

 Ester Pinter Cordeiro¹
 Luíza Reis Amaral Fonseca¹
 Rita de Cássia Ribeiro¹
 Márcia Maia Sathler¹

¹Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Escola de Enfermagem, Departamento de Nutrição. Belo Horizonte, MG, Brasil.

Correspondence

Ester Pinter Cordeiro
ester.pinter45@gmail.com

The evolution of Brazilian cuisine books and its relationship with contemporary cooking habits

Evolução dos livros de culinária brasileiros e sua relação com o cozinhar na contemporaneidade

Abstract

Introduction: Culinary publications are sources of research materials whose evaluation allows identifying culinary habits and studying cultural, biological, economic, social, and commensal aspects of a people. **Objective:** In order to understand when and why contemporary Brazilian society gradually lost the habit of cooking its meals, this subject of study was adopted under the food and nutrition perspective. Seven relevant authors from the history of Brazilian cuisine were selected, covering the period from 1840 to 2019. **Method:** The study covered technical reading, which observed visual and textual elements, general content and presentation of culinary recipes; in the general analysis, we identified the proposal and target audience of each book to contextualize the socioeconomic and cultural aspects of each era; and in the content analysis, we studied ingredients, details of preparation techniques, utensils used, and observed the changes in culinary habits from the nutritional perspective. **Results:** It was observed that the older works had less visual elements, recipes were less detailed, and there was less use of industrialized products and household appliances and a greater amount of recipes per page. The comparison of the contents between the oldest and most recent works, together with the pertinent literature, suggests a reduction in the habit of cooking, which can be noticed by the greater detail of recipes and greater use of visual resources, showing an attempt to simplify recipes. Important changes were also noted in the population's dietary pattern, resulting from the progressive loss of the cooking habit and increased consumption of ready-to-eat meals produced by the industry.

Keywords: Cooking and eating utensils. Feeding Behavior. Cookbook. Cooking. Industrialized Foods.

Resumo

Introdução: Publicações culinárias são fontes de materiais de pesquisa cuja avaliação permite identificar hábitos culinários e estudar aspectos culturais, biológicos, econômicos, sociais e de comensalidade de um povo. **Objetivo:** Com o objetivo de compreender quando e por que a sociedade brasileira contemporânea perdeu progressivamente o hábito de cozinhar suas refeições, adotou-se esse objeto de estudo sob o olhar da Alimentação e Nutrição. Foram selecionados sete autores relevantes da história da culinária brasileira, englobando o período de 1840 a 2019. **Método:** O estudo abrangeu a leitura técnica, que observou elementos visuais e textuais, conteúdo geral e apresentação das receitas culinárias; a análise geral, identificando proposta e público-alvo de cada livro para contextualização de aspectos socioeconômicos e culturais de cada época; e a análise do conteúdo, que estudou

ingredientes, detalhamento das técnicas de preparo, utensílios utilizados e observação das modificações dos hábitos culinários sob a perspectiva da Nutrição. **Resultados:** Observou-se que as obras mais antigas possuíam menos elementos visuais, menor detalhamento das receitas, menor utilização de produtos industrializados e eletrodomésticos e maior quantidade de receitas por página. A comparação dos conteúdos entre as obras mais antigas e mais recentes, em conjunto com a literatura pertinente, sugere uma redução do hábito de cozinhar, que pode ser percebida pelo maior detalhamento das receitas e maior utilização de recursos visuais, mostrando uma tentativa de simplificar as receitas. Foram percebidas, ainda, alterações importantes no padrão alimentar da população, resultado da perda progressiva do hábito de cozinhar e aumento do consumo de refeições prontas produzidas pela indústria.

Palavras-chave: Utensílios de alimentação e culinária. Comportamento alimentar. Livros. Culinária. Alimentos Industrializados.

INTRODUCTION

The conditions of urban life provoked several changes in the food patterns of societies.¹ Eating and cooking have undergone significant changes over the years as a result of several factors, such as women's entry into the labor market,^{2,3} nutritional transition and the⁴ inclusion of processed and ultra-processed products in the daily diet of the Brazilian population.^{5,6} Culinary skills and knowledge were lost from generation to generation.⁷ People started to eat more and more outside their homes,⁵ ready-to-eat foods started to be widely consumed and practicality became decisive for daily eating choices.

