Chapter 3

RITUALS OF PLEASURE IN THE LAND OF TREASURES: WINE CONSUMPTION AND THE MAKING OF FRENCH IDENTITY IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

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I have always professed the highest esteem and even a sort of veneration for the noble wine of the Rhine; it sparkles like champagne, it revives [réchauffe] like Burgundy, it satiates [lénitie le gosier] like Bordeaux... it makes us tender like the lacryma-christi; finally, above all, it causes us to dream." So begins "Le bourgmestre en bouteille" or "The Burgermeister in the Bottle," an immensely popular French tale of adventure from the late nineteenth century. "Le bourgmestre" was a standard story in the widely circulated, popular anthology Contes et romans populaires, by Emile Erckmann and Alexandre Chatrian. The story is about two Frenchmen who have a chance meeting on the road to Schloss Johannisberg in the autumn of 1846. Both are wine lovers on their way to survey the harvest of Germany's Rheingau region. Both men are drawn to Germany because of an uneasy mix of admiration for the regional wines and apprehension about the wine's origin.

They travel on horseback through the vineyards of Rheingau, arriving well into the evening at a modest inn. In the warm, cozy dining area, a golden baked ham flanked by two bottles of wine—one red and one white—awaits the tired travelers. Both men agree to begin the meal with the deeply pigmented red wine of the region. Both eagerly raise their glasses. Ludwig, the more temperate of the two travelers, drains his glass, only to be immediately overcome by a profound sadness that seems to reach deep into his soul. Hippel—who is likened to Silenus, an old, bearded, woodland satyr who attended Bacchus—enthusiastically depletes his glass, smacking his lips with pleasure. He swiftly consumes the entire bottle and orders a second. Ludwig, somewhat confused by his melancholy, sips a glass of white wine and watches the jovial Hippel continue his meal. He isn't quite sure whether the slowly creeping sadness transforming Hippel's face by the end of the meal is real or simply imagined.

At three in the morning, after a brief, fitful sleep, both Frenchmen awake with an uncontrollable desire to flee. Both have had bizarre dreams. Both sense that something has taken hold of their souls. It is the usually merry Hippel who is the most agitated. As he explains to Ludwig: "I feel that two contrary principles are struggling within me: one black and one white, the principles of good and evil." Ludwig is convinced that the wine is to blame. This conviction becomes stronger as Hippel recounts a dream in which he is transformed into a German burgermeister who owns a small vineyard. The miserly burgermeister lives to amass more wealth. He appreciates neither the land's treasured beauty nor the rich pleasures of the vine. Indeed, his soul seems detached from both the treasures and the pleasures. The burgermeister dies while idly coveting a neighbor's vineyard; few mourn his loss. At the end of the dream, only the flies seem eager to attend to the burgermeister's rotting corpse.

Hippel and Ludwig try to forget the dream at daybreak by setting off into the vineyards. Despite the beauty all around them, the travelers remain deeply troubled by the sense of déjà vu that overwhelms Hippel. Several brief conversations reveal that the German burgermeister of Hippel's dream was not sheer fantasy. Driven by a mixture of disbelief and nagging fear, Hippel and Ludwig race to the burial plot of the burgermeister and at his tomb they discover not only the secret of their currently troubled souls but also the source of the vague, unspecified doubts about the wines of the Rhine that prompted the journey of the two curious Frenchmen. They discover a wall "covered with magnificent vines, so heavy with grapes that one bunch simply toppled over the next." The tomb itself is wrapped with vines so thick that they remind the friends of a "boa gorging on its prey." The roots of the vines are equally impressive, penetrating deep within the tomb. A peasant with a sinister smile approaches to explain that this is the tomb of the burgermeister. Brief glances are exchanged between the two compatriots. Abruptly, Hippel huries himself upon the peasant. "Scoundrel! You made me drink the soul of the burgermeister!" he bellows. Ludwig wraps his arms around Hippel and struggles to restrain him; they tumble backward. Pressing against the hard, cold wall of the tomb, the melancholy of the two Frenchmen lifts. Both understand that their search has ended. Both realize what had made them so dubious about German wines. The lesson is clear: good wine is not the simple product of the soil; it is the product of the soul.

