

# Lasagna: A Layered History

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*A Pasquëta, 'na bonn-a lasagnata a l'é consueta.*

Genoese Proverb

## Introduction<sup>1</sup>

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In 2003, there appeared a news story in Britain which reported the alleged discovery of the true English origins of lasagna, citing the recipe for *los(e)yns* from *The Forme of Cury* as indisputable proof.<sup>2</sup> Though one suspects (and hopes) that the claim that lasagna is English in origin was made with tongue in cheek, given the ample, earlier attestations of the word 'lasagna' and evidence for the dish in Italian sources, there is a body of scholarly work about the history of pasta in general and of lasagna in particular that argues they are to be attributed in the first place not to the Italians but to the Arabs. In the general case of pasta, the arguments that have been adduced are complex and involve various kinds of evidence, from the palaeoethnobotanical to textual to linguistic, but for many food scholars, the claim of Arab origins has been limited to the invention of dry pasta made from durum wheat, while the origins of fresh pasta have generally been felt to be murkier and likely more diffuse; nonetheless, some food historians, such as Clifford Wright (e.g. 1996–1997), are clearly inclined to attribute all early forms of pasta, including lasagna, to the Arabs.

Evidence for the putative Arab origins of lasagna is largely limited to an etymological assertion, namely, that 'lasagna' comes from the name of an almond paste confection known in Arabic as *lawzīnaġ*. Beyond that, the claim rests for the most part on the merits of the broader theory that pasta is of Arab origin.

In this paper, I examine the etymologies of the word 'lasagna' that have thus far been proposed and demonstrate that they are all unsatisfactory: the etymologies offered and championed by food historians have paid little or no heed to the historical linguistic issues involved in producing a plausible etymology. The linguistic evidence and the earliest textual and culinary evidence, taken together and viewed against the backdrop of the political and socioeconomic history of the western Mediterranean in the late Middle Ages, provide us with the clues needed to reconstruct an interesting and complex path of the dish's development. This path starts in southern Italy but crucially involves a journey across the Tyrrhenian Sea to Genoa and the regions of Liguria and Provence, a return voyage back to southern Italy, as well as a spread throughout central and northern Italy and ultimately back to Provence, northern France and beyond. It is, moreover, a path that involves travel across social space, starting with humble origins but then moving to the very highest layer of society, only gradually to find its place with

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all levels of society in Italy. What is conspicuously absent throughout the early history of lasagna is any evidence of Arab involvement.

### Preliminaries

In recent decades, lasagna has become enormously popular outside of Italy, particularly in the United States and Britain, but in the process the dish has been changed in a number of ways, rendering the versions known in the Anglophone world fundamentally different from those of Italy. The following points need therefore to be made before we proceed.

First, we note that, in referring to baked versions of the dish, regional usage in Italy favours the plural form *lasagne* in the north and the singular form *lasagna* in the south; from the former usage stems the British use of 'lasagne' and from the latter the American 'lasagna'. Neither usage can be considered 'more correct', though, depending on one's cultural prejudices, one may think one or the other superior for entirely irrational reasons.

Also to be noted is the fact that, whereas outside of Italy lasagna-type noodles appear almost exclusively in stuffed and baked form, within Italy there are regionally non-baked applications of such noodles, served with a simple condiment as a *pasta asciutta* dish or appearing in a soupy (*minestra*) form. In addition, Italian usage of the word operates at two levels, one with a more specific sense akin to that known outside of Italy and another, more general sense, referring to noodles that are flat, broad and thin but not necessarily to a specific shape, i.e., square, rectangular, etc. In this sense of the word, it is perfectly reasonable to speak of 'round lasagne', as when Ratto & Ratto (2003 [1863]: 80) describe the Genoese pasta *corzetti stampati* as a 'specie di lasagne tonde'. In effect then, the word can overlap with the term *sfoglia*, a sheet of rolled-out dough, from which various pasta shapes can be cut, as well as for a range of cuts made from such a pasta sheet, but then also serves as an overarching term for shapes that are felt to be related – *lasagnone*, *lasagnette*, the *sagne* of Adriatic regions, and the *lagane* of the continental south.

