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La Vraie Bouillabaisse: An investigation into the history and current practice of the Provençal dish bouillabaisse, and its significance as a traditional dish

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La Vraie Bouillabaisse:
**An investigation into the history and current practice
of the Provençal dish bouillabaisse, and its significance
as a traditional dish**

A thesis submitted to Technological University Dublin in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of Master of Arts in Gastronomy and Food Studies

by

Mathieu Belledent

Supervisor: Diarmuid Cawley
Technological University Dublin
School of Culinary Arts and Food Technology

May 2021

Declaration of Authorship

I certify that this thesis which I now submit for examination for the award of the Master's in Gastronomy and Food Studies is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the history and the current practices (popularity, service styles, and recipes) of the Provençal dish *bouillabaisse*. It aims to establish the evolution and the traditional characteristics of the dish. It also explores the historical and contemporary popularity as well as the everyday role that bouillabaisse plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking. Finally, the research questions if bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or official recognition by UNESCO. This research uses an exploratory sequential mixed methods model combining qualitative and quantitative data collection which are analysed in a sequence of phases. The primary data was collected through a combination of questionnaires and interviews, and combined with the analysis of manuscripts and printed cookbooks using Wheaton's methodology. The results show that bouillabaisse's main transformation occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century when the dish's status was elevated in order to appeal to the upper-classes. The results also show that the codification of the dish created two predominant styles of bouillabaisse; one anchored in its place of origin, Provence, and another that permitted the dish to travel beyond France. Towards the end of the twentieth century, bouillabaisse became unpopular as a household meal, resulting in the development in Marseille of a new invented tradition where it is now local custom to eat bouillabaisse in restaurants on Sundays and special occasions. Additional findings note that bouillabaisse could benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or being inscribed on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Although these processes might prove to be difficult, the notable characteristics of the dish combined with the new tradition, would suggest an eventual possibility.

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List of Abbreviations

ANOM	French National Overseas Archives
EVA	Ensemble Vocal d'Arles
GI	Geographical Indications
INAO	National Institute of Origin and Quality
PDO	Protected Designation of Origin
PGI	Protected Geographical Indication
PLM	Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée
TSG	Traditional Speciality Guaranteed
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organisation

Note to reader: I am a French native and this research is written in English. I am aware that the word *Provençal* uses a cedilla under the letter *c*, but for the purpose of writing in the English language, it is correct to drop it. Therefore, the French word *Provençal* (with cedilla) will appear throughout this work in the English form *Provençal* (without cedilla).

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Justification for Research

Escudier (1964, p.11) claimed that “Provence is renowned to be one of France’s best gastronomic destinations”; when visiting the Provencal city of Marseille, most tourist guides still suggest eating the famous local fish stew; bouillabaisse. However, bouillabaisse is a dish surrounded by myth, fallacy and gastronomic polemics. Growing up in Provence, I was well acquainted with bouillabaisse. In Marseille and the small villages along the coast, the restaurants displayed luminous signs promoting the dish, and at the market the fishmongers used to shout out loud claiming that the freshness of their fish was worthy of a bouillabaisse. I even helped my mentor cook the dish on a few occasions during my apprenticeship. However, I have never eaten it. My father, a proud native of Marseille, has worked in restaurants for most of his life. He claims to know everything there is to know about bouillabaisse, but again, he has never eaten it either. How could I be so proud of and feel connected to a dish I have never eaten?

This poor person’s dish, as popular folklore would suggest, has a long and varied history, one that keeps evolving. It is said that the recipe relies on ingredients only available on Mediterranean coastlines (Barberousse, n.d; Reboul, 2006; Davidson, 2014). Interestingly, not only can the dish be found on the menus of expensive Michelin starred restaurants, but is also being served in parts of the globe where the quintessential ingredients it supposedly relies on are not readily accessible. Therefore, it is fair to question how humble and authentic the dish actually is.

Sciolino (2019) claims that “few native Marseillaises [*sic*] eat bouillabaisse, and certainly only at home, never in a restaurant”. Furthermore, she points out that “the city is filled with odd versions for tourists and fancy variations for the well-heeled”. Onley (2013) however, clearly believes that there is more of a philosophy to bouillabaisse and that it must be eaten with family and friends. There is uncertainty surrounding bouillabaisse's role as a regional

dish that necessitates investigation for cultural and gastronomic reasons, as well as to further add to the canon of food studies and food history. Newspapers around the world have published articles regarding bouillabaisse (some of which have been misleading) and at the time of this research (2021) the hashtag ‘bouillabaisse’ throws up almost 74,000 posts on Instagram alone—with wildly varying interpretations of the dish.

Given that bouillabaisse is a dish famed for its connection to a specific terroir and tradition (Escudier, 1964), surveying locals for this research has given a clearer understanding of the dish’s contemporary popularity. Although Marseille is the second largest-city in France (World Population Review, 2021) and the country’s largest port (Icontainers, 2021), it stands in the shadow of the French capital, Paris. Known as the ‘City of Light’, Paris abounds with culture, art, and history, while its restaurants serve some of the best cuisine that French gastronomy has to offer. Conversely, Marseille frequently draws attention for the wrong reasons; murder and drug related crime, high unemployment rate, and poverty issues. This contrast has resulted in Marseille being undervalued as a city with its own distinct culture and may have consequently damaged bouillabaisse’s status in French gastronomy. Bouillabaisse *was* briefly in the spotlight in 1980 when the recipe and production method needed standardisation owing to poor tourist interpretations and corruptions of the dish. The *Chart of Bouillabaisse* helped promote the dish at the time, but to what extent? While the Chart offered a local labialisation and protection, it also restricted the dish to one style of preparation and service. This research goes further in distinguishing the various forms of bouillabaisse documented in cookbooks and historical documents, which will be necessary if the dish is to be officially protected at some point.

The port-city of Marseille is home to numerous ethnic groups unified by a common interest; the city’s football team Olympique de Marseille (Smith, 2018). Being from Marseille, I know that its people love to disagree on all manner of things but do agree when it comes to identifying as Marseillais, as opposed to merely French. The cuisine of the city reflects its multiculturalism; Neapolitan pizzas, North African couscous, and Merguez sausages are amongst the most popular dishes sold on its busy streets. However, very few indigenous dishes are directly associated with Marseille. With the exception of *pied et paquets* and

bouillabaisse, most local dishes are referred to as ‘à la Provençale’ rather than ‘à la Marseillaise’. This is another element that the research seeks to unravel and explain.

As the literature will show, several historians, journalists and writers have written about *bouillabaisse* and there exists a repetitive narrative that fits with the expectations of it. But despite a few historic certitudes, the facts vary considerably. Numerous Provençal themed cookbooks are in print and academic studies exist on the topic of Provençal cuisine (Holuigue, 1993; Maureau, 1993; Jouanin, 2001; Bakešová and Viktorinová, 2010); however, no academic research has solely focused on the history, current status, and the significance of *bouillabaisse*. Therefore, an in-depth study is justified to unveil the enigma of this controversial dish—which famously symbolises the city of Marseille but on which few can agree its true provenance, importance, recipe and execution.

1.2 Aim and Objectives of the Study

This aim of this study is to establish the history and uncover the current practices (popularity, service styles, and recipes) of the Provençal dish *bouillabaisse*, with a view to highlighting its significance as a traditional dish.

The objectives are:

- To examine the place in history and evolution of *bouillabaisse* in the literature;
- To investigate the traditional characteristics of *bouillabaisse* both in the literature and the primary research;
- To show the dish’s historical and contemporary popularity through the primary and secondary research;
- To determine the everyday role that *bouillabaisse* plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking;
- To assess if *bouillabaisse* would benefit from a European Union quality scheme protection or official recognition by UNESCO?

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

2.1 Introduction

Chapter Two demonstrates a review of the academic literature and other resources studied in relation to this research. The literature review discusses the history and evolution of bouillabaisse, and its current position as a traditional dish. This secondary research is conducted to gain an insight into the role bouillabaisse plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking. The chapter sets out to identify the factors contributing to the prominence of bouillabaisse and the relevance of the dish's authenticity.

2.2 Explanation of the dish 'Bouillabaisse'

Bouillabaisse is a fish stew associated with the Provençal city of Marseille, France. In Provençal dialect the word bouillabaisse is *Boui-Abaisso* and means to boil and to lower (Barberousse, n.d.; Chanot-Bullier, 1972; Escoffier et al., 2007; Autran, 2019). Provence's native writer Frederic Mistral suggested a plausible explanation of the word's etymology, "when it boils you lower the heat" (Garrett, 2006, p.25) hence the goal of a successful bouillabaisse is to cook the fish fillets in a simmering broth to keep the flesh as firm as possible. Alternatively, some historians have argued that it means to boil and lower the liquid by evaporation, contrary to lowering the heat (Palling, 2010). According to Guitard (1967) the word comes from a fish soup made in Genoa, Italy named *bouilla-peis*, whereas Liebling (1962) thinks the dish could possibly be related to an abbess; *bouilli à l'abbesse*.

The perfect bouillabaisse should be made for at least seven to eight people (Barberousse, n.d.; Holuigue, 1993; Maureau, 1993). The necessity of using a wide variety of rockfish results in a large volume of the finished dish (Barberousse, n.d.; Reboul, 2006; Davidson, 2014). The fish and the broth are usually served separately. It is accompanied with croutons rubbed with garlic, and a *rouille*. A *rouille* is a type of mayonnaise made with egg yolk emulsified with olive oil, garlic, and Spanish red chillies. The sauce is diluted with some of the bouillabaisse's

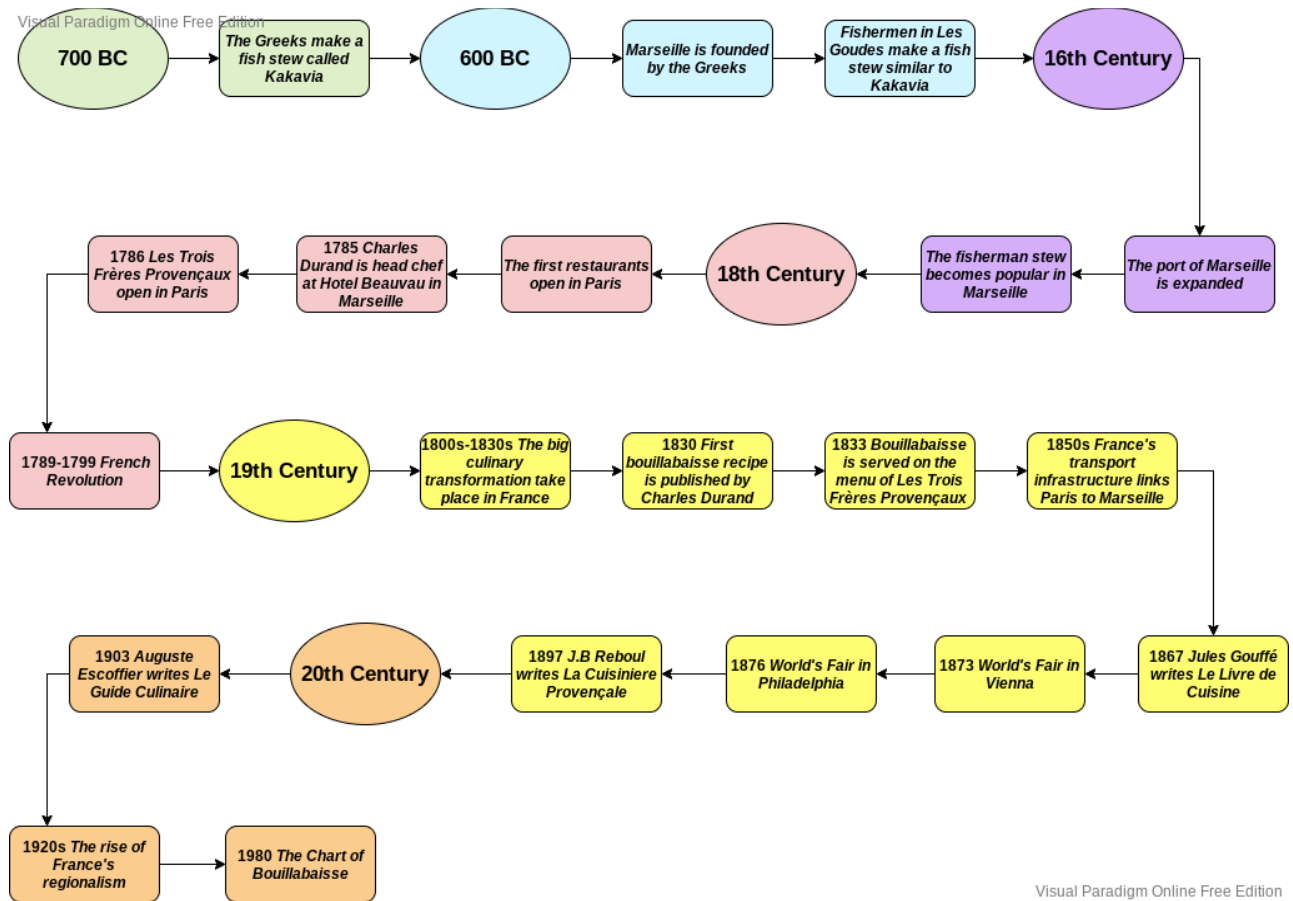
broth in order to get a smooth consistency but also to obtain its specific colour and enhance the flavour. Traditionally the *rouille* was made with moistened bread instead of the egg yolk. *Rouille* means ‘rust’ and refers to the colour of the sauce (Montagné, 2001).

At present, bouillabaisse recipes use Mediterranean fish such as; scorpion fish, greater weaver fish, conger eel, monkfish, red gurnard, whiting, sea bass, John Dory, and optionally, crab and spiny lobster (Jouanin, 2001). In his classic cookbook ‘La Cuisinière Provençale’, Jean-Baptiste Reboul lists forty suitable types of fish that can be used in bouillabaisse, but some experts have argued that fish such as mackerel and sardines would make the dish too oily (Montagné, 2001). The broth of a classic bouillabaisse is made with onion, garlic, tomato, thyme, fennel, parsley, bay leaves, orange zest and saffron, and for a richer bouillabaisse, a fish soup is made instead of a broth. The soup is made in the same manner as the broth but with the addition of fish heads, small fish and crabs. It is cooked for fifteen minutes, crushed and sifted (Reboul, 2006). In the eighteenth century, the potato was introduced to France by the pharmacist and plant explorer Antoine-Augustin Parmentier and is sometimes found in recipes. Escudier (1964) claimed that in the city of Toulon it is common practice to use potatoes in bouillabaisse, while in Marseille that addition would be viewed as a culinary crime.

Over the centuries, bouillabaisse’s list of ingredients has gradually evolved. Various factors have contributed to the transformation of the dish. After the fall of the Roman Empire, the Muslim Empire took control of most of the trade in the Mediterranean Sea (Harris, 1987). They sailed between the Mediterranean and Arabian seas and the Indian Ocean, and travelled the Silk Road into China and the African deserts (Civitello, 2004). As a result, several foodstuffs were introduced to Europe from other continents. One of those was saffron, which would eventually become an essential ingredient of bouillabaisse (Liebling, 1962). The tomato is another ingredient which it would now seem inconceivable not to include in bouillabaisse, though tomatoes were only introduced to Europe during the Columbian Exchange in the sixteenth century, and were not used in Provençal cooking until the middle of the seventeenth century (Sitwell, 2012).

2.3 History of Bouillabaisse

Figure 2.1: Timeline of Bouillabaisse



2.3.1 The Origin of the Dish

Food historians have recognised several types of fish soup from around the Mediterranean Sea that have most likely existed since antiquity. The probable ancestor of bouillabaisse is believed to have come from Greece (circa 700BC) where a similar fish soup called *kakavia* was eaten. In 600 BC the Greeks founded Marseille (*Massilia*), and could have brought the *kakavia* recipe with them (Murdoch Books, 2005; Davidson, 2014). The same dish is later

mentioned in Roman mythology when Venus, the goddess of love, feeds it to her husband Vulcan, the god of fire to distract him while she visits her lover Mars, the god of war (Liebling, 1962). By the time bouillabaisse was being prepared and eaten by the fishermen of Les Goudes, a small fishing village near Marseille, it was distinctly a humble dish. They boiled their leftover market fish on the shore in a cauldron of sea water and seasoned it with wild herbs that grew along the coast (Jouanin, 2001; Montagné, 2001). When the port of Marseille expanded its trading in the sixteenth century (Caron Buss et al., 2021), bouillabaisse had become well-known as a traditional fisherman's stew and was at that point also being served in homes throughout the city (Jouanin, 2001). The dish had gradually moved from the shoreline to homes, gaining popularity in urban areas.



Figure 2.2: Bouillabaisse Marseillaise, le Repas du Cabanon, Marseille (1900)

Source: (Delcampe, 2021)

Originally, the fish used in bouillabaisse was not categorised, nor bought fresh from the market. Because bouillabaisse was made and eaten by people of low income and the poor,

the fish had to be either free or cheap. Ferrières (2006) claims that since the sixteenth century, Mediterranean fish has been more expensive than fish from the ocean. She believes poor people were not able to buy fresh fish and would have only been able to afford fish that was old and almost gone off. Consequently, the only way to acquire fresh products was to harvest near the shore, often for a delicate green crab called *favouilles*, and collect or buy (at a small price) the damaged fish and mixed tiny fish called *ravaille*, from fishermen. Because the stew relied on the availability of the day, bouillabaisse could not be codified. The fish and the *favouilles* were cooked in seawater creating a strong tasty broth. No spices or saffron were added due to their prohibitive cost. According to Ferrières (2006), the fish of French nobles was cooked in wine, while most others cooked theirs in a mixture of water and vinegar. However, fish in Provence was cooked differently. It was cooked in a water and olive oil emulsion, a characteristic method that still exists in Southern European cookery (Ferrières, 2006).

In the sixteenth century, the naturalist Guillaume Rondelet, who often ate in the port cities along the Atlantic coast, claimed that Mediterranean fish was best. Conversely, the poet Jean Bouchet, a close friend of *Gargantua et Pantargel* author François Rabelais, identified the Atlantic fish as a far better choice (Ferrières, 2006). Ultimately, it was not the quality of the fish nor the evolution of the gentry's palate that helped bouillabaisse gain its status of worthiness, but the arrival of restaurants in Paris at the end of the eighteenth century, where the dish took an early foothold (Ferrières, 2006; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013).

2.3.2 The Emergence of Restaurants in Paris

Restaurants were a new concept around the city of Paris and were generally frequented by the elite (Freedman, 2007; Mac Con Iomaire, 2009; Davis, 2013; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). In 1786, the restaurant Les Trois Frères Provençaux (the three Provençal brothers) opened in the prestigious area of Le Palais Royal and introduced Provençal cuisine to the Parisian upper-classes (Ferrières, 2006; Freedman, 2007; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). Les Trois Frères Provençaux displayed a neo-Renaissance decor created by the French architect Théodore Charpentier and served prominent public figures such as the French Emperor

Napoleon Bonaparte, politician Paul Barras, and novelists Alfred de Musset and George Sand (Cantau and Wibault, 2015).



Figure 2.3: Les Trois Frères Provençaux around 1846, taken from the London News (1846)

Source: (Happy-apicius.dijon.fr, 2017)

Flandrin and Montanari (2013) claim that Les Trois Frères Provençaux exploited the exotic by serving dishes such as bouillabaisse. Ferrières (2006) argues that bouillabaisse became part of a distinguished Parisian cuisine served in Les Trois Frères Provençaux, during and after, the French Revolution. No menus from Les Trois Frères Provençaux which listed bouillabaisse could be found (for this research) though it is known to have been one of the distinctive Provençal dishes served at this important establishment.

After the restaurant opened it became automatically popular with gourmets and food critics, and remained fashionable until its doors closed in 1872 (Ferrières, 2006; Walton, 2018). ‘La Gastronomie’ (a weekly culinary-art review) was redacted by members of the *Society of People of Letters and Gastronomy* who trained at the Grimod de La Reynière and Brillat-Savarin school. On the 6th September 1840, the review published an article of a dinner that took place in Les Trois Frères Provençaux on the 31st of July 1833. In the description of the menu, *bouille-à-baisse* can be found in the potage section (Carrière, 1840). Nine years after that dinner, on the 11th November 1842, Les Trois Frères Provençaux presented a menu given to General Cass by the citizens of the United States, in which no bouillabaisse was offered (see following page).

DINNER

Given to General Cass,
by the Citizens of the United States.

At the Trois Frères Provençaux the 11th November 1842

4 Potages

Le Potage à la royale
Le Potage à la crème

Le Potage au concombre de Hollande
Les Pâtes d'Italie au blanc de veau

6 Relevés

Les Potages à la Chevalière
Le Caviar avec hollandaise
Le jambon de Westphalie à la flamande

Les Filets de bœuf à la Godard
La Crème de riz garnie à la polonoise
Le Pâté de Gibier

16 Entrées

Les Filets de Veau à la royale
Les Cailles en sauce à la royale
Les filets de Perdreau en demi-saut
Les Crevettes d'Espagne avec sauce mousseline
Les filets de Lapereaux à la Crème
Le Saumon de Norvège avec truffes
Le Saumon à la royale en belle sauce
Le Mayonnaise de homard

Les Trois gras en sauce
Les Supremes de volaille avec truffes
Les Filets de perdreaux sauce persillade
Les Filets de Canard à l'orange
Les Filets de Veau à la d'Orléans
Les petits Filets au vent à la Maitre
Le Saumon de Norvège à la crème
Le Saumon d'Anguille

6 Rots

4 Grosses Pièces

Le petit dinde truffé
Les filets de bœuf
Le Dindon d'Espagne de saumon
Le Corne d'abondance avec fruits
Les Longues

Le Saumon de la Loire au bleu
Les Potages rouges et Baronnets
Le Dindon d'Espagne de saumon
Le Châvreau égyptien
Les Normands

16 Entremets

Le Gâteau de fruits
Le Pudding à la diplomate
Les biscuits à la Crème
Le Charlotte à la persienne
Le Gâteau napolitain avec amandes
Le Pâté glacé au rhum
Les Cardons à la moutarde
Les petits d'artichauts à l'anglaise

Le Gâteau au vin de champagne
Le Crème en bouche à la Reine
Le Crème au madère historique
Le Bûche de saumon
2 les Truffes au vin de champagne
Les Asperges en petits pots
à la Crème
Les petits Pots à la française

Bombe Café et Amaranth

Vins 1^{er} Service

Madère
Beune 1^{er} gr
Champagne frappé

Bombe Vanille et Peches

Vins 2nd Service

Bordeaux blanc
et moulin
Chambertin
Grand Romané gile
Rouge

Dessert - Café - Liqueurs

Lik. Thierry Frères C^{ie} Bergers

Figure 2.5: Les Trois Frères Provençaux menu for General Cass (1842)

Source: (Voigt, 2012).

In the nineteenth century, the restaurant was a focal point for high-class Americans visiting Paris. They admired its furnishings as much as its food (Freedman, 2007; Voigt, 2012). Les Trois Frères Provençaux was the very first restaurant in Paris to embody regional cuisine, and at the same time also represented the best of French cookery (Happy-Apicius, 2017). The restaurant had become emblematic and went on to represent French cuisine at the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna (Worldfairs, 2021). It was during this World's Fair that twenty-three years old César Ritz worked as a *maître d'hôtel* for Les Trois Frères Provençaux. Ritz would meet Escoffier a few years later and eventually become one of the greatest modern hoteliers of his generation (James, 2002).

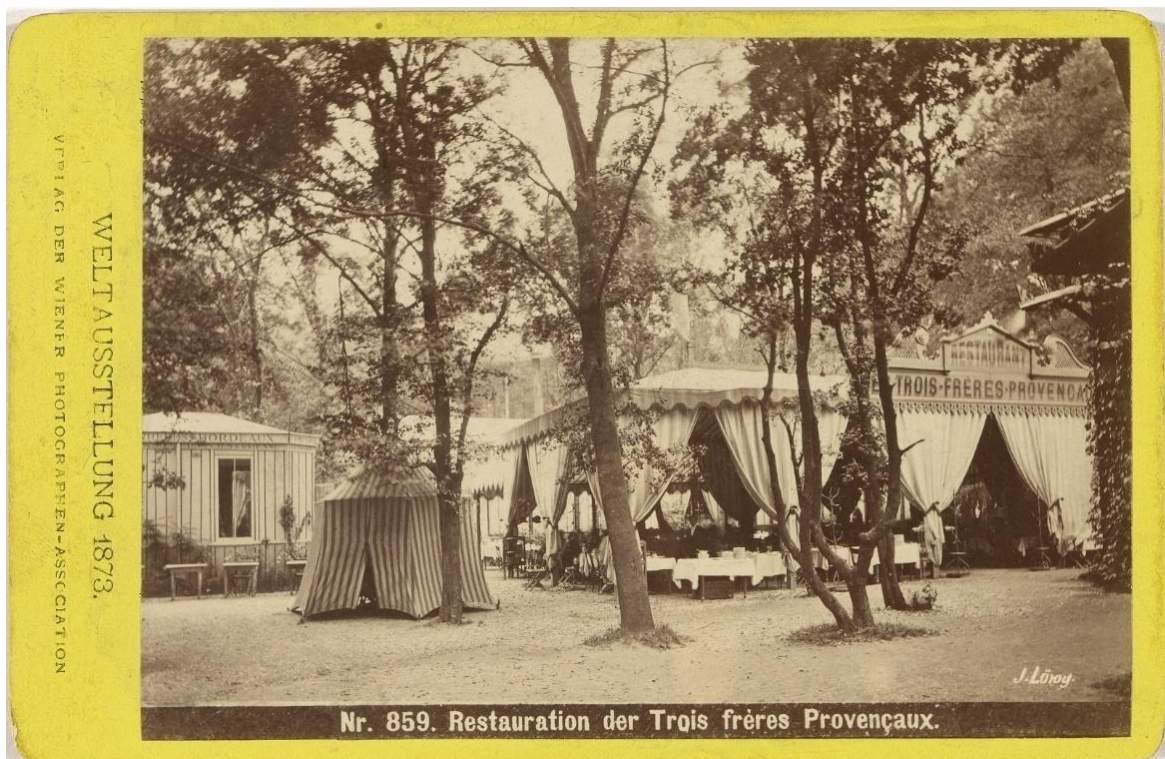


Figure 2.6: Les Trois Frères Provençaux restaurant at the 1873 World's Fair in Vienna

Source: (Sammlung.wienmuseum.at, 2021).

Following its success in Vienna, Les Trois Frères Provençaux went to the first World's Fair to take place in the United States, in Philadelphia in 1876 (Freedman, 2007; Voigt, 2012). The restaurant was magnificent; it consisted of a large beautifully decorated dining room,

billiard rooms, several private lounges and a vast terrace by a lake. The restaurant's menu comprised a large list of vintage wines and could serve up to one thousand people per sitting (Worldfairs, 2021).



Figure 2.7: Les Trois Frères Provençaux restaurant at the 1876 World's Fair in Philadelphia

Source: (Worldfairs.info, 2021).

Ferrières (2006) argues that if the three brothers—in fact brothers-in-law—had been born in a different location, bouillabaisse would have probably remained a humble dish and could have possibly stayed undiscovered. She notes that their recipe is unknown and consequently leads to the speculation of its composition. However, she also notes that we can assume their bouillabaisse must have been a lot more elaborate than the one served in Marseille at the time; an important distinction. The introduction of saffron to the dish acted as a flavour enhancer and colorant, while white wine was possibly added to appeal to the nuances of the Parisian palate. Moreover, she believes the potato was introduced at that time as a sophisticated substitute for bread (Ferrières, 2006). The changes were made in order to give theatrical elegance and purposely elevate the dish's status. The broth had a golden colour and the fish were served whole. The objective was to serve the meal in sequence; the soup first as a starter, and the fish as the main course. Those changes meant the dish was cooked and

served differently than its original form as a collective stew. The cauldron used by the fishermen was now replaced by several pots and pans to cook each species of fish according to their size. As a result, the ingredients were now chosen methodically, thus creating the opportunity for a possible codification (Ferrières, 2006).

2.3.3 Recipes and Codification

It took some time before bouillabaisse appeared in chef's manuscripts or cookbooks. The first recorded recipe for bouillabaisse appeared in the 1830s in Charles Durand's cookbook, *Le Cuisinier Durand*. Born in 1766 in the South of France, Durand became a chef at thirteen years of age. He worked in some of the best houses in Nîmes and Montpellier, before becoming, at age nineteen, the first head chef of the prestigious Hotel Beauvau on the old port in Marseille. Durand was renowned for his *brandade* of salted cod, a speciality from the city of Nîmes—where he would eventually open his own restaurant (Boulet and Dupeyron, 2019). In his book, Durand writes a recipe for *Bouil-Abaisse à la Marseillaise*. The recipe requires sliced fish such as cod, rascasse, sea bass, whiting and spiny lobster as well as onion, garlic, tomato, lemon, saffron, all combined in a pot with white wine, olive oil and fish stock. The dish is cooked rapidly on a high heat and he claims the fish must be served separately from the bouillon (Durand, 1830).

