

Amanda Morell

*Past(a), Present, and Future:
The Story of a Starchy Staple*

ABSTRACT: Utilizing an interdisciplinary approach, this article examines the history of pasta from its beginnings as durum wheat, via its much-debated arrival and establishment in Italy, to its eventual adoption as a significant food item and spread on a global scale. It demonstrates how pasta attained its remarkable role in Italian culture and, by extension, how foods find new homes in cultures beyond their regions of origin.

KEYWORDS: ancient history; medieval history; modern history; Italy; U.S.; pasta; industrialization; globalization; culture; cookbooks

Introduction

For centuries, pasta has been one of the most commonly consumed foods worldwide.¹ It is made from a dough that consists of durum wheat combined with water for dried pasta or eggs for fresh pasta, and it is then shaped and boiled in water.² While it is a global staple, pasta has been most strongly associated with Italy where it has deep roots in the peninsula's national, regional, and local culture.³ To examine pasta's historical journey, this article considers its beginnings as durum wheat, the various theories on how it made its way to Italy, its global spread, and its continuing popularity as a global food phenomenon. In doing so, it demonstrates how pasta attained its remarkable role in Italian culture and, by extension, how foods find new homes in cultures beyond their regions of origin.

I. The Origins of Durum Wheat

The history of pasta begins with its primary component, durum wheat. Today, durum wheat or *Triticum durum* is produced worldwide with Turkey and Canada as its largest producers.⁴ It is used to make pasta as well as other foods such as couscous and unleavened bread.⁵ About 10,000 to 12,000 years ago, durum wheat was domesticated, probably in the Levant region of the Fertile Crescent, from wild emmer wheat.⁶ Wild emmer wheat, or *Triticum turgidum* subsp. *dicoccoides*, had been domesticated around 8,000 BCE in the Karacadag mountains of modern-day

¹ Rosalba Giacco, Marilena Vitale, and Gabriele Riccardi, "Pasta: Role in Diet," in *The Encyclopedia of Food and Health*, ed. Benjamin Caballero, Paul Finglas, and Fidel Toldrá (San Diego: Elsevier Science & Technology, 2015), 4: 242.

² David Alexander, "The Geography of Italian Pasta," *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 3 (2000): 553-566, here 560.

³ Alexander, "Geography," 553, 563.

⁴ Amadou Tidiane Sall et al., "Durum Wheat (*Triticum durum* Desf.): Origin, Cultivation, and Potential Expansion in Sub-Saharan Africa," *Agronomy* 9, no. 263 (2019): 1-20, here 1-2.

⁵ Sall et al., "Durum Wheat," 1-2.

⁶ Sall et al., "Durum Wheat," 4.

Turkey.⁷ From wild emmer, the selection of hulled tetraploid wheat genotypes (i.e., four times the number of chromosomes in their genetic makeup) evolved into durum wheat.⁸

While the Fertile Crescent is considered durum wheat's most likely region of domestication, Ethiopia may have been a "second center of origin."⁹ Studies conducted by Hafssa Kabbaj and others indicate that Ethiopian landraces of durum wheat contain a germplasm (i.e., a genetic material) that is distinct when compared to other areas, especially the Fertile Crescent,¹⁰ and the research of Marco Maccaferri and others has revealed that Ethiopian durum wheat differs the most from *Triticum turgidum* subsp. *turanicum* in the Fertile Crescent in terms of its germplasm.¹¹ This lack of genetic similarity between Ethiopian and Levantine durum wheat suggests that durum wheat was domesticated in both Ethiopia and the Levant.¹² Studies by Michela Janni and others on gluten levels, specifically Glu-1, show that durum wheat is likely to have "diversified" in the Fertile Crescent, North Africa, and Ethiopia.¹³ Thus, research on Ethiopian durum wheat presents an alternative to pasta's – or its main ingredient's – traditional origin story.

That said, the Fertile Crescent remains durum wheat's most widely accepted region of origin. According to Fernando Martínez-Moreno and others, durum wheat spread during the first millennium BCE with the help of Phoenicians, Greeks, and Romans from the Fertile Crescent to the areas surrounding the Mediterranean Rim, thus securing its precedence over emmer wheat.¹⁴ Later on, durum wheat was further disseminated via the migrations of Arabs and Ottomans, which played a significant role in the establishment of pasta in Italy.¹⁵ As it settled in the areas surrounding the Mediterranean Rim, durum wheat became well adapted to the regional climate,¹⁶ and this eventually facilitated the spread and adoption of pasta throughout the Italian peninsula.

⁷ Fernando Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat in the Mediterranean Rim: Historical Evolution and Genetic Resources," *Genetic Resources and Crop Evolution* 67, no. 6 (2020): 1415-1436, here 1416.

⁸ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1419.

⁹ Hafssa Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity Within a Global Panel of Durum Wheat (*Triticum durum*) Landraces and Modern Germplasm Reveals the History of Alleles Exchange," *Frontiers in Plant Science* 8, no. 1277 (2017): 1-13, here 1.

¹⁰ Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity," 8.

¹¹ Marco Maccaferri et al., "Durum Wheat Genome Highlights Past Domestication Signatures and Future Improvement Targets," *Nature Genetics* 51 (2019): 885-895, here 891.

¹² Kabbaj et al., "Genetic Diversity," 8.

¹³ Michela Janni et al., "Gene-ecology of Durum Wheat HMW Glutenin Reflects Their Diffusion from the Center of Origin," *Scientific Reports* 8, no. 16929 (2018): 1-9, here 7.

¹⁴ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1415.

¹⁵ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1431.

¹⁶ Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1415, 1416.

