


**FROM ITALIAN PIZZA TO SUSHI KEBAB: A HISTORY OF IDENTITY,
AUTHENTICITY AND FOOD HYBRIDISM IN TRADITIONAL AND *FUSION*
CUISINE RECIPES (19TH TO 21TH CENTURIES)**

**DA PIZZA ITALIANA AO SUSHI KEBAB: UMA HISTÓRIA DE
IDENTIDADE, AUTENTICIDADE E HIBRIDISMO ALIMENTAR EM RECEITAS
DA COZINHA TRADICIONAL E DE FUSÃO (SÉCULOS XIX A XXI)**

**DE LA PIZZA ITALIANA AL SUSHI KEBAB: UNA HISTORIA DE
IDENTIDAD, AUTENTICIDAD E HIBRIDISMO ALIMENTARIO EN RECETAS DE
COCINA TRADICIONAL Y DE FUSIÓN (SIGLOS XIX AL XXI)**

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/arev7n8-072>

Submission date: 07/06/2025

Publication Date: 08/06/2025

**Eduardo Mangolim Brandani da Silva¹, Gessica de Brito Bueno², Christian Fausto
Moraes dos Santos³**

ABSTRACT

This article proposes a critical reflection on the concepts of *fusion cuisine* and food or recipe identity, investigating to what extent it is possible to associate a dish exclusively with a geographical and cultural territory without it suffering external influences. The research, which is qualitative and bibliographical in nature, seeks to understand whether there is a possible limit to the preparation of recipes that prevents “contamination” by techniques, ingredients or practices from other culinary traditions. Starting from the tension between authenticity and hybridity, the study discusses the symbolic boundaries of gastronomy, questioning the idea of culinary purity, alongside the debate on forms of food fusions. Finally, emblematic cases of food fusion are analyzed, such as stroganoff-style pizza and hot dogs, kebab sushi and Chicken tikka pizza, which are cases of chimeric foods. The results show that hybrid practices will always exist, but that there are also movements to value recipes that express cultural heritage perceived as authentic.

Keywords: Culture. Food. History. Identity. Hybridism.

RESUMO

Este artigo propõe uma reflexão crítica sobre os conceitos de culinária de fusão e identidade alimentar ou de receita, investigando em que medida é possível associar um prato exclusivamente a um território geográfico e cultural sem que ele sofra influências externas. A pesquisa, de natureza qualitativa e bibliográfica, busca compreender se há um possível limite para o preparo de receitas que impeça a “contaminação” por técnicas, ingredientes ou

¹Master in History. Universidade Estadual de Maringá (UEM). E-mail: edu.magnusdomini@gmail.com
Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0009-0009-8445-9698> Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/0826321713568749>

²Master in History. Universidade Estadual de Maringá (UEM). E-mail: iamgessicabueno@gmail.com
Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5096-3858> Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/6348036602304108>

³ Post-Doctorate in History and Adjunct Professor in PPH-Uem. Universidade Estadual de Maringá (UEM).
E-mail: chrfausto@gmail.com Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-7537-4547>
Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/5914025585832203>

práticas de outras tradições culinárias. Partindo da tensão entre autenticidade e hibridez, o estudo discute as fronteiras simbólicas da gastronomia, questionando a ideia de pureza culinária, paralelamente ao debate sobre as formas de fusão alimentar. Por fim, são analisados casos emblemáticos de fusão alimentar, como a pizza e o cachorro-quente estilo strogonoff, o sushi de kebab e a pizza de frango tikka, que são casos de alimentos quiméricos. Os resultados mostram que práticas híbridas sempre existirão, mas que também existem movimentos de valorização de receitas que expressem patrimônios culturais percebidos como autênticos.

Palavras-chave: Cultura. Gastronomia. História. Identidade. Hibridismo.

RESUMEN

Este artículo propone una reflexión crítica sobre los conceptos de cocina fusión e identidad alimentaria o de recetas, investigando hasta qué punto es posible asociar un plato exclusivamente con un territorio geográfico y cultural sin que este sufra influencias externas. La investigación, de naturaleza cualitativa y bibliográfica, busca comprender si existe un límite posible en la preparación de recetas que evite la contaminación con técnicas, ingredientes o prácticas de otras tradiciones culinarias. Partiendo de la tensión entre autenticidad e hibridez, el estudio discute los límites simbólicos de la gastronomía, cuestionando la idea de pureza culinaria, junto con el debate sobre las formas de fusión de alimentos. Finalmente, se analizan casos emblemáticos de fusión de alimentos, como la pizza y los perritos calientes estilo stroganoff, el sushi kebab y la pizza de pollo tikka, que son ejemplos de alimentos quiméricos. Los resultados muestran que las prácticas híbridas siempre existirán, pero también existen movimientos para valorar las recetas que expresan el patrimonio cultural percibido como auténtico.

Palabras clave: Cultura. Comida. Historia. Identidad. Hibridez.

1 INTRODUCTION

Food goes beyond a mere biological need and also embraces a cultural character. From a biological point of view, it is essential for survival, an essential element for the preservation of life and a fundamental condition for all human beings. However, this attitude of feeding does not necessarily imply the act of eating consciously. Not everyone knows the composition of the food they eat (Lima; Neto; Farias, 2015, p.508). This disconnection between biological need and food consciousness is an aspect that can be deeply explored in the different food choices made by different cultures.

Anthropologist Igor Garine, evoking the work of renowned anthropologist Margaret Mead, argues that human food choices are influenced both by the availability of food resources provided by the environment and by the technical skills that these individuals develop (Lima; Neto; Farias, 2015, p.508; Garine, 1987, p.508-509). In this way, food, as a cultural practice, reflects not only what is consumed, but also how and why these foods are chosen, revealing the complexity of the interactions between culture, environment and biology.

The main objective of this paper is a critical reflection on the concepts of *fusion cuisine* and food or recipe identity, investigating the extent to which it is possible to associate a dish exclusively with a geographical and cultural territory without it suffering external influences. This research adopts a qualitative methodological approach and is bibliographical in nature, based on reference works in the field of sensory and cultural studies of food. The main theoretical contributions include *Gastrophysics: The New Science of Eating* (Spence, 2017), by experimental psychology professor Charles Spence, who investigates the eating experience from a multi-sensory perspective. Also incorporated is the chapter “*Chemical Senses, Taste and Smell*”, by Linda Bartoshuk and Valerie Duffy, researchers recognized for their contributions to sensory science, especially with regard to taste and smell perception. This text is part of the collection *The Taste Culture Reader* (Korsmeyer, 2017), an interdisciplinary work that articulates cultural, aesthetic and sensory aspects of the act of eating. The selection of these and other references aims to deepen the understanding of food as an expression of identity and a complex cultural phenomenon.

A historiographical retreat will be done to examine the relationship between human beings and food before and during the 19th century, followed by a reflection on purism and food practices. In this context, It is asked: is it possible to identify a truly pure food or dish? This implies investigating whether there really is a dish inherent to a specific geographical

and cultural space, which has not been affected by external influences. Is there a limit to making a recipe that avoids contaminating its essence with ingredients or techniques from other culinary traditions? In addition, it will be discussed new combinatorial approaches in gastronomy, looking at the context of the 20th century, *fusion* gastronomy and the intersection of different culinary traditions in haute cuisine restaurants. It will also be analyzed how the combination of techniques and ingredients results in innovative dishes, that is, chimerical foods that permeate popular daily life. In the final part of the paper, it is going to be presented emblematic cases of food hybridism, such as pizza and hot dogs in the stroganoff style, kebab sushi and sushi burgers. Finally, we will consider the cultural conflicts that emerge from this phenomenon of food hybridization.

2 FOOD AS CULTURE AND IDENTITY: BEFORE AND DURING THE 19TH CENTURY

The interaction of the Homo sapiens species with food resources has evolved over time, influenced by advances in technical knowledge and the dynamics of their social organization. During the Paleolithic, the first humans stood out as hunters and gatherers, interacting with natural resources spontaneously, without structuring productive spaces. Obtaining energy resources depended on their ability to capture and gather. With the advent of the Mesolithic period, this relationship gradually began to change: Diversity in the search for food increased and new hunting strategies were developed, expanding the availability of food supplies. However, the real metamorphosis in the relationship between humans and nature occurred with the Neolithic Revolution, when the human species acquired the ability to produce food by domesticating animals and cultivating crops. This process not only made population growth possible, but also triggered a complexification of social structures (Perlès, 1998, p.30-38).

Despite the trend towards the consolidation of a sedentary lifestyle, hunting and fishing practices remained essential in the activities of the first settled communities. The capture of non-domesticated animals not only continued to be a vital source of resources, but also played an important role in diversifying the intake of nutrients of animal origin. The transition between mere eating as a means of survival and the intrinsic pleasure associated with the act of eating is, by its nature, difficult to quantify. While the first concept refers to obtaining the energy needed to maintain life, the second encompasses a network of habits, customs and preferences, where food acquires a dimension of pleasure (Franco, 2010, p.9-12).

