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Hodges, Matt (2001) Food, Time and Heritage Tourism in Languedoc, France. *History and Anthropology*, 12 (2). pp. 179-212.

DOI

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FOOD, TIME, AND HERITAGE TOURISM IN LANGUEDOC, FRANCE

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POSTPRINT

Published in *History and Anthropology* 12(2): 179-121, 2001

<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02757206.2001.9960932#.VG9hPousWSo>

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents an ethnographic portrait and analysis of the historical development of heritage tourism in a Southern French village. Using the occasion of a failed village fête in the summer of 1997 as a focus, it details the local and regional factors that have influenced the emergence of heritage tourism in the village, and outlines the conflicts that have arisen over it. Such conflicts appear to lie behind the fête's failure, and the paper addresses in particular the reinvention of local cuisine, as much local heritage tourism centres on the consumption of food products. Theoretically, the paper demonstrates the benefits of considering heritage in relation to Munn's symbolic theory of temporality: such an analysis permits a detailed consideration of exactly what is at issue in the social production and consumption of heritage. However, the paper stresses the importance of locating such an analysis within a material, historical framework.

PREAMBLE

The football club's summer fund-raising fête had been marketed, through the modest channels of local publicity, as the party of the season. But when Pierre Cadassus awoke on the morning of the 15th of August 1997, he might have been forgiven for thinking that the previous night's events had actually amounted to the humiliation of a lifetime. Indeed, the fact that he was still president of the Monadières village football club, whose young members had been at the origin of the disaster, probably only increased his sense of disbelief. Later that same morning I was down by the lake, helping Jean and Monique scrub the algae off the underside of their boat, when he pulled up sharply in his car. 'I'm gutted!' he said across to us, leaning out of the window. 'I can't believe it. You try to help people out, and this is what you get in return.' He shrugged his shoulders and, looking away across the water, shook his head slowly from side to side. 'I mean, I really can't believe it. Six hundred people to serve, and no waiters... What did they think they were playing at? The food just sat on the plates going cold. Well, I've had enough of the lot of them.' We already knew what had happened the previous night. Everyone did. In fact, some were saying he'd had it coming for a long time. What had Pierre Cadassus, and others like him, done to create such animosity in Monadières? Such conflicts in the village, I argue in this article, over the ways in which the local past was being remembered and represented or, in Munn's (1992) phrase, 'temporalized' through packaging local food products for tourist consumption, are symptomatic of the problematic effects of the recent development of rural heritage tourism in the area. In the pages that follow I discuss the complexities of these developments historically, suggesting that an understanding of such phenomena, and the conflicts they have given rise to, is facilitated by a symbolic interpretation of associated temporalizing practices and

idioms in the locality. My approach therefore involves utilising Munn's (1992) symbolic approach to the anthropology of time alongside a more materialist emphasis on recent history.¹ At the same time, with respect to anthropological discussion of the effects of heritage tourism on rural populations in Western Europe, the focus of my ethnography on the complexities of such developments complements other assessments of similar phenomena in recent years (Boissevain 1992, 1996, Abram 1994, Abram *et al.* 1997).

INTRODUCTIONS AND ORIENTATIONS

The lake we were standing by when Pierre Cadassus drove up borders the Mediterranean Sea, some 10 kilometres from the city of Narbonne in the *Aude département* of the Languedoc *région* of Southern France, and during my stay was still fished by the 12 remaining fishermen from the village of Monadières, including Pierre Cadassus himself, for the eels that swim in its briny waters.² Monadières, a village of some 500 permanent inhabitants and where I lived and worked, was clustered on and around an outcrop of rock that juts out into the lake's southern half. The administrative centre of the *commune* that bears its name, its arid, stony earth, crossed by the motorway that led from Montpellier and Toulouse in the north to Barcelona in the south, was covered with stubby vines whose grapes contributed to produce the well-known wines of the Corbières. The village population, however, was far from comprising an integrated, indigenous community living off fishing and agriculture. While a third of permanent residents did claim an indigenous heritage, the other two-thirds were either second or third generation, or more recent immigrants, and 30% of the houses in the village belonged to second-home owners, of predominantly urban, north European origin. Any sense of local community was thus significantly fragmented. Agriculture and fishing were also no

longer the predominant local sources of employment: in 1990, only 15% of the village lived exclusively off viticulture and fishing, as opposed to 75% in 1946, and the many other people who grew grapes did so to supplement an income derived principally from other jobs, 50% of the active population working in the shops, service industries, and factories of nearby Narbonne, only ten minutes away by car.³ The decreasing importance of Monadières as a site of economic activity, however, has recently been countered, as during the 1980s and 1990s some people began to cash in on the growing numbers of tourists that wandered from the beaches in the summer months to frequent the villages of the hinterland. One couple, for example, who came to Monadières in the 1980s, lived off a restaurant and antiques shop they ran in the village, while others, such as Pierre Cadassus himself, who owned the other two restaurants there, prepared and sold food in conjunction with other activities.

Historical change in France in the last 40 years, as in many other parts of the world, has been substantially influenced by the growth of an internal, and international tourist industry. In Languedoc, this initially took the form of a series of state-inspired coastal developments during the 1960s and 1970s, which resulted in the building of extensive tourist accommodation and other related infrastructure along all parts of the region's coastline. Monadières, and two other villages on the lake's borders, in fact remain the only coastal settlements in proximity to water throughout the whole of Languedoc which have escaped substantial restructuring. This does not mean, however, that there have not been attempts at development, and the reason why the village has not ended up like nearby Gruissan, which has multiplied in size by approximately six times in the last thirty years, has been mainly due to resistance at key times from the village municipality, and the expense of initiating large building developments on the edge of a

lake whose water levels are subject to dramatic change depending on the direction of the wind. Consciousness of the potential threat posed by tourist development within the village is therefore high, and the conflicts I witnessed in Monadières over the activities I discuss here must be seen in the light of long-term local debates over the benefits, and drawbacks, of possible future tourist development.