II. Theories on the Arrival of Pasta in Italy

How pasta came to Italy has been the subject of several theories. Perhaps the most famous of these is that Marco Polo, in the thirteenth century, brought pasta from China to Venice.¹⁷ Meanwhile, according to Ayşe Nevin Sert, a “nationalist” theory asserts that pasta had already made its way to Italy centuries earlier, namely, under the Etruscans, and that methods for cooking pasta may have already been known to the Greeks and the Romans.¹⁸ A third theory suggests that pasta was brought to Sicily and southern Italy around the ninth century by the Arabs.¹⁹

Taking these theories chronologically, the Etruscan theory is based on archaeological findings in a fourth-century BCE tomb near Cerveteri, the Tomba dei Rilievi, located to the north of Rome.²⁰ The images in this Etruscan tomb are difficult to interpret, rendering them inconclusive as evidence.²¹ Supposedly, the frescoes in the Tomba dei Rilievi depict pasta-making.²² They feature household objects, and one of these may be “an ancient spianatoia, a board for rolling out pasta.”²³ However, according to Phyllis Pray Bober, this board may, in fact, have just been a board game.²⁴ Even if these frescoes do not depict pasta-making tools, the possibility that the Etruscans engaged in the production and consumption of pasta cannot be ruled out. It is conceivable that they used other tools, such as metal needles, to make macaroni.²⁵ In addition, as Rosalba Giacco, Marilena Vitale, and Gabriele Riccardi Giacco have asserted, the Etruscans may have made pasta by using a technique that involved the grinding of cereals and grains, mixing it with water, and subsequently baking it in an oven rather than boiling it.²⁶

While the evidence from the Etruscan tomb is not clear, Apicius’s collection *De re coquinaria* (“On the subject of cooking”) dates pasta on the Italian peninsula at least to the ancient Romans.²⁷ Apicius supposedly instructs his readers on how to make fresh pasta with eggs and dried pasta with water, associating fresh pasta

¹⁷ Ayşe Nevin Sert, “Italian Cuisine: Characteristics and Effects,” *Journal of Business Management and Economic Research* 1, no. 1 (2017): 49-57, here 55.

¹⁸ Sert, “Italian Cuisine,” 55.

¹⁹ Sert, “Italian Cuisine,” 55.

²⁰ Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

²¹ See also the detailed 2004 nomination file of this UNESCO world heritage site, [online](#), accessed June 13, 2022.

²² Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

²³ Phyllis Pray Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine: Ancient and Medieval Gastronomy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 117.

²⁴ Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 117.

²⁵ Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 117.

²⁶ Giacco, Vitale, and Riccardi, “Pasta,” 242.

²⁷ Alexander, “Geography,” 553.

with the wealthier class and dried pasta with commoners.²⁸ Marcus Gavius Apicius, the author of *De re coquinaria*,²⁹ lived between 80 BCE and 40 CE,³⁰ thus predating Marco Polo by well over a millennium. There are references to pasta in Apicius's work, for example to *vermiculi* (according to the index "little worms, noodles"), similar in both name and description to modern-day vermicelli.³¹ An annotation to Apicius's recipe for creamed chicken with paste refers to "noodles, macaroni," while another annotation states, "The noodle paste should be cooked separately in the water."³² These findings in Apicius's *De re coquinaria* suggest a knowledge of early pasta in Italy long before Marco Polo and appear much more conclusive than the imagery in the Etruscan tomb.

We now turn to the theory that Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324) brought a recipe "for flour-based dough noodles that were to be cooked in boiling water" from China to Venice in the thirteenth century.³³ In his *Travels*, ghost-authored by Rustichello of Pisa, Marco Polo refers to pasta when discussing the kingdom of Fansur. He describes the mixing of flour with water in tubs, stating that "[t]he water is then thrown away, and the cleaned flour that remains is taken and made into pasta in strips and other forms."³⁴ This assertion adds weight to the idea that Marco Polo may have come into contact with pasta while traveling in Asia. However, as he refers to what is being made as "pasta," he may have already known what pasta was, thus rendering the theory that he was the first to bring pasta to Italy improbable. While his *Travels* claim that "Messer Marco often partook of, and brought some [i.e., pasta] with him to Venice,"³⁵ pasta would not have been a new product to the Venetians; after all, it may have already been known to Apicius.

Evidence for the existence of pasta in pre-modern China appears in the poem "Rhapsody on Pasta," or "Bing fu," written by the Western Jin scholar Shu Xi in the third century CE.³⁶ The term *bing* 饼 was used during Shu Xi's time to refer, in

²⁸ Alexander, "Geography," 553.

²⁹ According to Joseph Dommers Vehling, the text's English translator, this work may not have been written by Apicius but, rather, merely been dedicated to him: [Marcus Gavius] Apicius, *Cookery and Dining in Imperial Rome: A Bibliography, Critical Review, and Translation of the Ancient Book Known as Apicius de re Coquinaria*, ed. and trans. Joseph Dommers Vehling (New York: Dover Publications, 1977), introduction and preface.

³⁰ Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 9, 10.

³¹ Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 300.

³² Apicius, *Cookery and Dining*, 153-154.

³³ Alexander, "Geography," 553.

³⁴ Marco Polo, *The Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. Henry Yule and Henri Cordier (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), 305.

³⁵ Polo, *Travels*, 305.

³⁶ David R. Knechtges, "Dietary Habits: Shu Xi's 'Rhapsody on Pasta,'" in *Early Medieval China: A Sourcebook*, ed. Wendy Swartz et al. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014; ProQuest Ebook Central), 447-457, here 447.

general terms, to foods made with dough.³⁷ Pasta fits into this description, which may explain why the English title of Shu Xi's poem is "Rhapsody on Pasta." The Chinese term translated as "pasta" is *bing*, which appears in various forms, namely, for a noodle called *tang bing* and for another noodle referred to as *suo bing* which is much closer to Italian spaghetti.³⁸ When discussing such noodles or pasta in his poem, Shu Xi connects the respective consumption habits with changes in the seasons. For instance, boiled noodles were eaten in the summer as part of the "Day of Concealment."³⁹ In the third stanza of the "Rhapsody on Pasta," which is likely situated in the summer, Shu Xi says, "If in this season we make pasta, / There is nothing better than *bozhuang*."⁴⁰ In the fifth stanza, when referring to the colder season, Shu Xi writes, "For filling empty stomachs and relieving chills, / Boiled noodles are best."⁴¹ Shu Xi's "Rhapsody on Pasta" indicates that pasta or noodles were well established in China by the third century CE—several hundred years before the Arabs may have brought this staple to Sicily and southern Italy.

