Making the Ordinary Exotic: The Role of Literary Imagination in the Rise of Gastronomic Tourism in Early Twentieth-Century France

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ABSTRACT: *Food and Imagination* can describe the conscious, creative process of inventing new dishes, but I focus on the literary and rhetorical imagination that can transform diners' perceptions of traditional, often regional, dishes from something mundane to something transcendent, making the ordinary exciting or even exotic and shaping a country's tastes in new ways.

In late nineteenth and early twentieth century France, both in fiction and in prose works, writers used their literary imagination to paint intriguing, vivid pictures of dishes that had previously been viewed as ordinary or known only as eccentric or folkloric regional dishes. This, I argue, may have done as much or more to encourage the rise of automobile gastrotourism and the appreciation of those dishes as did the fledgling Michelin guide.

These writers helped create a thirst for what others considered the mundane.

Food and Imagination can describe the conscious, creative process of inventing new dishes, bringing to mind Brillat-Savarin's comment that the invention of a new dish adds more to human happiness than the discovery of a new star.[1] I would like instead to focus on the literary and rhetorical imagination that can transform diners' perceptions of traditional, often regional, dishes from something mundane to something transcendent, making the ordinary exciting or even exotic, and shaping a country's tastes in new ways.

In late nineteenth century and early twentieth century France, both in fiction and in prose works about gastronomy, writers used their literary imagination to paint intriguing, vivid pictures of dishes that had previously been viewed as ordinary or known only as eccentric or folkloric regional dishes. This, I argue, may have done as much or more to encourage the rise of gastrotourism and the appreciation of those dishes as did the fledgling Michelin guide.

Michelin

A conventional view is that the major impetus for gastrotourism were the guidebooks created by the Michelin tire company to increase the sales of tires by encouraging people to drive more, specifically to drive automobiles to distant restaurants.[2] Undoubtedly, Michelin's extraordinarily popular guides, always bound in red,[3] did influence the

FIGURE 1. Perhaps the first appearance of the character who became known as Bibendum, 1900. 'Now, it must be drunk!! To your health. The Michelin tire drinks the obstacles.'

new dining population. Its denizens were a new kind of visitor, known by a new word – *gastronomade* – now more commonly thought of as a gastrotourist. *Gastronomades* were drawn to provincial restaurants where invention may have been limited but expert preparation of regional dishes became a drawing card that pulled automobile drivers from far away. The Michelin guide created its own evocative and novel symbolism and mythology – stars, a firmament, reasons to take journeys – but literary flair and storytelling by a few writers may have fired the imagination before the automobile boom began and filled in the essential details drivers needed to take an interest in the Michelin recommendations. An increased appreciation of dishes and regions that had been unappreciated or marginalized was a prerequisite to the Michelin recommendations being credible to the gastronomes who read the Michelin guide.

In 1900, the fledgling Michelin tire company began handing out to automobile drivers a free booklet containing maps of 13 provincial French cities and advice on how to travel without problems. That year, a journalist writing in a new magazine *L'Auto* noted that he had driven from Paris to Marseille in four days and only came across two other cars.[4] The guide gradually expanded its coverage and in 1923 began to alert drivers to restaurants in a few provincial cities, categorized by three and then five levels of quality, from '*premier ordre*' (first rank) through '*modeste*' and later '*simple mais bien tenu*' (simple but well maintained). In 1932, it reclassified its ratings into three levels of stars, * for '*très bonne qualité*,' ** for '*d'excellent qualité*', and *** for '*fine et justement renommée*,' (fine and rightly renowned), now covering all of France except Paris. In 1933, it began to cover all of France and listed restaurants using the categories still essentially in use today * '*une bonne table dans la localité*,'[5] ** '*cuisine excellent, mérite le detour*' (worth a detour), and what became a revered ultimate award, *** '*une des meilleures tables de France, vaut le voyage*' (worth a special trip). There were initially 23 three-star restaurants, six of which were Paris. (See Figure 1 and 2.)

