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Uses for Wines and Vinegars from Marco de Jerez: Between Culinary Tradition and Haute Cuisine

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Abstract

An analysis of the wines and vinegars from the city of Jerez de la Frontera, center of a tradition that dates back hundreds of years in the viticultural area of Marco de Jerez. Ethnography was resorted to as a method, describing the culinary processes which make use of such products, either in traditional or haute cuisines, and assessing the consumers' perceptions regarding these uses. The results exhibit the

deep meaning and importance of the culinary uses of wine and vinegar from Jerez in everyday cooking and haute cuisine, and also the exporting and international vocation of the place, with a background of social agents with opposing positions and preferences, where the interests of large corporations prevail over local preferences.

Keywords: Food Practices, Culinary Tradition, Haute Cuisine, Perceptions, Wine, Vinegar, Marco de Jerez

Introduction

Throughout history, combining wine and food has been one of the most frequent practices in food contexts. On one hand, the presence of wine has been interpreted as a distinctive tasteful element, relating specific wines with particular dishes; on the other, it is an important component (oftentimes decisive) in the elaboration of some dishes. Such is case of the wine from Jerez.

Let us begin by recalling the historic importance and rooting of wine in Jerez. Its viticultural tradition comes from North Africa, Romans were instrumental in the dissemination of vines, owing to the prominent cultural role of wine and grapes in their society, thereby, Andalusian wines became famous in Rome. In this way, the cultivation, production and exportation of wine consolidated in the territory presently known as Marco de Jerez¹ (Consejo Regulador del Brandy de Jerez, 2002; Muro, 2006; Quero, 2008) [13, 37, 38]. Even if before the XIV century, the consumption of its wine production was limited to the household sphere, as of the XV century, winemaking in Jerez has been strongly focused on exportation (Caro, 1999; Ramos, 2020) [10, 41]. Since 1933, winemaking in this area is regulated by *Denominación de Origen* [Designation of origin] for Wines from Jerez, the quality seal that distinguishes them (Simpson, 1985) [44], which is, at once, the most influential and authoritative institution as regards viticulture in this territory.

Jerez de la Frontera locates in the south of Andalusia, 17 kilometers from the Atlantic Ocean; it has ideal physical, geographic and environmental characteristics to engage in winemaking (Castro, Domenech and Vara, 1990; Jeffs, 1994) [11, 30]. Three are its peculiarities: vines in albariza (white chalky soil); Palomino, Pedro Ximénez and Moscatel grapes that provide Jerez's juices with aromatic notes and own distinctive tastes; and, highly specialized know-hows based on *crianzas* and *soleras* production system (vintage and aging). Wines from Jerez are classified into three groups: naturally sweet (Pedro Ximénez,

¹ This territory is composed of three municipalities: Sanlúcar de Barrameda, Puerto de Santa María and Jerez de la Frontera.

Moscatel and Dulce Palomino), *cabeceos*² or full-bodied (Pale Cream, Pale Dry, Medium and Cream) and dry (*Manzanilla*, *Fino*, *Oloroso*, *Amontillado* and *Palo Cortado*) (Consejo Regulador del Brandy de Jerez, 2002) [13].

Precisely, the combination of all these factors generates the particular organoleptic characteristics of wines and is the key for their culinary uses (Ruiz-Montejo, 1998) [48]. We shall not forget, however, that adding to these wines and their consumption, one has to include the vinegars from such wines, which also have a prominent position in culinary tradition, as previously stated. Wine vinegar³, considered a by-product, has been used for seasoning and flavoring for more than 3000 years. It comes from the acetification of wine, i.e., it is obtained when wine comes into contact with oxygen producing acetic acid (Solieri and Giudici, 2009; Xia *et al.* 2020) [45, 52]. Even if at the beginning it was known as one of the mistakes and omissions of winemaking, it became an everyday food ingredient (Llaguno-Marchena and Polo, 1991) [33]. Its uses are diverse: wound and sore healing, relief for respiratory problems and mosquito bites. New studies (Xia *et al.*, 2020) [52] reveal that vinegar contains tetramethylpyrazine, a substance responsible for the smell with benefits for fat reduction, blood oxidization and therapeutic potential for cardiovascular diseases.

Despite the relevance of the above, there are few works that analyze the domestic and contemporary culinary tradition of Jerez, and even fewer that pay attention to the importance of wine and vinegar (Del Rey, 2011) [18]. Some documents offer very broad historical data, which do not mention the differentiating characteristics of regional gastronomic particularities (Moreno, 2002) [36]. Other studies focus on the cuisine of southern Andalusia which from a romantic and traditionalist standpoint is described as a *varied edible landscape*. We mention how unfair and sad it is to verify the absence of traditional cuisine in Andalusian restaurants, as most of them stock foreign produce, stating that such cuisine is synonym to quality and freshness (Alonso, 2007) [2].

A particular case is the work “*Cocina histórica gaditana*” [Historic food of Cadiz], which honors the know-hows transmitted from mothers to daughter for centuries (Ruiz, 2017) [42]. For his part, Gómez (1982) [28] points out that cultural identities in Spain are referred to, nevertheless the existence of a regional culture different from what is known as Spanish generic is contested. Another author of Cadiz’s provincial gastronomy is Spínola (2011) [46], distinguishable is one his works published in relation to the two centuries of *Cortes de Cádiz*. There are also two notable authors, who devote a good part of their scientific and literary careers to the gastronomy and oenology of Cádiz and Jerez; authors with careers linked to the University of Cádiz; Torres (2009) [47], though trained as a chemist, publishes works on

gastronomy from a historic and expository standpoint.⁴ While, Ramos addresses the culinary sphere from scientific history, writing straightforwardly on wines from Andalusia (Ramos, 2015) [40] and about the way of life and sociability in places such as taverns, cellars and *tabancos* [stalls] (Ramos, 2020) [41], or else tangentially in the descriptions of the life in *Cádiz de las Cortes* (Ramos, 2012) [39].