One of the most significant features of the Arab origin theory is the term *itriya(h)*, which refers to noodles and supposedly appears in Isho bar Ali's ninth-century Syriac-Arabic dictionary.⁴² The term is used to denote noodles in Aramaic texts, but Patience Gray has speculated that it may derive from the ancient Greek word *itrion* and its plural *itria*.⁴³ While this Greek etymology is uncertain, historian Charles Perry has pointed out that *itriya*'s earliest known Arabic occurrence can be traced to the fifth-century Jerusalem Talmud, where it refers to boiled noodles.⁴⁴ According to Anthony F. Buccini, the term *tria* or *tri* was used in southern Italy during the Middle Ages, which perhaps corroborates an Arab influence on Italian pasta habits,⁴⁵ yet where this term appears in medieval writings is unclear. In addition to *itriya*, another term pointing to the Arab introduction of pasta into Italy is *tumace*, an Albanian word found "from Molise to Sicily" and generally referring to "home-made pasta."⁴⁶ This term supposedly dates back to the eleventh century

³⁷ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 448.

³⁸ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 449.

³⁹ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 451.

⁴⁰ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 453.

⁴¹ Knechtges, "Dietary Habits," 453.

⁴² Martínez-Moreno et al., "Durum Wheat," 1425; George Cassar, *What They Ate: Food and Foodways in Mdina and Beyond from Roman Times to the Middle Ages* (Malta: Heland Project, 2015), 19.

⁴³ Cited in Bober, *Art, Culture, and Cuisine*, 116-117.

⁴⁴ Cited in Giacco, Vitale, and Riccardi, "Pasta," 242.

⁴⁵ Anthony F. Buccini, "The Merchants of Genoa and the Diffusion of Southern Italian Pasta Culture in Europe," in *Food & Markets: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2014*, ed. Mark McWilliams (London: Prospect Books, 2015), 54-64, here 55.

⁴⁶ Francesco Altimari, "Italo-Balkan Linguistic Interactions in the Italian-Albanian Food Lexicon: A Short History of *Tumacë* 'Home-Made Pasta' from the Caucasus to the Apennines," in *Balkan and South Slavic Enclaves in Italy: Languages, Dialects and Identities*, ed. Thede Kahl, Iliana

or earlier, based on Mahmud al-Kashghari's Turkish lexicon, the *Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk*, which references *tutmac*.⁴⁷

The Arab conquest of Sicily (827-902) brought Arab culture and *itriya* to the Italian peninsula.⁴⁸ According to Buccini, the Arabs introduced dried pasta to Italy's south, where fresh pasta may have already been known to the Greco-Latin Sicilian population.⁴⁹ Thus, pasta became well established there before the Norman conquest of Sicily a century later (999-1039). From Sicily and southern Italy, pasta, especially in its dried form, expanded toward the north in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁰ As Buccini points out, northern Italians and Catalans played a significant role in facilitating the spread of Arab-introduced dried pasta beyond southern Italy.⁵¹ Among the main sources for the Arab influence on pasta in Italy are the writings of Muhammad al-Idrisi (1100-1165), a scholar who wrote a geography of the world during his employment at the court of the Norman King Roger II of Sicily in Palermo.⁵² In 1154, al-Idrisi refers to trade from the town of Trabia (southeast of Palermo), where *itriya* was produced and then exported "to Calabria and other Muslim and Christian lands."⁵³ This suggests that, by the twelfth century, dried pasta was an in-demand trade product, at least in southern Italy. Whether the Arabs introduced pasta to Italy remains uncertain, but they did contribute to its popularity and early commercialization.

III. The Growing Significance of Pasta in Italy: Fourteenth to Nineteenth Centuries

By the time of the Renaissance, pasta had become well established in Italy. This is evidenced by one of the oldest Italian cookbooks, the *Liber de coquina*, likely written during the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ In the following century, Maestro Martino of Como created another Italian cookbook, the *Libro de arte coquinaria* or *Book of Culinary Art*, which became better known due to its adaptation in Bartolomeo

Krapova, and Giuseppina Turano (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2018), 2-31, here 6-7.

⁴⁷ Altimari, "Italo-Balkan Linguistic Interactions," 27. Kashgari's lexicon has been edited and translated: Mahmūd al-Kašgarī, *Compendium of the Turkic dialects (Dīwān Lughāt al-Turk)*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, Turkish Sources VII, Part I-III (Harvard: Harvard University Printing Office, 1982-1985).

⁴⁸ Claudia Roden, *The New Book of Middle Eastern Food* (New York: Random House, 2000), 12.

⁴⁹ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 54, 59.

⁵⁰ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 63.

⁵¹ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 63.

⁵² David Abulafia, "Local Trade Networks in Medieval Sicily: The Evidence of Idrisi," in *Shipping, Trade, and Crusade in the Medieval Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of John Pryor*, ed. Ruthy Gertwagen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2012), 157-166, here 157.

⁵³ Buccini, "Merchants of Genoa," 55. Al-Idrisi's Arabic text has been edited: Al-Idrisi, *Opus geographicum: sive Liber ad eorum delectationem qui terras peragrare studeant*, 9 fascicles, ed. Alessio Bombaci and Umberto Rizzitano (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1970-1984).

⁵⁴ Massimo Montanari, *Medieval Tastes: Food, Cooking, and the Table*, trans. Beth Archer Brombert (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015; ProQuest Ebook Central), 18, 19.

