

FROM 'BAT-FILLED SLIMY RUINS' TO 'GASTRONOMIC DELIGHTS': GEOGRAPHY AND GASTRONOMIC TOURISM IN MODERN BURGUNDY

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ABSTRACT: The modernization of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Burgundy drew on the coordinated of various industries to provide novel opportunities for the consumption of local products, to engage an expanded range of the human senses to co-structure the desired degree(s) of authenticity, verisimilitude, and/or originality, while also redefining existing conceptions of Burgundian "place". This entailed collaboration of a variety of cultural intermediaries ranging from local boosters to politicians and from merchants to academics. Geographers also contributed by incorporating symbolic, subjective, and performative practices into the existing regional concepts of *terroir* and *genres-de-vie*. The results entailed newly scripted roles for tourists and locals to participate in gastronomic activities that, by virtue of the experience, altered participants' experience of time, space and themselves. This is pertinent to understanding the experiences of tourists in the streets of Dijon. Visitors were prompted to creatively explore the contemporarities of imagined pasts and desired presents. These might range from a conscious and playful awareness of tourist space(s) as places for creative complicity to a more willful reordering of the hierarchies of received opinion, prescribed judgments, and aesthetic conventions.

Introduction

Not surprisingly, the word 'tourist' first entered the French language in 1841, just as railroads were also being introduced. The rapid development of transportation technologies during the middle and latter decades of the nineteenth century made travel into rural France—flagged as "deep

France" (*la France profonde*) or "unknown France" (*la France inconnue*)—more accessible, affordable, and desirable. Whereas nineteenth-century French tourism had centered on visiting historic monuments, venerable art collections, chaste "centers of recuperation," religious shrines, or mystical grottoes—while reading pertinent passages from, in the case of Burgundy, Alphonse de Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Alexandre Dumas and Prosper Mérimée (Bouttier 2007, 29-59)—a newly emerging genre of tourism catered, instead, to visitors eager to avoid of edifying knowledge, "morose locals," and "inadequate accommodations" (James 1987, 263-64). Travel clubs, hotel associations, resort entrepreneurs, gastronomic clubs, railway companies, and local *syndicats d'initiatives* (private booster associations) emerged to assist and profit from the new "internal" tourism while promising to economically revitalize the French provinces and nation (Young 2002, 169-89; Furlough 2002; Bertho-Lavenir 1999). They promoted visions of provincial France that offered 'authentic' experiences, culinary pleasures, and stimulating adventures for tourists seeking cultural stimulation and social leisure. Each province, in turn, was advertized as having worthy characteristics ("accents of *terroir*") that spoke to the heart of tourists. "Tourism in the beautiful country of France," explained Ossip Pernikoff, a tourism expert working for the 1937 Paris International Exhibition, "derives its principle asset from the unique and wonderful landscapes of its territory, no less than the friendly and welcoming nature of its inhabitants" (Pernikoff 1938, 3).

By the nineteen-twenties and thirties, "the motorization of the French gullet" blurred and conflated cultural forms and practices as tourists meandered along country roads, lodged at rural inns, attended regional folklore fairs, participated in costume revivals, and partook in gastronomic feasts (Liebling 1986, 648-49; Lafferté 2006, 66-99; Whalen 2007, 259-80). E. Dubuisson's 1897 *Zigzag à travers la Bourgogne: Excursions pittoresques* reveals a calculated intention of teaching "the popular classes" a bit of history about the regional *milieu* in which they lived, in order to promote a "taste for excursions" and thereby encourage them to explore "healthy and invigorating pleasures." In a word, Dubuisson explained, the intention was "to make them tourists" (Stouff 1897, ii). The success of this agenda was such that, in addition to transforming visitors—however temporarily—into appreciative tourists, it also converted provincials,

in a more enduring fashion, into auto-tourists who acquired an enhanced understanding of their own and their region's cultural capital and potential. (On the development of modern tourism, see: Shaw 1994; Urry 2002; Gregory 1990; Hjalager and Richards 2002; Adler 1989; MacCannell 1989; Boyer 1996; Brundage 2002; Starnes 2003; Marrel 1998).

Modern Tourists as Objects and Subjects

Modern tourists creatively explored the temporalities of imagined pasts and desired presents. "Like parallel lines meeting at a vanishing point," Lorraine Datson and Peter Galison remind us, "objective science and subjective art converged into the dissolution of the self into its object" (Datson and Galison 2007, 250). This is pertinent to understanding the experiences of tourists in the streets of Dijon. These might range from a conscious and playful awareness of tourist space(s) as places for creative complicity to a more willful reordering of the hierarchies of received opinion, prescribed judgments, and aesthetic conventions. Tourism included the engagement of an expanded range of the human senses to co-structure the desired degree(s) of authenticity, verisimilitude, and/or originality.

A guidebook from 1866, *De Paris à Lyon*, revealed tourists' changing preoccupations and growing gastronomic interests when it encouraged visitors to Dijon's Ducal Palace to admire, in addition to the museum and watch-tower, the architecture of the castle's kitchen (as a metonym for all things culinary as well as a sign pointing towards Rabelaisian feasting): "unique among their type ... the chimneys of three identical ovens rise from the corners of the room and combine to form one tiled roof" (*De Paris à Lyon* 1866, 186; see Figure 1). Another guidebook, Philibert Milsand's *Les Rues de Dijon* (1874), was written for those travelling by train exclusively. It provided directions to "all that is most curious" and reminded visitors to pick up chocolates and/or "traveler's tablets" when making their way back to Dijon's railway station (Milsand 1874, 181-86). By 1912, the *Joanne Guide to Burgundy-Morvan-Jura-Lyonnais* added all variety of options for the more independent and activity-oriented visitors (rather than those primarily seeking self-edification and curiosities in museums and churches). In addition to listing resources and points

related to communications (train stations, electric trams, taxis, garages, auto-rentals, bicycle rentals, post offices, and telegraph and telephone centers), the Guide also lists places to repair and repast (hotels, buffets, restaurants, cafés, and therapeutic baths), along with local entertainment, sports, and "distractions" (casinos, theatres, circuses, automobile rallies, indoor skating and cycling competitions, touring clubs, etc.). The significance of this enhanced solicitude towards tourists' immediate desires and subjective interests was that visitors were substituted for the implied but generally absent subject of earlier guidebooks. Gastronomic tourism became fashionable. By 1925, restaurants, inns and hotels were said to be "sprouting like mushrooms" (Curnosky and Derys 1936, 34).

Evidence of country touring organized around the pursuit of gastronomic delights abounds. Escaping the "boredom" of Paris during the winter of 1930-31, novelist Robert Desnos, for example, toured Burgundy with a handful of friends (1999, 609-32). Desnos made it clear that he cared not whether buildings represented Merovingian, Renaissance or Regency styles of architecture: "We were in Burgundy to eat and drink, not for the love of art. I preferred a solid roof and a warm chimney over louse, flea and rat-infested hovels" (613-14). Tourism's proposed experiences rested on new forms of comportment and social behavior. The gastronomic turn or impulse might entail an education in many of the elements necessary for participation in provincial society. For instance, the food critic M. F. K. Fisher, who once described herself as "[i]mmune [and] safe in a charmed gastronomical circle ... with a soufflé of kirsch and glacée fruits, or some such airy trifle," (1992, 34) recalls her days touring Dijon's countryside in 1929 in the following way:

"The Club secretary always tried to arrange our sorties so that after we had studied a regional cuisine with the thoroughness it deserved, and had made solemn notes both physical and spiritual on the vintages that flourished there, or there, or there, we could devote ourselves with equally undivided zeal to the promenade itself. ... More often than not, though, we would quite by accident find along with the *chateau* in a little village some two hours walk past dinner, there was also a little pastry shop where a certain ancient *dame* made sour cream *fantaisies* the like of none other in all of France. Sure enough, the toothless village heroine's sour-cream *fantaisies*, light delicate, fried in pure butter to a color clearer than gold,

paler than Josephine Baker but as vital, would be the most delicious pasty in all of France" (Fisher 1990, 433, 48-49).

