

VOYAGE IN THE PASTA UNIVERSE

The Reasons for This Research

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Pasta may be the unchallenged symbol of Italian food, yet no in-depth research has ever been done on its many shapes. Recent cookery texts are stuck mainly on the nobler stuffed pastas, with little attention to their form, and recipes nowadays almost always call for factory-made pasta. One small exception is Luigi Sada and his 1982 *Spaghetti e compagni*,¹ where he talks about the shapes of homemade pasta in Puglia, his home region. A century earlier, the work of the Sicilian ethnologist Giuseppe Pitré² repeats the names given in Perez's 1870 *Vocabolario siciliano-italiano*.³ These, however, refer in particular to the so-called pastas *d'ingegno*, or what the Sicilians called *d'arbitrio*, that is, to the first pastas manufactured with the ancestors of modern industrial machinery. There were others, especially in the 1800s, who tried to impose some order on the world of pasta shapes, but they eventually threw in the towel. With no written sources—many of the operators were illiterate—and the difficulty of testing sources directly, they abandoned the project.

The scholars who have studied food over time have largely relied on early printed texts. I chose a different way. First, I sought oral sources for what remains alive in memory of the pasta-making tradition, and then corresponding evidence in printed texts. It has been a long and exhausting journey. I traveled to small towns and talked with samplings of very old people, trying to jog their memories about the pasta-making traditions and rituals of the past. Even though much has changed, a great deal remains. Also, many people today are trying to reclaim this past and fix it in the collective memory. Important in this regard is the work of associations and other organizations laboring on the spot, many established ad hoc, such as the Accademia del Pizzocchero di Teglio, dedicated to preserving the *pizzocchero* of the Valtellina. I was aided by housewives' family recipe collections, too, but only where I was able to verify their statements on the ground.

My interviews with these older people also made me more aware of how rapidly the agrarian landscape had been transformed and how the grain varieties

once essential to the making of pasta and other foods had disappeared with the entry onto the market of superior varieties from other countries. Their stories vividly confirmed what had emerged from the succession of national inquests into the country's economic situation between the 1800s and the 1950s: until just after World War II, the country had eaten "green," that is, only vegetable soup, with pasta as a rule reserved for the tables of the middle and upper classes in towns and cities and only occasionally for the feast-day tables of the poor.

Greater prosperity and better living conditions in some areas can be inferred from the ingredients used in the local pasta. For example, in Tuscany, *frascarelli* contained eggs; in Piedmont, the old farm wealth was visible in the typical egg-rich *tajarin*, sometimes even made only with yolks. In Bologna, where *pasta all'uovo* was well rooted, factory production in the early 1900s was already linking the name of the city to particular pasta shapes.⁴

The widespread prosperity of today has brought a reversal of the old order: the pasta that we eat almost daily is usually factory made, and modern and advanced techniques for preservation have made possible the broad distribution of vacuum-packed fresh pastas, whose consumption is growing rapidly. In the course of my research, I identified more than thirteen hundred pasta names, counting both factory made and homemade, which represent almost as many different shapes or sizes, though some variations are, of course, small.

A Terminological Tower of Babel

A current Italian-language dictionary defines the word *maccherone* as "*pasta alimentare*⁵ of diverse formats depending on regions of provenance." But the definition takes little account of the myriad shapes that constellate the Italian pasta universe.

A true *pastario*—a catalog of pastas—that is, one that includes homemade pastas and that covers all of Italy, has never been attempted. Exceptions are certain publications⁶ and the catalogs of various industrial producers, which refer specifically only to the cold and numerous shapes extruded through dies, but which also include numerous reminiscences of homemade formats of yesteryear. The classic printed texts, from the 1400s on, include clusters of pasta terminology here and there. For certain pastas, we know the name but not the shape. Some books shed light on the presence of pastas in a well-delimited territory. Skimming the index of the precious sixteenth-century book by Giovan Battista Rossetti,⁷ *scalco* of Lucrezia d'Este, duchess of Urbino, we find *macaroni all'urbinata*, which the author sometimes cooks in milk, distinguished from the *macaroni ferraresi* (of Ferrara), which are made of bread. He mentions *gnocchetti di Genova*, which he distinguishes from French ones, and he notes vermicelli made with hard-boiled egg

yolks; *maccaroni d'anguilla* (of eel), called *sblisegotti*; *canellini bergamaschi*; *maccaroni* of bread; and others of stale bread crumbs. Whatever the format of these pastas, the *scalco* knew exactly where they came from. *Tortelli* appear both large and small, down to *tortelletti piccolissimi*. There are *tortelli di zucca*, fried ones filled with eel, those with marzipan, and—a very precious piece of information—the *tortelli* of Lombardy, attesting the early diffusion of stuffed pasta in that region.