Sacchi's *De honesta voluptate et valetudine* or *On Guiltless Pleasures and Good Health*.⁵⁵ Bartolomeo Sacchi (1421-1481), also known as Platina, translated Martino's recipes from the author's vernacular Italian into Latin,⁵⁶ the European *lingua franca* of the Renaissance. Martino's cookbook contains various pasta recipes, which indicates that pasta was an established dish in Italy by this time. For example, to prepare Roman-style macaroni, Martino instructs that the pasta be cut into strips that are then to "be boiled when you cook them [...]. When they are done, place [them] on a platter with some good cheese, and butter, and sweet spices."⁵⁷ In the sixteenth century, another cookbook joined the works of Martino and Sacchi, namely, the *Opera* ("Works") of Bartolomeo Scappi (1500-1577).⁵⁸ Scappi's recipes address various types of pasta, including macaroni, ravioli, and lasagne, each of which he advises to "boil in water, broth, or milk, or to fry in oil."⁵⁹ In his recipe for Roman-style macaroni soup, Scappi explains how to shape the pasta, instructs to cook it by boiling it, and suggests to sprinkle it with cheese, sugar, and cinnamon.⁶⁰ As these Renaissance cookbooks show, pasta culture was already flourishing in Italy.

The establishment of pasta led to dietary changes on the peninsula. This was, for example, observed and reported in Naples as early as the seventeenth century.⁶¹ The Neapolitans, formerly known for their habit of eating leaf vegetables, now became known as "macaroni-eaters,"⁶² increasingly consuming pasta prepared for them by street vendors.⁶³ According to the Greek-Italian journalist Matilde Serao (1856-1927), "[a]s soon as they have two *soldi*, the poor of Naples buy a plate of hot pasta with sauce. In every street of the city's four poor neighborhoods, there is one of these taverns with a cook's stall set up outdoors, in

⁵⁵ Montanari, *Medieval Tastes*, 22, 23.

⁵⁶ Luigi Ballerini, "Introduction," in Maestro Martino of Como, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. and trans. Luigi Ballerini and Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 1-46, here 2.

⁵⁷ Maestro Martino of Como, *The Art of Cooking: The First Modern Cookery Book*, ed. and trans. Luigi Ballerini and Jeremy Parzen (Berkeley, University of California Press, 2005), 67-68.

⁵⁸ Bartolomeo Scappi, *The Opera of Bartolomeo Scappi (1570): L'arte et prudenza d'un maestro cuoco*, ed. and trans. Terence Scully (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 6-7.

⁵⁹ Scappi, *Opera*, 48.

⁶⁰ Scappi, *Opera*, 228-229.

⁶¹ Alberto Capatti and Massimo Montanari, *Italian Cuisine: A Cultural History*, trans. Áine O'Healy (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003; ProQuest Ebook Central), 57.

⁶² June di Schino, "Pasta Eating in the Streets of Naples," in *Public Eating: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 1991*, ed. Harlan Walker (London: Prospect Books, 1992), 76-79, here 77.

⁶³ Gabriele Basile, "From *Maccaronaro* to Street Food: A Cultural and Linguistic Study," in *The Wor(l)ds of Neapolitan Arts and Crafts: Cultural and Linguistic Perspectives*, ed. Raffaella Antinucci, Carolina Diglio, and Maria Giovanna Pettillo (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 12-25, here 14.

which pasta is always on the boil.”⁶⁴ As Serao describes it, pasta was a popular street food, readily available to and consumed frequently by Neapolitans. The growing significance of pasta in the Italian diet did not go unnoticed by visitors to the peninsula who increasingly came to experience it first-hand.

In the eighteenth century, Italy saw regular waves of visitors, including young aristocrats and artists who experienced Italy’s pasta culture during their “grand tours” of Europe.⁶⁵ One such visitor, the German poet Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), described his experience with pasta during his visit to Naples in 1787: “The macaroni, the dough of which is made from a very fine flour, kneaded into various shapes and then boiled, can be bought everywhere and in all the shops for very little money.”⁶⁶ While staying in Naples, the Welsh painter Thomas Jones (1742-1803) kept a detailed account book in which he supposedly recorded his purchase of macaroni in 1780, as well as an additional twenty-four pounds of macaroni at the end of his trip in 1783 to take home.⁶⁷ In his *Memoirs*, Jones mentions that, after receiving assistance due to his difficulties using the Italian language, a man led him and his family to “the Refectory, where we were served with a Mess of Macaroni.”⁶⁸ The Scottish writer Charles MacFarlane (1799-1858) describes his first visit to Naples (1816-1827) in his *Popular Customs, Sports and Recollections of the South of Italy*,⁶⁹ recalling that “[i]n respectable Neapolitan houses, macaroni is on the dinner table at least twice or thrice a week—in many, every day.”⁷⁰ MacFarlane also compares Italian pasta (with Neapolitan pasta being his favorite) to pasta made in England, stating, “[m]acaroni is incomparably superior to that pappy, greasy, indigestible substance, a positive disgrace to the name it bears, which is sometimes intruded on our English tables.”⁷¹ Thus, early modern visitors to the Mediterranean regions certainly recognized Italian pasta as one of the peninsula’s culinary specialties.

IV. The Industrialization of Pasta

With the increase in pasta consumption by Italians and non-Italians, pasta-production needed to become more efficient to keep up with demand. Prior to the

⁶⁴ Matilde Serao, “On Naples, 1878-1884: Six Translations,” trans. Jon R. Snyder, *California Italian Studies* 3 no. 1 (2012): 1-17, here 2.

⁶⁵ John A. La Boone III, *Around the World of Food: Adventures in Culinary History* (New York: iUniverse, 2006), 51.

⁶⁶ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey: 1786-1788*, trans. Wystan Hugh Auden and Elizabeth Mayer (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), 324.

⁶⁷ Melissa Calaresu, “Thomas Jones’ Neapolitan Kitchen: The Material Cultures of Food on the Grand Tour,” *Journal of Early Modern History* 24 (2020): 84-101, here 84, 85, 99-100.

⁶⁸ Thomas Jones, *Memoirs* (London: Walpole Society, 1951), 109.

⁶⁹ Basile, “From Maccaronaro to Street Food,” 16-17.

⁷⁰ Charles MacFarlane, *Popular Customs, Sports, and Recollections of the South of Italy* (London: C. Knight & Company, 1846), 12.

