Châteaux as Sites of Heritage and Hegemony:
An Exploration of Power, Discourse, and Dissonance Within France's Heritage Regime

Emma Krasnopoler
Leawood, Kansas

International Affairs, George Washington University, 2019

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the
University of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of
Master of Arts

European Studies

Supervised by Prof. Andrew Johnston, School of Architecture

University of Virginia

May 2023

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated in loving memory of my grandfather, Irving Krasnopoler, and my brother, Nathan Krasnopoler. I owe my love for learning to both of them and am proud to continue their legacy in the pursuit of knowledge.

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my thesis advisor, Professor Andrew Johnston, for your enthusiasm, advice, and listening ear. Andy, thank you for the opportunities to explore my many interests and point me in the direction of success with each one since my first semester at UVA. It has been the highlight of my academic career to work with you and see this thesis project to fruition.

I would also like to extend my sincere thanks to Professor Janet Horne for your leadership and guidance in French studies, and for your support in my academic and professional career. It has been an honor to work with you closely during my time at UVA.

Thank you to Professor Jessica Sewell for your support and enthusiasm in France and Charlottesville.

Words cannot express my gratitude for my parents, Susan Cohen and Mitchell Krasnopoler, for encouraging me to follow my passions and for supporting me every day. I am equally grateful to my brother, Elliot Krasnopoler, for his excitement about my research interests and for always having the answers when I need them.

Thank you to my friends for the countless laughs, sleepovers, and rides to and from the airport. Special thanks to Rachel Yakobashvili for all that and more.

Je te remercie, Vincent de Angelis, pour tout, mais surtout de m'accompagner à visiter un dizaine de châteaux et de lire ces 100 pages en anglais.

– Emma

ABSTRACT

There are over 5,000 châteaux in France recognized as national historic monuments where tourists discover the architectural genius of past kings and lords, amble through manicured gardens, and marvel at large-scale restoration efforts funded by the French government. Châteaux, symbols of royal power and extravagance, were reinterpreted and preserved as integral parts of French national cultural identity after the French Revolution. This thesis aims to evaluate the processes of heritage-making at French châteaux through the lens of Antonio Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony in conversation with Laurajane Smith's theory of Authorized Heritage Discourses. This thesis argues that the transformation of châteaux into heritage sites embodies processes of institutionalization and ideological exceptionalism perpetuated by the French State, the unquestioned guarantor of French cultural heritage since the end of the 18th century. The state-sanctioned restoration of short-lived historic formal gardens at the Château de Chambord represent a hegemonic project that replicates the politics and hierarchies of the 18th century. The Château de Condé, a heritage site grappling with the decision to preserve historic authenticity or accept the authorized heritage discourse, is evidence that the State's heritage ideology has become hegemonic. Finally, this thesis presents the medieval château and garden of Montrond-les-Bains as a developing example of local resistance to the State's authorized discourse of heritage. Understanding how the French State uses heritage at châteaux to maintain its dominance over French cultural affairs is imperative to recognizing alternative heritage discourses that offer a new way of thinking about heritage in France.

Keywords: France, cultural heritage, hegemony, architecture, garden history

Table of Contents

Châteaux as Sites of Heritage and Hegemony: An Exploration of Power, Discourse, and Dissonance within France's Heritage Regime

INTRODUCTION

Chateaux have symbolized many different things throughout French history: power, feudalism, elitism, overconsumption, and injustice, but also architectural genius, national identity, tourism, and cultural heritage. The restoration and reinterpretation of châteaux as sites of national heritage constitute a deliberate act of the French State to preserve its power by portraying it as an intrinsic and universal element of French history – thus entering it into the collective memory and national identity of the French public. Châteaux are inherently places of power – kings, feudal lords, and land-owning elites constructed and lived in these massive fortified, often ostentatious, buildings which we preserve, study, and visit as an archive of France's glorious history since the Middle Ages.

France's Ministry of Culture is charged with classifying and protecting more than 17,000 *chateaux, villas, and manoirs* (castles, villas, and manors). Of châteaux alone, there are more than 5,000, of which roughly half date to the 16th to the 18th century (Durand 2019). While an early 2000s decentralization effort returned many of these châteaux to private owners, the French State still owns around 1,300 individual properties classed as national historical monuments (the exact number of châteaux in this list is not disclosed.) In addition, the Ministry of Culture dedicates around one billion euros each year to its stock of *patrimoine*, of which it devotes 450 million euros to conservation and management (Lenoir 2019). The State also offers qualifying privately owned historical monuments financial support of up to 50 percent for restoration and management projects (Lenoir 2019). Besides the funds provided by the State to its *collectivités territoriales* (communes, departments, and regions), the French government also encourages local governments to dedicate as much as 15 percent of their budget towards heritage projects.

Heritage is a central concern of the State, not solely for the development of the tourism sector but also for the State to remain the authoritative voice on national culture, identity, and memory through its ideological and financial investment in what constitutes 'heritage' in France.

