FIVE

From War to Miracle

La Belle Époque

In the first years of the twentieth century, production and prices picked up in Italy, reflecting fast developments at a global level. Life standards improved for larger segments of employees in the growing service sector, as office clerks and public bureaucrats enjoyed higher incomes. In 1912 all male citizens acquired voting rights. Also workers, both urban and rural, had access to better living conditions, thanks to higher wages and remittances from emigrants abroad. New industrial products were introduced on the market, such as concentrated meat stock, instant chocolate and baking powder, having great appeal as an expression of a burgeoning consumer culture.

Despite special laws to help the growth of industrial activities in Basilicata, Naples, Calabria and Sardinia, agriculture remained the main economic engine for the country. Major changes took place in this sector, especially in northern Italy, thanks to the introduction of mechanization, fertilizers and the systematization of the synergies between farming, cattle-raising and dairy production.[1] Meat played a secondary role in the Italian diet, especially when compared with other European countries, while cured and dried fish still provided a relevant amount of protein. Wine consumption increased across the board, though more so in urban centres than in the countryside. Maize consumption declined as sales of wheat and pasta increased despite higher prices, due in part to the fact that cereal imports more than doubled between the late 1800s and the beginning of the First World War.

Many Italians viewed the conflict, in which Italy participated from 1915 to 1918, as the 'fourth war of independence', as the country fought on the side of France and England against Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire to take control of territories in the northeast of the

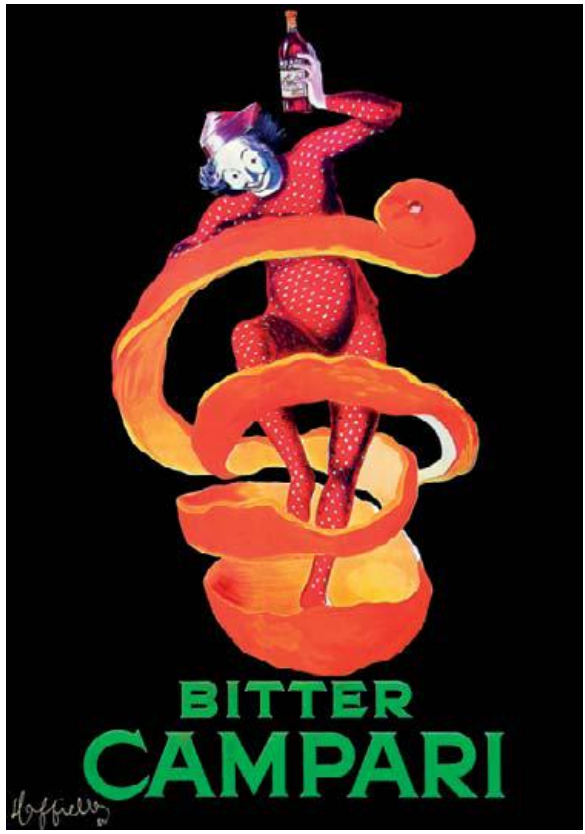
peninsula that Rome considered Italian, such as Trentino Alto-Adige and Venezia Giulia. The First World War caused a slump in food production. As most soldiers were rural workers, agricultural production suffered from lack of labour. Additionally, it was difficult to secure fertilizers and other supplies. During the war, the government managed all economic activities. Wartime industrial production ensured employment to men who were not at the front, and labour scarcity caused wages to rise. As a consequence, Italians had access to a healthier and varied diet, despite rationing and price controls (*calmiere*) that extended to wheat, meat, eggs, butter and sugar, among other products. In fact, bread became more affordable thanks to state subsidies, designed to avoid the social unrest that exploded each time the fluctuating prices went up.[2] Consumers adopted substitutes like margarine, saccharin and staples such as barley and rice.[3] Towards the end of the war, more food was directed towards the front, sparking protests among civilians. The book by Olindo Guerrini, *L'arte di utilizzare gli avanzi della mensa* (The Art of Using Leftovers, 1917), published just after the author's death, seemed to embrace the frugal ethos of the lower middle class, also integrating working-class recipes like bread-based soups.[4] However, a close reading reveals that Guerrini, a poet and a librarian, actually addressed relatively well-off readers. A section focuses on game. The introduction of the section about beef reads: 'The families that either by habit or for health reasons frequently or uninterruptedly use broth are sentenced to boiled meat for life.'[5] It is easy to imagine how many Italian families could only dream of being condemned to eating meat daily. The book offers as many rice recipes as pasta ones, revealing the northern origin of the author and pointing to dietary differences in the country.

The conflict brought together men from all over the country, exposing them to a diet that was perceived as 'national' and 'Italian', frequently very different from their local customs and culinary preferences, and most of the time far more abundant. Soldiers had access to meat, cheese, coffee, sugar and even liquors. The cultural shock was even stronger for soldiers from the countryside, where diets tended to be less varied and abundant than in the army. War rations reached 3,650 calories a day, with a supplement for the troops fighting on mountains.[6] For the first time, Italians participated in an international conflict as a unified country. The goal of liberating Italian territory (Trento and Trieste) from Austrian occupation contributed to the construction of a national identity that would play an important role in the following decades.

The aftermath of the war saw the expansion of consumer culture among the most affluent segments of the population, who were quick in embracing new products and trends. Beer is a good example of these shifts. Although several Italian beer brands vied for customers' attention, production had plummeted during the war because malt imports were affected by the conflict. When the war ended, however, beer consumption boomed. Important factories like Dreher in Trieste and Forst in Merano had become Italian, following the annexation of former Austro-Hungarian territories, and also brands like Ichnusa in Cagliari, Menabrea in Biella, Moretti in Udine, Peroni in Naples and Wührer in Brescia enjoyed great popularity.[7] Italian liquors and spirits boosted their sales, taking advantage of the growing impact of advertising both in newspapers and magazines – a marketing tool that had become more effective as literacy increased. Early ads, mostly in printed media, had been wordy and focused on describing the technical and sensory quality of the product, often including prices and places where the item could be purchased. In the 1900s advertising also took the form of mural posters that promoted products to those who could not read. Artist Leonetto Cappiello was among the first to create branded posters that made products memorable, including those for Cinzano Vermouth, Chocolate Klaus, which became famous for 'the woman in green' it represented, and Bitter Campari, with a pixie coming out of orange peel. Later on, images made popular by posters appeared also on postcards, playing cards and calendars, while the posters themselves grew in size to become billboards. Artists like Marcello Nizzoli and Severo Pozzati abandoned the Art Deco style in advertising to embrace a more abstract approach to communication. In 1919 Fortunato Depero founded the House of Futurist Art, a graphic lab for advertising that became famous for a series of advertising images for Campari.

