

SUPPLEMENTI

Cibo e vino:
rappresentazioni,
identità culturali e
co-creazione di
sviluppo sostenibile

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Food Education: Manuel Vázquez Montalbán and the Invention of Contemporary Spanish Cuisine

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Abstract

Drawing on Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's perception of the cuisine as a metaphor for culture, this essay examines the inclusion of multiple food references and the discussion of dishes from many regions of Spain in the detective novels of the Pepe Carvalho series. Published at the time of the transition to democracy after the death of dictator Francisco Franco in the 1970s, these novels initiated a new understanding of Spanish cuisine as an intrinsic part of culture in the Spanish collective imaginary. Currently, multiple TV shows, a boost of gastronomical and wine tourism, an abundance of regional food fairs and inclusion of food and cuisine in the local and regional festivities are indebted to the culinary education that Manuel Vázquez Montalbán started with the detective stories about Pepe Carvalho.

Attingendo alla percezione della cucina di Manuel Vázquez Montalbán come metafora della cultura, questo saggio esamina l'inclusione di molteplici riferimenti alimentari e la discussione di piatti di molte regioni della Spagna nei romanzi polizieschi della serie Pepe Carvalho. Pubblicati al momento della transizione verso la democrazia dopo la morte del dittatore Francisco Franco negli anni '70, questi romanzi iniziarono una nuova comprensione

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della cucina spagnola come parte intrinseca della cultura nell'immaginario collettivo spagnolo. Attualmente, numerosi programmi TV, una spinta del turismo enogastronomico, un'abbondanza di fiere alimentari regionali e l'inclusione di cibo e cucina nelle feste locali e regionali devono molto all'educazione culinaria che Manuel Vázquez Montalbán ha iniziato con le storie poliziesche su Pepe Carvalho.

Pepe Carvalho, a private detective and amateur chef, is the protagonist of more than two dozen novels written by prolific Spanish intellectual Manuel Vázquez Montalbán (1939-2003). Vázquez Montalbán who cultivated a variety of literary genres from essay, cultural commentary, songbook compilations, travel guides to noir novels is recognized as the creator of the Spanish detective story. Pepe Carvalho, his cynical protagonist who was once a member of the Communist party and later a CIA operative, is a character on par with Sherlock Holmes, Hercules Poirot, Charlie Chan and Maigret. Vázquez Montalbán's stories present a broad panorama of society as Pepe Carvalho meets obsessive police officers, prostitutes, rich widows, aristocrats, working class migrants and former and current members of a broad spectrum of political parties. Many scholars have explored these characteristics of Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's oeuvre in detail. Wenceslao Gil calls Carvalho's novels a «pseudodetective fiction» and an «excuse for sociopolitical criticism»¹.

In this essay, I will explore the intricate inclusion of multiple food references and the discussion of numerous dishes from many regions of Spain in Vázquez Montalbán's narrative. I will argue that in addition to his contribution to the detective story and noir genre in Spain, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was the initiator of a new understanding of Spanish cuisine as an intrinsic and valuable part of culture in the Spanish collective imaginary. I will conclude that Vázquez Montalbán's attention to the Spanish cuisine in the 1970's paved the way to the current proliferation of culinary TV shows, a boost of gastronomical and wine tourism, the growth of regional food fairs and the inclusion of food and cuisine in the local and regional festivities.

In one of his interviews, Vázquez Montalbán noted that preparing food for him was a sort of alchemy, and the result looked like a piece of pottery: no matter how much you follow the recipe the outcome will always be different². He also saw his detours into food culture as a means to educate his readers. It was especially relevant as his stories appeared at a time when food culture did not yet exist in Spain and the years of hunger during the *posguerra* were present in both the collective memory and works of fiction. Spain did not participate in World War II, but had gone through a devastating Civil War from 1936 to 1939. The Civil War was followed by the austere years known as *posguerra*, when hunger became a predominant topic in successful novels such as *Nada* by

¹ Gil 2011, p. 51.

² Luzán 1979.

Carmen Laforet that won the prestigious *Nadal* Award in 1944. Years later, hunger and lack of food continued to be a dramatic force in the novel *La plaça del Diamant*, known in English as *The Time of the Doves* by Catalan writer Mercè Rodoreda, among many others.

