

WHAT THE PAST HOLDS IN STORE

***An Anthropological Study of Temporality
in a Southern French Village***

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the diverse and conflicting ways in which the past is invoked in a village in the coastal area of the Aude department, in the Languedoc region of Southern France. The region of Languedoc has been undergoing turbulent, and unpredictable socio-economic change since the development of viticultural capitalism in the 19th century, and since the 1960s has also witnessed the development of a sizeable tourist industry. These factors, along with the proximity of the village to the city of Narbonne, have led over the past 150 years to the creation of a heterogeneous village population. The thesis details the plurality of ways in which the past was temporalised in the village during the fieldwork period (1996-7), taking account of the various social groups present in the village, and their economic activities and life worlds. It also illustrates the relationship between local temporalities and wider socio-economic developments in the region, in particular in relation to the development of a tourist industry that transforms the past into a commodity. The thesis is partly concerned to assess the relationship between these wider socio-economic developments, and the sociality of the village inhabitants.

Drawing on recent anthropological work on time, human temporality is viewed as the product of symbolic processes, through which agents make evident, and act upon, the inherently temporal character of existence. In this sense the apprehension and significance of the past is implicated in a dynamic with present action and future orientations, and interpreted accordingly. However, a 'culturalist' perspective is avoided in the thesis by foregrounding the importance of interpreting all human activity as both historically situated, and implicated in wider political economic processes. In this respect, the thesis also pays attention to issues of political economy, and attempts a partial synthesis of different anthropological approaches: the phenomenological, the symbolic, and the materialist.

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GLOSSARY

<i>Un Anglais</i>	An Englishman
<i>Arondissement</i>	Administrative District (see chapter 2, section 2.1)
<i>L'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine</i>	'The Heritage Preservation Association'
<i>Auberge</i>	Inn
<i>Autoroute</i>	Motorway
<i>Bages et son étang</i>	'Bages and its Lake'
<i>Barrage</i>	Barrier
<i>Bassin</i>	Washing Basin
<i>Canton</i>	Administrative District (see chapter 2, section 2.1)
<i>Cave</i>	Wine Cellar
<i>Cave Coopérative</i>	Wine Co-operative
<i>Chef-lieu</i>	Administrative Centre
<i>Commune</i>	Commune (see chapter 2, section 2.1)
<i>Conseil Régional</i>	Regional Council
<i>Conseil Municipal</i>	Municipal Council

<i>Département</i>	Department (see chapter 2, section 2.1)
<i>Domaine</i>	Viticultural Estate
<i>Étang</i>	Lake or Brackish Lagoon
<i>Falaise</i>	Cliff
<i>Un Familier</i>	Familiar Person
<i>Famille</i>	Family
<i>Garrigue</i>	Arid, uncultivated limestone hills characteristic of the Mediterranean basin
<i>Grau</i>	Channel connecting <i>étang</i> to sea
<i>Lavoir</i>	Washing Basin
<i>Liste Nominative</i>	Nominative List (see Appendix I)
<i>Lotissement</i>	Housing Estate
<i>Lou Puits de la Coundamino</i>	The Condamine Well
<i>Mairie</i>	Town Hall
<i>Matelot</i>	Apprentice Sailor
<i>Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages</i>	'Memoir of the Fisherman's Craft in Bages'
<i>Narbonnais</i>	Narbonne area
<i>Occitan</i>	Indigenous language of southern France
<i>Partègue</i>	Punting Pole
<i>Patois</i>	Popular name for <i>occitan</i>
<i>Le Pays Cathare</i>	Cathar Country
<i>Pêcheur</i>	Fisherman
<i>Parc Naturel Régional</i>	Regional Nature Park
<i>Patrimoine</i>	Heritage

<i>Patron-Pêcheur</i>	Licensed Fisherman
<i>Produits du Terroir</i>	Regional Produce
<i>Prud'homie</i>	Tribunal
<i>Région</i>	Administrative Region (see chapter 2, section 2.1)
<i>Route Nationale</i>	Trunk Road
<i>Soleil</i>	Sun
<i>Trabaque</i>	A series of interlinking hoop-nets used for catching eels
<i>Traine</i>	Dragnet
<i>Vendange</i>	Grape Harvest
<i>Vieux village</i>	Old Village

1

INTRODUCTION

1. WHAT THE PAST HOLDS IN STORE

This thesis takes as its principal source and authority the year I lived in Bages, a village in the coastal area of the *Aude département*, in the *Languedoc région* of southern France, talking to people in and around the village, sharing in and observing aspects of their lives, and working in archives in the *mairie* and the surrounding area.¹ Its subject concerns the many uses to which the local past was being put, both by the inhabitants of the village, and by other people and organisations with an interest in the locality: what the past holds in store in all its aspects was, and continues to be an increasingly important dimension of contemporary life in Bages, and throughout rural France as a whole. What led me to live in Bages and undertake this study? The answer to this question is complex, and grounded in my recent lived experience. I first visited Southern France

like many other residents of the British Isles, as a tourist. On several occasions during my childhood my family spent a fortnight on holiday there during the summer months, and in 1990, when I was in my early twenties, my parents purchased the smallholding of a retiring French farmer near Cahors (Lot) and converted it into a holiday home. When I visited this house and the area around it, which I did a number of times from 1990 to 1995, I was struck by the highly visible presence of the past, a conspicuous feature of the region both in the material appearance of everyday life, such as the light-coloured old stone houses characteristic of the small villages and outlying hamlets that pepper the area, but more significantly in relation to the buying and selling of a variety of products and packaged experiences by both local inhabitants and visiting tourists. While the rhetoric surrounding these commodities conjured a predominantly nostalgic image of the simple, utopian pleasures of the local way of life, the critical tools I had by then acquired from anthropology pointed clearly to its advertising function, and by implication to the involvement of a wider system of exchange that was far removed from the antique rural idyll to which this rhetoric seductively laid claim.

In the late 1980s, as a student at Manchester University, I had come across a collection of stories, *Pig Earth*, by John Berger, an English writer living in a village in the French Alps near Geneva. Berger's book, the first part of a trilogy addressing recent social trends in rural Europe, presents a fictionalised portrait of the disappearance of the 'peasant' way of life in the area where he lives, and combines a focus on the irreducibility of individual lives characteristic of the storyteller with the desire to relate these lives to a Marxist interpretation of capitalist expansion within the French countryside. Although not immune to the nostalgic attraction of the image of a rural France of traditions and

¹ A full glossary is located at the beginning of this thesis.

good living presented to me as a tourist, the strongly conflicting impression of French rural life created when I juxtaposed my experiences in the Lot with Berger's tales of loss and the sweeping changes he associates with French capitalist development gave rise to the particular objectives which have guided this project throughout. That is to say, to make sense of and assess the apparently contradictory effects of social change that I had perceived in and around the Lot, by examining one concrete example of this complex historical reality. Whose pasts were for sale? By and to whom? Who benefited from their sale? How traditional were they? And if these pasts were indeed as local and traditional as they claimed, how did local people feel about having their history and traditions packaged and sold off? What effect did it have on them, if any? Or were they the ones doing the selling? As a response to these, and other such pressing questions, in 1995 I set out to detail and analyse the different and conflicting ways in which the past was presented and made use of, by significant, but differing persons and groupings, in one small part of rural France, while simultaneously examining the nature of the power relationships, and by consequence the political and economic realities, associated with these activities.

If my adult experiences as an English tourist in France provide an immediate, concrete background to my interests, my own life history provides a more subjective, autobiographical reason for the existence and general focus of this thesis, and an indication of what I perceive to be its wider significance. The changing nature of rural life, it seems to me, has certain common characteristics throughout Western Europe, the most significant of which are perhaps the effects of economic innovation provoked by population growth, an invasive consumerism, and by the mechanisation of agriculture; the sense of rootlessness engendered by social change and economic migration; and the loosening of

familiar certainties that comes as a result of such developments. In this respect these developments comprise an on-going reality in which I am myself deeply involved, and which led in principle to my desire to work on rural change. The son of parents who 'made good' and, university education in hand, left rural Lancashire as the last mines were closing to move to the more prosperous south, I grew up feeling 'out of place' among the middle classes of Somerset and Dorset, with regular trips to visit my relatives up north. The small town where my grandparents lived had become a 'new town' by the early 1970s, the date of my own first memories, the embattled 'old town' community comprising a part of it where my relations still live, and the story of this particular history of rural change provided a clue during my childhood to the sense of displacement I felt in my own life. It also provided the fertile bed of lived experience from which the motivation for this study would grow.

This history of change and movement, which I later found detailed for other times and places by novelists such as Thomas Hardy and D.H. Lawrence, and critics such as Raymond Williams, I first discovered articulated in Berger's celebrated book of stories, and ironically it was through learning about the changes to rural life in the French countryside that I began to shed greater light on the riddle of my own experience. In common with these writers' emphases, and as a more subjective answer to my earlier question, it is as one instance of the struggle against exile² and to give meaning to our lives and our relationships with those others with whom we share them, in the face of these profound and continuing changes in rural life, that I see the wider significance of

² I use 'exile' in Papastergiadis' sense: 'On the contemporary scale ... exile is comprehensible through the internalisation of rupture. Thus modern exile is not exclusively confined to the massive displacement of peoples from their homelands [...] Perhaps what is unique to modernity is not just the unprecedented scale of migrations, or even the nature of the imposition of the obligation to leave home, but rather the experience of estrangement that precedes departure. In modernity foreignness is not commensurate with distance travelled' (Papastergiadis 1993:9,13, his emphasis).

the focus of this thesis and its motivation. Despite the obvious importance of the differences between the many regions of Europe, a focus on the meaning and deployment of the past in one small French village tells a now common story of the struggle for a balance between the forces of economic expansion and the dignity and respect demanded by individuals and social groups regarding their senses of identity and self-understanding, that in my opinion characterises the last years of the 20th century in many parts of rural Europe. In this sense, an emphasis on the past in Bages provides just one instance of the wider human problems thrown up by modern-day capitalism.

The place I chose as my research site was far from either of the original inspirations for my project, as I wished to work neither in an area I was already familiar with as a tourist, nor in one which had been the subject of previous ethnographic study, and it is demonstrative of the pervasiveness of the past-oriented practices I am concerned with that I had little difficulty finding another suitable place in which to settle and go to work. I decided to relocate to a region that I knew possessed a significant tourist industry, a key component of the phenomenon I was concerned to study, and opted for the hinterland of the Languedocian Mediterranean coast. For three weeks in September 1996 I visited villages and talked to local inhabitants in order to find the most suitable site. After some deliberation I finally decided on Bages, which stood out for its unusual local economy combining fishing, viticulture and small-scale tourism; its prominence in tourist images of the region due to its great natural beauty; the heterogeneity of its population as a result of its proximity to Narbonne; and a visible preoccupation with the past in various forms. I will be introducing the inhabitants and locality of Bages in detail in chapter two of this thesis. I was fortunate in immediately finding a flat in a house on the main street, and from 4 October 1996 to 30 September 1997 I lived as one of the village's 500 or so

inhabitants, in the *chef-lieu* ('administrative centre') of the *commune* which bears its name (see plate 1 & map 1).

In spite of my status as an outsider in Bages, and what is more, as *un Anglais* ('an Englishman'), the residents of the village welcomed me warmly, although with justifiable caution and suspicion. Long-term inhabitants of Bages have their own history of conflict with the outside world, and incomers have frequently arrived with a vested interest in turning village resources to their own advantage, flaunting their greater wealth and power before the locals. This was by no means the case with all recent arrivals, as I quickly discovered, and there were many incomers and visitors who, along with locals, were kind and generous enough to share their time and experiences with me. That this thesis focuses on the struggle both between, and shared by them, to make best use of their common resources while maintaining control over their differing senses of identity and the past, is a testament to the complex and at times paradoxical field of force that shaped and guided their inter-linking destinies. It is the story of this struggle over the past, and what it held in store for their individual and collective futures, that I will attempt to bring to life in the pages of this thesis, on the basis of my year spent living among them.

2. THE AIMS OF THIS THESIS

The main aims of this thesis are to provide an ethnographic portrait and analysis of the different uses made of the local past by different persons, and where appropriate, social groupings living in and around the village of Bages. The local or village past, in its various manifestations, constituted an important point of overlapping interest among

many sections of the local population, and the thesis provides an initial overview of these manifestations, and in its core chapters details what I consider to be their most notable aspects. As the thesis progresses I therefore present a series of perspectives on the presence of the village past in Bages, that illustrate the complex dynamics of its use within the locality. My argument thus takes the form of a 'thematic narrative' (Emerson *et al.* 1995:170-173), and at no stage do I attempt to provide the kind of general ethnographic portrait associated with the typical anthropological monograph. Although the thesis presents a variety of background ethnographic materials on Bages and those I worked with there, the criteria for selection is based solely on the terms of the argument I am articulating, and I do not address in detail specific wider anthropological themes such as kinship, economy and so on. Where such themes arise, they do so in relation to my analysis of how the past is put to use in Bages.

My opening chapters detail the theoretical, historical, and ethnographic context of my study. After a theoretical introduction and literature review (chapter one), in chapter two I present the participants in this thesis and the locality of Bages from an ethnographic and historical perspective. I then move on in chapter three to discuss local temporalities, and overview the various uses of the past within the village. The village past, I propose, was used in different ways by different individuals and social groupings in the locality, and I explore the nature of this use and the conflict that arose from it in the following four chapters. In chapter four I discuss the importance of the village past for the long-term inhabitants of the village, the Bageois, and the production of their social identity, and comment on their changing relationship to it as a result of recent social change. In the next three chapters, I discuss the impact of various new uses of the village past, involving local history, and the identification of locally produced commodities with the

history of place and profession (chapter five); the activities of various individuals seeking to create new historical resources on the village past (chapter six); and the recent construction of an explicit, locally-oriented historical identity for the built environment of the village of Bages (chapter seven). These practices are situated in the context of recent political and economic developments in the Aude and Languedoc, and in the wider contexts of France and Europe, and a recurrent theme concerns the growth of 'cultural tourism' (Boissevain 1996) in the area.

The theoretical aims of this thesis are to analyse the human perception and experience of the past in relation to a theory of the human experience of time as temporality, and to encompass within this approach both symbolic and materialist emphases. To achieve these goals I draw on recent work within anthropology, and in particular the work on time of Nancy Munn (1992). The main theoretical objective of the thesis is to adapt Munn's work from the Melanesian context to the study of Western Europe, and to surpass her more symbolic emphasis on the study of temporality. In sections 3 and 4 of this chapter I provide an overview of the theoretical approaches used in this thesis, and detail my own theoretical approach to the past. I also locate my position in relation to other anthropological work concerned with the study of the past, and to current ethnographic work in Europe. The past, I argue, when viewed as a dimension of human temporality, must be understood from both symbolic and materialist perspectives, and it is also my concern to briefly relate this position to wider anthropological debates concerning the convergence of these two theoretical schools. This convergence constitutes an on-going and important feature of recent anthropological theory, and I attempt my own partial synthesis in this thesis. However, my aims are predominantly pragmatic, related to the concerns of my focus on the past, and I offer no new, comprehensive po-

sition on this debate here, making reference to principal works only where relevant to my argument.

The main argument of this thesis is that recent general innovations in the production and use of the past in rural France, including its commoditisation for cultural tourists, along with changes in sociality and power relationships at a local level as a result of migration and economic restructuring, are causing residents and visitors in Bages to utilise the local past in new social and economic contexts. My analysis of this situation is facilitated by my emphasis on viewing the past as temporalised, which, I argue, enables a focus on the complexities of how the past is put to use lacking from some other current anthropological approaches. However, I stress the importance of locating the symbolic element of such an approach within a materialist, historical context to enable a comprehensive analysis. Unlike other recent work on the past in Europe, which often examines it in relation to debates on heritage or cultural tourism (e.g. Abram *et al.* 1997, Boissevain 1996, Urry 1990), I therefore hold an examination of its commoditisation in the tourist industry in tension with a more general focus. Although cultural tourism has recently been an important topic in the anthropology of tourism, it has not usually been viewed in conjunction with this focus on other domains of social life, and my emphasis is intended as an original component of the thesis, and a contribution to the wider body of social scientific knowledge.

How did I obtain the information necessary to achieve these aims? In total I spent twelve months living in Bages, which was my home during this time. My research focused closely on the village, and although I interviewed some people from outside it, this was only when they had a clear interest in or influence on activities related to the

village itself. It is a measure of the changes that have occurred in rural France that I obtained a large amount of information through formal interviews, and that the majority of these interviews were arranged by appointment in advance, and many of them were tape-recorded.³ This is in sharp contrast to the informal practices of previous English-speaking anthropologists working in rural France (e.g. Wylie 1975, Rogers 1991a), and demonstrates the extent to which modern working routines, and the time-related pressures of modern living have penetrated the area. Nevertheless, the atmosphere during these meetings was on the whole cordial and relaxed, and did not, in my opinion, reflect the common criticisms regarding the restrictive nature of formal interviews.

I also participated informally in the activities of local inhabitants, as a member of the population who lived and worked in the village. While this afforded me significant insight into the lives of the population, I did not usually conduct unstructured interviews or draw explicit attention to my research interests at these times. Although I made it clear to everyone I met that I was in Bages to learn about life there, and would be drawing on all my experiences to do so, there was a time to be explicit about my objectives, and a time to relax and learn from their company. A large part of the raw material for this thesis is thus composed of the fruits of these two different forms of research: where tape-recorded interviews are drawn on this is indicated in the text, while field notes made after the event are the source for all other intersubjective material. However, I also drew significantly on archival research, the *mairie* in Bages containing an impressive communal archive in which I spent much time, and I also worked in the departmental archives at Carcassonne, and at universities and research institutes in other parts

³ In fact, people usually seemed reassured to see a tape-recorder on the table during our meetings, its presence perhaps confirming in their eyes my authenticity as a researcher, although this did not stop them from regularly including in our discussions the sort of information that was clearly not for general circulation.

of Languedoc and Roussillon. Although fieldwork therefore constitutes a principal source for this study, and in the tradition of anthropological research comprises an original and valuable aspect of its raw material, in common with other ethnographies concerned with the complex social environment of modern Europe it takes its place alongside the fruits of archival and library research.

Finally, I was accompanied to interviews on many occasions by my partner, Susana Gozalo Martinez, a Basque from the Bizkaia province of the Spanish Basque Country. She appears in the ethnographic presentations of the following chapters from time to time, since she also lived with me in Bages during the time I worked there. The familiarity of many of my collaborators with Spaniards, and the presence of some Spanish families in the village, meant that Susana's presence created a more relaxed working atmosphere than could perhaps have been achieved by an Englishman working alone. The local reputation of Spanish women for having similar values and morality to women from Bages made me immediately more familiar, recognisable, and acceptable for being associated with one, and facilitated my working and personal relationships with those I knew. Some people did not seem to be aware of our unmarried status, although the majority knew and were not bothered by it (an indication of the current attitude to marriage in the area), and the fact that we were a couple living together normalised us in the eyes of many. It also meant that women felt more at ease in my presence, and Susana nearly always came with me if a woman was to be present at an interview. Susana's contribution on a personal level was essential to the successful completion of this project, both here and in France, and although she did not actively collect ethnographic information, I have drawn on her valuable comments, memories, and insights during the writing of this thesis.

3. THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF TIME: A CRITICAL APPRAISAL

The rest of this chapter is devoted to the theoretical introduction to this thesis, and a review of relevant literature. In sections 3 and 4 of this chapter, I detail a theoretical approach to time and the past that combines an understanding of the complex human experience of time as both intersubjectively produced, and materially grounded. I begin in sections 3.1 to 3.3 with an examination of three important, but distinctive anthropological texts that, having all appeared since 1992, encompass the state of contemporary anthropological thinking about time as I write this thesis: Gell 1992, Greenhouse 1996, and Munn 1992. Although Munn will provide the basis for my own approach, to obtain a critical perspective on her work it is important to situate it in the context of other contemporary perspectives, and I critically review the strong points and shortcomings of all three authors here. At this stage, I intentionally omit any detailed discussion of the extensive anthropological literature on the past, which is, of course, the principal theme of this thesis. This is because I view it as being inextricably bound up with an anthropological approach to time in general, and I therefore state my theoretical position on time to begin with, before moving on to more general work on the past in section 4. This is followed by a brief overview of anthropological work on Europe, including a discussion of relevant work on tourism (section 4.3), and a summary of the chapter's main points.

* * *

Time has certainly not been absent from anthropological efforts at theorising, and influential figures in the past have all contributed important works, including Durkheim (1915), Malinowski (1927), Evans-Pritchard (1939, 1940), Leach (1961), Lévi-Strauss (1963) Geertz (1973), and Bloch (1977). However, as Munn points out (1992:93), such authors in general pay ‘insufficient theoretical attention to the nature of time as a unitary, focal problem.’⁴ In fact, she suggests, this has been a problem with the anthropology of time more generally, as ‘time has often been handmaiden to other anthropological frames and issues [and] frequently fragments into all the other dimensions and topics anthropologists deal with in the social world’ (1992:93). Time has, however, begun to receive more explicit attention in recent years. While functionalist and structuralist approaches largely ignored time as a constitutive component of social life, in keeping with their static, a-temporal perspective, from the 1970s onwards theorists such as Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979) introduced a more explicit temporality into social analysis in their vision of social life as existing in flux. This was accompanied by developments in political economy, as writers such as Wolf (1982) used ‘history’, in the Marxist sense, as the foundation for the analysis of modes of production, as opposed to the more a-temporal approach of Structural Marxism in the 1970s.⁵

Time is therefore inherent in these models as the generative pathway along which social life unceasingly moves, and by virtue of this movement must therefore reproduce itself. This has subsequently become an accepted emphasis in current anthropological thought that I myself share. But, as with earlier theorists, in these models time is still not actu-

⁴ See also reviews by Gell (1992:3-148) and Greenhouse (1996:19-83), which draw similar conclusions. Given that such authors summarise admirably and comprehensively earlier anthropological writing on time, and the limited space available to me here, I shall not undertake a similar review myself.

⁵ These approaches are characteristic of a general trend in cultural and philosophical theory in the last 20 years, associated with the phenomenon of postmodernism. As Harris notes (1996:7), ‘the “postmodern

ally made the centre of theoretical attention, but through the metaphor of time as flow, flux or process, is instead treated mainly as a constitutive component of the analysis itself. With respect to an explicit anthropology of time, the deficiency of these approaches is that, while on the whole encompassing the need for a model of sociality as intersubjectively produced, they pay little comparable attention to time.⁶ Since 1992, however, one essay and two book-length studies have appeared that attempt to articulate a more comprehensive and focused approach to this problem. The first, Nancy Munn's 1992 essay, we have briefly encountered above; later that same year Alfred Gell, in *The Anthropology of Time*, set out a detailed critique of the anthropological literature on time, and described his own comprehensive theoretical position; and finally, in 1996 Carol Greenhouse attempted a similar enterprise with her book *A Moment's Notice: Time Politics across Cultures*. All three texts incorporate a review of earlier work on time with an exposition of the author's own theoretical perspective, although Munn is slightly less comprehensive, working as she is in the essay format; and all three authors assume different points of view, although there is some compatibility between Munn and Gell, and between Munn and Greenhouse. I shall begin with Gell, and move on to Greenhouse before concluding with an assessment of Munn's position, working towards the definition of my own approach.

3.1. ALFRED GELL AND 'REAL TIME'

Gell is clear and concise on the theoretical stance he presents in his study, and the debt he owes to the analytic philosopher D.H. Mellor, from whose book *Real Time* (1981) he

moment" defined as a distinctive sense of temporality in anthropology does not identify fluidity as a symptom of modernity, but rather claims it to be a universal property of human societies and culture.'

⁶ The exception is Bourdieu (1977:97-109; also 1963), and his well-known analysis of the agrarian calendar. However, while offering some valuable insights, he still subordinates the discussion of a more general approach to time to his desire to utilise the calendar to illustrate the workings of habitus, and in this respect his emphasis on flux obviates the possibility of examining more closely the actual production of

draws the philosophical foundation for his theory. He describes his position as ‘the moderate version of the B-series position’ (1992:156) and it is based on a synthesis of A-series and B-series time, two concepts that originated in the work of McTaggart (1908) and which form the basis for arguments in the 20th century analytic tradition in the philosophy of time, of which Mellor is the most influential contemporary exponent. B-series time, Gell suggests, is objective, ‘real’ time: ‘it reflects the temporal relationships between events as they really are, out there’ (1992:165).⁷ It is, however, unlike time as perceived by human subjects, as it has no past, present and future dimensions, i.e. it is fundamentally *untensed*. B-series time instead refers to what Gell, following Mellor, describes as the unchanging nature of events outside the realm of human agency: namely, that all events have dates in relation to each other, and these dates are permanent, unchanging and situate events in historical relation to each other. It therefore constitutes a structured process that underwrites social life in general.

The way humans perceive these events, Gell argues, is in keeping with A-series time, that is to say the subjective, tensed existence involving past, present and future relations that comprises everyday human time perception. B-series time provides the basis for A-series perception, which Gell models on Husserl’s theory of internal time consciousness, but the ‘real’ world does not exist according to A-series laws. What is more, and somewhat contradictorily, the B-series is beyond human perception, which must always follow A-series tendencies, but its temporal, and dated character can still be known. As Gell writes (1992:238), ‘[w]e have no direct access to the temporal territory [of the B-series] because all our mental life, all our experiences, beliefs, expectations, etc. are

the human experience of time. See Gell 1992:263-305 for a detailed appraisal and critique of Bourdieu’s approach to time.

⁷ See Gell 1992:149-174 & 221-241 for the B-series and A-series theories of time and his presentation of the relations between them. My presentation of his complex argument is necessarily abbreviated here.

themselves datable events, confined to their localised time-frames, like all other datable events.' Instead we know B-series time through temporal models, which reflect the structure of B-series time without accessing it directly: 'Our access to time is confined to the A-series flux, through which we interact with "real" time, via the mediation of temporal maps which provide us with a surrogate for real time. These reconstructions of B-series time are not the real thing [...] but we are obliged to rely on them' (1992:240). The question remains, however, as to how one can approximate the actual nature of a B-series time that is in essence unknowable, and why B-series time derives from a linear model that is, with its framework of dates, apparently ethnocentric in nature.⁸

Gell's grounding of the human perception of time, or A-series time, in the 'real' world of B-series time nevertheless provides a convincing and provocative argument for attempting to ground human subjects in the material world, through demonstrating how the perception of time is materially determined, materially situated, as well as culturally constructed, and I agree with his argument concerning the need to situate the human perception of time in a materialist context. While I therefore accept the bases of Gell's model for an approach to time, I take issue with his particular conception of its workings. First, his reliance on Husserl's model of time-consciousness is somewhat surprising, given Husserl's concern with a socially transcendent consciousness (Kearney 1994:22-23), and the subsequent developments in phenomenological philosophy that

⁸ Agamben (1993) provides the most concise critique of linear time, although Greenhouse (1996) provides an enlightening anthropological perspective, and I explicate the bases of her argument later in the chapter (see also Berger 1984 and Merleau-Ponty 1989). For Agamben, '[s]ince the human mind has the experience of time but not its representation, it necessarily pictures time by means of spatial images ... The modern concept of time is a secularisation of rectilinear, irreversible Christian time, albeit sundered from any notion of end and emptied of any other meaning but that of a structured process in terms of before and after' (1993:91 & 96). His critique is particularly aimed at the Marxist use of history: 'Modern political thought has concentrated its attention on history, and has not elaborated a corresponding concept of time ... The vulgar representation of time as a precise and homogeneous continuum has thus diluted the Marxist concept of history: it has become the hidden breach through which ideology has crept into the

have built on Husserl's approach.⁹ And secondly, his characterisation of B-series time as 'real' and objective, and related to dates, incorporates a spatialised conception of linear time that is too Western in character to be of use in the cross-cultural anthropological project. What is ultimately required is a more sophisticated conception of the human experience of time, coupled with a B-series model that is less culturally specific in nature. For indications as to what this might comprise I now turn to the other two writers, and first to Greenhouse, who goes furthest among contemporary anthropologists in setting aside a linear model of time.

3.2. CAROL GREENHOUSE: TIME AS CULTURALLY CONSTRUCTED

Greenhouse argues for 'an anthropology of time that does not presuppose what time is' (1996:75). Such a statement suggests a compatibility with my own concerns. Certainly, her work confirms my own criticisms of Gell's conception of the B-series. Greenhouse obviates completely the question of whether time is linear, relating linear time firmly to Western conceptions of agency and the significance of the twin themes of mortality and change, themselves derived from the Christian notions of time and eternity prevalent in the Middle Ages.¹⁰ Her argument provides an effective rejoinder to any theoretical approach that grounds an understanding of time in calendric linearity or the related inevitability of death, and whose cultural specificity precludes its application in any general theory of human temporality. For Greenhouse, 'social time is not some universal expression of a preoccupation with intervals inspired by anxiety over death; rather, it comprises very particular improvisations with the cultural meanings of agency inspired

citadel of historical materialism' (1993:91). Thompson (1967), in a well-known analysis, locates the secularisation and spread of this image of time to the growth of industrial capitalism.

⁹ See Heidegger 1992, Merleau-Ponty 1989 for critiques and developments of Husserl.

¹⁰ See Greenhouse 1996:19-24 on linear time. Adam's overview, *Time and Social Theory*, admirable for its attempt to integrate theories of time from both sociology and modern physics, trips up on just this

by social crises' (1996:7). Time is therefore related to contests concerning the sociocultural forms through which agency is articulated.

Although her critique of linear time is comprehensive, her own position on time is less clearly articulated, due mainly to the lack of ethnographic detail in her argument. Thus her shifting of an understanding of time to an analysis of social forms of agency, relations of power, and the operations of predominantly state-controlled institutions, although provocative, remains unconvincing. When she does begin to present a more ethnographically informed argument, in the second half of her book, her historical emphasis in two of the three chapters, on the Aztecs and China's First Empire, does nothing to reinforce her claims, being clearly beyond the scope of an ethnographic analysis that addresses the subjective experience of time, although it is coherent with her interest in the relationship of political institutions to time and agency. Greenhouse herself acknowledges this, stating that a fieldwork-based approach to the anthropology of time would focus on 'the sites and practices in which ordinary people, whether they work in the state's name or not, are challenged directly or indirectly to assess their own roles as agents of justice' (1996:236), but the limitations of her approach are also evident in other ways. 'The major premise of this book,' she writes, 'is that time is cultural. I shall not consider here whatever it is that physicists and astronomers mean when they talk about time. My focus is squarely on the ways people talk about and use representations of time in social life, ideas that developed independently of whatever "real time" might be' (1996:1). It is clear from this statement, and is confirmed by her subsequent argument, that Greenhouse sees the only determinant of the sociocultural production of time as lying on the level of symbolic processes, a notion that is incompatible with my own

point. Indeed, she begins her book: 'Time is our destiny because we live our lives unto death and in the knowledge of this inevitability' (Adam 1990:9).

emphasis on locating the symbolic experience of time within a concrete material context. Although Greenhouse therefore dispenses with B-series models such as Gell's, which incorporate aspects of linear time, she does not meet the wider challenge of his work, that of integrating symbolic and materialist approaches. Nancy Munn, in her paper 'The Cultural Anthropology of Time: A Critical Essay', provides the makings of an answer to this question, as well as a more coherent and comprehensive account of what an anthropology of time might focus on.

3.3. NANCY MUNN AND TIME AS TEMPORALISATION

Munn's paper, while the shortest of the three texts I am examining, nevertheless presents what I consider to be the most useful and developed anthropological theory of time currently articulated, and provides a basis for the modification of Gell's work.¹¹ Her approach is most significant for its ability to address both the lived experience, and conceptual perception of time by human subjects, and the sophistication of her position goes beyond Gell's reliance on Husserl. Grounding her position in a phenomenological theory of the human perception of time as *temporality*, she suggests that human temporality is the product of concrete, *temporalising practices* whereby the inherent temporal character of social life is brought out.¹² Her summary of her position is worth quoting in full. For Munn, the notion of temporalisation '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

¹¹ Munn's position is a development of and abstraction from her ethnographic work in Melanesia, particularly the arguments she developed in *The Fame of Gawa* (1986), and her paper 'Gawan kula: spatio-temporal control and the symbolism of influence' (1983).

¹² In the restricted space of her paper the philosophical foundations for Munn's approach are necessarily abbreviated, although she makes clear here and elsewhere in her work the debt she owes to recent work in the phenomenological tradition, including Merleau-Ponty, who I draw on at length in section 4.2 of this

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).

Human temporality, or temporalities if one considers its multiple dimensions, conceived of by Munn as a symbolic process, is therefore grounded in everyday social practices, and is the product of these practices, or what she also calls, in a phenomenological vein, 'intersubjectivity'. It is an inescapable dimension of these practices, and that includes anthropological writing about time: 'We cannot analyse or talk about time without using media already encoded with temporal meanings nor, in the course of doing so, can we avoid creating something that takes the form of time' (1992:94; c.f. Fabian 1983, Harris 1996).¹³ Perception and experience of the past thus involves actualising it in the present or, in Munn's terminology, *temporalising* the past, a viewpoint that 'foregrounds the implications of the meaningful forms and concrete media of practices for apprehension of the past' (1992:113). At the same time, these temporalising practices also involve future-orientations, as 'the past-present-future relation [...] is intrinsic to all temporalisations irrespective of focus, inasmuch as people operate in a present that is always infused, and which they are further infusing, with pasts and futures' (1992:115).

This phenomenologically influenced viewpoint sees perception and experience of the past as implicated in the dynamic process of temporalisation that comprises the lived

chapter. For the most concise outline of the foundations of Munn's theoretical position, see Munn 1986:3-20.

¹³ This also has significant consequences for the relationship between time and space, which have often been distinguished in Western conceptions of time. For Munn, therefore, '[i]n a lived world, spatial and temporal dimensions cannot be disentangled, and the two commingle in various ways' (1992:94). This leads her to characterise social life as comprising a 'lived spacetime', a position she summarises concisely in an earlier paper on Gawan kula: '[S]ociocultural action systems [...] do not simply go on *in or through* time and space, but they form (structure) and constitute (create) the spacetime manifold in which they "go on"' (1983:280).

present, and Munn's anthropological approach to the past includes history as a subject, rather than merely a frame for anthropological analysis. Additionally, temporalising processes are also viewed as a dimension of the exercise of power, as temporality can be a hinge that connects subjects to wider social horizons, and control over pasts and futures that are temporalised also influence action in the living present. Thus '[c]ontrol over time is not just a strategy of interaction; it is also a medium of hierarchic power and governance' (1992:109). In addition to control over pasts and futures, this may take place through other temporal dimensions of social life, from clock time and calendars to the organisation of working routines and the biological rhythms of the body. It is of the essence of human time viewed as temporality, however, that such temporal media are not only known through reflective perception, but also embodied unconsciously in and through the intersubjective practices of daily existence.

Although I endorse much of what Munn has to say on human temporality, I see one important flaw in her approach, derived from her desire to view temporality as the product of sociocultural processes, and her reliance on the subject-centred account of time provided by the phenomenological project. For although she locates temporality in the context of a wider temporal universe, referring to 'time's pervasiveness as an inescapable dimension of all aspects of social experience and practice' (1992:93), she does not fully engage with the ontological characteristics of a non-human time which necessitates locating temporality within material, as well as symbolic processes. Her suggestion of a more materialist approach is left unexplored, jeopardising as it does her emphasis on time as culturally constituted. The problem is one which affects symbolic anthropology in more general terms, and has received much attention recently in other areas of anthropological theory concerning the rapprochement and articulation between materi-

alist and symbolic perspectives (e.g. Carrier 1992, Foster 1995, Roseberry 1989). Munn's theory thus provides a useful model for the A-series side of our equation, but gives little indication of how this might fit in with a materialist B-series approach. For now, I conclude that a workable anthropological approach to time must confront the articulation between symbolic and material dimensions of human temporality more directly, something that, as I have noted, Gell attempts to do with his models of A-series and B-series time.

* * *

A review of these three recent publications on the anthropology of time therefore provides a number of useful models, as well as a number of questions unanswered. Gell's approach is flawed in his reliance on a B-series theory of time that is based on a linear model, and his adoption of Husserl's theory of human time perception does not take account of more recent critiques of Husserl. However, his emphasis on the need to articulate the relationship between human time perception and its material context points to the movement within anthropology to bridge the gap between symbolic and materialist approaches to social life, and is a concern I also share. Greenhouse demonstrates convincingly the need to dispense with a linear approach to B-series time, but her focus on time as culturally constructed is ultimately unsatisfying, omitting as it does any reference to material constraints on time perception. Finally Munn, in her adoption of phenomenological approaches to time perception, points the way to an effective theory of human time as temporality, and she hints at the need to situate this in relation to a materialist perspective, as seen in Gell's work. However, she does not develop this aspect of her approach further.

As the most articulate anthropological perspective on the human experience of time currently available, Munn's work will provide the key vocabulary and framework for the discussion of the past in this thesis. However, it is clear that from a materialist perspective, she offers limited possibilities for the consideration of the historical context of human sociality. While it would be desirable to outline a new, and more comprehensive theoretical approach to time that obviates some of these difficulties, and indeed responds to the need for a B-series model that is less culturally specific in nature, it is not my intention to do so here. The philosophical issues such a consideration would entail are beyond the scope of a PhD thesis that has ethnographic presentation and analysis as its principal objective. Instead, in the chapters that follow I shall employ Munn's symbolic analysis alongside an active consideration of the material, historical context of sociality in Bages. The kind of materialism proposed here is thus, in Roseberry's sense, 'not one that appropriates and subsumes culture and consciousness within an expanding material base, but one that starts with a given population and the material circumstances that confront it' (1989:41). It stresses a degree of historical determinism, in that social life and action takes place under historical conditions that are the product of prior human activity, but acknowledges at the same time the creativity of human subjects and their dialectical relationship with the socio-historical world. It thus views sociality as 'historical product and historical force, shaped and shaping, socially constituted and socially constitutive' (Roseberry 1989:53; c.f. Marx 1974:146). In this respect, the overall theoretical objective of the thesis is to surpass Munn's focus on time as a sociocultural process, while retaining its advantageous features over other contemporary approaches to time.¹⁴

¹⁴ The position on subjectivity adopted in this thesis is therefore compatible with current anthropological trends, and uses the vocabulary of identity and personhood associated with them. Rose (1996:172) pro-

One further point, however, remains to be made. Munn's approach has developed as a result of her own work in Melanesia, and is primarily oriented towards the main concerns of anthropologists working in this region, in particular gift exchange (see Munn 1986). My own concerns and regional focus are, however, very different, centring on the temporalisation of the local past in the Western European context. At the same time, Munn's principal theoretical statement on time, while detailed and convincing, takes place in the space of a paper, and thus is necessarily limited in scope. The result is that Munn's approach to temporality is lacking in some of the specificities required for an emphasis on the past in Western Europe. I shall thus now move on to qualify and develop her approach with closer consideration of exactly what the temporalisation of the past entails.

4. TOWARDS AN ANTHROPOLOGY OF THE PAST

Let me first outline in greater detail my approach to the anthropology of time. While my exegesis draws on Munn's work and terminology, at the same time I also attempt to incorporate the essential features of a materialist perspective. As a subject for anthropological analysis, human temporality exists in historical flux, and must be examined as such. In keeping with current materialist approaches (e.g. Wolf 1982, Mintz 1985), its analysis involves situating any contingent temporalising practice under consideration in

vides a useful definition: '[A]ll the effects of psychological interiority, together with a whole range of other capacities and relations, are constituted through the linkage of humans into other objects and practices, multiplicities and forces. It is these various relations and linkages which assemble subjects; they themselves give rise to all the phenomena through which, in our times, human beings relate to themselves in terms of a psychological interior: as desiring selves, sexed selves, labouring selves, thinking selves, intending selves capable of acting as subjects [...] Subjects... might better be seen as "assemblages" that metamorphose or change their properties as they expand their connections, that "are" nothing more or less than the changing conditions into which they are associated.'

its historical context. Every social practice, therefore, entails a *temporal modality*, an implicit orientation towards past, future, habit and innovation, which is related to social reproduction. This is because social life is situated in time, and thus human activity is inherently temporal in nature. However, such temporal modalities are themselves historical products, and in a comprehensive analysis must be considered as such.

Moving on to the activity of temporalisation itself, a key organ for such practices is memory, in its various forms, as memory enables the possibility of habitual thought and actions that transcend the contingency of flux. This is then complemented by the imagination, which enables consideration of the future. However, memory is grounded in its material, historical context, and cannot be viewed, or analysed as transcendent of this, but is instead dialectically related to it. As for the actual perception of time and continuity by subjects, or their *temporal world view*, this is shaped, but not determined, by the temporal modality of their activities. It is mediated by contingent cultural devices used for the organisation and evocation of temporal phenomena (for example language, calendars, clocks, and so on), or what I term the *temporal fabric* of everyday life. In conclusion, any comprehensive analysis of temporality must therefore examine the *temporal modality* and the *temporal world view* of the sociality under question, while situating it in its material historical context. But analysis may also, of course, focus on specific elements of temporality, such as the role of the past or future, or indeed past or future dominated temporalities themselves.¹⁵

¹⁵ On another level one can therefore view 'sociality' and 'temporality' as interchangeable terms, although the use of 'temporality' implies an explicit focus on time. My approach in fact resembles Gell's, albeit with a different theoretical framework: 'The anthropology of time ought ideally... to pursue a dual strategy of "allocationalist" investigations of the inherent choreographical possibilities of social actions in their space-time frame, on the one hand, and on the other investigations leading towards the reconstruc-

Can we define the past and the future more precisely in this respect? Although I return to this subject in greater detail in section 4.1, I provide an outline of my position here. Taking the past to begin with, on one level it consists of the concrete historical context of social life, and the trace of previous lives that once existed. It is this context that anthropologists seek to evoke in their depiction and analysis of the historical contingency of sociality. As perceived, or *temporalised*, the past, however, is a different matter. On one level, following Bergson (1988), it is the product of reflective recollection, an active process of retrieval by which memory accesses the past and returns to consciousness with what is remembered. However the form temporalising the past takes is complex, and can also be involuntary; when ritually provoked it may not even involve individual acts of memory; or, to the extent that some pasts that are temporalised may be totally fictional, may not actually invoke the past. Anthropologists therefore seek to uncover the workings of this temporalised past, the revelation of how the past is perceived, experienced and produced as a component of human temporality, and its purpose and role in the historical context of everyday life.

The future as anticipated often acts as a guide to recollection and is more or less impossible to separate from it, although its ontological status as imagined is usually different. Constituted in the imagination, one form it takes is active planning: as Cohen and Rapport write (1995:8), '[w]e actively plan and resolve and project and make guesses and predictions of what may happen; we write anticipated events into a sequential process. We may then act by using this anticipated sequence as an itinerary.' This itinerary may be more or less realised, depending on its correspondence with possibilities that occur, but the important point is the active influence and motivation such imagined futures can

tion, in model form, of the schemes of temporal interpretation, or internalised time-maps, of the ethnographic subjects [...] and must include analysis of language and cognition as well' (Gell 1992:325, 327).

exert on actions in everyday life. However, like temporalisation of the past, anticipation and temporalisation of the future can also manifest itself through the channels of collective ritual, or more involuntary actions such as day-dreams, where unconscious desire can play an important role. Such anticipations may therefore exert an equally strong influence, but at a less active, or conscious level. As with the temporalisation of the past, it is these imagined futures, in their various forms, that anthropologists seek to uncover, along with their workings in and relations with the mundane world of everyday existence.

4.1. THE STUDY OF THE PAST

My approach to the temporalisation of the past therefore involves consideration of the temporal modality, and temporal world view of the subjects under consideration, and situating them in their historical context. However, its most important aspects involve detailing ethnographically the form in which the past is mobilised, how this is achieved, and for what objectives, while also considering its factual status and questioning whether it is real or invented. This position is comparable to Munn's, who suggests that a focus on the past should question how pasts 'are brought into the "here-now" of the ongoing social world [...] Concern with the way the past enters the present foregrounds the implications of the meaningful forms and concrete media of practices for apprehension of the past' (1992:112-113). Munn also suggests that '[w]ays of attending to the past also create modes of apprehending certain futures ... or of reconstructing a particular sense of the past in the present that informs the treatment of the "future in the present"'(1992:115), a position I have already outlined above, although, as I have stated, treatment of the past can also be specifically motivated by concern for an imag-

ined future. The question then arises as to what such temporalising practices might entail.

Memory, as stated, is clearly the principal organ of the temporalisation of the past, and the imagination and the emotions enable the past as remembered to be experienced by the person remembering. It is always embodied, however, in a concrete historical context. It remains now to examine remembering in more detail, and suggest some of the contingent, social vehicles by which it is accomplished.¹⁶ The theoretical approach I find most compatible with Munn's is that of Antze and Lambek (1996). 'A central conceit of this book,' they write, 'is to imagine memory as practice, not as the pre-given object of our gaze but as the act of gazing and the objects it generates' (1996:xii). These practices, they argue, are culturally mediated: memory emerges out of experience and contributes to its re-shaping through 'the roles of trope, idiom, narrative, ritual, discipline, power, and social context' (1996:xiii). Such practices of remembering can therefore be envisaged as both symbolic, and historical situated, and it is their historical contingencies that anthropologists are concerned to articulate. In modern societies, Antze and Lambek argue, following Pierre Nora's (1989) distinction between *milieux* and *lieux de mémoire*, 'alongside the increasing isolation of the nuclear family ... is the increasing burden put upon the individual body to serve as the sole site of memory' (Antze & Lambek 1996:xiii). Acknowledging this observation as a generalisation, they

¹⁶ There is a large theoretical literature on memory, encompassing biological, psychological, sociological and anthropological work, and I do not to review that literature here, focusing instead on those contemporary approaches that are compatible with, and illuminate my general position. Current anthropological work on memory dates to the pioneering studies of Maurice Halbwachs, who in the decades up to and including the 1950s published a number of influential works (see Halbwachs 1992 for a selection). Halbwachs, working in the French Durkheimian tradition, was the first social scientist to develop a coherent notion of the social dimension of memory. 'Collective memory' was for him modelled on Durkheim's conception of the relationship between individual and society, and he illustrates the rudiments of his approach through the example of a young girl who, deprived of the social context from which she originated, cannot remember who she is or where she came from (Halbwachs 1992:37-40). While his empha-

note the increasing role of photographs, mementoes, and other individual-oriented memory aids, as well as the tendency for memories to become embodied in objects such as memorials, concomitant with the development of the nation state and the development of capitalism. 'What Nora ... points to is the recent reification and commodification of the vehicles for memory' (1996:xvii), they note, observing that memory takes a narrative form related to the social context of remembering. In a climate of individualism, these narratives take the form of stories that individuals tell themselves, and that form and shape them: 'People emerge from and as the products of their stories about themselves as much as their stories emerge from their lives. Through acts of memory they strive to render their lives in meaningful terms' (1996:xviii).

Antze and Lambek do not locate remembering in relation to a more general approach to time, and in their model imagined futures are consequently under-emphasised. This deficit underwrites much of the literature on memory as a whole, and contrasts with Munn's approach to temporality, which provides a general approach to time but lacks detail on practices of remembering. Their perspective is compatible with my own, however, and although not directly cited, their approach informs my use of Munn in later chapters, thus integrating these two theoretical trends. In other respects, their model is similar to that put forward by Hacking (1995), in his Foucauldian inspired notion of 'memoro-politics', and Battaglia (1990) in her work on Sabarl Island sociality; their discussion of the narrative form of memory is compatible with Tonkin's (1992) work on oral history, and various approaches in Tonkin, McDonald & Chapman (1989); and its processual approach remedies Connerton's (1989) rather static model. At the same time, its emphasis on the social context of remembering, and on the manner in which ways of

sis on the social as conceived by Durkheim has since been discredited by subsequent anthropological theoreticians, he provides a point of origin for the work I present here.

remembering, and what is remembered are contingent on changing social circumstances, is held out by ethnographic studies.¹⁷ It is also open to extension through the phenomenological approach of Casey (1987), who describes with great detail the many varied forms in which individual acts of remembering are manifested.

Casey distinguishes between two activities of remembering important to this thesis. 'Recollection' has a pragmatic quality, and is defined as the representation of previously acquired items of information for utilitarian ends (Casey 1987:107). Its meaning is thus explicitly related to the contingent social practice, and in particular the future objectives, of which it is a part, and in the course of this thesis, I use 'recollection', 'remembering', 'remembrance', and 'recall' as an interchangeable vocabulary to refer to this aspect of the work of memory. 'Reminiscence', however, is more complex. 'To re-live the past in reminiscence,' Casey writes, 'is not merely to re-present to ourselves certain experienced events or previously acquired items of information. Nor is it a question of searching for these things in memory or having them displayed there spontaneously. Rather it is a matter of *actively re-entering* the "no longer living worlds" of that which is irrevocably past' (1987:107, his emphasis). Casey's emphasis is on reminiscing as 'getting back inside *our own* past more intimately, of reliving it from within' (1987:109, my emphasis), although in practice recollection of others' pasts and reminiscence of our own can sometimes co-mingle, as we shall see. However, his definitions are useful for identifying the ways in which specific individuals temporalise the same past in different ways, and in this regard I draw on them at various points in later chapters. Finally, Casey also emphasises the material dimension of memory, attaching itself to landscapes and objects that subsequently become *inducers* of remembering and reminiscence

¹⁷ For example, see Harris 1995, where she details the effects of education and involvement in the Bolivian nationalist movement 'Katarismo' on Andean peasants' ways of knowing the past.

(1987:110), a viewpoint reiterated in Tilley 1994, and I pay significant attention to this component of memory in later chapters.

In view of my materialist emphasis, I must also situate my approach in relation to work on history and power. Munn, as pointed out above, notes that '[c]ontrol over time is not just a strategy of interaction; it is also a medium of hierarchic power and governance' (1992:109). This statement is equally precise when applied to the past, with its active role in the imagining of the future, and hence in attempts to direct and control all social projects, which are of necessity future-oriented. The relations between power and the temporalisation of the past is what Osborne (1995:200) calls the concern of a 'politics of time', which questions how temporal dispositions can shape possible futures, and has been a consistent theme in the anthropology of the past. The papers in Brow's (1990a) special edition of *Anthropological Quarterly* analyse the past through the concept of hegemony, and as an index and ground for the construction of community power relations. Their perspective is founded upon the Marxist conception of history, and is mirrored in Llobera's (1996) analysis of the role of historical memory in the construction of nation states and national identity; O'Brien and Roseberry's (1991) collection of essays on the relationship between anthropological images of the past and history, and political economic analysis;¹⁸ and work on social memory and state formation (Alonso 1988, Joseph & Nugent 1994, Nugent 1985). My own argument against relying on a Marxist sense of history to analyse the past is that the use of such a totalising category necessarily obscures and devalues indigenous perceptions and experiences of time. I, thus, am concerned to do so alongside the more symbolic emphasis provided by Munn.¹⁹

¹⁸ C.f. Rosaldo 1989 for a comparable analysis of 'imperialist nostalgia'.

¹⁹ Some of these writers, however, try to combine a Marxist approach with symbolic analysis. For example, O'Brien & Roseberry write (1991:18): 'Many of the essays in this book demonstrate an active concern for "real history" ... but we make no appeal to a privileged epistemology that finally reveals the

Many other writers also explicitly link knowledge of the past to power relationships through the analysis of identity, though not necessarily from a Marxist perspective. Gil-
lis's (1994) edited collection examines the role of 'commemorations', or 'ritualised re-
membering' in the construction of national identity. These rituals often focus on
'monuments', which I take as artefacts which have a general commemorative signifi-
cance, as opposed to 'landmarks', a term applying to symbolic aspects of the landscape
as a whole, and mementoes, smaller, more personalised commemorative artefacts. The
emergence of commemorations at either a local or national level, focused on key events
in national histories, is linked by these writers to the growth and expansion of nation
states during the last two hundred years, and the 'invention of tradition' noted by
Hobsbawn and Ranger (1985) is a product of the necessity of creating these histories.²⁰
Connerton (1989) also stresses the social role of commemoration, while Tonkin,
McDonald and Chapman's (1989) collection raises the question of the relationship be-
tween the past and identity more generally.²¹ Social commemoration and the relation-
ship of the past to identity are key elements of the temporalisation of the past in Bages,
and may involve individual memory to a greater or lesser degree in relation to socially
created pasts. While all of these writers touch on aspects of my theoretical interests, and
some recent writers in the Marxist vein have begun to acknowledge and attempt to ar-
ticulate a position that combines elements of symbolic and materialist analyses, none of

Truth – either about the past or cultural diversity.' They are thus attempting to address the criticisms lev-
elled at writers such as Wolf (1982) and Mintz (1985) by Ortner (1984) and Taussig (1987). Roseberry
1989 is an interesting attempt to negotiate the divide between materialist and symbolic analyses. Other
publications in this vein, and which I have found useful in this respect, include Biersack 1991, Carrier
1992, Donham 1990, Foster 1995, Lem 1999, Parmentier 1987, & Sider 1986, while Sahlins (1981, 1985)
and Peel (1984) have each developed their own particular perspectives, retaining 'history' as a key ana-
lytical frame.

²⁰ See also Schwartz 1982 on the commemoration of the Civil War in the United States of America, and
Fentress & Wickham 1992 on class and group memories in Europe.

them present a coherent theory of the past in relation to both history and temporality, a deficit that I attempt to remedy here. My own work therefore mirrors their own with respect to relations between the past and identity at a national and local level, and the exercise of power, but I hope to simultaneously present a different perspective on what temporalising the past involves, and how this can relate to historical analysis.

Finally, a consideration of the forms in which the past is manifested would not be complete without a brief consideration of key works in the voluminous literature on modernity, which must be taken into account in any discussion of temporalising the past in Western Europe. The literature on modernity attempts to make generalisations about the character of social life, explicitly predicated on a perceived shift from pre-modern, traditional ways of communal life to a fragmented, individualised, modern way of life generally associated with the development from pre-capitalist to capitalist economic organisation. Writers such as Benjamin (1983, 1992), Berger, Berger and Kellner (1974), Berman (1983), Giddens (1990, 1991), and Hall (1992), all attempt to outline these developments. In terms of related literature on memory and the past, there have been a number of significant publications. Pierre Nora (1989) attempts to contrast a traditional world where memory was part of a face-to-face, community environment with a modern world where individualism is predominant and memories are increasingly embodied in external objects, rather than in human relationships.²² A similar disjuncture in social life is perceived by Terdiman (1993), where he observes a sudden shift in the way in which memory operates in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and Lowenthal (1985), while

²¹ Some writers, in a related vein, have tried to bring to light those 'other histories' which exist alongside dominant historical narratives of any description. See Hastrup 1992, and work on oral history, such as Thompson 1982, and Bourguet, Valensi & Wachtel 1990.

²² The contents of the three volumes of *Les lieux de mémoire* (Nora 1997), to which Nora's essay is the introduction, provide valuable ethnographic detail on the changing ways in which the French remember the past, albeit on a general level, and I draw on this work at various points in the chapters which follow.

Koselleck (1985) attempts to detail the changing relationship between the past and present as tradition no longer provides the guide for future action.²³ Le Goff (1992), on the other hand, draws on this framework for a wider discussion of the changing relationship between history and memory.

As commentaries on a predominantly European and North American experience of temporality, these writers must be taken into account when writing on Europe. But their objective – to make observations about temporality at a very general level – contradicts the focus of anthropology on the contingent. When I come to discuss the question of the historical changes in the temporality of the inhabitants of Bages, in chapter three, I shall consider a number of these theorists of modernity, as some of what they have to say is relevant in terms of contextualising changes in the locality in a more general context. Le Goff (1992) is also of use in later chapters. Adopting their perspectives as a theoretical frame, however, would obscure the real objective of this thesis, which is to consider the contingent temporalities of the inhabitants of Bages.

4.2. TIME AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL NARRATIVE

We now have a clear notion of what the temporalisation of the past entails. Before I go on to situate my approach in the context of the study of the past in Europe, however, it is necessary to clarify the relationship between time and anthropological narrative. How are we to define the analytical character of anthropological narrative, with its foundations in conceptual thought, in relation to the processual character of lived experience? For inherent in the processual approach is a recognition of the limitations of conceptual thought, which in the final analysis can only constitute a spatialisation of lived experi-

²³ See also Zemon Davis & Starn (1989a & b) for further work in this vein. Adam 1996 and Osborne 1991 provide an interesting critique of the 'temporality' of such writers on modernity.

ence itself.²⁴ This is not a new problem for anthropologists, who since the 1970s have been drawing on processual philosophies such as phenomenology to define their own, and others' social projects, and such an emphasis is behind the concern of 'post-modern' epistemologies in anthropology with 'flux' and 'indeterminacy' (c.f. Harris 1996:6-11). If anthropologists in the last thirty years have come to an approximate consensus concerning the indeterminate and intersubjective nature of their interactions with and observations concerning other people, they have spent less time following through the consequences of this approach for the narrative forms of anthropology itself. They have tended either to make explicit the drawbacks of analytical language, with its reliance on concepts, by developing highly complex forms of technical narrative that attempt to encompass these limitations, or more pragmatically, simply to set them aside, acknowledging the limitations of the projects they are involved in.

Other forms of narrative innovation, however, are also possible, and Merleau-Ponty provides a useful theoretical model here.²⁵ In *Signs* (1964) he details a theory of language and communication that distinguishes between the 'primary expression' of corporeal communication, or the language of the senses, and the 'secondary expression' of conceptual assertion. The latter, he asserts, is founded on extension and translation of the former. Extending primary expression to include 'lived experience' as it exists in flux (and including sensory dimensions of smell, taste, touch, sight and sound), secondary expression is therefore the conceptualisation of this lived experience that occurs within it.²⁶ Art forms such as literature, painting and music, Merleau-Ponty proposes,

²⁴ See Bergson 1988, & Deleuze 1991, 1994 for detailed philosophical explications of this point. As a critique of objectivity and naturalism, this is a widely accepted tenet of post-structuralist and post-modern philosophy, and current anthropological thought, and I do not discuss it here.

²⁵ Kearney 1994:78-82 provides the foundation for this reading of Merleau-Ponty.

²⁶ This is comparable to Bergson's (1944, 1988) position on the relationship between duration and conceptual language, as well as that expounded by James (1996).

have a privileged access to primary expression in a way that analytical language does not. None are capable of achieving a totalised narrative perspective, as all are grounded within the temporal life-world, with its epistemological limitations. However, artistic forms can evoke the qualities of lived experience through their 'tacit and implicit accumulation of meaning rather than by abstracting meaning into a pure state of clarity' (Kearney 1994:80). While apparently mimicking the flux of lived experience in this way, they can therefore evoke its actual lived (sensual, emotional and intellectual) qualities in a way that analytical narrative cannot.

With respect to anthropology, artistic devices, that in a PhD thesis must necessarily take the predominant form of written language (although I also use photos at times in this thesis), may thus be used alongside the traditional analytical narrative and apparatus of the discipline. If anthropological exegesis, as Strathern (1988:17) suggests, constitutes 'an effort to create a world parallel to the perceived world in an expressive medium (writing) that sets down its own conditions of intelligibility,' then it may legitimately draw on the full resources of that medium to do so. On their own, passages utilising techniques of literary narration can evoke the qualities of lived experience in the ways in which Merleau-Ponty indicates, providing suggestive evocations of the lived experience of human life worlds. They may have an additional effect, contextualising, and complementing the production of analytical narrative itself. Jackson, drawing on James's (1996) radical empiricism, comes to a similar conclusion. Stories, he suggests, 'disclose the intimate connection between our bodily experience in the everyday world and our conceptual life ... To use narrative form in this way is to move away from excessive abstraction and ground one's discourse in the sentient life of individuals interacting with objects and with others in the quotidian world' (Jackson 1989:18). I would

add that storytelling techniques can also address the diversity of social life that forms the raw material for later analysis, and which the generalising character of anthropological narratives must often, by necessity, obscure.

As Jackson's work illustrates, the position adopted in this thesis is not a novel one, but falls squarely into a trend of narrative production in contemporary anthropological writing that has an increasing number of adherents.²⁷ The objective is to create a theoretical position that, rather than reverting to the abstractions of writers seeking to account for language's limitations, or setting them aside, is defined in introductory detail (as I have already done earlier in this chapter). It is then implemented through a combination of different narrative forms that draw on both analytical, and literary techniques, which in addition can also complement analytical language with observations about and evocations of lived experience that lie squarely beyond its expressive possibilities. Analytical language thus takes its place in a montage of narrative forms that meld both the 'traditional' techniques of anthropological narrative with literary, or story-telling techniques into a new synthesis, maintaining and extending the anthropological project, while creating an anthropological narrative that encompasses the lived experience of human beings with greater precision.²⁸

²⁷ It is impractical to review this literature in detail here, but a footnote can serve the purpose of contextualisation. Behar 1996 introduces the emotions squarely and directly as a dimension, as well as an object of anthropological narrative; her work is perhaps the clearest recent example of writing that combines anthropological and literary techniques in a fruitful way. See also Gardner 1991, Grimshaw 1992, Jackson 1986, Rapport 1987, 1993, 1997, & Watson 1992, for other innovatory approaches to anthropological narrative. The contributors to *Writing Culture* (Clifford & Marcus 1986) advocated an experimental approach to ethnographic narrative, but did so, it seems to me, largely at the expense of what conceptual traditions in anthropology, such as political economy, had to offer. Other recent publications have attempted to assess the ethnographic quality of literary work, without considering the ethnographic value of literary narrative techniques (Archetti 1994, Dennis & Aycok 1989, Poyatos 1988, Rapport 1994). There have, of course, been many novelists who have produced fiction of a high ethnographic standard (e.g. Berger 1979, 1989, 1990, Eliot 1986 (1871-2), Hardy 1978a (1878), 1978b (1891), Lawrence 1973 (1913), Zola 1980 (1887)), and some anthropologists (Arguedas 1985, Bohannan (see Bowen 1954)), who have produced ethnography in the form of the novel.

²⁸ C.f. Dawe (1973:32): 'To capture the whole sense of an experience, full of simultaneous meanings, we need a language which communicates expressively as well as instrumentally; a language which pays as

In keeping with this approach, much of my ethnographic presentation in chapters 4-7 is situated in the actual social contexts in which ethnographic material was obtained. The technique I draw on most frequently is what I term the 'embodied narrator', a first-person narrative that places the reader, via the experiencing narrator, in a fictional recreation of the lived experience from which the ethnography is derived. To assist in the depiction of persons and events, care is simultaneously taken in the use of descriptive narrative, so that sensory aspects of lived experience may also be evoked. Such presentations are then supplemented by passages of analysis, which draw out the significance of the ethnography for the thesis as a whole. At the same time, it is clear that a thesis concerned with temporality must take due account of the temporal character of existence, and in this respect I take special care in my use of tenses. Ethnographic presentations frequently utilise the historic present, whose evocation of completed past events is apparent both through the temporal logic of the narrative, which avoids reference to a contemporary, on-going present, and through reference to dates. They also use the past tense, and when I occasionally draw upon the ethnographic present, this is in the context of natural landscapes or social practices that clearly transcend the fieldwork period at the time of writing. Otherwise, events depicted in this thesis belong to a specific historical moment, that of my stay in Bages from 1996-7, and their relation to the present is a matter for empirical investigation.

4.3. THE STUDY OF THE PAST AND THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF EUROPE

Having completed an introduction to how the past is theorised in this thesis, and discussed its consequences for anthropological narrative, I now situate my research with

much attention to style, tone, feeling, emphasis, inflexion and imagery as to the rigorous presentation of formal concepts and logical propositions.'

respect to the study of the past in the anthropology of Europe. The study of the past as an aspect of human temporality has not been a dominant preoccupation of anthropologists working in Europe.²⁹ However, the past has been of concern to anthropologists in other ways, and there are several studies in the anthropology of Europe that make the past, in various forms, their central theme. With respect to the anthropology of France, during the 1970s and 1980s interest in the past sometimes took the form of 'historical anthropology', which effectively involved performing an 'archaeology' of rural society using archival sources.³⁰ Segalen (1983, 1991) spent much time uncovering the social past of a rural Breton community using census and other archive data, and of French 'peasant' society more generally as it existed in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Her interest in a historical perspective had its origins in the historical sociology practised by *Annales* historians such as Le Roy Ladurie, whose *Montaillou* (1980) utilises a comparable approach, but for a village in Ariège in the Middle Ages. Historical anthropology, in its various forms, has become influential among anthropologists, and a historical approach to social life is a component of many more recent anthropological studies of Europe.

Other studies during the 1980s progressed beyond this productive, but taken alone, somewhat restrictive historical focus on the past. Behar (1986), writing of a Spanish village, initially locates her study firmly in the tradition of 'historical ethnography': her aim, like Segalen's, 'to retrieve the history of the people who were once thought to be

²⁹ One must look to publications such as Battaglia (1990), Foster (1995), Munn (1983), Parmentier (1987), and Sikala's (1990) edited collection, curiously enough all focused on Melanesia, for comparable approaches, although these writers on the whole avoid the issue of history, which I have attempted to deal with here (see Carrier 1992, Foster 1995, and Josephides 1991 for critiques). Lowenthal *et al.*'s (1996) 1992 GDAT debate, 'The past is a foreign country', provides a useful summary of the different views of the past currently influential in British anthropology.

without history' (1986:6). She also addresses local understandings of the past, though these remain marginal to the principal concerns of her study. She relegates them to an ultimately unsatisfying analysis in her final chapter (1986:268-274), remaining vague as to the relationship between her own, historical conceptualisation of the past, and notions of history as they are locally perceived. Zonabend (1984), on the contrary, provides a rich ethnography of ways in which the 'past' is important to the inhabitants of Minot, a village in Burgundy (France). Her study focuses on the importance of a remembered, stable communal past for the construction of community in an unstable present. With respect to her analysis, though, she does not theorise her understanding of the 'past' in any complexity, relying largely on undefined common sense notions of time and memory for her analytical terminology. Her study is thus ethnographically detailed, but ultimately descriptive and unfocused.

While Segalen (1991) demonstrates the benefits and possibilities of a historical approach to rural French society, and has been exemplary for my own research in the excellent use she makes of rural archives, she does not offer any suggestions regarding an analysis of how the past is put to use in contemporary rural life. This exemplifies the more general drawbacks of a purely historical analysis with respect to indigenous notions of the past, as I made clear earlier. Behar and Zonabend, on the other hand, show signs of moving towards a consideration of indigenous temporality, but their theoretical approaches are ultimately lacking. Their principal value for the purposes of my own research has been the inspiration provided by their rich ethnographies, rather than their

³⁰ See Burke 1992 for one perspective on the relationship between history and social theory, and Le Goff 1992 for a historian's perspective on history and memory that is strongly influenced by work in the social sciences.

analytical paradigms.³¹ None of these writers, therefore, ground their analyses in a theoretical model that can mediate between a symbolic consideration of local understandings of the past, and a more historical approach. It is in the execution of the latter that they are most successful, indigenous understandings of the past remaining largely overlooked.

On another level, all these works are also symptomatic of a more general functionalist legacy among anthropologists in their focus on the integrated, localised and homogeneous community. With respect to work on France, they are thus comparable to Wylie's (1975) evocation of life in the Provençal village of Peyrane during the 1950s, Reiter's (1975) work on gender roles in Colpiéd, in the Southern French Alps, and Ott's (1993) portrait of a French Basque shepherding community.³² Recently, however, this tendency has been succeeded by studies of a more critical, and varied persuasion. Among these, McDonald (1989) draws on both historical and contemporary perspectives in her study of the development of the Breton nationalist movement; Buller and Hoggart (1992a & b, 1993, 1994) address the phenomenon of British migrants in rural France; Bourdieu (1992) combines sociological and anthropological techniques in his wide-ranging study of French consumerism; O'Brien has published a number of papers (1990, 1992, 1993) on the problematics of identity in St. Llorenç de Cerdans (French Catalunya); and Abram (1994) and Edwards (1998) have focused on the dynamics of social groupings in the Auvergne (France), and Northern England respectively.³³ Reviewing recent French anthropological literature, Bromberger (1997) comments on a similar broadening of

³¹ C.f. Dubost's (1982) similarly untheorised approach in her paper on the design and use of houses in Saint-Germain-sur-L'Arbresle. Lowenthal (1985) and Shaw & Chase (1989) seem to provide similar approaches, but working as historians.

³² An approach mirrored, of course, more generally in studies based in other parts of Europe, such as Pitt-Rivers (1954), Friedl (1962), Campbell (1964) & Du Boulay (1974).

scope among the wider community of French anthropologists working 'at home', and Rogers (1991b) argues a similar case for North American anthropologists working in France.

One principal way in which the past has been of concern for many of these writers has been regarding the increasing emphasis among anthropologists on situating the locally-based study in its historical context, as a result of the growing influence of historical anthropological approaches. In this respect, history in the Marxist sense has been important to anthropologists attempting to negotiate the complex interplay between macro and micro economic and political processes in modern Europe, a phenomenon I take due account of in this thesis, as already stated.³⁴ Another important avenue of exploration has been the past's significance to European identity, where historical narratives are frequently drawn upon to define, justify and consolidate present and future relationships (see Cohen 1982, McDonald 1989, Macdonald 1993, Llobera 1996; and Rogers 1987, 1991, Lem 1994, below). These works have been of importance for my own research in their willingness to address the increasing complexity of social groupings, a hallmark of the village where I worked, and which I address in chapter two. This also marks an increasing critical awareness among anthropologists of the unquestioned association of social groups with place inherited from earlier theoretical schools, and Gupta & Ferguson (1997a, 1997b, 1997c) and Lovell (1998) have been important in this respect.

³³ McKechnie (1993) considers the comparable case of Corsica, and the book from which hers, and O'Brien's (1993) paper are drawn (Macdonald 1993) explores related issues of the dynamics of identity in European nation states more generally.

³⁴ And a preoccupation of Goddard, Llobera & Shore's edited volume *The Anthropology of Europe* (1994). It is with respect to the research methods demanded by this necessary component of all European, and, I would argue, non-European anthropological study as well, that Llobera's (1986) controversial paper attains its significance (see also Llobera 1990).

If among those studies focusing on the past so far, indigenous notions have been either overlooked or untheorised, they have nevertheless been subject to more complex analysis when part of a wider thematic focus, as is revealed by a closer examination of work on the study of identity. Rogers (1987:61), for example, writing of France, draws attention to 'the manner in which "peasant societies" have integrated national institutions in ways that preserve their own social and cultural specificity, [...] the ways in which people identified as peasants use and play back personae defined for them by other groups, [...] and the use of constructions of peasant societies by non-peasants to assert or express region-specific or national identities.' In addressing the term 'peasant' from a symbolic perspective, she is highlighting that dimension of its use that makes temporal claims, namely as a marker of social continuity in relation to an anticipated future. This emphasis is marginalised in her study of St. Foy, an Aveyronnais community (Rogers 1991), where she focuses on how farmers have adapted and maintained their cultural identity and key institution of the *ostal* in the face of social and economic change, but resurfaces in Lem's work on a town near Béziers in Languedoc.³⁵ Lem (1994) demonstrates how petty commodity producers use the term *paysan* ('peasant') as a politically charged referent of local identity. An exploration of its use in conjunction with the term 'ouvrier' (worker) as a mobilisation of solidarity with other oppressed groups reveals a history of wage work that challenges the classification of peasants as a separate class, and illustrates how different pasts are evoked in different circumstances to achieve different ends.³⁶ Bestard-Camps (1991) indicates a similar approach to the use of kinship terms as markers of continuity in Formentera, and this emphasis on highlighting the ways in which the past is called upon, and put to use by local people in the living pres-

³⁵ Rogers' (1991) study can be seen as a reaction to the 'modernisation' narratives of Barrett (1974), Friedl (1974) & Greenwood (1976), where a 'pastoral' (Clifford 1986) approach to social change has often denied the agency of local inhabitants.

ent is complemented by Okely (1994), who raises the issue of embodied knowledge of the past through a focus on the sensory memories of older people in Normandy.

Some of these more recent studies, therefore, raise dimensions of my own emphasis on the past as a dimension of human temporality, albeit somewhat obliquely and as part of wider analyses.³⁷ What they indicate most clearly, however, is the possibility, and potential benefits for anthropologists of attending explicitly to the role of the past in everyday life, something which has not been achieved by writers such as Zonabend and Behar, despite their claims to attend to the past as a central theme. One of the other areas of anthropological study in Europe where the analysis of indigenous uses of the past has been both explicit and successful has been in work on tourism and the 'heritage industry' (Hewison 1987). MacCannell (1976) outlines issues concerning the tourist's quest for authenticity that, while operating at a general level in his discussion, take related, but particular forms with respect to tourism in rural Europe – in my own material, the quest for a 'traditional' and idyllic rurality is most visible in relation to the marketing of food products detailed in chapter five. Among key writers on heritage at a general level, Urry (1990, 1995) has perhaps been most articulate on tourism from a theoretical perspective, combining symbolic and materialist approaches in a fruitful way, and his work has provided guidance at a number of points during for my own writing;³⁸ Samuel's (1994) less theorised, and celebratory approach has nevertheless provided useful pointers towards the numerous manifestations of the past in everyday life that require

³⁶ Lem works here and elsewhere (1988, 1991, 1994, 1999) from a political economy perspective that also addresses the analysis of symbolic forms.