The specific issues over which conflict occurred during my stay in the village are, however, related to a more recent initiative in tourism in the area, dating from the early 1980s, and concerning the ways in which tourists can be encouraged to travel inland from the beaches and purchase local products such as food. The activities of Pierre Caddassus and others like him involved commodifying local cuisine and food products, and packaging them as components of local culinary ‘traditions’, principally for sale to these tourists. While such developments form part of the general phenomenon of ‘cultural tourism’,⁴ I employ the term ‘heritage tourism’ here to underline their historical emphasis and temporal component. Turning to the relevant literature for orientation, with respect to the temporal identity of these products they can be identified with what various writers have termed ‘the heritage industry’. Writers on heritage have frequently taken two opposing viewpoints on the benefits and drawbacks of ‘the heritage industry’ as a general phenomenon. Samuel (1994), for example, exemplifies a populist line, viewing the widespread consumption of history as a celebration by the masses of multiple, popular pasts; Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) have suggested by contrast that ‘heritage’ is in fact a neatly packaged, pacifying version of past events which smoothes over the potentially subversive and emancipatory value of the past made much of by writers such as Benjamin (1992). When viewed from the perspective of writings on modernity, a principal source for theoretical material on past-present relations in Europe, social de-

velopments encompassing heritage tourism are, ironically, often interpreted as involving a break with 'tradition', or sometimes as involving the invention of 'traditions'. Problematically, therefore, writers such as Giddens (1990, 1991) do not provide the apparatus for unravelling the temporal idioms of heritage, regarding either a theoretical, or indigenous perspective.⁵ As for work on tourism in Europe, much has been written on areas of intensive tourism, where local populations have frequently created staged arenas of social life for the purpose of tourist consumption, while behind the scenes people live out their private lives in seclusion (Boissevain 1992, 1996). For places such as Monadières, which has been integrated into a decentralized heritage tourism network, early, negative assessments (e.g. Greenwood 1989) that apparently overlooked the agency of local populations have been rightly corrected by more comprehensive analyses that emphasize the positive aspects of such economic developments for local people (see Abram 1994, 1996, 1997 for France). However, the situation in Monadières remains complex and uncertain, as we shall see.

In response to these current viewpoints, as I have roughly characterized them here, in this paper I consider the historical developments relating to tourism that have taken place in Monadières during the last 20 years, and focus on the conflicts that have arisen as a result of these processes. Involving as this does an examination of the sorts of temporal claims being made for locally produced commodities, I also engage to a certain extent with writers on modernity and tradition, arguing that such conflicts can only be understood if more attention is paid to the ways in which temporal relations are symbolically constructed. The conflicts that erupted at the summer fête in 1997 illustrate how disagreement that existed within the village over the exploitation by some individuals of aspects of local ways of life has clearly not yet settled into the sorts of pub-

lic-private divide or consensus noted for some other parts of Europe. From an ethnographic point of view, this case study also demonstrates how in Monadières, local opinion and methods of coping with tourists, and the possible benefits and drawbacks to be had from heritage tourism development, are more idiosyncratic than sociological writings on the heritage industry would suggest. In Monadières, the symbolic dimensions of such heritage commodities in fact constitute rival forms of local history and temporalizing the past, which have entered into conflict with other practices of remembering.

PLACING HERITAGE IN HISTORY

Sometimes, as both storytellers and political economists might agree, to understand a single moment it is necessary to tell a story that stretches over many years. Why had the young men of the football club walked out on Pierre Cadassus? When he had introduced nylon netting and fast outboard motors to fishing in the 1960s, and the other fishermen had poured scorn on his arrogance, many of them had not even been born. Yet, when the other fishermen had noticed Pierre Cadassus' success, and the increase in his catches, they had quickly taken up the new techniques, and some of these same young men had grown up with the comforts that money could buy. Wasn't this one reason to be grateful to Pierre Cadassus? Wasn't what he'd been doing to bring tourists into the village in more recent times going to benefit everyone just like what he had done for fishing so many years before? People I knew in Monadières who had spent their lives in the village remembered the 1960s and 1970s as a time of change in all sorts of ways, for good and for bad. For some, it was the time when women had begun going to the café, and many had learned to drive; for others, when fishermen with more money had built large houses over the vines of landowners who were selling up to make a last quick

profit, or, more painfully, over the vines of those whose children had abandoned the land and were now too old to cultivate; for others still, when the town hall had built a sewage system and finally installed running water in every house, so not only the wealthy could flush their shit away at the jerk of a lever. More outsiders had begun to buy the empty houses in the village as well, which had accumulated over the years as the old had died and the young had left to seek work elsewhere, more visitors had begun to come to the village during the summer months, and in July and August the streets in Narbonne were crowded with the cars of foreigners and French people from different *départements*. All these events, and more, were reasons local people gave for why the 1960s and 1970s were the time when so much changed, that nothing was left unchanged. The old days had come to an end. A new life had begun.⁶

These observations were not unique to the population of Monadières. In many areas of France, the 1960s and 1970s were seen as a turning point in people's lives. From a short-term perspective, this was the result of cumulative transformations resulting from the post-war economic boom in Western Europe, and the related modernization of French agriculture. So much which had taken place within a short period of time had given rise to the local feeling that one way of life was coming to an end, and another was beginning. For villages such as Monadières, however, these transitions can also be viewed as the latest part of a turbulent series of events that had begun with the expansion of viticultural capitalism in the 19th century. From this long-term perspective, the local sense that a secure and established way of life had been left behind only in the 1960s and 1970s was perhaps more a product of the malleability of memory, coupled with the demands of coping with further dramatic changes in local ways of life.

One consequence of the social changes that occurred in early 20th century France was that, with the introduction of paid holidays, leisure time became an increasing feature of the lives of ordinary citizens, and with the subsequent spread of car ownership in the post-war period many people began to travel away from home during the short period every year when they were not working. In this respect, the popularity and growth of the Côte d'Azur during the years 1945-60 first suggested the potential of the Languedoc coastline to developers. Although at the time the coast was sparsely populated due to the numerous lakes and related mosquito infestation, there were long sandspits and sandy beaches that, with the overcrowding in Provence, had the potential to attract large numbers of tourists. During the 1950s and 1960s the French state and private investors sought to develop, and cash in on the potential offered by such seasonal tourism by creating a vast panorama of new holiday resorts along the Languedocian coast, offsetting the more expensive and exclusive resorts along the coast of Provence.

In 1963 the government gave the go-ahead to the construction of a series of modern tourist villages along the Languedoc-Roussillon coast from Port Camargue in the Gard to St Cyprien, in the Pyrénées-Orientales. From 78,700 visitors to these resorts in 1974 numbers had risen to 254,000 in 1982, and by 1988 230,000 people could be catered for in the Narbonne and Port-la-Nouvelle areas alone (Verlaque 1987:73, Amiel *et al.* 1994:431). These developments, focused on beach tourism, did not directly affect Monadières, although as early as 1970 there was also the intention of stimulating growth in tourism in the hinterland, an area perceived as 'rich in historical and natural attractions' (Thompson 1970:430).⁷ When the initial euphoria surrounding the success of these developments had died down, it became apparent there were many seasonal tourists who were looking for more than just a concrete apartment block by the sea, a

cold beer, and a sandy beach. At the same time, the devastation caused by developments in farming to rural communities was becoming of increasing concern to both citizens and state alike, as many young people left the rural areas of France to seek work and a higher standard of living in the cities.

These developments resulted, towards the end of the 1970s, in a state-led initiative to develop a new form of tourism that sought to satisfy the desire of certain holiday-makers for more diverse experiences, while diverting capital into, and creating economic growth and jobs in inland rural areas adversely affected by the modernization of agriculture. The plan was to mobilize the historic regional diversity of the French nation state just as it was popularly perceived to be threatened by the spectre of homogenisation. Regional ways of life, many transformed beyond recognition by the upheavals of the post-war period, could be preserved, museumified, and effectively commoditized; the idiosyncrasies of local produce refashioned and repackaged; the burgeoning narratives of local and more professional historians drawn upon to provide depth to the differentiation of identities that would render each region unique, distinctive, and it was hoped, attractive to consumers. What is more, money could be made in the process.