When asked why he included the descriptions of food and many recipes in his novels, Vázquez Montalbán replied:

En Carvalho la gastronomía es un *tic*, una neurosis del personaje, como lo es el póquer en James Bond. Ian Flemming en una novela de Bond utiliza treinta páginas para describir una partida de póquer. Pero ahora para mí las recetas son además un servicio al lector. Ya que no hemos llegado aún al libro comestible (hubo algún intento en los sesenta) por lo menos doy las recetas completas; así por lo menos la novela sirve para enseñar a comer al que no sabe³.

In Carvalho, gastronomy is a *tic*, a character's neurosis, as is poker for James Bond. Ian Flemming uses thirty pages in a Bond novel to describe a game of poker. But for me, the recipes are a service to the readers. As we have not yet arrived at eatable books (there were some attempts in the 1960's), at least I give full recipes. In this way, my novels teach how to eat those readers who do not know⁴.

It is no wonder that on another occasion he called Carvalho's recipes *patrimonio humano*⁵, universal heritage, which we will discuss later in this essay.

Ferran Adrià, arguably the most famous of the innovative Spanish chefs and a true food scientist, in an homage to the late Vázquez Montalbán, called him an «intellectual in the kitchen»⁶. In the same article, the Spanish chef noted that he really liked Vázquez Montalbán's idea that the most important thing that had happened in the Spanish culture in the last thirty years had happened in the Spanish cuisine. This statement points to a disappointment with the latest events in Spanish society and culture at the time. Seen as somewhat ironic, Adrià's appreciation clearly highlighted Vázquez Montalbán's contribution to Spanish culture.

Pepe Carvalho novels appeared during the last years of the Franco dictatorship and the time of the so called Transition to a new democratic state after the death of the dictator in 1975. There is no strict definition of the period for the Transition. It is generally accepted that the Transition starts in 1975 after the death of Franco, however for some authors it ends in 1978 with the approbation of the first democratic constitution, while others see its end in 1982 when the Socialists won the general elections. As Vázquez Montalbán pointed out, the Transition was a time of the real «mestizaje de cultura y subcultura»⁷ a cross-

³ Ragué 2001.

⁴ All translations are mine.

⁵ Vázquez Montalbán 2004, p. 10.

⁶ Adrià 2003.

⁷ Vázquez Montalbán 2004, p. 7.

fertilization of cultures, subcultures, traditions and innovations after forty years of Spain's cultural and political isolation at the hands of the dictatorship. The regime had imposed a Spain united under one rule, one religion, one language and one, Castile and Andalusia oriented, culture. *El destape*, the opening, led to a vast array of cultural phenomena and the proliferation of new film, music, journalism, fiction and nonfiction. Manuel Vázquez Montalbán was in the center of the cultural turmoil of the time and is duly considered the chronicler of the Transition. George Tyras, who has written extensively on Vázquez Montalbán's work called the «skeptical figure of Pepe Carvalho an instrument to understand the transition»⁸. Arguably, the recipes included in the narrative and the description of preparing succulent dishes in the Pepe Carvalho novels became an innovative and vital part of this new culture of the Transition.

The success of the Carvalho novels and the general public's interest in the dishes and recipes that were described or mentioned in the novels led to the publishing of Vázquez Montalbán's book titled *Las recetas de Carvalho, Carvalho's Recipes*, by the publishing house Planeta in 1988⁹. It has been reprinted many times since. Carvalho's culinary philosophy is expressed in the epigraph to the book that states: «Hay que beber para recordar y comer para olvidar»¹⁰, one should drink to remember and eat to forget. In the introduction to the book, Vázquez Montalbán expressed his own philosophy about the cuisine, which goes far beyond his protagonist's: «Yo suelo plantear la cocina como una metáfora de la cultura»¹¹, I view cuisine as a metaphor for culture. With his characteristic irony and tongue-in-cheek approach, he explained,

Comer significa matar y engullir a un ser que ha estado vivo, sea animal o planta. Si devoramos directamente el animal muerto o la lechuga arrancada, se diría que somos unos salvajes. Ahora bien, si marinamos a la bestia para cocinarla posteriormente con la ayuda de hierbas aromáticas de Provenza y un vaso de vino rancio, entonces hemos realizado una exquisita operación cultural, igualmente fundamentada en la brutalidad y la muerte. Cocinar es una metáfora de la cultura y su contenido hipócrita, y en la serie Carvalho forma parte del tríptico de reflexiones sobre el papel de la cultura. Las otras dos serían esa quema de libros a la que Carvalho es tan aficionado y la misma concepción de la novela como vehículo de conocimiento de la realidad, desde el mestizaje de cultura y subcultura que encarna la serie Carvalho¹².