³⁷ As Munn writes (1992:93), and I have quoted above, '[w]hen time is a focus, it may be subject to oversimplified, single-stranded descriptions or typifications [e.g. Zonabend 1984, Behar 1986] ... [while] the problem of time has often been handmaiden to other anthropological frames and issues' (Rogers 1991, Lem 1994 etc.).

³⁸ Urry's emphasis on the need to study textual material alongside other anthropological sources is mirrored in Appadurai's (1988) paper on the contribution of cookbooks to the creation of a national Indian cuisine; and Selwyn's (1993) work on tourist brochures.

attention; whereas Wright's (1985) and Hewison's (1987) negative characterisations of the heritage industry along similar lines to the Frankfurt school's critique of mass culture, have been worthy sources of suspicion, but ill-suited to the analysis of the complexities of ethnography.³⁹

Other writers have detailed particular ethnographic examples of the relationship between tourism and the past. Bouquet and Winter (1987) assembled the first collection of essays to focus exclusively on rural tourism within Europe: McDonald's paper in that collection, on the consumption of culture and tradition in Brittany, provides a comparable example to the sale of locally produced food products in Bages detailed in chapter five; and Gilligan's paper, with the attention it pays to the complex social groupings in a Cornish village as a result of tourism and migration, demonstrates that the recent development of the population in Bages towards heterogeneity detailed in chapter two is a symptom of rural economic restructuring at a more general level.⁴⁰ Other important publications include Boissevain's (1992) edited collection of papers on the revitalisation of European rituals, which in the examples in his volume has taken place in relation to demand from visiting tourists, and provides parallels to the unsuccessful attempts by certain inhabitants of Bages to reinvent village fêtes to attract summer visitors (see chapter five); and Herzfeld's (1991) study of the use and control of local history in a Greek town, which parallels recent events in Bages involving the packaging of village history for tourist consumption, and the historicisation of the material environment (detailed in chapter seven). Finally, two recent publications on tourism in Europe provide more contemporary parallels to the concerns of this thesis: Boissevain's (1996) edited

³⁹ The spectrum of French viewpoints on the heritage industry is exemplified by Bidart (1997), Cesetti (1997), Greffe (1990), Guillaume (1980), and Jeudy (1990, 1995), although they have not significantly influenced the approach adopted here.

⁴⁰ A similar parallel is provided by Strathern's (1981) work on Elmdon.

collection, *Coping with Tourists*, and Abram *et al.*'s (1997) *Tourists and Tourism*, also an edited book of essays. Boissevain provides a useful definition of cultural tourism that I discuss in its local context in chapter two; and both provide a number of parallel examples of tourist development in Europe that raise themes concerning consumerism, the packaging of local pasts for tourist consumption, and conflicts among indigenous populations regarding the exploitation of local resources that illustrate the wider significance of what is happening in Bages.

The principal importance of all these studies for my own work is their desire to detail the emergence and construction of a particular image of the past in relation to the historical development of tourism as an industry. Their analysis thus reinforces the historical approach that I pursue at various points in this thesis, and which forms a component of my general theoretical approach, as I have already mentioned. Various writers also attempt to examine the various consequences of packaging local pasts for touristic consumption among indigenous populations (see in particular Abram *et al.* 1997). While in their work this remains a sub-theme alongside a general emphasis on tourism, it is something I develop to a greater extent in this thesis, where I attempt to analyse the interaction between different uses of the past in a more general sense, without focusing exclusively on its use in relation to tourism. Finally, and from a more general perspective, the ethnographic case-studies these writers provide illustrate that what I observed in Bages during 1996-7 is part of a larger phenomenon at work throughout Europe, and particularly in those rural areas where the rural economy has recently been restructured. In this respect, the material presented in this thesis contributes further detail to this wider ethnographic portrait.

5. SUMMARY: THE UTILITY OF THE THEORY OF TEMPORALITY

I began this chapter with a brief introduction to the background to this thesis, and a statement of its aims. These involved the ethnographic presentation and analysis of the temporalisation of the village past in Bages. Moving on to the theoretical framework for this study, I then critically discussed three recent and important anthropological works on time, and endorsed, with some reservations, Nancy Munn's theory of temporality. Munn's symbolic approach, I suggested, must be drawn on in relation to a materialist emphasis on historical contextualisation. I then noted how the regional basis of her work in Melanesia, and the limited space devoted to her articulations of an explicit theory of time, meant that its adaptation for the European context required attention. I inserted into her framework compatible anthropological work on time and the past, which informs my analysis later in this thesis, and I commented on the implications of my approach for anthropological narrative. Finally I situated my approach in terms of more general work on the anthropology of the past, with specific reference to the anthropology of Europe. I argued that the model presented here bears comparison with many current ways of thinking about these theoretical issues, at the same time as providing a more comprehensive understanding of the past and memory in relation to temporality in general.

I shall be drawing on this model as my basis for theorising the human perception of time and the past throughout this thesis, and terms such as 'temporality' and 'temporal modality' are therefore used as shorthand for the theoretical definitions of my terminology detailed here. In later chapters it will become apparent how such an approach per-

mits a focus on both the wider historical context, thus avoiding the culturalist bias implicit in symbolic anthropology. At the same time, it will also permit the use of Munn's symbolic analysis, an emphasis often lacking from political economic approaches. The consequences of this theoretical approach for anthropological narrative will also become apparent, as I implement the innovations outlined in section 4.2. However, the focus of this thesis, as already stated, is not so much on theoretical issues as on the different temporalisations of the village past in Bages. And as my argument progresses, it is in this respect that the deeper significance of this theoretical approach will become apparent.

2

LOCAL HORIZONS, ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. LE MONDE VU DE LA FALAISE¹

— Bages? We've lived all our lives in Bages, we were born here, and we'll die here... I wouldn't be happy living anywhere else — Bages? It's a charming little village where I've decided to live and work — Bages, village des pêcheurs — Bages... We live in Bages but I work in Narbonne - there's not much work in the village any more, so what choice do I have? — Bages? My family lives in Bages, I live in Bages, yes, but I'm not Bageois, I wasn't born here — And we come to Bages every summer, for a few weeks, to swim in the étang, to relax, you know? —

It was strikingly evident from the first few months I spent in Bages that the lives of many of the people I was meeting, and their relationships to the village as a locality, were characterised as much by their diversity as by their similarity. This diversity is reflected in the medley of different voices I have just presented, which illustrate some of the varied characteristics of their lives, and the different kinds of relationship they en-

¹ 'The world as seen from the cliff,' the cliff being the limestone promontory on which much of the village was built (see plate 2).

joyed with the locality. One important consequence of this was that Bages as a place evoked many different things to many different people, as it clearly evoked something very particular for myself, as an anthropological researcher, as well. At the same time, it was evident that the village as a locality did not encompass the lives of many of the people I encountered there. Contemporary anthropologists have become increasingly critical of assumptions that underlay much of the work of their predecessors, which associated place, particularly the bounded image of place provided by the material presence of a rural village, with homogeneous social groups; took the production of place, by different people, in different ways, for granted; and utilised the illusory image of place that emerged from putting these two assumptions into practice as the ground for analysis itself. As Gupta and Ferguson counter, '[W]e prefer to start with another question that enables a quite different perspective on the topic. How are understandings of locality, community, and region formed **and lived**? To answer this question, we must turn away from the common sense idea that such things as locality and community are simply given or natural' (1997a:6).² Criticism and awareness of these assumptions, therefore, have certain consequences for the way in which the subjects and location of anthropological research are presented, that must be clarified before an ethnographic introduction to the people I worked with in Bages, and the locality itself, can properly begin.

A focus on heterogeneous individuals and social groupings is an acknowledgement of the fluidity of identities, and of the varied social worlds that individuals in complex societies inhabit (c.f. Berger, Berger & Kellner 1974:62-77). The fact that anthropologists working in Europe have adopted this kind of focus has already been acknowledged in

² Detailed critiques of these tendencies in anthropological writing may also be found in Appadurai 1995, Augé 1995, Clifford 1997, Gupta & Ferguson 1997b & c, Hastrup & Olwig 1997, and Lovell 1998, my

chapter one, as has the necessity of addressing macro-micro relationships between the locality of study, and forces and places exterior to it. The constructed nature of locality, however, and its role in anthropological narrative, has more recently come to critical attention, and its consideration is yet to become commonplace in studies of this kind. In the light of my comments in chapter one, locality, I suggest, should be considered in relation to human temporality, as a product of the historically situated temporalisation of space-time. As a referent it must thus be carefully and explicitly deployed: the spatio-temporal dimensions of the lives of my collaborators must not only be considered in an examination of macro-micro relations, but must also be acknowledged as a social construct, rather than taken as a ground for analysis. The way in which I have delimited my subjects of study must therefore be addressed, and the nature of this boundary made explicit.

The village of Bages was the locality in which, and on which I worked, in several different senses. First, as an ethnographic fieldworker the human relationships which supplied the intersubjective material for my project were mainly formed in its vicinity. This was the direct consequence of my research aims, which were to work within the physical limits of the village, on a single, 'nodal' theme (the past), but among the heterogeneous individuals and social groups who I encountered there, whether as full-time, or temporary inhabitants.³ Secondly, the locality of the village itself was a key component of local sociality (in which I participated), and of the dominant ways in which the past was temporalised, and therefore comprises a component of the analytical subject matter of this thesis. On the other hand, the wide-ranging spatial trajectories of the lives of those I knew prohibited a restrictive focus on the village, as did the necessity of ex-

reading of which has contributed to the approach I have adopted.

ploring all the different ways in which spatially distant forces affected and shaped their lives. The intersubjective aspect of my fieldwork was therefore complemented by library and archive research, and as such sources were often structured around the administrative localities of the French state, the locality of Bages as a *commune* was implicated in utilising this reserve of material.

Bages as a locality, therefore, does not constitute an unquestioned ground for this research project, but nevertheless underpins this thesis in a number of different ways: as a physical boundary for the organisation of research (the village); as an important component of local sociality and the temporalisation of the past, that must be considered in analysis; and as a dimension of the way in which archive and library research materials were structured, and therefore shaped aspects of this narrative. It is a composite, relational construct, just as I myself am involved in a relational project that, while evoking the world that I experienced intersubjectively in Bages, does so in relation to the diasporic community of anthropologists and their distinctive world view. In introducing the participants in this thesis, rather than identifying them unconditionally with 'Bages', I will be focusing on the ways in which they identified themselves, and the role of locality in such practices. This perspective is a point of reference not only for the personhood of individuals, but for the thesis as a whole: *leur monde vu de la falaise* ('their world as seen from the cliff') is the central subject of this thesis. But this world is, of course, embodied in a narrative that has ethnographic evocation, anthropological analysis, and an anthropological audience as its endpoints, and that situates it in a context that is not a component of local horizons, or intended primarily for local consumption. Local horizons, anthropological perspectives: these are the combination of viewpoints I thus pres-

³ With the exception of occasional others not present in the locality, but important because of their involvement with it.

ent, detailing shared and differing impressions of the world in which the people I worked with, on and around the cliff from which Bages overlooks the *étang*, are involved (see plate 5).

This chapter serves two principal purposes for the thesis. First, it provides a general ethnographic introduction to the participants in my research project, as I knew and remember them during my residence in Bages from October 1996 to September 1997. Secondly, it provides a historical background relevant to an anthropological understanding of my experiences during this time. While seeking to convey the perspectives of those I knew, I shall also situate them in terms of wider socio-economic activities, relations of power, administrative organisation, and geographic characteristics of the area. Presentation and analysis of socio-economic activities in particular draw on historical material relating both to the principal economic activities of the region, and its changing demography, which situates the period of my residence in its long-term historical context, and informs the description and analysis of the following chapters. In the course of later chapters it will become clear how the different ways in which the past was temporalised in the village, and the related conflicts that have arisen over them, are linked to these social and historical developments. At the same time, with respect to temporalisations of the past detailed later in the thesis, it is important to establish to what extent perceived histories and continuities correspond to events that actually took place. The history outlined in this chapter thus establishes some degree of facticity concerning past time.

An ethnography of the complex social environment in the village must necessarily proceed through a number of different stages, and my presentation and commentary con-

sists of a series of narratives, focusing on different themes, with a brief concluding summary. I begin by locating Bages geographically and administratively, and discussing the wider horizons of belonging of those I knew there (section 2). I then move on to detail the various more localised notions of belonging in the village, and indicate the different trajectories of people's daily lives (section 3). Next, I turn to the histories of migration upon which many of these notions were founded, and present three narratives that situate my 1996-7 research period in historical perspective. Section 4 focuses on the current state of the viticultural economy in the locality, and the way it has influenced the lives of permanent residents of the village and their predecessors in the past. Section 5 details the contemporary state of fishing in the locality, with reference to the long-term historical context that has fashioned contemporary socio-economic realities. Finally, in section 6, I focus on the recent development of the service economy in Narbonne, and the growth of tourism in the area: this completes my introductory portrait by discussing the most important recent developments that have shaped life in the area.

The materials that comprise the basis for this chapter are drawn from notes and observations made during fieldwork, and my memory of these experiences; written sources, be they in the form of academic or non-academic writings, or archival records; and statistical information, both that of INSEE⁴ and earlier censuses, and of my own statistical calculations, based mainly on older census material. With respect to the past the narratives of oral history by people I knew differ from textual sources in two ways. First, there is a loss of clarity and reliability that appears the further back in time one goes:

⁴ *Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques* ('National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies'). A list of all census and archive material consulted, including reference codes, is contained in Appendix I. As I have already stated, it is important to note that most census and archive material was predicated on the administrative boundary of Bages as a *commune*, and although material was available for multiple units within this boundary, it is impossible to avoid, when using this material, the

this is, of course, a problem with oral history, due to the nature of human memory. Secondly, there is the simple fact that, during my time in France, while the collection of written and statistical sources yielded large amounts of information in short spaces of time which could be set aside for my return to London, the collection of oral histories impinged on interview time that had also to be used for other research objectives. Consequently, the limited time I spent in France restricted the amount of oral history I have at my disposal, and the further back in time my narrative goes, the more it relies on written and statistical sources.

2. BAGES: VILLAGE AUDOIS EN LANGUEDOC⁵

The cliff faces north towards Narbonne and beyond. Look across to the east and your gaze rests on the limestone massif of La Clape, gleaming along the horizon from Gruissan to the mouth of the Aude; beyond that, invisible but ever-present, the Mediterranean. Out to the north-west, on clear days when the Cers sweeps moisture from the air and raises froth and foam on the briny surface of the étang, the blue hills of the Minervois are visible in the distance; round to the west the garrigue, the Corbières, and the interior... Down below the cliff, on across to the tamarisks and sand and shell of l'anse des Galères ('Galley's Cove'), and the cathedral and buildings of Narbonne, the étang, myriad blue, green of the algae and seaweed, grey when clouds hang over the sky, or when the wind stirs the currents and silt rises up from the shallow bottom. And above, on the rock's escarpment and sheltering around it, hemmed in by garrigue and étang alike, houses, the village of Bages and its human inhabitants, women and men, new and old alike.

The first of the horizons I shall consider, as we look north from the village across the water, is geographical, extending out and along the Mediterranean coastline of France which stretches for 600 km from Cerbère at the Spanish frontier to Menton at the Italian. In physical terms the coast falls into two distinctive zones: to the east of Marseilles

reproduction of the *commune* as one of the foundations for my discussion. I attempt to make this focus explicit wherever relevant.

⁵ 'Bages: an Audois village in Languedoc.'

a coastline of rocky inlets and coves continues to the Italian border and beyond, merging inland with the foothills of the southern Alps. To the west, as far as the *Côte Vermeille*, some 30 km short of the Spanish border, low-lying sandy beaches are interrupted only by the occasional limestone promontory and the *graus*: narrow water channels which connect the sea to a series of naturally formed, brackish lagoons known in French as *étangs*, bordering these beaches to the back.⁶ The *étangs* have long been shaped by the human hand, especially with respect to their all-important communicative *graus*. And on one of these *étangs*, part of which bears its name, approximately 10 km to the south of the city of Narbonne, lies the village of Bages.

In material appearance, Bages presents a strong image of bounded locality. Built for the main part on a rocky limestone promontory that protrudes into the middle of the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, the buildings that make up the village compose a clustered settlement, rather than extending far out into the vines that surround it. Driving along the D105 from the *route nationale* and Narbonne, as so many of the population did every day on the way back from work, the supermarket, or other errands, you pass under the *autoroute* and, with the *étang* in front of you, suddenly turn sharply right and on alongside it. And there, across the water to the left, is Bages. The lack of outlying houses or farms, typical of the viticultural areas of southern France, reinforce the sense of boundary as you pass the sign stating entry to the village. Isolated, with water to one side and vines and *garrigue* to the other,⁷ Bages creates at a glance the impression of individualized unity, the more so considering the striking aesthetic beauty of its shuttered houses,

⁶ *Étang* is usually translated as 'lake', although this does not convey the sense of a brackish lagoon that the French in this case refers to, so I shall be using the French term throughout this thesis.

⁷ *La garrigue* is the name of the limestone hills that are a characteristic feature of the French Mediterranean basin. They are usually covered with pine, gorse, lavender, and herbs such as rosemary and thyme.

surrounded by water, set fast in the glare of the sun. This is in sharp contrast with the diversity of the lives of its temporary and permanent inhabitants (see plates 3-5).

Once inside the village, and driving or walking through the narrow streets, the particularities of its material organisation are more apparent, their origins acknowledged in the ways local inhabitants themselves perceived, and talked about its spatial organisation. Bearing the imprint of the important historical developments that have shaped it in the last one hundred years, the village divides, for inhabitants and observer alike, into four distinct zones. *Le vieux village* ('old village'), which comprised the extent of the settlement until the late 19th century, stands on the tip of the promontory, and is characterised by its network of narrow, shady streets lined by houses packed tightly together. Beyond *place juin 1907*, the main square which borders the *vieux village*, a series of wider, straighter streets run lengthways landwards, punctuated at street level by the archways of the *caves* of more spacious dwellings, themselves the products of the viticultural boom of the late 19th century. At the ends of these streets stand *les lotissements*, the two small housing estates that were constructed during the 1980s, their layout reminiscent of the vineyards on which they were built. And around the circumference of the promontory, along the water's edge, houses interspersed with the workshops of fishermen and the small but active port mark the boundary where earth and water meets (see map 2).

Moving back into the village from the south-west, up *rue de la Couranda*, *rue des Elysiques*, past the cemetery, post office, and school, you enter *rue des Anciens Moulins*, where I lived, and turning left past the *cave* up towards the church, regain once again *la falaise*, the cliff which overlooks the *étang*, and the beginnings of the *vieux village*. Standing close by the church, the local relief of the land is clearly visible. Snaking north

along the western side of the *étang* is the road that connects Bages to the *route nationale*, and on to Narbonne, which lies on low ground between La Clape to the east and the Minervois and Corbières to the west. A short drive northwards through this natural divide brings you full onto the coastal plain of Languedoc, an economic centre in southern France for wine production. Stretching from Montpellier in the north to Narbonne in the south and, some would say, inland along the windy channel to Carcassonne and the Lauragais, the plain comprises flat ground and rolling hills, rising gradually to a succession of higher limestone hills and mountains which extend from the *garrigue* above Montpellier via the Cevennes to the Minervois, north-west of Narbonne. South of Narbonne, however, the relief of the land changes. The Corbières, a range of mountains that merge inland with the northern foothills of the Pyrenees, extend virtually down to the coast, bringing the plain to an abrupt end, and dominating the coastline for a distance of some 40 km, from Narbonne to the plain of Roussillon. On the narrow coastal strip caught between the mountains, the *étangs*, and the expanse of the Mediterranean, are a number of small towns and villages, including Bages.

2.1. HORIZONS OF BELONGING

Lived experience and markers of locality and belonging often incorporate features of administrative boundaries, climate and geography, but usually do so in an unsystematic way (Lovell 1998:4-10, Schama 1995, Tilley 1994). An anthropological perspective requires a more systematic approach. Administratively, the village of Bages was part of the *commune* of Bages, which also comprised the hamlets of Prat-de-Cest, les Pesquis, and Estarac, and a small number of outlying *domaines* ('viticultural estates'). The *commune* had its own elected mayor and *conseil municipal* ('municipal council'), an administrative body which since the decentralisation legislation passed by the Mitterrand

government in 1982-3 has played an increasingly important role in local government. More often than not the inhabitants of Bages tended to identify with the village rather than the *commune*, as we shall later see, although municipal elections were a site of strong emotion and fierce competition, and a strong political attachment to the *commune* is found throughout France. When referring to the surrounding area, local people often identified Bages as part of the Narbonnais, an old term for the area around Narbonne which also constitutes an administrative *arrondissement* and economic zone, and within the *arrondissement* of Narbonne, Bages is part of the *canton* of Narbonne-Sud.⁸ While the Narbonnais therefore constitutes an area of local government, it was in the sense of a place encompassing Narbonne and its immediate surroundings that the term was used by local people.

The current French administrative system originated during the Revolution of 1789 and, after some subsequent developments, the country is currently divided into 22 *régions*, which further divide into 96 *départements*, approximately 3,600 *cantons* (themselves grouped locally into *arrondissements*), and 36,000 *communes*. Bages is part of the *département* de l'Aude, and in consequence many of the people I knew referred either to themselves, or to the village as belonging to the Aude, or as *audois(e)*. This was not as common a referent of local senses of belonging as the term *Narbonnais*, however, or indeed the wider reference point of Languedoc. In administrative terms the Aude, along with the *départements* of the Gard and the Hérault, was part of the *région* of Languedoc-Roussillon, which in coastal terms covers roughly the same physical area of low-lying beaches described previously. Before the creation of this *région* in 1964, however, the area was part of the province of Languedoc, whose origins date back to the

⁸ Narbonne-Sud is an anomaly among *cantons*, in that 10-15% of it consists of a small part of the *commune* of Narbonne, and the rest is made up of the majority, but not all, of the *commune* of Bages, includ-

Middle Ages, and which remains a strong marker of local belonging. The name Languedoc derives from *langue d'oc*, the family of dialects formally comprising the spoken language of Southern France and now officially known as *occitan*, which was still spoken by some older people in Bages.⁹ This was sometimes supplanted by reference to 'le Midi', a name used throughout France to refer to the south of the country.¹⁰ For local people, when nationality was under discussion, being French was often qualified as being from the Midi, symptomatic of the historic struggle between the French provinces and northern domination emanating from Paris which persists at a variety of levels to this day (see figs. 1 & 2).¹¹

The related characters of the climate and vegetation were another important way in which local people registered the particularities of Bages and the surrounding area, being quite distinctive from further inland in the *département*. Between Carcassonne and the coast, fields of sunflower, wheat and other arable crops disappear from the cultivated landscape, and the characteristic, stumpy vines of the Midi become all-pervasive. This transformation corresponds to the appearance of the dry, piny heights of the *montagne d'Alaric* ('Mount Alaric') and the Corbières to the south, as the region of Mediterranean climatic influence begins. With the coastline comes the wind. When I first arrived in Bages and was settling into my new flat, my landlady, Jeanine Bonnet, made a point of explaining the importance of safely securing my window shutters. 'You are

ing the village. This point has relevance for statistical information used later in the chapter.

⁹ As opposed to the *langue d'oïl*, the dialects spoken in Northern France and from which the contemporary French language has developed: 'Oc' and 'Oïl' were the corresponding words for 'yes' in these two sets of dialects. French was, of course, the main language spoken in Bages.

¹⁰ Meaning 'midday' in English. 'Midi refers in a very general sense to the south of France where the sun soaks the landscape as if it were always midday' (Lem 1999:237).

¹¹ For an analysis of 'Languedoc' and other symbols of belonging in the *Hérault*, see Lem 1994, 1999. Various other official bodies not mentioned here also influenced life in the *commune*, including organisations relating to fishing and viticulture, the *Conservatoire du Littoral* ('Coastal Protective') which owned much of the shoreline around the *étang*, and a *Parc Naturel Régional* ('Regional Nature Park'), a type of conservation park, had just been set up in the *Narbonnais* (see chapter 7).

living in the *pays du vent*, the land of wind, now, and you have to be very careful,' she told me, '...or the wind will literally blow the shutters off!' The prevailing winds, the *Cers*, or *Vent du Nord* ('north wind'), and the *Vent Marin* ('sea wind'), were an acknowledged fact of daily life in Bages for which provision, such as the firm fastening of shutters, had to be continually made, and the daily behaviour of the winds was a frequent topic of casual conversation. Some people also claimed they were a tonic against ill-health, due to their supposed capacity to purge the village air of maladies. The climate and ecology of Bages, and the wider Narbonnais, is in fact dominated by the *Cers* and *Marin* which, blowing from the north-west, and south-south-west respectively, are local examples of the prevailing winds found throughout Languedoc as a whole.¹² They were also popularly, and correctly credited with the very high levels of sunshine in the area: on average there are 6 hours of sunshine every day, due mainly to the *Cers* blowing cloud cover out to sea. The consequent high mean temperature of the area is also generally appreciated: a yearly average of 14° Celsius with readings regularly in the 30s Celsius from late June to early September, the period of *la grande chaleur* ('the big heat') when midday brings deserted streets and the echo of shuttered voices as people seek shelter from the fierce sun. Rainfall is low but violent, between 600 and 650 mm per year (Boutière 1974:39) usually falling in autumn and early spring, although the

¹² The *Cers* blows most frequently in March, and least in October. Anti-cyclonic in nature, it is caused by low pressure lying at sea over the gulf of Genoa, and high pressure over France: these pressure differences force air along the narrow plain from Toulouse to Narbonne, which gradually picks up speed until it reaches the coast, where it regularly blows at more than 60 kph, gusting occasionally to as much as 130 kph. In winter months the *Cers* is predominately cold as it draws down northerly air from the continent, in summer warm, as the continental air mass heats up and the coasts are cooled by the presence of the Mediterranean. It is principally dry, contrasting with its counterpart the *Marin*, which brings damp and humid air in off the sea. This latter is cyclonic in nature, provoked by low pressure lying over Spain, and high pressure over central Europe. Bringing refreshing cooler air in the heat of summer, and warmer air during winter, it is usually associated with rainfall, and is not as strong as the *Cers*, reaching on average less than 40 kph. From writings available, the frequency of these winds seems to vary only slightly, although the published figures are intermittent: between 1966-1971, the *Cers* blew for an average of 200 days a year, the *Marin* only 40, that is 17% of the total; these figures were reconfirmed in a 1995 publication, while other information indicates that for a ten year period from the mid 1980s to mid 1990s, very strong winds were recorded on an average of 80 days a year, although only 10% were *Marin*, a level approximate with the earlier figures (Boutière 1974:39; Loste & Dusserre 1996:5; Dusserre 1995:2).

summer heat provokes the occasional downpour or spectacular thunderstorm. This warm sunny climate was frequently the subject of proud attention, and contrasted with the wetter regions of France and other areas of northern Europe where, village inhabitants regularly claimed, with a gleam in their eyes and with more than a grain of truth, that 'it rains all the time'.

Finally, any introduction to the locality of Bages would not be complete without mention of the *étang*, which virtually surrounds the village and whose presence, whether through the smell of its briny waters, the extraordinary light that reflects off its surface, or the commerce and recreation it provided for many of the people I knew, is all-pervasive. In the Narbonnais there are three principal *étangs*: the *étang de Gruissan*, covering an area of approximately 200 ha; the *étang de l'Ayrolle-Campagnol*, 1500 ha; and the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, which is about 3700 ha in area, the *étang de Bages* being the name popularly given to the northern part of this *étang* on which Bages lies. The *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, lying between Narbonne at its northerly extreme, and Port-la-Nouvelle at its south-eastern tip, is approximately 14 km long, and is one of the largest of the numerous French Mediterranean lagoons. Despite its size it is predominantly shallow, with an average depth of approximately 1.5 metres descending to only 3 metres at its deepest point (Boutière 1974, Loste & Dusserre 1996). It has only one opening, or *grau*, leading to the Mediterranean Sea, at Port-la-Nouvelle, and besides its importance to local fishermen, of which more later, the force of the Cers and Vent Marin also made it a popular location for wind-surfing and sailing. The *étang*, like the winds, was a common daily topic of conversation – for many solely with respect to its aesthetic qualities as its colour and character continually altered depending on the weather and position of the sun, but for fishermen also in relation to their daily tasks.

For everyone I met when I lived in Bages, it provided a vibrant, aesthetically pleasing symbol of the village, and an ever-changing backdrop to their lives (see map 3).

3. THE PARTICIPANTS IN THIS THESIS

Faces. The way a person looked, the sound of their voice. Mannerisms in the way they spoke, the clothes they wore, particularities of their physical gestures, the place where we would sit, or stand, and talk. Or pass time together in silence. In my memory these aspects of each individual person with whom I spoke and spent time when I lived in Bages are indelibly associated with my memory of Bages itself. We met in Bages, we experienced the physical world of Bages through our senses. We breathed the salt air of the *étang*, our eyes registered the colour and shape of the stone walls of houses, the iridescent sky, red and pink geraniums in the streets. We heard the Southern French accent with its nasal twang, felt the warm evening air on our faces in summer, the icy cold of the Cers in winter and early spring. These aspects of our embodied lived experience (c.f. Jackson 1989, Merleau-Ponty 1989) formed the basis for our differing conscious images of Bages as a place, infused the memories I have of our meetings there, but although the majority of the participants in this thesis lived in Bages, and if they did not were visiting the village, their lives, as already suggested, were not encompassed by it. They had friends and family who lived in other places. Many of them worked elsewhere, and temporary residents and visitors spent the majority of their lives elsewhere. Most people's lives were not fixed on the village itself, but were lived in movement, to and from the village, shuttling into and out of the village, physically in their cars, on foot or by boat, imaginatively through conversations on the telephone, via television, radio and the daily paper. The space of their lives was multi-faceted, composed of a number of differ-

ent dimensions, a variety of perspectives contingent on each individual and his or her shifting pattern of relationships.

The people I met when I lived in Bages, therefore, did not partake of a single, homogeneous social identity, nor did their daily lives revolve around the village. Some people had their homes in the village and lived there all year round; others had second homes in the village and only lived there part of the year; others still did not live there at all, and were either visiting the village on holiday, or in the case of a small number, living nearby. Some permanent residents had virtually no contact with other people in Bages, and treated the village mainly as a commuter dormitory, or rural suburb of Narbonne; others had more substantial contact, and others still adhered to one or more self-defined social groupings which were predicated on, and productive of a sense of the village as a locality, and which they used to define visitors and inhabitants alike. This diversity was mirrored in the variety of socio-economic activities pursued by residents and visitors, and the different locations of these activities. From figures 3, 4 and 5, dealing with the *canton* of Narbonne-Sud and the *commune* of Bages respectively, one may see that at the time of the 1990 census permanent residents of Bages were involved in a wide variety of professions, only 37% of which were based within the *commune*, and 63 % outside it.¹³ This approximates the range and location of socio-economic activities as I perceived it among village residents.

¹³ Sources for all figures are listed in appendix II. As I have already noted, 85-90% of the *canton* of Narbonne-Sud was composed of the main part of the *commune* of Bages, including the village. The *canton* of Narbonne-Sud and the *commune* of Bages did not overlap precisely, which should therefore be noted, but for the purposes of this discussion their correlation is close enough to provide a measure of detail for the general picture I am concerned to sketch here. This statistical detail is subsequently related in the text to the research locality itself, the village of Bages.

The heterogeneous character and diverse focal points of the lives of those I knew can be traced in part to short and long-term socio-economic restructuring in the Narbonnais, and in part to wider socio-economic developments, and related changes in leisure activities, in France and Europe as a whole. The growth of service industries in the Narbonnais, and its regionally perceived status as a centre for employment in an era of declining viticulture, has led in recent years to a large influx of people from the Aude and beyond into the villages on the periphery of the city. This *Narbotropisme* ('Narbotropism'; Amiel *et al.* 1994:324) has been complemented by a shift in working patterns among the longer-term inhabitants of these peripheral villages, as a decline in village-based viticultural economies has forced them too to look to Narbonne for a source of income. The claims of such 'indigenous' inhabitants to trace their origins in these villages, and the detail of notions of belonging and locality among all the people I knew in Bages, must be seen in the context of a longer history of migration in the Narbonne area. The movement of populations is not a new phenomenon in the Narbonnais, and since the advent of viticultural capitalism in the early 19th century the area has experienced wave upon wave of in and out-migration, as the turbulent viticultural economy has expanded and contracted. The reception of migrants who have moved to Bages in recent years, and who have contributed to the heterogeneity and extended social networks of those I worked with, along with the claims to indigeneity of others who saw themselves as 'locals', must be viewed in the context of this long-term history of movement and migration. Before I move on to this historical perspective, however, I will first address the nature of local social groupings in greater detail.

3.1. ON BEING, AND NOT BEING, BAGEOIS

The identification of persons by their place of origin as a principal component of the ways in which modern states control the movement of peoples is reinforced in France by the compulsory carrying of a *Carte National d'Identité* ('National Identity Card') or other official documents which state a person's place of birth. For many French people, situating oneself or others in relation to a place of origin is also an important referent in the production of personal and group feelings of belonging: where one has been born, or has initially lived with one's family, remains a reference point for one's sense of self throughout life, and provides an immutable spatio-temporal orientation to French personhood and belonging. Placing other people in terms of their origins is part of getting to know someone, perhaps suggests something about their temperament or appetites, and is mirrored in the frequent declining of French place names into adjectival nouns, which can then be used to confer an identity on people who live, or originated in a particular area: a man from Narbonne can be known as *un Narbonnais*; a woman from the Aude as *une Audoise*; people from Bages as *des Bageois*.

Such tendencies are of course subject to variation, and always take contingent forms as senses of personhood are produced and reproduced in particular places at particular times. As part of the day-to-day production of personhood among those I knew in Bages, through which people would create, and redefine their relationships with others, the most common ways in which people would categorise each other was in terms of kin relationships; and as being, or not being, Bageois. Such classifications were then frequently related to a number of more specific categories, some with fairly complex definitions, based for the main part on a person's origins, and the length of time they or their family had lived, or in the case of second home owners, spent living in the village.

These categories were both localistic, and temporal, predicated on the nature and length of one's relationship to the locality of the village, and produced from, and partly productive of a sense of this locality as well. They were also used alongside other definitional categories, which drew attention for example to a person's occupation, class or social status.¹⁴

The role of *la famille* ('the family') in the daily life of permanent inhabitants, although usually important, varied greatly, and I will not be describing these variations in detail.¹⁵ Its different characteristics nevertheless broadly overlapped with different categories of social grouping, which will be illustrated later in this section. Generally speaking, most permanent long-term residents of the village had the majority of their living direct ascendants and descendants resident in Bages, whose presence was a continual backdrop to everyday routine and their sense of locality, providing emotional and financial support, love, security, or conflict on a daily basis. For many of them, this immediate family was complemented by an extended family, consisting of cousins and more distant relatives resident in the village with whom close relations were often maintained.

¹⁴ Abram (1994, 1996) notes this form of categorisation among inhabitants of a village in the Auvergne, France, and it is in all likelihood prevalent throughout other areas of France and Europe, although it has not been commonly noted, perhaps because much of the literature still identifies place with homogeneous social groupings (see chapter 1, section 4.3). Edwards, writing of a similar phenomenon in a town in the English Midlands, makes a useful observation: 'I have been interested in the way in which residents of an English town [...] bring histories and origins [...] in and out of focus without claiming ethnic identity for themselves. They do so by making explicit their belonging, or not, to a locality which itself is conceptualised in the process' (Edwards 1998:162-3). Her emphasis on how such categories are produced by, and productive of a sense of locality, as opposed to reifying them as a ground for her analysis, is one I share here. See also Strathern (1981) on Elmdon, in Essex, and Gilligan (1987) on Padstow, Cornwall, for comparable examples: all locations had recent histories of migration similar to Bages (c.f. also Cohen 1982). A similar phenomenon has also been noted in rural areas with high numbers of seasonal tourists (Boissevain 1996).

¹⁵ *La famille* was an important aspect of the lives of many I knew, and is a component feature of much of the ethnography I am presenting in this thesis. In this respect I collected a large quantity of detailed information about family relationships and their significance, and was able to supplement this with excellent census material going back several generations. Such information informed and illuminated much of my understanding of life in Bages, and the analysis undertaken in this thesis. However, because of the necessary limitations of space, and the greater importance of other categories of belonging to my central theme, I shall not be focusing on the subject of family and kinship in its own right, but instead provide details as and where necessary in the course of the thesis.

Other people, often recent immigrants, had no relations in Bages itself, but sometimes had members of their immediate family living nearby. In such cases contact varied depending on the closeness of relationships, but sometimes meant that the spatial dimensions of their lives encompassed both the place of residence of a brother, sister, or parents, and Bages itself. Among second home owners, Bages was sometimes the only place their immediate or extended family met up, holidays providing an opportunity for those living in different parts of France, Europe or the world to come together. Finally, for those with little or no family, either in the village or elsewhere, its absence was often felt as a misfortune, accentuated by the loneliness and sense of lack that came from living among people for whom the family was clearly important, and of benefit.

Aside from *la famille*, the most strongly felt categories of belonging were those predicated on locality, in which family relationships often played an important role. They are also the most significant categories of belonging for this thesis, as an individual's attitude to the past often (but not exclusively) corresponded to their categorisation in relation to Bages, and the form of sociality this usually implied. The categories varied depending on a person's social integration with the people living around him or her, being of greater importance to those considering themselves Bageois, who comprised the most integrated social grouping. They also generally corresponded to implicit collectivities of socio-economic class. At the same time, their use evoked a variety of informal claims to possessiveness and rights over the locality, which were most significant for those who identified most strongly with it, the Bageois. The Bageois encompassed uniform aspects in terms of family relationships and cultural orientations that could be termed a shared habitus (Bourdieu 1977), whereas those in other categories, such as recent immigrants or second home owners, often had little more in common than the fact that Bageois as-

sociated them together. The significance of the categories therefore varied from the designation of a loose social grouping with few socio-cultural characteristics, to the designation of a coherent socio-cultural grouping, and there were always exceptions to the rule. For the sake of this introduction, however, I have typologised their principal characteristics, leaving anomalies to be considered later in the thesis.

True Bageois: During a conversation several weeks after my arrival in Bages, I was talking to an elderly woman about the changes in village life during her lifetime. 'We two,' she said, referring to herself and her husband, 'are *des vrais Bageois* ['true Bageois']. 'So who is Bageois, for you?' I asked her. 'Bageois?' she replied. 'That means everyone who lives in Bages - everyone from here is Bageois... But we were born in the village, and have always lived here. There are not many of us left now. We are *des vrais Bageois*.' Through the months that followed I learned that these people, who usually just called themselves 'Bageois', possessed a number of common characteristics beyond those of shared origin and residence, and that their shared origin indicated more than having been born in the same locality. True Bageois had been born in Bages, for the main part had always lived in the village, and by patronym and descent through one or both parents claimed membership of a group of five families who had lived in the village, and whose surnames had been associated with its locality, for as far back as anyone could remember.¹⁶ Although each of these families, sometimes referred to as *les clans*,¹⁷ maintained its own distinctive sense of identity, and relations between different *clans* were not always cordial, as a whole they resembled a kindred. By their practice of

¹⁶ I am including here those born in hospital in Narbonne but to parents living in Bages, which accounts for the majority of births since the 1950s. Recently Jean Guiffan, a historian who has written a book about the history of the village (Guiffan 1979), traced the majority of these patronyms to early records held in the *mairie*, dating to the 16th and 17th Centuries, although this gave confirmation to the claim of these families, rather than providing the reason for it. Guiffan's book is a hybrid of 'local history', and histori-

tracing familial relations bilaterally where both partners were true Bageois, I often heard it claimed that everyone in these families was related, and while some families within the grouping could trace no known common ancestors, common ancestry was generally accepted by all. However, the main purpose of this claim to common ancestry seemed to be to reinforce a sense of belonging among the grouping as a whole, as opposed to others in the locality, for despite a certain degree of inter-marriage among those in their 30s and over, true Bageois shared no elaborate formal rules of kinship organisation.

Those people whose families had been more recently established, perhaps in the 19th Century, and whose patronyms and family history were not so strongly associated with the locality of the village, also formed part of this grouping. Their entitlement to claim this status, or be identified as such by others, was undisputed, although it was sometimes set off against the longer residence claimed by other families. In some cases, those born outside Bages but whose parents were true Bageois, and who had subsequently returned to the village to work or raise their own families were, depending on their integration with the grouping, also known as true Bageois, although their place of birth was usually remembered as setting them apart from other members. Finally, some women who had married true Bageois but who only could only trace their relation to the grouping maternally, once married considered themselves to be true Bageois, confirming that bearing the patronym of a long-established family was the ultimate confirmation of one's eligibility.

Altogether, true Bageois accounted for approximately one third of the permanent village residents, and the majority were either wine growers, fishermen, or members of the

cal scholarship which has provided me with much local historical detail. I write about him in detail in chapter five, section 2.

popular and independent class constellations.¹⁸ However, some had relatives living outside the village who had become members of the central constellation, such as those larger landowners whose children had left the village. On the whole those of working age were more likely to be employed within the *commune* than members of other social groupings, although the majority of them worked outside it. Maintaining close relations through daily contact they also sustained a shared habitus, although this was less prevalent among younger people who tended to identify with a broader regional and national youth culture. For middle-aged and older true Bageois, however, a strong system of shared values still existed, based on a rigorous work ethic, patriarchal authority, firm notions of the respective roles and behaviour expected of men and women, and a sometimes hostile attitude to outsiders, and many older people still spoke the local *occitan* dialect, which they called *patois*.¹⁹ Their sense of belonging to the group and the locality was also greatly reinforced through the temporalisation of a shared past, which I will be addressing in greater detail in chapter three. This past was predicated on their families' long-term residence in the locality, and generative of a sense of its identity as a place, and their sociality was intrinsically historical as a result. Finally, their strong feelings for the locality were mirrored in informal claims, and sometimes conflicting opinions over its management, although the majority of the *conseil municipal* when I

¹⁷ 'Clans' in English, although with none of the Scottish associations the word has in the UK.

¹⁸ I draw in this discussion on Mendras & Cole's (1991:33-42) 'cosmographic view' of French society, which classifies individuals according to 'class constellations and socio-professional position', mainly for its compatibility with the approach of INSEE, and its recent nature. Mendras & Cole distinguish three main class constellations, the 'popular', the 'central' and the 'independent'. The popular constellation consists of industrial workers, low-status clerical workers, shop assistants and other poorly-qualified staff employed in commercial firms; the central constellation of teachers, *civil servants*, engineers, technicians, and other salaried non-manual workers, otherwise known as *cadres supérieurs* (the higher paid, more professional jobs) and *cadres moyens* (the others); the independent constellation of businessmen, independent professions, shopkeepers, and artisans. Excluded from the schema are farmers, apparently too varied to form a distinct group, the unemployed and paupers, and the ruling elite (paraphrased with some direct quotation from Mendras & Cole 1991:34). Although the fishermen in Bages technically fall into the artisan, and thus independent class constellation, I mention them separately in my discussion due to their special association with, and status in the village.

¹⁹ Other practices also worked to distinguish them from other people in the village, and intensify their sense of belonging, such as nicknaming, something that they shared with established immigrants.

lived in Bages consisted of recent immigrants, symptomatic of a general shift in power relations in the village that I comment on in section 6.

Established immigrants: Among the people born in Bages towards the beginning of the century, but whose father or whole family originated from outside the village,²⁰ there were a number still living who claimed the status of Bageois. Aside from those women who through marriage and maternal descent had become true Bageois, in some cases such people had married into true Bageois families and their origins had either been forgotten, or due to a lifetime passed in the village did not seem to matter (although in conversation their difference from a true Bageois was sometimes pointed out). For people who had come to the village in the 1920s and 1930s, the situation was slightly different. There were at least six Spanish families and two French families that settled in the village at this time. When I lived in Bages, not all of the older foreign immigrants had adopted French national identity, or in some cases even learnt to speak French fluently, although as far as I could ascertain all of their descendants had done so. These families were usually referred to as Bageois, in particular those younger family members who were born and had lived their lives in the village. However, at times both themselves, and others, remembered or stated their origins as lying outside the village, thus distinguishing this use of Bageois from its significance regarding true Bageois.

Like true Bageois, these people and their descendants were almost exclusively wine growers, fishermen, or members of the popular and independent class constellations. The majority of them worked outside the village, and they also comprised approximately one third of the permanent village population. Certain older married couples

²⁰ And thus who do not count as true Bageois.

who had originated in Spain still maintained values and attitudes that they identified as Spanish in origin, whereas others who had married true Bageois tended to identify with them and did not distinguish their origins to such an extent. In any event, the values and attitudes of all established immigrants and true Bageois were in many ways recognised as similar, a feeling intensified by the temporalisation of their shared past in the locality, and in this respect established immigrants' sociality was similarly historical in nature. There was also a certain feeling of occupational solidarity among those true Bageois and established immigrants who worked in similar occupations, such as viticulture or building, which at times cut across other divides, and a strong work ethic was also shared between them. However, it was clear that, in relation to the sense of solidarity shared by the true Bageois, established immigrants perceived themselves to a much lesser extent as a bounded grouping, and were more inclined either to identify with their point of origin, or integrate through inter-marriage with true Bageois. As for the younger descendants of these original immigrants, like younger true Bageois their sense of belonging to the locality was not as strong as middle-aged and older people.

(A Note on Terminology: In everyday use, the term 'Bageois' was usually employed to designate both true Bageois and established immigrants, only being qualified by further information when necessary. In this discussion I employ 'true Bageois' and 'established immigrants' for the sake of clarity. However, as members of these two groupings regularly acted with a common interest regarding the temporalisation of the past, and their sociality consequently had a similar historical dimension, later in the thesis I too use 'Bageois' to refer to them unless further differentiation is required.)

Recent immigrants: These people comprised the remaining third of the permanent population. Some recent immigrants had married true Bageois, or members of established immigrant families, and were therefore associated with the respective social groupings of these families. The remainder only constituted a grouping in the sense that they were identified as being from outside Bages, usually by true Bageois and members of established immigrant families. In this respect their relationships with the long-term inhabitants of the village depended on their integration into village life, through sending their children to the village school, or membership of associations such as the football or *pétanque*²¹ clubs: it was therefore mainly determined by their willingness to socialise. Nearly all of these people worked outside the village, and while some had settled in Bages with their families and, in some cases, been elected as members of the *conseil municipal*, others were only living there temporarily and were not planning on staying. To my knowledge, none of them were wine growers or fishermen, and although some were members of the popular class constellation, the majority were members of the independent and central constellations. Although some of them had long-term family histories, these were not predicated on the village locality, and their everyday sociality was lacking in that historical element common to true Bageois and established immigrants. Importantly for later chapters, they had a different sense of the identity of the locality, as its construction as a place required more self-conscious effort on their part. Technically, in my elderly friend's definition these people were Bageois, but I never heard them referred to as such, by her or anyone else, and among true Bageois and established immigrant families people from outside the village were sometimes pointedly singled out as *estrangers*, or *étrangers*.²² More commonly, however, these recent inhabitants were known to true Bageois and established immigrants through association with their

²¹ *Pétanque* is a type of bowls played in southern France.

²² *Estrangers* and *étrangers* mean 'strangers' in *patois* and French respectively.

place of origin, when this was known, which was often used as a substitute for their actual name. In my case, to many of these people I was simply known as *l'Anglais* ('the Englishman').

Second home owners and Tourists: The majority of part-time inhabitants of the village were second home owners. Among certain of them, and most long-term inhabitants, they were considered to comprise two roughly defined groupings. One of these groupings, who were known by some true Bageois and established immigrants as *les familiers*,²³ was composed of people with second homes who had been coming to the village since the 1950s and 1960s. Over the years these people, who included several French, one Belgian, and one English family, had made friends among themselves, and with true Bageois and members of established immigrant families. Loïc Guiffan, a thirty year old teacher of physical education from northern France who had been coming to the village all his life, told me that on arriving for his summer holiday in July 1997, he had been greeted with *Salut Bageois!* ('Hi Bageois!') by a younger member of an established immigrant family who was normally quite hostile to outsiders. This is perhaps a measure of the integration of certain of *les familiers* into the lives of long-term, permanent inhabitants of the village.

Other second home owners formed less of a distinguishable grouping. Of French, German, and Swiss origin, they were more recent purchasers, and had little or no involvement with people living in the village on a permanent basis, principally using the village as the location for a private holiday. They therefore had more in common with tourists, who frequently stayed in the limited hotel and bed-and-breakfast accommodation avail-

²³ Whose direct equivalent in English is 'familiar person', although in this case it also has the sense of two of its other meanings, a 'regular visitor' and a 'friend of the family'.

able in the *commune*, or regularly visited to eat in one of the restaurants and stroll around the village streets.²⁴ All second home owners and tourists had a variety of different jobs and backgrounds, although the majority of them were members of the central class constellation. The relevance of second home owners to this thesis varies according to their integration with permanent inhabitants of the village, although some are of great importance due to their involvement in the temporalisation of the past of the locality. The relevance of tourists is different, but no less significant, and concerns their interests as consumers, which influenced the ways in which permanent inhabitants of Bages commoditised the village past for tourist consumption. Overall, however, they lacked that historical element of sociality generative of the identity of the village, evident among true Bageois and established immigrants, and this is significant for later chapters as we shall see.

* * *

I have now detailed the different localistic senses of belonging among the people I knew in Bages (see fig.6). It is clear how for many people, especially Bageois, such sentiments of locality and belonging were also explicitly temporal, invoking family histories of residence which gave a historical dimension to the locality as well. This underwrote their relationship to the village past, as its absence among recent immigrants, second home owners and tourists influenced theirs, and its importance will be provisionally brought out in section 4 of chapter three. At the same time, details of wider social networks of family, friends and employment demonstrate how the spatial perimeters of

²⁴ Another category of temporary residents included a few close family members of true Bageois or established immigrants who were visiting for their summer holidays. Although these people rarely relinquished their claim on the village as their place of origin, their status as Bageois depended on the nature

people's lives on a daily basis extended beyond the material confines of the village, as the mass media were simultaneously used in the production of different senses of regional and national identity within it. Experience and evocation of locality and belonging among those I knew in Bages was not confined to the village itself, but implicated in, and resultant from relations of movement and migration that have both contemporary, and historical bases.

The construction of belonging within the village also involved other activities. For example, there were many clubs based in the *commune* that provided a focus for sentiments of belonging both for permanent residents of the village, and in some cases, for second home owners as well. Some of these clubs will be significant later in the thesis. Employment also provided an occasion for the production of such groupings. Wine producers, for example, felt strong association with the *cave coopérative*, which was based in neighbouring Peyriac-de-Mer, whereas fishermen associated with the *prud'homie* of Bages at various times felt both antagonism, and solidarity towards those from the *prud'homie* of Port-la-Nouvelle, who also fished on the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*.²⁵ All these senses of belonging and locality were brought in and out of focus depending on circumstances, some being more commonly employed than others, and to varying degrees they all invoked temporalisations of the past. In this respect, one may grasp an initial impression of the numerous perspectives on the village past that were being put to use during my time in Bages with respect to the realisation of many different imagined futures, although not all of them were concerned with locality and belonging. Be-

of their relationship with their family (namely whether or not this was amicable), and the regularity of their visits.

²⁵ *Cave coopératives* ('wine co-operatives') are found throughout southern France, and consist of groups of producers who combine their grapes to make wine together, the *cave* in Peyriac being part of a local consortium that incorporated the producers and *caves* of several nearby towns and villages. *Prud'homies* ('tribunals') are official administrative bodies for managing local fishing resources, run by and made up

fore moving on to introduce the question of temporality in more detail, which I will do in chapter three, I will first introduce further material that offers a more historical perspective on the village.

4. MOVEMENT, MIGRATION, AND THE EXPERIENCE OF VITICULTURE

Without doubt the best vantage-point for viewing the extent to which vines encompass the land around Bages is up in the *garrigue*, the small range of limestone hills that overlooks the village from the west. As the D105 turns sharply to the left just before entering the village, a dirt track makes off to the right, running out into the vineyards that border the road. Follow this track on through the vines and up into the *garrigue* and you eventually emerge onto a small limestone plateau, punctuated with occasional outcrops of gorse, rosemary and pine, which from 100 metres above sea-level gives an excellent view of the *étang* and its borders. The plateau itself is fronted by limestone cliffs, and below, between the *garrigue* and the slopes of Bages itself, vineyards cluster on every available patch of land, winding their way to the right between the escarpment of *Pech Rouge* and the *Côte d'Estarac*, to the left flowing round onto the plain of les Pesquis and along the edge of the *étang* to Narbonne. In spring the short bare stumps, knarled figures writhing in the icy Cers, send forth suddenly bright clusters of lime green leaves; in autumn, with leaves now brown and crisped by the late summer sun, they offer up sweet pickings of wrinkled grapes missed by the *colles*, teams of pickers who still carry out much of the back-breaking harvest work by hand. If the vine still dominates the landscape of the area, however, and played an important part in the way

of fishermen working in a locality who must all be affiliated to it. Both will be introduced in greater detail later in this chapter.

those I knew imagined the locality, its significance to the working lives of permanent residents of Bages was less dramatic. For viticulture is in decline. And despite a revival in its fortunes in recent years, due to the introduction of new techniques of vinification and some shrewd marketing, the number of those making a full-time living off its proceeds has continued to decrease as the years have passed (see plate 6).

Wine growers in Bages, and in Languedoc as a whole, are predominantly small producers, who depend on *caves coopératives* to convert the fruits of their harvests into wine, and market and sell the product at home and abroad.²⁶ From a political economic perspective they can be viewed as petty commodity producers, for whom the immediate family constitutes the primary unit of production: when I lived in Bages, members of families often helped each other reciprocally and without payment during periods of intensive labour such as the harvest and trimming of vines in the spring, although the nature of these arrangements varied from family to family and did involve payment if longer periods of work were involved. The grapes, once harvested, are taken on to the *cave coopérative* in nearby Peyriac-de-Mer, which is responsible in due course for paying the wine growers for their harvest depending on the quality of wine produced and sold, although they are also entitled to a quota of the wine for personal consumption

²⁶ The first *cave coopérative* was opened in nearby Lézignan-Corbières in 1909, at a time when the viticultural industry was dominated by large producers (see below). By 1932 there were 66, including one at Peyriac-de-Mer, founded on the 8 March 1932 (Guiffan 1979:143), to which the producers of Bages, too few in number to create a *cave* of their own, subsequently joined up. These organisations were open to all, though the principal use made of them was initially by the small producer. Each separate producer could bring his harvest to the *cave*, which was responsible for the production of wine. This ensured an income for those who had previously been affected by wine going bad during the fermentation process, and those who had limited access to vats, mainly through poverty, as the process of wine production was consequently taken out of the hands of the producers. As a result, it made small-scale production less hazardous, thus taking power out of the hands of the large landowner, although as Lem has argued, *caves* have had their own drawbacks: 'The state has come to intervene in the process of production in viticulture [and] growers have increasingly become alienated from the products of their labour and their work has become transformed from an artisan-like undertaking to a kind of work that resembles factory work, in which workers produce one component of a product that is sold on the market' (Lem 1999:216). Winnie Lem has carried out extensive work among the wine-growers of a town an hour's drive to the north of

as well. This particular *cave coopérative* is part of a consortium, *les caves Rochère*, encompassing the Corbières-Maritimes region of production, which includes the villages and towns of Bages, Peyriac-de-Mer, Portel, Sigean, and Port-la-Nouvelle. While the consortium has its own management, with control over the process of vinification, it is ultimately responsible to the wine growers themselves, who enjoy a share of its profits and identify with its products and achievements (see plate 7)

The production of wine in France is closely regulated by the French government, in league with the European Union, in an attempt to control the volatile wine market which has been subject to a great deal of turbulence in the past. The government exercises comparative control over the agricultural censuses, which are protected by archival privacy laws preventing access to any of the post-war figures, and making it difficult to draw up a precise portrait of the state of viticulture in Bages. But national census figures do give some indication of the number of people involved in viticulture. At the time of the 1990 census, there were approximately 20 people working full-time in viticulture, perhaps a little less when I was living there during 1996-7 (INSEE 1992:58-9). Of these people, the majority worked their own vines and were members of the *cave coopérative*, although the size of their vineyards and income varied. There were also two *domaines* in the village, which produced their own wine, predominantly of poor quality and for blending.²⁷ But by far the majority of producers worked part-time on their vines, relying on other jobs to provide their main source of income, and were drawn from all sections of the population, even including second-home owners living as far away as Toulouse.

Bages, in the *département* of the Hérault. Her work has informed my treatment of viticulture in Bages: see Lem 1988, 1991, 1994, 1999.

²⁷ By the time I left Bages, one of these *domaines* had joined the *cave*.

The climate of the French Mediterranean is ideally suited for the cultivation of the vine, providing high levels of sunshine, low rainfall, and summer temperatures in the 30s Celsius, all of which are essential for effective cultivation (Long 1979:28-29). The principal varieties of vine cultivated within the *commune* of Bages at the time of my stay were Carignan, Syrah, Grenache and Mourvèdre, typical of Languedoc as a whole, although some other varieties were also grown in small quantities. The viticultural year falls into four main periods. The *vendange* ('grape harvest') takes place in September or early October depending on the ripeness of the grapes, and is a period of intensive labour and communal effort for those involved, lasting for a number of weeks. Once this is completed, the vines lie dormant until spring, although during the winter months, and before March at the latest, the previous year's shoots have to be cut back to ensure quotas are met, and new growth is healthy. Then follows another period of intensive work spraying and fertilising, to ensure mildew and other diseases do not affect the grapes, which begin to appear on the vines in early summer. Another slack period ensues while the grapes ripen, although they have to be watched in earnest for further possible disease problems: the damp Vent Marin, for example, bringing humidity in off the sea, can prove disastrous, provoking mildew and other fungal growths that can destroy a year's crop. Finally, testing begins in August and September by the controllers at the *cave*, checking the ripeness of the grapes, and when the appropriate level is reached, which takes place at different times depending on the variety in question, the *cave* gives the signal that the *vendange* can begin.

4.1. TOWARDS A VITICULTURAL MONOCULTURE

It would not be an exaggeration to state that in the past 200 years the history of Bages has been largely shaped by the fortunes of viticulture. The experience of movement and

migration that so informs the ways in which the permanent residents of the village thought about themselves and others are closely related to the manner in which the viticultural economy has developed. But the monoculture of the vine that is so evident to even a casual visitor to the village has not always been so dominant in the area. A history of its development, and of the problems caused by focusing solely on cultivating vines at the expense of other crops, will greatly clarify the complexities of the situation in the village during my own stay.²⁸

The vine has been cultivated in the Narbonnais for over 2000 years. The suitability of the climate was not lost on the Romans, who introduced the vine when they founded the important colony of *Narbo Martius* in 118 BC, on the site of present-day Narbonne. For many centuries thereafter, viticulture was part of a polycultural peasant economy, based on the cultivation of cereals, olives, fruits and nuts, supplemented by the farming of sheep and, of course, fishing. By the late 18th century, however, the capitalist enterprise was under way, and on the plains to the west and north of Narbonne the sale of the wheat surplus, which had been part of the economy of local towns and villages during the Middle Ages, had developed into the commercial and market-oriented production of grain.²⁹ Part of the widespread socio-economic renaissance that occurred in France during the second half of the 18th century, the growth of the wheat market provoked wider prosperity in the Narbonnais as a whole. In Bages, by 1804-5 the still predominantly polycultural economy was flourishing, with sheep, goats and cattle, a salt works

²⁸ The following account is a synthesis of the work of Barbaza et al. (1989), Braudel (1990), Frader (1991), Gavignaud-Fontaine (1997), Guiffan (1979), Moulin (1991), Valentin (1977), and Warner (1960).

²⁹ At the time the area around Narbonne was renowned for its wheat, such that in 1788 the governor of Languedoc, Charles Baillainvilliers, could write, 'There is no region in France that produces better wheat than the Narbonnais.' Frader (1991:16) suggests that, as opposed to other areas of rural France, still oriented primarily towards the goals of peasant self-sufficiency, by the early 19th century parts of the Narbonnais were already at a significant stage of capitalist economic development. This provides an interesting contrast with the literature on the disappearance of the peasantry in France, as writers such as

on the *étang* near Estarac, the cultivation of oats, olives and vines, and fishing all providing the economic basis for the village's 600 or so inhabitants (Guiffan 1979:80,85).³⁰

In the Narbonnais the early 19th century was a time of important transformations, as those remaining polycultural *communes* began to be absorbed into a capitalist socio-economic network, which from its origins in wheat increasingly turned to viticulture. Why should this have happened? Initially, as with any such market development, there was an increase in demand. The industrialisation of the urban centres of northern France from the 1820s onward created an urban proletariat that demanded recreation and relief from the excesses of menial work and the poverty of their living conditions. There was therefore an opportunity for the sale of cheap, poor-quality wines, and an increase in their prices. As industrialisation continued, in the south wine came to be seen, by rich and poor alike, as a route to prosperity, and a more reliable way of ensuring the provision of daily necessities than wheat.³¹ By the mid-19th century this had been facilitated by the development of the railways, that enabled the fast and easy transportation of wine to the north, and the opening up of export markets by the international trade agreements of the 1860s.³²

Braudel (1990) and Mendras (1970) date the disappearance of the French peasant economy to the 20th century, and Weber (1976) to the mid-19th century.

³⁰ To be precise, 1804 sheep, 136 goats, 44 mules and horses, 64 donkeys, and 14 cattle. Guiffan writes that from a state of apparent poverty in the early 18th century, life in the village had progressed to 'full economic and demographic prosperity' by the end of the *ancien régime* (Guiffan 1979:176-178, my translation).

³¹ Prices rose from the late 18th century level of 8-10 francs per hectolitre, to 20-25 francs per hectolitre in the 1820s and 1830s (Frader 1991:19). Vines therefore yielded double the price of wheat per hectare, an advantage compounded by the volatility of the wheat market, a feature of French economic life since the 18th century and before. Once the Bourbon monarchy of 1815 had ensured a regular supply of foreign wheat in times of need, even subsistence production was freed up for the planting of vines.

³² In particular, the Bordeaux-Sète railway, which ran through Carcassonne and on to Narbonne and the Hérault, allowed wine to be transported east, and then north along the railways up the Rhône valley, which also facilitated the transport of wheat southwards. Figures for the Narbonnais demonstrate the rapid spread of the vine around Bages during the 19th century. From a cultivated surface area of roughly 10,000 ha in 1788, the vine had expanded to 23,700 ha in 1830, and 35,000 ha in 1857. This was against a decrease in cereal cultivation from 20,500 ha in 1830 to 17,350 ha in 1857. The most dramatic increase oc-

These developments are clearly related to the rapid growth in the population of the *commune* of Bages in the mid-19th century (see fig.7). From 1856 to 1881 the population rose by 397, peaking at 1193 inhabitants, in keeping with the growth of population for the Narbonnais as a whole. Turning to figures 9 and 10, the reasons for this growth in population become apparent. While the yearly average birth rate surpassed the yearly average death rate between 1856 and 1861, and the natural growth rate remained at a positive, though variable level until the early years of the 20th century, the population growth rate surpassed the natural growth rate at the same mid-century period, and aside from a dip in 1866, continued to do so until 1881. Figure 8, illustrating the average yearly migration rate, demonstrates the great importance of in-migration as a source of population growth in the *commune* during the years of rapid viticultural expansion. *Listes nominatives*³³ for these years indicate that the majority of migrants originated inland, in the mountains of the Aude and Ariège, or further south in Spain. The conclusion is clear: during the second half of the 19th century, the rapid population growth of the *commune*, although founded on a healthy natural growth rate, was largely the product of mass immigration.

The levelling out and subsequent decline in population that occurred in the last two decades of the 19th century point to the end of this period of viticultural expansion, and the advent of a series of crises whose effects were still felt during my own stay in Bages some 100 years later. From figure 7 it is clear that between 1881 and 1901 the population of the village fell by almost 80, due to a high yearly out-migration figure for the same period which *listes nominatives* reveal to be composed of mainly recent immi-

curred during the second half of the 19th century, however, with 69,000 ha of vines in cultivation in 1900 as against only 483 ha of cereals (Frader 1991, Valentin 1977).

grants from the preceding years. This marks the appearance of the first major crisis to affect the region, the *phylloxera* epidemic. As early as 1863 the vineyards of the Gard were affected by *phylloxera vastatrix*, a parasitic insect which, with no initial treatments available, had by 1875 rapidly destroyed most of the vines in the Gard, Vaucluse and Hérault.³⁴ Initially benefiting the producers of the Aude, who profited from a rise in prices, between 1879 and 1886 *phylloxera* destroyed their vineyards as well, including Bages which was first affected in 1881.³⁵ In addition to the temporary collapse of social and socio-economic life that *phylloxera* caused, it also had more profound and long-lasting consequences for viticulture in southern France. The immediate consequence, once a cure had been found, was a wave of replanting that took place during the 1890s, and by 1900 the total area of vines exceeded the highest pre-crisis figure, with 69,000 ha alone in the Narbonnais (Frader 1991:20, Moulin 1991:95). However, the number of small producers had in general fallen due to the greater impact of the epidemic on those with less capital, shifting the balance of power within an industry that had previously benefited many of its poorer adherents as well. The wealthy, some of whom in the Aude had profited from the price boom of the 1880s, invested and expanded their holdings, and consolidated their economic power, while many small producers found themselves having to work as day labourers on the large estates.³⁶

³³ 'Nominative Lists', a form of census document. See appendix I for an explanation.

³⁴ The 'disease' was not identified until 1868, when J.-E. Planchon traced its origins to the microscopic insect he named *phylloxera vastatrix*, which attacks the roots of the plant. The insect was thought to have arrived on cuttings of North American vines, imported in 1862, thus giving rise to the subsequent cure: the grafting of French vines onto resistant North American roots, widely effective by the 1890s, but which came too late to prevent the devastation of the industry.

³⁵ In May 1885 the *conseil municipal* of Bages declared 'the hillsides entirely destroyed, and three-quarters of the plain completely infested' (Guiffan 1979:130).

³⁶ In Bages the fortunes of small producers were compounded by a series of natural disasters. An 'appalling hailstorm' in June 1892 wiped out the vines of the *commune* for a second time; poor harvests then followed in 1893-4, partly due to the ravages of mildew, which caused the loss of virtually two-thirds of the 1895 crop. The devastating consequences of these events for the small producer were mirrored during the same period by the election in 1892 of a new mayor, Gabriel Cros-Mayrevieille, a wealthy landowner

Thus began a series of crises of over-production in viticulture which the French government and EU are still struggling to control in the 1990s. An exceptionally abundant harvest in 1893, due to the expansive schemes of replanting, caused prices to plummet and provoked widespread unemployment on larger estates. Although in partial recovery by 1900, prices then dropped again with the abundant harvest of that year, and had fallen to just 1.25 francs per hectolitre in 1902 (as opposed to 23 francs per hectolitre in 1892) (Frader 1991:59-60). In human terms the effects of these crises were to put vineyard workers, increasingly dependent on wage labour now their own holdings had been largely wiped out, at the mercy of wage cuts and increasing poverty as employers strove to curb their losses. This led to a wave of class consciousness across the region, the first union being created in Narbonne in 1892, the second, *le Syndicat des ouvriers cultivateurs de Bages* ('the Bages Agricultural Workers Union'), in Bages in March 1896 (Guiffan 1979:132). Many more sprang up in the following years, and strikes followed demanding increases in pay and better working hours. Further market crises in the first few years of the 20th century prolonged the general state of unrest, however, culminating in the events of 1907 when a wave of protests swept across southern France, that were put down heavy-handedly by the French government and in which one man from Bages, Gaston Pagès, was shot dead by soldiers in Narbonne on the 20th of June.³⁷

The *phylloxera* crisis therefore had two important consequences. The first was to shift the organisation of viticulture from a combination of large-scale capitalist and small-scale, family-based units of production to one in which the large producer predominated. The second was to create the basis for a series of market crises, as excessive re-

who lived in Carcassonne, pointing to the growing hegemony of the large landowners at a local level (Guiffan 1979:130-1).

³⁷ The events of 1907 have become an important component of the way people I knew in Bages talked about the past, as we shall see in later chapters.

planting caused prices to fall at times of abundant harvests. Other factors were also influencing the viticultural economy. Cheap foreign imports, initially from Algeria which the French had recently colonised, undercut internal French prices, adding further instability; and the production of fraudulent wines using sugar and raisins had a similar effect. Fraud was curbed after the riots of 1907 by tight government regulation, which set the scene for later attempts to control internal production and deal with the problem of abundant harvests by ordering the declaration of harvests. But the problem of cheap foreign imports persists to this day, and despite some stabilisation of the wine markets by 1910 competition from cheap foreign imports, and subsequent demands for improved quality wine, caused an on-going instability and decline in the market for the wines of Languedoc which has only revived with the new techniques of production introduced in the last 20 years. For residents of Bages, the influence of these external forces created economic insecurity in what had since the mid-19th century become the major local source of income and employment, producing a tendency to out-migration that persisted throughout the main part of the 20th century.³⁸

4.2. DECLINE AND A PARTIAL RENAISSANCE: 1919-1997

Much of the history of the viticultural economy until the 1980s can be seen as a consequence of, and attempt to come to terms with the problems of over-production and market instability outlined above. At the same time, the recent history of viticulture is important to an understanding of the dynamics of permanent resident's lives in the village,

³⁸ Aside from fishing there were several other viable sources of employment within the *commune*, but these were limited. For example, in the *liste nominative* of 1926 there are 5 shepherds listed, and during this same period there was a salt works on the *étang* at Estarac, salt having been produced in the Narbonnais for hundreds of years. These had both died out by the 1970s, however: the salt works closed in the 1950s, and only one shepherd was recorded in the census of 1968, who stopped work soon afterwards. Some people also commuted across the *étang* to work in the rice fields and vineyards at Mandirac, but this ceased after 1945, and there were also many other professions which had developed as a result of the viticultural boom, but as viticulture declined, these too disappeared (see appendix II, tables 1 to 4 for full details).

and to the analysis of their own perspectives on local history and other issues regarding the temporalisation of the past that I shall discuss in later chapters. A demographic overview provides an initial framework from which to approach the period up until the 1980s, demonstrating graphically the consequences of viticultural decline on the population. Figure 11 shows the 1926 population of the commune standing at 799, a fall of over 200 on the previous available figure for 1911. By 1936 this had dropped to 711, only to fall dramatically once again during the second world war to 542 in 1946, and then staying more or less stable in the mid-500s until after the census of 1982, when the population stood at 547. Looking more closely at these population shifts, figures 12, 13 and 14 indicate how up until 1946 they are predicated on a negative natural growth rate which continued from the demographic decline of the pre-1914 years, but are once again reliant for the most part on a strong rate of out-migration.³⁹ The natural growth rate remained firmly negative until the late 1980s, but the population remained steady during the post-war period due to an increase in the rate of in-migration, which began in the 1946-1951 period and has remained positive until the present-day. From evidence in the civil records, this seems to have been due to the increasing appeal of Narbonne as a centre for employment for those from more isolated regions, the phenomenon of *Narbotropisme* I have already mentioned and which I shall be addressing in greater detail in section 6.

Figures 15 and 17, illustrating the composition of the village by employment in 1926 and 1968, demonstrate vividly the lessening socio-economic significance of viticulture to its residents. This decline has happened most dramatically since the second world war, evident from a comparison of figures 16 and 17, but was in evidence before. The

³⁹ Except during the early 1930s, when the *commune* experienced a large influx of refugees from the Spanish Civil War.

distribution of power within the viticultural economy in Bages itself saw a shift during the century away from the large landowner to the independent small producer, a fact reflected in the predominance of small producers in the *commune* during my own time in the village.⁴⁰ One factor which encouraged this shift was the advent of the *caves coopératives*, which as I have already noted enabled smaller producers to enjoy more security by safeguarding the fermentation process, another being the general trend of decline in viticulture which encouraged investors to turn elsewhere. Further developments took longer to bear fruit. In 1919 the French government instigated the *appellation* and V.D.Q.S. systems,⁴¹ which were an attempt to control viticultural production and stabilise the market by certifying the origin of wine. In 1923 this resulted in the delimitation and *appellation* of the Corbières region, in which Bages was included, although this was at first detrimental to the sale of wines from the Aude because other regions were both better known and had better reputations. V.D.Q.S. status was eventually granted to the Corbières *appellation* in 1951, with A.O.C. status, a more recent and prestigious classification, conferred in the 1980s.⁴²

The most significant new factor to affect the numbers of people employed in viticulture was mechanisation, which took place predominantly in the immediate post-1945 period. Before the second world war viticulture remained labour-intensive, despite the dating of

⁴⁰ Large landowners appear to have declined most dramatically between 1906 and 1926. For example, in 1906 the three largest landowners in the *commune* employed over 20 agricultural workers each: Dufour, Manuel and D'Artiquelongue, none of whom were resident in the *commune*, employed 27, 20 and 22 employees respectively. By 1929, neither Dufour, Manuel, nor their descendants were still present, while D'Artiquelongue, now replaced by his widow, had only 12 employees. This decline is representative throughout the list of landowners for 1929, although no comparative figures are available for the number of small independent producers. (The 1906 *liste nominative* details the employer of each person alongside other census information, which enables a portrait to be drawn of the number of employees of each landowner; the 1929 agricultural census details the number employed by each landowner above 2 ha, which permits a comparison to be made.) See also appendix II, tables 1 to 4, where the changing composition of the viticultural workforce during the 1906-1968 period is given more precisely.

