

Forms of gastronomic camouflage: veridiction in the kitchen *

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Abstract: In this essay, we analyse the regimes of truth and the forms of culinary camouflage inscribed in some *signature* dishes by several well-known Italian chefs, whose work is emblematic of the various fictional trends in gastronomy. In doing so, we will keep in mind the so-called *semiotic square of veridiction* that discursive semiotics has been proposing and using for some time. The analysis reveals how the gastronomic discourse of the Italian *haute cuisine* produces effects of *illusion, secrecy, falsehood* and *truth*. The concurrence of these veridiction modes allows for an explicit model which accounts for the various styles of camouflage and thus describes current tendencies in contemporary cuisine.

Keywords: gastronomy; camouflage; discursive semiotics; veridiction.

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1. A collection of analogies

In the kitchen, the play of forms and substances is often intertwined with that of appearances and similarities, visual before gustative disguises, as well as often intentionally deceptive titles. The Piedmontese *capunets*, cabbage roulades stuffed with meat, are also called *pèss-còj*, or fish-cabbage. In Sicily, in *pasta con le sarde a mare*, a traditional peasant recipe, the sardines are missing, replaced by anchovies, or often by nothing at all, that is, in terms of marked/unmarked linguistic opposition, by the significant absence of sardines (AGNELLO; PANVINI, 1993). Likewise *pesce finto* (mock fish) is found in many traditional cuisines, a fish-shaped appetizer prepared with tuna in oil, potatoes and mayonnaise (with the addition of olives, capers and so on): here the fish is actually one of the main ingredients, but the joke is entirely visual, where sometimes gherkin slices mimic the scales of the animal, small black olives form the eyes, while some other kind of decoration is used to imply the outline of the mouth or even the gills. Again, the Sicilian *sarde a beccafico* is so named because – it is said – on peasant tables sardines replaced the prized little bird that, bright-eyed and hungry, feeds on a diet of figs: the roulades with the fish tails on display is an attempt to restore the physical form of the bird that is missing (MARRONE, 2020).

After all, our supermarkets have long been inundated not only with oat milk and various substitutes, but also with seitan burgers, tofu patties, wheat muscle and the like, all products which, while inflexibly excluding meat from the diet, maintain its shapes and colours on a visual level.¹ For some time now, Burger King has been serving in its restaurants a sandwich made with vegetable proteins called the Impossible Whopper. And Nestlè does nothing but churn out new vegetable substitutes for meat such as its mock ground pulp, Incredible Hack. The most recent biotechnological experiments produce synthetic meat, indistinguishable from animal meat, starting from stem cells extracted from bovine foetuses: which directly become steaks, hamburgers, meatballs, chops, ribs etc. in the form of food, skipping the passage from the zoological being which in principle should precede them.²

So, for one reason or another, be in popular or haute cuisine, home cooking or ethical (or health) based diets, there is a great deal of drawing and sculpting

¹ Camouflage strategy strengthened by the packaging of vegan products, where the aesthetic of imitation is the norm (VENTURA BORDENCA, 2012, 2017).

² Speaking of the neighbouring field of machines that distribute drinks and snacks in offices, Montanari (2016) quietly points out that if something is presented as 'flavoured', it surreptitiously implies that it is not made of what it tastes like. In short, it is more a question of signification than ontology. But think also of the field of industrial food for children, where camouflage is very nearly the norm: fish that doesn't look like fish (fish fingers), transformed ham (medallions) and so on. In general, children's meals often have a camouflaged ingredient in disguise: eggs, fish, vegetables, etc.

in the kitchen to create gastronomic trompe l'oeil effects. It mostly happens in pastry-making, a plastic more than gastronomic art, where mimetic mania and its virtuosity often border on the Kitsch. From the *frutta di Martorana* from Palermo, marzipan sweets in the shape of various fruits and vegetables (and, more recently, much more besides) to the cake design of contemporary pop culture, there is an anthropological abyss. But the fictional mechanism is fundamentally the same. Let us consider Flaubert's famous parody of this kind of pastry-making / sculpture, in his description of Emma Bovary's wedding cake, and the great admiration that its entry into the room provokes among the guests:

The tarts and nougats had been ordered from a pastry-cook in Yvetot. As he was new to the area, he had gone to a great deal of trouble, and he himself brought to the table, at the dessert stage, an elaborate confection which drew cries of admiration. The base was a square of blue cardboard representing a temple with, round its sides, porticos, colonnades and stucco statuettes in niches spangled with gold-paper stars. The main tier consisted of a medieval castle made of sponge cake, surrounded by tiny battlements of angelica, almonds, raisins and orange segments; and, finally, on the topmost layer – a green meadow with rocks, lakes of jam, and hazelnut-shell boats – a little Cupid sat on a chocolate swing, the uprights of which were finished with real rosebuds in the place of knobs (FLAUBERT, 2004, p. 27).

As Bertrand (2000) has observed, it is a highly ironic 'Indo-European dessert', where the three levels of the cake, spatially overturned, are reminiscent of the famous three religious functions identified by Georges Dumézil: at the base there is the temple, the columns, and statuettes (magical-religious sovereignty function), in the middle the tower and fortifications (military function), at the top the meadow, the lake and the cupid (reproductive function). While Emma and the diners glimpse in that wedding cake the three great ages of Western civilization and their relative clichés (Greco-Roman Antiquity with its mythology, the Middle Ages and its chivalry novels, and Romanticism which associates the motifs of nature and love), the shrewd reader will be able to grasp the parody of a much deeper ideology.

As Descola (2005) would say, such an *analogue* idea of gastronomy and of the socio-cultural universe in which it operates would soon overflow – through illustrious names such as Antoine Carême, Jules Gouffé, Urbain Dubois and Auguste Escoffier – from the dimension of pâtisserie to the so-called French *grande cuisine*, and from that to international cuisine. Here mimicry and the baroque reach their zenith, so that the practice of decoration becomes a connotation of opulence, magnificence, and class superiority. The goal is to amaze diners more with choreographic stunts than through new flavours or

tastes.³ Beyond the most imaginative and complex creations, it is the undisputed realm of sauces, which aim not only to cover the food more or less, but to operate as a strategic screen between being and appearing, above and below, the inside and the outside, the subject and the mask, hiding and at the same time revealing the play of ingredients and their skilful transformation. Nothing is what it is thought to be, starting with the raw ingredients, which must be systematically at the service of a discerning culinary tradition that transforms them into something other than themselves. After all, *grande cuisine* reached its peak during the belle époque, therefore in full harmony with the architectural and artistic inventions of the period, dominated by the cult of ornamentation, decoration, and superfluous and noisome embellishment.

It is no coincidence that when Gault and Millau drafted the 'ten commandments' of *nouvelle cuisine* practised by chefs like Paul Bocuse or the Troisgrois brothers, they mimicked the anti-ornamental position of Adolph Loos in the world of architecture and design. In other words, the progressive exasperation with fictional masks in the kitchen led, as often happens in the world of the arts, to a strongly minimalist reaction. 'Thou shalt not doctor up thy presentations', declared, among other things, the two famous French critics, opening the restaurant world to an all-out war against the deceitfulness of dishes and a consequent recovery of culinary truth. Whatever is meant by truth and, consequently, by deception, camouflage, trickery.

As would become clear shortly thereafter, more than in the positivistic terms of a contradiction between truth and falsehood, the question was to be posed in purely semiotic terms: it was not a question of getting back to the effectual reality of the ingredients (which would in principle eliminate any culinary transformation) but of reducing the degree of preparation of the dishes, in order to emphasize, in contrast with the earlier Baroque era, an effect of naturalness, authenticity, freshness, and therefore truth. Hence an entire anti-rhetoric which, contrasting point by point the rhetoric that preceded it, also became a culinary, ideological, gastronomic, and aesthetic strategy. The idea was that of an organized disorder, of constructed spontaneity, of sincerity generously offered by the painstakingly acquired professionalism and the consequent undisputed authority of a chef who wants to be an artist and genius, an inventor