Eating means killing and gobbling up something that had been alive, an animal or a plant. If we directly devour a dead animal or a picked lettuce, we are savages. Now, if we marinate the animal in order to roast it with aromatic herbs from Provence and some good wine later, we have performed an exquisite cultural operation, which nevertheless is based on brutality and death. Cooking is a metaphor for culture and its hypocrisy, and in the Carvalho series, it is part of a triple reflection about the role of culture. The other two are Carvalho's propensity

⁸ Tyras 2003.

⁹ I am quoting the 2004 edition by Planeta.

¹⁰ Vázquez Montalbán 2004, p. 5.

¹¹ Iví, p. 7.

¹² *Ibidem*.

to burning books and the mere meaning of the novel as a vehicle to understanding the reality, with its hybridity of culture and subculture that is at the core of the Carvalho series.

Drawing on Vázquez Montalbán's perception of the cuisine as a «metaphor for culture» and the inclusion of multiple recipes into the narrative, I will examine the correlation between food recipes and food preparation and the social climate in Barcelona in the novel *Los mares del Sur*, the fourth novel of the Pepe Carvalho series. *Los mares del Sur* exposed the real estate speculation and the social climate of the poor outskirts of Barcelona as a product of the Francoist politics of the reconstruction of the nation after the devastation of the Civil War that lasted from 1936 to 1939. Going way beyond the detective genre, it explored social vices, such as the inequality and greed of the unscrupulous real estate developers. Published in 1979, the novel won the prestigious *Premio Planeta* and the *Prix International de Littérature Policière* in 1981. It turned its protagonist Pepe Carvalho, who was a cynical detective, former communist, former CIA spy and gastronome, into a national phenomenon and a mythical figure in the Spanish popular imaginary of the 1980's. Gil notes that the novel

amalgamates Realism, Naturalism, and Existentialism together with a sociological study; political, literary, sexual, and culinary reviews combined with mystery. A real mirror of history that, although apparently simple, overwhelms the readers with its richness, and which cannot be labeled simply as «noir»¹³.

At the beginning of the novel, the body of a wealthy real estate promoter Stuart Pedrell is found at an abandoned construction site in Barcelona. The widow of the victim hires Pepe Carvalho to unveil not so much who killed her late husband, but where he had spent the previous year. Pedrell's obsession with Paul Gauguin and his paintings was well known in the well-heeled social circles of Barcelona, and when he had suddenly disappeared a year before, everybody including his wife assumed that he had fulfilled his dream and departed to the South Seas. Hence the title of the novel. Gauguin who had left his comfortable life in Paris and moved to Polinesia is omnipresent in Pedrell's office, his living quarters, everywhere. While Carvalho immerses himself in Pedrell's life, he learns about the source of his significant wealth from his modest beginnings as an importer of casein from Argentina to his participation in a gigantic real estate operation. Pedrell and a group of associates had taken complete advantage of Franco's ambition to show the country and the whole world that the dictatorship was capable of reviving and reconciling the nation after the devastating civil war and the years of hunger and deprivation that followed it. The so-called *posguerra* was the period when Spain remained completely isolated while Europe was fighting fascism during World War II. In a series of real estate speculations, Pedrell and his associates had bought land on the outskirts of Barcelona and

¹³ Gil 2011, p. 62.

had built cheap low-quality housing for the working class population mostly consisting of migrants from other regions of Spain, the so called *xarnegos* who flocked to the relatively prosperous Barcelona from rural areas. Carvalho soon discovered that a sensitive and inquisitive Pedrell did not go the South Seas, but moved to the barrio that he himself had financed and spent his last year living there among the working class migrants.