After Durand, no recipe can be found in the literature for some time. The great French chef Marie-Antoine Carême never mentioned it, and when Alexandre Dumas published *Le Grand Dictionnaire de la Cuisine* in 1873 it was not included or even referred to. In 1867, in *Le Livre de Cuisine*, Jules Gouffé wrote a very different recipe from the one associated with the city of Marseille. Gouffé (1867) recommends using a large number of onions, but also carrots, shallots and chillies, cloves, bay leaves, parsley and black pepper corns. Moreover, there is no sign of shellfish or *rascasse*, which are normally essential to the recipe of bouillabaisse, but instead he uses Dover sole, a very unusual choice of fish to include in bouillabaisse. It was not until 1897 when Jean-Baptist Reboul published *La Cuisinière Provençale* that a recipe described respectfully as 'Bouillabaisse de Marseille' can be found.

Six years later in 1903 in the well-respected *Le Guide Culinaire*, famous chef Auguste Escoffier quotes, "... as with the preparation and cooking of so many well-known dishes, there is still no consensus of opinion as to which is the most correct method of preparing bouillabaisse" (Escoffier et al., 2007, p.204).

2.4 The Great Chain of Being

The Great Chain of Being is a hierarchical structure of all matter and life, a concept originally identified by the Greek philosophers Plato and Aristotle, and later systematised by Plotinus (Lovejoy, 1936). The Great Chain of Being became particularly influential during the European Renaissance and the seventeenth to early eighteenth century (Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). Lovejoy (1936, p.184) explains that "next to the word 'nature', 'the Great Chain of Being' was the sacred phrase of the eighteenth century, playing a part somewhat analogous to that of the blessed word 'evolution' in the late nineteenth".

During the 'Old Regime', between the fifteenth century and the French Revolution, people believed food hierarchy played an important role in social order (Ferrières, 2006). Flandrin and Montanari (2013) suggest the Great Chain of Being was a code that made a meal noble or poor, and was known and shared by most people. It consists of a vertical axis starting from the ground up to the sky. At the bottom the animals are seen as heavy and grotesque, but the higher the animals are in the sky, the more refined the meat was deemed to be.

Ferrières (2006) notes that a similar concept can be applied to the products of the sea. At the bottom of the ocean, where it is dark and cold, the heavy fish slowly graze the meadows of sea grass, while the fish closer to sunlight at the sea surface are lighter and more agitated. Sobriquets associated with terrestrial animals were often given to fish in order to distinguish their social rank in the chain. A whole comparative system between meat and fish was created to help understand the quality of the flesh rather than their appearance. At the top of the pyramid stood flat fish such as Dover sole and turbot. Below that were *saxatilis* fish, also known as rockfish (Ferrières, 2006). Rockfish are a key part of bouillabaisse and also possess

their own classification. Ferrières (2006) points out that several of the fish's names referred to animals with reciprocal status in their own part of the chain. For example, the long spine snipefish, was also known as *bécasse de mer* (woodcock of the sea), and the ballan wrasse was known as *tourdre* (thrush). Belonging to the lower rank, the red gurnard was called *galinette* (another name for a small chicken) and the red scorpionfish, *chapon de mer* (capon). The fact that rockfish were compared with small wild and domestic birds was of obvious social significance. The same reasons that certain meats were served to the rich and others to the poor, were also applied to fish (Ferrières, 2006; Davis, 2013; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). However, it remains difficult to assume what fish was used in a fish stew during the sixteenth century. Ferrières (2006) believes that by looking at the bottom of the food chain, we could identify what fish might have been used to make bouillabaisse at the time. The unworthy fish classification created by Rondelet in 1558 and Champier in 1560, *Les Poissons Ignobles*, offers an overview of the bottom of the food chain. They believed this fish was only good for the poor, sailors and fishermen, reapers, or parsimonious people.

LES POISSONS IGNOBLES:

French / English

Congre / Conger eel

Spéraitillon / Annular sea bream

Lotte ou Raspecon / Monkfish or Stargazers

La ravaille: the name for tiny fish mixed together

Arphyes, Anchois, Sardines / Garfish, Anchovy, Sardines

La Pastenague, les Raies / Stingray pastenague, any Rays

Saint-Pierre ou Truie de mer / John Dory or Gilt of the sea

Les poissons mous (poulpe, seiches...) / Cephalopod (octopus, squids...)

Porcs de mer et Squales / Triggerfish (the direct translation is Sea-pigs) and Sharks

2.5 Trading Ports and Cultural Exchange

Several well-known foodstuffs are historically associated with various port cities in France, most notably, *jambon de Bayonne*, the cured ham from Bayonne; the renowned garrigue honey from Narbonne; and the many fine wines of Bordeaux. These products already existed and were highly regarded (both in and beyond France) during the First French Empire at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Ferrières, 2006). However, unlike bouillabaisse which is a true dish of the port of Marseilles and uses various rockfish from the nearby coastline, these other products (jambon, honey, wine) did not come from the immediate areas around the port and are in fact cultivated or produced inland in other parts of their respective regions. Ferrières (2006) explains that the port acted as a link in the food chain between the producer and the consumer. It was at the port that the product was collected, selected, sometimes refined or transformed, and then expedited. The name of the port played a large part in the reputation of a product, and sometimes labels were accidentally or purposely given to products that were not even from the surrounding region (Ferrières, 2006) yet sold on under the moniker of the famous port. Unlike other ports, Marseille does not contribute its name to any culinary goods appellations¹, contrastingly it is the name of the region that most often appears on food labels i.e., Provence. As previously noted, Charles Durand introduced ‘Bouil-Abaisse à la Marseillaise’ in his 1830s recipes and Jean-Baptist Reboul described his version of the dish as ‘Bouillabaisse de Marseille’ in 1897 in *La Cuisinière Provençale* but these titles did not take hold, and when the dish travelled to the burgeoning Paris restaurant scene, it was part of the collective of Provençal dishes.

Ferrières (2006) claims bouillabaisse was already a very popular regional dish before the French Revolution. During the ‘Old Regime’ three particular methods of cooking fish were practiced: frying, roasting and boiling. In the case of bouillabaisse, the most common and traditional method was utilised, namely boiling. Ferrières (2006) points out that bouillabaisse

¹ Notably *pastis*, the strong anise flavoured spirit alcohol, does often state ‘Pastis de Marseille’ on its label, though this is brand specific and not connected to any protected or appellation status.

was actually cooked in the same way as the potage method, (an ancient technique where the ingredients are cooked together in the same pot) but the contemporary uniqueness of bouillabaisse is not its cooking techniques, rather it is the distinctive method of the fish and the broth being served separately (Montagné, 2001; Miramar, 2020; Le Rhul, 2021).

2.6 The Evolution of Bouillabaisse - Regional Cooking

After the French Revolution, Paris' restaurants produced what Carême called the 'Big Transformation'—the culinary transformation that took place in France between 1800 and the 1830s. During this period numerous dishes normally associated with the peasant class were transformed to suit elite tastes. If the dish was approved and enjoyed by high society, it consequently became the symbol of a regional cuisine (Davis, 2013; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). The bouillabaisse served in Marseille at the time was perceived simply as a fish stew from the port. However, once Parisians identified its worthiness, the dish became recognised as a regional dish (Ferrières, 2006).

In the extended period from 1650 to 1830 culinary practice underwent a profound transformation in France (Davis, 2013; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). Food authors ceased celebrating their elite employers' taste in cookbooks, and focused instead on their own professional expertise (Davis, 2013). The abolition of the trade guilds in 1791 ended the regulation and supervision of all commercial cooking by public cooks (Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). At this stage Paris needed to finance the establishment of public dining. However, by 1830 cooks in cities and big houses across France had lost important institutions that had historically passed on their level of distinction and reliability to potential employers (Davis, 2013). Following the French Revolution, gastronomes, diners and cooks contributed immensely to the peculiar direction French culinary nationalism took. The French Revolution completely changed the political and social structure of France and new liberal ideas were starting to influence other European countries. Davis (2013) states that a general opinion on French cuisine being empirically superior to all other European cuisines was agreed by all participants. Although the rise of Napoleon ended the Revolution, the reforms and democratic ideologies continued and helped shape many of Europe's modern-day

governments. After the fall of Napoleon and the occupation of France by the British and Persian armies, superiority in the culinary field continued to expand and became very important to French national identity. Davis (2013) explains that tradition became a defining characteristic of elite French culinary conversations. Although, it remained difficult to determine what exactly French culinary traditions were. The conflicting debates and efforts led by France's respected cooks to identify and codify tradition, showcases the dramatic changes that would eventually lead to the emergence of the professional chef. As a consequence, Davis (2013) believes that these conflicts embraced both high and low cuisine, with dishes such as truffle turkey and fragrant fish stew becoming recognised in the traditional repertoire. Additionally, with the invention of a unified culinary tradition for all French people, it helped reunite the divided classes and regions (2013). In the post-revolutionary period, culinary tradition became a strong characteristic of the cook's professional honour. The eighteenth century witnessed a change in cook's attitudes; they were now protecting and rediscovering past traditional dishes, as opposed to creating new ones (Freedman, 2007; Davis, 2013; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). Bouillabaisse was also starting to appear in restaurants outside the capital as can be noted in the *Entrées de Poisson* section on the menu of the luxurious hotel Le Grand Lucullus located on the Place de la Comedie in Montpellier, Southern France². Voigt (2021) believes the menu dates back to the 1830s.

² Geographically, Montpellier is close to Marseille and within 10km of the Mediterranean. It must be assumed that the 'local' ingredients (specific rockfish) for the dish were readily available, unlike in Paris. However, also notable is that the dish is being served in an exclusive hotel underlining its by-then elevated status.

Between 1858 and 1862, the *Compagnie des chemins de fer de Paris à Lyon et à la Méditerranée*, also known as PLM, was the first French railway company to link Paris directly to the Côte d'Azur by way of Lyon and Marseille (Codimage, 2021). Their clever advertising campaigns used attractive posters created by artist Roger Broders, that helped encourage Parisians to visit the South-East of France. Regardless, France's regional cuisine only really flourished in the late 1920s with the help of the Michelin tyre company. Laudan (2015) argues that the Michelin guide should actually be credited with the revival, if not the invention of regional cuisine. It is also believed that Maurice Edmond Sailland, 'Curnonsky', was equally responsible for the rise of regional cuisine. Curnonsky, one of the creators of the *Académie des Gastronomes*, claimed that regional cuisine was incontestably his favourite type of cuisine (Laurent, 2015) and that by the end of the 1920s most regions in France had their own signature dishes. Regionalism also played a very important part in the recognition of regional dishes internationally (Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). Curnonsky (in Escudier, 1964, p.73) is quoted:

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. Bouillabaisse is one of those classic dishes whose glory has encircled the world, and the miracle consists of this: there are as many bouillabaissees as there are good chefs or cordon bleus. Each brings to his own version his special touch.

Following the rise of regional cooking, Jean-Noel Escudier wrote *La Véritable Cuisine Provençale* (1964), a cookbook exclusively dedicated to the cuisine of Provence. Escudier claims that the integration of the regionalism movement in gastronomy resulted in old food traditions being brought back to life. He claims that all the recipes in his book are authentic and explains that some are for old and traditional dishes, while others have been invented more recently. But above all, the characteristics displayed by the ingredients and the cooking methods clearly reflect the region of Provence. In the 1924 epicurean novel *La vie et la passion de Dodin-Bouffant-Gourmet*, Marcel Rouff (1994 [1924], pp.12-13) wrote:

A quiche Lorraine...or a Marseillaise bouillabaisse...or a potato gratin from Savoy has all the refined richness of France, all its spirit and wit, its gaiety...the seriousness hidden beneath its charm...its malice and its gravity...the full soul of its fertile, cultivated rich earth.

2.7 The Authenticity of Bouillabaisse

Anthropologist Claude Fischler (1988) acknowledges food as an essential link to our sense of identity. Studies in the field of anthropology, history, and sociology have recognised food as an ethnic marker (Harris, 1987). Food connects us to where we are from, and consequently, who we are (Appadurai, 1988; Fischler, 1988; Rabikowska, 2010). However, Fischler (1988) recognises that in modern society, food identification has become problematic. There are several factors contributing to this problem, such as economic growth and advances in technology, as well as life-style changes (1988). Furthermore, these issues are responsible for gradually destroying the socio-cultural context of eating and food choice (Fischler, 1988; Rozin, 1996).

Maurice Brun, owner of the restaurant ‘Aux Mets de Provence’ on Marseille’s old port notes that “bouillabaisse is a soup, a magnificent soup, but still remains just a soup” (Ribaut, 2005). He remembers an argument with another chef from the nearby city of Martigues, over putting potatoes in the dish. Brun does not understand why anyone would use this starchy vegetable in such a beautiful meal, while others believe it to be a necessity (Ribaut, 2005).

In the introduction to the bouillabaisse recipe taken from ‘Les Halles Cookbook’, celebrity chef Anthony Bourdain (2004, p.209) gives his personal view of the dish:

What is an “authentic” bouillabaisse? That's an invitation to a fistfight if there ever was one. Frenchmen living in Marseille can't agree, so there'll be no consensus here, I assure you. Above and beyond the ‘lobster, oui?’ or ‘lobster, non’ question—and the various interpretive issues, which we could spend the rest of our natural lives discussing—here’s the issue of fish.

You're simply not going to be finding any congre, loup de mer, rascasse, or rouget near you. This, my boss José assures me, is as close to the real deal (whatever that might be) as you're likely to get. It's pretty damn tasty.

People in Marseille still debate which type of fish should be used in bouillabaisse, and it is arguably a discussion that occurs regularly at the old port's fish market (Bourdain, 2004; Garrett, 2006). But in spite of this, they seem to agree on the symbolism of bouillabaisse as a dish worthy to represent their city (Garrett, 2006). The French writer Jean-Claude Izzo, a native Marseillais, refused to take sides in these petty arguments generated by people proclaiming to know the true authentic recipe. Izzo believed the beauty of bouillabaisse was in its deliciousness and claimed the best way to cook it, is to cook it yourself (Ribaut, 2005).

According to Olney (2013), bouillabaisse is best served on France's Mediterranean coastline. Moreover, he recognises bouillabaisse as more of a philosophy than a culinary preparation. Olney claims this philosophy demonstrates the warmth, excitement and imagination of the Mediterranean people and especially the people from Provence. He believes that for bouillabaisse to be meaningful, it must be eaten with family and friends.

Dunlop (in Mac Con Iomaire, 2005) explains that all traditional dishes are hybrids, making it difficult to trace back their authenticity. From a simple fisherman stew, to the controversial 'milkshake de bouillabaisse' created by Michelin star chef Lionel Levy, or Sylvain Robert's creation of the 'bouillabaisse burger', bouillabaisse, like many traditional dishes, is constantly evolving. According to Mac Con Iomaire (2005), many levels of authenticity are represented in food, such as; dish level, ingredient level or technology level. It is also believed that due to tourism and globalisation, every food is now found everywhere, and therefore, tradition would be a more appropriate term than authenticity (Mac Con Iomaire, 2005). But tradition is also complex. Hobsbawm (1983) claims 'traditions' in their modern form are an invention of the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We sometimes believe traditions to be much older, but they can actually be quite recent and often are invented. A set of practices, rules or rituals can be viewed as symbolic in nature to a place or a group and

can imply a continuation of some distant past although those practices may not be particularly long established. However, they *are* established and unlike customs which are open to change and interpretation, traditions usually conform to a set list of accepted ideas. It is this ‘invented tradition’ that can raise questions around authenticity as invented traditions often arise based on suitable or convenient historic pasts (Hodsbawm, 1983, p.1)

Sciolino (2019) says that today very few natives of Marseille eat bouillabaisse and if they do, it is in the comfort of their home, not in a restaurant. She further claims that bouillabaisse is perceived as old-fashioned and no longer appreciated by younger people, while noting that it is almost impossible to find a classic interpretation of the dish anywhere. However, she also claims that an authentic version of bouillabaisse has survived in the same place it originated, the small fishing hamlet of Les Goudes, where for centuries generations of the same families have been living. On Sunday afternoons natives of Marseille visit Les Goudes to have lunch. At ‘L’Esplai du Grand Bar des Goudes’ chef Christophe Thullier still proudly serves a classic bouillabaisse to visitors (Sciolino, 2019).

2.8 Bouillabaisse in Popular Culture

While bouillabaisse’s popularity grew towards the end of the nineteenth century, the dish became the subject of songs, poems and other art forms. Bouillabaisse was also the name given to a newspaper and was mentioned in films and novels respectively, as well as demonstrated on several television shows.

Lou Bouil-abaïssso, meaning the bouillabaisse, was a newspaper written in Provençal dialect. It was distributed in the city of Marseille and its surroundings between 1841 and 1846, and was published four hundred and fifteen times during that period (BnF Gallica, 2021).

La Bouillabaisse is a song written in 1889 by Mr and Mrs Bruet-Riviere. The song describes a fisherman from Marseille that uses his catch of the day to make bouillabaisse (BnF Gallica,

2021). In 1950, another song also called *La Bouillabaisse* had a similar storyline and was sung by the popular French singer Fernandel (Toquentete, 2003).

In 2005, the French postal service company 'La Poste', created a 'Special Stamp' issue representing various French regions. Amongst the ten stamps, five were food related: 'Cantal cheese', 'rillettes', 'choucroute', 'sugar cane', and 'bouillabaisse' (Toquentete, 2005).

Voyage au pays de la bouillabaisse is a collection of poems written by Émile Mauzaize published in 1920. The poems are all inspired by the city of Marseille and the region of Provence (OMNIA, 2021).

The fictional novel *Bouillabaisse* by Stacey Sauter is set in 1967, Maryland, USA. Sauter (2018) tells the story of a dysfunctional family who try to find hope and love after facing unexpected burdens. The family works out their pain through their passion for football and cooking bouillabaisse.

In the 1930s, Marcel Pagnol wrote *The Marseille Trilogy*. The movies *Marius*, *Fanny*, and *César* mix theatrical stagecraft and realistic location photography. The epic love story between Marius the bartender and Fanny, the daughter of a fishwife, takes place in the Old Port of Marseille (Criterion, 2021). There are several mentions of bouillabaisse in the three movies—one example being a scene in 'Fanny' where Mr Brun tells Mr Panisse that the entire world must believe that the people in Marseille only eat bouillabaisse and *aioli* (Jézégou, 2021).

Bouillabaisse has inspired many painters over the years. One of them is the Australian painter John Olsen who created a very contemporary piece of art representing the Provencal fish soup (Olsen, 2011). Bouillabaisse was also acknowledged by the famous painter Vincent Van Gogh in a letter to his brother Theo. Van Gogh wrote: "I'm painting with the gusto of a Marseillais eating bouillabaisse, which won't surprise you when it's a question of painting large sunflowers"(Van Gogh, 1888).

Many chefs have cooked bouillabaisse on television programs, but Julia Child is arguably one of the most memorable. In her popular 1970s show, *The French Chef*, Child said; “I always feel part of Marseille itself is cooked right into the bouillabaisse...you can somehow just taste the flavour, the colour, the excitement of that old port” (Sciolino, 2019).

2.9 Protected Geographical Status and Intangible Cultural Heritage—Officially Recognising Bouillabaisse³

2.9.1 The Chart of Bouillabaisse

In 1980, the dish was standardised by a group of seventeen restaurateurs and the creation of a codified chart was put in place. The group was managed by Antoine Zanaboni, and *The Chart* was written and compiled by three Marseille based chefs renowned for their bouillabaisse; Tony Visciano, Alphonse Mounier, and Alex Calligani (Contrucchi, 1980; Jouanin, 2001; Montagné, 2001; Miramar, 2020). The Chart (*La Charte de la Bouillabaisse Marseillaise*) states: “It is not possible to standardise the kitchen. Indeed, it is an art where the chef’s knack will make success” (Le Rhul, 2021). It specifies the elements needed to create a bouillabaisse of the highest standard, and aims to promote the dish (Miramar, 2020; Le Rhul, 2021). But to this day, France still has no governmental recognition of the name bouillabaisse (Sciolino, 2019). It is acknowledged that tourist destinations, such as Marseille, can benefit from local food products being recognised and accredited with a protected status or a certification from government agencies (Haven-Tang and Jones, 2005; Gačnik and Vörös, 2020).

³ This section is included i.e. although bouillabaisse does not currently have status the primary research looks at the possibility.

Charte de la Bouillabaisse Marseillaise

Préambule. Il n'est pas possible de normaliser la cuisine. En effet, il s'agit d'un art où le tour de main du Chef en fera la réussite. Cependant, la Bouillabaisse, plat marseillais par excellence, comporte des ingrédients bien précis qu'il importe d'utiliser, si l'on veut respecter la tradition et ne pas tromper le client. Cette charte a donc pour objet, tout en respectant l'art du professionnel, de préciser les éléments d'une Bouillabaisse de qualité, en vue de promouvoir ce plat régional auprès de la clientèle.

Historique de la Bouillabaisse. A l'origine, il s'agit d'un plat de pêcheurs qui, en triant le poisson destiné à la vente, mettaient de côté certaines pièces qu'ils préparaient pour eux et leur famille. C'est donc un plat simple et familial qui au fil des ans a été perfectionné et qui peut comporter maintenant un fond liant et même des crustacés.

Le service. Le service de la Bouillabaisse Marseillaise est laissé à l'appréciation du restaurateur, mais d'une façon générale cette préparation est servie dans deux plats différents. L'un pour le poisson, l'autre pour le bouillon. Selon le goût du convive, les deux pourront être mélangés dans une assiette creuse ou bien servis à part. Mais une règle obligatoire est le découpage du poisson devant les convives. On servira également la rouille accompagnée de croûtons.



Ingrédients

Les composants. La Bouillabaisse Marseillaise est un plat dont l'élaboration demande une variété de poissons. C'est leur goût particulier qui fait la renommée de ce plat, qui ne doit être composé que d'éléments de premier choix.

Les poissons : La Bouillabaisse Marseillaise devra comprendre au minimum 4 espèces parmi les suivantes :

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| -Rascasse | -Fielas (congre) |
| -Rascasse blanche | -Chapon (scorpène) |
| -Araignée (vive) | |
| -Galinette (rouget grondin) | * Facultatif |
| -Saint Pierre | - Cigale de Mer - |
| -Baudroie (lotte) | Langouste |

Les autres ingrédients.

Les autres ingrédients qui concourent à la préparation de cette spécialité sont en particulier :

- | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| - Sel | - Oignons |
| - Poivre | - Fenouil |
| - Safran | - Persil |
| - Huile d'olive | - Pommes de terre |
| - Ail | - Tomates |

La Bouillabaisse s'accompagne également d'une sauce traditionnelle : La rouille.





Figure 2.9: The Chart of Bouillabaisse

Source: (Toquentete.net, 2003)

2.9.2 European Quality Schemes

Quality schemes have been created by the European Commission to protect the names of specific products and to promote their unique characteristics (European Commission, 2021). The INAO (The National Institute of Origin and Quality) is the office that controls and supervises the schemes on French territory (INAO, 2021).

In accordance with the World Trade Organisation (WTO), Geographical Indications (GI) establish intellectual property rights for specific products, whose qualities are specifically connected to the area of production (Allaire et al., 2015).

In relation to food products, the Geographical Indications (GIs) consist of:

- PDO – Protected Designation of Origin: the product must be produced, processed, and prepared in the specific region.
- PGI – Protected Geographical Indication: the product must be produced or processed or prepared in the specific region.

Traditional Speciality Guaranteed (TSG) is another scheme regulated by the European Commission. It is designed to protect the traditional aspects of a product such as its composition or the way it is made rather than its origin. Bérard and Marchenay (2007) claim that TSG was in fact created specifically to protect a product from disappearing altogether in the face of trivialisation. Most TSG products have similar characteristics to GI products. However, as economic levers TSG products are less convincing than PGIs and PDOs because they are less locally rooted and therefore do not contribute as much to the local development (Bérard and Marchenay, 2007).

2.9.3 UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage

UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2019). As a specialised agency within the United Nations, UNESCO aims to promote world peace and security through international cooperation in education, the sciences, and culture. The cultural sector is one of UNESCO's main activities. It acknowledges the importance of all heritage including the tangible heritage and intangible heritage of humankind and emphasises the cultural diversity for the sustainable development of humanity. In 2003, UNESCO approved the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, contributing towards the promotion of cultural diversity (EAFF, 2021).

Food related items on the Intangible Cultural Heritage list include *The Gastronomic Meal of the French*, a customary social practice that celebrates important moments in the lives of individuals and groups (BBC, 2010). Also, on the list is *Mediterranean diet*, which was

inscribed in 2013 by Cyprus, Croatia, Spain, Greece, Italy, Morocco and Portugal. It involves a set of skills, knowledge, rituals, symbols and traditions concerning crops, harvesting, fishing, animal husbandry, conservation, processing, cooking, and particularly the sharing and consumption of food (UNESCO, 2021).

Unger (2019) observes that the criteria needed to be registered on the Intangible Cultural Heritage list can vary considerably. She believes that food plays an important social, cultural, and ritual role in all societies. For this reason, some of the criteria are very specific, while others are left purposefully vague in order to be more encompassing.

The knowledge, know-how and practices related to the production and consumption of couscous has also recently been inscribed on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2020).

UNESCO (2020) states that:

Couscous is much more than a dish; it is a moment, memories, traditions, know-how, gestures that are passed on from generation to generation. There are as many recipes for couscous as there are families, and an infinite variety of nuances between regions, with the composition changing according to ecosystems, depending on whether one is on the plains, in the mountains, in oases, near the coast or on islands - making couscous a true mirror dish of the societies where it is cooked.

Similar to bouillabaisse, the preparation of couscous follows a number of steps and comprises various elements (Harms and Jakel, 2007). Currently no application to recognise or protect bouillabaisse exists with UNESCO.

2.10 Variations of Bouillabaisse

Like bouillabaisse, many fish soups and fish stews have arguably existed along the Mediterranean coastline for a very long time. While trying to investigate their chronology would undoubtedly be a very challenging task, it remains important to identify the similarities between bouillabaisse and other dishes in order to understand the evolution of bouillabaisse in a broader context.

2.10.1 Bourride

In the city of Sète, *Bourride* is a dish whose origins it is believed can be traced to bouillabaisse. Bourride, *boulido* in Provençal dialect, means to boil. It is made with monkfish, whiting and sea bass. The fish is chopped and poached in a court bouillon. The court bouillon is a broth made with sliced onion, thyme, fennel, bay leaves and orange zest. When the fish is cooked, it is removed and kept hot and only served when the sauce is ready. The broth is sifted and thickened with a garlic-flavoured mayonnaise called *aioli*. The sauce is poured into a dish where slices of bread have been laid and it is served alongside the fish and with extra aioli (Barberousse, n.d.; David, 1965; Reboul, 2006).

2.10.2 Cotriade

In the French region of Brittany, a speciality dish called *Cotriade*, is another fish stew made with butter, onion, garlic, potatoes and all sorts of fish, depending on the fish caught that day. However, oily fish such as herring, mackerel and sprat are commonly used in the recipe. The stew is associated with fishermen and was originally cooked in a cauldron over a wood fire. Contrary to bouillabaisse, the recipe does not contain shellfish. The stew is traditionally poured over toasted sliced baguette (Stein, 1995; Montagné, 2001).

2.10.3 Cacciucco

Cacciucco is an Italian fish stew originating from the province of Livorno. David (1965) claims that cacciucco is very much the same as bouillabaisse with the addition of squid cut in rings, small clams, and sometimes prawns and mussels. She believes the basis of most Italian fish soups to be a broth made with olive oil and tomato, flavoured with onion, garlic and herbs and sometimes dried mushrooms. However, Davidson (1981) suggests that because the dish is made in different parts of Livorno, the recipe can sometimes vary slightly, but the dish must be simple and cheap. Furthermore, he alleges that a red-hot pepper zenzero, is a quintessential component of cacciucco.

2.10.4 Suquet

Suquet is a fish stew from the region of Catalonia in Spain. It is thought to be a variation or imitation of bouillabaisse (Davidson, 1981). Stein (2011) says the origin of the dish, like so many fish stews, such as bouillabaisse, cotriade and cacciucco, came from fishermen cooking the leftover fish in boiling water for their supper. He maintains that similarly to bouillabaisse the dish has now become prestigious and is made with expensive ingredients. To make suquet, a selection of fish such as gurnard, monkfish, sea bass, and John Dory is cooked in a broth made with fish stock, garlic, paprika, and tomato (Davidson, 1981). The dish is thickened with ground almonds and often contains potatoes (Stein, 2011).

2.10.5 Ramadan Soup

Ramadan Soup is a popular fish soup eaten during the month of Ramadan in Tunisia. The broth is made with onion fried in olive oil, in which boiling water, powdered red pepper and tomato puree is added. A selection of tiny fish—actually called bouillabaisse by Tunisian fishmongers—are cooked in the broth and then removed (Davidson, 1981). The flesh of the fish is picked from the bones and replaced in the broth with some pearl barley and seasoning.

The soup is cooked further until the barley is tender. The dish is served with a squeeze of lemon juice.

2.11 Conclusion

The review of the available academic literature and other resources has revealed valuable insights into the evolution of bouillabaisse from a historical context. The evidence points to several factors contributing to the transformation and elevation of the dish. The cultural exchange in trading ports, the emergence of restaurants in Paris post French Revolution, the rise of France's regional cuisine, and the codification of the dish are clearly all accountable for the dish's current recognition.

The literature also reviewed specific French and Mediterranean dishes with possible links to bouillabaisse in order to scrutinise the topic further. In the discussion chapter (Chapter Four), Barbara Ketcham Wheaton's structured approach of reading historic cookbooks (Mac Con Iomaire, 2013), along with selected bouillabaisse recipes, will be applied to further reinforce this research.

Chapter Three: Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines and discusses the theoretical framework within which this study is conducted. The research design is presented and the methodologies for the collection and analysis of the data of the research are discussed.