Along this vein, Stephen Gwynn set out by train, Ford motor vehicle, and foot to also discover the provincial restaurants of "Brillat-Savarin's country" in 1927 (Figure 4). "Out first concern there," he declared, "was to dine" (1927, 112). Indeed, Gwynn's "pilgrimage of affectionate gastronomy" (134) was composed of country walks in the direction of gourmet episodes ("a succession of creamy and caressing succulences") found at rustic and welcoming inns (116). "Rain or no rain," he recorded: "we marched out ... along the spine of the town's ridge ... down a steep descent ... till we reached a river at the bottom, and turned along its valley to where the roofs of a village tempted us." In the village of Belley, they dined where the *chef* was reputed to being a great artist: "All the service," he wrote, "was done by maids, and the same girls who arrived with coffee in the morning and ran about the passages during the day were those who brought you the most exquisite dishes and the choicest wines" (117-18). Pushing on to a remote village, Gwynn's party savored a "simple *omelette*" in a rustic "mediaeval" setting. Shortly thereafter party was to be found "on a byroad eating blackberries in a hot sun, and a little further on settled to a roadside repose ... in a pleasant doze (132).

Another contemporary, writing for the New Yorker, A. J. Liebling encountered the same virtues during a "pedestrian expedition" to Gevrey-Chambertin and Nuits-Saint-Georges in 1927:

"[h]aving demonstrated my taste for the beautiful (having just finished a bottle of Corton Clos at the Restaurant Racouchot in Dijon), I asked the waiter to recommend a small inn among the vineyards, where I might eat and drink well between long walks, or take long walks between heavy meals. ... Walking, I consumed what I had eaten, built up appetite for more, had noble thoughts, and spotted likely-looking restaurants" (Liebling, 1963, 120).

These examples serve to illustrate the range of visceral responses, social expectations, and memorable associations that gastronomic tourists sought while eating their way through the culinary landscapes created

by the numerous interests that collaborated in making such experiences possible in the first place.

Mapping Burgundian Gastro-Tourism

The development of Burgundy's gastro-tourism industry necessitated the active participation of various cultural intermediaries to identify appropriate activities and script the itineraries that would deliver the anticipated tourists.¹ Contemporary historical geographers familiar with the French discourses of *terroir*, *milieu* and *genro-de-vie* were ideally situated to help theorize the links between tourism's heightened sense of place and the transportation, marketing, and other communications systems that supported and facilitated gastro-tourism (Au pays bourguignon 1925, 508, 511). "Time and space," asserted Gaston Roupnel, one of the ideological architects of Burgundy's gastronomic tourism, "exist only where life animate[d] them" (Roupnel 1927, 125-26). He might have said, where a chef directed them. This knowledge promoted a phenomenon in which menus and maps employed the codes of a symbolic system that theoretically structured and pedagogically informed the practices that constituted gastro-tourism (Augé 2002, 56). A menu might therefore function as a map regulating tourists' behavior through time and space while a map, similarly, could provide a menu for consuming enticing places.

A new tourism geography was created to assist travelling salespersons, holiday travelers, and meandering tourists along gastronomic itineraries. New markers in the form of little wine bottles and cheese wheels increasingly displaced the religious, heraldic and other symbols of earlier maps (Figures 2 and 3). The resulting cartography also eschewed academic descriptions of architectural "attractions" previously and invariably characterized as "important" and/or built by or for "illustrious" individuals, such as are found in Abel Hugo's classic *La France pittoresque. Ou description pittoresque, topographique et statistique des Départements et colonies de la France ... avec des notes ... et des renseignements statistiques ...* (1835). The transition toward a new genre is detectable, for instance, in Hachette's 1866 edition of *De Paris à Lyon (From Paris to Lyon)*, which took advantage of railroad stops to propose "enriching"

walks to previously "neglected," and, in reality, remote villages. Although retaining a symbolically central role for attractions of "notable" historical and architectural importance (especially local museums wedged into the only suitable buildings available), the guidebook took precautions to shield tourists from unnecessary, tedious and/or esoteric over-load. Not yet the gastronomic center it would become in the late 1920s, the village of Nuits in Burgundy's Côte-d'Or, was appraised as being of "unknown origins" and having little exciting to offer:

"It is well built... but offers nothing very interesting.... One can see a rather mediocre portrait of Jean Bart de la Bourgogne painted by François Thurot and located in City Hall.... By its bell-tower in the shape of a dome, the spire of the church of Saint-Symphorien draws one's attention" (*De Paris à Lyon* 1866, 226).

"Bat-filled slimy ruins" would no longer satisfy the "adventurous bellies" of *gastromades* who sought, instead, a "licentious prodigality of tastes" (Fisher 1992, 34, 24). "What marvelous travels are enticingly offered that travel guides are incapable of describing, bemoaned one guidebook.... [T]hey should rather read books about *terroir*," its authors insisted (Curzonsky and Rouff 1926, 69). Opportunistically wedding private interests and tourist's desires, early twentieth-century Burgundian public leaders organized while cultural intermediaries scripted elaborate spectacles. These events were calculated to reclassify existing, disparate, and remembered regional traditions into provisionally stable and heterogeneous festivals and fairs. Folkways from different but related sub-regions, socioeconomic traditions, and historical periods were collaged into appealing lifestyle patterns (*genres-de-vie*) that contemporaries might use to update their collective heritage while also redefining their position within the greater modern national political culture (Anderson 1991; Buck-Morse 1989; Deprest 2011). These projects were successful to the extent that they supported local interests within the umbrella of Burgundian regional culture. The result, according to Philippe Poirrier, was "an ideal representation of local cultural life" (Poirrier 1995, 177-210; Carcano 1997, 5-31; and Laferté 2006a, 100-125).

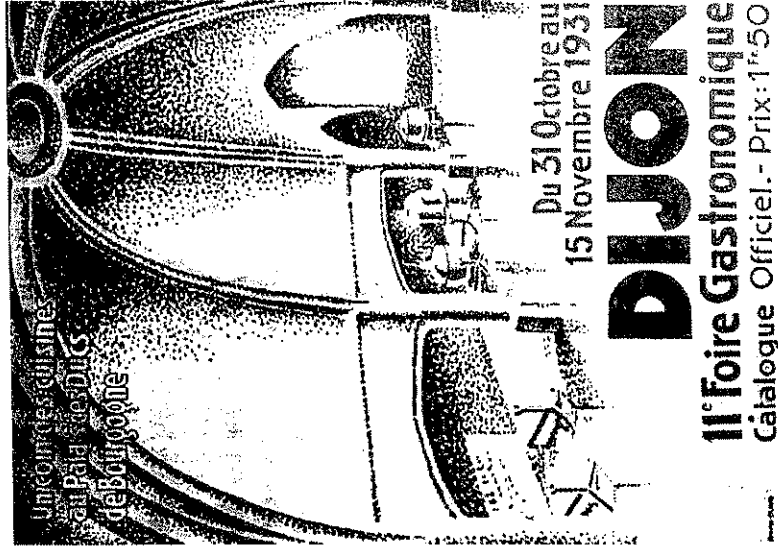


Figure 1: Promotional advertisement for the Palace of the Dukes of Burgundy, 1931. (author's personal collection). The Editors of *La France Gastronomique*'s 1926 guide to Burgundy recommended a visit to the ducal palace in Dijon: "You will find a prodigious idea. Some build chimneys in their kitchen, the Dukes of Burgundy made a kitchen in their chimney... an enormous machine for cooking, roasting, boiling, grilling, simmering and frying" (8). M. F. K. Fisher described the kitchen as "nothing but a great chimney rising from a space which formed the oven itself" (1991, 60).

("mise en valeur du territoire entier") required that tourists experience everything "from gastronomy to poetry and the spirit of the table," the village organized a week of Bressan festivities for anticipated visitors. Nearby, in Beaune, a town famous for its annual wine auction, Renaissance architecture, and a Flemish tripych, "The Last Judgment" (1443-1451) painted by Rogier van der Weyden, the *Revue du Touring Club de France* directed tourists not to overlook a visit to the Hôtel de la Poste "where they know how to drink large glasses of Romanée, Volnay and Corton filled two thirds of the way up" (*Touring Club de France* # 373 1925, 509).