The boundaries of this particular brand of tourism, however, were uncertain. Drawing on, and transforming the past and present of everyday social life, diffused as an activity throughout the regions of France, integrated with the diversifying and multiplying conduits of mass consumption, as opposed to the site-specific, migratory pursuit of sun, sand and surf, the commodities and experiences this form of tourism offered were available to visitor and resident alike. The internal tourism within France that had previously been characterized by the mass transit of the summer months from north to south was now complemented by the potential fragmentation of the tourist experience

into everyday experience, as resident populations all over the country could purchase tourist commodities, and integrate them symbolically into their lives and the life of the locality. At the same time, the potential for disquiet and unrest arose as local people saw elements of their own, and their parents' and grandparents' lives being manipulated by outsiders, and by friends and neighbours, to sell products and make a profit. To adapt a metaphor that made its first appearance in intellectual circles in France at about the same time, if previously tourism and tourist experience had been confined to the main arteries of transport and communication, and the principal organs of beaches and coastal cities, it now reached the more inaccessible recesses of the French state, diverted along the myriad capillaries of tiny roads and villages that were now accessible to the ever-increasing number of car owners. Disquiet over the effects of this new form of tourism had its own set of repercussions in Monadières, as Pierre Cadassus, to his misfortune, found out, and as we shall see.

For although the phenomenon I am identifying was visible on a regional and national level and, symptomatic of certain world-wide developments in the tourist industry and world economy, must be understood as both influenced by strategies at a macro level as well as being part of the on-going consolidation of capitalist hegemony by the French nation state, nevertheless its contingent manifestations have very specific histories, and it is this contingency that I am concerned to focus on here. In Monadières, the earliest incidence of this socio-economic practice can in fact be traced to the activities of Pierre Cadassus himself, who in the late 1970s embarked on a series of commercial ventures that have subsequently provided a role model, and a point of contention, for others in the village. While his influence cannot be separated from the wider developments, particularly on an administrative level, that have taken place in the area as a

whole, it is his initiative that I must first focus on concerning developments in Monadières, coming as it did at a time when local government initiatives were either in their infancy, or still on the drawing board.

FROM FISHERMAN TO RESTAURATEUR

Pierre Cadassus began his working life as a fisherman. That much we know already. And even if new fishing techniques would have come to Monadières in the end no matter what, as a young man during the 1960s his influence might nevertheless be said to have been revolutionary. During the late 1970s, he began to expand his interests beyond fishing by taking over the only café in the village, which was situated on the main square. By the time I arrived in Monadières in the autumn of 1996 he was still fishing, but also owned two restaurants, a catering service, and was actively involved in catering for many of the fêtes that took place in the area throughout the year, in particular those that attracted a tourist clientele during the summer months. His progress had polarized village opinion. Some, mainly drawn from the families who traced their heritage within Monadières, disliked him for the effect he was having on the village, shaping creatively its image and elements of the local past to benefit his business interests. They resented both his perceived manipulation of elements of their everyday lives and family histories into commodities to be sold, and the potential changes that tourism could wreak on Monadières itself, considering what had happened to other nearby villages. Others envied his success, and for others still he provided an example to be followed, but none challenged the fact that he had drawn on the resources of the village in an innovative way, for good or for bad. ‘Pierre Cadassus is a precursor, you know,’ Guy Cadas, a childhood friend of his, told me. ‘He’s the one that first started to move the village. He’s

the one who had the nose to feel that this village was a gold mine... that's how it started, you know, how he got into business.'⁸

During the 1970s, I was told, the café had been run by Henri Tesquié, and by all accounts was like so many other French village cafés that have conjured up the stereotype of rural French life from the novels of Marcel Pagnol and Jean Giono to contemporary tourist brochures and television commercials.⁹ When Henri Tesquié retired, Pierre Cadassus bought the license and initially rented the premises, which comprised the ground floor café, and two further floors above which overlooked the main square. He wanted a youthful clientele – young people drank more, and spent more. He kept the name, *Le Petit Voilier* ('The Little Sailing Boat'), named after the small models of fishing boats that had been the centrepiece of the recently deceased *fête des pêcheurs* ('fishermen's fête'), and one of which now stood, defunct, behind the counter, but refurbished the café, extending its opening hours and installing a jukebox. According to Jean Biscaye, at the time in his 50s and who liked a game of cards in the café in the evenings, 'if the old didn't die, they were driven out by the music'. Pierre Cadassus, meanwhile, 'kept the party going'. He dressed smartly. He encouraged his customers to drink, rather than sit and talk over one glass of wine for the evening. And he quickly achieved his goal, as the older people stayed away and the bar filled up with the young.

When Henri Tesquié had run the café, the only place there had been to eat out in Monadières had been the *auberge* ('inn') owned by Jeanine Bonnet, which she had started up as a newcomer to the village in the 1960s. Jeanine Bonnet provided Pierre Cadassus with a model for what might be achieved selling food, although she did not specifically target a tourist clientele. As she recalled to me in conversation, the interior of her *auberge* was decorated in a regional style, with old ornaments she had collected

to create an antique, historical feel to the place.¹⁰ Her previous experience running a small restaurant in Narbonne in the 1950s meant she was a good cook, and she had served dishes that at the time were still staple ingredients of the regional diet: fish stews, such as *la bourride*, made from eels and potatoes, for which she used the produce of the local fishermen; or *civet de lapin*, a rich rabbit stew made with red wine and wild thyme, and *cassoulet*, made from preserved duck or goose, pork sausage and haricot beans. By the late 1970s, however, her *auberge* had gone. Always looked upon with suspicion by the women of the village, due to her unfamiliar origins and status as a single woman running such an establishment alone, someone had informed on her serving alcohol without food to the police, which went against the terms of her license, and she had lost her livelihood.

With the bar going well, and Jeanine Bonnet's *auberge* as an example, Pierre Cadassus set himself up in the restaurant business at the beginning of the 1980s. Opening up the floor above the bar, he employed women from the village to cook dishes which, with the influence of supermarkets and the availability of a wider variety of food produce, were becoming increasingly outmoded, and associated with the life of the past. The restaurant started to get a name for itself, for the food of course, which was consistently well-prepared, but principally because of Pierre Cadassus himself, who proved himself an effervescent host. Energetic, charming, he was engaging company for his customers, and the restaurant was always busy as people came from Narbonne and beyond. Young people in the village watched this new phenomenon, and some were keen to help out with washing up, or waiting, among them Antoine Canovas, the mayor of the municipality during my own stay in the village (and who, incidentally, was himself

a keen promoter of heritage tourism). Pierre Cadassus had discovered a new way to make money in Monadières. And people were curious.