Research has been defined as the systematic and objective evaluation and synthesis of evidence that may lead to the development of generalisations, principles or theories resulting in the prediction and possible conclusion of events (Walliman, 2011).

Theoretical research can be thought of as research intended to add to our fundamental understanding of the world (Deutsch and Miller, 2009).

3.2 Research Aim and Objectives

This study looks to establish the history and uncover the current practices (popularity, service styles, and recipes) of the Provençal dish bouillabaisse, with a view to highlighting its significance as a traditional dish.

The objectives of the study are:

- To examine the place in history and evolution of bouillabaisse in the literature;
- To investigate the traditional characteristics of bouillabaisse both in the literature and the primary research;
- To show the dish's historical and contemporary popularity through the primary and secondary research;

- To determine the everyday role that bouillabaisse plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking;
- To ask if bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or official recognition by UNESCO?

3.3 Research Methodology

Methodology is the systematic, theoretical analysis of the methods applied to a field of study (Deutsch and Miller, 2009). Creswell and Creswell (2018) claim that “research approaches are plans and the procedures for research that span the steps from broad assumptions to detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation” (p.40).

It was decided to use an exploratory sequential mixed-methods model for the purpose of this study. Exploratory sequential mixed-methods are an approach to combining qualitative and quantitative data collection and analysis in sequence of phases (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2018). In the first phase researchers collect qualitative data and then analyse the data, the result of which directs the next, quantitative phase, which could be a survey or some other form of quantitative data. Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) believe that “mixing methods is an intuitive way of doing research that is constantly being displayed throughout our everyday lives” (p.35). Deutsch and Miller (2009) argue that “explanatory research is performed in an attempt to explain why behaviour or situation occurs” (p.25).

3.3.1 Primary Research

The primary research was completed using a combination of questionnaires, interviews, and Barbara Ketcham Wheaton’s structured approach of reading historic cookbooks (Mac Con Iomaire, 2013) in an attempt to identify any significant themes informing the study. Questionnaires were chosen because “questionnaires are the underpinning of any empirical research data gathering” (Humble, 2020, p.14). Interviews were chosen as they can provide

a better interpretation of a subject matter which can be shared as a contribution to the field and those affected by it (Seidman, 1991). Mac Con Iomaire (2013) believes that “cookbooks are an exceptional written record of what is largely an oral tradition” (p.1); as a result, Wheaton’s methodology was chosen to analyse the evolution of bouillabaisse recipes in selected manuscripts and cookbooks.

3.3.2 Secondary Research

The secondary research of this study is detailed in Chapter Two, the literature review. This review was accomplished by examining a variety of published materials directly related to the study. The sources investigated were books, journals, reports, and websites which provided the following information:

- An extensive explanation of the dish bouillabaisse;
- Historical and contemporary information regarding bouillabaisse;
- A background of cultural exchange in trading ports;
- An overview of the history of France’s regional cuisine;
- An overview of protected geographical status;
- A review of the variations of bouillabaisse.

By analysing the secondary sources, it was possible to form a critical evaluation of the secondary research which then provided the foundations of the primary research.

Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) observe:

The explanatory sequential design is implemented in two distinct phases. The first phase involves collecting and analysing quantitative data. Based on a need to further understand the quantitative results, the researcher implements a subsequent qualitative phase that is designed to explain the initial quantitative results (p.140)

3.4 Questionnaire

Two short questionnaires; Questionnaire 1 and Questionnaire 2 (Appendix A), were created to chart the popularity and the everyday use of bouillabaisse for normal people living in Provence. The questionnaires consisted of a range of carefully selected demographic and dichotomous questions. The demographic questions were necessary to identify the socioeconomic status of the participants. This was done in order to ensure sufficient diversity amongst the recipients. The use of yes/no dichotomous questions was employed because they have the advantages of being quick and do not allow ambivalent answers.

3.4.1 Questionnaire Distribution

The questionnaires were distributed via email. Questionnaire 1 was sent to the association 'Ensemble Vocal d'Arles' (E.V.A). E.V.A is a voluntary choir based in the city of Arles, which is located in the same department as Marseille, 'Bouches-du-Rhône'. The survey was sent to the association's mailing list which comprises 83 people; 52 active members and 31 past members. Out of the 83 surveys sent, 59 were completed. E.V.A was chosen because of the demographic diversity of its members. However, the results showed that the majority of respondents were above 45 years old, and for that reason it was decided to send a second questionnaire with the aim to target a younger cohort. Questionnaire 2 was sent to the school of culinary arts 'Lycée Hôtelier de Marseille'. The exact number of surveys sent was not provided, but 47 were completed, of which 39 belonged to groups under the 45 years old category. The combination of both questionnaires gave a broader mix of respondents.

3.5 Interviews

Kvale (1996) states that “if you want to know how people understand their world and their lives, why not talk to them” (p.1).

Interview method is a useful tool for quantitative research. By giving the interviewees the same questions, in the same way, and in the same order, the interviewer can minimise the variation between interviews (Bryman, 2012).

As a method of data collection for this study, a semi-structured interview format was chosen. This method enables the researcher to get a deeper understanding of the lived experience of the participants. The prompts and probes during the interviews were used to steer the participant in the direction desired to facilitate analysis of the data.

The semi-structured approach is where an interview schedule is used to guide the interview but the questions are a mix of closed and open-ended and the participant is allowed to influence the flow of the interview.

The interviews were conducted with the intention of uncovering the evolution of bouillabaisse, identifying the dish’s popularity in Provence, and distinguishing if bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or official recognition by UNESCO.

Due to the restrictions presented by the Covid-19 pandemic, all interviews were conducted by telephone rather than in person. Bryman (2012) notes that telephone “interviews can be tape-recorded so that data quality can be assessed” (p.214). The interviews were recorded using the Easy Voice Recorder application on a *HP Chromebook*, but also on an Aiwa V-Sensor Micro Cassette Recorder TP-M130 as a form of back-up. All interviews were in French and translated to English by the researcher.

A total of five interviews were carried out. Each set of questions, although very similar, were created purposely to fit each participant. However, as a means of facilitating the flow of the discussion, the questions were not always asked in the order initially intended. The interviewees were free to speak for as long as they needed in order to get their point across. Occasionally, additional questions were required to clarify or elaborate upon points brought up during the interview.

Kvale (1996) defines phenomenological semi-structured interview as “an interview whose purpose is to obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee with respect to interpreting the meaning of the described phenomena” (p.5-6). Furthermore, he claims that an interview is simply a conversation that has a structure and a purpose.

The first two participants interviewed were chefs. Both have worked in multiple restaurants in Provence and Marseille, and therefore they were given the same set of questions (Appendix B).

The next two interviews were carried out with two restaurateurs. The first to be interviewed was the chef-owner of *Le Miramar*, while the second one was the owner of *Le Rhul*. Both restaurants are located in Marseille and famous for bouillabaisse, they are part of the group responsible for the creation of the Chart of bouillabaisse. Consequently, the two participants were asked the same questions (Appendix C).

Finally, a French food historian was interviewed to determine the everyday role that bouillabaisse plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking and additionally to establish its significance as a traditional dish. Prior to the interview, the questions (Appendix D) were sent via email to allow the participant to research the subject in order to answer in the best possible manner.

During the last interview the researcher was given a link to access the archives of the Dijon library. A collection of more than sixteen thousand menus can be found on the library's website, with the oldest dating back to 1810. The purpose of this was to search for menus mentioning bouillabaisse that could be relevant to the study. A total of seven suitable documents were found and then analysed using Wheaton's methodology.

3.5.1 Ethical Considerations and Responsibilities

Any research involving people includes inherent ethical dilemmas. Robson (2002) notes that "ethics refer to the rules of conduct" (p.65). Moreover, Bradburn *et al.*, (2004, p.14) claim that:

The term 'informed consent' implies that potential respondents should be given sufficient information about what they are actually being asked and how their responses will be used.

The participants in this study were all made aware of the purpose and nature of this research. The dates for the interviews were arranged in accordance with the interviewees. Because of the nature of this study, some participants needed to be identified in order to contextualise the data. As a result, all participants freely agreed-upon this request. A verbal agreement allowing the use of the data was made at the beginning of each interview. In qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument for data collection, therefore personal bias must be kept as minimal as possible. Cohen *et al.*, (2007) state that there is "simply no ethical alternative to being as non-biased, accurate and honest as humanly possible in all phases of research" (p.216).

3.6 A Structured Approach to Reading Manuscripts and Historic Cookbooks

Manuscripts and printed cookbooks can provide valuable sources of information that can be utilised in academic research (Mac Con Iomaire and Cashman, 2011). Albala (2012), notes

that "historians use cookbooks as primary source documents in much the same way they use any written records of the past" (p.227). However, while exploring recipes, we must take into consideration that cookbooks may often represent the author's expectations of what readers would like to know instead of the actual culinary practice (Albala, 2012). For this study, Barbara Ketcham Wheaton's structured approach of reading historic cookbooks was chosen. This method helps examine relevant manuscripts and cookbooks under the headings of ingredients; the cook's workplace; techniques and equipment; the meals; cookbooks as objects and the world of publishing; and reader, cook and eater (Mac Con Iomaire, 2013).

In order to identify the traditional characteristics and evolution of bouillabaisse, recipes taken from the following cookbooks were analysed in a chronological order:

- Jean-Baptiste Reboul - *La Cuisinière Provençale* (1897)
- Auguste Escoffier - *Le Guide Culinaire* – (1903)
- Jean-Noël Escudier - *La Véritable Cuisine Provençale et Niçoise* (1964)
- Chanot-Bullier - *Vieii Receto de Cousino Prouvençalo* (1972)
- Anthony Bourdain - *Les Halles Cookbook* (2004)

With the aim to establish the current practices and evolution of the dish the following documents were examined:

- Déjeuner, Grand Hôtel de la Cloche, Dijon - 26th of October 1902.
- Luncheon Menu, The Plaza Hotel, New York - 18th of November 1910.
- Dinner Menu, Hotel St. Francis, San Francisco, California - 21st of March 1921.
- Banquet de l'Armistice, Hôtel de Kratié - 11th of November 1934.
- Déjeuner, Compagnie Generale Transatlantique, French Line, Paquebot: 'Normandie' -23rd of June 1939.
- Déjeuner, Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes, Paquebot: 'La Marseillaise' - 8th of July 1953.

- Dîner offert par Jacques Chirac en l'honneur de Son Excellence José Maria Aznar, Président du Gouvernement espagnol - 4th of November 1996.
- Déjeuner offert en l'honneur de Heydar Aliyev Président de la République Azerbaïdjanaise et de Robert Kotcharian, Président de la République d'Arménie par Jacques Chirac, Président de la République - 26th January 2001.
- Dîner offert par Jacques Chirac, Président de la République à l'occasion de la signature du traité de Nice - 26th February 2001.

3.7 Data Analysis

Creswell and Plano Clark (2018) state that in mixed methods research:

Researchers go through a similar set of steps for both quantitative and qualitative data analysis: preparing the data for analysis, exploring the data, analysing the data, representing the analysis, interpreting the analysis, and validating the data and interpretations of the results (p.308).

Quantitative and qualitative analysis methods were employed in this study in order to decode the raw data and provide the appropriate results and findings for each style of research.

3.7.1 Quantitative Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using Google Forms which provided the results for the quantitative element of the research through graphical representation.

3.7.2 Qualitative Analysis

In order to prepare the data for the qualitative analysis, the interviews were transcribed into text, and then summarised. Because of the small scale of interviews the use of qualitative

data analysis software was not considered necessary. During the transcription process, emerging themes and patterns were identified and analysed independently.

3.7.3 Thematic Analysis

Bryman (2012) claims that in the analysis of qualitative data, a theme “provides the researcher with the basis for a theoretical understanding of his or her data that can make a theoretical contribution to the literature relating to the research focus” (p.581).

When using interview as a research method, the researcher identifies a group of people relative to the research question, interviews them and analyses the transcripts of the interviews using a text analysis method, such as thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) believe that using thematic analysis can offer an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analysing qualitative data. The interview approach utilises a thematic methodology in order to obtain a conclusion (Bryman, 2012).

3.8 Research Administration

- The secondary research for the literature review was conducted from late September 2020 until late February 2021.
- Primary research began late November 2020.
- Interviews commenced late November 2020 and were completed late February 2021.
- Surveys were sent late January 2021, and subsequently collected late February 2021.

3.9 Research Limitations

While a study of this nature will inevitably encounter certain limitations, which can possibly inhibit the final conclusion, the Covid-19 pandemic brought several additional challenges to

this research. Every attempt to adapt and keep such limitations to a minimum was applied. The limitations were as follows:

- The restrictions imposed in the region of Marseille during the pandemic forced most restaurants to close, making it difficult to contact chefs and restaurateurs alike.
- Because of the restrictions on travel, it was not possible to go to Marseille in person. This meant that the interviews could not be conducted in person and planned surveys of the local fish markets could not be carried out. In addition, access to the archives in Marseille's library and museums was also restricted.
- Most of the literature resources were limited to online availability.

3.10 Conclusion

The main focus of Chapter Three was to outline the different methodologies and the theoretical framework employed to collect the evidence, both primary and secondary, that will form the basis of the results and discussion section in Chapter Four.

The majority of the qualitative research was gathered via interviews. Cookbooks and manuscripts were used as primary sources. Questionnaires were used to collect the quantitative data.

Chapter Four comprises the results of all the primary research data and the key issues of the results will be highlighted and analysed thoroughly.

Chapter Four: Presentation of Findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter contains the presentation of the data accumulated through primary research. The quantitative data was collected from questionnaires which consisted of a range of carefully selected demographic and dichotomous questions. The answers to all questions will be graphically represented by appropriate charts for data visualisation. The qualitative data was obtained from examination of manuscripts and printed cookbooks using Wheaton's methodology and from semi-structured interviews.

4.2 Questionnaires

The questionnaires were created in order to chart the popularity and the everyday use of bouillabaisse in Provence. The first questionnaire (Questionnaire 1) was sent to the association 'Ensemble Vocal d'Arles' on the 27th of January 2021. The answers were gathered on the 24th of February 2021. A total of 59 recipients responded to the survey. The second questionnaire (Questionnaire 2) was sent to the school of culinary arts 'Lycée Hôtelier de Marseille' on the 10th of February 2021. The answers were collected on the 24th of February 2021. A total of 47 participants responded to the survey. The two surveys combined provided 106 responses which is a valid response rate for this type of research.

4.2.1 Questionnaire Results

4.2.1.1 Age Bracket

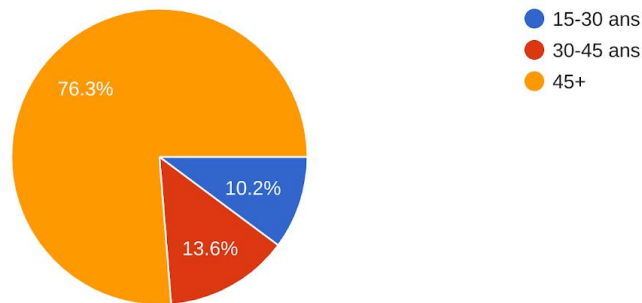
Q1: *Quel est votre tranche d'âge?*

What is your age group?

Questionnaire 1:

Age

59 responses

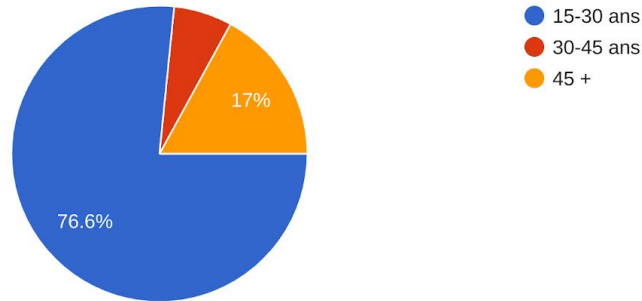


- 6 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were in the 15-30 age brackets (10.2%)
- 8 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were in the 30-45 age brackets (13.6%)
- 45 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were in the 45+ age bracket (76.2%)

Questionnaire 2:

Age

47 responses



- 36 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were in the 15-30 age brackets (76.6%)
- 3 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were in the 30-45 age brackets (6.4%)
- 8 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were in the 45+ age bracket (17%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 42 of the respondents were in the 15-30 age bracket, which equates to 43.4%
- 11 of the respondents were in the 30-45 age bracket, which equates to 10%
- 53 of the respondents were in the 45+ age bracket, which equates to 46.6%

4.2.1.2 Occupation

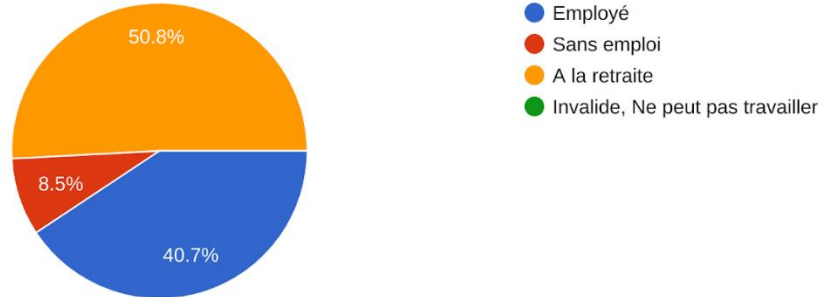
Q2: Questionnaire 1:

Parmi les énoncés suivants, lequel décrit le mieux votre situation professionnelle?

From the following 1 to 4, wish one describes your professional status?

Parmi les énoncés suivants, lequel décrit le mieux votre situation professionnelle?

59 responses



- 24 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were employed (40.7%)
- 5 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were unemployed (8.5%)
- 30 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were retired (50.8%)
- 0 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 were invalid or could not work (0%)

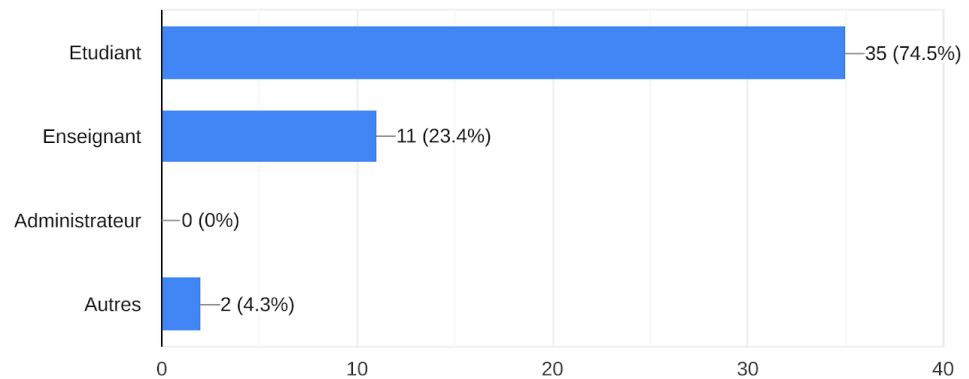
Q2: Questionnaire 2:

Quelle est votre position au sein du lycée?

What is your position within the school?

Quelle est votre position au sein du lycée?

47 responses



- 35 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were students (74.5%)
- 11 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were teachers (23.4%)
- 0 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were admin (0%)
- 2 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 were others (4.3%)

4.2.1.3 Awareness of the Dish Bouillabaisse

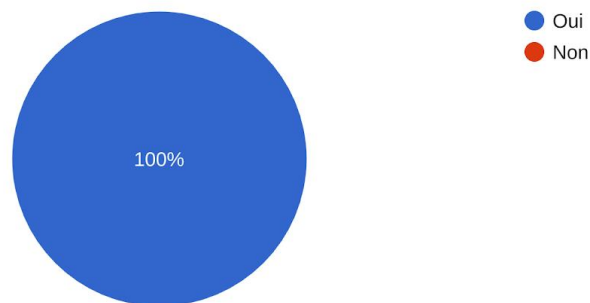
Q3: *Connaissez-vous la bouillabaisse?*

Do you know bouillabaisse?

Questionnaire 1:

Connaissez vous la bouillabaisse?

59 responses

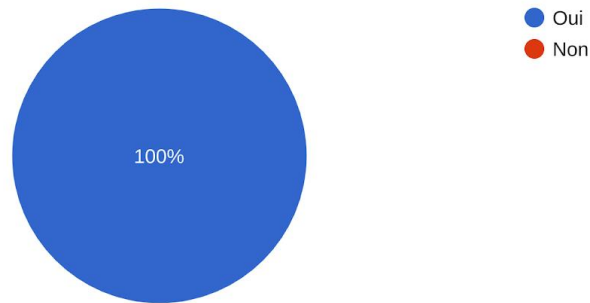


- 59 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 knew bouillabaisse (100%)

Questionnaire 2:

Connaissez vous la bouillabaisse?

47 responses



- 47 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 knew bouillabaisse (100%)

The findings show that all the respondents knew the dish bouillabaisse.

4.2.1.4 Eating Bouillabaisse in Restaurants

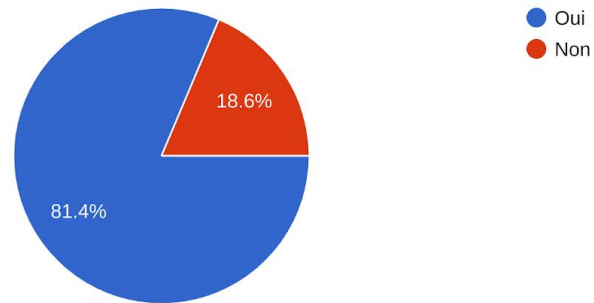
Q4: *Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un restaurant?*

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant?

Questionnaire 1:

Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un restaurant?

59 responses

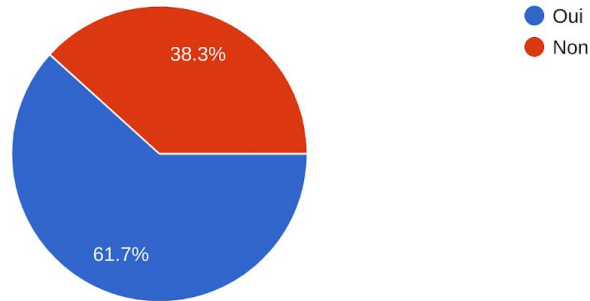


- 48 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (81.4%)
- 11 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have never eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (18.6%)

Questionnaire 2:

Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un restaurant?

47 responses



- 29 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (61.7%)
- 18 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have never eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (38.3%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 77 of the respondents have eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (71.5%)
- 29 of the respondents have never eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant (28.5%)

4.2.1.5 Eating Bouillabaisse Somewhere that is not a Restaurant

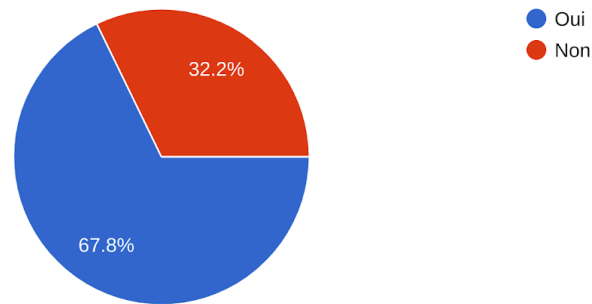
Q5: *Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un endroit autre qu'un restaurant?*

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant?

Questionnaire 1:

Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un endroit autre qu'un restaurant?

59 responses

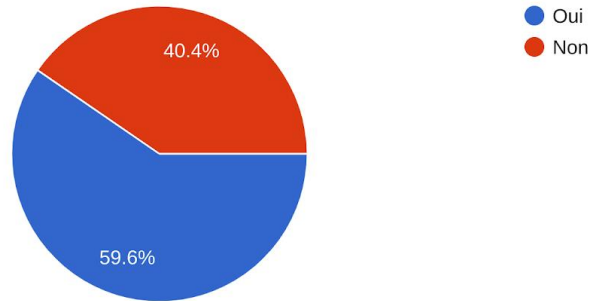


- 40 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant (67.8%)
- 19 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have never eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant (32.2%)

Questionnaire 2:

Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un endroit autre qu'un restaurant?

47 responses



- 28 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant (59.6%)
- 19 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have never eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant (40.4%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 68 of the respondents have eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant (63.7%)
- 38 of the respondents have never eaten bouillabaisse somewhere that is not a restaurant (36.3%)

4.2.1.6 Cooking Bouillabaisse

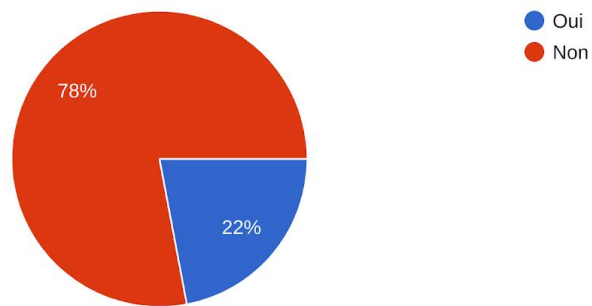
Q6: *Avez-vous déjà cuisiné une bouillabaisse?*

Have you ever cooked bouillabaisse?

Questionnaire 1:

Avez-vous déjà cuisiné une bouillabaisse?

59 responses

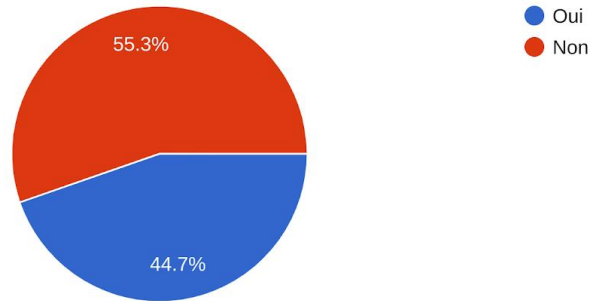


- 13 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have previously cooked bouillabaisse (22%)
- 46 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 have never cooked bouillabaisse (78%)

Questionnaire 2:

Avez-vous déjà cuisiné une bouillabaisse?

47 responses



- 21 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have previously cooked bouillabaisse (44.7%)
- 26 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 have never cooked bouillabaisse (55.3%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 34 of the respondents have previously cooked bouillabaisse (33.4%)
- 72 of the respondents have never cooked bouillabaisse (66.6%)

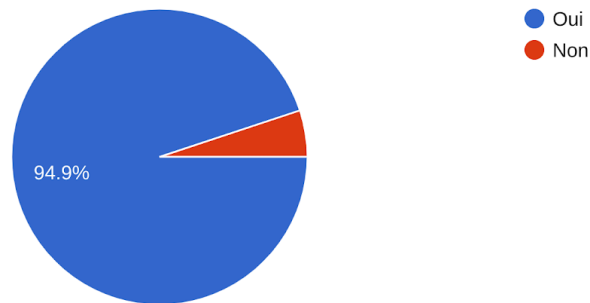
4.2.1.7 Significance of Bouillabaisse

Q7: *Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?*

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage?

Questionnaire 1:

Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse soit un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?
59 responses

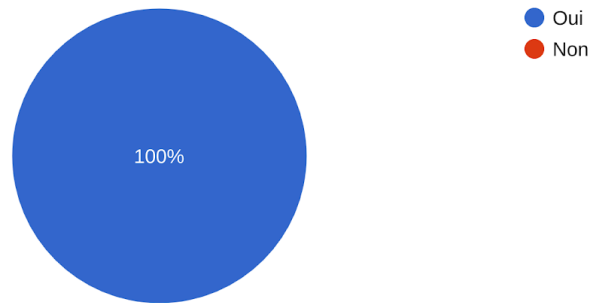


- 56 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage (94.9%)
- 3 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 do not think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage (5.1%)

Questionnaire 2:

Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?

47 responses



- 47 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage (100%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 103 of the respondents think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage (97.5%)
- 3 of the respondents do not think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage (2.5%)

4.2.1.8 Protected Geographical Status for Bouillabaisse

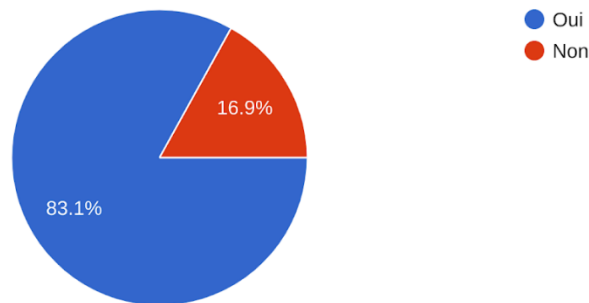
Q8: *Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse devrait être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'INAO (l'Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité) ou l'UNESCO*

Do you think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches such as INAO or UNESCO?

Questionnaire 1:

Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse devrait être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'INAO (l'Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité) ou l'UNESCO?

59 responses

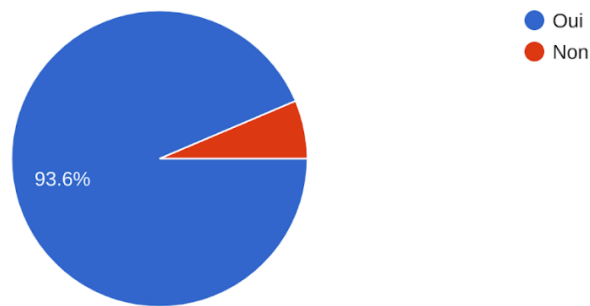


- 49 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (83.1%)
- 10 of the respondents from questionnaire 1 do not think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (16.9%)

Questionnaire 2:

Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse devrait être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'INAO (l'Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité) ou l'UNESCO?