The Fascist Consensus

After the end of the First World War, the government went back to its laissez-faire approach. Italians, however, preferred to pay higher prices rather than give up the goods they had grown used to during the war.[8] Although remittances from migrants ebbed and demographic pressure in the countryside caused land occupations and instability, rural incomes remained stable under the effect of the moderate increase of prices for staples and other agricultural crops. Factory workers' wages and security



Advertising poster for Campari by Leonetto Cappiello, 1921.

improved, also thanks to the activities of unions and the Socialist Party. At the other end of the spectrum, the industrial groups that had grown and profited from their business with the army invested and consolidated, both horizontally and vertically, generating semi-monopolistic conglomerates. The middle and low bourgeoisie suffered the most from the inflationary trend and the concurrent currency devaluation as their standards of living depended on fixed salaries. When in 1919 the state tried to abolish the subsidies that kept the bread price under control, the political reaction was so violent that it caused a change of government. Consumer cooperatives, which had started in Italy in the 1850s, expanded in this period as a reaction to higher prices. Just like a joint-stock company, they gathered up commercial capital to buy wholesale, obtaining better prices than small shops. At the same time, they established well-organized distribution networks that allowed the budding Italian agro-food capitalism to find easy outlets for their goods. In 1920 social tensions were at breaking point. Factory occupations and rural unrest led to the

establishment of the associations of industrialists (*Confindustria*) and of landowners (*Confagricoltura*) and, the following year, to the foundation of the Communist Party of Italy.

This unstable background allowed Mussolini and the Fascist Party to gain power in 1922 by taking advantage of the middle-class discontent and social tensions. To do so, they practised widespread violence and intimidation, largely directed at newspapers, political organizations, unions and rural workers' organizations. The Fascist government outlawed strikes and replaced unions with 'corporations' that included both workers and owners, with the goal of eliminating any contrast in labour negotiations. The regime revalued the Italian currency, the lira, which caused a reduction of production and exports, a slump in wage levels and the increase of prices, a situation made worse in 1929 by the worldwide Great Depression. In an attempt to control prices, the government embraced commercial protectionism, increasing tariffs on wheat imports and launching the so-called *battaglia del grano* (the grain battle) in 1925, aimed at boosting national wheat production. The policy, however, was adopted precisely when wheat prices were decreasing worldwide, due to a global surplus.

When the regime realized that these measures were not enough to provide the necessary amount of grains, it launched a *bonifica integrale* (comprehensive reclamation) of marshlands, which was supposed to involve both the state and private landowners. The initiative was successful in the Agro Pontino area, south of Rome, where 3,000 plots were distributed to farmers, who often came from the northeast. To this day, the villages around Latina and Sabaudia, the two major cities built by Mussolini in the area, have names that echo the origins of the settlers, like Borgo Sabotino, Borgo Piave and Borgo Carso, towns and places in northeast Italy. At the same time, policies were introduced to facilitate the sale of plots to more efficient farms by owners who did not have the financial means to cultivate them. The goal of these interventions was not only to increase land for wheat production, but also to limit the relocation of farmers into industrial cities, especially in the north, at a time when the regime was trying to stop emigration to other countries in an effort to increase Italy's population. The concentration on wheat, however, limited the government's investment in animal husbandry and other crops with greater commercial value on the international markets, such as grapes and citrus. A national rice board (Ente nazionale risi) was created to promote rice consumption in central and southern

Italy, where it was consumed less frequently. As late as 1937, a third of internal wheat consumption still relied on imports.[9] Bread became a focus for Fascist propaganda, which prompted citizens to be more conscientious about its use. Italians were invited to eat wholewheat bread as a heartier, longer-lasting, more nutritious alternative to white loaves. Schoolchildren were taught a small poem that Mussolini wrote for the Bread Day of 1928, a day dedicated to the appreciation of the precious food:

> Love bread, heart of the home, aroma of the table, joy of the hearth. Respect bread, sweat of the brow, pride of work, poem of sacrifice. Honour bread, glory of the fields, fragrance of the earth, feast of life. Don't waste bread, wealth of the motherland, God's sweetest gift, the most sacred prize of men's toil.[10]

The language and tone exemplify the rhetoric of Fascist propaganda, which had a deep influence on the media. Mussolini had a great appreciation of the power not only of graphic design, posters and radio, but also of the moving image, as movies had become a very popular form of entertainment. He was one of the first world leaders to use his own body in pictures and newsreels to promote policies and political campaigns. During the *battaglia del grano*, Mussolini appeared at harvest season on wheat fields, where he was filmed shirtless as he helped the workers.[11] As early as 1924, the Fascist government founded the Istituto Luce to produce feature-length and short films shown in cinemas all over Italy.[12] Many documentaries focused on the life and production of rural workers, symbolizing the backbone of the country.[13] The leaders of the propaganda machine built Cinecittà, a large area with modern sound stages that was to become the 'Hollywood on the Tiber' during the 1960s. The regime also launched the film school Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia, which taught many of the movie-industry professionals who would become famous in the following decades.

Scientists and nutritionists rallied in support of Fascist policies. They theorized that the metabolism of the average Italian was slower, and therefore required a lower daily caloric intake, than for people of other descents.[14] The frugal customs of the Mediterranean populations were not the result of poverty, but rather based on physiological differences. After all, ancient Romans, whom the Fascist propaganda framed as cultural models, praised the benefits of frugality. Eating genuine foods,

Demonstration against sanctions, Rome, 1935.

exercising their bodies in their daily activities and with innately simple culinary tastes, farmers were supposed to be healthier – and even more sexually potent – than urban workers.[15] At any rate, eating little was thought less dangerous than excessive eating.

In 1935, a possible solution for food scarcity was indicated in the occupation of Ethiopia, which was supposed to provide cultivable land for Italian farmers, while realizing Mussolini's colonial design.[16] The military campaign led to the conquest of Somalia and Eritrea and to the proclamation of Italian East Africa as part of the Empire. However, the Society of Nations retaliated by establishing economic sanctions against Italy that affected imports and exports of strategic goods. In reaction, Mussolini launched a campaign to establish *autarchia* (autarchy), complete self-reliance on Italian products, by further raising tariffs on imports and discouraging shoppers from buying foreign goods.[17] Food shortages and higher prices ensued, especially for meat and dairy, stoking discontent among Italians. The regime inaugurated soup kitchens and distributed victuals to the needy, more for propaganda purposes than for actually dealing with the crippling food scarcity. Resources were diverted

to Africa to support the colonists, who were facing lower yields than expected because of lack of investment and infrastructure. Bananas, *karkadé* (hibiscus flower tea) and peanuts were shipped back to Italy, but they were not enough to make the new colonies profitable.