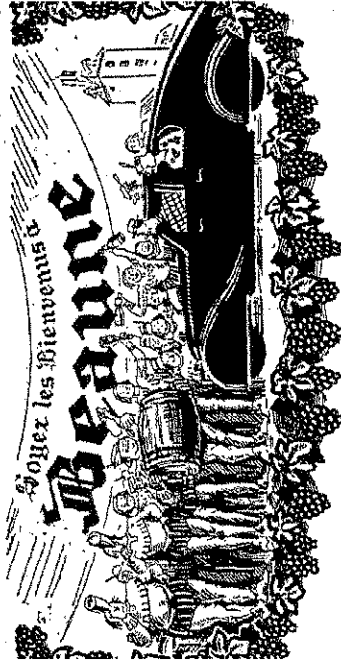
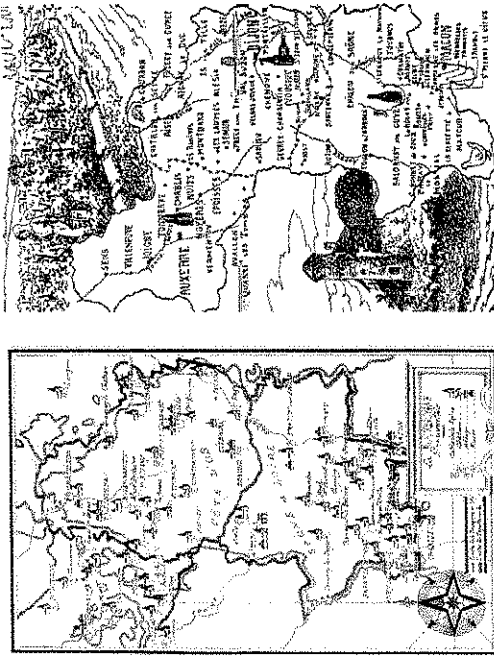


Figure 4.

Tourism itineraries were frequently traced across attractive maps designed to draw attention to Burgundy's agricultural and cultural assets. Like early-modern maps that depicted the peoples and riches of distant lands, Louis William Graux' illustrations for *Bourgogne, Types et coutumes* (1936) and *Visages de Bourgogne* (1942) along with J. P. Pinchon's illustrations in *Les Provinces de France illustrées et leur divisions départementales* (1935) used recognizable stereotypes (in a way suitable for the instruction of children) to depict the folk practices, predominant trades, and agricultural products characteristic to individual French regions and colonies (Lasansky, 165-85). Readers perambulated provincial spaces



Figures 2 and 3: Two early twentieth-century maps of the Burgundian Core-d'Or highlight the difference between a map (left) that defines the region in terms of mostly religious monuments (*la Bourgogne monumentale*) and another (right) in which *terroirs* (designated by place names) and their products are given prominence. Taken from *Visages de la Bourgogne* (Horizons de France 1943, 79-80) and Maurice Curmonsky and Marcel Rouff, *La France gastronomique... La Bourgogne* (Paris: E. Rouff, 1926).

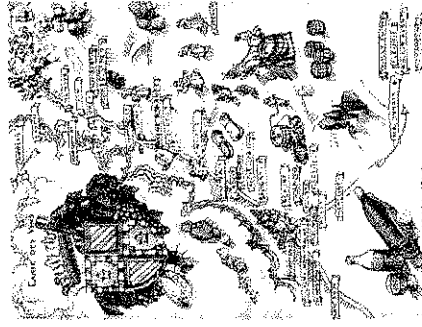
The progression from the establishment of symbols for gastronomic tourism to the practice of gastronomic tourism entailed practices beyond the projection of the self into newly defined landscapes. It also required product identification and consumption on location. A promotional article entitled "Visiting Burgundy" asserted that modern tourists sought destinations "buried in the abundance of rural locations ... where a small hotel reserved for amateurs and known for being a repository of gastronomic delights (*gourmandise*) was run by a friendly cook" (*Touring Club de France* # 373 1925, 508). The economic opportunities tourism offered were greatly appreciated, for example, by the Syndicat d'Initiative of Bourg-en-Bresse. Reasoning that the region's commercial enhancement

whose pictorial embellishments underscored the idea that regional differences represented unique qualities that reassuringly united and collectively defined France's territorial patrimony (Young 2007, 269–304). Along with identifying the sites that best showcased the region's history, industry, culture, natural resources, and local industry, these maps also reveal how local and visitor identities were mutually constructed. Consequently, they provide insights into the social construction of Burgundy as a productive region with an important service sector that provided jobs for residents who catered to tourists.

Such pedagogies were also packaged for children in texts of geography, literature and history. From G. Bruno's sentimental *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants* to René Goscinny and Albert Uderzo's enduring folk caricatures in *Le Tour de Gaule d'Asérix*, regional stereotypes continue to forge French national unity (Leduc 1991). Such pedagogies were calculated to preserve existing labor traditions while reinventing their ideological underpinnings within the context of agricultural modernization and masking problems related to rural depopulation, continuous labor unrest, uneven economic development, tense political divisions, and global economic downturn (Whalen 2007a, 31–62; Whalen 2007b, 9–10). This stratagem is evident were the two child protagonists of *Le Tour de la France par deux enfants* visit Burgundy's Côte-D'Or or discover a timeless vision of 'productive fields' animated by 'happy laborers': "We saw nothing but harvesters coming and going with their baskets full of grapes along the slopes of the Côte-d'Or. Everything was gay as the harvest was abundant and the grapes of good quality" (Bruno 1922, 51).

The regional idyll used to market Burgundian tourism was captured in 1936 by the historical geographer Gaston Roupnel in *La Bourgogne, types et coutumes (Burgundy, characters and customs)*. Grounded in a tradition that depicted Nature as the physical manifestation of a cosmic synthesis between the material world and spirit, *La Bourgogne* elevated Burgundy's vintners and peasants into the icons of a mythical regional order. The cultural harmony imagined and ontologically reified in these rural allegories, in which "human destinies ceaselessly ferment as in a vat that bubbles with ... eternal harvests," depicted Burgundian history—understood as the unitive, inter-subjective, and indissoluble relation between folk and their *terroir*—as driven by universal spirit and

reminiscent of German idealism's current of *naturphilosophie*. Illustrated by William Graus, Roupnel's characters communed with their ancestral and collective identity in the course of daily activities (Cachin 1997, 957–96). Although neither the most comprehensive nor the most authoritative compilation of Burgundian folk practices, Roupnel's lyric descriptions of the region's people, customs and geography provided looking glasses that was embraced by contemporaries and consequently provided an ideological syntax for regional auto-ethnographic exploration (Whalen 2001; Bleton-Ruget and Poirrier 2006). Contemporaries noted Roupnel's proximity to his subject as the source of his expertise: "[h]is talent excels in those parts dedicated to wine and vineyards. He knows the vintner's faults: his stubbornness, malice, [and] distrust of the bourgeoisie" (Clément-Janin 1936, 5). Indeed, happy childhood memories provided Roupnel with valuable ethnographic observations of the vintner's villages and folkways: "[f]rom the depths of my young memory," he wrote,



"I rediscovered [memories—] happily times without a name—when, as a child, I would return with the grape harvesters" (Roupnel 1936a, 118 and 121; Clark, 8). Roupnel's *Burgundy: Characters and Customs* provided a privileged window into the preferred collective mapping practices at the regional level (for a compilation of Roupnel's interventions concerning wine in Burgundy see Whalen 2007c). Roupnel's ideal village echoed Restif de la Bretonne's utopian city of Oudun in *Le Paysan Perverti* (1776), in which the tensions and corruptions of urban life were tempered by the Arcadian innocence and simplicity of rural existence. Such characterizations were

Figure 5: A folklorized map of the individual *terroirs* of the Côte-d'Or in Burgundy. Individual villages are associated with the wines they produce. Woodcut by Louis William Graus (1936) rights reserved.

easily caricatured in contemporary maps (Figure 6).