The relationship with food, whether in terms of pleasure or appreciation, is shaped by internalizations acquired in the social context, especially within the family. These eating habits are intrinsically linked to the construction of an individual's identity and that of their social group. Thus, contact with the cuisine of other cultures can cause a significant culture shock for the foreigner. This phenomenon manifests itself at various levels, including the way food is obtained, the nature of the ingredients used and the methods of preparation. Food chauvinism creates a conflict between two dichotomies: Ordinary comfort food, that is, food that provides comfort, and foreign food, often perceived as exotic (Franco, 2010, pp. 13-16).

The construction of identity and food memory transcends mere cultural instrumentalization and also involves the complex physical and chemical processes that take place in the body. The taste experience, which involves the pleasure of tasting certain foods, is intrinsically multisensory. Taste, in turn, is influenced by factors such as aroma, the visual presentation of the food and the environment in which it is consumed (Spence, 2017, p.30-33). Taste memory, by its nature, is closely related to the conditioning of the taste buds on the tongue. The papillary cells, with their specialized morphologies, interact with a variety of substances, allowing the neurons to interpret the taste. In addition, cultural continuity in the ingestion of certain ions, such as anions and cations, present in everyday foods, has a significant influence on eating habits (Bartoshuk; Duffy, 2017, p.21-23). Given that chemical compounds play an important role in the formation of habits, smell, with its interpretative and mnemonic capacities, becomes fundamental to the consolidation of eating practices.

The human sense of smell has the remarkable ability to detect more than ten thousand chemical substances, as well as playing a fundamental role in the formation of lasting memories. Olfactory perception, or the sensory interpretation of smells, gives profound meanings to the environments we inhabit. The concept of *Toposmia* suggests that the characteristic smell of a place can evoke specific memories, revealing an intrinsic connection between smell and memory. This phenomenon is particularly evident in the gastronomic context, where the aroma of food acts as a powerful catalyst for memories, establishing a meaningful internalization. Thus, the sensory experiences of taste and smell contribute to robust identity constructions related to what we consume (Porteous, 2006, p.90-94). In this sense, common food not only shapes the sense of belonging, but when it deviates from this norm, what is perceived as exotic or different can generate estrangement and ultimately lead to the inferiorization of the other.

The strangeness that one culture manifests in relation to the cultural practices of another is a constant in the trajectory of humanity, going back to evidence from the ancient world, such as travel reports and documents from dignitaries that reflect such perceptions. The conception of a category such as Global Exoticism could only emerge in the 19th century, and it is anachronistic to consider such a phenomenon before 1800. However, it is undeniable that the distinction between exotic food and common food began to take shape with the consolidation of European colonialism and the formation of Eurocentrism, processes that developed between the 16th and 18th centuries (Schmidt, 2015, p.1-5).

The Treaty of Westphalia of 1648 emerges as a significant milestone in the reconfiguration of power relations and identities in Europe. Before its ratification, the protracted Thirty Years' War perpetuated a state of belligerence between European nations, limiting the formation of common identities. With the signing of the treaty, however, a new dimension of the "common" began to emerge more clearly. In various aspects of daily life - be it art, leisure, food or health - we can see a convergence in lifestyles between European states, establishing a shared minimum of identification. In a context in which the European powers consolidated colonies in the Americas, Africa and Asia, any element that differed from European norms acquired an exotic connotation, often associated with a negative perception of inferiority (Schmidt, 2015, p.6-13).

The distancing from familiar meals is a recurring phenomenon in the exchange between cultures. However, what was observed in Europe between the 16th and 18th centuries was a process of hierarchization of gastronomy. The quality and preparation of food came to be determined by the construction of aristocratic and bourgeois eating habits, inserted in a context of emerging globalization, in which European nations established a scale of taste appreciation based on a Eurocentric perspective (Franco, 2010, p.121).

Between the 17th and 18th centuries, there was a remarkable phenomenon: The rise of French gastronomic habits among the European nobility and aristocracy. Elaborate sauces, exquisite roasts, elaborate desserts and a diversity of spices came to symbolize the refinement and sophistication of the palates of the time. The recipes of the time showed a clear trend towards the predominant use of beef, pork and chicken, while previously common species such as peacock, pheasant and wild boar gradually became rarer and more exclusive. The livestock of specific breeds gained prominence, eclipsing other sources of meat in the preference of the nobles. Although hunting remained a common activity until the

end of the 19th century, it became an aristocratic and bourgeois pastime, focused on the search for rare meat or competitions and challenges (Franco, 2010, p.120-138).

Bourgeois habits and 19th century imperialism broadened Eurocentric perceptions, facilitating the construction of a series of stereotypes about subjugated peoples. These stereotypes, in exercising their discriminatory power, not only accentuate hierarchies between human groups, but also distort the cultural practices of others, including their food traditions (Franco, 2010, p.160). The resulting impositions were not only aimed at restricting the acceptance of exogenous foods, but also served economic interests, with the intention of encouraging the colonized to consume products from the bourgeoisie. In this context, a normative conception emerged about what should and should not be consumed, outlining a distinction between animals that are suitable for food and those that are considered inappropriate (Vialles, 1994, p.3-9).

It is therefore understood that the food choices made by different peoples throughout human history, which have shaped eating habits, are intrinsic components of the cultural whole. According to anthropologists Jesús Contreras and Mabel Gracia, our identity is inseparable from what we consume, reflecting not only in the physiological sphere, but also in the spiritual sphere (Contreras; Gárcia, 2011; Lima; Neto; Farias, 2015, p.509). Thus, when considering how Cold War rivalry imposed distorted views on other countries, it is possible to see that these distortions also manifested themselves in food practices, where stigmas and prejudices shaped not only cultural perception, but also what was considered “authentic” or “alien” at the table. In this way, the intersection between politics, culture and food reveals the complexity of identity, which is constantly reconfigured by external and internal forces over time.

Food as an expression of cultural identity is revealed as we investigate commensality and its relevance throughout the historical and social trajectory of peoples. Etymologically, the term “commensality” has its roots in the Latin “*comensale*”, which refers to the action of sharing a meal at the same table. The word is composed of the prefix “com”, which means “together”, and ‘mensa’, which means “table”. This practice involves sharing not only food, but also moments and spaces, reinforcing the connection between individuals (Poulain, 2013, p.182; Lima; Neto; Farias, 2015, p.510).

Sociologist Jean-Pierre Poulain argues that commensality plays a healthy role in building and strengthening sociability. According to him, “it is through cooking and table manners that the most fundamental social learning takes place, allowing a society to transmit

and internalize its values". In this context, food emerges as one of the main ways of intertwining and preserving social bonds, highlighting its importance for cohesion and collective identity (Poulain, 2013, p.182; Lima; Neto; Farias, 2015, p.510).

3 FOOD IDENTITY AND THE PURISM OF PRACTICE

The notion of purism in gastronomic practice is a topic of academic relevance, as it covers issues related to authenticity, the preservation of traditions and the dynamics of cultural adaptation. In a context characterized by the coexistence of multiple cultures and the formation of intercultural synergies, the discussion about purism in cooking presents itself as an interpretative challenge. Given that our analysis aims to highlight the coexistence of hybrid dishes and cuisines, as well as the valorization of recipes that preserve a supposed authenticity - in other words, the concept of purism - we propose here a reflection on how this notion has been approached in historiography. Based on this understanding, in the next section we will focus on the individual historical trajectory of each dish, investigating its origins and transformations over time.

The Protected Designation of Origin (PDO) is a form of geographical indication adopted by the European Union with the aim of safeguarding the authenticity of food products whose origin and production methods are closely linked to a specific region. Established in 1992, the PDO aims to ensure that the process of production, processing and elaboration of products takes place entirely in a delimited geographical area, making use of the traditional knowledge of local producers and regional ingredients (Comissão Europeia, 2023).

The specificities of the products covered by the PDO are directly related to the concept of *terroir*, which encompasses natural and human factors that influence the characteristics of the final product. The use of the official PDO logo, whether from the European Union or the United Kingdom, is mandatory and serves as a document proving this connection between product and territory. European Regulation 510/2006 of March 20 establishes a Community system for the protection of designations, with the intention not only of guaranteeing fair conditions of competition between producers, but also of safeguarding the reputation of regional products, bringing national systems into line with World Trade Organization (WTO) standards and offering consumers a guarantee of conformity with geographical and production specifications. (Regolamento CE n. 510/2006, 2006; Barham e Sylvander, 2011; Catanzaro; Licciardo, 2006).

PDO protection covers a range of agri-food products whose identity is linked to their geographical origin, such as wines, cheeses, hams, sausages, olives, beers, fruit, vegetables, breads and even animal feed. Notorious examples include Parmigiano Reggiano, Gorgonzola, Asiago cheese, Camembert de Normandie and Champagne, which can only bear these designations if they are produced in the specific regions, under strict criteria. For a cheese to be labeled Roquefort, for example, it must be produced from raw milk from the Lacaune sheep breed, with the animals reared in a delimited territory, and matured in the traditional cellars of Roquefort-sur-Soulzon, using *Penicillium roqueforti* from those same cellars (Hughes e Hughes, 2005; Barham; Sylvander, 2011).