47 responses



- 44 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (93.6%)
- 3 of the respondents from questionnaire 2 do not think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (6.4%)

The combination of the results from both surveys shows that:

- 93 of the respondents think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (88.5%)
- 13 of the respondents do not think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches (11.5%)

4.3 Manuscripts and Printed Cookbooks

Wheaton's methodology was employed to analyse cookbooks and manuscripts as historical sources. The collection, codification, comparison, and categorisation of the data create a structured framework from which phenomenological and ethnographic insights are obtained. The following books and manuscripts were analysed using this methodology.

4.3.1 Bouillabaisse in Printed Cookbooks

In order to evaluate the traditional characteristics of bouillabaisse five cookbooks were methodically selected and scrutinised. The period in which the books were written stretches from the end of the nineteenth century up to the present.

4.3.1.1 Jean-Baptiste Reboul, 'La Cuisinière Provençale' (1897)

La Cuisinière Provençale is a collection of recipes, menus, and house management tips written by Jean-Baptiste Reboul, it was published in 1897. For most of the book, the recipes showcase Provençal cooking, but the author also includes a few classic French recipes (Duhart, 2004). It was originally designed to guide the inexperienced housewife in the kitchen. Reboul explains that his concept is to transmit his cooking knowledge in the manner of 'from mother to daughter' (Reboul, 2006). The first edition was written in French and indigenous dishes such as *oursinado* and *boui-abaisso* were adjusted to; oursinade and bouillabaisse (Duhart, 2004). However, following the advice given by Frédéric Mistral, Reboul added the original names beside the locally named dishes for the 1910 edition. The fact that the native names were converted in the first place would suggest that the book's original intention was to reach a wider audience outside of Provence. In the present day, *La Cuisinière Provençale* is arguably considered one of the most important cookbooks written about Provençal cuisine. When Elisabeth David wrote *A Book of Mediterranean Food* in 1950, she said on bouillabaisse: "The recipe for Bouillabaisse is already widely known, but

as this is a book of Mediterranean cookery it must be included here, and I give the one from M. Reboul's *La Cuisinière Provençale*" (David, 1965, p.86).

Reboul's (2006) book provides four recipes for bouillabaisse. The first one 'La Bouillabaisse' is the one David refers to. Reboul explains the recipe step by step. The ingredients used are the exact ones later found in the 1980 Chart of Bouillabaisse. The fish is chopped in large chunks and poached in a bouillon which is then sifted over thick slices of bread. The second recipe is 'Bouillabaisse Riche' (rich bouillabaisse). The process is very similar to the first recipe, but the fish is poached in a thick fish soup rather than a bouillon. The fish soup must be made prior and demands a larger volume of fish, making the dish more expensive. The third recipe is 'Bouillabaisse aux Poissons d'Eau Douce' (freshwater fish bouillabaisse). Reboul explains that it is possible to do the recipe of 'La Bouillabaisse' with freshwater fish when sea fish is not available. The fourth and final recipe is 'Bouillabaisse Borgne' (one eyed bouillabaisse). This recipe does not contain any fish and is the only one of the four using potatoes. The broth is made with the following ingredients; leek, onion, garlic, tomato, fennel, herbs, orange zest, and saffron. The potatoes are cooked in the broth until tender, and before serving the dish, eggs are added to the bouillon and poached until soft. To finalise the dish, it is sprinkled with chopped parsley.

4.3.1.2 Auguste Escoffier, 'Le Guide Culinaire' (1903)

Le Guide Culinaire, known in English as 'The Complete Guide to the Art of Modern Cookery', is a cookbook written by Auguste Escoffier in 1903. A native of Provence, Escoffier has been regarded as one of the most important figures in the culinary world and has often been referred to as 'the king of chefs and chef of kings' by the press (Gringoire and Saulnier, 1986). Escoffier is accredited for having modernised and codified traditional French cooking methods (Mac Con Iomaire, 2009; Flandrin and Montanari, 2013). The book was originally written to be used by professional chefs and to help with the education of young cooks. Each recipe is briefly described and followed by a list of ingredients and a methodology.

In *Le Guide Culinaire*, Escoffier (2007) proposes three recipes for bouillabaisse. The first one is ‘Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise’. The recipe is very similar to Reboul’s ‘La Bouillabaisse’ and uses the same ingredients. However, in this version, the author gives a very detailed explanation of the preparation of the dish. The ingredients are measured in grams, and the techniques are explained precisely including the cooking time. Escoffier suggests that a real bouillabaisse should never be served with bread that has been fried or toasted, but in fact, the bread should be as fresh as possible. Moreover, in order to thicken the bouillabaisse’s liquid, Escoffier claims the use of whiting is an absolute necessity. Interestingly the second recipe is called ‘Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne’. None of the Mediterranean fish listed in ‘Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise’ can be found in the ingredients section. The addition of mussels and sole show a distinct similarity to the recipe Gouffé wrote in 1867. White wine, an ingredient often associated with cooking fish in the capital, is also included. But what really separates this recipe from the others, is the use of *beurre manié* (a mixture of butter and flour) to thicken the broth. This technique indicates a clear sign of sophistication in preparing the dish. The last bouillabaisse recipe in *Le Guide Culinaire* is ‘Bouillabaisse de Morue’, a salted cod bouillabaisse. The broth is made with onion, leek, garlic, saffron, a large bouquet garni, chopped parsley and olive oil, in which potatoes and salted cod is cooked.

4.3.1.3 Jean-Noël Escudier, ‘La Véritable Cuisine Provençale et Niçoise’ (1964)

La Véritable Cuisine Provençale et Niçoise is a cookbook entirely dedicated to Provençal cuisine. In his book, Escudier (1964) provides several recipes for bouillabaisse. He believes that when he cooks bouillabaisse it is his duty to exhibit the beautiful ingredients of Provence. He agrees that depending on the location in which the dish is being produced, ingredients can sometimes vary. He explains that some people like to put white wine in the broth, while others put absinthe or cognac. However, Escudier believes that the three most important factors contributing to a good bouillabaisse are; the freshness of the fish; the correct quantity of the ingredients; and the way the dish is executed. Unlike Escoffier, Escudier’s recipes are vague and only provide guidance, advice and tips. The weights and the measurements given, as well as the cooking time, are only rough estimates.

For his recipe of ‘La Bouillabaisse’, the author suggests to use a handful of slipper lobster, a handful of crabs, and at least two and half kilos of fish such as scorpion fish, greater weaver fish, conger eel, monkfish, red gurnard, whiting, sea bass, and John Dory, but also oily fish such as mackerel. Moreover, the recipe contains onion, garlic, tomato, fennel, laurel, thyme, orange zest, saffron, and olive oil. When the dish is ready, the fish is arranged in a large dish and covered with some of the broth. It is served with a side of slices of bread that have been dried under the sun. Although the next bouillabaisse recipe does not contain any fish, Escudier claims that ‘Bouillabaisse d’Épinards’ is a traditional dish, typical of the city of Marseille. The dish consists of chopped blanched spinach cooked alongside sliced potatoes in a broth made of onion, garlic, saffron, fennel and olive oil. Just before serving, eggs are added to the broth and poached until soft. The other bouillabaisse recipes presented in this book are as follows; ‘Bouillabaisse d’Escargot’, made with snails; ‘Bouillabaisse de Morue’, a similar recipe to Escoffier’s salted cod bouillabaisse’ but with the addition of grated cheese; ‘Bouillabaisse d’Oeufs’ almost identical to Reboul’s ‘Bouillabaisse Borgne’; ‘Bouillabaisse de Petits Pois’, made like ‘Bouillabaisse d’Oeufs’ but with peas instead of eggs; ‘Bouillabaisse de Sardines’, similar to ‘Bouillabaisse de Morue’ but with sardines instead of salted cod; and finally, ‘Le Revesset’ a type of bouillabaisse that uses sardines and anchovies, and also include spinach, chards, and sorrel.

4.3.1.4 Chanot-Bullier, ‘Vieii Receto de Cousino Prouvençalo’ (1972)

In *Vieii Receto de Cousino Prouvençalo*, Chanot-Bullier (1972, pp. 29-35) has gathered a collection of recipes that belonged to his family and to a lady’s organisation named ‘Les Dames de la Couqueto’. The text is written in Occitan and translated into French. Like Escudier’s book, there are several recipes listed under the name bouillabaisse. However, this research will only focus on the two most relevant entries. The first one is ‘La Bouillabaisse’ in which Chanot-Bullier claims that potatoes and monkfish do not belong in bouillabaisse. Only the head of monkfish may be used to thicken the broth. The recipe is as follows: sliced onion, garlic, tomato, fennel, saffron, orange zest, and slices of lemon are arranged at the bottom of a large cast iron pot. The fish is put on top of the vegetables and drizzled with olive

oil and sprinkled with flour. It is covered and marinated for an hour. In the second stage, the fish and vegetables are sautéed in olive oil, covered with boiling water, and simmered for a maximum of twenty minutes. The second recipe is ‘La Bouillabaisse de Martigues’ also known as black bouillabaisse. The dish is made exactly the same way as the previous recipe but with the addition of cuttlefish and its ink, which gives a dark rich colour to the broth.

4.3.1.5 Anthony Bourdain, ‘Les Halles Cookbook’ (2004)

Anthony Bourdain was the original ‘Rock Star Chef’ and an iconic figure of the modern culinary world. As a bestselling author, TV host, and chef, he presented new ways to think about food and how it ties society at large together. At the time when Bourdain wrote *Les Halles Cookbook*, he was the executive chef at the New York City restaurant ‘Les Halles’. Bourdain (2004) claims ‘Les Halles’ is an authentic French bistro, as authentic as any place can be outside of France. In his book, Bourdain demonstrates a selection of the most renowned classic French dishes. His bouillabaisse recipe does not appear in the chapter entitled 'Fish and Shellfish', but actually in the chapter called ‘The Big Classics’. Bourdain’s recipe offers the same guidelines and ingredients as suggested in the Chart of Bouillabaisse, but with the exception of the Mediterranean fish, which is substituted by similar fish available in New York City. Also listed in the ingredients is Pastis, an aniseed liqueur from Marseille.

4.3.2 Bouillabaisse in Manuscripts

With the aim of determining the historic practices and evolution of bouillabaisse, seven menus found in the archives of the Dijon Library of Gastronomy and two menus found in the library of the Culinary Institute of America library examined.

4.3.2.1 Déjeuner, Grand Hôtel de la Cloche, Dijon -1902-



Figure 4.1: Lunch Menu, Grand Hôtel de la Cloche, Dijon -26th of October 1902-

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

This manuscript represents the menu of the day that was made on the 26th of October 1902 in the restaurant of the Grand Hôtel de la Cloche located in the French city of Dijon. The Grand Hôtel de la Cloche has been an iconic symbol in Dijon for centuries. The building is part of Dijon's historical city centre, which is designated as a World Heritage site by UNESCO (Historic Hotels Worldwide, 2021). L'hostellerie de La Cloche is believed to date back as far as 1424. In 1884, the owner M. Edmond Goisset opened a new prestigious establishment that remained at a high-level of excellence for years. The place became a haven of peace for political figures and artists (La Cloche, 2021).

The handwritten menu includes a selection of starters, a choice of four main courses, a side of vegetables, fruits, deserts, and a selection of cheeses. The main course options comprise three meat dishes and one fish dish entitled 'Bouillabaisse de poissons'.

4.3.2 Luncheon Menu, The Plaza Hotel, New York -1910-

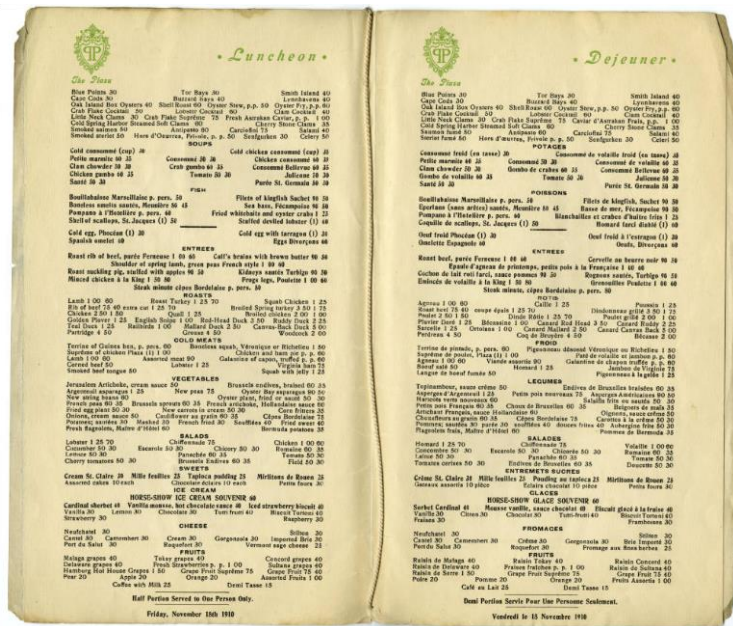


Figure 4.2: Luncheon Menu, The Plaza Hotel, New York -18th of November 1910-

Source: (Nyheritage.org)

This document represents the lunch menu served at the Plaza Hotel on the 18th of November 1910. The Plaza Hotel is arguably one of the most iconic hotels in New York City. Since its opening in 1907, this luxurious hotel has hosted kings, presidents, and stars of stage and screen from around the world and was used in filming several classic Hollywood movies (Historic Hotels America, 2021).

The *a la carte* menu is presented in English on the left-hand side and in French on the right-hand side. The menu is mostly representative of French cuisine and includes a fish section which offers eight dishes, one of them being ‘Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise’.

4.3.2.3 Dinner Menu, Hotel St. Francis, San Francisco, California -1921-

California Oyster Cocktail 45 Lark Neck Clam 50 Blue Point 50 Tahoe Oyster 50 California Oysters 50 Mignonette 70	OYSTERS AND SHELL FISH Central Sweet 10 Oyster Moll. Shell 70 Clam Cocktail 50 Shrimp Cocktail 60 Cracked Crab 60 Crab Legs Cracked 80	CORNER STEW 85 Fried Oysters 85 Brochettes 85	RELISHES Pickled Walnuts 50 Fried Asparagus 75 Romaine Vinaigrette 75 Sardines 40 Canned Salmon 60 Hot of Oysters (1) 70 Asparagus 60 Cold Beans 50 Sliced Almonds 50 Celery 30 Fancy Cabbage 15 Olives 25 Jumbo Olives 40 French Baby Asparagus 75 Radicchio 25 Flea Money, Chow, Chow, Biscuits, Biscuits or Pepper Margarine, They Overlook or Mixed Potatoes 35	Dinner Dishes Marked with Star (*) are Ready ★CANAPE ST. FRANCIS 1.25 ★FRUIT COCKTAIL EN SUPREME 75 ★BISQUE D'ECREVISSES 35 ★PETITE MARMITE 40 ★CONSSOMME, TALLEYRAND 30 ★BOILED HALIBUT, HOLLANDAISE 60 ★BROILED SALMON, COLBERT 60 ★PLANKED SHAD, ALEXANDRIA 90 ★SMELTS, PAPA JOFFRE 75 ★SEA FOOD, MARINIERE 1.25 ★FROGS' LEGS, CLAMART 1.75 ★SAND DABS, MEUNIERE 60 ★TERRAPIN, BALTIMORE 1.15 ★ROAST CHICKEN, FRUIT COMPOTE (1/2) 1.75 ★BOILED BEEF, PROVENCE 30 ★ROAST LEG OF VEAL WITH SPINACH 75 ★CALF'S HEAD, POULETTE 75 ★SWEETBREADS, EUGENIE 1.25 ★FILET MIGNON, PERUVIENNE 1.75 ★BREAST OF GUINEA, HEN, VIRGINIENNE 2.00 ★MUTTON CHOP, PROVENCE 40 ★ARTICHOKE, HOLLANDAISE 40 ★NEW PEAS 30 ★POTATO CROQUETTE 30 ★PEACH PIE 25 ★ALMOND PUDDING SOUFFLE 30 ★CROUTE A L'ANANAS 40 ★PEAR DEMI DEUIL 40 ★BISCUIT GLACE ST. FRANCIS 40 ★ANGEL FOOD ICE CREAM 40	FISH Saal Dabs, Mignonette 60 Fried Filet of Sole 60 Steak Mignonette 60 Steak Tartar 60 Pompano, Mignonette 70 Filet of Sole Jumbo 75 Salmon, Hollandaise 70 Boiled Salmon (1/2) 70 Frog Legs, Marinier 1.75 Terrapin, Baltimore 1.15 Fauxon, Maryland 1.35 Fauxon Pickled, Cream 70 Lobster, Newburg 1.35 Crab Meat, soy style 1.00 Crab Legs, soy style 1.25 Boiled Striped Bass 75 Pompano on Papilote 75 Salmon, Broiled 60 Halibut Steak 60	COLD MEATS Roast Capon 1.50 Chicken (half) 1.50 Roast Turkey 1.50 Ham 80 Pate de Foie Gras 1.00 Temper 75 Pigme Rib of Beef 80 Veal Ham 1.25 Leg of Lamb 70 Assorted Meats 75 Assorted Meats Turkey 25 Turkey, Virginia Hen 30 Sweest or Sweet Tongue 30	VEGETABLES Sautee Spinach 40 Artichoke Hollandaise 45 Asparagus (California) 60 Cauliflower, sliced, hot 45 Cauliflower, Hollandaise 60 Cauliflower on Crust 60 Stuffed Potato 40	FRESH FRUIT Mincel Fruit 40 Bananas 25, with cream 35 Apple (1) 15 Grapes 40 Orange (1) 15, sliced 25	POTATOES Boiled 20 Baked 25 Mashed 30 Hollandaise 30 St. Francis 30 Fried in cream 30 Potato Dumplings 60 Fried Potatoes 30 French Fried 20 Sauté 30 Lettuce 30 as Gratin 30 Pommes 30 Sauté 40 as Gratin 30 Julienne 30 Candy Potatoes 75 O'Brien 40 as Gratin 40 Long Beans 30	FRESH FRUIT Mincel Fruit 40 Bananas 25, with cream 35 Apple (1) 15 Grapes 40 Orange (1) 15, sliced 25	SALADS Lettuce or Romaine 35 Heart of Lettuce 45 with Tomato 50 Escarole 35 Cauliflower 40 Tomato 40 Fruit, for 1 50 St. Francis 30 Chilled 40 Celery, Vinaigrette 40 Potato 35 Coleslaw 40 Walnut 75 Lettuce 40 Crab 30 Shrimp 35 Chicken 1 60	Dinner \$1.75 Half Grapefruit with Cherries Bisque of Escaroles Celery Radishes Sand Dabs Meuniers Roast Chicken, Fruit Compote Potato Croquette Artichoke Melted Butter Vanilla Ice Cream, Crushed Pineapple Assorted Cakes Demi Tasse If you desire a set of these famous Mural Covers, hand your name and address to the head waiter. They will be mailed at once.	ICE CREAM With Chocolate Sauce 55 Cafe, Vanilla, Chocolate 45 Nougatine 40 Pavlova Parfait 45 Stassberry Parfait 45 Baked Apple 25 Purced Fruit, Jam 35 Purced Fruit 35 Fruit de Die 35 Rouletted Potatoes 50	PASTRY Stassberry Shortcake 50 Apple or Pastry Pie 25 Charlotte Russe 40 Pound Cake 25 Mincel Cake 40 Lady Fingers 25 French Pastry, 1 30 Almond Wafers 25	TOAST Crown Toast 50 Raisin Bread Toast 15 Gentle Cakes 25 Waffles 35 English Muffin 20 Convent (including Butter with Bread, if desired) 10 cents per person.
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Figure 4.3: Dinner Menu, Hotel St. Francis, San Francisco, California -21st of March 1921-

Source: (Nyheritage.org)

This document displays the dinner menu served at the Hotel St. Francis on the 21st of March 1921. Hotel St. Francis has been one of San Francisco's landmarks for over a century. Charles T. Crocker and his affluent circle of friends decided in the early twentieth century that San Francisco needed a hotel that would reflect the city's emerging worldly importance. They wanted to make San Francisco the "Paris of the West" and use the hotel as their flagship (Westin Hotels, 2021). For over a century, countless guests of international prominence have stayed in Hotel St. Francis, from political figures and royalty, to motion picture and theatrical luminaries and literati. Emperor Akihito, Queen Elizabeth II, King Juan Carlos of Spain, the

Shah of Iran, General Douglas MacArthur and every U.S. President since McKinley have all been guests at the hotel (Ehler, 2021).

The *a la carte* menu provides a wide variety of choices. Although the majority of the menu consists of classic French cuisine, several American dishes such as chicken okra, club sandwich or clam chowder can be identified. The fish section comprises a choice of twenty courses including ‘Bouillabaisse Marseillaise’.

4.3.2.4 Banquet de l'Armistice, Hôtel de Kratié -1934-

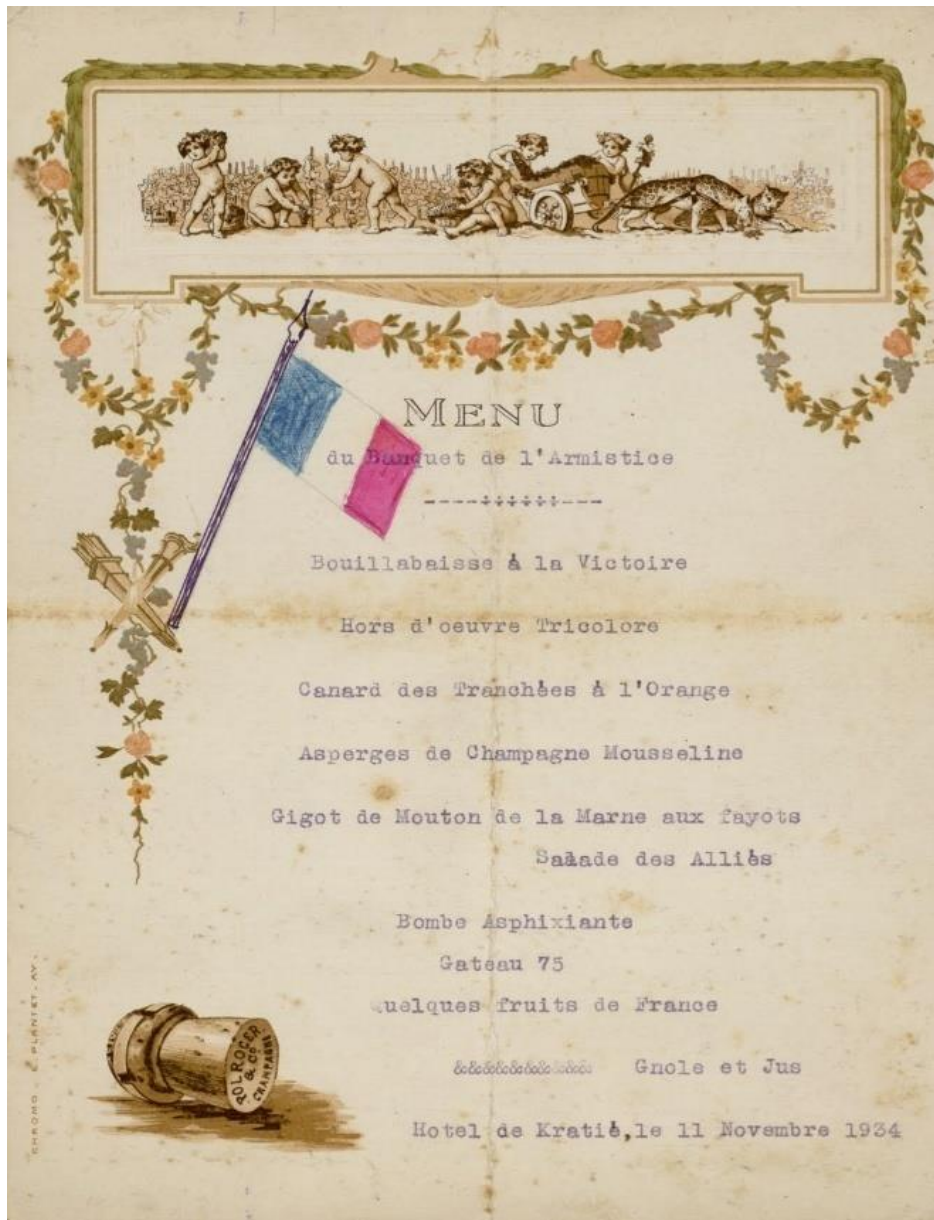


Figure 4.4: Banquet de l'Armistice Menu, Hôtel de Kratié -11th of November 1934- recto.

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

This manuscript shows the menu of a banquet organised in Hôtel de Kratié (modern day Cambodia, then French Indochina) on the 11th of November 1934. The banquet was created to commemorate the Armistice of World War I.

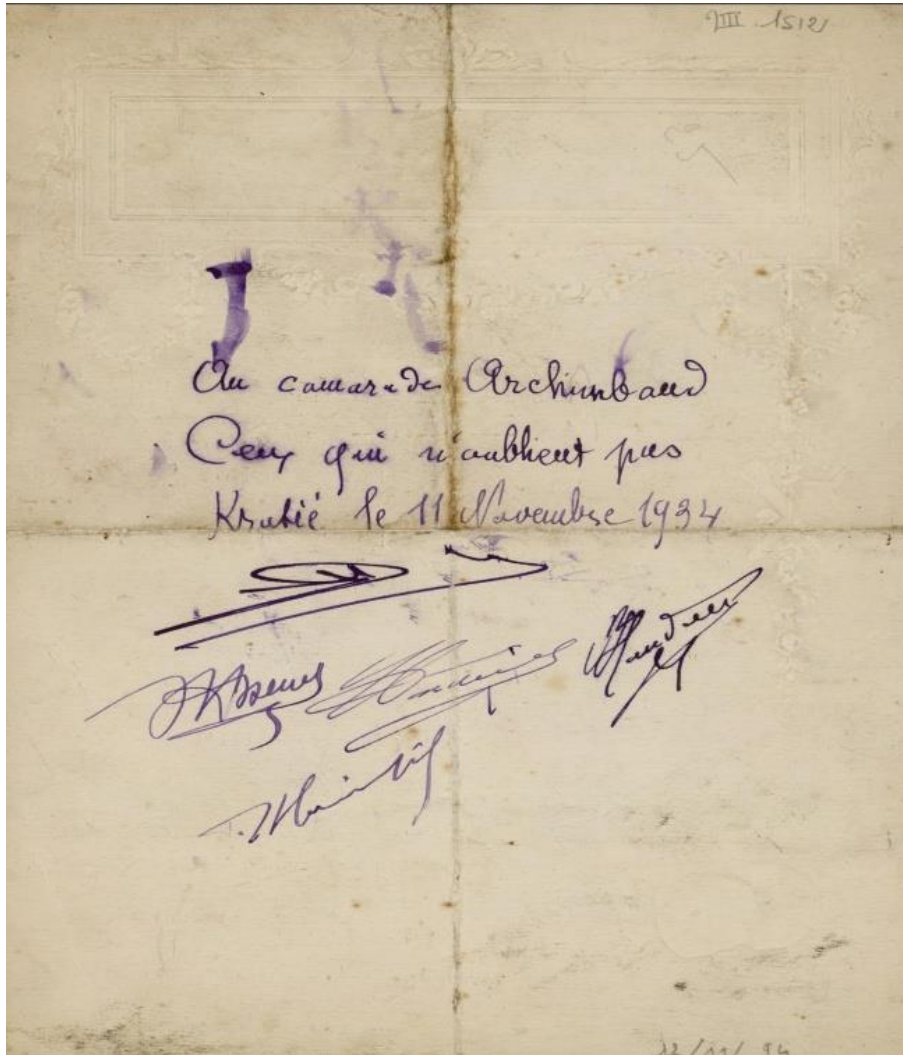


Figure 4.5: *Banquet de l'Armistice Menu, Hôtel de Kratié -11th of November 1934- verso.*

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

At the back of the menu a handwritten note states, “to our comrade Archimbaud from the ones that will never forget Kratié on the 11th of November 1934”. Below the note five signatures can be identified. The menu including a plausible interpretation of its meaning is as follows:

- *Bouillabaisse à la Victoire*: the name ‘bouillabaisse to the victory’ possibly relates to the defeat of the enemy during the First World War.
- *Hors d’oeuvre Tricolore*: the ‘tricolour starter’ may symbolise the French flag.
- *Canard de Tranchée à l’Orange*: ‘duck from the trenches with orange sauce’ could stand for the battle field.
- *Asperge de Champagne Mousseline*: ‘Champagne’s asparagus mousseline’ may refer to the two major battles that took place in the region of Champagne between the French and the Germans during the First World War (Lukasik, 2020).
- *Gigot de Mouton de la Marne aux Fayots, Salade des Alliés*: ‘Marne’s leg of Mutton with white beans and salad from the Allies’. This could represent the battle of the Marne, the first major battle of World War I, where the strategic victory from the Allies proved to be a critical turning point (Klein, 2014).
- *Bombe Asphixiante Gateau 75*: ‘asphyxiating bomb cake 75’ refers to the French 75 field gun used by the French side in chemical warfare against the German side in World War I (Krause, 2013).
- *Quelques Fruits de France*: ‘few fruits from France’ could be interpreted as some fruits imported from France.
- *Gnole et Jus*: ‘gnole and juices’. The French dictionary Larousse (2021) claims that *gnole* is a homemade brandy of poor quality. Given the context, we can assume that the word juices stand for fruit juices.

While the names of the dishes can arguably be associated with the Armistice of World War I, it is interesting that the selection of beverage does not contain any wine but instead the rather unusual gnole. Ledson (2018) claims that France really began to cement its relationship with wine during World War I. She notes that through drinking wine, soldiers discovered a shared culture. She argues that when the war was over, wine continued to be consumed in the same symbolic way.