Describing J. P. Pinchon's regional illustrations as demeaning, caricatured, and scornful ("néprisant"), Catherine Bertho-Lavenir simultaneously recognizes their ethnographic content and appreciates how they contributed toward the creation of a tourist mobility in which the travelers are their way through the countryside ("consommation visuel du pays" in Bertho-Lavenir, 278 and 280). The application of such representational strategies—designed to promote desired tourist recreations and locations—abounds in contemporary tourism posters and promotional pamphlets. Consider, for example, the national railroad company's (Paris-Lyon-Marseille) strategy at Dijon's 1924 Gastronomical Fair. Occupying the greater portion of the open square just across from Dijon's City Hall, the P. M. L. built a temporary structure to house a living diorama built entirely of iconographic elements popularly associated with the French provinces:

"[t]here were gathered in an arrangement both utilitarian and artistic the products, and there were many, from regions served by our railways. The greatest and least expected variety of vegetables cleverly alternated with exotic plants ... and flowers and scents from the Riviera. ... Around the exhibit, the railroad Company's travel posters were framed by palm leaves calculated to produce nostalgia for beautiful and impossible trips. There were nuts from the Dauphiné, medicinal plants from the Lyonnais, olives and tomatoes from Provence, grapes, apples and pears from the Parisian basin, oranges, lemons, and pimientos from Algeria. ... North and South, snow and sun, eclecticism was offered in such perfection. ..." (Moris 1924, 1587).

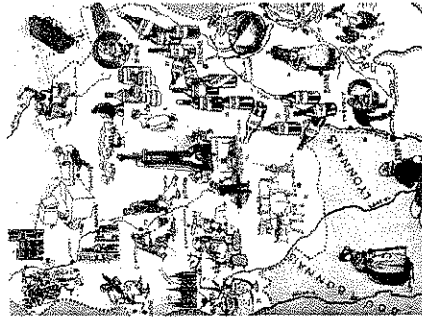


Figure 6: The plate representing Burgundy in J. P. Pinchon's *Les Provinces de France Illustrées* (Paris: Blondel la Rougerie, 1927).

Another map from the cover of Marius Peyre's 1945 *Petite histoire et géographie du Département de la Côte-d'Or* simultaneously reduced the Côte-d'Or's industry to wine production exclusively while also opening spaces to be filled by travelers' imaginations (Figure 7). More explicitly addressing the tourist perspective is a poster produced for the French rail system (Figure 8) that blended representative and symbolic geographies of Burgundy to produce a perspective informed by the experience of drinking wine. Designed by N. Gérale, this advertising poster invoked rustic and historic markers to promote tourism and wine-tasting in Burgundy. Dominating the canvas are two joined images of rural and urban Burgundy seen through a half-filled glass of red burgundy. Visual continuity is accomplished through shared horizontal architectural features. In the lower right hand corner, a smaller red map identifies Burgundy within a larger map of France while the word "Burgundy" in bold blue lettering fills the bottom center and left and denotes both the region and its wine. The significance of this poster is that the perspective implicates the subject—as opposed to removing them to leave an impression of impartial objectivity—by taking advantage of the desirability of activities related to the consumption of wine to produce a sensibility somewhat homogenized but central to the phenomenology of gastronomic tourism (on the uses of diagrams and representations as embedded knowledge-making devices, see Daston and Galison along with Bender and Marrinam).



Figure 7: Cover of Marius Peyre's 1945 *Petite histoire et géographie du Département de la Côte-d'Or* (author's photograph).

Such incursions were also mapped along country roads. The science-fiction writer, J. H. Rosny, for example, waxed lyrical over the bicycle's democratic contribution to tourism as early as 1900:

"the attraction of roaming round picturesque villages, of visiting ancient houses and churches and forgotten corners of France, the delights of lunching in little old inns where huge fires crackled ..., of drinking thankfully in wayside cafés while little fountains splashed in the shelter of ancient trees, of watching the life and movement of strange places. Once again men tasted the freshness of clear morning air, watched the panorama of the changing sky and lost themselves in the silence of the woods, forgetting time and place" (Quoted in Bertaut, 180).

Along this vein in Burgundy, the avid cyclo-tourist, J. Champin, rode from Tournus to the previously "uninteresting" wine town of Nuits in 1926 to attend a Veterans' congress that was in reality a banquet of Regional proportions (which I discuss in detail below). His description of the itinerary along the Côte-d'Or's "Wine Road" ("Route des vins") repeats the symbolic and narratological elevation of all things related to the Burgundian winescape found in Cumonsky and Rouff's *La France gastronomique... La Bourgogne*, also from 1926:

"The road past Vougeot runs along the sacred hill, where each village's name is gloriously hallowed. These immense names sometimes only denote a few houses, vintners' dwellings, too small to accommodate an inn worthy of its wine.... Le little town of Nuits is full of vintner's carts, giant gaping casks, lively wine presses, cellars from which waft aromas...."

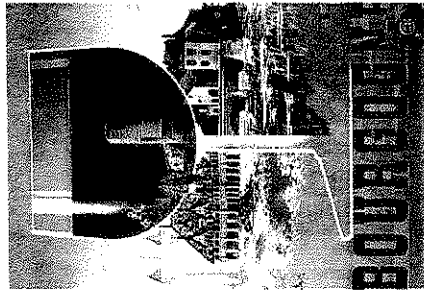


Figure 8: French PLM Railroad's advertising poster for Burgundy. Designed by N. Géraud (author's photograph).

It is the entirety of Burgundy harvesting. Along the way ... I took in the landscape and noticed the name Corton shining on a road sign the same way it does on those dusty old bottles" (Cumonsky and Rouff, 1926, 78-9).

These examples illustrate my assertion that new forms of tourism, such as gastronomic tourism in Burgundy, benefitted from maps that revealed the new objects of tourists' evolving desires.

From Geographic Milieu to Burgundian Terroir

The development of a commercially viable Burgundian tourism project revolving around the celebration of wine and gastronomy required the (re)territorialization of existing resources, both human and material, as preferred cultural practices. This was addressed through human geography's versatile concept of *terroir*. In fact, *terroir* found its greatest practical expression and cultural resonance in early twentieth-century Burgundy. Convinced that "one cannot make sense of Burgundy without investigating the notion of *terroir*," Matt Kramer makes the observation that "the mentality of *terroir* [although not uniquely Burgundian] ... reaches its fullest expression there" (Kramer 1990, 39-40). "Burgundians," James Wilson contributes, "are very nearly Freudian about the influence of the soil in shaping the character and the quality of their wine." He defines *terroir* as "the totality of the elements of the vineyard habitat." Acknowledging the "concept is not easily grasped but includes physical elements of the vineyard habitat, the vine, subsoil, site, drainage and microclimate," Wilson also includes a spiritual dimension: "beyond the measurable ecosystem ... the spiritual aspect that recognizes the joys, the heartbreaks, the pride, the sweat and the frustrations of its history (Wilson 1998, 113, 326, 55-56). Exuding the confidence of nineteenth-century social positivists, provincial notables made careers as regional leaders by reducing all aspects of Burgundy's existence (past, present, and future) to the seductive operations and necessary determinations of *terroir*."

The discourse of *terroir* was combined with the practice(s) of tourism to create distinct and visually coherent, gastronomic landscapes that

included corresponding modes of comportment (Hubbard, et. al 2002, 142-43). This project was remarkably flexible, synthetic and accommodating. In Burgundy, a surprisingly broad spectrum of audiences engaged their interests and activities along *terroir's* multiple registers. Employed individually or severally, they provided an ideological and representational strategy that conformed to the desires and facilitated the expression of those eager to embrace the moral authority of a discourse that turned everything and anything into something inherently unique and transcendental. *Terroir* held out the promise of rejuvenating every-day existence with magical and Edenic qualities. It offered reassuring experiences at once natural and man-made for those whose analytic tendencies fell between the antipodes of free will and geographic determinism. It also served to historicize attractive regional folk identities—however novel, nostalgic, or atavistic—through, rather than outside, of time. *Terroir* was used to elevate local treasures, such as the Clos Vougeot, into the Parthenon of national patrimony (*parrimoine*). It was also employed to privilege an ecological tradition of “loyal and constant” practices (*genres-de-vie*) in regional agriculture that underscored the connection between mankind and the bio-physical milieu. *Terroir* might also confer a cachet of distinction to intimate pseudo-sacral rites or honorific toasts surrounding the convivial pursuit of gastronomic pleasures (as in the example of the Chevaliers de Tastevin). Numerous industries, ranging from wine to mustard and from cheese to crème-de-cassis, continue to employ *terroir* as an uncontested marketing tool *par excellence*. The Burgundian novelist Colette famously insisted that local wines provided the most direct and “faithful” expression of *terroir*. “In the vegetal realm,” she wrote, “only the vine renders intelligibly the true essence of the soil. What faithful translation. The secrets of the soil are expressed through the grape” (quoted in Rigaux, 37). In addition, and with particular pertinence to my discussion, the geographic discourse of *terroir* was used to script and animate new relations between newly perceived landscapes and the ‘spect-actors’ who animated them. The result was that the newly privileged landscapes were animated insofar as they indicated how visitors and hosts were to behave; landscapes thus became self-enacting texts.