⁴¹ 'Appellation' means 'name'; V.D.Q.S. stands for 'Vins délimités de qualité supérieure', 'Specified Wines of Superior Quality'.

⁴² 'Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée', 'Name of Origin Regulated'.

the first tractors on the larger estates in the *commune* by some people to the 1930s. However, between 1946 and 1968, as we can see from comparing figures 16 and 17, the percentage of the permanent residents of the village involved in agriculture (of whom the majority were involved in viticulture) had fallen from 50 % to 23 %, a direct result of the post-war policies of the French government. The rapid spread of tractors and other technology in the 1950s and 1960s was the consequence of the Marshall Plan, an economic program funded primarily by the U.S. to enable rapid capitalist development and hence block the further growth of the substantial French communist lobby. Promoted with the assistance of the French government, technological innovations facilitated a more profit-oriented strategy on the part of farmers who had been restricted in this respect by the need for a large workforce. It also succeeded in integrating them further into the networks, ethos, and exploitative strategies of a developing global capitalist economy and its regional exponents. The result was a reduction in the demand for labour throughout all French agricultural sectors, although mechanisation could not prevent the on-going volatility of the wine market. This continued into the 1950s and beyond, encouraging more farmers to leave viticulture altogether, despite the supposed appeals of the mechanical revolution (Barbaza *et al.* 1989:366).

Since the 1980s, however, viticulture has seen something of a renaissance in southern France. As the reputation of areas such as Languedoc for the production of large quantities of poor quality wine has faded with time, an interest in new techniques of vinification (thus ensuring the A.O.C. award to the Corbières and other Languedoc *appellations*), a growing awareness of the potential rewards of good marketing, and the expansion of foreign markets, have increased sales and revenues. The Aude in particular has undergone substantial redevelopment, and now has the most quality vines of all the

Mediterranean *départements*, with 5,700 ha of A.O.C. vines, and 42,000 ha of V.D.Q.S (Barbaza *et al.* 1989:395). This is especially visible in the achievements of *les caves Rocbère* (to which the producers of Bages were affiliated), who have adopted the historical association of the area with the Romans among other symbols of locality to produce a very distinctive and effective localised identity for their products. This has not increased the number of people employed in viticulture in the *commune* (less than 11 % of the active population in 1990), although it has somewhat stabilised the industry for those still engaged in it. People I knew in Bages still maintained that viticulture was a difficult profession by which to earn a living, and there were few younger people following their fathers into a life working the vines.⁴³ However, this may yet change, as the markets of northern European countries such as Britain continue to expand driven by a seemingly insatiable demand for wine, and this partial renaissance in an overall trend of decline may yet blossom into something more substantial in the years to come.

From *listes nominatives* for the 1919-1997 period it is clear that among the resident population there remained a strong nucleus of established families in the *commune*. This was mirrored in the village as well, with out-migration between the wars concentrated among the second generation of families who had come to the village in the late 19th century. This trend then began to affect more established families, however, while a negative natural growth rate was maintained until the 1980s. As a new wave of immigration began in the 1980s, oral accounts still point to a trend of out-migration among longer-term residents of the village, especially among the younger generations who left for northern urban centres. However, as we have already seen, the descendants of some established families stayed on, along with more recent immigrants, and now comprise

⁴³ This trend was illustrated by the many stories I was told of the conflicts that occurred throughout the 1970s and 1980s between fathers who had spent years working to accumulate vineyards to pass on to

the Bageois and recent immigrant categories that I have detailed above. This illustrates the clear relation of the make-up of these social groupings during my own time in Bages to the migratory trends prompted by historical developments in viticulture.

5. FISHING IN DECLINE AND IN REVIVAL

Fishing on the *étangs* of Southern France is known as *la pêche aux petits métiers* ('artisanal fishing'), and among the residents of Bages shares a similar history to viticulture in a number of ways, although the details of developments in fishing are obviously different.⁴⁴ Both suffered substantial periods of decline until the 1970s, although fishing then took a much more prosperous path before suffering a certain amount of stagnation from the late 1980s onwards; and both were significantly affected by technical innovations, which for fishing had their most dramatic effects during the late 1960s. During the period I lived in Bages, there were twelve full-time fishermen based in the village, who along with four more living in Peyriac-de-Mer and one in the nearby hamlet of le Lac, comprised the membership of the *prud'homie de Bages*.⁴⁵ This entitles them to fish

their children, and sons who desired to work in more financially remunerative employment.

⁴⁴ There have been a number of papers and longer studies published on artisanal fishing in southern France, most of them by agronomists and biologists, although few of them detail the history of the activity, the most comprehensive historical perspective for Bages being Guiffan 1979. Gourret 1897 is an excellent source, however, for artisanal fishing in France at the turn of the century; more recent relevant publications include Amanieu 1972, Bernard 1977, Blanchard 1989, Boucabeille 1996, Cavailles & Loste 1988, CIRCA 1984, Durand 1985, Dusserre 1995, Farrugio & Le Corre 1985, Giovannoni 1995, Haon 1981, Le Roch-Delupy 1981, Mallawa 1987, Monod 1973, Rieucan 1990, Rieucan & Cholvy 1992, Santiperis 1996, and Taussac 1996, with Loste & Dusserre 1996 and Marty & Rémy 1993 providing the most comprehensive contemporary accounts for the *étangs* of the Narbonnais. The introduction I provide here to artisanal fishing is just that, an introduction, and necessarily omits much of the detail of this fascinating activity which, with some notable exceptions (Giovannoni 1995, Rieucan 1990), has been little described from an anthropological perspective.

⁴⁵ The *prud'homie de Bages* ('Tribunal of Bages'), like other fishing *prud'homies* in Mediterranean France, was an administrative and legislative body predicated on, and presiding over the locality, and was composed of the fishermen working there. It was governed by a *premier prud'homme* ('president') with two deputies and a reserve, who were elected from among, and by its members, and all professional local fishermen had to belong to it. The *prud'homie* was accountable to the *comité local des pêches maritimes* ('Local Committee of Coastal Fishing'), based in Port-Vendres and responsible for the coast from Narbonne to the Pyrenees, which was in turn accountable to the *comité national* ('National Committee'), al-

the northern half of the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, the southern half being fished by members of the *prud'homie* of Port-la-Nouvelle, who numbered eleven in 1995 (Loste & Dusserre 1996:26). Fishermen on the *étang* work from highly manoeuvrable plastic boats of about 4 to 6 metres in length, powered by outboard motors of between 20 to 40 hp, and usually fish using a special interlocking pattern of nylon nets called a *trabaque* (see plate 8).⁴⁶ The *trabaques* are planted underwater in the *étang* with the aid of wooden posts, and left for a period of time, variable according to the season, so fish can penetrate the labyrinth of nets and become trapped. From their landing areas at Bages (for those living in the village) and Peyriac (for the others) the fishermen set out to periodically check their nets, collecting those fish they have caught, and relocating nets as and when they see fit (see plate 9). Fishing is a male activity, and although women occasionally helped with certain tasks, as far as I know there have never been any fisherwomen working on their own.

The main catch of the fishermen is eels (*anguilla anguilla*), which comprised 60% of their total catch, and 73% of their total income over the 1985-1994 period (see figs. 19 & 20). Other species are also landed, however, the most important being mullet (*mugil cephalus*, *liza ramada*, *liza aurata*), bass (*dicentrarchus labrax*), and juel (*atherina boyeri*), and other fish and crabs are also caught.⁴⁷ When the fish are retrieved from the

though the *étang* was actually owned by the *Domaine Public Maritime* ('Public Coastal Estate') and the *département de l'Aude*. The *prud'homie*, through the president and his deputies, was primarily responsible for imposing EU quotas and other regulations within its jurisdiction (including for example the number of nets that could be placed, how close one fisherman could pitch his nets in relation to another, and so on), as well as for solving disputes between fishermen and imposing regulations for pleasure boats and wind-surfers. Ultimately, however, the president and his deputies had no powers of arrest, and relied on the local maritime police, based in Port-la-Nouvelle, to assist them in enforcing regulations if need arose.

⁴⁶ Although other techniques were also used, such as dragnets, and a couple of fishermen used wooden boats. It is not within the scope of this thesis to provide a detailed account of fishing techniques on the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, the best contemporary source being Marty & Rémy 1993.

⁴⁷ The *étang de Bages et de Sigean* is particularly rich in marine life, 58 species of fish being recorded there in 1978 (Loste & Dusserre 1996:58), a greater number than in other nearby *étangs*. Loste & Dusserre 1996 and Marty & Rémy 1993 each include a list of principal species, and Loste & Dusserre provide an introduction to the ecology of the *étang* as well.

nets, the eels are initially kept alive in large water-filled buckets the fishermen carry in their boats. Once back on land, the eels are then collected by a fishmonger based in Port-la-Nouvelle, by means of a lorry carrying an aerated water tank, and transported to a series of holding basins to await departure for northern Italy, while other fish are usually sold to nearby fishmongers. The principal customers for the eels of the *étang* are Italian businesses, who collect the eels periodically from the holding basins and transport them alive in lorries to private lagoons around the city of Venice, where they are allowed to grow in captivity before being caught again and sold, usually smoked or as pâté, on the markets of northern Europe. The fishermen of Bages are therefore the initial link in the chain, being well paid for what they catch in the *étang*, although they take no further part in rearing the eels in Italy.⁴⁸

In their day-to-day working environment, fishermen work alone and in competition, although there is a certain amount of co-operation between close relatives.⁴⁹ To become a fisherman, it is necessary to learn the techniques of fishing the *étang*, which means finding someone who is willing to pass this valuable information on. As there are only a limited number of fishing licences available, usually only those who have family members already fishing can become fishermen, although there have been a number of exceptions to this in the past. Previously, to become a licensed fisherman, or *patron-pêcheur*, a novice had to spend a period of 1-3 years as a *matelot* ('apprentice sailor'), working for a *patron* who was usually his father or another male member of his immediate family. Subject to progress, and his access to the necessary resources and capital

⁴⁸ There were various attempts at similar schemes by the *prud'homie de Bages* during the 1980s, including fattening eels, and rearing mussels and shrimp. Pollution in the *étang* restricted the production of mussels, and eels were found not to grow in the small basins the fishermen constructed, although a concomitant factor was a lack of co-operation among the fishermen themselves. See Cepralmar 1982a & b, 1983, 1985 for agronomic details of these schemes.

(to provide nets and so on, in which he was usually helped by his relatives), the *matelot* was then appointed *patron*, and started out fishing on his own. Since the 1980s, however, *matelots* have also had to attend classes in seamanship and obtain a qualification (*Certificat d'Initiation Nautique* ('Certificate of Nautical Training') or equivalent) certifying their studies. This is in addition to their period of apprenticeship to a *patron*. The expense of working in fishing in the 1990s is relatively high, as on top of maintaining boat and nets, both *patrons* and *matelots* have at the same time to pay their dues to the *prud'homie*, and to the local fishing authority based in Port-Vendres, all of which came to something in the region of 85,000 francs (approximately £8,500) in the mid-1990s (Loste & Dusserre 1995: appendix iv). This is in a climate of decreasing catches and a rising cost of living. During my time in Bages many fishermen therefore had other jobs: one was a restaurateur, another ran a fishmongers in Narbonne, another ran a small business selling regional food products with his wife, and it has long been the case that most fishermen in the village also own small vineyards.

The fishing year begins in late January as the sun warms the waters of the *étang* and fish begin to return from the sea where the majority have been wintering the cold weather.⁵⁰ The fishermen then fish continuously through to the summer months, with the content of their catches varying due to seasonal changes in the numbers of different species.⁵¹ The most profitable time of year, however, is in autumn, when a *barrage* ('barrier') of different fishermen's nets is placed across the *étang* to catch the fish as they leave its cooling waters, with competition for the best sites settled by drawing lots at the offices

⁴⁹ 'Les pêcheurs sont *toujours* jaloux,' 'fishermen are *always* jealous of each other,' an old fisherman's wife put it to me, with a wry smile. Competition over shared resources is common among fishermen elsewhere in the world, as noted by Acheson (1981).

⁵⁰ The temperature at sea does not drop as low as in the shallower *étang*.

⁵¹ See Loste & Dusserre 1996, pp. 35-45 for details of cycles of migration and seasonal variations in fish caught.

of the *prud'homie*. A fisherman's day changes in relation to this seasonal pattern, and other factors such as the weather,⁵² but usually begins at sunrise, as nets are placed in the shallows not far from the water's surface and the sun, powerful for most of the year, can easily damage the quality of the catch if the fish are exposed too long. Once he has checked his nets a fisherman returns to Bages with his day's catch, and after storing the fish will eat lunch and perhaps have a short siesta. His afternoon is often taken up in routine maintenance tasks, or heading out onto the *étang* to scout for, and place his nets in new locations.

5.1. FROM LA VOILE LATINE TO THE OUTBOARD ERA

Records of fishing on the *étangs* of the Narbonnais date to the 5th century BC, when the area was inhabited by a people called the Elysiques, although the waters were undoubtedly fished in various ways before then, and in Roman times the area was renowned for its mullet and oysters (Guiffan 1979:13, 25). In the early years of the twentieth century the individual household was the principal unit of production, fishing mainly to meet its own needs and occasionally selling surplus produce at markets in Narbonne. The means of production were such that it was not possible for a large surplus to be produced: boats were powered by sail, limiting the number of nets that could be serviced in a day; and nets themselves were hand-sewn from cotton, requiring lengthy construction and maintenance and regular periods out of water to avoid rotting. In 1926 the first outboard motor arrived in the village, the second in 1932 (Guiffan 1979:144). Called the *motogodille*, the design of this primitive motor meant that it often clogged with the weed

⁵² For example, when the Cers blows strong overnight, a fisherman knows many fish will be forced into the nets by the turbulent water, and will head out to check his nets early; when there is a full moon, on the other hand, catches will be poor as fish do not like moving in well-lit shallow water, and a fisherman might not bother to check his nets at all. At times in the summer months, fishing might also cease altogether, as bans are sometimes imposed by the *prud'homie* at times of *malaigue*, when the waters turn bad due to excessive heat and fish consequently become diseased.

and algae of the *étang* and was no match for the *voile latine* ('Latin Sail'), the characteristic triangular single sail of the Mediterranean, when the wind was blowing (see plate 11). Until the 1950s these conditions altered little and although the numbers of fishermen dropped, concomitant with the decreasing village population and presenting an impression of decline that was mirrored in the recollections of older fishermen, the economy of fishing remained relatively unchanged.

The number of fishermen working from Bages peaked this century at 54 in 1911 (see figs.18 & 22), declining consistently thereafter. Figures available show that numbers grew during the *phylloxera* period, suggesting that for those with access to fishing it provided a safe, stable livelihood. It is also worth recalling that many fishermen kept a small vineyard, supplementing their income at times of need (c.f. fig.21), although older fishermen also state that the reliability of fishing, compared with the instability of viticulture, meant that they were regarded as comparatively wealthy. This observation is reinforced by recollections of the now defunct *fête des pêcheurs* when, so that everyone could eat fish on this important day, they distributed it free to poor families (Guiffan 1979:144).⁵³ Developments during the 1960s and 1970s combined to render them wealthy in real terms for a short period of time: the introduction of nylon netting⁵⁴ and outboard motors, and a change in markets. Purchasing rolls of nylon netting meant that nets required less time to construct, and could be left in the water for longer without maintenance due to the durability of the man-made material; outboard motors meant

⁵³ *La fête des pêcheurs* ('the fisherman's fête'), otherwise known as *la fête de St Pierre* ('St Peter's fête'), was celebrated every year until the early 1960s 'for as long as anyone can remember', in recognition of St Peter's saint day which in Bages was held to fall on 1 July, rather than 29 June as is common elsewhere. It was a celebration common throughout the fishing communities of the French Mediterranean, and still takes place every year in nearby Gruissan, and elsewhere, on or around the 29 June. Older fishermen also recalled how during the summer months, when catches could be low, they would leave the village towards evening in a lorry for Port-la-Nouvelle, spending the night on the open sea fishing *à la traine* ('dragnet fishing').

that navigation around the *étang* was faster, and no longer relied on the wind. These factors created the possibility of deploying and tending more nets, thus increasing the size of catches. With the improving French transport infrastructure, the catches could be sent to Bordeaux via train, and later by lorry, arriving fresh to be sold on the markets. This meant that during the late 1960s and 1970s fishermen's incomes rose, and judging from the accounts of those I knew, high prices, increased consumer demand, and plentiful stocks of fish in the *étang* meant that they became moderately rich.

Further factors also contributed to their prosperity, including the development of a more stable market for eels in Italy, which continues to this day, and during the 1970s the number of fishermen, at an all-time low of 10 in 1968 (due to the lack of appeal of a purely subsistence activity to the young in the climate of post-war consumerism), increased dramatically to 20 or more, including a number of younger recruits. However, the boom did not last, and pollution affecting the eel population, both of the *étang* from factories in Narbonne, and out in the Atlantic and Mediterranean, as well as over-fishing of the *étang* itself, conspired to provoke a marked decrease in catches in the 1980s.⁵⁵ These difficulties were probably compounded by the collapse of the internal French market for eels in the late 1970s, creating a relation of dependence on Italian buyers whose desire for young fish cannot have helped the *étang*'s eel stocks. All the same, fishing remained a moderately profitable activity, and during my stay in Bages was often combined with part-time employment during the quiet periods of the annual fishing calendar, apparently continuing a long-term trend among fishermen of the area. The de-

⁵⁴ Nylon was subsequently replaced by other polyamides, and polypropylene. Plastic boats were also introduced at this time, although their effect was less decisive.

⁵⁵ Rigal (1994) details the extent of pollution in the *étang de Bages et de Sigean*, and Moriaty (1986) demonstrates that eel stocks have diminished throughout Europe in recent years. Lose & Dusserre (1996) point to these factors as the reason for the decrease in catches in the *étang* since the early 1980s, but their viewpoint is at odds with that of older fishermen, who also credited the thirst of young fishermen for

cline in numbers of fishermen since the early 1990s, and the tendency of many young people to fish only part-time, or from time to time, demonstrates the desire of residents of Bages to maximise their income rather than remaining with a profession whose future is uncertain, due to the on-going decrease in catches. Nevertheless, fishing was a significant economic activity among permanent residents of the village during my time there, and there existed a strong sense of community among fishermen, despite their competitive differences, although this has declined in the last 30 years.⁵⁶ It was also an important component of local identity: Bages was frequently labelled *un village de pêcheurs* ('a fishing village'), despite the low numbers of fishermen working in the *commune* in relation to other activities, and this influenced ways in which people temporalised the past as we shall see in later chapters.

6. THE MIGRANT RETURNS: TOURISM AND LE NARBOTROPISME

In this final section considering the lives of those I knew in Bages from a long-term historical perspective, I consider the related issues of tourism and *le Narbotropisme*, both of which have been important recent influences on the social composition of the village, and on the temporalisation of the village past. *Narbotropisme* is a term invented by researchers at the University of Toulouse-Le Mirail in 1990, to account for the growing attraction of Narbonne as a centre for employment and in-migration during the 1980s (Amiel *et al.* 1994:324). Narbonne is sited at a geographic meeting point, where

profit and their lack of respect for the *étang* as a shared resource. It would seem that both factors have an important role to play.

⁵⁶ During the 19th century, Guiffan writes, 'the fishermen always formed a separate world apart,' (Guiffan 1979:127, my translation), an observation upheld by a number of older fishermen I knew who remarked how fishermen and their families used to keep company with each other, comprising a tight community that spent much of its time either fishing, or talking about fishing, a world within the world of the village. This situation has changed over recent decades as numbers have declined and younger fishermen have

the plain of the French Mediterranean coast meets the plain descending from Toulouse, and since the 19th century it has also been at a rail crossroads based on these same geographic features. In the 1970s further infrastructure was created with the completion of the *autoroute* ('motorway') from Catalunya, the most economically developed region of Spain, via Narbonne to Orange in 1975, and from Narbonne to Toulouse, and on to Bordeaux, in 1979. Amiel *et al.* point to these developments as *the* significant factor in facilitating economic and demographic development in the area, quoting figures for the early 1990s of 13,000 vehicles a day at the Narbonne entry to the *autoroute*, with 1,100 lorries a day heading for the 'Croix Sud' commercial and industrial centre, built in the last 20 years to the south of the city, and just 7 km from Bages (Amiel *et al.* 1994:325).⁵⁷ It would seem that Narbonne's position as a node in the southern French, and wider north-west Mediterranean road transport network, has been an important influence on the recent history of the area (as its position on the railways has been in the past), but Narbonne's popularity is probably also related to a recent trend of migration throughout France towards the Mediterranean coast with its attractive climate (INSEE 1991b, 1992).

In the Narbonnais, the recent developments in regional infrastructure have had two principal effects: the growth of service and other industries, including a tourist industry facilitated by the *autoroutes*; and a related rise in population as migrants arrive seeking work from rural areas, whose economies are in crisis due to post-war developments in

joined and left the profession, and fishermen are now more integrated with the permanent residents of the village.

⁵⁷ The SNCF (*société nationale des chemins de fer*, the French state railway network) has also recently updated and electrified the track from Narbonne to the Spanish border town of Port Bou, an additional factor in the improvement of the regional transport infrastructure (Amiel *et al.*:407).

agriculture.⁵⁸ Turning first to the question of employment, in the mid-1990s major employers in the Narbonne area included the hospital, with 700 employees; Micron Couleurs (of the Orkem group), producing colour dyes, which employed 130 people; and in nearby Malvesi, Comurhex, a uranium treatment centre with 375 employees. There were also six agricultural food processing plants in Narbonne, and the Lafargue cement works at Port-la-Nouvelle, which also had a petrol depot and a working port.⁵⁹ Many other jobs also existed in the several large supermarkets in Narbonne, and in tourist-related businesses, such as hotels and restaurants. The development of many of these businesses can be traced to the post-*autoroute* period.

The attraction of the Narbonnais as a pole for in-migration is clearly reflected in recent census figures. From 1982 to 1990 the population of the Aude grew by 16,900, 11,600 of them, or roughly two-thirds, moving to the Narbonne area. With 120,000 people living in and around the Narbonnais in 1990, it represented 40% of the total departmental population, and the city of Narbonne, at 47,000 inhabitants, was the largest urban centre in the *département*, surpassing Carcassonne for the first time in recent history. This attraction can also be seen in the unemployment figures for the Narbonnais, at 18% as opposed to an average of 13% for the rest of the Aude, as many people moved to the area looking for work as well. With respect to the *arrondissement* of Narbonne itself, in

⁵⁸ In fact a shift from agriculture to other economic sectors is characteristic of the Aude (and France) as a whole. Figures for the *département* from 1991 indicate that 12% were employed in agriculture, 18% in industry, and 70% in the 'tertiary sector'. These are comparable with figures for Languedoc, where since 1982 the agricultural and industrial sectors have diminished throughout (Amiel *et al.* 1994:334). In 1990 the tertiary sector comprised financial, banking, university and civil service employment in Montpellier, a 'superior tertiary' based on its status as regional capital; and an 'inferior tertiary' in the Aude itself, where numerous people were employed in commerce, less prestigious civil service jobs, the military and public sector, and there was little industry, higher education and research institutes. Altogether in the Aude, the state alone employed 25,000 people, over 25% of the active workforce (*ibid.*:338-9).

⁵⁹ Located on the *grau* of the *étang*, the port is not well-positioned, and must be dragged frequently. Only relatively small ships can therefore access it, tankers unloading offshore, and in the late 1980s it was not among the top 30 fishing ports of France, its total catch in 1985-6 lower than 1967-8 (Amiel *et al.* 1994:406).

1990 13% of the active population worked in agriculture, as opposed to 8.8% for the Aude, testifying to the fact that viticulture, which constituted 90% of the agricultural output in 1985, was diminishing at a slower rate here than elsewhere. This was partly due to Narbonne's focal role in bottling and distribution for the producers of the Minervois and Corbières regions, as well as for the wine-growers of the Narbonnais itself (Amiel et al. 1994:324-326, INSEE 1991a, 1991b, 1992).

These developments have affected Bages both socio-economically and demographically, as along with other *communes* on the outskirts of Narbonne it has been subject to various forms of peri-urbanisation.⁶⁰ For example, from an economic point of view the decreasing importance of the village as a site of employment (see figs.4 & 5), and the growing importance of Narbonne, has been complemented by the effects of commercial centres in the city on village shops. During the 1970s there were two general food-stores in the village, and a baker, with the village butchers closing in the late 1960s. Such village-based commerce had been in gradual decline alongside population numbers,⁶¹ but this was then greatly increased by the construction of Croix Sud, with its Géant-Casino hypermarket and numerous other food-stores against which village shops could not compete. By 1996 there was only one store in the village, that stocked basic provisions and acted as a bread depot, with weekly visits by a mobile fishmonger and a butcher. This decline is also related to a more general socio-cultural shift, as the relations be-

⁶⁰ Peri-urbanisation: a common phenomenon affecting villages and towns in close proximity to developing urban centres, which become increasingly assimilated into, and influenced by the socio-economic and cultural life of the conurbation (Amiel et al. 1994:333).

⁶¹ For example, in the village of Bages in 1906 there had been 10 people working in bakeries, 2 butchers, 3 grocers, 1 hairdresser, 2 milkmen, 4 seamstresses, 1 tailor, 1 watchmaker, and even a wigmaker; by 1968, of all these professions, there was only 1 baker and 1 grocer left (*liste nominatives* 1906, 1968, although another grocer opened during the 1970s). There has been some revival in village-based business since the late 1980s, however, mainly related to tourism, with the opening of a number of restaurants and art galleries in the village, but these do not provide many opportunities for employing permanent residents of the locality.

tween men and women changed and women learnt to drive, enabling them to shop outside the village (c.f. fig.23).

Indeed, along with wider social changes in French life since the 1960s, peri-urbanisation has also had a significant effect on the outlook of those living in the *commune*. Developments in the mass media, schooling, and the related infiltration of the values of a wider national and internationally oriented consumerism have altered the sense of locality of people living in the village, raised their expected standards of living, and affected their attitudes and living habits in a multitude of ways. For example, church attendances have dropped, and few people in the village openly professed adherence to the Catholic religion any more;⁶² more young people co-habited outside marriage; and earning higher wages to enable the purchase of greater quantities of consumer goods has become a professed ambition of both young and middle aged people. Such changes have also had important consequences for local temporalisations of the past, as we shall see in later chapters. In general, such developments have assured a cultural integration into a state and wider capitalist network that began in earnest with the viticultural revolution some one hundred years ago. But in recent years they have been accentuated by the growing importance of the Narbonne in village life, and related demographic changes have ensured a substantial shift in the village population, which has had important consequences for power relations within the locality.

In population terms, the *commune* of Bages experienced a substantial rise in permanent residents in the 1982-1990 period, from 547 to 698 inhabitants. Although the natural growth rate became positive for the first time since 1906, there was also a very high rate

⁶² By 1996-7 there was no longer a resident priest in the *commune*. One visited on Saturdays to hold the village's weekly mass for the 15 or so people who attended regularly, and perform wedding blessings.

of in-migration into the *commune*, in keeping with trends throughout the Narbonnais (see figs.11-14, & fig.28). This was reflected in the building of the *lotissements* in the village, and throughout the *commune* as a whole, with 27% of all housing having been built since 1982, and it is also visible in the shift in the number of people working in the *commune*, with 62% working outside it in 1990 compared to only 44% in 1982 (figs.4, 5, & 26). There has been a comparable shift in the composition of the workforce reflecting these new residents, with the percentage working in agriculture and fishing declining by half, from 22% to 11%, a leap in the number of unemployed, a decrease in the numbers working in industry, and a rise in those employed in the tertiary sector: 8% of the active population working in transport and telecommunications, 8% in building, civil and agricultural engineering, and 21% working in retail (fig.3), signalling a general increase in the central class constellation. A glance at the number of second home owners (figs.24 & 25) reveals that since the 1980s their numbers have in fact steadied, indicative of the turn-around in the trends of depopulation and decline that have characterised the lives of the village inhabitants for the greater part of the 20th century. However, the current problems of unemployment and recession facing France as a whole have, since these figures were published, provoked hardship for many inhabitants whose livelihoods have been adversely affected.

Despite these developments, in the late 1990s true Bageois and established immigrants still comprised the dominant section of the population, making up approximately two thirds of the total permanent population. But in other ways their influence has recently been in decline. This is most visible in the arena of communal politics, that since the decline of the power of large landowners in the post-war period had been largely under the influence of Bageois. In 1995, however, this situation changed, when for the first

time a *conseil municipal* containing more recent immigrants than Bageois came to power, a consequence of the substantial in-migration into the *commune* during the 1980s, and recent immigrants' growing influence. I will be addressing the actions of this new municipality, and their consequences for the temporalisation of the village past in chapter seven, although the influence of recent immigrants will be apparent throughout the later chapters of the thesis. Indeed, it will become clear that recent historical developments associated with peri-urbanisation, and in particular the diversification of the population, were central to the ways in which the past was temporalised in Bages, although they were themselves complemented by one further phenomenon: the development of tourism.

6.1. TOURISM AND *LE PAYS CATHARE*⁶³

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 (Ardagh 1973, Urry 1990).⁶⁴ 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 *étangs* 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 cash in on, and augment this tendency by creating a vast panorama of new holiday resorts along the Languedocian coast, offsetting the more expensive and

⁶³ 'Cathar Country'.

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 Bages, 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).⁶⁵ 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 eco-

⁶⁴ Amiel *et al.* 1994, Ardagh 1973, 1988, Mendras & Cole 1991, and Urry 1990, 1995 provide the basis for the discussion that follows.

⁶⁵ Although there were several attempts to construct sizeable caravan and camping sites on the borders of the *étang* 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 Bages, Louis Alberny, to the *préfet de l'Aude* ('governor of the Aude') on the 30.6.72 testifies: 'The *commune* of Bages 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.' (ADA 1603w76). A number of more substantial plans for developing the village and its surroundings were also been 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 *étang* (see ADA 1603w76, and unclassified papers in the AMB for full details). This negative attitude towards tourist development was still present in the

conomic growth and jobs in inland rural areas adversely affected by the modernisation of agriculture. The plan was to mobilise 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 commoditised; 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. This phenomenon, visible on a regional and national level, symptomatic of certain world-wide developments in the tourist industry and world economy, has been termed ‘cultural tourism’ by anthropologists, and has very specific histories depending on the area concerned.⁶⁶

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*. 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 *le comité départemental du tourisme* (‘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 centre-piece of the new tourist initiative, and touristic identity for the *département*. This was in

village during 1996-7, but was complemented by other, more positive attitudes, as will become apparent in later chapters.

⁶⁶ ‘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 recrea-

keeping with the wider drive throughout France to develop the historic regional particularities which characterised the country as a whole for tourist consumption. A centre for the study of the Cathars was created, and a museum established in the town of Puivert, while *le Pays Cathare* became the brand-mark for a project whose objectives were to revitalise the rural economy, and spread and augment the profits to be had from tourism throughout the department as a whole (Amiel *et al.* 1994:349).

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). Special provision was also made in the project for the sale of food with the creation of the association *Aude Gourmande*,⁶⁷ a brand mark for a collection of 'traditional' regional food products, typically created by small-scale producers, which, having been selected according to special criteria, could then be marketed through the *Pays Cathare* infrastructure.

Under the direction of *le comité de liaison interconsulaire de l'Aude* ('Interconsular Liaison Committee') of the *département*, since 1983 a competition has been held, each

tional 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).

⁶⁷ '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 the key referent here, Aude being, of course, the name of the *département*. Combine these two meanings, and you have the sense of it.

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* 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 Bages, 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 *conseil* were in fact vigorously in favour of developing cultural tourism in the *commune*, drawing actively on the village past to create an image of the present that would appeal to visiting tourists. Such activities therefore constituted a significant influence on the ways in which the past was temporalised in Bages, and in this respect various case studies will be addressed in chapters five to seven. At the same time, the conflict that resulted from the intersection of these more commercial interests with other strategies of temporalising the village past, and which was predicated on shifting power relations in the *commune*, will emerge as a recurrent theme.

7. SUMMARY: THE DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

I began this chapter by introducing the village of Bages, and situating it in a geographical and administrative context. I then detailed its permanent and temporary inhabitants, key social groupings, and other aspects of local sociality of significance to this thesis. In subsequent sections of the chapter I situated Bages in a long-term historical context, and related previous developments in the village to aspects of the lives of people living there during my fieldwork. I detailed the important influence of viticulture on the *commune*,

and its relationship to the composition of true Bageois and established immigrant social groupings. I discussed the recent history of the economy and transport infrastructure in the Narbonnais, highlighting the phenomenon of peri-urbanisation and its demographic and socio-cultural influences, and I detailed the recent development of cultural tourism in the area. And I also provided wider ethnographic detail perhaps not so immediately relevant to the ways in which people I met in Bages lived and viewed the world, but useful nonetheless in providing a general point of reference and informative context for forthcoming discussion.

It is clear that the dynamics of long-term, and short-term currents of social change both worked together to create the particular set of social circumstances that existed in Bages during the research period. Contemporary and historical material, I noted, illustrates how the various ways in which Bageois defined themselves and others in the village were related to the history of movement and migration that has characterised the area since the 19th century, and in particular to the turbulent course of local economic development. Recent historical developments, and particularly recent in-migration, have also diversified strategies for temporalising the past in the locality, and along with a consequent shift in power relationships have sown the seeds for conflict among different sections of the population. This is the immediate historical context from which the focus of this thesis has emerged, as I am concerned to analyse and assess the consequences of recent developments in the temporalisation of the local past, a phenomenon predicated on its varied role in different socialities. Finally, this history comprises the material context on which local temporalisations of the village past draw. As my argument progresses, the significance of this ethnographic and historical material will become more apparent.

3

THE TEMPORALITIES OF THE LATE 1990s

1. PREAMBLE

This chapter focuses on the temporalities of the late 1990s in Bages, and in particular the temporalisation of the past. I examine the temporality of social life at a general level, and the past's role in it, before moving on to discuss the village past in particular, and I illustrate how the conditions of historical social change detailed in chapter two related to this. In this regard, the chapter introduces ethnographically my central theme. I begin with a general overview, in section 2, of how time was organised and experienced in Bages in everyday life. Although such issues were not an explicit focus of my research, they are an important component of any discussion of temporality, and must therefore be addressed. In section 3 I then move on to analyse the cumulative effects of the social transformations outlined above on local temporalities. Developing and qualifying the work of modernity theorists (Giddens 1990, 1991, Heelas 1996), I examine

how any period of social change, particularly when occurring at the recent rapid rate it has in Bages, entails a shift in the temporal modality of human activity, as the balance between habit and innovation swings towards the latter. Where capitalism is the dominant economic strategy, such theorists suggest, relying as it does on a competitive revolutionising of the activity of production to satisfy the profit motive, imagined and anticipated futures begin to play a more important role.¹ In Bages, I argue, local socio-economic activities have been particularly affected by such recent social transformations, and were indeed instrumental in both introducing, and maintaining the presence of new future-oriented temporal orientations, although not exclusively so. In sections 3.1. and 3.2 I illustrate ethnographically how this shift took place.

However, rather than the past diminishing as a component of local sociality, as modernity theorists suggest, the nature of its significance has diversified. The reasons for this development are complex, and are discussed in section 3.3. First, recent rapid social transformation has created a predilection for the past, as the fabric of everyday life became transient, and migration increasingly common. In Bages, for example, migrants sought to substitute the sense of place afforded by long-term residence through other means (e.g. local history), while other related factors, such as cultural tourism and future-orientation in social life, also played a part. Secondly, recent history has seen the rise of what I have termed the 'expanding past', an unprecedented growth in the volume of the accessible virtual past. On the one hand, technological innovations since the 19th century in printing, photography, the media, archives, and techniques of mass pro-

¹ 'Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier times. All fixed, fast-frozen relationships, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air...' (Marx & Engels 1952:45-46). See also Giddens 1990:11-12 & 1991:15; Deleuze & Guattari 1984:34-5; Pearson 1999:219-221.

duction have all increased the potential pasts that may be temporalised. On the other hand, rapid social change has contributed to the growth of the accessible past as many aspects of social and material life are 'discarded' on a regular basis. Finally, a broad interest in the past has been a component of Western social life for many hundreds of years, while the past itself, of course, is important to most forms of human sociality, and this wider context must also be taken into consideration. Such matters assume their concrete significance for this thesis in section 4, a key point in the thesis where I outline the different temporalisations of the village past and the main concerns of my later chapters. In the concluding summary I comment on the nature of these differing practices, and their relationship to the social groupings in the village outlined in chapter two.

2. THE TEMPORAL FABRIC OF EVERYDAY LIFE

All temporalising practices draw on cultural devices that organise and inform our lived experience of time, as stated in chapter one. I begin this section by introducing these in Bages, before moving on to consider the specific role of rituals and commemorations. For people I knew such cultural devices were influenced both by factors indigenous to the locality itself, and by their status as residents in the French nation state, and in Western Europe. Let us start with language, the most significant and pervasive organisational tool in everyday temporalising projects and which, as the historical product of contingent temporalities, always reflects a particular temporal disposition (Le Goff 1992:4, Tonkin 1992:75-82). French was the language spoken by the majority of people I worked with. Through its tenses, temporal nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, and its temporal metaphors, temporal relationships were shaped, expressed, and negotiated in the

course of everyday activity, while its capacity for naming enabled the establishment and maintenance of the social world (c.f. Tilley 1994:18-19, Cauquelin 1995). The French language itself, like other Romance languages, may be used to refer to finished actions existing in the virtual past; to anticipated futures; and to on-going activities occurring in the 'present', an expanded temporal horizon encompassing aspects of the immediate past and future. In this respect it underwrote the common sense logic of my collaborators who divided lived time into past, present, and future, for which various terms were used depending on the context of activity. Although there are certain differences between the ways in which temporal relationships are expressed in English and French, there is a broad compatibility between the two languages which consequently facilitates the objectives of this thesis. On the few occasions where direct translation of a term lacks precision, however, this is duly noted and explicated in the text.²

Everyday relations between past, present and future were predominantly experienced as a lived time of duration (Bergson 1988), where past and future merged and differentiated in a seamless, living present. At the same time, the characteristics of these lived experiences, and the ways in which they were conceptualised, were the products of contingent temporalities and also varied as the lives and activities of those I knew varied. Despite this heterogeneity, however, there were certain organisational tools, above and beyond the common linguistic tool of French and the related division of time into past, present and future, that were pervasive in the locality. People made extensive use of devices of temporal mapping in the course of everyday temporalising practices – calendars and clocks of various sorts – whose spread has been linked to the development of

² Beyond what has just been stated, I do not undertake a detailed review of the temporal vocabulary, grammar, and logic of the French language in this thesis. See Glanville Price's *A Comprehensive French Grammar* (1993) for grammatical details on time in the French language, Brunot (1905) & Imbs (1956)

capitalist 'work discipline' and wider technological innovations (Thompson 1967, Kern 1983; c.f. Bourdieu 1977:97-109). Although more or less important depending on the activity involved, their presence demonstrates how such abstract schemes were an intrinsic component of everyday temporalities in the village in the 1990s. Indeed, when I first arrived in Bages I was struck by the way in which even retired people, who I imagined would lead less regimented lives than those younger than them, would arrange a precise date and time at which I could come and visit them. This reflects how firmly residents of Bages were integrated into wider temporal and economic networks, and had been, of course, since at least the mid-19th century.

The calendar used in Bages was the Gregorian, the dominant calendar in Western Europe and many other parts of the world, and common enough not to need detailing here. Diaries, wall calendars, personal organisers, and wristwatches were all commonplace ways in which this schema for the shaping and organisation of time was mobilised in temporalising practices. It was pervasive in all forms of the media, from the daily papers to radio and television broadcasts, as well as being the official calendar of the French state, and also articulated the lives of my collaborators into a wider national and world time and the concomitant power relationships that accompanied this.³ With respect to clock time, in keeping with the rest of France and some other parts of continental Europe, people commonly used the 24 hour clock to indicate the time of day, and all houses I entered possessed a clock of some form, most people also carrying wristwatches. Clock time was an important tool for temporalising everyday life, was once

for historical analyses of its temporal attributes, and Le Goff (1992:4-7) for a concise general introduction.

³ As Munn writes (1992:109): 'Authority over the annual calendar (the chronological definition, timing, and sequence of daily and seasonal activities), or of other chronological instruments like clock time, not only controls aspects of the everyday lives of persons but also connects this level of control to a more

again a feature of media and state temporalising practices, and in the form of the public clock on the *mairie* was also a potent aspect of the experience of village locality: the clock's characteristic chimes, audible throughout the village and its immediate surroundings, struck every quarter of an hour, and twice on the hour, day and night.⁴

The cycles of weather, vegetal growth, and the changing hours of daylight characteristic of different times of year were periodised into four seasons, *le printemps* (spring), *l'été* (summer), *l'automne* (autumn), and *l'hiver* (winter), as is common throughout temperate parts of the world. Important seasonal social cycles such as the holiday months of July and August were also used as periodising markers of temporal orientation. Other organisational aspects of temporalities were derived from the practices of which they were composed. Economic activities such as fishing and viticulture, for example, were based around natural, seasonal cycles of the movement of fish, or the growth of vines, which were themselves objectified as alternative calendars for the execution of such activities. Seasonal work for wine growers, such as the grape harvest in September, *le temps de la vendange* ('the time of the grape harvest'), or the cutting of vine branches in late winter and spring, provided alternative ways of periodising the year, as the seasonal variations in fish caught, and particularly the *barrage* during the autumn, did for fishermen. At the same time, they also comprised aspects of the lived experience of which such temporalities consisted.

comprehensive universe that entails critical values and potencies in which governance is grounded.' C.f. Glennie & Thrift 1998.

⁴ Throughout France most public clocks strike the hour twice to enable people to count the number of chimes struck. A clock was first installed in Bages on 13 January 1708 by 'Sieur Castaing', a clock-maker from Limoux. 'A gift of 100 livres bequeathed by messire Jean-François de Vaquemont, former rector of Peyriac, was utilised to build a clock so the community... could know the hours of masses' (Guiffan 1979:67), the initial reason for the spread of public clocks into rural Europe during the 17th and 18th centuries. The rector did not bequeath monies for its maintenance, however, which was a frequent and costly

Calendars and clock time, along with other temporal images, were also components of the ways in which people imagined the relationship between past and future. Time was popularly envisaged as moving in an irreversible chronological progression, that accorded with the progression of years in the calendar, the eternal motion of the hands of a clock, and the movement of human, animal and vegetal life from conception to death. This formed the basis for the conceptualisation of individual identity, and through the possibilities it afforded for the imagination of simultaneity, the wider national and world communities (Anderson 1991:22-28). Such linear images of time also combined, however, with cyclical images, based around the seasons of the year, and the common characteristics of individual lives. Birthdays, for example, were celebrated among those I knew, and demonstrated the individualised nature of local identity, in keeping with other areas of Western Europe. They were most important to the young, who were given gifts by friends and members of their immediate family, although many older people still celebrated theirs with a special meal or celebratory drink, and wedding anniversaries provided another example of this kind. Such events were part of the life cycle itself, for which the principal periodisations were *l'enfance* ('childhood'), *la jeunesse* ('youth'), *l'âge adulte* ('adulthood'), and *le troisième âge* ('retirement'), stages through which each individual would pass between birth and death. These linear and cyclical images provided frameworks through which the co-ordinates of past and future could be mapped, although they were, of course, embedded in particular temporalities and social contexts. The most important of these was undoubtedly the family, and the life cycle in particular was embodied in relationships with other generations (c.f. Bestard-Camps 1991). For those involved with their families in viticulture or fishing, the temporality of inheritance was similarly important (although subject to disruption due to the uncer-

concern for subsequent village administrations, and until the mid-19th century the clock was regularly in a state of disrepair (Guiffan 1979:78-79).

tainty produced by social change), orienting individuals towards previous generations who had worked the vineyards or *étang*, and future generations who might do so.

Finally, regarding the perimeters of human action, what was past lay firmly beyond the influence of human agency, although through various means aspects of the past could of course be accessed. With respect to the future, a certain degree of agency existed, although there were recognised limitations, and with the frequency of social change had come a growth in future awareness and life planning (c.f. Berger, Berger & Kellner 1974, Giddens 1991; see section 3). Economic futures, for example, were widely perceived as uncertain and unpredictable, and dictated by market forces beyond the control of any single individual, although governments were popularly expected to make a better job of it. A person's could therefore work hard, and attempt to plan ahead and foresee difficult circumstances, but beyond that outcomes were put down to luck, or fate, or in a few cases religious agency.⁵ There was also a limited belief in sooth-saying, whether popularly and light-heartedly through astrology, or more seriously among the people who visited mediums. Such activities attempted to discern more precisely what the future held in store, but the prophecies they produced were treated dubiously by most people.⁶

2.1. RITUALS AND COMMEMORATIONS

Aside from the rhythms of economic activity, there were important ritual events that, occurring at specific dates in the yearly calendar, served as symbolic markers for different periods of the year. In some cases they were also an aspect of the way in which the

⁵ Very few people seemed to believe in divine providence or fate in the sense that a person's destiny was pre-determined. When religious agency was credited in this way it was usually done so flippantly and without serious intention, although for the religious it was evidently taken more seriously.

national past was temporalised, and served to integrate the village into the wider community of the French state. The three most important national events were *la Fête Nationale*, or Bastille Day (14 July), *la Toussaint* (1 November), and Armistice Day (11 November). Bastille Day celebrates the storming of the infamous Bastille prison in Paris during the French Revolution, and commemorates the founding of the French Republic. Not actually inaugurated until 1880 (Gillis 1994:9), it is a national holiday, and at the time of my fieldwork was marked by widespread media attention and televised coverage of a parade of the nation's armed forces in Paris. Throughout other parts of France, celebrations varied. In the Narbonnais there were fireworks displays in Narbonne, Gruissan and Port-la-Nouvelle, all of which were visible from Bages and were watched by many people from the village. However, among most of those I knew the event was valued mainly for the day's holiday it provided, and its commemorative aspects, on a national level, were of minor importance.

La Toussaint was more significant. Falling on All Saints Day, an important date in the Catholic calendar, it is the time when all French people remember the dead, and particularly their dead relatives. In Bages many people either visited relatives' graves, which were decorated with chrysanthemums, or remembered among themselves those friends and members of their immediate family who had died. Despite attention in the national media, it was a very private day of commemoration, as opposed to Armistice Day, which fell shortly afterwards. This marks the end of World War One in 1918, and is a national day of remembrance for those who had died. In Paris the French president, Jacques Chirac, laid a wreath at the 'grave of the unknown soldier', and other formal state ceremonies, reported widely through the media, performed similar symbolic acts

⁶ Although with an open mind. Many people held an agnostic attitude to such phenomena, and to religion itself, and were uncertain about what factors influenced their course in life.

across France. In Bages there was a procession by the mayor of the village, members of the *conseil municipal*, and local members of the *Légion française*, the war veterans association, from the *mairie* to the cemetery, where they laid a wreath at the village war memorial. In general, however, although Bastille Day and Armistice Day both registered in public consciousness, and for some were important events on the yearly calendar, *la Toussaint* produced a much stronger sense of a wider French community precisely because of the intimate nature of remembering that it signified.

Other important ritual events in the yearly calendar were the celebration of *Noël* ('Christmas Day'), on the 25 December, and *St. Sylvestre*, marking the arrival of the New Year during the night of 31 December to 1 January. Everyone in Bages knew that *Noël* commemorated the birth date of Jesus Christ, but only a few people attended midnight mass in the village church the night before. It was more popularly celebrated as a time of giving gifts, of coming together with other family members, and over-indulgence in food and wine. Although in France, as in the UK, Christmas is often publicly derided as a celebration of consumer society due to the emphasis placed on abnormally high levels of consumption (c.f. Miller 1993), it was also an important occasion for those I knew to mark their relationships with others by the giving of gifts, and to relax with their loved ones during the public holidays of the 25 and 26 December. *St Sylvestre* was celebrated in Bages with a disco for the young at the village school, and private parties among families and friends in their homes. It was an important marker of periodisation in the social calendar, the beginning of the new calendar year creating a feeling of fresh starts and a break with the past, and many people used the occasion to make New Year's resolutions to improve their habits.

Many writers have noted how historical memory works through mechanisms of power in the construction and maintenance of national identity and relations of domination (e.g. Gillis 1994, Llobera 1996, Ozouf 1985, Schwartz 1982). Rituals of commemoration are one way in which national histories are reproduced in public consciousness. Yet although events such as Bastille Day and Armistice Day were important for some of those I knew, for most people they were of little significance. Sentiments of French identity were constructed primarily through education, residence in France, and speaking the French language, and were more likely to transcend local and regional sentiments of belonging during major sporting events, or holidays abroad.⁷ The hegemony of the French state was achieved through other mechanisms, although national events such as Bastille Day functioned to maintain the presence and identity of the state in the eyes of the public, and *la Toussaint*, as already mentioned, helped to produce a sense of national community. At a local level *la fête des pêcheurs* and *la fête du village* ('village fête'), had disappeared from the yearly calendar, a consequence of the social and economic transformations in the locality in the last 40 years, and the reduction of the agricultural workforce meant that the *la fête de la vendange*, celebrating the end of the grape harvest, was no longer a communal affair. However, the *sardinade*, the annual fête of *la boule bageoise*,⁸ had been running since the early 1970s, and had effectively taken the place of the old village fête. At the same time, a number of new fêtes had appeared in the village in the 1990s, mainly related to the tourist industry (c.f. Boissevain 1992), and I shall be addressing the most significant of these in chapter five, section 3,

⁷ Or even weddings. In France, it is the state that marries a couple, rather than the church. The wedding ceremony itself takes place in the *mairie*, usually overlooked by the large photo of the French president that hangs in *mairies* throughout the country, and only once the couple is married can they, if desired, move on to the church for a blessing.

⁸ A *sardinade* is a meal of barbecued sardines; *la boule bageoise* was the village *pétanque*, or bowls club.

although it was clear that local fêtes no longer periodised the year as they once had done.⁹

3. THE TEMPORALITIES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

Such was the broad framework for the experience of time in Bages, and I move on to introduce the temporalities of life in the village, and the role of the past in them, focusing particularly on how temporal modalities have altered as a result of the social changes outlined in chapter two. Much of the academic writing on the temporal modality of everyday life in Western Europe has emerged in the context of debates on modernity. Anthony Giddens, one of the key contributors to this literature, has defined modernity as ‘modes of organisation of social life which emerged in Europe from about the 17th century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence’ (Giddens 1990:1). The objectives of writers such as Giddens have been to illustrate at a very general level the sociological characteristics of modernity as a contemporary, and predominantly capitalist period of human history. However, their assumptions regarding the temporality of modernity, while featuring prominently in their arguments, have often remained untheorised, rather than being problematised and brought to the fore. In this respect, the pre-modern period has been unreflexively characterised as consisting of ‘traditional’ societies, where the future is produced and conceived of in the past’s image; whereas the modern period that has succeeded it is com-

⁹ A look at Guiffan 1979, however, illustrates how fêtes in the village have regularly changed over the past 300 years. In the 18th and 19th centuries there were frequent occasional fêtes celebrating events in national life, such as the birth of the Duke of Anjou in 1731, the seizure of the château of Milan in 1734, and the baptism of the Duke of Bordeaux on the 1 May 1821; there were also annual fêtes in honour of the French monarchy. By the mid-19th century, there is first mention of the *fête des pêcheurs*, which might well have been in evidence beforehand, and celebrations of the monarchy had become celebration of the French emperors. Then during the period of viticultural domination, the village fête of 11 November (which had become a regular feature by 1888), the celebration of carnival (mardi gras), and the *fête de la vengeance* occurred annually until the 1950s, and provided the local historical context against which the current dearth of fêtes was measured by people I knew in 1996-7 (Guiffan 1979:67,93,105).

prised of 'post-traditional' societies, where the future is an all-encompassing concern and the past pales into insignificance. The ethnographic detail of these historical periods, however, while present at a general level, is lacking in specificities, and actual temporalities of everyday practice are rarely addressed.¹⁰

It is clear that for many of these writers, the characterisation of an era of 'gesellschaft' relies implicitly on its opposition to a vanished past of 'gemeinschaft' (Tonnies 1955). In the past few years, however, the broad generalisations that are the hallmark of this distinction, and of much writing on modernity as a whole, are becoming increasingly problematic. Heelas, in the introduction to a recent volume addressing the traditional/post-traditional distinction that is a principal feature of such periodisations, notes how 'although it cannot be denied that detraditionalisation has taken place, it is nevertheless possible to argue that claims that we have lurched – or are lurching – into a post-traditional age are highly contestable' (1996:1).¹¹ He goes on to outline what he terms the 'radical thesis', typified by the work of Giddens and other writers proposing widespread 'detraditionalisation', a decline in the significance of the past, and a growth in the importance of the future. He contrasts this to a 'coexistence thesis', which emphasises the constructed nature of 'traditions', and while acknowledging the importance of

¹⁰ See Benjamin 1983, 1992, Berger, Berger & Kellner 1973, Giddens 1990, 1991, Hall, Held & McGrew 1992, Nora 1989, Terdiman 1993, Thompson 1996, Tonnies 1955, & Weber 1964, some of the most prominent writers to draw on this model of historical periodisation. Osborne 1991, 1995 provides a concise philosophical analysis of the temporality of this trend.

¹¹ Heelas 1996:1. Adam, writing in the same volume, provides a related critique of this use of tradition that is equally applicable to Tonnies's distinction, mentioned above: 'Detraditionalisation is constituted with reference to tradition, which is the source of its being, a source with which it is no longer identified and which is conceived as its "other". This means that the conceptual tool with which we are to grasp and explain reflexively organised authority in an age of uncertainty, disorder, flux and contingency is *fixed* with reference to a postulated past condition and narrowly defined in terms of what it is *not*' (Adam 1996:136, her emphasis).

widespread social change in recent European, and world history, proposes that this is an uneven and contingent set of transformations and must be examined as such.¹²

From the perspective on temporality adopted in this thesis, the distinction between the implicit temporal modalities of social practices, and the qualities of continuity or discontinuity with the past such practices are perceived to possess by those involved in them, clearly problematises any straightforward labelling of 'pre-modern' sociality as 'traditional'. First, any approach to 'tradition' that inserts its analysis into a historical context must of course acknowledge that no social practices have *ever* existed beyond the reach of social transformations of one form or another (Wolf 1982). Secondly, an emphasis on social life as existing in flux stresses that no repetition in the reproduction of social life is *ever* 'the same'. A 'traditional' society is therefore only ever an interval of relative stability between two periods of social transformation (when temporal modalities are of necessity future oriented, although it is also the case that the *habit* of anticipation could itself be considered as past-oriented in nature). At the same time, it is perfectly feasible for a short-term past-oriented, or 'traditional' temporal modality to be endowed with a 'factually incorrect' long-term temporal continuity by those involved in it (Hobsbawn & Ranger 1985), which would be overlooked by an approach concerned solely to identify 'traditional' characterisations.

By contrast, the approach adopted here allows an examination of temporal modalities, indigenous understandings of temporal continuity, and historical contextualisation,

¹² 'The best way to emphasise detraditionalisation,' Heelas writes, 'is to posit a comprehensively tradition-dominated past, a comprehensively post-traditional present/future, and to attend solely to those processes which serve to detraditionalise. In contrast, the best way to criticise the (radical) loss-of-tradition thesis is to argue that "the traditional" (serving to gauge what has been lost) is not as tradition-dominated as might be supposed, that "the modern/post-modern" is not as detraditionalised as might be claimed, and that detraditionalising processes do not occur in isolation from other processes, namely those to do with

permitting an analysis that explicitly considers either one, or all of these categories depending on specific objectives. In an emphasis on ethnographic contingency similar to Heelas's 'coexistence thesis', I focus on the measure of continuity in the reproduction of social practices, which if present indicates a predominantly past-oriented temporal modality; and the ways in which such continuity is perceived and maintained by those involved in its production, which must be detailed ethnographically. With respect to an anthropological analysis of temporal modalities in Bages, this modified 'coexistence thesis' therefore offers some interesting possibilities regarding the literature on modernity. Rather than accepting, or rejecting wholeheartedly the generalisations of the 'radical' modernity theorists, one may instead qualify more subtly their work on general trends through its contextualisation in the examination of ethnographic specifics.

3.1. THE PAST IN SOCIAL LIFE

With respect to the temporality of 'pre-modern', or 'traditional' sociality, Giddens notes: '[w]here traditional modes of practice are dominant, the past inserts a wide band of "authenticated practice" into the future. Time is not empty, and a consistent "mode of being" relates future to past' (1991:48). Giddens's comments may be elaborated with reference to Osborne's examination of 'tradition': 'As a form of temporalisation,' he writes, 'tradition is distinguished by its apparent prioritisation of the past over the present and future. The future is envisaged in the image of the past, and the present appears solely in its mediating function as a link in the chain of generations' (Osborne 1995:127). In circumstances where 'tradition' is the dominant mode of social reproduction, however, the performance of such social practice does not go without saying. As Osborne continues: '[i]nsofar as the continuity of this chain [of tradition] must be se-

tradition-maintenance and the construction – or reconstruction – of traditional forms of life' (Heelas 1996:7). For a full account of these two theses see Heelas 1996:3-11.

cured anew in each generation, the process of handing down is fraught with the risk of failure in the present... As a result the continuity of tradition requires a constant exercise of authority to combat the threat of betrayal inherent in its temporal structure' (1995:127). In such 'traditional' societies, the past is the dominant index of temporal modality, the future envisaged in its image, and its authority must be continually reinforced to ensure the fabric of social life does not disintegrate. For a society to remain 'traditional' social change must therefore be minimal, as social practices need to reproduce themselves in a continuum where the future is always envisaged in the image of an unchanging past.

From a long-term historical perspective it is clear that even before the 17th century, which Giddens marks as the beginning of the historical period of modernity, the region of Languedoc regularly underwent social crisis and transformation that renders the suggestion of a pre-modern era of 'traditional' stability unfeasible.¹³ This is of course in keeping with the perspective of the 'coexistence thesis', and does not exclude the possibility that there were periods of comparative social stability both before, and since the 17th century when aspects of the temporal modality of social life were predominantly past-oriented, or 'traditional' in nature. However, I shall show that in general the presence of past-oriented, 'traditional' temporal modalities in social life has decreased in favour of future-oriented ones, in particular since the 1960s when residents in the village experienced a period of rapid social transformation, acknowledged in their own recollections of that time (this does not discount the importance of the past in other ways, as we shall see). I shall focus in this section on the predominant economic activi-

¹³ See Le Roy Ladurie's *The Peasants of Languedoc* (1976) for details of social transformations in the region during the Middle Ages, although other examples abound, such as the extensive changes that occurred with the arrival of the Roman Empire.

ties over this period, viticulture and fishing,¹⁴ before moving on to discuss more general aspects of economic and social life during my own stay in the village in section 3.2..

Let us consider first the history of viticulture in the *commune* since the early 19th century. As the most important economic activity from the mid-19th century to the 1950s, its periods of change and transformation registered throughout all aspects of life in Bages during this time. The transition from a predominantly polycultural, subsistence economy to a predominantly capitalist, monocultural one by the 1870s required substantial modifications of existing social customs, as the workforce adopted the new organisational arrangements and ethos of petty commodity production (particularly among the hundreds of migrants, their lives characterised by the disruption of routines that comes with fresh starts). The temporal modalities of social life must therefore have shifted accordingly, allowing the abandonment of the historic cultivation of olives and arable crops for the possibilities of an alternative future of viticulture. Yet even after this initial transition to the monoculture of the vine, which was complete by the 1880s, subsequent transformations were in store. The crisis of *phylloxera* occasioned a further reorganisation of the workforce, as smaller producers went out of business. Then, 30 years later, market crises and the advent of the *cave coopérative* swung production once more around in their favour. Mechanisation followed in the 1950s, which saw the workforce decrease dramatically in size and the introduction of new techniques of production, effects vividly described to me by older wine growers who suddenly found themselves working alone with machines for much of the time, rather than in the company of others. And throughout this time there was the need to consider what the future course of markets and innovation might bring, such as a drop in prices, or new tech-

¹⁴ Which are therefore most likely to have produced 'traditions' that could subsequently have disappeared.

niques that had to be mastered, concomitant with the emphasis of capitalist economic practice on the securing of profits.

While from a long-term historical perspective viticulture is marked by change and transition, and a consequent remodelling of its implicit temporal modalities, it must, however, be recalled that these changes took place over many years, and, importantly, in terms of the lived experience of individuals many aspects of everyday temporal modalities may have remained consistent for much of their lives. Indeed, in conversation it was those periods of intensive, substantial change such as the mechanisation that took place during the 1950s that were often singled out as worthy of comment, rather than the intermediate periods when new techniques had been mastered, and daily practices once again oriented themselves towards the routine reproduction of the past. 'Traditional' practices, in the sense of predominantly past-oriented temporal modalities, are therefore likely to have been present in periods of short-term social stability that, apparently insignificant from a long-term perspective, nevertheless stretched over significant periods of a life being lived. The interplay between stability and social transformation is exemplified by an example dating from my own stay in Bages during 1996-7.

Case One: Innovations in a Viticultural *Domaine* in the 1990s

Next door to my flat in Bages was the *cave* of a *domaine* that had once been one of the largest in the village. Originally owned by Gabriel Cros-Mayrevieille, long-time mayor of the village during the first half of the century, it was now owned by Eliane Mercadier, a female descendant of his who, like Cros-Mayrevieille before her, lived for a large part of the time outside the locality. The *domaine* was run by a manager, Jacques Durand, who had come to Bages as a child when his father was himself appointed man-

ager of the *domaine* in the 1950s. When I arrived in Bages it was one of the two left in the village that still produced and sold their own wine: all the other producers took their grapes to the *cave coopérative* in Peyriac-de-Mer.

Unlike the *cave* in Peyriac, these *domaines* did not have the capital to adopt all the latest techniques in vinification that have brought recent financial stability to the *cave* over the last decade (see chapter two, section 4.2). But if Jacques Durand differed from the *cave* with respect to the capital at his disposal, he also differed regarding his attitude to the wine-making process. He preferred to make wine the way his father had, rather than looking to the new technologies of wine production, or experimenting with different varieties and blends of grape, as the *cave* did. Ironically, even if he had been interested in adopting the new techniques, he probably could not have afforded the necessary equipment. So his range of options was limited. But at the same time, for Durand there was a way of making wine which he had learned when he was younger, and which coloured the way he approached his work. Inherent to this approach was the attitude that to change was foolish, and innovation was to be distrusted.

Jacques Durand's attitude demonstrates that past-oriented temporal modalities could survive in the changing world of viticulture, and that continuous transformation in the long-term could still permit short-term pockets of 'traditional' practice from one generation to the next. Indeed, although it is unlikely he viewed his attitude as a part of a 'tradition', he certainly saw continuity between his approach and that of his father.¹⁵ In

¹⁵ In fact, Durand's resistance to change is symptomatic of earlier attitudes among wine growers in Bages, although by the 1990s their involvement in the *cave coopérative* had ensured some form of adaptability to change. In the 1930s, however, when the *cave* had opened, wine growers in Bages had been very reluctant to participate, despite the advantages it provided. This, older people told me, was because 'change was to be distrusted', and it may be assumed that, in an insecure world, what had been proven to produce results

the world of viticulture, such attitudes are increasingly uncommon, however, and during 1997 the *domaine* reached a point where it could no longer operate independently. Due to the decreasing demand for the poor quality wine that Durand produced, and the changes in markets and production that were, for financial reasons, also rendering the 'tradition' of the small independent *domaine* obsolete, the business finally became financially unviable and Eliane Mercadier took the only option open to her: she decided to join the *cave coopérative*. The responsibility for responding to the demands of innovation was handed over to the *cave*, which provided this service for other producers in the village, and Jacques Durand was left in charge of the growing of grapes.

* * *

The example of Jacques Durand points to the need for those involved in viticulture today to remain open to future possibilities, and to draw on past experience only to the extent that it is productive in the present context. This is a shift in the temporal modality of viticulture that has become increasingly pervasive as the industry has developed. Whereas in earlier periods change was experienced at times of crisis, which although intensive, were sporadic in nature, when I lived in Bages viticultural production required continual openness to innovation, and the capital to finance it, to compete in a dynamic, and volatile market. However, recalling material presented in chapter two, it is also clear that at the everyday level of routine work tasks, the viticultural year was still marked by a cyclical continuity perceived as such by the wine growers themselves, providing a counterpoint to other aspects of economic change in the profession. This dimension of its temporal modality was consolidated by the fact that those delegated to

was the wiser option over the risk of the new. However, once one or two people had tried the *cave*, and found it to be beneficial, the remainder of the wine growers joined *en masse*.

attend to the uncertainties of changing markets and other factors were managers at the *cave* itself, rather than individual wine growers. While the annual routine of viticultural production remained past-oriented, therefore, as it has been throughout its historical development, one must nevertheless conclude that the relevance of past practices during the fieldwork period, as demonstrated by the fate of Jacques Durand, were judged on their relevance to a changing future. As the rate of social transformation, resulting from volatile markets, was rapid, the possibility of the development of 'traditions' was overshadowed by a growing, and necessary future orientation.

In historical terms, the other most significant economic activity in the locality is fishing. The numbers of those fishing in fact grew during the period of viticulture, before trailing off substantially in the post-war period to 1968 (see chapter two, section 5.1). By the 1990s, however, numbers of fishermen had once more revived, due to the changes experienced of the 1960s. The practice of fishing as a profession remained consistent during the 19th and early 20th century, and a predominantly past-oriented modality was the dominant motor of everyday social reproduction during this time. However, this situation has subsequently changed, as is clear from the material I now present, illustrating how in ethnographic terms different economic activities have experienced different timescales of social change.

Case Two: Innovations in Fishing in the 1960s

I have already mentioned in chapter two how during the 1960s fishermen adopted nylon netting and outboard motors, which enabled them to increase their catches, while improvements in transport networks and expanding markets permitted them to sell the catches and increase profits. This signalled the transition to a capitalist mode of produc-

tion. But older fishermen, when asked about these changes, commonly claimed that before the technical innovations of the 1960s fishermen were not just limited in their productive levels by their technical abilities, but they were also not interested in producing more. Apart from late December to late January, the low season when fish were wintering out at sea, fishing catches were usually consistent, and provided a reliable source of food, and a small income from the sale of surplus produce. Fishing's benefits were therefore clear in relation to viticulture, the other main source of employment, which lurched from one crisis to another. The techniques of fishing were the guarantee of good catches, and reinforced the wisdom of applying methods that had been tested and proven. The authority of the past in shaping social practice was therefore upheld by a strong consensus among the fishermen working in the village who, in my acquaintances' recollections of the 1960s, maintained a firm opposition to change and experimentation. In this sense the temporal modalities of fishing were predominantly past-oriented, its reproduction, although subject to variations due to the contingencies of subtle innovation or the hazards of natural disaster, envisaged predominantly in the form of replicating past experience. When transformations occurred they took place gradually, being incorporated into a body of practices in which the past appeared as 'the way things had always been done.' This past-oriented temporal modality, or 'traditional' mentality remained the dominant feature of fishing on the *étang de Bages* until the mid-1960s.

Many people credited one man with provoking the changes that occurred in fishing, and which heralded the transition to capitalist practices: Pierre Cadassus. Pierre Cadassus came from an unconventional background, which was often cited by other people when they mentioned his achievements. His father originated from outside Bages, leaving his

mother and the village when Pierre Cadassus was still young, and he grew up feeling both an insider and outsider in the Bageois community. When I talked to him in 1996, he criticised the fishermen's, and especially the older fishermen's, unwillingness to change in the 1960s. 'They had a set way of doing things, and they didn't want to try anything else,' he told me. This resistance to change had in his view been a drawback for them. Without his willingness to innovate, he claimed, they would never have profited from the opportunities offered by such technical inventions as the new netting and motors he had helped to introduce. But when they saw the size of his catches increase, and the money he started to earn, they rapidly followed suit.

Pierre Cadassus's status as a partial outsider in the village, and the hardship he is consequently said to have suffered, was popularly credited with endowing him with the strength to go against prevailing opposition to innovation when he was a young man, and with his other subsequent achievements in the restaurant business. At the same time he was characterised as forward-thinking: as one person in the village put it to me, 'He was a guy from the year 2000 for this place, and still is.' Pierre Cadassus had a lack of respect for how things had been done, and some people described him as angry. He looked continually to a future which for him was pregnant with new possibilities, rather than reproductive of what had already been deemed possible. What was of use to him from the past he would take; what was not he would discard until perhaps one day it became useful in another context. He was therefore active in orienting social practice towards a future that differed from how things had been, a future he saw as better and, of course, more profitable as well. In this way, the temporal modality of fishing shifted from a predominantly past-oriented, to an improvisatory, future-oriented attitude, as one

individual saw the opportunity presented by the combination of technical innovation, and changes in access to, and size of markets.

* * *

If the contingency of ethnography illustrates the detail of shifts in temporal modalities, it is nonetheless clear that a general trend in viticulture and fishing has emerged, mirrored in the changing perspectives of wine growers and fishermen alike. The establishment of past-oriented modalities that are only required to break with habit during periods of social transformation have been gradually replaced by modalities that demand active engagement with possible futures on a more regular basis, and a more reflexive approach to the past to ensure economic success. While those such as Jacques Durand acted with indifference towards such developments, his case illustrates the probable fate of following such a course of action. This is not to say, of course, that future orientations were not a dimension of pre-1960s temporalities: in the most simple sense, day-to-day practice would always incorporate some form of future-oriented activity, whether it was mending nets for the next day's work, or planting a new vine. But the activity of calculating unpredictable future possibilities and attempting to cater for them was usually confined to a consideration of the possible effects of natural disasters, such as frost or a drop in fish stocks in the *étang*. By the 1990s this situation had thus clearly changed, and I will now discuss the extent to which future-orientation is characteristic of those new professions, centred mainly in Narbonne, which dominated economic life during my own stay in the village, before considering other aspects of social life that are less directly reducible to economic influence.

3.2. TOWARDS A FUTURE-ORIENTED WORLD?

Giddens points out how in the 'modern period' the future has taken on an 'open' character: '[t]he "openness of things to come expresses the malleability of the social world and the capability of human beings to shape the physical settings of our existence' (1991:111). The concern of agents, institutions and business to influence the future with respect to their specific interests has therefore given rise to what he terms 'the colonisation of the future': '[w]hile the future is recognised to be intrinsically unknowable, and as it is increasingly severed from the past, that future becomes a new terrain – a terrain of counterfactual possibility. Once thus established, that terrain lends itself to colonial invasion through counterfactual thought and risk calculation' (1991:111). While for companies and institutions colonising the future usually takes the form of calculated economic strategies, for individuals its 'open' character, intrinsically related to 'life chances' predicated on one's position in society, is the subject of 'life planning', the necessary correlate for individual activity in a world where future action is the result of a choice among options, rather than visible in the actions of one's predecessors and therefore constrained within limited horizons (1991:82).¹⁶ This also introduces risk and insecurity into everyday life on a fundamental level, as the necessity of choosing among possible courses of action has increasingly profound repercussions (Giddens 1991:109-143, Beck 1992). One main motor for this transition, Giddens (1991:15) notes, was the historical development of industrial capitalism, future oriented *par excellence* with its objective of revolutionising techniques of production.