The symbolic and revelatory power of a popular story like "Le bourgmestre en bouteille" made it a basic building block of the French national imagination. Although this tale was intended for adults, it was much like G. Bruno's immensely popular Le tour de la France par deux enfants, a classic children's story about two "grown-up" boys who venture
Historians have studied the travels of the two main characters of *Le tour de la France*, André and Julien, to understand the formation of collective identity at the turn of the century. Intended as a reader for French schoolchildren, the story of the excursion of André and Julien strove to demonstrate that regional differences in France were “gifts to the nation” that come together to create a unique “French temperament.” By the time “Le bourgeois en bouteille” was published, several generations of French men and women had mastered Bruno’s primer in school. Readers were familiar with the notion that all the regions of France were linked, trading products as well as their intrinsic qualities.

Hippel’s and Ludwig’s story, in many ways, continues this earlier journey of André and Julie. The two adult heroes pass through territory on foot and horseback, and it is the physical contact with the land that gives the journey its intensity. Unlike their younger counterparts, however, Hippel and Ludwig pass into a foreign land, making this more than a tranquil survey of German territory. The two Frenchmen, through their encounters, instruct the adult reader that wines, much like nations, possess eternal, natural qualities that reveal much about the soul, the guardian of supreme spiritual values. The tale of the passage through German vineyards links wine and its consumption with the quintessentially French concept of *terroir*. A term with no precise equivalent in English, *terroir* has been generally applied as a descriptor for the holistic combination in a vineyard environment of soil, climate, topography, and “the soul” of the wine producer. *Terroir*, as elaborated during this period, was seen as the source of distinctive wine-style characteristics detailed at the beginning of “Le bourgeois en bouteille.” Apart from any specific historical era, political regime, or social structure, wine consumption and *terroir* were fundamental references that the collective “France” elaborated for itself in the late nineteenth century. Stories like “Le bourgeois en bouteille” were a success in no small part because they identified, articulated, and promoted the connection between France’s collective genius and her material world. Historians generally view this late-nineteenth-century period as crucial for both the emergence of a mass, consumer culture and the creation of national consciousness. This was a time of rapid change, the beginnings of a modern revolution in consumption in which social groups and their environments were dramatically transformed. “The French, in their search for new social devices to express cohesion and identity amidst this change, developed a complex relationship to food and drink.”

This extraordinary relationship between the French and cuisine has not gone unnoticed by scholars. Cultural anthropologists, for example, have traced the spread of the vine and wine as symbols in the Mediterranean. Historians, particularly practitioners of the Annales school, have focused on wine as an element of diet, examining drinking patterns over the centuries. While this research tells us much about conditions of everyday life and the cultural landscape of viticulture, we still understand relatively little about the importance of wine as a means of expressing both social stratification and cultural solidarity. We understand little about how wine’s symbolic power is, in Pierre Bourdieu’s words, “transformed, that is to say unrecognizable, transfigured, and legitimated, form of the other types of power.”

Rituals of Pleasure

Hippel and Ludwig were not atypical Frenchmen. At least they were not atypical when we regard their consumption patterns: three bottles of wine—two red, one white—with a single meal. Consumption patterns across time, particularly regarding drink, are notoriously difficult to assess. As Michael Marrus noted in his study of social drinking in France, “in-ebriation in times past becomes quickly blurred in the collective memory,” and official statistics of consumption are often inaccurate because of the rich tradition of fraud and tax evasion in the wine and liquor industry. Despite these flaws, which tend to skew any data downward, historians agree that there are some general trends that can be discerned. Official statistics for the nineteenth century suggest that there was a “great collective binge” that took place in France as the century drew to a close. Total alcohol consumption per adult in France increased by 50 percent after 1830; wine consumption, in particular, showed a sharp increase beginning in the 1890s. Historians agree that during this late-nineteenth-century period wine became “a ubiquitous and daily beverage.” Hippel and Ludwig were neither drinking generously nor alone. “This is the time,” wrote Marrus, “it turns out, in the era sometimes known as la belle époque, that Frenchmen drank the most.”

