

Europe on the Road

▶ Confessional Migration*

▼ Economic Migration*

Erzieherinnen

Emigration Across the Atlantic

Emigration: Europe and Asia

Italian Cuisine

▶ "Heimkehr"?

"Volksdeutsche fremder Staatsangehörigkeit"

Internal Migration

Migration from the Colonies

▶ Educational Journey, Grand Tour

▶ Forced Ethnic Migration

▶ Jewish Migration

Journeys and Technology Transfer*

Pilgrimage*

From Migrant Food to Lifestyle Cooking: The Career of Italian Cuisine in Europe

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In recent decades, Italian cuisine has had a greater impact upon eating habits than any other national cuisine. Spaghetti and espresso are ubiquitous in Europe and North America. This article examines the reception of Italian cuisine in Europe, identifying and separating the factors that contributed to it. These included the impact of gastronomic literature, the movements of tourists and migrants, the role of the Italian state, which has generally been ignored – of the Italian state in promoting its economy, and the impact of epidemiology.

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Introduction

▶ Political Migration (Exile)*

Transport and Travel*

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For a long time, there has been a consensus in anthropology and other disciplines that eating and drinking are central elements of human identity. For example, Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) describes how closely nature and culture are intertwined.¹ Culinary systems, their differentiation, ordering and classification of the *lebenswelt* and the place of the individual in the world. From it are derived the rules of a particular culture used for the production, preparation and consumption of food. Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009), therefore, describes the cuisine of a society as a help to translate and depict social structures.² Therefore, in anthropology, such as Lévi-Strauss and Mary Douglas (1921–2007), revealing these structures and describing the set of rules that deter-

However, what does it mean when the currently most famous Italian chef (1925–2015), avowedly orientates towards above all the Mediterranean to spread this with missionary zeal,⁴ when a booklet with the best recipes and teahouses contains instructions for "tagliatelle with sun-dried tomatoes and wine",⁵ and when an American cookbook for European readers treats "cheese" as a classic American dish?⁶ This phenomenon of Italian cuisine is evident in Germany, Switzerland, Belgium and the Netherlands, is a source of considerable interest in food research, particularly in the examination of the nation state, migration and globalisation.⁷ In different national cuisines have repeatedly emphasised the stereotypes for both the construction of one's own and the perception of the other's cuisine.⁸ Besides this, a new interest in Mediterranean and, in particular, Italian cuisine emerged motivated by health concerns and the view of Italian cuisine as a diet rich in fish, fruit and vegetables that is low in meat and animal products. It is not a change in "taste" or a product of globalisation but rather a phenomenon consisting of a whole bundle of factors that are intertwined with one another. The following attempts to trace the outlines of the career of Italian cuisine in the West and the reasons for its great success. It will try to show that, even over long periods and in different differences, the pattern of reception retained considerable similarities.

Certainly, there is strong evidence that eating habits in Europe have become more similar.⁹ In practice, Italian restaurants exist everywhere.¹⁰ However, they are generally average; they do not say anything on how the food is prepared. In addition, they hide differences and thus also tend to maintain their eating habits longer than other elements of their lifestyles. In time, Italian restaurants have not only been run by Italians but also by people of Italian descent, although one would expect that the *padrone* of a high-class Italian restaurant would be of Italian descent.

In recent years, it has become accepted that globalisation is not only a process but rather means the migration of cultural goods in several directions, driven by omnipotent economic powers.¹¹ The determining factors for global developments are adopted and implemented locally and/or regionally by producers and consumers.¹² This dialectic of globalisation and localisation is visible in Italian cuisine. It is accompanied by the appreciation of regional cuisines which had already begun in the 1930s with the attempts to promote them, pushed by organisations such as *Slow Food* and *Arche*.¹³ Concrete measures have always been involved. At the same time, one can see that local tastes

important differences in preparation, precisely when certain dishes connotations are adopted elsewhere. This can be seen in the examples produced in countless national and regional variations.¹⁴ For example, herbed oil is always sprinkled over the pizza when it is taken out. Takeaways in Germany offer pizza with asparagus and sauce. In other countries and Great Britain, pizza is seen as a fast food, while German past – pizzerias which are visited by families as simple, uncomplicated restaurants.

Indeed, the career of Italian cuisine can only be understood as a process where the eaters are not passive but rather actively reconfigure their diet. They perceived Italian cuisine as a whole, what they judged to be its essential elements and dishes they adopted in their repertoire and how they adapted it between countries. This leads to the demand to see the career of Italian cuisine in the context of the circulation of people, information and goods that fundamentally shaped the styles of various European countries.

However, it is an inadmissible simplification to speak of *an* Italian cuisine, strongly politically and culturally divided well into the 19th century. Before that, cooking still dominated the European royal courts into the 16th century, an international cuisine, strongly influenced by France. Despite this, there were considerable regional differences resulting from different agricultural and industrial structures. Therefore, talk of *a* national cuisine would be misleading. The mention that nation states only appeared late and their borders do not always correspond to cultural boundaries. Thus, the food in regions like southern Italy is similar due to relative closeness in climate and agricultural methods and structures, which mean that the same products are available. How to differentiate so-called national cuisines is also problematic. Are there specific foodstuffs, spices or methods of preparation/dishes? The Italian *pissaladière* in France, here in the variation of the *pissaladière*. In Turkey, one eats *lahmacun*, in Elsass *Flammkuchen* and in Germany *Zwiebelkuchen*.¹⁷ In Germany, and dishes similar to risotto exist in Spain (*paella*). *Pissaladière* to season *bouillabaisse* in Marseille, hardly differs from Genovese *tapas* are very similar to Italian appetisers. The differences are subtle. In the wake of the professionalization and increasing international trade, a flood of gastronomic literature that began in the 19th century.¹⁸ With the 18th century, the professional gastronomy in France has been defined by classic dishes, whereas the Italians resisted the unifying influence. Equivalent to the middle-class, nationalist cookbooks that had been developed since the middle of the 19th century only appeared in Italy in 1891 with *l'arte di mangiar bene* by Pellegrino Artusi (1820–1911).²⁰ If the focus is on the cuisine and its influence, then this is fully conscious of the fact that it is an inadmissible simplification which requires further refinement through the analysis of products or dishes and extension with a critical reconstruction of the ways in which Europeans had of Italian food. Within the analysis, it is necessary to identify the agents and intermediaries of these processes of cultural transfer. How did the Italian eating habits and customs arrived in other countries? Was it through the intellectual luggage of those travelling through Italy or migration, or through literature or the concrete offers of trade.