¹⁶ Giddens 1991:82. C.f. Koselleck (1985:276) for a comparable exegesis: 'My thesis is that in modern times the difference between experience and expectation has increasingly expanded; more precisely, that modernity is first understood as a new age from the time that expectations have distanced themselves evermore from all previous experience.' Koselleck locates this difference in the increased distance between what he calls the 'space of experience' and the 'horizon of expectation': the temporality inherent in

The world thus becomes increasingly future-oriented, and with the redundancy of 'tradition', the past's significance apparently diminishes. Was this the case in Bages? With respect to the temporal modality of extra-village employment, which accounted for the majority of the working population, past and future orientation actually varied depending on the job involved. In 1990 employment in business accounted for roughly 15 % of the *commune*'s active population, and this motor of economic production required regular consideration of possible futures. By contrast, those working in transport and telecommunications (8 %), building, civil and agricultural engineering (8 %), industry (3 %), and retail (21 %) saw past and future orientations vary dependent on the status of their employment.¹⁷ Generally, higher-ranking jobs involving greater responsibility for decision-making took future possibilities into account more regularly than lower status jobs involving repetitive tasks. Although I have no precise figures available for the employment status of those I knew, the majority of Bageois worked in lower status jobs, reflecting predominantly past-oriented, repetitive tasks, while recent immigrants tended to have higher status jobs, dealing with possible futures. However, some measure of past experience informed even the most future-oriented professions, although the manner in which such experience was drawn upon, in an improvisatory or repetitive way, depended on the nature of the task involved.

A closer consideration of some of the different occupations among people in the village will flesh out the preceding statements. For those working in insurance, such as the mayor of the *commune*, Antoine Canovas, the calculation of future possibilities was central to their work. While the premiums he set were partly based on the projection of future possibilities derived from past experience, they were also calculated according to

the capitalist mode of production therefore orients the agent towards an ever-expanding range of future possibilities, and renders past experience more or less redundant due to rapid social transformation.

the profit targets of the company he worked for, *les Mutuelles du Mans*. Although his profession was particularly concerned with future possibilities, however, the importance of his own experience in calculating premiums and arranging policies also testifies to the significance of the past for his job. The daily routine of Marie Virenque, on the other hand, the secretary at the *mairie* in Bages, involved the performance of repetitive tasks, with little consideration for the future beyond daily planning. However, the on-going revision of bureaucracy meant that she had to be willing to adapt, thus drawing on her previous experience in different ways, and this was especially the case for her superior, Philippe Aube, the clerk of the *mairie*, who spoke to me on several occasions of the difficulties he encountered in assimilating and implementing bureaucratic innovations.

Moving on to other areas of social life, the need to consider diverse possible futures was also present. For example, those reaching school-leaving age had to consider their direction in life, an example of the life planning noted by Giddens. In contrast to their parents who had a more limited range of options, in particular if they were Bageois, young people had to make a variety of decisions that would shape the future course of their lives, in relation to the path of education they chose, the employment choices they made, where to live, and so on. The insecurity of the job market meant that those in middle age were also confronted with such dilemmas, particularly if they lost their job, but also in catering for the future possibility of unemployment at an older age and how they would respond. Differences between the generations were also accentuated by these changes. Young people did not look to their parents for indications as to the clothes they should wear, or even, in many cases, for help in decisions regarding life planning. The experience of older people was seen by many young people as irrelevant

¹⁷ These percentages are drawn from figure 3.

to the conditions they faced in their own lives, and this was also visible in the way younger Bageois were more oriented towards a national youth culture than towards the cultural outlook of their families. There were exceptions to this general trend: I sometimes saw older fishermen, for example, giving tips to their young relatives as to where certain fish might be found in particular weather conditions, and the techniques of making nets and reading the *étang* for signs of fish were learnt by the young from the old. But there was a distinctive move away from looking to the past as a model for action in such domains of social life, that clearly, if indirectly mirrored the shifting temporal modalities of economic life.¹⁸

* * *

To claim that the past was irrelevant to the social activities described would be wrong. For any consideration of the future must be predicated on past experience, even if it ultimately transcends it through adaptation or improvisation. Yet it would seem that, in many respects, explicit past-orientation was being relinquished for a necessary consideration of future possibilities, a development related to recent, continuous social transformation. This was acknowledged in the periodisation of recent history among those I knew into a pre-1960s era of stability, as against a subsequent epoch of on-going change. Although I have not adopted Giddens', and others' dichotomy of 'traditional' versus 'post-traditional' societies as a way of defining recent events in Bages, I agree with the basic proposition of their argument. However, while in one respect – as a

¹⁸ The disappearance of *la fête des pêcheurs* in the early 1960s may be seen as indicative of this general shift in social life. Before this period religious practice was more pervasive in the village, and the *fête*, which involved the blessing of the waters of the *étang* by the local priest to induce the return of fish for the following year, can be seen as an acknowledgement of the limits of human agency over the future and an invocation of divine providence. By the 1990s, religious invocations of this sort were no longer

model for social action – the past was clearly diminishing in importance, in another sense, central to this thesis, it was not. In some ways, the very redundancy of the past as a social model, and the pressing demands of the future with its associated risks and insecurity, had rendered the past significant in other, innovatory fashions. Before I move on to outline the ethnographic character of such temporalisations as they related to the village past, I shall first articulate the nature of these interests at a general level.

3.3. THE CHANGING RELEVANCE OF THE PAST

Many recent authors have noted an increasing interest in the past during the last 30 years in Western Europe and North America, although the reasons suggested for this interest have been widely conflicting. Such debates have often centred on ‘heritage’ (in English), or *patrimoine* (in French), both ‘nomadic terms’, as Samuel observes, ‘which travel easily and put down roots ... in seemingly quite unpromising terrain’ (1994:205).¹⁹ Hewison (1987) and Wright (1985) have argued that such interest has been whipped up by states and capitalists, as part of a ‘heritage industry’ designed to dull the masses’s senses to their low rung on the exploitative social ladder. Samuel (1994) has argued the contrary point of view, describing instead a celebratory appropriation of the past, as local people in local contexts have challenged the hitherto regulated use of history by those in power. Urry (1990) has taken the middle way, suggesting that while state interest has a role to play in such developments, so too do contingent localised socialities, as different people in different places put the past to use for various, different reasons. Others have drawn attention to the changing temporalities of social life, increasingly embracing risk, and the social transformations of which they are a

deemed necessary, and problems with the size of catches were put down firmly to secular factors, such as the skill of the fisherman involved, or the effects of pollution.

part, provoking economic migration and the breakdown of community (Graburn 1995, MacCannell 1976). They point to the search for 'authenticity' and a respite from modern alienation in such interests, although this is once again problematic, as Williams (1993) illustrates how city dwellers have idealised country life in similar ways for many hundreds of years.

It is clear from this brief review that an answer to such questions can only come from the specificities of local contexts themselves, as Urry suggests.²⁰ What were the factors shaping local temporalisations of the past in Bages? What sorts of past were being temporalised? Here I must narrow down my focus, as many different kinds of past were important to those I knew, from the national and regional pasts associated with residence in a modern nation state, to local pasts from other areas of France and Europe in the case of migrants, to biographical histories, to name some of the most significant. However, of all pasts temporalised, it was the past of the locality that was most prominent and visible in the village, and which has been chosen as the subject of this thesis. For Bageois, this was partly due to the desire for group identity through the temporalisation of a shared history. In this respect, the village, as the site of dwelling for the group, was naturally a focus for the temporalisation of the past, although through such practices it was also constructed as a historical locality. For recent immigrants and second home owners, interest in the local past was of a different nature. For some, it comprised a substitute for the lived experience of place afforded by long-term residence, and was temporalised through information available about the locality, such as narratives of

¹⁹ See Chastel (1997) for a discussion of *patrimoine*. This imprecision of heritage and *patrimoine* as analytical terms means that I do not use them for this purpose in this thesis, preferring to focus on the 'temporalisation of the past'.

²⁰ This is also apparent from recent anthropological work such as Abram *et al.* (1997a), who comment how a focus on cultural tourism in rural areas ends up being a focus on contingency, as "tourism" is a

local history, or the ownership of old postcards of the village.²¹ For others, it was part of a recreational interest in history, or valued for the intellectual pleasure it afforded. For others still, including some Bageois, it was of economic value in attracting cultural tourists. And for some, its idealisation provided a secure refuge from the insecurities provoked by future orientation and social change. All these different sorts of interests in the past will emerge at various stages in the chapters that follow, and will demonstrate that interest in the past is diverse. However certain patterns emerge, the Bageois, for example, primarily accessing the historical past through narratives of lived experiences, while others drew on printed media such as books or photos. And although such interests resemble uses of the past from other eras of human history,²² they may also be seen as recent developments, emergent from the complexity of social transformations noted at the end of chapter two.

While current interest in the past can be linked both to wider interests in cultural tourism and heritage, and to contingencies of localised sociality, from a historical perspective they are also predicated on specific developments in cultural media for the temporalisation of the past. Anderson (1991) has demonstrated how advances in the technology of 'print capitalism' from the Middle Ages onwards influenced the growth of nation states, and eventually led to the birth of that great medium of national simultaneity, the daily newspaper. Along with other technological breakthroughs, it also laid similar

word only loosely associated with a phenomenon, and ... this phenomenon is not one, but many sets of practices, with few clear boundaries but some central ideas' (1997a:2).

²¹ Urry has written of an increasing self-consciousness in the recent construction of place, noting (1995:30) how today '[t]aking place seriously means taking writing, architectural designs, paintings, guide books, literary texts, films, postcards, advertisements, music, travel patterns, photographs and so on seriously.' His comments clearly apply to Bages, and in particular to recent immigrants and second home owners, as we shall see.

²² Idealisation of the past in times of social insecurity, for example, has been a feature of human sociality since time began, and is particularly entrenched in Western mythology through the Christian religion, with its celebration of the 'Garden of Eden'. Re-temporalisation of vanished ways of life is similarly commonplace: one need only think of the Renaissance, with its re-appropriation of classical styles.

groundwork for changes in the temporalisation of the past. The invention of the photograph in the early 19th century, technological developments in archival techniques, new means of commemoration associated with nation states (postage stamps, monuments, street signs etc.), and the growth of technologies for the mass production and reproduction of commodities in the 19th and 20th centuries, all constituted important innovations in this respect. Combined with the increasingly rapid rate of social transformation, and the endless proliferation of disposable objects provoked by post-war consumerism, such innovations have provoked an explosion in the volume and visibility of the different 'ways we were', and our ability to temporalise them (c.f. Lowenthal 1985).

The point of this 'expanding past',²³ as I have termed it, is not that consciousness is overwhelmed by the volume of material that passes through our lives. Forgetting has always been the principal tool of immunisation against the quantity of lived experience that makes up any one life (Benjamin 1992:156-159, Freud 1955). Nor does it overlook how aspects of the past have always been re-temporalised in human sociality. Benjamin notes how the surrealists were among the first to self-consciously temporalise the 'expanding past', or what he terms the 'outmoded' (Benjamin 1998:229), although they cannot be credited with the subsequent pervasiveness of this temporalising practice. The appearance of this aspect of surrealist practice was historically related to the increasing prominence of the 'outmoded' in social life.²⁴ The notion of the 'expanding past' draws attention to how, under such historical conditions, the present becomes littered with the

²³ Leroi-Gourhan (1964) has put forward a similar notion in his idea of 'memory in expansion', taken up by Le Goff (1992:84-97), although both focus on explicit innovations in techniques for remembering.

²⁴ Foster writes: 'The process of outmoding is continual in capitalism: why does it come into focus [in the 1920s and 1930s]? ... [A]fter World War I modernisation intensified greatly. The period centred in the 1920s and 1930s is now seen as the long wave of the second technological revolution, defined technically by new uses of electricity and combustion and stamped culturally by new forms of transportation and reproduction. As these techniques penetrated everyday practices, the outmoded was brought to consciousness as a category' (Foster 1997:165; c.f. Jameson 1974:103-105 for a similar argument). I use the term 'outmoded' in later discussions.

detritus and memory of former existences, 'outmoded' ways of life that in various ways may then be re-temporalised into alternative projects. The most significant of these pasts in Bages, and for the subject matter of this thesis, was focused on the locality, which as I have already shown has been subject to extensive and increasingly rapid social change over the past 200 years. This development, although contextualised in the temporalising practices of local sociality, simultaneously underwrote them as a whole.

4. THE PAST AND THE LOCALITY OF BAGES

Having established a clear picture of the place of the past in the temporalities of social life in Bages, and an indication of its defining characteristics, we may now move on to consider the temporalisation of the village past in greater detail. We thus begin focused discussion of the topic that the next four chapters of this thesis will explore. In chapter one I stated that an emphasis on the past should address the ways in which the past is available for temporalisation, how this takes place, and for what reasons. I also noted that temporalisations of particular pasts depend on the contingent nature of everyday sociality, and are underwritten by the material context of history. As I shall argue, in Bages, differences in temporalising practices were predicated largely, although with some exceptions, on the social groupings outlined in chapter two. This coincides with my earlier observations that Bageois and non-Bageois, regardless of their coherence as groupings, had different relationships to the locality and its past, which played different roles in their respective sociality and notions of belonging. I have already outlined the characteristics of some of these differences in the previous section, and in the pages that follow they will become clearer. I focus on those 'meaningful forms and concrete media of practices for apprehension of the past' (Munn 1992:113) that were accessible to both

Bageois and non-Bageois, paying particular attention to memory's embodiment in the material environment, and it is worth emphasising that I omit discussion of practices related to non-local pasts, which were especially important, of course, to recent immigrants and second home owners. My discussion will lead into a provisional summary of these differing relationships to the village past.

4.1. LANDSCAPE AND THE PAST

The landscape of a rural village like Bages displayed a continuity with, and consequent evidence of the past that is rarely encountered in the rapidly changing environments of larger towns and cities.²⁵ In the village itself, the rate at which buildings were removed, destroyed, restored, or built over progressed slowly. Outside the village, the ruins of former agricultural buildings crumbled into rubble undisturbed, and vineyards which had dominated the plains and hillsides for over 100 years pursued their cycles of seasonal transformation. Tilley has written how 'daily passages through the landscape become biographic encounters for individuals, recalling traces of past activities and previous events... and landscapes are therefore embedded in the social and individual times of memory' (Tilley 1994:27; c.f. Berger 1968:12-14). Where change has been slow, such as in the landscape of Bages, the appearance of the present may be similar to how it looked in the past. The landscape may therefore become a site for temporalisation of the past, which through reminiscence (Casey 1987:107; see chapter one, section 4.1) comes to life in its material features permitting its more thorough evocation. Such features may function as reminders, intentionally in that named landmarks may develop as

²⁵ Berman (1983) draws attention to the tendency of urban environments to 'melt into air' in an examination of his native New York City.

ritually symbolic sites of memory,²⁶ or involuntarily by provoking recollection as the actual settings for remembered past events. And certain aspects of them (e.g. old buildings or ruins) may become symbolic of the presence of the past in a more general sense, as opposed to other lived environments that are more recent in construction.

For Bageois the material environment of Bages was predominantly temporalised as the embodiment of personal, family, and collective history. Such biographical elements facilitated the reproduction of relations of belonging, and the construction of the village as a historical place, and were sometimes used to reflect critically upon the present. They were passed on by story-telling and reminiscence across the generations. For example, I was walking up *rue des Elysiques* one evening in early 1997 with Alexandre Chavardès, a Bageois in his early 70s, and Guy Cadas, a relative of his in his 30s, talking of the village past. 'There,' the former said, gesturing towards a building on the right, 'was once a sheepfold. It disappeared after the war... But at one time it was full of sheep, and the people would complain as the flocks came along the street at night, surrounded by clouds of flies.' 'I didn't know there were still shepherds here after the war,' said Guy. 'Well...' replied Alexandre Chavardès. 'And over there, by the wall, was where my great-grandfather would leave a stone for each of his children every lunchtime and evening, to carry home from school to their house in les Pesquis. He was working as a mason in the village at the time, and that was how he transported the stone to build his house. They still call it *la maison Chavardès* ('the Chavardès house'), even today.' Such daily activities of reminiscence and recollection also produced a strong attachment

²⁶ C.f. Tilley: 'Narratives establish bonds between people and features of the landscape [...] creating moral guidance for activity... Features of the landscape [therefore] become deeply symbolic of cultural lifeworlds, omnipresent moral forces rather than mere physical presences' (1994:33).

to the locality, as sentiments of social belonging were projected onto the landscape itself.²⁷

Symbolic landmarks and monuments existed in the village landscape. A dramatic landmark for the values of the work ethic, which was important for Bageois, was the thousands of pieces of limestone that snaked in long trails across the hillsides of the *garigue*. An aesthetic curiosity of unknown origin for many outsiders, for Bageois these *épierrements*, common throughout the French Mediterranean area, testified to the years of back-breaking work carried out by previous generations clearing stony ground for cultivation.²⁸ Another important landmark, itself comprised of a collection of monuments, was the cemetery. ‘Have you been to the cemetery?’ Guy Cadas asked me one day. ‘The cemetery?’ I replied, ‘Well I’ve wanted to go and visit, but I wasn’t sure if people would take kindly to a foreigner snooping around the graves...’ ‘Well you should go, I’ll go with you if you like,’ Guy said. ‘I mean all these people we’ve been talking about – they’re all there!’ The graves in the cemetery of Bages, sometimes marked with a small headstone, sometimes raised above the ground in a stone crypt, served as sites of remembrance for relatives of the deceased, and attained greater resonance through marking the physical whereabouts of the deceased’s remains. They effectively functioned as inducers of reminiscence, and where memories of the deceased no longer persisted, as symbolic markers for a life that had been lived.²⁹ Although obvi-

²⁷ Alexandre Chavardès in this instance combined his reminiscence of the sheepfold with a story told to him by another member of his family. However, his identification with his great-grandfather as a member of the collectivity (family, Bageois) of which he felt a part demonstrates one set of conditions where reminiscence can also incorporate information about others’ lives, as the actions of his great-grandfather had become part of ‘his’ (Alexandre Chavardès’s) past.

²⁸ With no equivalent in English, *épierrement* effectively means ‘piles of thrown out stones’, and is a technical French word (see Martin 1996:175-181 on *épierrements* in the French Mediterranean region). Descriptive terms such as *piles de pierres* (‘piles of stones’), were used in Bages.

²⁹ They were also part of ritual remembrance, of course, at *La Toussaint*. The commonest function of gravestones, therefore, is as what Casey calls ‘reminiscentia’: ‘Rather than functioning strictly as reminders or as records of the past – that is as directing us to take some action or as documentary evidence alone

ously important to anyone in the village with loved ones buried there, the cemetery served an important symbolic role for the Bageois in particular. I was talking once with Eugène Daudé, an old fisherman who turns 90 the year I am writing this thesis. 'I'm old now,' he told me; 'I've lived life, I've lived enough. And when the time comes, I've got my new house ready, over there with the others.' His comments suggest how the cemetery also acted as a site for collective remembering and reminiscence, constituting a 'community of the dead' (Laqueur 1998) as the majority of the people buried there were relatives of the Bageois.³⁰

Some material features of the locality were biographical for recent immigrants and second home owners, and their reminiscences also worked to produce relations of belonging. These relations, however, were usually on the smaller scale of the nuclear family, couple, or friendship, in keeping with such incomers' sociality, and had none of the historical depth of the recollections of Bageois, although of course feelings of belonging to the locality increased the more time individuals spent there. For non-Bageois, the material features of the village were frequently temporalised in other ways, for example as aspects of the history of the village, a blanket term for the past of the locality which effectively referred to its historical identity as a place. More or less was known about this historical identity depending on the knowledge acquired by the individual con-

– they act as *inducers* of reminiscence. What counts here is not the accuracy with which they reproduce or suggest the past (as it would be in the very different context of historical reconstruction); instead it is their special aptitude for arousing a reminiscent state of mind that matters' (Casey 1987:110, his emphasis).

³⁰ When I arrived in Bages I was used to the dead I had known being scattered among different graveyards in different parts of England, buried among people they knew, and did not know, but who for myself remained largely unknown. Imagine my surprise when I first walked into the graveyard in Bages after six months living in the village: there before me, lying in their tombs, were so many of the people I had heard tell of, like a group of actors resting after a performance. Laqueur (1998:2) locates the origins of the cemetery in the early 19th century, citing 'Père la Chaise' cemetery in Paris as among the first inaugurated, and links it to the rising bourgeoisie. It is clear, however, that its symbolic potential was quickly put to use by other social groups, and the current cemetery in Bages was created in the mid-19th century, re-locating the place of burial from the churchyard to the outskirts of the village. Another important site of memory not discussed here was the house, which is the storehouse of family memory, as Bachelard 1994 illustrates.

cerned. Old buildings and ruins were generally appreciated for their aesthetic qualities by recent immigrants, second home owners, and tourists. For those with more extensive historical knowledge, they could also be appreciated as evidence of specific pasts, such as the characteristic architecture of the wine growers' houses built in the late 19th century. These purely recreational interests in the past constructed a sense of Bages as a place, although some utilised the past self-consciously for these ends (c.f. Urry 1995:30).

Such practices were less in evidence among Bageois, who temporalised buildings with reference to stories of family or collective history. These distillations of lived experience, in interaction with the material environment, provided the principal means by which the village past was temporalised in everyday Bageois sociality, and the historical component of place constructed. In this respect Bageois sociality was intrinsically historical in nature (as explicated in chapter two, section 3.1) and because this historical element was predicated on the village, was both generated by, and generative of locality as well. By contrast, the temporalisations of non-Bageois were made predominantly through knowledge acquired from books and similar media, a substitute for the fruits of long-term residence. At the same time, however, some were involved in transforming the oral knowledge of Bageois into textual resources for temporalisation, as we shall see. Although such information could then be passed on orally, it did not have the exclusively oral character associated with Bageois, nor was it implicated in the reproduction of family and group belonging predicated on the locality. The sociality of non-Bageois could still contain a historical dimension predicated on the family, although this was either related to other localities from which those concerned originated, or when families were diasporic, was lacking in a localised element. The village of Bages as a

place, however, was not constructed through such processes, but was usually more self-consciously produced, through the synthetic practices detailed above. I shall detail the ways in which Guy Cadas and Etienne Bonhomme temporalised aspects of the material landscape in chapter four; and the attempts of the *conseil municipal* to enhance the possibilities of temporalising it as symbolic of the ‘history’ of the village, in relation to the cultural tourist industry, in chapter seven, where I also discuss the significance of place names. Additionally, in chapters five and six I discuss several projects that involved the conversion of oral knowledge into textual resources, which also had cultural tourism as a goal.

4.2. OUTMODED OBJECTS

As the pace of technological change has increased over the course of the 20th century, many thousands of objects that at one time or another formed part of the practices of everyday life in Bages have fallen into disuse. Most of these objects have of course been disposed of, but others have been retained. When sitting at the kitchen table in the houses of some Bageois and speaking with them of the village past, our conversations would suddenly be illuminated by their disappearing to search out evidence of this previous life, returning, for example, with delicate wooden needles for sowing fishing nets, that had subsequently been replaced by plastic ones; or an intricate bed-warming device from before the advent of electric heating, known locally as a *moine* or *chaufferette* and consisting of a pan of hot coals suspended from a wire frame; or a *sulfateur*, a metal shaker with which sulphur would be administered to the vines by hand to prevent disease; or large, ornate keys whose locks had long since disappeared (see plate 10). In gardens some people had also kept the small *bassins* (‘washing basins’) where before the days of running water women had once washed clothes by hand. Such objects had

been commonly preserved as mementoes, either by those who had once used them, or passed on through families, and were associated with a complex of memories. They had become symbolic of a vanished, collective way of life, to which a feeling of belonging was created through remembering, and in this respect they acted as inducers of reminiscence, their significance maintained by their remembered association. In this respect, their temporalisation constructed the Bageois as a historical group, and Bages as a historical place. Occasionally they also had the status of heirlooms, markers of temporal continuity that symbolised the remembered relationship between the present owner and deceased members of the family in the past, although they were only recognised as such when the object concerned was of special value either materially, or emotionally.³¹

Some of the outmoded objects valued by Bageois were also owned by more recent immigrants and second home owners, and were similarly temporalised as symbolic of the village past. However, the character of these temporalisations differed, and if such objects had become mementoes, the reminiscence they induced was not of the context in which they had originally been used, but usually of the moment of their acquisition, or persons and relationships if they were a gift. If the giver of the gift was a family member, for example, they might therefore have been linked to historical sentiments of belonging, but certainly not the long-term collective belonging in relation to the locality associated with Bageois. Such objects were usually viewed, however, as once more aspects of historical identity of the village as a place: those with greater knowledge of the village past were often well-informed about an object's former role, or may even have

³¹ Mementoes and heirlooms may therefore also be considered as 'reminiscentia' (Casey 1987:110), and Miller also writes insightfully of this use of objects: '[M]aterial objects are often the principal means of objectifying a sense of the past ... and are often a pivot around which social identity is constructed' (1987:124). For younger Bageois, such activities of reminiscing were often restricted by being too young to have witnessed the objects used in their origin context. In such cases, reminiscing was often of their

seen it in use at one time, and sometimes used it when recollecting such information. Those without such knowledge valued these objects as symbolic of a more general image of the village past, contact with which induced aesthetic and intellectual pleasure, and an inner knowledge of the locality that might otherwise have been missing from their lives. They were therefore part of that self-conscious construction of place noted in relation to the landscape. Once more, recent immigrants and second home owners frequently contextualised such objects through indirect sources such as books, whereas Bageois relied predominantly on oral accounts of lived experience.

Some recent immigrants and second home owners were interested in other outmoded objects. For example, when moving into the village some had purchased or been given old stone handbasins, cast off by Bageois eager to invest in new bathroom suites with the advent of running water and greater prosperity in the 1970s; others preserved the large vats in the *caves* of newly-acquired wine growers' houses which many Bageois ripped out to make room for a garage for a new car; and old features in houses being converted to holiday homes, such as a bricked up bread oven or old stone work, were sought out and made visible. The pasts temporalised through such objects were dependent on relevant, often indirect knowledge, and could be more or less well-informed, and their overall role was once more in relation to place or recreation. I will be pursuing the question of mementoes in ethnographic detail in chapter four, when I discuss my acquaintance with Etienne Bonhomme. On another note, one set of outmoded objects that interested Bageois and non-Bageois alike were the remains of Roman civilisation that could be found in the surroundings of the village (see chapter five). Finally, during the fieldwork period the *conseil municipal* was involved in restoring various outmoded ob-

memories of the person who had used the object, or of the first time they had heard the story of the object told, combined with recollection of stories of the object's use.

jects in and around the village, including the large public *bassins*, to be discussed in chapter seven.

4.3. PHOTOGRAPHS AND POSTCARDS

Everyone I met in Bages possessed photographs. In common with other parts of the world, many people used them for composing narratives of personal and family history, of which the family album is the commonest example (Sontag 1979:9). Photographs were also frequently used as powerful inducers of reminiscence, and were often taken with this purpose in mind, being particularly effective through the visual detail they provide.

Older photographs and postcards of the village were owned by many Bageois, and some postcards had also been resurrected by recent immigrants and second home owners from those graveyards of rapid social transformation, flea markets and second hand stores. In this case too temporalisation occurred in different ways. For Bageois, photos often represented family and friends, and were used in reminiscence and in the documentation of personal histories. They therefore contributed to a historical sense of identity and place. For non-Bageois, they were aesthetic and intellectual curiosities evoking the past of the locality and the extent of how life there had changed, while sometimes being used in the more self-conscious construction of place. For the Bageois and non-Bageois involved in *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* ('The Heritage Preservation Association'), a local history club based in the village, old photographs and postcards had also been collected as part of an explicit project on the past of the locality (see chapter six). I myself, of course, used them in interviews, where they were valuable in provok-

ing recollections and reminiscences of the past, and were collected for the illustration of this thesis.

4.4. BOOKS AND ARCHIVES

'[P]rint capitalism,' Anderson notes, 'made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways' (1991:36). I have already mentioned the more general effects of print capitalism on the past in section 3.3, and the temporalisation of books and archives regarding the village provide specific examples of its influence. During the first few months I lived in Bages, several Bageois suggested I should read *Les oranges de la mer* ('The Oranges of the Sea'), a historical novel set in Leucate, a coastal village about 20 km to the south of the village, at the turn of the century. 'If you want to know what life was like in Bages, you should read that,' people often said to me. The novel, narrated in the form of the autobiographical reminiscences of an elderly woman, was widely held to be the only accurate written portrayal of the recent past of the village, some Bageois even claiming that they recognised characters from the story.³² Many Bageois had read the novel, and it undoubtedly contributed to the image they held of the village and its life in the past, although the extent to which it shaped this image is difficult to determine. There was another book, however, which was more explicitly about the village past. *Bages et son étang* ('Bages and its Lake'), a history of the village by Jean Guiffan published in the late 1970s, had been read by all sections of the village population, although it was less widely referred to, perhaps because of its more academic nature. At any rate, it had not become a general reference point for the ways in which Bageois referred to their collective past or the locality, although many people suggested I should either read it, or get in

³² Which is feasible, as the author, Georges Arnaud, is largely transcribing stories his grandmother told him of her own life in Leucate during the period the novel is set.

touch with Jean Guiffan himself, who was acknowledged as an authority on the details of village history.

Many Bageois also possessed other written documents, such as one old fisherman who showed me the papers of his grandfather, dating from the early 19th century and authorising him to fish in the *étang*. Such papers usually consisted of outdated official documents, and less frequently diaries and letters, sometimes belonging to deceased relatives, and constituted personal or family archives that acted as mementoes, heirlooms, and general reminiscencia. They were therefore implicated in the historical construction of identity and place. They were accompanied by more factual material, such as bills and bank statements, which were more usually aids to more utilitarian forms of remembering but the latter, with their records of the daily minutiae of transactions, could also work as diaries of a sort. These were complemented by the official archives that were lodged in the *mairie*, and which comprised the civil records and minutes of council meetings, both dating from the 1600s, and other official papers. Although these archives were not usually consulted by Bageois, except for a small number who had used them to complement oral knowledge of family relationships, they were viewed by them as the record of their own, collective past.

Non-Bageois also possessed archives of personal papers whose utility with respect to temporalisation was similar to Bageois, although such documents were not usually so exclusively related to the village. The sentiments of belonging enabled by such artefacts were thus also commonly unrelated to the locality, and usually less historically extensive than those of Bageois, as we might expect. For many recent immigrants and second home owners, however, books and archives constituted an extensive source of knowl-

edge about the past of the locality that was then used in the construction of Bages as a place. The personal libraries of these individuals were more likely to contain volumes about the locality and region than those of Bageois, and constituted a primary source for the sorts of indirect knowledge I have already mentioned regarding the temporalisation of outmoded objects, and aspects of the material features of the village.³³ The archive of the *mairie* itself was only really utilised on a regular basis by professional genealogists, for whom it was of great value due to the extent of its civil records. My own research, of course, also sought out knowledge of this sort, although my aims were quite distinct. I will be discussing Jean Guiffan's work on the history of Bages in chapter five; and a more recent study of fishing techniques, *Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages* ('Memoir of the Fisherman's Craft in Bages'), in chapter six.

5. SUMMARY: THE TEMPORAL INDEX OF SOCIALITY

In sections 2 and 3 of this chapter, I presented a general introduction to the temporal fabric of everyday life in Bages, and the temporalities of which it was a part. I also situated the past in this context, and introduced its principal features. In these two sections

³³ In fact there have been a number of local history books published in the Narbonnais in the past few years, although the amount of interest in such publications among people in Bages, and probably among the population of the area more generally, was fairly low. Two of these publications centre around the interests of Marie-Rose Taussac, a local historian from Gruissan who published her own book, *les Prud'hommes pêcheurs de Gruissan* (1996), and encouraged a fisherman from Gruissan, Jean Bouca-beille, to write his autobiography, *Gruissan au temps des Catalanes* (1996). Another local historian, Hervé Grauby, has published a short book, *En parcourant l'étang de Bages et de Sigean* (1995). On the level of the *département* interest in local history dates back to the 1970s, when l'Atelier du Gué, a small press run by intellectuals inspired by the regionalist politics of the time, began publishing transcriptions of oral history (e.g. Charuty, Fabre-Vassas 1982, Brégis 1988). Academics such as Fabre and Lacroix (1973) worked from a similar political perspective. More recently books such as *L'Aude autrefois* (Gil 1994) have been published. From their content they appear aimed at groups such as les Bageois, but it would seem that they are mainly bought by tourists and incomers. A further series of publications, 'Opération vilatges al País', has been organised by the cultural arm of the departmental administration, with both the documentation of local history, and the creation of a database for cultural tourism, as possible objectives. Finally, these developments can be witnessed at a general level in France, and are accompanied by a profusion of independently authored books of reminiscence with titles such as 'The Woodcutters of the Pyrenees in the Old Days', 'A Wild Herb Soup. The Life of a French Countrywoman'. Many of these more recent publications, it would seem, were more commonly of interest to tourists and

the utility of my theoretical position was demonstrated, in my view enabling a more precise analysis of the complexities of such phenomena than the approaches I discussed in chapter one.

In section 4 I then moved on to discuss the village past itself, and the different ways in which it was temporalised by different people. My theoretical approach was once again applied, as I related the concrete media for apprehension of the past to specific social practices with their concomitant objectives, and I paid significant attention to memory's relationship with the material environment, of evident importance to the temporalisation of the village past. A clear pattern begins to emerge, that points to the way in which different temporalisations of the village past, predicated on an 'expanding past', were related to the different sociality of different social groupings, themselves the specific products of discrete historical processes. This observation reflects my integration of symbolic and materialist approaches, and my earlier criticisms of Munn. For Bageois, that is long-term residents whose forebears also resided in the locality, sociality was intrinsically historical in nature, generated by, and generative of a historical sense of the locality. The village past was principally accessed through oral histories of families and the Bageois as a whole, with which relics of the past were animated, and was embedded in the social contexts of everyday life. For recent immigrants and second home owners, however, whose sociality was not predicated on long-term residence in the village locality, temporalisations of the village past originated predominantly from non-oral sources, although some also sought to transform oral history into textual resources. This was in the context of a more self-conscious construction of the village as a historical place, in which the village past played an important part, and was also related to activi-

incomers, although their existence was part of the wider current of interest in the past commented on in section 3.3.

ties such as cultural tourism, as we shall see. For these non-Bageois, the village past was not so pervasive in everyday life, but confined to specific practices directed to its temporalisation.

In the next four chapters, I shall present examples of such temporalising practices in much greater detail. It will become apparent how these differences in the temporal index of sociality, predicated on recent historical processes, are central to the temporalisation of the village past and recent developments in it. With respect to shifting local power relationships they lie at the heart of current conflicts over it. However, it is important to note that these typologies are generalised from specific individual cases. It is only through examining the exceptions to these trends, apparent from the detailed ethnographic presentation that follows, that the true complexity of the temporalisation of the village past in Bages will become apparent.

4

THE VILLAGE PAST AMONG THE BAGEOIS

1. PREAMBLE

This chapter will focus on the ways in which the past of the locality of Bages was temporalised by those known as Bageois.¹ It will achieve these ends in three separate sections, each of which focuses ethnographically on one or two individuals and their temporalising practices. Section 2 introduces Etienne Bonhomme, a bachelor and retired soldier whose close family members were all dead. Etienne Bonhomme sought to preserve the memory of his loved ones through conserving certain artefacts, or *reminiscencia* (Casey 1987:110), of their lives, which he used to evoke his memories of their presence. Section 3 introduces Guy Cadas, whose parents, both true Bageois, had left the village in their youth, Guy Cadas himself having been born elsewhere. Guy Cadas was strongly associated with the Bageois: he had spent much time in the village as a child,

and had many relatives there, but he had only decided to return to live in Bages in the early 1990s. At the same time, he had a significant attachment to the past of the locality, which was related to his status as both insider and outsider in the village. Finally, in section 4, I introduce Lucienne and Eugène Daudé, an elderly true Bageois couple who have lived out their lives in the village. I focus on the way outside interest in the local past, in which they have become involved because of their life experience, has changed the way they value the past, and the beginnings of the development by Bageois of a sense of propriety over the village past is clearly visible in their case. In my summary, I make some further observations relating these individual case studies to the general characteristics of Bageois temporalisations of the past outlined in chapter three.

In terms of the overall objectives of the thesis, this chapter plays an important role. The local past, I argued at the end of chapter three, was temporalised in various different ways, predicated largely on different social groupings in the village. This chapter therefore provides greater detail on the role of the past of the locality in the lives of people associated with the Bageois. It demonstrates some of the complexity surrounding such issues that was necessarily omitted from the generalising perspective of chapter three, and stands alongside the work of later chapters, which mostly present developments in temporalising practices among other social groupings. Its content will also be important for the conclusion to the thesis, where I address the inter-relationships between different temporalising practices, and comment on their significance with respect to shifting power relationships in the locality.

¹ Thus including 'true Bageois' and 'established immigrants', and, as we shall see in the case of Guy Cadas, anomalies to these categories as well.

2. MONUMENTS AND MEMENTOES: THE REMINISCENTIA OF ETIENNE BONHOMME

On the afternoon of 28 February 1997, I interviewed Etienne Bonhomme at his home on *rue des Elysiques*. Susana accompanied me. While I was writing a first draft of this interview in the spring of 1998, I remembered visiting Etienne Bonhomme to arrange the time and date of the interview a couple of days before. Etienne Bonhomme was working in his vegetable garden, across the road from his house. He had been preparing it for planting up for the summer, he told me, although there were still the heads of a few leeks dotted about the soil's surface. As we talked, Etienne Bonhomme was standing by a large basin of some kind. I asked him what it was. 'This,' said Etienne Bonhomme, 'was where my family did all their washing until the 1960s, when washing machines arrived.' He smiled and laughed down in the back of his throat. 'It was... It was my family's private one, you know?... The people without a private one would go to the *lavoir* ('washing basin') by the port, you know, down by the *étang*?' 'Yes,' I said, 'I've seen it.' 'Or they'd go out to the springs, out to la Bajole, les Monadières,² in the countryside... And then, to dry the washing, to dry it, they'd walk down the road, outside the cemetery there are bushes, of lavender, thyme, they'd hang the washing over them to dry. And it would smell nice, oh, very nice.' Etienne Bonhomme was gripping the edge of the basin with his hands as he spoke, and now patted it gently, almost tenderly. 'Look,' he said, gesturing towards the basin, which was divided into two separate compartments. 'This part here... it was used for rinsing the clothes,' and indicating to his left, 'this part here for washing... so you washed the clothes in here, and then you put them in here to rinse them. That's how my mother used to do it, but you wouldn't do

² 'La Bajole' and 'les Monadières' are two springs, with large accompanying washing basins, located about ten and twenty minutes outside the village respectively. They have recently been restored by several people from Bages, with the blessing of the *conseil municipal*, and under the direction of Annie Des-

that now... Water's much too expensive to do that now.' He laughed another quiet laugh, almost to himself. 'I kept it as a memory. I could have got rid of it, but I kept it. There. To remember how we used to do things.' Why did I remember our meeting? The subject of our conversation that day, although not in any way prophetic, anticipates the focus I was developing in my work on our interview. And it now serves as a useful introduction to what I want to focus on in this presentation: my interest in Etienne Bonhomme's use of mementoes and monuments.³

Etienne Bonhomme lived in one of the large wine grower's houses built during the period of viticultural prosperity in the late 19th century, standing then on the freshly built outskirts of the *vieux village*, although it has now been surpassed by the functional new houses of the *lotissements*. While we were talking in the vegetable garden, I told Etienne Bonhomme that I wanted to ask him about the changes that had happened in the village during his lifetime. A number of people had said he was a reflective person, and would be useful to speak to, and when Susana and I arrive for the interview, the following week, he is ready for us. Etienne Bonhomme invites us into the hall, and then to the left through a tall door into the dining room. It is sparsely furnished, with a dark wooden cabinet, a wooden table with a white tablecloth and chairs, and little else. High on the wall either side of a front window that faces south-east to the *étang* are two photographs of young men, perhaps in their thirties. 'That is myself and my brother,' Etienne Bonhomme offers. 'He died in his fifties, quite young really. It is a shame to die so young... It is a shame.'

biens, who we will encounter later in this section. I write about her activities and the restoration of the springs in chapter seven.

³ As stated in chapter one, 'monuments' are artefacts that have a symbolic commemorative significance. 'Mementoes' serve a similar function, but on a smaller scale. The remainder of this section consists of the presentation and analysis of a single interview, although the discussion is informed by my broader knowledge about Etienne Bonhomme.

We sit either side of the table, Etienne Bonhomme, a tall, energetic man, his large frame setting off the excess weight he carries, seated with his back to the door. And once the tape recorder is on he starts to talk, to talk about the changes he has seen, in the village, of his understanding of those changes. ‘What you need to know about what’s happened in Bages, right, well to start with...’ he says. He has a clear idea of what he thinks, indeed it is obvious that he has reflected at length on what has happened, and his interpretation is systematic, objective, closer to the perception of a historian than to the personal histories many other Bageois have told me. Etienne Bonhomme was a soldier in the French army for most of his life, and never married. Now retired, in his 70s, he still wears his hair in the army style, although despite his obvious size and strength and his lifelong army background he is also gentle, in contradiction to my expectations. Before we sat down to talk he had spent several moments expressing his delight that the swallows had come early to his *cave* that year. ‘They’re a lot of work, you know. I have to get up early, open the doors so they can get out.’

After we have been talking for about an hour, and Etienne Bonhomme has finished what he has to say, I mention his involvement in the placing of a small monument that lies at the entrance to the village. I am interested in why he built it, in why it is there. ‘Lou Pouts de la Coundamino,’⁴ I say. ‘I hear you had something to do with building that, Monsieur Bonhomme...’ Etienne Bonhomme begins to tell the story.⁵

BONHOMME: The vine, the vine belonged to me... It was me who rebuilt the well.

HODGES: Yes, I’ve been told that by Guy Cadas. He told me that you...

⁴ *Patois*, or *occitan* for ‘The Coundamino Well’.

⁵ The following is a lightly edited transcription of the tape-recording of the interview.

BONHOMME: *[Interrupts]* Yes, I arranged it because... *[Pauses]*

HODGES: Can you tell me the story of that?

BONHOMME: Yes, yes. Well, it was... My parents weren't rich, they had three or four vineyards. Mmm... *[He pauses again, thinking to himself]* We lived... My grandparents lived down at la Placette, where there's the restaurant now...⁶ at the restaurant. I was born there...

HODGES: Really?

BONHOMME: It belonged to my grandparents, yes, it belonged to my grandparents. And when... And we had the horse there, we fed it... where you go in now to the restaurant, that was the stable. And when – that was my grandparents' house – and when my brother was born the house was too small, it was too small, so my grandparents bought this one in '27, in 1927, so there you go... *[He pauses again to remember]* And so when they bought it, um, the owner of the house had three or four vineyards, and he said to my grandfather, "You can't buy the house and not buy the vines, you've got to buy the lot!..." And so we had to buy two or three vineyards... You see?

HODGES: Right...

BONHOMME: And in particular this one, which was actually one of the best vineyards in Bages. Down there, where the well is, at the bottom of the hill... And then my father died young, we were soldiers, we had to sort out the vineyards before we went to Algeria... And it was Joseph Olivera, I don't know if you know him?

HODGES: Yes, I do.

BONHOMME: Now he's an example of a fisherman and a wine grower at the same time – he fishes and he tends the vines, he does both... *[A pause]* ...And so we came, when my father died, we came on leave for eight days to bury him, and then we had to

⁶ 'La Placette' is a small square at the northern tip of the *vieux village*. The restaurant to which he refers is *Le Portanel*, run by Pierre Cadassus, which is discussed in chapter five, section 3.

leave for Algeria, and the father of Joseph Olivera came and said to me, "If you're looking for someone to take care of the vineyards, you only have to ask. I'm ready and willing..." And we said yes, thank you, you're very kind. They were a good family, of Spanish origin... Olivera was Spanish, and he came here during the war, in '36, when Franco came along. And he worked the vineyards for twenty-one years... When my brother died I was fifty-three... *[There is a shout at the door, a woman's voice]* ...Is that someone at the door? Come in! *[Shouting]*

[By chance, Mme Olivera, Joseph Olivera's wife, comes by to drop off something. Etienne Bonhomme tells her he is telling us the story of the vineyards, to which she smiles and nods encouragingly before quickly heading off on another errand.]

BONHOMME: *[Continuing afterwards]* And so he worked for us for twenty-one years. Then my brother died, and I told him, "If you want the vineyards, you can have them..." And I also gave them the *cave* down at the bottom by the edge of *étang*, where there are some vats to make the wine.⁷ And so I was happy with that... I knew that the vineyards would be well looked after and everything, he gave me a bit of wine, at first a little money, afterwards we stopped that and I just drink a bit of wine now and that's it. So to get back to the well. I've always been afraid that kids might fall in and drown, and when they started to work on the road down there, two or three years ago, I took the opportunity to block it up, and I had it blocked up completely... At the bottom it was very old, you know. So with a journalist, Mademoiselle Annie Desbiens, I don't know if you know her?⁸

HODGES: No.

⁷ The Oliveras took the harvest to the *cave* when I knew them, although it would appear that, when working for the Bonhomme family, they made the wine themselves.

⁸ Although the construction of the monument made it into the local paper, the involvement of Annie Desbiens was motivated by her interest in restoring material aspects of the village past, rather than her occupation as a journalist.

BONHOMME: Well, she's a journalist. She volunteered to sort things out, and we rebuilt the well-head on top, and I made a plaque, in *patois* in fact. 'Lou Pouts de la Coundamino', which means 'The Coundamino Well'. '1820-1997', I think that's what it reads... I painted it all, and Annie Desbiens did the flowers, and looks after them. So there you go. So the memory lives on... until they widen the road, that is. If one day they widen the road, they'll demolish it. But for the moment, it looks pretty.

HODGES: It certainly does.

BONHOMME: So. It's things like that you must... You know, you always need to preserve a bit, to look after the past.

HODGES: Right.

BONHOMME: You need to look after the past. [*See plate 12*]

The afternoon has passed, we have finished the interview, and Etienne Bonhomme has insisted on offering us something. A glass of cool, sweet wine, 'made from *muscat*⁹ and white wine, I mix them myself,' he says. 'You must have some fruit as well,' he continues, disappearing through the other door in the room, which I presume leads to the kitchen, 'I've got some chilling in here.' He returns with three bowls of tinned fruit, peaches, pears, which taste refreshing in the warmth of the afternoon. 'Those photos behind you, they're my mother and father... They all lived here once.' We have finished the fruit and wine and he gets up. 'Here, come and see through here before you go,' he beckons, walking back towards the kitchen, 'and you must see the swallows' nests as well.' I collect my equipment and we follow him into a rectangular room, lit by the light coming through a door from the conservatory at the front of the house, with dark wooden cupboards and a cooking area to the left. 'These cupboards,' Etienne Bon-

homme says, 'were built by my grandfather when I was a child. They're oak... Look!' and he bends down to open a door. 'The outside, I have had it replaced, it was too old... But the inside,' he says, gesturing, 'the same old shelves that my grandfather made. They are still good shelves.' He taps one with his hand as if to prove it. 'They look pretty sturdy,' I say, and we all nod in agreement.

'This is my kitchen,' Etienne Bonhomme says with a swing of his arm, 'and out here is the conservatory.' We walk through the door. 'This is excellent in winter, it heats all the kitchen area, from the sun you know?' To the left of the door is a reclining chair. 'And this is the chair that my mother used... For ten years she lay on this chair, when she was ill. I built the conservatory for her, so she could sit out in the sun. This is where I nursed her.' I remember what Jeanine Bonnet, my landlady, told me, how Etienne Bonhomme had looked after his mother, and washed her, and cared for her while she was ill. 'The perfect son,' she had said. I look over at him. 'It's pretty, isn't it? And even now, in February, the sun is hot...' 'It certainly is,' Susana and I agree, 'it's nice to have the warmth of the sun on you.' We stand together in the glass room for a few moments, admiring the blue of the sky and feeling the heat of the sun on our bodies. Then Etienne Bonhomme leads us through a side door into the small courtyard outside his house, and on into the garage.

He swings the heavy door back, although it is already ajar, due to the swallows. It is a large garage with a cement floor, the wooden timbers of the roof visible and peaking at about four metres in height. Walking to the middle, Etienne Bonhomme stands and points up. 'There they are...' Raising our heads, we see ten or more nests glued in

⁹ *Muscat* is a type of sweet white wine made from the muscat grape, and is characteristic of Languedoc and Roussillon. It was produced by the *cave* in Peyriac, and was frequently offered to me when I visited

among the beams that arch over us, although no birds seem present at the moment. 'Every year they come back... And this,' he says, moving to the left hand end of the garage from where we stand, 'is the old feeding trough for the horses. I've kept it, although now, of course, I use it for something else. There are no horses left.'¹⁰ The trough, made of a light-coloured, greyish wood the colour of the *étang* on a cloudy, windless day, is full of tools, some old, some new. 'At the back is the wooden hatch, through which you let the food in...' says Etienne Bonhomme, pointing to the wooden overhang that stretches along the feeding trough, itself about two metres in length. 'And over there we made the wine, although now the vat has gone.' I look over towards the other side of the room, where there is now just empty, cement floor.

We pause for a moment, looking up at the swallows' nests, across to the trough. Etienne Bonhomme usually keeps his car in the garage, but it is parked outside at the moment. The room is large and airy, with a musty smell, and the cement flooring gives it a harsh, empty feeling. We walk over to the door. Now my eyes are accustomed to the light, I notice there are objects hung on the back and to the right, along the wall that runs to where the vat once stood. Etienne Bonhomme notices me looking. 'And these are some other old things, mementoes... Look!' he says, pointing something out. 'This is an apron for the *vendange*. My father used it, it was his apron... And here are some others, and this here is a bag for collecting snails.' 'Ah, but you must still use that, Monsieur Bonhomme,' I say, peering closer at the small, net bag with fine mesh and a tie at the top. 'You still go and collect snails, I know that.' We had been joking earlier about snails, myself typecast as the stereotypical Englishman who cannot stand snails like all the English, Susana and Etienne Bonhomme, like good southern Europeans, discussing

houses in Bages, in particular by Bageois.

the best ways of curing and preparing them. 'Well I still go and collect them, of course, but all the same the bag is very old.' There is a pause as Etienne Bonhomme stands and looks at the objects again. 'And this, this here is from Indochina. It's an American soldier's trench spade, with its holster. I brought it back as a memento.' Etienne Bonhomme takes the spade off its hook, holds it for a moment, then puts it back. 'So there you go...' he says, and after another quick glance around the garage we head out of the door.

Walking over to the gate, we say our thank-yous and good-byes. Etienne Bonhomme is pleased to have talked to us, and in fact thanks us as well: 'I have enjoyed my afternoon,' he tells us. On the way we stop by a vine that is growing over a bench in the yard. 'And look, I have a vine growing here,' he says. Fingering the grainy bark of the plant, still leafless from the winter months, he rubs his thumb over a stump where a shoot has been pruned. 'You leave two shoots below the cut, look... That's how the vines are cut here. It gives a little shade in summer.' He looks round. 'And that was an acacia,' he says, pointing to a nearby tree-stump. He gives the type but I do not catch the French. 'It was killed when they put the tarmac down on the road. It couldn't drink, they cut off its water... So it goes.' 'I suppose so,' I agree. Then we shake hands and move to the gate. 'One day you must come for a walk, in the *garrigue*. I am out most mornings, I walk across towards Peyriac... You can find me along the road there, although remember, I'll be visiting Lourdes soon.'¹¹ 'Well if not before you go, then afterwards,' I say. I thank him once again and he closes the gate behind us. 'Good-bye.'

¹⁰ Due to the mechanisation of viticulture. Before the arrival of tractors, horses were a vital part of viticultural activity, used for ploughing and transport.

2.1. A BAGEOIS TEMPORALISES THE PAST

It is clear that the objects that Etienne Bonhomme showed me in his home, and the well-head he had been instrumental in restoring, were for him principally *reminiscentia*, in Casey's sense that 'rather than functioning strictly as reminders or as records of the past... they act[ed] as inducers of reminiscence' (Casey 1987:110, emphasis removed). Indeed, our meeting itself is perhaps the most obvious example of their role, provoking as it did the activity of reminiscence itself, and that is why I have chosen to portray it in such detail. To make explicit the character and objectives of these particular examples of reminiscence, it is necessary to focus initially on the life history of Etienne Bonhomme himself, and his relationship to the historical changes that have affected the locality. Etienne Bonhomme was born in Bages in 1925, the son of a father and mother who were both true Bageois. At the time, although the village population was in demographic decline and the prosperity of the viticultural industry was receding, the times were good for small producers with the recent advent of the *cave coopérative*, and oral accounts also testify that the sense of sociability and community among Bageois was strong. Etienne Bonhomme grew up as part of this village society, both with the extended family he possessed as a Bageois, and a sizeable close family. His two uncles, Achille and René, were a wine merchant and a baker respectively, while he himself was initiated into viticulture through his father Justin, who was a small producer. The world of his childhood was therefore the world that existed before the rapid social changes of the post-war period, in which although social change took place, it was gradual, permitting an enduring village culture to grow and a sense of its permanency to envelop the course of an individual lifetime.

¹¹ Etienne Bonhomme was one of the few regulars at the weekly village mass.

By the time I knew Etienne Bonhomme, however, the previous forty years had seen this way of life disappear, largely in his absence as he had spent long periods of his life away from Bages as a career soldier. As he had never married, he had no direct descendants of his own, and all his immediate family had died or left the village, leaving him with no close relatives in the locality (although he still counted more distant relatives among other Bageois). His sense of personal loss with respect to his father, mother and brother, all of whom he mentioned during the interview, was compounded by the disappearance of the social and economic world of which they had been a part. Their loss was therefore all the more sharply felt because of this, and this assumption is justified by an examination of the ways in which Etienne Bonhomme himself remembered them.

The first time I met Etienne Bonhomme, he told me why he had preserved the *lavoir* in his vegetable garden. 'I kept it as a memory. I could have got rid of it, but I kept it... To remember how we used to do things.' Although the events he narrated directly before he said this were about the washing practices of the village as a whole, the significance of his *lavoir* was that it 'was where my family did all their washing until the 1960s.' His mementoes in the kitchen and the garage served on the whole a similar purpose, evoking the immediate family he had lost, and the way of life they were a part of, and that has now disappeared. Thus he kept aprons for the *vendange*, including his father's, which are no longer used today; the trough where the horses were fed; his mother's reclining chair where she lay when ill; and the oak interiors of the kitchen cupboards that his grandfather, Firmin Bonhomme, had made when Etienne Bonhomme was a child. All of these artefacts helped him in his acts of reminiscence to temporalise the remembered person, and the world of which they were a part. And by doing so Etienne Bon-

homme maintained his relationships with his dead family, and his own sense of who and where he was, in a world that had changed beyond recognition.¹²

The monument of the well was of a slightly different nature, in that it was a reconstruction of a former artefact, and involved the participation of Annie Desbiens, a recent immigrant to the village who was interested in temporalising the village past in a different way (see chapter seven for details). This did not change the nature of Etienne Bonhomme's relationship to the monument, however, as once again for him its purpose lay in inducing reminiscence of his family's relationship to the vineyards around it, whose story he told me in our interview. The nature of the monument, through its physical and enduring nature, served also to offset the transient nature of human memory, and its inscription '1820-1997', stating the dates of its working life, had something of the function of the gravestones encountered in chapter three. Etienne Bonhomme himself provided a statement on his objectives in this respect: 'You need to look after the past.' For him, the past of the locality was most prominently merged with the past of his family who, now dead and buried along with the life of which they were a part, were remembered by Etienne Bonhomme with the assistance of the monument, and in a more personal way with the outmoded artefacts which persisted from their lives. The fact of these artefacts having been in contact with, or even bearing the mark of the presence of, the now vanished body of the deceased and acting as symbols of the everyday world they inhabited, added vitality to the memories themselves, permitting Etienne Bonhomme to re-enter the world of his family's past more intimately and temporarily regain what had been lost.

¹² The only visible memento unrelated to his family past was the American soldier's trench spade, which commemorated Etienne Bonhomme's experiences in Indochina.

The temporal modality of Etienne Bonhomme's use of the past was thus overtly past oriented, fixated as it was on reminiscence. Although the practice of reminiscence was undertaken with a specific goal, or future orientation, in mind, this was the active re-entering of Etienne Bonhomme's own past, as he sought to preserve and re-live his memories of his dead family, and his relationships with them. This was because, as a bachelor with no family of his own, and as an elderly man whose life was drawing to a close, his own future horizons were limited, while due to social change the world which he had known and loved was now itself a part of the past. As a result he had turned towards his own past for emotional sustenance, and there were several other elderly Bageois who evinced similar attitudes. Two further comments are also possible at this point. First, the temporal index of Etienne Bonhomme's life was evidently historical in nature, embedded principally in his relationships with his family, and was predicated on the locality of the village, where they had lived. He thus provides a specific example of the temporal, and localised dimensions of Bageois sociality commented on in chapter three, and their origins in the history of this social group. Secondly, with respect to his media for apprehension of the past, in the case of his family this came from his own experiences, in interaction with the material environment. This experiential source was also visible in other information about the village past he passed on during the rest of the interview (and not detailed here), which also included material passed on orally from other Bageois. However, although this also complements my comments on the ways in which Bageois accessed the local past, and in Etienne Bonhomme's case was clearly a result of his integration into this social grouping, the narrative genre (Tonkin 1992:50) in which he discussed such information was unusual. On the whole it reflected a historian's perspective, rather than the more personalised narratives of other Bageois I had spoken to, and is probably a result of Bonhomme's time spent outside the village in

the army. In other ways, however, Etienne Bonhomme's temporalisation of the local past broadly corresponds to the characteristics of Bageois outlined in the previous chapter.

3. ON BEING, AND NOT BEING, BAGEOIS: THE STORY OF GUY CADAS

Guy Cadas lived in a large wine grower's house on the same street as my flat in Bages. That is not to say he made wine, and even if he had owned a few vineyards and grown grapes, he would not have made wine at home. By the time I left Bages only one *domaine* still made wine independently, although in the past Guy Cadas's maternal grandfather, Camille Daudé, had made his own wine there, albeit on a small scale and without great financial success. Guy Cadas, who was in his mid-thirties, lived in his house with his Australian wife Ann, and their two children, Simone, four years old, who went to the village school, and Eddy, who was two. He did not have a permanent job, and was something of a *bricoleur*, picking up quite a lot of work as a handyman through people he knew in and around the village, or the occasional job as a waiter during the summer holiday season working for a catering service that served the fêtes in the area. During the grape harvest he usually worked at the *cave coopérative* in Peyriac, operating the machinery for the new carbonic maceration process of fermentation, one of the recent innovations that had turned around the fortunes of the regional viticultural industry. So when I spent time with him, during the winter and spring of 1996-7, he would be working for a few days at a time, occasionally a week or more, or sometimes he would not be working at all. Afternoons he was not working we would sit in his lounge, which ran through open-plan into the kitchen where Ann would sometimes be cooking the evening meal, and talk until Simone got home from school in the late afternoon.

Guy Cadas was not born in Bages, but in Lyon, a large industrial city in Eastern France. Guy Cadas's father was from Bages, however, and so was his mother, and they had left the village to work in the urban centres of France in the 1960s along with so many other young people (see chapter two). It is worth noting that, while economic reasons had a large part to play in the migration of these young people to the city, so did their dreams. During the 1960s, cities floated alluringly over the horizons of rural France with the promise of a lifestyle far removed from the day-to-day toil of life in the village. While they promised work, new work, out of the heat of the sun and the glare of family discipline, they also promised what that work might bring: the dream of a world where everyone's house had running water, and everyone's washing was done by machines, and everyone had a bathroom and their own toilet (only the families of wealthy landowners could live like that at the time, and with the climate of viticulture after the war, they too had begun to experience financial difficulties). Cities purveyed these promises every day, on the radio, in the newspapers and glossy magazines, and through the teachings of the village schoolmaster, who told his pupils that their path in life led along the road by the *étang* to Narbonne, and away from the village forever.¹³

So if the parents of Guy Cadas left Bages in the 1960s, and, their dreams fulfilled, by the time I knew him were earning a good living in northern France, the question arises: what was Guy Cadas doing living back in Bages? He had not just turned up looking for the house of his lost ancestors, even though five or six years before I met him he had moved to the village and modernised the house of his late maternal grandfather, Camille Daudé, where he subsequently lived. Although his parents had left Bages for a new life

¹³ The village schoolmaster's role in encouraging young people to leave Bages was recounted by Marie Vasseur, Jacques Durand's daughter, who left Bages in the 1960s and is now married and living in Paris.

in the city, like so many urban migrants of their generation they had remained in close contact with their families back in the countryside, and he had spent his summer holidays as a child in the village. So despite an absence of several years during his twenties, during which he had worked his way to Australia and met and married Ann, when he turned up in Bages in the early 1990s he was well-known to people living there, and although he was not always accepted as a Bageois, he still counted many relatives among them. Indeed Guy Cadas felt that although his parents had left Bages before he had even been born, he was more at home there than he had ever been in Lyon, and he returned to the village to settle with his wife, and start a family of his own. His relationship to the village, and to the Bageois category, is thus an exception to the typologies presented earlier, as will also be noted regarding his temporalisation of the village past.

When I told Guy Cadas I was interested in talking about the past of the village, he immediately assumed that I wanted to put together a picture of how things used to be before the village had dramatically, and rapidly changed in the post-1960s period. Although I subsequently told him I was actually interested in what the past meant to people living in the village in the present day, I was happy to learn about his own particular interests in this period of the past, and so our time together was usually structured by his enthusiasm for life in the village when he was a child. It was with Camille Daudé, a true Bageois who lived out his whole life in the village, that Guy Cadas had spent his holidays as a child. Camille Daudé, who was born in 1913 and died in 1983, had inherited his profession of fisherman from his father, Abel Daudé, and remained a fisherman all his life. This did not stop him when he married from joining the family business of his father-in-law, Jeannot Chavardès, for at the time there was a lot more money in the butcher's trade than in fishing. But things turned around, as we have seen, and it was

fishermen who became wealthy during the 1960s and 1970s. The new technology that prompted the changes in fishing meant that its labour-intensive, artisanal¹⁴ nature (where nets had to be sewn by hand, tools for placing and maintaining nets had to be fashioned from locally available raw materials, and a fisherman had to know how to handle a sailing boat competently in rough weather) was gradually exchanged for the labour-saving durability of nylon netting and the facility of movement that came with outboard motors. However, when Guy Cadas spent his summers in Bages as a child, the artisanal techniques Camille Daudé was raised on still dominated fishing on the *étang de Bages*. At the same time, the population of Bages, although much diminished since 1945, and marked by former patterns of migration, was still dominated by the Bageois and their webs of family relationships, and was characterised by the sense of sociability and community that marked the childhood of Etienne Bonhomme, and that has since disappeared. As we shall see, it is this world that features most prominently in the memories of Guy Cadas.

One thing that marked Guy Cadas out from other Bageois I encountered was the diverse and passionate nature of his enthusiasm for the village past. Indeed one of the first times I met Ann Cadas, when her husband was away working for a few days, she suggested that if I was interested in the past I should definitely work with him: ‘Guy is crazy about Bages, he just loves the place and is always finding out stories about life in the village in the old days from his grandmother.’ When I knew him, Guy Cadas oscillated between nostalgically idealising life in the village when he was younger, and drawing on aspects of it to constructively criticise life in the present. At the same time, his interests reflected his social position as both related to the Bageois social grouping, while also

¹⁴ I use ‘artisanal’ here in the sense of ‘skilled workmanship’.

remaining an outsider. Sometimes his enthusiasm for the village past was similar to the interest of a recent immigrant. He would actively seek out information to increase his knowledge of village history, seemingly for aesthetic enjoyment or to cement his relationship to Bages as a place. At other times he temporalised it as a method of remembering and maintaining family and collective identity, like other Bageois, drawing on the historical dimension implicit in these relationships. Using these observations as a guide, I shall now explore the varied nature of Guy Cadas's interest in the past of the locality in greater detail.

* * *

3.1. BIOGRAPHY AND LANDSCAPE

The most common strategy of temporalisation used by Guy Cadas consisted of activities of reminiscence regarding locality and belonging, in particular in relation to the biographical aspects of landscape. For example, the following story concerns Guy Cadas's paternal grandmother who still kept a house in Bages at the time I knew him, although she lived for most of the year in Lyon.

The purple flowers¹⁵ which grow underneath the cliff by the church are there because of my grandmother. When she was younger, her mother used to go in a boat across the étang to work in the rice fields at Mandirac, along with other people from Bages. When she was a child my grandmother used to go along with her and pass the day there. Her father made her collect those purple flowers there – they were good for medicinal properties, and she would bring them home, pick off the flowers, and her father would sell them to pharmacists in Narbonne. Back then they only used to grow over at Mandirac, but now they grow in Bages, under the cliff... When my grandmother took the flowers

¹⁵ Whose name regrettably I did not obtain, as Guy Cadas could not remember it at the time.

off the stalks at home, she would throw the stalks out of the window, which overlooked the cliff. So she and I think that the reason all the flowers grow there now is because of her.

The story is one example of how, for Guy Cadas, aspects of the village landscape were associated with particular memories. Such memories usually involved his family members and other Bageois, and through remembering were regularly temporalised, thus reproducing his sentiments of belonging to Bages as a place, and to his family and the Bageois as a group. Another example was his walk with Alexandre Chavardès, recounted in chapter three, section 4.1, which underlines how the origin of such memories was either Guy Cadas's own experience, or the orally transmitted experience of significant others. Both cases also demonstrate how such knowledge of the village past drew on the particular historical and localised dimension of Bageois sociality. The temporal modality of such practices was therefore past-oriented, but with a more constructive future orientation than that of Etienne Bonhomme, as Guy Cadas worked to reproduce on-going social relationships with living people in everyday contexts. In this respect, it is clear that he shared such temporalising practices with other Bageois, and at times felt part of the collectivity of this social grouping.

3.2. NOSTALGIA AND THE VILLAGE PAST

A principle component of Guy Cadas's image of life in the past in Bages, indeed one of the defining characteristics of the 'old days' as Guy Cadas saw them, was that people were happy. Guy Cadas regularly told me that 'back then', referring to a period from roughly the 1920s to the 1960s,¹⁶ 'everyone used to have enjoy life to the full': for example, 'when they used to party they used to party every week-end... Now they just

don't.' The picture he presented, briefly summarised, was of a village where everyone knew each other, life was very sociable, and in the days before the arrival of television in the late 1960s people would sit out together in the evenings telling stories, and playing cards or practical jokes on each other. This was contrasted with the contemporary period of the 1990s, when the village population was more fragmented, and, he claimed, people were not so friendly, or happy. Camille Daudé was particularly fond of playing jokes, and Guy Cadas had many stories of the escapades he had got up to, often with a close relative of his nicknamed 'Chacalet':

My grandfather and Chacalet were at a bar with some friends, having a great time. Towards the end of the evening they were all a bit drunk and Chacalet and my grandfather decided to play a trick on one of the others. They went outside, while everyone was still drinking and partying, found the friend's car, and took the wheels off. So the car's left standing there, resting on some bricks!... Then they head back into the bar. Later on, their friend and his wife decide to leave. Everyone by this time has had a few drinks, and when the couple walk out the door, the others follow them and hide, to watch what happens. The couple get in the car – they don't even notice that it's got no wheels – the man starts up the engine. But the car won't move! His wife's shouting, 'You're too drunk to drive!' And then he gets out and realises the car's got no wheels!!!...

Practical jokes such as this were part of everyday life for Bageois in the first half of this century, as testified to by older people. They were principally a male activity, and aside from improvised jokes such as this one, there was also a standard set of jokes that used to be played again and again.¹⁷ However, as Guy Cadas explained, such jokes were

¹⁶ And corresponding roughly to the lifetime of his grandparents, illustrating once again how a person's image of the village past is shaped by their family environment as a child, which in Guy Cadas's case comprised his parents' and grandparents' generations.

¹⁷ Berger notes '[w]hen peasants play, they play practical jokes. As when four men, one Sunday morning when the village was at mass, fetched all the wheelbarrows used for cleaning out the stables and lined them up outside the church porch so that as each man came out he was obliged to find his barrow and wheel it, he in his Sunday clothes, through the village street!' (Berger 1988:17). This anecdote, referring one imagines to Quincy, the village where Berger lives in the *département* of Haute Savoie, tells of a

rarely meant maliciously, but instead took place in a spirit of camaraderie and good humour, and if one person was the victim of a joke he would be sure to pay the perpetrator back. For Guy Cadas, practical jokes were therefore one way in which people in the past entertained themselves together, of which he recounted other stories, the point of which was to illustrate how people lived in a communal atmosphere and enjoyed life. So in many of these reminiscences, happiness, facilitated by close human contact and predicated upon the idea of the village as consisting of a tightly-knit group of people, was a central theme. Given the recollections of other people I knew, this would appear to be an accurate assessment of life in the village at the time.¹⁸

'Nostalgia,' Papastergiadis (1993:167) writes, 'is usually understood as the rebounding away from the threatening aspects of the present and the search for safer grounds in the past.' In this sense, it is regressive, searching out a blissful, if temporary shelter from the demands of the present. However, as Papastergiadis points out, it can also function critically, subjecting the present to comparison with remembered pasts or imagined futures that inspire a sense of purpose in life.¹⁹ Guy Cadas would often recall life in the village past regressively, sometimes even claiming that 'I wish I could just wipe out everything that's happened, and live back then like it was'. The pain associated with this attitude he termed 'the knife', causing him to view everything about contemporary

stock joke played elsewhere in France as well. Such jokes are *disappearing* from rural life in France, however, as the remnants of French 'peasant' cultures simultaneously modify and disappear, and have already disappeared from Bages.

¹⁸ Contra to Casey's (1987:109) suggestion that reminiscence applies to one's 'own past', these reminiscences once again incorporate information from Guy's own experiences, and those of others, illustrating as with Alexandre Chavardès (chapter three, section 4.1) the effects of his sentiments of belonging to the collectivity of his family, and the Bageois.

¹⁹ 'The critical stance which subjects the present to scrutiny is usually driven either by a projection into the past with a sense of plenitude and integrity, or by an imagined sense of unity in the future. The nostalgic paradigm is at the centre of all major sociological critiques of modernity... nostalgic comparisons [may be] motivated by a sense of sedimented moral unity and spiritual integrity which gives social existence a sense of purpose and meaning that modernity lacks, and because of this perceived sense of lack, the melancholic "sufferer" of nostalgia condemns the world as she or he feels that it is but a shadow of

life in the village in a purely negative light, and this was not an attitude usually found among other Bageois, who tended to view the past more objectively as a mixture of happiness and discomfort. Indeed, its temporal modality is similar to that of Etienne Bonhomme's temporalisations of his family past, lacking as it is in constructive future orientation.

However, sometimes Guy Cadas would remember more constructively, drawing on his memories for the energy and courage to empower the present, and to try and inhabit it more vitally and live as he remembered others living before him. At the same time he also used the past to criticise recent changes in the village with more detail and subtlety. One evening he mentioned the nature of disputes in the village. 'In the past,' he said, 'quarrels were about family matters. Whereas now, you know, they're about pieces of land, that's to say, property. In the past, land used to be passed down within families, whereas now people with money control the place... And all these outsiders who've come into the village, they're taking over. They've all gone into politics, and run the place. That isn't right.' These two attitudes were representative of many Bageois, and have more in keeping with Guy Cadas's temporalisations of the village landscape, with their active orientation towards social relationships and the future. Overall, however, it is clear how his nostalgia could be both critical, and regressive, depending on factors which at a general level often centred around the state of play of his jobs and personal relationships.

the "real" reality' (Papastergiadis 1993:167; see also pp. 48-9). For other writers who utilise 'critical nostalgia' effectively, see Benjamin 1992 & Berger 1979, 1989, 1990.

3.3. COLLECTING THE VILLAGE PAST

Another principle component of Guy Cadas's interest in, and image of the past in Bages was the topic of work, and this was frequently the main subject of our discussions together. The thing that interested Guy Cadas most about the former working life of the village was related to his experiences helping his grandfather fishing, and he often reminisced about their times together. More frequently, however, he was fascinated by the activities he had witnessed and been a part of. He was most interested in the preparatory and maintenance work fishermen used to carry out, such as making and caring for nets, or tarring their boats. The two passages below describe other activities of this kind – making a *partègue* ('punting pole'), and the manner in which eels used to be stored before being transported to the markets for sale – and illustrate the nature of this interest.²⁰

...And out of tamarisk, talking about those trees that grow alongside the étang, out of that they used to make the hand of the partègue,²¹ you know, the punting pole... In the tamarisk you'll find good pieces, they have a good shape. So you cut a good chunk before the winter, I don't know how exactly, but at the end of summer, because it couldn't be too hot otherwise the wood would dry too fast and just split, you know?... You kept the bark on it, and then you put it aside to dry in a garage where there weren't temperature differences, so it wouldn't split, and then you peeled the bark off, and after that... um... with the knife you shaped it out, you took a big chunk and you made it smaller, to have the shape you liked for your partègue. It had to have one straight side to screw against the main pole, like this [drawing partègue]... and then each person would have a different opening, some liked to have long ones, some small ones, but usually there was a big piece here, and a smaller one, pointy, here [illustrating]...And you used it either to push your boat, but also when you made a knot linking the net rope

²⁰ The first passage is a lightly edited transcription of a tape-recorded conversation with Guy Cadas; the second a reconstruction from field notes.