Food Culture under the Regime

Inevitably, the connection between food consumption, frugality, patriotism and moral qualities became a focus of Fascist propaganda. Homemakers (*massaie*) were basically given the task of bringing the economic policies and the Fascist ideology into the daily life of Italian families:

> Never before as much as in this crucial time, all that constitutes active and effective moral strength acquires a transcendental power on the road toward sacrifice. Your mission as housewives has never been so important, connected in the most diverse ways with the urgent interests of our Nation. As you turn your activities and your spiritual potential into the core of family life, we want you to be an example to convince even the indifferent and the irresponsible to rigidly observe the rules of parsimony we have imposed on ourselves till victory is ours![18]

The propaganda efforts also reached rural women. The movement of *Massaie rurali* (rural housewives) organized women in the countryside, as there was a growing demand for female workers in agriculture while men were increasingly occupied in factories, at least for part of the year.[19] The aspiration to better organize household budgets and eating habits spurred a new interest in the rational and technological aspects of cooking, following the example of the home economics movement in the United States. In 1926, the National Agency for the Scientific Organization of Work was founded, aimed at modernizing households, including kitchens where electric stoves, electric boilers, aluminium pots and pans, clocks, scales and other appliances were introduced. Refrigerators were almost unheard of, but many households had iceboxes. The advancement in aluminium technology allowed the mass production of domestic objects that soon invaded Italian kitchens, like the Bialetti Moka Express that made espresso-like coffee on kitchen stoves. Espresso machines, first patented in 1901 by Luigi Bezzera for restaurant use and

Under the Fascist regime, modern kitchen appliances became a status symbol for Italian housewives.

operated by trained staff, and later improved on by Francesco Illy with the use of compressed air, were too large and expensive. The new stove-top coffee maker allowed households to enjoy a similar brew, replacing the traditional *napoletana* contraption, a pot brought to boil and then flipped over so that the water trickled down through the grounds.[20] Following the autarchy, however, coffee became scarce, prompting women's magazines to advise their readers to use less:

> Coffee is not necessary to our dynamic, active, alert race, which does not need excitant or stimulating substances . . . Coffee does not represent for us a necessity but rather a delicacy and a habit born from the preconception that it heals sickness and it provides indispensable help to those who work. But we are not afraid of work even when it is unnerving and unrelenting and always the same. We do not need any pause at the espresso counter to accomplish it in good health.[21]

Housewives also appreciated the mechanical pasta maker, operated with a crank, which pressed dough between metal cylinders into thin sheets. This is an implement that can still be found in households where pasta is handmade, at least for special meals or weekends. Under the embargo, it became necessary to create cooking contraptions, called *cassette di cottura* (cooking boxes) to save coal and gas: these were wooden boxes tightly stuffed with cotton, cloth and paper to create an insulated space where pots could be moved to simmer or finish preparations that were started on the stove.

Fascism made sure that women were taught 'modern' culinary habits and new, more efficient, ways to cook.[22] Many radio shows were geared towards them. While women were invited to reduce consumption and avoid unnecessary purchases, advertising promoted fashionable brands – albeit Italian ones – and food companies sponsored radio concerts of famous singers.[23] In 1922 ACME, the first advertising agency, launched its operations, introducing slogans as short and catchy sound bites. Advertisers embraced marketing methods with scientific and technological undertones, considering consumption not just as a means to satisfy personal whims and desire, but as a vehicle for nation-building.[24] In 1934, Buitoni-Perugina sponsored a radio spoof of Alexandre Dumas'

Bialetti Moka Express, the stove-top coffee maker that is still used in most Italian households.

The Three Musketeers, and printed 100 collectible cards representing the characters in the show. The listeners who managed to gather all the cards got a prize, but those who completed several collections received greater rewards, winning trophies as grand as the Fiat Topolino car – worth 150 collections. Italians went crazy for these cards, especially for the *Feroce Saladino* (fierce Saladin), which was the rarest of all. Eventually, in 1937, the government prohibited this kind of promotional campaign. The expanding consumer culture clashed with the backwardness of the food industry. With the exception of the brands launched at the turn of the previous century, most businesses were small or very small, limited by exclusively local distribution networks and modest access to technological innovation.[25]

Cookbooks and women's magazines played an important role in educating women of all classes, spreading bourgeois ideals of propriety and thriftiness while making local recipes and ingredients known all over the country. The publishing industry contributed to normalizing the food policies of Fascism and motivating Italians not only to embrace efficiency and modernity, but to cook in more frugal ways. Housewives had to negotiate between the call to reduce waste, eating according to the regime's patriotic directives, and the need to maintain the family's health and morale, impressing guests (*fare bella figura*) even on a tight budget. Fernanda Momigliano's *Vivere bene in tempi difficili* (Living Well in

During the embargo caused by the invasion of Ethiopia, even food magazines like *La Cucina Italiana* embraced the regime's propaganda.

Hard Times, 1933) advised readers by imagining an urban family of four living on a modest income. Cookbooks were published that embraced the refusal of meat as a fashion and a symbol of modern consumption, following the establishment of the Italian association of vegetarians in 1905.[26] In 1930 Duke Enrico Alliata di Salaparuta published *Cucina vegetariana: manuale di gastrosofia naturista* (Vegetarian Cuisine: A Manual of Natural Gastrosophy), in which the dietary choices were not dictated by the Fascist call to sobriety, but rather by philosophical choices and refined upper-class overtones. In 1929, the monthly magazine *La cucina italiana*, printed on thin, foldable paper like a daily, presented itself as 'a magazine of gastronomy for families and gourmets', negotiating a middle ground between the interests of upper-class consumers and the needs of middle-class housewives. In 1932 the magazine was sold to the newspaper *Giornale d'Italia* and became an amplifier for Fascist food-related policies. One of the most popular books of the period was Ada Boni's *Il talismano della felicità* (The Talisman for Happiness), first published in 1925, which already in its title promised domestic bliss to all those who cooked following its recipes. Boni's volume, which is still considered a classic and is often given as a present to newlywed women, went through many reprints and changes over time. After the demise of Fascism, the more patriotic and propagandistic overtones were eliminated to make the new editions of *Il talismano* acceptable. Ada Boni, a Roman lady who paid great attention to trends and novelties, had already launched the magazine *Preziosa* in 1915, promoting an interest in practicality and domestic advice for women that resonated in autarchy times. Other female food writers acquired great notoriety in this period. In 1929 Amalia Moretti Foggia della Rovere, famous under her nom de plume Petronilla, started writing for the weekly magazine *La domenica del corriere* about health and nutrition. One of the first Italian women to earn a university degree (in biology and medicine), she worked as a paediatrician in Milan, garnering a faithful readership when she started her column 'Tra i fornelli' (At the Stove). Her personal and refined tone struck a chord among housewives who wanted to maintain propriety even during the hard times of food rationing and autarchy, a situation the author barely acknowledged.