⁷¹ MacFarlane, *Popular Customs*, 12, 13.

industrialization of pasta, the staple's production was limited by how much work individuals could do with the equipment available to them.⁷² The shift toward industrialization occurred during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries when small manufacturers connected with larger centers of production, thereby creating a network of pasta-producers providing for the increased consumption of pasta.⁷³ In addition, machinery was introduced to improve productivity. Among the earliest of such machines was Giovanni Branca's baker's brake, proposed in 1629 to mechanize the process of kneading dough,⁷⁴ one of the most laborious tasks in making pasta by hand,⁷⁵ and the extrusion press which was subsequently introduced to support a larger output of shaped pasta.⁷⁶ Together with the brake, the extrusion press shifted pasta-making toward a more industrialized model.⁷⁷ In 1767, Paul Jacques Malouin published a monograph on the work of millers, pastry makers, and bakers,⁷⁸ apparently including guidelines for pasta-making, for example, the use of boiled cow brains mixed with oil as a lubricant for a pasta press.⁷⁹ Eventually, steam-powered and electric machinery facilitated pasta-making in quantities that rendered it a suitable staple for national and international trade,⁸⁰ and – since it no longer needed to be hand-made – it came at a much lower cost.⁸¹

V. *The Story of Pasta beyond Italy*

While pasta was mostly associated with Italy, it also developed elsewhere. In the early years of its industrialized production, there was very little competition outside of the Italian peninsula.⁸² For example, the city of Bologna, well known for its egg pasta, was facing competition from Alsace, a region between France and Germany,⁸³ while other regions were producing their own types of pasta, for

⁷² Silvano Serventi and Françoise Sabban, *Pasta: The Story of a Universal Food*, trans. Antony Shugaar (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002; ProQuest Ebook Central), 63.

⁷³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 63-64.

⁷⁴ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 78.

⁷⁵ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 83.

⁷⁶ Fabio Parasecoli, *Al Dente: A History of Food in Italy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014; ProQuest Ebook Central), 138.

⁷⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 91.

⁷⁸ Paul Jacques Malouin, *Description et détails des arts du meunier, du vermicelier et du boulenger, avec une histoire abrégée de la boulengerie, & un dictionnaire de ces arts* (Paris: n.p., 1767).

⁷⁹ John Dickie, *Delizia! The Epic History of the Italians and Their Food* (Riverside: Atria Books, 2008), 152.

⁸⁰ Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 156.

⁸¹ Oretta Zanini De Vita, *Popes, Peasants, and Shepherds: Recipes and Lore from Rome and Lazio*, trans. Maureen B. Fant (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013; ProQuest Ebook Central), 46.

⁸² Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 119.

⁸³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 98.

example, northern Africa, specifically Morocco, where couscous was made, a granular-like pasta commonly served with stews.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, pasta was produced in the form of vermicelli as well as another type referred to as *makaronya* in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, where it was considered a “novelty” cuisine.⁸⁵ France, too, engaged in pasta-production, yielding about 1,300 tons of pasta in Paris alone by 1856,⁸⁶ yet their product did not hold up to the same taste standards as Italian pasta due to their different drying methods.⁸⁷ The latter also caused French pasta to be comparatively fragile; however, this was not a major concern as French pasta was mostly consumed with broth.⁸⁸ In addition, France imported pasta from Genoa and Naples to satisfy French customers.⁸⁹

The nineteenth century also saw the rise of Germany as a leading pasta-producer.⁹⁰ A British catalogue for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 lists pasta under the “Apparatus and Processes Used in Agricultural Works, and in Works for the Preparation of Food,” suggesting an emphasis on the staple’s manufacturing.⁹¹ However, from 1878 onward, the Paris Exposition offered an opportunity to international pasta-producers to showcase their unique culinary qualities.⁹² Alsace, a territory influenced by German culture, had established its own production of egg pasta,⁹³ yet Alsatian and German pasta-makers, who had had an established egg-pasta industry in the Rhineland since at least the mid-seventeenth century,⁹⁴ were excluded from the Paris Expositions of 1878 and 1889 due to the French opposition against Germany’s 1870 annexation of Alsace.⁹⁵ In 1900, German pasta-makers attended the Paris Exposition where representatives from the Knorr company received an award for their vermicelli.⁹⁶ In his

⁸⁴ James LeRoy Morgan, *Culinary Creation: An Introduction to Foodservice and World Cuisine* (Burlington: Elsevier, 2006), 10, 11.

⁸⁵ Özge Samancı, “The Cuisine of Istanbul between East and West during the 19th Century,” in *Earthly Delights: Economies and Cultures of Food in Ottoman and Danubian Europe, c. 1500-1900*, ed. Angela Jianu and Violeta Barbu (Boston: Brill, 2018; ProQuest Ebook Central), 77–98, here 83, 91.

⁸⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 119, 181.

⁸⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 110.

⁸⁸ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 110.

⁸⁹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 122.

⁹⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 173.

⁹¹ *Catalogue of the British Section, Containing a List of the Exhibitors of the United Kingdom and Its Colonies, and the Objects Which They Exhibit, in English, French, German, and Italian, with Statistical Introductions, and an Appendix ... Together with a List of the Awards Made to British and Colonial Exhibitors by the International Jury* (London: Her Britannic Majesty’s Commissioners and sold by Spottiswoode, 1868), xxii.

⁹² Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 172.

⁹³ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 121-122.

⁹⁴ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 185.

⁹⁵ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 174.

⁹⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 174.

description of the 1900 Paris Exposition, James Penny Boyd mentions pasta as being catalogued under “Farinaceous [i.e., starchy] Products and their Derivatives.”⁹⁷ It is noteworthy, though, that those participating in the Paris Exposition from across the Atlantic, especially from countries with large Italian immigrant populations, were routinely recognized for their products if their names sounded Italian,⁹⁸ proving that pasta that was not actually made in Italy was prized over other pasta as long as it could somehow be associated with Italy.