But Pierre Cadassus had his sights set on wider horizons, and selling the restaurant to his step-father a few years after setting it up, he moved on to Narbonne-Plage, a town on the coast the other side of Narbonne which had been largely constructed during the tourist developments of the 1960s, and now had a flourishing summer tourist trade. His clients followed him, and *Les Flots Bleus* ('The Blue Waves'), his new establishment, quickly became a bigger success than its counterpart in Monadières which, without its host, soon went out of business. After several years, however, he returned to Monadières. *Le Petit Voilier* had been taken over by someone else, but was not doing well, and Pierre Cadassus opened another restaurant, overlooking the lake, converting a large house adjacent to a small medieval courtyard in the old part of the village, the restaurant drawing on this local historical landmark for its own name, *La Cour Ancienne* ('The Old Courtyard'). Why did he come back? As rumour in the village had it, 'he saw something coming... He felt it before everybody else.' Other developments were by then afoot in the *département* of the Aude, however, to which Pierre Cadassus, with the circle of business acquaintances he had developed in the Narbonne area, had born witness. So before I consider his recent activities in the village, and those of some of the other village inhabitants, I will first sketch in more detail the wider picture of tourist development in the area during the 1980s.

LE PAYS CATHARE AND AUDE GOURMANDE

During the early 1980s the *conseil général* ('general council') for the Aude set to work developing the inland tourist infrastructure in the *département* through the initiative of

le Pays Cathare ('Cathar Country'). Throughout the Corbières mountains are scattered the remains of the hill forts of the Cathars, the medieval adherents of a heretical faith who were wiped out by Catholic crusaders, sponsored by the Pope and the King of France, during the mid-13th century. During the early 1980s the departmental committee for tourism chose the story of the Cathars, which had acquired a symbolic resonance in the regionalist political climate of the time, to form the centrepiece of a new tourist initiative, and touristic identity for the *département*. As I have already suggested, this was in keeping with a general drive throughout France to develop the historic regional particularities that characterised the country as a whole for tourist consumption. A centre for the study of the Cathars was created, and a museum in the town of Puivert, while *Le Pays Cathare* became the brand-mark for a project whose objectives were to revitalize the rural economy, and diffuse and augment the profits to be had from tourism throughout the *département* as a whole.

The objective of the *Pays Cathare* project was to encourage independent action, either at the municipal or individual level. This would then be co-ordinated by a number of administrative bodies operating on a departmental basis. As Amiel *et al.* write, 'The idea was to attract [tourists] into the countryside, and keep them there for a few days, by increasing the lodgings and attractions available, but also by developing the Cathar castles and renovating the villages, re-opening ancient footpaths and organising exhibitions, and training tourist guides who would also be able to sell [the tourists] local products' (1994:349, my translation). In the case of Pierre Cadassus, and those others later involved in the sale of food products in Monadières, one particular aspect of the project is of special significance: the association *Aude Gourmande*.

Aude Gourmande is a fairly untranslatable term. I recently asked a French friend what it meant to her, to which she replied ‘not much’. ‘Gourmand’ in French means both ‘greedy’, and ‘appreciative of good food’, the latter of which is probably the key referent here, Aude being, of course, the name of the *département*. Put these two together, and you have the sense of it. *Aude Gourmande*, thus, is a brand mark for a collection of regional food products, typically created by small-scale producers, which, having been selected according to special criteria, can then be marketed through the *Pays Cathare* infrastructure. Under the direction of *le comité de liaison interconsulaire de l’Aude* (‘Interconsular Liaison Committee’), since 1983 a competition has been held, each spring, at which food products are chosen for inclusion in the *Aude Gourmande* category. The products are subjected to a rigorous tasting process, which in the spring of 1997 was carried out by some 210 ‘tasters’, ‘from all walks of life’, with prizes for the winning entries (*l’Indépendant du Midi*, 21.03.97). In this case, all products deemed of a suitable quality were permitted to carry the *Aude Gourmande*, and *Pays Cathare* brand marks, and were included in the publicity produced and distributed through tourist information outlets. I knew of at least one small producer affiliated to this scheme in Monadières, and a number of restaurants who profited from the *Pays Cathare* infrastructure, and the *conseil municipal* was actively involved in various projects which were devised to encourage this form of tourism.

The guiding criterion for inclusion was the notion of *produits du terroir*, which literally translated means ‘products of the soil’. The meaning of *terroir* has its origins in the historically diverse regional identities of France, and is also related to the attachment of the small agricultural producer to his or her land. Thus *mon terroir* can also mean ‘my land’, whether referring to one’s own farm, or to the place one came from as op-

posed to other places. In this respect, *un homme du terroir*, ‘a man of the *terroir*’ is someone born and bred in the locality. These origins have been reinvented in the contemporary climate of regional tourism within France, and in its more common current sense the term evokes the notion of both a distinctive local identity, and the continuity of this identity over time, the word *terroir* effectively signifying ‘region’ or ‘locality’ rather than ‘soil’ in the sense of ‘earth’, for which the usual French word is *sol* or *terre*. In the area around Monadières, its most frequent use was in referring to specified areas of viticultural production, such as *le terroir de Sigean* (‘the *terroir* of Sigean’), to which Monadières was affiliated; or in the sense I am interested in, *produits du terroir*. An equivalent translation in English would thus be ‘regional produce’, the significant fact about *produits du terroir* being their point of origin within an identifiable locality, although, importantly, they are usually characterized as the products of local ‘traditions’ of cooking as well. However, the overtones of *terre*, ‘earth’, to which *terroir* is etymologically and, in its legacy as symbolically important for social identity in the pre-capitalist French agricultural economy, culturally related, is not conveyed in the English, and this is important to note considering the overt temporal claims the use of this word implies in relation to continuity with a specific past.

What is the socio-economic basis of the ‘regional produce’ scheme? It is focused on the small-scale, petty commodity producer, who sells the product directly, through sales at the site of production and through local town markets, and to a lesser extent accesses indirect distribution through supermarkets and special regional produce ‘boutiques’. Aside from the normal system of town markets, such as the weekly market at Narbonne that took place on Sunday mornings, there were a number of special markets during my stay in Monadières, which aimed ostensibly to attract the large numbers of

tourists visiting the region at the time. Some producers were also represented by local branches of regional and national supermarket chains, the two largest examples, or ‘hypermarkets’ in the Narbonne area being Géant-Casino and Continent. During the 1996-7 period, Géant-Casino had a special shelving section of its Narbonne store which featured only produce from the Aude, much of which was affiliated to the *Aude Gourmande* association; Continent, the other ‘hypermarket’ in the area, in arrangement with the *le comité de promotion des terroirs de l’Aude* (‘departmental committee for the promotion of *terroirs*’), announced to the media in July 1997 that it would be highlighting all regional produce throughout the store, rather than concentrating it in one shelving area.