All of the above allows glancing that these works address neither the culinary tradition of wine and vinegar in *Jerez de la Frontera* nor the fact that this traditional cuisine is a decisive precedent for current haute cuisine. Precisely, it is our aim to bridge that gap by describing and analyzing their traditional and domestic uses, as well as their influence and/or presence in haute cuisine. Moreover, it is intended to offer methodological processes to address these food topics with a view to focusing on the behavior, motivations and perceptions of the stakeholders involved in this case study.

The work intends to deepen, through basic perceptions and consumers’ practices, into the continual and inherent relationship of wines and foods at two different spheres, i.e., home-cooked food and haute cuisine in public spaces.

Methodology

A mixed methodology, qualitative and quantitative, was resorted to in this work. Qualitative data were obtained from a bibliographic revision on Andalusian gastronomy. With the gathered data we carried out pre-fieldwork that allowed us to define the case study and later application of specific tools from an ethnographic approach such as participant observation and fieldwork, which entailed cultural immersion for three months in Jerez de la Frontera. The qualitative approach for the analysis of the sociocultural context of wine and vinegar from Jerez focused on participant observation in the places where everyday activities are carried out: households, workshops, markets, cellars and taverns. On various occasions, we visited three households in Jerez, a vineyard (Viña la Constancia), Fundador and González Byass cellars (the first was founded in 1730; the second, in 1835), the central market of Jerez, the emblematic stalls⁵ of Jerez (El Pasaje and La Pandilla), and also traditional bars, inns and restaurants. Additional to the 19 open and semi-structured interviews, dishes from their menus with local wines were reviewed, photographed and tried.

The quantitative methodology focused on producing and applying a questionnaire. The instrument comprised five sections that deal with the place and form of the earliest experiences with foods in which a key ingredient is wine; the identification of the range of dishes made with wine, their uses and preparation ways; the classification of cooking wines, place to buy them and learning about the ingredients that can be combined with wine and vinegar; enquire on the respondents’ reasons and sentiments of identity that drive them to continue using wine and vinegar in cooking, and also find out which and what culinary

² *Cabecear* or *cabeceo* in this context is making mixtures of musts and wines, or of these with wine alcohol. In Jerez’s winemaking, it means to make a wine mixing several originals.

³ In Europa, vinegar is made from apples, tomatoes, persimmons, *piñas*, and mainly grapes; though, the most distinguishable vinegar is wine vinegar.

⁴ An interesting example of his dissemination works: <http://grupogastronomicogaditano.com/Articulos/FalsosMit osCocinaCadizCortes.htm>

⁵ Establishment where cask wine is sold and tasted. They appeared in Jerez as places in which tavern and “wine firms” trade combined. Presently, tapas and wines are served.

knowledge transmission has been like and finally, finding out the respondents' sociodemographic characteristics. The sample to apply the questionnaire was random among the population of Jerez. All respondents were of legal age, 42 individuals born, living or working in Jerez de la Frontera, and know about the culinary uses of wine and vinegar in addition to consuming them on a regular basis. Out of them, 80.1% are native to Jerez de la Frontera (they, their parents and grandparents were born and lived in Jerez), while 19.9 % of the respondents comes from somewhere else in Spain such as Bilbao, Huelva, Córdoba and Cádiz, though they reside in Jerez de la Frontera. It is worth clarifying that the key informant group was composed of 21 women and 21 men. A noticeable profile for women was that of homemaker and cooks in bars, inns and restaurants. Out the female respondents, five were professionals who worked in a number of sectors and now are retirees, but they have always cooked, even before marrying, with wine and vinegar at their homes; the other 16 are fulltime homemakers, some work outside their homes in the service and restaurant sectors where they make and sell dishes whose ingredients include wine and vinegar. The most numerous group, with 14 male respondents, is between 56 and 65 years of age, they cook at home or in public establishments and have not received culinary training. On the contrary, three of the seven youngest men, studied cooking and are sommeliers. The 42 questionnaires were applied in public places, namely: the market, streets and stalls.

In the case of the families, we worked with three generations strategically looking for family kinship, that is, grandparents, children and grandchildren.

Finally, ten notable people in culinary, viticulture and oenological spheres were interviewed, scholars and experts in such areas, representatives of institutions and public bodies and key informants on the basis of representativeness in these sectors. These respondents furthered the knowledge of institutional standpoint and the verification of valorization strategies, as well as the dissemination of viticulture at local, regional and international levels. In like manner, the offices of *Consejo Regulador de las Denominaciones de Origen* [Regulatory Board for Designations of Origin] were visited on a number of occasions, as it is related to viticulture in Jerez,⁶ where we interviewed several of its members.

Well now, it is worth mentioning the way of methodologically address the goals, since we focus on the description and analysis of food social practices and also the motivations and perceptions of the actors involved in them. It may seem a subjective approach, as it is intended to measure and quantify perceptions; however, as pointed out in some works, it is an efficient method to obtain a comprehensive overview of the study context (Corsi *et al.* 2018; Escobar-López, *et al.*, 2021; Fernández-Zarza *et al.* 2021; Sánchez-Vega *et al.* 2019) [16, 21, 24, 43]. We are aware

of the methodological challenge entailed in the analysis of social realities via the actors' behaviors in their daily actions and practices, taking their valorizations and various perceptions into account, mostly when data are obtained via oral expression (respondents tell us what they do and feel). Notwithstanding, they are usual approaches in recent works on contemporary eating, works that become relevant variables regarding sensations related to hometown, hedonism, taste, pleasure, environment, ethics, and perceptions and meanings of these food processes (Amaya-Corchuelo *et al.* 2018; Espeitx, 1996; Lozano and Aguilar, 2010) [5, 22, 32].