By the 1890s, when “Le bourgeois” was first published, this liberal consumption was the focus of public concern, and a shrill attack was launched on overindulgence. Complaints about excessive drink, particularly those directed at the lower classes, were neither new to this era nor limited to France. What was new for France, however, was the sense of urgency to the complaints and the public consciousness of drinking within French society. Indeed, the French Senate elevated the discussion to one of national importance with the publication of an intensive study of the problem in 1887. Drink was seen as weakening France’s productive and reproductive capacities. Patriotic posters cried, “The Fatherland is in
Several temperance organizations were founded in a nation that had long rejected the temperance movement. Throughout the 1890s, as one historian notes, “a flood of pamphlets, articles, lectures, and statements by public personalities began to rain down on a hitherto insouciant public.” The prestigious Academy of Medicine admonished the French that excessive drink would assure the decline of the nation.

The fictional Frenchmen, Hippel and Ludwig, of course, were à table in 1846, long before this general alarm regarding drink sounded. Readers of the story in the 1890s, at the peak of the antialcohol fervor, nonetheless would not have been appalled as the two Frenchmen imbied their favorite libation. Quite the contrary. The chosen beverage, wine, was viewed, in the words of a contemporary, as “good for one’s health and good for the nation.” The connection between wine and health is probably most vividly revealed in the language of the late nineteenth century. Fermented drinks—wine, cider, beer—were not designated in the French language under the word alcohol (alcool) and thus were not associated with discussions of alcoholism (alcoolisme) or excessive alcoholic consumption. Wine was termed, even among temperance organizers, as a boisson hygiénique, a healthy drink. Commercial interests bolstered the linguistic association through marketing and legislative efforts. The wine industry, for example, marketed specialty wines as a form of hygiene such as “Grand Vin de Santé” or “Vin de Champagne diétique.” Meanwhile, health professionals at the Grande Pharmacie on the boulevard Haussman in Paris sold a house brand of “Médicinal Champagne” for a range of ailments.

Temperance organizations never took a stand for total abstinence, in keeping with this general French view that wine drinking was an essential component of good hygiene. Historians trace the roots of the wine-health connection in France back to the Middle Ages, when knowledge of the physiological effects of wine was an important part of the practice of medicine. This was reinforced during the eighteenth century when philosophers, encyclopedists, and technicians turned their attention to the “science” of food, dining, and drink. An intense interest in the science of gastronomy developed by the 1820s. New taste professionals in France, such as Brillat-Savarin and Alexandre Grimod de La Reynière, enumerated some of the fundamental truths of the “science,” as it was termed, in books, pamphlets, and journals. One of those “truths,” according to Brillat-Savarin, was that “[t]he fate of nations depends on how they are fed.” Romantic-era gastronomy linked the combined contribution of food and wine not only to a diner’s health but also to the health of the nation.

Less than half a century later, with the festering sense of shame over the loss of French territory to Prussia in the 1870s, the fate of the nation appeared to depend on drink. Wine as the boisson hygiénique emerged as the key to both personal and national health. Scientific and medical studies concluded that the best solution for controlling excessive drinking and alcoholism was to create stricter state controls of distilled beverages, like spirits and absinthe, while increasing distribution of wine. A regularly cited study of the French military garrison in Bordeaux, for example, concluded that soldiers who marched after drinking wine were “less tired and went along the road singing and chanting refrains in cadence.” This was in sharp contrast to beer-drinking soldiers, who were “sluggish, marched with a heavy step . . . and reached the finishing point worn out, exhausted.” In light of this scientific evidence, the Academy of Medicine, the same group which had admonished the French about excessive drink, endorsed the increase in wine consumption. The medicalization of society had given the early “science” of gastronomy new authority. Far from being a cause of decline and social disorder, wine was deemed the source of national renewal.

Hippel and Ludwig, partaking of the chosen beverage, understand that wine is more than fermented grape juice. Even in a nation with a rich democratic tradition, all wines, not all boissons hygiéniques, were equal.

Indeed, there were two distinct types of wine production in France: one that created expensive wines deemed to be of high quality that had a hierarchical classification system, and another that created cheaper, mass-produced wines that were deemed to be of lesser quality. Ludwig, the narrator of the story, illustrates the importance of these distinctions when he compares “the noble wines of the Rhine” not to a local pinard of the peasantry or the liters of ordinary wines consumed by the Parisian working classes, but to the wines of France’s prestigious production areas of Champagne, Burgundy, and Bordeaux. The intrinsic, almost sacred qualities of these wines warranted their linkage to no less than the sacrificial tears of Christ. These were the wines of the dominant social and political classes, who were defined “not only in relation to the means of production, but by knowledge and taste.” These were the wines that came to be most closely associated with France.