The authenticity and protection of these appellations is ensured through registration in the “European Register of Protected Designations of Origin and Protected Geographical Indications”, also known as the “EU Quality Register”, managed by the European Commission's Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development. The application, publication and registration processes, as well as any amendments, are organized in the DOOR database, which is publicly available (Comissão Europeia, 2023).

Since April 1, 2019, the European Commission has consolidated its databases related to the protection of food, beverages and wines on the eAmbrosia digital platform, which now brings together the functionalities of the previous DOOR, E-SPIRIT-DRINKS and E-BACCHUS, discontinued on December 31, 2019. This centralization aims to facilitate access to information and improve the transparency of the system for protecting geographical indications in the European Union (Comissão Europeia, 2023; Regulamento, 2006).

A classic example of a recipe that causes controversy over its origin is pizza. The history of pizza dates back to ancient times, when different civilizations prepared flatbreads with various ingredients on top. This culinary practice formed the basis of what would become modern pizza. This dish, as we know it, is an Italian specialty made with thin dough, various toppings and baked in an oven (Anderson, 1994).

One of the direct precursors of modern pizza is focaccia, a flat bread used in Ancient Rome, known as *panis focacius*, which already incorporated ingredients on the surface. Pizza evolved, especially in Naples, between the 16th and 18th centuries, gradually becoming a structured and widely consumed dish (Helstosky, 2008; “História da Pizza Margherita”, 2012). The Neapolitan region played a central role in the standardization of this delicacy, which would later spread around the world.

The term “pizza” was first recorded in 997 AD, in Gaeta, and its use spread to other regions of central and southern Italy. Etymologically, it derives from the dialect *pinza*, a term related to pressing instruments, with roots in the Latin verb *pinsere*, which means “to beat” or “to knead” (Riciniello, 1987; “pizza”, 2022). This linguistic origin reinforces the link between the name and the pasta preparation technique.

In addition to Italy, references to foods similar to pizza appear in other ancient cultures. Persian soldiers, around the 6th century BC, prepared flatbread with cheese and dates on their war shields (Barrett, 2014; Edwards, 2007). In ancient Greece, *plakous*, flatbread covered with herbs and cheese, was common, as was *placentae*, mentioned by Athenaeus of Naucratis as a ritual offering (Liddell e Scott, 2024; Crompton, 2016; Monaco, 2023).

A notable literary account occurs in Virgil's *Aeneid*, where a food similar to pizza is described. Aeneas and his companions consume flatbread covered with vegetables, interpreting them as “tables” prophesied by Celaeno, a mythological figure in the work (Virgílio apud Monaco, 2023). Even in ancient Rome, there is visual evidence of the practice of covering bread with various ingredients, such as the so-called *adorea* or *libum adorem*, whose frescoes were discovered in Pompeii, proving the ancestry of this culinary tradition (Monaco, 2023).

In this context, there are frequent debates about the historical authenticity of contemporary pizza in relation to its ancestral versions. Although the most widespread form today - especially in the United States - corresponds to the Italian-American model, the existence of earlier preparations cannot be ignored. Archaeological evidence points to the practice of making dough disks with toppings more than six thousand years ago. However, pizza as it is known today has a consolidated origin in Naples, around the 16th century, with the addition of tomato sauce being a later development. The global spread, especially of the American variation, is due to Italian migration and the cultural adaptations that took place on North American soil (Barrett, 2014).

4 NEW FORMS OF COMBINATION: THE 20TH CENTURY, FUSION GASTRONOMY AND THE COMBINATION OF CUISINES IN RESTAURANTS

The historiographical investigation of eating practices, cooking and food evokes a theoretical framework that is not restricted to the concepts and problems of the human sciences. The approach to food involves thinking that intrinsically links an object and a practice. The human species feeds on a series of resources, which are produced, distributed,

acquired and finally consumed. The ways and reasons why different human groups carry out these activities cannot be expressed merely by culture. Nutritional needs and olfactory-taste preferences are biological traits that consolidate food cultures alongside group meanings and ontologies. As food involves survival and pleasure, this resource, interpreted in the light of biochemistry, needs to be understood as an element that is a vector and constituent of a group's identity (Meneses e Carneiro, 1997, p.10-15).

As an object that is categorized as material culture, food has intra- and intercultural physical circulation (Meneses e Carneiro, 1997, p.15). Every human group fosters and bases itself on a taste memory that gives identity to the individuals belonging to that collectivity. As an element that consolidates identity, this practice-object has codification, flexing over habits, customs and even traditions. As part of the category of tradition, food is disputable to the extent that traditions are invented and consolidated over time, and can be influenced by habits and customs, but are actively conceived, imagined and idealized based on the interests of elite groups. These groups act on the basis of often romanticized interpretations of the group's food narratives, as well as through traces and recurring taste memories of the context in which they are inserted (Santos, 2005, p.15).

As an intra- and intercultural collective practice, food simultaneously groups and segregates people. This means that this category consolidates a group with internalized individuals, and delimits those who are exogenous, that is, foreigners who are not part of it (Carneiro, 2005, p.71-72). As an essential element of human life and daily life, food needs to be elaborated as a tradition and, at the same time, as an identity maker.

Just as food is tradition, cultures have traditional foods that are iconic in their symbolic and imagistic constitution. In today's globalized world, food variety has reached its highest level of configuration in the daily lives of the people of different societies. However, traditional food continues to be produced and acquired, and is an element of esteem for cultures. This begs the question: What is traditional food? (Sébastien, 2017, p.2).

Traditional food evokes ideological, political, religious, festive and remembrance notions. However, in a more accurate way, traditional food is the one which evokes knowledge, techniques and skills in cooking and flavors, which are transmitted by mnemonic means, the oral route being common, and even by physical records, such as recipe books, diaries and letters. Traditional food can be approached in family, clan and even small group cases, but when we think back to the 19th and 20th centuries, it is clear that there was an institutional movement in search of officializing recipes, dishes and flavours as the culinary

canons of a given national group. What is interesting is that these institutional groups create or recover popular narratives about old recipes, so that they establish connections, sometimes vague, between dishes originating in the 19th century and older culinary habits (Sébastien, 2017, p.2-5). Many European stews from the 17th and 18th centuries became more sophisticated dishes in the different nations of the 19th century, so these dishes have similar origins, since their earliest versions involved more the dimension of survival than elaboration, where offal, vegetables, lard and sauces were combined in order to enrich the final nutritional quality of the recipe. Thus, the 19th century presents itself as a period of elaboration of exclusivity and uniqueness, where regional dishes with many similarities were used as catalysts for national identity narratives based on the precept of authenticity (Anderson, 2008, p.29-33).

Traditional food is a constituent of collective identities. It is a symbolic and imaginary mark of a group, but it is also an object that carries with it narratives about that same group, with its knowledge and techniques, reinforcing the authenticity of that collective identity (Sébastien, 2017, p.6-7). What a group consumes and how this act is conducted expresses tastes, choices and knowledge, but also rules, meanings and social distinctions, which are fundamental in consolidating collective identity, but also in understanding it (Shapin, 2014, p.378-379). Food and the act of eating allow the group to organize itself, since they ensure its functioning and permanence in the face of the bioenergetic needs of our species. To the same extent that the construction of a culture's food identity brings together a series of recipes and dishes, affirming its culinary diversity, this process creates borders and limits, ensuring interdictions and separations in relation to foods that do not belong to it (Fischler, 1988, p.275).

To a large extent, this categorization of food as an essential part of the foundation of identity is due to the fact that food occupies a position that is inseparable from the possibility of living, as well as being an object of high multisensory diversity, which is associated with pleasure. Therefore, food is incorporated into the core of human existence, and into the way humans exist and place themselves in the world in all its diversity (Fischler, 1988, p.279-280). Food as an affirmed identity was consolidated between the 19th and 20th centuries, when nations were founded from the union of human groups in territories surrounded and delimited by borders. If for some recipes the narrative involving memory underpins and validates the food for the group, in other cases the products are said to be local and unique based on the aforementioned concept of *Terroir*. In this case, the products are said to exist only because

of specific local conditions, such as the properties of the soil, the yeasts present, local precipitation and local bacterial diversity (Ranta e Ichijo, 2022, p.3-4).

The construction of the imagery and sensory association that certain recipes are inherent and unique to certain nations, regions, places and groups is certainly the result of an active and conscious process. There are certainly ancient recipes and products that have been, and are, consumed in different parts of the globe for centuries. However, the narratives formulated from the 19th century onwards created this position of authenticity and ownership of geolocalized national cultures over recipes and dishes, giving rise to traditional national cuisines (Ranta e Ichijo, 2022, p.5).

