence. Unfortunately, the impact of tourism on the local customs is not easy to measure and quantify due to its qualitative expression and subjective nature (Wall et al., 2006). In fact, guests are not solely responsible for the changes in behavior and consumption in host communities. The residents are also influenced by media and the exchanges with friends and relatives living abroad. The trips they make, as workers or on holiday, are significant, too (Smith, 2015; Fletcher, 2018). Thus, the scope of this kind of inquiry has been limited by the inability to individualize these different variables.

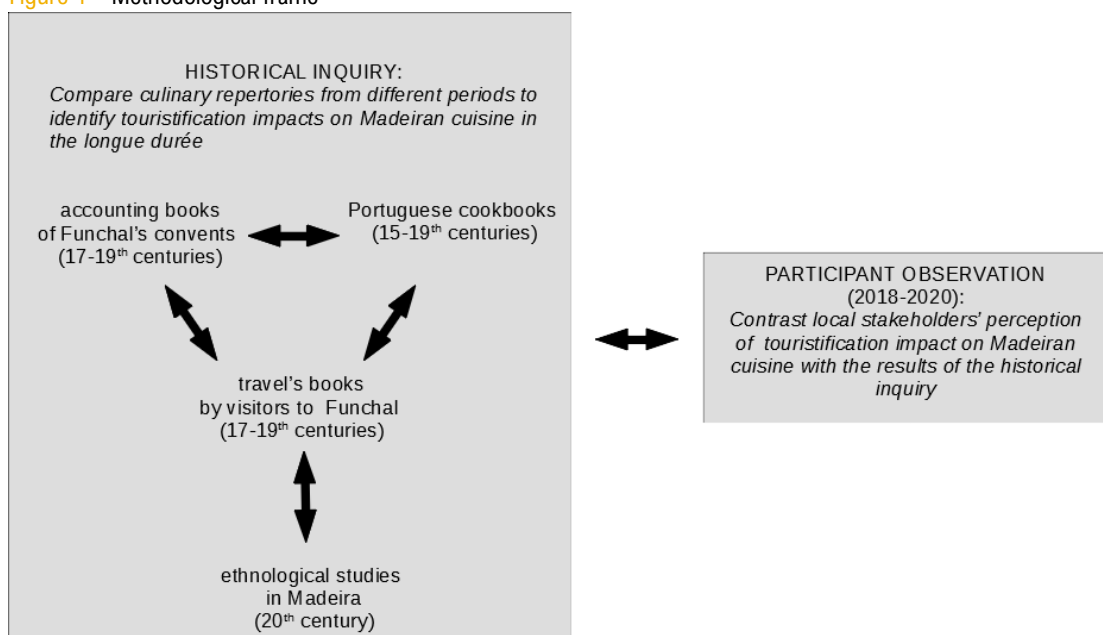
Questionnaires, interviews of groups or opinion leaders, Delphi analysis, participatory observation, as well as statistics, reports, articles in journals, magazines and other publications are generally used to measure the sociocultural impact of tourism (Fletcher, 2018). In this paper, we see how a historical approach could open new perspectives to the comprehension of the touristification phenomenon.

3. Methodology

In some way, the study is in the same vein as ‘Sweetness and power: the place of sugar in modern history’ by Sidney W. Mintz (1985). This pioneer work revealed the fecundity of the diachronic approach for understanding current food ways. The methodological frame

described above is historical, rather than anthropological (Figure 1), and the research method adopted is qualitative, being oriented by the grounded theory and based on a purposing sampling (Chun Tie et al., 2019).

Figure 1 – Methodological frame



Source: Own elaboration

The results of a long-term research project (*Patrimônios alimentares do arquipélago da Madeira. Em busca da matriz mediterrânea*) undertaken by one of the authors (AJMS) on the Madeiran food traditions (Silva, 2018a; Silva, 2020; Silva, 2021a; Silva, 2021b; Silva et al., 2021; Silva et al., forthcoming) are explored. One of the tasks, scheduled in the working program and already executed, was the systematic review of all the accounting

books of three nunneries in Funchal: Convento de Santa Clara, Convento da Encarnação (Figure 2) and Convento das Mercês. The 92 manuscripts studied (Table 1¹) correspond to more than 10,000 pages of data and contain numerous references to culinary preparations, often specifying which of them are destined to feed the sisters, their domestic personnel and other individuals connected to the community in different ways.