The basis in diversity that informs the scheme as a whole is also a key theme of the way in which the products are packaged, an element of the production process whose importance was underlined at the 1997 *Aude Gourmande* competition when, for the first time, a competitive event was also organised for packaging and presentation. The related temporal components of notions of *terroir* and ‘tradition’ were central to the packaging process as a whole, and must be distinguished from the unreflexive use of ‘tradition’ as a term in some theoretical writing, as I suggested above. In social science debates, particularly in relation to the concept of ‘modernity’, ‘tradition’ has often been used as a blanket term to refer to ‘pre-modern’ forms of sociality. In this sense, ‘traditional’ sociality partakes of a temporality whereby the present is dominated by the past, which moulds present social practices in its image, and opposed to ‘modern’ forms of sociality, which are future-oriented and ‘open’ in character. Such approaches often fail wholeheartedly to examine indigenous conceptions of past-present-future relations, and their basis in socio-economic and historically situated social practices. Looking at the

‘regional produce’ scheme from the latter perspective, it is clear that the products have their origins in local dishes and dietary intake that displays some continuity since the 19th century. However, if one considers Goody’s (1986:36) illustration of the nearby ‘invention’ of ‘traditional’ Provençal cuisine in the 19th century, and Le Roy Ladurie’s (1976:*passim*) detailing of the variability of the Languedocian diet during the 15th and 16th centuries, one must conclude that those early 20th century staple dishes on which many of the product recipes are based have surely not been staple for very long. What is more, in being commoditized for market consumption such dishes have in many cases been innovated upon, and in this sense it would appear to be useful to talk of the recent ‘invention’ of ‘traditional’ Languedocian cuisine as well.

But what actually is being invoked by the use of ‘tradition’ in this sense? In one sense this must come down to the roles of such products in contingent temporalizing practices, which I consider when I return to discuss events in Monadières. But first, considering theoretically the wider context, rather than stating that such products are the present incarnation of ‘traditions’ stretching back over time, remnants of a pre-modern era, or that they belong to ‘invented traditions’, with no more actual indication as to what this implies in terms of temporality, it is perhaps more accurate to suggest that in packaging them in this way one confers on them the *potential* for a specific temporal identity. This identity is intended to symbolize continuity over time, and is related to the spatio-temporal index of *terroir*, which also suggests a similar sense of continuity, but relates it to a specific place. In sum, by presenting such products as manufactured according to ‘traditional practices’, themselves related to the notion of *terroir*, producers create a symbolic spatio-temporal identity for the products that has continuity with the past as its principal index. This may then be incorporated into temporalizing practices

surrounding the consumption of food, which itself thus symbolically, and materially embodies a link with the local past.

Such an analysis does not preclude the fact that in symbolizing food products in this way, producers may indeed be constructing their own symbolic relation to the past through using the recipes of their mothers, grandparents, or more temporally distant relations. But from an analytical perspective, these temporal relations must be revealed as constructed, rather than viewed as merely 'traditional'. Their general market appeal is related to the development of national consumerism in France in the post-war period, and the national mood of nostalgia that has arisen with the rapid social changes that have accompanied these developments. Throughout France, the gradual disappearance of small-holding farmers over the course of the last two hundred years came to a head during the post-war period. Such claims to 'tradition' and *terroir* made a direct appeal to the current national myth of the peasant and his/her disappearance that was topical across France during my time there. At the same time, nostalgia for a lost, and stable rural past has been noted by writers such as Williams (1993) to be a characteristic of wider social developments in other parts of Europe during the last 200 years, and has also been identified by writers on tourism such as MacCannell (1976) and Graburn (1995) as a feature of the tourist's search for 'authenticity'. This clearly relates to the wider appeal of such products to audiences from outside France. Finally, such periodizations of a lost rural past also bear striking similarities to the untheorised use of 'tradition' by modernity theorists, and reinforce the need to analyse the temporal index of identity more closely.

Returning to the ethnography, an emphasis on *terroir* and 'tradition' was also mirrored in other products that were available in the supermarkets of Narbonne during the

1996-7 period. Perhaps the most blatant example was the *Reflets de France* ('reflections of France') series marketed by Continent, which in its packaging, and in a series of articles in the free Continent magazine available at the Narbonne store during 1997, promoted a self-consciously nostalgic image of regional food prepared in accordance with time-honoured, and endangered traditions. As the slogan, which accompanied each product, ran, 'Les produits Reflets de France renouent avec les recettes et le savoir-faire de chaque terroir qui ont fait de notre pays à travers le monde le symbole de bon goût'.¹¹ It is clear from the range of produce in this series that such packaging and products have their origin in the very real cultural and environmental diversity of France as a socio-geographic area, the consequent diversity of regional cuisines, and the concentration of a significant proportion of related food production in the hands of small-scale petty commodity producers. At the same time, as just suggested, their packaging is intended to link in with the prevailing national mood regarding recent French history, and the disappearance of 'peasant' small-holdings and small, integrated communities, targeting the *anomie* that is popularly associated with recent socio-economic developments.

PACKAGING TRADITION IN MONADIÈRES

With an understanding of the wider developments that had taken place during the earlier stages of Pierre Cadassus' progress in the restaurant business, and on into the 1990s to the time of my own stay in Monadières, we may return to the late 1980s, when he returned to the village and set up *La Cour Ancienne*. About the same time, two further restaurants set up in the village: *Le Flamant Noir* ('The Black Flamingo'), and *La Table du Pêcheur* ('The Fisherman's Table'), but by the 1990s *Le Flamant Noir* had gone out of business, and the current proprietor of *Le Petit Voilier*, which, we recall, Pierre Ca-

dassus had initially started back in the 1970s, had decided to move premises to a new location, which overlooked the lake. With *La Cour Ancienne* doing well, Pierre Cadassus decided to open a new restaurant, once again above the bar, which had just been vacated by *Le Petit Voilier*. It was called *Al Bon Ostal*, *occitan* for ‘At the Good House’.¹² As Guy Cadas remembered, at the opening of *Al Bon Ostal* ‘Pierre Cadassus called all the newspapers, the cameras, he got everyone in the village square [which the restaurant overlooked]... he had an *occitan* singer, and he talked. He said “let’s have the village like the good old days with the people, let’s have the plaza lit up”’. The fact that Pierre Cadassus chose a name in dialect, which has itself become outmoded, and a symbol of the village and regional past as it has disappeared from everyday speech in the past 40 years, along with his use of an *occitan* singer and his own direct evocation of the past at the restaurant’s opening, provide further examples of the importance of temporal references to the past in his projects.