The seventeen three-star restaurants outside of Paris were not particularly fancy or formal. For more than a century, French food had been written about and categorized, principally into the categories of the refined '*cuisine de cour*' or '*haute cuisine*' and two categories of '*cuisine populaire*': '*cuisine bourgeoise*' and '*cuisine régionale*'. There was also a category of '*cuisine des pauvres*'. [6] Two of the classic dishes of the *cuisine bourgeoise* relevant to our discussion are *pot-au-feu* ('boiled' beef, actually long-simmered, not using tender cuts, with a variety of vegetables, served with its broth) and *blanquette de veau à l'ancienne* (long-simmered chunks of veal, less tender cuts from the neck, shoulder or shin, combined with a creamy sauce made from the broth, simple mushrooms and separately cooked pearl onions, generally served with rice). [7] Although the Guide Michelin at the time gave no descriptions of restaurants or their food other than the judgements indicated by the stars themselves, some of the restaurants outside Paris exemplified these (comparatively) simpler styles of food and regional cooking.

FIGURE 2. Advertisement for the 1920 *Guide Michelin,* with another early appearance by Bibendum, the Michelin man, now with a more recognizable face.

The Disparagement of Regional Food

At the turn of the century in 1900, regional cooking was not respected by the sort of people who could afford automobiles. There was pride in the richness of French agricultural produce, including specialties of each region. These were omnipresent in school classrooms using the characteristic maps of French regional specialties created by Deyrolle, the family also known for taxidermy and their museum-like shop on the Rue du Bac in Paris. (See Figure 3.) But regional foods, in general, were looked down on as peasant food suitable only for the backward people who lived deep in the regions and even disparaged by regional elites. There was a sense in sophisticated circles that bourgeois, rural and regional food were not gastronomic or worth examining except, perhaps, as anthropological curiosities. Moreover, there had long been in France a tension between regionalism and nationalism. It has been argued that appreciation of regional foods emerged around the time of the French revolution – within the regions--as an increasingly centralized government reorganized regional

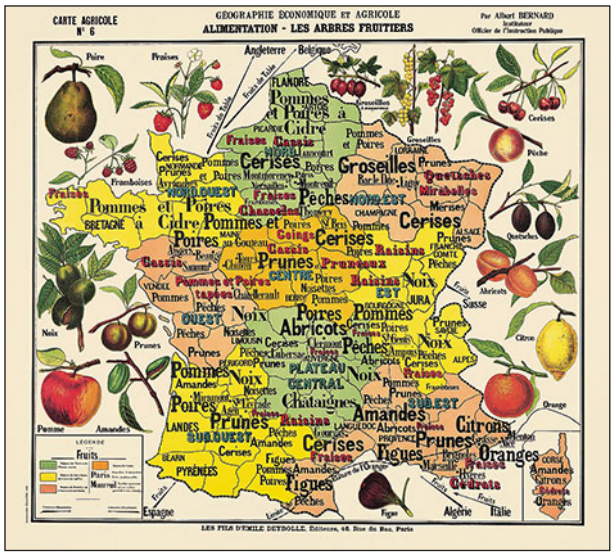

FIGURE 3. The Deyrolle map of French agricultural specialties.

boundaries and emphasized pride both in the nation and in the community, and that pride may have sparked the idea that some regional foods could be a success in Paris. There is even a year attached to the first appearance of the Provençal fish-stew bouillabaisse: 1786, when the aptly named brothers Provençaux moved to Paris and introduced bouillabaisse and its simpler cousin brandade to the capital.[8] But their success introducing sophisticated Parisians to a particular provincial novelty does not mean that rural or distant provinces began to be widely respected, and it is unlikely that the popularity of the automobile and the allure of ratings in an attractive guidebook were sufficient to change attitudes and assure the success of these restaurants and the popularity of their styles of food.