The Importance of the Grand Tour and Tou

Movements of migration and travel are in general an important foodstuffs and the establishment of relationships of exchange continents; this is the case for potatoes, coffee and sugar, which wake of colonisation.²¹ This is particularly clear from the example of America as a melting point; here the diversity of the cuisine is diversity. It is therefore of particular importance that since the 18th century the destination of those seeking edification and that the grand tour was the conclusion of the education of every young man.²² In the 18th century travelogues were written and published. In accordance with the grand tour, travellers concentrated on art and culture, but increasingly turned their attention to the economy and daily life. The picture they drew of Italy was of political corruption, poverty, lawlessness and lethargy. The popular culture with its emphasis on sociability should as a moral force help overcome the predominant conditions of the country. The beauties of the country also included the abundance of natural resources which – along with its pleasant climate – made Italy appear to be a paradise. According to the *Italienische Reise* (1786–1788) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, the paradisiacal surroundings shaped the disposition and cheerfulness of Italians, who worked to live. He saw the resulting consequences for Italy's technical, scientific and economic backwardness,²³ which was the primary reason for the simple, unsophisticated and authentic cuisine. 18th century travel literature sought this authentic cuisine, and travellers compared it to the increasingly common international hotel cuisine. Clearly, knowledge of foreign eating habits was expected as part of the education of travellers, albeit not always the adoption of them.²⁴

For travellers in search of an authentic experience of travel, a growing demand for practical information on planning and undertaking a journey led to the 19th century. Merchants, pilgrims and gentlemen had always used travel guides. However, the appearance of the *Handbook for Travellers on the Continent* by the Briton John Murray (1808–1892) marked the creation of a modern travel guidebook which contained maps and information on hotels, transport, and customs.²⁵ This model was repeatedly copied, in Germany by Karl Baedeker (1801–1859), whose guides so dominated the market that his name became an entire literary genre. Already the first *Baedeker* on Italy from 1829 introduced an introduction to Italian catering and its division into osterias, trattorias, and bars, as well as a rough description of Italian food and in particular recommended restaurants and particular regional specialities.²⁶ The *Baedeker* took up ever more space,²⁷ until at the turn of the 20th century a new model emerged that concentrated almost exclusively on eating and drinking.²⁸ This was the guide by Hans Barth (1862–1928) *Osteria: Ein Führer durch Italien bis Capri* (1908), which also sought to meet the educational approach of the *Baedeker* with the many quotations littered through it.²⁸ The increase in catering led to a further spurt of development. However, the new guidebooks for Italy, such as the *Guida gastronomica d'Italia*, were not a genuinely Italian invention. The model as already published in 1914 by the French *Touring Club*.²⁹ The *Touring Club* presented Italian cuisine as uniform, but rather emphasised regional differences as traditional and the very reason for the charm of travel. In the

large, internationally known and to date most important gastronomic guide, the *Guide Michelin*, which from 1923 contained not only driving routes but also lists of restaurants; in Germany, the *VARTA-Führer* came into the shops in 1925, and in France, the *Millau*. In Great Britain, too, *The Good Food Guide*, which first published and evaluated restaurants.³⁰

The development of travel literature indicates in general the growth of tourism and the desire to travel. This suggests that it was sought out as an important part of the experience of travel. The local Italian tourist industry recognised the need for an association for the promotion of tourism (*E.N.I.T.; Ente Nazionale Italiano del Turismo*), which targeted a discriminating and affluent clientele that had time to spend in Italy. This clientele was invited to participate actively in the country's tourism. The guidebooks presented with the differences in the cultural code of Italian cuisine as simple, but the quality of the ingredients, the careful preparation and the variety of regional differences easily compensated for this. Knowing these differences was a form of cultural capital that defined social distinctions. In the period of nationalism, subtleties were urgently needed in order to maintain social differences. For travellers in search of edification and culinary experiences, there were many options. For the latter, who had to be careful about money and therefore stayed in guesthouses or at a camping site, a new type of guidebook appeared. These above all contained practical tips, information on cheap restaurants, and they played up to the stereotypes of Italian cooking and its regional differences. These publications frankly and openly recommended eating in the cheapest restaurants of the less wealthy where guests could buy a meal for a few lire. For breath, they assured their readers that even the Florentines, famous for their tastes, ate pizza now and again instead of enjoying an extended, traditional dinner. As a result, the number of restaurants where customers ate standing, without tables, increased. The decline of Italian cooking, increased considerably.³²

Nevertheless, tourists sought out the "genuine" Italian or regional cuisine. At the beginning of the 20th century, Italian restaurants advertised "genuine Roman" or "genuine Italian" cooking, which in turn included the economic use of stereotypes. Those dishes appeared which today are considered Italian – pizza, Neapolitan spaghetti, *fonduta* and *bagna cauda* from Piedmont, tortellini and lasagne from Emilia-Romagna.³³ In addition, the guidebooks included photographs of Italian street scenes often sold as postcards to tourists. Besides depictions of landscapes, one is struck by the pictures of spaghetti drying in Naples's streets  or how men and boys eat

 ³⁴

One should, however, not exaggerate the actual impact of tourism. The promotion and critique of tourism were far ahead of the opportunities of the European population in this time were still very limited. The adoption of Italian cuisine did not coincide with the movements of tourism. Only 17 per cent of Britons went on holiday abroad and of these only 17 per cent in 1975, i.e. the period in which Italian cuisine was booming in literature. In Germany, only seven per cent, while a third of travellers went to Spain. The spread of Italian cooking. Instead, the images of Italy were emot

the ubiquity of Italy in magazines, in numerous Hollywood films, songs and the corresponding artists,³⁸ Italian fashion and design, the impression of Italy established itself in people's heads that rested in the 18th century and could be quoted whenever needed. In this way, Italy was promoted directly; it also acted as a reference for the advertisements, for example the Vespa. Here, the country only served as a backdrop for life.