Even recent studies exclude that myriad of small sculptures made with water, flour, and a pinch of salt by the expert hands of the housewives of other times. The popular imagination has gradually christened them with endearing names, such as *farfalline* (little butterflies), *nastrini* (little ribbons), *margherite* (daisies), or, with an eye to the barnyard, *creste di gallo* (coxcorns), *galletti* (small roosters), *corni di bue* (ox horns), and *denti di cavallo* (horse's teeth). Then come *occhi* (eyes) *di lupo* (wolf), *di pernice* (partridge), *di passero* (sparrow), and on down, smaller and smaller, until we get to *occhi di pulce* (flea) and *punte d'ago* (needle points). The weather contributed, too, with *tempestine* (little storms) and *grandinine* (little hailstones), and the lame in the village became pastas called *gobbini* and *stortini*. From the forest came *folletti* (elves) and *diavoletti* (imps), and on humid summer evenings, *luciole* (fireflies) and *lumachelle* (snails). Saints and demons populate the Italian pasta universe, too, linked to sagas, legends, beliefs, and superstitions.

Some epic names commemorate Italy's wars in Africa. Libya inspired *tripolini* (from Tripoli), which entered the market in 1911, and *bengasini* (from Benghazi). Abyssinia gave its name to *abissine*, and *assabesi* honor the purchase of the Bay of Assab by the Genoese Rubattino Shipping Company in 1869. These names do not always denote the pasta format itself. Sometimes they refer to the shape of African headdresses, or to the rings (*anelli*) the women of Benghazi wore in their ears, though more often the terms are assigned without precise reference. There is a vast category of pastas named for the House of Savoy as well, on the Italian throne from the Unification until the end of World War II, and thus we still have today *mafaldine* (named for Princess Mafalda), *regine* (queens), and *reginelle* (its diminutive), all of them factory-made *tagliatelle* with a ruffled edge, like the popular image of a queen's crown.

The advent of industry introduced names that reflected the then-emerging science of machinery, and thus we have *ruote* (wheels), and the smaller *rotelle*, *rotelline*, *eliche* (propellers), and even *dischi volanti* (flying saucers)—all words of a recent past.

Ravioli and Tortelli

The terms *raviolo* and *tortello*, along with such related terminology as *anolino*, *agnolino*, *cappelletto*, *tortellaccio*, and the like, have caused great confusion over time.

Today, the differences are especially, but not only, geographical: the *cappelletto* is from Romagna, the *anolino* from Parma, the *agnolino* from Mantova, the *tortellino* from Bologna, the *agnolotto* from Piedmont, and so on. Rather than enter into the merits of linguistic problems that do not concern my work, I will instead simply set forth, in chronological order, the texts consulted.

In the earliest sources, the *raviolo* is a pasta wrapping filled with meat or other foods, folded into a triangle. Giambonino da Cremona,⁸ writing in the late thirteenth century, collects some eighty Arab recipes of both gastronomic and nutritional interest taken from a monumental Arabic treatise on gastronomy by Ibn Butlan, a physician who lived in Baghdad and died in 1100. Here we have the first description of a type of *ravioli* called *sambusaj*, a triangular pasta container filled with ground meat. Therefore, at its landing with the Muslims in Sicily, the *raviolo* was probably wrapped in pasta. This is supported by the now-famous remark of Salimbene da Parma, who, in his thirteenth-century chronicle, refers to a *raviolus sine crusta de pasta*,⁹ that is, just the filling with no wrapping, and the word *raviolo* evidently, like Salimbene, came from the northern vernacular. But if such a dish was served to the good Salimbene, it means that a bite-sized food, made with diverse ingredients from bread to cheese and variously spiced and sauced, must have been circulating at the same time.¹⁰ In fact, the works over the next centuries mention the *raviolo* as we know it today in its double guise, wrapped and unwrapped (*ravioli gnudi*). Thus, it seems the *raviolo* arrived with its pasta mantle, but then lost it and became confused with the *gnocco*.