The role of the state, or of institutions fostered and sponsored by the state, was fundamental in the construction of food identity and national culinary traditions. Nations like Italy and Germany only emerged in the 1860s. The process of national unification took cultural criteria into account, but the emergence of these nations was based on interests and inventions based on force. The same applies to food. Many dishes that became national or the fundamental identity of a people were only produced and broadcast locally. Dishes like *Einsbein*, *Kassler* and *Agnolotti* are a good record of this kind of process (Ranta e Ichijo, 2022, p.105-108). However, more intensive processes to reinforce these narratives of taste tradition became more frequent in the 20th century. The creation of labels such as DOC, DOCG, DOP, IGP, IGT and PAT STG became affirmative and even legal ways of guaranteeing and declaring the culinary identity of a territory, its culture and its people (Grandi, 2024, p.12).

Perhaps the most iconic case, and one that is accepted globally as a reference for culinary identity, is the Italian example. The widespread narrative is that Italian food emerged in the Renaissance as the sum of various regional cuisines, that it naturally formed what is now called the “Mediterranean diet”, and that the presence of this cuisine at a global level is because Italian emigrants took this cuisine with them around the world. To a large extent, the evidence attests that all of these aspects are just the opposite, and that Italian cuisine today is an Italian-American product that has migrated back to Italy. Italian haute cuisine in the Renaissance included some pastas, such as lasagna and ravioli, but the bulk of the population used to eat very simply. And in the Modern Era, this scenario became even more adverse, since between the 17th and 19th centuries, French customs were the main culinary reference on the continent (Grandi, 2024, p.24-35).

With the founding of the Italian nation, the passage of the two world wars and the introduction of the Cold War, Italian sentiment became more evident. The development and

rapid economic growth between 1950 and 1970 in Italy was only really felt by the population from 1975 onwards. The Italian peninsula, with an emphasis on the north, was now industrialized and more complex. Italy's dynamic economy and its greater openness evoked the winds of tourism. In addition to museums and cultural sites, a highly functional tourism marketing strategy was the promotion of culinary tastings. Products such as tomatoes and olive oil were rarely used on the peninsula until the beginning of the 20th century, and others such as marsala wine and hams are derived from products originating in other regions. In addition, there is the fact that many pasta recipes emerged from the contact of Italians who emigrated to the USA with other cultures, thus creating mixtures, facilitating the use of tomato sauce and spices, such as cinnamon, in the midst of recipes that are today said to be purely originating from specific regions of Italy (Grandi, 2024, p.53-92). This means that some of the recipes that are said to be traditional from Italy were introduced to the country through the influence of Italian expatriates, and a large part of these recipes are the result of multicultural contacts and exchanges that occurred in these migratory spaces.

The Italian case is just one that illustrates how national cuisines are imagined and invented concepts and categories. Faced with this condition of valorization and preciousness in relation to food, a series of institutions, both state and non-governmental, have begun to investigate, supervise and validate dishes produced within their countries, or from restaurants that produce such cuisine in other parts of the globe. Depending on the analysis, these restaurants are certified, or not, with seals of authenticity. Secretaries of state, consulates, embassies, and even non-state gastronomic embassies are examples of institutions that debate and dispute what is the authentic national cuisine of the country they represent, so that these places establish norms and rules on how to make certain recipes, and which ingredients are fundamental for the dish to be considered original (Ranta e Ichijo, 2022, p.207-220). A representative case of this condition is the non-governmental institution AVPN (Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana).

The Institution Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana⁴ (AVPN) emerged during the disputed tourism boom in Italy between the 1970s and 1980s. Their official website states that it was founded in June 1984 and is a non-profit organization based in Naples. Their main objective, according to the website, is to spread real Neapolitan pizza around the world, so the steps and rules can be found in the regulations. If the pizzeria complies with the AVPN rules, it receives the seal of authenticity and is listed by the association (AVPN A, 2025).

⁴ True Neapolitan Pizza Association.

The association's history can also be found on the website, and is said to have originated from the desire of pizzaiolos who felt that their product was unique, following specific rules and ways of making it. The proposal to protect the local product expanded into proposing international rules. Although it was founded in 1984, the first certification code was only introduced in 1993. In 1995, the document was strengthened by Professor Carlo Mangoni, who proposed physical-chemical issues for the uniqueness of Neapolitan pizza. In 2004, the European Union recognized the unique value of Neapolitan pizza, making the product protected through the STG label (*Specialità Tradizionale Garantita*⁵). Since 2010, the association has been promoting awards, competitions and trips related to its product (AVPN B, 2025).

In the face of institutional support at local, regional, national and even international level (with the EU), the AVPN has kept its statute public. The document mentions that any pizzeria in the world can obtain the seal, and reinforces that this is a typical Neapolitan dish. The center of the pizza must be 0.25 cm high, the crust must be between 1 and 2 cm high and the color must be tan, without large bubbles or being burnt. The pizza must be soft and elastic, tasting like bread. The regulation defines what must be included in the flour, using drinking water, salt and natural yeast, so that this mixture must be kept between 16 and 22 °C. The document goes on to comment on the form of fermentation, the proportion of dough per disk, how maturation takes place, the shape of the disk and its cooking, and the instruments used. The document mentions that the inspiration is historical, so that Neapolitan pizza dates back to the 1600s. Finally, there are the traditional flavors: Marinara, Margherita, Four Seasons, Capricciosa, Ripieno (Calzone) and fried pizza (AVPN C, 2025, p.2-20).

There is no point here in denying that pizza has been eaten in Naples since the Modern Era, or even in saying that Neapolitan pizza has little relevance to the general history of pizza and its international spread. And it is certainly possible to comment that there is a connection between the current recipe and the older traditional one, since the emergence of this defense in the 1980s is linked to a study of traces from the past. However, the clash here lies in the fact that there is no way of saying that both foods are specifically the same. One of these fundamental clashes lies in what historian Alberto Grandi commented, which is that tomatoes only became common in Italy in the 19th century (Grandi, 2024, p.65-80). This means that the Neapolitan pizza defended by AVPN is not the result of a teleological continuity of habits and traditions that culminated in the pizza of the 1980s, but rather a pizza

⁵ Traditional Specialty Guarantee.

created and formulated from the sum of interpretations of historical traces, alongside recurring narratives and myths, as well as the presence of the habit of eating pizza in the Neapolitan region. This does not make Neapolitan pizza any less Neapolitan. It just makes AVPN's Neapolitan pizza a recent creation, one that has even become a traditional local food in a short space of time, due to a series of interests.

Debating the validity of the thinking and logic of these institutions is fruitless and unproductive. This is because there is state, institutional and collective willpower to legitimize this discourse. It is therefore important to understand that these institutions seek to define the authenticity and purity of their products. First of all, if there is a defense of a product, this means the defense of a specific form. Anything that deviates from the form is exotic (Schmidt, 2015, p.12-13). Like the world of hygiene, purity means the ideal or virtuous model, while the exotic enters the condition, in this case, as a kind of "pollution". It would not be something seen in a prohibitive light, but rather a kind of misrepresentation, which, despite not being forbidden, has the uncomfortable quality of being distorted (Douglas, 1984, p.2-5).

These narratives are relevant because there is a very strong sense of belonging in relation to food and eating, so the transmission of this knowledge and the ways of making it create a strong bond between the individual and the group, such as the family. In the case of migrants, this attachment and identification with food becomes even more intense, due to the mnemonic power of food, which evokes memories, images and sensations related to the homeland. The movement activated by nostalgia makes individuals try to reproduce what they are used to in the new place. Faced with a reality shaped by other flavors, these migrants had to adapt their recipes to what they found similar, or even incorporate local flavors into these traditional dishes. Many dishes that are said to be traditional to certain countries actually arose from the practices of immigrants who went to other countries and created adaptations of dishes they were already making, or produced new ones. This is the case with *Chicken Tikka Masala*, which is considered the most famous dish in Indian cuisine, but has its origins in the practices of Indian or Pakistani cooks who lived in the UK (Mannur, 2007, p.12-24).

All these details show that no cuisine is pure or isolated from the contact and interference of other cultures and tastes. Centuries-old habits contour and outline the influences that cuisines have taken on in more recent times. However, it should be borne in mind that some of the so-called traditional and classic recipes have arisen from influences from other cultures, or even from other parts of the world, as in the case of emigrants. This

situation suggests that the narratives about the natural origin of traditional dishes or the progressive autochthonous development of national cuisines are flawed by not considering, or not including, the multicultural influences on their cuisines and dishes that they consider pure and traditional. This is due to the dynamism of gastronomy (Régnier, 2006, p.1167-1168).

The idea of a pure cuisine is misleading, since the vast majority of dishes and their ingredients have been formed by centuries of cultural exchange, and dishes that are said to be traditional are part of recent narrative creations. However, regardless of this statement, it should be noted that the narrative of authentic food has strong power and influence over people. However, this does not mean that populations and territories do not have food traditions or that peoples do not have trends and continuities in their recipes. In other words, pizza is an ancient food in Naples, there is no denying that. The point is that the consolidated narrative about this dish has flaws and lapses that romanticize the chronological trajectory of the dish. In this way, within a popular and institutional logic, it can be said that at the same time as there is pure food, there is what is known as fusion cuisine. Simply put, fusion cuisine is where culinary elements from two or more cultures come together to create new eating practices. There are different ways in which fusion cuisine manifests itself, so it is necessary to categorize them in order to shed light on the existence of each of them (Leong-Salobir, 2011, p.34-91). However, there is a need for caution, since the existence of fusion food depends on the resilience of the narrative of authentic cuisine, since fusion is the result of combining cuisines, or dishes, that are said to be traditional.