The historical geographer Gaston Roupnel developed a novel approach to understanding the phenomenology of human practices within

spatial coordinates (Whalen 2001, 117-48; Libis 2006, 257-68). Roupnel exploded the concept of *terroir* (beyond the notion of *genre-de-vie* anchored in *milieu*) to address the nature of meaningful time (*châtains*) rather than causal time (*chronos*). Adopting Vidal's regional rubric of ecological holism, terrestrial unity, and city-based regional maps (created for the French Secretary of Commerce would during WWI, see Vidal de la Blache 1917 and Ozouf-Marignier and Robic 1996), Roupnel sought to conflate the subject-object duality that both structured and animated the entire *milieu* debate when he took heredity to be the immanent and transcendent manifestation of a historical negotiation between human agency and bio-physical milieu (Roupnel 1916, 1). He built on what he understood of contemporary particle physics to anchor an atomic theory of human consciousness and the natural world (Roupnel 1927, 121, 162). Rather than viewing particles against a canvas of time and space, Roupnel imaginatively—but mistakenly—reduced time and space to being the simultaneous expressions of atomic activity. He then attributed human consciousness to atomic activity in order to make the outrageous argument that humans in fact share mental properties with the objects of their attention:

“[T]ime and space conceived outside of the instant and point of our existence are nothing but erroneous constructions.... Space and time only exist where life animates them. They have atomic properties ... outside of the atom there is no space, no time. Space and time only appear infinite to us when they have no basis in existence.” (Roupnel 1927, 125-26).

This consciousness—the expression of the functional unity “inherent in the marvelous harmony that the individual atom” at any and every given moment—provided, Roupnel argued, the epistemological basis for an intuitive field practice that incorporated perspectivism and avoided the limitations of philosophical dualism by collapsing the distinction and distance between subject and object. It was during such a Roupnelian “instant” of spatial and temporal unity, he argued, that human consciousness phenomenally experienced the connection between the past, present, and future. In other words, compressing time and space into the present, made past, present, and future simultaneously accessible to human consciousness and, therefore, informed scientific inquiry.

This recourse to philosophical monism had important implications for Roupnel's historical geography of Burgundy. The insertion of a tourist or historical anthropologist into a specific place (*milieu / terroir*) and practice (*genre de vie*) provided, according to the logic of Roupnel's theory, immediate (*instant*) access to an authentic Burgundian experience, both immanent and transcendent (Roupnel 1927, 121). Roupnel's description of the objective reality and subjective experience of time and space challenged Henri Bergson's explanation of subjective experience of the passage of time (*durée*). The French geographer, André Meynier noted the extent of Bergson's influence on French geographers who ordinarily received little or no formal training in scientific methodology and often found Bergson's scientificized intuition to be an appealing construct (Meynier 1969, 41). See André Meynier, *Histoire de la pensée géographique en France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1969), 41. Although Roupnel does not reveal his sources concerning contemporary scientific thought, it would be entirely likely that he read the articles by Raymond Gillet on Einstein's work published in the local daily newspaper, *Le Bien Public*, in 1922. Gillet addressed multiple aspects of relativity theory (including the variability of mass, the weight of light, the relation between matter and energy, the concepts of *durée* and simultaneity, as well as the nature of a fourth dimension) in a language accessible to the lay audience (Gillet 1922). Whereas Bergson maintained the Newtonian distinction between space and time and between matter and spirit, Roupnel advanced a monist ontology (Bergson 1903). Gaston Bachelard, who wrote in *The Poetics of Space* (1958) that he had "learned the dialectics of field and woods from [his] unforgettable friend, Gaston Roupnel" (Bachelard 1969, 188), explained the difference between the approaches of Bergson and Roupnel as follows: "For Bergson, the reality of time lies in its passage, the instant being nothing but an abstraction, without any basis in reality.... For Roupnel, the reality of time lies in the experience of the instant (or moment) with the passage of time being nothing but an impression" (Bachelard 1931, 25; Bergson 1889 and 1922; Kelko 2009, 1-9). Acknowledging a disjunction between "the sensation in which we perceive our existence like a cinematic unfolding of the phenomenon of life" and the spatially anchored elements of that experience, Roupnel nonetheless argued that both were ontologically linked at the sub-atomic

level (Roupnel 1927, 12). Hence the subjective experience (and objective reality) of time and space were the contemporaneous expressions of the same phenomenon: atomic monism or monism at the atomic level (Lévi-Strauss 1987, 30-31).

The French geographer Yves Luginbuhl more recently recognized Roupnel's immersion into landscape in *Sens et sensibilité du paysage* (1981). Luginbuhl values the phenomenological dimension of Roupnel's encounter with the natural world. "Landscapes," he writes, "are not studied only in libraries.... Landscape analysis requires researchers to employ their own feelings, without which landscapes would lose their poetic interest" (Luginbuhl, 505). Drawing on the works of both Gaston Bachelard and Gaston Roupnel, Luginbuhl invites ecologists and environmentalists to include phenomena linked to psychological perceptions and the "the behavior of individuals vis-à-vis space" in their scholarship (61-62). He underscores the usefulness of psychological conceptions of the natural world and warns that "to suppress the savage, is to suppress all possibility of dreaming, escape, and imagination in space" (51, 494).

Like Vidal before him, Roupnel emphasized social agendas over geographical factors in the shaping of local cultural practices. While few actually read Roupnel's philosophical critique of spatiality and choronicity, many readers enjoyed his *Burgundy, characters and customs* (1936), a work in which his geographic and philosophical ideas concerning Burgundian rural characteristics and social resources figured only implicitly. *Burgundy, characters and customs* argued that the people and places of Burgundy had merged into one material and spiritual manifestation of an evolutionary process that resulted from having labored in the same fields for uncounted generations (1936a, 22, 90). Tim Creswell has recently described phenomena that are "practiced and lived rather than simply being material (conceived) or mental (perceived)" as constituting what he calls a "third-space" (38; Soja 1999; Hubbard 2002; Augé 2002.). Roupnel used the grammar of space to similarly discuss how day-to-day practices (*genres-de-vie*) were enacted within the Burgundian milieu (*terroir*) (1936a, 25). This also allowed him to argue that the production and/or consumption of traditional Burgundian wines and cuisine provided essential experiences for building authentic gastronomic tourism agendas.

Roupenel famously anchored this narrative around the cultural history and significance of Burgundy's Clos Vougeot vineyards as a heritage site (*lieu de mémoire*). Borrowing from his earlier "Preface" to Camille Rodier's 1931 history of this Cistercian winery and future site of the Châteaux de Tâstevin's gastronomic spectacles, Roupenel depicted the Clos Vougeot as the enduring symbol of Burgundian cultural regionalism. He privileged folkways associated with winemaking as enacting and structuring a uniquely ecological relationship between the Burgundians and their natural environment. This relationship most notably produced the wine(s) whose transcendental properties reflected, he argued, all aspects of Burgundian existence. "To understand this process" Roupenel wrote, "one must return to the Clos Vougeot, whose wines harmoniously gather elements otherwise dispersed throughout the region. This concrete synthesis ... provides an ideal interpretation of the Burgundian spirit" (Roupenel 1936a, 96; Roupenel 1931, 20-21). The popularity of Roupenel's discourse is evident in his frequent contributions to local and national newspapers such as *La dépêche de Toulouse*, the *Bien Publique* and the *Miroir Dijonnais et de Bourgogne*. In the *Progrès de la Côte-d'Or*, for example, he explained that wine:

"[i]s more than the joy of a *gourmand* or the emotion of a *gourmet*. While it exalts our physical forces, it also nourishes our spiritual forces with joy and courage. Wine comes brimming with happiness and *joie de vivre* ... euphoria, as would say some doctors. It invests you with its magnificent activity. It gives you the great abundance of a happy and moving soul ... To say it all, this good wine is complete ... it unites and reconciles the most contradictory qualities: perfumed ... like a great lady, confident and generous like a gallant" (Roupenel 1933, 4).