¹ Table 1 and 2 are available here: **Erro! A referência da hiperligação não é válida.** <https://r962q3.s.cld.pt> [accessed 30/08/2020].

Figure 2 – Church of the Convento da Encarnação (Funchal), 25/05/2020 (AJMS)



The relevance of these sources for the knowledge of food history had been noted for many years (Nascimento, 1937; Sousa, 1948-1949), being explored by several authors interested in this topic in recent decades (Veríssimo, 1987; Gomes, 1995; Carita, 1999; Fontoura, 2000; Sousa, 2012). However, this corpus has never been studied systematically before today. It includes all the manuscripts conserved at the Torre do Tombo (the Portuguese National Archives: ANTT) and those that belong to the Regional Archives of Madeira (ABM). The ANTT documents were consulted online¹ and the others *in situ* (Table 1). The chronological interval covered extends from the 3rd quarter of the 17th to the end of the 19th century.

Previous research highlighted the fact that, during the Modern age, the nuns shared the diet of the upper strata of Portuguese society

(Braga, 2015). It was also the case at Funchal (Carita, 1999), at least before the economic decline of the three convents, which began in the middle of the 18th century and intensified in the next decades (Fontoura, 2000). These establishments responded to the need of the noblemen to host their unmarried daughters, avoiding the dispersion of the family inheritance (Sousa, 1991; Silva, 1995; Carita, 2014; Braga, 2015). From this point of view, the documentation analyzed makes it possible to obtain a very detailed image of the aristocratic taste before and after the rise of tourism in Madeira.

In Table 2, all the culinary preparations are identified, always specifying in which monastic community they are found. When the name still exists in Portuguese, the current orthography has been reproduced (ex: *malassada*) and the most common variant attested in the account

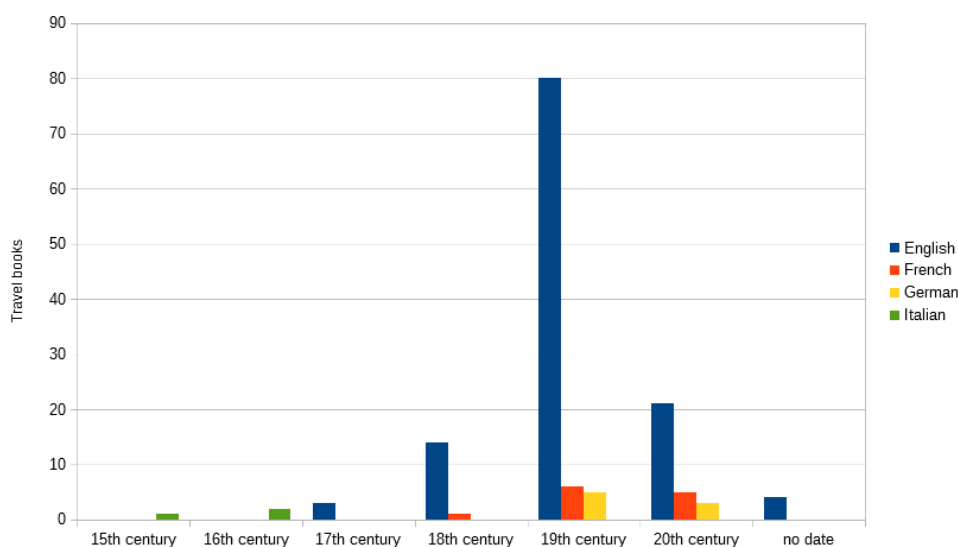
¹ Online database of the ANTT. <https://digitalq.arquivos.pt/> [accessed 07/07/2020].

books in the other case (ex: *aluericoque*). Today, some of them ordinarily designate ingredients (ex: *damasco*) or culinary recipients (ex: *pratinho*). However, the context in which these words appear allowed us to deduce they refer to a dish. A few of them are close (ex: *pratinho*, *pratinho*), and may be used to refer to the same thing, but not necessarily. Indeed, cookbooks of the Modern times often contain entries with very similar names, as the example of the manuscript belonging to the Convento das Salésias de Lisboa, compiled after 1782 (Braga, 2015), demonstrates. Five recipes mention the word “*broa*” or the diminutive “*broinha*” in their title, despite describing clearly distinct operative chains: ‘*Receita de broas de amêndoas*’, ‘*Receita de broinhas*’, ‘*Broinhas de batatada*’, ‘*Receita de broinhas de pão de ló*’, ‘*Broinhas de ovos moles e castanhas*’ (Abecasis, 2015, p.11-12, 18, 33-34, 52-53, 77). There are also sometimes very different preparations with the same name (ex: “*Broas de milho*”, Abecasis, 2015, p.23-24, 47-48), as noted by I. D. Braga (2013; 2015) in other cookbooks of this period.