In his book *Indochine*, Nguyen (2011) wrote that the French left a profound influence on the food consumed in the ex-colonies. However, he explains that in places like Vietnam, wine appreciation is still evolving and that rice whiskey, Russian vodka, and homemade gñole still remain the alcoholic drinks of choice.

Searches did not uncover any documentation on Hotel de Kratié. However, Kratié is the French for Krâchéh, a town in north-eastern Cambodia. Located on the eastern bank of the Mekong River, Krâchéh is a port linked to Phnom Penh, the national capital (Britannica, 2021). Between 1863 and 1954 Cambodia was part of the French colonial regions of Indochina (ANOM, 2021). At the time, Leon Archimbaud was a French politician and reported on the budget for the *Colonies Member of the Colonial High Council*. Several documents show Archimbaud's implication with Indochina during the 1930s. From 1922 to 1937 he was the editor of the review, *La Revue du Pacifique*. In 1934 he published several reports on the political and economic status in Indochina (Archimbaud, 1934). On the 24th of February 1931, the newspaper *Les Annales Coloniales* published an article on colonial matters which mentioned Archimbaud. Coincidentally, an article written about Kratié's port development can also be found on the same page (Ruedel, 1931). Documents from the French National Overseas Archives (ANOM) show that Archimbaud received the Emperor of Vietnam, S.M. Khai Dinh, at the 1922 Marseille exhibition (ANOM, 2012). This highlights Archimbaud's importance as a French statesman, and although he was not born in Marseille, he clearly had links to the city and possibly travelled from Marseille port on his overseas journies.

The evidence highlighted above shows that bouillabaisse was served in Kratié, Cambodia in the 1930s but further demonstrates that the dish travelled to distant colonies under French rule at the time. Given that the dish was served abroad, in this case to a distinguished French politician, in memory of France's victories and involvement in World War I is another indication of the symbolic importance and brevity of the dish and its association with Frenchness i.e. being French (UNESCO,2010).

4.3.2.5 Déjeuner, Paquebot: 'Normandie' -1939-

DÉJEUNER		LUNCHEON	
Hors-d'Œuvre (servi à la française)	Olivier Verte - Olivier Rôtie - Calfon au Brochet Côte Franc au jambon Salade Waldorf - Quarters d'Artichoke au Curry Saucisses Vertes - Filet de Herbage Laiton Choux Roupes Mâchées - Cornet de Saumon Fumé Salade Parmesane - Saucisse à la Truie Tartine de Pigeonnau Truffé	Green Olives - Black Olives - Celery Stuffed Eggs with Ham Waldorf Salad - House of Artichoke with Curry Assorted Sauces - Filets of Herbage Laiton Hot Cabbage Maitre - Poiled Smoked Salmon Parmesane Salad - Saucisses Truie Saucis Truffled Squab Terrine	Hors-d'Œuvre (servi à la française)
Potages	Consommé Chaud - Consommé de Volaille Consommé à la Bercosole Muscovite Soupe à l'Oignon	Hot Consommé - Chicken Consommé Bouillabaisse Consommé Muscovite Olive Soup	Potages
Oufs	Omelette aux Epaves Crepettes d'Œufs Ours Œufs Frits à la Chénop Œufs Frits à la Reine	Omelet with Kidneys Eggs Chénopaise Only Stuffed Eggs à la Chénop Cold Eggs Bresse	Eggs
Poissons	Filet de Saumon Marseillais Filet de Vire Saumon Braise	Filet de Saumon Marseillais Filets of Water-Fish Braise Saucis	Fish
Spécialité Régionale	QUICHÉ DE BœUF EN HOCHÉPOT A LA MOÛDE DE CALAIS	OX-TAIL EN HOCHÉPOT A LA MOÛDE DE CALAIS	Special French Dish
Entrées	Filet de Veau Maitre Bœuf à la Reine	Calf's Liver Maitre Roast Hare	Entrées
Légumes	Epaves Frites à la Crème Choux Brocoli au Beurre Fumé Couscous Frits à la Presse Fait Frit - Riz au Kori	Fresh Spinach Cream Sauce Broiled Cabbage with Butter Fruit Maitre à la Presse Hot Pot - Rice with Curry	Vegetables
Femmes de Terre	Pommes Mignonette Pâtés - au Four - à l'Anglaise - au Bœuf	Mignonette Potatoes Mashed - Baked - à l'Anglaise - Jacket	Potatoes
Pâtes	Spaghetti Bolognese - Nouilles au Parmesan Macaroni au Gratin (10 Minutes)	Spaghetti Bolognese - Noodles au Parmesan Macaroni au Gratin (10 Minutes)	Pastes
Grillades (15 min.)	Contrillet Grillé Marchand de Vin Mâché Grillé Pigeon à l'Anglaise Grillé Louis XV	Roasted Tenderloin Marchand de Vin Mixed Grill Roiled Lamb Kidney Louis XV	From the Grill (15 minutes)
Buffet Froid	Jambon de Westphalie - Jambon d'York - Jambon de Virginie Jambon des Ardennes - Jambon de Bayonne Bœuf Mâché au Gratin aux Olives Loup de Veau à la Crème Maitre - Poulet Froid Carré de Veau Froid - Saucis Froides Saucis Maitre Dindonneau Froid - Croustille Saucis Côte de Bœuf Froid Filet d'Œuf à la Crème au Bœuf Homard Froid Maitre - Truite Saucis Saucis	Wagyu Ham - York Ham - Virginia Ham Ham - aux Ardennes - Bayonne Ham Beef Maitre au Gratin with Olives Loup of Veau Froid - Cold Chicken Cold Roast of Pork - Cold Fricas of Spring Lamb Maitre Cold Turkey Cranberry Sauce Cold Rib of Beef Fois Gras à la Crème au Bœuf Cold Lobster Maitre - Salmon-Trouit Russian Sauce	Cold Buffet
Salades	Salade de Laitue Maitre - Saucis - Cresson - Moutarde Salade Américaine - Salade de Consommé	Letuce Maitre - Saucis - Cress - Mixed Salad American Salad - Consommé Salad	Salad
Fromages	Pâté de Saumon - Cresson de Chèvre - Demi-Sel Consommé - Bœuf - Dindonneau - Huitaine	Pâté Saucis - Cresson de Chèvre - Demi-Sel Consommé - Bœuf - Dindonneau - Dindonneau	Chese
Pâtisseries	Macaron de Nancy - Tartes aux Citrus - Bûche de Chocolat	Macaron de Nancy - Cherry Tart - Bûche de Chocolat	French Pastry
Entremets	Crème Régence - Pudding Croustille - Pie aux Pêches	Regence Cream - Croustille Pudding - French Pie	Entremets
Glaçons	Vanille - Chocolat - Framboise - Mandarine	Vanilla - Chocolate - Raspberry - Tangerine Ice Cream	Ice Cream
Fruits	Corbeille de Fruits - Compote de Fruits Froids	Assorted Fruits - Stewed Fresh Fruits	Fruits
Vins	Bordeaux Rouge Supérieur - Bordeaux Blanc Supérieur Bourgeois Blanc Supérieur	Bordeaux Rouge Supérieur - Bordeaux Blanc Supérieur Bourgeois Blanc Supérieur	Wines
Tea, Coffee, etc..	Café Américain - Café Français - Café Sanka Thé de Chine - Thé de Ceylan - Caramel Pâté Verveine - Tillet - Menthe - Guaiac Milk Pomme	American Coffee - French Coffee - Sanka Coffee China Tea - Ceylon Tea - Caramel Pâté Verveine - Linden Tea - Mint - Cassonille Milk Pomme	Tea, Coffee, etc.

Figure 4.6: Lunch Menu, Transatlantic Ocean Liner the 'Normandie' -23rd of June 1939-

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

This document (Appendix N) is a menu served on the 23rd of June 1939 on the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique's ocean liner the *Normandie*. The Compagnie Générale Transatlantique was a French shipping company entrusted by the French government to transport mail to North America. The company gained fame in the 1910s and 1930s with its prestigious ocean liners. The SS *Normandie* entered service in 1935 as the largest and fastest passenger ship afloat. It was considered to be the greatest of ocean liners at the time (Ollivier, 2005). The ninety-three-meter-long first-class dining room could seat up to seven hundred guests and served some of the most sophisticated French cuisine of its time. Ollivier (2005) claims that during its short lifespan of four years, the *Normandie* embodied the characteristics of the perfect ship; fast, refined, and extremely luxurious.

The menu is divided into three parts. The first part, on the left-hand side, is written in French and is titled 'Déjeuner' (lunch). It includes a large offering of *a la carte* dishes and a wine list. Traditional French cuisine is primarily represented but the menu also includes some American dishes such as Waldorf salad, American salad, and Virginia ham. The dish 'Bouillabaisse Marseillaise' is found in the fish section. The second part on the right-hand side of the menu is named 'Luncheon' and displays the same menu as the first part but translated to English. The third part 'Suggestion of the Day' stands in between 'Déjeuner' and 'Luncheon'. 'Suggestion of the Day' is a set menu that comprises eight courses. The second course which comes after a selection of starters is Bouillabaisse Marseillaise. It is followed by a dish of broccoli in butter, a grilled sirloin steak served with a red wine sauce and accompanied by potatoes, salmon salad, cheese board, Parisian pastries, and a fruit platter.

4.3.2.6 Déjeuner, Paquebot: 'La Marseillaise' -1953-

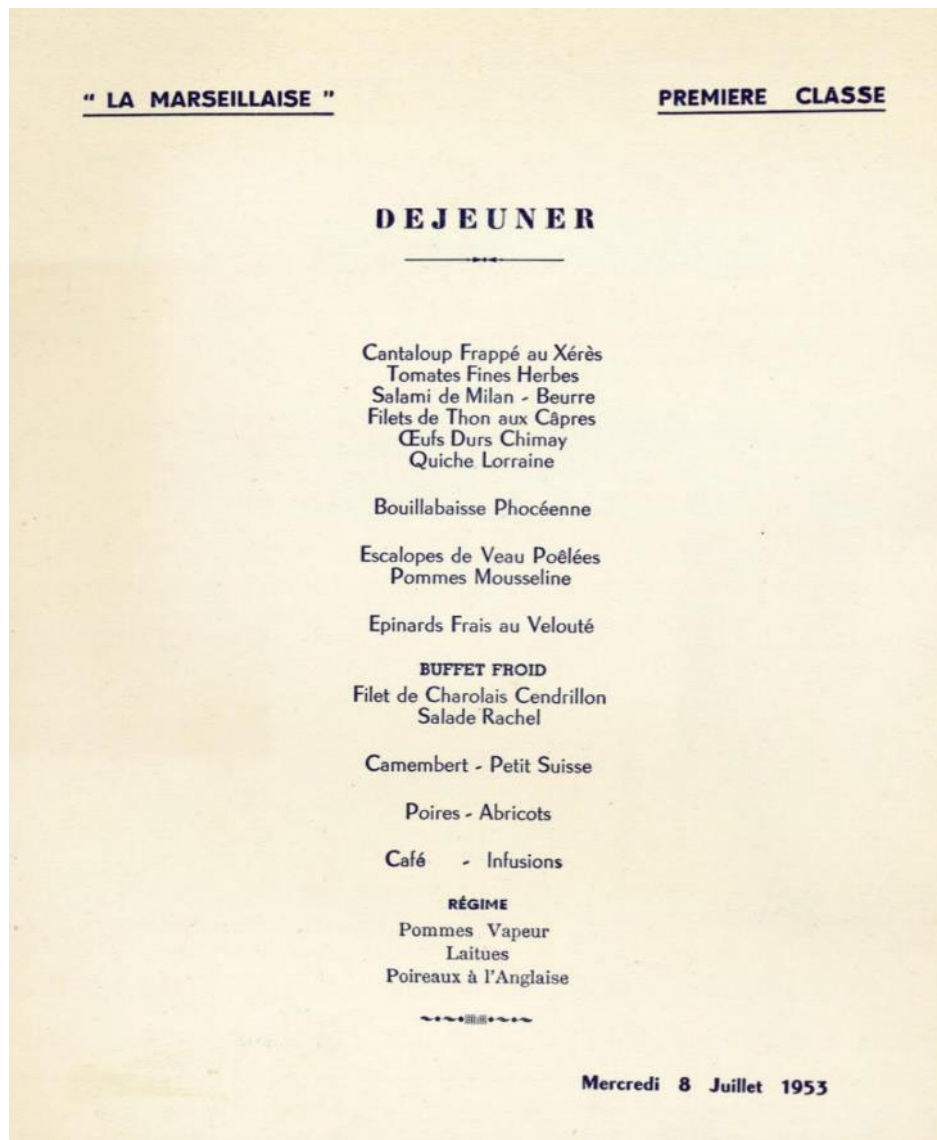


Figure 4.7: Lunch Menu, Ocean Liner La Marseillaise -8th of July 1953-

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

This document (Appendix O) shows the lunch menu offered on the 8th of July 1953 to the first-class passengers travelling on the Compagnie des Messageries Maritimes' Ocean liner, 'La Marseillaise'. *La Marseillaise* was operating on the East Asia line between 1949 and 1956 (French Lines, 2020). The ship travelled from Marseille to Yokohama in Japan via the

Suez Canal. During the journey the ship stopped in Djibouti, Colombo, Singapore, Saigon, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Kobé. It was the company's biggest and most luxurious ship (Ramona, 2001). In the first class Verandah Café, ceramics adorned the walls and plants filled the room to create the feeling of a tropical garden (Othfors, 2018).

The menu begins with a selection of starters. It is followed by 'Bouillabaisse Phocéenne'⁴. It continues with veal scallops and mousseline potatoes, and a spinach velouté. A cold meat option is available as well as a diet option which offers steamed potatoes, lettuce and braised leeks. It is complemented with a choice of cheese, pears and apricots, and herbal tea or coffee.

⁴ 'Cité Phocéenne' is a commonly used term to describe Marseille and its surroundings. A person from Marseille can also be known as a 'Phocaeen'. The original colonists from Phocaea (an Ionian Greek city on the western shore of Anatolia) founded the settlement and named it Massalia, which later became Massilia under Roman rule, and later the city of Marseille.

4.3.2.7 Dîner offert par Jacques Chirac en l'honneur de Son Excellence José Maria Aznar, Président du Gouvernement Espagnol -1996-

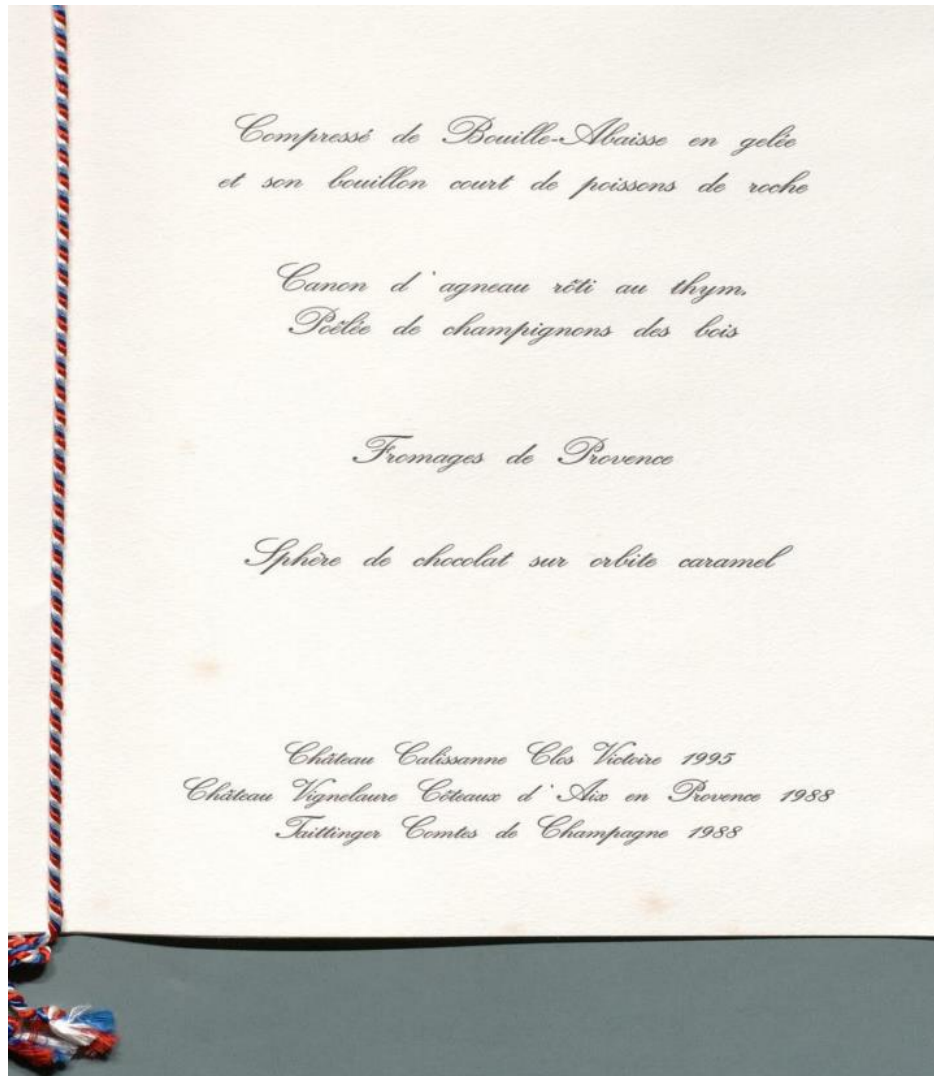


Figure 4.8: Dinner Hosted by Jacques Chirac in Marseille -4th of November 1996-

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

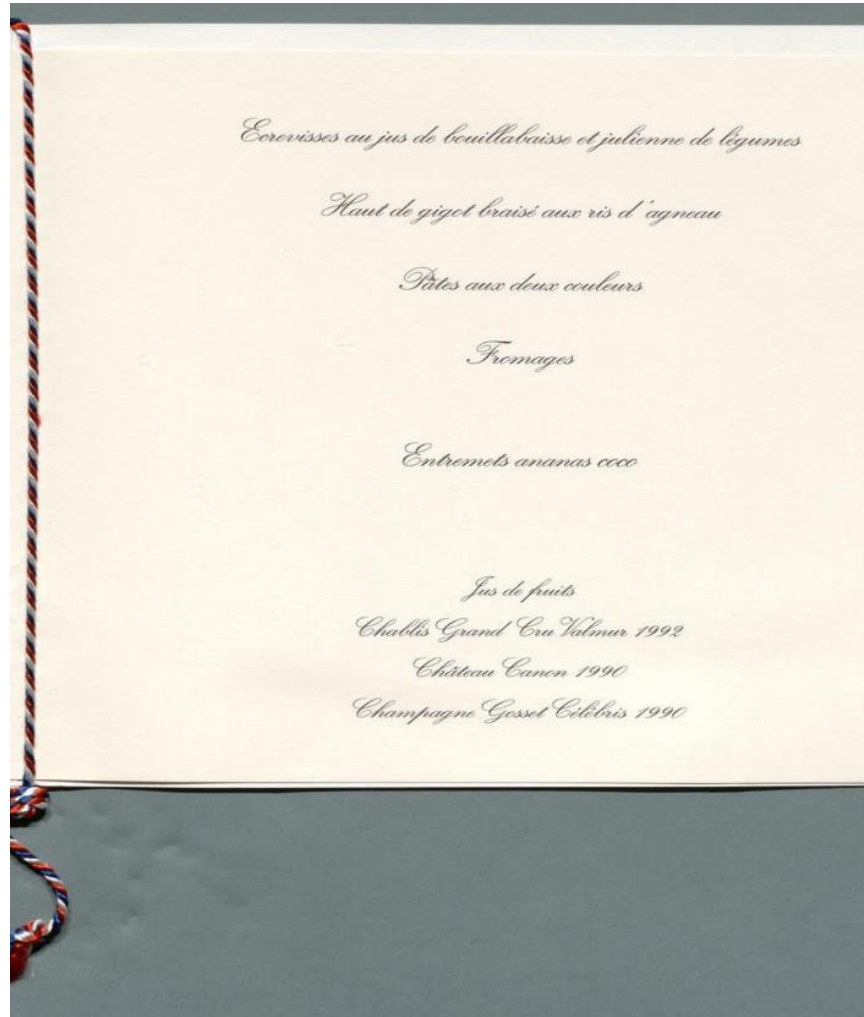
This document is the menu of a dinner hosted by former French President Jacques Chirac, in honour of the former prime minister of Spain. This diplomatic dinner took place on the 4th of November 1996 in the *Hotel de la Prefecture* in Marseille.

The menu consists of a starter: *Compressé de Bouille-Abaisse en gelée et son bouillon court de poissons de roche* / Aspic of bouillabaisse with rockfish court-bouillon; a main course: *Canon d'agneau rôti au thym, Poêlée de champignons des bois* / Roasted lamb fillet with thyme, Sautéed forest mushrooms; *Fromages de Provence* / Cheeses from Provence; and a dessert: *Sphère de chocolat sur orbite de caramel* / Chocolate sphere on a caramel orbit. The menu also offers two red wines, both from Provence, and champagne.

The word *Bouille-Abaisse* is written in the local dialect, Occitan.

Aspic is a way of presenting cold cooked food in a moulded jelly (Montagné, 2001). In this interpretation of bouillabaisse, we can assume that the fish element of the dish is set in a jelly made from the broth. A court-bouillon is a stock made to cook fish and shellfish (Montagné, 2001). In this case the rockfish court-bouillon represents the soup element of bouillabaisse.

4.3.2.8 Déjeuner offert en l'honneur de Heydar Aliyev Président de la République Azerbaïdjanaise et de Robert Kotcharian, Président de la République d'Arménie par Jacques Chirac, Président de la République -2001-



*Figure 4.9: Lunch Hosted by Jacques Chirac in Paris Menu -26th January 2001-
Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)*

This document is the menu of a lunch hosted by former French President Jacques Chirac in honour of Heydar Aliyev, former President of Azerbaijan and Robert Kotcharian, former President of Armenia. The lunch took place in the Palais de l'Élysée in Paris on the 26th January 2001.

The menu contains a starter; *Écrevisses au jus de bouillabaisse et julienne de légumes* / Crayfish with a bouillabaisse jus and julienne of vegetables; main course: *Haut de gigot braisé aux ris d'agneau* / Leg of lamb braised with lamb sweetbread; served with: *Pâtes aux deux couleurs* / Two colours pasta; *Fromages* / Cheese; and a dessert: *Entremets ananas coco* / Pineapple and coconut dessert. The beverages are a selection of fruit juices, a white wine from Burgundy, a red wine from Bordeaux and champagne.

This menu does not focus specifically on Provence, but in fact displays various aspects of France's culinary diversity. Several regions of France can be identified in the selection of dishes and wines. The regions of Bordeaux, Burgundy and Champagne are showcased by the wines, French lamb is a meat often associated with the Midi-Pyrénées region's gastronomy (Explore France, 2013), coconut and pineapple reflect respectively France's overseas, and *écrevisses au jus de bouillabaisse* symbolises Provence.

4.3.2.9 Dîner offert par Jacques Chirac, Président de la République à l'occasion de la signature du traité de Nice -2001-

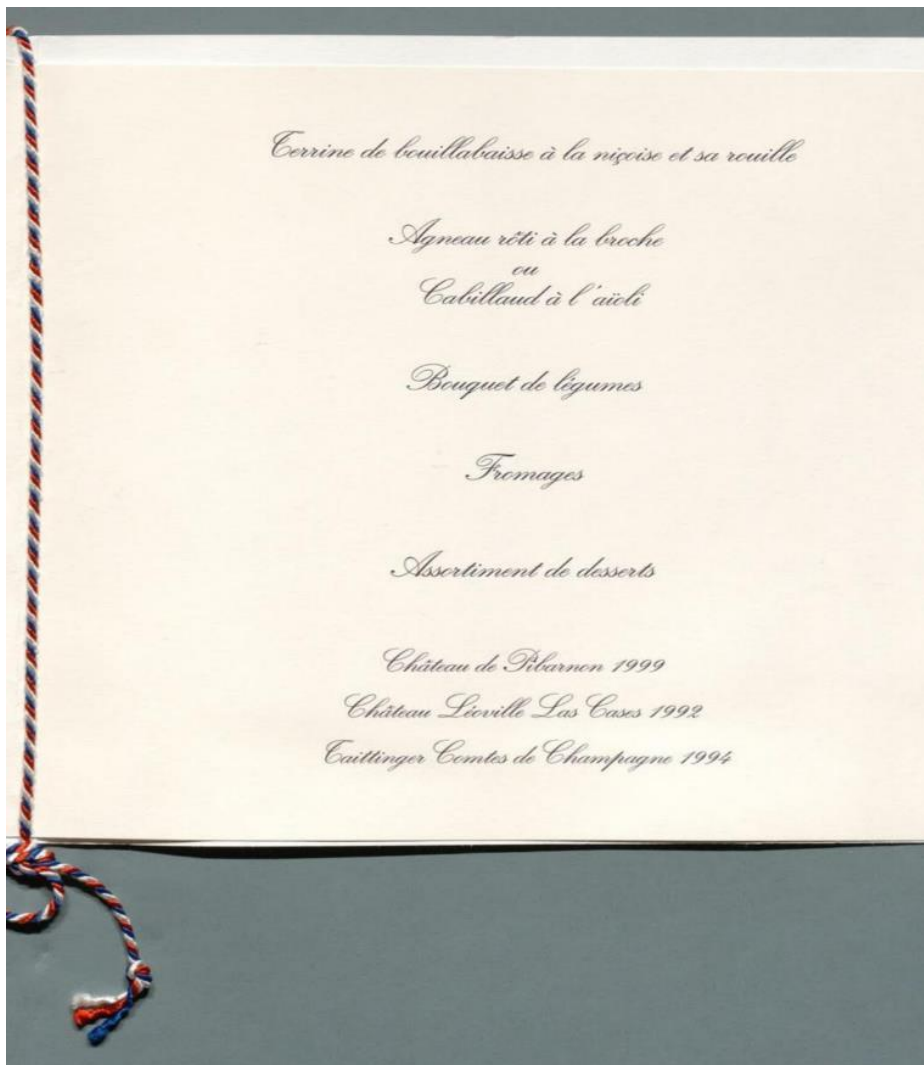


Figure 4.10: Dinner Hosted by Jacques Chirac in Nice Menu -26th February 2001-

Source: (Patrimoine.bm-dijon.fr)

This document represents the menu hosted on the 26th of February 2001 by former French President Jacques Chirac in the Palais Sarde in Nice to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Nice.

The menu comprises a starter: *Terrine de bouillabaisse à la niçoise et sa rouille* / Terrine of bouillabaisse niçoise and rouille sauce; there is a choice of two main courses: *Agneau rôti à la broche ou Cabillaud à l'aïoli* / Roast lamb on the spit or Cod with aioli; it is served with: *Bouquet de légumes* / Vegetable bouquet; *Fromages* / Cheeses; *Assortiment de dessert* / Selection of desserts. A wine from Bandol in Provence, a wine from Bordeaux, as well as champagne are the chosen drinks for this occasion.

In this menu the starter and both main courses certainly evoke the region of Provence. Montagné (2001, p.1205) claims that fish terrines “are sometimes served with sauce and may be eaten warm. They are generally prepared with cooked ingredients in aspic jelly”. Based on the name given to the starter we can presume that the fish and the bouillon element from bouillabaisse were used to create this dish.

4.4 Interviews

To provide a greater interpretation of the subject matter, five semi-structured interviews were conducted in the course of the primary research. The purpose of these interviews was to uncover the evolution of bouillabaisse, identify the dish's popularity in Provence, and distinguish if bouillabaisse could benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or be officially recognised by UNESCO. The themes and patterns which occurred during the analysis of each interview are presented below.

4.4.1 Synopsis of Interview No.1

- **Interview Date:** 28th of November 2020
- **Interviewee:** Alain Tallagrand
- **Duration:** 22 minutes 59 seconds

Synopsis: The subject of this interview is a head chef and native of Marseille who has worked for most of his career in Marseille and its surroundings. Alain Tallagrand currently works at the hotel U' Paradisu in Corsica. He began his apprenticeship at sixteen years of age in a restaurant where bouillabaisse was a very popular dish and eaten by locals. The restaurant was located in Les Goudes, but does not exist anymore.

Tallagrand believes that traditional dishes are usually linked to regions rather than cities. He says bouillabaisse, pieds et paquet, and grilled sardines are the dishes he would associate the most with Provence. He identifies bouillabaisse as a typical dish from Marseille that is rarely cooked elsewhere. Tallagrand explains that his Provençal roots always influence the way he cooks. He has previously cooked bouillabaisse at home on a few occasions, but too many factors make the dish too complicated to execute outside of a restaurant kitchen. According to Tallagrand, having the right equipment is a must. But a lot of guests are also required to eat the large number of fish necessary to produce the dish. He feels that, with the exception

of some large families living in and around Marseille, most people do not cook bouillabaisse at home anymore. Tallagrand has never eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant. Even though he has cooked the dish many times in his career, he says he would like to sit down and eat one someday, but it will have to be in the right place, probably one of those seafront restaurants on the Corniche in Marseille. He thinks they make the best bouillabaisse in the city. Tallagrand claims the Michelin 3-Star Restaurant *Le Petit Nice* has created a version of the dish that is aimed at rich tourists, but admits it is very different. On several occasions Tallagrand has cooked bouillabaisse in the restaurant he currently works in Corsica. He argues that the fish in Corsica is very similar to the one found in Marseille and therefore he does not feel there is any difference in the taste. Tallagrand explains that because the fish used in bouillabaisse is expensive, restaurants have no other choice than to charge a lot for it, and consequently, families living on basic incomes cannot afford it. When he was a child in the 70s, family gatherings were very important. He remembers bouillabaisse as this big fish stew cooked outdoors by the men of the house. Although, he suspects that most of the hard work was previously done in the kitchen by the women. He believes bouillabaisse has been cooked by men rather than women for a very long time. He implies that the fishermen's wives were too busy selling the daily catch at the market, so fishermen sat at the back of the stall and made a bouillon in which unsellable fish were thrown into. Tallagrand argues that there are many peasant dishes just like bouillabaisse that have been transformed to purposely please the rich and the tourists. When asked about the Chart of Bouillabaisse, he admits being aware of it, but has never worked with it. He finishes the interview by explaining that the city of Martigues also makes a great bouillabaisse, slightly different from the one in Marseille, but just as good.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix E.