²¹ The *partègue* consisted of a wooden pole, made of chestnut, with a double-pronged tamarisk end-piece, or 'hand', attached to its bottom end. Most fishermen still used them when I was in the village, although they were not necessarily hand-made in the manner described here.

to the net posts. Then you used the partègue to push the rope down, and you pushed it into the water, down the net post, just as far as it would go, and it took the net down with it.

To keep the eels for the lorries, which at that time went from Lézignan, the fishermen used to have an area marked out by poles in the port, which had nets inside with eels in. To collect the eels in the boats, they didn't used to have buckets, but net bags. It was these they put in the guarding area... The area was marked off to stop motors accidentally hitting nets with eels in, and letting the eels out. Then, initiated by my grandfather, there were wooden boxes, with wire netting on the sides, big enough to let out the small eels, which they didn't want, and which were sunk in the water. They were nailed shut when they were full of eels and ready to be taken to Lézignan – I remember nailing them shut with my grandfather, and taking them there with him. I could still find them for you now, or bits of them at least.

These two passages are typical of the many hours of tape-recordings I made of Guy Cadas's descriptions of fishing activities: intricate, and nearly always concerning techniques that, by the time of my own arrival in Bages, were no longer in use. Guy Cadas also had an extensive knowledge of other everyday working practices as they were performed in the village when he was a child, although his descriptions of them were less extensive and often acted as reminiscences about members of his family, or other people in the village who used them on a daily basis. His temporalisations of former fishing practices, however, bear comparison to the attitudes of recent immigrants outlined in chapter three, in that outmoded knowledge is collected and subsequently enjoyed for its aesthetic, rather than practical dimension. In the case of Guy Cadas, this is reflected in the role of family members in such narratives, which is often marginal to the detail of the activities themselves. In contrast with the practices examined in sections 3.1 and 3.2, they thus served little purpose in the reproduction of social relationships in the village, and he had similar interests in collecting old coins and other outmoded objects not nec-

essarily associated with the village past. In this respect his activities could also be said to be concerned with salvage, in that through remembering such knowledge is rescued from oblivion, and this was something that Guy Cadas himself acknowledged.²² At the same time, however, such activities involved people using specialised knowledge to earn a living, while remaining independent of hierarchical, structured employment, and I would suggest that Guy Cadas's own status and interests as a *bricoleur* found echo in these former working practices. He certainly showed a similar interest in practical aspects of everyday life in contemporary Bages, and an equal antagonism towards structured employment. Finally, his enjoyment of such recollections differed from the way in which old fishermen recalled them, which was primarily as reminiscences of earlier life experiences, and testified to a different attitude towards the local past, related to Guy Cadas's background outside the village and which I will now go on to explore.

* * *

Guy Cadas certainly temporalised the village past in manners consistent with the characteristics of Bageois outlined in chapter three. As his parents were true Bageois, he was situated in a network of family relationships that had a significant historical dimension, and were also predicated on the village as a locality. He thus drew on aspects of the local past, accessed orally through his own and others' experience as members of the Bageois social grouping, and temporalised them to enable the reproduction of belonging to his family, the Bageois, and the village as a place. However, he was not born in Bages and though sometimes considered as Bageois, he had grown up in Lyon. This was at the

²² C.f. Sontag: 'In a world that is well on its way to becoming one vast quarry, the collector becomes someone engaged in a pious work of salvage' (1979:76). See chapter six, section 3 for a related project.

origin of several aspects of his temporalisations of the past that differed from the general characteristics of Bageois.

Guy Cadas frequently idealised the past of the locality.²³ For example, when speaking of work, he would often concentrate on unusual and specialised activities, at the expense of more dreary household chores such as cleaning; and his focus on the communal, sociable life of the village was at the expense of the harsher aspects of the life of the past, where families would frequently have to live in crowded conditions, and migration and the inner sense of exile that accompanied it was a frequent response to economic hardship, even in his own family. Through focusing on the good things about the past, such as the sense of community that existed, to criticise the present, his attitude was in one respect similar to many Bageois. However, while doing so they usually remained aware of the accompanying hardships of life, unlike Guy Cadas, who frequently lapsed into regressive nostalgia. Berger notes how in rural Haute Savoie the slight difference between what is known and unknown about a person in a village creates the social realism of everyday storytelling, as there is little room for manoeuvre regarding the substance of events (Berger 1988:16-17). A similar form of social conditioning governs the ability of Bageois to be nostalgic: everyone knew how life had been in the past, and in speaking of it to each other there was little possibility for idealisation. That is not to say that Bageois never became regressively nostalgic, but this form of nostalgia was rarely an important influence in their lives. For Guy Cadas, however, his less integrated status with respect to other Bageois, in particular regarding the absence of close family such as

²³ C.f. Papastergiadis: 'The idealisation of the past and the other must not be conflated with an identification with the past and the other. Idealisations fix the self and the other in an antagonistic opposition which ultimately neglects or truncates the position of the other, whereas identifications open relationships agonistically and the "engagement" between the two positions does not demand the defeat of either' (Papastergiadis 1993:50).

his parents, meant that it was easier for him to distort the way things were, and maintain this attitude as part of everyday life.

At the same time, Guy Cadas displayed attitudes towards temporalisation that were common among recent immigrants, such as his aesthetic interest in collecting information about former fishing practices. It seems likely this was also part of his more self-conscious construction of Bages as a place, due to his having lived for many years in an urban environment where such practices are more common (Augé 1995). In fact, he often commented on the similarity of his interest to my own, and although I too acquired such information for use outside the immediate context of village relationships, our intentions remained for the most part quite different. In sum, Guy Cadas therefore displayed some similarities with the attitudes of Bageois as a whole, but also significant differences, as we might indeed expect given his particular status as an insider and outsider in the Bageois community. I shall now discuss one more example of Bageois temporalisations of the village past, before commenting on the relevance of these case studies for our understanding of Bageois sociality.

4. RE-EVALUATING THE VILLAGE PAST: EUGÈNE AND LUCIENNE DAUDÉ

Two older people I worked with throughout my stay in Bages were Eugène and Lucienne Daudé, both of whom were true Bageois. Beginning with interviews in November 1996, we would frequently run into each other around the village, passing the time of day casually chatting, or arranging at my instigation tape recorded interviews, until I left Bages at the end of the following September. Eugène Daudé, who was born in 1909,

worked as a fisherman throughout his life, at first with his father Charles Daudé, and then with his son Gaston, retiring at the age of 70 after Gaston's early death. Lucienne Daudé, born in 1914, worked for part of her life as a day labourer for the large landowners of the village, and also in the family's own, smaller vineyards, while carrying out the daily work of looking after the affairs of the house. When I arrived in Bages they had lived for thirty years in 'impasse Gaston Pagès', just off the main square of the village, and aside from Eugène Daudé receiving a lift to the supermarket every Saturday to do the shopping, stubbornly maintained their independence in the face of old age.

During July and early August of 1997 I had been working on a day-to-day basis with Jean and Monique Guiffan, who I have already introduced regarding Jean Guiffan's historical work on the village. The Guiffans and the Daudés were neighbours, and had known each other for almost 40 years. One day at the beginning of August I was talking with Jean Guiffan in his kitchen, which overlooked the main square in Bages, when he offered me the following anecdote:

I saw something yesterday that'll interest you Matt... In the late afternoon I was in the square with Monique. We had just come back from the boat, and were walking home when I saw Eugène Daudé come out of his house, very angry, brandishing a newspaper. He walked over to the mayor, who was standing with some people in the middle of the square, and started to talk to him, in a loud voice. That's how I heard what he was saying. Apparently, there's a new book that's just come out on 1907... Not a very good book I must say, but Eugène had seen the review in l'Indépendant [a local paper]. He was furious, and I think it was because the man who wrote it, a teacher at the lycée ['High School'] in Narbonne, hadn't been to ask him and Lucienne what happened. Now I only think that's what he was mad about, because I couldn't hear all of what he was saying. Anyway, the mayor must have said he would do something, because Eugène started to calm down... I didn't see what happened in the end, because I arrived at our

house, and I didn't want to appear to be snooping. But this morning, Monique saw the mayor going down to Eugène and Lucienne's house, which I suppose was because of what happened yesterday, as he doesn't go down there very often.

Jean Guiffan explained to me why he thought Eugène Daudé had become so angry:

Now I think that Eugène's begun to understand that he's important... I've interviewed him, and you have... and l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine ['The Heritage Preservation Association']... and the local newspapers have spoken to the two of them a few times. They've started to realise that their memories mean something to people... And so, with this new book that's been published, and Lucienne being the niece of Gaston Pagès, who was killed in the riot at Narbonne, with her being one of his few living relatives, Eugène doesn't understand why no one came to speak to her...

Jean Guiffan was right that I would be interested. The idea that Eugène Daudé had begun to reconsider his status and the value of his memories as a result of the work of myself and others interested in his life experiences was a fascinating, though in reflection unsurprising possibility. And if Jean Guiffan had overheard correctly, the fact that Eugène Daudé was angry as a result of his misconception of the way the various incidences of people interested in his life did or did not link up ironically illustrated some of the changes that had occurred during his lifetime. I was never able to confirm with Eugène Daudé that Jean Guiffan's version of the story was what had actually happened, mainly because I did not want to upset or humiliate him. But Jean Guiffan's story was upheld by something Lucienne Daudé told me the day before I left the village, to return to the UK.

By then it was late September, I had told Lucienne and Eugène Daudé when I saw them sitting in the square a few days earlier that it was time for me to return to London, and had said that Susana and I would call in to say good-bye on the afternoon of Monday 29

September, the day before we were due to leave. When we arrive, at about 3.00 p.m., I knock loudly and Lucienne Daudé responds a few seconds later with her characteristic ‘Qui est là?’ (‘Who’s there?’) from behind the security of her door. She has been in the kitchen cooking up cheap pasta for Eugène Daudé to feed to the wild cats they take care of now the fishermen no longer feed them their surplus fish²⁴ - ‘it’s hard work feeding them every day, Matt, but who else will do it?’ she says with a sigh - and we walk on into their sitting room, where Eugène Daudé is seated at the dining table reading *l’Indépendant*. He gets up, shakes hands with me, gives Susana two kisses, and we all sit down around the table, to talk before we say goodbye.

We chat about various things, mainly the practicalities of how Susana and I will return to England, whether we have had a nice time in Bages, whether we have found the people there ‘sympa’ (‘nice’), something that Lucienne Daudé has often asked me during the year. Then she sends Eugène Daudé to get the bottle of local *muscat* she has offered us on previous visits, and I pour out glasses of the sweet, amber-coloured wine for everyone. After we have all tasted our drinks, Eugène smacking his lips and all agreeing that the *muscat* of Bages is without doubt the best, Lucienne Daudé announces she has a story to tell. ‘The people from the television were here last week, Matt,’ she begins. She pauses, smiling at me. ‘Really?’ I say, ‘they came to see you at home?’ I had noticed a television van leaving the village the previous week and, remembering when *France 3*, the only French channel with significant regional programming, had covered the school strike earlier in the year,²⁵ I had watched the local news the same evening expecting there to be something about Bages. In the event nothing had been broadcast, and I had wondered what had been going on. Now Lucienne Daudé could bring me up to date. ‘A

²⁴ Market changes have meant that most fish caught can now be sold in some way, which was not the case when Eugène Daudé was still working.

TV crew came to see me, with a man from a university, like you, I don't know where...' 'Was he from Toulouse, Montpellier?' I ask. 'Hmm. Yes, perhaps Montpellier, that was probably it. He wanted to talk about the death of my uncle, you know, Gaston Pagès...' 'Yes...' 'He wanted to talk about 1907.' (See plate 13.)

Lucienne Daudé stops talking, and is smiling again, seemingly excited at what she is telling me. Eugène Daudé sits proudly beside her, nodding encouragingly. 'And you know what, Matt, this was the thing,' she continues. 'He wanted me to speak in *patois*. He wanted me to speak *patois* the whole time. He insisted I spoke *patois*... and he spoke it too.' 'Well, that's great, that's really great,' I say, getting excited myself, 'and it's about time. I'm really pleased. I bet you're happy.' 'Yes, I am... I enjoyed speaking to him. He spoke *patois* well. He was fluent. They filmed us, and they're going to broadcast it in *patois*, with subtitles for those who don't understand it.' Lucienne Daudé stops talking, and looks at me, proudly. I remember the number of occasions during my time in the village when I had asked her about *patois*, and she had dismissed it with a shrug of her shoulders. 'It's what I speak,' she had said, 'it's what we speak, we two speak it all the time at home. But *patois* isn't a language, like French, it's *patois*, you see... It's just *patois*, and no one speaks it anymore.' I remember when she told me that, and look at her now. She explains how she had shown the cameraman the photo of her uncle which her mother had given her, and how her mother had told her what had happened to him, how he had died at the riot in Narbonne, and she had told the interviewer. 'They filmed us both, standing by the photo,' she says. 'So I'm going to be on television. And him too.' 'But that'll be after I've left,' I protest. 'Ah, you see he said he'd send us a

²⁵ Teachers and parents were protesting at possible staff cut-backs.

video of it,' Lucienne Daudé replies. 'So don't worry. You can watch it next time you come.'²⁶

The television programme was an edition of *Viure al País*, a regular *France-3 Sud* television documentary whose name is *occitan* for 'Live at Home', part of the slogan *Vol y viure al País!* ('Come and Live at Home!') popular during the 1970s when regionalism was at its height. And it would appear as if the mayor had intervened successfully, as the programme concerned the events of 1907, taking the book that had initially angered Eugène Daudé as its principal subject.²⁷ Leaving aside the rest of our conversation from that final meeting, it seems clear that Lucienne Daudé's encounter with the television crew contributed to the couple's on-going re-evaluation of the past that Jean Guiffan had pointed out to me earlier in the summer. And the fact that the interviewer insisted on speaking *patois* clearly had an effect on Lucienne Daudé, as after denigrating the language to me as a relic of the past, she had suddenly become proud of it.

* * *

As a result of the interest shown by this man, and others including myself, Lucienne and Eugène Daudé were therefore engaged in re-evaluating their life experience. In fact, the reason they had usually been chosen above other older Bageois, although not in this case, was because of their association with Jean Guiffan, and I return to his influence in the village in chapter five. If they had lived fifty years ago, they would have been one set of old people among many, who had lived similar lives, and had similar stories to tell. They would perhaps have found a more substantial village audience among the

²⁶ Which I have unfortunately been unable to do, as I have not returned to Bages since 1997.

people who attended *les clubs*, the groups who gathered outside to talk and exchange stories during the summer evenings. Their experience would perhaps have been drawn upon by young people and incorporated into their own lives, therefore perpetuating the reproduction of the village and its way of life. But they would not have stood out as they do now, as acknowledged witnesses to the ‘old days’, the ‘living history of the village’ as I have heard several people, both Bageois and others, describe them. And as different people, for various reasons, have turned to them to uncover and make use of their life experience in new ways, Lucienne and Eugène Daudé have come to value, and temporalise these experiences differently. No longer, perhaps, as they might have done in the past; but as celebrities almost, who now find their place in contemporary Bages, and networks of academics and other interested parties, as acclaimed witnesses to a previous era.

In the case of the television crew’s visit, it was Lucienne Daudé’s connection to the events in 1907 that was of specific importance, and the recent interest shown in this event as a marker of regionalism and regional identity, as well as in *patois* itself, constituted the wider historical context behind this specific incident. Its relationship to issues of which Lucienne and Eugène Daudé were aware,²⁸ such as local interest in 1907, increased their receptivity to the interviewer’s interest in them: my own earlier questions about their speaking *patois* had been largely inconsequential. In other ways, their temporalisations of the past were similar to other Bageois. Drawing on the historical and localised aspect of their sociality, they frequently temporalised the village past in the construction of family and group identity, and Lucienne Daudé displayed a healthy

²⁷ The book was called *La guerre du vin*, by Georges Ferré, published by Éditions Loubatières, Montpellier, 1997.

critical nostalgia towards the present, while remaining firmly objective about the hardships of life in the past.²⁹ However, recent rapid social transformation had rendered them the privileged witnesses to ways of life that had disappeared, and they were consequently also finding their bearings in a wider set of temporalising practices, which in the case detailed here involved regionalist politics (although such interests were more frequently prompted by developments in cultural tourism, with its vested interest in local history, as we shall see). In an ironic, but comparable transformation to that affecting outmoded objects, as detailed in chapter three, their experiences had themselves become 'outmoded', in that their practical knowledge was in many respects no longer relevant to contemporary life. At the same time it was subsequently re-valued by others with new, and different interests from their own. This re-evaluation had ended up by influencing Lucienne and Eugène Daudé themselves, who had discovered a new meaning in their memories, and had thus begun to temporalise them in a different way.

²⁸ Mainly through reading *l'Indépendant*, which they bought everyday from the village store, and which Eugène Daudé had brandished at the mayor earlier in the summer. *L'Indépendant* often runs articles on matters of local history, and is a conduit for the spread of such interests and information in the area.

²⁹ An interview from November 1996 illustrates this. We are once more talking around the table.

'And life was hard in the old days?' I ask Lucienne Daudé.

'In the old days it was hard alright. Now it's like honey...'

'So things have changed a lot then?'

'Things have changed? Oh yes, things have changed... It's not like the Bages of before. Before everyone knew each other... Everyone was like a family... In the past we had better fêtes that they do now. Now people don't know how to have a good time...'

'And are there things you miss about the old Bages?' I ask.

'No. No, there aren't... We were happy in the past, you know, we were happy. There wasn't the comfort of today, but well, you were happy. Everyone had work, and it was good... While now, we can't complain, because, well... For you see, in the old Bages, the first of May for example, there wasn't any water. There wasn't what you needed to live, you know? There wasn't any comfort... And it's something, to have comfort.'

'Yes, I agree.'

'It's everything, it's everything... oh yes.'

5. SUMMARY: THE VILLAGE PAST AND BAGEOIS SOCIALITY

Drawing on my theoretical basis in symbolic and materialist approaches, during the course of this chapter I have presented three different case studies, with the aim of broadening and elaborating on how the people known as Bageois temporalised the village past. I noted many similarities with the characteristics outlined in chapter three, such as the importance of oral narratives as a key source for information on the village past; the relation of such narratives to the historical and localised nature of Bageois sociality; and the temporalisation of the village landscape and outmoded objects in the context of the construction of locality and belonging. At the same time, many of these temporalisations, such as those involving outmoded objects, were predicated on the 'expanding past'. However, there were also certain exceptions, illuminating for the complexity they add to the typologies of chapter three. Etienne Bonhomme, for example, in most respects reflected earlier characterisations, but the narrative genre of his account of the past was that of a historian, unlike other Bageois who usually relied on narratives based around personal histories. Guy Cadas was both an anomaly in terms of group categorisation, due to his insider and outsider status, and similarly anomalous in his temporalisations of the past. On the one hand, like Bageois, he drew on his family background in the village in the construction of belonging, and used the past critically to reflect upon the present. On the other, and in contrast to Bageois, he was both regressively nostalgic, and interesting in collecting information on fishing and other practices for aesthetic appreciation, and the more self-conscious construction of Bages as a place. Finally, the Daudés provided another example of typical Bageois sociality, although they too were exceptional in their re-evaluation of the past in response to outside interests.

All three case studies reflect the contact of these individuals with other kinds of temporalising practices originating outside the locality. In the case of Guy Cadas, this is related to his own origins in Lyon; Etienne Bonhomme too spent long periods of time away in the French army; while the Daudés, who never spent long away from the village, were themselves approached by outsiders interested in the village past. As illustrated in chapter two, migration and movement have been important components of social history in Bages during the last two centuries, and it is hardly surprising that these influences are also reflected in temporalising practices, even among those associated with long-term residence. In this respect, these individuals were not the only examples of such anomalies, both with respect to the temporalisation of the past itself, and with respect to the categories of social groupings. At the same time, there were still general similarities in the temporalisation of the past detailed here and in the previous chapter, which were applicable to both true Bageois and established immigrants, and that is why I have discussed them together. However, the complexities of individual attitudes to the past are an important addition to this general portrait, as will be further reflected when I discuss perhaps the most influential of recent new temporalisations of the village past in section 3 of chapter five.

Finally, and on a note of similar importance in later chapters, I shall now comment on one consequence of the interaction between Bageois, and non-Bageois practices of temporalising the past. I have already observed when writing of Guy Cadas how the village past was used critically by Bageois to reflect upon the present, and that this occurred both on a general level, regarding the contemporary quality of life, and also with respect to specific details. In particular I noted how Bageois used this strategy to criticise the effects of recent immigration into the village, and the further commercialisation of local

property relations. These sentiments of invasion and the infringement of rights over the locality and its past, or what was coming to be seen as the Bageois's *patrimoine* ('heritage'), were visible also in the case of Eugène and Lucienne Daudé. They therefore mark the beginnings of a more explicitly proprietorial relationship among some Bageois to their collective past, involving connotations of the power of ownership, although this was not prevalent among the group as a whole.³⁰ Such sentiments may on the one hand be seen as a consequence of recent history, for without the influx of incomers, and the influence of regionalism and cultural tourism, it is unlikely that such sentiments would have arisen. However, they were also a reaction against these developments, as certain Bageois felt this new-found heritage, which in other ways was vital to their reproduction as a social group, was being violated by the activities of outsiders and others in the village. The attitudes of these Bageois, comprising about half of this social grouping as a whole, will emerge at other points in the chapters that follow, and in reaction to other temporalising practices.

It is clear from the material I have presented that the Bageois as a social grouping depended on their association with, and temporalisation of the village past for their continuing identity. Their reminiscences of previous people and events, and their conservation of outmoded objects, photos, and the significance they gave to books and archives were part of temporalising practices whose modality worked to create a sense of who they were, both on an individual, family, and collective level, and to reproduce these sentiments of belonging over durational time. I wish therefore to emphasise the importance of the village past to Bageois sociality at this point, its embodiment in the material environment, and the grievances some held about its use by others. During the follow-

³⁰ And may be contrasted with the collective sense of the village past felt by regionalist and left-wing sympathisers in the 1970s, which was not so explicitly proprietary in nature: see chapter five, section 2.1.

ing three chapters, however, I shall address other projects within the locality, principally (but not exclusively) the work of recent immigrants, and consider such antagonistic attitudes where they occurred. This will extend and sharpen the ethnographic detail on the inter-relations between different temporalising practices and their exponents, and work towards my overall aim of assessing the consequences of recent developments in the temporalisation of the local past.

**My apologies for damage to the following pages,
which was caused during the binding process.**



Plate 3. *Le vieux village*



Plate 4. A street in the housing estate



Plate 5. A street in the *vieux village*



Plate 6. A vine after the harvest



Plate 7. The *cave co-opérative* in Peyriac-de-Mer



Plate 8. A *trabaque* drying in the sun



Plate 9. The port at Bages



Plate 10. A *sulfateur* decorates a vine near the village

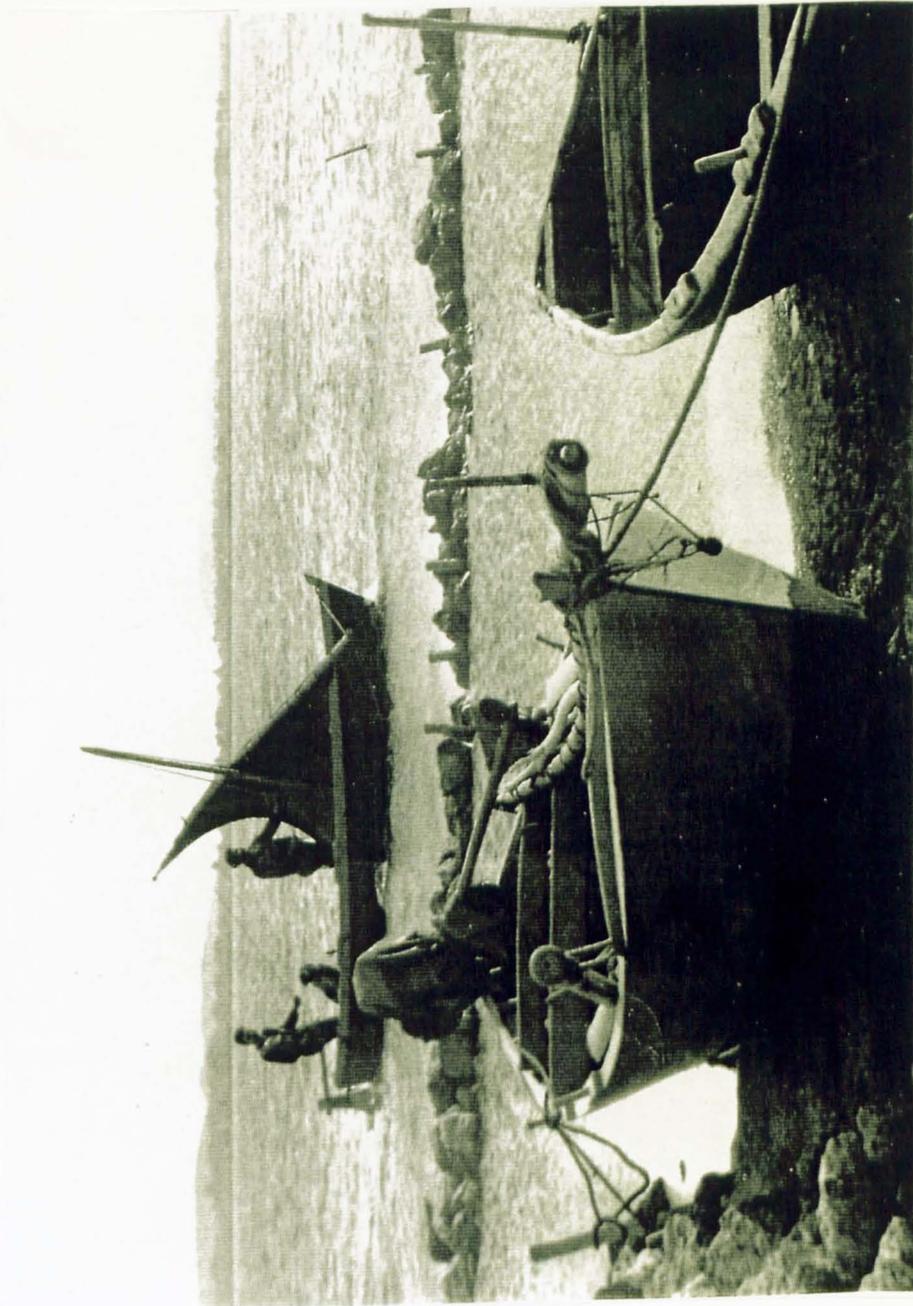


Plate 11 Fishing on the *étang* in the 1920s. In the background, a *voile latine*;
in the foreground, a *motogodille*, shrouded in tarpaulin



Plate 12. *Lou Puits de la Coundamino*

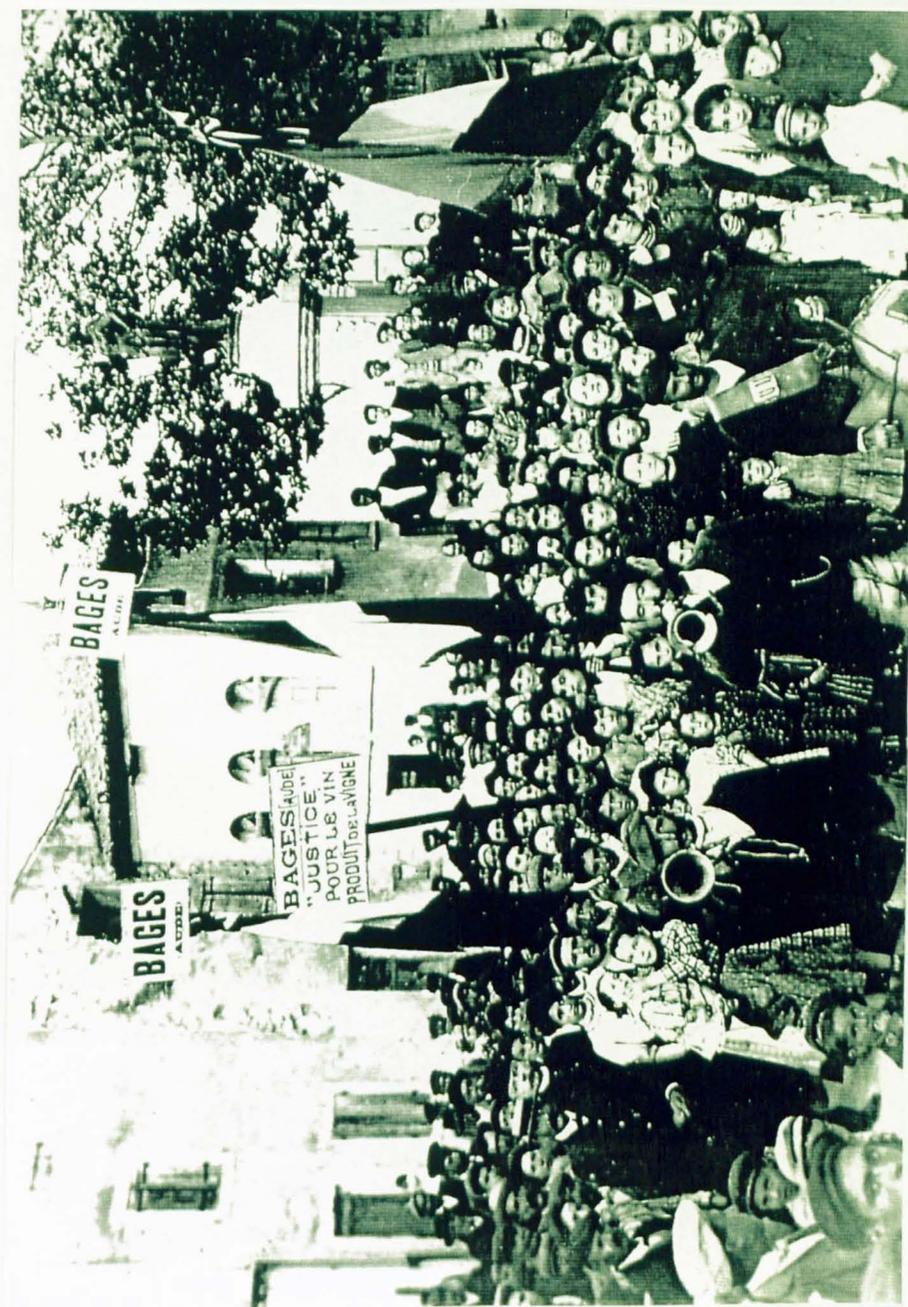


Plate 13. Lucienne Daudé's photo of a demonstration in the village square, 1907:
Gaston Pagès is standing beneath the left-hand tricolour, wearing a flat cap



Plate 14. The launch of *Bages et son étang* in the *mairie de Bages*, 1979:
a curious crowd waits expectantly



Plate 15. The launch of *Bages et son étang* in the *mairie de Bages*, 1979:
Jean Guiffan stands front left; Monique Guiffan rear right



Plate 16. 4 Bages Avenue des Ecoles

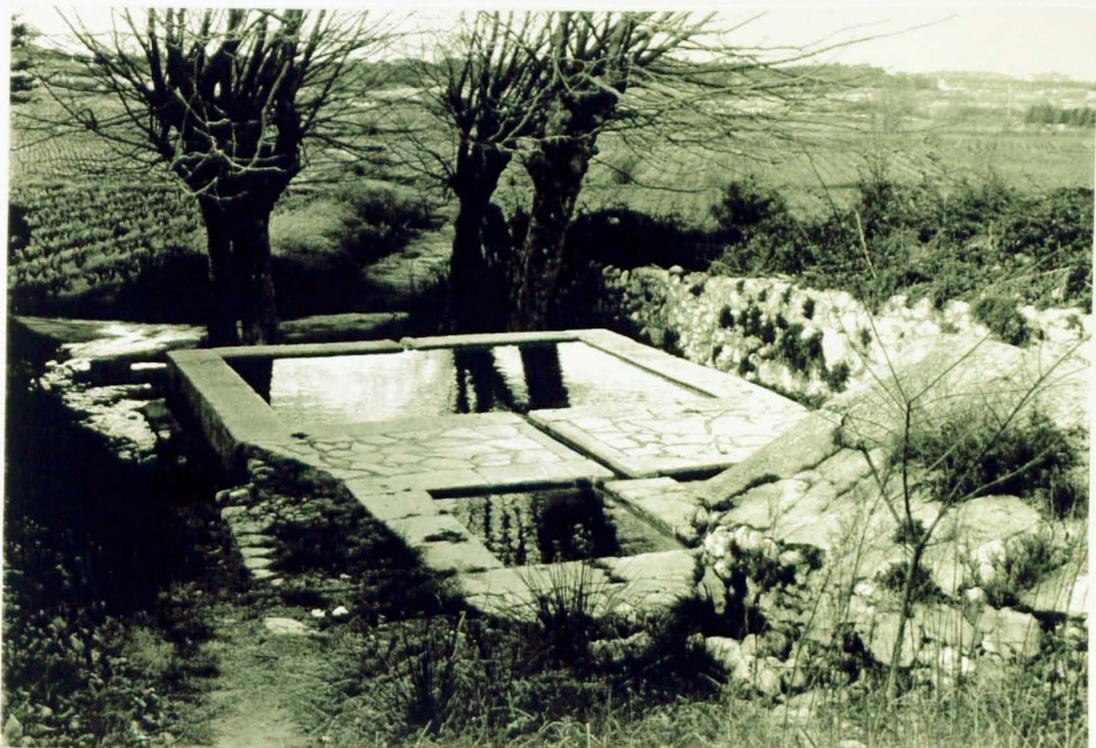


Plate 17. The renovated *bassins* at les Monadières

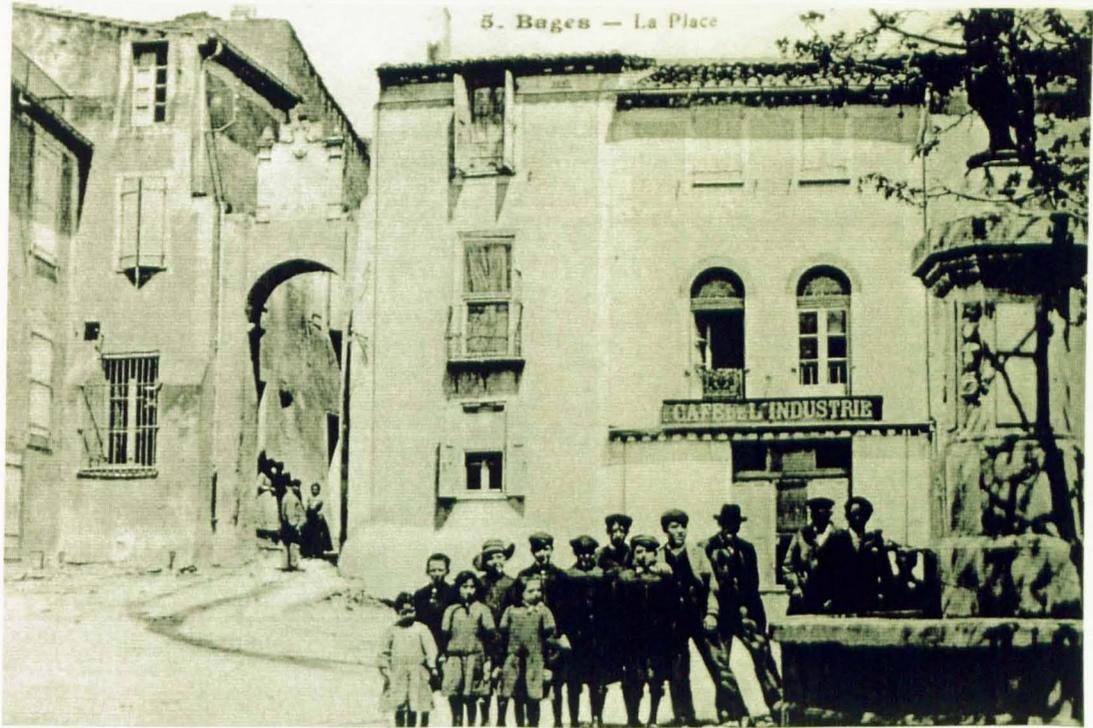


Plate 18. Real Pasts: the village square in 1910



Plate 19. Invented Pasts? The renovated village square in 1997

5

REFASHIONING THE VILLAGE PAST: NEW ORIENTATIONS, 1975-1997

1. PREAMBLE

In this chapter I take a historical perspective on recent developments in the temporalisation of the village past, tracing the growth of two particular trends in temporalising practices since the mid to late 1970s. First, I discuss the creation and reception of a written narrative of local history, and the influence in the locality of those associated with it and their historical interests. Secondly, I consider the temporalisation of certain locally produced food commodities as the products of village-based culinary traditions, and their sale to tourists. Aside from providing an ethnographic portrait of these developments, one objective of this chapter is to trace their reception among the population as a whole. At the same time, in section 3, which deals with the more recent temporalisation of food products, it becomes clear that the village past has begun to play an important role in the local development of cultural tourism. This is addressed in greater

detail in my summarising discussion, and is taken up again in the following two chapters, which explore other aspects of this phenomenon.

In section 2 of the chapter, I introduce the interests and activities of Jean and Monique Guiffan. In particular I discuss Jean Guiffan's book, *Bages et son étang*, a largely empirical history of the village, and its impact on temporalising practices in the locality. However, I also trace Jean and Monique Guiffan's other influences on the temporalisation of the village past through their close relationships with people from all sections of the village population, with particular reference to their joint interest in collecting Roman pottery.¹ In section 3 of the chapter, I provide a history of the activities of Pierre Cadassus, and discuss the impact of his interests in the locality. I focus in particular on how he has drawn upon the local past to shape a distinctive identity for his restaurants. Linking his activities to wider developments in the cultural tourist industry in the Aude, in particular with respect to the marketing of food, I also trace the diffusion of these temporalising and economic practices among other inhabitants of the village. In a summary, I compare the activities of Cadassus and the Guiffans, and relate them to the ongoing concerns of the thesis.

2. JEAN AND MONIQUE GUIFFAN AND THE TEMPORALISATION OF LOCAL HISTORY

I first met Jean and Monique Guiffan in October 1996, at the instigation of my landlady, Jeanine Bonnet, who contacted them on my behalf. When I first arrived in Bages, and had introduced myself around and explained what I wanted to do, many people had re-

ferred me to Jean and Monique Guiffan. In fact some, such as Jeanine Bonnet herself, had suggested that if I wanted to learn about life in the village I would be better off talking to Jean Guiffan than to her, as he knew more about ‘those sorts of things’ than she did. With respect to the long-term history of the village, this was certainly true. Jean Guiffan was *professeur de classes préparatoires aux Grandes Écoles* at a *lycée* in Nantes, a practising historian, and among the many works of history he had written was a short but detailed account of the history of Bages.² However, it also illustrates the extent to which, among all sections of the population, Jean Guiffan was regarded as an authority on a particular type of historical knowledge about the locality and its past. The type of knowledge, of course, that in the eyes of the village residents I as a university student must also have come looking for.

When I first met Jean and Monique Guiffan, and they had satisfied themselves of my authenticity, they proposed that they should help me with my research. Moving in academic circles themselves they were naturally more familiar with the sort of research I wished to undertake than were the other local people I had already spoken to, and they introduced me to a number of contacts who would subsequently assist me with my work. Indeed their generosity formed the backbone of a large part of the research I carried out in the village, and their local standing, due as much to their warmth and amiability as to Jean Guiffan’s historical achievements, was usually enough to create an introductory path of trust between myself, as one of their associates, and those in the vil-

¹ Narbonne, as mentioned in chapter two, was an important city in the Roman Empire for several hundred years, and the debris of Roman civilisation litter the *étang*, and may also be found at certain points on land within the *commune*.

² Jean Guiffan is *agrégé en histoire* (the highest teaching qualification for French *lycées*); as *professeur de classes préparatoires* he prepared students for entry to the *écoles normales*, the elite institutions of the French university system; and he was also *chargé de cours* (‘part-time lecturer’) at the University of Nantes. He retired in 1998. For many years he has specialised in Irish history, although he has also written on other subjects. His most recent publications include *La question d’Irlande* (1989), *Histoire de l’Irlande* (1992), *Irlande du Nord: les murs témoignent* (1998) & *Les Bretons et l’Affaire Dreyfus* (1999).

lage who knew them. This was helped by the fact that perceptions of my own activities in the village were usually modelled on the image of Jean Guiffan's more historical interests.³

This is partly a statement of my gratitude to them, written conscious of the fact that they will be reading this thesis when it is finished, although it also serves to introduce their relationship to the village. Jean Guiffan first came to Bages at Easter, 1960, with Monique and her family, the Salmons, who had bought a holiday house there in 1959. Returning regularly during the years that followed, they quickly integrated with the predominantly Bageois inhabitants, although over the years they also met and befriended many recent immigrants, and those who subsequently bought second homes there. For the main part of the year they continued to live in the North of France, at first in Paris and then in Nantes, where they were initially both teachers, and where they still lived when I met them in 1996. During their holidays, however, they visited Bages, buying their own house on the main square of the village in the spring of 1968, and expanding and converting it with the purchase of the adjacent house at the end of the 1970s. When I met them, they were well-known and well-liked throughout all sections of the village population, and had a large network of friends in the village, some of whom they had by then known for almost 40 years. In terms of the categories outlined in chapter two, they were openly counted among *les familiers* of the second home owners.

³ In this respect they acted as important introductory gate-keepers, and my subsequent research in the village was to a certain extent shaped by them. However, the fact that they were only present in Bages for about six weeks in total of the fieldwork period, and that their introductions took account of all sections of the population, meant that this influence, although important on a practical level, did not overtly shape the ethnographical material I eventually collected, and although many people seemed to interpret my own activities in terms of their image of Jean Guiffan, this did not prevent me from following my own line of enquiries.

During this time, Jean Guiffan developed his interest in history, and aside from teaching it began to write historical works himself, some for advanced school tuition, but the majority of an academic standard, although he retained his independence as a researcher from the university system. His principle research during this time being on the history of Ireland, in particular during the modern period, in the 1970s he also became interested in the history of Bages, and in 1979 he published *Bages et son étang*, a history of the locality from Roman times to the present day. This interest was not just confined to the research necessary for producing the book, but, jointly shared with Monique Guiffan, formed part of their lives and relationships with the inhabitants of the village. In this respect it shaped their image of the historical identity of the village, and did so to a greater extent than others with historical interests (mainly recent immigrants and second home owners) due to their passion for it. However, their integration with the Bageois meant they were also part of, and party to the oral history of this grouping, which similarly shaped their temporalisations of the village past, and this was particularly the case for Monique, who grew up in the Midi and enjoyed participating in the daily rounds of storytelling and gossip from which such oral histories develop. Discussing first the production, content, and reception of *Bages et son étang*, I shall then address the Guiffans' other influences on the temporalisation of the local past.

2.1. *BAGES ET SON ÉTANG*: ON MAKING LOCAL HISTORY POSSIBLE

Bages et son étang is 162 pages long, and is a predominantly empirical account of the economy and society of the village locality, from pre-Roman times, when the area was inhabited by a tribal people, *les Elysiques*, to the late 1970s. Although focusing primarily on the detail of event, the book also contains some analysis, although unlike Jean Guiffan's other books it was clearly written with a more general readership in mind, and

thus takes the form of a chronicle rather than an analytical historical narrative.⁴ Its publication and repercussions clearly illustrate how the production of a historical narrative in written form, and drawing on modern historiographical techniques, can facilitate a new form of relationship to the past, as we shall see. Le Goff (1992:81-90) views such historical narratives as part of a long revolution in our relationship with the past, as printing and the culture of literacy developed slowly from the Renaissance onwards, before progressing rapidly during the 19th and 20th centuries, the period I have identified with the expanding past. *Bages et son étang* constitutes a localised phenomenon of this wider shift, as Jean Guiffan mobilised historical sources for more general temporalisation, although it equally demonstrates how the ways such historical narratives are temporalised depends very much on the nature of the contingent social world under consideration.

The primary sources for the work, Jean Guiffan told me in conversation, were archival. In the *mairie* of Bages is housed an extensive collection of municipal archives dating back to the late 17th century. These archives are comprised principally of the minutes of the *conseil municipal* over the centuries, the civil records, state censuses dating from 1836, and various cadastral maps with accompanying documentation. Along with these municipal archives, Guiffan also had access to the archives of the *prud'homie* of Bages, and carried out further research in archives in Narbonne, Carcassonne, and Paris, along with relevant background reading. The book focuses on the locality itself, although

⁴ Indeed, there is little documentation in the archives to provide a more anthropological history, such as one encounters in Le Roy Ladurie's *Montailou*. The archives, which I worked with closely during the writing of this thesis, provide strictly empirical records of events significant to the village administration, and give restricted access to the voices and concerns of its inhabitants beyond the ruling elite of the time. However, through the demands made upon the resources of the *commune* by economic and natural calamities, and the day-to-day allocation of funding for fêtes or maintenance, the concerns of the village inhabitants can be discerned, and playing such insights off against the detail of successive councils and the background of regional history, Guiffan has managed to create a portrait of village life that transcends the 'dates and events' character that such a narrative could easily assume.

there is some reference to wider social contexts, and its form and content was evidently influenced by the format of the materials of administrative records. Through the activities of reading and collation, Jean Guiffan selected excerpts from these records, which take a strictly chronological and localised form, and shaped them into a linear historical narrative with the locality as its focus.

The book is mainly concerned with tracing the history of the village since its first mention in historical documents in the 8th century, and primarily addresses the period covered by the municipal archives. A short chapter on pre-Roman and Roman times, 'Du golfe Narbonnais au lac Rubresus' ('From the Narbonnais Gulf to Lake Rubresus') begins the book, discussing the archaeological and historical evidence of life in the region before and during the Roman occupation. This is followed by another short chapter, 'Aux origines de Bages' ('The Origins of Bages'), discussing the appearance of the village in historical records and the origins of its name, and providing details of the Roman ruins in the area. The next two chapters draw on the limited information available about the village in the Middle Ages and 16th and 17th centuries, and comment for the first time, and in some detail, on the economy of the village, which was predominantly polycultural. The next four chapters, drawing principally on the municipal archives, then cover the years from 1697, when municipal records began, to 1914, and are much more detailed: the economic life of the locality remains a theme, as does the effects of wider transformations in French life, such as the French Revolution, and a whole chapter is devoted to viticulture in the late 19th century. Finally, the book concludes with a chapter on the period from 1914-1979, noting the decline in population, and the problems facing the village regarding local employment and the increasing number of second homes at the time of writing.

In fact Guiffan takes a quite polemical position concerning the numbers of young Bageois leaving the village at the time. In the final paragraph of the book he writes (1979:152): ‘With its picturesque position, Bages is in danger of becoming, little by little, like certain tourist hot-spots in Provence, a ‘museum-village’ of holiday homes which only wakes up during the ‘cicada season’ [summer]. Will land and property speculation, worth millions, one day chase the last Bageois from their ancestral homes, or will they succeed in living and working in the village?’ Although this might appear hypocritical given Guiffan’s own purchase of a holiday home, it is in fact a measure of his integration, and identification with the Bageois. The book ends with lines from a regionalist poem popular at the time, and quoted in the original *occitan*: ‘Vos ai parlat d’un país / Que vol viure!’ (‘You’ve spoken of a country / That wants to live!’), and regionalism’s influence on the book will be discussed in the pages that follow. However, this is not a theme explicitly taken up elsewhere in the narrative, and although Jean Guiffan draws on oral sources and his own experiences for material on the mid-to-late 20th century, the bulk of the narrative is concerned with the empirical history of the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. It thus provides an excellent complement to anthropological fieldwork and analysis, but not a substitute for it.

Having summarised the book’s contents and sources, I now wish to consider more fully the social context of the book’s production. Although *Bages et son étang* is the literal consequence of Jean Guiffan’s collation of archival sources, and his solitary work of putting pen to paper, like all books (and as Jean Guiffan pointed out to me when we discussed it) its production was also aided and influenced by other people around the author at the time. Jean Guiffan’s wife, Monique, certainly helped over the years, both

through her own enthusiasm for the village past, and her assistance with some of the archival research. Another strong influence, however, and the man to whom the book was dedicated, was a friend of the Guiffans, Louis Castan. Louis Castan, originally from Mailhac, a village on the other side of Narbonne, had with his wife Gaby run the main food store in the village during the 1960s and 1970s. A man of strong communist sympathies, and passionate about the village past, he was elected as a member of the first socialist *conseil municipal* in the village in 1977, before his early and untimely death from cancer the following year. In conversation, Jean Guiffan credited Louis Castan with teaching him much about the village, and with encouraging his enthusiasm for its history.

When Jean Guiffan had first arrived in the village, he told me, there had been little or no explicit notion among the Bageois of the collective past or history of the locality, and when pasts were invoked they usually took the form of family history and reminiscence, or picaresque stories of individual exploits. By the 1970s, however, there was a growing interest among certain Bageois and recent immigrants in the history of the village as a locality, which at this time of greater integration among the population was still identified with the population as a collectivity. Certain people, including Louis Castan and the leader of the 1977 socialist *conseil municipal* (and mayor of the *commune* from 1977-1983), René Chevrier, had for various reasons related to both regional and national politics become interested in defining the identity of the village in a historical sense. In Jean Guiffan's own words:

Castan was an extraordinary person. He was self-taught. He hadn't had much education but he was very intelligent and inquisitive. He had learnt a lot at the 'école du

*parti*⁵ (he was communist and in France, from 1945 to the end of the 1950s, when the P.C.F. ['Parti Communiste Français' or 'French Communist Party'] was very strong, it educated its militants in an impressive manner). It was through politics that he became interested in the area and its history. Knowing that I was Breton and that I was interested in Breton regionalist movements, he started to get interested in the occitan movement that had only really got going after 1968... Chevrier was also interested in the occitan problem for political reasons (he is a socialist) and, I think, because one of his children was interested as well. However, he was not as committed as Castan.⁶

Knowing that Jean Guiffan was a historian, Louis Castan had been enthusiastic that he should write a history of the village, and Jean Guiffan had been progressively collecting information for the project during the early and mid-1970s. At the same time Jean Guiffan's own regionalist sympathies also provided motivation: as he put it to me, 'the political and regionalist context was no small influence on my decision to write *Bages et son étang*.' Louis Castan's early death then provided an added impetus to bring the project to completion and, the research finished, the book was written during 1978 and 1979 as a tribute to his friend.

We may see from Jean Guiffan's relationship with Louis Castan that the writing of *Bages et son étang* was not just the consequence of Jean Guiffan's own interests as a historian, but also developed partly out of political concerns in France with the temporalisation of the past at a local and regional level. Certain inhabitants of the village, originating from both within and, like Louis Castan and Jean Guiffan, outside the immediate locality, had become increasingly interested in how the past could help define a new sense of the collective identity of the village, an identity that would be aligned on left-wing, and regionalist principles. Jean Guiffan's book was partly implicated in this proj-

⁵ 'Party School', i.e. those meetings and workshops where the ideology of the P.C.F. was disseminated.

ect, and indeed was printed by the *Service Occitan d'Imprimerie* ('The Occitan Printing Service') at nearby Salles-d'Aude, which as its name betrays had regionalist sympathies. However, as a text with no explicit ideological message within its pages it was also easily put to use in other temporalising practices,⁷ and in this respect I shall now consider the launch, reception, and temporalisation of the book among the inhabitants of the village.

2.2. TEMPORALISING *BAGES ET SON ÉTANG*

The launch of *Bages et son étang* took place at the *mairie* in Bages in late July 1979 (see plates 14 & 15). It was attended by a large crowd, mostly of village residents, illustrating the curiosity and excitement that had developed surrounding the appearance of the book, and no doubt encouraged by a number of articles in the local newspapers prior to the book's publication that reported on Jean Guiffan's progress, and the book's content. The diffusion of the book in Bages and the surrounding area was rapid. Both at the initial book signing, and during the immediate aftermath, the book sold many copies in the village, with most households making at least one purchase (as Jean Guiffan told me, 'most Bageois bought the book, and sometimes several copies to send to their children elsewhere'). At the same time Jean Guiffan signed copies in nearby Peyriac-de-Mer, and the book was also on sale throughout the region as a whole. Although never reprinted, its initial run of 1,500 copies had sold out long before my own arrival in Bages which, considering its limited distribution, constitutes a fair number of sales for a book with restricted appeal beyond the village itself. Over the following years the book continued to receive publicity in the local papers, notably *l'Indépendant*, whose corre-

⁶ An interest in regional and local history was characteristic of the French left in the 1970s, in particular the dominant *Parti Socialiste* ('Socialist Party'), which subsequently won the national elections in 1981.

spondent for Bages, Clément Gastou, was himself an enthusiast of local history, and a number of extracts from it were published in the paper during the early 1980s. These were followed by a number of Clément Gastou's own articles on local history later in the decade, indicating a continuing interest in the subject locally.

While Clément Gastou's attentions kept the book in the wider public eye, its reception in Bages was more immediate, and a large percentage of the village population read it in the years following its publication.⁸ The book's long-term effect on the temporalisation of the past in the locality, however, as we might by now expect, took a number of forms. Beginning with the younger generation, the book was used in teaching local history at the village school, which took children up to the age of 11, and was also used in local history quizzes at summer fêtes (also predominantly for children). For children, therefore, who entered education since the beginning of the 1980s, from an early age the information contained in the book offered one possible strategy of temporalising the past of the locality, alongside others related to their relationships to local social groupings.⁹

For most Bageois, the book's influence took second place to their family and collective histories in their temporalisations of the local past, although their pride at the appear-

⁷ Although this is, of course, a feature of written texts more generally, which '[do] not pop into the world as... finished and neatly parcelled bundle[s] of meaning. Meaning depends on the historical situation of the interpreter' (Selden 1989:119; c.f. Gadamer 1975).

⁸ A fact substantiated by oral accounts; and apparent from the number of people who referred me to the book during my own stay in the village, and claimed to have read it without my asking. The exact number of people who had read the book is of course impossible to ascertain without an extensive survey. However, I would estimate that at least 50 % of all village inhabitants had read it at some stage, perhaps more.

⁹ Due to the limitations of time I did not focus on interviewing children, and my information on the role of Guiffan's book in their lives is therefore limited. The book's importance to them was certainly related to its importance to their parents and families. However, education's influence is not solely determined by parental attitudes, and being taught the history of the village from *Bages et son étang* must have been a significant formative influence for many children, whatever the attitudes of their parents and wider family.

ance of a history of the village indicates another way in which the book was put to use.¹⁰ At the same time, it was clear that some adults in Bages did use the book as a historical frame of reference for the locality and their lives. This was most evident among recent immigrants who wished to learn about, and orient themselves in the locality, constructing a more self-conscious relationship to place, and the book provided an important source of information for such projects. However, several people particularly interested in local history, who were mainly recent immigrants but also included a few Bageois, had read the text quite closely, and for these individuals it was a more important part of their everyday lives, and of the way in which the locality was temporalised. Of these, some had, and continued during my own stay in the village to contest the book's reading of local history, pointing out errors on Jean Guiffan's part (which it must be said were very few in number, and insignificant to the integrity of the work as a whole), while others rejected the book either as uninteresting, or lacking in insight as to what Bages was really like. In sum, most people accepted the book as a legitimate portrait of the history of the locality, although its overall reception was nevertheless of an inconsistent and varied nature, and many people, in particular very recent immigrants, had not read the book at all. However, its provision of a new resource for temporalisations of the past was evidently influential, and the form these temporalisations took was predominantly related to the self-conscious construction of Bages as a place by recent immigrants and second home owners. In fact, Bageois were the only social grouping likely to use the book's subject matter to inform reminiscences due to the time period it dealt with, but this did not appear to have taken place.¹¹

¹⁰ 'When the book came out, the Bageois were very proud that there was at last a book on their village (especially as their rival Peyriac already had two)' (Jean Guiffan, personal communication).

¹¹ One can imagine the historical material in the book being used to inform Bageois oral history about family members who were living in the village in the past, adding detail on the economic conditions, for example, that affected their lives (an impossibility, of course, for non-Bageois). However, if this happened, it was not apparent to me, although it is possible that such information informed reminiscences I

2.3. WADING IN THE WATER, COLLECTING POTTERY, VIOLATING CAR PARKS

Jean and Monique Guiffan's general enthusiasm for the past of the locality also had other, less dramatic consequences than the publication of *Bages et son étang* through their regular presence in the village over the years, and I shall now detail one incident as an illustration of the other kinds of influence they had.¹² Since the early 1970s they have been eagerly scouring the shallows of the *étang* in search of fragments of Roman pottery, an enthusiasm which subsequently spread to some of the other inhabitants of Bages. The northern end of the *étang* in Roman times served as the port of Narbonne, connected to the sea via the present-day *étang de l'Ayrolle*. Over the several hundred years of its use, the bottom of the port was littered with the wreckage of thousands of pieces of pottery, which sank into the silt and were preserved over the centuries. During the winter months each year the silt is stirred up by the strong, north-easterly Cers and occasional fierce storms, and along the western edge of the *étang* in summer emerge many fragments of pottery, which lie washed up at the water's edge, or on the bottom among the seaweed in the shallows. Thousands more fragments lie unrecognisable, their features eroded by the action of the water, lost among the shell fragments and small stones that make up the *étang*'s stony sand.

During the 1970s, Jean Guiffan told me, when he initially discovered fragments of what he thought was Roman pottery, he became very excited, collected everything he could

witnessed without my knowledge. As I have previously suggested, the different strains of information that go to make up a reminiscence may be complex, although its character may remain the same.

¹² The following example constitutes a neat illustration due to its coherence, and with respect to other influences I discuss in chapter seven the involvement of Jean Guiffan with choosing street names for the village. However, another important influence, which would be more difficult to discuss in any detail, was the historical information they spread about the village in day-to-day conversation.

find, and took it to the small museum of local history in nearby Peyriac-de-Mer.¹³ A local historian working there dismissed most of it as of recent origin, but his identification of some pieces of pottery dating from Roman times encouraged Jean Guiffan, and during the years that followed he gradually built up a sizeable collection, while contributing to the museum's historical project attempting to chart deposits of pottery in the *étang* and its environs.¹⁴ To begin with, he told me, the fishermen who saw him wading in the *étang* had thought him crazy. However, at the time he and Monique often supervised children from the village in the summer, as they were teachers and on holiday so working Bageois parents would ask them to mind their children as a favour. Through the Guiffans' example the children became interested in collecting pottery as well, their enthusiasm gradually spreading to some of their parents, and oral accounts testify that during the late 1970s there was a minor explosion of interest in the village regarding the relics of its Roman past.¹⁵

This enthusiasm is exemplified by an incident that occurred during the late 1970s, when an area on the *étang*'s northern shore was being converted into a car park, and also demonstrates the extent to which official opinion about the value of the past has changed. Working with excavators, the contractors employed to level the ground and create space for the car park uncovered large numbers of Roman amphorae, and many fragments of Roman pottery.¹⁶ The news quickly spread to Bages, where the young inhabitants became excited about getting their hands on the pottery. When the contractors

¹³ Few people I met in Bages had actually visited this museum, or were interested in its contents, and as it lies outside the research locality I do not discuss it in detail here.

¹⁴ Most of the pottery found in the area is technically known as 'sigillated', rust-red in colour and decorated with stylised depictions of a pastoral origin (grasses, flowers, animals, and occasionally human figures). It dates primarily from the 2nd to 4th centuries AD.

¹⁵ Exact numbers are hard to determine. Children remained most interested, although some older people had clearly become enthusiasts as well. I estimate that 20% of the population were at some time actively involved, although conversation and gossip diffused the information throughout the village as a whole.

were not working, the youths entered the site and removed the pottery. The contractors then discovered what had gone on and called the police, who found out who was involved and paid them a visit. The police insisted that the pottery taken from the site should be returned, not because it was of any material value to the contractors, but simply because the young men had violated the contractors' private property. Nearly all the pottery was therefore found and returned, and was promptly destroyed by the police in collusion with the contractors. In the current climate of official interest in the local past with respect to cultural tourism, one cannot imagine such an act of vandalism being sanctioned today.¹⁷

By the time of my arrival in Bages, enthusiasm for going out and collecting pottery had died down, such that when the Guiffans went looking for pottery it was only me, a recent convert to the practice, who accompanied them. But some people in the village, both young and old, and from all social groupings, possessed fragments of pottery they had uncovered in the past, and recalled to me their former enthusiasm for collecting it, saying that most of the substantial pieces had been found and hence going out and looking for more was no longer worth it.¹⁸ From an analytical perspective, thus, the interest the Guiffans spurred in finding Roman pottery is of a different kind from the enthusiasm for local history Jean Guiffan created with *Bages et son étang*. For a start, it took the form of a practical search, rather than the mobilisation of knowledge acquired from a book. At the same time, these outmoded objects were treasured because they were aesthetically pleasing: as one person put it to me, the pastoral scenes decorating

¹⁶ An amphora is a two-handled jar whose base tapers usually tapers to a point, which was used by the Greeks and Romans for holding liquids, primarily wine.

¹⁷ Indeed the interest of local people in the Roman past has also increased. See chapter seven for details of how public pressure instigated the conservation of a portion (*sic.*) of the *Via Domitia*, the Roman road that followed this part of the Mediterranean coastline, when it was uncovered during building works in the centre of Narbonne in early 1997.

the fragments were 'precious because of their beauty'. According to the Guiffans, before them nobody had cared about the fragments that littered the bottom of the *étang*. In fact, the only people who saw them were fishermen, as the *étang* was not a recreational place.

Was this interest therefore caused solely by them, or were there other reasons? It is hard to tell. It is tempting to identify the apparent interest of Bageois in seeking out Roman pottery with Jean Guiffan's remark to me of their pride at the time in believing the name 'Bages' was of Roman origin.¹⁹ However, if this was the case for one or two individuals, it does not appear to have been behind the motivation of the majority involved. Many seem to have been curious at their ability to acquire outmoded objects that would normally be found in museums, and inspired by the depiction of scenes of an agricultural way of life not so far removed from their own, or, in the case of amphorae, their connection to the production of wine. All the same, the effect of this interest, which was predominantly recreational in nature, was to temporalise the history of Roman civilisation in the locality, while ensuring that the *étang* became no longer just a place to fish.²⁰ And if this was not a constant feature of life in the village when I was there, it was still well-known and had constituted a change in the way people thought about the area.

¹⁸ Although pottery could still be found during my stay in Bages, it was not usually of the same quality as that found during the 1970s and 1980s.

¹⁹ From the Gulf of Baies in Italy. Guiffan also noted the irritation among Bageois when he called this into question in *Bages et son étang* (pp.19-20), pointing to another possible component of Bageois temporalisations of the past during the 1970s and before, about which no one I asked could remember anything further.

²⁰ Interestingly, it was about the same time that Bageois first began to swim in the *étang* for recreational purposes, although this is probably linked to changing attitudes towards the exposure of women in public, and the thousands of tourists who were flocking to the area each summer to swim and sunbathe.

2.4. THE TEMPORALISATION OF LOCAL HISTORY

Jean and Monique Guiffan's impact on the way in which the past was temporalised in Bages was clearly significant, but it was also of an uneven and varied nature. It stemmed principally from the researching and publication of *Bages et son étang*, although I have also demonstrated its more practical side through detailing the spread of their interest in Roman pottery. Taking first the question of local history, as an expert in the production and temporalisation of historical narratives through writing and teaching them, and in his application of historiographical methods to the local history of Bages, Jean Guiffan acted as a significant conduit for the dissemination of the fruits of such knowledge practices in the locality. *Bages et son étang* was the medium for this process, and selectively converted the material of the village archives into a narrative which was accessible to the local, and wider public. In this respect, Jean Guiffan literally expanded the past of the locality through providing a new, selective image of local history. However, although furnishing the raw material, he had no direct influence over its temporalisation: *Bages et son étang*, as we have seen, was utilised in a number of different ways by different people.

In other ways, however, the Guiffans' influence was more precise. Their interest in Roman pottery was embodied in a practical activity, that involved searching through the waters of the *étang*, and the aesthetic pleasure, and accompanying temporalisation of the Roman past that resulted, seems to have been similarly experienced among all participants. Interestingly, it also provoked an unusual enthusiasm for the village past among Bageois, who had previously focused temporalisation on family and collective histories. While Roman pottery was thus part of a more general diffusion of the Guiffans' historical concerns through social interaction, along with *Bages et son étang* it was related to

the growing popularity of local history in both regional, and national French life during the last 30 years. Temporalisations of local history by regionalist and left-wing intellectuals was an influence on both Jean Guiffan, and other people in the village in the 1970s, and local history has subsequently increased in popularity, demonstrated by the recent proliferation of local history books in the area during the 1990s (e.g. Boucabeille 1996, Grauby 1995, Taussac 1996). The importance of such narratives have no doubt grown as people orient themselves in the changing horizons of belonging that characterise contemporary French national life. However, in the Narbonnais, this wider current of interest may also be related to the high recent rate of migration to the area, and the temporalisation of local history by recent immigrants in the construction of place. Its growth also parallels that of cultural tourism, which has drawn upon it as a branding tool for differentiating products, as we shall see in section two of this chapter.

Finally, Jean and Monique Guiffan also provide further demonstration of the complexity of temporalisations of the past, and social categorisation in the village. Closely integrated with Bageois, they drew on forty years of shared experience with them, and further Bageois oral narratives for information on the past. As historians, since the 1970s they collected the textual information of historical sources that they also used in temporalising practices. However, there were significant differences between the two of them in this respect, which are well illustrated by the different kinds of assistance they gave me. Monique Guiffan always provided me with orally and experientially derived information (stories about people, family relationships), which reflected her greater involvement in everyday conversation, and the related production of oral history in the village. Jean Guiffan, by contrast, helped me through more abstract reflections on the village past, that provided, in his own words, 'more of a historian's perspective'. A similar

complexity existed with respect to their status in the village. Although technically categorised as *familiers*, they were so integrated with Bageois that their neighbour, Lucienne Daudé, was surprised when she learned that they would carry on living in Nantes when Jean Guiffan retired. She questioned why they would even bother: for her, their home was clearly in Bages. The impression held by many people was they were more like established immigrants than second home owners, and indeed Loïc Guiffan, the young holidaymaker I described as greeted by *Salut Bageois!* (chapter two, section 3.1), was their son. With these observations in mind, I shall move on to explore another new orientation in the way in which the past has been temporalised in Bages since the 1970s, in which we may see a related, though very different kind of interest in the local past at work: the temporalisation of food products and the related commoditisation of the past carried out by Pierre Cadassus and his associates.

3. COMMODITISING THE PAST: THE INFLUENCE OF PIERRE CADASSUS

Pierre Cadassus began his working life as a fisherman. And even if new fishing techniques would have come to Bages in the end no matter what, as a young man during the 1960s his influence might nevertheless be said to have been revolutionary (see chapter three, section 3.1). 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 Bages 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 polarised vil-

lage opinion. Some, mainly Bageois, disliked him for the effect he was having on the village, shaping creatively its image and the local past to benefit his business interests. They resented both his perceived manipulation of these elements of their everyday lives into commodities to be sold, and the potential changes that tourism could wreak on Bages 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.'²¹

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.²² 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*, 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

²¹ 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, although I shall be discussing Martine's separate interests in the next chapter.

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 Bages had been the *auberge* (‘inn’) owned by Jeanine Bonnet, my future landlady, 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.²³ 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

²² Pagnol and Giono are well-known in France for their novels about French rural life in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

²³ Indicating a taste for the 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 Bages.

alcohol without food to the police, which went against the terms of her license, and she had lost her livelihood.²⁴

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 themselves 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 cultural tourism: see chapter seven, section 3). Pierre Cadassus had discovered a new way to make money in Bages. 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,

²⁴ She had subsequently looked after an old woman, who had left Jeanine Bonnet her house as payment, a common custom in southern France. Jeanine Bonnet then converted the house into *gîtes*, or holiday flats, during the 1980s, at the time when cultural tourism was beginning to take off. She therefore set another

quickly became a bigger success than its counterpart in Bages which, without its host, soon went out of business. After several years, however, he returned to Bages. *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 medieval arch in the *vieux village*, the restaurant drawing on this local historical landmark for its own name, *Le Portanel*. 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 by then 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 region during the 1980s.

3.1. LE PAYS CATHARE AND AUDE GOURMANDE

In chapter two I introduced the main features of the *Pays Cathare*, the decentralised cultural tourism infrastructure created in the 1980s and 1990s by the governing bodies of the *département* of the Aude. With respect to food production, catered for, I noted, by the project *Aude Gourmande*, the guiding criteria for inclusion is 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 opposed 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 rein-

example for cultural tourism that others followed in the 1990s, although by the time I arrived in the village she had retired and was renting the flats out on longer lets, one of which I took from 1996-7.

vented in the contemporary climate of cultural 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 Bages, 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 Bages 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 characterised 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 which took place on Sunday mornings, there were a number of special markets during my stay in Bages, 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 *le comité de promotion des terroirs de l'Aude* ('the 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 *terroir* and 'tradition' are central to the packaging process as a whole, and 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 Jack Goody's (1982:36) illustration of the nearby 'invention' of 'traditional' Provençal cuisine in the 19th century, and Emmanuel 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 prepared for market consumption such dishes have in many cases been innovated upon, and in this sense, it would be appropriate 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? To a large extent this must come down to the roles of such products in contingent temporalising practices, which I shall consider when I return to discuss events in Bages. 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 symbolise 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 temporalising practices surrounding the consumption of food, which itself thus symbolically, and physically embodies a link with the local past.

Such an analysis does not preclude the fact that in symbolising food products in this way, producers may 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 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 rural social change that has 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, as I have already stated, has been noted by Williams (1993) to be a characteristic of wider social developments in other parts of Europe during the last 400 years, and has also been identified by 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 periodisations of a lost rural past also bear striking similarities to the untheorised use of 'tradition' by some social scientists (e.g. Giddens 1990, 1991; see chapter three, section 3), 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 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 their packaging, and in a series of articles in the free Continent magazine available at its Narbonne branch 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 du bon goût'.²⁵ 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-

²⁵ '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'.

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 I have 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.

3.2. PACKAGING TRADITION IN BAGES

With an understanding of the wider developments that took 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 Bages, we may return to the late 1980s, when he returned to the village and opened *Le Portanel*. 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 Cadassus had initially started back in the 1970s, had decided to move premises to a new location, which overlooked the *étang*. With *Le Portanel* 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*, *patois* for 'At the Good House'. 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 together, 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' use of the past, as perceived by some of the other, mainly Bageois 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 *Le Portanel* 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 a variety of dishes incorporating duck and goose, also associated with the former diet of the Aude. The menu also contained the

following introduction, which located the dishes 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 Bages, site naturel et sauvage,
Où la gastronomie, la pêche, la vigne et l'art, sont les joyaux d'un riche passé²⁶*

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 emphasising 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 *Le Portanel*, 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 village as a temporalised locality. In this sense, Pierre Cadassus, as a Bageois, 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

²⁶ 'Our menu benefits from a daily delivery from lake, and sea fishing / We bid you welcome, hoping this gourmet detour / will introduce you to Bages, a wild and natural place / where gastronomy, fishing, art and the vine are the jewels of a rich past'.

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 commoditisation 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 thus 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 more 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 temporalising 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); recalling 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, invented village past. It is unsurprising, given what we already know about the temporalising practices of social groupings in the vil-

lage, that the majority of those using the restaurants were recent immigrants, second home owners, and tourists and other visitors. For rather than drawing on oral information and experience about the local past, which would indeed have given the lie to some of Pierre Cadassus's claims, such temporalising practices relied predominantly on textual material and a certain lack of local knowledge. It is worth underlining how these products had their origins in Pierre Cadassus's own and others' experience, and reflected his status as both insider and outsider in the Bageois community, further complicating our understanding of local temporalising practices.²⁷ I return to this point at greater length in section 4.

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 new *conseil municipal*, Françoise Sabatier, about the possibility of selling his homemade jams and preserves. Part of the group of mainly Bageois 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

²⁷ As stated in chapter three, section 3.1, Pierre Cadassus's father came from outside Bages, leaving his mother and the village when Pierre Cadassus was still young, and he grew up feeling both an insider and

little financial reward, and scepticism as to whether the market would be a success. Participants, therefore, had been mainly from outside the village, and because sales were limited, the market did not reappear 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: another 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 *terrinerie d'anguilles* ('eel pâté'). These recipes were also accompanied by a *soupe de poissons* ('fish soup'), a *soupe de crabes* ('crab soup'), a *terrinerie de poissons* ('fish pâté'), and a *bourride d'anguilles* ('eel stew'), all of which were certified 'fabrication artisanale sans conservateur ni colorant'.²⁸ 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',²⁹ 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 Bages, and detailing how Jean-Louis Montagnac issued from several generations of fishermen from the village, which served to contextualise her products from a specific spatio-temporal perspective. In conversation with myself, Jeanne Montagnac spoke of the hostility within Bages 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,

outsider in the Bageois community.