Implementing and Promoting Burgundian Gastro-Tourism

Gaston Gérard, Dijon's visionary mayor (from 1921 to 1936) and France's first Under-Secretary of Tourism (1931), bemoaned that French tourism left local opportunities underdeveloped (Gérard 1959a, 164-65). He wanted to redirect tourism to the 'old French provinces' and Burgundy in particular by promoting the region's cultural heritage, agricultural

products, and tourist industry (Léon 1920, iii-iv; Bazin 1997, 76; Laferté 2006; Whalen 2007d, 56-82). Gérard challenged the provinces to stand on their own economic feet. He envisioned visitors "who wouldn't be content to see splendors through store windows" but who, instead, would rather "touch them in ways to better appreciate them: by eating and drinking" (Discours de M. Gaston Gérard 1927, 1 and La Foire Gastronomique 1927, 1). The implementation of Gaston Gérard's plans cemented a policy that successfully engaged the municipal, intellectual, cultural, and commercial resources of the various Burgundian regions for the next half century (Poirrier 1995, 724).



Figure 9a: Dijon's cultural elite banqueting in City Hall's Salle des États in Dijon's Hotel de Ville, 1932. "[T]he banquet had become the supreme rite. The cultural capital of the world ... celebrated its vitality over a long table laden with food and wine." Roger Shartuck, *The Banquet Years* (1968, 3). (Photo from the personal collection of Jean-François Bazin)

established regional journals that helped “everyone escape reality, chase away grey thoughts, and combat monotony” (Gérard 1935, 3; Gérard 1959b, 246; Poirrier 1994, 377-89).² These events also served to teach visitors and locals how, when, where to consume in Burgundy’s *produits de terroir* (fruits of the land). Gérard’s agenda, finally, allowed both locals and visitors (as producers and consumers) to fashion new self-identities while also supporting France’s economic revival (as “internal tourists”).

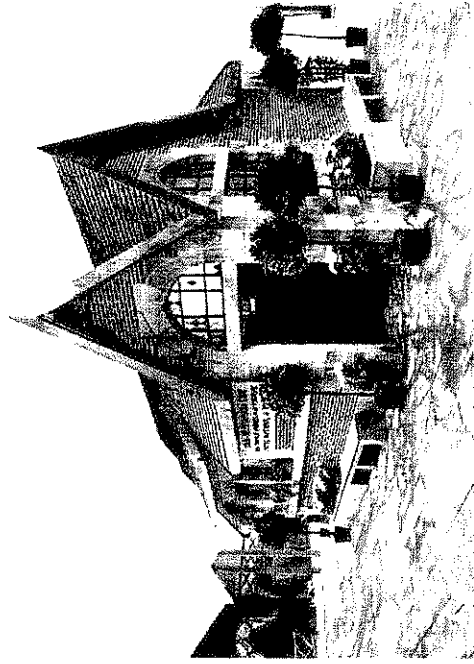


Figure 10: The Tourism kiosk at Dijon’s 1925 Gastronomical Fair in Dijon (Photo permission *Pays de Bourgogne*)

Despite being characterized as an “ugly, grey, dim, [and] dark town” by at least one visitor, Dijon quickly became a major gastronomic center and tourist destination (Fisher 1991 [1939], 25). One of the most memorable and successful of these events was the annual Gastronomical Fair of Dijon (*Foire gastronomique de Dijon*) launched in 1921 (Figure 10). Reflecting Gérard’s policy of offering “something for everyone,” Dijon’s

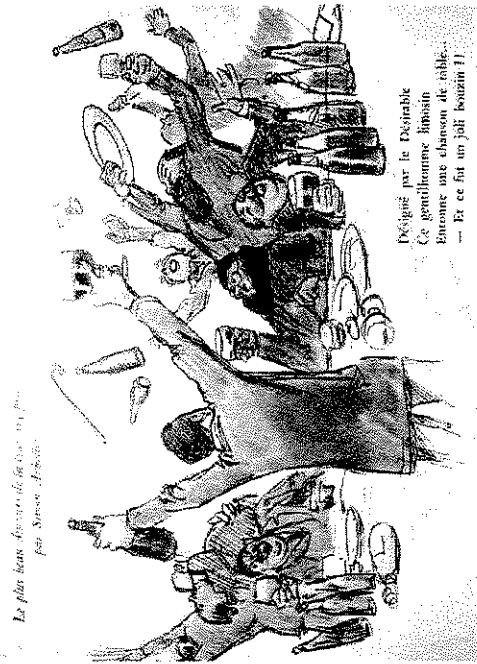


Figure 9b: Illustration by Georges Conrad, in Lucien Dorin, *Carnet de Bord: Voyage en Bourgogne 1929* (Paris: E. Keller, 1930), n.p. (Photo from the author’s personal collection)

The (re)valorization of travel to and consumption in Burgundy required the political coordination of commercial forces, transportation systems, public consumption, and popular acceptance. To that end, Gérard organized a Burgundian brain-trust that promoted regional landscapes, local agricultural products, and the occupational practices organized under the umbrella of gastronomic tourism. The region adopted a commercial and geographically anchored cultural project that—through the mechanisms of applied folklore (Carcano 1997, 18; Demossier 1999; Laferté 2002, 66-95; Laferté 2005, 1-32; and Whalen 2007b, 21-40)—reclassified existing traditions and incorporated modern demands into a “collective dream-world” (*ur-phenomena*) that localized, ontologized, and privileged Burgundy’s potential and capacity for change (Buck-Morse 1989, 71; Anderson 1991; see Figure 9). They staged cultural revivals and popular festivals, organized civic events, founded erudite associations, and

Fair should be recognized as having shaped the lives of local residents as much as that of tourists ("Le discours du Maire de Beaune" 1929, 4). Never at a loss to exploit a promotional opportunity, Gérard proclaimed, "the Fair resembles no other. For five years, imitators have tried to steal its title but the Gastronomical Fair of Dijon remains incomparable ... never-ending crowds, informed by visitors from previous years, basted toward the odors of prepared meals and fragrant wines" (Gérard 1925, 409). Dijon's "magnificent" Fair transformed socio-political disenchantment into civic solidarity, regional identity, and economic activity. It caused Dijon to be "literally overwhelmed by tourists: hotels and restaurants were taken by assault" (La Foire 1922, 2). By 1929, "[t]he town was jumping, quasi-hysterical, injected with a mysterious supercharge of medieval pomp and Madison-Avenue-via-Paris commercialism" (Thiblot 1929, 5). Celebrating this "triumph of local gastronomy" (Dulac 1926, 191-96), Gaston Roupnel reminded visitors that, "the Gastronomical Fair of Dijon is one of the most savory means of getting into direct and immediate contact with one of the most reputable and generous regions of France" (Roupnel 1925, 415). He underscored both the Fair's historical roots and its cultural promise. Providing more than a "sumptuous snack," Roupnel promised readers that the Gastronomical Fair would deliver a holistic experience: "[i]t beckons to experience ... and to glorify the vast production of a privileged land. It promises visits to museums and conferences, walks along the streets, artistic pilgrimages, the pleasures of the table, and the stirrings of memory" (Roupnel 1925, 415).³ Indeed, Stefan Zweig visited the Fair and reported that:

"In front of stores were stacks of delectable snails that, with wine, disappeared from the same vineyards they previously inhabited. The chefs—in white uniforms, red faces, and ceremonious airs—are the object of unlimited admiration and the incontestable masters of ceremony. As happens at wine fairs, shoppers from different countries, their eyes slightly anxious ... amble along the streets tantalized by the prospect of another wine tasting. Not a little boisterous, these copper-faced and voluminous gentlemen are happy, content, and joyous. They compose a perulant tableau of Silenuses in smocks" (Zweig 2002, 34).