VI. Italian Immigrants and the Americanization of Pasta

The most influential force in the spread of pasta beyond Italy were Italian immigrants who created booming pasta industries elsewhere. From the 1850s on, the United States of America experienced waves of Italian immigration, and by the end of the nineteenth century, over 480,000 Italian immigrants had arrived in the U.S.⁹⁹ During the same time, considerable numbers of Italian immigrants made Argentina their new home, thereby introducing the industrial production of pasta to Latin America.¹⁰⁰ By 1907, the U.S. and Argentina combined received around 90 percent of Italian immigrants per year. The U.S. became a leading importer of Italian pasta,¹⁰¹ which underscores the role of Italian immigrants in taking the pasta industry abroad. As for Argentina, the Italian Chamber of Commerce in Buenos Aires, described it, in 1908, as a “second Italy” due to its sizeable population of Italian immigrants who were establishing a booming pasta industry there.¹⁰² In a publication celebrating Argentina’s 1910 centennial, Carlos M. Urien and Ezio Colombo praised Italian cuisine, especially pasta and ravioli, as symbols of “national progress and cosmopolitanism.”¹⁰³ While pasta was openly welcomed in Argentina, the U.S. dealt with the issue of tariffs restricting foreign foods that, according to olive-oil importer C. A. Mariani, “starved migrants by denying them homeland olive oil, pasta, cured meat, and cheese, the only foods that truly replenished Italians physically and psychologically.”¹⁰⁴

Regardless of such restrictions, Italian immigrants used pasta as a means to celebrate and strengthen their national roots. In U.S. cities with large communities of Italian immigrants, such as New York and Philadelphia, as well as in Argentina,

⁹⁷ James Penny Boyd, *The Paris Exposition of 1900: A Vivid Descriptive View and Elaborate Scenic Presentation of the Site, Plan, and Exhibits* (Philadelphia: P.W. Ziegler & Company, 1900), 331.

⁹⁸ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 175.

⁹⁹ Teagan Lehrmann, “Steam and Deliver: How Canning Revolutionized, United, and Globalized Italian Cuisine,” *The Midway Review* 7, no. 2 (Winter 2012): 13-25, here 16.

¹⁰⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 175.

¹⁰¹ Elizabeth Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces: Food and Italians in North and South America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018; ProQuest Ebook Central), 26.

¹⁰² Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 56.

¹⁰³ See Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 59; Carlos M. Urien and Ezio Colombo, *La Republica Argentina en 1910* (Buenos Aires: Maucci, 1910).

¹⁰⁴ Cited in Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 70.

they established their own pasta factories.¹⁰⁵ According to the 1910 Argentine Industrial Census, the country had 177 pasta factories in operation that year, and Argentina's international trade in pasta continued to rise in subsequent years.¹⁰⁶ In 1929, as Renato Rovetta observed, 550 pasta factories were operating in the U.S., making it the second-largest manufacturer of pasta.¹⁰⁷ This increase may in part be attributed to 1920s print-media coverage of Italian Americans, which "celebrated [...] their ability to cook meals without meat," thus popularizing the consumption of pasta and other Italian foods among non-Italians.¹⁰⁸ With the engagement of Italian immigrants in their pasta industries, the U.S. and Argentina rose to become serious competitors to Italy's pasta-production. As Italian author Remigio Baldoni put it in 1940, "The influence of our fellow countrymen living overseas has thus given rise to a thriving flow of exports from Italy [...] [with] cheese, pastas, and tomato preserves [...] finding a place not only on the tables of Italians but on those of many foreigners as well."¹⁰⁹

While Italian immigrants gave a significant boost to the Americas' pasta industry, the staple itself had arrived there considerably earlier. Thomas Jefferson may have been the first to import a pasta-making machine to the U.S. in the eighteenth century while serving as Minister (i.e., ambassador) to France; he apparently wrote a letter to a friend in 1789, asking about purchasing a macaroni press.¹¹⁰ Once American manufacturers were able to produce pasta from durum wheat grown on American soil, the pasta industry took off, making the country one of the leading pasta-producers of the twentieth century.¹¹¹ In the process, pasta secured a foothold in cultural diets across the U.S. and was adapted to American eating habits. Lidia Motika (Bastianich), who immigrated with her family from Italy in 1958, was shocked at the difference between American-made pasta and the Italian pasta her family was used to: "I was still puzzled at how different the food was from what we prepared and served at home. I can't say that I did not recognize everything [...] spaghetti and meatballs was another dish that I had not encountered [...] but we never had the two served together."¹¹² Similarly, Italian immigrant restaurant owner Tony recalled in an interview with Joan

¹⁰⁵ Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 85-86.

¹⁰⁷ See Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 171; Renato Rovetta, *Industria del pastificio o dei maccheroni*, 3rd ed. (Milan: Hoepli, 1929).

¹⁰⁸ Melissa E. Marinaro, "From *Cucina* to Grocery Store: The Evolution of Pasta-Making in the American Home," *Western Pennsylvania History* 97, no. 3 (2014): 18-19, here 19.

¹⁰⁹ Cited in Lehrmann, "Steam and Deliver," 121.

¹¹⁰ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 189.

¹¹¹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 193, 194-195.

¹¹² Cited in Simone Cinotto, "Immigrant Tastemakers: Italian Cookbook Writers and the Transnational Formation of Taste in Postindustrial America (1973-2000)," in *New Italian Migrations to the United States*, ed. Laura E. Ruberto and Joseph Sciorra (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2017; ProQuest Ebook Central), 139-166, here 129.

Nathan, “They called it Italian, but I didn’t recognize the spaghetti they served.”¹¹³ As an Americanized dish, spaghetti is commonly served with meatballs, but this was (and is) not the norm in Italy where the two items are served as separate dishes.¹¹⁴

While Italian immigrants encountered Americanized pasta, they were still craving homemade pasta. Between 1907 and 1974, Leonard Covello conducted interviews in New York’s Italian immigrant community,¹¹⁵ and he recalls that it was common for Italian students at Columbia¹¹⁶ to refer to their hunger by saying, “Boy, what I wouldn’t give for a great big platter of macaroni!”¹¹⁷ This shows the continuing significance of pasta to the diets of Italian immigrants, as well as pasta’s role in connecting them to their culture. More recently, Lynne C. Anderson interviewed and interacted with Italian immigrants, including Fausta Scarano Finkemeyer.¹¹⁸ Anderson describes Fausta’s mother, Rosalba, and her son, Matthias, rolling out pasta by hand to make strips of fettuccini to be served in the traditional Italian way as a dish by itself.¹¹⁹ Covello’s and Anderson’s interviews show how pasta remained a significant cultural connection for Italian immigrants who were seeking the comforts of their home country.