In 1612, with the first dictionary published by the Accademia della Crusca, we finally have a first precious definition: under *raviolo* we read, “delicate food in small pieces, made of cheese, eggs, herbs, and spices”; and under *tortello*, “a kind of *raviolo* with pasta wrapping.” The subsequent editions of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*¹¹ repeat these definitions, and the same holds for the various eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Italian dictionaries.

For the very few able to read and write, then, the *tortello* was a *raviolo* covered with pasta, a distinction still made in Tuscany. Attestations to this effect follow in the *Libretto di cucina* of Gio Batta Magi, who lived in Arezzo between 1842 and 1885;¹² Fanfani’s *Vocabolario dell’uso toscano*;¹³ the anonymous *Cuoco sapiente*, published in Florence in 1881; and finally in Pellegrino Artusi, who worked in Florence and published the first of countless editions of his own invaluable book, *La scienza in cucina o l’Arte del mangiar bene*, in 1891.

Meanwhile, additional terms emerged from other locations to reopen the confusion. In 1934, in the Marche, Vincenzo Agnoletti defines *raviolo alla romana* as a modern *raviolo di ricotta e spinaci* wrapped in pasta and shaped like a half-moon, and he introduces an *agnolotto piemontese*, which for him is a *gnocco* cooked in broth. He alludes to *tortellini* and *cappelletti* as small *ravioli* wrapped in pasta, vari-

ously filled.¹⁴ Moving southward, Ippolito Cavalcanti, duke of Buonvicino,¹⁵ in his amusing 1846 work in Neapolitan dialect, explains the *raviolo* as wrapped in pasta, stuffed with meat and ricotta, and as big as a Neapolitan *tari* or a Tuscan *paolo*, both coins. Caterina Prato, whose *Manuale di cucina* was published in Trieste in 1906, describes the *raviolo* as wrapped in pasta and illustrates a half-moon *raviolo* alongside a wheel-type pasta cutter.¹⁶ The Roman authors Adolfo Giaquinto¹⁷ and his famous niece, Ada Boni,¹⁸ never speak of *tortelli*, but their works always contain the typical Roman *ravioli*, filled with ricotta and wrapped in pasta. *Il vero re dei cucinieri*, in the Milanese edition of 1933, distinguishes the *raviolo alla milanese* (a *gnocco* of boiled meat) from the *agnolotto alla toscana*, whose filling is wrapped in pasta, and from the classic *tortellino alla bolognese*.¹⁹ *Agnolotti* and *tortellini* are both cooked in broth. Finally, the very popular recipes of Petronilla²⁰ evoke Christmas *ravioli*: “. . . remember the superlative *minestra*, the one that is the Christmas classic, the one that requires an ultra-delicious filling; the one that is called *ravioli*, or *tortellini*, or *agnolotti*, or *cappelletti*.” We have thus arrived at the modern term, which does not distinguish between *tortello* and *raviolo*, and this is confirmed by the numerous Italian-language dictionaries published since just after World War II.

If next we have a look at the great cookbooks published since the 1960s, we see now that Luigi Carnacina considers *tortelli* and *ravioli* synonyms:²¹ he uses *tortelli* for the squash-filled ones found in Lombardy and *ravioli* for the ricotta-filled ones of Genoa, but they are essentially the same thing, a filling wrapped in pasta. The seventh edition of the famous *Il cucchiaino d'argento*²² moves along the same line. We can conclude the topic by consulting Battaglia's dictionary:²³ in this monumental work, we find confirmation of the modern version of the *raviolo* wrapped in pasta, but also the specification that it can be found without pasta in the old terminology.

The modern regional stuffed pastas are more likely to vary the fillings than the ingredients of the dough, though olive oil may be added in the south. The sizes and shapes are usually specified, and the most important ones have their own entries in this book.