The results of this research are matched up with those of a query in the numerous books

written during the 19th century by travelers sharing their Madeiran adventure (Rodrigues, 2019; Figure 3). They often describe the autochthonous food habits, and sometimes, the meals offered by their hosts. Testimonies of this kind provide some clues about the evolution of the upper-class cookery after the early 1800s, when the island became a very popular destination for European aristocrats, giving birth to the local hospitality industry. During this century, the holidaymakers from Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire gradually joined the Englishmen and Frenchmen (Rodrigues, 2019). The foreigners were lodged in “boarding houses” (Dix, 1850; Garnier, 1859; Câmara, 2002), also called “family hotels” (Matos, 2013). These were the residential buildings adapted by their owners to host journeyers. A few days after their arrival, the most fortunate looked for villas to rent (Dix, 1850; White, 1851; Garnier, 1859; Silva, 1994; Câmara, 2002; Matos, 2013). Hotels, as we now know them, are only mentioned for the first time in 1850 by John Driver. The oldest one seems to be the London Hotel (Driver, 1850; Silva, 1985; Marujo, 2013). This kind of offer grew substantially in the next decades (Garnier, 1859; Taylor, 1882).

Figure 3 - Travel books dedicated to Madeira by chronology and language according to António Aragão (1981)



Furthermore, the repertory of delicacies referred to in the ecclesiastical corpus are compared with those identified by the intellectuals, which collected the regional folklore in the 2nd quarter of the 20th century (Cruz, 1963 [1949]; Pereira, 1989 [1939]), to track long-trend changes in the foodways. The results of a participant observation undertaken by one of the authors (AJMS), taking part as a *fabric-acteur* (Suremain, 2015) to the local

heritage arena, was also explored. This methodology was previously applied to ICH studies by him (Silva, 2018b) and other scholars before (see, for example: Bortolotto, 2017). In this case, it enables an understanding of the perspective of stakeholders about the impact of touristification on the traditional cuisine, in particular, and the regional culture in general.

4. Findings

The historical inquiry permitted the identification of 210 different names of dishes in the accounting books deposited in both regional and national archives. This number is very impressive, even when compared with the repertory documented in the culinary manuscripts used by monastic communities during the Modern Age. For example, the *Caderno do Refeitório* (1743) described 283 distinct recipes, and the *Caderno de receitas do Convento das Salésias*, only 126 (Braga, 2015).

However, the variety of delicacies named is not equal in the three feminine establishments studied. Most of them had been recorded at the Convento de Santa Clara (186), i.e., nearly double those identified at the Convento da Encarnação (107) and nearly five times more than those detected at the Convento das Mercês (12). These discrepancies may be explained in part by the asymmetric representation of each convent in this corpus (Table 1; Figure 4). In some way they may also reflect distinct dietary patterns, the last community being subject to a more rigid discipline¹. Indeed, the rule adopted at the Convento das Mercês was particularly strict regarding the nuns' diet, who had to live almost