Ada Bonfiglio Krassich authored a series of books that promoted 'economic and healthy' cooking. Here are two recipes from the 1937 edition, when autarchy was already the war cry for patriotic housewives. Note the tiny quantities suggested for more expensive products, like

Economic Gnocchi in a Baking Pan

Put a pot on the stove with 150 grams of white flour, stirring two whole eggs and two litres of milk in it, a little at a time to avoid lumps. Add 50 grams of diced Gruyère cheese and, while stirring, cook on a moderate flame till you see the mix become denser. Emulsify 30 grams of butter in it, add a little salt and remove from the flame. Pour the mix on a baking sheet, and after letting it cool spread it so that is has the same thickness. Cut it in big dices and place them in a baking pan that you will have greased with butter. Sprinkle it with little pieces of butter and grated parmigiano cheese, place the pan in the oven and bake till the gnocchi have become a nice golden colour.[27]

Economic Meatloaf with Peas

Take a nice slice of beef, wide and thin, and after sprinkling it with some salt cover it with slices of mortadella (around 70 grams). Place thin slices of Gruyère cheese here and there (around 50 grams) then roll the meat into a cylinder that you will tie very tight with twine. Put a big piece of butter, a diced slice of pancetta, and an onion sliced in rings in a casserole and place it on the flame. When the ingredients start browning, add the meat roll that you will have passed in flour. Make it brown then add a cup of warm water in which you will have dissolved a teaspoon of tomato paste. Cover the casserole and let it simmer on a low flame for an hour. Then add 300 grams of fresh peas, adding some tablespoons of warm water if the sauce is too thick. Add salt, pepper and let it cook slowly. If they are tender, the peas will be ready in half hour. Reduce the sauce and serve with good polenta.[28]

Gruyère cheese and mortadella. Nevertheless, consumers were still assumed to have access to meat, butter and other goods that would become largely unavailable in the following years.

At times, the Fascist propaganda machine intervened directly on the food scene, publishing pamphlets like *Sapersi nutrire* (How to Nourish

Oneself), *Perché bisogna aumentare il consume del pesce* (Why It Is Necessary to Increase Fish Consumption, 1935) and *La cucina economica in tempo di sanzioni* (Thrifty Cooking in the Time of Sanctions, 1935). Before Mussolini issued racial laws in 1938, Jewish cookbooks also strived to represent the community as part of the Italian nation, proposing menus for traditional holidays that were structured according to the usual Italian meal sequence of antipasti-*primo-secondo* and *contorni*-dessert.[29]

The party emphasized the wealth of specialities and recipes that made Italy unique, as an expression of national pride and an invitation to promote the consumption of local products. Festivals were organized to highlight traditional customs and folklore, especially when connected with agriculture. In 1931 the Italian Touring Club published *Guida gastronomica d'Italia* (Gastronomic Guide to Italy).[30] The volume aimed to boost the knowledge and the diffusion at the national level of local foods that were otherwise limited to specific areas.[31] This approach revealed a new mentality that looked at traditional products as 'specialities' and 'typical products' that could attract tourists and that presupposed mobility, disposable income and an efficient transportation system. The railway system, one of the priorities for the Fascist regime in terms of national development, had spurred the success of modern establishments attached to the train stations that often offered 'Italian' food rather than local dishes.[32] The idea behind the *Guida gastronomica d'Italia*, as scholar

My moustachioed great-grandfather at a local market in Rome in 1933. Canned and packaged goods had become common.

Alberto Capatti has noted, did not clash with the modernization of transportation, rural development, the industrialization of food productions or with the self-reliance project that Fascism would embrace shortly after the publication of the guide:

> From the point of view of the autarchy, the food industry works for the wealth of the country, protects consumers from foreign competitors, and does not destroy small rural and mountain manufactures. Artisans, food technicians and housewives all give their individual contribution to a collective economic project.[33]

The desire to showcase the culinary wealth of Italy was also reflected in journalist Paolo Monelli's *Il ghiottone errante* (The Wandering Glutton, 1935), the *Almanacco della cucina regionale* (Almanac of Regional Cuisines, 1937), a cookbook for housewives by Ada Bonfiglio Krassich, and *Trattorie d'Italia*, a restaurant guidebook published in 1939 by the Fascist National Federation of Public Establishments.[34]

All kinds of establishments provided wine and food. At the *osteria*, abundant and cheap wine – often of poor quality and sold on credit – could be bought and consumed with the food that customers brought from home. At times, *osterie* provided both wine and food, either from nearby frying shops, bakeries or other kinds of food manufacturers, or from a kitchen on the premises (*osteria con cucina*). *Osterie*, more common in cities than in the countryside, and more numerous in the north than in the south, frequently became the object of temperance campaigns led by the socialists, who wanted to free workers from alcoholism and bring them to culture and political engagement, following the motto *libro contro litro* (a book instead of a litre). At the same time, these watering holes offered a place to meet with friends, play cards, discuss the current situation and socialize away from home, a necessity in the new neighbourhoods in northern Italian cities where factory workers lived in close, if not cramped, quarters.[35] Especially in the south, *osterie* were perceived as male spaces. Even when women were involved in running the *osteria*, they often stayed in the back of the house and the kitchen, while men dealt with customers. This division of roles is reflected in Luchino Visconti's first movie, *Ossessione* (1943), an early example of the Neorealist film style. The movie opens as a handsome and muscular vagrant in a singlet is visiting a roadside *osteria* and enters the rear kitchen uninvited. He startles but also intrigues the gorgeous and coquettish wife of the

My great-grandparents enjoying an outdoors snack in the 1930s. Even during shortages, city dwellers enjoyed picnics in the countryside and outings to *osterie* and *trattorie*.

owner, who is also the cook. In the kitchen, the vagrant eats directly from the pot, an attitude that the woman clearly interprets as a form of sensual flirting. The break of the social norm foreshadows the torrid passion that will develop between the two and that will eventually push them to kill the woman's stolid and overweight husband.