In *Los mares del Sur*, probably for the first time in the novels of the Transition, the description and discussion of meals occupied a significant place and served as projections of the characters' world views. About twenty food recipes and preparations are intertwined with the action on the two hundred twenty pages of the novel. The first food reference is Carvalho's visit to a charcuterie where the attendant goes to certain lengths discussing the gastronomic superiority of *jamón de Salamanca* over other Spanish *jamones*. *Jamón*, of course, occupies a special place in the Spanish cultural imaginary. Since the times of the Inquisition, when the converted Jews were accused of continuing to practice their rituals clandestinely, eating ham became an identity sign of Catholic Spanishness. Even today, proudly displayed legs of ham are a major attraction at almost any bar or restaurant across the country. The *Museo del Jamón* chain of restaurants is an ever popular attraction and gathering place in the Madrid area. *Jamón Jamón*, a 1992 movie by the iconoclastic director Juan José Bigas Luna, explored and ridiculed the place of the tasty ham in the national conscience when two main characters and rivals dueled using hams as blunt weapons until one of them killed the other. At the beginning of *Los mares del Sur*, Carvalho gets some ham from Salamanca and chorizo from Jabugo for everyday meals, which at the same time points to his sophisticated palate and the limitations of his pocket. He can only get a small quantity of the most expensive and exquisite Jabugo ham with the excuse that it will be «para las depresiones»¹⁴, to cure the depressions. Jabugo ham is the most venerated acorn-fed ham of a very special Iberian pig carefully bred and selected. Carvalho also leaves the store with a bag full of legendary cheeses, such as *Casar*, a sheep milk from Extremadura, *Cabrales*, a blue cheese from the Asturias region, and *Idiazabal*, a pressed sheep milk cheese from the Basque country. This assortment is not only exquisite in its choice, but, as one can see, varied geographically and culturally. The cheeses and charcuterie are revisited in detail later in the novel when a young woman seeking Carvalho's attention brings him a gift of cheeses. These include *Cabrales*, a sheep milk cheese from Navarra, *Chester*, and a soft cheese from Maestrazgo. This variety pleases the protagonist very much. The gift also includes a sausage made of wild boar *xolis de porc senglar*, made exclusively in the Aran Valley in the Pyrenees Mountains in Catalonia¹⁵. All these details not only point to the varied gastronomy of the different regions of Spain, but are also a jab at the Francoist

¹⁴ Vázquez Montalbán 2005, p. 15.

¹⁵ Ivi, p. 177.

politics of blurring cultural differences and identifying everybody and everything only with Castile oriented culture.

Pepe Carvalho's search for truth about the disappeared Pedrell brings him in contact with a broad spectrum of characters that populate Barcelona and the universe of Vázquez Montalbán's novels. One curious case is a gourmet aristocrat, the powerful Marquis de Munt, who is deeply involved in the shady business of unlawful construction of cheap suburbs. The setting of their meeting is the aristocrat's luxurious oversized mansion in one of the privileged areas of Barcelona. The marquis greets his guest with a glass of wine in one hand and a book *La Grande Cuisine Minceur* by Michel Guérard. This popular French chef invented the "slimming" cooking that was gaining popularity in the 1970's. The readers and Carvalho learn about the French nouvelle cuisine, an object of desire and possession for the rich, powerful and sophisticated upper classes. The marquis invites Carvalho to a *merienda*, a snack. He also mentions that he knew from another character that Carvalho had scrambled eggs and chorizo for breakfast, which, of course, points to Pepe Carvalho's simple plebeian tastes and to the class difference between the two. The *merienda*, that the marquis proposes consists of *morteruelo* and Chablis. Even in Montalbán's text, *morteruelo* is enclosed in quotation marks, which points to the rarity and regional associations of this sample of the rich Spanish gastronomy. The marquis asks Carvalho if he knows what a *morteruelo* is, which Carvalho acknowledges as «a sort of Castilian pate»¹⁶. To this the marquis indulgently responds that it is from the city of Cuenca and follows with a lengthy explanation of the ingredients that include hare, pork knuckle, chicken, pork liver, walnuts, clove, cinnamon and caraway, *alcaravea*, a word that the marquis lovingly repeats, and calls it «a beautiful word for an excellent snack!»¹⁷. The marquis offers Carvalho French Chablis to accompany *morteruelo*. The iconic wine is served in exquisite wine glasses made of rock crystal. The marquis goes into a long tirade discussing the serving of white wine that, according to him, should only be served in transparent white glasses and not in green ones as had recently become the fashion, especially among «la burguesía de medio pelo»¹⁸, the lower middle classes that he apparently despises. Thus, class and social status differences are highlighted through an ingenious conversation about the qualities of a rather down to earth meal and an expensive wine. The presentation and a detailed description of the ingredients convert them into something exclusive, sophisticated, limited to a certain privileged group and desirable as even a knowledgeable gourmet Pepe Carvalho is lectured by the marquis.