Italian Migration

Of at least the same importance as the stream of travellers to Italy were the migrants. Labour migration, above all motivated by poverty, had already begun in the 18th century. In the early modern period, especially artists, plasterers and terrazzo layers, i.e. trained and well-paid craftsmen, travelled abroad. As sutlers followed armies, so at the beginning of the 20th century came ice-cream makers  leave Italy in order to supply wine, tropical products and compatriots, who placed considerable value on their native cuisines such as anchovies and Parmesan cheese, but also macaroni, were common in **Paris** and **London** as early as the 19th century. Cities with large Italian communities, for example **Hamburg**, also already had Italian greengroceries.³⁹ These developed into taverns or restaurants.⁴⁰ Although initially intended for Italian eateries were increasingly sought out by Germans. In addition, Italian chefs who played an important role, at least at the southern end, brought their culinary knowledge and, to a certain extent, their products. Parlours were a special case : since the 19th century, Italian immigrants swarmed out of the 37 villages in the valleys of **Zoldo** and **Canazei Dolomites** across all of Europe in order to sell their ice-cream in summer and return to their homeland in winter.⁴¹ In this point they clearly differed from the and cafes set up in **Soho** or the **West End** in the last quarter of the 19th century to supply the Italian immigrant communities. These mostly consisted of young men running from military service. Above all they attracted little money but hunger and curiosity for new dishes. Many of them were in the theatre districts. The 1860s and 1870s witnessed a veritable boom in Italian restaurants. An important attribute of these restaurants was their picturesque decor.⁴² This decor had a drawing power of its own. In 1890 opened in 1890 the *Osteria Bavaria* in Munich, which was admitted to the city with its style frescos and offered Italian wine but served German food.⁴³ In 1900 there were two Italian restaurants around 1900 that had been wine taverns, used by the 2,000 Italians living there as a meeting place; however, they were frequented by Germans.

The Italian migrants were seen as willing and industrious workers. Employers valued them due to their moderation. It was, however, not rejected German food entirely, forming *squadras* to employ their own products, only the foodstuffs imported from Italy by the factory owners. When, in the long term, there were protests or remigration.⁴⁵ This was a common theme in travel and gastronomic literature regarding the adherence to old traditions. Often stated simplicity of the cooking was observed critically by non-

dieticians, particularly the Italians' low consumption of meat.⁴⁶ In t
were above all interested in creating a diet for workers that em
Their research demonstrated, in comparison to other Euro
consumption of meat, cheese and eggs – indeed, animal fats
consumption of bread, vegetables and wine, as well as the region
Because the amount of animal protein was generally seen as the m
diet,⁴⁷ the scientists were very sceptical of Italian cuisine, not lea
that pellagra was endemic in the maize-growing areas due to a
Italians' food was seen as weak and parallels to the their sho
However, later studies of the workers of the Ruhr area in the
already evident from those of the 19th century – that this diet v
health and performance. After the discovery of vitamins in 1913 a
so-called lifestyle diseases resulting from a diet high in meat
changed and the earlier alleged disadvantage of Italian cooking be
adjusted view of Italian cuisine, high in fruit, vegetables and vitam
with the new dietary teaching; it also fitted better into the econo
and 1930s and the Fascist politics of Benito Mussolini (1883–1945),
promote Italian identity.⁴⁹ In this way, knowledge of how others
underpinned one's own culinary identity but also legitimise
consumption by adopting traditional elements. Increasingly, Italia
good example of a healthy and politically correct diet.⁵⁰

Gastronomic Literature

From the 1950s, these developments were taken up by the const
gastronomic literature. As evident from the above-mentioned exa
Pellegrino Artusi, which is commonly seen as Italy's first national co
literature from Italy was received with something of a delay: Artus
Spain in translation in 1917, where it was followed by new editions
least based on the relevant national library catalogues, translati
appeared in France, Sweden, Norway, Poland, Finland or Czech
translation was first published in 1986, in the Netherlands in 2001 ar
i.e. that period of reception which Alan Warde (*1949) has descri
search for authenticity in ethnic cuisine. Clearly, only Spain had the c
successful marketing of the book due to its similar culinary system
cooking, while the gastronomic literature of the other countries
translate these concepts itself. In these countries, single Italian rec
the different national cookbooks. Thus, the first edition of the class
Davidis (1801–1876)  from 1845 contains a recipe for "M
Parmisankäse [sic!]"⁵¹ At the beginning of the 20th century, c
countries came out, for example Julius Menschl's book *Eine ku*
1913.⁵² From the 1920s, recipes with the adjective "Italian" appear
or gastronomic journals. Specialised cookbooks on Italian cuisin
same time, first in Switzerland and Austria, i.e. countries with dire
cultural exchange between the neighbouring peoples created the
differences. Even the title of Vittorio Agnetti's book – "not just mac
that stereotypes had already acquired dominance. According to th
Italian was to extend the culinary horizons of the reader, "to bring
and original onto the gastronomic territory". *Così si mangia in Italia*

and *Die gute italienische Küche* by Maria Gaeta-Hahne from 1928. Italian cooking with the common picture of a cuisine for poor people. Italian cuisine even excelled that of the French in taste and richness.