Many of these changes concerning the eating and cooking evolution can be noticed when evaluating culinary publications, which become some sort of people's food culture library, as Bruit⁸ observes:

In fact, recipe booklets are the most important documents for preparing a History of Food: they indicate consumer products for preparation; times and combinations; and, in many cases, the objects that should be used. On the other hand, they cover a long period of time and between two recipes produced at different times, it is possible to observe the permanence and changes in the use of products, preparations and instruments.⁸

In the book of Montanari⁹ (2008, p. 62), *Food As Culture (Comida como cultura* in Portuguese), he defends the importance of written cuisine to the detriment of oral cuisine, saying: "written cuisine allows coding, in an established and recognized repertoire, the practices and techniques developed in a given society. Theoretically, oral cuisine is destined, in the long run, to leave no trace of itself." The author completes the idea warning that "the writing civilization, thus, still save some characteristics of oral culture, which, although not expressing itself directly in writing, was reflected there indirectly but no less visible."⁹

Culinary records, in the form of books, started to be published in Brazil since the end of the 19th century, but it was only as from *National Cook (Cozinheiro Nacional* in Portuguese)¹⁰ that a real concern in defining a possible Brazilian cuisine began.¹¹ From this milestone, the number of cookbook publications in Brazil has increased considerably over the 20th century, with titles such as *The Art of Eating Well (A arte de comer bem* in Portuguese)¹² and *Dona Benta - Eating Well (Dona Benta - Comer Bem* in Portuguese),¹³ reaching their peak of growth in the 1990s.¹⁴ With the advance of technology, other types of culinary publications also emerged, such as magazines, television programs, websites, blogs, and social networks,¹⁵ which are currently the main vehicles for transmitting culinary information in general. The aim of the study was to find, through the analysis of culinary works published in Brazil, evidence of changes in cooking over time and its relationship with contemporary eating patterns.

METHODS

This is a qualitative descriptive study, as it uses the analysis of material sources and their interpretation as a methodology in order to understand and describe the evolution of social behavior over time.¹⁶ It was understood that such a method can contribute to the study of cooking changes over time, as proposed in the objective of this research.

Thus, Brazilian culinary publications were used as research sources to understand the eating and cooking changes that have occurred in the country over time, as well as their respective social, economic and

historical contexts. Below, the criteria used for the selection of works and also the methodological design for the analysis of their contents are described.

Book selection for the study

According to sociologist Carlos Alberto Dória and anthropologist Paula Pinto e Silva, both experts in the field of food, the history of Brazilian cuisine can be represented by nine books and their main authors,¹⁷ which were used in a pre-selection stage for this work. Subsequently, other criteria were applied for an even more refined choice, which allowed a cutout of the material to be analyzed, namely: to be published in Brazil; have notoriety at the time of publication; reflect significant changes in eating and cooking over time; and consist of recipes and general information about cooking.

Thus, an unpublished book in Brazil *Cooking Art (Arte de cozinha* in Portuguese), by Domingos Rodrigues, 1680; a specific bakery book *Brazilian Baker Manual (Manual da doceira Brasileira* in Portuguese), by Constança Oliva de Lima, 1890; and the thematic books by Lúgia Junqueira (1950) were excluded from the study for being from the same time and aimed at the same audience of Rosa Maria's books (*The Art of Eating Well*), in addition to focusing on regional recipes. It should be noted that one book was not on Dória and Paula's list, and was added to the study: *Imperial Cook (Cozinheiro imperial* in Portuguese) (1874)¹⁸ - because it is the first cooking book published in Brazil^{19,20} and follows the same structure as the other analyzed works, as how to present recipes and general cooking tips.

Analysis of the works

For the analysis of the works, a method was developed from the adaptation of other methodologies previously used in similar studies proposed by Héctor Hernan Bruit,⁸ Luce Giard²¹ and Carlos Alberto Dória.²² It was considered necessary to adapt the aforementioned methodologies, as they were used in studies of a historical and sociological nature, whereas the present study aims at an analysis developed from the nutritional point of view - a fact that makes the work unprecedented.