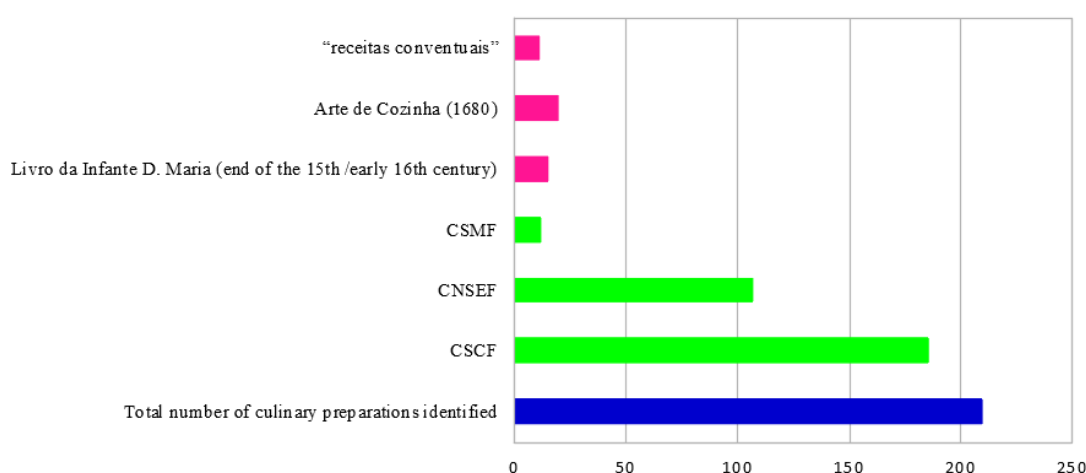
exclusively on charity (Fontoura, 2000). The two others were owners of numerous rural properties, who supplied their members with foodstuffs and generated a significative income (Sousa, 1991; Silva, 1995; Fontoura, 2000). The Convento de Santa Clara, the first to be founded in Madeira in the early 16th century, hosted the daughters of the most prominent families of the colonial society (Aragão, 1987; Sousa, 1991; Fontoura, 2000; Carita, 2014). The huge variety of delicacies served to them, especially on the occasion of the religious celebrations (Pereira, 1939 [1989]; Sousa, 1948-1949), reflects the sophisticated taste of the upper classes to which most of them belonged. There are 20 preparations (Table 2, Fig. 4) already described by Royalty chef Domingos Rodrigues, author of the oldest cookbook printed in Portugal (1st ed., 1680); 11 of those were also included in culinary manuscripts used by monastic communities of the mainland during the Modern times (Table 2, Figure 4). Contrary to what some believe, there is no such a thing as a conventual repertory different from those appreciated in the aristocratic milieu at this period (Braga, 2015; Braga, 2017). Both belong to the same tradition

¹ ABM, Governo Civil, Conventos, livr. 268.

inherited from the Renaissance high cuisine. In fact, 15 names of dishes mentioned in Table 2 are described in the notebook of the Infanta Dona Maria (Figure 4). This anonymous manuscript was given to the granddaughter of King D. Manuel I, when she left the court of Lisbon to marry an Italian duke in 1565 (Manuppella et al., 1967). At this time, the huge success of the *Saccharum officinarum*'s

acclimation in Madeira and the discovery of the oceanic route to India fostered the generous use of sugar and oriental spices (Braga, 2007). The dietetic knowledge of this era, based on the humoral principles inherited from the Hippocratic medicine (Silva, 2013), favored a palette of flavors, which contributed to the popularity of these two ingredients in the elite milieu.

Figure 4 - Background of the culinary preparations identified



In the rest of Europe, the food legacy of the Renaissance was progressively abandoned during the Modern period, influenced by the *Nouvelle cuisine*, a modernist movement started by Vincent La Chapelle and other culinary writers from France (Hyman et al., 1996). The growing acceptance of this new tendency dictated the divorce between healthiness and "good taste", opening the door to the invention of gastronomy by Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin in the 1820s (Flandrin, 1996). The dissemination of a renewed know-how by chefs such as Auguste Escoffier guaranteed the long-term hegemony of France as the homeland of 'the' international standard, copied everywhere but never equaled. At the end of the 19th century, the emerging hospitality industry embraced this change of paradigm together with the concept of Palace Hotel,

marrying for the first-time *hôtellerie* and *haute cuisine*, and targeting tourists as their primary clientele (Pitte, 1996; Silva, forthcoming). Simpler flavors, combined without any dietetic concern, would soon be preferred by the members of the European elites (Flandrin, 1996).

The food revolution was late in reaching Lisbon. Lucas Rigaud (1780), author of the 2nd Portuguese cookbook, was the precursor of the vanguard movement at the Royal court (Gomes, 2016). However, the former cuisine would not decline immediately, the *Arte de Cozinha* written by Domingos Rodrigues one hundred years before being reedited repeatedly during the 19th century (Ferro, 1996). Regarding Madeira, the accounting documents analyzed here revealed the continuity of the

Renaissance tradition in the monastic milieu of Funchal until the death of the last nuns. The obedience to a diet based on religious rules, defined by the constitutive acts of the three congregations, always favored the old ways over novelty.