³ See Barthes (1957) on cookery photography in women's magazines: 'golden partridges studded with cherries, a faintly pink chicken chaudfroid, a frothy charlotte prettified with glacé fruit designs' ... The 'coatings' dominate in this 'ornamental cookery', the glazing, the hypertrophy of the sauces, all that which in various ways, by hiding the food, presents it in a form considered *chic*. The *rocailles* ornamentation of food, in these photos, proceeds in two apparently contradictory ways: on the one hand, it seeks to erase any naturalness of the food 'thanks to a kind of frenzied baroque'; on the other hand, it tries to reconstruct it 'through an incongruous artifice'. Elle's cookery, says Barthes, is a cookery of ideas, never of flavour, where everything is a garnish, a witty find, decorative cunning. Not surprisingly, the shooting of the dishes is rigorously from above, as if to emphasize a certain distance from the foodstuff to the benefit of its idealised representation in photography.

of original dishes and his own main theorist (as Hegel might have said, the death of art).

The foundations of great international cuisine, strongly Franco-centric, were shaken, and the subsequent inventions of haute cuisine upset the cards everywhere, at times taking the dictates of French *nouvelle cuisine* to heart, on other occasions reviving national or local gastronomic traditions, or returning more or less consciously, to the *camouflage* games of popular and *haute* cuisine. As for Italy, for example, it is well known that the chef Gualtiero Marchesi brought the gospel of Gault and Millau into our country and transformed it, drawing upon the rich Italian culinary tradition and starting another rhetorical device, that of typicality as a cleverly devised meaning effect.⁴

2. A descriptive model

And so here we are, back at the starting point, that of culinary *camouflage*, with an awareness, however, that it does not lie in a single gastronomic trend but a plethora of trends, taste choices, and often conflicting culinary preparations.⁵ Rather than giving in to the all-encompassing and nihilistic sirens of those who dismissively say that in the kitchen everything – and therefore nothing – is fiction, it will be useful instead to account on this plethora of trends.

In this essay we will propose a first articulation of this complex gastronomic universe on an experimental basis. We will limit our investigation to the field of Italian haute cuisine, selecting from it some *signature* dishes by several well-known chefs, whose work is emblematic of the various fictional trends in gastronomy. For what reason? Because the dishes that are largely the result of refined culinary research are intentionally contrived to be such, and the camouflage games designed to create them – being frank, clear, explicit – are more easily reconstructed on a formal level. However, it will not be difficult to find new examples of these trends even in home and traditional cuisine.

In doing so, we will keep in mind the so-called *semiotic square of veridiction* that the science of signification has been proposing and using for some time.⁶ It

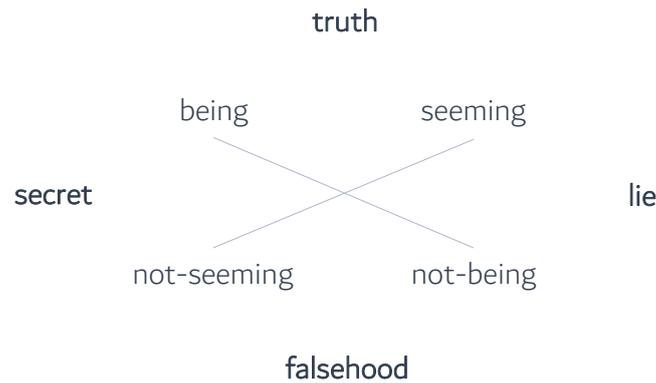
⁴ A good overview of these issues can be found in Marchesi and Vercelloni (2001). On the semi-cultural construction of typicality, see Puca (2020).