Historians have pointed to the years between 1870 and 1914 as a period of rapid change when social groups and their environments were dramatically transformed, resulting in a search for “new social devices to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations.” Knowledge and taste, expressed through wine consumption, were central to this process. Consumption of fine wines was a visible sign of rank and class membership for the aspiring elite in public space. The emergence of restaurants brought formerly private rituals into the public sphere and shifted gastronomy, including fine-wine consumption, to a central place in social life. Gastronomy was concerned not only with classifying wines but also with teaching “how to put them on the table in such
an order as to produce for the guests an enjoyment constantly increasing." Fine wine and the rituals surrounding its consumption were a source of solidarity and legitimation, setting apart the wine and those who consumed it from less-affluent consumers of common wines. As Jean-Paul Aron has stated, it was "à table that the nineteenth century began to define itself; it is à table that business deals are made, ambitions declared, marriages arranged," and in this way, food, drink, and their consumption became a part of emerging nineteenth-century rituals of membership.

The two fictional Frenchmen, with time and money for a leisurely visit to the vineyards, are the embodiment of French knowledge and taste. They are taste experts, connoisseurs, through both temperament and education. "The very principle of connoisseurship," writes ethnographer Robert Ulin, "implies not only a recognition of distinctiveness but an intuitive judgment of qualities thought to be objective." Ludwig is the prototype of this objectivity as he delineates the distinctive style characteristics of French wines. It is ultimately this objectivity in his ability to discern distinctiveness that exposes the flaws in German wine and saves his friend's soul.

Connoisseurship, however, depends also on "intuitive judgment" or good taste. Taste, as Pierre Bourdieu and others remind us, is a term laden with contradictions. Taste can be improved with proper education. Yet taste, as Leora Auslander demonstrates in her excellent examination of the construction of taste in modern France, is also understood to be first and foremost "innate and emotional." With his "large fleshy nose, a unique mouth for degustation, [and] a three-story belly," Hippel was born ready to savor wine. His racial characteristics could be read as a visible sign that, as one writer noted, "gastronomic taste is innate in the French race." As a descendent of a mythical noble savage—Silenus, an old, bearded, woodland satyr who attended Bacchus—he appears as a link between an ancient Rousseauian past, where sensual pleasures were unthreatened by civilization, and the good life of modern France at the end of the bourgeois century. Taste, as interpreted by the objective yet innately endowed connoisseur, offered a bridge between the hedonism of luxury wines, which were originally associated exclusively with the frivolity and decadence of aristocrats, and the middle-class ethos of frugality, self-denial, and civic responsibility of la Belle Époque.

Good taste is both constituted and represented by the two Frenchmen of "Le bourgeois et en bouteille." This is demonstrated by the sharp contrast of their German counterpart, the miserly burgermeister. Physically the burgermeister is described as large and flabby, with grey eyes, large nose, and thin, tightly pursed lips. He appears "heavy, thick, and dense," attributes assigned equally to "German thought, literature, and art" and "Black Forest meatballs" by one French author. He has none of the physical attributes or sensory skills necessary for the practice of good taste.

This explains why he notices none of the sensual pleasures of his surroundings. Most shocking to the two fictional Frenchmen are his diet and rituals of consumption. The German wakes in the morning and stuffs a crust of bread in his pocket, which he will chew as he surveys his property. "Une croûte de pain" exclaims Hippel, "Is it necessary to be so stingy, so miserly?" Lunch is no better for the burger, who demands that some boiled beef (bouillie) and a few potatoes be prepared by his cook. "A wretched dinner!" the exasperated Hippel cries. Not a drop of wine is consumed; not a single ritual of pleasure is a part of the solitary life of the burgermeister.