Laurajane Smith and Pierre Nora, two widely cited heritage studies scholars, have noted the tyrannical nature of cultural heritage in the French context, which has remained highly centralized and powerful even after repeated attempts to democratize and decentralize power. Smith argues that a hegemonic discourse of heritage promotes Western elite cultural values as normative and universally applicable (Smith 2006). Nora argues that the French State promotes a mythology of French history and identity situated within the context of the contemporary values heralded by the State, especially democracy, equality, universalism, and humanism (Nora 2001). These values are connected to France's architectural history, and helped chateaux become a valuable resource for the State to perpetuate these ideologies. Most importantly, the narrative perpetuated by the State is definitive, meaning there is little room for alternative narratives and memories that the State is willing to recognize, let alone celebrate.

The Italian Marxist scholar Antonio Gramsci articulated a similar idea in the 1930s, that of "cultural hegemony," which refers to the specific type of domination achieved through ideological and cultural means (i.e., social and cultural institutions) which enables the ruling class to influence the values, beliefs, ideas, norms, expectations, and behavior of society to the point where the worldview of the ruling class becomes the universal worldview without any meaningful contestation (Gramsci 1971). Gramsci was writing about the Italian Fascist Party, but scholars have noted that his writings offer critical insights into the nature of power, politics, and culture in contemporary society (Lears 1985; Hall 1987; Su 2009; Mouffe 2014; Fonseca 2016).

The current moment in French cultural studies is ripe for discussions of cultural hegemony precisely because of recent challenges to the long-accepted assumptions underlying French culture, history, and identity. The dominant culture of the French State has appeared monolithic since the 19th century; however, recent tide changes show that French elitism is being subverted in new ways and more than ever before, particularly in postcolonial, immigrant, and rural contexts. An explosion of 'alternative heritages' has forced the French State to reckon with aesthetic preferences and historic narratives outside of its official discourse. Theorist Georg Lipsitz writes that in Gramsci's theorization, hegemony is not a reality imposed from the top-down but rather a constant struggle for ideological domination: "Dominant groups must not only win the war of maneuver -control over resources and institutions, but they must win the war of position as well; they must make their triumphs appear legitimate and necessary in the eyes of the vanquished. That legitimation is hard work. It requires concessions to aggrieved populations. It mandates the construction and maintenance of alliances among antagonistic groups, and it always runs the risk of unraveling when lived experiences conflict with legitimizing ideologies. Under those conditions, dominant groups can ill afford to assume their own society is wholly pacified, although of course it is in their interest to have others think that all opposition has been successfully precluded or contained" (Lipsitz 1988, 147). As more scholarship delves into alternative heritage discourses at French heritage sites, it is worth returning to the authorized heritage discourse to reevaluate its presence and significance in France today.

Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony remains salient in today's world, particularly in discussions of heritage discourses. Smith sees heritage as a discursive process in which the ruling authorities promote their own cultural values as normative and universally applicable, while Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony sees heritage as a part of a more extensive process in

which a ruling class imposes its worldview through ideological, civil, cultural, and moral means. Gramsci could not have predicted the explosion of heritage as an industry and a discursive turn in his writing in the mid-20th century. However, his framework of cultural hegemony nonetheless offers insight into the causes and consequences of such a discourse in a diverse society ruled by a homogenous elite class.

Laurajane Smith acknowledges that the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' is hegemonic. Still, she compels heritage professionals to seek new and alternative narratives to democratize the heritage field, leaving the authorized discourse in the past as she projects the field of heritage into new horizons. However, as this thesis aims to demonstrate, the authorized discourse is not so easily subverted, and this is because it connects to a larger framework of hegemony that is constantly activated at heritage sites across France.

While Gramsci had already included civil institutions such as museums and historic monuments in his original conception of how ruling classes achieve cultural hegemony, today's heritage sites are also civil institutions buttressed by the State. As a result, heritage sites have an increasingly important role in sustaining the authorized heritage discourse. This discourse, which has become synonymous with heritage itself, serves as a hegemonic apparatus of the State that ensures a "dialectical unity between government power and civil society" (Gramsci, Quaderno 15, 33). For Gramsci, what distinguishes the modern liberal democratic State as hegemonic is not its ability to coerce through political institutions but, instead, the limitless ways in which cultural institutions affirm and disseminate the State's ideologies, values, and norms, such that they become the de facto ideologies, values, and norms of its citizens regardless of class (Buttigieg, 43).

Gramsci describes cultural hegemony as the widespread acceptance of the “values, norms, perceptions, beliefs, sentiments, and prejudices" of the ruling class through leadership and persuasion (Lears 1985, 569 and Buttigieg 2005, 37). He also specifies that hegemony is different from traditional modes of rule, such as political domination, because of "the 'spontaneous' consent given by the great masses of the population to the general direction imposed on social life by the dominant fundamental group; this consent is 'historically' caused by the prestige (and consequent confidence) which the dominant group enjoys because of its position and function in the world of production" (Gramsci, 12). Within this framework, the ubiquitous presence of chateaux as heritage sites in France and the unquestioned authority of the French State as the guardian of this heritage results from and perpetrates the consent of French citizens who accept the narrative of history and identity embodied within châteaux heritage narratives and aesthetics.