The stereotype of the food of southwestern France, for example, was not focused on images of the luxurious partridges, truffles, foie gras and Bordeaux wine that later led to parts of the southwest being viewed as a mythical land of Cockaigne, but instead on deprivation, misery and the omnipresence of garlic as the principal vegetable eaten by people either very poor or entirely undiscerning.[9] In *The Three Musketeers,* Alexandre Dumas presents the three southwestern musketeers and their friend D'Artagnan as eager, ambitious country bumpkins, unsophisticated but gallant and courageous, who drink wine immoderately and savour coarse but hearty foods.[10]

Far from celebrating bourgeois or regional French foods, mid-nineteenth century French writers often presented characters who were dazzled by foreign and exotic delicacies that were not even French. When the Count of Monte Cristo hosts a dinner party intended to be breathtaking, Alexandre Dumas has him emphasize the exotic and the expensive. The fish are imported, still alive, from southern Italy and from the Volga river in Russia, and there are fruits from China and Japan.[11] In Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1856), the Normandy dinner party and ball that so transformed Emma Bovary's life was not full of local specialties one might admire in Normandy today (local seafood, cheeses and cream, apple products) but imported exotica: pineapple, pomegranate, Spanish wines and Rhine wines.[12] A pharmacist is made to seem small and provincial when he criticizes Parisian

restaurant meals he has never eaten that 'aren't worth as much, no matter what they say, as a good *pot-au-feu'* and declares he prefers '*cuisine bourgeoise,* it's healthier.'[13]

Alexandre Dumas was a serious gastronome himself, and like the composer Rossini he finished his life after astonishing youthful success as an artist not by writing more novels or operas but as an encyclopedist of a subject he loved, gastronomy. He died in 1870 with his huge encyclopedia unfinished, but it was published in 1873, based on what he had completed, as the *Grand Dictionnaire de cuisine.* It is a magnificent book, full of fascinating details of thousands of *haute cuisine* dishes, with drawings from early editions of Taillevent, the first French cookbook writer. Voluminous, it suggests Dumas had little interest in *cuisine bourgeoise* or regional cuisine. It does not mention *pot-au-feu* nor discuss the simple regional dishes that people began to travel to eat a half-century later, such as *cassoulet* in the southwest and *bouillabaisse* on the southeast coast. As to *blanquette de veau,* the *Grand Dictionnaire* describes 115 veal dishes including three that include the term *blanquette de veau* that are actually glorified leftovers--roast veal done up with a separately made creamy sauce, and a variant enriched with truffles. As Dumas was at the time the gourmand of gourmands and very serious about his *Dictionnaire,* it would appear that the interest of gastronomes of the time in *cuisine bourgeoise* or in regional cuisine was essentially nonexistent. Similarly, a practical cooking magazine for bourgeois housewives started in 1893 called *Le Pot-au-feu: Journal de cuisine pratique et d'économie domestique* gave strictly practical advice and did not particularly celebrate the dish *pot-au-feu*.

A Literary Change?

Attitudes began to change, however, with some writers later in the century. Guy de Maupassant wrote evocatively about an old country aristocrat and the details of his presiding over a dinner at which *becasses,* tiny birds locally hunted as game, were eaten, one small bird per person. The heads with their distinctive needle-like beak are then recooked by the host and eaten as part of a story-telling game after the rest of the flesh has been consumed as a main course: 'He took them one by one and grilled them on the candle. The grease crackled, the browned skin smoked, and the randomly chosen one crunched the richly cooked head, holding it by the neck and letting out exclamations of pleasure. And each time the diners, raising their glasses, drank to his health.'[14] This is a rustic, country meal, with a hint of savagery, not at all like Brillat-Savarin's more stately discussion of his refined pairing of roast pheasant and fine Burgundy,[15] presented as special, and delicious, but not particularly unusual in the eyes of the participants, emphasizing a rural tradition but describing the dish in a vivid way that intrigues the reader. In contrast to Flaubert, Maupassant does not appear to be satirizing the ways of these rural characters.