Bruit⁸ suggests a method of analytical study of recipes considering five stages: technical reading; origin identification reading; a reading that unveils one or more memories; recipe ethnology by representations of cultural and aesthetic exchange traces. Giard²¹ suggests a recipe reading in which four different attributions of actions or objects would be covered: ingredients (masterpiece); utensils and containers; operations, action verbs; final products and name of the final dishes. Finally, Dória²² suggests the analysis of recipes divided in two parts: the first, a basic one, examines wording, physicochemical analysis and test of *precisions*; the second, an advanced one, comprises the culinary system of the recipe, the food system and the "food civilization".

Then, an adaptation of these three methodologies was made by joining points of interest of each of them, taking into consideration that the analysis would be made from the nutritional point of view of cooking and commensality. For this reason, analysis points such as provenance, recipe ethnology, physicochemical analysis, and *precisions* test were disregarded, maintaining others such as technical reading, identification of ingredients and utensils and evaluation of the culinary/food system of the recipe as inspirations for the development of a methodology that would meet the type of analysis sought.

Therefore, the study of the works selected for this research was divided into three stages: technical analysis, general analysis and analysis of culinary content from a nutritional perspective.

In the technical analysis, we sought to evaluate the visual and textual elements, the general content, and the presentation of the culinary recipes. For the analysis of visual elements, the presence of illustrations,

photographs, tables, and charts was observed. For the analysis of verbal elements, the layout and formatting of recipes in the cookbooks was observed. The presence of one or more recipes per page and the format of the writing - in text, topics or paragraphs - were also relevant characteristics for the analysis.

In the general analysis, the target audience and the works' proposal were identified. The last form of analysis - the culinary content from the nutritional perspective - was based on the study of the ingredients, on the details of the preparation techniques and utensils used,^{20,21} health tips, tips for receiving people at home and care tips regarding the house or the kitchen.

In addition, the content analyzed covered the degree of detail of the recipe preparation techniques, the presence of regional ingredients and the use of industrialized products as a practical resource in the kitchen. The types of cooking utensils and household appliances present in the books were also observed.²⁰

RESULTS

After the selection process, we gathered seven authors from nine of the main works in the history of Brazilian cuisine¹⁷ from 1840 to 2019, as shown below: *Imperial Cook*, R.C.M.,¹⁸ 1840 to 1900 (modern edition updated in 1996); *National Cook*, anonymous author^{10,23} 186-? to 1910 (modern edition updated in 2008); *The art of Eating Well*, Rosa Maria,¹² 1931 (new editions until the 1980s); *Dona Benta - Eating Well*^a 13 1940 to 2014; *Ofelia's Wonderful Cuisine (A cozinha maravilhosa de Ofélia* in Portuguese), Ofélia Anunciato,²⁴ 1976; *Palmirinha's Magazine Collection (Coleção de Revistas da Palmirinha* in Portuguese)^b, Palmira Nery da Silva Onofre,²⁵ from 1993; and the books *Little Pan (Panelinha* in Portuguese),²⁶ *Practical Kitchen (Cozinha prática* in Portuguese)²⁷ and *Four-handed Kitchen (Cozinha a quatro mãos* in Portuguese)²⁸ by Rita Faia Rago Lobo, from 2010 to 2019, which were analyzed together. Throughout this article, the year in which the edition consulted for this research was published will be in parentheses. The choice of the editions is related to availability and access to works.

Technical analysis

Table 1 contains the characteristics in relation to the format of the works that were observed during the research. The first analyses on the format of the works revealed that the way in which the recipes were presented had been changing from the 19th century until 2019. The recipes published in most of the analyzed works are presented in text form, informing the ingredients and the method of preparation to follow. However, their level of detail changes a lot throughout the publications, as it will be seen below, with preparation methods in the form of topics and with even more imagery and colorful resources, which no longer allow multiple recipes to be allocated on the same page.

^a *Dona Benta - Eating Well* is a compilation of recipes created by Companhia Editora Nacional, responsible for Monteiro Lobato's publications. Dona Benta is a character from Monteiro Lobato's stories and was used as a symbolic figure to represent the authors.

^b Taken from magazines published by Palmirinha considered as one work; despite repeated research, it was not possible to establish the exact dates of the publications.