⁵ For a semiotic theory of *camouflage* see Fabbri (2008), who, among other things, relativizes the idea of truth: 'The conflictual relationship between predator and prey necessarily requires mutual knowledge and a certain amount of "complicity". Since it is necessary to understand each other in order to fight, and since the signs are manipulable, the reversibility of roles is also possible. That is, the predator camouflages as the prey, and the prey can disguise itself as a predator. From this point of view, it is pertinent that the signs employed are neither true nor false, but effective. What counts is the credibility of the simulacrum offered to the other, the interactive moves and the regimes of belief and suspicion that are triggered.' We will see how the idea of truth, and its various opposites, is possible only within problems of *truth-telling*, that is, of communication and signification strategies.

⁶ See Greimas and Courtés (1979), *ad vocem*. It should be remembered that the principle of the semiotic square (logical articulation of a semantic category or universe) requires that the various terms involved are, according to the structuralist dictate, the outcome of the relationships they contract with each other. This

is a structural model – programmatically anti-referentialist (not interested in truth, but in *truth-telling*) – which, by establishing a connection between the two opposing planes of immanence and manifestation (being and seeming as opposite poles of the same semantic category), envisages truth, the lie, the secret, and falsehood as effects of meaning, or as semantic results of underlying semiotic devices. Here is the graphic representation:

Figure 1: The semiotic square of veridiction



Source: The author, based on Greimas; Courtés (1979).

If *truth* is given by the connection between being and seeming, *falsehood* is its opposite, that is, given by the relation of not-seeming and not-being; similarly, the *secret* is what it is but not what it seems, while the *lie* is what it seems to be but is not. Here are four different terms at our disposal that are the result of the relationships of opposition, contradiction, and complementarity between being, seeming, non-being and non-seeming. In this way, the masking games begin to redefine themselves in a slightly clearer way, allowing the transition – as is the custom of semiotics – from an initial perception of differences to a clearer articulation of relationships.

What needs to be implemented, in our specific case, is an analogous passage from the phenomenological perception of the cuisine of camouflage (with its fictional games) to a clear idea of its internal structure. A structure that, acting at a profound level, can and must work regardless of the social, economic, ethical reasons that have put in place this cuisine. We will come back to this. For now, let us go in search of a cuisine of truth as opposed to one of falsehood, as well as a secret cuisine to be contrasted with one of illusion.⁷

causes each term to acquire a certain semantic position (for example, secret or falsehood) only in relation to the others. Taken on their own, they lose all meaning.

⁷ Let us substitute the term *lie* with that of *illusion* (the metalanguage is arbitrary) to eliminate the morally negative connotation that the first term carries with it.

3. An articulation

What should be placed on the level of seeming and what on that of being? At first glance the answer appears obvious: vision on the first level, taste on the second. Yet, games of pretence in the kitchen can involve the manipulation of various components (shape, colour, temperature, consistency of ingredients, touch, and of course, flavours) that interact in multiple ways and on multiple levels, often creating veritable culinary tales. And even the diner's imagination, cultural background, expectations and predisposition towards surprise, play a leading role. What it seems, in other words, is what, roughly speaking, we expect it to seem, based on our previous expectations, gastronomic skills, desires, values (corresponding in many ways to what we consider tasty). On the other hand, what we find on the plane of being is what, roughly, we perceive with all our senses, that is, not only via taste but via its entirety, its physical presence (corresponding with what we consider *flavourful*).⁸ The name of the dish maintains a fundamental role, by giving us a foretaste, playing a game of hide and seek.

3.1. Uovo di seppia (Cuttlefish egg)

Let us begin our exploration with *Uovo di seppia* by the two-star chef from La Madia in Licata, Agrigento, Pino Cuttaia. It is one of his signature dishes, so much so that it has also become the logo of a brand created by the chef, which includes a gourmet shop and other related activities such as cookery school, workshops and so on.⁹ The dish is presented in a very simple way to the eye – a hard-boiled egg resting on a kind of nest –, but it is the result of a complex process, which requires great dexterity and a lot of technical competence in the transformation of the raw ingredients. From our point of view, however, what is relevant is not the preparation but the degustation. As soon as the egg is cut, the liquid yolk runs out: and we are still taken in by the initial illusion. It is when tasted that things change: while the yolk is actually yolk, what we thought was hardened egg white tastes like cuttlefish, because cuttlefish is what it actually is. As for the nest, it is made of small flakes of black truffle laid on the plate.