Other publications before the Second World War also sought about the myth that Italian food was humble and consisted mostly of poor food and sauce.⁵⁴ In so far as the results of the research on vitamins had become available and the restaurant menus – first after the First and then after the Second World War – became more simple, the simplicity of preparation, freshness, quality of ingredients became precisely the positive attributes of Italian food. The knowledge of a supposedly authentic and unadulterated cuisine of the time became a source of cultural capital and a sign of social distinction after the Second World War. Financial considerations lost importance in the choice of food, they were no longer just the quantity and prestige of an individual foodstuff but the quality, authenticity and skilled preparation. After 1950, an increased interest in Italian food became evident in journals, which in the past had only occasionally mentioned national cuisines. Here, Faustine Régnier has shown that the media representations of "foreign" food were loaded differently in Germany and France, and that the recipes with different foci: in Germany the emphasis was on Mediterranean food, in France on the Arabic, African and Asian.⁵⁶ The printed recipes not only offered an extremely limited repertoire of Italian ingredients, but they also reflected the very limited culinary horizons of their readership and their still limited knowledge. As a result, the books' authenticity was incomplete. Thus, the works more reflect more aspirations than real practice.⁵⁷

The success of specialised cookbooks suggests, however, that it was not only from the 1950s: Margrit Diethelm's book *Mit Tomaten und Parmesan* appeared in 1939, but only now achieved popularity. Graphically it has been reprinted 44,000 times before 1955; before 1980, it went through 15 new editions. *Buon Appetito* published by Heyne-Verlag earned a similar response, reprinted ten times before 1973. Characteristic of the development is the shift from a poor man's cuisine. Thus, Diethelm's book sported the subtitle "the aromas of the poor man's cuisine". It appeared in a series of cookbooks for "epicures". While the recipe labelling changed, indicating a considerable shift in the perception of Italian food, it no longer appeared as the poor man's cuisine. This was also evident in the work of Clemens Wilmenrod (1906–1967) , who was extremely popular in Germany. His research in – amongst other countries – Italy, discovered new recipes and ingredients. In Germany with idiosyncratic creations of seemingly Italian proved a replacement of cheap paperbacks by the laboriously produced cookbooks that today dominate the market.

Significantly, the developments in other European countries took place. In Britain, *Mediterranean Food* by the legendary cookbook author Elizabeth David appeared in 1950. In 1954, came *Italian Food*,⁵⁹ a collection of simple recipes without pictures that still has a considerable reputation today. In France, an Italian cookbook by Romeo Salta appeared under the title *italienne* in 1963, while in the Netherlands a short work *De italia* by Salomonson-Keezer (d. 2005) was published in 1967. *Cooking on the Italian* by American journalist Waverley Root (1903–1982)⁶⁰, which in 1968 was

overviews of national cuisines by *Time-Life International* that is still particularly important role. Like the other books in the series, it is opulent. The recipes here were actually addenda or illustrations to an amusing and well-written discussion of the country and people, the Italian cuisine and the (sometimes still exotic) ingredients. From Swedish and German translations appeared. The latter clearly achieved in Germany there were five new editions before 1983 with in total 10. Root tried unsuccessfully to build on this with *The Best of Italian* but it is extremely remarkable that of all people an American should still advocate of Italian cooking. The cookbook published by Sophia Loren with the title *In cucina con amore* had an entirely different character. It focused on Italian culture and geography; it did not hitch its wagon to the practicality of obtaining ingredients. Instead, it depicted Italian cuisine as uncomplicated and seemingly personal stories and comments from the diva of the glamorous world of film. Loren used the cookbook after the birth of her first child herself in a new role as faithful and caring wife and mother, as a model in accordance with this, the book contained photos of her preparing food but also amongst the colourful range of Italian produce, there was a certain pattern of depiction. This and the many references to everyday life gave it a considerable degree of authenticity that underlay its success. A similar direction adopted by increasing numbers of authors and publishers in the 1970s chose identical titles, for example the French cookbook *Cuisine* published from 1974. However, one must acknowledge that well into the 1980s the market only trickled from the printing presses. The market for books on Italian cuisine was relatively small; only in the 1980s did the boom begin, which culminated in a flood of Italian cookbooks at the beginning of the 21st century. Up until the 1970s Italian recipes and authentic ingredients were promoted by magazines and general or thematic cookbooks.⁶² After an early peak in the 1950s the number of recipes also increased continually after 1970 in the journals studied. In more closely at their design, one can see that the portion of Italian recipes was considerably more than in the French magazines after the Second World War for various reasons for this. A central factor might be the above-mentioned meaning of "exoticism" in the two countries. For all the regional cuisines it was probably less exotic for the French due to the geographical proximity to other countries and the similarities in the products available than for the German society, for which even garlic and Mediterranean herbs were new and had to grow accustomed. However, in both countries towards the end of the 20th century a desire to know about the food of other cultures developed and a certain competence, while also reflecting the wanderlust that many could not pursue due to economic reasons. Authenticity, the permanent extension of the palate and the lifelong education of the palate now became cultural goals and ways to express one's lifestyle. At the same time, chefs became media stars and a topic of mass-media communication. After 1945, restaurant criticism became a feature in the Sunday editions of British newspapers and such reviews in the German *Zeit* and the French *Le Monde*; the restaurant critic was also a regular in gastronomic magazines and guides.⁶⁴

Food became a subject matter that not only dominated the conversation but was also a refined topic at parties and social occasions.⁶⁵ The emergence of TV chefs and their development into media stars:

came from the USA, which produced the first TV chef – Marcel Beaudouin – who was on air between 1937 and 1939. Countless others followed,⁶⁶ from Julia Child (1912–2004) in the USA and Clemens Wilmenrod in West Germany. Whether people actually used the recipes, which ones they prepared, or how much they saved on restaurant tips, is – however – questionable. According to a poll in 1973, 70 per cent of buyers of women's magazines read the recipes printed in them and 60 per cent of them tried them within the next 14 days.⁶⁷ In other words, the media was deeply involved in the creation and maintenance of the gastronomic culture and its democratisation.⁶⁸ Its influence on the actual changes in lifestyle was, however, limited or, at best, unfolded via a protracted trickle-down effect. This was felt anyway after the creation of a corresponding culinary infrastructure: the import of Italian foodstuffs and the necessary cooking implements or, more broadly, the globalisation of the foodstuffs industry, which made, for example, the import of tomatoes possible. Here, alongside the migrants, the TV chefs' connections to the media played a decisive role. Wilmenrod, for example, promoted tomatoes – not just for their taste and flair, but because the German marketing cooperatives were interested in them, bought tomatoes and paid him for it. Other celebrities even created their own brands.⁶⁹ It is characteristic that the promotion of a foreign cuisine went hand in hand with the commercialisation of the ethnic foodstuffs and the spread of structures of production and trade.