Table 1. Characteristics of the analyzed books: visual and textual elements and culinary recipes.

| Characterization of the studied books | | | | | | | |
|--|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Characteristics | Studied books | | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Visual and textual elements | | | | | | | |
| Verbal text | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Illustrations | x | x | | x | x | | x |
| Photographs of the prepared dishes | | | | x | x | x | x |
| Tables with varied information | | | | x | | | x |
| Tables with varied information | | | | | | | x |
| Cooking Recipes | | | | | | | |
| One recipe per page | | | | | | | x |
| More than one recipe per page | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |
| Recipes in the form of paragraphs/topics | | | | | x | x | x |
| Recipes in text form | x | x | x | x | x | | x |

1 - *Imperial cook* (1840-1900); 2 - *National cook* (186?-1910); 3 - *The Art of Eating Well* (1931-1980); 4 - *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1940-2014); 5 - *Ofelia's Wonderful Cuisine* (1976); 6 - *Palmirinha's Magazine Collection* (1993-present day); 7 - Books by Rita Lobo (2010-2019).

General analysis

The studied books that were published in the 19th century - *Imperial cook* (1887) and *National cook* (186-?) - have as their target audience servants and their masters or mistresses, with the purpose of instructing them to prepare sophisticated meals and serve the table according to the European model.¹¹ This is confirmed in the tenth edition of *Imperial Cook* in 1887, already in the first pages of the book, which reads: "Tenth edition, extended and improved, with many modern recipes and the servant's guide to serve or useful observations to servants and housewives and general notions about pasta, sauces, broths, etc." (Initial pages not numbered/p). In several passages of *National Cook*, it is also possible to notice when the author gives instructions to the servants on how to serve the table, in phrases such as: "After soup is distributed, the servant goes to get the first dish that is put in the place of the soup terrine" (186-?, p. 17).¹⁰

From the 20th century to the beginning of the 21st, the target audience became housewives, who ended up becoming responsible for preparing meals as service was reduced in domestic environments. The proposals of the works also gain less formality when dealing with matters regarding how to serve and behave at the table. Both target audience and proposal are repeated by the authors Rosa Maria (1933), Dona Benta (1969), Ofélia Anunciato (1977), and Palmirinha (199-?). From the 1970s, with the heyday of culinary expert

Ofélia Anunciato, the exclusive role of women in the kitchen began to be questioned, suggesting that anyone could play this role.²⁴

This questioning concerning the exclusive role of women in the kitchen gains strength and form as from the last author studied, of great importance in the current decade, Rita Lobo, whose work points to numerous criticisms, even more elaborated, on the division of tasks in the kitchen and the practicality of the recipes. This new format ends up directing her diverse published books to people of all genres and lifestyles. Among her publications are, for example, *Four-handed Kitchen* (2018), analyzed here, and others such as *Comida de bebê: uma introdução à comida de verdade* (Baby food: an introduction to real food) (2010), and *Só para um: alimentação saudável para quem mora sozinho* (Just for one: healthy eating for those who live alone) (2019).

Content analysis: cooking from the perspective of food and nutrition

Table 2 presents the characteristics observed during the work regarding the analysis of the preparation techniques, ingredients and utensils used. There was a greater detail of the preparation techniques as from the publications of Palmirinha (1993). The use of regional ingredients could be observed only in *National Cook* (186-?) and in Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018), while the use of processed or ultra-processed foods in the ingredients appeared in all publications since *The Art of Eating Well* (1931). The utensils for manual use were present throughout the time studied in the recipe preparation processes, whereas the appliances started to emerge as from the publication of *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1969).

It was also observed the presence of health tips in *National Cook* (186-?), *The Art of Eating Well* (1933) and Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018). Tips for receiving people are present in *Imperial Cook* (1887) and *National Cook* (186-?), *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1969), and Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018). Finally, home and/or kitchen care tips are only observed in *Imperial Cook* (1887) and *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1969).