Homemade Pasta

By what mysterious channels the various homemade formats spread throughout Italy is difficult to say, though one thing is certain: conquest played a role. For example, the presence of *orecchiette* can be traced to the domination of Puglia by the Angevin lords of Provence in the thirteenth century. They resemble the *crosets* of Provence, which are still made in Piedmont with the same name. Migrations have also been an influence, such as the successive waves of Albanians

who settled in various parts of the peninsula starting in the 1400s. They brought the extra-long *spaghetti* called *shtridhëlat*, which, with little variation, became the *maccheroni a fezze* of northern Lazio and the *maccheroni alla molenara* typical of Abruzzo, the latter probably introduced by the Albanian communities of nearby Molise. The same pasta is known as *manare* in the areas of Basilicata where a number of Albanian communities reside. Fairs and markets, some of which lasted for months at a time—the fair held from March to October at the Abbey of Farfa in Sabina, in northern Lazio, is a good example—likely contributed in no small measure to the diffusion of recipes and foods. Workers who migrated for seasonal labor or transhumance also carried knowledge of new foods back and forth. Finally, equal importance must be ascribed to specialist artisans²⁴ who frequently took their work here and there in the service of this or that *signore*.

On the other hand, some types of pasta took the opposite path: they were typical of a particular territory, yet were unknown only a few miles away. Often this was because the two territories once belonged to different estates, though sometimes the reason lay in chauvinistic hostilities between two nearby towns. Or, the two towns, close by as the crow flies, were separated for centuries by lack of roads, many of which date in Italy only to the 1960s.²⁵

The advent of the modern pasta industry, facilitated by large-scale retail chains, has fostered maximum diffusion of shapes that were once limited to their place of origin.

From Homemade Pasta to the *Maccheronaio*

Homemade pasta moved early from family kitchens into the workshops of the mills. There the town women, used to preparing pasta in their own kitchen, continued in the workplace to make creative shapes, at first always by hand. With the arrival of the early machines, the small formats—*gnocchetti*, *strascinati*, and *farfalline*, to name a few—remained the province of the women.²⁶

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the hills that frame the Bay of Naples were punctuated by myriad so-called *cirmoli*, the old mills powered by the precious waters of the river Sarno, or by donkeys, horses, or even men. Much later, with the development of hydraulic mills, these small, family-run industries were not replaced by the nascent industry, but have continued operation up to our own day.²⁷

The mills scattered through the Campanian hinterland, and especially those of Torre Annunziata and Gragnano, on the Bay of Naples, were already working with such special grains as the precious *saragolle* of the Capitanata area. Making pasta was highly specialized labor, slow, difficult, and exhausting: the dough was made in the *martora*, a sort of large *madia*, in which the worker kneaded it with

his feet, exactly like crushing grapes, while gripping a hanging cord. It could take two to three hours to stomp a batch of *semola* with cold water. The dough was then transferred onto the rolling pin, in those days called a *schianaturo* (or sometimes *laganaturo*), with which the women made the various shapes of *fusilli*, *tufoli*, *vermicelli*, and the like by hand. Every day, these pastas were duly dried, packed into large baskets, and carried by mule down remote mountain paths to Naples, the populous capital of the kingdom, as in a religious procession.²⁸

The breakthrough in working methods came in the sixteenth century, with the appearance of the first *ingegni*. They made the work faster and easier, and at the same time increased production to meet an ever-more-pressing demand.

These were simple machines that multiplied rapidly thanks to skilled woodworkers: the historical archive of the Banco di Napoli contains a receipt for payment for an *'ngegno da maccaruni*, dated 1596. Also in Naples, in 1579, the *Capitolazioni dell'Arte*, the registry of guilds, distinguished between *maccaruni* (which were *bucati*, pierced) and *vermicelli*, and the *vermicellari*, now members of a prestigious political structure, launched their *Statuto dell'Arte de Vermicellari* on October 16, 1699, establishing a chapel in the church of the Carmine Maggiore (one of the largest churches in Naples).²⁹ This was the moment when the price of pasta dropped significantly, making pasta available even to the poorest citizens. It is more or less beginning in this period that the Grand Tour travelers to Naples watched with amusement the daily meal of the so-called *lazzari*,³⁰ at the street corners, who, with a deft movement of the fingers, slid *maccheroni* dressed with cheese into their mouths. The *maccheronaio* was often willing to extend credit to those too poor to pay cash. But this ready supply of pasta was an urban, a Neapolitan, phenomenon. Throughout the region, the rural poor ate mostly "green."