Drinking shops were also called *bettola*, when they were particularly small and carrying a bad reputation, or *taverna*, a word that over time acquired more positive connotations. Dining establishments that wanted to distinguish themselves from the vulgar *osteria* and *taverna* adopted the names *trattoria* and *ristorante*, serving both Italian and French food, with a greater attention to service and dish presentation. When the Fascist regime tried to protect the Italian language from foreign expressions, *trattoria* fell into disfavour and the word *ristorante* was officially eliminated in 1941 by the Royal Academy of Italy.[36] At any rate, as early as 1921, the German author Hans Barth was already complaining about the gentrification of eateries in his volume *Osteria*, the reprint of his groundbreaking guide from 1908 to this specific Italian culinary institution.[37]

While Italy was struggling to adapt to the food policies of Fascism, a very visible art movement, Futurism, embraced the regime's priorities regarding food consumption, but it did so by adopting a very iconoclastic approach that expressed a deep fascination with modernity, machinery and speed. In 1930, artists Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and

From the 'Manifesto of Futurist Cuisine' (1930)

We first need the abolition of pasta, the absurd Italian gastronomic religion. Perhaps stock fish, roast beef and pudding benefit the British, meat cooked with cheese the Dutch, sauerkraut, lard and smoked sausage the Germans, but pasta does not help Italians. For example, it contrasts with the vivacious wit and passionate, generous, intuitive soul of the Neapolitans. These were heroic fighters, inspired artists, enthralling speakers, witty lawyers and tenacious farmers in spite of the massive daily pasta. In eating it, they develop the typical ironic and sentimental scepticism that often truncates their enthusiasm. A clever Neapolitan professor, Dr Signorelli, writes: 'Unlike bread and rice, pasta is a food that you guzzle, instead of chewing. This starchy food is mostly digested in the mouth by saliva and the work of transformation is carried out by the pancreas and the liver. This leads to an imbalanced disorder of these organs. The result is weakness, pessimism, nostalgic inactivity and neutralism.'

We require the abolition of the mediocre daily habits in the pleasures of the palate. We call upon chemistry for the duty to quickly provide the body with the necessary calories by equivalent nutrients, free and given by the State, in powder or pills, albumen compounds, synthetic fats and vitamins. So we will achieve a real fall in the cost of life and in wages, with a relative reduction of working hours. Today, two thousand kilowatts need only one worker. The machines will soon constitute an obedient proletariat of iron, steel and aluminium serving people who will be almost totally relieved from manual labour. This, being reduced to two or three hours, allows you to refine and ennoble the other hours through thought, the arts and the foretaste of perfect lunches. In all walks of life, lunches will be spaced but perfect in their daily equivalent in nutrients.

Fillia (Luigi Colombo) published a daring manifesto entitled 'Manifesto of Futurist Cuisine' in the *Gazzetta del popolo* in Turin, which was as controversial as their dinners, in which performance and bombastic declarations were as important as the actual food.[38]

The book *La cucina futurista* (The Futurist Cookbook, 1932) proposed dishes and menus that repudiate all Italian traditions. In its introduction, the cookbook stated:

> Against the criticism already expressed and that can be expected, the futurist culinary revolution, illustrated in this volume, proposed the high, noble and useful aim of radically modifying the food of our race, to make it stronger, more dynamic and more spiritual with brand new dishes where intelligence, experience, and creativity replace – in an economic way – quantity, banality, repetition and cost. Regulated for high speed like the engine of a hydroplane, this futurist cuisine of ours will appear to some trembling traditionalists as crazy and dangerous; on the contrary, its goal is to create harmony between men's taste and their lives, today and tomorrow.[39]

As a matter of fact, many of the Futurist culinary creations appear farfetched and unappetizing, such as the *Paradosso primaverile* (springtime paradox), a cylinder of ice cream topped with bananas and plum-filled hard eggs, or *Parole in libertà* (free words), composed of sea cucumbers, watermelon, radicchio, a cube of parmigiano, a sphere of Gorgonzola, caviar, figs and amaretto cookies, 'all neatly placed on a bed of mozzarella, to be eaten with your eyes closed, grasping here and there, while the great painter and "free-worder" Depero will declaim his famous song "Jacopson"'.[40] The recipes proposed were mostly daring assemblages, with frequent sexual, lavatorial or belligerent innuendos, such as in the case of 'raw meat torn by the sound of trumpet'.[41]

> Cut a perfect cube of beef. Spike it with electrical currents, keep it soaking in a mixture of rum, cognac and white vermouth for 24 hours. Take it out of the mixture and serve it on a bed of red pepper, black pepper and snow. Chew each bite thoroughly for one minute, separating them by impetuous notes of the trumpet blown by the eater.
>
> When waking up, fighters will be served platters of ripe persimmons, pomegranates and blood oranges. While these disappear into the mouth, the room will be sprayed with suave aromas of rose, jasmine, honeysuckle and acacia, whose nostalgic and

> decadent sweetness will be brutally refused by the fighters, who will immediately wear their gas masks.
>
> Before leaving, they will swallow a *scoppioingola* [burst in your throat], hard liquid constituted by a little ball of parmigiano cheese soaked in *marsala* wine.[42]

Mussolini never took part in any of the extravagant dinners, but expressed his appreciation for the Futurists' work.[43]

Mayhem and Reconstruction

Despite the political and economic ties with Hitler's Third Reich, at the beginning of the Second World War Mussolini proclaimed non-belligerence and waited until June 1940 to join his ally against Great Britain and France. The Italian intervention proved a disaster: the military conquest of Greece failed, and the Italian battalions sent to Russia to take part in Hitler's attack against Stalin were defeated. In July 1943, following the massive bombardments of Italian cities and the landing of the Allies in Sicily, Vittorio Emanuele III dismissed Mussolini, who was taken prisoner to Abruzzo. In September the new government, guided by Marshall Pietro Badoglio, signed an armistice with the Allies. The German troops immediately occupied all of northern and central Italy, including Rome, while the Allies and the Italian government took control of the area south of Latium and Abruzzo. Mussolini was freed and established a puppet state in northern Italy with Salò, on Lake Garda, as its capital. National Liberation Committees, which gathered militants (*partigiani*, 'partisans') from all political parties, were formed in the occupied areas and fought a guerrilla war against the Nazis and the remnants of the Fascist troops.

War inevitably brought hunger; food availability decreased dramatically as agricultural production slowed and rural workers departed to the front. Hoarding became a widespread phenomenon and rationing started as early as 1940, with coffee and sugar first, then oil, rice, pasta and bread. The government distributed food stamps that could be redeemed with basic products, but the system did not function properly. Faced with widespread meat scarcity, those who could raise chickens, rabbits and pigs did so for their own consumption and for sale. Farmers created parallel distribution networks to bring their goods into the cities, selling them to entrepreneurial individuals who resold them at much higher prices,

The black market (*borsa nera*) in Rome after the war.

and shop owners sometimes hid rationed provisions to sell them on the black market.[44] Hotels and restaurants at times managed to stay open and offer full menus to whoever could afford them. The black market system (*borsa nera*) worked thanks to the connivance of state functionaries, from mill inspectors to policemen and city guards, who enjoyed food kickbacks. Research on access to food during the war reveals that the black market became the main source of procurement, limiting options for Italians living on a fixed income.[45] A diet relying exclusively on rationed food from the government would have ensured only around 900 calories a day.[46] The urban dwellers that had family in the countryside moved out of the city, hoping to tap into the relative availability of food and the higher living standards of the rural world. In the Nazi-occupied areas the situation was even worse, as the German troops requisitioned great quantities of provisions for their own use and rounded up males to work for them.