Table 2. Characteristics of the analyzed books: content, culinary recipes and utensils.

| Characterization of the studied books | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Characteristics | Studied books | | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Content | | | | | | | |
| Health tips | | x | x | | | | x |
| Tips for receiving people | x | x | | x | | | x |
| House/kitchen care tips | x | | | x | | | |
| Cooking Recipes | | | | | | | |
| More detailed preparation techniques | | | | | | x | x |
| Regional ingredients | | x | | | | | x |
| Industrialized products | | | x | x | x | x | x |

Table 2. Characteristics of the analyzed books: content, culinary recipes and utensils.(Continues)

| Characterization of the studied books | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Characteristics | Studied books | | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| Utensils | | | | | | | |
| Home appliances | | | | x | x | x | x |
| Hand-operated utensils | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

1 - *Imperial cook* (1840-1900);¹⁸ 2 - *National cook* (186-?-1910);¹⁰ 3 - *The Art of Eating Well* (1931-1980);¹² 4 - *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1940-2014)¹³; 5 - *Ofelia's Wonderful Cuisine* (1976);²⁴ 6 - *Palmirinha's Magazine Collection* (1993-present day)²⁵; 7 - Books by Rita Lobo (2010-2019).^{26,27,28}a: 1

DISCUSSION

When analyzing the formats and contents of the culinary works, it is possible to find several marks on the eating and culinary habits of the Brazilian population, their health condition and how this information can be used to solve current and future nutritional problems.

Structural aspects of the cookbooks analyzed

Multimodal texts are those that have diversified elements, which can be textual (size and type of font used, text distribution on the page) or illustrated and visual (presence of images, figures, charts, margins, tables, colors), in order to make reading more enjoyable and dynamic.^{29,30} These elements are present, to a greater or lesser degree, in all the analyzed works.

Imperial Cook (1887) (first edition in 1840) uses as text elements different font sizes, bold, italic and text formatting on the same page to differentiate titles and paragraphs. In *National Cook* (186-?), it is possible to recognize the same textual elements as in *Imperial Cook* (1887), in addition to the use of numbers to separate the recipes. Regarding the graphic and visual elements, it was found that older works present them in a more simplified way when compared to the most recent ones. In *Imperial Cook* (1887), the visual elements are present in the form of illustrations, with drawings of types of meat and animals. In *National Cook* (186-?), there are illustrations of kitchen utensils, types of meat cuts and preparations.

The analyzed works, whose pages contained photographs of culinary preparations, were published after the 1940s, and the most recent ones still contain charts and tables as visual elements for a better organization of the information. In addition to the elements previously evaluated, it was noticed that the oldest works present recipes in the form of short texts, while those published as from *Ofelia's Wonderful Cuisine* (1977) appear in the form of more detailed topics or paragraphs. All of the books, with the exception of Rita Lobo's ones (2012, 2015, 2018), still display more than one recipe per page.

Kress and Bezemer²⁹ compared two texts from high school science books and observed that the oldest book had a single text written in a logical and sequential way, and only one image for the explanation of the digestive system, while the newest book presented all the organs separately, using more detailed image

sequences associated with texts, so that students could read about each organ separately. Thus, they concluded that the oldest text had fewer multimodal elements when compared to the most recent one.

A similar conclusion was found during the analysis of the culinary works selected in this research: the older ones have less textual and visual resources, while the more recent ones show a greater variety of these elements. The evolution of works prioritizing the use of visual elements is apparently due to the intensification of the importance of image presence in printed books. Contemporary images or illustrations may even have a superior role than writing, revealing a great change in the way the population consumes content in general, be it books, magazines, television programs, or websites. Textual productions have therefore been modified over the years, and more and more multimodal elements have been added to them.³⁰

Furthermore, textual multimodality is not only represented through charts, tables, illustrations, and figures, but also by the way recipes are written in the works. Recipes written in the topic format are easier to read and understand than when they are written in text format,^{29,30} and this is yet another resource used in modern times: didactics. It is possible that the fact that people have less and less culinary skills than their ancestors, who had cooking as something more intuitive and customary, brought the need for recipes that are more simplified, detailed and presented in the form of topics and images. It is important to note that Dória¹¹ states that the authors of the books published at the time of *Imperial Cook* (1887) and *National Cook* (186-?) are not concerned with teaching their target audience how to cook, since it is supposed that this practice already exists, which justifies the recipes not being detailed. He also suggests that culinary knowledge is more understandable when transmitted orally than presented in written form.