When cultures, populations, their knowledge and objects are analyzed, what it is noticed is that almost all of these elements have been influenced in a multicultural way. In the case of food, we think of it as both a practice and an object, since it involves the act of cooking and its product, the culinary dish. This means that the different cuisines and recipes that exist, even if they have been practiced for centuries in a given place, are still subject to external influences and contacts. This means that through cultural-historical logic, traditional cuisines are, in essence, hybrid cuisines (Burke, 2003, p.24-38). However, in popular and institutional circles there is the presence of the logic of authentic food and fusion food. Therefore, this hybrid or mixed condition proposed for cuisine is related to cases of fusion.

When it comes to fusion food, it must be clear that there are in fact fusion cuisines. The most obvious and imminent is **Migratory-Colonial Fusion Food**. The migratory dimension refers to population groups that migrate to other regions and culminate generating

adaptations to their traditional cuisines or dishes, either because of the appreciation of native elements that appeal to their tastes, or because of the need to adapt to local resources. The second case involves another condition. Many American, African and Asian territories were under European colonial control between the 1500s and the 1970s. The culinary impact in these places is mixed and blended, where traces of the culture of the colonizer, the colonized and the forced migrants (enslaved blacks) or stimulated, have converged into hybrid cuisines (Janer, 2007, p.385-388) (Takenaka, 2017, p.117-120).

The earliest cases of migratory-colonial culinary fusion involve the processes of invasion and colonization of the Americas. In these processes, Europeans sought to reproduce their realities in these new lands. Over time, products from the old world, such as cattle, pigs, goats and a good number of plant species were brought to these colonies. However, this process was gradual between the 16th and 17th centuries, so the colonizers became accustomed to the local products and included these elements in their diets, customs and traditions (Janer, 2007, p.391-394). Dishes were created such as *Pabellón criollo* from Venezuela with American products and European pork. The Brazilian moqueca, with the African influence of palm oil, the indigenous moquém and the tradition of Portuguese stews, is another dish that is the result of colonialism. In this colonial process, there are also dishes that have been adapted, such as the Brazilian feijoada, with its origins linked to the Jewish *Tcholent*, the French *Cassoulet* and the Portuguese Feijoada with its white broad beans, which incorporated American black beans into the Lusitanian dish. And there is also the case of pre-Columbian traditions that have been incorporated by Europeans, such as Mexican *Tacos*, which now include animal proteins from Europe.

These dishes are the result of two simultaneous exchanges of knowledge and incorporations of ingredients. This means that pre-Columbian American traditions incorporated European ingredients and techniques, while ancient European dishes practiced in the Americas also incorporated the same details, as well as the dimension of dishes originating from the colonial experience itself, where the mixture arose not as an adaptation of dishes, but as something new from the process itself. The coloniality of the 19th century, in the context of the formation of American nation-states, was very relevant to the affirmation of these dishes. This is because the construction of identity in these places permeated the colonial heritage, so as a cultural form of coloniality as identity, these dishes were evoked as symbols of identity between the end of the 19th and 20th centuries (Janer, 2007, p.396-400).

There are also Asian examples, mainly related to 19th century colonialism. The paths of formation are very similar to those in the case of American colonialism between the 16th and 18th centuries, however, there is more of a mix here that occurred out of interests and tastes, rather than necessity (Leong-Salobir, 2014, p.62-93).

Figure 1

Venezuelan National Dish: Pabellón Criollo



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pabell%C3%B3n_criollo

Figure 2

Moqueca from Bahia (Brazil)



Source: <https://bodedono.com.br/receita-a-verdadeira-moqueca/receita/>

Figure 3

Brazilian Feijoada



Source: https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feijoada_%C3%A0_brasileira

If there are colonial cases, there are those related to migrants who moved around the world and put down roots in other places and ended up founding new culinary axes and/or new dishes and recipes. These are cases that did not involve coercive measures. For the most part, these scenarios involve individuals seeking better living conditions. Faced with the new conditions they had to deal with, a series of dishes and cuisines emerged, such as *Chicken Tikka Masala*, Sino-American dishes and Peru's Nikkei cuisine.

Turning first to the dishes, it is interesting to comment on the origin of *Chicken Tikka Masala*. The origin of this dish is debated, as well as being the subject of a number of popular London legends, but the most widely accepted theory is that the origin of the dish is related to a community of migrants descended from India, Nepal, Bangladesh and Pakistan who adapted traditional curries, using the centuries-old *Garam Masala* spice mix, to the local English taste. This happened in the middle of the 20th century, most likely in Glasgow or London, so it is speculated that the initial innovation was the use of Campbell's tomato soup in the midst of traditional curry recipes (Bara e Adhikari, 2023, p.36-38). Another case that embodies this same type of culinary fusion process concerns Chinese-American food, with an emphasis on *Chop Suey*. There is a widespread popular belief that this dish was created in the USA, but it is a home-made Chinese dish, born in Guangdong province. However, the Americanized version has become more widespread around the world, so it has a strong focus on the presence of noodles, in addition to the tomato paste that was added to adapt to the American palate. (Bueno et al, 2024, p.8). Another cuisine that has been consolidating since the beginning of the 21st century is Sino-Indian food, due to the geographical proximity and migration movements between the two countries (Sankar, 2017, p.268-270).

Still within the dimension of migrants in search of better conditions, there is the case of Peru's Nikkei cuisine, which has even become Peru's national cuisine. Nikkei cuisine consists of a combination of Japanese food values and typical Peruvian taste traits. This cuisine was formed when the first Japanese migrants arrived in Peru in 1899 from Yokohama on the ship *Sakura Maru*. Although Japanese descendants make up only a small part of the Peruvian population, their gustatory and cultural influence was very significant. Dishes such as Ceviche and *Tiradito* are a hallmark of this cuisine, while *Chifa* is a hallmark of Sino-Peruvian cuisine. The Japanese heritage includes the use of rice and raw fish in the dishes, while the Peruvian dimension includes yellow pepper, Rocoto (*Capsicum pubescens*), the presence of citrus fruits in the composition of sauces, and the inclusion of plantains and cassava in these recipes (Takenaka, 2017, p.118-121).

Figure 4

Chicken Tikka Masala



Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicken_tikka_masala

Figure 5

American Chop Suey



Source: <https://encr.pw/3zexz>

Figure 6

Peruvian Ceviche



Sorce: <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ceviche>

Still within the category of migratory-colonial fusion is the peculiar case of Suriname. The region has a complex mix of native ethnicities, colonizers, migrants forced into slave labor and migrants encouraged within the framework of the Dutch empire. The Dutch colonized the region in the mid-17th century. The indigenous Arawaks lived in the region and were subjected to various forms of compulsory labor. Alongside these populations, a number of black individuals were brought from West Africa as slaves between the 17th and early 19th centuries. Between 1873 and 1916 a number of Indian migrants came to the Dutch colony as free laborers, while after 1916 new waves of migrants from Indonesia, Java and China created the final ethnic contours of the South American nation.

There are a number of dishes originating from India, China, Indonesia, Africa and those of the natives of the region that have been combined into hybrid dishes typical of Suriname. However, the dish with the greatest characterization of taste combinatorics and ethnic recipes are probably the *Nasis* that came from Indonesia. This is because this dish has a meaning of rice, so the base of the dish always involves this grain. However, in the case of Suriname, Nasi began to include green beans, originally from the Americas, African okra, chicken (in the form of Dutch *Satay*) and pork of Sino-European influence, seasoned chickpeas, such as Indian *Dahl* and, finally, noodles, of Chinese origin. The Nasi of Suriname is the result of domination, coercion and free migration. It is a dish that synthesizes the history of Suriname, which demonstrates the ingenuity of migrants and their cultural-taste exchanges, in favor of a hybrid dish that simultaneously merges migration and colonization.

Figure 7

Surinamese Nasi



Source: <https://encr.pw/WSr9j>.

The second type of Fusion Cuisine that is of interest in this work is **Historical Inspiration Fusion Food**. There are not many examples in the history trail that refer to this type of culinary fusion. However, the one that most refers to this type of category is probably the Japanese cuisine *Yōshoku*⁶. In this culinary category it is noted that the fusion did not happen by force, by colonization or invasion. Through diplomatic contacts and the transience of individuals, a number of restaurants and chefs native to Japan were inspired by European dishes in order to create new Japanese recipes that contained European elements. This gastronomy founded in the nineteenth century aimed to please the tastes of the Europeans and Americans who circulated in the Japanese territory after the diplomatic-commercial opening in 1854. This cuisine even continued consolidating new influences after the second world war, with the new relations between USA and Japan (Koikari, 2018, p.171-180).