Indeed, chateaux are, in many ways, the epitome of an elitist and homogenous narrative of French culture and history yet have been understudied as a category. This thesis argues that châteaux have become a realm where the French State explicitly expresses and maintains its hegemonic position as the guarantor of the 'authorized discourse' of national heritage. Alternative discourses of heritage at châteaux, when they exist, not only seek to subvert the authorized discourse but to undermine the power of the State in deciding what and for whom heritage is.

Chapter One, “The Cultural Hegemony of ‘National Heritage’: Châteaux and Elite Heritage,” will explore the foundations of the French heritage regime. Beginning in the wake of the French Revolution, the Convention Nationale made a series of decisions regarding the vestiges and symbols of the *ancien regime*, particularly the Château de Versailles, that laid the foundation for centuries of French heritage institutionalization, preservation, interpretation, and

management. This chapter will examine how châteaux were reinterpreted as architectural and historic monuments during the 19th century, a period marked by bureaucratization, institutionalization, and individualism in the burgeoning heritage field. The invention of the Commission for Historic Monuments reveals how the French State fought to invent a narrative of historical continuity between itself and the *ancien regime* by safeguarding châteaux from their previous associations with the monarchy and instead promoting a new narrative of architectural appreciation. The example of the Château de Chambord's renovations during the 19th century will demonstrate how the form and function of châteaux were transformed in accordance with the political and ideological motivations of the new French State.

Chapter Two, "The Preservation and Production of Hegemony in the Château Garden," will explore the conceptualization of heritage as comprehensive sites that can be managed, manipulated, and made into profit. The move away from isolated monuments towards all-encompassing heritage sites set the groundwork for new conventions in landscape transformation, evidenced by the choice of the French State to restore a short-lived 18th-century garden. This move connects the actions of the State in the 21st century to the aesthetics, ideologies, and political motivations of its 18th-century predecessors. The conflation of formal gardens and châteaux has engendered a transformation of the landscape at châteaux, once again changing the form and function of these places to further ideological domination put in place by the French State. Two recent case studies illustrate these concepts: The Château de Chambord again provides an important example of how the State uses its cultural domination to normalize aesthetic conventions in order to further its political and economic goals; the second case study is a privately-owned château (the Château de Condé) that is grappling with the ramifications of the widespread and widely accepted heritage discourse like the one that Chambord embodies.

Chapter Three, “Is Counter-Hegemony Possible at Châteaux? The Case of Montrond-les-Bains,” will look at a current-day example of a château that is in the midst of a State-sanctioned transformation into a heritage site that conforms with the hegemonic heritage discourse, yet which subverts the authorized discourse perpetuated by the State thanks to the efforts of a community organization to preserve a historic garden on the château’s grounds. This chapter will investigate whether counter-hegemony is possible at châteaux, given their clear ideological association with the authorized heritage discourse that universalizes the memories of monarchs and nobles. The Château de Montrond-les-Bains is a compelling example of how local heritage resists hegemony and retains local values and functions.

Châteaux are at once monuments, sites, and realms where discourses and processes of heritage are constantly in evolution. By broadening the lens of Laurajane Smith’s Authorized Heritage Discourse theory to Antonio Gramsci’s theory of cultural hegemony, this thesis aims to reveal deeper meanings and motivations within France’s heritage regime. This thesis will find that through such an analysis, it is possible to view heritage-making at châteaux as a systemic process inseparable from political and economic motivations and dominations of the French State.

CHAPTER 1: THE CULTURAL HEGEMONY OF 'NATIONAL HERITAGE': CHÂTEAUX AND ELITE HERITAGE

This chapter will explore how the memory of French nobility pre-Revolution came to be considered 'national heritage' by the ruling class and how, through extensive dissemination by national cultural institutions, this became the authoritative narrative accepted by the general French public and helped forge France's heritage identity. It will examine the transformation of châteaux into 'historic monuments' both physically through restoration and metaphysically through their mythologization within national history and culture. The restoration of châteaux since the mid-19th century fundamentally changed their appearance and function in accordance with the aesthetic values of the ruling class. Châteaux became monuments to architectural genius and quintessentially French taste while housing museums and exhibits nationalizing the past of their former noble owners. The institutionalization of the transformation of châteaux into historic monuments demonstrates how the State granted itself the authority to decide what French heritage would be for centuries to come, installing a discourse that, in turn, solidified the State's domination of the cultural institutions that continue to perpetuate France's heritage industry today.