The analysis of the works showed that the way recipes are written has in fact changed over the years, even reducing the number of recipes per page, since they occupied more space due to the greater need for details and images. This can be seen today in the books of Rita Lobo (2012, 2015, 2018), which bring such a great detail of recipes - with photos, tips, and step-by-step - that end up transforming it, in fact, into a perfect manual of instructions, allowing anyone to be able to execute it. This concern that modern books have on teaching how to cook¹¹ is due to the fact that the transmission of traditional culinary skills is no longer done orally from generation to generation, which results in the need for detailed explanations of the ways of doing, which were previously carried out more intuitively. Therefore, whoever offers such detail in the preparation of recipes is certainly someone who understands the needs of the audience.

Social and cultural aspects of the period studied

Changes in the culture and eating habits of the Brazilian population over the years are present in all the analyzed books. These aspects are reflected in the target audience, in the proposal, in the recipes, in the ingredients, and in the ways of cooking and serving the table. In less than two centuries, it is possible to clearly observe the evolution of a colonial society, marked by service relations,³¹ to a society that fights against the idea of women as the sole responsible for the kitchen,³² making the distribution of tasks a necessary reality.

Imperial Cook (1887) and *National Cook* (186-?) were edited at the beginning of the process of abolishing slavery in Brazil. This period was marked by the transition from masters who owned slaves to masters who employed servants,^{31,33} which explains the repetition of the target audience in the two publications - servants and masters and mistresses who instructed them, since a large part of the population at that time was illiterate¹¹ and the circulation of this type of work was very restricted. The gender issue in the historical cutout of the two publications is also present in many passages of *National Cook*¹⁰ (186-?) (p. 439), such as: "Lunch is a meal that women rarely attend" or "This arrangement allows men to be alone among themselves without

the presence of ladies and servants". At that time, there was an evident segregation of genders and demarcation of social spaces, which can be seen in the excerpts cited, clearly marked by a common sexism in much of the society of the time.^{34,35}

Based on the target audience of the books that came after *National Cook* (186-?), it is noticed that the kitchen became a place filled mostly by women - housewives who took care of household chores and were responsible for preparing all family meals. As from the book *The Art of Eating Well* (1933), by Rosa Maria, which was first published in 1931, until *Dona Benta: Eating Well*, first published in 1940, in the first editions, the proposal of the books became to assist housewives in the kitchen and household chores, maintaining, however, a serviceable relationship, which was only transferred from servants to women. This context only began to be questioned in the books analyzed as from the 1970s, with culinary expert Ofélia Anunciato, introducing the idea that kitchen tasks need not be exclusively feminine.²⁴

Although this was the beginning of positive changes in relation to the role of women at home and in society, advances in the gender matter occur very slowly and sexist thinking is still a reality in various environments and publications today.³² Until the 1930s, women did not have the right to vote, they found it difficult to study and work, and even when these rights began to be granted to them, for the most part, they were still educated to exercise the role of housewives, mothers and wives.² In the book *Coisas da casa* (House Matters), Zélia Simões³⁶ in 1990 stated that it was up to women to have full knowledge of domestic tasks in order to avoid some marital problems.

A publication by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) called *Other forms of work – 2017*,³⁷ that used data from the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD), also shows a considerable discrepancy in the rates of household chores between men and women (91.7% of women and 76.4% men performed these tasks in 2017). The greatest difference was seen in the percentage of men and women who performed the tasks of "preparing or serving food", "setting the table" or "washing the dishes" (95.6% women and 59.8% men).

Since the 1970s, there has been a significant reduction in the number of children per family,³⁸ a result, among other factors, of the birth control pill creation in the early 1960s.³ The new reality facilitated the entry and permanence of women in the labor market, but despite the routine outside their homes, they still maintained their roles as the main responsible for the family's meals. In this context, Palmirinha's publications (1990s) emerged, which bring practicality as one of the most striking characteristics that emerged in the culinary literature of the time. Practicality remains an important feature even today and can be seen both in the ingredients and ways of making.