In June 1944, Rome was liberated and the occupied area shrank north of the 'Gothic Line' between Rimini in Romagna and Forte dei Marmi in Tuscany. Finally, on 25 April 1945 (a date celebrated with a national holiday in Italy), the general insurrection against the Nazi occupation was proclaimed. The German troops surrendered and Mussolini was captured, executed, and his corpse hung by the feet in a square in Milan where the Nazis had shot fifteen *partigiani*. In 1946

An American GI embraces a girl after the end of the Nazi occupation in 1945.

Italians voted to become a republic, and in 1948 the new constitution was passed. With the arrival of the American GIs in the south, and later in the rest of the country, condensed milk, cookies, chocolate, coffee and other victuals suddenly reappeared, albeit sparsely. Much of the distribution network was still so inefficient that most consumers kept on buying what they needed on the black market. Great efforts were focused on bringing food from the countryside into the cities through legal channels, but it was to little avail. The Alto Commissariato dell'Alimentazione (High Commissariat for Food Provisioning) and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) struggled with the sheer amount of food needed. Federconsorzi, the Italian federation of rural consortia that since the 1890s had helped farmers get credit, seeds and raw materials, was involved in the distribution of staples and crops.[47] Numerous Italians were fed in soup kitchens and

other institutions run by political parties and by the Catholic Church, like the *Refettori del Papa* (pope's dining halls).

The decade 1945–55 was defined as *ricostruzione* (reconstruction). Italy, with its powerful Communist and Socialist parties, found itself at the hinge of the Western and the Eastern blocs during the cold war. It was crucial for the U.S. that Italy stayed in the Western camp. The result was the inclusion of Italy in the European recovery programme, also known as the Marshall Plan, to funnel financial aid towards the reconstruction of the productive system in order to avoid unemployment and social turmoil. Great efforts focused on state-led initiatives to rebuild the industrial system, which was already concentrated in the industrial triangle between Milan, Turin and Genoa. Food became crucial in the political debates that surrounded the first democratic elections for the new parliament: the Christian Democrats, a party of Catholic inspiration, underlined its connection with the U.S., a source of aid and food provisions, unlike the Communist Party's Soviet allies.

The rural world, particularly in the south, was ready to explode, as became clear with the police killing of farmers occupying uncultivated lands in Melissa, Calabria, in 1949. The major issues included the concentration of land ownership, the technological backwardness and the low wages paid to agricultural workers, who lived in conditions of

At the end of the war, Italians finally had access to food.

chronic undernourishment. *La terra a chi lavora* (the land to those who work it) was the slogan. The following year, a reform was launched after long negotiations between the leftist parties, which were against any sort of large ownership, and the Christian Democrats, who wanted to support rural families while defending private property.[48] The reform, which involved about 30 per cent of all available land, did too little, too late. Expropriated owners received public bonds with a 5 per cent interest rate, while farmers were given the opportunity to buy plots from the state with 30-year mortgages. Almost 1.5 million acres were transferred to small farmers whose traditional methods frequently could not keep up with the modernization in the sector. The reform was more successful in coastal areas, where the government was building public infrastructures using a special fund, Cassa del Mezzogiorno, for the development of the south. Agricultural production only increased at a rate of 2.5 per cent a year, despite the government's efforts to amass wheat to keep its price high and support rural incomes.[49]

Most Italians were still sticking to what would later be known as the Mediterranean diet, mostly consuming grains, fresh vegetables and fruit from the neighbouring countryside, pasta, eggs and the occasional fish or piece of cheese. In the north the consumption of animal fats was higher. Nevertheless, in the early 1950s the average per capita consumption of meat was still limited. A survey on poverty, organized by the parliament after the launch of the land reform, indicated that over 50 per cent of families in southern Italy were to be considered indigent.[50] Many families still cooked in the hearth or in a coal burner; better-off households could afford a *cucina economica*, a coal or wood stove that also provided heat and hot water. Electric or gas burners were still luxury items.[51]

Young film-makers such as Roberto Rossellini, Vittorio De Sica and Luchino Visconti immortalized this situation of penury in sombre tones, often exaggerating the admittedly hard reality for political reasons. They rejected the propagandist approach of the previous period to reflect the world they saw around them; they chose to shoot on location rather than in studios, and preferred to hire non-professional actors when possible. By so doing, they established new film aesthetics that acquired worldwide renown under the name of Neorealism.[52] Their stories highlighted the vicissitudes of working-class characters. In *La terra trema* (The Earth Trembles, 1948), Luchino Visconti narrated the ruinous attempts of a poor fisherman's family on the eastern coast of Sicily to overcome their condition, while in *Riso amaro* (Bitter Rice, 1949)

Fishermen in Lampedusa, off the coast of Sicily. Some areas of Italy remained excluded from economic reconstruction after the war.

Rice gatherers, or *mondine*, the protagonists of the film *Riso amaro* (1949).

Giuseppe De Santis focused on the lives of rice gatherers and the union struggles of rural workers.

Paradoxically, the filmmaker could count on the eager audiences who had become accustomed to the Fascist-sponsored movies, both as entertainment and as a tool for political communication. In a famous scene from Vittorio De Sica's Neorealist masterpiece *Ladri di biciclette* (Bicycle Thieves, 1948), which takes place in Rome right after the end of the Second World War, a father decides to splurge and to take his young son to lunch in a restaurant they cannot afford. The child, looking at the lavish food consumed at a nearby table by snooty, upper-class people, enjoys a simple *mozzarella in carrozza*, a slice of mozzarella squeezed between two slices of bread and then fried. He also shares some wine with his father, knowing well that they are doing something his mother would disapprove of. The child, intimidated by the unfamiliar surroundings, almost stops eating out of guilt when his father mentions the dire straits the family finds itself in after the theft of the bicycle he used for work. The scene is particularly poignant, as we see a desperate father trying to hold onto his role as breadwinner, while being confronted with his poverty and his limited access to food. Many elements provide us with useful information about eating in public at the time: the service, the available dishes and the social discourse about food scarcity. Poverty is also the focus in De Sica's *Miracolo a Milano* (Miracle in Milan, 1951), where homeless people participate in a raffle to win a 'real chicken', which is eventually devoured by the lucky winner alone in front of the other hungry participants.

De Sica's more ironic and light-hearted approach to social issues became more common in Italian films, reflecting the improvement of the economic situation in the early 1950s. Luciano Emmer's *Domenica d'agosto* (August Sunday, 1950) turned its ironic gaze on Romans flocking to the beaches with huge amounts of food and displaying their newly found security but also their lack of education. Food and hunger, not urgent issues for the greater part of the population, soon turned into targets for comedy, as Mario Mattone's *Miseria e nobiltà* (Poverty and Nobility, 1954) clearly indicates. In the most famous scene, which takes places in Naples, a famished Totò, a well-known and beloved comedian, is so excited to be offered spaghetti with tomato sauce that he fills his pockets with it and eats it with his bare hands while dancing on a table. Movies also documented the influence of the U.S. as a dietary model and the spread of foreign foods during the reconstruction. The young

Totò in Mario Mattone's *Miseria e nobiltà* (Poverty and Nobility, 1954).