The Invention of 'Heritage'

Following the cataclysmic 1789 Revolution, the newly formed French state was left to deal with millions of buildings, objects, châteaux, and monuments previously owned by the Church, the crown, and thousands of individual nobles who fled and left property scattered across France. The new regime immediately set out to organize efforts to inventory, classify, and protect former objects and buildings of the now-defunct monarchy from further destruction and vandalism through a series of decrees from 1790 onwards (Rücker, 1913). Given their symbolic associations with the opulence of the elite and the oppression of the peasant class, it is no

surprise that many chateaux were the subject of such vandalism during and following the Revolution, leaving many damaged, burned, pillaged, and abandoned. Yet, these same châteaux would be regarded in the century after the Revolution as important monuments to French history and national identity. In a country where revolutions and coups have led to regime changes numerous times, particularly in the 19th century, it is notable that members of the bourgeois have remained at the head of the ruling class in each regime throughout France's evolution from monarchy to Republic, and have instituted cultural policies, norms, and narratives related to cultural heritage that cement the State as the sole guarantor of French history and mediator of its past.

Versailles after the Revolution

To understand how symbols of power, elitism, and feudal class divisions came to become the universal symbols of the modern French nation, we must return to the post-Revolutionary period. Pierre Nora describes the French Revolution as both a "trauma" and a "collapse of memory" (Nora, 1989, 10; 2). It is within this collapse that the seeds of the modern conservationist movement that transformed chateaux into sites of national heritage were sown by the very revolutionaries who sought to put an end to the monarchy and create an equal society. This is evidenced by the conscious decision of the Revolutionary government, the National Convention, to safeguard the Château de Versailles, which was at the center of many revolutionary protests and attacks, rather than destroy it. Instead, on July 4, 1794, the Convention decreed that the château and grounds of Versailles be made public spaces for the enjoyment of all citizens and as educational spaces for the arts and agriculture: "Les maisons et jardins de Saint-Cloud, Bellevue, Monceaux, le Raincy, Versailles (...) ne seront pas vendus mais consacrés et entretenus aux frais de la République pour servir aux jouissances du peuple et former des établissements utiles à l'agriculture et aux arts" (Archives départementales des Yvelines, cited by

www.chateauversailles.fr).[1] This set a precedent for France's châteaux to be preserved, rebuilt, and legally protected even in a period marked by disdain for symbols of past noble extravagance.

This paradox demonstrates a fundamentally French response to the cataclysm of the French Revolution, which continues to be felt in contemporary French discourse about national identity, collective memory, and the national propension for self-reflection (Nora, 1989 and 2011). The idea of heritage born out of the Revolution relates to the existential question of what the new nation would pass down to future generations from its long history. Even the word for heritage in French, "*patrimoine,"* is strongly related to transmission and lineage. It is no coincidence that *patrimoine* ("patrimony" in English) is also used for one's succession after death. The choice in wordage embeds the role of elitism in the conception of *patrimoine national* because it is elites who, throughout French history, have been primarily concerned with lineage as a link to cultural enlightenment, social achievement, and political power (Smith 2006, 23).

Victor Hugo, who used his position to advocate for the protection of France's historic monuments, captured the zeitgeist of this period in a statement he wrote praising the transformation of the Château de Versailles into a national history museum celebrating the glories of France in 1837:

> Ce que Louis-Philippe a fait à Versailles est bien. Avoir accompli cette œuvre, c'est avoir été grand comme un roi et impartial comme un philosophe, c'est avoir fait un monument national d'un monument monarchique, c'est avoir mis une idée immense dans un immense édifice, c'est avoir installé le présent chez le passé, 1789 vis à vis de 1688, l'empereur chez le roi, Napoléon chez Louis XIV ; en un mot, c'est avoir donné à ce livre magnifique qu'on appelle l'histoire de France, cette magnifique reliure qu'on appelle Versailles" (Hugo, *Journal, 1830-1848*, Gallimard, 1954).[2]

---

[1] "The houses and gardens of Saint-Cloud, Bellevue, Monceaux, Raincy, Versailles (...) will not be sold but will be dedicated and maintained at the expense of the Republic to serve the enjoyment of the people and form establishments useful for agriculture and the arts."

[2] "What Louis-Philippe did at Versailles is good. To have accomplished this work is to have been great as a king and impartial as a philosopher, to have made a national monument of a monarchical monument, to have put a great idea in a great building, to have installed the present in the past, 1789 vis à vis 1688, the emperor with the king, Napoleon with Louis XIV; in a word, it is to have given to this magnificent book that is called the history of France, this magnificent binding called Versailles."

Hugo's writing on Versailles captures the idea that the history of France could be traced from its past rulers to current and future regimes, thus bridging the gap between pre and post-Revolution France. The political and social turmoil of the Revolution could be smoothed over by the creation of monuments, whose undeniable beauty neutralized their political agenda and rallied citizens behind the values heralded by whoever happened to be in power. This is precisely what made heritage an effective ground for French rulers in the 19th century to ensure their absolute authority over collective memory and historical events.