VII. Pasta in Twentieth-Century Italy

While the early twentieth century witnessed international pasta-production and consumption on the rise, pasta was receiving some pushback in its “homeland” of Italy. During the interwar years, as fascism was on the rise, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Luigi Colombo Fillia published their 1932 manifest on “futurist cuisine” (*cucina futuristica*) in which they demanded that pasta-eating be abolished in Italy as it did not fit with the fascist image of the ideal Italian.¹²⁰ Their anti-pasta sentiments were shared by Dr. Signorelli, a Neapolitan professor, who wrote that pasta-consumption resulted in “weakness, pessimism, nostalgic inactivity, and

¹¹³ Cited in Joan Nathan, *The New American Cooking: 280 Recipes Full of Delectable New Flavors from Around the World as Well as Fresh Ways with Old Favorites: A Cookbook* (New York: Knopf Doubleday, 2011), n.p. (chapter: “Pasta and Grains”).

¹¹⁴ Gillian Riley, *The Oxford Companion to Italian Food* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 367.

¹¹⁵ Simone Cinotto, “Leonard Covello, the Covello Papers, and the History of Eating Habits among Italian Immigrants in New York,” *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 2 (September 2004): 497-521, here 497.

¹¹⁶ Cinotto, “Leonard Covello,” 504.

¹¹⁷ Leonard Covello and Guido D’Agostino, *The Heart is the Teacher* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1958), 70.

¹¹⁸ Lynne C. Anderson, *Breaking Bread: Recipes and Stories from Immigrant Kitchens* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010; ProQuest Ebook Central), 51.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, *Breaking Bread*, 58, 59.

¹²⁰ Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Luigi Colombo Fillia, *Cucina futuristica* (Milano: Sonzogno, 1932). See Zanoni, *Migrant Marketplaces*, 166; Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 79-80.

neutralism,” which were not ideal for the citizens of fascist Italy.¹²¹ However, despite his efforts, Marinetti’s argument carried no significant weight among Italians, especially since he himself had been photographed earlier while eating spaghetti, a staple he supposedly opposed.¹²² Italians were simply not ready to give up their beloved pasta: the women of L’Aquila in central Italy wrote to ask that Marinetti lay off his anti-pasta position, and the mayor of Naples told reporters that “[t]he angels in paradise eat nothing but vermicelli with tomato sauce.”¹²³ Any efforts to convince Italians otherwise remained fruitless, as pasta had become embedded in Italian social and cultural life over the centuries. This pro-pasta sentiment even extended to 1930s Australia where the Savory brand, while not directly responding to Marinetti, advertised their macaroni as being able to “make a champion out of you too in the race of life.”¹²⁴

While Italy’s pasta manufacturers were dealing with some domestic pressures brought on by Marinetti’s anti-pasta crusade, they were also facing pressures from foreign developers,¹²⁵ for, by the twentieth century, pasta was produced abroad on such a scale that it began to impact the Italian market.¹²⁶ A new process for drying pasta, which greatly reduced the hanging time, had been introduced at the Paris Exposition of 1900,¹²⁷ allowing manufacturers to speed up production. In Australia, for example, the Excelsior company was making around five tons of pasta per week at the beginning of the twentieth century, and by 1936, Australia’s Savory Macaroni Company was producing over 50 different types of pasta.¹²⁸ As the pasta industry was changing due to these new techniques and manufacturers, Italy’s status as the ultimate global pasta-producer began to decline, yet the country nonetheless remained the world’s leading pasta-producer because of the high levels of pasta consumption in Italy itself.¹²⁹ Accordingly, after World War II, pasta officially became Italy’s national food.¹³⁰

¹²¹ Cited in Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 180.

¹²² David Gilmour, *The Pursuit of Italy: A History of a Land, Its Regions, and Their Peoples* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2011), 280. This spaghetti-eating incident was recorded in 1930 (Estorick Collection); see Romy Golan, “Ingestion/ Anti-Pasta,” *Cabinet Magazine* 10 (2003): 12-15, here 13.

¹²³ Danielle Callegari, “The Politics of Pasta: La cucina futurista and the Italian Cookbook in History,” *California Italian Studies* 4 no. 2 (2013): 1-14, here 13.

¹²⁴ Anne Reynolds, “A Short History of Italian Cafés and Restaurants in Sydney,” *Modern Greek Studies (Australia & New Zealand)* 10 (2002): 136-155, here 144.

¹²⁵ Parasecoli, *Al Dente*, 234.

¹²⁶ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 128.

¹²⁷ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 152.

¹²⁸ Reynolds, “Short History of Italian Cafés,” 143-144.

¹²⁹ Serventi and Sabban, *Pasta*, 160, 170.

¹³⁰ Riley, *Oxford Companion to Italian Food*, 372.

VIII. Pasta in the Twenty-First Century

The story of pasta continues in the twenty-first century. In Italy, selling pasta is gradually shifting from the traditional small shops to supermarkets.¹³¹ However, this has not (yet) impacted every type of pasta: a recent study on agnolotti pasta has found that this particular product, which requires considerable effort to make, continues to be sold at food counters even within supermarkets.¹³² The transition to purchasing pasta in supermarkets is also evident in Turkey where pasta—traditionally prepared seasonally in the fall to be stored for months—can now be bought in supermarkets year round.¹³³ Meanwhile, the global demand for Italian pasta is on the rise, for example in markets across Thailand.¹³⁴ In response to this, it is becoming more common for producers to try new pasta shapes or reintroduce past shapes to entice consumers.¹³⁵ Italy is still the leading pasta-producer, followed by the U.S. and Turkey; in 2015, these three countries and other manufacturers worldwide were able to produce around 14.3 million tons of pasta.¹³⁶

Pasta has also been a subject of debate concerning its health qualities, leading to studies and experiments to produce more nutrient-rich pasta, often by replacing its wheat semolina with other ingredients as studied by R. A. Thilini Nilusha and others.¹³⁷ Meanwhile, research conducted by Marilena Vitale and others regarding consumers with type-2 diabetes has found that pasta, if consumed within recommended limits, does not increase health risks for these individuals.¹³⁸ Regardless of these and other scientific studies, pasta has continued to be cooked and eaten in the twenty-first century as evidenced by the publication of cookbooks

¹³¹ Michele F. Fontefrancesco, "Traditional Festive Food and Fragile Aspirations of Development in Italy: The Case of Agnolotti Pasta" *Journal of Ethnic Foods* 7, no. 2 (2020): 1-8, here 5.