The miraculous *'ngegno da maccaruni* consisted of a wooden cylinder made from a single piece of oak, lined with copper on the inside and held fast by bolts. It had a sort of screw piston that pushed the hard dough through the die, from which emerged the first *maccheroni*, the hole perfectly centered. Now dough could be made with hot water, which gave better results. But the dough had to be kneaded quickly, as it fermented easily: the difficulty for the operator did not decrease, it merely shifted. With time, the work was facilitated by the first shafted mixers for kneading, and other improvements were to follow.

The Difficult Process of Drying

A batch of pasta began its long march when the workman called *'o spannatore* grabbed it with a rapid movement as it emerged from the machine and hung it on long sticks. From there it was taken immediately into the sun or warm open air,

with due attention to drafts. Thus began the difficult process of drying. Fresh pastas are hygroscopic and sensitive to weather, which is why the early pasta makers of the coast were almost always magicians. They scrutinized the sky, questioned the stars, and examined the phases of the moon and the winds to establish how to set the pasta to dry because the pasta, they say, “has to dry with its own air”: humid air at the beginning and then dry air in the days that follow. There is a saying, “Make the *maccheroni* with the *scirocco*, dry them with the *tramontana*,” referring to the warm, moist wind from the south and the cold, dry wind from over the Alps. The old chief *pastaio* (pasta maker) knew that the winds usually changed at noon and midnight along the coast, and that his drying racks would need attention at those hours. Toward April and October, if the *scirocco* blew, it turned into a *tramontana* at around one or two in the morning, and it was necessary to hurry and move the pasta to the large drying areas. The back streets echoed with the voice of *u chiammatore* (the caller), who awakened the workers for their shift.

The old streets of Torre Annunziata and Gragnano became immense open-air drying racks,³¹ under the vigilant nose of the *pastaio*, who kept track of the changing winds. This is where what is technically called *incartamento* took place. It is the first drying, and the faster the better. Then the precious product was brought to *rinvenire*, that is, to rest in cool, damp rooms, preferably underground, with absolutely no drafts. The *pastaio* had no thermometer, but knew how to gauge when the temperature was just right, that is, about 59°F (15°C), cooler than for the *incartamento*.³²

Next, the long sticks were taken to special two-story buildings called *stendittoi*, where they were carefully hung in two or more tiers and positioned so the tips of the pasta hanging from the sticks just touched the pasta on the tier just beneath it. The tips of the pasta of the lowest tier had to be at least 4 inches (10 cm) from the ground. The sticks were positioned next to one another, and the closer they were, the better the drying.³³ Here the pasta rested for a day, allowing the internal moisture to come slowly to the surface, making the pasta seem fresh again. The last operation was the transfer of the pasta to its final drying place, another two-story structure, as for the *rinvenimento*. Here the sticks were arranged again in several tiers, but this time the important distance was from the ceiling: the top-most row of hanging pasta had to be about a meter (a yard) from it. Again the sticks were set so that the tips of the pasta above just touched the tops of that beneath, which helped keep them from drying out too fast. The head *pastaio* checked the doors and windows to provide the slow final drying with the needed air, a little at a time. In summer, the whole operation took eight days, but in winter, it took nearly three weeks, or more in damp weather. Breaking a piece of *maccherone* near his ear, the pasta magus could hear whether it had dried perfectly and could survive the long sea voyage under the Pulcinella trademark that took the pasta of Naples around the world.

The march of industrialization has been long and tortuous throughout Italy, which at the beginning of the twentieth century still lacked electricity and channels of communication. For example, in 1913, the electric mill built by the Swiss at Monteroduni, in Molise, produced pasta day and night and provided electricity to light the town.³⁴

From the *Ingegno* to the Modern Machines

Meanwhile, further improvements led to faster and more numerous machines and greatly improved the quality of production. The *pastai*o was still needed, however, to dose out the water, the quantity of which was his secret: he made the dough harder for the largest sizes; softer for *fettuccine*, *vermicellini*, and *capellini*; and softer still for *spaghetti* and *bucatini*. If the pasta came out defective, the *pastai*o would eliminate it as *munnezzaglia* (trash). The shapes multiplied with the invention of new dies, now made not only with bronze but also with nickel and other noncorrosive materials. Local scholars have estimated the number of formats grew from about one hundred fifty to eight hundred or more.³⁵ This was also when new folding and cutting machines produced special formats—long pastas diversify in length, width, and thickness—which were more in demand in the south. The *Esposizione nazionale illustrata di Palermo 1891–92*,³⁶ in summing up the advanced Sicilian pasta industry as represented at the exposition, pointed out that the new technologies allowed Sicilian producers to offer a catalog of more than one hundred pasta formats.