The burgermeister has transgressed boundaries of class by transgressing the boundaries of good taste. Good taste was, as Ludwig suggests, learnable. Acquiring good taste meant learning to discern distinctions through studied consumption of quality wines. Certain groups—especially the bourgeoisie of Europe and North America, who could afford quality French wines—were well positioned to improve their knowledge of taste. The prices of Champagne, Burgundy, and Bordeaux wines assured that they were consumed by a limited clientele, but new marketing techniques had broadened this circle of clients and increased demand. The German burgermeister, despite his class position, seems to lack some intrinsic quality that could be nurtured or cultivated into good taste. The author suggests that the missing quality was "Frenchness."

The contrast between the two Frenchmen and the German instructs the reader that good taste, at its base, was an "inevitable and natural emanation of national character." Taste could not be purchased or, more important, taught to someone who did not already possess a foundation as part of a national legacy. Appreciation of the pleasures of French wine was a marker of good taste. And good taste, like good wine, as this story instructs, came naturally from French soil. "Doesn't good taste grow spontaneously on French soil?" one French writer queried in 1896. "Yes, it is an indigenous plan, but one which, nevertheless needs cultivation in order to bear its delicate fruit." By the turn of the century, innate, national taste and "authentic" quality wines were so intertwined, so "rooted" in France that it was difficult to invoke one without eliciting the other. Although French luxury wines could serve as symbols of social stratification, the wines of France, more generally, and the unique terroir that produced them were encrusted with myths of national genius.

**Land of Treasures**

"French soil enjoys the privilege of producing naturally and in abundance the best vegetables, the best fruits, the best wines in the world," wrote the famous French chef and gastronome Auguste Escoffier. French wines were regional products associated with the soil, which had an unshakable popular reputation, affirmed by writers, historians, and geographers for
being uniquely rich, fertile, and productive—a national treasure. Hippel’s and Ludwig’s adventure in Germany is, above all, a story about the unique eternal, natural qualities embodied in the term terroir. Terroir was the source of distinctive wine-style characteristics detailed at the beginning of “Le bourgmestre en bouteille”; terroir was the source of the transfer of the “soul” of the burgermeister. The sharp contrast with Germany in “Le bourgmestre” elaborates the qualities of French terroir and offers reassurance to readers that the “barometers” of the soul—wine and terroir—confirm that in the struggle of the “two contrary principles...one black and one white, the principles of good and evil,” the principles of good ultimately prevail in France.

Terroir is a much-debated term within the wine industry even today. Opinions differ greatly on the reality of terroir in determining wine quality. A combination of soil, topography, and climate are said to create a unique terroir that, according to the Oxford Companion to Wine, “is reflected in its wines more or less consistently from year to year, to some degree regardless of variations in methods of viticulture and wine-making.” Each plot of vines, like the one over the tomb of the burgermeister, and ultimately each region, like that of the Rhine, has a unique terroir that ultimately creates a distinct wine-style characteristic. The precise conditions of each terroir cannot be duplicated and, by extension, neither can the wines that each terroir produces.

Terroir, as the fictional Hippel and Ludwig demonstrate, has historically been interpreted to extend beyond these natural components. In a recently published work on the influence of geology on wine, Hugh Johnson, the world’s best-selling wine author, argues that “Terroir, of course, means much more than what goes on below the surface. Properly understood, it means the whole ecology of the vineyard: every aspect of its surroundings from bedrock to late frosts to autumn mists, not excluding the way the vineyard is tended, nor even the soul of the vigneron.” The science of terroir with the study of microclimates and soils, while still the subject of debate, appears to lend credibility to many claims regarding the role of the natural environment in determining wine quality. It is, however, the almost mystical quality—“the soul of the vigneron”—added to the definition of terroir that continues to make the subject controversial among viticulturalists, historians, and geographers.

A search for the mystical roots of terroir takes us back to the era when the story of Ludwig and Hippel was first published. “Le bourgmestre en bouteille,” much like La tour de la France and others of this genre, was successful because it both demonstrated and promoted the notion of the “authentic” France as an organic entity. This was firmly grounded in the new science of French geography that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century. Geography in France, as articulated by its most revered practitioner Vidal de la Blache, provided a multifaceted analysis of the “natural” state of France, with its symbiotic relationship between people and landscape. Central to Vidal de la Blache’s classic works, most notably Tableau de la geographie de France (1903), is the view that environment, shaped by internal and external factors, determines the way of life (genre de vie) of a locality and its people. According to this logic, a country can only be understood through its environment as determined by its geomorphology. France’s geography, according to Vidal de la Blache, situated it at the crossroads of Europe, the crossroads of “the civilized peoples.”