²⁸ 'Made artisanally and without preservatives or colorants' (quoted from the Martins' publicity leaflet).

her actions created both resentment among some for her packaging of aspects of local ways of life, and anxiety at the possible repercussions of such tourist incentives for the future of the village.

3.3. *PASSIONS ET DÉCOUVERTES*

The story of the disastrous 1997 summer fête of the *Football-club de Bages*, to which I now turn in conclusion, itself provides 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 Bages, on a flat gravelly area at the edge of the *étang* 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 *étang*'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 *étang* 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

²⁹ 'A recipe of our grandmothers, fishermen's wives' (quoted from the Martins' publicity leaflet).

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 *Bages et son étang*, 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.³⁰

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, typi-

³⁰ In fact the guests eventually ate, but only by walking up to collect the food themselves.

cal 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 cultural tourism Bages 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 many of the football team were from outside Bages 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 Bageois with 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 Bageois constituted reason enough for feeling hostile to the party and his role in it.

4. SUMMARY: IN THE MARKET'S EMBRACE?

The activities of Pierre Cadassus and others like him involved commodifying local cuisine and food products, and temporalising them as components of local culinary 'traditions', principally for sale to tourists. I have not so far mentioned a number of occasions over the years when he consulted Jean Guiffan for information regarding the past of the locality, which indicates once more the extent to which his project is founded on outmoded knowledge and practices and on their accessibility for temporalisation. Jean Guiffan recalled one particular instance when Pierre Cadassus consulted him regarding the name of his new restaurant, *Al Bon Ostal*, regarding its authenticity with respect to the local past, although Guiffan mentioned that Cadassus had also discussed the past

with him on other occasions. In other ways, *Bages et son étang* undoubtedly brought the richness of the local past to Pierre Cadassus's attention, and perhaps helped to demonstrate its potential for his own interests.

In this respect, we have already seen Jean Guiffan's book being used as recreational entertainment during the summer fête in 1997, although if it is clear that his work also fed into Pierre Cadassus's activities, it is equally apparent that Pierre Cadassus drew predominantly on the outmoded substance of his own life experience (the diet of his youth) as a source for his temporalisations of the past. The importance to his success of his temporalisation of food products in relation to the past of the locality should not be underestimated. For it is doubtful given the current interest in history among the tourists visiting the area whether Pierre Cadassus's projects could have succeeded without the sort of historical contextualisation we have seen, or if the dishes they proffered were closely related to the day-to-day diet of the present. Part of their appeal certainly lay in their apparently exotic and outmoded nature, although in actuality we have seen how this is mediated through the revisions and innovations they have been subjected to. At the same time, the proximity of their appearance in time to the interventions of the Guiffans is more than mere coincidence. Movement and migration, and other factors provoked by rapid social transformation and the expanding past, had created a more general climate of interest in the past, as we have already seen in chapter three.

Aside from this shared interest in the past, and Pierre Cadassus's own use of Jean Guiffan's historical knowledge, their respective projects have a number of further similarities and differences that are worthy of comparison. For a start, they both commoditise the past, a factor I have not so far mentioned with respect to Jean Guiffan's work. *Bages*

et son étang is of course a book, and therefore technically a commodity to be sold on the market. As an initial observation, therefore, both present access to the past through the act of purchase. Raphael Samuel has recently emphasised the social character of historical knowledge, a perspective which situates historical writing alongside other ways of temporalising the past, and an aspect of Jean Guiffan's historical work that I have focused on here.³¹ Following Samuel, therefore, it is also clear that from a pragmatic viewpoint both are forms of local history, as both facilitate the temporalisation of the past in the locality. The fact that both present the past as a commodity is something I would downplay: the differing natures of both commodities testify merely to the pervasiveness of this form in the exchange practices of France and Western Europe as a whole, and it is clear that the ways in which different commodities are 'consumed' is what is important.³² But moving on to the question of consumption itself, and in particular to how these different commodities, indeed, 'histories' were received (consumed), it is apparent that both created contrasting reactions: the interests of Jean and Monique Guiffan were greeted with acceptance; the work of Pierre Cadassus with much hostility.

Which returns me to the question of Pierre Cadassus's relation to his material for temporalisation. The food products he commodified and temporalised originated in his own life experience as a Bageois in the village. Jean and Monique Guiffan's knowledge, on the other hand, was the product of an interest of external, mainly academic origin, and although drawing on aspects of the local past, it focused on historical material which

³¹ '[H]istory is not the prerogative of the historian, nor even... a historian's "invention". It is rather, a social form of knowledge; the work, in any given instance, of a thousand different hands' (Samuel 1994:8); c.f. Samuel's argument throughout the introduction to this volume (1994:3-48).

³² Miller writes: '[C]onsumption at work may be defined as that which translates the object [commodity] from an alienable to an inalienable condition; that is, from being a symbol of estrangement and price value to being an artefact invested with particular inseparable connotations' (Miller 1991:190).

was not usually of importance to people in Bages in their everyday temporalising projects. On this note, further differences are also apparent. First, the Guiffans, with their historical training, displayed an ethical commitment to objectivity in their temporalisation of the past; whereas Cadassus and his followers had no explicit responsibility for accuracy or accountability to the pasts they made reference to, and clearly modified them, without necessarily acknowledging such modifications, as they saw fit. Secondly, the public visibility of temporalised food products was much more prominent, through advertising and the local papers, than the work and activities of the Guiffans, who although they had received publicity in the past, had not done so on the scale and consistency of advertising implemented, and required by the food production business. The character of these differences had significant consequences.

Which with respect to Pierre Cadassus was, of course, the antagonism felt by certain Bageois, as his use of aspects of the local past (or what was coming to be seen as their *patrimoine*) was felt by some to be a violation, and his making money out of it a cause of anger. This was countered by Pierre Cadassus's, and his associates' own sense that without cultural tourism, the future of the village was bleak, and was not the case with the interests of the Guiffans, which were of a more historical nature and unconnected with tourism. This thus constitutes a further example of local conflict over the past. Was Pierre Cadassus's approach, and its growing influence, an indication of increasing market domination in this area of village life? Writers on heritage have frequently taken opposing viewpoints on the benefits and drawbacks of the so-called 'heritage industry', the commoditisation of the past with which his activities may be seen to bear a close kinship. Recalling my earlier consideration of such debates, some exemplify a populist line, viewing the widespread consumption of history as the celebration by the masses of

multiple, popular pasts; others have countered with the suggestion that 'heritage' is in fact a neatly packaged, pacifying version of past events, designed principally for financial profit, and which smoothes over the potentially subversive and emancipatory value of the past made much of by writers such as Benjamin (1992:245-255). Clearly the situation in Bages was more complex than that. On the one hand, those doing the celebrating were on the whole from outside the locality, whereas those whose identities were more closely bound to the local pasts that food commodities made reference to were the ones feeling uncomfortable about the whole business. However, in Bages, which suffered from as much as 20% unemployment among the active population, the majority of whom were young people, it is evident 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, a critic of Pierre Cadassus's 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.

The issues surrounding the growth and reception of such projects in the locality will once again become a central theme in chapter six, where I address further developments in the availability of the past for temporalisation. Before doing so, it is worth finally commenting on the significance of this chapter for the general observations about the past made in chapter three. Pierre Cadassus illustrates how the experience of growing up Bageois, with its predominantly oral and experiential media for the temporalisation of the past, could be combined with temporalising practices more commonly associated

with recent immigrants. Oral experience in this case was transposed into textual material, and embodied, of course, in food, and constituted a culinary narrative of local history (although it was not explicitly recognised as such in the locality). His status as both insider and outsider among Bageois, as already noted, was at the heart of this ability, and has also been credited with his innovatory approach to fishing in chapter three. The Guiffans, on the other hand, regarded as *familiers*, combined a historian's interest in the local past with a close integration into Bageois sociality. They therefore drew on oral, experiential, and textual sources for their temporalisations. The most notable of these was *Bages et son étang*, a more conventional and recognisable narrative of local history than Pierre Cadassus's food products, which drew primarily on textual sources, as opposed to immediate life experience. Their set of values also disposed them to be guardians of the village past, and this was exemplified by the gate-keeping role they played for me. These cases demonstrate once again that no generalisations about the complex social environment of the village encompass all social variations, and have been illuminated by my theoretical position, which has enabled a symbolic analysis of ethnographic detail, and its situating in a wider historical context. Nevertheless such interests have one thing in common. For they are predicated on two aspects of the expanding past, both regarding the recent rapid social change that underwrote benefited Pierre Cadassus's activities, with its concomitant increase in outmoded ways of life; and the long-term growth in volume of archival records of the past, that Jean Guiffan drew upon and made generally available. Indeed, Jean Guiffan effectively contributed to another aspect of this phenomenon through *Bages et son étang*, which dramatically increased the knowledge of the local past generally available for temporalisation. Similar complexities will become apparent in chapter six.

6

COLLATING THE VILLAGE PAST: THE PRODUCTION OF HISTORICAL RESOURCES

1. PREAMBLE

This chapter presents and analyses the activities of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* ('The Heritage Preservation Association'), and the additional activities of one of its members, Serge Rémy. *L'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* consisted of a group of people with similar, and at times differing interests in the recent village past, comprised of Bageois, recent immigrants, and in the case of Serge Rémy, a nearby resident. Discussed in section 2 of this chapter, they were an association in the sense of the many other associations and clubs in the village, registered with, and sponsored from time to time by the *conseil municipal* when funds permitted. Their interests lay in uncovering and documenting the recent past of the village, and when I knew them they had achieved this primarily through the collection and exhibition of old photo-

graphs and postcards, although they had also put together several other projects which, for various reasons, had not yet come to fruition. As for the value they placed on the information they collected, some had financial designs on the material and wished to see it put to use in cultural tourism, while others idealistically saw the preservation of local past as of value in itself.

In section 3 I then discuss the work of Serge Rémy. Serge Rémy was a member of *l'Association*. He shared their interest in collecting information about the past, and indeed possessed a copy of the photographic archive they assembled. However, he had differences with some members of *l'Association*, and was also involved in his own activities, which were part of his work as director of '*le Centre Permanent d'Initiation à l'Environnement*' ('The Permanent Centre for Introduction to the Environment'), or C.P.I.E.. I discuss his work with *l'Association*, and the C.P.I.E., and consider a small, but detailed book on the fishing techniques of Bages, *Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages* ('Memoir of the Fisherman's Craft in Bages'), that he produced with François Marty, a fisherman from Gruissan. Both projects attempt to assemble new resources for temporalising the village past, and as the chapter progresses I am concerned to examine their reasons for doing so, and the reception of their activities among local people. In the summary I discuss their similarities and differences, and their significance with regard to the on-going concerns of this thesis.

2. L'ASSOCIATION POUR LA CONSERVATION DU PATRIMOINE

The first I hear of the activities of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* is on the morning of Tuesday 15 October 1996, when I am downstairs from my flat in Bages chatting with my landlady, Jeanine Bonnet. She and her daughter are giving me a large pile of printed information: tourist brochures from when Jeanine Bonnet ran the *gîtes*, leaflets they have picked up in Narbonne, publicity about the area that had been posted through the letterbox, hand-outs from the municipal elections the year before. 'Here, this should help you get started,' Jeanine says, as her daughter arrives with more material. Glancing through it I notice a small printed booklet, entitled *Lou Bageot*. 'Now that,' says Jeanine Bonnet, 'is the village magazine. "Lou Bageot" is *patois* for "le Bageois". The *mairie* produces it... It comes out every now and then, although that's the only one I've got.' At that stage, I am grateful for anything I can get my hands on. 'Thank you,' I say. 'This'll be very helpful...'

Once back upstairs I look through the material. The magazine is the first edition, numbered '0' and dating from November 1995, and contains a variety of different information about the village. But at the time, what immediately strikes me is the section on *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* (pp.11-12). I read the following:

The association for the conservation of the cultural and maritime heritage of Bages was created in January 1993 by a group of people passionate about the village past. Its objectives are to safeguard and develop the riches of the village and to help reconstruct the past using documents and objects.

The article goes on to list three achievements of *l'Association*: the successful attempt to protect a fishing *cabane*¹ at the entrance to the village; the collection of documents and recordings of oral history about the village past; and the organisation of an exhibition, *Bages – Lieux de Mémoires* ('Bages – Place of Memories') during the summer of 1995. The association is also reported to have worked with the *Service Maritime*, the *Centre d'Ethnologie des Pays Narbonnais*, the *conseil régional*, the *conseil municipal*, and the *Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles*,² which seems to testify to its local standing and importance. Turning the page, I notice a section on the exhibition, which consisted of the old photos and postcards they had collected, along with other information about the history of the village:

We are happy with the results of the exhibition. The reactions of visitors convinced us that it is important to seek out what's buried in the memory of local heritage. Visitors were as curious to learn about their past at the time of the Romans as to rediscover part of their recent, 20th Century past via photos.

It continues:

The association will continue to bring to light the everyday life of our forebears so as to recover the roots of the village and its inhabitants, putting its results at the disposition of future generations. Every man and woman can contribute to this project, because everyone possesses memories, whether written, oral, photographed, or in the form of objects.

¹ A fishing 'cabin', this particular one being of an older style than the new *cabanes* built by the *mairie* in the 1980s.

² The *Service Maritime* ('Maritime Service') is the state authority for the coastal area; the *conseil régional* ('regional council') is the elected body governing the *région*, Languedoc; the *Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles* ('Regional Ministry for Cultural Affairs') is associated with the *conseil régional*, and is in charge of cultural affairs for the *région*; more information about the *Centre d'Ethnologie des Pays Narbonnais* ('The Narbonnais Ethnological Centre') is given later in this chapter.

A list of proposed activities for *l'Association* follows, in four sections. First, a list of topics for research: women's everyday life in the past, 'for example, the washing'; the everyday life of fishermen; everyday viticultural life; everyday life in the salt works; and 'the artisanal crafts formerly practised in the village streets'. Next, 'a continuation and development of the collection of documents and photos to go over the themes of the exhibition, and revive the conviviality of the village'. Then, a pledge to make 'our knowledge and resources available to assist in the development of the village, albeit with respect for the decisions of the elected representatives'. And finally, mention of 'an approach towards local economic development which will make the heritage of the village a tool to discover and perhaps exploit its authenticity'. The article closes with an invitation to those interested to contribute to the documentation of local heritage with their memories, or their photos, which will be copied and returned within forty-eight hours, and is signed 'Carla Ludwig'.

Who is Carla Ludwig? By the following week I have arranged a more formal meeting with my landlady, and during our conversation I ask her. 'I've been reading over that information you gave me,' I say, 'and one of the things that caught my attention was *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*. It mentions this woman, Carla Ludwig... Do you know her?' 'Carla?' she replies. 'She was a lovely woman, German, you know?... She lived upstairs in your flat for a while, about six months I think, even sent her children to the village school. Then, after she lived here, she bought a house over on *rue des Remparts*, but she went back to Germany about two months ago. She always had time for people, to talk, you know, she was always very polite... oh, she was a very nice person. But she had to go back to Germany, you see? Her husband works there, and as she couldn't find any work here, and he lived in Germany nearly all

the time, he didn't like it.' So, the writer of the article isn't originally from the village and, what is more, now she has left. I ask Jeanine Bonnet if the project still exists, but she doesn't know. She remembers the exhibition, 'some old photos, I think, in the old presbytery, you should try and see them', but nothing else.

I am keen to find out more, but who should I approach? When I get my hands on the other numbers of *Lou Bageot*, I find another article by *l'Association*. This time it is a slice of local history, a story about the development of the water supply in the village, published in *Lou Bageot* no. 1, in March 1996. The first part of the story relates how the fountain that still stands in the main square of the village came to be built, in the 1880s. This was followed by other fountains, and the writer notes both the price of these operations, and the names of the principal actors involved, who, as we might expect, share some of the same surnames that are present in the village today. A water pump is also mentioned, arriving in 1888, and replaced in 1908 by an electric one as a consequence of the arrival of electricity in the village in 1903. Two references to the present inhabitants of the village appear, one in the form of a private joke regarding the finding of the water source at the time, the other comparing how the price of water has rocketed since those days.

The article is clearly a fragment of local history, on a topic of some significance to residents given the importance of water in the dry French Midi, and was evidently researched in the village archives, probably in the minutes of the *conseil municipal* kept in the *mairie*. However, the story is personalised and rendered familiar to the present inhabitants, not only by the inclusion of the names of those involved, whose surnames indicate their close relationship to some of those living in the village today, but also by

direct reference to the living. It reads like a reminiscence shaped by the storyteller for a Bageois audience who could identify, or even know and be related to the protagonists. Those present inhabitants of the village who appear in the text are indeed Bageois. But at the same time it is informed by historical sources, and takes a written form, differentiating it from Bageois oral narratives about the past detailed in chapters three and four. This gives it a hybrid nature, somewhere between oral reminiscence and the empirical local history written by Jean Guiffan, and one imagines that this combination rendered its historical content more compatible with Bageois temporalising practices than the more conventionally historical *Bages et son étang*. Unsigned, it brings me no closer to Carla Ludwig, indeed may not even have been written by her.³ But by this time, I have other leads on *l'Association* and its activities.

2.1. AN INTERVIEW WITH A PARTICIPANT

In fact, I fortunately have a chance to find out a lot more about *l'Association*. By the 31st of October I have met Jean and Monique Guiffan, who have been introducing me to various people that I might be able to work with. It is a warm evening, and Monique Guiffan and I are on our way to a seven o'clock rendezvous with Mme Levayer, the daughter and heir of a former large landowner, who with the recent developments within the wine trade now only produces on a small scale. On the way to our meeting, Monique Guiffan mentions, quite by chance, that Mme Levayer is involved with *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*. With the excitement of making so many contacts in such a short space of time I have completely forgotten about the article I had read some weeks before, and I ask Monique Guiffan what she knows about *l'Association*. 'Mme Levayer,' she tells me, 'was a member of the association... But I

³ I later learned that both Martine Cadassus and Carla Ludwig had been involved in writing the article.

am not sure about the nature of her interest. You see, I think she was more interested in the financial possibilities offered by the situation. I'm not sure what she could tell you that would be of interest. It might be best to stick to her experience of what's happened to the large landowners.' Up until now, in my discussions with Jean and Monique Guiffan, I have pursued my interest in talking to people about the changes in the village. This is my main line of enquiry for the time being, and, given what I've learned about people in the village so far, would be the obvious thing for an outsider to come asking questions about. But I want to keep my options open about learning how people think about the past in general, something that might be a bit more difficult to explain in an introductory meeting. 'Well, Monique,' I say, 'maybe she can help me with the experience of large landowners, but I'd also like to learn more about the association. That interests me as well.' Monique Guiffan thinks it over. 'Hmm. We could certainly ask her... Now Martine Cadassus, who we will see on Saturday, she was involved in the association as well... but like Carla, I think she is also interested in the past for the sake of preserving it, you know? She'll probably be able to help you more than anyone.'

Monique Guiffan herself does not know much about the workings of *l'Association*, although she and Jean Guiffan had assisted in preparing the exhibition. As for Mme Levayer, she regards me quizzically when I express my interest. And as it happens, despite the promise of our first meeting via Monique Guiffan, my subsequent attempts to arrange further meetings, for one reason or another, come to nothing. Martine Cadassus, however, is a different matter. When Monique Guiffan and I visit her the following Saturday, the first thing she does is to lend me a photographic archive, the work of *l'Association*. 'This is some of the work we have done', she explains. 'It might help you to get an idea of how the village was in the past – you can borrow it if you like. Until

we meet, you can borrow it until then.' We do not talk for much longer on the Saturday, as she must go to the restaurant she runs with her husband, Pierre Cadassus (see chapter five, section 3). But she is happy to arrange to meet again. 'Ring me at home, or you can usually find me at the restaurant in the morning, after ten o'clock,' she tells me. And Monique Guiffan and I leave her to rush off to work.

* * *

The Photographic Archive: A Description

At the time I saw it the archive contained 43 photographic reproductions of 24 original postcards and 19 original photographs of the village. It also contained a contact sheet of 16 further photographs of original photos not included in the archive, and 9 photos of original postcards, 5 of which could be found in the archive. All the photos and postcards dated from the 1900-1960 period. Excluding the contact sheet, 33 of the photographs were accompanied by printed catalogue sheets, containing hard-written information. All sheets contained a certain amount of standard information, detailing the names and address of the photo's owner. In a section marked 'description', content varied from a brief entry, usually a description of the photo itself, to a detailed one including the names of those in the photo, which depended on finding someone living who could identify the image and its contents. 11 of the photos of the postcards were also accompanied by photographs of the reverse side, containing writing dating from the time they had originally been purchased and sent. The archive was contained in a lever-arch file, each photograph and catalogue sheet inserted in a transparent, plastic pocket.

* * *

It is the last week of November, and I call at 'Le Portanel' to arrange a meeting with Martine Cadassus. She is not there, but a smartly-dressed young waiter calls her by telephone for me, and we arrange to meet the following week, on Wednesday at 10.00am. December arrives, the morning of the 4th, and Susana accompanies me to our meeting at the Cadassus's house in *rue de l'Ancien Puits*. It is colder now, the *Cers* has turned icy, winter is on its way, and the streets of Bages are deserted, shutters closed, the occasional visitor to the village store scuttling, bread in hand, back to the warmth of their house. As we walk down the *passage de l'Aute* which connects our street and Martine Cadassus's there is a smell of wood-smoke in the air, the distinctive scent of burning stumps of vines which many people in Bages use for fuel over the winter months. Then along to the right past tall wine growers' houses built at the turn of the century, their large arched doors now concealing garages, and out into an area of new homes, built since the 1960s on the site of former vineyards whose owners saw greater profit in the permanence of housing. Martine Cadassus's house is on the left about two hundred yards down, its windows giving onto the *étang* which today is grey and flecked with the white tips of waves. A ring on the bell brings Martine Cadassus to an upstairs window. She is smiling, friendly, and runs downstairs to open her heavy wooden front door.

We are quickly down to business, sitting in her large lounge on leather easy chairs around a rectangular glass coffee table, facing sliding French windows that give onto a terrace and the sweeping expanse of the *étang*. She is comfortable with the tape recorder, and has a little time to talk, happy to have back in her hands the photographic archive I have borrowed and which we briefly discuss. After I have complimented her

on the archive, and she has talked a bit about the problems of finding more photos, we move naturally onto *l'Association*. I have the tape recorder running, and the following is a lightly edited transcription of our conversation. How is *l'Association* going these days? I ask her. She replies:

CADASSUS: Now it's kind of fallen through, because... [*She has the photographic archive open on her lap, and is flicking through*] ... We had plans to rebuild a fisherman's *cabane*, a bit like that [*She points to a photo*], with a channel like that, and er... to rebuild a...

HODGES: In Bages?

CADASSUS: Yes, only, er... [*She flicks through the photos*] ... You see, like a *cabane* like that one, there... [*Settling on a particular image*] ... there you are, like that, with the channel, and we wanted to rebuild it to show people how the old people worked. But it's the maritime zone there...

HODGES: I see...

CADASSUS: It doesn't belong to the *conseil municipal*, it belongs to the *Ponts et Chaussées*.⁴ Now the *Ponts et Chaussées*, that's the state. Before, the *mairie* was in charge of all the land bordering the *étang* that was in the *commune* of Bages... Now the old *conseil municipal* didn't want to any more, so the management of all the land bordering the *étang* is now done by the *Ponts et Chaussées*, that's to say, by the state. So any progress is very very very slow. Our plans founder. The *mairie*, well, it's a very long process, and it's for that reason that, well, we've put things on hold... And then, well... the woman who was in charge of the association has left. In the beginning I was president, I had more time. Then afterwards Carla took over, but now she's gone.

⁴ The French government department responsible for roads and other areas within the public domain.

HODGES: So I've heard.

CADASSUS: At the moment I've got lots of work on, I've kind of let things drop... I've kind of abandoned things, but well, maybe I'll carry on some time, and anyway, you know, everything which is voluntary, for a while it's goes well, then pah!... and then it starts up again. It might happen. Who knows?... I think that when the *conseil municipal* of Bages has finally decided what it wants to do with the land at the edge of the *étang*, that's when we're going to make some progress. But for the time being I don't think that's exactly top of its list of priorities. And so things have come to a bit of a standstill...

HODGES: You've got a good idea there... So you're going to redo some canals, and some *môles*,⁵ and more of those sorts of thing?

CADASSUS: That's it, yep, I've tried to give you a bit of an idea.

HODGES: I see. Because Eugène Daudé showed me the port, and where his *môle* used to be, and it used to be quite different, didn't it?

MARTY: [*She continues to look through the photos*] That's right... [*She points out a photo for me to look at*] ...Look, that's an old view of the *étang* [*She reads off the accompanying information sheet, then turns to another photo of the fishermen's landing area as it was*] And there, we wanted to create an area like that, so that people could see a little bit what fishing was like at the beginning of the century... [*She continues flicking through*]

HODGES: I see.

CADASSUS: Because er... [*Flicking*] ...everything was demolished. Everything was... yes, there you go... [*Indicating another photo*] ...there you go, there's the old port again. So we had a plan for that place but, well, we're waiting, we're still waiting. Mon-

⁵ The landing stages of the fishermen before the 1960s consisted of individualised, separate areas for each family, and were called *môles*.

sieur Rémy... [*She finds another photo*] ...there, again, a bit like that... and Monsieur Rémy was in on it with us, you know. At the moment we need to reorganise, put the association back on its feet, but for the moment there's not enough people with enthusiasm for that. So there it is. So you see, because Monsieur Rémy restores boats, and there would be fishing boats like that... [*Showing me a photograph of one*] ...little *fourquines*.⁶ There... [*She leaves the photos for the moment*] ... Good, now to recreate a living space like that you need the *conseil municipal* to be part of the project, and Monsieur Rémy too. So we put a plan into action, but which has more or less run aground at the moment... or rather, it's been put on hold, you know?

HODGES: Yes. So how many were in the association?

CADASSUS: We were fifteen at the start... there were about fifteen of us. Well, those who really put some effort in, there were about three or four of us who really worked... And now Carla has left, I've got a lot of work on, Mme Montagnac has too. She puts her time into her work. She's a fisherman's wife, she makes preserved produce, the produce of the *étang*. So she's got a bit of work on too... Mme Levayer, well, she was just following what we were doing, you see? So we've got to start all over again. Organise an office, and all the rest of it. And if we don't, hmm, well there you go. So we could work on these, for example [*Indicating the archive*], the *conseil municipal* could do some work on these photos too. You see, there's another possibility. The *conseil municipal* wants to redo the façades of the houses, you see, and here, in the archive, there are some models... The façades, the old façades... Now if you really wanted to give Bages some style, you could do it, couldn't you? With all these photos, there are plenty of examples, but the problem is, no one takes advantage of it... Now the archive's finished, the preparation, the real work gets going. I'm sure you know what I'm talking

⁶ A type of smaller wooden fishing boat no longer found on the *étang*.

about... So... the point is that the *conseil municipal* could reorganise the association. There are already lots of places you could get money from, community grants, that sort of thing, the state will pay. And you could do new research because I'm sure there's other photos, you just need the time to work with people, like you're doing... But you've got to have the free time, and the people who have free time, well, with the photos we had a year free. We really went to work with people, we did interviews, all that, and then everything came to a halt, because we didn't have the time anymore. *[She looks once again at the archive of photographs]*

HODGES: Well, if I turn up any photos, I could show them to you.

MARTY: Because, you know, I know it's perhaps a bit of a hobby, but if you work at it... *[Pointing out an old photo of the school with its ornate gates]* ...you see how that thing looked before? Now they've cut it all off, all of it... I tell you, the portal was beautiful, but last year they cut it all off and now, there's only a bit left. I was furious when they did that, but what can you do? Now the building's still beautiful, I agree...

Our conversation that day moved onto other topics, but Martine Cadassus's comments provide me with the detailed point-of-view of one of the principal participants in *l'Association*. What about the others? I shall be discussing Serge Rémy's involvement at greater length in section 3 of this chapter, but it is worth noting in brief at this point his participation, and that of Carla Ludwig who constituted the other main influence on *l'Association's* activities. Serge Rémy was much more idealistic about the group's activities than Martine Cadassus, and saw the collection and preservation of the past for future generations as of value in itself. He also made it clear that Martine Cadassus was also keen to put the resources of the group to use in cultural tourism. Carla Ludwig,

however, was closer to Serge Rémy in her approach, and it would appear that there was some conflict among them as a result of these differences.

2.2. PRODUCING HERITAGE

The members of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* were clearly focused on the collection of local history, or 'the preservation of heritage' as their name would have it. The results of their work had been presented to the village in the form of an exhibition, *Bages – Lieux de Mémoires*, which was ostensibly for the benefit of the local population. The exhibition, although comprising some information about earlier stages of the history of the locality, had consisted principally of the annotated photos, which dated from the first half of the 20th century. *L'Association's* other aims, which had not so far been realised, were to follow up further themes about the past, such as the everyday life of women, fishermen, the salt works, and craftsmen working in the streets of the village; and also to carry out some restoration projects, the reconstruction of a fisherman's *cabane*, and aspects of the former fishing port. The scope of their research therefore concentrated principally on the village past from the turn of the century to the 1960s, within the remit of living memory, and the ruins, outmoded relics and photographic images of which populated the present. Their primary source was the oral history and photographs of the Bageois, which were normally put to use in Bageois temporalising practices. In this respect they were engaged in turning oral history into a tape-recorded and written archive, while reproducing photographic documents of the past. This process of collation created a new historical resource, in which human memory was transformed into a material data bank whose ready accessibility enabled the local past's temporalisation in different ways, and by different people.⁷

⁷ It thus constituted a minor, local example of what Le Goff (1992:92) describes as the wider 'documentary revolution' in memory in the last 200 years.

L'Association's reasons for carrying out these projects were, however, complex, and reflected the divisions within the group. In written sources, a pledge to 'make our knowledge and resources available to help in the transformation of the village, albeit with respect for the decisions of the elected representatives', and 'an approach towards local economic development which will make the heritage of Bages a tool to discover and perhaps exploit the authenticity of the village,' reiterate the economic dimension to the project. This was in keeping with the interests of a number of influential members of *L'Association*, Martine Cadassus, Jeanne Montagnac and Claire Levayer: Cadassus and Montagnac were both involved in the local food industry, which was closely dependent for its success on its association with the local past; while Claire Levayer ran an independent *domaine* in the village, and had an entrepreneurial interest in local business possibilities. Such ambitions were accompanied by the desire 'to bring to light the everyday life of our forebears so as to recover the roots of the village and its inhabitants, putting its results at the disposition of future generations,' and a desire 'to revive the conviviality of the village'. These collective and democratic themes were echoed in a further statement: '[e]very man and woman can contribute to this project, because everyone has memories, whether written, oral, photographed, or in the form of objects'. Such sentiments, although cited by Martine Cadassus in her interview, reflected more directly the approach of Serge Rémy and Carla Ludwig, both of whom believed in preserving local history for its own sake, for its educational value and what it could reveal to future generations about their origins, and neither of whom had financial interests in the village. Of these five, only Claire Levayer was Bageoise, although as a landowner she did not socialise within the village and remained a marginal character. Of the others, although two were married to Bageois, all originated from outside the locality.

The activities of *l'Association* therefore provide further detail on the temporalising practices of recent immigrants, as outlined in chapter three, section 4, and a number of comments are possible at this point. It is clear that the modality of these practices was not oriented towards constructing family and group belonging in the same way as Bageois. Moreover, for some there was an explicit orientation towards economic futures that were ultimately individualistic in nature. However, among the more idealistic members of the group, the question of belonging emerged in a more abstracted sense, in terms of reviving 'the conviviality of the village'. This suggestion drew on the popular image of the village past, but was predicated on the idea of the village as an imagined community (Anderson 1991), rather than a community grounded in a shared history and social practices (as was the case with Bageois temporalising practices). It was accompanied by a similar valuing of the past for its own sake that was held by the Guiffans, and a more general aesthetic appreciation of the past, and begins to build a picture of the complexity of recent immigrants' attitudes outlined in chapter three.

On another note, *l'Association* was clearly creating a new historical resource for temporalisation of the past, through its transformation, collation and organisation of the media of Bageois temporalisation. On the one hand, thus, their activities contrast with those of Jean Guiffan, in that he drew on textual sources that had already been assembled, while they were involved in the creation of a textual resource. However, on the other hand the exhibition they organised, in drawing on this resource, was similar to *Bages et son étang* in expanding general knowledge of the local past through providing a public narrative of local history, and like Guiffan they also aspired to objectivity. This narrative was also assembled predominantly by non-Bageois, as was the case for Jean Guiffan,

and in contrast to Pierre Cadassus, who was a Bageois drawing on his own experiences. For *l'Association*, however, the modality of the temporalising practices that followed on such research varied, due to the conflicting currents of interests within the project. On the one hand, conservation for posterity, the use of 'future generations', is, of course, potentially critical, in the same sense as the critical nostalgia of Bageois we encountered in chapter four, although the forms such critical temporalisations might actually take are unpredictable. It can also present more conservative aspects, as I shall demonstrate in the second half of this chapter. Drawing on the past for cultural tourism, however, is of a different nature, and ultimately involves the commoditisation evinced by Pierre Cadassus's work. It therefore poses the same potential conflict with the temporalising practices of Bageois, although in contrast to the activities of Pierre Cadassus, who drew principally on his own experiences for the raw material for commodification, *l'Association* had co-opted the experiences of others, namely Bageois. One can envisage a future scenario where, should the resources of the archive eventually be used for financial ends, claims from Bageois could well be forthcoming for the assistance they provided, in keeping with their developing sense of propriety towards noted in chapter four, section 5.

Which brings me to the reception of the project in the village. This was of a varied nature, as we might expect. To begin with, many people had been willing to co-operate with the project, although many others had either refused, or not come forward. A similar ambivalence to the project had been felt with respect to the exhibition. Among those I asked about the event, older people, principally Bageois, appeared to have enjoyed it, although they were somewhat puzzled as to why someone had gone to so much trouble to find out about things that were part of a past life. This was in keeping with the

different modality of their temporalising practices. Their enjoyment stemmed mainly from seeing the photographs, which provided an opportunity for individual, and collective reminiscence as they became the subject for discussion in the village. Few middle aged or younger people I met actually spoke highly of the exhibition, although some stated that they had enjoyed it, that it was 'interesting enough'. However, a number dismissed it as of little interest, the Bageoise Claudine Durand, for example, the wife of Jacques Durand, pointedly stating: 'You didn't miss much there... That was just a few postcards, that's all. Anyone could have done that.' Such an opinion of indifference was, she claimed, commonplace. At the same time, some people were more openly hostile and cynical about the whole enterprise, and one particular example was, unsurprisingly, Guy Cadas:

I am in Guy Cadas's house one afternoon, sitting in his lounge talking, and I mention the activities of the association. Guy Cadas is unimpressed.

– You know, Matt. Those people, I can't stand them, the whole lot of them. All they want to do is destroy the old Bages ... They want to change it, make it into a nice theme park for the tourists. L'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine is the same as the conseil municipal. They're all after the same thing. They just want to make money.

Guy Cadas is angry, and I don't want to disagree with him. Anyway, who knows? He may be right.

– Maybe so... But what did you think of that exhibition, you know, the one with the old photos, in the Maison des Arts a year or two ago... Did you go? I ask.

– You know, that wasn't anything special. A few old photos, which were interesting to see, yeah, but that's all. Call me cynical, but I'm suspicious of the whole lot of them.

Such reactions suggest that the aspirations of *l'Association* regarding the collective value of their activities clashed with the various different temporalising practices within the locality. This is concordant with the material presented in earlier chapters. Differences in attitude were particularly the case with Bageois, whose past the exhibition

principally dealt with, and goes some way towards explaining incidents of indifference, puzzlement and hostility detailed above. The village past was, as we know, temporalised by Bageois on a daily basis, and the overt interest shown in it by a group dominated by outsiders created an adverse reaction among some. However, others, such as Pierre Cadassus, took a different line, in keeping with his support for cultural tourism. As for *l'Association's* desire to revive conviviality in the village, this certainly corresponded to the perception among Bageois that recent social change had brought a deterioration in local sentiments of community. The awareness of *l'Association* about the issue of community demonstrates that certain of its members were clearly integrated into the village, but their notion that current differences could be easily overcome was perhaps misguided. Finally, enthusiasm for the potential economic value of the village past was really limited to those such as Martine Cadassus and Jeanne Montagnac who already had an interest in commercialising it, and was not taken up by the population at large. Although there was some attempt, mainly by the *conseil municipal*, to encourage involvement in cultural tourism and the related temporalisation of the village past, interest was lacking among most people, and it is unlikely that this form of tourism could have generated income for everybody even should such interest have developed.⁸

⁸ The overlapping interests between *l'Association* and the *conseil municipal* were visible in Martine Cadassus's suggestion that they take over the running of the project. This affinity will become clearer when I discuss the *conseil municipal's* own interest in the relationship between temporalising the past and cultural tourism in chapter seven, section 3.

3. SERGE RÉMY: SALVAGING THE MEMORY OF THE PAST

I have already mentioned something of the activities of Serge Rémy in the first half of this chapter, regarding his involvement in the work of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*. In this second half, I will be concentrating on telling his story in greater detail. As the narrative develops, it will become clear that the work Serge Rémy is involved in constitutes something of a parallel project to that of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*, albeit with its own distinctive identity. I first hear of Serge Rémy shortly after I start work in Bages. It is back in October 1996, and on an exploratory visit to the municipal archives in Narbonne, the archivist there suggests I go and see a Monsieur Rémy, as he is knowledgeable about fishing, indeed has even written about the subject. But aside from saying that he lives on the island of Sainte Lucie, on the other side of the *étang de Bages*, the archivist does not know how I can contact him, or what he has actually written. When I had visited Sainte Lucie the week-end before, the only houses I had come across, scattered among the umbrella pines and Sunday-afternoon walkers, had been the ruins of what looked like a former viticultural *domaine*, and the abandoned, waterlogged village of La Nadière, off the island's southern shore. Did I miss something? But a look in the telephone book under La Nouvelle and Gruissan, where I presume numbers for Sainte Lucie will be located, is unsuccessful. Serge Rémy cannot be found so easily.

A month later, the morning of 4 December, and I am interviewing Martine Cadassus about *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*, when Serge Rémy's name crops up again. Each photo or postcard in the archive she lent me is accompanied by a pre-printed form with hand-written information about the photos, and a printed signa-

ture along the bottom which reads: 'Centre d'Ethnologie des Pays Narbonnais, C.P.I.E. - Le Grand Pujol - 11100 Narbonne'. Returning the archive at the beginning of the interview, I ask Martine Cadassus about the *Centre*. 'That's the man who helped us do the photos,' she explains, 'and you can go and see him, on my behalf. He's called Serge Rémy. It's him who helped us take the photos, get hold of them, he worked with us.' So, Serge Rémy is involved in *ethnologie*, the French counterpart to my own activities in the village... It is clear that I should try and see him at some stage.

Time passes, winter goes by, and the weather becomes warmer. It is Thursday, March 13, 1997, and during the course of a visit to the headquarters of the *Parc Naturel Régional du Pays Narbonnais*⁹ at Montplaisir, I have come across Serge Rémy once more. I am talking with Karine Arzens, an agronomist working for the *Parc*, who has been using Serge Rémy's two books on the old fishing techniques of Gruissan and Bages for part of her study.¹⁰ Having begun to make progress with my own work in Bages, I feel ready to make a visit, indeed, if he has already written on the fishing practices of fishermen in Bages, I should see him as soon as possible. Karine Arzens gives me his telephone number, I ring him, and after a short conversation he agrees to see me at the offices of the C.P.I.E., of which Karine Arzens has told me he is director. 'I'm a busy man, but luckily I've found a slot. I can fit you in at six o'clock, next Monday,' he says. He seems interested in what I am doing.

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⁹ 'The Narbonnais Regional Nature Park'. See chapter seven, section 3.1.

¹⁰ Rémy and Marty had also produced a study of fishing techniques in Gruissan.

What is the C.P.I.E., or *Centre Permanent d'Initiation à l'Environnement*? A translated excerpt from one of Serge Rémy's publicity leaflets for the *Centre* summarises what it involves:¹¹

...for twenty years, the C.P.I.E. have acted as mediators among those working with the environment. Their work develops a new approach towards our daily surroundings, collating a cultural and natural heritage, which includes arts, traditions, crafts...

Forty C.P.I.E. are now assembled into a National Union that certifies their status, thus guaranteeing the quality of their work. This union is associated with several National Ministries: Environment, Education, and Agriculture.

Aside from putting their expertise at the disposal of government and industry, the goal of the C.P.I.E. is to 'help local people, and visitors, young or old, to understand their local environment, with the aim of turning them into true citizens of the environment.' It thus receives state funding, although enjoys some measure of independence at a local level. Serge Rémy's particular C.P.I.E., the leaflet states, comprises several different projects: a nature club for local schools, running trips for local people and tourists on the *étang*, the restoration of a Catalane boat;¹² the restoration of a canal boat, 'La Tramontane', which now offers sailing trips to tourists on the *Canal de la Robine*;¹³ and the collection of local history, which is where his ethnological project comes in. His objective, as the leaflet puts it, is 'to seek out, develop, and pass on the heritage of the Narbonne region'.

* * *

¹¹ The leaflet was one of many untitled flyers, printed on a single sheet of folded A4, and available in the *Centre*'s lobby.

¹² These boats used the characteristic triangular sail of the Mediterranean, and were the main small-scale sea fishing boat in use before the arrival of the trawler in the post-war period.

The week-end has gone by, Monday has arrived, and I am waiting for Serge Rémy in the darkened corridor outside his office. It is on the first floor of 'Le Grand Pujol', a former landowner's house, standing apart on the flat land across the *étang* from Bages. The land here was once vines and rice fields, worked by the people of Bages when times were hard across the water, and was even a source of milk for the village, some people making a morning trip across the *étang* to buy from a local farm with a dairy herd. Now Serge Rémy is installed here, since the 1980s apparently, and the land is still cultivated. Rice and wheat are visible, and a small herd of goats besieges me when I pull up in my car. But the building itself is now partly offices, sparsely decorated and furnished, with many leaflets downstairs advertising the C.P.I.E. and its activities, and a young man working in another office across the hall from where I sit.

After fifteen, twenty minutes, Serge Rémy is ready to see me. A young woman leaves his office, who works there too I later learn. The door closes again, and a few moments later opens to reveal a frowning, grey-haired man, of medium height, with a grey-blond bushy moustache. We shake hands, walk back into his office, but once I am inside the door it is me who is being questioned. 'Who are you working for?' 'Where are you from?' 'What are you working on?' 'I don't like academics,' Serge Rémy tells me, 'they tend to belittle the sort of work I'm doing'. I offer tacit consent, and tell him a bit about my own work, the interviews I have been doing, my interests in the area. 'I myself am working on my own ethnographic project,' he tells me. Now he is introducing himself. But the title, *Centre d'Ethnologie des Pays Narbonnais*? 'It's a bit of a front. The intention's serious enough, but the name of the project? It's partially a joke.' He is pointing a finger at the academics again. 'With a name like that, I can be just as important.'

¹³ The canal that separates the *étang de Bages* from the *étang de l'Ayrolle*.

I am keen to learn more about what he has been doing, but before I can say anything he is asking me questions again. 'If you've been recording interviews, collecting other sorts of information, that could help me'. He leans over his desk towards me, looking at me intently, seriously. 'Will you turn over copies of all your tapes?' How long have I been in the room? He doesn't waste any time getting to the point. I begin to explain how I have pledged confidentiality to those I have talked to, I have told them that the tapes are for my own use. To put it frankly I am not sure if that will be possible. But I qualify my refusal, say I am willing to stay open minded, for the time being at least. If I say no now, I am thinking, I don't know where that will leave our meeting, and there are questions I want to ask. 'Perhaps if you can tell me a little more about the project, your motivations, what you've already accomplished, maybe we can reach an arrangement,' I suggest. I could consider it at least, and learn more about Serge Rémy at the same time.

Serge Rémy leans back in his chair and begins to talk. He has a very clear idea of how he sees the recent history of the Narbonnais, and of Bages in particular. 'In this area there has been an acceleration of history,' he tells me:

...In Languedoc, and on the étangs in particular, there has been a very rapid acceleration of change. Here, on the étang de Bages, there has been a rupture with the past, a clear rift... In the recent past, life has changed enormously for the inhabitants of Bages. Whole cultures have disappeared. And traditions too... There's been a massive break.

On several occasions he speaks specifically of this acceleration in the rate of social change, mentioning the 'disappearance of tradition'. When I ask him if he has anything

to say about Bages in this context, he speaks of the exhibition of the photos he worked with *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* to collect. He tells me:

Not long ago, the world of the fishermen in Bages was a very different world from what it is now. When old people came to the exhibition we put on in the old presbytery, for many of them it was the first time they had been in the building since it had become the Youth Club, and then the Maison des Arts.¹⁴ There has been a great influence from outside on the workings of the village, and with the art galleries that have started up, and other things, a sort of urban aesthetic moving in... Add to that all the people who have bought second homes, which are often only used for two weeks a year, the housing estates that have been built... The original inhabitants have virtually been driven out. There's been a massive break... It's my intention to create a memory, a memory bank for these cultures that have disappeared, so that in the future others can work with it, learn from it. In a few years many of the people who can remember things as they were will be dead. I want to create a memory of things as they were before the break, before it's too late.

How does this link up with your involvement with *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*, I ask him:

I was secretary for the most part. Our motivations were very different. I wanted no commercial profit from the venture. The others? Well, I'm not too sure. Mme Cadassus, for example. She wanted to use the old photos to make postcards, to sell in her restaurant. I disagreed strongly. Very strongly. I wanted to use the association to create a memory, this memory of how things were. Mme Cadassus was the first president of the association, Carla was the second. She was much closer to my ideas. But things have kind of fallen apart for the moment, as Carla has gone back to Germany, although quite a lot of work's been done with the photos...

¹⁴ The *Maison des Arts* ('Arts Centre') was owned by the municipality, and was one of three small art galleries in Bages, the other two being owned by recent immigrants. They normally showed the work of local artists.

Serge Rémy gestures towards a cupboard near his desk, its doors ajar. He leans over, pulls out a large folder. It is full of the same photographs I have already seen in Martine Cadassus's archive. He has obviously kept copies himself, although they are not filed, simply grouped together loosely in the folder. They are all catalogued, though, like Martine Cadassus's archive. He flicks through them, showing me a print every now and then that catches his eye. 'We tried to gather as much information about the photographs as we could when we collected them,' Serge Rémy says. 'Without that, the photo is meaningless.' He went on: 'We didn't want photos from people if they didn't want them shown to others... that was part of the deal. But when we borrowed the photo, to make a copy, we'd make an extra one for them too. It was a gesture...'

Now he has relaxed a bit, we talk about the C.P.I.E., his other work. He is particularly keen on 'La Tramontane', the old canal boat he has renovated, and about which one of his assistants has written a detailed study. This falls under his rubric of maritime heritage. 'In the summer, this takes tourists up and down the *Canal de la Robine*,' he tells me, 'they get to see our natural heritage,' though when I question him about the meaning of this word 'heritage', for some reason he becomes cagey and tells me: 'Everyone has their own idea of that.' He has also collected ethnographic information in Senegal, in a fishing village there, so the Narbonnais isn't his only interest. 'While I was there,' he says, 'I discovered that the local fishermen could navigate using the angle of the waves as they approached the coastal shelf. This was a revelation for me.' But when he went to Geneva, to talk to an anthropologist there who had worked in the same area, his lack of academic credentials and unfamiliarity with the jargon betrayed him. 'The anthropologist was dismissive of my work,' he says, disappointed. We talk about the problems of communications between professionals and amateurs and he explains his

point of view. Membership of the academic club, he thinks, has little meaning if the ability to communicate with those outside it, make the work count in a local context, is lost, a viewpoint I am in agreement with. 'I've let my work in Senegal drop for the time being,' he continues, 'although I might go back to it. I want to focus for the moment on the Narbonnais. I feel at home among the people living here, I care about the area and its history. I speak *patois*, for example.'

After a while, Serge Rémy gets up and walks around behind me. We are talking across his desk, beyond which is a window looking out onto flat fields, the outline of a shadowy cluster of deciduous trees, testament to the water-courses that criss-cross the area, with tamarisk in the distance and the light reflecting off the *étang*. He walks back round to his side, offering me a book he has picked up from a cupboard at the back of the room. 'Take it,' he says. 'It's my own work, along with a fisherman from Gruissan, François Marty.' *Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages*, I read. It's the book about fishing techniques that Karine Arzens had spoken about. 'François Marty and I worked with the fishermen in the village. It was mainly he who did the interviewing, but I supervised the production and printing of the book.'¹⁵ I don't have time to look through the book in detail, but I compliment him on what appears to be a thorough piece of work, especially with regard to the older techniques. 'It'll certainly help me in my work,' I say. And we're back to the question of my material again.

While Serge Rémy is concerned with the consent and well-being of the fishermen within Bages, he is less concerned with the consent of the interviewees I have been working with. Perhaps the idea of instant possession of the forty hours of interviews I

¹⁵ In the discussion that follows I focus mainly on the book as a product of Serge Rémy's own work and ideas, as it was him who directed and shaped the project.

have so far conducted blinds him to anything else, but he is adamant that I should hand over the cassettes, with or without the interviewees' consent. 'Don't you realise,' he tells me, 'that if these people have let their conversations be taped, they can't expect no one to listen to them.' But I explain that I have taped the conversations on the condition that no one will listen to them but me. 'The tapes are for my personal use, and that is why people gave their consent,' I tell Serge Rémy. 'If I had told them I would be placing the tapes in an archive, for general use, on the other side of the *étang*, they might not have consented to the recording in the first place.' I am already aware of the hostility with which some Bageois regard people from outside the village, and the fact they trust one outsider, myself, does not certify that the rest of the world would be treated in the same fashion. Besides, despite the fact that, to my knowledge, Serge Rémy is not widely known in the village, some people do dislike him. 'He's got his finger in lots of different pots,' one person had said to me, 'and he knows how to use all these funds and things to get money for his good work. He just wants to sell off Bages like everyone else.' Serge Rémy's activities, I think, worthy in rhetoric, could be interpreted in different ways, and depending on how you look at it, could appear as saintly conservation, or exploitation under another guise. Associating myself with his project might damage my fragile status within Bages itself. But at the same time, anyone who disregards the consent of the people I have interviewed in trying to get hold of my tapes enjoys dubious legitimacy in my eyes.

As our interview draws to a close I tell him I shall not hand over the cassettes, but I shall consider the possibility, and talk to the people I interviewed about it. Something I do not do during the rest of my time in the village, although now I have finished working there for the time being, might consider doing in the future, depending on further

investigation of Serge Rémy's activities. Serge Rémy and I shake hands, and I raise the subject of a future meeting. 'I'm off to Marseilles next week, I'll be pretty busy, but maybe in a few weeks time,' he says. As I drive across the flat plain into Narbonne, and then back out along the other side of the *étang* to Bages, I consider Serge Rémy's position. In some ways, it clearly resembles my own. But in others? Where does he stand as the self-appointed 'curator' of the village past? Does his position really have integrity? Something that seems to have escaped his attention during our conversation about the tapes, but which seems evident in his work on the booklet. His intentions, it appears, are contradictory.

3.1. MÉMOIRE DES SAVOIR-FAIRE DES PÊCHEURS DE BAGES

The book itself is 124 pages long, the main part of which consists of a detailed appraisal of fishing techniques used on the *étang de Bages* by the fishermen of Bages. Each technique, identified by the various names by which it is known, is described at length in writing, including the details of where on the *étang* the net is placed, under what conditions, at what time of year, for what period of time, when and how the fish are caught and collected, and what they are. An understanding is often given of how the use of the net relates to movements of fish within the *étang* depending on natural cycles. Indication is also given of whether the technique is currently in use, and if not when it was used, when it stopped being used and, usually, why this was. The written description is accompanied by a drawing of the net itself, its dimensions, the number of men required for its deployment, the material it is composed of, the details of mesh size as it varies across the net, and the placing and force of its weights and floats.

With respect to the techniques, therefore, the book is very detailed, and when, at a later date, I ask an elderly fisherman (known for his expertise on the various fishing techniques used on the *étang*, past and present, and who had helped Serge Rémy and François Marty) for his opinion of the book, he is only lightly critical, saying that, aside from a few minor errors, the book is more or less correct. Accompanying the section on techniques, the book also presents smaller sections on the economy of the fishermen: detailing the way in which their fish were and are stored and sold; illustrating with a table the seasons in which various fish are liable to be caught; providing a brief section with accompanying drawings on the wooden boats that were used on the *étang* until recently; and furnishing a series of notes on the fishermen themselves, including descriptions of their working clothing, the *fête des pêcheurs* as it was originally held in the past, and a note on the *prud'homie* of Bages and its workings.

From the acknowledgements page, it is clear that the book was prepared with the assistance of a number of members of the fishing community in the village, and there is also a preface by Serge Rémy, which is worth quoting in full:

As we progress little by little in the production of this series, 'The Fisherman's Craft', we are both surprised and gratified.

Surprised at the richness and diversity of the fisherman's arts and practices, the expert knowledge of the natural environment his profession requires, and the fine inheritance passed down to him by previous generations.

Gratified by the relations we have established with men firmly rooted in the region and proud of their profession. They are the living memory and inheritors of a fragile set of skills, the true guarantors of the quality of an exceptional natural environment, and in fact those who ensure its management.

We hope that this group effort, intentionally technical in its expression, will reach out to the larger community of developers, and will help stimulate the respect due to this professional activity, and to the conditions of its proper exercise.

Let us hope that prudence will in the end produce a harmony between heritage, authenticity, and local development.¹⁶

...and an introductory note including the following excerpt:

This work is the fruit of a project whose objective was to inventory the fishing techniques currently in use and, at times, those that had disappeared. It draws solely on the lived experience and memories of professional fishermen, that is to say, we have purposely excluded all documentary sources of a historical or literary origin.¹⁷

From the evidence of its use in the offices of the *Parc Naturel Régional* during my stay, it is clear that Serge Rémy's publication was being picked up on by the authorities, and was giving an indication to those unfamiliar with the world of the fishermen on the *étang* of the technical richness of their trade, even if many of the techniques described in the book were no longer in use. As for the fishermen themselves, their reactions to the book were varied. Some, especially the younger ones, did not appreciate its publication, and not just because they did not need a manual to know how to use their nets. Knowledge of techniques within the fishing community was often passed on within families, as I have already made clear. It was a closed community, in which there was great competition due to the limited resources on the *étang* itself. The idea that someone could open a book and learn a fisherman's techniques angered many fishermen. As one fisherman I know said, 'Now anyone can know how to fish on the *étang*. And we don't like that.' It was also apparent, however, that for other fishermen, notably the older, retired ones whose techniques of fishing were no longer used, the possibility of preserving

¹⁶ Marty & Rémy 1993:5-6, my translation.

¹⁷ Marty & Rémy 1993:9, my translation.

the details of their skills for future generations appealed to them. In this respect, Serge Rémy's project contributed to a general re-valuing of the past among old fishermen that we have already seen in the case of Eugène and Lucienne Daudé (who contributed to it), as they perceived a new value, and felt a new pride in these outmoded techniques. So to say that the fishermen in the village were wholly against the book would not be correct: the book was clearly prepared with the willing co-operation and understanding of those who participated, and in this respect preserves its moral integrity. The matter of its general reception was, however, complicated by differences of opinion among the fishermen themselves, as older generations, no longer working, did not feel the same keen sense of competition as younger fishermen.

3.2. THE PROBLEM WITH SALVAGE

Serge Rémy's projects regarding the village past were primarily concerned with salvage. That is to say, his objectives were to preserve information about the village past for future temporalisation, before this became impossible due to the deaths of those who remembered it. What was the reason that led Serge Rémy to undertake this venture? It was founded on his vision of the recent history of the Narbonnais, in his eyes marked by 'a rupture with the past, a clear rift' which had occurred as a result of 'an acceleration of history', itself identified with 'a very rapid acceleration of [social] change'. The consequences of these recent events were that 'whole cultures [had] disappeared. And traditions too.' Serge Rémy traced the reasons for these changes in Bages to outside influences: 'There has been a great influence from outside on the workings of the village, and with the art galleries that have started up, and other things, a sort of urban aesthetic moving in... Add to that all the people who have bought second homes, which are often only used for two weeks a year, the housing estates that have been built... The original

inhabitants have virtually been driven out.’ Those most adversely affected by such changes, in his eyes, were the long-term residents of the village who had lived through them.

How did Serge Rémy see his own role in relation to these changes? ‘It’s my intention to create a memory, a memory bank for these cultures that have disappeared’. This was necessary, as already stated, because ‘[i]n a few years many of the people who can remember things as they were will be dead’. The historical break that resulted from such rapid social change will thus be consolidated by the fact that people who can remember earlier times will die, and their memory of previous events will die with them. There is no suggestion here that descendants of these older people will be able to keep these memories alive, such as we have seen at work in figures like Guy Cadas (see chapter three, section 3), and among the Bageois more generally. This, Serge Rémy thought, was his own role, to create a memory beyond the reach of human mortality: ‘I want to create a memory of things as they were before the break, before it’s too late’. But for whose benefit? ‘[S]o that in the future others can work with it, learn from it’. Unspecified others, therefore, who were not seen as connected with those people who had lived through these events, or their immediate descendants, and whose strategies of temporalising such pasts would seemingly be unrelated to their sense of belonging to a group, such as the Bageois.

Such motivations also drove the project for *Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages*, although in his introduction to the book Serge Rémy is less conclusive about the break with previous fishing practices. Instead, some practices are seen as having ‘disappeared’, while the practising fisherman still enjoys ‘the fine inheritance passed down to

him by previous generations'. In this case, therefore, the fishermen themselves are 'the living memory and inheritors of a fragile set of skills, the true guarantors of the quality of an exceptional natural environment'. Serge Rémy's role remains one of conservation, and a wider remit for his work is also apparent: 'We hope that this group effort... will reach out to the larger community of developers, and will help stimulate the respect due to this professional activity, and to the conditions of its proper exercise... Let us hope that prudence will in the end produce a harmony between heritage, authenticity, and local development.' In this respect, Serge Rémy is hoping that his efforts will prevent fishing from disappearance, and actively strengthen the bond of 'tradition', through representing, and thus protecting the fishing community from the outside world, and creating a repository of knowledge about the profession and its practice.

Like *l'Association*, Serge Rémy's activities with the C.P.I.E. were first and foremost aimed at creating a historical resource for future temporalisation, as opposed to Jean Guiffan who drew on such resources to compose a distinctive narrative of the past. He achieved this through creating his own archive. The information he was interested in was predominantly oral, and unlikely to have left material traces in archives or other written depositories, illustrated by his highlighting the oral origins of the material in the book he produced. Thus he too transformed oral history into a textual resource, and did so as an outsider to the village. His objectives, however, which involved principally saving the past from disappearance, were unique in the area, and are similar to attitudes that have previously been noted for anthropological circles, and which have been commented on by Clifford (1986:112). 'The theme of the vanishing primitive, of the end of traditional society (the very act of naming it "traditional" implies a rupture), is pervasive in ethnographic writing... But the persistent and repetitious disappearance of social

forms at the moment of their ethnographic representation demands analysis as a narrative structure.' Clifford acknowledges the value of creating a record of social customs whose practice has been discontinued, but queries the assumption that what has disappeared constituted in some way a transcendent, holistic way of life, and that what remains in its place is not worthy of observation, or recognition. At the same time, he questions 'the mode of scientific and moral authority associated with 'salvage' ethnography. It is assumed that the other society is weak and "needs" to be represented by an outsider (and that what matters in its life is its past, not present or future)' (Clifford 1986:113). The outlook he comments on mirrors closely the attitudes and motivations expressed by Serge Rémy.

Although there could clearly be some value in the approach adopted by Serge Rémy, as acknowledged by Clifford, this must be assessed in relation to those who are implicated in the knowledge that he sought to salvage. Serge Rémy certainly had a sensitive appreciation of the history of the locality of Bages. But his knowledge of current strategies of temporalising the past in the locality, especially in relation to the Bageois, was insubstantial, and it was here that aspects of his idealism clashed with the reality of life in the village. For the Bageois were also at work temporalising such information about the past. While Serge Rémy was aware of this with respect to fishermen, he was certainly unclear as to how his work might be received. And this led to the subsequent antagonism it created among fishermen. At the same time, Serge Rémy incorrectly assumed that younger and middle-aged Bageois were disconnected from older members of the village population, the preservation of whose memories then fell to him. He took on this task with a moral urgency, to the extent that he was willing to disregard the wishes of these same people in his attempts to obtain copies of my own interviews with them.

Although some people, such as older fishermen, found benefits in his work, his blindness to the attitudes of others involved was registered in the anger felt by many younger fishermen. His lack of integration in the village also provoked hostility among some Bageois, who distrusted his intentions and the nature of his interests, and those critical of cultural tourism associated him with this. While not wishing to condemn the value of his research, at the same time it is apparent how, without a more sensitive appreciation of the complexities of the situation in the village, its public character in the locality was liable to implicate him in already existing conflicts among the population.

4. SUMMARY: BETWEEN PRESERVATION AND EXPLOITATION

Drawing on my theoretical framework, discussion in this chapter has illustrated two examples of projects in the locality of Bages that sought to create new historical resources for temporalisation. *L'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* contained two contradictory impulses, based on the differing motivations of its members. On the one hand, it sought to prepare the past for temporalisation in relation to the economic context of cultural tourism; on the other hand, it saw the conservation of the past as of value in itself. The main protagonist of the latter was Serge Rémy. His work with the C.P.I.E., and his publication of a book on fishing techniques in Bages, *Mémoire des savoir-faire des pêcheurs de Bages*, was compared to the salvage impulse in some ethnographic writing, and the activities of both projects were considered in relation to their reception among the inhabitants of the village.

These reactions were varied, and consisted of both interest and hostility among the various social groupings in the village in response to both projects. This is in contrast to the

case studies discussed in the previous chapter, where only Pierre Cadassus received a measure of hostility, while the Guiffans' work was more enthusiastically received, and points to the nature of the subject matter of *l'Association* and Serge Rémy. For both, like Pierre Cadassus, were interested in the recent village past, aspects of which were also of importance to Bageois in the temporalising practices outlined in chapters three and four. Critical attention was also brought to the motivations of the different projects, and the way this contributed to the hostile elements of their reception. For *l'Association*, this was implicated in the ways in which some people viewed the project's objectives as explicitly involving exploitation of the village past for financial ends; while in the case of Serge Rémy it involved his status as an outsider, and his lack of familiarity with the complexity of social life in the village, and was coupled with an antagonism among some who saw his activities too as associated with cultural tourism.

Both projects thus contribute to our understanding of the attitudes of recent immigrants and outsiders to the local past, and provide further examples of the interface between the oral and the textual in the construction of temporalising resources. In this respect, both differ from Pierre Cadassus, who similarly converted oral and experiential resources, but who drew on his own life experience. By contrast, the people involved in this chapter's projects drew on the experiences of others, reflecting their predominant status as recent immigrants, whose historical dimension of their sociality lay outside the locality and was thus not of use in temporalising the village past. Both projects are also linked in a further way. From a historical perspective, they were predicated on the rapid social change and outmoding of social practices, and thus reflect the influence of the expanding past, and this was also visible in their use of photography, one of the documentary tools associated with this phenomenon. Finally, both were also related, in dif-

ferent ways, to the idealisation of rural life and the past. Some members of *l'Association* were partly motivated by the demand for such material by cultural tourists and the potential financial rewards such enterprise could bring. Serge Rémy worked in another vein of pastoral logic, through the value he saw in salvaging the past. In the next chapter I shall explore the effects of similar interests in the past, through the examination of recent alterations to the built environment.

7

THE PAST & THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT: TEMPORALISING THE MATERIAL DOMAIN

1. PREAMBLE

This chapter introduces a number of projects that provoked alterations to the temporalisation of the built environment. They took place both before, and during the fieldwork period. In all the projects in Bages the village past, in various forms, was the principal referent. For projects elsewhere in the region, which I address briefly for the purposes of contextualisation, the local past (as opposed to the regional or national past) was also a crucial referent. All the projects in Bages were instigated by, or with the consent of, the *conseil municipal* of the time, and in this respect were beyond the independent initiative of individual persons. However, they nevertheless reflected the varied interests of those individuals involved, and I shall also consider their perspectives in my analysis. At the same time, as material signs they embodied coherent communicative potential, and were

therefore open to being temporalised in various ways by other people. I therefore consider their significance for the population as a whole.

Section 2 concerns the standardisation of street names that began in the late 1970s, and concluded in 1984 with the passing of an *arrêt municipal* ('municipal decree') listing a permanent set of names, and ordering their public display on the village streets. Before this, street names, although technically under the control of the municipal authorities, had been conferred haphazardly by the inhabitants of Bages, and were subject to no permanent regulation or display. Through standardisation, street names were brought firmly under the control of the *conseil municipal*, and old names, referring for the most part to contemporaneous buildings, were replaced by new names, some of which had a historical frame of reference focused on the village past. I trace the manner in which this took place, its temporal characteristics, and assess its significance for the temporalising practices of village inhabitants.

Section 3 considers further alterations to the built environment, which happened following the municipal elections of 1995. As part of a commitment to developing what it called 'eco-tourism', the new *conseil municipal* undertook a series of renovative projects in the village and its surroundings. It also approved a project proposed by independent individuals. Among these were the restoration of *les bassins* ('basins'), the former communal clothes washing basins located in the village, and at two nearby springs in the surrounding countryside, and the remodelling and resurfacing of the village square. The nature of these projects is assessed, their significance to the inhabitants of Bages evaluated, and they are compared with similar projects in the wider region. A summary discusses common themes with regard to the overall concerns of the thesis.

2. THE STANDARDISATION OF STREET NAMES

Consideration of street names (and place names more generally) has been largely absent from the literature on the formation of nation states (e.g. Abrams 1988, Anderson 1983, Corrigan & Sayer 1985, Joseph & Nugent 1994).¹ However, they clearly form part of the repertoire for the production, and re-production of national *doxa*, through their monumental potential that permits the temporalisation of significant national pasts over time.² In France, as in other nation states, street names have been subject to an identifiable and significant course of development. As Milo writes, '[I]a nationalisation du droit dénominatif fait en effet partie d'une évolution beaucoup plus large [...] celle de la monopolisation par l'état et le monarque des pouvoirs stratégiques, en particulier de la violence et du fisc.'³ The standardisation of street names can be traced to the beginning of the 17th Century, concomitant with its role in nationalism,⁴ but until the 1950s was still only found in towns of a significant size. The streets of many villages remained for the most part officially unnamed until the post-war period, when the demands of the

¹ Le Goff writes (1992:87): 'From about the middle of the nineteenth century, a new wave of statuary, a new civilisation of inscriptions (monuments, street signs, commemorative plaques on the houses of famous people) floods Europe. This is a major area, in which politics, sensibilities, and folklore mingle, and which awaits its historians.' Le Goff associates such developments with that wider restructuring of the past's accessibility for temporalisation that I have identified as the 'expanding past'.

² Tilley writes: 'By the process of naming places and things they become captured in social discourses and act as mnemonics for the historical actions of individuals and groups' (1994:18, for a French perspective see Cauquelin 1995 on 'lieux-dits'). Naming is therefore part of the socialisation and memorialisation of landscape (see also chapter three, section 4.1).

³ 'The nationalisation of the power to name is in fact part of a much larger process of development [...] that of the monopolisation by the state and monarchy of strategic powers, in particular the powers of violence and internal taxation' (Milo 1997:1891, my translation). It is also part of that wider revolution in technologies of power identified by Foucault: 'Since the classical age, the West has undergone a very profound transformation of [...] mechanisms of power [towards] a power bent on generating forces, making them grow, and ordering them, rather than one dedicated to impeding them, making them submit, or destroying them' (Foucault 1986:259).

⁴ Milo writes, '[c]e fut seulement au commencement du XVII^e siècle, sous le règne d'Henri IV, que Sully, en sa qualité de Grand-Voyer de France, eut l'idée [...] d'adopter des noms qui n'eussent pas de rapport direct avec le lieu auquel ils étaient imposés.' 'It was only at the beginning of the 17th Century, in the reign of Henry IV, that Sully, as "Overseer-in-chief" of France, had the idea [...] of adopting [street] names which had no direct relationship with the place to which they were attached' (Milo 1997:1891, my translation).

postal service, whose postmen had begun to cover larger areas and hence could no longer be expected to know the residences of local inhabitants, initiated the process of comprehensive street-naming and numbering that continues to the present-day.

For the inhabitant of a larger town or city, of course, such as I was before arriving in Bages, street names are firmly woven into the fabric of everyday life, not just as a tool of nationalist memory and state power, but also in other respects, such as the potent symbol of locality and belonging they can become in the metropolitan maze; or, from a more practical perspective, their essential place in the operations of the postal service. In this regard, when I arrived in Bages one of the first things I did was to find out my correct postal address and post it back to England. Without a telephone, how else could I remain in contact with my friends and family? Or with my supervisor, for that matter?

The address read:

Chez Gaston⁵
rue des Anciens Moulins
11100 Bages
France

For me, elated and apprehensive, it was a sure sign of my arrival. After three weeks of looking at potential locations, I had made a decision, found somewhere to live, moved in, and was now ready to get on with the work. And I liked the address as well: it was not named or numbered, unlike all the addresses I had previously had in the UK. To deliver letters, the postman had to know the names of the people around me and where they lived, suggesting the image of a small world where people knew their neighbours

⁵ 'At Gaston's house'.

and lived in proximity. And the street name itself, *rue des Anciens Moulins*,⁶ had a poetic quality that evoked, to my eyes at least, a lost pastoral past. It stirred my imagination.

Not quite so poetic for the new postman, I soon learned, who had fallen out with some village inhabitants after writing their names on their letter boxes in blue indelible marker-pen, in frustration at the impossibility of delivering letters in an unfamiliar street of houses without names or numbers. So by the end of my stay my address read firmly: *12, rue des Anciens Moulins*, after the *conseil municipal*, at the instigation of the post office and inland revenue, had numbered all the houses in the streets. Returning to the name itself, however, while I was getting to know my landlady, Jeanine Bonnet, in the weeks that followed my arrival, one day I commented on the name of our street which, it turned out, she too thought was attractive. I went on to ask her if she knew why it was called *rue des Anciens Moulins*: maybe, I suggested jokingly, there had indeed been windmills on it once. Jeanine Bonnet, perhaps unsurprisingly, did not know. As far as she could remember, it had been called that as long as she had lived there. Which, she added, was some thirty years. On that occasion we went on to talk of other things, and as my interest in street names developed over the weeks that followed, it took the rather different form of learning them progressively to help orientate myself in the village.

A month went by, six weeks, and I met Martine Cadassus, who lent me her archive of old photos and postcards of the village. Leafing through the collection, I came across a postcard dated 1910, which consisted of a photo of the street I lived in (see plate 16). A group of women and children stood in the foreground, two houses along from mine;

⁶ 'Old Windmills Street', which has a somewhat less poetic ring than the French original.

further down the street, towards the village square, shady figures of men, pausing from work or discussion, turned to face the camera along with all the women and children. At the top of the postcard was printed: *4. Bages Avenue des Ecoles* ('Schools Avenue'). So, if the postcard was credible, *rue des Anciens Moulins* had once been called *avenue des Ecoles*. The fuzzy past into which the roots of my street name disappeared was beginning to become a bit more distinct.

Why had its name been changed? Was this really worthy of further enquiry? At the time I just dismissed it as one of those subtle movements of local history that happen across the generations. Or put it down to a printer's error on the postcard itself. Or to the fact that the school had recently been built at the time of the photograph, and was perhaps prominent in peoples' imaginations. And when I found out from *Bages et son étang* that, in 1824, there had indeed been two windmills on the outskirts of the village in the direction in which my street led, this did not shed any light on why the name had changed. But I was intrigued. Perhaps there was something in it after all.

It was not until I was working through the minutes of the *conseil municipal*, during May 1997, that my interest in the street names of the village became more substantial. In the minutes for the meeting of the 12th of June, 1979, I found the following sub-heading: 'Nomination des rues dans le village' ('The naming of streets in the village') (CM 12.06.79). There followed a list of 'old' village street names, and, to its right, a list of the 'new' names to replace them. Underneath was written: 'Monsieur le maire propose l'attribution de noms aux rues du village. Une étude faite par la commission extra-municipale d'urbanisme est soumise à l'approbation du conseil municipal qui

l'approuve après discussion.⁷ By this time, while working through the *listes nominatives*, I had already discovered that the street I lived in had also been known as *rue du Moulin* (I now discovered that it had also been called *rue de la Poste* – the school at the street's end had once also been home to the post office), that other names for other streets had also existed in the past, and that the village had, at various times, been divided into different *quartiers* ('districts'). Whether these names had been in general use, however, or had been assigned solely for the purpose of the census, I did not know. And while I now had more substantial information, the reasons for the changes were themselves not mentioned. Indeed, if 'Monsieur le maire' was proposing to *name* the village streets, it would imply that they had in fact previously been *unnamed*.