Results and discussion

From culinary tradition to gastronomy

As it is well-known, eating easily goes beyond the mere biological need to intake food and nourish; on the contrary, the way humans eat entails biological, social and cultural variables. Therefore, we understand that eating is about social practices, behaviors, habits and meanings proper to a social group (Amaya-Corchuelo, Fernández-Zarza and Aguilar, 2018; Contreras, 2005; Fischler, 1995) [5, 15, 25]. In recent years, the eating activity is a source of numerous studies, among them those focused on analyzing culinary tradition and gastronomy from the standpoint of haute cuisine. Two concepts that refer to kitchen and food practices, though each one of the terms and practices are defined and manifest in a different manner, owing to this it is worth describing each stance.

Culinary tradition reflects and is constitutive of each food culture. In this regard, Eum (2008) [23] establishes essential aspects of food culture are defined by: a) the current traditions and customs a social group inherited from the past; b) changes and introduction of new ingredients and preparations as indicators of social movements; and, c) the communitarian identity of shared aspects such as beliefs, ideologies, habits, etc. In this way, each culture distinguishes what we may call traditional foods or set of produces and foods that are usually eaten (Amaya-Corchuelo and Aguilar, 2012) [3]. These ordinary foods (not occasional, peripheral, extraordinary or festive) were called superfoods, or cultural superfoods, by Jelliffe (1967) [31], characterized as central for each society, for they are staples in the diets and have a heavy symbolical load. So relevant are that they are the earliest foods children eat, building up their taste thus (de Garine, 1998: 20-23) [17]. Another of the most relevant characteristics for the "traditional" in relation to food is that preparation methods are orally transmitted from generation to generation (Trichopoulou *et al.* 2007) [50].

Separately, Mahias (1991 in Golçalves, 2002) suggests that inherited recipes, traditional preparations, local produce and ingredients, native species and varieties, daily food practices, festive foods, utensils and objects related to the production and consumption of foods are mechanisms of sociality linked to the act of eating and are "culinary systems", for they integrate specific ways of life and worldviews. In this sense, traditional culinary know-hows cannot be conceptualized as an antithesis and professionalization of food. On the contrary, it is worth thinking of a continuum in the same social reality where each form of eating provides, from different though complementary perspectives, a huge range of syncretisms that combine tradition and innovation (Amaya-Corchuelo

⁶ Agency that manages, represents and defends the fulfillment of the rules and regulations that certify the quality of juices from Marco de Jerez. *Denominación de Origen Protegida (D.O.P.)*, Protected Designation of Origin, comprises "Jerez-Xérès-Sherry", "Manzanilla-Sanlúcar de Barrameda" and "Vinagre de Jerez". The same council manages the PGI "Brandy de Jerez".

and Aguilar, 2012)^[3].

The importance of the articulation between tradition and innovation are a central issue in the present work, that is to say, between local knowledge, associated to the food cultural heritage of Jerez and the new requirements associated to the demand for local avant-garde or author cuisine, adapted to new consumers and consumptions. We bear witness of a food model where tradition is assimilated into heritage by means of a selective social process, which understands and manages tradition as innovation and which finds its main representatives in certain cellars and restaurants. Accounting for spheres of decision, inclusion/exclusion and of power, to the extent they select and regulate the inherent characteristics of the foods presented as traditional (Amaya-Corchuelo and Aguilar, 2012)^[3]. From here, the assimilation of local elements in this sort of productions takes place, which besides are the base of numerous conflicts between restaurateurs, entrepreneurs and regulating bodies as it is the case in our study.

Gastronomy is in charge of analyzing the cultural complexes of contemporary foods; multidisciplinary scientific knowledge with clear references in the work *La fisiología del gusto* [The physiology of taste] by Brillat-Savarin (2001)^[8]. Gomes and Barbosa (2004)^[27] mention that a culinary and gastronomic boom occurred by end of the XX century, and associate it to a valorization process in which the gastronomical is the main use value fully linked to globalized commodification.

The beginning dates to the 1950's, with changes in society and families, the individualization of food consumption and the intensification of food industrialization, the segmentation of products, crockery and kitchen sped up; at once, food was perceived as a space for distinction and a stage where sociality is implemented (Amaya-Corchuelo, Fernández-Zarza and Aguilar, 2018; Ramos, 2020)^[5, 41]. The bases for haute cuisine appear thus, as mentioned by Contreras (2005:139)^[15], the "hatching of gastronomy" took place, underscoring the hedonistic, aesthetical and creative aspects of foods, and in some cases as well the valorization of local and/or craft products related to specific territories and cultures (Aguilar, Amaya-Corchuelo and López-Moreno, 2016; Amaya-Corchuelo, Froehlich and Aguilar, 2019)^[1, 6].

In this way, culinary tradition and haute cuisine both show that the ways of preparation and forms of consumption express the projection of the identities of individuals and social groups. By means of a historical passage, Camarero-Rioja (2013)^[9] tells the way in which the marquis of Villa Alcázar used the cinema industry as a means to educate the rural population disseminating the basis of Spanish foods. Particularly, he defended the importance of Jerez-Xerés-Sherry versus cocktails. The Marquis expressed it this way:

...this strong liquors numb the palate". Much better it was to prepare it "with a good wine from the Jerez's region" so that I may "taste exquisite delicacies". This way, fried fish and wine are a match. Instead, grilled fish needs aged amontillado. Seafood and lobster tastes really harmonize with manzanilla. A recipe for a sauce for prawns which needs white wine has to be prepared bearing in mind that in the mouth of Guadalquivir the best prawns in the world are fished. In that very place, the special wine for such

sauce is made, manzanilla. And for other dishes, instead of white wine, use legitimate sherry, any sort from Jerez will give the dish an haute-cuisine hallmark (Camarero-Rioja, 2013:110)^[9].