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Regarding the method of producing these noodles, considerable regional variation obtains, though in general these are traditionally fresh products which tend to be made more often in the north with soft wheat flour and eggs and more often in the south with durum wheat flour and water. Commercially manufactured dry noodles are, of course, used nowadays but in Italy are still not the norm, as they are in other countries where lasagna is popular. And in this regard we come to an important point about the status of the dish, especially in its stuffed and baked forms: whereas in the United States and Britain, it is a dish consumed relatively frequently by many people, it is in Italy a dish that remains special, closely linked to specific holiday meals, and otherwise it is seldom or not at all consumed. In other words, for the broader population of Italy the dish has deep contextual meaning in the overall culinary repertoire and in the culinary calendar.

## Earliest Attestations

In seeking the origins of lasagna it makes sense *prima facie* to look to Italy not only because it is that country whence in modern times the dish has clearly diffused into other countries but also because all of the earliest attestations of the word ‘lasagna’ are found in texts written in Italy. Indeed, a century and more before the recipe which was recently claimed to prove the dish’s English origin was composed, probably around 1390 (Hiett & Butler 1985: 24), there had already appeared in Italy numerous references to the dish in various kinds of texts, including a cookbook. ‘Lasagna’ or ‘lasagne’ are mentioned in poems by the Umbrian Jacopone Da Todi (1230–1306) and the Senese Cecco Angiolieri (1257–1312), in a chronicle by the Parmesan Salimbene di Adam (1221–c.1290) and also once in poetic marginal notes on legal records of the city of Bologna, the *Memoriali bolognesi*, for the year 1282.

Besides these references to the dish, which are all occasionally cited in recent commentaries on the history of pasta, we find two other, neglected references. First, in one of the works by the ‘Anonymous Genovese’ poet, also known as Luchetto, there appears a clear mention of ‘lasa[g]na’ – rhyming with ‘castagna’ – as a food (Cocito ed. 1970: 304); this poem dates to around the end of the thirteenth century or just thereafter. Second, what is to my knowledge the earliest attestation of lasagna occurs in an etymological work on Latin, the *Derivationes*, written by Uguccione da Pisa and dating to the last quarter of the twelfth century, perhaps around 1180 (Cecchini ed. 2004: v. II 642). In the entry on the word ‘lagos’ (rabbit), Uguccione goes on also to discuss the seemingly related Latin ‘laganum’ (from Greek *laganon*) and in that context then mentions ‘lasania’.

This word ‘laganum(/laganon)’ is well attested in classical sources, where it clearly indicates a dough product that is flat, broad and thin but it was either baked or, as several Greek and Latin texts indicate, often fried in oil, rather than boiled in the fashion of pasta as we know it. This matter of the method of cooking has led some scholars, most notably Grocock and Grainger (2006: 349–50) to reject the idea that the laganum of classical times was already a sort of lasagna-noodle to be boiled and dressed or cooked in a *minestra*. But it must also be said that there is no doubt whatsoever that at some time in southern Italy, lagana did become exactly that, broad noodles, and though we cannot say precisely when the treatment of lagana as ‘pasta’ began, there are good indications that it was long ago and, *pace* the cautionary observations of Perry (1981: 43) and Grocock and Grainger, quite possibly already in classical times. Certainly, the broad distribution of the term across the dialects of the continental Mezzogiorno, together with the fact that the dialectal reflexes of the word show a considerable amount of variation with regard to sound-shape in accordance with local phonological developments, bespeaks continuous active use of the term from classical times to today.<sup>3</sup>

Direct evidence for the manner of cooking employed in the preparation of southern Italian *lagane* is lacking before recent times, but looking at the evidence starting in the nineteenth century, when scholarly interest first turned to the underclasses of southern

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Italy and popular descriptions of regional foodways also find their way into print, the term 'lagane' appears as the regional name for fresh broad noodles which are used in both sauced and soupy preparations, most famously in combination with chick peas – *lagane e ceci* – in a preparation which in many localities enjoys the status of a sacral dish, served at the feast or vigil of the feast of Saint Joseph, a particularly important figure in the region's religious life.

There are two very striking aspects to this dish which have relevance to the history of pasta. First, the dish appears in the Salentine peninsula (the heel of the Italian boot), an area that was historically Greek-speaking and still maintains, to a now very restricted degree, the use of the inherited Greek dialect, with the same form of pasta but under the name of 'tria', from the Greek *itria*; already in late antiquity (and in my opinion earlier than that), there are strong indications that 'itria' indicated at least on occasion a form of pasta and, as some scholars have remarked (e.g. Grocock and Grainger 2006: 349; Weingarten 2004), there was considerable overlap between *itria* and *lagana* and a third product, *tracta*, the name of which does not seem to have survived anywhere. Given this analogous appearance of lagane and tria in essentially identical special dishes, it is very tempting to conclude that, in a sense, 'lagane' was the Romance-speakers' name for what their southern Italian Hellenophone neighbours called 'tria'. And in this regard it is also noteworthy that there is a tradition in the Salentine peninsula of finishing the *tria e ceci* with some of the noodles fried in oil, a usage that recalls the treatment in classical times not only of *itria* but also of *lagana*.