4.4.2 Synopsis of Interview No.2

- **Interview Date:** 20th of January 2021
- **Interviewee:** Yann Chaleureux
- **Duration:** 13 minutes 45 seconds

Synopsis: The subject of this interview is a chef native of Martigues. Yann Chaleureux is a former graduate from the school of culinary arts ‘Lycée Hôtelier de Marseille’ and has worked in many restaurants in Marseille and the Provence region.

Chaleureux believes that *pieds et paquet* is one of the most typical dishes from Provence. He explains that he used to eat *panisses* (chips made from chickpea flour) as a child every time he went to Marseille with his father, and will always associate Marseille with this dish. Chaleureux has previously cooked bouillabaisse at home and in restaurants. However, he has never put bouillabaisse on a menu, he only makes it if someone has requested it and sometimes as a dish of the day. Chaleureux has cooked bouillabaisse at home but very few times. He claims that it is too messy to prepare, and requires the right amount of people to eat it. He once cooked bouillabaisse on the island of Mayotte in the Indian Ocean. He made the dish in a traditional manner and utilised local fish but it tasted different. His favourite restaurant to eat bouillabaisse at is *Le Rhul*, which is located on the Corniche in Marseille. When he was young his father used to cook bouillabaisse for the family. His father never bought fish from the market but caught it at sea instead. Chaleureux is well aware of the Chart of Bouillabaisse and believes its use is necessary to stop the restaurants that give a bad reputation to the dish. However, he has never worked anywhere that uses it. He acknowledges the importance of bouillabaisse for France’s culinary heritage and believes that most dishes from peasant origin have become important to France’s culinary heritage. According to Chaleureux, bouillabaisse is not recognised as much as other traditional French dishes because of its composition. He argues that the lack of fish dishes taught in culinary schools has resulted in bouillabaisse being forgotten by chefs. However, he feels that Michelin star

chefs, such as Passedat of *Le Petit Nice*, should be accounted responsible for keeping the dish alive. Chaleureux claims that Passedat has people talking about his unusual creation and as a consequence bouillabaisse is exposed to the rest of the world. Chaleureux argues that bouillabaisse should have been protected by the government a long time ago. He says that too many restaurants still sell bad bouillabaisse while taking advantage of tourists. Chaleureux notes that everyone is entitled to their own interpretation of bouillabaisse, as long as love is put into it and the quality of products is respected.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix F.

4.4.3 Synopsis of Interview No.3

- **Interview Date:** 24th of January 2021
- **Interviewee:** Christian Buffa
- **Duration:** 13 minutes 57 seconds

Synopsis: The subject of this interview is the chef/owner of the well-established restaurant Le Miramar which is famous for its bouillabaisse. The restaurant is located on the old port of Marseille. Christian Buffa, a native of Marseille, has studied culinary arts at the Paul Bocuse Institute. He is currently the Vice-President of the Chart of Bouillabaisse.

Christian Buffa suggests that because Marseille was founded by the Greeks and is also one of the oldest cities in Europe, this would arguably make bouillabaisse one of the oldest dishes in France. He claims that bouillabaisse is a dish that regroups the products of the Mediterranean region and has only been accepted as a gastronomic dish in the past eighty years. He alleges that the dish, originally eaten by fishermen and the poor, was basically a fish soup with broken bits of fish and chunks of stale bread. Buffa explains that the fishermen would bring the unsold fish back to their wives to make a meal from it. He says that most of the time more bread was eaten than fish. He suggests that because many of the fishermen's

wives worked for rich people, the dish became refined in order to suit their palate. Buffa believes that Marseille's rockfish contribute immensely to the distinctive flavour of the dish. He has previously cooked bouillabaisse in Japan and says that it was good but not the same. Buffa argues that bouillabaisse is emblematic of the city of Marseille and should only be eaten as described in the Chart of Bouillabaisse. Despite the fact that many customers ask if the restaurant uses the Chart before entering, he feels that the Chart is not as valued as it used to be. Buffa thinks that bouillabaisse could really benefit from being recognised by UNESCO and also from getting support from the government. Buffa and Gabrielle Galligani, the owner of *Le Rhule* restaurant, currently remain the only two persons left taking care of the Chart. The customers coming to his restaurant are generally tourists, but on Sundays the place is packed with local families coming to eat bouillabaisse. According to Buffa there is no difference between the bouillabaisse made in Marseille and the one made in Martigues. He claims that only two types of bouillabaisse exist, good bouillabaisse and bad bouillabaisse. He implies that a good bouillabaisse follows the principles given by the Chart, while a bad one is usually poorly made and is a tourist version. Buffa doesn't really like the way modern restaurants are transforming the dish, he thinks bouillabaisse doesn't need to evolve anymore and in fact should be left alone. He concludes by defining bouillabaisse as a traditional dish representative of the terroir of Marseille.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix G.

4.4.4 Synopsis of Interview No.4

- **Interview Date:** 3rd of February 2021
- **Interviewee:** Gabrielle Galligani
- **Duration:** 7 minutes 03 seconds

Synopsis: The subject of this interview is the owner of *Le Rhul* restaurant located on the Corniche in Marseille. Gabrielle Galligani is also the president of the Chart of Bouillabaisse.

Gabrielle Galligani believes that bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage, and is in fact a dish representative of the South of France. She thinks it would be beneficial to the restaurants in Marseille if bouillabaisse was recognised by the government, but claims that no one has ever tried to bring the Chart to the next level. She explains that in the 1980s, she used to meet up for drinks with a bunch of restaurateurs on Sundays. They felt at the time that some of the restaurants in touristic areas of the city were mocking bouillabaisse. As a joke they proclaimed themselves the bouillabaisse protectors and created the Chart of Bouillabaisse. At the same time, it was necessary to stop bouillabaisse being tarnished by restaurants who sold the dish at a very low price in order to attract tourists. She says that for the moment the Chart is on pause due to the Covid-19 pandemic, but she hopes it will come back to its original glory when everything is back to normal. Galligani is surprised to see how many new generations are enjoying bouillabaisse. She claims that most people in Marseille would remember the bouillabaisse of their grandparents. But because the dish is so complicated and messy to prepare, she says people now prefer going to the restaurant to eat it. Due to Covid-19, the restaurant has had to adapt and witnessed a surge in take-away demands, especially for special occasions. She says that this year for Christmas, New Year's Eve, and New Year's Day, the number of bouillabaisse pre-ordered was unbelievable and overwhelming. Galligani explains that in recent years bouillabaisse has become a classic Sunday meal. It is now a ritual for locals to go to restaurants and eat bouillabaisse on Sundays. Galligani believes that people need to take their time to enjoy bouillabaisse, and that on Sunday they have plenty of time to do that.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix H.

4.4.5 Synopsis of Interview No.5

- **Interview Date:** 26th of February 2021
- **Interviewee:** Franck Philippe

- **Duration:** This is an edited interview. Due to the nature of the conversation some of the interview became non-relevant and personal, and for academic reasons has been edited.

Synopsis: The subject of this interview is a food historian. As well as teaching culinary arts for almost twenty years, Franck Philippe has also worked as a head chef for the Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs. He now works for the French Ministry of Education and his PhD research focuses on diplomatic dining during the Fifth Republic 1959-1981.

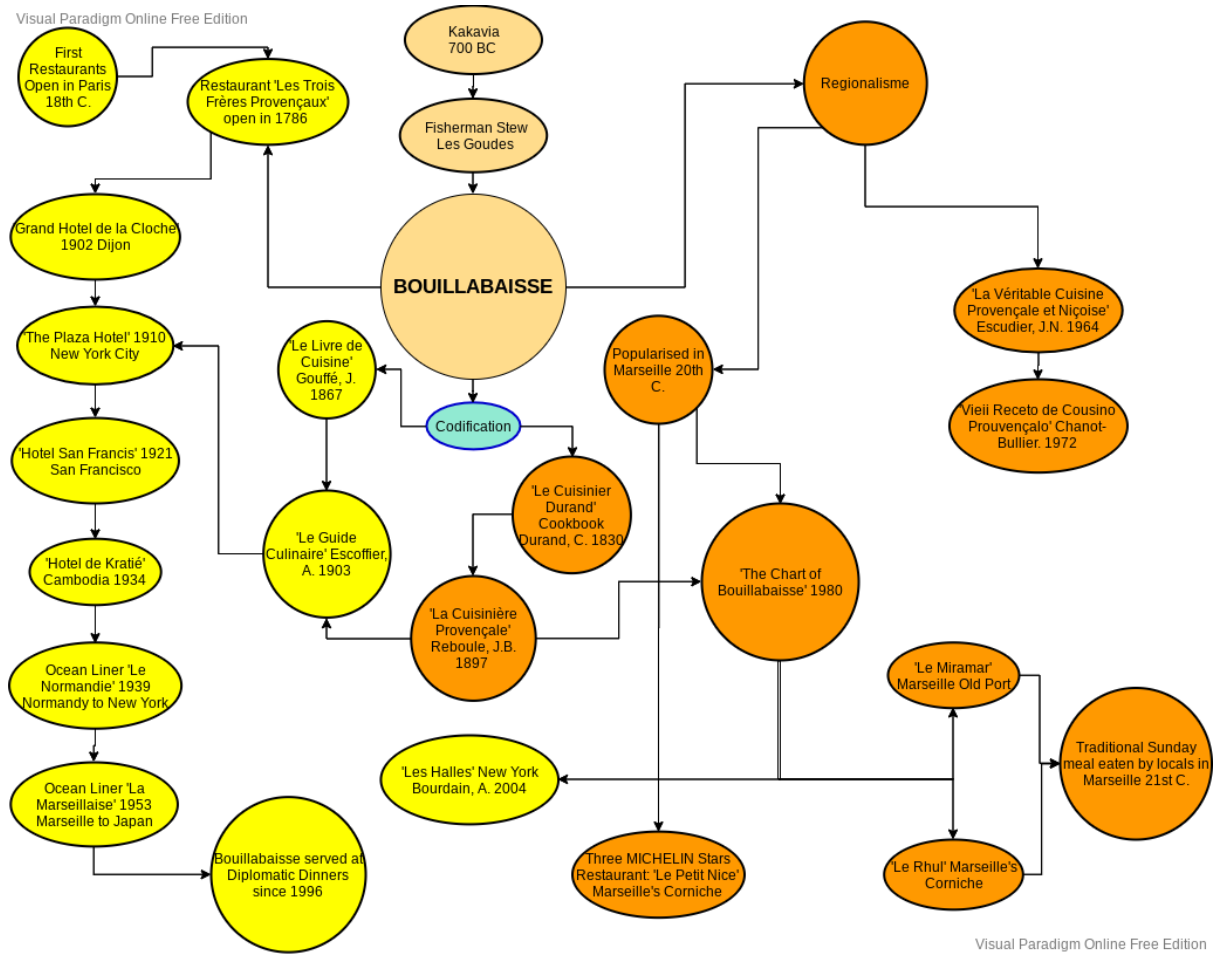
Franck Philippe believes that bouillabaisse is a dish with a strong regional identity. He recognises that the dish is eclectic and has a long history. He finds it interesting that bouillabaisse was misused in the place it is famously from. Philippe understands that the Chart needed to be created to protect the dish's identity but wonders why no grouping has ever tried to get it protected by the government. He feels that bouillabaisse is more popular in Marseille than it is in the rest of Provence. He also notes that the version served outside of Provence is still done in the traditional way. Philippe believes bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage. He considers that bouillabaisse is as important as any other traditional French dish. He explains that dishes such as *cassoulet* or *choucroute* are easily found in most places in France because the dish can simply be made pulled out of a can. In contrast, bouillabaisse depends too much on the freshness of some particular ingredients. Philippe acknowledges that bouillabaisse can be found in the United States and other countries in Europe, but questions the authenticity. Another point Philippe makes is that with the exception of saffron, all the ingredients in bouillabaisse are representative of Provence. As a leading expert in French diplomatic dining, he is not aware if bouillabaisse has ever been served at a diplomatic meal prior to the term in office of President Jacques Chirac. He explains that any dish served at a diplomatic meal is important because they generally symbolise the country or one of its regions. He alleges that for a state visit, French gastronomy is often displayed to its highest standard. He claims that the president can have a strong influence in the way meals proceed, including choices of courses and manners of service. Philippe reveals that Jacques Chirac was an epicurean who changed the diplomatic dining experience dramatically. Philippe asserts that bouillabaisse was served three times

during Jacques Chirac's presidency, but each time modified in order to fit with diplomatic dining protocols. Philippe explains that Chirac purposely required that the menus be tailored to fit the occasion or please the guest, but at the same time showcase France's terroir. For example, dishes representing Alsace would have been served to the German Chancellor, or a Provençal menu displaying the food of the French Mediterranean coast would be made for the Spanish President. Philippe argues that because bouillabaisse appears three times during Jacques Chirac's presidency, it shows the importance of bouillabaisse as a French traditional dish. When asked if he thinks bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection, Franck is not sure. He thinks we must first identify what should be classified. The cooking methods, the service methods, the composition, the know-how or maybe simply the distinctive fish used in the making of the dish. He believes the issue should be first addressed locally. Philippe notes that no dish in France is in fact recognised or protected by the government, and wonders why bouillabaisse should be. He agrees that there are some elements of similarities between bouillabaisse and couscous, a dish that has recently been recognised by UNESCO as part of the world's intangible heritage. However, he says that couscous is attached to several countries and admits that it is different with bouillabaisse because the dish is mainly connected with the city of Marseille. This leads Philippe to believe that the answer could possibly be to actually define and recognise bouillabaisse de Marseille rather than, the too-broad, dish of bouillabaisse.

A full transcript for this interview is provided in Appendix I.

Chapter Five: Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

Figure 5.1: Conceptual Framework of the Evolution of Bouillabaisse



>>> The evolution of bouillabaisse outside Provence

>>> The evolution of bouillabaisse within Provence

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five outlines the key findings that have emerged from this research and presents the overall conclusions of the study. Significant themes and patterns have occurred during the examination of the qualitative and quantitative data and are now discussed and compared with the literature. These key findings have been broken down into headings and each one is reviewed in detail.

5.2 The Dish becomes National - Restaurants, Recipes, Codification

Key findings:

- The dish was transformed in the eighteenth century and became known nationally.
- Restaurant Les Trois Frères Provençaux is not solely accountable for the popularity of the dish.
- Charles Durand wrote the first codified recipe in 1830 in which he indicates that the dish must be served in two courses.
- Two types of bouillabaisse emerged during the Big Transformation: Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise; and Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne.
- Using different fish can alter the taste of the dish without affecting the quality.

Arguably a descendant of the Greek dish Kakavia, bouillabaisse originated in Marseille in 600 BC and remained a fisherman's stew long after. The literature outlined that bouillabaisse underwent its first significant change at the end of the eighteenth century. Ferrières (2006), Freedman (2007), Flandrin and Montanari (2013), and Davis (2013) claim that following the French Revolution, Paris' restaurants produced what Marie-Antoine Carême called the Big Transformation. This transformation is significant as it refers to when a peasant dish was developed to a higher standard and became symbolic of its region of origin. As a result, chefs were protecting and rediscovering past traditional dishes as opposed to creating new ones. Bouillabaisse was one of them.

Les Trois Frères Provençaux was one of the most prestigious Parisian restaurants during and after the French Revolution. Its large menu displayed a distinguished cuisine composed of dishes that are now regarded as French Classics, including numerous Provençal ones. Ferrières (2006), and Flandrin and Montanari (2013), state that Les Trois Frères Provençaux brought bouillabaisse from their native Provence to the capital and exposed the dish to the Parisian gentry. They claim that as a consequence, the restaurant is accountable for the dish becoming popular. However, after scrutinising the data available to this study, no evidence supporting this theory could be found. While *brandade* of salted cod, a dish Les Trois Frères Provençaux was renowned for, is mentioned in most reviews written about the restaurant, bouillabaisse could only be identified in one article which was published in 1840 in the culinary art review *La Gastronomie*. The article relates to a dinner that took place in 1833. The menu displayed in the article reveals a bouillabaisse in the potage section. Ferrières (2006) claims that the *potage method* was a technique previously used to cook bouillabaisse *before* the Big Transformation. However, evidence from Durand's cookbook and Au Grand Lucullus' menu show that the dish had already evolved at that time (Durand, 1830; Voigt, 2021). For this reason, we can presume that the bouillabaisse found on this menu from Les Trois Frères Provençaux must have been a fish soup based around the concept of bouillabaisse. Because Les Trois Frères Provençaux was one of the most prominent restaurants in Paris during the big transformation, and also the very first restaurant in the capital to embody Provençal cuisine, the speculation that the restaurant is accountable for bouillabaisse's popularity cannot be excluded. However, no actual evidence has been found to confirm this to be the case.

Several cookbooks were investigated during the primary research using Wheaton's methodology. Many types and variations of the dish were examined and two predominant recipes were identified; Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise and Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne. Both recipes are clearly the result of the Big Transformation. The first one, Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is also referred to as La Bouillabaisse by Reboul (1887), Escudier (1964) and Chanot-Bullier (1972). The first codified recipe for Bouillabaisse Marseillaise was in 1830 by Charles Durand who indicates that the dish must be served in two courses, and saffron and tomato are included in the list of ingredients. However, Jean-Baptiste Reboul wrote in

1887 in *La Cuisine Provençale*, a version that would be replicated by Escoffier and Elisabeth David and with some slight adjustments also by Escudier and Chanut-Bullier. Reboul's recipe was eventually used to design the Chart of Bouillabaisse in 1980. The dish relies on specific ingredients sourced locally and epitomises the essence of Provence. The second one, Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne, was originally called Bouillabaisse when it was first codified by Jules Gouffé in 1867. It was later refined by Auguste Escoffier and can be found in his book *Le Guide Culinaire* (1903). Although Escoffier's recipe is very similar to Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise, it employs different fish because of the difficulty of finding Mediterranean fish in the capital at the time. Another interesting alteration from Reboul's Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise recipe is the use of white wine, which was in fact originally in Durand's recipe, and was often used in fish recipes made for the French upper-class (Ferrières, 2006). Escoffier also applies *beurre manié* to thicken the sauce. The use of classic French cooking techniques is a clear sign that the dish had evolved during the nineteenth century.

Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is symbolic of Provence; its recipe complies with restricted ingredients making the dish's accessibility limited to the region. On the other hand, Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne is adaptable and can be modified in accordance with the resources available and to suit different palates. Consequently, Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne can be recreated anywhere, while Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise can only be made with the exact Marseillaise ingredients (specific local rockfish), making it difficult to reproduce outside Provence due to the fresh nature of seafood.

The interviews conducted with Alain Tallagrand, Yann Chaleureux, and Christian Buffa have shown that each candidate had previously cooked bouillabaisse outside Provence. Tallagrand didn't think that the substitution of fish altered the taste of the dish at all, but in contrast, both Chaleureux and Buffa claimed that while the dish was still very good, it tasted different.

5.3 Bouillabaisse Recognised Worldwide

Key findings:

- The principles of Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne have contributed to the international spread of bouillabaisse.
- The dish has been served globally to the elite throughout the twentieth century.

Primary research has shown that the name Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne is rarely used in menus, but the dish's principles are the reason bouillabaisse has survived outside of its native Provence. The ability to be adaptable and be modified has allowed the dish to survive and spread globally. With the exception of the fish, Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise and Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne both employ a range of products widely available. However, Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise relies on particular types of fish and seafood that are sourced along the Provençal coastline and are quintessential to its composition. Conversely, Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne shows an openness to use the fish that is available. The dish often called 'Bouillabaisse' or 'Bouillabaisse Marseillaise' found on menus in different parts of the world is in fact a bouillabaisse modelled after the principles of Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne.

Utilising Wheaton's methodology, the menus examined in this study have revealed that the dish has been served globally in various prestigious venues throughout the twentieth century.

Chronological order of events:

- -1902- **Bouillabaisse de Poissons** was served at the prestigious Grand Hôtel de la Cloche in Dijon which catered for political figures and artists.
- -1910- **Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise** was on the menu of the iconic Plaza Hotel in New York City. Over the years the hotel has hosted kings, presidents, and Hollywood movie stars.

- -1921- **Bouillabaisse Marseillaise** was presented on the menu served at the Hotel St. Francis in San Francisco. For over a century, prominent guests such as Queen Elizabeth II, King Juan Carlos of Spain, and every U.S. President since McKinley has stayed in this hotel.
- -1934- **Bouillabaisse à la Victoire** was prepared to commemorate the Armistice of World War I at the Hôtel de Kratié, Cambodia.
- -1939- **Bouillabaisse Marseillaise** was presented to the guests travelling from France to North America on the luxurious Transatlantic ocean liner the *Normandie*.
- -1953- **Bouillabaisse Phocéenne** was on the menu of the prestigious ocean liner *La Marseillaise* which travelled from Marseille to Yokohama in Japan via the Suez Canal, stopping in Djibouti, Colombo, Singapore, Saigon, Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Kobé during the journey.
- -1996- **Compressé de Bouille-Abaisse en gelée et son bouillon court de poissons de roche** was served to the former Prime Minister of Spain at a dinner hosted by the former French President Jacques Chirac in Marseille.
- -2001- **Écrevisses au jus de bouillabaisse et julienne de légumes** was served to Heydar Aliyev, former President of Azerbaijan and Robert Kotcharian, former President of Armenia, at a dinner hosted by the former French President Jacques Chirac in Paris.
- -2001- **Terrine de bouillabaisse à la niçoise et sa rouille** was served at a dinner hosted by the former French President Jacques Chirac to celebrate the signing of the Treaty of Nice, in Nice, France.

5.4 Bouillabaisse's Contribution to France's Culinary Heritage

Key findings:

- Bouillabaisse represents Provence in diplomatic dining.
- Bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage.
- The dish is as important as any other traditional French dish.

Mahon (2019) defines 'Gastrodiplomacy' as communicating culture through food to the broader foreign public. She explains the concept using food and cuisine as an instrument to create cross-cultural understanding in the hope of improving diplomatic interactions and cooperation. During the interview with Franck Philippe it became clear that any dish served at a French diplomatic meal is of importance because it symbolises France or one of its regions. As previously highlighted, the menus examined using Wheaton's methodology show that a form of bouillabaisse has been served at diplomatic tables since 1996.

The data collected during the interviews and surveys have established that bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage. This opinion was shared by all interviewees as well as 103 participants out of the 106 who took part in the surveys distributed to E.V.A and the Lycée Hôtelier de Marseille. However, the study acknowledges that the location of the surveys and the interviewees, with the exception of Philippe, were all from, or located in Provence which may have influenced that particular result.

The literature claims that in the post-revolutionary period, a unified culinary tradition for all French people, helped reunite the divided classes and regions. Davis (2013) states that both high and low cuisine became recognised in the traditional repertoire during that time. In the interview conducted with Yann Chaleureux he claimed that the lack of fish dishes taught in culinary schools has resulted in bouillabaisse being forgotten by chefs. Both Philippe and Chaleureux admit that the composition of the dish has made it challenging to reproduce.

However, Philippe argues that the fact that bouillabaisse is served at diplomatic meals demonstrates the importance of the dish as a French traditional dish.

5.5 Invented Tradition and the Rise of Regionalism

Key findings:

- The rise of regionalism in the twentieth century has contributed to the dish's growth in popularity.
- Today, bouillabaisse is rarely cooked at home.
- Invented tradition; Marseillais go to restaurants to eat bouillabaisse on Sundays and for special occasions.
- Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is a dish representative of the terroir of Provence.

The literature review indicates that France's rise of regionalism grew considerably with the development of transport infrastructure, and flourished in the late 1920s with the help of the Michelin tyre company (Laudan, 2015). Escudier (1964), Flandrin and Montanari (2013), and Laudan (2015) claim that regionalism played a very important role in the recognition of regional dishes internationally.

Interviews from Chaleureux, Galligani and Tallagrand point out the inconvenience of cooking bouillabaisse at home. Moreover, they believe that people are now too busy with their daily lives to cook bouillabaisse at home but if they do, it is on a rare occasion. The survey established that 66.6% of the respondents have never cooked bouillabaisse.

New York Times writer Elaine Sciolino (2019) implies that today bouillabaisse is regarded as old fashioned. She claims that very few natives of Marseille still eat bouillabaisse and if they do so, it is in the comfort of their home, not in a restaurant. Conversely, both Christian Buffa and Gabrielle Galligani, owners of two well-established restaurants in Marseille which are recognised for their contribution towards bouillabaisse, claim the opposite. The dominant theme emerging from the interviews conducted with Buffa and Galligani is that it has become a new tradition for local families to go to restaurants and eat bouillabaisse on Sundays and

for special occasions. Furthermore, the survey shows that 71.5 % of the respondents have eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant, while 63.7%, which represent a smaller number, have eaten bouillabaisse somewhere that is other than a restaurant. Sciolino's claims are confusing and lack credibility, particularly when she states that it is almost impossible to find a classic interpretation of the dish anywhere, apart from the fishing hamlet of Les Goudes, which is in fact a neighbourhood in Marseille. She explains that Les Goudes is a place where natives of Marseille come to spend their Sunday afternoon and have lunch, thus reinforcing Buffa and Galligani's assertion while contradicting her own original statement.

The data extracted from the literature, and the interviews, and the books investigated using Wheaton's methodology, have shown that bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is a dish representative of the terroir of Provence.

5.6 Bouillabaisse's Position within Protected Geographical Status and Intangible Cultural Heritage

Key findings:

- A snapshot of opinions of people from Provence indicates that the majority think it would be beneficial if bouillabaisse had a European Union quality schemes protection or was officially recognised by UNESCO.
- The Chart of Bouillabaisse is not as valued as when it was first created.
- Bouillabaisse could possibly qualify to be registered on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is a traditional dish with its own distinctive methods of service, and the recipe requires particular ingredients that can only be found in and around the region of Provence. The survey demonstrates that 88.5% of the respondents think bouillabaisse should be recognised and/or protected by governmental branches. The five interviewees also agreed that it would be beneficial if bouillabaisse had a European Union quality schemes protection or/and was officially recognised by UNESCO. The literature

review shows that some of bouillabaisse's characteristics could possibly lead to the dish qualifying for a GI or TSG designation or appellation d'origine contrôlée (AOC) status.

The Chart of Bouillabaisse was created in 1980 to protect the dish's reputation, but as it is not possible to copyright a recipe (McElwain, 2016), it only specifies the elements necessary to create a bouillabaisse. Interestingly, its full title is *La Charte de Bouillabaisse Marseillaise* rather than the generalised term 'Bouillabaisse'. The interviews conducted with local chefs Yann Chaleureux and Alain Tallagrand, revealed that both are aware of the Chart, but have never worked with it. Moreover, Galligani the president of the Chart, and Buffa the vice-president, have both claimed that it is not as valued as when it was first created.

The literature review shows that the criteria needed to be registered on the Intangible Cultural Heritage list can vary considerably. *The knowledge, know-how and practices related to the production and consumption of couscous*, was recently inscribed on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. Couscous and bouillabaisse share some commonalities in that both dishes follow a number of complex steps in their preparation and comprise various elements, as well as having various versions and levels of authenticity regarding the preparation. Philippe argued that the fact that couscous is attached to several countries differentiates the dish from bouillabaisse which, in turn, relies on one specific region. Consequently, he believes it would be very difficult to make a strong case to put an application forward to UNESCO. However, the new tradition that has recently emerged in Marseille involving locals eating bouillabaisse in restaurants on Sundays and on special occasions, has given a new angle to investigate as for the requirements requested to qualify bouillabaisse on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

5.7 Review of the Aim and Objectives of the Study

This study looked to establish the history, and uncover the current practices (popularity, service styles, and recipes) of the Provençal dish bouillabaisse, with a view to highlighting its significance as a traditional dish.

The objectives of the study were:

- To examine the place in history and evolution of bouillabaisse in the literature;
- To investigate the traditional characteristics of bouillabaisse both in the literature and the primary research;
- To show the dish's historical and contemporary popularity through the primary and secondary research;
- To determine the everyday role that bouillabaisse plays in the regional identity of Provençal cooking;
- To ask if bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or official recognition by UNESCO?

5.8 Final Conclusions

The study has found that bouillabaisse did not experience any significant change until the turn of the nineteenth century (1800 onwards). The culinary transformation that occurred in Parisian restaurants *after* the French Revolution is clearly accountable for the refinement of bouillabaisse; the method of service (in two courses) as well as the addition of exotic ingredients, were introduced to elevate the status of the dish in order to appeal to the upper-classes.