The latest publications analyzed, the books by Rita Lobo (2012, 2015, 2018), show a more intense advance on the gender issue in the kitchen, proposing in a practical way the division of tasks between women and men. The main objective of her work is to rescue the habit of cooking, in a practical way, as an act of health promotion and resistance to ultra-processed ingredients. In addition to practicality, the cook encourages the division of tasks as something essential to maintain a culinary routine these days. Unlike previous works, the idea is not only stated in a theoretical way, as just a critique of customs, but also in a practical way, both in her books and culinary programs shown in different media. In her book *Four-handed Kitchen* (2018), which gave rise to a season of television programs of the same name, she presents her recipes in the form of an "attack plan,"²⁸ in which instructions for two people who are cooking together are described.

Rita Lobo proposes a true revolution in home food by rescuing the habit of cooking with more natural ingredients and proposing a new conception of the kitchen as an environment for everyone. Without excluding anyone, her books and culinary programs teach from basic meal preparation techniques for

beginners to the most experienced ones. By dividing her works into specific audiences, such as mothers and fathers, singles and married people, the author remains as one of the most outstanding figures in the country's culinary sector, for attracting an increasing number of people to the kitchen. Recently, she was honored by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO/UN) for her work in defense of healthy eating.

Cooking evolution in the study period

Several aspects present in culinary works are shown as evidence of the cooking evolution over the years, under study in this research. The changes in food preparation that have occurred over the decades have led Brazilians to the way they eat nowadays. Eating is directly linked to the act of cooking, or not cooking, as has been happening in recent decades, due to the loss of culinary skills and contemporary lifestyle, in which we eat more and more outside our homes. According to the 2017-2018 Family Budget Survey,⁵ spending on food away from home already accounts for almost a third of household expenses. It is also possible to notice these changes in the data on food at home and distribution of purchased food, which show that expenses with cereals, legumes and oilseeds (products related to the preparation of meals at home) have been falling, and that the expenditure on prepared foods has grown.⁵

Pollan³⁹ presents the multiplicity of what is currently considered "cooking". A meal can be prepared in its entirety, "half prepared" - which occurs when there are shortcuts presented by the food industry in order to save time in preparing meals - or there is also the option of eating out or ordering something ready. This plurality has been gaining strength since processed and ultra-processed foods were introduced into people's daily lives, making "cooking from scratch" a rare option for at least half a century. In this context, the "means of cooking" and, mainly, eating out appear as predominant acts in households, which have long been convinced by the industry that "cooking is a waste of time".

Câmara Cascudo⁴⁰ already stated that the decline of domestic meals and their substitution for easy-to-eat food, with the excuse of not having time to eat, were responsible for the negative change in eating habits; and that in addition to the ingested food not being of good quality, it also ends the social bond created during the sharing of meals in a family environments. Cascudo already showed that the changes were moving towards a population that eats too fast, without realizing what their food is. Many of the changes cited by him were due to the advancement of the food industry in Brazil, which has been increasingly affecting the eating habits of the population, through the emergence of ready and semi-ready foods on the market, classified today as processed and ultra-processed foods.

The classification of food by processing degree was proposed by the Center for Epidemiological Research in Nutrition and Health (NUPENS), at Universidade de São Paulo (USP), and was named NOVA.⁴¹ This classification was presented to the population in 2014 by the most recent *Food Guide for the Brazilian Population*, with the purpose of assisting them in their food choices, given the extensive and varied availability of processed foods on the market. According to the *Guide*,⁴² foods are grouped according to the extent of processing to which they are submitted, being grouped into four large groups: *in natura* foods, minimally processed foods, processed foods, and ultra-processed products.

In this way, the food pattern that was characterized by *in natura* and minimally processed foods, as clearly described in the recipes of *Imperial Cook* (1887) and *National Cook* (186-?), started to be filled with processed and ultra-processed foods from the next publications analyzed. The use of processed and ultra-

processed foods as ingredients has appeared in cookbooks since the 1930s, which in fact coincides with the peak of growth of the food industrialization process.⁶

There was also a change in the utensils and appliances used, which followed the same historical process of industrial advancement. The analyses made regarding the culinary content of the works, shown in Table 2, indicate in which books there is the presence of household appliances, such as a mixer, blender or stove/oven; or use of hand tools, such as a spoon, egg whisk, cups, boards. It can be noted that all books mention utensils for manual use, but only *Ofelia's Wonderful Cuisine* (1977), *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1969), *Palmirinha's Magazine Collection* (199-?), and Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018) mention household appliances in their recipes.