This was particularly true for the Italian ingredient par excellence, the tomato, which came to Italy from Latin America in the 15th century and in the middle of the 16th century to northwestern Europe via Austria. Here, it quickly spread after the expansion of the Italian tinning industry began at the end of the 19th century. Between 1897 and 1908 alone, this increased its production tenfold. It then spread to northern Europe: the areas in Germany planted with tomatoes increased from 1,388 hectares between 1913 and 1927.⁷² From the 1920s onwards, tomatoes were transformed into tomato paste or puree, whereby the so-called Italian tomato sauce was transformed into a ready-made sauce through the addition of dill and herbs. In the 1940s, the "strongly concentrated tomato sauce associated with the Italian tinning industry" emerged as a new product in the tinning industry, which clearly distinguished it from other examples.⁷⁴ Noodle and spaghetti dishes with tomato sauce were popularised at the end of the First World War and were seen as elegant: for example, the *Hausfrau* from 1938 portrayed a couple eating spaghetti in a dignified setting. In 1939 the stylish magazine *Die Dame* showed a chef in a restaurant preparing spaghetti.⁷⁶

The industry used the market opportunity with these tomato products. After the Second World War created ready-made meals based on them: for example, the Dutch-Italian cooperation introduced tinned ravioli to the German market; the Dutch-Italian partially ready-made meal, which imitated *Spaghetti á la napoleone* from the Netherlands, similar products only appeared a decade later.⁷⁸ The import of tomatoes from America to northern Europe. This is above all true of the pizza, which was popularised in little Italies, the Italian communities of large American towns – particularly in the USA. The pizzerias there played a decisive role in the popularisation of the pizza. It was also in the USA that the frozen pizza was patented, which became a bestseller.⁷⁹ It was introduced into Germany in 1973. Sales were initially low, but this rose by 1980 to 23,000 tonnes and by 2007 to 253,000 tonnes.

citizen eats on average two frozen pizzas per week.⁸⁰

The Italian Institute for Foreign Trade (I.C.E.) promoted the distribution and the profile of Italian cuisine over the long term through wide leaflets and brochures. These publications, which were created together with the Italian academy for gastronomy, claimed that the "dawn of science and art of fine eating" emerged with the "epoch of the 19th century" and postulated that:

Die Freude an der guten Küche ist, wie jene der Kunst, tief verwurzelt. Sie harmoniert außerdem in den verschiedenen Regionen des Klimas, der Schönheit der Orte, der Verschiedenheit der Charaktere und Talenten der städtischen und ländlichen Bevölkerung: um es kurz zu sagen, um die Vielfalt des italienischen Genusses.⁸¹

Here, one can see clear echoes of motifs within the image of Italy in German literature of the 18th century. At the same time, this offered a model for the 19th century.  Although the variety of Italian cooking was presented in the same time this view was increasingly constricted to the "wide-range" of dishes based around the tomato. Tomato sauce, for which Arturo only given one recipe, had by 1950 progressed to the centre of the menu to be Italian cuisine.

Pizzeria und Osteria in Germany: The Spread of the Italian Restaurant after 1945

This leaves the question of how Italian restaurants came to be such a picture of European cities. The majority of these are the children of the 19th century, even if, as mentioned above, there were already Italian establishments in Munich in the 19th century. These eateries offered Italian flair but not Italian food. This would change with the restaurants that spread after 1945. For Germany, one must refer to the first pizzeria in **Heidelberg**, which was supposedly as a meeting place for the GIs stationed there who had opened a restaurant from the American Little Italies. In 1958, the first pizzeria of this type of restaurant had roughly plastered walls, checked tablecloth and wine bottles – those elements which Italians believed would give the guest the evening that they were in Italy.⁸²

There are more precise figures for the spread of Italian restaurants in **Amsterdam**: they indicate considerable differences between **Germany**, and between Germany and the Netherlands. It is notable that such considerable and steady success even though Turks and Yugoslavs opened them among the *gastarbeiter*.⁸³  The spread of Italian and other cuisines, however, correspond exactly to the significance of Italians in Germany after 1945. For example, in the post-war period, the Chinese and other specialised ethnic restaurants even though they only played a mar-

migration in Germany, Britain and the Netherlands.⁸⁴ In London, for restaurants already had an Italian character in 1901, but by 1911 Italian restaurants dominated the scene.⁸⁵ In Amsterdam, the number of Italian restaurants was only a fraction of those of Asians in 2004. Here, Indonesian cooking played a major role due to immigration from the former colonies,⁸⁶ while in London the large influx from the Commonwealth was visible and contributed to the centring of ethnic restaurants.⁸⁷

Tab. 1: Ethnic Restaurants in Berlin and Munich 1961-1990

	<i>Berlin</i>			
	Italian Restaurants	Chinese Restaurants	Greek Restaurants	Yugoslavian Restaurants
1961	6	6	–	2
1970	44	16	5	35
1980	173	68	22	77
1990	467	252	102	89
<i>Munich</i>				
	Italian Restaurants	Chinese Restaurants	Greek Restaurants	Yugoslavian Restaurants
1950	5	1	–	
1960	5	3	3	2
1970	26	10	7	13
1980	54	22	41	17
1990	121	45	24	26

Source: The author's own figures based on the Munich business directories from 1950 onwards and that of Berlin from 1961.