Two centuries after Versailles was transformed into a national museum, Pierre Nora explores its multifaceted meanings in his book, *Présent, Nation, Mémoire.* He questions whether Versailles is really a national museum, or an art museum, or a decorative arts museum. "Versailles est d'abord un château, des jardins" (Nora 2011, 171).[3] He elucidates the real significance of Versailles, as having "le mérite de fusionner de manière synthetique le caractère patrimonial que Versailles avait très tôt revêtu avec le mouvement d'histoire et de peinture politique qui marquait l'époque pour les mettre au service d'une grande cause nationale, cette reconciliation de toutes les France, monarchique, révolutionnaire, impériale que Louis-Philippe voulait donner pour sens à son règne" (Nora 172).[4]

Institutionalizing Heritage

The official birth of national heritage in France is usually traced to the 19th century under the July Monarchy. King Louis-Phillippe, in addition to installing a national museum at Versailles, also established the position of Inspécteur Générale des Monuments Historiques in

[3] "Versailles is first and foremost a castle, gardens."
[4] "the merit of synthetically merging the heritage character that Versailles had very early on embraced with the movement of history and political painting that marked the time to put them at the service of a great national cause, this reconciliation of all France, monarchical, revolutionary, imperial that Louis-Philippe wanted to give meaning to his reign."

1830, followed by a supporting Commission des Monuments Historiques created in 1837 (Poulot, 1988). In the 1846 Rapport des Monuments Historiques written to the Minister of the Interior, the Inspector General des Monuments Historiques writes, “Dans un moment où les spéculations industrielles préoccupent les esprits à un si haut degré, on ose à peine plaider la cause des arts en présence de ce que l'on nomme aujourd'hui les intérêts matériels. Mais, pour une nation comme la nôtre, la conservation des grands souvenirs, le respect des œuvres d'art, n'est-ce pas un devoir qu'elle ne doit jamais oublier” (Commission des Monuments Historiques, 1946, 10).[5] The preservation of the ‘great memories’ and ‘material interests’ of the French government is equated to patriotic duty, a sentiment which continues to be upheld in contemporary French heritage policy and discourse.[6]

Furthermore, visiting historic monuments all over the provinces and away from Paris was a quintessentially Romantic enterprise popularized throughout the 19th century by tour guides such as the notable *Voyages Romantiques et Pittoresques dans l’Ancienne France* by Taylor, Nodier, and Cailleux. This 20-volume series from 1820 to 1878 explored France's landscapes, ruins, and monuments through descriptions, engravings, and photographs and elicited a subjective and romantic appreciation of architecture. Interest in architecture was coupled with historical questions about the lives and times of the nobles who inhabited châteaux. Heritage scholar Dominique Poulot writes that the founder of the Monuments Historiques, François Guizot, was especially interested in reproducing the social relations produced by châteaux because, “In this architecture, a whole civilisation is inscribed. Such a conception of archaeology requires the comprehension of a monument as part of a social totality” (Poulot, 48). Thus, the

[5] “At a time when industrial speculation preoccupies minds to such a high degree, one hardly dares to plead the cause of the arts in the presence of what is now called material interests. But for a nation like ours, the preservation of great memories, respect for works of art, is this not a duty that it must never forget.”
[6] See: include examples

French State promoted the aesthetic aspect of châteaux while contemplating the ability of châteaux to recreate the social relations of a feudal society in the modern era.

The transformation of châteaux into national historic monuments became the authoritative type of heritage and gave the elite ruling class the preeminent authority to judge and interpret vestiges of the past as nationally important. In Britain, where similar transformations occurred during the same period, Stuart Hall writes, "Heritage inevitably reflects the governing assumptions of its time and context. It is always inflicted by the power and authority of those who have colonized the past, whose versions of history matter" (Hall 221). Hall claims that the "who" that heritage is "for" is a version of the British public that is culturally homogenous and unified - the foundational assumption of the "nation-state." This logic is even more pronounced in France, which has a long history of forcing assimilationist policies to remain a homogenous culture (such as policies demanding the assimilation of immigrants and secularist policies that obscure racial and cultural diversity on an official and statistical level.) France, like Britain, is a palimpsest of past conquests, waves of immigration, and colonial conquests. Yet, the national heritage in either nation fails to reflect this: "Where," Hall asks, "is the deeply ruptured and fractured history, with its interweaving of stability and conflict, in the Heritage's version of the dominant national narrative?" (Hall, 222).[7] Smith seems to respond to this question by stating that the preservation of elite heritage as national heritage in France was an intentional undertaking from the start: "Indeed this was no accident, as the discourse of monumentality and heritage as developed from the nineteenth century is not only driven by certain narratives about

[7] The foundational presence of the State in the national heritage industry and narrative in France is a fundamental difference between the development of similar national heritage practices in Britain. Hall's observation about heritage is nevertheless pertinent to studies of French heritage.

nationalism and Romantic ideals but also a specific theme about the legitimacy and dominant place in national cultures of the European social and political elite" (Smith 22).