The irony of Pierre Cadassus’ appeal to the spirit of the ‘old days’ was not lost on Guy Cadas, who qualified his account of Pierre Cadassus’ involvement in developments in the village by adding: ‘He’s the one saying let’s have the village like the old days. But he’s the one who’s destroying it, if he’d just open his eyes!’ This points to the detrimental effects of Pierre Cadassus’ activities, as perceived by some of the other inhabitants of the village, and indicates the contested nature of such developments locally, as we shall presently see. Looking at the publicity and presentation of dishes that occurs at *La Cour Ancienne* in more detail, *terroir* was, unsurprisingly, a significant theme, both in the presentation of food as a whole, which was given the general title of *cuisine de terroir* (‘regional cooking’), and in the selection of individual dishes. These latter focused principally on fish and seafood, with a special section on the main menu for *les*

Anguilles de l'étang ('Eels from the lake'), which included *la bourride*, the eel and potato stew that among village inhabitants was the local dish most frequently associated with the diet of the village past; *A la Narbonnaise* ('Eels in the Narbonne style'); and *Menu Dégustation d'Anguilles* ('The Eel-Tasting Menu'), a separate menu altogether which comprised a selection of different ways of preparing eels. Additionally, all were accompanied by 'regional wines'. Other sections from the main menu included *Tarte rustique* ('Rustic Tart'), and various dishes incorporating duck and goose, also associated with the former diet of the Aude. The menu contained the following introduction, locating the food in relation to a place, and a past in keeping with the *terroir* theme:

*Notre Carte tient compte d'un arrivage journalier «petit bateau et criée»
Nous vous souhaitons la bienvenue, en espérant que ce détour gourmand
Vous fera découvrir Monadières, site naturel et sauvage,
Où la gastronomie, la pêche, la vigne et l'art, sont les joyaux d'un riche passé*¹³

The cooking was complemented by a notice-board placed at the entrance to the restaurant, on which a copy of the menu was surrounded by photos of Pierre Cadassus fishing. This underlined the relation of the food to the local cultural environment, and the local past, through emphasizing the artisanal fishing methods for which the *étang* is renowned, and which were commonly perceived as constituting a 'link with the past'. The theme of regional cuisine then continued for *Al Bon Ostal*, Pierre Cadassus' other restaurant. However, unlike *La Cour Ancienne*, which reinvented regional dishes to a gourmet level, *Al Bon Ostal* sold more simple, and less expensive 'regional' fare.

The restaurants themselves were evidently selling much more than the consumption of food. The commodity they offered for purchase was in fact access to a specific symbolic experience, which was predicated on the evocations of fishing and of the vil-

lage as a temporalized locality. In this sense, Pierre Cadassus, as a native of Monadières, drew on elements of his own experience of local social life in the past in the construction of a commodity that was both material and experiential in nature. But the *cuisine de terroir* that he produced, with its local cultural overtones, cannot be said to be representative of the food which was actually consumed in the village, either in the past, or during my own stay. It constitutes a fabrication, whose real referent lies within the wider socio-economic context of the region as a whole, and specifically in relation to the commoditization of food for tourist consumption. On the one hand, its temporal claims must thus be understood *as* claims, as an attempt to convey a certain form of temporal identity on the commodities on offer. On the other, the food products themselves must be seen as transformations of and elaborations upon the former diet of the area, rather than as ‘traditional’ from an analytical point of view. Pierre Cadassus has therefore taken his own and others’ experience of the past as the basis for his own, culinary narrative of local history. But his guiding principles have been those of fantasy, or magical realism, rather than the objective aspirations of professional historians.

The perception of food products by consumers was of course a matter of specifics. Undoubtedly for some, the way in which they were packaged was irrelevant to the pleasure of eating the actual food itself. However for others, the experience of eating in Pierre Cadassus’ restaurants constituted an imaginative participation in the spatio-temporal world the products evoked. The meal thus became an exercise in temporalizing the past, where the past was ‘lived or apprehended concretely via the various meaningful connectivities among persons, objects, and space continually being made in and through the everyday world’ (Munn 1992:116); or where ‘a [specific] past [became] charged with the time of the now’ (Munn 1992:113, adapting Benjamin 1992:253); re-

calling the imaginative power of food noted by Proust (1996), whose *madeleine* cake had the power to evoke the lost world of his childhood. In the restaurants of Pierre Cadassus, however, in contrast to Proust, for certain consumers the present became infused with images of a perceived, and, significantly, fictional village past. It is therefore unsurprising that the majority of those using the restaurants were recent immigrants, second home owners, tourists and other visitors. For rather than drawing on oral information and lived experience about the local past, which would indeed have given the lie to some of Pierre Cadassus's claims, such temporalizing practices relied predominantly on textual material and a certain lack of local knowledge.¹⁴

In 1996-7, aside from Pierre Cadassus, there was only one other restaurant still in business in the village, *La Table du Pêcheur*, *Le Petit Voilier* having gone broke in the summer of 1996. *La Table du Pêcheur*, as its name suggests, also had a predominantly fish and seafood based menu, and incorporated an art gallery and *brocante* ('antiques shop'), although its marketing was not as explicit as that of Pierre Cadassus. Guy Cadas also told me of other projects: in 1995 he had himself been approached by a member of the municipal council, Françoise Sabatier, about the possibility of selling his homemade jams and preserves. Part of the group of village inhabitants unhappy at the idea of putting aspects of the village and its way of life on show and for sale, Guy Cadas had turned her offer down. Nevertheless, in 1996, Françoise Sabatier had been involved in an attempt to organise a small market in the village on summer week-day evenings, ostensibly to sell other *produits du terroir* which were not part of the *Aude Gourmande* network to tourists. At the time, there was a general reluctance among villagers not professionally involved in food production to exert themselves for little financial reward, and scepticism as to whether the market would be a success. Among some, there was

also a sense that such home-made products were not produced for sale, their emotional and symbolic role within families and households rendering them, perhaps, inalienable and provoking resistance to their commoditization. Participants, therefore, had been mainly from outside the village, and because sales were limited, the market did not re-appear for the summer I spent there in 1997.

Another team of food producers in the village, however, have explicitly presented their produce in the style of Pierre Cadassus: a fisherman and his wife, the Montagnacs. Jean-Louis Montagnac would set aside part of his catch for his wife, Jeanne, who made stews and pâtés from it for sale. Having only been in business since the early 1990s, in 1996-7 her products were affiliated to the *Aude Gourmande* scheme, and she won prizes at the 1996 competition for her *bisque de crevettes* ('shrimp bisque') and her *terrine d'anguilles* ('eel pâté'). These recipes were also accompanied by a *soupe de poissons* ('fish soup'), a *soupe de crabes* ('crab soup'), a *terrine de poissons* ('fish pâté'), and a *bourride d'anguilles* ('eel stew'), all of which were certified 'fabrication artisanale sans conservateur ni colorant'.¹⁵ Her publicity leaflet equally made temporal references, the *bourride d'anguilles*, for example, being introduced as 'une recette de nos grands mères, femmes de pêcheurs',¹⁶ and at her stall at *la braderie*, or 'everything must go' market in Narbonne in August 1997, she displayed a lengthy album illustrating the fishing process in Monadières, and detailing how Jean-Louis Montagnac issued from several generations of fishermen from the village, which served to contextualize her products from a specific spatio-temporal perspective. In conversation with myself, Jeanne Montagnac spoke of the hostility within Monadières to her attempts to sell her produce, and to her success at the *Aude Gourmande* competition the previous year. She put this down in part to the reluctance of villagers to use their initiative and help themselves, and in

part to envy, although from the comments of others I knew it is clear that, once again, her actions created both resentment among some for her commoditization of aspects of local ways of life, and anxiety at the possible repercussions of such tourist incentives for the future of the village.