The outlook of foreigners gave us an important insight into what happened outside the walls of the city's convents during the same period. In the 1740s, a gentleman from England visited Madeira. It is relevant to note that British businessmen had long since been living on the island. Their contribution in the culinary field was, however, limited to the introduction of a few edible plants (Silva, 2018b). In the middle of the 19th century, they raised vegetables in their properties that are still not consumed today by the Madeirans, such as artichokes, asparagus and celery (White, 1851). Most of them being Protestants, the expatriate community was not subjected to the abstinence imposed on Catholics during Lent, curbing the exchanges with the food culture of the Portuguese settlers.

The British gentleman was probably hosted by a family belonging to the colonial elite (Silva, 1994), instead of a compatriot as it often happened then (Vieira, 1999). In a letter sent to a friend, he wrote: "*My long residence among this people has by degrees reconciled me to their manner of diet, which at first was*

disgustful to me." (Alcoforado, 1750). At the occasion of a Lenten meal, he was particularly perturbed by a salad of eggs, bread, raisins, and pears, which constituted the primary dish, and the treacle sauce flavoring a mix of fruits and vegetables for the second course. Being a citizen of the nation where Vincent La Chapelle published the *editio princeps* of '*Le Cuisinier moderne*' (Hyman et al, 1996), this traveler was not pleased by the abundant use of saccharine condiments, inherited from the Renaissance times, and also by the habit of eating fruit, conserved or fresh, before the dessert (Alcoforado, 1750), characteristic of this food tradition (Flandrin, 1996). His testimony shows that, in the middle of the 18th century at least, the cooks at the service of the upper class were still immune to the winds of change blowing across all Europe.

A hundred years later, Isabella de França pointed out the Madeiran cuisine again for its sweetness. During her sojourn in the island, this English lady, married to a local landowner, was particularly impressed by the sophistication and the diversity of the dainties made with sugar. At this time, several commercial houses of Funchal were already specialized in making these kinds of products, the Confeitaria Felizberta, being the first to open its doors in 1837 (Pereira, 1989 [1939]; Sainz-Trueva, 1987; Figure 5).

Figure 5 – Building of the Confeitaria Felizberta (Rua das Pretas, Funchal), 23/12/2019 (AJMS)



Isabella de França mentions sweetmeats and a few pastries habitually consumed by the feminine communities of Funchal (Table 2): “cordeiro (doce)”, “lágrimas”, “ovos moles”, “ovos reais”, “pão de ló”, and “toucinho do céu”. She judged all of them delicate but too sugary for the English taste (França, 1970). A few years later, the Empress of Mexico, Charlotte of Belgium, would not enjoy, in turn, the numerous liqueurs, jellies, puddings and other titbits prepared with fruits (Sainz-Trueva, 1987).

In her testimony, Isabella de França also remembers a reception at Funchal, where she heard five different languages, including Portuguese. She was particularly fond of a German recipe of chicken salad with smoked herrings offered by her host. The account of this lady reveals that, even if the traditional repertory was still popular in the upper class at this period, the Madeiran elite was exposed to the cosmopolitan taste of tourists, who were growing more numerous now, travelling to the

island for therapeutic reasons, interacting intensely with the local notables at social events (Câmara, 2002).

A few decades later, the author of a travel book published at Paris already mentions eleven hotels at Funchal, with employees fluent in several languages, saying the “*cuisine est presque partout, faite à l'anglaise ...*” (Pitta, 1889, p.98), while earlier some of these establishments served French cuisine to their guests, also (Garnier, 1859). Some of the facilities described in the 1889 guide had British names, including the famous Reid’s. It was under construction at this time (Pitta, 1889; Vieira, 1999; Matos, 2013) and later acquired by the Blandy family (Binney, 2011). Indeed, the expatriates from the United Kingdom were the first to invest in the emerging tourism industry, and owned bakeries and grocery stores (Driver, 1850; Silva, 1994). An American who sojourned in Funchal in 1843 noted that the “*inhabitants are learning the English taste, and to cater to it successfully*” (Dix, 1850,

p.86). It is worth mentioning that citizens of the British nation visiting the island were numerous since the Modern Age (Aragão, 1981; Vieira, 1999), and most of the travel accounts about Madeira were published by them (Figure 3). All these facts explain why some scholars classify the residents and holidaymakers from this country as main agents of exogenous influence on the colonial elite (Silva, 1994).