As chefs began working for themselves, a regional cuisine was developed and the codification of traditional dishes began. The first bouillabaisse recipe to be recorded was in *Le Cuisinier Durand*, a cookbook written in 1830 by Charles Durand, a native of the South of France. The recipe is the foundation for Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise, a dish which represents the essence of Provence but also relies on specific local ingredients.

In 1867, Parisian chef Jules Gouffé published *Le Livre de Cuisine*. Gouffé's cookbook includes a recipe for bouillabaisse which encompasses the characteristics of what will be

known at a later stage as Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne, which is a dish that is adaptable to the resources available.

An elaborated but similar version of Durand's recipe was published by Jean-Baptiste Reboul in 1897. Reboul's recipe has since been replicated in the publications of other chefs and food writers throughout the twentieth century. Furthermore, it was also used as the base for the Chart of Bouillabaisse created in 1980 by a group of Marseillais restaurateurs who wanted to protect the dish from being devalued by inauthentic touristic versions.

In 1903, Auguste Escoffier published *Le Guide Culinaire* in which two predominant recipes for bouillabaisse were identified; Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise and Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne. His version of Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise is practically identical to Reboul's recipe. However, Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne, although very similar to Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise, offers the flexibility of ingredients previously introduced by Gouffé. Both Bouillabaisse à la Marseillaise and Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne are prepared and served in the same manner, but the fact that Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne can be modified has undoubtedly permitted the dish to travel and consequently be exposed outside of its place of origin.

The research has established that bouillabaisse, in this case Bouillabaisse à la Parisienne, has been served in prestigious establishments outside of Provence since at least 1902. The dish was on the menus of restaurants in many parts of the world during the entire twentieth century. The dish's appearance in cookbooks since 1830 shows its significance as a traditional French dish. Finally, the fact that bouillabaisse has been represented at French diplomatic dinners since 1996 clearly demonstrates the importance of the dish in the canon of French culinary heritage.

The popularity of bouillabaisse increased during the rise of regionalism in the 1920s. But in recent years, cooking bouillabaisse at home has declined due to inconvenience and the complexity of the dish. However, as a result, a new tradition in Marseille has emerged. It is

now a custom for local families to go to restaurants to eat bouillabaisse on Sundays and for special occasions.

This study has found that the dish would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection or by being inscribed on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage. However, it could be a difficult process for bouillabaisse to qualify for such recognition due to the complexity of the required criteria. The characteristics of the dish combined with the new custom however, suggest an eventual possibility.

Indelibly linked with the city, it is reasonable to say that not everyone in Marseille agrees on the recipe for bouillabaisse. The dish has a very long history, and continued to evolve in that time. Marseille, France's second city, would not be Marseille if its residents did not have something to argue about—what better subject than food and the famous dish that developed on its shores.

Chapter Six: Recommendations

A larger study around bouillabaisse would benefit this research. National surveys distributed outside of Provence regarding the general opinion on the importance of bouillabaisse would offer a wider interpretation of the dish's current cultural standing. The restrictions imposed by the covid-19 pandemic, as well as not being able to travel to Marseille, restrained the potential of this study. The content of some of the museums and the archives from ANOM and INAO, as well as those in Marseille, were not available online and could have offered further information. Moreover, flea markets and antique shops could be scoured for old documents such as menus, transcripts of recipes, and photographs or postcards of bouillabaisse which would give a greater insight of its evolution. Further research into Les Trois Frères Provençaux may reveal whether the restaurant actually served the dish *pre* or *during* the French Revolution, as both Ferrières and Flandrin and Montanari suggest—as this research found no evidence of it. The author is aware of some volumes in the English and French language that were inaccessible at the time of the research but could highlight some further details about bouillabaisse during the era they were written, e.g., Curnonsky and Marcel Rouff's *La France Gastronomique* guides, and Grimod de La Reyniere's *Almanach des Gourmands*.

Further Recommendations:

- During this research it became evident that a broader study on the evolution of menus and service styles on transatlantic ocean liners would be beneficial for the canon of food studies, gastronomy, and food history.
- Although work has been done on French restaurants during the time of the French Revolution, this area is still ripe for further investigation due to its many nuances. Access to the full French archives (particularly those located at the BnF, Paris) is sure to reveal fascinating details about the emergence of restaurant culture and democracy.
- While several studies exist on French chefs emerging in the nineteenth century, further investigation into their lineage would help identify how they influenced each other's cooking and culinary creations.

- Further research on the influence the French had on Indochina's cuisine during the colonial period (1887-1954) could unearth valuable information regarding the cultural exchange through food at the time between those countries.
- Further investigation on the process requirements to qualify bouillabaisse on UNESCO's list of Intangible Cultural Heritage could help in clarifying the dish's status and obtain official recognition and protection.

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Appendices:

Appendix A: Questionnaires

Questionnaires 1:

'Ensemble Vocal d'Arles', MDVA, Bd des lices, 13200 Arles, France

1-Quel est votre tranche d'âge?

- *15-30*
- *30-45*
- *45+*

What is your age group?

- 15-30
- 30-45
- 45+

2-Parmi les énoncés suivants, lequel décrit le mieux votre situation professionnelle?

- 1. Employé*
- 2. Sans emploi*
- 3. A la retraite*
- 4. Invalide, Ne peut pas travailler*

From the following 1 to 4, wish one describes your professional status?

1. Employed
2. Unemployed
3. Retired
4. Invalid, cannot work

3-Connaissez-vous la bouillabaisse?

Oui / Non

Do you know bouillabaisse?

Yes / No

4-Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un restaurant?

Oui / Non

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant?

Yes / No

5-Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un endroit autre qu'un restaurant?

Oui / Non

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant?

Yes / No

6-Avez-vous déjà cuisiné une bouillabaisse?

Oui / Non

Have you ever cooked bouillabaisse?

Yes / No

7-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?

Oui / Non

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage?

Yes / No

8-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse devrait être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'INAO (l'Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité) ou l'UNESCO

Oui / Non

Do you think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches such as INAO or UNESCO?

Yes / No

Questionnaires 2:

'Lycée Hôtelier de Marseille', 114 Avenue André Zénatti, 13008 Marseille, France

1-*Quel est votre tranche d'âge?*

- 15-30
- 30-45
- 45+

What is your age group?

- 15-30
- 30-45
- 45+

2-*Quelle est votre position au sein du lycée?*

1. *Etudiant*
2. *Enseignant*
3. *Administrateur*
4. *Autres*

What is your position within the school?

1. Student
2. Teacher
3. Admin
4. Other

3-Connaissez-vous la bouillabaisse?

Oui / Non

Do you know bouillabaisse?

Yes / No

4-Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un restaurant?

Oui / Non

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse in a restaurant?

Yes / No

5-Avez-vous déjà mangé une bouillabaisse dans un endroit autre qu'un restaurant?

Oui / Non

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse somewhere other than a restaurant?

Yes / No

6-Avez-vous déjà cuisiné une bouillabaisse?

Oui / Non

Have you ever cooked bouillabaisse?

Yes / No

7-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?

Oui / Non

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in the French culinary heritage?

Yes / No

8-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse devrait être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'INAO (l'Institut national de l'origine et de la qualité) ou l'UNESCO

Oui / Non

Do you think bouillabaisse should be recognised and protected by governmental branches such as INAO or UNESCO?

Yes / No

Appendix B: Questions for Alain Tallagrand and Yann Chaleureux

-Quel plat culinaire associez-vous à la région de Provence?

What culinary dish would you associate with the region of Provence?

-Quel plat culinaire associez-vous à la ville de Marseille?

What culinary dish would you associate with the city of Marseille?

-Est-ce que vous mangez ou cuisiner la bouillabaisse à la maison?

Do you eat or cook bouillabaisse at home?

-Avez-vous déjà cuisiné ou mangé une bouillabaisse en dehors de Marseille?

Have you ever eaten bouillabaisse somewhere else than Marseille?

-Est-ce que vous mangez habituellement de la bouillabaisse dans les restaurants?

Do you ever eat bouillabaisse in restaurants?

-Est-ce que vous vous rappelez avoir mangé de la bouillabaisse à la maison ou dans un restaurant durant votre enfance?

Do you remember eating bouillabaisse at home or in a restaurant during your childhood?

-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat qui est plus cuisiné par les femmes ou les hommes?

Which would you say was more likely to cook bouillabaisse at home, men or women?

-De nos jours, pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse dans les restaurant est un plat qui est mangé principalement par les touristes, ou est-elle encore mangée par les locaux?

In the present day, is bouillabaisse served in restaurants mainly for tourists or do you believe it is still being eaten by locals?

-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat traditionnel?

Do you think bouillabaisse is a traditional dish?

Est-ce que les Marseillais en sont fiers?

Are the people of Marseille proud of bouillabaisse?

-Est-ce que vous êtes familier avec la charte de la bouillabaisse, si oui, qu'en pensez vous?

Have you heard of the chart of bouillabaisse, and if so, what do you think about it?

-Serait-il un avantage pour la bouillabaisse d'être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'institut national de l'origine et de qualité, ou l'UNESCO?

Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

Appendix C: Questions for Christian Buffa (Le Miramar) and Gabrielle Galligani (Le Rhul)

-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

-Serait-il un avantage pour la bouillabaisse d'être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'institut national de l'origine et de qualité, ou l'UNESCO?

Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

-Pouvez-vous me dire comment s'est prise la décision de créer une charte de bouillabaisse, et pourquoi?

How did you come to the decision to create a charter of bouillabaisse, and why?

-Que s'est il passé? What happened?

- ***Était-ce un succès? Was it successful?***
- ***Quels étaient les problèmes qui se sont posés? What problems did you come across?***
- ***Pourquoi pensez-vous qu'un plat tellement symbolique n'a toujours pas été reconnu par le gouvernement? Why do you think such a symbolic dish is still not recognised by government branches?***
- ***-Serait-il un avantage pour la bouillabaisse d'être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'institut national de l'origine et de qualité, ou l'UNESCO?***
- Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat traditionnel?

Do you think bouillabaisse is a traditional dish?

-Pensez-vous qu'elle est encore en train d'évoluer?

Is bouillabaisse still evolving?

-De nos jours, pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse dans les restaurant est un plat qui est mangé principalement par les touristes, ou est-elle encore mangée par les locaux?

In the present day, is bouillabaisse served in restaurants mainly for tourists or do you believe it is still being eaten by locals?

-Est ce que la bouillabaisse est un plat qui se mange encore à la maison ou seulement dans les restaurants?

Is bouillabaisse still being eaten at home, or exclusively in restaurants?

-Que pensez-vous de la bouillabaisse qui se cuisine en dehors de Marseille?

What do you think of the bouillabaisse made outside of Marseille?

Appendix D: Questions for Franck Philippe

-Pensez-vous que la bouillabaisse est un plat important pour le patrimoine culinaire Français?

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

-Quelle position la bouillabaisse tient parmi les plats régionaux et traditionnels Français, surtout quand on la compare à d'autres plats emblématiques, tels que la choucroute, le bœuf Bourguignon, ou le cassoulet?

What place does bouillabaisse hold within the regional and traditional dishes of France, especially when compared with iconic dishes such as choucroute, beef Bourguignon, or cassoulet?

-Savez-vous si la bouillabaisse a déjà été servie à un dîner diplomatique ou officiel?

Do you know if bouillabaisse has ever been served at a diplomatic or official dinner?

-Quels sont les plats Français traditionnels généralement cuisinés pour un dîner diplomatique ou officiel, et sur quel critère sont-ils choisis?

What are the traditional French dishes usually served at a diplomatic or official dinner, and on what criteria are they selected?

-Serait-il un avantage pour la bouillabaisse d'être reconnue et protégée par des instituts gouvernementaux tel que l'institut national de l'origine et de qualité, ou l'UNESCO?

Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

Appendix E: Interview 1

- Date: 28th of November 2020
- Interviewee: Alain Tallagrand
- Duration: 22 minutes 59 seconds

Mathieu Belledent: M

Alain Tallagrand: A

M: Hi, I have a few questions I would like to ask you. However, please feel free to elaborate as we go along. The stories you have to tell are more important than just straightforward answers.

A: Okay, no problem. Well, we can start with the questions and then go back to whatever you want to talk about.

M: So first, what culinary dish would you associate with the region of Provence?

A: Well, straightaway, I would say, bouillabaisse, of course. After that I would say, let me think.

M: Please take your time.

A: Well, you know the problem in France is... it's not so much about regions. Dishes are usually associated with a city rather than the region, like pialadiere for example, or the callison of Aix en Provence. I would say it often goes like this. So basically, the one I'm thinking of straightaway would be bouillabaisse, even though it is associated with the city of Marseille. But when it comes to Provence, I don't know, I can't really think of anything on

the spot. Personally, I think it's a little bit complicated, because for me cooking Provençal food comes naturally. In whatever I cook I put a bit of Provence in it. For instance, when I cook a tartiflette, I will always use garlic, bay leaves, and oregano. It is part of my roots. I always go back to the same basis. But when it comes to a typical dish from Provence, I can't think of any right now. Can we please go back to it later?

M: Yes of course.

From what you are saying, a typical dish from Marseille, would be bouillabaisse, is that correct?

A: Yes, absolutely.

M: Do you eat or cook bouillabaisse at home?

A: Sorry?

M: I mean do you think it's a dish that you would normally cook at home?

A: No, not really, or rarely. It's because it's complicated. Like fish soup, I have done it, I have cooked it at home, but rarely. First of all, you need a lot of equipment, and then you need to cook it for a lot of people. Realistically, you are not going to do a fish soup for one, I mean, of course you can, but really, you are not going to do it just for one person. When you do it, you have to do a large amount. Maybe six or eight liters. Therefore, you need to cook it for a lot of people. And if you add the fish to the soup to make bouillabaisse, it's the same. Many people will tell you that you need to cook it for a lot of people. In restaurants it's different, you know. They can divide the portions in the kitchen and everything else. For bouillabaisse you have to use big fish, and you need lots of them. You need at least four different types of fish to cook in the broth. So, if you get two fillets out of one fish and you have four fish, that's eight fillets in total. You definitely need at least four to six people. And I mean that is if the

fish wasn't too big in the first place, because when you put a red gurnard, monkfish, or another big fish you will require many guests to eat it all. Otherwise, cooking bouillabaisse at home, no not really. It might have happened once in my life when I cooked it at home. Now, I am sure if you look at typical Provencal families, you know the ones? Big families living together, with the grandpa that goes fishing in Martigues during the week or something. In that case, it is possible that bouillabaisse would be cooked at home on a more regular basis. But I still think it is rare to cook it at home.

M: Okay, thank you. This is very interesting.

Do you eat bouillabaisse in restaurants?

A: Honestly, no. I'd like to go to a restaurant to eat bouillabaisse for sure. I have been meaning to do it for a while but I haven't. There are quite a few establishments famous for bouillabaisse in Marseille. There are three or four restaurants in the same perimeter. There's Le Vallon des Auffes Chez Fonfon, I don't know if you know.

M: I do.

A: Well, Le Vallon des Auffes Chez Fonfon is well known for its bouillabaisse in Marseille. Then there's the very famous one right next to it. What is it called again? It's... I'm trying to remember. Hold on a second. It will come back to me in a bit. Peron! That's it I remember now, it's called Peron. It's only about one kilometre and a half away from Fonfon. They are located on the Corniche, you know the Corniche Kennedy in Marseille, I don't know if you know.

M: Yes of course I know.

A: There's also Le Petit Nice. Le Petit Nice has done its own version of bouillabaisse. They do what they call a bouillabaisse revisited, that's because it's a Three Michelin Star

restaurant. I remember seeing it on the TV, it's completely different. It is for a very fancy clientele such as rich Americans, Russians and really rich French. But otherwise, the most famous restaurants when it comes to bouillabaisse in Marseille are Peron, and located at the beginning of the Corniche just by the side of a small harbour, the most famous one, Chez Fonfon. I keep saying I must go there to eat one (bouillabaisse), but I never really find the time to do it. I should organise it someday. It would have to be a table right by the sea front. But the fact that I work in Corsica these days, it would be difficult. It's not something you find in the restaurants over there. In Corsica they work differently with fish. The fish is usually ordered by the gram and cooked in a simple manner, fried or roasted. But nothing near like a bouillabaisse. Bouillabaisse really is a typical dish served in Marseille. You may find it in some fish restaurants along the coast, maybe as far as Montpellier, but in general you won't.

M: Okay, how about yourself, have you ever cooked bouillabaisse outside of Marseille?

A: Yes, I have. It has happened a few times alright. Once people find out I'm from Marseille they ask me if I could do it. I have actually made bouillabaisse several times in the hotel I work in Corsica. You know what? At the end of the day, it's the Mediterranean Sea and it's pretty much the same fish you would find in Marseille and to be fair it tastes the exact same. I already have a fish soup on the menu. Generally, in Provence, most restaurants by the sea would have fish soup on their menus. I know it's a bit strange. They all have fish soup, but very few have bouillabaisse. Of course, it is a particular fish used in bouillabaisse and it's expensive. For that reason, you have to sell bouillabaisse at a high price. You need to have a certain type of clientele who can afford it, because it's really expensive. At the beginning it was a dish for the poor maybe, but not anymore. It's really expensive now. I would almost say it has become a dish for the elites. You need to have a good bit of money to go to a restaurant to eat bouillabaisse. As far as I remember in Chez Fonfon it's 50 to 55 euro per person. So, for example, if two people go to eat bouillabaisse in a restaurant... well you know what I mean? You're thinking to yourself, I'm going to spend 110 euro for the meal, plus the wine, the aperitif and the desserts. You will spend at least 200 euro. So, it's definitely not for everyone.

M: Do you remember if as a child you ate bouillabaisse at home or in restaurants? Do you think things have changed in that regard since if you were a child?

A: Yes of course. Before, I remember it was only just a big stew, just a big pot of stew. It was made with fish broth or fish soup, but the result was still a big fish stew. The fish was thrown into the broth, and then savonette potatoes were added. Do you know what savonette potatoes are? They are waxy potatoes shaped like soap. When you took them out of the stew, they had become orange from the saffron. Often, the big pot was brought to the table and the fish was cooked and taken out at the last minute, just before serving it, and that's the way we ate it. Back then in the restaurants in Marseille they would serve it on cork bark you see. The fish was presented to you fresh before being cooked and then the waiter would bring it back to your table and cut it in front of you. Now, the fish is often prepared, cooked, and plated in the kitchen. But when I was a child, yes. I'm now fifty-five years old. So, when I was ten years old forty-five years ago, it was around 1975. The way of cooking food back then was very traditional. Family gatherings back then were very important. In Marseille, in 1975, there wasn't much to do. Now, people are busy, they don't have the time to cook anymore. Even something as simple as making a quiche, they just go to the shop and buy a frozen pizza and stick it in the oven. So, imagine the idea of making a bouillabaisse, forget it. I mean, I don't know, maybe. It would have to be for a very big occasion though. People can barely make a Bolognese sauce from scratch these days, so imagine making a fish soup and then cooking the fish in it, it would be too complicated.

M: In 1975, who prepared bouillabaisse in your house? Often bouillabaisse is associated with men, so who was responsible for the cooking at home?

A: You're spot on, you're absolutely spot on. In 1975, for the big family meals, contrary to what people may think, the men were usually in charge of the cooking. I'm not only talking about bouillabaisse. I remember my uncles and my dad were cooking different dishes. Grilling sardines was very popular for instance. Actually, to go back to what we were saying

earlier when you asked me about a typical dish from Provence; grilled sardines are a good one. We also cooked whole artichoke stuffed with lard and marinated in olive oil in charcoal. So, as I said, dishes like this were always cooked by men. To be honest, I don't really remember who was making the fish soup in my family. But I remember the men did the finishing touches. You know, like carrying the big pot and cooking the fish. It is possible that because they were in charge of lighting the fire outside that's the reason why I only remember the men you know. It is a possibility. But I wouldn't be surprised if it was in fact the women at the back in the kitchen who were doing most of it. I was only ten, I cannot say for sure. I was more preoccupied with playing with my cousins than watching my mom and dad cooking. But of course, I loved eating. I honestly think that many people must have been involved in the making of the dish, because it is quite complex. Yes, I remember the men were in charge of the final part of the process, but I really think the women did most of it; cleaning the fish, chopping the vegetables etc... I think women had a lot to do with it. But I cannot say for definite.

Now if you look at the history of the dish, I have always been told that at the fish market, the women sold the fish, while their fishermen husbands were at the back, preparing bouillabaisse. At the end of the working day the fish unsold was cooked in the broth. They would gather around the pot and eat together. Personally, I think it makes sense, the way I see it, you know, it was the women that were selling the fish at the markets and to be honest that hasn't changed. If you go to Carro on the Cote Bleu, just after Carry-le-Rouet, there is a little fish market where they sell fish so fresh it is still alive. Sometimes I bring my dad there to buy fish. For a product of this quality, the prices are ridiculously cheap. You'd pay 6 euro per kilo for a Sar fish when it is 20 to 25 euro a kilo in most fish-shops. So, to go back to what I was saying, this was always the tradition. The fisherman came back from the sea, gave the fish to their wives to sell, and sat at the back where they prepared the broth. The women wouldn't have had time to cook, they were selling the fish. That's why I think it became a meal cooked by men.

M: Thanks. That's fascinating.

A: It's true, I'm telling you, it is true.

M: Currently, is the bouillabaisse served in restaurants mainly for tourists, or do you think it is still being eaten by locals?

A: I honestly think it's a dish that's mainly eaten by the rich and tourists. Just like so many dishes, I mean French traditional dishes. The dish was a dish for the poor that became a local speciality. Back in the days, most of the poor people ate bouillabaisse, it's like choucroute or cassoulet. If you look at cassoulet, it's the exact same story. Originally, it was a few sausages and a bit of lard cooked with beans. You didn't have all the fancy stuff. Now, if you eat choucroute in Alsace they call it choucroute Royale in the restaurants. But really, think about it. Strasbourg had a lot of pig farms. It was the pig farmers who were making the dish by using the meat from the pigs cooked with the cabbage and potatoes they grew on the land. That's what choucroute originally is, not the fancy Royal thing. So, just like us in Marseille. We live by the sea. We took advantage of our resources; fish, and created a dish. Rockfish is a fish that you can't really sell. It's full of bones. Rascasse, perroquet, etc... they're all tiny fish. They are called perroquet (parrot) because they are of so many different colours. You can't eat them, there are more bones than flesh, but you have to do something with it, you can't throw them away. They are also very easy to catch and the best way to use it is to make soup with it. Back then there was no waste. One hundred years ago you know, you wouldn't waste a single fish. In my opinion, the soup was made because they didn't want to throw away any of the fish they caught. Also, you have to remember that back then the fish was on the market stall in the heat for a long time, therefore the fish had to be cooked for a long time to kill any harmful bacteria. Now in the restaurants, they like to show off, they like to cut the fish for you. When the fish comes out of the kitchen it's perfect. But originally, I would think that the fish was all broken up in pieces when it was served. The fish must have been completely overcooked. Waste wasn't an option, so this was the way. But now, you would pay a minimum of 50 to 55 euro to eat just one portion. If you think about it, the minimum

wage in France is around 1200 euro per month. There's not a chance anyone earning this kind of wage would spend 200 euro on a night out, would you? I'm talking about, let's say an average family, ok. Both parents working in a supermarket for example. There is no way they could afford to go out with their kids to a restaurant to eat bouillabaisse. In my opinion, it definitely is for a selected clientele, for sure. As a result, the dish has been transformed in order to attract the rich clientele. Now it is a dish for the rich.

M: Have you heard of the chart of bouillabaisse?

A: Yes, I have heard of it. I don't know much about it but I know it exists. I also know why it was created. But I have never come across the chart in the restaurants I have worked.

M: I'm trying to find out why bouillabaisse hasn't been recognised by a governmental body.

A: Ah I see, I don't know.

M: So, the last thing I want to ask you is if you could share any relevant anecdotes from the time you were working as an apprentice in Les Goudes?

A: I was really young; I was an apprentice. I can tell you two things in particular. The first one is the reason why I stopped working there. It's simply because I could not feel my fingers anymore. The sting from handling the fish was too much. My hands were twice their size because of the venom when handling the vivefish and the rascasse, and other ones. We only worked with fish and it became too much for me. The second one goes back to your first question, it's all coming back to me now. So, my boss was a really old lady from Marseille, ok. She was the head chef's mother too. He was a man already in his 50's. He used to go to the market in Marseille to buy the fish, right. His mother, who was in her 80's used to come to the kitchen in the middle of the night to prepare a dish that she refused to share the recipe

with anyone. It's a shame because it was delicious. It was an escabeche of sardines. She never cooked during the day, always in the night.

M: Do you remember if the bouillabaisse you served in the restaurant at the time was popular?

A: Yes, yes it was.

M: Who was making it?

A: The head chef did. Each portion was served individually in small Teflon pots. The potatoes were already cooked in the broth, the savonette potatoes I mentioned earlier, and the soup was already hot for the fish to be cooked. When an order came, he would sear the fish, cover it with some of the soup and add the potatoes. In general, it was pre ordered days in advance, and the exact amount of fish was bought fresh in the morning. Each individual portion was cooked to order. But only the head chef cooked it, my job was to clean the fish (laughing).

M: Well Alain, thank you very much for your time, is there anything else you would like to share with me before I stop the interview?

A: Yes actually, I wanted to add that we always talk about Marseille when it comes to bouillabaisse but I think Martigues is just as important as a city for the dish. There are a lot of fishermen in Martigues and they make a great bouillabaisse. In Martigues they have this thing where the croutons are actually chunks of stale bread broken in the plate which is covered with the soup and a lump of aioli. Also, talking about aioli. Back then it was not made like it is now, with mustard. It was made with egg yolk, garlic and olive oil emulsified in a pestle and mortar, that's it.

And another thing that's coming to mind; I would say that *pie'd paquet* is another dish that is very representative of Provence and Marseille.

That's it.

M: Thank you so much for the conversation Alain.

A: No problem my pleasure.

M: I'm going to stop the recording now.

Appendix F: Interview 2

- Date: 20th of January 2021
- Interviewee: Yann Chaleureux
- Duration: 13 minutes 45 seconds

Mathieu Belledent: M

Yann Chaleureux: Y

**M: Hi Yann, I wanted to ask you a few questions. So, let's go with the first one:
What culinary dish would you associate with the region of Provence?**

Y: What dish would I associate with the region of Provence? Yes of course. Well actually, for me it's a bit complicated to answer this question. Everything I cook is about Provence. It would probably depend on the season. It's the kind of thing that chefs have to consider. There are dishes that I remember from my childhood, les *alouettes sans tête* (beef rolls) for instance. That's a dish that my grandfather used to do when I was a child and I have great memories of it. But the first dish that comes to mind, right now on the spot, wouldn't necessarily be that dish. To be fair I'm actually thinking maybe *pieds paquets*. I am saying that because it's the winter and if I had to write a menu it would be the first dish, I would put on it. Summertime, I don't know, fresh goat cheese maybe, things like this if you know what I mean.

M: Yes of course, absolutely.

Y: It really depends on the season.

M: Ok. So, the next question is pretty much the same one but for Marseille.

Y: For Marseille? It might sound funny but personally it's *panisses* (chips made with chickpea flour).

M: Not at all I love them too.

Y: Once again it's about my childhood you know.

M: I completely understand.

Y: I remember as a child I used to go swimming with my dad and on our way back we used to stop at L'Estaque and eat *panisses*.

M: Have you ever cooked bouillabaisse?

Y: Yes of course.

M: In restaurants or at home?

Y: Both. But in restaurants I haven't been able to put it on the menu yet. It's always as the dish of the day or if someone requests it.

M: Ok.

Y: At home yeah, I did cook it a few times. Not often though. Because let's face it, it's a pain to do. But yes I've done it.

M: How many people would you have done it for at home?

Y: It depends, but at least for six people.

M: Have you ever cooked bouillabaisse outside of Provence?

Y: No.

M: Ok.

Y: Well, actually I did cook it once outside of Provence. You know where? Mayotte (a French archipelago in the Indian Ocean).

M: Can you tell me more about it?

Y: Well, basically I have two passions in life. The first one of course is cooking, and I generally work as head chef most of the time. But I also love diving, so I went to work in Mayotte for two years as a diving instructor. My dad moved there six years ago and I decided to go spend some time with him. One day after fishing we decided to cook bouillabaisse. Of course, we used the local fish from the island, but everything else was identical to the one we made in Marseille with *rouille* and the croutons but it was not the same.

M: Did you do it just for friends and family or in a restaurant?

Y: For the people at the diving club. It was really fun.

M: Ok.

Do you ever eat bouillabaisse in restaurants?

Y: I do, but only in one place. It's a restaurant in Marseille on the Corniche.

M: What is it called?

Y: I can't actually remember. It's a white restaurant with a blue sign written in big; bouillabaisse. The name will come back to me. All I know is, that's the only place I ever go to for bouillabaisse. This restaurant is a well-established place and well-known by the locals for bouillabaisse.

M: Do you have any memories of your parents cooking bouillabaisse at home when you were a child?

Y: Yes, I do. My dad used to cook it.

M: Did you say your dad?

Y: Yeah, it was always my dad who cooked it.

M: Which would you say is more likely to cook bouillabaisse at home, men or women?

Y: It depends. Some people go to the fish market to buy fish, but my family goes fishing to get the fish, especially during the summer holiday. I guess it is a dish that is often associated with men. In my house it's my dad who does most of the cooking, he loves cooking, so naturally he was the one making bouillabaisse.

M: Is the bouillabaisse served in restaurants mainly for tourists or do you think it is still eaten by locals?