Two other late nineteenth century writers of fiction, Alphonse Daudet and Emile Zola, wrote extensive and memorable descriptions of simple and regional food. Like Maupassant, Daudet wrote a story about hunting, but his was written from the perspective of the

red partridges and quail being hunted![16] His other writings about food included vivid descriptions likely to be enticing to any reader. His description of a marine harvest in a Breton fishing village anticipates the enthusiasm of twentieth century gastrotourists: 'You can't really find anything more delicious, more secluded, than this small village lost in the middle of the rocks, interesting by its dual marine and pastoral side.'[17] In a three-part story in the same volume, called Gastronomic Landscapes,[18] Daudet submerges himself in local colour and shows his appreciation for both the highs (in Provence and Corsica) and lows (in Sardinia) of local food, beginning with *bouillabaisse*:

> When the fishing was over, we landed among the high gray rocks. The fire was quickly lit, pale in the bright sun; large slices of bread cut on small plates of red earth, and we were there around the pot, the plate outstretched, the nostril open ... Was it the landscape, the light, this horizon of sky and water? But I have never eaten anything better than this *bouillabaisse* of *languoustes*. And what a good nap afterwards on the sand! A sleep full of the rocking of the sea, where the thousand shining scales of the little waves still fluttered with closed eyes.

And in the Provençal specialty of aioli, variants of which are found around the Mediterranean but which to a nineteenth century Parisian might merely have reeked of garlic, Daudet found this magic:

Inside the hut where a fire of woody vine shoots shone, clear and sparkling, the cook religiously pounded the cloves of garlic in a mortar, letting the olive oil drop, drop by drop. We ate *aioli* around our eels that had just been skinned, seated on high stools in front of the little wooden table... Around the tiny room one could discern an immense horizon crossed by gusts of wind, hasty flights of traveling birds... while the surrounding space could be measured by the bells of the herds of horses and oxen, resounding and sonorous, grew faint in the distance, arriving like lost notes, blown away in a blast of the mistral.

Or as an even more star-struck gastrotourist in Algeria, eating a dish which was called at the time, in French, *kousskouss :*

> From the large stately tent ... we could see a night of semi-mourning descending, a black-violet in which the purple of a magnificent sunset darkened; in the freshness of the evening, in the middle of the half-open tent, a Kabyle candlestick in palm wood raised at the end of its branches a motionless flame which attracted night insects, the rustling of fearful wings. Squatting all around on mats, we ate silently; There were whole sheep dripping with butter which were brought at the end of a spit, pastries with honey, musky jams, and finally a large wooden dish where chickens were spread out in the golden semolina of the kousskouss ... I thought that the Arab national dish might well be that miraculous manna of the Hebrews spoken of in the Bible.

His Sardinian main dish, by contrast, he found sadly wanting. Polenta, made of milled chestnut rather than maize, 'is awful. Poorly crushed chestnuts have a moldy taste; it looks like they had spent a long time under the trees, in the rain'... However influenced he may have been by the settings, Daudet was not undiscerning.

Emile Zola was less of a gastrotourist and more a chronicler of naturalistic scenes he invented and precisely described, particularly in his early novel, The Belly of Paris, which contains detailed descriptions of markets and foods. One of his more famous dinners appears in his 1888 novel, *l'Assommoir,*[19] in which Gervaise, the mother of Nana (who grows up to be the protagonist of a later novel), decides to splurge on a special multi-course dinner, largely beyond her financial means. In addition to a roast goose, one of the dishes being considered is the *cuisine bourgeoise* classic (still a favorite today in polls of most-loved dishes by the French populace): 'Tall Clémence suggested rabbit, but that was what they ate every day ... Gervaise had a mind to do something more distinguished; when Mme Putois mentioned a *blanquette de veau,* they looked round at one another and started to smile.' Later, they decide to prepare the *blanquette de veau* the day before because, as modern cooks also know, 'those dishes are better if reheated.' However, the characters know that only the basic stew is best done in advance; the sauce is to be completed at the last minute. Presumably the garnishes of pearl onion and of mushrooms that define the *à l'ancienne* version of the dish[20] are also completed at that time: Gervaise and her friends do not prepare a dish of this sort often but they are careful and particular, and the description of the cooking process suggests an art form. The dinner ends in chaos but Zola shows appreciation and respect for the dish.