The history of this cuisine relates to the Meiji Restoration (1868-1912), where after the defeat of national isolationists, Emperor Meiji decided to open Japan to Western ideas as a way to allow national progress. The ban on red meat was revoked, since many thinkers of the empire understood that the reason of the western white man to have greater musculature resided in this factor. *Yōshoku* was born with the proposal to incorporate beef in Japanese cuisine. However, one of the main reasons was the fact that Westerners refused to consume centuries-old traditional Japanese cuisine, which was *Washoku*. The raw fish, the numerous seafood, the native sprouts, the consumption of Gohan rice, all in the form of Obentos, did not please or attract the European taste (Cang, 2019, p.237-243). Therefore, these Western

⁶ Western food (洋食).

individuals had hired Japanese chefs who incorporated Western techniques and flavors into their dishes, but with the dominance of Japanese flavors and forms.

The first mention of the term *Yōshoku* is dated 1872, having been coined by the writer Kanagaki Robun in his book *Seiyō Ryōritsū*⁷. The book has a focus on French and Italian cooking techniques, but essentially the practice produced new dishes, with a predominantly Japanese character, where the recipes seemed attempts to copy European dishes, but with a way of making fundamentally Japanese (Robun, 1872). The tempurá was incorporated into the *Yōshoku* tradition, but its emergence is earlier since it arose with the arrival of the Portuguese in Japan in the 16th century.

Figure 8

Japanese-Western Scene in Seiyō Ryōritsū work portraying the Yōshoku



Source: *Seiyō ryōritsū* (Kanagaki Robun, p.7-8, Vol.2).

The value of *Yōshoku* for Japan is evident in the work *日本料理法大全*⁸ written in 1898 by the writer Jihei Ishii. In this work the author mentions that this culinary tradition is essentially Japanese (Kordzińska-Nawrocka, 2019, p.1-11). There is a large list of dishes from this culinary branch, which can be mentioned: Hayashi Rice (tomato sauce stew, demi-glacê, beef and gohan); The Korokke (inspired by French croquette, having beef and seafood with mashed potatoes, eggs and white sauce); The Piroshiki (Japanese derivative of the Slavic *Pierogi*, with potato, cabbage and pork filling, but with fried bread dough); Naporitan (pasta inspired by the classic Spaghetti, but with mushrooms, vegetables, sausage and

⁷ Western Food Handbook.

⁸ The Japanese Complete Cookbook

ketchup-based sauce); The Tonkatsu (sliced pork belly breaded and deep-fried, accompanied by Tonkatsu sauce, which combines the Worcestershire sauce, with Japanese fruits and spices); Omurice (scrambled egg omelette, with French inspiration, with ketchup on top); Finally Hamburg (A hamburger on the plate, often breaded with the Japanese technique Furai, with demi-glacé sauce). The *Yōshoku* cuisine was inspired by western dishes, but reinvented them in new forms, flavors and techniques, where ingredients and Japanese techniques are usually present, but in many cases they are only western products, although restructured under a Japanese culinary logic.

Figure 9

Korokke



Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y%C5%8Dshoku>

Figure 10

Naporitan



Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y%C5%8Dshoku>

Figure 11

Omurice



Source: <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y%C5%8Dshoku>

The term fusion cuisine was first used in fact by chef Norman Van Aken at a symposium in Santa Fe in 1988. Even though this term only appeared in the late 1980s, Van Aken was talking about something that had been forming since the mid-1960s, which was the *Nouvelle Cuisine*. Faced with the exhaustion of national elite cuisines, such as French, Italian and Japanese, a number of chefs sought to combine elements of different cuisines, alongside innovative cutting-edge techniques, to propose new directions for world-class gastronomy. This third category of fusion cuisine can be called **Contemporary Fusion Food** (Spence, 2018, p.101-107).

Contemporary Fusion cuisine differs from previous models because it is the result of an arbitrary process, where chefs plan and create their dishes from a wide collection of ingredients and knowledge, along with the application of innovative techniques such as the use of foams, liquid nitrogen and different fermentations. It is a laboratorial performance, where it is not the historical event and the process that dictate the rhythm of the fusion, but the own interest of the inventor chef (Spence, 2018, p.101-107). This type of process relates to postmodernity, where fixed and usual rules of different human social structures were fragmented in favor of new possibilities of discourses, narratives and practices. This process alongside globalization has fostered new culinary compositions that do not follow historical rules. The union of ethnic diversity in dishes, whether in ingredients or techniques, adjacent to emerging gastronomic novelties, allowed unusual recipes (Sharma e Nagar, 2021, p.40-43).

Figure 12

Chicken and Mole (Contemporary Mexico-Chinese fusion)



Source: <https://encr.pw/ytOtA>

The demands of the contemporary world after 1990, led to the facilitation of feeding, with frozen and ultra-processed, next to a simplified feeding in *Fastfood* networks. This accelerated scenario of the Present Time, generated reactions in the sense of promoting a healthy and palatable food that simultaneously aimed at combinations of techniques and varied ethnic traditions, fostering a quality diet based on movements related to *SlowFood*. They are combinations without ballast in the historical tradition, where the function of the process is the exploration of organoleptic properties in order to generate unique olfactory-gustatory sensations (Fischler, 1998, p.649-655).

Faced with the breaking of traditions and numerous combinatorial possibilities, the tests assumed new levels radiating to popular attempts and interests. Globalization has been fundamental in the dissemination of different dishes that have become iconic around the world. There are kebab, pizza, sushi, hamburguer, hot dog and countless other dishes that are found in all, or almost all, nations of the globe. With this great dissemination and in the face of a large collection of culinary options, a number of agents went beyond the combination of techniques, flavors, ingredients and ethnic influences, and combined completely disparate dishes in the same composition. There are cases like the *Sushi Kebab*, the *Pizza* and the hot dog with the brazilian estrogonofe (strogonoff), the *Sushi burger* and the *Chicken Tikka Pizza*. These dishes show not the combination of influences, but the combination of independent dishes in a single composition. In this sense it is established here the proposal of the concept of **Chimeric Food Fusion** or **Food Chimerism**.

5 FROM THE COMBINATION OF TECHNIQUES AND INGREDIENTS TO THE TOTAL COMBINATION OF DISHES: FOOD CHIMERAS IN POPULAR DAILY LIFE, EMBLEMATIC CASES AND CONFLICTS

In Greek mythology there is a creature that possesses the strength and parts of different animals. Present in the epic Iliad work, this creature would have different heads, as lion, goat and snake. This unique being was not thought of in its individualities, but rather in a unique composition, as monstrosity. Over time the term chimera was widely used, being applied to hybrid creatures (Nikbin et al, 2007, p.2). From this mythological record, medicine began to apply this term for some medical scenarios. In summary, chimerism is the condition in which an individual has two or more populations of genetically distinct cells, originating from different zygotes. The zygote is formed by the fusion of two gametes (ovule and sperm). Thus, the most prevalent case of chimerism is that where two zygotes merge. It is as if two people merge during the embryonic process, being a living originated from a tetragametic process (Johnson et al, 2020, p.1523-1525).

Depending on the type of genetic analysis tests, or the way in which such a procedure is performed, the results show that a single individual possesses the genetic set of two or more originals. These individuals are not either or more original zygotes, but rather the result of their fusion. These people are unique beings, with inseparable mixed compositions, hence the origin of the use of the mythological term "chimera" for this rare rare condition (Johnson et al, 2020, p.1523-1525). With the dishes cited at the end of the previous section, it is possible to perceive exotic creations that are total fusions of individual recipes. These new mixed compositions are simultaneously an innovative product, as well as it is possible to notice the parts of the original dishes that compose it. It is in this sense that we proposed here to use the term **Chimeric Food Fusion**, since such dishes contain the "culinary DNA" of the original products, but has become a completely new food. This type of practice is the result of the intense globalization of the ultra-contemporary world, a common mark of immediate time, being a more acute and intense kind of cultural-food hybridism (Burke, 2003, p.24-38).

This type of culinary fusion seems to relate and combine dishes that have become famous in the popular culture of the 21st century. The pizza, sushi and snacks are fully disseminated, being thought as a kind of support where you add entirely another dish, not just part of it, in its composition (Sharma e Nagar, 2021, p.42-44). This type of composition has no ballast in the rules that support, individually, the culinary traditions of these famous

dishes. They are tests and experiences of everyday individuals, who often sell their products in the form of street food, which are based on culinary *Trends* of dishes that are famous, and decide to combine them in order to please the popular taste. Certainly there are risks of two orders in this type of process. The first is the fact that the fusion dish may not please the public in taste sense. The second factor is that as part of these dishes are considered elements of tradition for their "original" cultures, there is always the possibility of contestation in relation to the chemical fusion, in the sense that this type of measure is a form of practice disrespectful to the value attributed to the food (Spence, 2018, p.103-105).