The quotation above remits us to the way culinary sophistication in our field of study is advised and looked for. An instance of what is considered socially correct in the consumption of wines from Marco de Jerez and their pairing with a wide variety of foods, and also their possibilities in sauces and preparations. Nevertheless, in reality it was only moving what was being cooked in family kitchens to the restaurants', albeit introducing specific modifications to enhance flavors or experimenting other ways of preparation and gastronomic experiences (Diario de Gastronomía, 2019)^[19]. However, essentially, the culinary encompasses roots, traditions and identities, while gastronomy is the professionalization of traditional know-hows and the formalization / professionalization of trends and tendencies. An example of such professionalization and consumption vanguard is found in the sphere of wines from Jerez.

For some years now, *Consejo Regulador de Vinos de Jerez* [Regulatory Board for Wines from Jerez], which is one of the agencies that regulate the protection of agrifood products in Spain, promotes an emblematic event aimed at highlighting the regional Andalusian gastronomy, making the wines from Jerez the protagonists. Even if wines are the stars, they are in combination with the tendencies in haute cuisine, cocktails and oenology. The event is called *Copa Jerez Forum & Competition*, it is considered one of the largest international wine and food congresses. Each year the meeting is held with a view to deepening into the value of wines from Jerez that treasure centuries of history and tradition with contents that draw Jerez's juices to the field of analysis and knowledge from a standpoint that considers their importance at the table and their great potential in international haute cuisine (Tecnovino, 2019)^[49].

The attendance of gastronomes, chefs and restaurateurs (terminology linked to haute cuisine) illustrates the degree of interpretation and dissemination of Jerez's haute cuisine. Plus, interest in differenced products is verified; a process related to the "nostalgia" associated to food practices (Fernández-Zarza *et al.* 2021; Mintz, 2001; Vignolles and Pichon, 2014)^[24, 35, 51]. Even if food tendencies increasingly move toward standardization and homogenization of products, tastes and food components, simultaneously, a growing interest in local dishes is observed, even fast-food chains include them into their menus.

As mentioned by García (2006)^[26], the relation between globalization and regional cultures presupposes a homogenization movement, nevertheless, we shall not understand the global as the substitute for the local. Events such as *Copa Jerez Forum & Competition* are actual manifestations of glocalization, stressing localisms and linking them to the global food trends.

Wine and sherry in private and public spaces

In the collective memory of people from Jerez, there are people, places and events for which the culinary tradition of *juices* and what surrounds them are historic milestones (Anonym, 1995; Ramos, 2012)^[7, 39]. In this way, tradition (i.e., domestic culinary practices) and innovation (haute cuisine development) coexist and mingle in an interesting

culinary guiding thread, which is observed in the humongous importance of the culinary uses of wine and vinegar from Jerez in daily life, households and domestic groups, and in the contemporary preparations in which they are utilized.

One way to begin with the analysis is to travel the spaces or premises comprised in the value chain of wine from Jerez. According to Terán-Sánchez (1998) ^[12], these may be considered *the crafters of wine*. These are places, scenarios where daily activities are carried out, the household, the market, cellars and stalls.

In the domestic sphere, we found 16 fulltime female homemakers. Some of them also work in restaurants and define openly and proudly themselves as “cooks”. This sort of agents in Jerez’s culinary sphere is a fundamental axis to transmit what we may call traditional everyday food, prepared according to current aesthetical, marketing and economic logics, which converge toward haute cuisine. Such cooks are the mirror of home-cooked food in the public sphere; upon them the image of traditionality in the contemporary restaurant sector is socially built through a process of selection of characteristics that re-signify the values of vanguard cuisine.

Another significant respondent group (21 men) comprises people who work or worked in wine cellars, are in charge of stalls or work as waiters in bars and inns. Some others are engaged in trading the foods used for cooking with wines and vinegars from Jerez; cooks are included in this group. The stereotype of haute cuisine masculinization is deeply rooted in the respondents; they state that people who manage renowned restaurants and even those in public positions related to haute cuisine are men.

More than a half of male respondents (14) is between 56 and 65 years of age and most are cooks; they refer to such space with feelings and emotions in which habit and nostalgia are defining in the use of wine to cook because of the nuances (tastes, strength, body or smell) it adds to the dishes. In contrast with aged cooks, young men studied cuisine and are sommeliers (3), thereby, specialists with a high degree of training, whose labor is linked to that of their bosses, chefs running renowned restaurants.

Some of their phases illustrate the above: “*for me, wine has a moment and a dish [...] you can cook without wine, but the aftertaste goes away*”; “*here in Jerez, wine has always been added to dishes*” wine is linked to family”; “*(at home), I like cooking with wine because it tastes real good*”; “*we’re old school [...] next to my mother to learn to cook, otherwise you won’t marry*”; “*wine reminds you of your childhood and hence the importance of the taste*”.