Second, there is a famous passage in one of Horace's satires in which he argues that he is not a social-climber but rather a person content with a simple life; to illustrate his claim, he relates how, after a night-time stroll through Rome, he betakes himself home to enjoy a simple meal of leeks, chick-peas and lagana: 'inde domum ad porri et ciceris refero laganique catinum.' Though how this meal was prepared is not explicitly stated, the phrasing strongly points to the three items forming a single dish. My own interpretation of the text is that they most likely formed a unity, and so too thought Ullman (1912: 443), who wrote a century ago that 'Certainly Horace's language is entirely in favor of the view that the three articles were cooked together: "I come back home to my *pot* of leek, peas, and *laganum*."' In other words, there is a strong possibility that Horace, speaking of the food of the humble poor, is talking about a boiled *piatto unico*, the forerunner of the *lagane e ceci* still eaten many centuries later. That the dish maintains in many places a status as the required meal for an important festive fast-day reinforces the likelihood of the connection, given the tendency for special meals of that sort to resist change. It should also be noted that Horace was himself of humble origins and a native of the town of Venosa (today in Basilicata, near the border with Puglia), a place that stands fully in the zone where the dish of *lagane e ceci* is to this day part of the regional culinary tradition.

Returning now to Uguccione's comments about the word 'laganum', we note that he explicitly links the 'lagana' of classical times and two foods he knows from his own

times: lagana that are fried in oil and dressed with honey and those that are first boiled and then fried in oil correspond to what are called commonly ('illa vulgo dicuntur...') 'crustella' and 'lasaniam' respectively (Cecchini 2004: II.642). Whatever the accuracy of these comments might be, offered not by a cook but by a scholar and future bishop, Ugucione's description of 'lasaniam' rings true at a basic level – lasania are boiled and then cooked again. But what exactly does he mean by 'fried in oil (in oleo friguntur)', necessarily deep-fried or simply finished in a pan with an oil-based condiment? And does he know lagana only as a term from classical Latin texts or is he familiar also with the still-living tradition of *lagane* in the Mezzogiorno?

That lagana and lasania coexisted to some degree during this period (mid twelfth to mid-fourteenth centuries) in Italian culinary practice is proven by their co-occurrence in the earliest extant medieval cookbook from Italy, the *Liber de coquina*. This Latin text dates to around 1300 and is generally regarded as having been composed in association with the court in Naples of the Angevin king of southern Italy, Charles II (Maier 2005: 13; Martellotti 2005: 14). It is here that we find the first known recipe for lasagne which calls for one to make a sheet of (leavened) dough and roll it out as thin as possible, then to cut the dough into small squares which one then boils in salted water and serves up laid out on a platter with grated cheese; a further variant is indicated in which one composes the dish with alternating layers of the noodles and layers of grated cheese and powdered spices (Maier 2005: 114–5). Conforming more to the modern notion of lasagna as a baked dish is the recipe for the *torta de lassanis*, that is, a lasagne pie (Maier 2005: 131) which involves layers of lasagne stuffed with cooked eggs, ravioli, cheese, bacon, etc., somehow surrounded by a stuffed intestine; the assembled 'torta' is then baked in the oven.

Also in the *Liber de coquina* we find a recipe for 'Monk's Head' (*de capite monachi*), a particularly elaborate and rich preparation that includes no animal products and thus is suitable for consumption during fast-days (Maier 2005: 127–8). Noteworthy is the fact that this dish calls for a large quantity of dough, out of which are made lagana: of these, one third are coloured with saffron and fried, another third boiled, and the last third used to make nut-filled ravioli; these items, together with fruits, nuts, spices, honey and oil, are all composed into a layered dish which is then baked under live coals.