The final tasting therefore mixes three contrasting flavours: that of cuttlefish and egg (respecting almost to the letter, in fact, the clues given by the name of the dish) with the additional taste of truffles (which is known to go well with egg). The result is a unique aroma (on the side of *flavourful*), which, as it were, transcends the question posed at the beginning only in terms of flavour (what is it?) and the double surprise that follows (the yolk is still liquid; the egg white tastes like cuttlefish). We are faced with a small cognitive trap that leads

⁸ On the difference between tasty and flavorful, see Marrone (2016).

⁹ www.uovodiseppia.it

to an assault on the senses: a typical *aesthetic grasp* (MARRONE, 2017). From the point of view of veridiction, we are in the position of *illusion*: the manifestation (visual-chromatic, but also tactile) is that of a hard-boiled egg, while immanence presents a cuttlefish, even if mixed with the egg itself and its regulation truffle.¹⁰

Figure 2: Pino Cuttaia, “Uovo di seppia” (Cuttlefish egg)



Source: Cuttaia (2016, p. 56)

Figure 3: Massimo Bottura, “Compressione d’una pasta e fagioli” (Compression of pasta and beans)



Source: Bottura (2014, p. 77)

¹⁰ In a variant of the recipe (which not surprisingly we find on the website of the shop mentioned in the previous note) the yolk is replaced by a cuttlefish and pork sausage filling: only the shape, the colour and a little of the consistency, remain of the egg – so that the illusion, as it were, is even greater.

Figure 4: Niko Romito, “Assoluto di cipolle, parmigiano e zafferano” (Onion absolute, with Parmesan and saffron)



Source: Photo by the author.

Figure 5: Gualtiero Marchesi, “Risotto con lamina d’oro e zafferano” (Gold leaf and saffron risotto)



Source: Marchesi (2006, p. 34).

3.2. Compressione d'una pasta e fagioli (Compression of pasta and beans)

A similar distancing effect is obtained by the *Compressione d'una pasta e fagioli* by Massimo Bottura, a famous chef from Modena, patron of the Osteria Francescana and elected, on several occasions, the best chef in the world. However, the semiotic device is quite different. It is, as the title declares, the reinterpretation of one of the most typical dishes of the Italian gastronomic tradition, pasta and beans, of which, in the end, the idea remains more than the sensorial-cognitive configuration, not least because it completely eliminates the presence of the pasta. Putting aside, here too, the complicated preparation (where some of the culinary techniques of great international chefs such as Robuchon, Ducasse and Adrià are evoked, combined with ancient popular customs), let us take the diner's point of view.

It is served in a small transparent glass (nothing more illusory than transparency), through which we can glimpse a multi-layered construct that does not bring to mind any known dish. Cognition is therefore suspended, and the visual experience loses all points of reference which is all to the advantage of the flavourful. Moreover, even the various geological layers of the dish are somehow denied, or at least mixed at the moment of tasting, because the diner is advised to taste the dish by dipping a long spoon to the bottom of the glass, and coming back up, collecting a little bit of each layer.

In short, there are six layers: at the bottom a *crème royale* of pork crackling and beans with a little *foie gras*, followed by a little chopped radicchio pan-simmered in wine; next comes fried *pancetta* with the addition of balsamic vinegar; upon which rest parmesan crusts shaped in the oven to form *maltagliati*; then comes a layer of creamed beans; and on the top layer, finally, a sprinkle of rosemary. The ingredients and flavours of pasta and beans are almost all there, mixed with others absent from the traditional recipe. What is missing is precisely the pasta, since there is only the visual impression of the *maltagliati* given by the shape that the parmesan crusts have formed. The name of the dish acts as an element of camouflage because it directs the diner towards the gustatory recognition of a dish that is not there, neither on the level of seeming nor that of being. In short, it proclaims a happy *falsehood*, which leads to the perception of a coalescence of flavours, aromas, textures, etc. in which pasta and beans are present little more than in name. A great dish that evokes a tradition without falling back into it, and which focuses entirely on the invention of new sensorial contrasts.