Roman protagonist of Steno's *Un americano a Roma* (An American in Rome, 1954) pictures himself as an American, comically mimicking words and behaviours to express his newfound identity. In a sequence that many Italians can still recite word for word, he expresses his desire to enjoy glamorous but unpalatable foreign foods such as yogurt and mustard. At the same time, he negotiates his attachment to traditional

After the war, new industrial products (like this chestnut paste in a tube) fascinated Italians as symbols of modernity and progress.

fare such as spaghetti and wine, which he mocks as passé and uninteresting while craving them as a source of comfort. The famous line, 'Spaghetti, you provoked me, now I am going to devour you', is often quoted in contemporary situations where Italians find themselves facing globalized foods that are considered trendy and exciting but not as satisfying as Italian traditional dishes.[53]

The mid-1950s saw the end of food shortages, with growing industrial production of pasta, dairy, sugar, wine and liquors. Foreign consumer goods such as Ritz crackers, whisky and Coca-Cola were embraced as symbols of cosmopolitanism and abundance. Cookbooks reflected this sensibility, offering exotic and daring recipes that were supposed to surprise guests when entertaining. However, domestic food habits did not change much. As historian Carol Helstosky underlines:

> Consumers purchased more of the foods they consumed prior to the war but did not alter the content or structure of their daily meals. The Italian food industry reinforced existing habits by concentrating on producing and marketing the foods characteristic of the Mediterranean diet: pasta, olive oil, tomatoes, wine and bread.[54]

Women found themselves recast in the traditional middle-class roles of homemakers. Supposed to find satisfaction and self-expression in the expanding access to consumer goods, they were considered naturally responsible for the home and care-giving work.[55] However, the economic system was changing too fast for traditional gender roles to be maintained. In the 1960s and 1970s, women entered the job market in droves, triggering epochal changes in Italian society that led to the reform of family law, the introduction of divorce and women's unprecedented control over their bodies and sexual lives.

La Dolce Vita

Life became easier for many Italians during the late 1950s when the country experienced the beginning of the so-called 'economic miracle', credited to international peace, currency stability and a growing internal demand for consumer goods. The average GDP growth rate was 6.3 per cent between 1958 and 1963, with a peak of 7.6 per cent in 1961. The unemployment rate plummeted as low as 2.6 per cent in 1963.[56] Most of the development happened in the industrial sector. In 1957 Italy joined the European Economic Community (EEC), which embraced a free-market model based on specialization and the expansion of consumer demand. The following year, the Common Agricultural Policy established a huge free exchange space for agricultural goods across several European nations but also incorporated a high degree of centralized decision making at the Community level, with a focus on efficiency that contradicted the goals of the land reform in Italy. European price support focused on cereals, milk, cheese and meat, mostly produced in the plains of northern Italy, while almost ignoring southern goods like olive oil and wine. In 1961 and 1966 the Italian government approved two *piano verde* (green plans) that emphasized technology, mechanization, fertilizers, pesticides and construction. These measures increased the rural demand for industrial products, then mostly flowing towards large agricultural enterprises.

Starting from the 1950s, Italy reconstructed its production system and embarked on the industrialization of its agriculture.

The new European framework and the policies adopted by the Italian government did not do much to improve the living standards among small farmers, who frequently ended up selling their properties to larger owners.

Despite a law of 1957 that established areas for industrial investment in the south, the rapid growth in the industrial triangle around Milan, Turin and Genoa stimulated a major wave of internal emigration of southerners to the north. This rapid demographic shift compounded the long-term movement of the population from the interior to the coasts and from the countryside to cities that had started with the unification. From the 1880s on, during every decade, almost a million rural

residents relocated to urban centres. This figure increased to 3.2 million between 1951 and 1961, when the Fascist law against internal migration was struck down, and was 2.3 million in the following decade.[57] A total of around 9 million people changed residence between 1955 and 1971.[58] Despite the fact that agricultural jobs decreased from 44 per cent of the total workforce to 29 per cent between 1951 and 1961, rural productivity increased, providing goods for the growing consumer market. This trend also continued after the end of the 'miracle': by 1981, only 14.1 per cent of Italian jobs were in agriculture.[59]

Cinema took stock of this epochal migration, featuring food to express nostalgia, lack of understanding between newcomers and host communities, and the fear and struggles experienced when leaving one's native place to move to an unfamiliar destination. Among the films that reflect these issues we can mention Luchino Visconti's *Rocco e i suoi fratelli* (Rocco and His Brother, 1960), the dramatic narration of a family's life from Basilicata in Milan.[60] Other films offered a lighter and more comedic approach, like Camillo Mastrocinque's *Totò, Peppino e la malafemmina* (Totò, Peppino and the Shameless Woman, 1956), where the protagonists travel from Naples to Milan wearing heavy coats and fur hats for fear of the cold, bringing tons of southern food, and Mario Monicelli's *I soliti ignoti* (Big Deal of Madonna Street, 1958), about a motley crew of inexperienced thieves in Rome, many of whom were immigrants.

Mass internal migration gave rise to deep social changes and caused fissures in the family structure and the traditional values that sustained it. Many agricultural workers decided to abandon their farms for factory work, which provided stable and substantial revenues. But the sudden lack of agricultural labour triggered the neglect of low-yield crops that were too labour-intensive. Biodiversity suffered an unprecedented blow, while many food-related production techniques and artisanal know-how almost got lost.

Immigrants settling in the industrial north were often ambivalent about their own culinary habits, which depended on their personal situations, family stories, social integration in the host communities and financial constraints. Some wanted to forget their past and blend into the new environment; many considered the dishes they grew up with unfashionable, if not despicable and smacking of poverty. Others displayed an admirable attachment to their culinary heritage, going to great lengths to procure the necessary ingredients. During holidays, it was especially