From these early attestations of the word 'lasagna/lasagne', we can draw the following conclusions:

- 1) Already in the twelfth century lasagne existed in Italy as a flat and very thin form of pasta, and by end of the thirteenth century lasagne were widely known across Italy, at least among the upper classes.
- 2) This form of pasta was served in the style of *pasta asciutta* – boiled, drained and simply dressed – but also used to form layers in stuffed preparations that were then baked.
- 3) Ugucione clearly identifies the Latin word *lagana* with a colloquial word of his time, *lasaniam*, i.e. lasagne.

- 4) From the *Liber de coquina*, a cookbook originating in Naples, it is apparent that at least in a southern Italian context, the local food item *lagane* partially overlapped with the item *lasagne* and that both terms could indicate thin, broad cuttings of dough that were boiled.

### Problematic etymologies

The close relationship between classical *lagana*, southern Italian *lagane* and *lasagne* has long been recognized and, given the fact that in certain contexts these terms have essentially the same meaning, many food scholars have assumed that the word *lasagna* is itself derived from the word *lagana*; e.g. Serventi & Sabban (2000: 33): ‘Se torniamo al fatto che il termine lasagna deriva dal latino *laganum*, il significato di «sottile foglio» trova una spiegazione.’ But this derivation is hardly a fact; indeed, it is an assumption without any justification from linguistic analysis. Put simply, in no Romance dialect does the historical development allow for the change of ‘lagana’ to ‘lasagna’ by regular sound-law. Of course, the superficial resemblance of the two words is eye-catching, but in reality they differ crucially in the location of the syllabic prominence (accent) – *lágana* vs. *laságnā* – and the very neutral vocalic environment for the medial consonants is hardly propitious for the required changes of [-g-] to [-z-] and of [-n-] to [-ñ-]. However clear the semantic connection between the two is, the two words are themselves quite unambiguously unrelated from an etymological standpoint.

Recognizing the mismatch, some philologists have suggested an alternate derivation of the word *lasagna*. A commonly cited version links *lasagna* directly to a Latin (from Greek) term *lásana*, attested in Latin as a word meaning ‘chamber pot’ but in Greek also as a sort of cooking pot. From a phonological standpoint, this etymology is only slightly better than the one just discussed as it too fails to account for the same mismatch of place of accent and also leaves unexplained the development of the sequence [-ana-] to [-añ-]. A further suggestion by Ullman (1912: 448) builds off this etymology and resolves the phonological problems: ‘*Lasagna* must be derived from *\*lasanía*, the neuter plural of the Greek diminutive form.’ An early form *\*lasánia* would indeed yield *lasagna* in most, if not all, Italian dialects; however, the semantic motivation of this etymology is strained and, more damningly, unsupported by any clear attestation of *lasanum/lasana* as a cooking pot in Latin; I know, moreover, of no reflexes of the term in any Italian dialects. Finally, it seems odd that it is precisely in southern Italy, where Greek influence was strong and a putative *lasana* cooking-pot would most likely have existed, that the old word *lagana* survives robustly and the word *lasagna* seems to be an intrusive late-comer (more on this anon).

One last proposed etymology for *lasagna* needs mention here, namely, that of Vollenweider (1963: 440–443) and Rodinson (1986: 19), which – with the ever-growing inclination of food scholars to see the Arabs as central players in the invention and diffusion of pasta in the West – is encountered with considerable frequency nowadays (e.g. Wright 1996–7: 156–7 and Martellotti 2001: 88). Both Vollenweider and Rodinson

argue that the term *lasagna* is best seen in relationship to the French heraldic (and later culinary) term *losange*. Vollenweider in particular draws a connection between the two via the attested forms of the Provençal analogue of lasagna, namely *lausan*, *lozan*, etc., and the English forms derived ultimately from Provençal, *lozeyn*, *lozen*, *losan*. Both scholars are of the opinion that the etymology of the heraldic term *losange* is not to be derived, as a number of linguists have suggested, from an old word, *lausa/losa* ‘stone slab, tile’, found throughout the Romance dialects of Iberia, southern France and parts of northern Italy, but rather from the name of the Arab confection *lawzīnaġ*. This confection was made from a fine paste of almonds and, according to these scholars, cut in rhomboid form and it is from this characteristic shape that the term came to be applied in the one direction to the rhomboids used in heraldry, and in the other to the square or otherwise angular cuts of fresh pasta that are the Provençal *lausans* and the Italian *lasagne*.

There are three objections to be levelled against the Arabic etymology. First, according to Perry (2006: 223) *lawzīnaġ* was often cylindrical in form and by no means necessarily rhomboidal: ‘This deals a blow to Maxime Rodinson’s theory that the word “lozenge” derives from *lawzīnaj*.’