In his 1903 novel *Histoire comique,* Anatole France has a character remark that the *fond,* or thickened broth of *cassoulet,* the decidedly regional southwestern bean and meat dish that many would have viewed at the time as heavy and vulgar, had a depth and savour that reminded him of treasured Venetian Renaissance paintings.[21] In a more matter-of-fact way, the enormously popular mystery writer, Georges Simenon, had his main character Inspector Maigret, in 75 different novels, take frequent pleasure in the anticipation of the unapologetically *cuisine bourgeoise* dishes his wife would be making. Every evening, while hanging up his hat, Inspector Maigret would use his skills at ratiocination to work out what dish would be served: perhaps a *blanquette de veau*? Inspector Maigret's culinary ruminations are frequent, evocative and brief, showing deep respect for the simple, traditional dishes he ate at home and simple bistros. *Le Monde* food critic Robert Courtine, a champion of French traditional and regional dishes[22] wrote a popular cookbook to bring to life Inspector Maigret's brief but endearing ruminations.[23]

This literary imagination was not just presented in fiction. The non-fiction gastronomic writers of the period also had a different approach from their predecessors. Édouard Nignon, a restaurateur with a great gift for evocative writing, a favorite of intellectual modern French

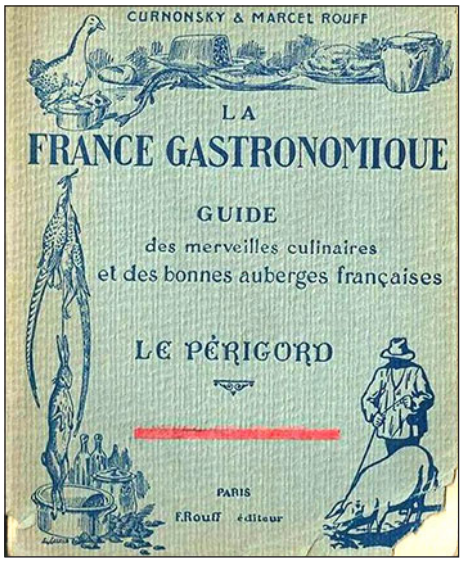

FIGURE 4. One of the many pamphlets by Curnonsky and Rouff that were compiled to create *La France Gastronomique,* showing a truffle-hunting pig, some game, some wine (perhaps from Cahors) and a goose.

chefs including Michel Guérard and Yves Camdeborde, wrote evocative, detailed literary descriptions of food from 1919 to 1933 with an inspiring delicacy and finesse very different from the curt, instructional directions of Escoffier and others.[24] The southwestern chef Prosper Montagné presented a vivid portrait of southwestern food in his 1928 book, *Le festin Occitan*, and his description of *cassoulet* and, especially, his description of three styles of the dish and his anointing Castelnaudary, Carcassone and Toulouse as the 'holy trinity of cassoulet' were so memorable that it is quoted or paraphrased in essentially everything written about the dish even today.[25] This happened five years before Michelin began urging its readers to take detours or make special trips. A decade later, Montagné's *Larousse Gastronomique,* the first edition of the first great culinary encyclopedia published since Dumas's, gloriously celebrated a wide range of regional and simpler cooking.

The greatest influence on the popular view of these *cuisine bourgeoise* and regional dishes was undoubtedly a successful novelist-for-hire who abandoned his craft as a novelist but used his literary skills to promote the regional cuisine of France. This was Maurice Edmond Sailland. He worked as a novelist for hire for the famous publisher Willy, the first husband of the writer Colette, who kept her locked up while she ghostwrote his books. Sailland and Colette were the main writers in the Willy *atelier;* Sailland wrote several best sellers for Willy under the name *Perdiccus*. In 1908 he went to work writing copy for Michelin under a new pseudonym he claimed to have invented, *Bibendum* ('now it is to be drunk'), before Michelin applied the name to the Michelin man, the gourmand made of Michelin tires.[26]

Monsieur Sailland did not stay long with Michelin, though, but adopted a final pseudonym *Curnonsky,* an exotic made-up name in a false Russian style beginning with two syllables in Latin: Cur Non. Sort of *Pourquoi Pas*? Or WhyNotSky? This actually fit with the nineteenth century tendency in France to equate countries representing eastern exoticism, including Russia, with the heights of gastronomy, instead of the existing, vibrant French regional cuisine that was unknown to many elites. There is some irony in his having

adopted this Russian-inspired name and under that name becoming the leading champion of French regional cuisine. This third pseudonym lasted him the rest of his life.