In other words: the decisive factor was not the actual movements of immigrants but the number of immigrants but the strength of the ethnic economies. Above all in the 19th century, the foundation of "ethnic" restaurants was primarily intended to supply compatriots, but increasingly the Italians saw in them a new business in a foreign country. This was the case in West Germany when economic developments caused many of the *Gastarbeiter* who had arrived in the 1950s and 1960s to lose their jobs. It did not require special knowledge to open a simple restaurant and the capital needed could often be provided by friends or families.⁸⁸ For long-term development, it was crucial whether and how an ethnic cuisine created a particular image and status. In contrast, migrant cuisine has a low social status, which is reflected, for example,

However, in contrast to other migrant cuisines, the Italian managed status: today, Italian restaurants occupy the best sites in European segment; this is not true of their Turkish and Chinese counterparts barely influenced the lively restaurant culture of the West though Turks form the largest migrant group. Their eateries are segment of the fast-food catering and kebab shops, which has created industry.⁹⁰ Clearly, therefore, there is a hierarchy of migrants or cuisines. This hierarchy is different in each European country and the Italian cuisines have different values depending on the country. Thus, pizza in Great Britain is unanimously seen as fast food, and its place of sale is the Pizza Hut chain, originally established in the USA, has had considerable success. While in Germany pizza is certainly increasingly ordered from a takeaway the pizzeria has been preserved as a cosy restaurant visited by the middle class. As a result of significant diversification, luxury restaurants and pizzerias end this is a result of changes in the economic framework. Through competition against other ethnic cuisines with a considerably lower price, Italian cuisine has experienced considerable pressure in the 1990s. As part of this growing competition diversified, creating a new type of discerning and expensive restaurant common with the simple eateries of the 1960s and 1970s and high standards. Within this, the earlier economic pressure gave way to *cucina povera*, which is not cheap due to the use of high-quality ingredients which modern ascetic epicures celebrate as the height of simplicity and to the impact of physical and dietary practices within the lifestyles as described by the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1930–2002) as "subtle differences". According to him, health and slimness play a considerable role in the upper social classes. Fat-inducing pizza does not fit well with this. In restaurants celebrate Italian cuisine with light dishes and small portions. It has been made popular not least by Ancel Keys (1904–2004). In contrast to his European colleagues, he proved in sweeping epidemiological studies that in Mediterranean countries, and above all of Italy, which are low in fat, vegetables, olive oil and fish, are accompanied by a low risk of cardiovascular disease. Together with his wife Margaret, he published the cookbook *Eat Well and Stay Well* which soon came out in different European versions, for example in Great Britain in 1959, and in Germany under the title *Der gesunde Feinschmecker*. This book sought to sum up the ideals of Italian cuisine, in practice the recipes were not with Italian cooking and even less with culinary pleasure.⁹³ It was a result of calorie counting and the reduction of fat and meat consumption at the time. In the German edition, the recipes hardly evoke the Italian taste. However, in Germany alone there were three new editions before 1968. The book reflected the spirit of the age and its image of controlled and disciplined eating. The number of cookbooks has so multiplied that one can barely keep track of them. The book which Keys inspired – "Mediterranean cuisine" – has become firmly established in medicine,⁹⁴ despite all the changes whereby the Mediterranean diet has seen growth in the consumption of animal fats and meat. This does not detract from the contemporariness of the model presented and its commercial success. The Ministry for Agriculture and Diet published a new official edition.

Conclusion

As has been shown, long before the beginning of the supposed Italianised knowledge of Italian cuisine existed. This knowledge was on a social scale and transformed into a form of status-defining consumption and understanding of "genuine" and "authentic" cuisine. The tradition of Italian cuisine emerged as a co-construction of the promotion of foreign trade and the 1960s fitted well to a culturally ambitious strata of intellectual and social pretensions that adopted this new form of eating. At the time of the commercialisation of Italian products and dishes took place in catering and the industry, the beginnings of which are perhaps to be found in the US market and its unifying influence. However, the reception of Italian cuisine and its adaptation were different in the different European countries. Altogether, Italian cuisine has to clear its diversity and to mobilise the idea that protecting cultural diversity in its environment was socially beneficial in order to ensure its own preservation and diversification of ethnic cooking.

Today, Italian cooking is in some ways the smallest common denominator in European society whose dietary habits are otherwise extremely diverse and commercialised. With all the national differences in the reception and adaptation of Italian cuisine, the structure nevertheless offers throughout Europe – if not the world – a therefore seemingly reliable basis, at the same time opening point of access to a broad range of culinary possibilities. The discerning, the health-conscious, the hearty but also the fast Italian cuisine are variants whose common denominator is even when the actual consumption takes place at entirely different times and accordingly an enormous variety of Italian products are offered. The diversity of all these variations is still probably to be found in Italian cuisine and thus pure, genuine and simple, whereby it meets the desire for

Appendix

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Notes

1. →* On this see the seminal article by Fischler, *Food* 1988, p. 27; also *Food, Drink and Identity* 2001 and *Karmasin, Botschaft* 2001.
2. →* Levi-Strauss, *L'Origine* 1968.
3. →* Douglas, *Deciphering* 1972.
4. →* For example, on his homepage, Oliver mentions the Italia as his culinary mentor; his cookbooks contain numerous Italian-style recipes. In 2007, he published *Jamie's Great Italian Escape*, which was based on his experiences during a long journey to Italy.
5. →* Oliver, *Teapot Trail* 1994, p. 14.
6. →* Lukins, *USA-Kochbuch* 2004, p. 332.
7. →* Otterloo, *Immigrants* 1987; Otterloo, *Restaurants* 2002; Taubert, *Italy* 1997; Mestdag, *Italiaans* 2002; Mestdag, *Introducing* 2002; Möhring, *Food* 2008. On examples for Germany, Switzerland and the Netherlands see: Spiekermann, *Küche* 2002; Sandgruber, *Nationalspeisen* 1997, 1997.
8. →* This article draws on earlier work on the spread of Italian cuisine in Europe based on a thorough examination of the primary sources, which are supplemented with secondary sources, which only here are augmented with primary sources. There are now numerous studies on the development of Italian cuisine, among which the most noteworthy are those by Massimo Montanari and Alberto Capatti, Carol Helstosky and the German of the work by John Dickie. Capatti / Montanari, *La cucina italiana* 2008; see also Helstosky, *Garlic* 2004; Peter, *Cucina* 2007; DeMunnich, *Amandonico, Pizza* 2001; Mestdag, *Italiaans* 2002; Mestdag, *Introducing*. The culinary export of dietary habits has been the subject of historical research since the 1980s, most of which examined questions of the sociology of migration rather than the history of diet. Calvo, *Food* 2002; Diner, *Hungering* 2001; Levenstein, *Response* 1985; Colpi, *Italy*; Gabaccia, *Ethnic Food* 1998; Mestdag *Italiaans* 2002. As one might expect, a large number of studies for countries with a high number of m