All these testimonies suggested that contrary to what was happening on the mainland at the same time, it was not the new generation of printed culinary treatises written in Portuguese, inspired more and more by the French *haute cuisine* (Braga, 2004), that dethroned the former recipes, rooted in the Renaissance tradition. In this case, the constant interactions between the richest settlers and tourists triggered the change of dietary patterns in the long term. This influence can explain the popularity of cookbooks from London in Funchal during the Belle Époque (Sainz-Trueva, 1987).

In the portrait of the Madeiran foodways drawn by the Visconde de Porto da Cruz in 1949, only a few delicacies listed in the Table 2 are mentioned, mostly sweet pastries and sugar-based dishes: *batatada*, *bolo de mel*, *doce de gila*, *fartes de batatada*, *lágrimas de ovos*, *morgados*, *queijadas*, and *rosquilhas* (Cruz, 1963 [1949]). This author also mentioned *cuscus*, i.e., the Madeiran recipe of couscous, *sopa de peixe*, *lapas*, and *cagarras*. We, however, cannot be sure if the same names always correspond to the same or, on the contrary, to very distinct operative chains. According to that author, most of the culinary preparations described as belonging to the popular tradition were typical of the countryside and no longer related to the upper-class

repertory. Some of them, such as *cuscus*, was still eaten by the rich even if cooked quite differently. He also claims that the regional specialties were, at this time, often consumed during festive occasions. This is the case of the *bolo de mel*, a sugary-spicy cake, still considered a Christmas classic today by the inhabitants of the island. A few years earlier, Eduardo Clemente Nunes Pereira (1939 [1989]) referred to the conventual origin of this pastry in '*Ilhas de Zarco*'. According to this priest, it was one of the few elements of the sweet repertory transmitted by the nuns to the aristocratic houses, and later, to the lower classes. He also mentions the fact that these old recipes were kept secret, whether, among the elite, they were written in notebooks shared exclusively from mother to daughter, or they were passed down orally through generations in the plebeian families since then (Sainz-Trueva, 1987). However, like the Visconde do Porto da Cruz, this author was more interested in the food habits of the poorer classes, especially the countrymen (*vilão*), considered to be the ultimate guardian of the autochthonous customs (Pereira, 1989 [1939]; Cruz, 1955), which includes the hinterland culinary traditions.

In the end, the loss of the aristocratic repertoire contributed to the homogenization of the dietary patterns through the social pyramid from the 19th century onwards (Silva, 2018a). It gave rise to the regional cuisine as we know it today: a mix of pedestrian dishes, such as the *espetada* and the *bolo do caco* associated with popular festivals (*arraiais*) and some others belonging to the peasants' diet, such as *papas de milho*, *açorda* or *sopa do trigo*. As the official website "Visit Madeira" claims: "The simple food enjoyed in Madeira Islands reflects the soul of a simple but generous people"¹. The

¹ 'A Palette of flavours'. Website 'Visit Madeira'. <http://www.visitmadeira.pt/en-gb/madeira/10-top-reasons-to-visit-madeira/a-palette-of-flavours> [accessed 02/07/2020].

authorized narrative, however, totally passes over the aristocratic repertory of the upper class, obliterated by the rise of the hospitality industry beginning in the 19th century, excepting the *bolo de mel*. This biased outlook explains in part the lack of auto-esteem felt by certain Madeiran chiefs today. In 2018, during a meeting on culinary heritage and tourism at Funchal¹, one of them complained: “Madeira cuisine is not a true gastronomy, because Romans had never been there.” [translation by AJMS]. Using the word “gastronomy” to describe the recipes of the pre-modern elites, subject to dietetic rules, is, of course, anachronistic in the historian’s perspective. However, in the past the richest inhabitants of the island consumed a sophisticated and very diverse panoply of delicacies, which indisputably belong to what today we call the high cuisine. They are so far from the ‘simple food’ presented to holidaymakers of the 21st century as the essence of a regional ‘gastronomy’.