In the north, thinner, nested pastas or tiny *pastine* were preferred. A particular type of pasta with ruffled edge and variously folded, such as *farfalle*, was catalogued as *pasta tipo Bologna*.³⁷ Many of these formats disappeared long ago, but pasta makers today still vie to invent imaginative types, and some innovative formats are even suggested by important designers. The national archive in Rome contains documents detailing the patents granted by the Kingdom of Sardinia, and later of Italy, beginning in 1855, including a notable quantity on projects on various aspects of food, in particular increasingly sophisticated machines for the production of pastas. This was the dawn of the modern pasta industry, with pastas nowadays dried in about five hours at 176°F (80°C), 212°F (100°C), and higher.³⁸

Pastasciutta, Our Daily Dish

The spread of pasta on Italian tables, as we understand the term today, is relatively modern. Until the years just before and just after World War II, four-fifths

of the population of Italy living in the countryside had a diet generically based on plants. Pasta was reserved for feast days, often served in a legume soup. With the economic boom that began in the early 1960s, pasta began to be made daily in rural homes, and these are the formats codified by tradition. At the same time, the emerging urban bourgeoisie were eating pasta every day. On Sunday, they served special pastas, perhaps stuffed, with even more special condiments.

In the gastronomic-cultural enclaves of the south, on the other hand, housewives were making *strascinati*: rolled with one finger, with two, with four, even with eight, to make different sizes. Every little town, almost every family, called these pastas something different, and they served them on feast days enveloped in flavorful sauces of pork, lamb, or vegetables, all linked by the obligatory tomato and parmigiano.

Consumerism and prosperity, evident in the proliferation of packaged prepared foods, are obfuscating the ancient roots of our gastronomic culture. With this book, well aware of the inevitable limits of my research, I have aimed to open the way to more profound research on the difficult subject of the world of pasta. In other words, this is a first, hesitant attempt to catalog an inalienable heritage that belongs to all Italians. Perhaps there are some courageous and willing souls to carry it on.

Notes

1. L. Sada, *Spaghetti e compagni* (Bari, 1982).
2. G. Pitré, *Usi, costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano* (Palermo: Pedone-Lauriel, 1889).
3. G. Perez, *Vocabolario siciliano-italiano* (Palermo, 1870).
4. R. Rovetta, *Industria del pastificio o dei maccheroni* (Milano: Hoepli, 1951), 270.
5. The full name of pasta. The Italian word *pasta* covers a great deal of ground, including almost anything for which the English word *paste* is used.
6. See E. Medagliani and F. Gosetti, *Pastario ovvero atlante delle paste alimenari italiane* (Milano: Bibliotheca culinaria, 1997); also S. Cirillo, *Belle, tipiche e famose, 240 formatti di pasta italiana* (Perugia: Alia&no editrice, 2002).
7. G. Battista Rossetti, *Dello scalco* (Ferrara, 1584).
8. Ms. Lat. 9328, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, brought to light by Anna Martellotti, *Il Liber de ferculis di Giambonino da Cremona. La gastronomia araba in Occidente nella trattatistica dietetica* (Fasano: Schiena, 2001).
9. Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica* (Bari: Laterza, 1966), 2:797.
10. See the entries on *gnocco* and *raviolo*.
11. Nevertheless, these dictionaries are fundamentally literary and are not absolutely reliable in matters of arts and trades.