But if we go back to the origin of all this cycle, we will find ourselves in the vineyard. As previously mentioned, “La Constancia” was visited during fieldwork, we enquired on the tasks over the annual agricultural cycle and the importance of family labor. Two production links after the vineyards were also important; the Jerez’s cellars Fundador and González Byass, both with wines recognized and awarded at international level. These two cellars offer guided tours of their premises for the general public in varying length and scope. It is paradoxical that these cellars, in spite of being showcases internationalized on Jerez’s viticulture, do not offer tastings of foods produced

with wine or vinegar⁷, in spite there is a number of preparations associated to vineyards and the very cellars, which use the ingredients object of this study. They are usually seasonal foods, linked to some of the phases and tasks of the production cycle, the most representative example is the one called *ajo caliente* [hot garlic], also known as *ajo campero* [field garlic], *ajo de viña* [vineyard garlic] or *ajo cocido* [cooked garlic]; it is a food mentioned in Andalusian cookbooks (Alonso, 2007; Anónimo, 1995) ^[2, 7]. And it is cooked and consumed in winter, particularly in the harvest of grapes. It is a hot dish that needs little dedication and is specifically linked to masculine consumption as energy source for physical labor. It is a hot soup made with hard bread, garlic, olive oil and grilled tomato ground in a mortar. It was a working-class dish that popularized and now it is consumed at homes and some public establishments. It is canonically accompanied by the first wine each year, “*el mosto y ajo caliente*” [must and garlic].

If we pay attention to the households’ culinary habits, we approach the analysis of data from Jerez’s families. Dishes prepared with vinegar from Jerez were observed and tried with them; mainly summer food, characterized by being fresh and light, identifying the know-hows of each family and their transmission from generation to generation.

Wine vinegar is also called *vinagre de yema*, referring to the quality and elaboration process, that is to say, it is obtained from the first wine that was crushed and acidified naturally, preserving the characteristic smell and taste of acidity, which is considered ideal to combine with neutral ingredients such as tomatoes, lettuce, eggs and vegetables in general. As regards the use of vinegar in home-cooked food, distinguishable is its utilization to dress or season summer foods, referring to it in a concluding manner: “*... vinegar gives salads a sweat-and-sour taste*” and “*vinegar... that is the best for a salad*”.

As for the use of wine in their households, homemakers agreed it is an ingredient “that cannot be missing whatsoever”. The main reason is the flavor it gives to dishes and meals, specifying that each preparation needs a particular sort of wine or vinegar and their direct relation to the right taste and flavor, as it will be seen later in the text.

The visits to stalls “El Pasaje”⁸ and “La Pandilla”⁹, allowed obtaining other sort of data. The proprietors were interviewed and shared their personal experience on wine knowledge and the way to use it. They agreed that by managing their establishments, they have progressively consolidated their knowledge on the scope of wines from Jerez. The reason is that most people attend these places are foreign customers from England, France and the United States, who constantly ask about wines their taste and how to consume them. Therefore, the demand to offer a suitable and accurate interpretation with data on general viticulture,

⁷ Even if cellars serve wines with cheese, jerky or olives, among other products. We have to insist that visitors are not offered any dish based on wines and vinegars; an instance may be *ajo caliente*.

⁸ Website of “El Pasaje”: <https://www.tabancoelpasaje.com>

⁹ A review of “La Pandilla”: <https://www.sherry.wine/es/enjoying-sherry/sherry-spots/tabanco-la-pandilla>

and particularly on wines from Jerez, has forced them to incorporate new knowledge.¹⁰

As regards local Jerez's customers who visit *tabancos* are aged men who mainly go in the mornings to drink one or two glasses of wine. By and large, people from Jerez drink standing up and in small cups known as *catavinos* [winetasters], as previously in Jerez, wine was sold as an aperitif not as a table wine, hence at present it is canonically served in small cups.

On the one hand, *Consejo Regulador del Jerez* [Regulatory Board for Sherry], which works with the restaurant sector, is setting some actions into motion to heighten the value and cultural importance of wines from Jerez with a view to stressing their presence in haute cuisine; one of the most noticeable proposals has been to serve Jerez's juices in red-wine cups, which are three times the volume of *catavinos*.

In the case of bars, inns and restaurants, these are establishments that offer tapas and food from Jerez (without the specificity of *tabancos*). In these spaces, photographs, letters and menus of the dishes prepared with wine were analyzed. It was observed that in some establishments there were menus with especial sections devoted to traditional foods of which wine is an essential ingredient. In the case of "*Mesón del Asador*", its menu has a section called "home-cooked meals", while in bar "*Talabar*" the section is called "*Our Jerez's dishes*".

They are popular dishes and foods which have lasted over time, they were prepared by women who cook in these places following similar recipes shared by household kitchens. These foods follow seasonality in households and restaurants. If its spring or summer, fresh dishes with wine vinegar such as gazpacho and salads are eaten; while, in winter dishes with wine are served: *Carrillada*, *riñones al jerez* [Lamb kidneys with sherry], *albóndigas* [meatballs], *carne de toro* [beef] and *ajo campero* among others. Even though seasonality is not a rigid rule for these dishes can be cooked and consumed throughout the year, climate is indeed a variable that advises the sort of preparations that are canonical, therefore, apt and preferred by local and alien consumers.

A renowned establishment that goes beyond the local sphere is "*Casa Pepa*", an emblematic place run by its octogenarian owner and cook and named after her as of the 80's.

It is the prototype of a business where a female housemaker with good cooking skills moved her know-how to a public space, where decoration, sort of service, menu paradigm, etc., are in complete harmony to cover the needs of consumers who ask for "traditional foods". A cartoon of Ms. Pepa is disseminated in tags of some wine vinegars. In agreement with the image of the traditional cooking she serves in her place, the owner herself expressed in an interview "*my food is meals from the field [...] and vinegar [...] that is the best*" (July, 2019).