On another occasion, Carvalho finds solace in driving six hundred kilometers to a certain restaurant in Murcia where he tastes «berenjenas con gambas a

¹⁶ Ivi, p. 63.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*.

la crema», eggplant with creamy shrimp, and asks for the recipe. This dish impresses him so much that he muses «si la Guerra de los Treinta Años no hubiera sentenciado la hegemonía de Francia en Europa, la cocina francesa a estas horas padecería la hegemonía de las cocinas de España. Su único patriotismo era gastronómico»¹⁹, if the Thirty Years' War had not established the French hegemony in Europe, the French cuisine nowadays would have been dominated by the hegemony of the cuisines of Spain. His only patriotism was gastronomic. This dish, «berenjenas con gambas a la crema», which Vázquez Montalbán might have considered the peak of Spanish cuisine, reappears later in the novel and best expresses the author's desire to educate. Pedrell's spoiled and drug addicted teenage daughter Yes is attracted to Pepe Carvalho and uninhibitedly offers him sex, which Carvalho, ever an opportunist, somewhat reluctantly accepts. After sex, he goes into the kitchen and prepares the elaborate and sophisticated dish according to the recipe that he had received from the owner of the restaurant in Murcia. This episode includes a detailed description of preparing a béchamel sauce, a gastronomic feat in itself. A detailed description of cutting, adding salt and frying the eggplant in oil with previously added garlic and shrimp heads follows. Eggplant slices have to be drained of oil before they are placed in a casserole with shrimp, pieces of ham, béchamel and some grated cheese on top. Both the author and the protagonist indulge in every detail of the preparation of this sophisticated concoction. When his young sexual partner with an uneducated palate and a large appetite for cocaine, tastes it, she notes that it is very good and then bluntly asks, «¿Es de lata?»²⁰, is it from a can?

This episode points to Pepe Carvalho's frustration with the new generation and his confusion at what is going on in the country at the uncertain time between the dictatorship and the democracy. It is implied that he had left Spain during the Franco era, spent a couple of decades overseas and recently returned to the country as it was going through significant changes and transition. The new generation that he encounters is exemplified by the spoiled daughter of his rich client on one side of the spectrum and a young working class woman who was Stuart Pedrell's companion during the last year of his life on the other. In numerous interviews, the author mentioned that he wrote about sex and gastronomy «como culturas inocente y cotidianamente paradisíacas»²¹, as innocent and heavenly everyday cultures.

In his study of the (ab)use of politics and eroticism in the Spanish culture during the time of the Transition, Wenceslao Gil notes that «Culturally and socially speaking, as an almost foreseeable and logical reaction, the two subjects considered taboo during the forty years of repression, namely politics and

¹⁹ Ivi, p. 59.

²⁰ Ivi, p. 78.

²¹ Ragué 2001.

eroticism, gushed out fiercely»²². Vázquez Montalbán who is duly considered one of the major analysts of both subjects that Gil points to, was also a true innovator as he explored, explained and exploited cuisine in his novels. In *Los mares del Sur*, cuisine and gastronomy served to highlight a generational gap and the frustrations of the younger population. A general disenchantment is often seen as part of the culture of the era when the high hopes upon the end of the dictatorship did not seem to materialize as had been expected by the society. Thus, food appreciation became a sign of identity and differentiation across a generational and class divide. The dinner and sex companion, the young and spoiled daughter of the rich family who had hired Pepe Carvalho, has no clear purpose in life and with all the money available to her, cannot be more alienated from the red-blooded self-made man Carvalho. The author's sympathies clearly remain with Pepe Carvalho and his unprivileged friends and proletarian companions.

Charo, a prostitute and Carvalho's somewhat permanent partner of many years, has a much better appreciation of his culinary endeavors. So does his sidekick Biscuter who is as enthusiastic a chef as his boss. The two had met in Franco's prison. At a restaurant outing, Biscuter is surprised when Carvalho orders clams with white beans, which, as Carvalho explains, «es más viejo que ir a pie»²³, is as old as the world. Before the potato arrived in Europe from the Americas, beans accompanied meat, fish and seafood. This information targets both the readers and Biscuter who seems astonished at the depth of Carvalho's knowledge.