Marks of the evolution of utensils and appliances in domestic kitchens can be seen in some of the analyzed books when it comes to tips on home and kitchen care specifically. The first of these is *Imperial Cook* (1877), which addresses how servants should clean utensils and cutlery. Subsequently, *Dona Benta: Eating Well* (1969) emphasizes, in addition to basic utensil care, instructions on the correct maintenance of appliances for greater durability. All the other works analyzed, except *National Cook* (186-?), demonstrate the presence of more modern appliances and utensils that promote, in each work, greater practicality in the way of making recipes and, consequently, less cooking time.

All these advances in the way of cooking brought many advantages, but also some disadvantages for the Brazilian population. During the period studied (1840-2019), Brazil underwent many changes in the social, political, economic, and cultural spheres. In that period, there was not only an epidemiological transition, but also a nutritional one in recent decades.⁴ The nutritional transition has resulted in significant changes in the population's food and health patterns,^{5,42,43} influenced by the eating and cooking transformations in contemporary times.

The new food products available on the market, in addition to the increasingly shorter time that families dedicate to preparing meals, gradually triggered this nutritional transition, which altered the profile of the diseases that affected Brazilians -mostly acute and deficiency diseases- to chronic diseases caused by excess food consumption. Such diseases were grouped and denominated as chronic non-communicable diseases (CNCD) - obesity, hypertension, diabetes, cancer, and respiratory, cardiovascular and neuropsychiatric diseases -, and they represent 70% of the causes of death in Brazil, in addition to a significant reduction in life quality.^{44,45} The main dietary cause of these diseases lies in the fact that the processed and ultra-processed foods that started to be consumed by the population are mostly rich in calories, fats, sugars, and sodium; and reduced in fibers and essential nutrients.⁴⁶

Since food and health are issues that go together, it was observed that in several of the works studied there were, in addition to recipes, also basic health tips. In Table 2, it is possible to notice that such health tips are presented in different ways in *National Cook* (186-?), *The Art of Eating Well* (1933) and in Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018). *National Cook* (186-?) has a chapter dedicated to medicinal soups, with a total of seven recipes. Rosa Maria's book, *The Art of Eating Well* (1933), presents daily calorie values needed by adults, the time that each food takes to be digested, and the basis of a diet for individuals with arthritis, diabetes, and for those with stomach, liver and kidneys problems.

Unlike the other works, Rita Lobo's books (2012, 2015, 2018) have a greater variety of health-related tips, since the author partnered in 2016 with the Center of Epidemiological Research in Nutrition and Health at Universidade de São Paulo (NUPENS-USP), which is led by Professor Carlos Monteiro, coordinator of the new version of the *Food Guide* published in 2014. In this way, the tips no longer specify what should be eaten for certain pathologies, nor do they indicate which food is rich in micronutrients, but are more related to the

consumption of food according to the separation of groups by the degree of processing proposed by the *Food Guide for the Brazilian Population*.

The points analyzed here bring up the relationship between eating and cooking habits with the quality of health in Brazil. Studying the evolution of these habits can not only help to understand the plurality of cooking in contemporary times, but also contribute to the construction of solutions to various health problems associated with food and ways of eating.

CONCLUSION

The results obtained from the analyses carried out show that society changed its way of cooking and eating in the period studied. In view of the changes that occurred in the format of the recipes, which were gradually being written in more detail and with more visual elements, the population is losing, in general, its culinary skills and cooking habit. Another aspect observed in the evolution of the works was greater practicality in cooking, which emerged as new household items and appliances started to be introduced, in addition to the appearance of processed and ultra-processed products.

A probable consequence of all these changes may be the alteration of the Brazilian society's food patterns, which were characterized by an exclusive consumption of *in natura* and minimally processed foods, and then became characterized by a large consumption of industrialized foods.

Finally, it is concluded that the general characteristics and techniques printed in the culinary works analyzed in this research are able to prove the changes that have occurred in cooking in contemporary times. It is suggested that further studies based on other types of culinary records -such as recipe notebooks, websites, applications, blogs, and social networks- are carried out, in order to better understand the evolution of cooking, its relationship with the current way of eating and its implications for the health of the population.

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Contributors

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