Even if *Casa Pepa* is an example of emblematic place of traditional cuisine, we also studied clear instances of places that combine culinary traditions and haute cuisine. One of

them is restaurant "*Alboronía*"¹¹, which has a proposal of design and hybrid cuisine, which combines Andalusian and Moroccan gastronomy. Wines come from the Jerez's cellar Fernando de Castilla, while the menu is designed to fully pair the wines. The kitchen is run by a married couple of Jerez's natives who intend to innovate from traditional practices of local cuisine resorting to habitual ingredients, techniques and flavors in home-cooked food.

Perceptions on everyday dishes and meals with wine and vinegar from Jerez

The analysis of the obtained data clearly shows the perception of the local population toward the uses of this work's target products. The words of people from Jerez relate with foods made with wine, which they link to pleasurable experiences through their senses. That is to say, they recurrently appeal smell and taste, for they bring to mind the smell of wine when they are cooking and mainly, the taste it provides dishes and sauces with as flavor enhancer for meat, fish and seafood. They also mention and appreciate the texture, harmony and perfection tasted in each dish cooked with the corresponding wine.

People from Jerez state that their predilection for foods made with wine and categorically link it to the act of eating ritualized by means of celebrations and festivities. Sociability and ritualized culinary moments, i.e., eating in groups, are associated to the fun in being together and enjoying special moments with friends. Events such as the Horse Fair or visits to the businesses where *tapas* and *tapeillo* are shared were the most noticeable. They also link it to tradition and everydayness because they consider wine is a basic ingredient, essential and fundamental to cook due to its unique taste, relating it to the tasks of mothers at home. This way, the domestic and extra-domestic spheres are equally represented at the time of valorizing the foods with wine and vinegar. Moreover, the participants largely and explicitly recognize that "using wine is part of their culture, of living in Jerez de la Frontera as it is a historic place where it is produced". Such statements include cooking with and drinking wines; albeit, the latter is out of the interests of the present work.

It is important to discover these preparations and the specificities of each dish, not with the intention of being exhaustive nor relating them all obviously; by means of an ethnographic approach, it was possible to establish the dishes that contain wine as an ingredient. They are home-cooked dishes served in bars, inns and restaurants, additionally their use and consumption are significant in the daily life of Jerez's families. Wines that stood out in the preparations were: *fino*, *oloroso* and *Pedro Ximénez*; at a lower frequency and as a replacement for those above, they resort to *manzanilla*, *amontillado* and *palo cortado* (Table 1).

¹⁰ This is another evidence of the topic interpretation and the search for experiences for the visitors, which reinforces the idea of the suitability and relevance of incorporating wine and vinegar in the cellars and other places like these.

¹¹ Restaurant *Alboronía*, in Jerez de la Frontera, is ranked 4th by Tripadvisor, after the assessment of visitors and tourists.

https://www.tripadvisor.com.mx/Restaurant_Review-g227869-d6440112-Reviews-Alboronia-Jerez_De_La_Frontera_Costa_de_la_Luz_Andalucia.html. Meaningfully, the word *alboronía* is a traditional dish with various chopped mixed vegetables.

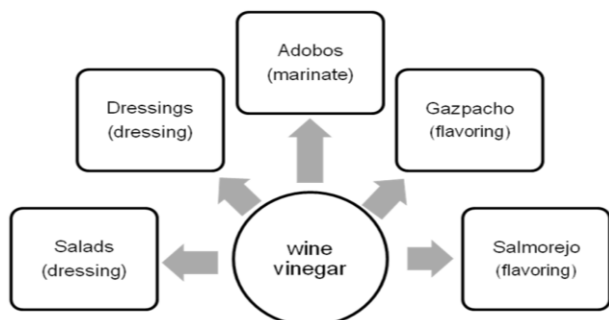
Table 1: Wines used in foods and dishes in the culinary tradition of Jerez

Sort of wine	Meals, dishes and beverages	Culinary characteristics
<i>Fino</i>	<p>Vegetables <i>Papas a la cochambrosa (papas a lo pobre)</i> [Potatoes]</p> <p>Meat <i>Pollo de campo</i> [chicken] <i>Pollo a la cazuela</i> [chicken] <i>Conejo a la cazuela</i> [rabbit] <i>Conejo al ajillo</i> [rabbit]</p> <p>Fish and seafood <i>Almejas (coquinas) a la marinera</i> [clams] <i>Atún Almadraba a la plancha</i> [tuna fish]</p> <p>Legumes <i>Potaje de lentejas</i> [lentils] <i>Puchero con garbanzos</i> [chickpeas]</p> <p>Desserts <i>Torrijas</i> <i>Pestiños</i></p> <p>Beverages <i>Rebujito</i></p>	<p>Housemakers usually combine them with white meats, fish, seafood and spices-seasoning (garlic, onion, bay, clove, pepper, oregano, thyme). In some cases, there are combined with some offals such as kidneys.</p> <p>Also used in leguminous dishes such as lentils and chickpeas, though adding a “<i>rotin</i>” (not as in the meats), that is to say, a minimal amount of wine that comes from the bottle as it placed upside down on the pan.</p> <p>It may be substituted by Manzanilla wine.</p>
<i>Oloroso</i>	<p>Veal Carne de toro – Rabo de toro Carrillada al oloroso con papas Papas con carne de ternera Lengua de ternera con oloroso</p> <p>Iberian pork Carrillada ibérica al oloroso Filete de cerdo en puchero</p>	<p>Used in dishes with red meat especially beef or Iberian pork, therefore, a larger amount of wine is needed. Even if they are not broths, sauces are thick and ideal to accompany with bread. In like manner, the garlic and onions fried, base for sauces for these dishes cannot be missing. The side dish are fried potatoes, carrots and bell peppers.</p> <p>It may be replaced by <i>Palo Cortado</i> or <i>Amontillado</i>.</p>
Pedro Ximénez	<p>Vegetables <i>Alcachofas al Pedro Ximénez</i> [artichokes]</p> <p>Salads To dress fresh lettuce</p> <p>Remedy <i>Candie</i> from candy egg, also known as “Red wine punch”. A concoction of egg yolks and sweet wine for children in order to improve their appetite.</p>	<p>Being sweet, <i>Pedro Ximénez</i> is used in little amounts and as a company for vegetables such as lettuce and artichoke in a wine reduction, placing on low heat to obtain a semi-liquid sauce; as well, some also add it to accompany grilled tuna.</p>