Y: I think there was a lot of controversy around the restaurants selling mediocre fish soup under the name of bouillabaisse, especially the ones near the old port. They are making a fortune. As a result, bouillabaisse has changed a lot. I'm sure you know about the chart of bouillabaisse since you're doing your research on bouillabaisse.

M: Yes, of course.

Y: It's good that it was created because it proves the authenticity of the real Provençal bouillabaisse, or at least close to the authentic flavours.

M: Do you think the chart should be taken more seriously and bouillabaisse protected by the government?

Y: Honestly, I know about the chart and what it represents, but I have never had to use it in my workplace. From what I know it's a good thing it was created, but I don't want to comment on the matter because I don't even know what's written in it.

M: No problem.

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

Y: Yes, just like any other classic French dish. French cuisine as a whole is important to France's culinary heritage in my opinion. Any traditional French dish that was originally a peasant dish is important. They are all important; it's part of our culture. Look at *cassoulet* or beef Bourguignon; they are some of the first dishes you learn in culinary school. Bouillabaisse in my eyes is just as important. The problem with France's culinary schools is that fish dishes are generally ignored on the curriculum. It's too expensive and difficult to source fresh fish and as a result meat has become the main focus in cooking classes. I think it's a shame that dishes like bouillabaisse are completely ignored. Thankfully top chefs like Passedat in Marseille love to work with fish. Passedat has three Michelin Stars and has

created a dish of bouillabaisse his own way, revisited. Some say it's pure nonsense and shouldn't be called bouillabaisse, but I think it's fantastic. It's largely due to chefs like him that bouillabaisse gets to be exposed to the rest of the world and in my opinion it's also a good thing for Provençal cuisine. I don't know if you know what he does with the dish but it's really interesting. He serves the fish in the order they live in the sea from the bottom to the top, it's fascinating.

M: Excellent.

Yann for my last question I would like to talk to you again about the European Union quality schemes protection for bouillabaisse. What's your opinion? Do you think it could be beneficial?

Y: My chauvinistic mind is saying bouillabaisse should have been recognised and protected a long time ago (laughing). Yes of course it would be a good thing. Bouillabaisse represents Marseille's identity. The dish of the poor which uses the unwanted fish (laughing). I don't know what dish is recognised in France but bouillabaisse should be one of them.

M: Ok Yann, thank you. That's it with the questions. Are there any stories you'd like to share with me before I stop the recording?

Y: Well. I have a bouillabaisse story that may interest you actually. When I finished my apprenticeship, which was in a high-end restaurant, I jumped on the first job that came my way because I needed to make money. I got a job in a very touristy spot in Bandol. But I walked out after only four days. The restaurant was selling tons of bouillabaisse to tourists, and every single portion was coming out of frozen plastic bags defrosted to order, it was horrendous.

M: Do you think many restaurants do that?

Y: Too many. They take advantage of the tourists.

M: It's a shame.

Y: Of course, you're going to hear that there are many different recipes for bouillabaisse, but generally they are family recipes. Everyone has their own little secrets that make their dish better than others, and I think it is a good thing. It shouldn't be just the one recipe. Everyone should have their own interpretation. Some people use saffron in the *rouille*, while some don't. I even heard some people like to thicken the broth with monkfish liver. But at the end of the day, it's the love you put in it that's important, and the quality of the products of courses.

M: Absolutely.

Y: Le Rhul, that's the one. The restaurant I couldn't remember the name of, it's called Le Rhul.

M: Ha ok, brilliant!

Thank you so much for your time, and also the great insights you kindly shared with me. Thank you.

Y: No problem at all.

Appendix G: Interview 3

- Date: 24th of January 2021
- Interviewee: Christian Buffa
- Duration: 13 minutes 57 seconds

Mathieu Belledent: M

Christian Buffa: C

M: Mr Buffa, as explained in the email, I am conducting a research on Provençal cuisine with a main focus on bouillabaisse. If you don't mind, I would like to ask you a few questions.

C: Ok no problem, go ahead I'm listening.

M: Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

C: First of all, there's something you must know, you can check later for the details, but bouillabaisse is a dish originally from Greece. Because Marseille was founded by the Greeks and is one of the oldest cities of Europe, this would arguably make bouillabaisse one of the oldest dishes in France. I think it's important to know. Furthermore, Bouillabaisse is a dish that is typical of the Mediterranean region and also regroups the products from that region.

M: Ok.

C: Let me tell you a few historical facts. Bouillabaisse has only been fully recognised as a gastronomic dish in the last eighty years. Prior to that, it was mainly a fisherman dish that was also eaten by the poor. When the fisherman caught enough fish, he would go back to the

port and sell his catch to the fishmongers at the market. He would then bring the unsold fish back home to his wife so she could make a meal out of it. She would make a broth with the fish, add chunks of stale bread, and prepare a spicy mayonnaise known as *rouille* that would be their meal. It wasn't a specific selection of fish, it was whatever was left, and to be fair most of the time they ate more bread than fish. Basically, it was a fish soup with broken bits. As time went by, bouillabaisse improved, and was supplemented with better ingredients. It was improved because many of the fishermen's wives worked for rich people in Marseille, and serving them just a fish broth wasn't good enough. Instead of doing a fisherman's bouillabaisse, which is just one big fish stew, they utilised the small fish to make a fish soup, and poached the bigger ones in it. Consequently, in order to please the rich Marseillaise' palate, bouillabaisse was transformed into a noble dish. About forty years ago, we created the... well, I wasn't the owner of the restaurant back then, but the previous owner of Le Miramar and other restaurant owners created the chart of bouillabaisse.

M: Yes, that's right. How did it go?

The chart of bouillabaisse is a guide showing how to do and to serve bouillabaisse correctly. The chart explains that bouillabaisse should be served in two courses; each course should be prepared separately. First the soup is prepared with rockfish. Rockfish is a really important ingredient in the soup composition; it gives that flavour you won't find anywhere else in the world. You can make it with fish from the Atlantic Ocean; I even made it when I was in Japan with the local fish. It is good but it's not the same. You need the small fish from the Mediterranean coast, the little gardaou, the little roucaou, rascasse, and many more. Ok, I'll go back to what I was saying, the procedure. It really is an emblematic dish representing Marseille but also, bouillabaisse showcases the products of the Mediterranean region; onion, garlic, tomato, fennel, wild fennel which grows everywhere around Marseille, fennel seeds, olive oil, pastis, and saffron.

M: I see.

C: So, the rockfish is important for the soup, right?

M: Yes.

C: When the soup is cooked it is mixed and sifted. Then six different types of fish are added. The chart advises four but I use six. I use red gurnard, weaver, you must be careful with weavers, it stings and the venom is really painful so you must be careful. Also, sea capon, conger eel, and John Dory. John Dory is easy to recognise because of its mark on its side.

M: Indeed.

C: And the last one; monkfish. The fish are cooked whole in the soup. When cooked, they are arranged on a platter and brought to the customer to be filleted. It is served in two courses. First, the customer eats the soup in which the fish was cooked, accompanied with croutons rubbed with garlic, and a *rouille*. While the customer eats the soup, the waiter fillets the fish. The fillets are then basted with some hot soup for the second phase of the meal. It's the full experience.

M: Yes indeed, it must be.

C: If you go on the internet there are quite a few videos of bouillabaisse demonstrations taking place in my restaurant.

M: Yes, I have watched a few, it's really good.

C: If you watch them again you will be able to properly understand everything I just explained.

M: Yes of course, I will.

C: Listen, you must eat a good traditional bouillabaisse in order to really understand. I have nothing against modern cuisine. I'm aware some chefs want to create new versions of the dish, revisited as they say, but it's a completely different thing. The real bouillabaisse is what I have described.

M: I understand.

Is the chart officially recognised?

C: Yes, the chart is officially recognised. I try to keep it going. Once a year I organise an *aïoli* activity on le Vieux Port. There are fishermen and restaurateurs attending, so it does get talked about. It doesn't seem to be as important as it used to be. However, I still get customers asking if we use the chart when they come in. Between the modern bouillabaisse and the ones who sell cheap mediocre versions, people still want to know who is making a proper bouillabaisse, the real bouillabaisse.

M: Absolutely.

Is there anyone in contact with governmental agencies in terms of the recognition of the chart?

C: Not that I know.

M: Would it be beneficial to be recognised by the government?

C: That would be great, for sure. I mean, I think French Cuisine is already recognised by UNESCO, so there is no reason why they couldn't recognise bouillabaisse too. It would be a really good thing in my opinion.

M: Do you know if someone has tried to put forward any application in that regard since the 1980's?

C: To be honest, I have only recently been nominated as the vice-president of the chart and with the Covid, everything is a bit complicated and... but.... I actually don't know. All I know is we have a chart, and when restaurants apply for it if they don't have the required standard they don't qualify. There are also restaurants who decided not to be part of it, or decide not to be part of it anymore, for whatever reason. Let's say the chart exists, but no one is looking after it in that regard.

M: Ok, that's fair enough.

Is there a website listing the restaurants recognised by the chart?

C: I think so, it should be. In Marseille there are only two of us looking after the chart; Le Rhul and my restaurant.

M: Excuse me, what did you say the other restaurant was called?

C: Restaurant Le Rhul.

M: Thank you.

C: Let me have a look.

M: I searched for a list on the internet but I could not find any.

C: I can only find things on Wikipedia right now. All the info is on the page, created in 1980 etc... the history, the principles etc... It's basically what I just said. But it's true, you are right, there isn't much about it.

M: Who eats bouillabaisse in your restaurant? What kind of clientele?

C: So, let me explain. There are a lot of tourists. Tourists are a major part of my business but now with the pandemic I'm in serious trouble. Even during the summer when we were allowed to open to customers there were no tourists around and we really felt it. We need customers to survive, and just like hotels, we can't rely on the locals, we need tourists. On the other hand, on Sundays we are packed with families from local areas. People from Marseille come out with their family to eat bouillabaisse on Sundays, yeah. But except for Sundays, we rely mainly on tourists, international tourists and also French tourists. At least 60% of our clientele are tourists.

M: Ok, interesting.

C: A lot of Japanese tourists and a lot of Chinese tourists come to the restaurant, but unfortunately, they probably won't be coming for a while now. Also, a lot of Americans and people from various countries in Europe.

M: I know we talked a little bit about it earlier but, what do you think of the bouillabaisse made outside of Marseille?

C: What do you mean outside?

M: For example, what do you think of the bouillabaisse made in Martigues? Is it different from the one made in Marseille?

C: No, there is no difference. Apart from the fact that bouillabaisse is originally from Marseille. The one thing I would say is; there are good bouillabaisse out there and bad bouillabaisse. And it's sometimes difficult for people to know where to go. I mean if you look at the price of fish at the moment, one kilo of monkfish costs twenty euro and you need lots of it to make bouillabaisse. So, you can only imagine what you are getting in the restaurants charging twenty euro for a meal of bouillabaisse. I mean it's not my business what they do but it certainly tarnishes the image of the bouillabaisse. That's what I think anyway.

M: Absolutely.

C: It's like buying a brand-new Mercedes for five thousand euro. There's obviously something wrong. Well, for bouillabaisse it's the same thing.

M: Yes (laughing).

Do you think bouillabaisse is still evolving?

C: Maybe for the modern restaurant it is. Personally, because I see it as a traditional dish, I don't think it should change. Traditional dishes represent the terroir and this is the reason why bouillabaisse should be eaten in Marseille in fact. For the setting and the local products.

Modern restaurants can do whatever they want, it's their business, but traditional restaurants should respect the dish and leave it as it is, that's it.

M: Ok Mr Buffa, thank you very much for your time. I have learned a lot from you today, thank you so much.

C: Good, I'm happy you have. Please feel free to use my website if you need any pictures. If one day you write an article or something, send it to me. If it's in English it's even better, it might bring the tourists back (laughing), because I badly need it. Let me know how you get on.

M: Absolutely, I will. Thank you.

Appendix H: Interview 4

- Date: 3rd of February 2021
- Interviewee: Gabrielle Galligani
- Duration: 7 minutes 03 seconds

Mathieu Belledent: M

Gabrielle Galligani: G

M: Hello Mrs Galligani, as I previously explained to you, I am ringing you today to ask you a few questions regarding the dish bouillabaisse.

G: Yes. Go ahead.

M: Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

G: Absolutely, it's a dish that represents the South of France.

M: Do you think bouillabaisse would benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

G: Well, there are a lot of recipes out there, as many as there are housewives cooking bouillabaisse in Marseille, and that's fine. But for the restaurants, yes. Saffron, olive oil and some other ingredients have to be in the recipe, but for the recipe in itself, everyone does it their own way.

M: Ok.

You have a strong connection with the chart of bouillabaisse, is that correct?

G: Absolutely.

M: Can you tell me more about it?

G: In the 1980's there were restaurants in Marseille that were selling bouillabaisse for 30 francs at the time. They didn't use the correct ingredients, or serve it the correct way, or use fresh fish, and we got a bit fed up with it. They were mocking bouillabaisse in a sense. It wasn't cooked properly; it was done in a way only to attract tourists. So, the whole thing basically started as a joke. A bunch of restaurateurs including me decided to be bouillabaisse's protectors. We said, let's show people what a real bouillabaisse is. The chart was created to protect the recipe. However, I would like to clarify that if you're not a member of the chart it doesn't mean your bouillabaisse is not good or not served correctly, but at least with the chart customers know they are going to get a real bouillabaisse.

M: Ok.

G: So, the chart claims that there is a minimum of fish to use, fresh tomatoes, saffron, olive oil. The fish and the soup have to be served separately, and the fish must be filleted in front of the customer. There is a way of cooking and serving bouillabaisse that must be respected when you are a member of the chart.

M: Are there many restaurants still using the chart in Marseille? Is it still popular? Is there still a need for it?

G: It is not that there is no need for it anymore. But with all the restrictions from Covid, the restaurateurs, let's say in brackets, have a lot more to worry about at the moment, so we

understand if they can't fully adhere to the code. Back in the days there were about twenty of us looking after the chart, but as time went by, people sold their business and some of the ones taking over stopped respecting the chart, and by that, I mean the ingredients or the service. The mentality of restaurant owners has changed massively in recent years. Back in the days, it was more fun. Restaurant owners knew each other and helped each other. The pace was slower and we would often meet up for drinks, exchange stories, and a bit of a laugh. Now it's different. Restaurateurs are busier and they are not interested in mixing with other restaurant owners.

M: Ok.

G: I stay positive that times like this will come back again one day. It is the reason I try to keep the chart alive. I know one day things will get better again.

M: Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

G: Absolutely. That would be amazing.

M: Have you ever tried to get in touch with governmental agencies in that regard?

G: No, never. It is a good idea though. Something to think about in the future.

M: Is the bouillabaisse served in your restaurant mainly for tourists or do you believe it is still being eaten by locals?

G: Locals do eat bouillabaisse. I'm actually very surprised how much the new generation is loving bouillabaisse. It's a dish that is messy and time consuming to prepare. Making bouillabaisse would make your kitchen very filthy and home cooks are not interested in spending the rest of their day cleaning after making a meal. It is very common for people in

Marseille to have memories of their grand-mother or grand-father's bouillabaisse, but new generations are not interested in cooking anymore. However, the new Marseillaise generation love going to restaurants to eat bouillabaisse. It's amazing to see so many young people and children coming to the restaurant to particularly eat bouillabaisse. I don't know how bad it is in Ireland for restaurants but here the restaurants are closed.

M: Pretty much the same here.

G: But we have a huge demand for bouillabaisse take-away. Especially for big occasions such as birthdays and others. We also sell a lot of fish soup on Sundays. It's really nice to see.

M: That's wonderful.

Would you say that bouillabaisse is associated with celebrations?

G: Bouillabaisse is now a classic Sunday meal and also a dish associated with festivities. For example, this year for New Year's Day the amount of bouillabaisse pre-ordered was unbelievable, it was overwhelming. We have never cooked so many before. But also, on Christmas and New Year's Eve. I couldn't believe it. Having said that, I think bouillabaisse is now a dish that locals particularly like to eat on Sundays. It has become a ritual for people to eat bouillabaisse on Sundays. You need to have time to eat bouillabaisse, at least one hour. Hot soup keeps being poured over the fish to keep it hot, you eat the soup, then the fish; you really need to take your time to enjoy it.

M: Thank you so much for taking the time to speak with me.

G: Thanks to you, and next time you're in Marseille please come to Le Rhul to eat a bouillabaisse.

M: Absolutely, I surely will.

Appendix I: Interview 5

- Date: 26th of February 2021
- Interviewee: Franck Philippe
- Duration: This is an edited interview. Due to the nature of the conversation some of the interview became non relevant and personal, and therefore for academic reasons has been cut out.

Mathieu Belledent: M

Franck Philippe: F

M: I believe your field of research is diplomatic dining?

F: I work for the French National Education Department and before that, I was a culinary art teacher for almost twenty years. In 2011-2012, I went back to college. Because I had previously worked for the French embassy, I chose to do my research on diplomatic dining focusing primarily on the French presidents from the Fifth Republic. Precisely, from 1959 to the 1980s', Charles de Gaulle, Georges Pompidou and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing.

M: Fantastic.

F: Under French regulation, archives are inaccessible for a period of forty-five years. Therefore, Charles de Gaulle and Georges Pompidou's files are easily accessible, as for the Valéry Giscard d'Estaing files, he personally gave me access to it. Unfortunately, he has recently passed away. It is making my research a bit tricky at the moment because I will have to wait for the next person in charge to grant me access to the files. After the Giscard d'Estaing period, files are protected, François Mitterrand, Jacques Chirac etc. However, I have found documents that might interest you.

M: Brilliant.

F: I have been working on my PhD for a few years now and it is part of my research to investigate the evolution of menus in a diplomatic context. I look at the various angles such as, the selection of dishes served, for what reason they have been chosen, the service, wine pairing, table setting, etc.

M: Very good.

Do you think bouillabaisse plays an important part in France's culinary heritage?

F: I believe bouillabaisse is a dish with a strong regional identity. It is an eclectic dish with a long history. It is a popular dish, an original dish, a traditional dish which used to use unwanted fish. However, it now uses expensive products and is well displayed in Marseille's restaurants. It is a dish that now showcases noble products. Actually, I should really say, some noble products. The chart created by Marseille's restaurant association explains the importance of the freshness of the ingredients. What's interesting about this is that even in Marseille bouillabaisse was misused for a while. To this day, bouillabaisse is not protected for the simple reason that there is no group taking any action to protect the dish. However, it would be interesting to investigate the locations where bouillabaisse is being served. We know of course it is served in Marseille, but where else in Provence? I haven't personally seen many places in the PACA (Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur) region serving bouillabaisse. I found that the bouillabaisse that is served outside of Provence is often served in the traditional way. I'm not talking about places such as Belgium, where it is frequently turned into something way too similar to the local *waterzooi*. But in Paris for example, restaurants such as Le Sud near Porte Maillot. They used to serve a very traditional bouillabaisse for years, even with the fish cut in front of the customers. Bouillabaisse was originally a very modest dish, but has definitely changed a lot over time. The dish can now be found served the traditional way in many distinguished restaurants. I do believe bouillabaisse is a dish that is important to France's culinary heritage.

M: What place would you say bouillabaisse hold within the regional and traditional dishes of France, especially when compared with iconic dishes such as choucroute, beef Bourguignon, or cassoulet?

F: If we were to compare bouillabaisse with choucroute or cassoulet, I would say they probably are on the same level. In my opinion, the reason why we are more likely to find choucroute or cassoulet all over France is because it is possible to make the dish by simply opening a tin. I am not talking about authenticity or quality, but accessibility. It is interesting to compare bouillabaisse and choucroute because both dishes rely on several elements, but the additional constraint of bouillabaisse is to make the soup. Bouillabaisse cannot be served everywhere but I will get back to this later when I will speak about diplomatic and official dinners. So, the dish has quite a lot of elements to take into account: the soup; the fish; the croutons; and the *rouille*. It definitely is not an easy dish to execute, or serve. It is a lot more complex than a fish soup.

M: Yes of course.

F: Bouillabaisse has often been modified in order to accommodate particular occasions, but again, I will discuss this matter later. I think the reason that bouillabaisse did not spread in France the way choucroute did, is down to its impracticality. I must say that this is purely based on my personal impression. Pot au feu is a dish that also relies on several elements; the bouillon, the vegetables, the meat, but still, it is not as complex as bouillabaisse. So, as I previously said, bouillabaisse is a dish with a strong regional identity. The dish did not spread well on national territory, but in contrast it is a dish exported internationally. I haven't looked into it too deeply, but I know it is served in the United States, particularly in New York, and also in many European countries. Bouillabaisse is often served in some important French restaurants in foreign countries. What fish do they use? I don't know. Is the dish modified? I don't know. I mean, they could possibly import fish from France, but I doubt. Bouillabaisse is not found in France's restaurants as much as choucroute because of the fish. The rockfish used in bouillabaisse is not easily found outside of the coast of Marseille, and the fact that it

does not travel well could be the reason why bouillabaisse is not widely available. With the exception of saffron, bouillabaisse does not seem to have been influenced by North Africa, Italy or Spain. In fact, the dish seems to be purely associated with ingredients from around the city of Marseille.

M: Do you know if bouillabaisse has ever been served at a diplomatic dinner or an official dinner?

F: My own research is based on the French Fifth Republic. However, because of the service style required by the dish, it is very unlikely that bouillabaisse has been served at a diplomatic dinner before Jacques Chirac's presidency. But it doesn't mean it hasn't happened. There are several factors influencing the choice of dishes for a diplomatic menu. The menus are created in accordance with the importance of the meal. The menu is selected differently for meals such as; business lunches; private visits of monarchs, ministers, presidents and other important political figures; official visits of presidents and prime ministers; and finally, state visits of the head of state of a foreign country. In the case of a state visit, French gastronomy is displayed to its highest standard. There are several diplomatic meals taking place over a period of three to four days. The way it normally works is; when the French president invites the head of state of a foreign country, the following year he is in turn invited to their country. In terms of table settings, menus, dishes, etc., each president has different requirements. I scrutinised the files of Charles de Gaulle, Georges Pompidou, and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, and I can assure you there is no sign of bouillabaisse. Because I do not have access to all of François Mitterrand's files, I am not in position to say if bouillabaisse has been served at a dinner during his time as the President of France. But I wouldn't think so, it doesn't really fit with his taste. The archives of Jacques Chirac are also protected, however, Guillaume Gomez, head-chef at Elysée Palace has given a file with all of his menus to the Dijon library of gastronomy. We can arguably say that Jacques Chirac was an epicurean and he enjoyed having luxurious dinners. He had very little interest in wine but loved good food. He liked the food that represented France and valorised its regions. Based on my research, I have found that Jacques Chirac and his wife have enhanced the French diplomatic dining experience immensely. Prior to Chirac, the tables were set in one big U-shape table and could

sit for as many as one hundred and eighty guests. Chirac however, preferred having separate tables which sat eight to ten people. In a sense, it was very similar to a restaurant, but still serving a la Française. In the menus I have studied I found three times the word bouillabaisse. Each time the dish was modified in order to accommodate the purpose of the meal. It would obviously be too difficult to serve a traditional bouillabaisse at a diplomatic dinner. What's interesting is that it is almost compulsory to serve a consommé or a soup at the beginning of a French diplomatic dinner, but realistically it would still be too complicated to serve a traditional bouillabaisse and follow the rules required at a diplomatic meal.

M: Very interesting.

F: During Jacques Chirac's presidency, we can see a change in the ways menus were created. They were purposely designed to suit the occasion or the guest. For example, when he received the Spanish President, the entire menu showcased ingredients from the French Mediterranean coast. Furthermore, when he entertained Angela Merkel, choucroute was on the menu. You see what I mean? This attention to detail never happened before. Mitterrand and Chirac were probably the only two French presidents who cared about the food being served. Chirac adored fish and seafood while Mitterrand not so much. On the other hand, Nicolas Sarkozy didn't like spending more than fifty minutes at the table and he required that the food was plated in the kitchen, and François Hollande reintroduced le service à la française etc. As you can see, the person in charge of the state can really influence the process. There are no particular sets of rules to be followed, only traditional protocols. The evolution of diplomatic dining is highly noticeable between Charles de Gaulle and Jacques Chirac. Don't get me wrong, traditional dishes are still fundamental when creating menus, but Chirac gave them a purpose. I am pleasantly surprised to have found that bouillabaisse has been served at several diplomatic dinners, not a traditional bouillabaisse of course, but still, it's extraordinary. I also would like to highlight that if bouillabaisse had been served the traditional way, fish bones would have been an issue. The food served at diplomatic dinner must have all the bones removed; even a quail must be deboned. For that reason, you can only imagine the complexity of serving a traditional bouillabaisse. In the old days, and even now, Escoffier's classics were often cooked at a diplomatic dinner. Currently, diplomatic

dining consists of a starter, a main course, cheese, and desert. But in the old days, it generally comprised eight to ten dishes.

M: What traditional French dishes are usually served at a diplomatic dinner, and on what criteria are they chosen?

F: The very first criteria would be dietary requirements. The second would be to please the guest. For instance, when a dinner is organised for the Queen of England, you can be certain that foie gras and Sauternes will be on the menu, and that's because she loves it. After that, it is about showcasing a region's terroir, and to do so by principally using recognised labelled products, such as poultry, cheese or wine. In the old days only the most renowned food and wine were chosen, but now it is a lot more diverse in order to expose small producers. The last criteria are based on practicality and preferences. What's interesting is that on the three menus I have found, bouillabaisse is served as a starter, while in Marseille it is a main course. Because bouillabaisse appears three times during the presidency of Jacques Chirac, it shows that bouillabaisse is just as important as pot-au-feu, choucroute, or cassoulet. Since Charles de Gaulle, I can tell you that Provence has always been represented in diplomatic dining. Maybe not always represented by a dish, but at least by an ingredient from the region of Provence.

M: Would bouillabaisse benefit from a European Union quality schemes protection?

F: First of all, why is there no brotherhood for bouillabaisse? I mean, there are so many brotherhoods in France that look after food specialities. I am a member of the brotherhood for *Pâté en Croûte*, and I was wondering why there is no such a thing for bouillabaisse in Marseille. The second thing is, what would it actually mean for the restaurants of Marseille? Indeed, I know why the chart of bouillabaisse was created, but what would be the advantages of getting a label? What are we protecting? Are we protecting the ingredients or the method? The chart does tell us about the ingredients and the service method, and that's fine. But what about the recipe? How is the dish supposed to be made? We must ask what should be

protected. Is it the composition? The fish? The know-how? We must also look at the other elements, such as the croutons, the *rouille*, the use of local products, products from the sea and the land, the use of potatoes or not. I would personally look into the difference between bouillabaisse and aioli. Because I found there are a lot of similarities between the two dishes, with the exception that aioli does not have a bouillon. The reason I am saying this, is because unlike bouillabaisse, aioli is widely served in Paris. But the real question is why should bouillabaisse be protected? There isn't one dish in France that is protected, so why bouillabaisse? Choucroute, cassoulet, pot-au-feu, none of them are protected. They all have a strong regional identity, but aren't protected. Maybe some particular fish species used in bouillabaisse could be protected, I guess. To qualify for a protection, you must have all the actors involved, fishermen, restaurateurs and others. It would require a lot of work. This could be the reason why no one has taken any action. I think that to protect bouillabaisse a valid reason must be agreed upon. I suppose in order to avoid poor representations of the dish that chase the tourists away; the creation of the chart demonstrates the necessity to protect the dish in Marseille. So, should bouillabaisse actually be protected outside of Provence or even outside France? I don't know.

M: I believe there is a strong similarity between couscous and bouillabaisse and couscous has been recognised by UNESCO recently, so why not? It is in my understanding that the recognition of couscous has really helped promote the dish on a global scale.

F: Ok. Well, with couscous it is a bit complicated. Everyone sits around the table, and... there are so many different variations. But yes, the traditional way includes fats, meat, vegetables, grain, and the bouillon. That's the dish's composition and general identity. However, if you go to Morocco, Tunisia, etc., you will eat a different couscous in each country. That is because of the different local cultures, or the vegetables might be cultivated differently etc. I don't think the recognition by UNESCO has anything to do with protecting the dish but in fact I feel it is a promotional move. The whole world was exposed to couscous after being recognised by UNESCO, but the dish is not connected to one place in particular but attached to four North-African countries; Algerian, Moroccan, and Tunisian and Mauritania, even

though it can be found in other countries. I think it's different with bouillabaisse. Bouillabaisse would have to be recognised as a dish from the city of Marseille.

M: Yes, that's true.

F: It is difficult to link couscous to the terroir; the dish's history often points out to the nomads who travelled from place to place. I mean of course it is attached to some degree to the terroir, but with some variations in each country. Conversely, the rockfish used in bouillabaisse can only be found in Marseille and its surroundings. I'm actually surprised that UNESCO recognised couscous so quickly. I am not saying it shouldn't be, but *baguette* for example is on their list for much longer and still hasn't been recognised. France's traditional gastronomic meal is part of the world's intangible heritage list which is recognised by UNESCO, and I'm guessing that couscous was probably selected and classified in the same manner. So, my question is; do the people in Marseille actually want bouillabaisse to be recognised? If so, what is it we are classifying? The ingredients? The cooking methods? The service methods? I think the chart is a good starting point. But first, the issue should be addressed locally. In my opinion, trying to protect the dish 'bouillabaisse' is just too broad. But narrowing down to a specific location such as Marseille, and by labelling the dish bouillabaisse de Marseille, this would probably make more sense.