Beyond this observation, I have two broader objections to this etymology. First, at no point does Rodinson or Vollenweider (or others) make any attempt to account for the phonological relationship between the putative Arabic source word *lawzīnaġ* and the attested forms of both ‘lozenge’ and ‘lasagna/lausans’; particularly striking is the disparity between the accented vowel of the Arabic, a long high front vowel, and the low vowel of almost all of the attested Romance forms – why do we not get something like the actual borrowing or at least rendering of *lawzīnaġ* that we find in Giambonino da Cremona’s translation of an Arabic text (c.1400), namely, *lawziniz* (Martellotti 2001: 288)? Under all normal circumstances we would expect a borrowing of *lawzīnaġ* to have as its accented vowel *-i-* and if we do not find that in *lasagna* etc. – and we do not – one must offer an explanation as to why.

A final and very grave objection to the Rodinson/Vollenweider etymology is that it focuses primarily on the later attested forms, from the fourteenth century on, and then especially on ones from French and Provençal, but it does not address the earliest attestations from Italy discussed above, where we find no trace whatsoever of influence on the culinary term in question from either a heraldic term or an Arab confection. That such influences come in later, secondarily and marginally, seems clear, but they certainly do not constitute an explanation of the rise of the word ‘lasagna’ and ultimately are without relevance to the history of pasta.

### A new, layered view

If we consider the general time-frame from which come the earliest attestations of the word ‘lasagna’, we note that the first one, by Ugucione da Pisa, is dated to just a few decades after one of the most famous early references to pasta in Italy, namely, the

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mention of the production and export of *itria* from the town of Trabia, near Palermo, Sicily, by the Arab geographer, Al-Idrisi (Jaubert 1836: v.II, 78). Al-Idrisi's text is dated to 1154 and was written while the author was serving King Roger II of Sicily, a clear indication of a significant level of continuing Arab cultural influence on the island even well after its conquest by the Normans. The fact that this early mention of pasta from Italy occurs in an Arabic text is, of course, important and possibly suggestive of an Arab role in the history of pasta during this period, but it is also the case that Al-Idrisi's observation has been regarded in a strangely myopic way, that is, only as evidence regarding pasta and the Arabs. But the reality is that we are told nothing about who it was that was producing the *itria* of Trabia, under whose impetus this industry had begun, and who it was that was carrying out the commerce that involved exportation of the product from Sicily to 'Calabria and to Muslim and Christian countries'. Indeed, the text was written more than eighty years after the Norman conquest of Palermo, and it is precisely in this period, after the reduction of Muslim dominance in the western Mediterranean, that trade in the area is increasingly dominated by the Italian maritime powers, most notably Pisa and especially Genoa. Of particular relevance here is the fact that throughout the twelfth century, Genoa and Pisa took the pre-eminent role in the commercial exploitation of the agricultural wealth of Sicily and southern Italy, with considerable amounts of durum wheat and presumably also some quantities of prepared pasta products being bought up by the northerners, both to supplement the dietary requirements of those cities' growing populations and to sell in other markets as well, such as, in the case of Genoa, Provence. In other words, the trade in pasta that Al-Idrisi observed was almost certainly being carried out by Genoese and/or Pisan merchants and the primary markets were in northern Italy and Provence.<sup>4</sup>

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Though we do not know to what degree there was already a tradition of making pasta in northern Italy before this period, indications are strong that a pasta culture existed both in Sicily and in the south of the mainland, and the likelihood is that the importation of grain and especially durum wheat, as well as some pasta products, into northern Italy and Provence may well have been the stimulus for the development of a pasta culture in those areas. If we regard the appearance of 'lasagna' in northern texts in the late twelfth and thirteenth century and remember the semantic connection, expressly articulated by Uguccione, between 'lasania' and 'lagana', it is reasonable to consider the possibility that the word itself, *lasagne*, was a new and specifically northern name for a form of pasta the Genoese and Pisans had encountered in southern Italy, namely, *lagane*.