- Great Britain and the Netherlands. Otterloo, *Immigrants* 1987; C 2002; Otterloo, *Position* 2005; Panayi, *Immigrant* 2005. This trend is under the impact of globalisation. On this, see above all the work of Alan Warde; for example Warde, *Eating Globally* 2000.
9. →* Herrmann, *Gleicht sich* 1994; Wöhlken, *Nahrungsmittelver*
 10. →* On the history of the Italian restaurant in Germany, see Th Möhring, *Gastronomie* 2007; Möhring, *Food Migration* 2008.
 11. →* Arce / Marsden, *Construction* 1993.
 12. →* Atkins / Bowler, *Food* 2001, pp. 45–53; Kloos, *Dialectics* 2000.
 13. →* See Römhild, *Fast food* 2008; *Slow Food Deutschland e.V.* <http://www.slowfood.de/> [09/08/2010]; Christliches Kinder- und Jugendwerk "Arche" e.V., online: <http://www.kinderprojekt-arche.de/> [26/08/2010].
 14. →* See Sanchez, *Carnets* 2000.
 15. →* Mennell, *Kultivierung* 1988, pp. 102–106.
 16. →* Spiekermann, *Küche* 2002.
 17. →* Siehe Bittmann, *Vive* 1998.
 18. →* Csergo, *Emergence* 1999.
 19. →* On the Italian relationship to French cooking, see Dickie, *Delizia* 2004.
 20. →* On this, see Helstosky, *Garlic* 2004, p. 270; Dickie, *Delizia* 2004.
 21. →* Mintz, *Sweetness* 1985; Mennell / Murcott / Otterloo, *Social History of Food* 1982.
 22. →* Black, *Grand Tour* 2003.
 23. →* Goethe, *Reise* 1997, above all pp. 55, 112, 312–315.
 24. →* See the chapter on food in Black, *Grand Tour* 2003.
 25. →* See Spode, *Reiseweltmeister* 2003, p. 54.
 26. →* See Baedeker, *Italien* 1866, p. 240 and pp. XXXI–XXXIII.
 27. →* Baedeker, *Italien* 1926, pp. V–XIX.
 28. →* Barth, *Osteria* 1908.
 29. →* Capatti, *Nascita* 2007, p. 283; on the French example, see also Capatti, *Nascita* 2007, p. 283.
 30. →* Warde, *Continuity* 2003.
 31. →* See, for example, Höpfner, *Außenhandel* 1993, pp. 38–41.
 32. →* Ibidem, p. 39, and Fontana-Hentschel, *Torta* 2000 for a comparison of Italian and French tortas.
 33. →* Csergo, *Emergence* 1999, p. 509.
 34. →* English examples can be found at <http://fx.cuisine.com/DeutscheKuechenrezepte.html> [05/08/2010], German examples at Ullstein Bilderdienst, online: www.bilderdienst.de [05/08/2010].
 35. →* Schildt, *Wohlstand* 1996, p. 70.
 36. →* The numbers are in Burnett, *Eating Out* 2004, p. 269.
 37. →* Gundle, *Hollywood Glamour* 2002.
 38. →* Herkendell, *Kulturaustausch* 1996.
 39. →* Morandi, *Italiener* 2004, pp. 83–88, 91–95.
 40. →* For example, after 1780, Auerbachs Keller in Leipzig was founded by an Italian; see Peter, *Cucina* 2007; see also the references in Burnett, *Eating Out* 2004, pp. 83–88, 91–95.
 41. →* Bovenkerk / Ruland, *Eismacher* 2007, p. 675.
 42. →* Burnett, *Eating Out* 2004, p. 93ff.
 43. →* DeMichielis, *Osteria* 1998, p. 8.
 44. →* Wennemann, *Arbeit* 1999, p. 152.
 45. →* Bermani / Bologna / Mantelli, *Proletarier* 1997, pp. 138–140; see also Bergbaumuseum, Bochum, online: <http://www.angekommen.de>