Between 1921 and 1930, Curnonsky, with his friend Marcel Rouff, wrote a series of 32 tremendously influential pamphlets about French regional cooking (See Figure 4.), 28 of which were later compiled as *La France gastronomique,*[27] the first of his many influential books. These were all published by Rouff's relatives at their influential family publishing houses. Curnonsky, a colorful and mysterious man, later became well-known as the 'elected Prince of Gastronomes'. Curnonsky's writing conveys genuine enthusiasm with a flair for the dramatic that also involved self-promotion and an early sense of public relations. When he wrote about a regional dish, like *bouillabaisse*, that may not have been well known outside its region, he had a knack for descriptions that people would remember and could influence their perception of what they ate, such as:

> Bouillabaisse, this golden soup, this incomparable golden soup which embodies and concentrates all the aromas of our shores and which permeates, like an ecstasy, the stomachs of astonished gastronomes... and the miracle consists of this: there are as many bouillabaisses as there are good chefs or cordon bleus. Each brings to his own version his special touch.

His writing, at that time, focused on the essence and the excitement of the dishes, not on the restaurants and particularly not on the selection of the best restaurants, although he knew where to eat and where to do his research. He wanted to establish an inventory of the regional treasures of gastronomic France, many of which were little known outside their region. While Michelin told where to go, and began to rate restaurants in a hierarchy, Curnonsky explained unfamiliar dishes with a literary flair that led readers to greater appreciation.

Curnonsky was a showman, very easily identifiable in restaurants in his later years, where customers asked him to sign their menus. He admired the food aphorisms that had helped lead people to remember Brillat-Savarin's writing a century before, and Curnonsky's aphorisms helped people remember him, with enigmatic sayings such as "Cuisine is when things taste of themselves".

Sometimes tongue in cheek, he even popularized his own myths, claiming, for example, that it was often said that angels carried the first *bouillabaisse* from heaven to nourish shipwrecked saints. Julia Child was enraged (her word) by Curnonsky in his old age perpetuating a myth (one he may have created) about *beurre blanc*, a regional sauce associated with the Loire, 'how it was a mystery, and only a few people could do it, and how it could only be made with white shallots from Lorraine and over a *wood fire.*'[28]

Marcel Rouff also wrote France's most celebrated gastronomic novel, *La vie et la passion de Dodin-Bouffant* published privately in 1920 and then expanded and published for a wider audience in 1924.[29] Its most famous chapter describes the dish that Dodin-Bouffant has

prepared as the centerpiece of a dinner designed to dazzle his gastronomic rival, the Prince of Eurasia, who had recently hosted Dodin-Bouffant with a lengthy, extravagant display of *haute cuisine*. As a contrast and a lesson in simplicity, Dodin-Bouffant prepares a *pot-au-feu,* merely 'accompanied by its vegetables'. His 'fearsome boiled beef, scorned, reviled, insulting to the Prince and to all gastronomy' turns out to be a triumph, 'carved into slices of... mouth-melting texture ...aroma...of beef like incense with the energetic smell of tarragon.' The Prince cheerfully admits his elaborate cuisine has been bested by a 'humble dish': 'a profound psychologist, Dodin had calculated' the effects of perfect purity and simplicity.

Rouff thus encouraged a change in perception of *pot-au-feu* from that of a meager dish for the downtrodden into something middle-class gourmands would actively seek out and appreciate for its being, as some began to say, 'at the same time rude and refined.' It could be said that Dodin-Bouffant cheated – this was not a peasant's boiled beef but was enhanced with specially bred chickens, foie gras and sausages – but Rouff's emphasis in describing the pleasure of the dish is not on those enhancements so much as the simple but profound aromas and tastes, the careful use of herbs, the delicacy of the cooking of the vegetables 'lightly warmed in butter', all together creating a 'quadruple enchantment' for each guest 'to extract...as his share.'[30] Dodin-Bouffant did transform the dish by the addition of more luxurious ingredients, but he retained the basic structure of the dish and, most important, had a keen appreciation of its intrinsic taste and goodness.