PASSIONS, DISCOVERIES, AND CONCLUSIONS

The story of the disastrous 1997 summer fête of the Monadières Football Club, to which I now turn in conclusion, itself presents one specific example of how the former ceremonial life of the village was being replaced by more explicitly market, and tourist-oriented concerns. It also provides an explicit example of the conflicts within the village that this new socio-economic mode of production was creating. Back in the summer of 1996 a party was organised in Monadières, on a flat gravelly area at the edge of the lake which for the rest of the year was used for parking cars, or sometimes by the fishermen for drying their miniature, lake-sized dragnets in the sun. Organised ostensibly for the financial benefit of the local football club, the party, subtitled *Passions et Découvertes* ('Passions and Discoveries') after a menu title at one of the restaurants owned by Pierre Cadassus, the football club's president, had in this initial incarnation been a great success. Its lakeside venue, by day treeless and exposed to the heat of the summer sun, by night had been transformed into a watery paradise, where 300 party goers, the fragrance of the lake's salty water, the hum of cicadas, and the odour of good food ensured it of a place in the local papers. Its hallmark had been the spit-roasting of a whole bull, which had grazed peacefully by the road that wound beside the lake in the weeks leading up to the event to woo passers-by and visitors with the promise of its culinary transformation. The following year, during my stay in the village, another bull appeared in late July,

giving notice that the party would indeed be organised again, and as booking forms dropped through letterboxes in the week that followed, the village column in local papers began to buzz with details and anticipation of the forthcoming event.

Six hundred people were expected for the evening meal, of which two-thirds were tourists and outsiders. And as had happened the previous year, the party had been extended over the entire day, with open days among the several small art galleries that had sprung up in the village in recent years, the tasting of local wines throughout the afternoon, a quiz for children based on *Monadières et son étang*,¹⁷ and a small market of *produits du terroir*. While the party itself was for the financial benefit of the football club, its president was clearly trying to extend the expected influx of money on to the area's petty commodity producers, a fact that did not go down well with the members of the football club themselves. When evening arrived, and the bull, which had been rotating placidly on its automated spit since dawn, was finally cooked, the six hundred guests seated expectantly around green collapsible wooden tables, hungry and thirsty from the day's events, were greeted by the sounds of argument and confusion. The members of the football club, whose were to distribute the copious amounts of food and wine to the waiting guests, were nowhere to be seen. Apparently antagonistic towards the president's perceived hi-jacking of the party for his own, and others' commercial interests, angered by his transformation of the village's collective resources for his own personal publicity and gain, they had boycotted the event, leaving the party in disarray and the bull uncarved and cooling in the evening air.¹⁸

That, at least, is one interpretation of what happened. Pierre Cadassus himself, like Jeanne Montagnac before him, put their actions down to laziness, suggesting that, typical of a more general and long-standing attitude within the village, such people were

unwilling to seize opportunities and help themselves. In his opinion, with the current high level of unemployment and the problems in viticulture, without tourism Monadières did not have a future. There were also some rumours of bad blood within the club itself, turning around the question of training schedules and the like; others concerning the lack of payment for those willing to help; and the fact that some of the football team were from outside Monadières and either on holiday, or unwilling to help with another village's fête. However, also visible was an antagonistic attitude towards the activities of Pierre Cadassus himself, related to the longer-term disquiet among some villagers regarding his use of the village past with respect to his business interests, and his attraction of tourists and outsiders into the locality. If this was not the only reason for everyone's actions, it was certainly part and parcel of the background to the evening's events, and for some villagers constituted reason enough for feeling hostile to the party and his role in it.

Such feelings ran wider within Monadières during my time there, and the events surrounding the football club's summer fête, and indeed the sale of food in general, were just one incidence of a feeling of polarization among the village residents as to the activities of those members of the population involved in tourism. In the past 30 years, the locally perceived village past has been set off from the life of the present, concomitant with historical changes, and has begun to be incorporated into a new, heterogeneous sense of local identity with more national and global horizons. This has also been related to new ways of knowing and remembering the past, involving books, the mass media, the nation state, and photographs, to name a few examples. These new ways in which the past was being known and put to use take one more form in the activities of Pierre Cadassus and his associates, and their commoditization of the past with respect to

the tourist industry. What is at issue, thus, cannot be interpreted in terms of a conflict over tradition itself, or even over the invention of tradition, but as a conflict over the ways in which the past itself is made known, temporalized, and put to use as part of present projects. One of the things I have been concerned to illustrate here is how, through combining a symbolic analysis of the temporal dimension of social activities with a consideration of the historical context of local sociality, this can be made explicit. In a general sense, such an analysis also demonstrates the need for greater and more complex consideration of the question of temporality among anthropologists and sociologists as a whole, an argument that is beginning to be heard in some circles.¹⁹

Turning now to the implications of this case study for writings on the heritage industry, and for other anthropological portrayals of rural tourism in Europe, what are the local consequences of such developments? Are they the cynical manipulation of the past for individual profit, as some writers suggest? Or, indeed, the emancipatory celebration of multiple pasts by the population at large? Clearly, the situation in Monadières is more complex than that. On the one hand, those doing the celebrating were mainly from outside the village, while those whose identities were more closely bound to the local past were the ones feeling uncomfortable about the whole business. However, in Monadières, which suffered from as much as 20% unemployment among the active population, the majority of whom were young people, it is clear that, although the profits from these enterprises went to the few such as Pierre Cadassus during my time there, the nature of the scheme, with its accessibility to all those with a little capital and the guile to set themselves up in business, is far more democratic than the sort of tourism associated with multi-nationals. Indeed, Guy Cadas, himself a critic of Pierre Cadassus' activities, expressed to me his own thoughts about the possibility of setting up in the

food trade, his main concern, and what prevented him from doing so, being his fears regarding the effects that tourism would have on the village. Fears coupled, perhaps, with a more general reluctance to commoditise intimately valued features of one's social world for the sake of extra cash.