France was more than the historical synthesis of all these civilizations; it was the culmination of civilization. Vidal’s formulation of France, one historian has noted, “clearly owned something to nongeographical considerations.” Breaking from popular nineteenth-century ideas that linked climate to a theory of natural borders, Vidal de la Blache argued that France was a unity because of its “personality.” This French personality, he argued, was a result of its diversity. Within the small area that was France, he noted that geomorphological evolution had created diverse conditions that interacted to create France. It was man, however, that ultimately established the link between the disparate features produced by nature. The diversity of people within France, reflected in regional identities, gave the nation a unique ability to assimilate and “transform what it received.” France was an organic entity with a diversity of related parts, all of which supposedly gave the nation its unique personality.

While other nineteenth-century writers such as Jules Michelet would argue that France’s personality emanated from Paris, Vidal de la Blache and his followers emphasized the importance of rural France, the France of pays. Throughout his body of work, Vidal de la Blache gave a great deal of attention to detailing local life. He emphasized local names for regions and types of landscape, commenting on the intimate connection between the land and people. Often he contrasted these regional appellations with the sterility of generic labels created by politicians or scholars. Vidal de la Blache looked to the soil and its inhabitants in search of France’s personality, the roots of France’s genius. Throughout his works are almost lyrical passages describing the rich relations between place and population. Indeed, the real life of France was the world of the people of rural France, who “embodied the genius loci that laid the groundwork for our national existence.”

Neither Vidal nor his followers attempted to find any scientific explanation or “necessary principle” explicit in nature for the existence of France. For the founder of French geography, there was no doubt that France was a gift, a land of treasures. “It is the abundance of ‘goods of the earth,’ as old folks say, that for them is identical with the name of France,” he wrote at the beginning of Tableau. “For the German, Germany is above all an ethnic idea. What the Frenchman sees in France, as his homesickness shows when he is away, is the bounty of the earth and the pleasure
of living on it." This indissoluble relation between the French and their natural world was eternal for Vidal de la Blache.

The work of French geographers such as Vidal de la Blache was adopted by the republican government of the Third Republic as part of its standard pedagogy for generations of French schoolchildren. While the geography texts created by Vidal de la Blache and his followers did not explicitly link agricultural products with the French personality, the elevation of the rural world to the center of a transcendent French civilization created a new prestige for regional products emanating from the soil. Wine, in particular, with its importance as the national boisson hygiénique, was a material manifestation of the holistic relationship between the people and the natural environment. Indeed, statements found in popular scientific works show a belief in an animating spirit shared by people and wine. It is this notion of the animating spirit that underlies the story of Hippel and Ludwing. The adventures of the two Frenchmen instruct the reader that wine was the realization of a nation's personality, its spirit in the material world. Wine consumption and terroir were fundamental references that the collective "France" elaborated for itself in the late nineteenth century. Stories like "Le bourgmestre en bouteille" were a success in no small part because they identified, articulated, and promoted the connection, established by the sciences of gastronomy and geography, between France's collective genius and her material world.

Hippel and Ludwing know that French wines could serve as symbols of social stratification. But as good Frenchmen, they see the wines of France more generally as the centerpiece of Frenchness, the foundation of national genius. Wine, just like the treasured land at the crossroads of civilized peoples, became the common property of all classes of French society in the democratic discourse found in these travel stories of early Third Republic France. References to a particular regional wine might be used to signal social class, but references to French wine in both popular stories and national debates about issues ranging from public health to agricultural legislation were designed to evoke shared national character traits. In this way, wine became a complex symbol, used to delineate class boundaries and yet at the same time evoked as a unifying national patrimony. Good wine and good taste, as Hippel and Ludwing teach their readers, was characteristic of France. Wine was part of an essential "ritual of pleasure" that symbolized the superiority of the French people, blessed with a "land of treasures." 