The lists read as follows:

Anciens Noms:

Rue de la Tzanhée
Rue de la Poste
Rue des Ecoles
Allée du Cimetière
Rue des Caves
Rue du Cimetière
Traverse de Peyriac de Mer
Rue du Lavoir
Impasse Fontaine
Rue du Portanel
Rue des Quatre Coins
Rue Mozart
Rue de la Rampe
Rue du Portanel
Rue de la Placette
Rue du Cordonnier
Rue du Château
Impasse Capis
Rue de l'Église
Impasse des Anciens Depotoirs
Rue du Presbytère
Rue du Puits

Nouveaux Noms:

Rue de l'Aiguille
Rue des Anciens Moulins
Rue des Elysiques
Roca Esclades
Rue de la Couranda
Rue de l'Otire
Rue de Cauquene
Chemin des Bugadiers
Impasse Gaston Pagès
Rue du Môle de Monfort
Rue du Cadran Solaire
Rue des Chassemarées
Rue des Chassemarées
Impasse du Portanel
Rue de la Ligue
Impasse du Pegot
Carriera del Castel
Impasse de la Patache
Rue du Chapêtre St Paul
Impasse du Cers
Rue des Remparts
Rue de l'Ancien Puits

⁷ 'The mayor proposes the attribution of names to the village streets. A study made by the extra-municipal town-planning commission was submitted for the consent of the *conseil municipal*, who approved it after discussion'.

*La Rivière
Los Caudeillés
Impasse Sicard
Le Portanel
Grande Place
La Placette*

*La Rivière
Los Caudeillés
Impasse de l'Alcazar
Passage du Portanel
Place juin 1907
La Placette*

Rues Nouvellement Nommées:

*Rue de Saint Pierre
Impasse de l'Aute
Escalier des Remandaciés
Rue des Pêcheurs
Passache des Viels Cabanes
Place St Martin⁸*

⁸ A literal English translation goes as follows:

Old Names:

Tzanhée St
Post Office St
Schools St
Cemetery St
Cellars St
Cemetery St
Peyriac de Mer Crossing
Washing St
Fountain Alley
Portanel St
Four Corners St
Mozart St
Ramp St
Portanel St
Little Square St
Cobbler's St
Castle St
Capis Alley
Church St
Old Rubbish Dump Alley
Presbytery St
Well St
The River
The Caudeillés
Sicard Alley
The Portanel
Town Square
Little Square

New Names:

Needle St
Old Windmills St
Elysiques St
Roca Esclades
Couranda St
Otire St
Cauquene St
Bugadiers Way
Gaston Pagès Alley
Monfort Môle St
Sun-Dial St
Fishmongers St
(ditto)
Portanel Alley
League St
Pegot Alley
Castle St
Patache Alley
St Paul's Chapel St
Cers Alley
Ramparts St
The Old Well St
The River
The Caudeillés
Alcazar Alley
Portanel Passage
June 1907 Square
Little Square

Streets Newly Named:

St Peter's St
Aute Alley
Remandaciés Stairway
Fishermen's St
Old Fishermen's Cabins Way
St Martin's Square

If nothing else, there was one new name on the list I could not ignore. During the six months I had by then lived in Bages, I had discovered the story behind the name of the village square, *place juin 1907*. June 1907 was the date of the demonstration in Narbonne against the fluctuating wine market and its effects on the livelihoods of those dependent on the vine, in which a young man from Bages was killed. When I had first seen the name of the square, visiting the village back in September 1996, I had imagined it must have had some historical resonance, whether local, regional, or national. On learning about the demonstration, the name struck me as a suitable appellation for a village square in a historically left-wing area of Mediterranean France, and I assumed it had probably been christened in the distant past, even in the wake of the demonstration itself. To learn that this had only happened less than twenty years ago shed a completely different light on the name's significance, indeed possibly on the other street names as well.⁹

When Jean and Monique Guiffan arrived for their summer holiday in Bages in July I asked them about the street names, and if they remembered how they had been chosen. By then, after further examination of the minutes of the *conseil municipal*, I had discovered that the project of naming the streets had not finally got under way until March 1984, when records indicated that the *conseil municipal* approved the integration of the names into the public domain, a date that corresponded approximately with the recollections of some of my acquaintances (CM 21.03.84). Street signs had subsequently been mounted on walls around the village, although some streets were overlooked and

⁹ Hobsbawn & Ranger (1985) was of course the reference that sprang to mind, and the possibility that the events of 1907 had only recently become significant, pointing to a recent 'invention of tradition'. This was not in fact the case: memory of the events had persisted among local people, and their significance had merely increased since the 1970s, when intellectuals influenced by regionalist politics had popularised them as a symbol of oppression by the capitalist north of France. The origin of *place juin 1907* was Jean Guiffan, as we shall see, who was himself of regionalist persuasion (see chapter five, section 2).

their signs were not finally put up until the late 1990s. The Guiffans' account added an interesting twist to the tale. In 1978-9 Jean Guiffan had been working in the *mairie* on *Bages et son étang*, with the blessing of René Chevrier, the socialist mayor of the *commune* who Jean Guiffan, a socialist himself, was friends with. René Chevrier had received a request from *la Poste*, the state-owned French postal service, to standardise the street names, and knowing Jean Guiffan was working in the archives of the village, had asked him if he could assist with the task. 'I found in the archives,' Jean Guiffan told me, 'during the course of my research, the names certain streets had born in the past and which had been forgotten. Other names were in current oral use at the time and had been kept. As for the streets that had neither written indications in the archives, nor any oral appellation, I drew on the history of the village.' An example of the latter was the name of the main square, *place juin 1907*, 'a fitting name, I thought, for the village square, a village in the Midi, you know, considering what had happened back then. *Impasse Gaston Pagès*, on the other hand, I chose for Lucienne. I thought it would please her.'¹⁰

2.1. 'OLD' STREET NAMES AND 'NEW' STREET NAMES: AN EMPIRICAL COMPARISON

Although street names are signs that sometimes stand in metonymical, or indexical relationship to the buildings in a material space, I have already stated how, with respect to their relationship to nationalism, they can also possess more complex, symbolic qualities.¹¹ It is clear that through the orchestration of their signifying capacity they also have

¹⁰ Lucienne Daudé, as I have already mentioned, was the niece of Gaston Pagès, the man shot dead in Narbonne by soldiers in 1907. *Impasse Gaston Pagès* was the name given to the narrow street she and her husband lived in.

¹¹ An example of a metonymical, or indexical street name is 'Church Street', where a prominent building on the street, a church, lends its name to the street as a whole. I follow here the typologies of Pierce (1962) and Firth (1973), summarised succinctly by Morris (1987:210, emphasis retained): 'An *index* is a sign that is directly related in fact to what is signified – part to whole, particular to general... A *signal* is

wider communicative potential, and consequently a possible role in the temporalities of the people in whose material worlds they have their place. However, despite the possibility that they can be manipulated with a clear communicative purpose in mind, their role and meaning is not pre-determined, but rather contingent and related to the sociality in which it is implicated.¹² The re-naming of streets in Bages, as we shall see, was carried out with an agenda predicated on this communicative potential, which had an evident historical dimension focused on the village past. But the ways in which these names were temporalised by those living in the village in 1996-7 was neither pre-determined, nor consistent.

Before considering the significance of current street names for the temporalising practices of people in Bages, I shall examine the re-naming process itself, both the new names listed and, where possible, the reasons for their choice; and the old names which they replaced. Beginning with the old names, one must first consider whether those listed were in everyday usage, or even administratively used as a point of reference. In this respect, my initial research progressed slowly. Those I asked could not remember details of former street names with any certainty, and although Jean Guiffan mentioned that those street names in oral use in the late 1970s formed the basis for the list of new names, he too could not provide details. At the same time, the authenticity of the old names listed might have been indicated by people continuing to use the old name of a street rather than its new one. However, this too was unrevealing, as during my stay in Bages the only officially listed old names in oral use were *rue des Quatre Coins* and *la*

considered the dynamic aspect of an index. An *icon* is a sign used when a sensory-likeness relationship is intended or interpreted... And finally, a *symbol* is a sign that has a complex series of associations, but there is no direct relationship or resemblance between the sign and the object signified.'

¹² C.f. once again Selden on written texts, which '[do] not pop into the world as... finished and neatly parcelled bundle[s] of meaning. Meaning depends on the historical situation of the interpreter' (Selden 1989:119; c.f. Gadamer 1975). However, the original intention behind the naming of streets in Bages is

Rivière, and these infrequently. I was then told that some of the old names were in fact invented at the time of renaming. *Impasse des Anciens Depotoirs* ('Old Rubbish Dump Alley') is one example, the street it designated being unnamed, and normally indicated by its spatial location close to the cliff. The name 'Old Rubbish Dump Alley' was appropriate because the cliff was, until the early 1970s, used as the rubbish dump for the village. It was thus an easy way of designating an unnamed street, a motivation behind the old names of several of the other streets, although once again, full details were lacking.

If some old names were thus fallacious, examination of the village censuses demonstrates that others were better established. In the *liste nominative* for 1926, of the nine names that appear, five are present in the 1979 list of old names: *rue des Ecoles*, *rue de l'Eglise*, *rue du Château*, *rue du Presbytère*, and *la Placette* (which is also on the 1979 new list). As there is no evidence from cadastral maps or other sources to indicate that, from 1926-1979, street names were used in the *mairie* for administrative purposes, the only ways in which these five names can have survived in the 1979 minutes is either by oral usage; or by reference on the part of the *conseil municipal* to the 1926 census. Although the latter is a possibility, it seems equally likely that they were in oral use, and this is compounded by evidence from the census records of 1876, 1881, 1901, 1906, and 1911, which divide the village into districts, rather than streets, but which predicate them on the same landmarks that furnish the street names of 1926. In addition, and somewhat confusingly, in the 1926 census there is one street name unmentioned in either of the 1979 lists, but still in oral use in 1997, *le chemin de Ceinture*. We therefore have the five names listed in 1926, along with *le chemin de Ceinture* (also listed in the

also accessible through ethnographic research, thus enabling the analysis of both the project of naming, and the current temporalisation of the names themselves.

1926 census, not in the 1979 lists, but in oral use in 1997), and *rue des Quatre Coins* and *La Rivière* (in the 1979 list of old names, and in oral use in 1997).

While a complete picture of the actual processes of naming that led to the list of old names, and the role of such names in temporalities of the time remains inaccessible, the evidence presented therefore indicates that until 1979 at least these eight names were in continuous usage. This is reinforced by their explicit reference to local monuments, in keeping with Marc Augé's suggestion that such indexical naming is characteristic of French place names in general¹³ (the only exceptions being *le chemin de Ceinture* ('Belt Lane') and *La Rivière* ('The River'), which refer to sections of the roads that surround the village, evoking iconically their winding physical form). Indeed, taking the 1979 list of old names as a whole (and thus including those old names of dubious authenticity), twenty-two out of the twenty-eight names have this indexical quality, and of the eight confirmed names, three of them refer to buildings significant to contemporaneous village life: *rue des Ecoles*, referring to the school; *rue de l'Eglise*, referring to the church; and *rue du Presbytère*, which refers to the presbytery.

From an analytical perspective, the eight confirmed names are for the main part empirically descriptive, and monumentalise contemporaneous features of the village. They signify a set of buildings that have a concrete presence in the village, whether actively, in the case of the church, or passively, such as the four corners of *rue des Quatre Coins*.¹⁴ Clear ethnographic information as to the importance and role of street names in

¹³ Augé writes (1995:69): 'It is traditional for certain monuments – with an effect of redundancy which, incidentally, is not without charm – to lend their names to the streets leading up to them, or the squares on which they are built. Thus we long ago lost count of *rues de la gare*, *rues du Théâtre* and *places de la Mairie*'.

¹⁴ *Rue des Quatre Coins* is crossed by another street. The 'four corners' are the corners of the buildings at this crossroads.

previous temporalities is unavailable. Nevertheless the evidence of these names indicates that the spatial dimensions of everyday life were temporalised with reference to material features of the present. In this respect, the temporalisation of the past that comes from having more 'historical' street names was lacking, while indexical and iconic reference to the present precluded the explicit involvement of social memory. This corresponds to the limited temporal horizons of an oral, rather than historical consciousness of the past. It is perhaps also in keeping with the temporal modality of 'tradition' which was, despite intermittent periods of social transformation, still the dominant characteristic of village life in the first half of the 20th century. Through reproducing the present and the future in the image of the past, such 'traditional' practices tend to suppress the perception and importance of historical change (c.f. chapter three, section 3).

Turning now to the new names, as an initial observation one may note a general tendency to replace indexical names with more complex, symbolic names. Exceptions to this trend are the substitution of *rue de l'Aiguille* for *rue de la Tzanhée*, the new name having a similar iconic quality as *le chemin de Ceinture*; *rue du Cadran Solaire* for *rue des Quatre Coins*, both of which are material landmarks in the same street, as is also the case for the substitution of *rue des Remparts* for *rue du Presbytère*; *impasse du Portanel* and *passage du Portanel* for *rue du Portanel* and *le Portanel* respectively, all of which incorporate 'le Portanel', another local landmark; *carriera del Castel*, which translates the original street name into *occitan*, and refers to the nearby ruins of a château; *impasse du Cers*, which derives from the alley's exposure to the wind, as already stated; *impasse de l'Aute*, referring to the island of Aute, visible from the alley in question; and *rue du Chapêtre St Paul*, which specifies the church by its dedicatee. Finally,

two names derive from the professions of people who lived in the street in 1979: thus *rue des Chassemarées*, ‘fishmonger’s street’, and *rue des Pêcheurs*, ‘fishermen’s street’.

Of the other new street names, at least seven out of twenty-one remaining are directly traceable to Jean Guiffan. *Rue des Elysiques* replaces *rue des Ecoles*, and refers to ‘les Elysiques’, a tribal people who inhabited the area before the Romans arrived in the first century BC; *rue de la Couranda* replaces *rue des Caves*, and was found by Jean Guiffan to be an old name for the same street in the municipal archives, as was *rue du Môle de Monfort* for *rue du Portanel*. *Impasse Gaston Pagès* has already been mentioned. *Impasse de l’Alcazar* for *impasse Sicard* refers to a small night-club which existed at the turn of the century, and subsequently burnt down, the story of which appears in *Bages et son étang*; *rue de la Ligue* for *rue de la Placette* commemorates the siege of the village during the Montmorency-Joyeuse conflict in the late 16th century; and *place juin 1907* for *la Grande Place* refers to the wine growers revolt of 1907, in particular the month of June when violence erupted across Languedoc. Importantly, and in keeping with Jean Guiffan’s own interests, five of these new street names refer explicitly to the past, rather than the present, and a past that is focused on the locality. The other two reinstate names that were found in the archives.

Turning to the remaining names, there is a general move towards greater specification in describing the road itself as either a *rue* (‘street’), or as an *impasse* (‘dead-end alley’). As for the names themselves, the theme of commemorating the village past is once again taken up. For example, *rue des Anciens Moulins*, for *rue de la Poste*, refers to the windmills that lay further out of the village than the current site of the road, but in the

direction in which the road leads. *Rue de l'Ancien Puits* for *rue du Puits* makes the point that the well referred to in the street's title no longer exists. Both of these new names, through using the word *ancien*,¹⁵ draw attention to the difference between past and present. This theme is continued in the new *occitan* name *passache des Viels Cabanes*, which also incorporates a past-present distinction. Finally, three names stay the same: *la Placette*, *los Caudeillès*, and *la Rivière*.

In sum, a general trend emerges from the complexity of the material. The list of old names, whether one considers the list as a whole, or the eight names confirmed, demonstrate overwhelming reference to the on-going present, and nearly all are indexical in nature. The list of new names is markedly different, with almost two-thirds symbolic, as against only a third indexical. At the same time, almost one-third are overtly historical in reference, mainly the work of Jean Guiffan. The frame of reference for these historical names is, significantly, the village past.

2.2. THE TEMPORALISATION OF STREET NAMES

Before moving on to discuss the significance of these changes, we must first establish the utility of street names in everyday life, not just to avoid ignoring the meaning of these names for local people, but more precisely to qualify the significance of this naming process for local temporalities. I quickly learned the street names of the village when I arrived, first, to orientate myself within the village and to know who lived where as I gradually came to know people; and secondly, so that I might discuss the exact whereabouts of places within the village as they came up in conversation with local people. I naively assumed that within such a small place, more or less everyone would

¹⁵ Which means 'old' or 'former' in an overtly nostalgic sense, a clumsy English equivalent being 'olde'.

know, and regularly use all the names of the streets. However, as I quickly discovered, this was not the case.

The ways in which people designated spatial location tended to vary according to age, and among adults also depended on their line of work. Among adults, all those who, since the change in street names, had been in some way involved with the administrative life of the village, whether through working in the *mairie*, as members of the *conseil municipal*, or as municipal employees such as labourers, had an accurate knowledge of the new street names, and used them as points of reference in their work. However, they were unlikely to use the street names of the village when in casual conversation with me unless I referred to them. Indeed, even if I demonstrated a knowledge of street names, they still usually referred to different areas of the village by reference to prominent landmarks: 'above the cliff'; 'down by the *étang*'; 'down by the port'; 'in the *vieux village*'; 'in the street where the doctor's is', and so on. Such phrases, although subject to some variation, were fairly standardised, and more or less in use among the rest of the population of the village as well. In all, with the exception of some people, young and old, who used street names regularly with me, most people designated spatial location through proximity to landmarks when describing where somewhere was, or where someone lived, although they usually referred to the location of their own house by the name of the street it was in.

While among most of the population street names were therefore not in general everyday use, they were all fairly well known among most of those I knew, and in some cases were known by heart. A good knowledge of street names was more the case among younger people, of all social groupings. Older people, especially Bageois, were less

likely to know all the names of streets, and rarely used them in conversation.¹⁶ However, all people, by the time I left the village, had to use both the number and name of their street to indicate their address, and this change alone had brought street names to people's attention. As for their significance, for those who had an interest in local history, the origins of historical names were frequently known. Among wine growers, the name of the main square, *place juin 1907*, was especially relevant, as was *impasse Gaston Pagès*. At the same time, for Bageois, names which referred to the recent past (e.g. *rue des Anciens Moulins*) or present (e.g. *rue des Pêcheurs* or *rue des Chasse-marées*) were probably the most commonly known and valued.

* * *

With an understanding of the relevance of street names to the lives of people in Bages, our discussion may now take on a more general, concluding character. The conscious and organised standardisation of street names during the late 1970s and early 1980s resulted from the need to deliver the post, and was therefore part of the on-going restructuring of village space in relation to the French state. However, although instigated at the request of the state, the signifying character of the new street names cannot be interpreted as state-organised, because the names chosen were left to the discretion of the local authority. In fact, the choice of street names was if anything related to the counter-hegemonic politics of socialist regionalism in its prioritising of local history and its highlighting of events such as the riots of 1907: this was undoubtedly the result of the

¹⁶ The reason why young people knew street names better was perhaps because they had grown up at a time when they were an established part of everyday life (primarily as part of postal addresses). For older Bageois, street names had for much of their lives been both different, or non-existent, and of less importance.

involvement of Jean Guiffan and René Chevrier.¹⁷ Despite this interest, it would be a mistake to over-emphasise the political intention and effects of the names chosen, which neither aimed for, nor have instigated a revolution in local historical consciousness. All the same the demand for standardised street names created for the first time a durable and fixed series of physical place signs, as opposed to the transient, and variable oral practices of naming that had occurred in the past and which were still a principal feature of spatial demarcation among people in the village in 1997. This created a new visual feature of the village, evincing the power of evocation through language. It would have remained relatively insignificant were it not for the subsequent appearance of a number of further projects seeking to consciously refashion and manipulate the visual aspects of the village's appearance, which I shall discuss in section 3 of this chapter.

With respect to the content of the street names, most of them are known by local people, as we have seen, and many can also be deciphered by them. Regarding Jean Guiffan's role, they therefore constitute another aspect of his influence on local temporalising practices, and the historical names he contributed derived mainly from textual sources rather than oral history, in keeping with *Bages et son étang*. On the other hand, as we saw in Jeanine Bonnet's inability to remember that *rue des Anciens Moulins* had only been the name of our street since the beginning of the 1980s, the origins and significance of street names can quickly be forgotten, although they can still remain symbols of belonging and continuity in a locality. While the names themselves cannot be said to have strongly and actively influenced the historical awareness of those I knew in the village, their effect should not be dismissed. It is clear that certain street names, such as

¹⁷ In the light of my remarks on the relationship between French socialism and local history, it should be recalled that the process of renaming in 1979 took place before the socialist government of Mitterrand came to power in 1981. See chapter five for further details on the relationship between regionalism, socialism, and local history.

that of the main square, *place juin 1907*, induced temporalisation of the village past, and in other ways the new street names, through referring to the locality and its past, certainly contributed to the fashioning of the identity of the village as a place, and had a role to play in residents' temporalising practices. Functioning as a visual cue in the material environment for what was already integrated into local knowledge practices and temporalities, they thus prompted their continuance and reproduction over time.

3. THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT AND THE *CONSEIL MUNICIPAL* OF 1995

In this section I shall discuss changes to the built environment of Bages since the election of the new *conseil municipal* for the village in the summer of 1995, changes that involve specific reference to the village past. I shall also situate them in a regional context. Although not all the developments in the village were the direct result of the initiative of the new *conseil municipal*, all of them required its consent, and all can be viewed as compatible with the *conseil municipal's* overall approach to cultural tourism. Before I begin, however, it is first necessary to introduce the nature and make-up of the *conseil municipal* itself.

French municipal elections usually take place over two rounds of voting, and entail competition between two or more *listes*, or political teams, consisting of 15 members, the same number as will comprise the elected *conseil municipal*. Each voter has 15 votes, which may be cast for whichever candidates she or he wishes. Individual candidates without a sufficient number of votes after the first round are eliminated; individual candidates with a sufficient number are elected; the remaining candidates are elected

during the second round. The ideal for each *liste* is to have all 15 members elected, and therefore take all the places on the *conseil municipal*, although this is not always the case, as happened in Bages in 1995. When elected in June 1995, the *conseil municipal* replaced a socialist majority, many of whom had been in power since the municipal elections of 1979. The majority political team, the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale*,¹⁸ took 13 places on the new *conseil municipal*, the other team, the *Liste d'union des forces de progrès*,¹⁹ taking the remaining two places. In the dominant *liste* were three members of the former municipality, who had been in continuous dispute with their fellow councillors since the early 1990s and had broken away to form a new team for the elections of 1995.

Municipal elections are often fiercely contested in France, and the elections of 1995 in Bages were no exception. The victory of the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale*, although not absolute, was comprehensive enough to ensure their absolute majority in the new *conseil municipal*. In terms of votes cast, it was also something of a landslide victory, as nine members of this *liste* were elected on the first round, and many of the long-term members of the previous council received substantially reduced support. The reasons for these results were disputed, as might be expected. Some people suggested that the population in general wanted a change after the long reign of the previous *conseil*. Others pointed to the publicity campaigns, as the victorious *liste* produced a packaged, detailed brochure of its intentions, something that had not been seen in Bages before, and which the defeated *liste* failed to deliver. I would also point, however, to the influence of the large number of recent immigrants to the village since the early 1980s, and the perceived composition of the *listes* themselves. The victorious *liste* contained

¹⁸ 'The Team for Uniting and Opening-up the Commune'.

¹⁹ 'The Team for Uniting the Forces of Progress'.

only four members who were Bageois, two of whom were true Bageois, the defeated *liste* eight Bageois, six of whom were true Bageois. The consensus of those I talked with was that the election was in fact decided by the recent immigrants to the village, who felt that councils dominated by Bageois were insensitive to their needs and demands; and as the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* consisted largely of recent immigrants, and made a point of promising to cater for all the village inhabitants, they voted for it in force.

This is, of course, a simplification of what actually went on, as many Bageois also voted for the victorious *liste*, but it reflects a wider perception within the village itself. For many Bageois in the *Liste d'union des forces de progrès*, shocked at being forced out during the first round, the election results were bitterly perceived to signal a sea-change in the balance of power within the *commune*, and the dawn of a new era in village politics concomitant with the waning numbers of Bageois in the village. Politically speaking, the new *conseil municipal* also claimed to stem from socialist persuasion, although for a British observer the difference between the old and new councils' forms of socialism might seem similar to the difference between 'old' and 'new' Labour. Certainly the traditional socialist rhetoric and moral claims of both *listes* had been the same, but the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* clearly had a greater interest in working with and developing business interests in the *commune*, as we shall presently see with respect to tourism, while the other *liste* was largely protectionist and concerned to safeguard the village from outside interests. The comparison might also be extended to the political 'spin' used by the two teams. The victorious *liste* had spent much more time and thought on publicity and the production of their colourful policies brochure, in contrast

to the defeated *liste*, whose functional, sombre brochure confirmed their negative image for many recent immigrants.

The policies of the new *conseil municipal* were couched in the rhetoric of a new beginning. 'Les femmes et les hommes qui composent la liste d'ouverture et d'union communale,' began their manifesto, 'souhaitent oeuvrer pour le développement et l'harmonie du village en restant les garants de son identité.'²⁰ As for their policies, there was a predictable emphasis on inclusiveness, as they wished to draw together the different sections of the population of the *commune*, an aim that was also reflected in their *liste* title. From the time of their election to when I left the village in 1997 they had tried, with varying degrees of success, to address in turn the needs of the different social groupings. They had targeted the problems of different age groups: for example, employment among the young through increasing the municipal pay-roll; or trying to help older people with everyday matters such as transport and home help. They had sought to develop the educational facilities in the *commune* through pledging their modest remuneration as councillors to the building of a new school, which addressed the concerns of young families in the village, particularly recent immigrants deciding whether to remain in Bages. They had also worked to ensure that environmental issues of general concern, such as the pollution of the *étang* and the proper management of the *garrigue*, were prioritised. However, the main thrust of their policies had been to develop the *commune* for cultural tourism, an industry they claimed would bring economic benefits to everybody, and it is to the discussion of this issue that I now turn.

²⁰ 'The men and women who make up the Team for Uniting and Opening-up the Commune want to work for the development and harmony of the village, while safeguarding its identity.' Quoted from the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* manifesto, June 1995, p.2 (my translation).

3.1. THE *CONSEIL MUNICIPAL* OF 1995 AND THE QUESTION OF TOURISM

In chapter two I outlined the ways in which the French state has sought to develop cultural tourism since the 1980s, and the form this initiative has taken in the Aude with the *Pays Cathare* scheme. In chapters five and six I detailed the activities of certain individuals interested in cultural tourism in the village, and the role of the village past in their projects. The actions of the new *conseil municipal* of 1995 fits in with this broader pattern in a quite precise way, and the developments I shall discuss in the rest of this chapter were related to its wider program to restructure the appearance and limited tourist infrastructure of Bages. These efforts were in line with what, in the manifesto of the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale*, was called 'eco-tourism', the *conseil's* name for what we know as 'cultural tourism':

ECO-TOURISM

All the improvements carried out with respect to tourism will be, above all, to the advantage of the inhabitants.

- *Street-cleaning (re-employment of a road-sweeper)*
- *Village surroundings tidied up*
- *Flowers for the exterior of houses (and entry into the Concours de Villages Fleuris)²¹*

We must promote and master tourism so that it doesn't disturb the life of the village, and so that it improves the economy by:

- *The creation of tourist services under municipal management, i.e. green tourism.*
- *The creation of jobs (seasonal child-minders, a tourist office, tourist guides).*
- *The accommodation capacity has to be increased by creating gîtes communaux in renovated houses in the old village, and by bed-and-breakfast.*

²¹ Literally, 'Competition for flowered villages' (i.e. villages decorated with flowers).

*More and more visitors come to walk around Bages, and it is important to communicate our love of the village so that they respect the village setting.*²²

During the previous 25 years, since mass tourism had begun in earnest in Languedoc with coastal developments encouraged by the national government, insofar as successive *conseils* in Bages had been concerned with tourism at all, it was largely to prevent the village being put at the mercy of developers. Since the 1980s, when cultural tourism initiatives had begun, the attitude of the socialist *conseils municipals* had remained either hostile, or indifferent. The new *conseil municipal* of 1995 was therefore the first to have an enthusiastic approach to the economic possibilities offered by this new industry although, as we have seen, a number of independent initiatives had already started up and had demonstrated its potential. There were two main contexts during my time in Bages that the *conseil municipal* was seeking to address in terms of tourism. These were the more established, state-led initiative of cultural tourism related to the *Pays Cathare* project, and the more recent, as yet undeveloped potential of the *Parc Naturel Régional du Pays Narbonnais*, which was in the process of being set up when I arrived in the village.²³ While I have already addressed the focus of the *Pays Cathare* project, which centred on the presentation of commodities related to the temporalisation of both 'real' and 'invented' local pasts, it is worth noting the touristic objectives of the *Parc Naturel Régional*, whose goals were different, but not incompatible.

²² Quoted from the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* manifesto, June 1995, p.9 (my translation, emphasis retained).

²³ 'The Narbonnais Regional Nature Park'. In France a *Parc Naturel Régional* is contrasted with a *Parc National* ('National Park'), in that its objectives are to harmonise relationships between humans and nature in a particular, usually inhabited area, while seeking to adopt a conservation policy towards the natural world. In a 'National Park', which usually encompasses sparsely populated regions, much stricter perimeters are set on human activities, and the priority is given to preserving the natural world in a wild, or semi-wild state. Both types of park seek to encourage 'nature' tourism, which consists principally of walking and carrying out other recreational activities in the natural environment, and learning about the natural world. The *Parc Naturel Régional du Pays Narbonnais* was inaugurated in the spring of 1997, encompassed an area of 100,000 ha around the Narbonne area (including the *commune* of Bages and the *étang de Bages-Sigean*) and was still very much in the process of getting off the ground during my time in

The sort of tourism intended by the *Parc Naturel Régional* was focused on the natural environment, and consisted mainly of walking in the *garrigue*, and around the *étangs* in the area. The intention was to enable potential tourists to learn about the environment if they desired, through leaflets and small-scale study centres, and the new school planned in Bages was also intended to function as an educational site during holidays for visiting schoolchildren from elsewhere in France. The project of the *conseil municipal* was to cater for both this, and the conventional form of cultural tourism in the area. With respect to the *Parc Naturel Régional*, since their election in 1995 they had created a *brigade verte* ('green team'), a team of municipal employees whose role was to clear and reinforce existing paths in the *garrigue*, and construct new scenic paths both there, and around the village. They also set out to tidy up and embellish the village through regular street-cleaning, and encouraging residents to decorate the outside of their houses with geraniums and other ornamental flowers. While these innovations catered specifically for 'nature' tourists, they were also attractive to those interested in cultural tourism with their additional taste for heritage, and it would be a mistake to draw too exact a line between the two activities.²⁴ With respect to cultural tourism, however, the *conseil municipal* undertook a different course of action, seeking to condone or supervise the work of others, or renovate existing buildings and outmoded artefacts, to create a set of signifiers of the past that might be temporalised in tourist consumption. It is to the analysis of these projects that I now turn.

Bages. As the only bearing it has on this thesis is with respect to the *conseil municipal's* attitude to tourism, I shall not be addressing it in greater detail here.

²⁴ Urry classifies both impulses as aspects of what he terms the 'romantic gaze' (Urry 1995:129-140), and Boissevain has also pointed out their tendency to overlap (1996a:21-22).

3.2. THE BASINS OF BAGES: RENOVATION AND RECREATION

The basins in and around the village of Bages were until the early 1970s used by women in the village to wash clothes and household garments, and consisted of a smaller basin nearest the water source for rinsing, and a larger one into which this water flowed for washing. Washing itself, sometimes undertaken communally, was often mentioned to me by older men and women in Bages in their reminiscences about life in the past, and was a laborious and, during the winter months, unpleasant activity. As an all-female task, however, it was also valued for the opportunity it provided for women to meet, talk and exchange news in a non-male environment. The restoration of the basins in Bages took place in two stages, the first of which was independent from the *conseil municipal* (although sponsored by it). It was initiated in June 1996 by an announcement placed in the local paper by Annie Desbiens (see fig.?), the same woman who encouraged Etienne Bonhomme to restore *lou puits de la coundamino*.²⁵ The article read as follows:

THE 'SOLEIL' CLUB AT LA BAJOLE

The spring and the basins of la Bajole hold many memories for lots of Bageois. Over the years, time has eaten into and damaged the watertight lining of the basins, and the water now flows down the nearby path. The 'Soleil' club invites everyone with an interest in preserving this unique and irreplaceable heritage to participate in the renovation of the larger basin. A stone-cutter will be coming from Prat-de-Cest to work with us and help those volunteers who want to pitch in with the trowel and the shovel.

The day of renovation will be Saturday 22 June, from 8am to 6pm. All participants please bring your lunchbox ready for a picnic on site. A path across the vineyards and

²⁵ See chapter four, section 2 on Annie Desbiens' relationship with Etienne Bonhomme. The *Soleil* ('Sun') club apparently consisted only of Annie Desbiens, and aside from this project and a display of unrelated information she posted about North America in the *mairie* during the winter of 1996-7, it was inactive during my stay in the village. Although Annie Desbiens evidently had an interest in the village past, it was not as developed as those detailed in chapter six.

*the garrigue will be marked out in yellow. We will meet at the bottom of the rue de l'Aiguille. Further information available from Annie Desbiens, tel. – 0468413344.*²⁶

The particular basin in question was one of two at la Bajole, a spring a short distance outside the village, and as may be seen from the announcement, the original intention of Annie Desbiens had been to restore only the larger of the two basins. However, a further newspaper announcement took up the story the following week. In the event, the presence of the stone-cutter enabled the work 'to be carried out in the old style', and along with the help of six adult volunteers and a child, Annie Desbiens, by working through the week-end, had been able to restore both basins rather than only one. 'The logic and usefulness of the work convinced the group of volunteers to press on,' the article concluded, 'desirous to preserve this unique and irreplaceable heritage of all Bageois' (*Midi Libre* 26.06.96).

La Bajole and the other springs within the *commune* had already been commented on in the manifesto of the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* during the elections of 1995: 'In the *garrigue* of Bages there are some delightful little springs. It would be great if these springs, Boutarel, Monadières, and Bajole, were renovated along with the basins into which they flow. They constitute a heritage that we should re-evaluate and protect.'²⁷ During the autumn of 1996, Annie Desbiens' initiative had therefore been joined by another on the part of the *conseil municipal*, who commissioned the renovation of the basins in the village of Bages itself. These basins, of the same format as those at la Bajole, lay down on *La Rivière*, the road that runs along the bottom of the village bordering the *étang*, and had been in a similar state of disrepair to those at the

²⁶ *Midi Libre*, 20.06.96. This, and all other translations from newspapers in the pages that follow, are my own.

²⁷ Quoted from the *Liste d'union et d'ouverture communale* manifesto, June 1995, p.11 (my translation).

spring. This time the wooden roof that sheltered the basins was also renovated; the flow of running water, that had previously been cut off when the mains water supply had come to the village in the early 1970s, was restored; and a final touch was added with the installation of floodlights, to illuminate the old stonework at night. A similar act of restoration took place to renovate the third set of public basins at les Monadières, another spring that was also located outside the village, and the completion of this work by the summer of 1997 meant that all the former basins of the *commune* had been restored (see plate 17).

The basins themselves were in principle 'outmoded objects' in the sense I have outlined in chapter three, section 4.2. In this respect, they were already temporalised in different ways among the village inhabitants, as we might expect: for Bageois, as mementoes of the way washing was once carried out, either by themselves or their family members; by recent immigrants or second home owners, as symbols of the past of the village, about which they might know more or less depending on the extent of their historical knowledge. The work of renovation, however, changed their status, and the consequent way they were temporalised, and the projects of renovation themselves consisted of two different impulses. Dealing first with the latter, in the case of the *Soleil* club, those involved were recent immigrants with an interest in the outmoded techniques of stonework that had given birth to the basins in the past, and the project itself was completed through the enthusiasm of these participants. It was inspired, however, by Annie Desbiens, with the interest in renovating features of the material past she had already shown through her work with Etienne Bonhomme, and its goal was to restore the basins at la Bajole for the sake of preserving an aspect of the past that was of interest to her. By contrast, the intentions of the *conseil municipal* were to stylise certain aspects of the

built environment of the village to attract cultural tourists. They set out to renovate the basins in the village and at les Monadières with the specific objective of furnishing visual signs of the village past that could be consumed (and temporalised) by visiting tourists, and this goal was ostensibly behind their sponsoring of Annie Desbiens' activities.²⁸ Although they therefore also intended to preserve tokens of the local past, the value set on such artefacts was viewed principally in relation to their role in cultural tourism.

I turn now to the change to the status of the basins, and to their role in temporalising practices. Having initially been the ruins of buildings that had become technologically outmoded, they shifted to being the re-creation of these artefacts, in effect a copy of what they had once been. The effect of their new status as a reproduction, however, was not the loss of an authentic 'aura' (c.f. Benjamin 1992:211-244), but a shift in the way they were perceived and temporalised by people in the village. Most Bageois were slightly bemused that people had taken such interest in the remnants of this activity, about which they sometimes spoke nostalgically, but were moreover glad to see the back of. Some took a more cynical and negative view and saw the restorations only as part of the drive to attract tourists into the village. Many recent immigrants, and those Bageois with an enthusiasm for local history, were pleased to see the objects prevented from falling into a further state of disrepair, and continued to temporalise them as symbolic of the village past with all the different associations it held for them, although recognising that they were no longer the ruins they had once been. As for tourists, some

²⁸ Urry (1990:3; c.f. Culler 1981) points to this aspect of tourist practice: 'The tourist gaze is directed to features of landscape and townscape which separate them off from everyday experience. Such aspects are viewed because they are taken to be in some sense out of the ordinary. The viewing of such tourist sights often involves different forms of social patterning, with a much greater sensitivity to visual elements of landscape or townscape than is normally found in everyday life ... The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs.'

noticed that the basins had been restored, and were monuments to an aspect of the past of the locality; but others probably failed to do so. In this respect, the status of the basins was different again, as simulacra of what they once had been.²⁹

3.3. THE RENOVATION OF THE VILLAGE SQUARE

In January 1997, work began on another project of renovation. This time, the main square of Bages, *place juin 1907*, was to be rebuilt, although not restored in the same sense as the basins. When I arrived in Bages, the square was surfaced with tarmac, and, aside from the connecting route it provided between three streets in the village, was frequently used as a parking area for cars in the village. During January, after due warning from the *mairie*, the area was cordoned off and the road surface dug up. Over the course of the next two months, the area of the square itself was restructured. While access was maintained to the three streets, other areas were set aside for pedestrians and benches were installed. The surface of the square itself was then re-laid with small, roughly-hewn paving stone matching the light-coloured stone of the square's buildings, although this method of paving certainly had nothing to do with the previous appearance of the village. Before the arrival of tarmac in the 1960s, the square and village roads were composed of impacted stone and earth. Afterwards, when the work was finally finished

²⁹ Augé (1995:54-6) offers a comparable, though rhetorical perspective from his own experience of rural France: 'The inhabitant of an anthropological place does not make history; he lives in it. The difference between these two relationships is still very clear to my generation of Frenchmen and women, who lived through the 1940s and were able in the village (perhaps only a place they visited for holidays) to attend Corpus Christi, Rogation days of the annual feast-day of some local patron saint ordinarily tucked away in an isolated chapel: when these processions and observances disappear, their memory does not simply remind us, like other childhood memories, of the passage of time of the changing individual; they have effectively disappeared – or rather, they have been transformed: the feast is still celebrated from time to time, to do things the old way every summer, the chapel has been restored and a concert or show is sometimes put on there. These refurbishments cause a few perplexed smiles and a certain amount of retrospective musing among the older locals: for what they see projected at a distance is the place where they used to believe they lived from day to day, but which they are now being invited to see as a fragment of history. Spectators of themselves, tourists of the private, they can hardly be expected to blame nostalgia or tricks of memory for objectively evident changes to the space in which they still live, which is no longer the place where they used to live.'

in late March, small wine barrels which had been converted into flower basins were distributed around the square (see plates 18 & 19).

I have already noted in chapter three, section 4.1, that most of the buildings in the main part of Bages were old, and facilitated the temporalisation of the past in the present through the backdrop they provided to everyday life. With respect to the renovation of the village square, the use of similar stone to that found in the old village buildings, in place of the modern road surface of tarmac, was intended to evoke continuity with the built environment of the village. At the same time, both buildings and square now evinced the mark of handicraft, itself locally associated with the past, in the way in which their stones bore the traces of having been shaped by hand. For Bageois, and many recent immigrants, the re-building was initially seen as a waste of money: 'It's typical. Every new *conseil municipal* wants to change the square and leave their mark,' was how one Bageois put it to me. However, reactions changed once the square was finished, and most people I spoke to thought it aesthetically pleasing and an attribute to the village, some of them commenting on its apparent evocation of the past. Tourists, however, could temporalise the square as an actual relic of the past, and like the basins it thus became a simulacrum of a material past that never was. In this respect it was another symbolic marker that could be read off the village environment, evocative of a local past that was available for tourist consumption, and whose actual status as a reconstructed object was either irrelevant, or clearly inaccessible in the course of a tourist's visit.³⁰

³⁰ Unless, of course, specific enquiries were made and its history became apparent.

3.4. THE PAST IN THE REGIONAL ENVIRONMENT

An interest in renovating outmoded aspects of the past in the built environment, or indeed in shaping it in the past's image, was not limited to Bages, and several examples from the Narbonnais illustrate how developments in the village were part of the regional trend towards refashioning the past with a view to tourist consumption. Something that attracted a lot of interest during my stay was the apparent discovery of a section of the *Via Domitia* running under the *place de l'Hôtel de ville*, one of the main squares in Narbonne. The *Via Domitia* was the road that in Roman times stretched along the Mediterranean coast of France, past Narbonne and on towards the Pyrenees. During the construction of a pedestrianised zone on the square, a section of ancient roadway was discovered in February 1997 by workers digging drainage tunnels. Although it turned out to have been first uncovered during excavations in 1890,³¹ and was actually only a connecting route that led from the main axis of the road, which passed to the west of Narbonne, to the forum of the Roman city, its 're-discovery' in 1997 led to a surge of interest and a number of public meetings, as a result of which the *conseil municipal* of Narbonne decided to incorporate the section of road into the design of the square itself. This decision was in part due to the enthusiasm of local people for the city's past, and the arguments of local historians for its recognition and conservation as part of 'our collective heritage' (*Midi Libre* 25.02.97). However, it was also firmly shaped by economic considerations since the new square would naturally be an attraction for the region's tourists. The opportunity was quickly grasped. By May 1997, a local baker had already launched special *Via Domitia* patisserie, including a meringue cake in the shape of the square with 'almond cream symbolising the Narbonnais', and adorned with a Roman chariot of nougat and chocolate (*Midi Libre* 8.05.97). And by the time the square was

³¹ And promptly covered up again, graphically illustrating the changing interest in the past of the area (see also below).

finally inaugurated in July it had been integrated into a regional network of tourist sites focused on the Roman road, as well as being the subject of guided tours within the city itself. The fact that the road itself was not actually part of the *Via Domitia* in question was largely overlooked.

Other nearby towns also attempted to temporalise aspects of the local past to attract tourists during my time in the area. For example, in July, nearby Port-la-Nouvelle inaugurated a new roundabout on its beach-front by monumentalising it with a restored Catalane boat, accompanied by a plaque detailing the boat's former owner and history. Although claimed as a 'symbol for the port, in honour of its first inhabitants who were fishermen' (*l'Indépendant* 5.04.97), a role it undoubtedly played for some residents, its intention was also to provide that distinctive local identity, and evocation of the past necessary to stamp the particularities of place on the touristic consciousness (Urry 1995:166). Then in August, further down the coast in Leucate, there were plans to recreate a whole fishing village as it once existed on the shifting sands at the turn of the century, something which had already been carried out at Canet in the Pyrénées-Orientales. We have already seen this on a smaller scale with *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* and their plans regarding fishing memorabilia in Bages (see chapter six, section 2).

Throughout the Aude as a whole the summer months naturally saw great activity around the theme of the Cathars, especially around Carcassonne, where 'medieval' entertainments involving people dressing up and acting out the supposed roles of former inhabitants of Carcassonne's 'old city' were weekly events. The 'old city' itself, which was built on the ruins of the medieval town during the 19th century at the whim of a wealthy

landowner, remains perhaps the symbol par excellence of those reinvented simulacra of the past in the region. The frequent claims that it was an authentic medieval fortress, therefore, were not entirely correct. For the Narbonnais, however, the current interest in the economic potential of the local past was most clearly illustrated by the discovery of 'the photographic treasures of the Narbonne-Mignard' family' (*l'Indépendant* 31.05.97), namely photos of the former fortifications of Narbonne, which came to light during the late spring of 1997. The photos show the city as it was before its fortifications were torn down to widen roads during the years of viticultural production, a process of demolition that lasted from 1867 to 1880. Although known to have happened, no detailed visual record of the fortifications had previously existed. Many of the fortifications, it turned out, incorporated ornate Roman features, or even elements of former Roman buildings, and the photos, published in local papers, presented a quite startling photographic record of the city. They included details of entry gates to the old city to the south and north, fortified walls passing along what are now main roads, a fortified bridge (of which only one other exists in France, at Cahors in the Lot), and many fortified towers, all interwoven with recognisable features of the city as it stands today.

The chagrin of those in the local tourist industry was predictable, but keenly felt. 'One can only regret,' wrote one commentator in a local paper, 'that no element of the ancient fortifications remains... With a bit of imagination, one dreams of the trump tourist attraction they would have been today. What a terrible shame!' (*l'Indépendant* 1.06.97). The fact that they were demolished at the behest of an economic activity that has subsequently been subject to such decline, and to which tourism is the avowed successor, vividly and ironically demonstrates the historical contingency and economic underpin-

ning of much current interest in the past.³² Nevertheless, in Narbonne investment in past-related projects such as museums was stated by the Mayor, Hubert Mouly, to have almost doubled the number of visitors to such attractions between 1995 and 1997.³³ 'Undeniably, such cultural tourism is becoming an economic vector which justifies, more than ever, all our investment in local heritage' was the claim (*l'Indépendant*, 3.09.97), which clearly signals that such developments are to continue for the foreseeable future. It also demonstrates that, in economic terms at least, the *Pays Cathare* initiative appears to be succeeding.

4. SUMMARY: THE TEMPORALISATION OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

In this chapter I have addressed a number of examples of the different ways in which the built environment of Bages has been restored, or refashioned with respect to the temporalisation of the local past. This has been facilitated by my theoretical approach. How do references to the local past in these projects compare to temporalising practices examined in other chapters? I begin with the question of street names. Their historical references have a similar character to those of *Bages et son étang*, in that most draw on textual sources, in keeping with Jean Guiffan's involvement. On the whole, the local

³² A similar incident occurred in Bages, concerning Gabriel Cros-Mayrevieille, a wealthy landowner and wine grower, and long-time mayor of the *commune* from 1892-1944. Cros-Mayrevieille, who originated from Carcassonne and was elected mayor while still living outside the village, was also president of *la Commission Archéologique de Narbonne* ('The Narbonne Archaeological Commission'), which makes his actions all the more ironic. During the 1930s a worker on his *domaine*, while ploughing a vineyard, uncovered the floor of a Roman villa with its mosaic almost intact, and numerous other Roman features including the remains of an aqueduct that apparently supplied the villa with water, and the tombs of children. Cros-Mayrevieille, placing his financial interests firmly before his archaeological ones, ordered the site destroyed, work on the vine to continue, and the worker to keep his mouth shut. Cros-Mayrevieille would have opted for an entirely contrary course of action had the discovery been made now (Jean Guiffan, personal communication).

³³ Numbers of visitors to the main museum in Narbonne during the peak months of the tourist season, July and August, had risen from 51,000 in 1995 to 97,000 in 1997 (*l'Indépendant*, 03.09.97).

pasts referred to were thus not part of everyday temporalising practices at the time the names were chosen. Like *Bages et son étang*, to which some of the names in fact refer, they have since become integrated into local temporalities, and have effectively 'expanded' the range of the local past. However, the extent to which this has been achieved is not so extensive, because of the limited use of street names in everyday life, and because they are not directly informative about the past like *Bages et son étang*. If the pasts to which street names refer are to be temporalised, details about them must therefore be uncovered through other means, which limits their utility as inducers of temporalisation.

Interestingly, however, during 1996-7 the *conseil municipal* decided to replace all the current street plaques with new, more ornate ones, and provide new street plaques where there had previously been none. This was no doubt related to their awareness of the attractive quality of many of the street names, with their poetic or historical overtones, as well as being part of their stated project of embellishing the appearance of the village. The integration of earlier efforts to temporalise the past, inspired by regionalist and socialist sympathies, into current projects of temporalisation concerned with tourism here resembles the integration of local history into the projects of Pierre Cadassus. However, in this case it would be wrong to argue that the *conseil's* actions were motivated solely by the historical nature of some street names, and their potential appeal to tourists, as the real objective was clearly the enhancement of the village's aesthetic appearance.

Temporalisation of the village past was, however the *conseil's* explicit concern in other respects. Turning now to the renovation of the basins, they were clearly outmoded as-

pects of village life, and once again reflect the involvement of the expanding past. The projects, both municipal and independent, restored these artefacts, and in doing so transformed them by turning them into reproductions of what they originally were. Those involved were certainly not utilising their own lived experience for temporalisation, as Pierre Cadassus did, and in this respect the artefacts were not specifically associated with their own pasts. They were also not drawing on the lived experience of others, and transforming them into a resource, like Serge Rémy and *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*, nor were they temporalising textual sources, as did Jean Guiffan. Instead a different kind of transformation was performed, as the basins were converted from relics of a previous activity to explicit signifiers of the local past for cultural tourists. This transformation was achieved solely by their material restoration, however, rather than their conversion into another media for temporalisation (such as the tape recording of oral history), and thus they retained their status as inducers of reminiscence for Bageois, and symbols of locality and the village past for recent immigrants and second home owners.

Similar differences to projects presented in earlier chapters existed with the renovation of the village square, which if anything functioned as a reminder of the local past for villagers, in the resemblance it bore to older buildings. But for those tourists, on the other hand, who saw it as a relic from the past, the square's role was identical to the basins. In this case, there was no transformation of an original resource, aside from the destruction of the material environment of the old square, as the reference made was to an invented past. These local developments reflected others at the regional level, and the overlap between local peoples' interests in local history and the concerns of those orientated towards cultural tourism was visible in other projects in Narbonne and the sur-

rounding area. In cases detailed, the temporalisation of the past as a component of local identity or locality worked alongside the demands of a developing tourist infrastructure in a similar way, and produced monuments to the past such as the *Via Domitia* in Narbonne, or the Catalane boat in Port-la-Nouvelle.

Observations may also be made concerning those involved in all these projects, in keeping with my continuing qualification of the typologies outlined in chapter three, section 4. The historical component of street names was primarily due to Jean Guiffan, in keeping with his other historical interests. The initiative of the *Soleil* club considered in section 3.2 was the work of recent immigrants, some of whom were interested in the past for aesthetic reasons (stonework and its appreciation), while Annie Desbiens was more interested in salvaging the basins as part of local heritage. Her more idealistic attitude is therefore comparable with that of Serge Rémy, although was neither so strongly felt, extensive, nor liable to provoke local hostility due to its subject matter. Finally, other projects in the locality in section 3 were the explicit work of the *conseil municipal*, and provide much detail on their interests in tourism. This overall interest reflects the large number of recent immigrants on the *conseil*, although I did not have the opportunity to learn more about the temporalising practices of individual members. At the same time, though, the *conseil's* interests in the local past was in keeping with both others in the wider region, and those detailed in earlier chapters: namely Pierre Cadassus, and certain members of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*. As a whole, the chapter contributes further detail to our understanding of recent immigrants in the locality.

I turn now to my on-going assessment of conflict over different temporalising practices. The antagonism felt by certain Bageois towards Pierre Cadassus's activities was not so strongly felt regarding the built environment, despite their involvement with tourism. Perhaps this was because the alterations themselves were not so substantial as to cause displeasure, for example through the destruction of buildings. Instead they focused on restoration, and when major alteration did occur, as in the case of the village square, this was only to the surfacing itself, which, it was widely agreed, was an improvement. Indeed, those residents who objected to such work being carried out did so mainly from a more reflective viewpoint, seeing it as symbolic of a more general shift towards attracting tourists and commoditising the village past. The direct sense of violation provoked by Pierre Cadassus's projects was therefore lacking. One can imagine, however, that if areas of the village had been substantially altered, affecting the ways in which local people themselves went about temporalising the built environment, reactions might have been more directly adverse.³⁴

Finally, I wish to comment more generally on the question of cultural tourism. The projects of the *conseil municipal* detailed in this chapter constitute the only official actions towards the development of the tourist infrastructure in Bages.³⁵ It is clear from the quoted passages from the manifesto, and its subsequent actions, that the *conseil's* stated aims were to benefit the population as a whole, and its attempts to develop the built environment while respecting local peoples' interests and the tenor of the architecture must be credited considering the eyesores that had sprung up in other coastal

³⁴ This is indirectly illustrated by a minor tourist-related incident from the late summer of 1996. The large refuse bins that served the area around the village square were removed at the initiative of the *conseil municipal*, so that their unappealing stench would not put off visiting tourists, and distract from their aesthetic appreciation of the village. The bins' removal was greeted by an outcry from villagers, and a resulting petition forced the *conseil* to return them, albeit in a specially built shed.

villages catering for tourism. The *conseil*'s intentions were to promote tourist development, while controlling its influence on the life of the *commune*. Its stated desire was to encourage local employment, and local initiatives in an industry that was largely decentralised. In the cases presented here, regarding the historicisation of the material environment, there was indeed little adverse reaction among the population.

But below the surface, when one considers the differences between factions within the village, and the orientation of the *conseil municipal* towards developing an industry that would appear to be concordant more with the ambitions of recent immigrants than Bageois, we see the sorts of divisions that have appeared in earlier chapters in greater relief. Indeed, the critical comments expressed by certain Bageois concerning the relationship of such developments to the wider project of cultural tourism demonstrate that the projects detailed in the second half of this chapter are closely related to that more general source of conflict. In the conclusion to this thesis, I shall review these different attitudes towards, and practices of temporalising the village past. Through situating them in relation to the shifting power relationships I outlined in chapter two, I shall also address on the interaction between these different practices, and comment on such conflicts in a more general sense.

³⁵ Despite Martine Cadassus's mention of the *conseil*'s related interest in restoring buildings (chapter six, section 2.1), this did not take place during my time in the village.

8

CONCLUSIONS

In the course of this thesis I have highlighted many different ways in which the local past of Bages was temporalised during 1996-7, and I have traced the historical development of several recent temporalising practices that were also relevant to this period. The temporalising practices discussed arose from a variety of motivations and social contexts, and have focused on a number of principal themes: the temporalisation of the village past by Bageois with respect to the construction and maintenance of their sentiments of community and belonging; the temporalisation of the village past by recent immigrants and second home owners, either for aesthetic reasons or in constructing the historical identity of Bages as a place; the creation of new possibilities for temporalising the past through historical research, via the temporalisation of local history in such diverse activities as historical writing, beachcombing for Roman pottery, and the naming

of streets (Jean and Monique Guiffan), or the preservation of local history for idealistic purposes (Serge Rémy); and the temporalisation of the village past through research, occasional invention, and in some cases, commoditisation, all with a view to its consumption by tourists (Pierre Cadassus, some members of *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*, and the *conseil municipal*). My overall objective has been to present these temporalising practices ethnographically, discuss them analytically, and detail their interaction and impact on each other. It remains to consider these developments in the light of shifting power relationships in the village.

Throughout the thesis, my theoretical emphasis on the temporalisation of the past has permitted a unifying focus on the complexities, and inter-relationships between these different social practices, rather than their compartmentalisation into separate anthropological themes (such as changing rural communities, the influence of regionalism, or the development of cultural tourism). That is not to say that ethnographically speaking the thesis is without consequence for the literature that addresses such themes, but rather that I have chosen to concentrate instead on the complex ways these issues are entwined with the temporalisation of the past in Bages. In this concluding chapter of the thesis I shall review my observations from earlier chapters, and comment on the utility of my theoretical approach, before moving on to briefly discuss the implications of the thesis for some of the most relevant specialist literatures: those concerning time and modernity, and tourism. I shall conclude with some comments on the conflicts among village residents regarding the temporalisation of the past that were evident during my stay in the village, and their relationship to recent shifts in local power relationships.

Four principal currents of historical change have been demonstrated to underlie the ethnographic developments presented in this thesis: the recent history of in-migration and out-migration in Bages due to on-going crises in the viticultural economy; the changing rural economy as the mechanisation and decline of viticulture has affected the possibilities for local employment, and the related phenomenon of *Narbotropisme*; the expanding past, prompted by the acceleration of social change with its outmoding of ways of life and their associated artefacts; and the local development of cultural tourism. The majority of these historical developments were presented in chapter two, and their consequences for local temporalities brought out in chapter three. Their consideration reflects the materialist component of my analysis, with its emphasis on situating local sociality in its historical context, and their different influences, often inter-related in subtle ways, have been made apparent throughout the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

The ways in which these influences have affected sections of the population in Bages, and their different temporalising practices, have been varied, complex, but discernible, and their analysis has been facilitated by the symbolic component of my approach, which drew on the work of Munn. For Bageois, the effects of accelerated social change and the decline of viticulture have since the late 1960s profoundly altered the fabric of their everyday lives. Recent in-migration has in some ways reinforced their self-definition while simultaneously displacing them from their role as the dominant social grouping in the village; and out-migration has taken its toll on their own possibilities for social reproduction. The memory of a recent past mediated by oral narratives of family and group members and activities, where life was predominantly focused around viticulture, fishing, and the village as a locality inhabited by the group as a community, continued to be temporalised in the production of their sense of belonging, both as Ba-

geois, and in relation to Bages as a place. At the same time, a sense of propriety over this past was emerging, with respect to its temporalisation by others in the village and the surrounding area, including some Bageois, primarily in relation to cultural tourism. Such feelings of propriety both underlay, and were a growing consequence of the anger some Bageois felt as aspects of the past deeply implicated in the production of individual and group identity were utilised by others in and around the locality in providing for cultural tourists. While such sentiments were still relatively undeveloped in terms of their conscious and systematic articulation by these Bageois, who lacked any consensual attitude towards these activities, they were clearly present in the feelings of violation registered by some individuals, and will perhaps take on a more coherent and dynamic form when cultural tourism develops further in the locality in the years to come. It is important to underline, however, that such antagonism was not felt by all members of this social grouping, some of whom were actively involved in encouraging cultural tourism in the village.

Other senses of propriety had also emerged, although for different reasons. Lucienne and Eugène Daudé, for example, had developed such attitudes towards their own past as a result of interaction with local historians and researchers such as myself. Instead of expressing resentment towards those involved in cultural tourism in the village, they were angered by the writer of a book on the events of 1907 who had failed to consult Lucienne Daudé on her uncle, who had been killed in the protests. Some fishermen also demonstrated a proprietary attitude towards their fishing practices, when Serge Rémy published a book detailing their past and present fishing techniques. This presented a different case, as their anger towards his work was in line with the sense of possessiveness already implicit in the competitive atmosphere that existed among them, and the

control over knowledge of fishing practices which was integrated into the very process of becoming a fisherman. Nevertheless, such examples demonstrate a wider development of proprietary attitudes towards the past among Bageois at the time I lived in the village, even if they were contingent on the ways in which the pasts important to particular individuals were being temporalised in specific, alternative contexts.

For some recent immigrants and second home owners, the past of the locality was temporalised via information acquired from local history books, as part of efforts to create a historically informed relationship with the village as a place, something that in a different way already existed for Bageois. In some cases, as I have suggested, this demonstrated a desire to create the more intimate sense of place that arises from long-term residence where this was lacking. Others, both Bageois and recent immigrants, perceived another value in written history. Jean and Monique Guiffan, for example, coming from a background that valued history both academically, and also from the perspective of regionalist politics, temporalised local history as a component of the construction of place, but also saw it as valuable for understanding the present, and sought to promote its understanding among village residents. Serge Rémy, on the other hand, temporalised the village past from a perspective that was more alienated from the inhabitants of the village. His objective was to salvage aspects of the local past, thus redeeming them from the threat of being forgotten. His approach created hostility among some fishermen, as already noted, although it was appreciated by older fishermen, and prompted them to re-evaluate their own pasts.

Among other people in the village, there were further temporalising practices, which responded to the possibilities thrown up by cultural tourism. Entrepreneurs such as Pi-

erre Cadassus had since the early 1980s been temporalising both real and invented local pasts as components of products for tourist consumption. His independent initiative had subsequently been joined by a state-organised project, *le Pays Cathare*, that had encouraged other independent practitioners, such as the Montagnacs, and had provided some of the inspiration for *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine*. Most recently, the possibilities offered by cultural tourism have caught the attention of members of the *conseil municipal* of Bages, who have sought to convert material aspects of the village into symbols of the village past, once again for consumption by tourists. While such developments were expressly related to the growth of cultural tourism, they were also predicated on the more general phenomenon of the expanding past, as were many of the temporalising practices considered, and it was the 'outmoded' nature of the pasts involved that rendered them useful in this sense.

Throughout my analysis, I have compared and contrasted these different temporalisations of the past, seeking to draw out the more subtle differences and similarities between them. The relationship of memory to material objects, for example, has been a consistent theme. With respect to the sources for information about the village past, some projects, such as that of Jean Guiffan, relied mostly on textual historical sources that were not previously of use in local temporalities. This, I suggested, was one reason why *Bages et son étang* was generally well-received among all sections of the village population. The Bageois, by contrast, drew on their oral history and life experience as a group, related as it was to their intrinsically historical sociality predicated on the locality, and temporalised it in the construction of belonging and place. This oral history and life experience was also put to use in other contexts, however. Pierre Cadassus, himself a Bageois, drew on his life experience and that of others in the construction of 'tradi-

tional' food products identified with the locality, while Serge Rémy and *l'Association pour la Conservation du Patrimoine* sought to convert such oral history into permanent historical resources, memory banks that could be utilised in various ways according to their objectives. By contrast, material aspects of the past were of value to the *Soleil* club and *conseil municipal*, but for different reasons. Conflict arose when aspects of the past temporalised by Bageois were utilised for different purposes, although it was the specific contexts of their use, in cultural tourism, for example, or a book on fishing practices, which created conflict, rather than the use of such pasts *per se*. All the same, it is clear that it was the village past associated with Bageois that was the subject of the majority of temporalising practices, rather than the more historical aspects of the past associated with Jean Guiffan. This reflects sociological observations on the idealisation of rural pasts by both tourists, and those of a pastoral frame of mind (Urry 1990, Williams 1993), as well as the more general interest in the past as heritage, and its use in the self-conscious construction of place, that is a characteristic of the age (Samuel 1994, Urry 1995).

Thus concludes a review of my observations on the complex social environment in Bages, and the different temporalisations of the past I encountered there. Turning to theoretical matters, an approach to these ethnographic phenomena, located in the notion of the human understanding of the past as temporalised in social practices, has allowed a close analysis of their differing characteristics and inter-relatedness. It has also obviated some of the intrinsic problems with the analysis of the past in anthropological theory, as discussed in chapter one. My approach drew on the work of Munn to fashion an approach that was equipped to deal with both the symbolising aspect of human sociality, and its groundedness in the material realities of political and economic history. In this

sense I adapted Munn's work, developed in the Melanesian context, for the analysis of social life in Western Europe, and synthesised a focus on the past as remembered, and a focus on the past as temporalised. The question of the past was viewed as both symbolically constituted, and related to a situated, contingent historical context. This approach is therefore compatible with both the current theoretical emphasis in anthropology on the constructed nature of sociality, which incorporates time as an intrinsic, constitutive feature, while avoiding the tendency of some of this writing to ignore the historical emphasis afforded by political economy. At the same time, I addressed the temporal perception of actors, something often obscured by the more totalising notion of 'history' advocated by Marxists. Theoretically speaking, this thesis is therefore intended as a contribution to the on-going convergence between political economic and symbolic anthropology that has been a characteristic of recent years.

This theoretical approach thus facilitated the analysis of how the past is made known in terms of ethnographic details and contingencies, as well as attempting to relate such contingencies to wider socio-economic realities, and in this respect raises issues in relation to some contemporary strands of sociological and anthropological thinking about the past and temporality in Western Europe. Sociological literature on 'modernity' (e.g. Berger, Berger & Kellner 1974, Giddens 1990, 1991, Hall, Held & McGrew 1992), as noted in chapter three, has tended towards generalisations about the relationship between past, present and future in the contemporary era, at the same time obscuring the temporal assumptions implicit in its theoretical approach. It has polarised a past of tradition against a present of modernity, while ignoring the dependence of its conceptualisation of the present as post-traditional on the image of the traditional, or pre-modern. In a social environment such as Bages, there have existed at various times, including the

late 1990s, elements of both 'traditional' and 'post-traditional' social practices, a co-existence that cannot be encompassed by such a polarising characterisation of historical change. Considering the complexity of ways in which individuals in Bages temporalise the village past, the frameworks drawn up by many modernity theorists are inappropriate tools for discussing the ethnographic specificities of how time and the past are temporalised in social practice. Instead, an approach is needed that takes account of the wider contexts of human action, while allowing a focus on the projects of individuals and social groups. In drawing on a symbolic approach grounded in the understanding of the human perception of time as temporality, and combining it with a materialist analysis, I have attempted to fashion a theoretical paradigm that enables just such an analysis, illustrated in the presentation of my ethnography. This approach has also attempted to take account of contemporary anthropological approaches to time and memory, and bring together their different insights.

Such issues of polarisation also arise in relation to questions of authenticity, a less explicit component of writings on modernity, and are thus a feature of wider historical and philosophical approaches to memory and the past (e.g. Heidegger 1992, Nora 1989, Sartre 1956, Terdiman 1993). In this respect, they also surreptitiously inform more anthropological writings. For example, Augé (1995, 1998) offers interesting insights on the different sorts of relationship with place that characterise modern French, and Western society more generally. 'Perhaps the relationship with history that haunts our landscapes is being aestheticised, and at the same time desocialised and artificialised' Augé suggests (1995:73), as he outlines his theory of 'non-places'. Place, he proposes, is becoming increasingly spectacular, as the 'anthropological' component of place, constructed through meaningful, communal social practice, is replaced by the commodi-

sation of place, and the proliferation of non-places such as airports, supermarkets, and motorways. Tourism, Augé claims, is a strong influence in the development of such non-places, as the relationship of tourists to place, through their reliance on textual information and the visual collection of signs, is predominantly a-historical, and spectacular in nature (Augé 1998:103-107). By contrast, it is clear from the material presented in this thesis that the use of textual material and other such resources comprises alternative ways of temporalising the past, and of thus constructing a historical relationship to place. At the same time 'non-places' for tourists are certainly 'places' for others in a way that Augé only acknowledges in a limited fashion (1998:106), for as we have seen, Bages constitutes many different kinds of place to many different people, including tourists. Polarising 'authentic' place against 'inauthentic' non-place relies ultimately on the same limited approach to the complexities of social life as the polarisation of tradition and modernity already noted.

The question of authenticity has also been an important issue in recent literature on tourism (e.g. Boissevain 1996, Abram *et al.* 1997), that takes an altogether more subtle approach to the problem. While tourism has not been a central theme in this thesis, for reasons outlined in chapter one, it nevertheless has been a presence in much of the ethnographic material presented. The question of the commoditisation of culture that accompanies the development of cultural tourism, and which has characterised its spread in Europe, has been an issue in the anthropological literature on tourism since the 1970s. Initially perceived as a predominantly destructive development, 'the final logic of ... capitalist development ... [which] does not stop with land, labour, and capital but ultimately includes the history, ethnic identity, and culture of the peoples of the world' (Greenwood 1989:180), it was once thought to be a process in which local people had

little agency. More recent work has noted that in many cases, such negative assessments are erroneous, and that the development of tourism is often 'coped with' by those whose culture is commoditised (Boissevain 1996). In fact, in a number of recent papers published on cultural tourism in Europe, 'authenticity' has been recognised as a constructed and heterogeneous product for tourist consumption, while cases have been detailed of local people themselves more or less collectively orchestrating processes of cultural commoditisation, and thereby profiting from the economic possibilities offered up by cultural tourism. Abram, for example, writing of the *département* of the Cantal in central France, has noted how 'commoditisation is part of a very positive process by which people are beginning to re-evaluate their history and shake off the shame of peasantry that has been pressed on them in their education through the ages, specifically in the denigration of the use of *patois* earlier this century' (1996:198).

Although there is an explicit example of such re-evaluation in Bages with the case of Lucienne Daudé's changing opinion of *patois*,¹ and a similar degree of complexity exists in Bages as is suggested by these writers, the situation as a whole cannot perhaps be judged in such positive terms. Boissevain singles out 'grumbling and gossiping' as a form of 'covert resistance' to cultural tourism, that enables subordinated persons 'to retain their self respect' (1996a:14-16). This is certainly a feature of life in Bages, as I have already pointed out regarding the antagonism felt by certain Bageois towards the temporalisation of the past for tourist consumption. Boissevain has also written that in areas of recent interest to cultural tourism, 'natives have often not (yet) developed the skills required to cope with mass tourism. While this may mean they are more hospitable, they are also more vulnerable and easily exploited. As the local population becomes

¹ Although it should be noted, this was not in reaction to tourism, but to academic and media interest.

more familiar with tourism and gains expertise, it becomes more active in protecting its interests' (1996a:6). However, the case of Bages appears to be an exception to his observations, in that second home owners have been present in force in the *commune* since the early 1970s and cultural tourism since the 1980s, with interest currently increasing due to the initiatives of the *conseil municipal*, yet the passage of time has not resulted in a method of 'coping' with the problem. Indeed the section of the local population aggrieved by such developments seems to be growing in discontent. The reason is related to the recent history of the *commune*.

Since the 1960s the 'host' community of Bageois has been subject to decline from out-migration, and the village as a whole has been subject to in-migration as a result of *Narbotropisme*, resulting most recently in the election of the 1995 *conseil municipal*, which was perceived by many to represent symbolically this shift in population and local power relations. Problems among the Bageois themselves, perhaps due to a long history of migration in the area, have then conspired to prevent a consensual attitude from developing, as some take advantage of the new opportunities offered by the commoditisation of the past, and others resist them. Certainly it is possible that in the future consensual attitudes such as Boissevain describes may develop, or that the apparently democratic intentions of the *conseil municipal* towards controlling tourism for the benefit of those living in the village may bear fruit, and be taken up by all sections of the population. Nevertheless, at present the temporalisation of the village past for tourist consumption is generating both adherents, and critics, and these divisions within the village are not being transcended.

Such divisions become clearer when considered in relation to other nearby villages. Lem (1999) has recently written at length on how among wine growers in the nearby *département* of the Hérault there has been a notable culture of resistance, not towards tourism, of which little appears to exist, but towards state policies contributing to the precarious economic situation of wine growers. In Bages, where the state of viticulture is broadly comparable, such a culture of dissent, although present in a dislocated manner, has nothing of the coherence of where Lem worked, either for viticulture or for other issues. This reflects the greater diversity of the population in Bages, the increasing number of recent immigrants, and the concomitant shift in local power relations, and also underlies the divisions regarding cultural tourism. At the same time such problems were also generally acknowledged among many Bageois, who perceived such divisions among them and within the village. They linked them to the pressures of recent social change, and stated that their influence in the locality was currently waning.

Should Bageois critical of cultural tourism wish to survive as serious actors in the future of the locality, and maintain their identity as a coherent social group, they may well have to do so by collectively colluding with those currently involved in cultural tourism – both Bageois and recent immigrants – and taking them on for their own gain. Perhaps the first sign of this is the development of a sense of propriety towards the village past. Indeed, a collective acknowledgement that such tourism is here to stay may also prevent further conflictual developments. Selwyn (1996:253) notes the difficulties that must be faced if cultural tourist infrastructures such as are developing in Bages are to remain under the control of local people, despite the good intentions of local councils, while pointing to the absolute necessity of their doing so if adverse effects on local populations are to be avoided. He relates this to the pressures of national and global econo-

mies, whose influence is all-pervasive. In this thesis I have focused on the temporalisation of the past in one small French village, its importance to local senses of identity and belonging, its development in projects of local history and cultural tourism, and the perceived effects of such temporalising practices, both good and bad. In the final pages of this conclusion I have tried to clarify the nature of the conflict that has arisen over it, and what course of action might contribute towards a successful, if temporary resolution to the problem. But such resolutions depend, as ever, on contingencies, and as for what the past finally holds in store for the village of Bages, only time will tell.