So, cynical manipulation? Cynical perhaps not, but manipulation maybe, and this is where the most striking aspect of such developments is occurring, as it is clear that through such activities a new form of social memory is emerging. I have not had space here to touch upon other devices of local memory,²⁰ that included the recent production of a detailed narrative of local history – and which, it is worth noting, Pierre Cadassus drew on for the quiz at the fête, while consulting its author at other stages of his business career – but it is clear that those involved in the food business have no explicit responsibility for accuracy or accountability to the pasts they make reference to. This, and a public voice of much greater power and access than many other narratives of the past, are perhaps at the heart of the unease felt by some village inhabitants regarding the use of local pasts as a referent for commodities and their packaging, and underlie the conflict at the village fête. While in the short-term, such practices have still left other strategies of remembering intact, it is less certain what the long-term local effects of heritage tourism will be, as the indigenous community of villagers identifying with the local past are themselves becoming a minority in the locality. Indeed, the continuing development of such an industry locally could well hasten their demise, as the symbols of their commonality are appropriated and transformed for other ends. However, and in conclusion, it is only when these developments progress further in Monadières, which in the current climate of heritage tourism they undoubtedly will, that the long-term consequences of

integrating market-oriented consumerism with the social function and importance of remembering will become apparent, for better or for worse.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS & NOTES:

Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the Postgraduate Research Seminar and Departmental Seminar of the Anthropology Dept., Goldsmiths College, and the 'Frontiers of Memory' conference at the Institute of Education, London in Sept. 1999. I would like to thank those present for their contributions, and especially Olivia Harris and Paolo Mendes for their particularly helpful comments. My thanks also to Susana Gozalo Martinez for her constructive criticisms, and the residents of Monadières. Fieldwork and research on which this paper is based was carried out with the aid of an ESRC Postgraduate Studentship.

¹ For Munn, the notion of temporalization 'views time as a symbolic process continually being produced in everyday practices. People are "in" a sociocultural time of multiple dimensions (sequencing, timing, past-present-future relations, etc.) that they are forming in their "projects". In any given instance, particular temporal dimensions may be foci of attention or only tacitly known. Either way, these dimensions are lived or apprehended concretely via the various meaningful connectivities among persons, objects, and space continually being made in and through the everyday world' (1992:116). Perception and experience of the past thus involves actualizing it in the present or, in Munn's terminology, *temporalizing* the past, a viewpoint that 'foregrounds the implications of the meaningful forms and concrete media of practices for apprehension of the past' (1992:113). However, it should be added that temporalizing practices always take place in a material historical context, which should form part of any analysis, something that Munn downplays and I am concerned to address here. I consider the relationship between symbolic and materialist approaches to the anthropology of time at length elsewhere (Hodges 1999:34-58).

² PhD Fieldwork was carried out in Monadières from October 1996–September 1997. Pseudonyms replace the names of the village and its inhabitants.

³ Censuses of 1946 & 1990.

⁴ ‘Cultural tourists are interested in the lifestyle of other people (whether at home or abroad, now or in the past), their history, and the artefacts and monuments they have made. Thus this category also includes what some have called ethnic and historical tourism [...] Cultural tourism may be contrasted with recreational tourism – stereotypically focused on sun, sand, sea and sex – and environmental tourism. These categories are not mutually exclusive and usually overlap’ (Boissevain 1996a:21-2).

⁵ See Berger, Berger and Kellner 1974, Berman 1983, and Hall 1992 for works on modernity in a related vein, and Connerton 1989, Fentress & Wickham 1992, Lowenthal 1985, Nora 1989, and Terdiman 1993 for works on memory and the past with similar limitations.

⁶ Amiel *et al.* 1994, Ardagh 1973, Mendras & Cole 1991, & Urry 1990 provide the basis for the historical discussion that follows.

⁷ Although there were several attempts to construct sizeable caravan and camping sites on the borders of the lake during the 1970s, on the whole these were fiercely and successfully fought off by the *conseil municipal*, as a letter written by the then mayor of Monadières, Louis Alberny, to the *préfet de l’Aude* (‘governor of the Aude’) on the 30.6.72 testifies: ‘The *commune* of Monadières has no desire to compete with the new tourist developments. It has no ambitions to expand, and has no illusions of becoming a new St. Tropez. It only wishes to maintain a pleasant appearance and so respect the touristic zone that surrounds it. In this respect, it desires simply to welcome the few pleasure boat enthusiasts who wish to moor at its port.’ (*Archives Départementales de l’Aude* 1603w76, my translation). A number of more substantial plans for developing the village and its surroundings were also proposed over the years, involving a yachting marina and luxury hotel, but fell through due to the difficulty of building on the borders of the lake. Opposition to all forms of tourism in subsequent *conseils* persisted until 1995,

when the new *conseil municipal* declared itself in favour of the local development of ‘eco-tourism’, which encompassed ‘heritage tourism’ in its existent local form.

⁸ Pierre Cadassus was helped in all his business exploits by his wife Martine, who was a chef and co-host. However, by all accounts Pierre Cadassus was the key motivating force and I focus on him here.

⁹ Marcel Pagnol and Jean Giono are well-known in France for their novels about French rural life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

¹⁰ Indicating a precocious taste for the themed use of outmoded objects that Jeanine Bonnet had perhaps brought with her from Narbonne, or the other urban centres she had lived in. She had been born in a village in the Hérault, but had subsequently lived in Narbonne, Tarbes, and on the French Riviera, before moving to Monadières. I adapt the term ‘outmoded’ here and elsewhere from Benjamin’s (1998:229) usage, to refer to how, under the conditions of rapid social change perpetuated by industrial capitalism, the present becomes littered with the detritus and memory of former existences: forgotten, repressed, ‘outmoded’ ways of life that in various ways and for different reasons may then be re-temporalized into alternative projects. This is, of course, a key factor underwriting the development of heritage tourism.

¹¹ ‘The Reflections of France products are reviving the recipes and crafts of each region, which have made our country, across the world, the symbol of good taste’.

¹² *Occitan* is the former language of southern France, comprised of related, but locally divergent dialects still spoken by many older people (who refer to it as *patois*), and some regionalist intellectuals.

¹³ ‘Our menu benefits from a daily delivery from lake, and sea fishing / We bid you welcome, hoping this gourmet detour / will introduce you to Monadières, a wild and natural place / where gastronomy, fishing, art and the vine are the jewels of a rich past’.

¹⁴ It is worth noting how these products had their origins in Cadassus’s and others’ lived experience of the locality, while their production and marketing reflects the penetration of outside

forces, mirroring his status as insider and outsider in the village. His father came from outside Monadières and left his mother and the village when Cadassus was young, leaving Cadassus feeling anomalous in the indigenous village community.

¹⁵ ‘Made artisanally without preservatives or colorants’ (quoted from the Montagnacs’ publicity leaflet).

¹⁶ ‘A recipe of our grandmothers, fishermen’s wives’ (quoted from the Montagnacs’ publicity leaflet).

¹⁷ ‘Monadières and its Lake’, a book on local history (Guiffan 1979).

¹⁸ In fact the guests eventually ate, but only by walking up to serve the food themselves.

¹⁹ For example, during concluding discussions at a ‘Kinship and Temporality’ 3-day workshop held recently at Goldsmiths College (16-18.12.99), similar acknowledgements were made regarding the study of kinship. See also Greenhouse 1996, Munn 1992 for more general arguments proposing temporality as anthropology’s ‘blind spot’.

²⁰ See Hodges 1999 for further details.

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