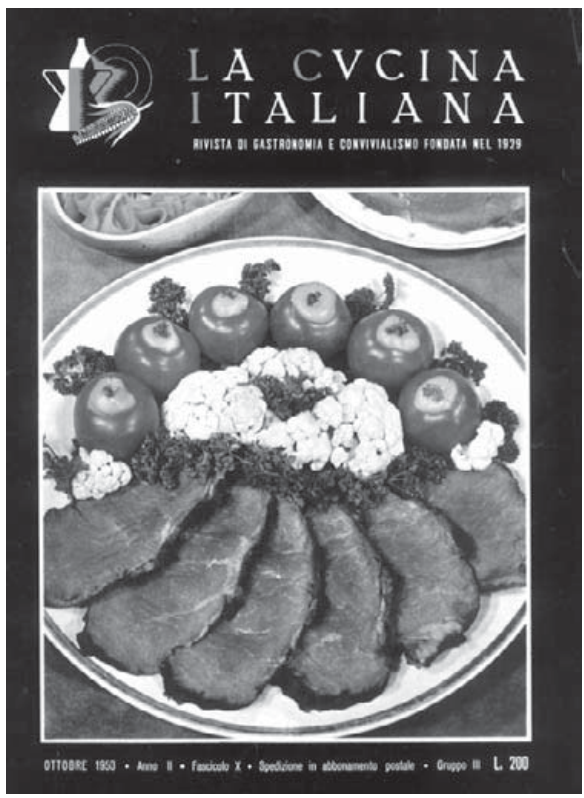
common for immigrants to prepare and share their more traditional dishes, as a way to remind themselves of their cultural identities. Nevertheless, these recipes belonged to the intimate sphere of family or close friends, and as the financial situations of immigrants improved, the recipes were often relegated to a more symbolic status, still prepared for tradition's sake but at other times barely consumed. Women, who in the past were usually in charge of cooking, frequently had to leave their homes and find jobs, dedicating less time to the preparation of meals. Furthermore, the rise of the feminist political consciousness pushed many women out of the kitchen, now considered a place of exploitation.

Nevertheless, the displacement of major portions of the population allowed regional and local foods to become known in other parts of the country. While this interregional exchange had always existed for the higher classes, farmers and artisans had tended to eat what was produced around them, familiar and affordable. Now southern communities in the north craved Mediterranean products, creating commercial demand for foods that otherwise would never have travelled: this is the case with buffalo-milk mozzarella, sun-dried tomatoes and olive oil. Many migrants found their first occupations around the outdoor markets in northern cities, frequently working illegally as street vendors and climbing up the ranks to manage and purchase their own legal stalls or stores.[61] Markets were places where newcomers could find jobs, congregate with other people from their village or area, speak their own dialect and loiter on Sundays, which raised suspicions and outright criticism among northerners.[62] Over time, southern entrepreneurs opened successful stores, restaurants, bakeries and pastry shops that not only catered to their own communities, but also played an important role as cultural mediators, introducing locals to unheard-of specialities and recipes.

Due to steadfast economic development, protein consumption rose at an unprecedented pace, even among migrants. Despite their prices being maintained at artificially high levels by European policies, milk, cheese and meat claimed a place in Italian diets that they had never had before. Meat consumption increased especially quickly, not only in terms of quantity, but also quality and types of cut. If in 1881 the average per capita consumption of meat was 11.25 kg (25 lb) a year, in 1974 it was 45 kg (100 lb).[63] Steaks and *fettine* (slices of veal or beef) became the affordable symbols of comfort and financial security, replacing more traditional cuts considered too tough or just not as juicy. New consumer products flooded the market, including snacks like Motta and Algida

packaged ice cream, Pavesi crackers and Nutella chocolate spread. However, the growth of the food industry was restrained by the limits of agricultural production, with a few exceptions: Barilla, Buitoni, Ferrero and Cirio. The production of consumer appliances fared much better. Gas stoves became common and refrigerators found their place in households, often with small freezer compartments that slowly allowed the adoption of frozen food, especially fish and, later, vegetables.[64] Italians enjoyed displaying their financial stability by purchasing cars, travelling at weekends and taking longer vacations, frequently spending their month off away from home. In August the country basically shut down, with many immigrants going back to their places of origin. Tourism became a common leisure activity.

The inauguration of public TV broadcasting in December 1954 marked the beginning of a new era of consumer culture. As early as 1957, a ten-minute show called *Carosello* was launched, aired right after the evening news and before the main entertainment in the one network then functioning. *Carosello* was composed of short commercials (both



Cover from a 1953 issue of the food magazine *La cucina italiana*: after the war, the new abundance was symbolized by an increased use of meat.

with actors and cartoons) with only a few seconds dedicated to promote products. For this prime-time slot, advertisers created characters with stories and adventures that quickly became part of popular culture and established a solid position for the products they represented. It was usual for children to go to bed after *Carosello*, and it was a form of punishment to be sent to bed without watching the beloved show. The show ended in 1977, when long commercials became too expensive for advertisers to produce and air, and other forms of more direct promotion were adopted.[65]

Stimulated by advertising and enjoying their higher incomes, Italians familiarized themselves with the supermarket, an American invention that was introduced in Milan in 1957 with the participation of the International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC), founded by Nelson Rockefeller.[66] Although the prestigious Rinascente department stores were inaugurated in 1917 and the less upscale UPIM and Standa had already opened during the Fascist period, the new food supermarkets required a transformation of the way Italians were used to shopping. Customers were expected to get goods from the shelves, an action performed by store staff in traditional grocers'; they were offered larger quantities of goods; furthermore, they had to acquaint themselves with food packaged in unfamiliar ways. Because of the small size of Italian industrial food production and the overall lag in the agribusiness sectors, supermarkets imported many goods from abroad or produced their own bread, coffee, sausages and cheese. Through their Confcommercio association, small shopkeepers resisted supermarkets, which they accused of depressing prices and ruining local businesses by pressuring local politicians. Consumer cooperatives also expanded their activities, reaching dimensions that allowed them to compete with private conglomerates. The League of Cooperatives, founded back in 1886, grew in the number of stores and purchasing power, becoming an important link between Left parties and consumers. Over the decades, the tension between the League and private entrepreneurs would be tainted by political tensions, with reciprocal accusations and legal battles.[67] In 1962 shopkeepers also founded their own cooperative, CONAD, which became a major player in the supermarket sector.

Following the economic miracle, *osterie* and *trattorie* almost disappeared, supplanted by new public places of consumptions like bars, where young people could congregate in an environment that was considered more modern and interesting. 'American bars' had made

My grandparents at a family meal, 1960s. The economic miracle became visible on Italian tables, with more abundant food.

their appearance in Italy in the late 1890s, where coffee from espresso machines was served at the counter by a barista.[68] Customers could drink their espresso standing at the counter or sitting with friends. In the 1960s, bars once again became places to perform modernity, embracing sleek design and materials such as linoleum, Formica and steel. Juke boxes blasted pop music hits, while foosball tables provided cheap entertainment. Mass-produced carbonated drinks and alcoholic beverages like beers, liquors, *amaro* and, more rarely, mixed drinks, replaced wine. While traditional *osterie* disappeared, new establishments took the name *hostaria*, with an 'h' that was supposed to suggest history and tradition, proposing a domesticated and nostalgic version of the old popular fare. From the 1960s, the ambivalent relationship between tradition and innovation, between attachment to local identities and the realities of globalization, became a constant element of the way Italians experience food.