The word *lausa/losa* (stone slab, tile) is the key to accounting for the variety of forms that we find indicating flat, thin noodles in northern Italy and Provence, as already proposed by Nigra in 1898 (286–87). Alongside the unitary form we encounter in Italy, *lasagna*, we find a range of forms attested for Provençal, in part involving the use of different suffixes but, more significantly, also with two distinct root forms – *lausan*, *lauvan* (Mistral, vol. 2, 193) – which correspond to variants of the word for 'stone slab/



tile', *lausa/lauva*. In Piemontese dialects in Italy we also find this word in the form *losa* (corresponding to the Provençal *lausa*) but in some places there and further east in the sub-Alpine regions of northern Italy, we also find a variant *lasa* with the same meaning. These stone slabs are throughout these regions cut into square or rectangular forms and used in various functions, most notably as roof tiles. The semantic sense fits perfectly the form of pasta under discussion and the occurrence of all three root variants of the tile-word makes the direct connection to the pasta words all but assured: *lausa* – *lausan*, *lauva* – *lauvan*, *lasa* – *lasagna*.

It remains to account for the suffixes of these forms and the apparent difference between the Provençal and Italian forms. It seems easiest to account for the Provençal forms as secondary to the Italian one: the Italian form shows the use of a well-known nominal derivational suffix, *-agna* < *\*-anea*, found in a number of word pairs, such as *monte* – *montagna*, *campo* – *campagna*, where the suffix sometimes, but not always, has a collective sense, which would hardly be incompatible with the application to the particular form of pasta under discussion.

In Provençal, as in other Romance languages, there is a nominal/adjectival suffix *-an*, and it is possible that it is this suffix that appears in the forms *lausan/lauvan*. A more likely explanation, however, is that, building these forms on the model of the Italian *lasagna*, the Provençal speakers adapted the root form to their local words for 'tile' and that they additionally preferred to assign the pasta words masculine gender, thus *\*lausanh*, *\*lauvanh*; between Old Provençal and modern Provençal, most dialects reduce final *-nh* ([*-ñ*]) to *-n* ([*-n*, *-ŋ*]) by regular sound change. This explanation accounts well for the Middle English form attested as *loseyn*, where the sound [*-ñ*] in loan words is normally resolved as the sequence [*-yn*] and where [*ai*] and [*ei*] fall together as *-ey*. With regard to the plausibility of the change of gender in Provençal from the putative original Italian feminine to masculine, we can only note other early Provençal names for pasta also appear as masculine nouns, namely, *croset* and *menudet*.

Finally, with regard to the localisation of the source of *lasagna* in Italy, it seems that the possibility exists that the word was formed in any of a number of places in northern Italy, but historical and linguistic contexts point to the most likely place of the word's origin being Genoa. First, there is the particularly central role played by Genoa in trade with southern Italy, as discussed above, and then also the close relationship of Genoa and Liguria to their immediate neighbour to the west, Provence. Second, the linguistic evidence that groups the forms just discussed together also points toward Genoa as source, as does the very much parallel occurrence of another early pasta name in Liguria and Provence, namely, *croset*; Buccini 2012a demonstrates that Genoa is also the source and point of diffusion for the term *fidê/fideus*.<sup>5</sup>

The appearance of *lasagna* in the *Liber de coquina* also finds ready explanation in the scenario proposed here for the etymology of the word. The Angevin royal court in the Kingdom of Sicily after Charles I's conquest in 1266 was the meeting place of French-speakers (the king's own family and closest men), Provençal speakers – for Charles of

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Anjou was also the Count of Provence – and, of course, southern Italians. It is then no surprise really that a cookbook compiled in a courtly context in Naples around 1300 would include recipes for *lagane*, *crosets* and *lasagne*. And finally, it seems likely that the culinary culture of the Angevins played a role in the further spread of pasta culture across northern Italy.

### Notes

1. A mæ moggê, Amy Dahlstrom, gracie pe-o seu aggiutto.
2. See the article by Sue Leeman, available online: <http://www.smh.com.au/articles/2003/07/16/1058035074218.html>. For the original recipe, see Hieatt & Butler 1985: 128–9.
3. See, for example, the several forms included on the AIS map 992, vol. V. (Jaberg & Jud 1928–40); other forms showing various local phonological developments can be found in dialect dictionaries from Campania, Basilicata, etc.
4. For an overview of the relationship between the northern Italian cities and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, see Abulafia 1977. Focusing on Genoa's relationship with the south in the period, see Epstein 1996, esp. chaps. 1–2.
5. Buccini 2012b presents a broader refutation of the theory that the Arabs played a central role in the diffusion of pasta in Italy; this research will constitute a chapter in my forthcoming monograph (Buccini in preparation).

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