Conclusion

Changes in gastronomic taste involve many factors, including the desire to pursue novel pleasures, snobbery, the sense of pride in or curiosity about a region or a country, and the sense of pleasure in (as Brillat-Savarin noted) the discovery of a new dish – even when the dish is only new to the person trying it for the first time.[31]

There was plenty of luxury available in Paris so travelling for food was motivated by a different sort of attraction: what was worth driving for? (It was only later that Michelin stars became such a sign of luxury.) I suggest that the fiction writers I have mentioned inadvertently influenced taste and behavior, and that the non-fiction writers were successful in popularizing their views. This is a hypothesis, not a comprehensive examination of French literature and gastronomic writing, but Maupassant, Daudet, Zola, France, Simenon, Nignon, Montagné, Curnonsky, Rouff and others appear to have imparted to their readers both the information and the evocative literary prose that could lead *gastronomades* to embark on a quest.

The simple can become exotic and exciting. Evocative literary depiction can transform how people think about a dish even as the dish remains the same. These writers helped create a thirst for what others considered the mundane. And sometimes their new appreciation of an old dish itself has led to improvements or refinements of the dish. It is not a coincidence

that in 1965 one of the greatest and most poetic of culinary innovators, Michel Guérard, modestly named his first restaurant *le Pot-au-Feu*, indirectly drawing meaning from these literary themes and modern changes in taste, which set him on a path both to celebrate traditional dishes but also to flights of culinary imagination in creating many new dishes in the same spirit.[32]

Notes

1. Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du gout* (Paris: A. Sautelet, 1825).
2. See, for example, Pascal Ory, *Le discours gastronomique français des origins à nos jours* (Paris: Archives Gallimard Julliard 1998) pp. 113-142.
3. The green guides, for sight-seeing, came later.
4. Jean-François Mesplède, *Trois étoiles au Michelin: Une histoire de la haute gastronomie française* (Paris: Éditions Gründ 1998) 9-13.
5. Changed in 1956 to 'une bonne table dans sa catégorie.'
6. These categories have been discussed since the beginning of gastronomic criticism in France, often thought to have begun with Grimod de la Reynière. A recent compilation of some of his work is *l'Almanach des gourmands, servant de guide dans les moyens de faire excellent chère* (Paris: Menu Fretin 2012), covering his writings from 1803-1812. Some recent examples are Alain Drouard, *Le mythe gastronomique français* (Paris: CNRS éditions 2010) and the essays included in Francis Chevrier and Laic Bienassis, *Le repas gastronomique des Français* (Paris: Gallimard 2015). Much categorization of French cuisine has been covered in the many editions of the *Larousse Gastronomique,* beginning with the first edition of Prosper Montagné in 1938 through the most recent revision in 2017. The outstanding *Atlas Gastronomique de la France* created by Jean-Robert Pitte presents the regional dishes of France in detailed maps, along with the scholarly descriptions and historical analysis for which he is known. (Paris: Armand Colin 2017).
7. See the wonderful short book by Jean-Louis Flandrin, *La blanquette de veau: Histoire d'un plat bourgeois* (Paris: Jean-Paul Rocher 2000) and Julia Csergo *et al*., *Pot-au-feu, convivial, familial: histoires d'un myth* (Paris: Éditions Autrement 1999). The importance of these dishes, and the myths surrounding them, became important subjects for historians in the late twentieth century. See also the discussion of perhaps the third most recognized cuisine bourgeoise dish, *poule au pot* (boiled chicken), by Julia Csergo, 'Entre mythe et utopie: la poule au pot,' in *Pot-au-feu*. The chef Alain Ducasse considers *poule au pot* to be, historically and conceptually, a type of *pot-au-feu.* Alain Ducasse, *Dictionnaire amoureux de la cuisine* (Paris: Plon 2003) pp. 406-410. This makes sense when you consider related dishes such as the Austrian *tafelspitz,* which was called *pot-au-feu* at the Imperial Austrian court, and Italian *bollito misto*, which by definition includes multiple meats.
8. Julia Csergo, *'L'emergence des cuisines regionales','* in Jean-Louis Flandrin and Massimo Montanari (eds.), *Histoire de l'alimentation* (Paris: Fayard 1996) pp. 823-841.
9. Philippe Meyzie surveys 18th and nineteenth century travelers' accounts in *La Table du Sud-Ouest et l'emergence des cuisines régionales (1700-1850)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes 2007) p. 357 *et seq.*
10. Alexandre Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/17989 (1844). In a sequel, though, one of the musketeers becomes, after long service in Paris, a gastronome able to charm Louis XIV with his food stories. Alexandre Dumas, *Vingt ans après,* https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/13952 (1845).
11. Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo,* Chapters 63-64
12. Gustave Flaubert, *Madame Bovary,* Part 1, Chapter 8.
13. Part 2, Chapter 6.