Source: own elaboration

[Table 1 near here]

Furthermore, there are uses and consumptions of wine vinegars rooted in like manner to Jerez’s cuisine. They are given very specific uses (Fig 1) such as dressing, marinate or enhance the flavors of fresh ingredients (lettuce) or some preparations such as *periñaca*, a salad made with bell peppers, tomato, fish leftovers and a dressing made of salt, yema vinegar and olive oil. Particularly, vinegar is used in adobos to marinate fish and enhance its flavor. However, its most popular use is in the preparation of gazpacho and *salmorejo*, tomato-based fresh dishes consumed mainly in summer. It is also used as a remedy; particularly, women explained they use it to rinse their hair in the bath as it makes hair bright and strong, for it is popular belief that the hair of Andalusian horses is thus cared.



Source: own elaboration

Fig 1: Culinary uses of wine vinegar

[Figure 1 near here]

As regards meals and dishes popularized by television and famous chefs, such as awarded chef Ángel León at the forefront,¹² few participants remember them as part of their day-to-day food; they are aware, nevertheless, these are meals based on wine inspired by innovation and haute cuisine. That is to say, they have become a different and vanguard option for pairings in renowned Spanish restaurants and in other countries’ cuisines.

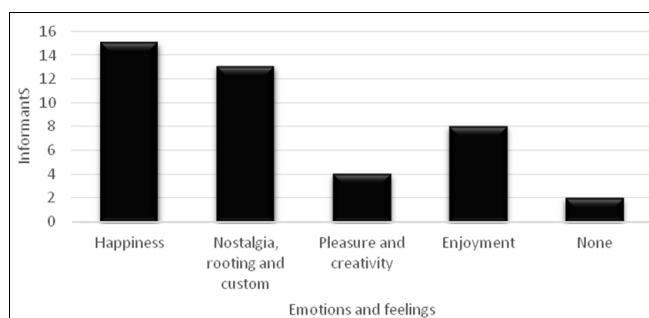
In connection with the ways of consuming wine, its uses are quite varied; the answers allowed identifying three sorts of consumers: A) culinary (64.2%), they only utilize wine to cook and do not drink it; B) mixed (31%), they use wine to cook and also drink it; and C) drinkers (4.8%), who only drink it and do not use it otherwise. The high proportion of people who do not drink wine and only use for cooking is noticeable, this does away with the prevailing social stereotype that perceives the masculinized of use of wine as drink.

The informants’ reasons to explain the use and consumption of wine in the kitchen has to do with a number of reasons, though the main is clear, the organoleptic characteristics of taste and smell wine provides food with; then, personal preference and tradition of using and consuming it. Its use is

¹² Ángel León cook and Michelin star, known as the sea chef, he incarnates the saga of famous chef from Cádiz. Others are Fernando Córdoba, Joaquín Ramírez, Juan Delgado, José Melero, etc.

so strong and deeply rooted that, as stated, it is used three times a week. Finally, to a lesser proportion reason such as wine typicality (a product typical of Jerez) which reminds them of childhood dishes, so we find the nostalgic variable mentioned earlier in the text.

People from Jerez mention that cooking with wine or having a dish with wine or vinegar makes them happy (35.7%), nostalgic (31%) because of memories and family rooting due to habit, they feel fulfilled and creative while cooking (9.5%) and are thrilled with the taste of wine (19%); a very small proportion (4.8%) said they did not experience any feeling or emotion, as observed in Fig 2.



Source: Own elaboration

Fig 2: Emotions and feelings by consuming wine and vinegar

[Figure 2 near here].

It is important to finish the analysis of the consumption and uses of wines and vinegars from Jerez identifying the way customs and know-hows are transmitted. Most of the respondents (85.7%) have learnt to use and consume wine and vinegar in their families, thereby, it is the main socializing agent in the domestic sphere. As mentioned by Ruiz (2017)^[42], mainly mothers and grandmothers are those who via oral transmission share the socializing and domestic labor of cooking, eating and drinking wines and also consume wine vinegar.

As regards knowledge transmission from parents to children and grandchildren, it consists in teaching them the tasks linked to the work cycles in the vineyard and cellars (cultivation, vintage, aging) and obviously, how to drink it. This was apparent for 78.6% of the respondents who had their first contact with wine at early ages either via their mothers' cooking or their fathers' histories and practices when they returned from work; or for 21.4% of those who as adolescents tasted the well-known *rebujito*¹³ cocktail, the most popular drink among the youth; or else their first experience drinking and attending to events such as the Horse Fair.

Wines and vinegars, their uses in dishes in *tabancos*, cellars, bars and restaurants and in the households are the social food practices of the inhabitants of Jerez de la Frontera. Happiness, nostalgia, pleasure and enjoyment are noticeable as the (culinary, mixed and drinker) consumers' most relevant emotions and/or feelings when they refer to their iconic and identity foods, those which among their ingredients contains wines from their geographic context (*fino*, *oloroso* and *Pedro Ximénez*, fundamentally). Though, the analysis must be broader to the extent that the universe of culinary consumption of wines from Jerez and its

perceptions transcend the consumer sector for there are other organizations and actors heavily involved in the sector.