Notes

1. *Laodryma christi* has a double meaning here. It refers to both the sacrificial tears of Christ and an excellent wine from the slopes of Beaujolais. Special thanks to my colleague Antonio Calabria for drawing attention to this double meaning. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank William V. Bielert, James McDonald, and Warren Belasco for their careful reading of this essay.

3. *Le tour de France par deux enfants* was a reader for elementary school children published in 1877 which sold six million copies by 1901. In their study of the story, Jacques and Mona Ouzouf explained that the book was used as "a geography text, an ethics handbook, a lesson in the natural sciences, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law, or a basic introduction to French law."
6. For more on this transformation, see Eric Hobbsawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
7. Pierre Bourdieu argues that the relation between elite wine and French culture is so intertwined that it is almost impossible to discuss one without the other. See Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 53.
17. Concerns about alcohol and social disorder were also common in other European nations. See, for example, James Roberts, *Drink, Temperance, and the Working Classes in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1984); Lilian Shimas, *Cresus against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: St. Martin's, 1986).
18. The Senate report is discussed in Marrus, *Social Driniking in the Belle Epoque,* p. 189.
21. See Patricia Prestwich, Drink and the Politics of Social Reform.
23. See the discussion of the Académie de Médecine's response to drinking in Mitchell, "The
Unsung Villain," 452.
27. Châlons-en-Champagne, Archives départementales de la Marne (hereafter A.D.Ma.)
16U195 Marques de fabrique, label number, 1565.
28. A.D.Ma. 16U195 Marques de fabrique, label number 2124.
29. A.D.Ma. 16U195 Marques de fabrique, label number 1816.
30. See the discussion in Brennan, "Towards the Cultural History of Alcohol," 79.
31. See Roger Dion, Histoire de la vigne et du vin en France des origines au XIXe siècle (Paris:
32. For a survey of Enlightenment interest in gastronomy, see chaps. 11 and 12 of Barbara
Kochsmann Wheaton, Savoring the Past: The French Kitchen and the Table from 1500 to 1789
33. "Gastronomie," the term for this new science, appeared in the French language at the
very beginning of the nineteenth century. See Pascal Orsi, "Gastronomie," in Pierre Nora,
34. See, for example, Brillat-Savarin, Physiologie du goût (Paris, 1825); Alexandre Grimod de
La Reynière, Almanach des gourmands (Paris, 1803); and Horace-Napoléon Raisson, Code
gourmand, Manuel complet de gastronomie (Paris, 1827).
36. For more on the memory of the loss of Alsace, see Jean-Marie Mayeur, "Une Mémoire-
1988); Frédéric Segur, "Les Alsat-Lorrains Question in France, 1871–1915," in Charles
K. Warner, ed., From the Ancien Regime to the Popular France (New York: Columbia
38. Study cited in Marrus, "Social Drinking in the Belle Epoque," 120.
39. See the discussion of the Académie de Médecine's response to drinking in Mitchell, "The
Unsung Villain.
40. Lorna Austerlitz, Taste and Power: Furnishing Modern France (Berkeley, CA: University of
41. Eric Hobbsawm and Thence Ranger, eds., The Invention of Tradition (1983; rpt., New
42. Brillat-Savarin, Physiologie du goût (1879), p. 33.
43. Jean-Paul Aaron, The Art of Eating in France: Manners and Menus in the Nineteenth
45. See, for example, Boubaret's analysis in his work Distinction.
47. Marcell Ruff, La Vie et la passion de Dédin-Bouffant gourmet (1924; new edition Paris:
Stock, 1984), pp. 18–19.
49. His lack of taste is highlighted by the choice of bœuf, which, in its feminine form, is a
sulfur-based additive for removing mildew from vino.
51. For more on these marketing techniques, see my article, "Oiling the Wheels of Social
Life: Myths and Marketing in Champagne during the Belle Epoque," in French Historical
quoting in Austerlitz, Taste and Power, p. 387.
54. Auguste Escoffier, Sousive inédite: 75 ans au service de l'art culinaire (Marseille: Editions
55. James Robertson, editor, The Oxford Companion to Wine (New York: Oxford University
56. See Hugh Johnson's introduction to James E. Wilson, Terroir: The Role of Geology, Climate,
and Cultures in the Making of French Wines (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of