In his writings on *lieux de mémoire* (realms of memory), Pierre Nora reveals that the narrative of history disseminated in French schools, museums, and heritage sites was explicitly designed to foster patriotism and normalize elite cultural and political values. The national narrative unites history, collective memory, and myth in a teleological explanation of the nation's past, present, and future. This positivist version of history sees the Revolution as a necessary step in France's evolution toward political progress and enlightenment while at the same time neutralizing the radical message of the Revolution. In his discussion of national narratives, Canadian educator and researcher Dwayne Donald writes, "Official versions of history, which begin as cultural and contextual interpretations of events, morph into hegemonic expressions of existing value structures and worldviews of dominant groups in a society" (Donald 2009, 3). Châteaux contribute to this hegemonic narrative in France, as they present the monarchy as an essential step in the development of the French nation while ignoring any negative connotations that the monarchy held by any classes other than the elite ruling class in charge of their interpretation and preservation.

The aesthetic and historical values of the ruling class permeated French civil society so extensively that even today, there has not been a significant acceptance of counter-heritage movements. The notion of heritage in France results from the ruling class's interactions with civil society since 1789, beginning with the conscious choice not to destroy the symbol of elitism and injustice at the center of the French Revolution, Versailles. Gramsci writes, "The distinction between political society and civil society is merely methodological . . .civil society and State are one'' (Gramsci, Quaderni 13, section 18). This is evidenced in 1840 by Prosper Mérimée, the

Inspecteur Générale des Monuments Historiques at the time, who remarked on a visit to Strasbourg, that, "L'opinion [est] bien établie qu'un édifice classé était inviolable. Depuis le régisseur des tabacs jusqu'au préfet, tout le monde est pénétré de respect pour le classement…Moi même je commence à croire un petit peu à notre omnipotence" (Mérimée, Correspondance of 4/28/1844, cited in Tanchoux, 2008, 45)[8]. What Merimée identifies as the 'omnipotence' of state cultural institutions is indeed Gramsci's conception of cultural hegemony: that throughout the French provinces, even often-contested ones such as Alsace, the values of the French State promoted by the State through its institutions have become the values of the general public, which then perpetuate those values of their own accord as the cultural norm.

Transforming Chateaux into Heritage

The restoration of châteaux since the mid-19th century fundamentally changed their appearance and function in accordance with the values of the French State. To justify the scale of transformation, the ruling class institutionalized the field of heritage so comprehensively that the Commission des Monuments Historiques has remained the authoritative mediator of French heritage to this day.

The July Monarchy under King Louis-Philippe, but especially the strong-willed Minister of the Interior François Guizot, wanted to build solid and centralized institutions that worked efficiently to signal the modernity of the "enlightened" monarchy and suppress the fervor for political revolution that continued in France during the 19th century. Dominique Poulot provides an excellent analysis of 'le moment Guizot' in her article, "The Birth of Heritage" (Poulot 1988). Guizot headed the movement to institutionalize heritage based on his personal tendency towards

[8] "The opinion [is] well established that a classified building was inviolable. From the registrar of tobacco to the prefect, everyone has respect for the classification… I myself am beginning to believe a little bit in our omnipotence."

a moralist conservationist ideology. Guizot believed that the past had the ability to 'morally reform' the present, that "in France ideas have preceded and provoked the progress of the social order; they were prepared as doctrines before finding form in things, and the spirit has always been at the head of the march of civilization" (Guizot 1829, cited in Poulot, 47). Thus, the doctrine of restoration for the newly established historic monuments was grounded in the belief that the moral progress of French society could be illuminated by the very best of its past "religious beliefs and philosophical ideas, sciences, letters, [and] arts" (Poulot, 47).

It didn't hurt Guizot's cause either that these large-scale restoration efforts proved to the French people that the Monarchy could accomplish large projects using consolidated administrative power. The Commission of Historic Monuments was established to bureaucratize and institutionalize the process of restoration throughout the provinces. Poulet writes, "The urgent and completely unprecedented character of the situation opened the way for a general, systematic conservation project, based on Enlightenment ideas" (Poulot, 1). In the founding report of 1840 of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, written to the Minister of the Interior Guizot by the first *inspecteur général des monuments historiques*, Prosper Merimée, stresses the importance of restoring historic monuments in order to render them once again useful, protecting them from damage, and highlighting their artistic importance (Merimée 1840, 4). The fusion of a moral conservation ideology and large-scale administrative undertakings led to an understanding of heritage as an essential element of both French identity and bureaucratic prowess. This idea took hold in the 19th century and continues to influence French heritage policy, indicate of the strength of the government, and act as a tool for moral pedagogy disseminated to millions of French tourists each year.