14. Originally published as 'La Bécasse', 5 December 1882 in *Le Gaulois* and later compiled as *Contes de la Becasse*. https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/11714. Accessible in English translation at https://madsimonj.wordpress.com/2014/09/29/guy-de-maupassant-the-woodcock/
15. Brillat-Savarin. See Richard Warren Shepro, '*"Le marriage entre mets et vins"*: On the Geographical and Historical Origins of Pairing a Food with a Particular Wine in France', in Mark McWilliams (ed.), *Food and Landscape: Proceedings of the Oxford Symposium on Food and Cookery 2017* (London: Prospect Books 2018) p. 353.
16. <?> 'Les Émotions d'un perdreau rouge' in *Les Contes du lundi*. (It should be remembered that hunting was not merely a sport). https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Les_Contes_du_lundi/Les_%C3%89motions_d%E2%80%99un_perdreau_rouge
17. 'La Moisson au bord de la mer' *in Les Contes du lundi. https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Les_Contes_du_lundi/La_Moisson_au_bord_de_la_mer*
18. 'Paysages Gastronomique' in *Les Contes du lundi. https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Les_Contes_du_lundi/Paysages_gastronomiques*
19. In Chapter 7, Émile Zola, *L'Assomoir* (1877). https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/L%E2%80%99Assommoir. The title is word for a type of drinking establishment without a clear equivalent in English – translated recently by Robin Buss as *The Drinking Den* (London: Penguin Random House UK 2000).
20. Flandrin, *La blanquette de veau,* pp. 28-30.
21. https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Page:Anatole_France_-_Histoire_comique.djvu/236
22. Robert J. Courtine, writing as La Reynière, *Cent merveilles de la cuisine française* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil 1971).
23. Robert J. Courtine*, Simenon et Maigret passent à table: Les plaisirs gourmands de Simenon & les bonnes recettes de Madame Maigre*t (Paris: Robert Laffont 1972).
24. See Edouard Nignon, *Les Plaisirs de la Table* (1926, reprinted Paris: Menu Fretin 2016) and, especially, *Éloges de la Cuisine Française* (1933, reprinted Paris: Menu Fretin 2014).
25. To the consternation of inhabitants of certain other towns in the region with equally long traditions. Evocative writing about food can also be myth-making.
26. Curnonsky, *Souvenirs littéraires et gastronomique* (Paris: Albin Michel 1958).
27. Sailland, Maurice Edmond. *La France gastronomique: Curnonsky & Marcel Rouff. Guide des merveilles culinaires et des bonnes auberges françaises.* (France: F. Rouff, 1925).
28. Julia Child, *As Always, Julia: The Letters of Julia Child and Avis DeVoto,* quoted by Bill Buford in *Dirt* (New York: Knopf 2020) p. 353.
29. Marcel Rouff, *La vie et la passion de Dodin-Bouffant* (Paris: Stock 1924).
30. Chapter 4, 'Dodin-Bouffant, *pot-au-feu,* his Royal Highness.' Translation largely from 'Claude,' published in 1961 and reprinted in Marcel Rouff, *The Passionate Epicure* (New York: The Modern Library 2002).
31. The great French work of sociology about judgements of taste addresses all these issues, often in terms of choices about food, but does not address gastrotourism. Pierre Bourdieu, *La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement* (Paris: Les Editions de Minuit 1979).
32. See Michel Guérard, "Le petit prince" in *Mémoires de chefs* (Paris: Textuel 2012) pp. 86-119 and Michel Guérard, *Mémoire de la Cuisine Française* (Albin Michel 2020).