More than providing a "sumptuous snack," Roupnel promised readers that the Gastronomical Fair would deliver a holistic and transcendental experience: "[i]t beckons to experience ... and to glorify the vast production of a privileged land. It promises visits to museums and conferences, walks along the streets, artistic pilgrimages, the pleasures of the table, and the stirrings of memory" (Roupnel 1925, 415). He also promised fairgoers the opportunity of discovering the entirety and uniqueness of the "Burgundian spirit" (*génie bourguignon*) by drinking wine (Roupnel 1925, 414). Come the eighth fair in 1928, one well-fed critic remarked that Gérard had successfully "turned himself into the apostle of the restoration of French cuisine" (Merlet 1928, 1-2).

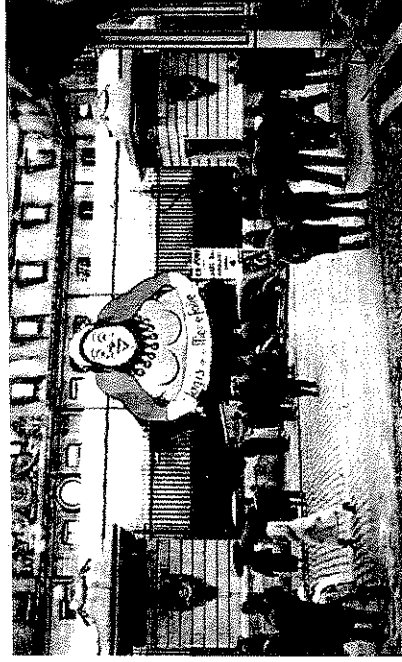


Figure 11: Photograph showing the entrance to Crazy Mother's Dwelling used for banqueting during Dijon's 1935 Carnival. From "Archives Municipales de la Ville de Dijon, 'Mère-Folle,' (series 6Fi 269).

A brief revival of Dijon's three hundred year old Carnival in 1935 also featured gastronomic attractions. Notably, a 500 square-meter temporary structure called "Crazy Mother's Dwelling" (Logis de la Mère-Folle) was erected in front of Dijon's City Hall to host "massive eating" in the imagined style of early-modern carnival festivals (Figure 11). Banquets held

in Crazy Mother's Dwelling served "all the specialties of Dijon and the best Burgundian vintages" for 1,000 paying guests ("Quand ressuscite la Mère-Folle à sa bonne ville Dijon," 2). This practice of banqueting was quite popular and commercially viable in Burgundy throughout the interwar period. M. F. K. Fisher remembered when, "[o]nce a year, on Ascension Day [1929], the Club Alpin ... held its annual banquet without benefit of sortie, promenade, or appreciation of any well-preserved ruins.... [W]e dined for six hours at the Hôtel de la Poste in Beaune.... [W]e ate in dark odorous rooms where generations of coachmen and carriage drivers and chauffeurs had nourished themselves.... There was a long table for us and an even longer table for the wines" (Fisher 1976, 49).



Figure 12: Co-Masters of Ceremony, Georges Faiveley and Camille Rodier. Anonymous photograph from the collection of Jean-François Bazin.

Not to be outdone and possibly lose an opportunity to promote its cuisine and wines along with possible tourism revenue, the town of Nuits was transformed into the site of the 'revival' of the ancient Confrérie des Chevaliers du Tastevin (The Order of the Knights of Wine Cups)

(Rozet 1937, 240-41; Bazin 1996); Laferté 2005, 1-32; see Figure 12). Organized by Camille Rodier and Georges Faiveley, in what Jean-François Bazin considers a clear matter of early public relations, this event promoted local vintages in an atmosphere of Molièresque ribaldry and Rabelaisian *gourmandise* (Bazin 2002). Their cellar (*Caveau nuiton*) in Nuits-Saint-Georges first opened on November 16-17, 1934 (André 1974). The Order became one of the most effective promoters of the region's wines through highly dramatized, pseudo-historical, faux-folkloric, and candle-lit wine-tasting events. Theatrical props included garish garroasts, bawdy songs (provided by the Cadets of Burgundy choristers), pig roasts, gaudy furnishings, and vague memories of obscure antecedents. The menu from the first Chapter included four white and twenty-five red wines to accompany an eight-course meal. By 1935, success and lack of space, prompted the impresarios to reproduce their festivities at other venues and times. "The success of our cellars grows daily," noted a local

journalist, "the vast cellar cannot accommodate all the gastronomes who come" ("Une conférence ... des Chevaliers du Tastevin," 4). The Chevaliers then rented space in the venerable Clos Vougeot, famous for its Cistercian architecture and historical significance as a center for early wine production in Burgundy. The participation of foreign dignitaries, such as American Ambassador William C. Bullitt in 1937, assured that the annual event acquired an international cachet (André 1974, 47). The continued popularity of their highly publicized gatherings (a "folklore for journalists," notes Gilles Laferté) is testimony to how the elements and choreography of Burgundian tourism remains



Figure 13: A contemporary wine list showcasing Burgundian regional wines at a banquet hosted by the city of Dijon in 1928 (from the author's personal collection).

popular. The Chevaliers du Tastevin celebrated their 1,000th gathering at the Clos Vougeot among 500 guests representing 20 nations on 10 June 2008. The menu (a more elaborate version of the menus in Figs. 13, 14a and 14b) seeking to simulate that of the first gathering in 1934, was accompanied by five white wines, fifteen burgundies, and five liqueurs (Bassolet 2008, 1, 5).

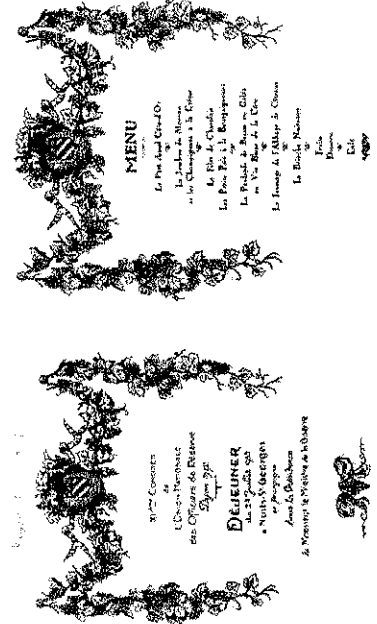


Figure 14a, 14b: A menu from the 12th annual luncheon for the Congress of the National Union of Reserve Officers held in Nuits-Saint-Georges on 24 July 1932 and presided by the Minister of War.

France's reigning gastronomes, Maurice Curmonsky and Gaston Derys, were clearly seduced by Burgundy's cuisine and culinary traditions. They dedicated a volume of their series of guides to the nation's "culinary marvels and reputable French inns" to Burgundy in 1936. Highlighting the region's "delectable cuisine" and "incomparable wines," they dubbed Dijon "a rare terrestrial paradise" (Curmonsky and Derys 1923, 48, 55, 66). Curmonsky teamed up with Marcel Rouff to edit a series of books on French regional cuisines in 1926, in which they promoted Burgundy as a "rare terrestrial paradise ... run by vintners and chefs ... and organized

under Gaston Gérard's leadership and culinary good taste" (Curmonsky and Rouff 1926, 55-66). The sentiment and opinion were echoed in Simon Arbellot's first *Gastronomical Guide of France*. The chapter on the Côte-d'Or drew attention to the Gastronomical Fair of Dijon where tourists could find, "[i]n great cuisine and great wines everywhere. From the Palace of the Dukes of Burgundy to the vineyards along the slopes, enchantment is the traveller's most constant companion. A royal tradition exists between the old establishments and our daily tables" (quoted in Gérard 1954, 170).

Tourist Experiences in Gastronomic Burgundy

Following an unscheduled encounter with a *gendarme* who found the practice of a grown man riding a bicycle suspect, cyclist-tourist J. Champin discovered, while attending a spectacular banquet in Nuits Saint Georges, that, "[i]n Beaune one admires but in Nuits one eats with joy!" (Champin 1936, 4). His memoir of touring the Côte-d'Or in 1936, entitled "Au Pays bourguignon," provides a privileged access to the phenomena of high Burgundian gastro-tourism:

"Finally making it to Nuits, I washed up and hurried to join the others ... to listen to the Mayor's official welcome speech.... I was suddenly no longer impressed by all the beautiful churches in Burgundy. What debauchery these joyous Burgundians engage in upon swallowing, as was required, several glasses of sensuous and seductive wine."