APPENDIX I
ARCHIVAL, STATISTICAL,
& ADDITIONAL PRINTED SOURCES

Note: In France, regular state-organised censuses began in 1836, and ran every five years, excepting the First World War, until 1936. In Bages, census records exist for all these years, excepting 1886, 1891 & 1896, during the *phylloxera* crisis, and 1921. With no census in 1941, records begin again in 1946, but intervals between censuses then become irregular, with censuses in 1954, 1962, 1968, 1975, 1982, 1990, and another due this year, 1999. Up to 1975, principal census information was collated in municipal and departmental archives as *Feuilles Récapitulatives*, summary documents with rudimentary information about each *commune* such as the number of inhabitants, the number of women and men etc. Each *mairie* also produced *Listes Nominatives*, ‘nominative lists’ which listed the names of all communal residents, grouped by household, usually accompanied by dates of birth or age, family relationships within each household, and occupation. For Bages, *Listes Nominatives* exist for all census years (with the exceptions noted above) from 1836 to 1946. After that time, full *Listes Nominatives* exist only for 1968, with a fragment from 1962. Documents for other years, being now optional, were simply not completed. After 1975 censuses were reorganised under the administration of INSEE (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques), and subsequently census information was published as ready-prepared statistics in book format. Even if the *Liste Nominative* format had been continued, however, the valuable ethnographic information these documents contain would not have been accessible at the time I wrote this thesis due to the 30 year viewing restriction currently in place. The *Feuilles Récapitulatives* and *Listes Nominatives* which I have drawn on are listed below.

1. ARCHIVES MUNICIPALES DE BAGES (AMB)

État Civil

N/A	État Civil	1850-1922
N/A	État Civil	1923-1946
IE 38	État Civil	1946-1950
IE 39	État Civil	1951-1953
IE 40	État Civil	1954-1960
IE 41	État Civil	1960-1965

IE 42	État Civil	1966-1970
N/A	État Civil	1971-1976
N/A	État Civil	1977-1982
N/A	État Civil	1983-1992
Unbound	État Civil	1993-1996

Délibérations du Conseil Municipal (CM)

N/A	1901-1905
N/A	1905-1911
N/A	1911-1927
N/A	1928-1935
N/A	1935-1943
1 D 23	2 janvier 1952 – 22 novembre 1974
DCM 75/77	24 février 1975 – 22 novembre 1978
1979/86	9 mars 1979 – 5 décembre 1986
1987/93	24 mars 1987 – 26 novembre 1993
1994/97	11 janvier 1994 – 25 mars 1997

Listes Nominatives (LN)

N/A	Liste Nominative	1881
N/A	Liste Nominative	1901
N/A	Liste Nominative	1906
N/A	Liste Nominative	1911
N/A	Liste Nominative	1946

N/A	Liste Nominative (fragment)	1962
N/A	Liste Nominative	1968

Feuilles Récapitulatives

N/A	Feuille Récapitulative	1982
N/A	Feuille Récapitulative	1990

2. ARCHIVES DÉPARTEMENTALES DE L'AUDE (CARCASSONNE) (ADA)

Série M

11 m 56	Liste Nominative	1836
11 m 65	Liste Nominative	1846
11 m 92	Liste Nominative	1861
11 m 100	Liste Nominative	1866
11 m 107	Liste Nominative	1872
11 m 116	Liste Nominative	1876
11 m 170	Liste Nominative	1926
11 m 181	Liste Nominative	1931
11 m 191	Liste Nominative	1936
13 m 385	Récensement de l'Agriculture	1929
13 m 395	Récensement des Tractors	1938-1939

Série U/4U— Sous-Série 5u5

5u5/1	Délibérations du tribunal des prud'hommes	1847-1913
5u5/2	Copie de la correspondance envoyée	1892-1944
5u5/3	Livre de comptes (recettes et dépenses)	1982-1892
5u5/4	Correspondance reçue, pièces comptables, etc.	1841-1934

Série W

57 w 7	Feuille Récapitulative	1954
57 w 8	Feuille Récapitulative	1962
57 w 10	Feuille Récapitulative	1968
57 w 13	Feuille Récapitulative	1975
1168 w 48	Reboisement	N/A
1576 w 48	Assainissement	1968-1973
1576 w 49	Acquisition de Terrain (Eau)	1963-1971
1603 w 72	Mis en valeur: étangs	1979
1603 w 76	Aménagement - Tourisme	1927-1974
1603 w 83	Démoustification	(1969-1971)
1603 w 111	Pêche	1970-1983
1603 w 124	Bages – urbanisme	N/A

3. INSEE

(Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques)

Récensement de la Population: 1975, 1982 & 1990

- 1988 *Inventaire communal 1988. Communoscope. 11 Aude.* Paris: INSEE
- 1988 *Inventaire communal 1988. Cartovision. 11 Aude.* Paris: INSEE.
- 1991a *Logements – Population – Emploi. Evolutions 1975 – 1982 – 1990. Aude (11).* Paris: INSEE.
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APPENDIX II
CHARTS & TABLES

Figure 1. Bages in the administrative system of the French state

STATE

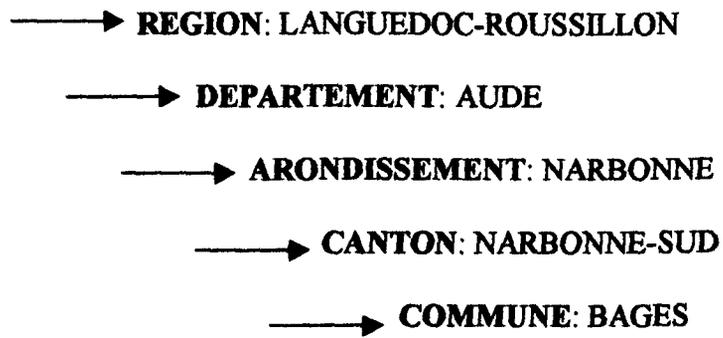


Figure 2. Wider categories of locality and belonging among people in Bages

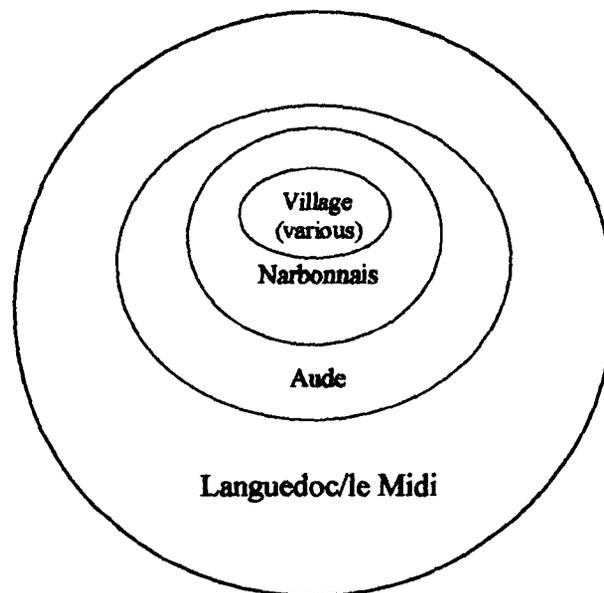


Figure 3. Canton of Narbonne-Sud: composition of active population by employment

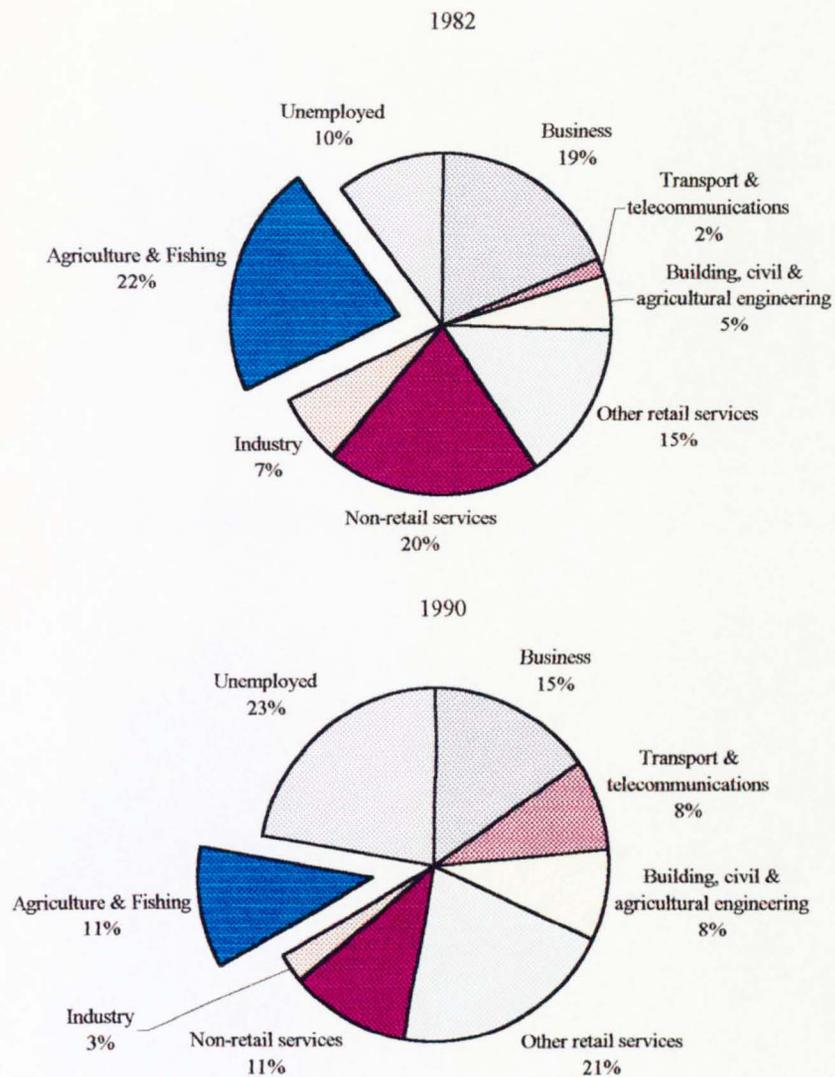


Figure 4. Commune of Bages: who worked where, 1975-1990

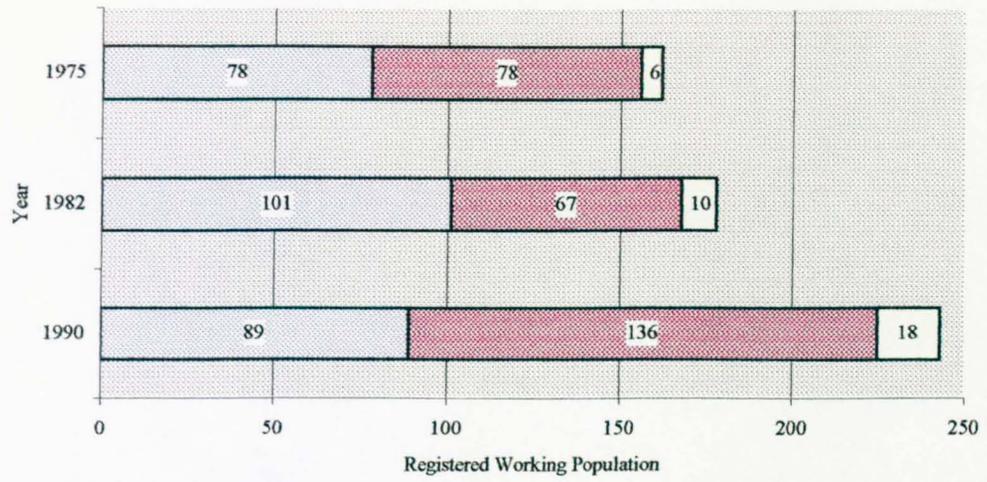
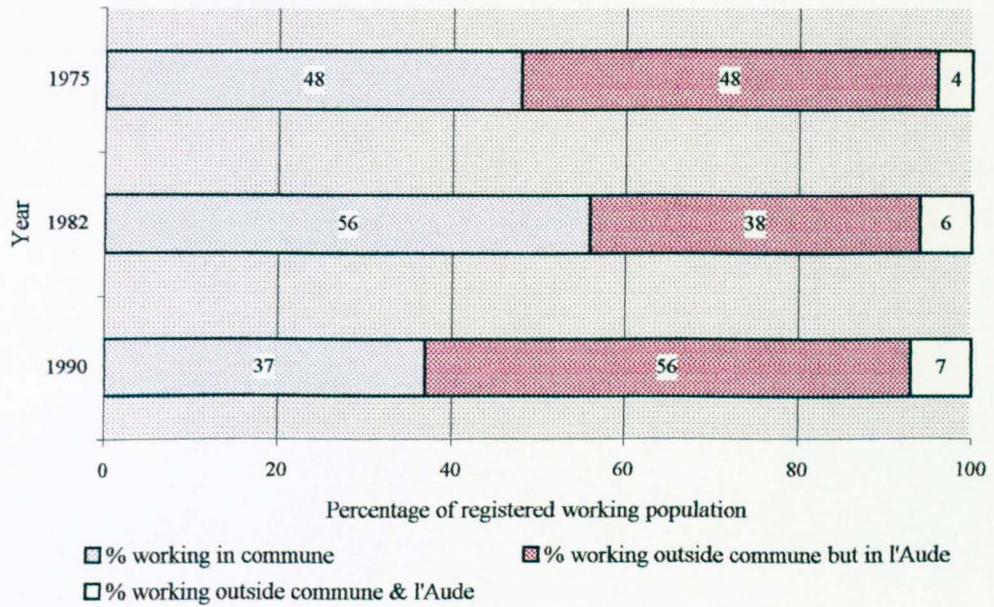


Figure 5. Commune of Bages: who worked where by percentage of registered workforce, 1975-1990



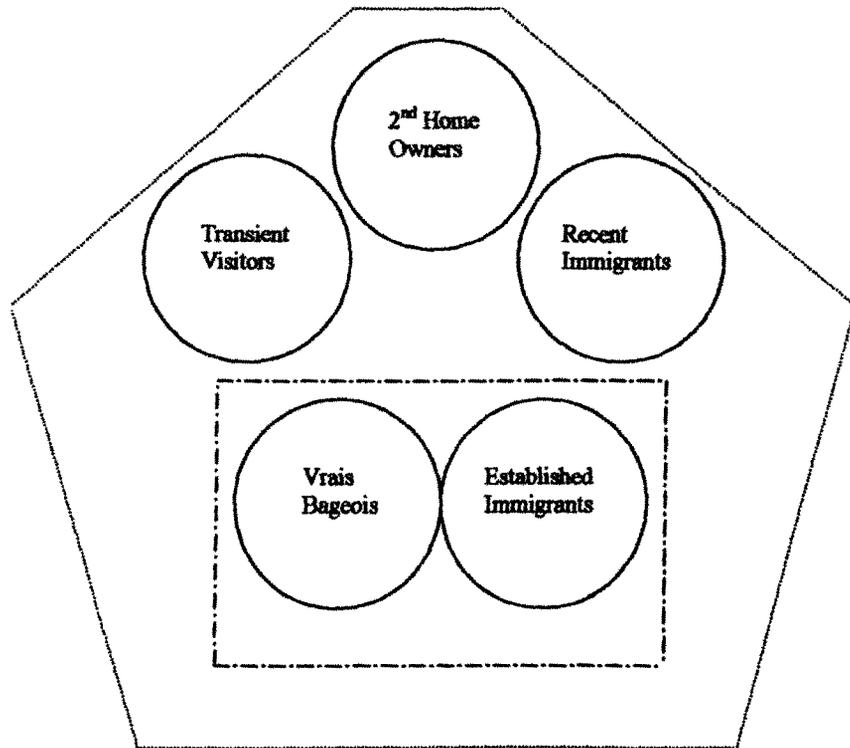


Figure 6. Localistic Categories of Belonging in the village of Bages

Figure 7. Commune of Bages: population and population distribution, 1856-1911

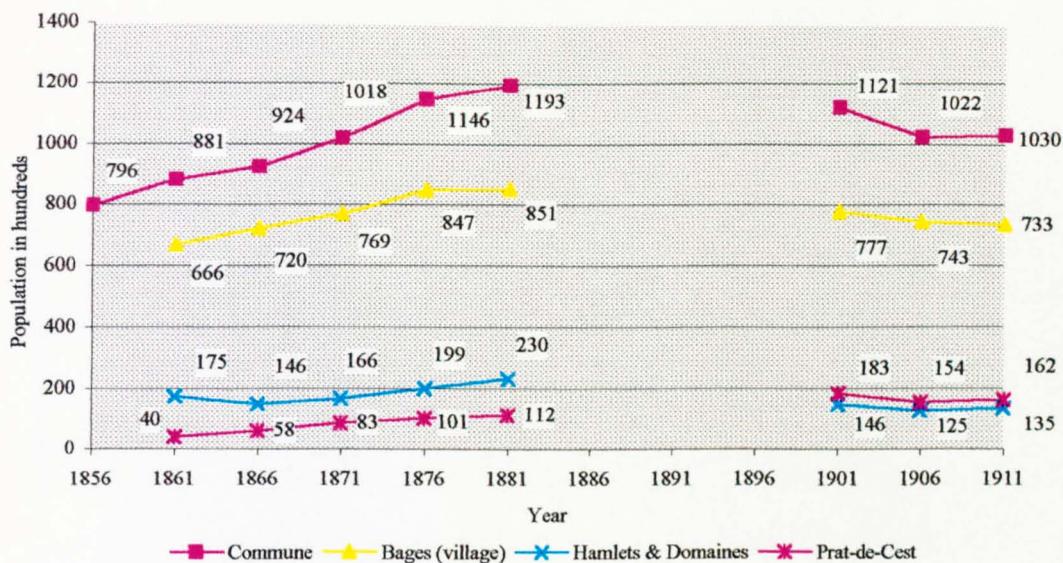


Figure 8. Commune of Bages: average yearly migration rate per 5 year period, 1856-1911

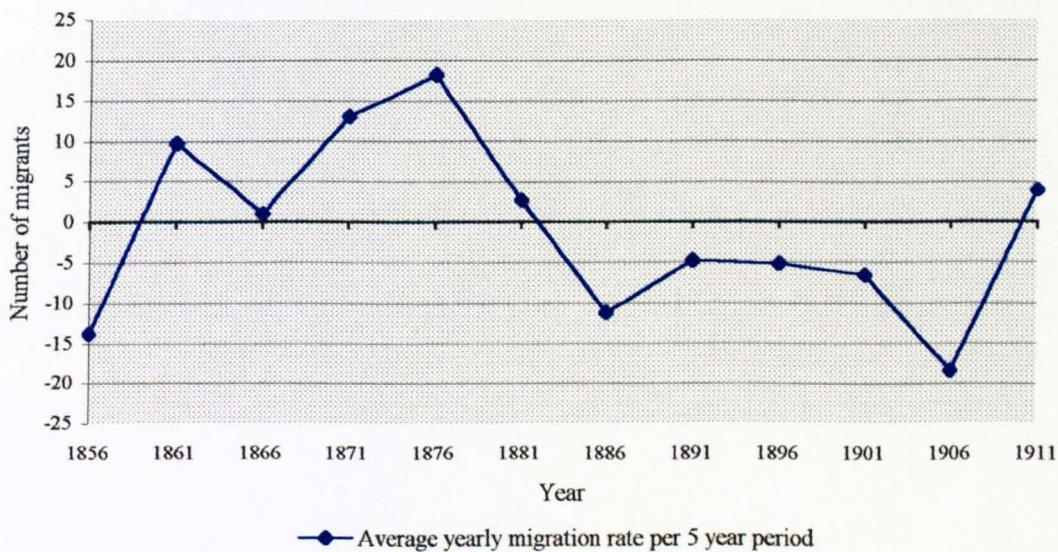


Figure 9. Commune of Bages: average yearly birth and death rates per 5 year period, 1856-1911

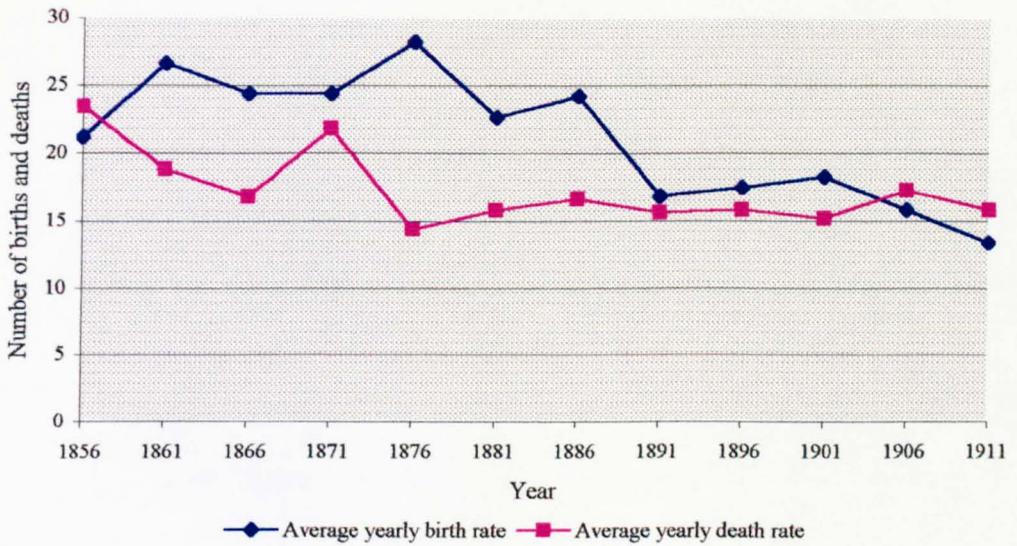


Figure 10. Commune of Bages: average yearly population and natural growth rates per 5 year period, 1856-1911

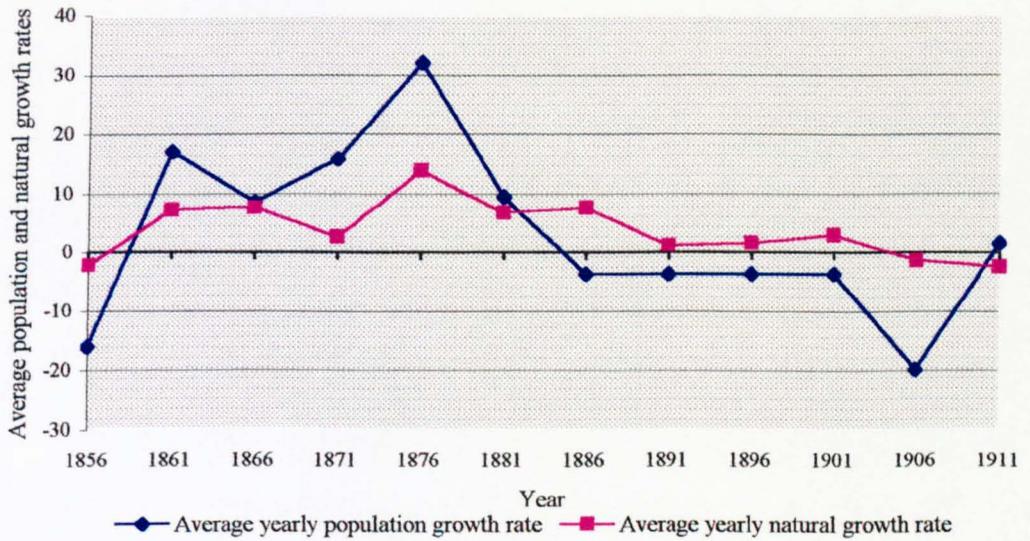


Figure 11. Commune of Bages: population and population distribution, 1926-1990

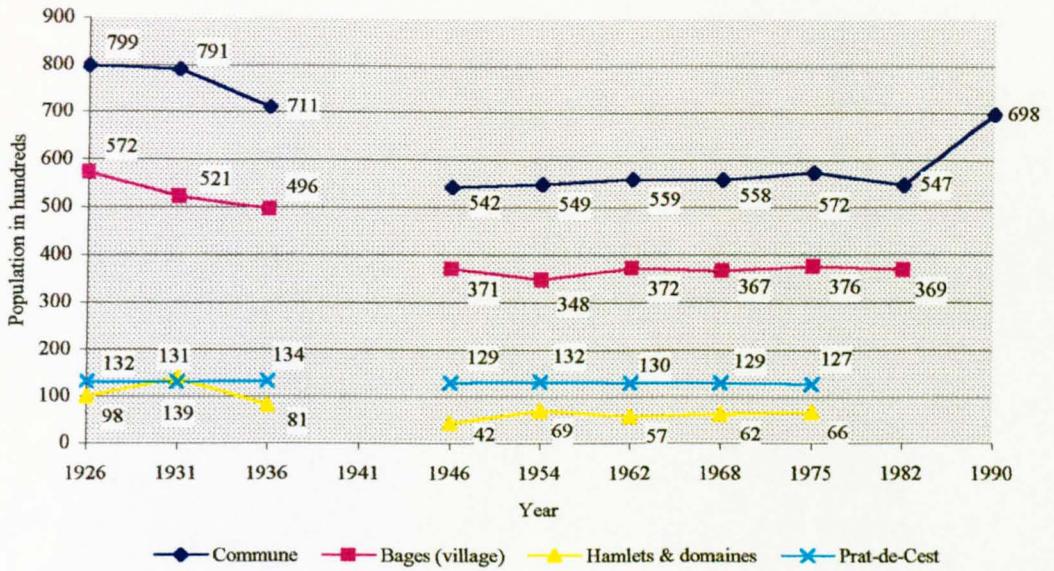


Figure 12. Commune of Bages: average yearly migration rate per 5 year period, 1926-1991

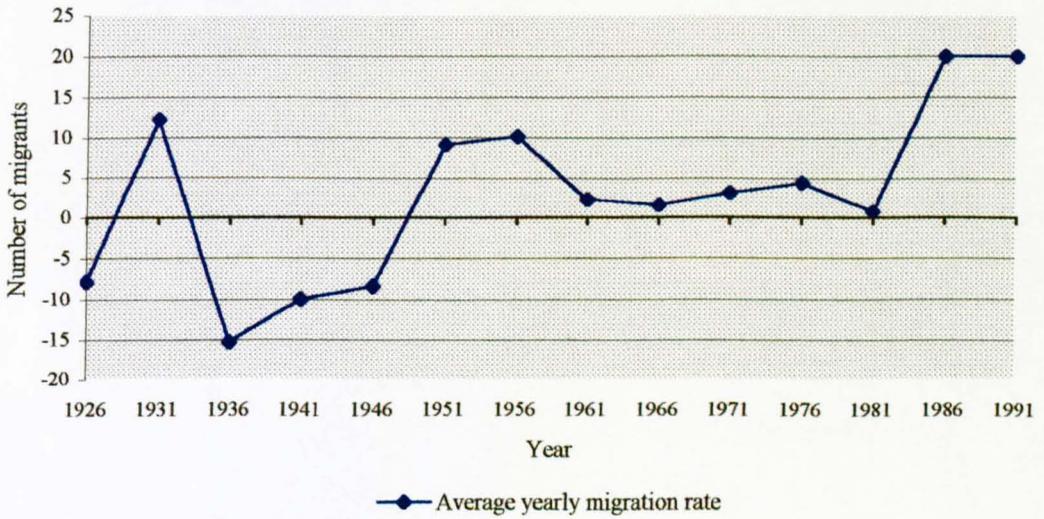


Figure 13. Commune of Bages: average yearly birth and death rates per 5 year period, 1926-1996

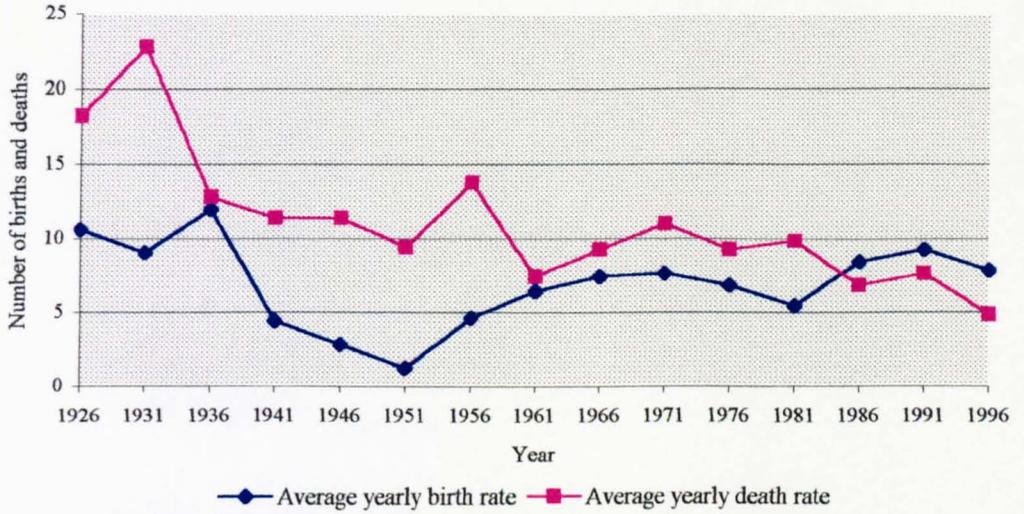


Figure 14. Commune of Bages: average yearly population and natural growth rates per 5 year period, 1926-1996

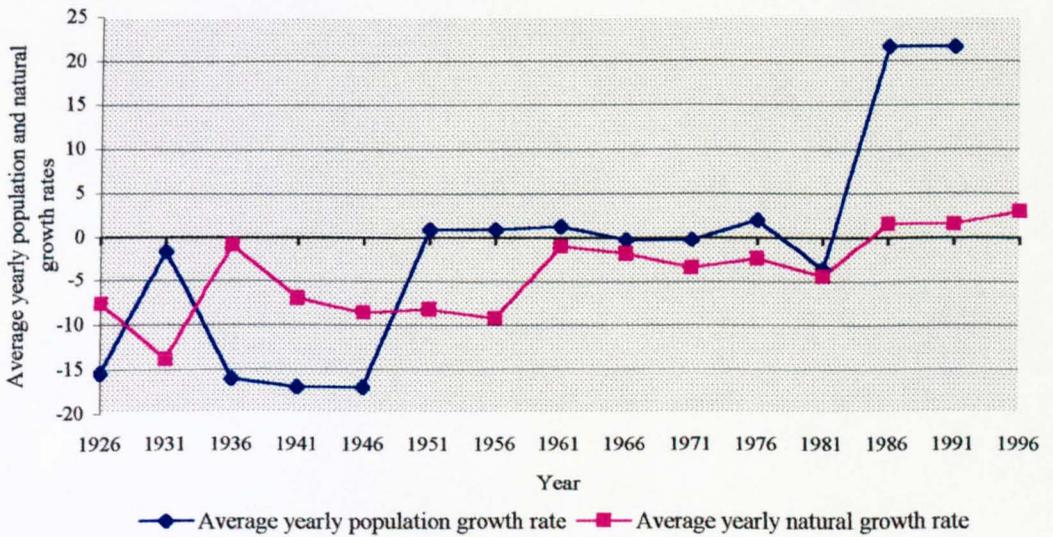


Figure 15. Bages (village): Composition of active population by employment, 1926

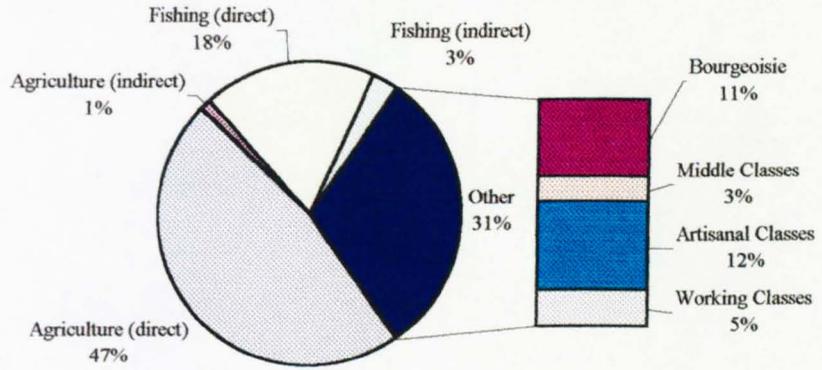
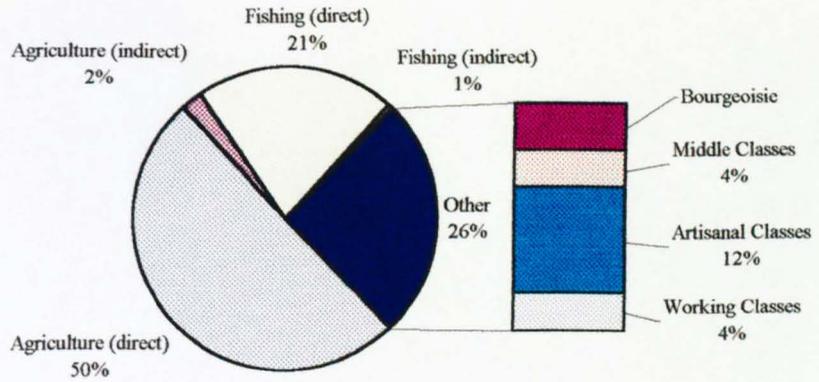


Figure 16. Bages (village): Composition of active population by employment, 1946



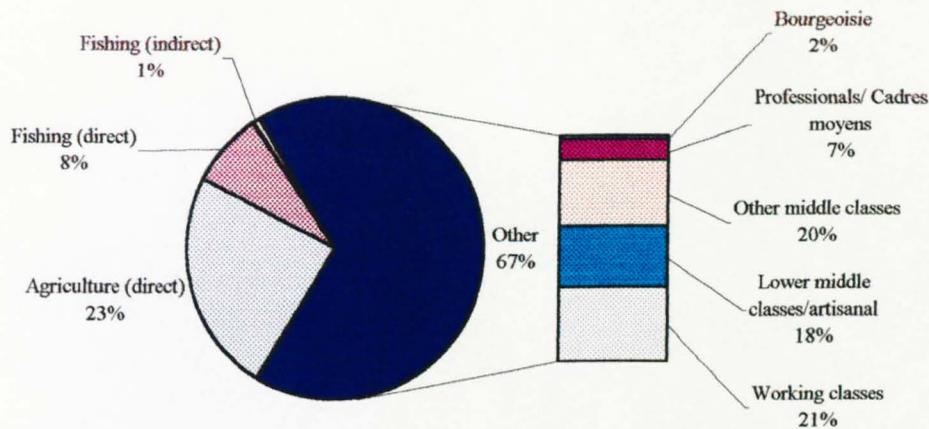


Figure 17. Bages (village): Composition of active population by employment, 1968

Figure 18. Evolution in number of fishermen on étang de Bages-Sigean, 1985-1995

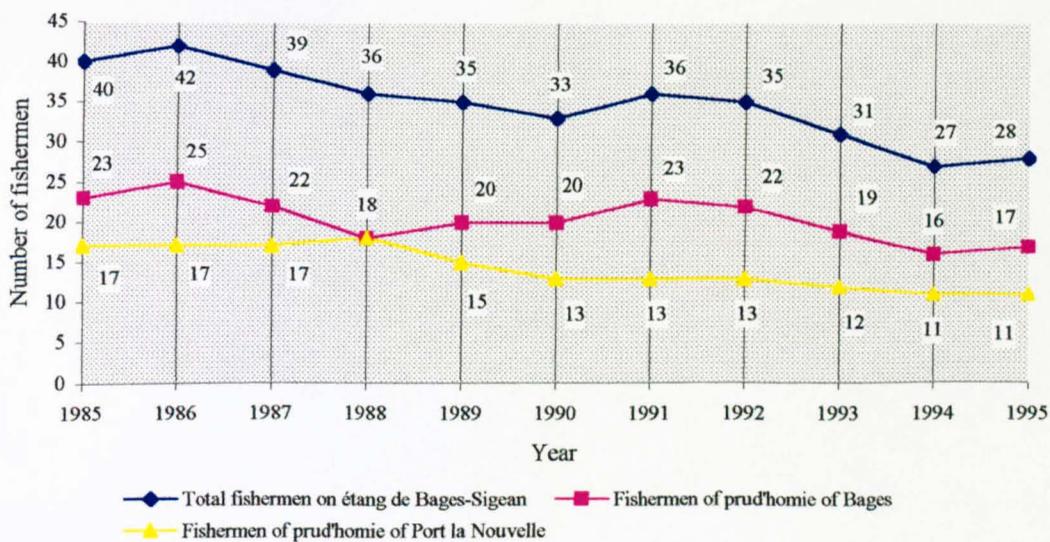


Figure 19. Fisheries of Bages-Sigean: percentage importance of principal species in total catches, averaged over 1985-1994

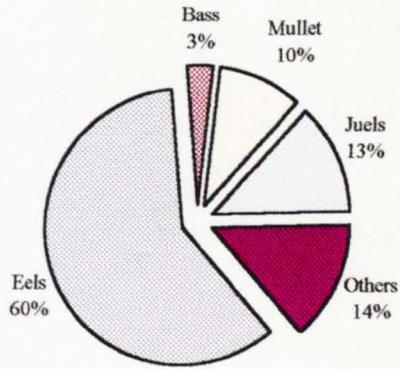


Figure 20. Fisheries of Bages-Sigean: percentage of annual turnover per principal species, averaged over 1985-1994

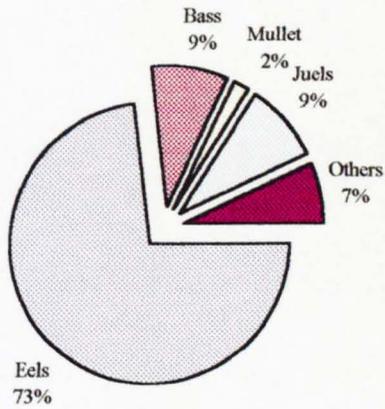


Figure 21. Bages (village): Fishermen and vines, 1929

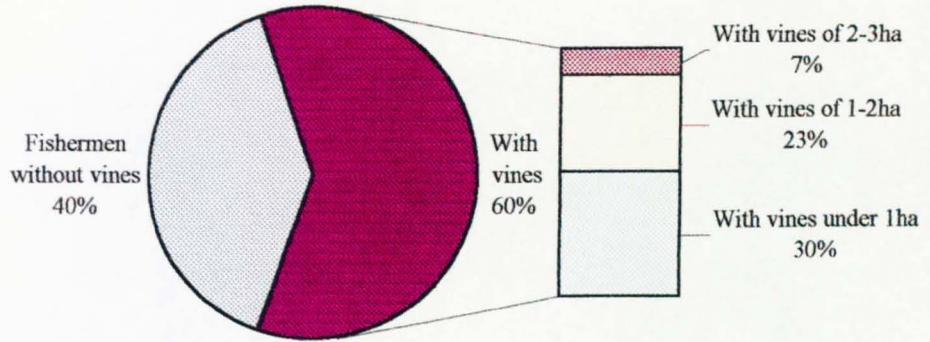


Figure 22. Bages (village): evolution in number of fishermen, 1876-1968

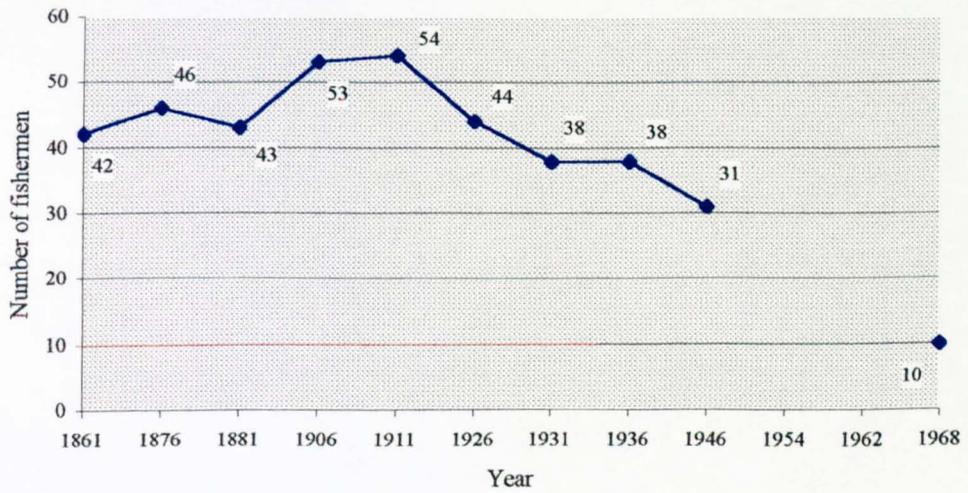


Figure 23. Commune of Bages: activity of female population by percentage, 1975-1990

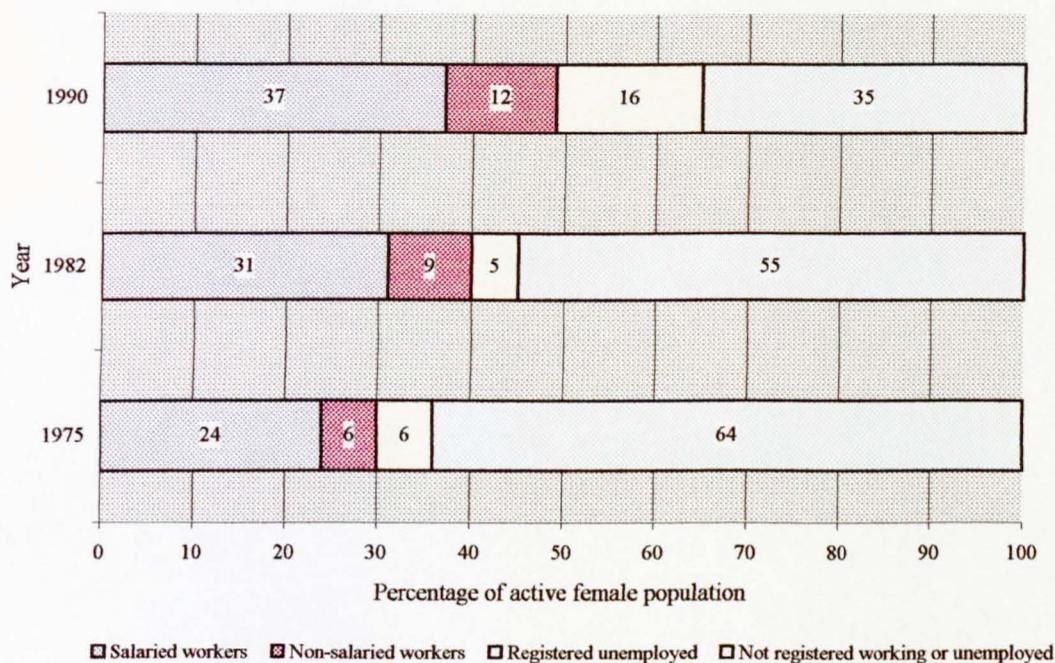


Figure 24. Commune of Bages: number of year-round homes and second homes, 1962-1990

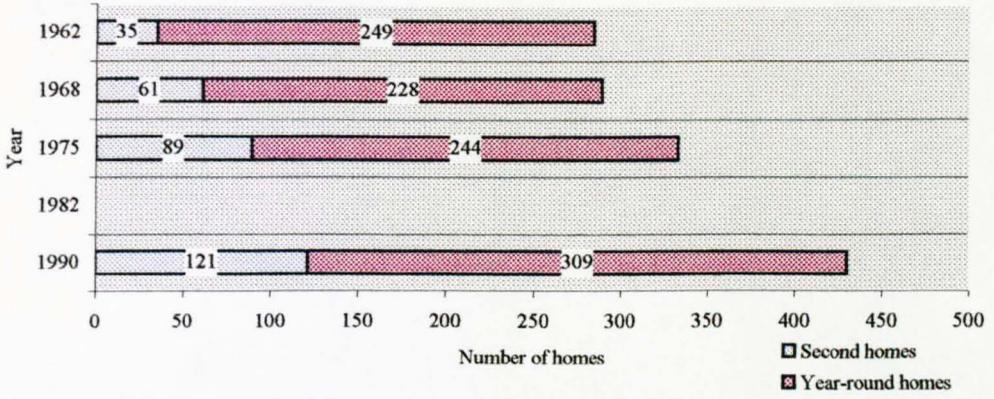
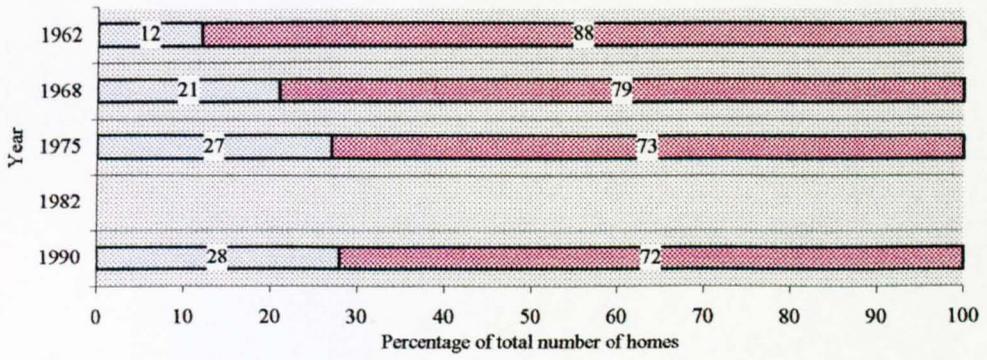


Figure 25. Commune of Bages: year-round homes & second homes by percentage of total homes, 1962-1990



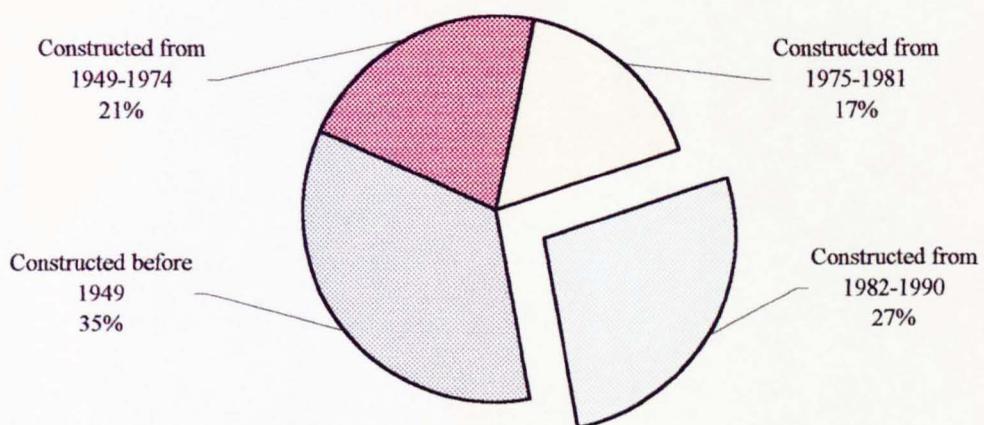


Figure 26. Commune of Bages: date of construction of houses by percentage of total, 1990

Figure 27. Commune of Bages: population and population distribution, 1836-1990

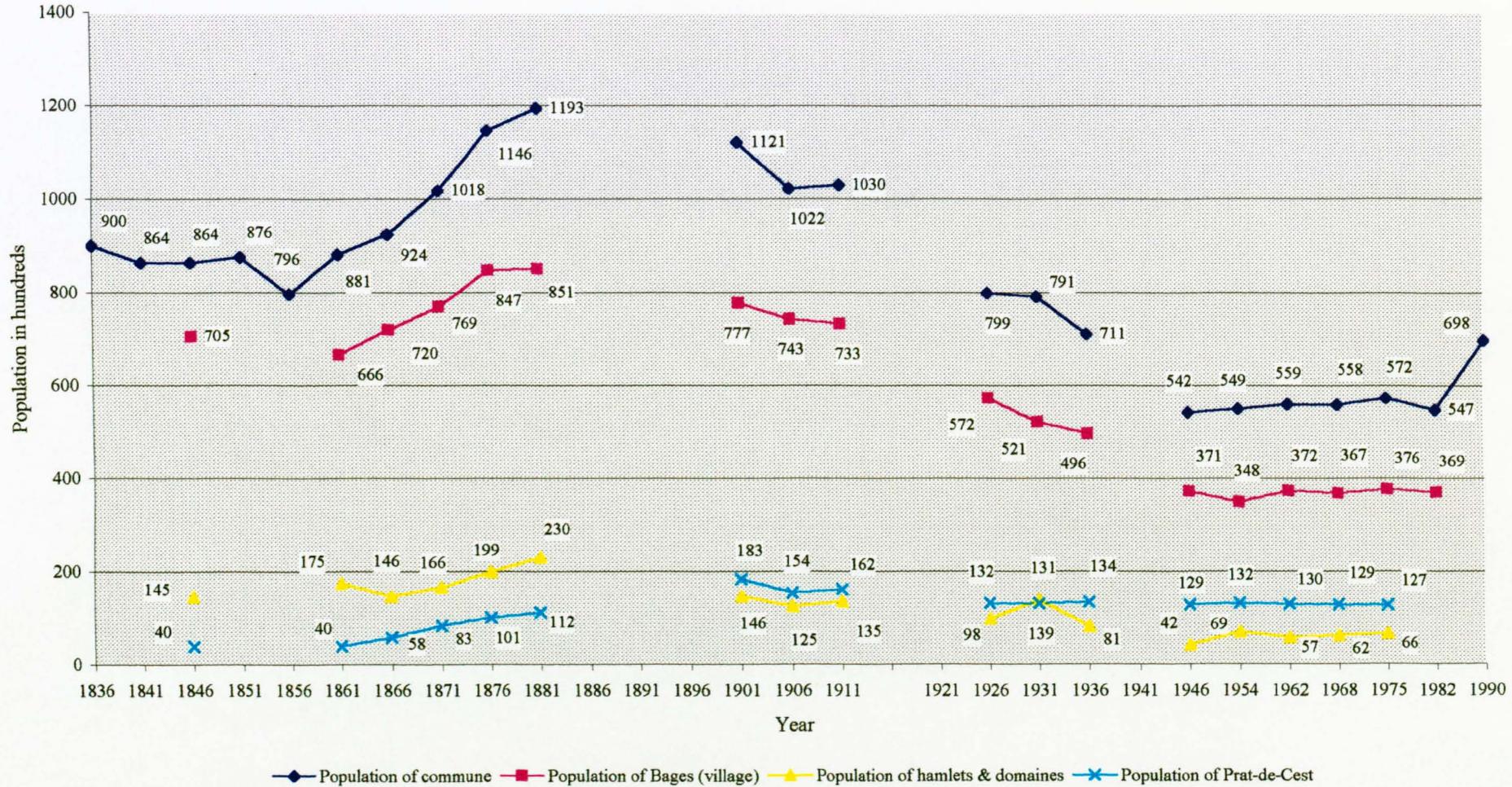


Figure 28. Rate of annual population variation (percentage) due to migration, communes of the Narbonne area, 1975-1990

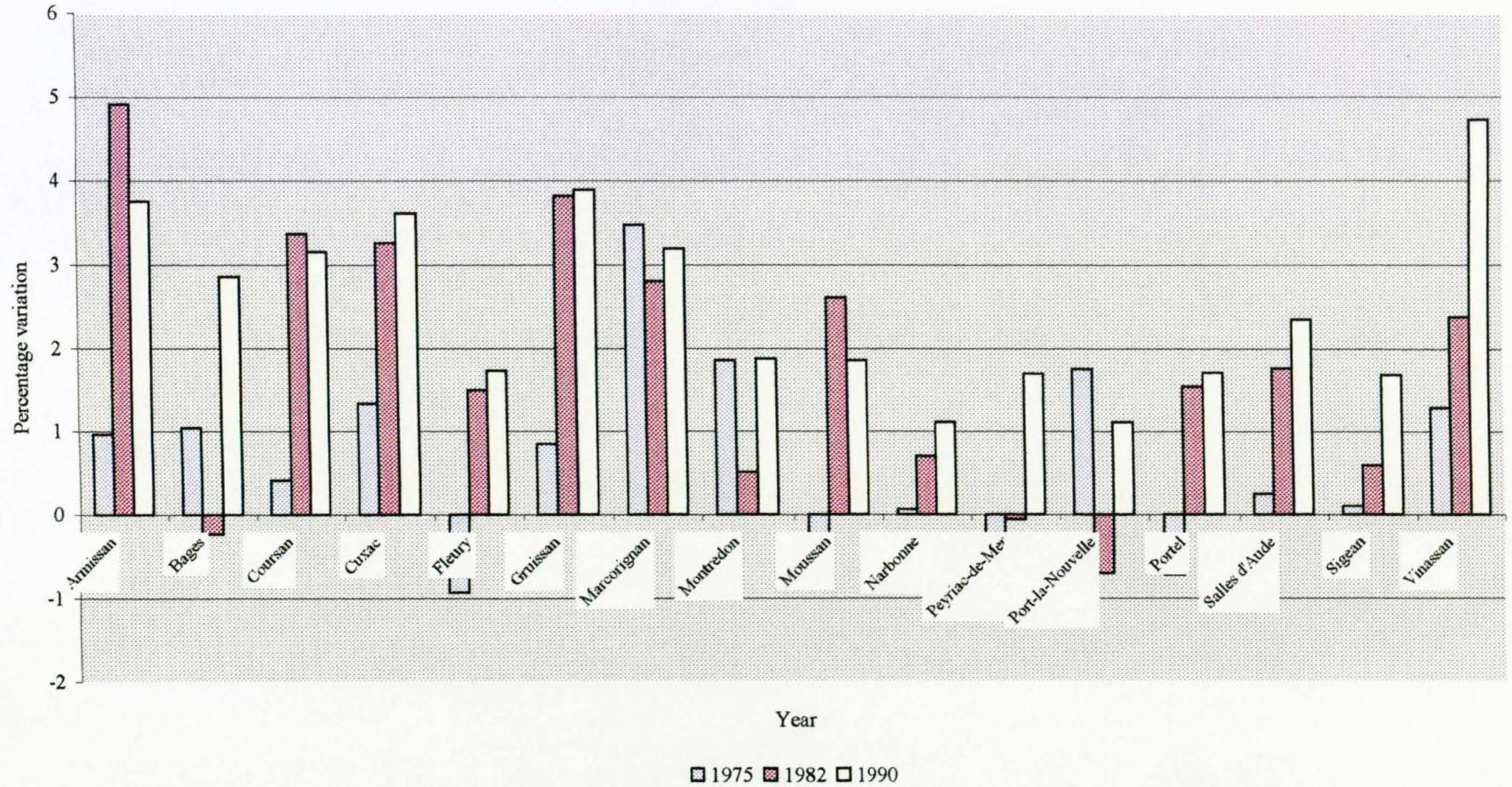


Table 1:

Census of 1906:		
Professions	In Bages (village)	In Prat-de- Cest, hamlets & domaines
Landowners	32	11
Estate managers	1	5
Estate wardens		2
Landowners - Wine Growers	7	3
Wine Growers	95	56
Day Labourers	3	2
Agricultural brokers	1	
Coopers	2	
Blacksmiths	4 (3)	
Farriers		1
Fishermen	53	
Fishmongers	8	
Fishing union representatives	1	
Shepherds	4	5
Salt merchants		1
Employees of salt works		2
Doctors	1	
Entrepreneurs	1	
Managers	1	
Priests	1	
Private income	22	3
Teachers	4	5
Clerks		1
Customs officials		1
Customs officials		2
Midwives	1	
Post clerks	1	
Postmen	1	
Rural policemen	1	
Bakers	10 (6)	
Butchers	2	
Carpenters	3 (2)	
Cobblers	3	
Grocers	3	4 (3)
Hairdressers	1	
Café owners	3	2
Masons	6 (5)	
Milkmen	2	
Seamstresses	4	
Tailors	1	
Watchmakers	1	
Wigmakers	1	
Carters/Carriers	2	
Commune workmen	3	1
Cooks		1
Coopers	1	
Gardeners		1
Ironing women	2	
Laundry women	1	
Maids	1	12
Quarriers		2

Source: Liste Nominative 1906

Table 2:

Census of 1926: Professions	In Bages (village)	In Prat-de Cest, hamlets & domaines
Landowners	35	8
Estate managers	1	6
Chiefs of cultivation		1
Estate wardens		1
Managers	4	8
Wine Growers	10	
Tenant farmers		1
Day Labourers	62	61
Coopers	2	
Blacksmiths	1	
Farriers		2
Fishermen	44	
Fishmongers	5	
Fishing union representatives	1	
Net-sowers	1	
Shepherds	1	4
Brokers	1	
Industrialists	1	
Priests	1	
Private income	20	5
Teachers	3	1
Attendants	1	
Midwives	1	
Postal administrators	1	
Postmen	1	
Post clerks	1	
Rural policemen	2	
Town hall clerks	1	
Bakers	2	
Butchers	1	
Carpenters	2 (1)	
Cobblers	1	
Embroideress	1	
Grocers	3 (2)	1
Hairdressers	1	
Café owners	1	2 (1)
Masons	7	
Mecanics	1	
Milkmen	3 (2)	
Seamstresses	5	
Wig-makers	1	
Commune workmen	3	
Cooks	3	1
Labourers	3	
Soldiers	1	
Tinkers	1	

Source: *Liste Nominative 1926*

Table 3:

Census of 1946:

Professions	In Bages (village)	In Prat-de- Cest, hamlets & domaines
Landowners	2	
Landowner-Wine Growers	21	4
Estate Managers		3
Wine Growers	7	
Farmers	4	1
Day Labourers	35	24
Labourers	1	3
Farm Servants		1
Wine brokers	2	1
Blacksmiths	1	
Farriers		1
Fishermen	31	
Fishmongers	1	
Shepherds	2	2
Beckkeepers	1	
Accountants	1	
Students	5	3
Teachers	2	1
Communal wardens		1
Office workers	1	
Postal workers	2	
Railwaymen	1	
Secretaries	1	
Telegraph managers		1
Town hall clerks	1	
Bakers	3 (2)	
Carpenters	1	
Cobblers	1	
Greengrocers	2	
Grocers	3	2
Café owners		1
Masons	3	
Mechanics	1	2
Seamstresses	3	
Commune workmen	4	
Drivers		1
Maids	1	
Travelling musicians	1	

Source: *Liste Nominative 1946*

Table 4:

Census of 1968: Professions	In Bages (village)	In Prat-de- Cest, hamlets & domains
Estate Managers	1	3
Wine Growers	13	9
Agricultural Workers	15	18
Day Labourers		1
Fishermen	10	
Fishmongers	1	
Shepherds		1
Private income	2	
Army officers	2	
Auxiliary nurses	1	
Directors	1	
Instructors		1
Managers		1
Nurses	1	
Social workers	1	
Sub-directors		1
Teachers	2	1
Artists	2	
Nuns		1
Potters		1
Students	22	4
Apprentices	1	
Bakers	1	
Café owners	1	
Carpenters	3 (2)	1
Grocers	1	
Hairdressers		1
Masons	11	2
Mirror dealers	1	
Plumbers	1	
Restaurateurs	1	
Shopkeepers	1	2
Commune workmen	2	
Cooks	1	
Delivery men	1	
Drivers	2	1
Foremen	1	
Home helpers	2	
Mechanics	2	2
Metal workers		1
Office workers	2	1
Petrol pump attendants	1	
Postal workers	2	1
Receptionists	1	
Refuse Collectors	1	1
Secretaries	2	1
Shop assistants	1	
Shorthand typists	1	
S.N.C.F.	1	
Switchboard operators	1	1
Tile-makers	1	
Workers	1	

Source: *Liste Nominative 1968*

Table 5. Social composition of the *commune* of Bages, 1906 - 1946

	1906			1926			1946		
	Total in Commune	In village	Elsewhere	Total in Commune	In Village	Elsewhere	Total in Commune	In village	Elsewhere
Agriculture (direct)	227	143	84	203	113	87	109	73	37
Agriculture (indirect)	7	6	1	5	3	2	6	3	3
Fishing (direct)	53	53		44	44		31	31	
Fishing (indirect)	9	9		7	7		1	1	
Bourgeoisie/Professionals	38	30	8	32	26	6	12	8	4
Middle Classes	9	4	5	8	8		8	6	2
Artisanal Classes	46	40	6	32	29	3	22	17	5
Working Classes	29	10	19	12	11	1	7	6	1

Source: *Listes Nominatives 1906, 1926, 1946*

Table 6. Social composition of the *commune* of Bages, 1968

	1968		
	Total of Commune	In Village	Elsewhere
Agriculture (direct)	61	29	32
Fishing (direct)	10	10	
Fishing (indirect)	1	1	
Bourgeoisie	2	2	
Professionals/ <i>Cadres moyens</i>	12	8	4
Other middle classes	30	24	6
Lower middle classes/Artisanal	28	22	6
Working classes	35	26	9

Source: *Liste Nominative 1968*

Table 7 Year	Population	Number of births	Average yearly birth rate	Number of deaths	Average yearly death rate	Population growth rate (real terms)	Average yearly pop. growth rate	Average yearly nat- ural growth	Average yearly migration
1851	876								
1852-1856	796	106	21.2	117	23.4	-80	-16	-2.2	-13.8
1857-1861	881	133	26.6	94	18.8	85	17	7.2	9.8
1862-1866	924	122	24.4	84	16.8	43	8.6	7.6	1
1867-1871		122	24.4	109	21.8		15.7	2.6	13.1
1872-1876	1146	141	28.2	72	14.4		32	13.8	18.2
1877-1881	1193	113	22.6	79	15.8	47	9.4	6.8	2.6
1882-1886		121	24.2	83	16.6		-3.6	7.6	-11.2
1887-1891		84	16.8	78	15.6		-3.6	1.2	-4.8
1892-1896		87	17.4	79	15.8		-3.6	1.6	-5.2
1897-1901	1121	91	18.2	76	15.2		-3.6	3	-6.6
1902-1906	1022	79	15.8	86	17.2	-99	-19.8	-1.4	-18.4
1907-1911	1030	67	13.4	79	15.8	8	1.6	-2.4	4
1912-1916		61	12.2	75	15		-15.4	-2.8	-12.6
1917-1921		48	9.6	101	20.2		-15.4	-10.6	-4.8
1922-1926	799	53	10.6	91	18.2		-15.4	-7.6	-7.8
1927-1931	791	45	9	114	22.8	-8	-1.6	-13.8	12.2
1932-1936	711	60	12	64	12.8	-80	-16	-0.8	-15.2
1937-1941		22	4.4	57	11.4		-16.9	-7	-9.9
1942-1946	542	14	2.8	57	11.4		-16.9	-8.6	-8.3
1947-1951		6	1.2	47	9.4		0.9	-8.2	9.1
1952-1956	549	23	4.6	69	13.8		0.9	-9.2	10.1
1957-1961		32	6.4	37	7.4		1.3	-1	2.3
1962-1966	559	37	7.4	46	9.2		-0.2	-1.8	1.6
1967-1971	558	38	7.6	55	11		-0.2	-3.4	3.2
1972-1976	572	34	6.8	46	9.2		2	-2.4	4.4
1977-1981		27	5.4	49	9.8		-3.6	-4.4	0.8
1982-1986	547	42	8.4	34	6.8		21.6	1.6	20
1987-1991	698	46	9.2	38	7.6		21.6	1.6	20
1992-1996		39	7.8	24	4.8			3	

Sources and Means of Calculation of Figures & Tables

Figure 3:

Source: INSEE 1992

Figure 4:

Source: INSEE 1991b

Figure 5:

Source: INSEE 1991b

Figure 7:

Source: *Listes Nominatives*

Figure 8:

Source: *Etats Civils, Listes Nominatives*

Means of Calculation: Average yearly migration rate is average yearly population growth rate per 5 year period minus average yearly natural growth rate per 5 year period (see table 7).

Figure 9:

Source: *Etats Civils*

Means of Calculation: Add total number of births per 5 year period, and divide by 5 (equals average yearly birth rate); add total numbers of deaths per 5 years period, and divide by 5 (equals average yearly death rate) (see table 7).

Figure 10:

Source: *Etats Civils, Listes Nominatives*

Means of Calculation: Average yearly population growth rate is total population growth per 5 year period divided by 5; average yearly natural growth rate is average yearly births per 5 year period minus average yearly deaths per 5 year period (see table 7).

Figure 11:

Source: *Listes Nominatives, INSEE 1991b*

Figure 12:

Source: *Etats Civils, Listes Nominatives*, INSEE 1991b

Means of Calculation: See figure 8

Figure 13:

Source: *Etats Civils*

Means of Calculation: See figure 9

Figure 14:

Source: *Etats Civils, Listes Nominatives*, INSEE 1991b

Means of Calculation: See figure 10

Figure 15:

Source: *Liste Nominative* 1926 (c.f. table 2)

Figure 16:

Source: *Liste Nominative* 1946 (see table 3)

Figure 17:

Source: *Liste Nominative* 1968 (see table 4)

Figure 18:

Source: Loste & Dusserre 1996

Figure 19:

Source: Loste & Dusserre 1996

Figure 20:

Source: Loste & Dusserre 1996

Figure 21:

Source: ADA 13 m 385

Figure 22:

Source: *Liste Nominatives*

Figure 23, 24, 25 & 26:

Source: INSEE 1992

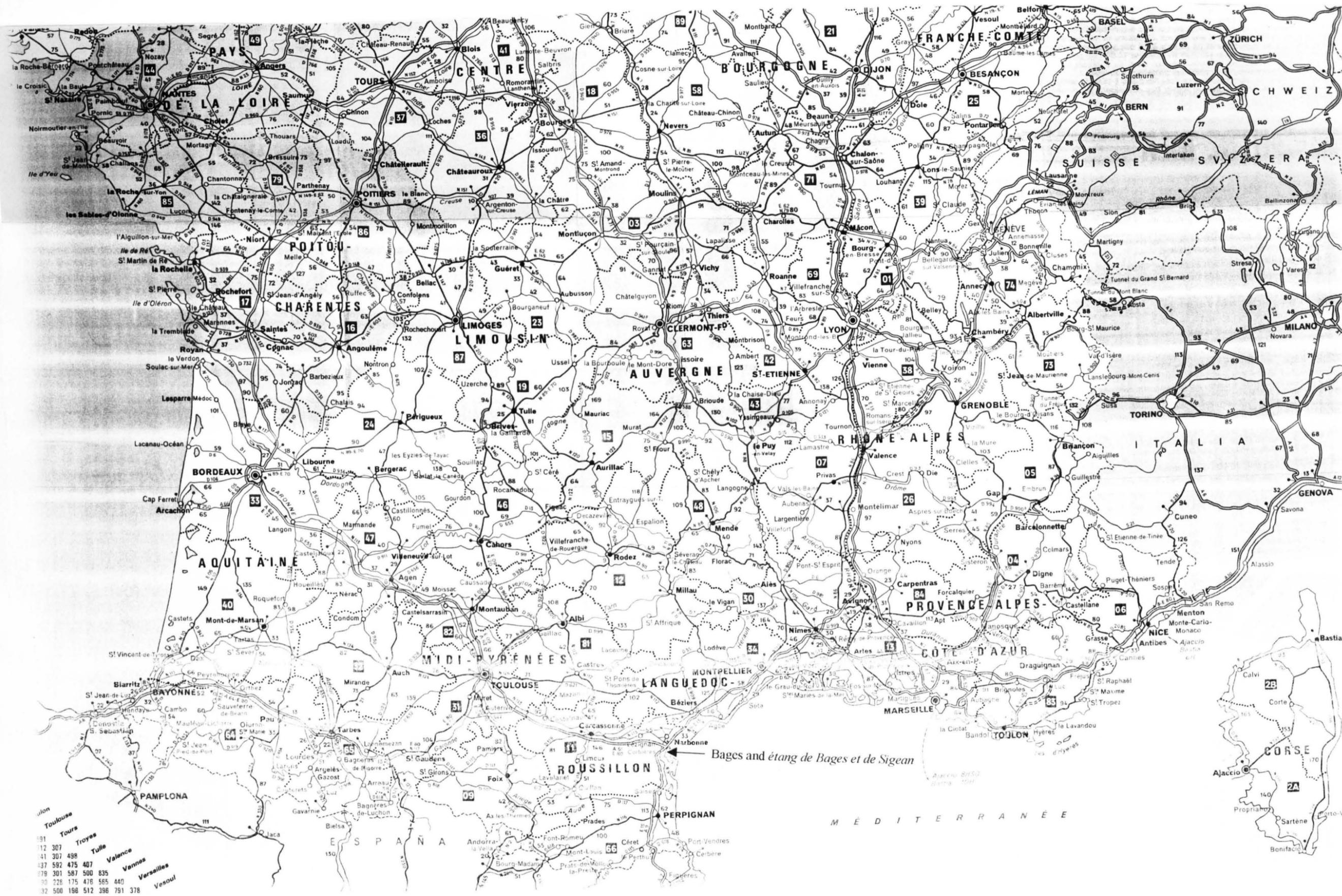
Figure 27:

Source: *Listes Nominatives*, INSEE 1991b

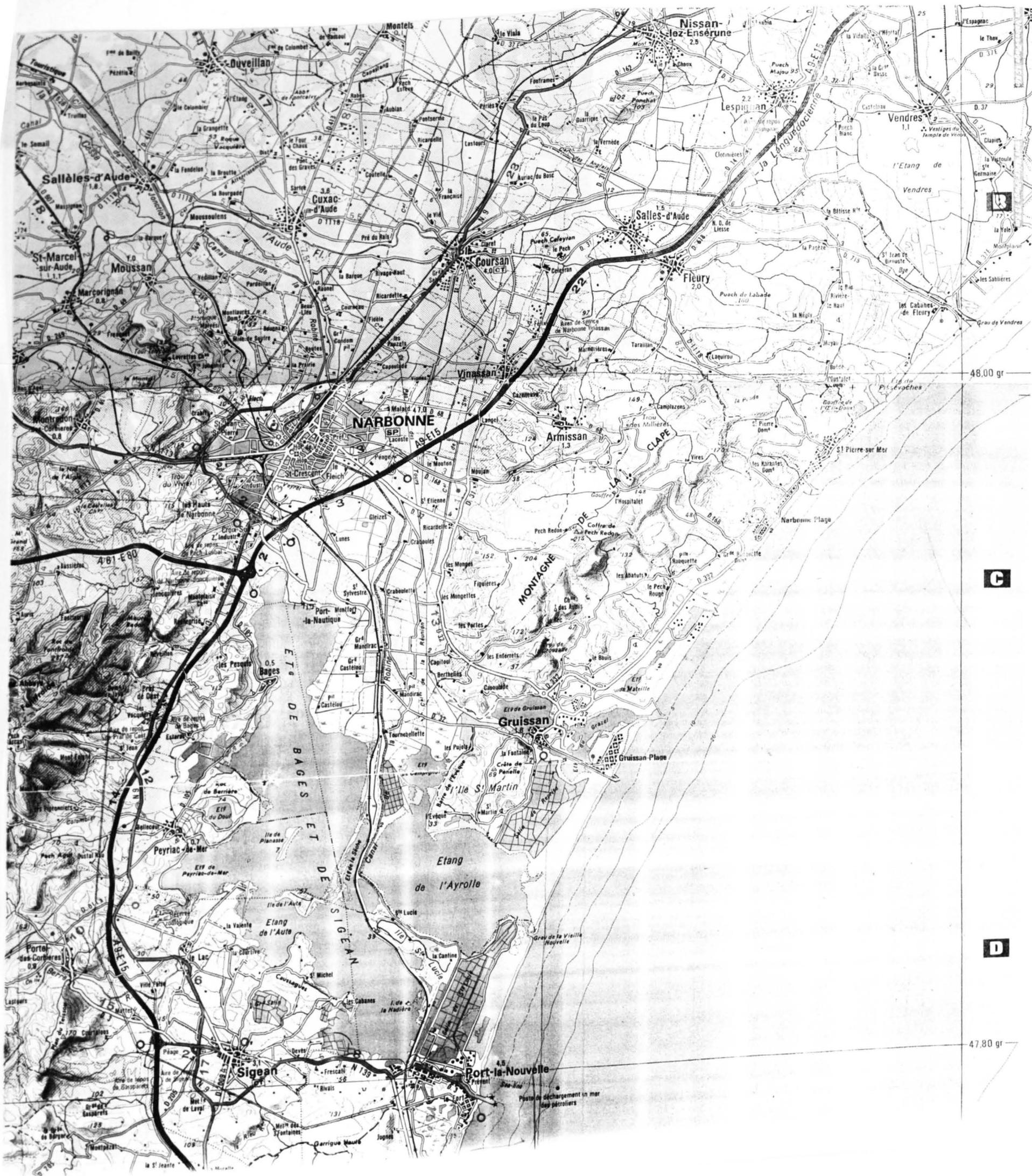
Figure 28:

Source: INSEE 1991a

APPENDIX III
MAPS



Map 1. Languedoc-Roussillon and southern France
 Source: Michelin 910—France départementale et administrative



Map 3. The étang de Bages et de Sigean and surroundings
 Source: IGN SERIE VERTE 72 (Béziers-Perpignan)

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