The First National Heritage List and its Goals

Forty châteaux were included in the first national inventory of historic monuments in 1840. The list identified the monuments as, "monuments pour lesquels des secours ont été demandés et que la Commission a jugés dignes d'intérêt," or monuments that needed state funding for repairs and restorations (Archives du Médiathèque de Patrimoine et de la Photographie, "Liste des Monuments avant 1913"). Restoration and reconstruction were fundamental to the founding philosophy of the Service des Monuments Historiques, which furthered the idea that for historic monuments to be deemed worthy of national appreciation, they must be changed from their current state and restored to a specific aesthetic period. Restoration would make monuments recognizable and give the illusion of timelessness but also erase the possibility for non-authorized narratives, memories, and experiences from the building itself.

The first significant development in the burgeoning field of historic preservation was the creation of a new professional and institutionalized field of architectural experts in France at the time, which was needed to achieve the government's lofty restoration goals throughout the country as well as justify the projects' costs and high level of intervention into the lives of French people. The "monumentalization" of French architecture needed a corps of trained specialists to identify appropriate buildings, lead comprehensive restoration projects, and impose a sense of administrative authority required to complete the projects in the face of local resistance or indifference. This new corps of specially trained architects studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris and were sent throughout the provinces to complete restorations on the historic monuments identified by the 1840 inventory. Smith states, "[It] was the professional whose responsibility it was to care for and pass on the aesthetic values that lie at the heart of what it meant to be a 'Modern European.' More specifically, it was only the well-educated who

had the necessary cultural literacy to understand grand social and national narratives that were inherent in the fabric of such monuments" (Smith 2006, 21). In 1846, the Inspecteur Général of the Monuments Historiques remarked in a letter that he only entrusted "three or four architects" in France with the responsibility of restoring historic monuments (Tanchoux 2008, 41). By weaving exceptionalism and elitism into the fabric of the conception of heritage, France could ensure minute control over the dominant heritage aesthetic and the larger narrative about the new French nation.

Arlette Auduc, in her overarching study of the history of the Commission des Monuments Historic, *Quand les Monuments Construsaient La Nation,* explicitly points to the development of professional architects chosen by the State as a turning point in the State's ability to solidify its power throughout France through restoration of historic monuments. "L'architecte en chef, comme ordinaire, est donc l'agent essential du pouvoir de l'État…Tenant son pouvoir du minister, possédant une compétance particulière, l'architecte est porteur d'une doctrine officielle de restauration qui s'impose à tous les monuments, dans toutes les regions" (Auduc 2008, 527).[9] Auduc continues that the State achieved the consent of its citizens to impose this system (in the terminology of Gramsci) because of its financial support of projects from the national to the local level – the relinquishing of control over specific projects seemed a small price to pay for a significant investment from the State (Auduc, 527).

Châteaux also became spaces where the remembrance and celebration of the noble class since the medieval period became an exercise in collective memory and patriotic duty. As France became more officially secular (*laïque*), the 'national myth' became a sacred tradition of the

[9] "The chief architect, as usual, is therefore the essential agent of the power of the State... Holding the power of the minister, possessing a particular skill, the architect is the bearer of an official doctrine of restoration that is imposed on all monuments, in all regions."

State. As a result, churches and cathedrals were replaced by the new classification of 'historic monuments,' where the French public could gather as a national community to remember, celebrate the past, and look towards the future (Leniaud 1992). In the case of cathedrals, this was accomplished by stripping the old religious meanings and uses and outfitting the cathedrals as monuments to architecture, social cohesion, and national pride. The myth of the cathedral, "monument d'architecture gothique par excellence, profondément nationale par ses origines historiques et son génie esthétique, symbole de l'unité sociale, politique, religieuse, intellectuelle, et artistique du pays…", served to falsify the collective memory with a new narrative, one that furthered the goals of the State and legitimized the project of mass renovation and conversion (Leniaud, 18).[10] The State was careful to distinguish between churches that were allowed to remain places of religious observance and those that became places of national aesthetic, architectural, and historic value.

The transformation of châteaux into national monuments and museums also embodied the idea that France's national history must be based on collective memory in order to promote a unified republican nation that would be fortified from revolutions that toppled what was once considered the strongest monarchy in the world. Thus, these grand symbols of feudal power and cultural elitism must be appropriated to fit the values of the Nation in order to justify the transfer of power from the monarchy to a centralized State. However, unlike the cathedrals and churches of the new nation, no châteaux in the immediate century following the Revolution were spared from a complete interpretive and functional transformation. All châteaux were palimpsests of previous renovations, periods of abandonment and reappropriation, and the passage of time. The feudal system of the *ancien regime* upheld by and symbolized by châteaux no longer existed

[10] "…a monument of Gothic architecture par excellence, deeply national by its historical origins and aesthetic genius, symbol of the social, political, religious, intellectual and artistic unity of the country…"

after the turn of the 19th century. Châteaux became blank slates for the State's campaign to neutralize the past ideologically and guarantee the State as the guarantor of new conventions. Châteaux became museums of the national story under the new label of "monument historique," which distinguished the pedagogical experience from traditional modes. "Heritage," Poulot writes, "promises to become part of a timeless present, where the past no longer passes but is kept in continual unpredictable use" (Poulot, 41). The discursive value of châteaux labeled "monuments historiques" thus required a singular understanding of their historical and cultural importance as dictated by the State. Therefore, the utility of chateaux as heritage lay precisely in their ability to educate the masses through their transcendence of time and history.