Of course, the most famous Spanish dish, paella gets a special treatment in the novel. Many in Spain believe that authentic paella can be tasted only in Valencia, and the secret of its taste is in the local water. Pepe Carvalho is treated to an authentic Valencian paella by an old friend to whom he comes in search of information for the case. Yet, a mishap occurs as the host had put onions into the paella pan, and that is unacceptable by the gourmet purists of the story. A lengthy discussion and a consultation of several venerable book sources follows and the onions end up in the garbage bin. A strict list of ingredients follows, and everything else is pronounced «extranjerismos»²⁴, foreign borrowings. This episode speaks both to the multicultural reality of Spain and its many different cuisines, as well as to a certain competitiveness of adjacent regions, such as Valencia and Catalonia that share and at the same time differ in many cultural aspects from language to cuisine. Carvalho's friend insists on the popular memory as the main source of his knowledge and recites a poem by José María Pemán *Canto a la paella española* that glorifies paella as the pride of the Spanish cuisine. In this poem, a colorful dish becomes an

²² Gil 2011, p. 3.

²³ Vázquez Montalbán 2005, p. 25.

²⁴ Ivi, p. 97.

anxious young woman. Of course, traditionally saffron, an expensive and rare spice, was an ingredient that gave a special color to the dish. Pemán's poem is really a *canto*, an ode and a proclamation of the joy of life. Interestingly, the poet, well known for his right wing politics, monarchism and adherence to the Catholic church, speaks of paella as a liberal, collective and gremial product where each grain of rice has its voice and vote like a human being.

Manuel Vázquez Montalbán saw cuisine as a metaphor for culture and one third of the triptych that he explored in his novels. In a wink to Cervantes's *Don Quijote* where the burning of books became a remedy to cure the protagonist of his presumed folly, Pepe Carvalho himself indulged in the burning of books. According to Vázquez Montalbán, Carvalho was burning books in his fireplace as an act of vengeance because they had not taught him anything about the real world. The cuisine, however not only had taught him about life, but it served, in the words of the author, as «el paladar de la memoria, la patria sensorial de la infancia»²⁵, the palate of memory, the sensory homeland of childhood. According to Vázquez Montalbán, the cuisine that he described as Pepe Carvalho's cuisine is the popular cuisine of Spain, poor and imaginative. It is the cuisine of Carvalho's grandmother to whose memory he dedicated one of his most famous sandwiches. Carvalho's cuisine is that of Catalonia, of some Spanish restaurateurs and of certain gastronomic exoticisms, as Pepe Carvalho himself is a *xarnego*, a Galician who had spent time in prison and about twenty years abroad. Vázquez Montalbán offered to his readers *Las recetas de Carvalho* as «un patrimonio humano, mucho más que como un patrimonio del señor José Carvalho Tourón»²⁶, as the heritage of the humanity, much more than the heritage of Mr. José Carvalho Tourón.

Los mares del Sur won one of the most prestigious Spanish literary awards, *Premio Planeta*, and made Pepe Carvalho a popular hero and arguably the most trusted gourmet detective in the Spain of the Transition. The popularity of the novels about Carvalho opened new ways for the appreciation of culinary cultural heritage during the time of drastic social change known as the Transition in Spanish history. In recent decades, Spain has seen an increased interest in culinary culture that was arguably initiated by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán's interest and ability to communicate it. El Bulli, one of the most famous restaurants in the world that was open from 1963 to 2011 and is now a creativity center, together with other Michelin three-star restaurants elevated Spanish cuisine both nationally and internationally. Such restaurants as Arzak, Akelarre, El Celler de Can Roca are ever present on the pages of newspapers, websites and TV in Spain. Numerous daytime TV shows have sections about food preparation and share recipes by popular chefs on a daily basis. *Master Chef* occupies a permanent spot in prime time national TV. Some of the

²⁵ Vázquez Montalbán 2004, p. 8.

²⁶ Ivi, p. 10.

programs, such as *Cocina con Clan* and *MasterChef Junior* target children, educating the palate of new generations. A social critic, an innovator and a tireless educator, Manuel Vázquez Montalbán firmly believed in the prominence, diversity and sophistication of Spanish cuisine. He transmitted his knowledge and appreciation to generations of readers and spectators thus contributing to a higher cultural awareness of the Spanish cuisine that is rightfully considered one of the most diverse, healthy and authentic.

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