Given the numerous cases of food chimerism, in this brief work there was the choice for some of them to debate. The first example is *Sushi Kebab*. This dish began to proliferate on the streets of Tokyo from the decade of 2010, being the result of the combination of Turkish and Japanese cuisine. The dish consists of a rice roll wrapped in nori seaweed, being stuffed with slices of meat from the Turkish stew roll barbecue, which is known as Döner kebab. The rice roll replaces the common leaf bread in kebab snacks, while the filling of Kebab replaces the usual fillings of *Makizushis*. This dish combines a classic of the *Washoku* cuisine, which is sushi with seaweed from 1750 (Cang, 2019, p.237-238), with one of the greatest classics of Turkish (and Middle Eastern) food, which is kebab. This dish does not register influences, but the total combination of two independent dishes.

Figure 13

Sushi Kebab



Source: <https://l1nq.com/svVgo>

Another case of chemical combination concerns *Chicken Tikka Pizza*. As it was shown earlier the Chicken Tikka Masala is already by itself a kind of mid-twentieth century Indo-English fusion, while pizza is a dish of centuries that transited in different parts of the Mediterranean. In this case the pizza is used as the basis of the dish, having the tomato

sauce optional, but with the presence of cheese. Above the pizza is placed the cover, which in this case is the dish itself Tikka Masala. The dish is prepared separately in its entirety and is attached to the dough before it is put into the oven. The result is a chimeric fusion, with easy identification of the original dishes, but generating another unitary composition, being very common in the current USA.

Figure 14

Chicken Tikka Pizza



Source: <https://l1nq.com/VvRxi>

There is a very peculiar case involving both mergers and culinary migrations that resides in contemporary Brazil. This case involves two dishes that is the hot dog and the pizza of strogonoff. But the interest focuses and comment on the first dish, which involves foreign arrivals and an unusual fusion in the South American country. The first record of the Hot-Dog in Brazil is dated 1926, being an introduction idealized by the businessman Francisco Serrador in Rio de Janeiro. Despite this, full dissemination occurred after the Second World War, when the cultural influence of the USA on Brazil became more evident. There are multiple regionalized versions in Brazil of this dish disputed origin, but the one that interests us is the press version of the south of the country (Gomes, 2016). The other dish that composes this chimeric food that was migrated to Brazil in the mid-twentieth century, is the strogonoff that has Franco-Russian origin. The most accepted version is that the dish was invented by French chef Charles Briere who worked for the Stroganov in Saint Petersburg at the end of the 19th century. The dish that mixed sour cream, mustard, thin strips of meat, mushrooms, dill and potatoes was considered a noble dish. With the Russian revolution the dish spread. To what it all seems was in the USA in 1930 that ketchup and thin potatoes were added. Introduced in Brazil in the 1940s, the dish became popular and had the sour sauce

exchanged for cream and potato straw. There is Strogonoff in its Brazilian version, being more sweet and creamy than the original (Battaglia, 2022).

The migration and modification of traditional dishes is something common in the whole world, but the “Brazilianization” of the dishes, and the joining of these local versions demonstrates a total chimeric movement. In southern Brazil there is a record of this type of snack at least since the early 2000s. The sandwich includes Hot-Dog bread, sausage, tomato, optionally mashed potatoes and mustard, next to the introduction of estrogonofe stew inside this sandwich. They are independent dishes that consolidated a single composition.

Figure 15

Strogonoff Hot-Dog



Source: <https://l1nk.dev/1BWA1>

Each of the chimerical dishes presented arose in different places around the globe. All of them were dependent on migrations, exchanges and local influences, so as not to comment on the movement of risk that exists in relation to the disapproval of the product. However, it should be noted that these tests are usually given on dishes which individually are widely accepted by the local taste. Therefore, even if there is a risk that the dish will not be accepted, this type of problem is minimized according to the likely popularity that the product has ability to achieve once when constituted as a chimeric fusion.

6 CONCLUSION

The constitution of food as a trait of identity is something that is beyond the mere act of feeding. As determined, the act of eating constitutes necessity and pleasure. With the transition to sedentary life humans could consolidate eating habits and customs, being trends related to availability, access and taste for preparation. This means that the Neolithic revolution allowed greater choice and management of products to humans (Perlès, 1998, p.30-38). Despite the taste for food, and even if the identification with it is something old, the

elaboration of food as a constituent of identity is something that gained more defined composition in the nineteenth century, with the legacies of colonialism, the rise of nationalism and nation-states. It is at this time that the culinary traditions were imagined and produced, so that they became a form of affirmation and belonging to the group, being a trait of identity (Sébastien, 2017, p.2).

The food as tradition, a mark of the nineteenth century, was based on habits and customs that had centuries in certain regions. However, this type of elaboration is an imagined process, because these traditions depended on the inspiration in popular narratives, myths and legends to produce their discourses (Santos, 2005, p.15). Before the idea of defining the group, there was the emergence of the idea of authentic food, where a certain dish is from a people, because it follows certain steps and because it has a binding role in relation to the group (Anderson, 2008, p.29-33).

Although there is agreement in this material with the thesis that dishes have places of origin and that in fact they make parts of habits, therefore possessing historicity, what is contested here is the historical value of the discourses of food authenticity. However, regardless of the value such discourses have, they possess a strong power in the collective imagination, shaping popular opinion and ensuring that individuals in a group deeply believe in the narrative veracity of the origin of their national dishes.

With the debate of authenticity overcome, it becomes evident throughout the text that no food or culture is exclusively isolated, so there are continuous exchanges and influences (Régner, 2006, p. 1167-1168). However, given the validation of the discourse of authenticity, the category of fusion gastronomy was debated as a type of cuisine that mixes those cuisines that are said to be authentic.

Although all culinary mixture appears to be the same type of fusion food practice, it is necessary to emphasize that there are differences, so that four categories were defined according to moment of emergence and type of fusion: **Migratory-Colonial Fusion Food**; **Historical Inspiration Fusion Food**; **Contemporary Fusion Food**; And finally the **Chimeric Fusion Food**. There is no reason to re-discuss each of these cases individually, but it can be stated that the cases depend on how these mixed dishes appeared, in which events and at what historical moment.

It is certainly possible to put all these different dishes combined that were discussed in the course of the material, as being all fusion food. However, the homogenization and synthesis of the debate generates deletions in relation to the individual historical

understanding of each recipe, leading to the loss of narrative and conceptual details of these dishes, where differences and similarities are lost. Therefore, the categorization in clusters of types fusion, enriches the theme and allows the correlation between the different dishes.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We would like to thank the Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES) and the Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPQ) for supporting our research, which made this work possible.

REFERENCES

- Anderson, B. (2008). *Comunidades imaginadas: Reflexões sobre a origem e a difusão do nacionalismo*. São Paulo, Brazil: Companhia das Letras.
- Anderson, B. (1994). *Tesouros da mesa italiana*. New York, NY: William Morrow and Company.
- Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana. (2025a). The history of AVPN. https://www.pizzanapoletana.org/en/chi_siamo
- Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana. (2025b). About us: Association's information. https://www.pizzanapoletana.org/en/storia_avpn
- Associazione Verace Pizza Napoletana. (2025c). AVPN international regulations. <https://www.pizzanapoletana.org/public/pdf/Disciplinare-2024-ENG.pdf>
- Bara, B., & Adhikari, B. (2023). Exploring the intersection of multicultural society and chicken tikka masala in the U.K. *The OCEM Journal of Management, Technology & Social Sciences*, 3(1), 35–48. <https://journal.oxfordcollege.edu.np/index.php/ojmts/article/view/27/26>
- Barham, E., & Sylvander, B. (Eds.). (2011). *Selos de origem para alimentos: Desenvolvimento local, reconhecimento global*. Wallingford, United Kingdom: CABI.
- Barrett, L. (2014). *Pizza, um pedaço da história americana*. Minneapolis, MN: Voyageur Press.
- Bartoshuk, L., & Duffy, V. (2017). Chemical senses, taste and smell. In C. Korsmeyer (Ed.), *The taste culture reader* (2nd ed., pp. 21–28). London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Battaglia, R. (2022, March 8). Uma breve história do estrogonofe. Superinteressante. <https://l1nq.com/YtqHN>