Wine and sherry for institutions

We can start with *Consejo Regulador de las Denominaciones de Origen de los vinos de Jerez*, institution that has focused on learning the uses of wine and vinegars from Marco de Jerez and also on promoting events, tastings and oenological experiences (Consejos Reguladores y Comunidades Autónomas, 2012)^[14]. Plus, as of 2012 *Consejo Regulador* has set into motion various valorization and dissemination strategies for wines from Jerez with a view to attracting international consumers. They stress the pairings and traditional and avant-gard cuisine in an attempt to valorize the juices from this Jerez's territory (Domecq, 2012)^[20]. However, little attention has been paid to consumers from Jerez, their preferences, uses, consumptions and perceptions of local wines. This clearly proves, among other things, the internationalizing vocation of the Council, which contrasts with the way they perceive the local sphere, a member of the Council expressed as follows:

"It seems to me, as something very important, to study everyday life in Jerez, I was born here and I live here. I have traveled a lot and would be proud of sherry... but people from Jerez have to change [...] here in Jerez people drink wine, but not the one they should" (member of Consejo Regulador, June 2019).

Another distinguished member of Consejo clearly states the future direction of the institution, the strategies and goals for wines and their image:

"Sherry shall have a stronger image [...] wine must be revalorized [...] the image of wine from Jerez must be a high-quality wine which will be drunk because of its quality [...] The goal is to drink two cups a day, though more expert consumers are needed as they have to disseminate knowledge about wine, to speak of and drink sherry [...] so that people from Jerez drink more and speak more of wine, perform more tastings and pairings [...] one must have meals with sherry" (member of Consejo Regulador, June 2019).

What seems increasingly clearer is the stance of visitors who arrive in Jerez de la Frontera do not come to see the wine cellars only, but to enjoy the cuisine, thus indirectly favoring the consumption of wine from Jerez with meals, not only as appetizer. This is the most distinguishable set of arguments expressed in *Instituto de Investigaciones Vitivinícolas y Agroalimentarias*, IVAGRO [Institute for Viticultural and Agrifood Research], a notable institution linked to the academy, which together with *Consejo Regulador*, is a referent for the study of the reality of wines and vinegars from Jerez.

Another prominent argumentation is that not all the wines and vinegars can be seen from the same standpoint because, while wine has been internationally valorized, vinegar has a long way to go. Despite *yema* vinegar or vinegar wines from Jerez is generally consumed by the local population and it is appreciated as a singular product different from other vinegars, its internationalization is virtually inexistent.

¹³ *Rebujito* is a drink based on peppermint, fino wine, 7 up and ice.

In this way, the data obtained allowed interpreting some strengths and weaknesses of the analyzed sector; which is one that in recent decades has incorporated culinary traditionality into haute cuisine without renouncing to the evocation of home-cooked dishes, but simultaneously offering differential experiences proper to avant-garde. That is to say, it ventures in gastronomy, a sphere permeable to society and dynamical around the consumer, capable of revalorizing, deconstructing the food traditionality of Jerez's territory where its juices represent it.

Conclusions

Wines and vinegars have a high representativeness degree in the society and culture of Jerez de la Frontera and by extension, the province of Cadiz; they lack, nevertheless, specific approaches to analyze their uses in the contemporary culinary context of these territories. We hereby offer an ethnographic analysis of this context, fruit of a research work focused on all the social actors involved, in which, from their experiences and perceptions, we managed to deconstruct such reality from two articulating axes such as traditional and avant-garde cuisine.

Data from the present research allows us to verify the great importance of the culinary uses of wine and vinegar from Jerez in everyday life, in the households and domestic groups, in the diversity of contemporary preparations and the uses given to them. They are dishes and popular foods and hybrid and avant-garde cuisines encompassed in the context of capitalization in the food sphere, where ingredients, procedures and traditional dishes converge now in the development of haute cuisine.

All of the above places us in the analysis of social processes that contribute to the knowledge regarding our societies by means of applying a methodology that includes the perceptions of the social agents immerse in the researched social practices. This formula, as it has been verified, is an efficacious approach for the scientific and global knowledge regarding food contexts.

Our analysis has moved from popular dishes and foods from the domestic sphere to those of hybrid and avant-garde cuisines, which on the basis of the traditionality of the territory use wines and vinegars as the baseline to grasp, practice and transmit the fact of eating. A sample, a case study on how the culinary and gastronomic boom associated to the valorization of gastronomy as an increasing use value and totally encompassed in globalized commodification has been implemented.

Well now, as a case study, noticeable are the singularities proper to the use and consumption of wines and vinegars between the social actors of the context, so that hedonistic, aesthetic and creative aspects of food based on wines in vinegars and the relations of these ingredients with cultural identity are referents from their worldview, of their way of seeing the world. Behaviors, practices and perceptions we have described and which, duly articulated, may be set up as opportunities in the viticulture of Marco de Jerez that focuses its strategies on its exporting and international vocation, but which as an economic driver, leaves the local consumer behind.

Finally, the results contribute to find out what takes place in societies from perceptions and food practices. In this sense, not only is there a generalized traditional cuisine, in which the use of wine and vinegars of the territory are constant, but also that, as any sociocultural practice, we witness an

extraordinarily dynamical moment, when hybridization initiatives proliferate between traditional and new contributions under the conceptual umbrella term, "new cuisine". This way, we began understanding the dynamic of the behavior of these initiatives' stakeholders, as this is one of the earliest works of this sort developed in the area of Jerez de la Frontera and its whereabouts.

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