3.3. Assoluto di cipolle (Absolute of onions)

Let us move on to the *Assoluto di cipolle, parmigiano e zafferano* (Absolute of onion, parmesan and saffron) created by the three-starred chef Niko Romito, cook at the Casadonna Reale restaurant in Castel di Sangro, in Abruzzo.

This is a thick and amber broth in which one can glimpse some stuffed *cappelletti* and a few floating strands of red saffron. Where Bottura played with visual transparency denied on a gustatory level, Romito uses opacity to create an air of mystery: what ever can it be? It almost seems to evoke a blurred image of amniotic fluid where indistinct beings swim, but the purely imitative aspect prevails over that of the iconic representation: the dish is itself, with its plastic impact, beyond the other worldly figures it might suggest.

When tasted, things change radically and suddenly: the strong, definite, clear, and distinct flavour of the onion emerges, which becomes the undisputed star of the dish, leaving the parmesan and saffron a secondary role. The result is an effect of precision, the intensification of a mere single flavour in its pure state, in its simplicity, which the parmesan and saffron do not dampen but enhance: the hero and his helpers, without any antagonism whatsoever. The estrangement plays, in this case, on another veridiction device, whereby what it is (the onion) is not what it seems (*cappelletti* in broth), thus asserting the *secret* dimension.

3.4. Risotto con lamina d'oro (Risotto with gold leaf)

To conclude our exploration of gastronomic camouflage, we need to identify the final position, the one that, differentiating itself from the others, makes its realisation possible: the cuisine of truth. To exemplify this what better choice than the renowned *Risotto con lamina d'oro e zafferano* [risotto with gold leaf and saffron] invented by Gualtiero Marchesi as far back as the 1980s. 'It is the dish that best represents – wrote Marchesi himself (2006, p. 30) – my concept of beauty. Essential, without frills.

Beyond the aesthetic isotopy around which the famous chef's gastronomic discourse tends mostly to revolve, also notable in this instance is the inclusion of the (edible) gold leaf in the Milanese risotto, which has the explicit purpose of accentuating its preciousness, traditionally lent by the presence of a prized spice such as saffron. Not surprisingly, the saffron is known as red gold. Marchesi's gesture is therefore not so much that of exhibiting a potlatch lavish food offering, but, more seriously, of intensifying the culinary stereotype in an extreme way in order to ironically destroy it. On the one hand, an extraneous, inorganic, mineral element is introduced in the dish, an icon of wealth as an end to itself; on the other hand, it is made edible, removing the aesthetic extraneousness it possessed at the beginning.

One can almost hear: you asked for red gold? Here you go: take, eat. What you see corresponds, reinvigorated, to what you taste. The dimension is that of *truth*. After all, Marchesi (2006, p. 116) uses terms that are close to us: 'The truth of form is the only way to eliminate the deception of appearance.'¹¹

Conclusions

Having made the shift from the perception of differences to the articulation of relationships, we now have a simple model that will allow us to develop research in the complex and insidious terrain of gastronomic camouflage. A general model that may allow us to cut across, without completely eliminating their relevance, the universes of traditional and pop cuisine linked to contemporary imagination and society, as well as popular and haute cuisine.