Recently, one of the authors (AJMS) had the opportunity to take part in two public meetings focused on regional cuisine², which were held in Funchal. At both events, an individual shared his concerns about the negative effects of

touristification, especially in the countryside. However, no one in the audience showed any sign of support when this opinion was expressed. Nonetheless, heritage safeguarding, and tourism have been seen by the intellectual elite of Madeira since the 1920s, as two sides of the same coin (Silva et al., forthcoming). It is worth mentioning that a unique ministry of the Autonomous Government (Secretaria Regional do Turismo e da Cultura) has the last word in these two domains. On the mainland and in the Autonomous Region of Acores, on the contrary, they are totally independent areas of governmentality. In fact, Madeirans tend generally to have a truly benevolent attitude regarding holidaymakers, as observed by most of them from the 19th century (for example: Dix, 1850) until today (Qmetrics, 2011). The locals’ reputation of being friendly to visitors is indeed a selling argument, often mentioned by official campaigns abroad (SRETC, 2017). Tourism being the cornerstone of the regional economy for so many years, even the humblest inhabitants are conscious of the foreigners’ importance for their own good. From this point of view, Madeirans were probably pioneers to embrace what Picard (1997) calls a “touristic culture”.

5. Discussion

The case study of the Madeiran cuisine challenges several received ideas. Global policies adopted in the last decades to protect ICH are based on a very consensual assumption: the customs of the lower classes are more subject to erosion than those of the

upper classes of society, as they are ordinarily transmitted orally (UNESCO, 1989; Silva, 2016b). On the other hand, tourists are often seen by host communities, and even by themselves, as a threat to autochthonous traditions. Both embrace the essentialist

¹ ‘Conferência Viajar à mesa’, Museu da Eletricidade ‘Casa da Luz’, Funchal, 04/05/2018.

² ‘Mesa-Redonda Comunicação, turismo e cultura. Uma perspetiva regional dos profissionais e das políticas de

comunicação’, Museu do Açúcar (Funchal, 13/11/2019). Webinar ‘Tradições alimentares da Macaronésia: contributos para a sua inventariação e estudo na RAM’. University of Madeira (Funchal, 29/06/2020).

outlook inherited from the first nationalists (Beck, 2006; Finkelkraut, 2008), echoed currently by a motley pool of “cultural representations” (Salazar, 2009). In this case, it happens to be exactly the opposite, even if today, some local stakeholders involved in the heritage arena do not agree with this perspective. In their mind, touristification appears to be a synonym of overtourism, i.e., ‘the impact of tourism on a destination, or parts thereof, that excessively influences perceived quality of life of citizens and/or quality of visitor experiences in a negative way’ (UNWTO, 2018, p.4), the latter not being a constructive manner to approach the issue of the sustainability of the recreational mobility (Koens et al., 2018; O’Reagan et al., 2021).

After the birth of the hospitality industry at Madeira in the early 19th century, the insular elite was intensively exposed to the exogenous influence (Silva, 1994). On the other hand, the plebeians could not afford the aristocratic cuisine inherited from the Renaissance, nor the cosmopolitan taste introduced by the travelers and professional cooks working for them. The impact of the constant flux of rich holidaymakers from all parts of Europe at Funchal during this period had practically no effect on their seasonal diet based on local products, and in a more general matter, their miserable way of life (Silva, 1994). However, the members of the colonial elite did not completely reject their own habits to unconditionally assimilate the flavors preferred by the first *faiseurs de tour*. In fact, even now, the influence of tourists is not as obvious as expected on the inhabitants’ traditions in the most visited places, as Monterrubio and Mendonza-Ontiveros (2014) observed earlier at Mexico. According to them, the so-called “demonstration effect” is, in practice, a sort of cultural selection, host communities incorporating specific aspects that they identify with and totally ignoring others. The same

happened with the Madeiran elite during the 19th century. The upper-class was quite choosy regarding the reshaping of their own foodways. Despite the evident changes testified by some travelers, the more fortunate continued to eat some sugary-spicy delicacies of the past related to festive occasions, jealously keeping the old family recipes secret. In the new grammar of the meal inherited from the *Nouvelle cuisine*, fruits, sweets, and pastries still have their place, now restricted almost exclusively to the end of feasts as desserts. Only a few cakes, such as the famous *bolo de mel*, reached the 21st century, which is still today an icon of the *cozinha madeirense* (Gomes, 2013). After the WWII, the survival of this vintage recipe, and a few other aristocratic delicacies of the Modern times, was paradoxically guaranteed to a great extent by non-educated individuals who lived in the countryside without the mediation of cookbooks. This culinary repertoire was now part of the plebeian tradition.