- Bueno, G. B., Silva, E. M. B., & Santos, C. F. M. (2024). China and ancient cuisine: Consumption of wild animals, western stereotypes and zoonoses. *Contribuciones a las Ciencias Sociales*, 17(6), 1–24. <https://ojs.revistacontribuciones.com/ojs/index.php/clcs/article/view/7266>
- Burke, P. (2003). *Hibridismo cultural*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora Unisinos.
- Cang, V. (2019). Policing washoku: The performance of culinary nationalism in Japan. *Food and Foodways*, 27(3), 232–252. <https://doi.org/10.1080/07409710.2019.1646473>
- Carneiro, H. S. (2005). Comida e sociedade: Significados sociais na história da alimentação. *História: Questões e Debates*, 42, 71–80. <https://revistas.ufpr.br/historia/article/view/4640>
- Catanzaro, F., & Licciardo, F. (2006). La riforma del Regolamento (CEE) 2081/92 sulla protezione delle indicazioni geografiche e delle denominazioni di origine. *Agriregionieuropa*. <https://agrireregionieuropa.univpm.it>
- Crompton, D. (2016). *Uma introdução clássica: Conhecimento antigo para mentes modernas*. London, United Kingdom: Michael O'Mara.
- Comissão Europeia. (2023, March 28). Política da UE em matéria de qualidade dos produtos agrícolas. <https://agriculture.ec.europa.eu>
- Contreras, J., & García, M. (2011). *Alimentação, sociedade e cultura*. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil: Editora Fiocruz.
- Douglas, M. (1984). *Purity and danger: An analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Edwards, W. P. (2007). *A ciência dos produtos de panificação*. London, United Kingdom: Royal Society of Chemistry.
- Fischler, C. (1988). Food, self and identity. *Anthropology of Food*, 27(2), 275–292. <https://doi.org/10.1177/053901888027002005>
- Fischler, C. (1998). A “McDonaldização” dos costumes. In J. L. Flandrin & M. Montanari (Eds.), *História da alimentação* (6th ed., pp. 641–655). São Paulo, Brazil: Estação Liberdade.
- Franco, A. (2010). *De caçador a gourmet: Uma história da gastronomia* (5th ed.). São Paulo, Brazil: Senac São Paulo.
- Garine, I. (1987). Alimentación, cultura y sociedad. *El Correo UNESCO*, 40(5), 4–7.
- Gomes, G. (2016, September 9). História hoje: Surgimento do cachorro-quente tem três versões diferentes. Agência Brasil. <https://abrir.link/DelSh>

- Grandi, A. (2024). *As mentiras da Nonna: Como o marketing inventou a cozinha italiana*. São Paulo, Brazil: Todavia.
- Helstosky, C. (2008). *Pizza: Uma história global*. London, United Kingdom: Reaktion Books.
- Historia da Pizza Margherita. (2025). <http://tobettravelagent.com>
- Hughes, T., & Hughes, M. S. (2005). *Gastronomie!: Museus de comida e patrimônios da França*. Piermont, NH: Bunker Hill Publishing.
- Janer, Z. (2007). (In)edible nature. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2–3), 385–405. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09502380601162597>
- Johnson, B. N., Ehli, E. A., Davies, G. E., & Boosma, D. I. (2020). Chimerism in health and potential implications on behavior: A systematic review. *American Journal of Medical Genetics*, 182(6), 1513–1529. <https://doi.org/10.1002/ajmg.a.61577>
- Kordzinska-Nawrocka, I. (2019). Japanese culinary culture and identity. *Analecta Nipponica*, 9, 1–15. https://www.academia.edu/43165105/Japanese_Culinary_Culture_and_Identity
- Koikari, M. (2018). Love! Spam: Food, military, and empire in post-World War Okinawa. In N. Stalker (Ed.), *Devouring Japan: Global perspectives on Japanese culinary identity* (pp. 171–186). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Korsmeyer, C. (Ed.). (2005). *The taste culture reader: Experiencing food and drink*. London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury. <https://www.bloomsbury.com/us/taste-culture-reader-9780857857897/>
- Leong-Salobir, C. (2011). *Food culture in colonial Asia: A taste of empire*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Liddell, H. G., & Scott, R. (n.d.). *A Greek-English lexicon*. Perseus Digital Library.
- Lima, R. de S., Neto, J. A. F., & Farias, R. de C. P. (2015). Alimentação, comida e cultura: O exercício da comensalidade. *Demetra*, 10(3), 507–522. <https://www.e-publicacoes.uerj.br/demetra/article/view/16072>
- Mannur, A. (2007). Culinary nostalgia: Authenticity, nationalism, and diaspora. *MELUS*, 32(4), 11–31. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/30029829>
- Meneses, U. T. P., & Carneiro, H. (1997). A história da alimentação: Balizas historiográficas. *Anais do Museu Paulista*, 5, 9–91. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-47141997000100002>
- Monaco, F. (2025). Adorem: O afresco de pão achatado recém-descoberto de Pompeia. BBC. <https://www.bbc.com>
- Nikbin, B., Talebian, F., & Mohyeddin, M. (2007). Chimerism: A new look. *Urology Journal*, 4(1), 1–9. <https://ojs3.sbm.ac.ir/urolj/index.php/uj/article/view/146>

- Perlès, C. (1998). As estratégias alimentares nos tempos pré-históricos. In J. L. Flandrin & M. Montanari (Eds.), *História da alimentação* (6th ed., pp. 29–41). São Paulo, Brazil: Estação Liberdade.
- Pizza. (2022, February 21). Online Etymology Dictionary. <https://www.etymonline.com/word/pizza>
- Porteous, D. (2006). Smellscape. In J. Drobnick (Ed.), *The smell culture reader* (pp. 89–106). New York, NY: Berg.
- Poulain, J.-P. (2013). *Sociologias da alimentação: Os comedores e o espaço social alimentar*. Florianópolis, Brazil: Editora UFSC.
- Ranta, R., & Ichijo, A. (2022). *Food, national identity and nationalism: From everyday to global politics* (2nd ed.). Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Regolamento (CE) N.º 510/2006 do Conselho, de 20 de Março de 2006. (2006). Relativo à proteção das indicações geográficas e das denominações de origem dos produtos agrícolas e alimentares. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu>
- Régner, F. (2006). How can we consume new products? The example of exotic foods (1930–2000). In 13th World Congress of Food Science & Technology (pp. 1161–1172). Nantes, France: IUFOST. <https://iufost.edpsciences.org/articles/iufost/abs/2006/01/iufost06000341/iufost06000341.html>
- Riciniello, S. (1987). *Codice diplomatico Gaetano* (Vol. 1). Gaeta, Italy: La Poligrafica.
- Robun, K. (1872). *Seiyō ryōritsū* (Western cuisine connoisseur Vol. 1 and 2). Tokyo, Japan: Bankyūkaku. https://www.wul.waseda.ac.jp/kotenseki/html/bunko11/bunko11_a1925/
- Ruzova, D. (2023, October 20). LA runs on fusion cuisine: Here are 4 new(ish) restaurants to try. LAist. <https://l1nq.com/ytOtA>
- Sankar, A. (2017). Creation of Indian-Chinese cuisine: Chinese food in an Indian city. *Journal of Ethnic Foods*, 4(4), 268–273. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jef.2017.10.002>
- Santos, C. R. A. (2005). A alimentação e seu lugar na história: Os tempos da memória gustativa. *História: Questões e Debates*, 42, 11–31. <https://revistas.ufpr.br/historia/article/view/4643>
- Schmidt, B. (2015). *Inventing exoticism: Geography, globalism and Europe's early modern world*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Sébastien, B. (2017). Eating traditional food: Politics, identity and practices. In B. Sébastien (Ed.), *Eating traditional food: Politics, identity and practices* (pp. 1–19). New York, NY: Routledge.

- Shapin, S. (2014). 'You are what you eat': Historical changes in ideas about food and identity. *Historical Research*, 87(237), 377–392. https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/shapin/files/shapin-you_are_what.pdf
- Sharma, J., & Nagar, L. (2021). Globalization and fusion of cuisine, getting variety or homogenization. *International Journal in Commerce, IT and Social Sciences*, 8(5), 40–45. <https://l1nq.com/OJkxV>
- Spence, C. (2017). *Gastrophysics: The new science of eating*. London, United Kingdom: Viking.
- Spence, C. (2018). Contemporary fusion foods: How are they to be defined, and when do they succeed/fail? *International Journal of Gastronomy and Food Science*, 13, 101–107. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijgfs.2018.07.001>
- Takenaka, A. (2017). Immigrant integration through food: Nikkei cuisine in Peru. *Contemporary Japan*, 29(2), 117–131. <https://doi.org/10.1080/18692729.2017.1351022>
- Vialles, N. (1994). *Animal to edible*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Virgílio. (n.d.). *Eneida*, Livro VII.
- Bodebono. (2025). Receita: A verdadeira moqueca. <https://bodedono.com.br/receita-a-verdadeira-moqueca/receita/>
- Licious. (2025). American chop suey. <https://encr.pw/3zexz>
- Orange. (2025). Nasi rames. <https://encr.pw/WSr9j>
- Reddit. (2018). Sushi kebab. <https://encr.pw/svVgo>
- Wikipedia. (2025a). Ceviche. <https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ceviche>
- Wikipedia. (2025b). Chicken tikka masala. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chicken_tikka_masala
- Wikipedia. (2025c). Feijoada brasileira. https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feijoada_%C3%A0_brasileira
- Wikipedia. (2025d). Korokke. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y%C5%8Dshoku>
- Wikipedia. (2025e). Naporitan. <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Y%C5%8Dshoku>
- Wikipedia. (2025f). Pabellón criollo. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pabell%C3%B3n_criollo
- YouPlateIt. (2025). Chicken tikka pizza. <https://l1nq.com/VvRxi>