The banquet Champin attended was held in a wine cellar and organized by the famous Knights of Wine-tasting. The experience inspired, along with gaiety and bonhomie, a reverential recognizance of the location's iconic features and emblematic characteristics:

"I entered through a little door of a building that from the outside looked like a large grange. This little door opened onto a spiral staircase from which emanated an ambiguous roar.... At least ten meters below, it gave onto a large vaulted room in which my mates circled tables looking for their name tags and reading the menu."

upon his visit to the village of Bellefleur, birthplace of epicurean author Anthelme Brillat-Savarin (*The Physiology of Taste*, 1825) and where he “ate under direction.” “Everybody,” he wrote, “accepted the program which M. Pernollet from his kitchen conducted. Salt was on the tables, but one rarely used it.... It would have been a bolder guest than any of us who should have ventured to ask for mustard” (Gwynn, 118-19). Indeed, visitors to Burgundy engaged in practices calculated—by all parties involved—to promote a heightened experience of palate and place.

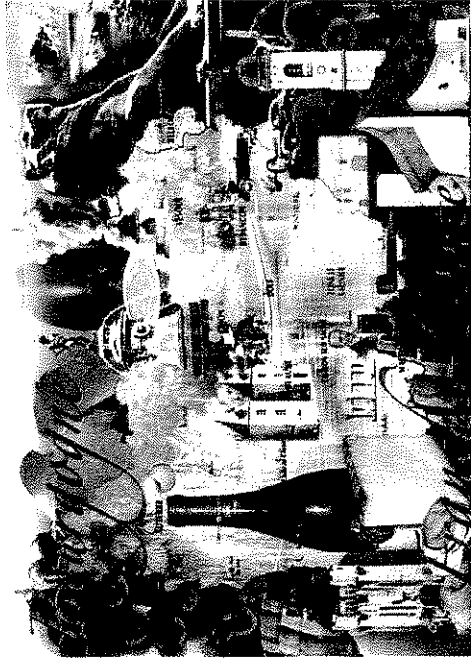


Figure 15: A paper place setting commonly found in fast food restaurants in Burgundy. No printer or designer identification provided (author's photograph, July 2005)

Conclusion:

Mindful of Andrew Thacker's injunction that travel writing should be “more closely linked to an understanding of historical forms of social space, such as those found in maps, and of debates within cultural

... At the end of the hall, the chef, dressed in white from slippers to bonnet, and his servants in white as well, dragged their equipment on a platform much like priests and altar boys around an altar. The mass, ... I mean the ceremony began.”

Impressed by “all the ceremony,” Champin greedily settled into an enjoyable evening essentially dedicated to regional gastronomy:

“... conversation was mostly made with our forks. Everybody knows that the cult of Bacchus is particularly noisy and the tongues quickly get delirious.”

Noting that “Burgundian cuisine is defined by the use of wine in all the regional dishes,” Champin boastfully identified such dishes in the same order that they were presented by Georges Legendre, the owner of the Caveau Nuiton.

“Useless to point out that this production was welcomed with thundering applause. The chef naturally officiated from his altar. He drew enormous cauldrons full of sausages and enormous hams. Everything was devotedly carved and each piece carefully placed before a guest. Complementary wines provided by either the local Syndicat d'initiative or Veterans Organization accompanied each course. In this fashion, the best wines from Côte de Nuits and Mercurey made their way down our dazzled gullets. And to finish everything, the coffee was sprinkled with some *marc* [brandy made from grape lees] pulled from behind a woodpile!” (Champin 1936, 4-5).

The combination of the chef's commanding presence and the evening's ceremony also recall M. F. K. Fisher's 1936 recollection of an evening spent at a Burgundian inn where she encountered an “almost fanatical” waitress who monitored and directed every aspect of the meal: “She seemed ready to beat her breast as she leaned across the table. ‘Look at that delicate crust! You may feel that you have eaten too much.... But this pastry is like feathers—it is like snow. It is in fact good for you, a digestive!’” (Fisher 1976, 479, 481). The Irish travel writer Stephen Gwynn also observed the regimentation of culinary time and space during meals

geography surrounding space and place" (2002, 25), the foregoing has investigated the geographic of Burgundian tourism as a regional project calculated to (re)orient consumer identification toward "place" through behaviors that accompany the consumption of local products on location. Dijon's Gaston Gérard and associates promoted a vision of economic regionalism that linked culinary, commercial, and artistic interests within a broad cultural discourse and tourist agenda. To that end, Burgundy's gastronomic tourism industries employ(ed) geo-specific narratives to encode appealing itineraries across idyllic landscapes (figure 1.5). In order to choreograph tourists itineraries—right down to the sequence of dishes and wines during civic events and private banquets—they extended the geography of *terroir* beyond its traditional concern with Burgundy's landscape(s) and/or related folklore(s) to address a new range visceral and psychological responses related to gastronomic tourism's evolving tastes and activities. This gastro-political agenda exploited the carnivalesque and Pantagruelisque registers of excess to (re)direct play, travel, consumption, and audience participation around regional priorities. Serving as sites of cultural renewal, Burgundy's various wine festivals, gastronomic fairs, carnival revivals, automobile rallies, professional conferences, and costume parades reveal how traditional practices combined with modern marketing practices and pertinent geographical thinking created a sense of 'place' relevant to twentieth century French cultural politics and commercial affairs.

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Notes

1. Among the institutions that provided forums for new intellectual, cultural and institutional leadership were: l'Académie des sciences, arts et belles-lettres de Dijon (revivified by August Baudot in 1921); l'Association bourguignonne des sociétés savantes (gathering 29 member societies and also launched by Baudot in 1923); La Société des Amis du Musée de Dijon (created in 1924 by Fernand Mercier and Edouard Estaunié); *Les Annales de Bourgogne* (created in 1929 under Henri Drouot's leadership to replace the defunct *Revue de Bourgogne*); *l'Esor* (an "artistic and literary society" created in 1922 around a salon of regional painters); *Le Cép Burgondé* (a review founded in 1912 by Gustave Gasser for the benefit of regional poets which included his future wife Lythète); *Le Miroir dijonnais* (a monthly regional journal —started in 1920—that covered local cultural events); Gustave and Lythète Gasser's *La Bourgogne d'Or* (founded in 1903 and reanimated in 1926); Albert Colombet's *Pays de Bourgogne*; and the *Guide des Fêtes populaires et traditionnelles de la Bourgogne* published by the Association for the Renaissance of Popular Burgundian Festivals.
2. Collaboration between political, intellectual and commercial interests is evidenced, for instance, in their collective promotion of Burgundian tourism through a special issue of *L'Alsace française* dedicated to "Burgundy and the Gastronomical Fair of Dijon" in 1925. This glossy volume depicted Burgundian gastronomy, tourism, and entertainment as essential activities for the well-informed

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pursuing discriminating leisure. Contributions included Gaston Roupnel's "The Sumptuousness of Burgundy," Henri Drouot's "True face of Burgundy," Albert Thibaudet's "The Genius of Burgundian Authors," A. Kleinclausz' "Dijon, City of Art," J. Mourat's "Dijon, Center of Communications," Lucien Richard, "The Riches of the Dijonnais Region," Charles Bouchard, "Beaune and Surroundings," Michael Saitot-Denis' "The Vieux Colombiers Troupe in Burgundy," Gaston Gétard's "Dijon and its Gastronomical Fair" along with an accompanying insert on the "History of Fête Gras."

3. Gaston Roupnel contributed a parody of the Gastronomical Fair of Dijon's famous banquets in the "Official Catalogue" of 1932. Members of a "venérable and erudite" Helium Club, he wrote, convened, "in one of those good old restaurants in Dijon ... where pure genius operates through pots and pans." The establishment's most modest dishes were so admitted that, "Rajas and Maharajas" Roupnel continues, "left their elephants in India simply to discover its tripe. The house paté was terrestrial spirit *en civité*. A cup of coffee was an ode to Moka; simply smelling it made one delirious with tropical thoughts... As for the fine champagne, the barrel was said to have known Napoleon I in earlier days." "Rather than manipulating their microscopes," he continued, "the members held glasses in their hands. Instead of a bibliography, they were examining a Corron. Soon after the roast, the physics group leapt into a discussion of communicative heat exchanges during banquets. The geology section was lost between two wines and the industrial chemists were gay" (Roupnel [anonymous] 1932b).