¹³² Fontefrancesco, "Traditional Festive Food," 5.

¹³³ Marie H el ene Sauner-Leroy, "'The Way to the Heart is Through the Stomach': Culinary Practices in Contemporary Turkey," in *Turkish Cuisine*, ed. Arif Bilgin and Ozge Samanci (Ankara: Ministry of Culture and Tourism - Republic of Turkey, 2008), 261-279, here 267, 277.

¹³⁴ Edel Lemus, "The Italian Food Sector Future Growth in Thai's Market," *Global Journal of Management and Business Research: E Marketing* 15, no. 1 (2015): 1-10, here 3.

¹³⁵ Fabio Parasecoli, *Food Culture in Italy* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 5.

¹³⁶ Ayse Nur Y uksel, Mehmet Durdu  ner, and Mustafa Bayram, "Rediscovery of Couscous in the World," *Global Journal of Medical Research: Nutrition and Food Science* 18, no. 1 (2018): 25-30, here 26.

¹³⁷ R. A. Thilini Nilusha, Jagath M. J. Kumara Jayasinghe, O. D. A. Niranjala Perera, and Prasanthi I. P. Perera, "Development of Pasta Products with Nonconventional Ingredients and Their Effect on Selected Quality Characteristics: A Brief Overview," *International Journal of Food Science* (2019): 1-10, here 2.

¹³⁸ Marilena Vitale et al., "Pasta Consumption and Connected Dietary Habits: Associations with Glucose Control, Adiposity Measures, and Cardiovascular Risk Factors in People with Type 2 Diabetes – TOSCA.IT Study," *Nutrients* 12, no. 101 (2020): 1-11, here 8.

like *Giuliano Hazan's Thirty Minute Pasta* in which the author provides tips on how to cook the perfect pasta.¹³⁹

Most recently, pasta has been impacted by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The start of the COVID-19 lockdown in March 2020 gave way to panic shopping with consumers obsessively buying up a variety of products, including pasta, thereby causing product shortages.¹⁴⁰ Pasta was frequently purchased due to its nutritional value, its especially long shelf life, and its comparatively low price.¹⁴¹ A study on the grocery shopping, cooking, and eating habits of New Zealanders during the COVID-19 lockdowns, conducted by Sarah Gerritsen and others, found that over 90% of its respondents had stocked up on foods, including pasta.¹⁴² This mass buying of dried pasta was a global phenomenon as additional studies have revealed: Martin O'Connell and others, researching mass buying in the United Kingdom, have found that the purchasing of pasta spiked during the March 2020 lockdown to 49% higher sales than usual;¹⁴³ similarly, Alessandro Scacchi and others, reporting on the changes of food purchases during COVID-19 in Italy, have demonstrated that the purchasing of pasta greatly increased during the pandemic-related panic shopping.¹⁴⁴ Overall, these studies reveal that, in situations of panic, pasta is an important food item that consumers will flock toward during difficult times.

Conclusion

As this article has shown, studying the history of food provides ample opportunity for interdisciplinary research, including excursions into the fields of biology, archaeology, linguistics, engineering, sociology, and many others. Considering its historical journey, from its beginnings as durum wheat to its possible paths into Italy and beyond, it is evident that pasta has been, and continues to be, a highly significant food. While it has been especially meaningful, both culturally and socially, to Italians, pasta has proven to be an important and beloved food worldwide. Yet, despite being a global food phenomenon, pasta continues to rank

¹³⁹ Giuliano Hazan, *Giuliano Hazan's Thirty Minute Pasta: 100 Quick and Easy Recipes*, (Newburyport: ABRAMS, 2012), 26.

¹⁴⁰ Martin O'Connell, Aureo De Paula, and Kate Smith, "Preparing for a Pandemic: Spending Dynamics and Panic During the COVID-19 First Wave," *Fiscal Studies: The Journal of Applied Public Economics* 42, no. 2 (2021): 249-264, here 249.

¹⁴¹ Laura Laguna et al., "The Impact of COVID-19 Lockdown on Food Priorities: Results from a Preliminary Study Using Social Media and an Online Survey with Spanish Consumers," *Food Quality and Preference* 86 (2020): 1-9, here 1, 6.

¹⁴² Sarah Gerritsen et al., "Seven Weeks of Home-Cooked Meals: Changes to New Zealanders' Grocery Shopping, Cooking and Eating During the COVID-19 Lockdown," *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 51, sup. 1 (2021): 4-22, here 14.

¹⁴³ O'Connell, De Paula, and Smith, "Preparing for a Pandemic," 257.

¹⁴⁴ Alessandro Scacchi et al., "COVID-19 Lockdown and Self-Perceived Changes of Food Choice, Waste, Impulse Buying and Their Determinants in Italy: QuarantEat, a Cross-Sectional Study," *Foods* 10, no. 306 (2021): 1-14, here 10.

as a food of paramount importance on the Italian peninsula, where it has had the greatest impact over its centuries (or perhaps even millennia) of production, where it continues to enjoy immense popularity in the present, and where it will, no doubt, continue to impact the future.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR: Amanda Morell of Buena Park, California, earned her B.A. in History at California State University, Fullerton (CSUF) (2021). Her article printed above originated in a senior research seminar on the History of Food offered by CSUF's History Department and was presented at CSUF's History Undergraduate Student Conference (2021).