Finally, researchers studying a process of touristification must bear in mind that this is only one element of a more general phenomenon of globalization, which currently affects all the areas of the world (Salazar, 2009). The economic development after the concession of political autonomy and the adhesion of Portugal to the European Community marked a new cycle in Madeira’s history. The relative prosperity experienced by most of the inhabitants had significant effects on their daily lives, including their diet. For several decades, they embraced the Food Modernity (Sousa, 2016), as did almost all the peoples of the planet (Poulain, 2002). It is now difficult to measure to what extent the holidaymakers have more impact on their culinary traditions than the opening of the next hypermarket or fast-food restaurant in Funchal, the constant flux of exchange with the diaspora or the increasing access to the Internet in the

hinterland. Like the Masai of Tanzania studied by Salazar (2009), Madeirans must deal with many threats besides tourism that affect the local customs. In fact, the foreigners' presence currently acts as a safeguarding factor of the food heritage. In recent decades, they have become the principal consumers of not only the *bolo de mel*, but also cookies as *broas de mel*, *broas de amêndoa*, *cavacas* and different sorts of *rebuçados*. Some will deplore the commoditization of these traditional delicacies. However, the appetite of tourists for authenticity (MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999; Cravatte, 2009) contributes to maintaining the aristocratic delights from the past, at least as they were prepared in the 20th century. Their

demand has given a continuous outlet for the Madeiran *artisans*, who still make cakes and other old-time sugary treats, guaranteeing the sustainability of a bicentenary business. The holidaymakers buy them directly in the facilities of the producers, such as the Fábrica Santo António (Figure 6), the Funchal supermarkets, or even in the shops of the Cristiano Ronaldo Airport just before flying. They bring these dainties back home as “souvenirs” of their journey. The interest demonstrated by the visitors for the Madeiran specialties also contributes to their revaluation by the locals. In the end, cultural heritage and tourism do not have to be antagonists.

Figure 6 - Fábrica Santo António (Funchal), 09/12/2019 (AJMS)



6. Conclusions

Inspired by the Bourdieu's pioneer work (Bourdieu, 1979), scholars from different disciplinary fields have written extensively about the relationship between power and culture, and particularly regarding the cuisine. The results of our study add a new piece to the puzzle. It invites reflection on the relevance of the dichotomies continually mobilized within the framework of this problem. Those which oppose dominators and dominated, erudite and popular legacies, cosmopolitanism, and localism, and by extension, tourists, and host communities, should be questioned in the first place. Whatever the position adopted, heritage is invariably used to abruptly contrast the parts involved. We argue that this biased perception may be due simply to a lack of diachronic perspective. The same is probably true with other kinds of ICH of the island's inhabitants. However, as the main limitation of this study is to only consider a particular aspect of the Madeiran culture, that is its cuisine, more studies focusing other aspects (oral traditions, music, art crafts, etc.) need to be undertaken to extrapolate the results. The same methodology needs to be replicated in other destinations to permit comparative analysis, which is a crucial step in grounded-theory approaches (Chun Tie et al, 2019).

Specifically considering here touristification, this concept is usually intended simultaneously as a socio-economic and a socio-cultural process (Wang, 2000), which is undeniable. As

for the first aspect, the impact can be seen immediately. The second, however, cannot be totally understood without considering the *longue durée*. As the case study of the Madeiran cuisine demonstrated, the balance between negative and positive effects of the interaction between natives and travelers is not as black-and-white as a few local stakeholders would have us believe. From this point of view, the oldest destinations, such as Madeira, visited by holidaymakers for over two hundred years are true living labs of the way in which guests affect the identity and the ICH of the host communities. Looking at them will enable us to relativize the Manichean vision of the tourists as agents of what Massimo Leone (2015) calls 'semiotic pollution', that is the symbolic impoverishment of the autochthonous tradition.

One merit of the exploratory approach presented above is to show the need to adopt a diachronic outlook when studying socio-cultural phenomena like touristification. The designing of strategies to evaluate and minimize negative impacts should also follow the same direction. Indeed, to be effective, action plans to minimize their socio-cultural effects should be based on a more balanced insight, considering not only the present but also the long-term consequences of this kind of processes. From this point of view, the sciences of the past should be more involved in safeguarding the ICH.

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