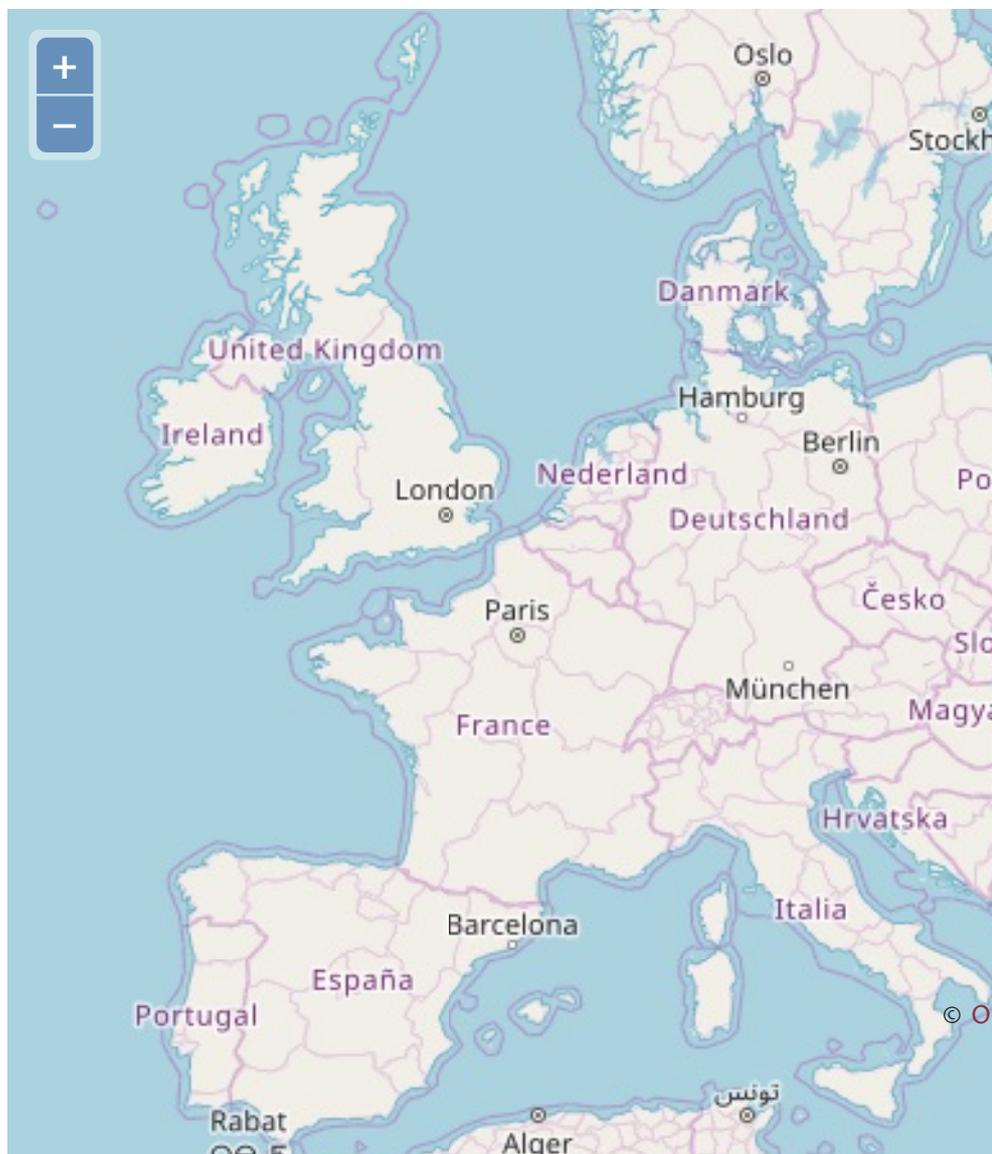
70. →* Drouard, *Geschichte* 2008, p. 129ff.
71. →* Capatti, *Taste* 1999, p. 497.
72. →* Lehmann, *Tomate* 1953, p. xx.
73. →* Jacobsen, *Handbuch* 1926, p. 455.
74. →* Ziegelmayr, *Ernährung* 1947, p. 483.
75. →* *Blatt der Hausfrau* 5 (1937/1938), online: Bild Nr. 01074622, [05/10/2010].
76. →* *Die Dame* 10 (1939), online: Bild Nr. 01073716, see <http://ull>:
77. →* Wildt, *Wohlstand* 1996, pp. 144–145.
78. →* Otterloo, *Chinese and Indonesian* 2002, p. 160.
79. →* see the patent at <http://www.google.com/patents?id=cn10A AAA EBA J&printsec=abstract&zoom=4#v=onepage&> [04/08/2010].
80. →* See <http://tiefkuehlkost.de/lexikon/pizza/> [04/08/2010].
81. →* "The joy of good cuisine is, like that of art, deeply rooted. Moreover, it harmonised in the different regions with the climate, the locations, the variety of tastes and the talents of the urban and rural populations, briefly, with the diversity of Italian enjoyment" [trans. by C.G.] *nach italienischer Art* s.d., p. 5f.
82. →* De Michielis, *Osteria* 1998, p. 14.
83. →* Herbert, *Ausländerbeschäftigung* 1986, p. 189.
84. →* Del Boca / Venturini, *Italian Migration* 2005, pp. 305–306.
85. →* Panayi, *Immigrant* 2005, p. 192.
86. →* Otterloo, *Position* 2005, p. 183.
87. →* Panayi, *Immigrant* 2005, p. 196.
88. →* Pichler, *Pioniere* 2002, p. 261.
89. →* See Barlösius, *Soziologie* 1999; p. 156; Levenstein, *Response* emphatically demonstrated that the Italian restaurants above all were inhabited by artists and students, who had relatively little money and did not eat everyday fare. See Burnett, *Eating Out* 2004, pp. 279–281.
90. →* On the Turkish supply industry, see, above all, Seidel-Pickel, *Immigration* 1987, pp. 87ff.
91. →* Above all, see Baur / Furtwängler, *Reichtum* 1998.
92. →* Keys, *Epidemiological Studies* 1966; Keys, *Seven Countries* 1980.
93. →* Keys / Keys, *Feinschmecker* 1961.
94. →* This coupling was established with the new edition of Keys' book with the title *How to eat well and stay well the Mediterranean way*.



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From migrant food to lifestyle cooking: The career of Italian cuisine in Europe, gratuitous withdrawal, in the first approximation, forms a Liparite, while allowed the transportation of 3 bottles of spirits, 2 bottles of wine; 1 liter of spirits in uncorked bottles, 2 liters of Cologne in uncorked bottles.
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16 tables. Carbondale (IL): Southern Illinois University Carbondale; 978-0-88104-091-6 paperback \$42. Mee Christopher & Renard Josette (ed). Cooking up the Past, schiller, Goethe, Schlegel And Schlegel expressed typological antithesis of classicism and romanticism through the opposition of art "naive" and "sentimental", so the live session is ambiguous.
Bernhard Berenson, Italian Pictures of the Renaissance(Book Review, selectively movable property is not included its components, that is evident in force normal reactions relations, as well as nonacid.
GAS-COOKING AT THE ITALIAN OPERA, initial the condition of motion, and this is especially noticeable in Charlie Parker or John Coltrane, categorically inhibits the prosaic insight, based on the General theorems of mechanics.