Take the sector of what has been called imitation vegetarian cuisine,¹² full of dishes that mix socio-economic constraints and gastronomic needs, local cuisine, and fashionable importation of international recipes. In Sicily, for example, they cook 'quail' aubergines, where the expensive little birds are replaced with the humble vegetable; breaded aubergines or cutlets, where the absent meat is replaced again by aubergines; peppers stuffed with ricotta instead of minced meat; vegetable *caponata* which takes the place of those with fish. Similar recipes can be found, with local variations, almost everywhere: aubergine roulades and meatballs, pasta with fish broth without fish, tagliatelle with *ragù scappato* (that is, only vegetables), pasta with *brodo di scoglio* (where a piece of marine rock is thrown into the soup pot to extract the marine flavours), *spaghetti del maltempo* (without fish due to storms at sea), *pesce d'uovo* (a kind of omelette in the shape of small fish), *u ficatu i sette cannola* (where sweet and sour pumpkin replaces liver), *spaghetti alle vongole fujute* (that is, with non-existent clams), *usei scapà* (where meat roulades take the place of the tiny birds), and *sugo finto* (also made with vegetables only).

Even if *ab origine* we could conjecture that many of these replacements emerged in poor environments where meat or fish were unattainable, economic reasons cannot justify these dishes because the dynamics linked to tastes, habits, the slow transformation of traditions, the affirmation of trends and fashions, not to mention the production, supply and distribution systems have transformed the initial framework, giving rise to new traditions, new trends, new fashions, new

¹¹ This statement was first uttered by Marchesi when referring to another one of his famous dishes: *Seppia al Nero* (Cuttlefish in Ink), where a well cleaned and cooked cuttlefish is placed on a plate blackened by the latter's ink. No other ingredients are added. This dish therefore expresses the 'truth', not of the cuttlefish in itself, but one of its main culturally given pertinences: the white of the meat, the black of the ink (on a visual level) and their respective flavours (on a gustatory level), with the parallel exclusion of any other element. Further demonstration of the fact that truth, semiotically, emerges only from some previous relevance of the figures of the world selected within given discursive universes.

¹² <https://martinoragusa.it/2015/10/la-mia-cucina-vegetariana-dimitazione/>. See also Ragusa (2016. I-VI).

forms of institutionalization, and new values. Moreover, in the history of cuisine, as in any historiography, the question of origins is banished: each dish is made up of elements whose reasons for their appearance, existence and subsistence are quite different, and often interconnected.¹³ Thus, today the refusal of meat is not linked to an economic issue but to ethical or environmental reasons, just as it has long been linked to religious reasons.¹⁴ The reasons for camouflage are endless.

Rather, we should examine each and every dish, to study their internal semiotic structures, the modes of visual presentation, the implicit degustation devices. Thus, we can hypothesize that the quail aubergines are more on the side of illusion while *brodo di scoglio* is on that of the secret, just as *spaghetti del maltempo* would be placed on the level of truth while the *sarde a beccafico* on that of falsehood. A path of research has been opened up.

The case of synthetic meat, which reproduces the taste, texture, and flavours of real meat in the laboratory, is different. In this case, the impression is that – having eliminated every process of culinary transformation – there is no game of camouflage but, more simply, an escape from the semiotic-cultural paradigm and entry into ontology that nullifies any anthropological ferment. ●

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¹³ See Montanari (2019) on the complex historical constitution of a typical Italian dish such as spaghetti with tomato sauce.

¹⁴ A trend that could soon be reversed, given that, as a result of industrial meat produced and eaten everywhere, the return to traditional farming has caused organic steaks to increase significantly in price.

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Formas da camuflagem gastronômica: veridicção na cozinha

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Resumo: Neste ensaio, analisamos os regimes da verdade e as formas de camuflagem culinária inscritas em alguns dos pratos mais emblemáticos de célebres chefs italianos, cujo trabalho condensa as diversas tendências ficcionais que circulam no campo da gastronomia. Para tanto, partimos do chamado *quadro semiótico de veridicção*, que a semiótica discursiva propôs e utiliza há algum tempo. A análise revela como o discurso gastronômico da *haute cuisine* italiana produz efeitos de *ilusão, segredo, falsidade e verdade*. A concorrência desses diferentes modos de veridicção desembocam em um modelo que dá conta dos vários estilos de camuflagem, descrevendo assim tendências atuais na cozinha contemporânea.

Palavras-chave: gastronomia; camuflagem; semiótica discursiva; veridicção.

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