12. *Libretto di cucina di Gio Batta Magi, Aretino, 1842–1885*, ed. P. Zoi (Arezzo, 1989).
13. Pietro Fanfani, *Vocabolario dell'uso toscano* (Firenze: Barbera, 1863).
14. V. Agnoletti, *Manuale del cuoco e del pasticciare* (Pesaro: Nobili, 1834).
15. “La vera cucina casereccia del cavalier Ippolito Cavalcanti duca di Buonvicino,” in *Cucina teorico-pratica divisa in quattro sezioni* (Milano, 1904).
16. C. Prato, *Manuale di cucina* (Verona and Padova: Fratelli Drucker, 1906).
17. A. Giaquinto, *La cucina di famiglia* (Roma, 1922).
18. A. Boni, *La cucina romana* (Roma, 1924). There is not a trace of *tortelli* or *ravioli* in this edition, while the last Roman edition, 1992, contains the typical Roman *ravioli* with *ricotta*, but does not mention *tortelli*.
19. G. Belloni, *Il vero re dei cuccinieri* (Milano: Madella, 1933).
20. A. Moretti Foggia Della Rovere, *Altre ricette di Petronilla* (Milano: Sonzogno, 1937), 76.
21. L. Carnacina, *Il Carnacina* (Garzanti, 1961).
22. A. Monti Tedeschi, *Il cucchiaino d'argento* (Milano: Domus, 1950–86).
23. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Trento: UTET, 1990, reprint of 1961 edition), vol.15, s.v.
24. See G. Filangieri, *Indice degli artefici delle arti maggiori e minori, la più parte ignoti o poco noti si napoletani e siciliani, sì delle altre Regioni d'Italia o stranieri . . .* (Napoli, 1891).
25. The single town of Guidonia Montecelio, in the province of Rome, was once divided in two different municipalities about half a mile (800 meters) apart. In Guidonia, *pingiarelle* are not yet found, while they are typical of Montecelio.
26. This stage of development between home pasta making and industrial manufacturing was short-lived, especially for the middle classes, whose kitchens commonly included a small *torchio*, which permitted different pasta formats to be made. These small devices for home use are documented in all the regions and survive even into the 1950s, with the *bigolaro* in Veneto.
27. In 1789, the municipality of Torre Annunziata authorized a private citizen, Don Salvatore Montello, to make and sell *maccaroni* “of good quality and a single kind”; two years later, in 1791, this concession was also granted to Pasquale Sabatino, and then in 1792 to Vincenzo Coda, in 1795 to Gaetano de' Liguoro, and in 1796 to Francesco Izzo. The French occupation at the end of the eighteenth century completely upset the longstanding pasta factories so severely that much of the equipment was used as firewood for a particularly bitter winter. Between 1900 and 1920, associations of mills and pasta makers formed, but the serious crisis came in 1935 (*Quaderni culturali – Biblioteca comunale di Gragnano – Gragnano dei macaroni*, 1983).
28. Complete set of equipment for a pasta workshop in the 1600s is listed in G. Pratesi, *L'industria della pasta alimentare* (Molini d'Italia, 1957). See also A. Abenante, *Maccaronari* (Napoli: Novus Campus, 2002).
29. Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Cappellano maggiore—statuti di Corporazioni, Congregazioni ed altri enti civili ed ecclesiastici (1483–1808), fascio 1201/3
30. In southern Italy, especially Naples, the word means a rag-clad beggar, after the Lazarus of the Gospel of Saint Luke (16:19–31). The Spanish in Naples used the term

disparagingly to indicate the common people of the Mercato quarter who had participated in the revolt of Masaniello in 1647.

31. A fine collection of photographs of pasta production is kept in the town archive of Gragnano (Naples Province).
32. For the complex production of the first industrial pastas, see also Rovetta, *Industria*, and L. Lirici, *Manuale del capo pastaio* (1983).
33. A. Giordano, *L'arte bianca di Torre Annunziata* (n.d.).
34. For the situation of the pasta factories in Molise in the first years of the twentieth century, see G. Masciotta, *Il Molise dalle origini ai nostri giorni* (Napoli, 1915).
35. This thesis is supported by, among others, Abenante, *Maccaronari*.
36. Unbound pages, private collection, Rome.
37. Rovetta, *Industria*, 270.
38. But drying the pasta at low temperature still remains the best course. Even if this road is not likely to be followed by the large industrial pasta makers, there are still small niche producers, such as Martelli, in Lari (Pisa), who produce very few types and dry them at 91.4° to 95°F (33° to 35°C).