Museums, monuments, and heritage sites all contributed to the regulation of social norms and national identity in the turbulent 19th century, as they were (and continue to be) closely linked pedagogically and administratively. Smith states that following the French Revolution and especially over the course of the 19th century, "Museums took on a regulatory role in helping to establish and govern both social and national identity, and the existence of national collections demonstrated the achievements and superiority of the nation that possessed them…" (Smith, 18). The French State identified itself as the sole guarantor of collective memory and mediator of national identity, accomplishing these by playing a predominant role in all social and cultural life domains. This is a key feature of Gramsci's idea of cultural hegemony: "Through their presence and participation in various institutions, cultural activities, and many other forms of social interaction, the dominant classes ''lead'' the society in certain directions" (Buttigieg, 44). The State provides the superstructure for all cultural activities, leading directly from the President of the Republic, who appoints the Minister of Culture, trickling down through all the branches of France's museums, heritage sites, and cultural celebrations.

The State's linking of arts and culture to political power is a long tradition of the monarchy. Kings of the *ancien regime* used religious monuments, namely cathedrals, to legitimize their authority as successors of Christ, the Roman Empire, and previous royals and thus affirm the power of the realm. Since the medieval monarchy, politics and art were intricately linked to the creation of centralized institutions, a feature that the Republic has also perpetuated. In both regimes, "tout est fait pour que les arts… concourent à l'affirmation de l'autorité (royale)" (Leniaud, 12).[11] Thus, the codification of royal architectural styles and preferences embodied the exaltation of central power. As these values and memories of past elites became solidified as historic monuments with intrinsic historic and aesthetic value for the new French nation following the Revolution, the exaltation of central power transferred from monarchs to the institutionalizing central state, particularly to the authority of the Commission des Monuments Historiques.

Enlightenment Values and 19th-Century Restoration Principles

The transformation of chateaux into historic monuments was tangible as well as ideological. There are countless notices and reports detailing decades of restoration and reconstruction work effectuated in the century following the 1840 inventory of historic monuments. The restoration of historic monuments was subject to approval and oversight by the Commission des Monuments Historiques and the Minister of Interior, especially in cases where state funds were allocated for restorations. One year after the first Liste des Monuments Historiques was published, an 1841 *circulaire ministérielle* of the Commission des Monuments Historiques dictates that,

> "...monuments ne peuvent subir aucune modification sans que le projet m'en ai été adressé et ait reçu mon approbation. Si les édifices appartiennent aux communes, il importe qu'ils ne puissent être restaurés, vendus ou démolis que sur mon autorisation; s'ils appartiennent à des particuliers, vous

[11] "…everything is done so that the arts… contribute to the affirmation of (royal) authority."

> devez être informé quand les propriétaires seront dans l'intention de les restaurer, de les vendre ou de les démolir, et m'en prévenir en temps utile pour que l'État puisse s'en rendre acquéreur, quand la situation du crédit le permettra" (Commission des Monuments Historiques, 1841, 11).[12]

After the fall of the July Monarchy in 1848, which had originally established the Commission des Monuments Historiques, Merimée, the Inspector General since 1834, successfully convinced the Provisional Government of the Second French Republic to retain the Commission, increase its funds for restorations, and increase the scope of restorations throughout France (Carrez, 2000, 77).

Though the Commission des Monuments Historiques exclusively uses the term "restauration," the *travaux* undertaken at chateaux took liberties not necessarily grounded in historical reality or authenticity. Thus, many chateaux were restored to an idealized moment in time that best represented the aesthetic values and preferences of the ruling class. In the 19th century, these values were rooted in Romanticism and Enlightenment ideas, emphasizing aesthetic primacy, morality, and individualism. Many of the most famous restorations of historic monuments were completed under the vision of a specific architect, authorized by the Commission des Monuments Historiques, to bring stylistic completeness to buildings that were cluttered by renovations by previous owners, destruction by revolutionary vandals, or simply left untended.

The act of restoration is fundamentally Romantic in process and product. This is evidenced by the transformations of chateaux to achieve mythical aesthetic harmony and erase traces of less-desirable eras (in the view of the State officials). This ideology is best demonstrated in the restoration work and ideological writings on architectural conservation of

[12] "...monuments cannot be modified without the project having been sent to me and received my approval. If the buildings belong to the communes, it is important that they can be restored, sold, or demolished only on my authorization; if they belong to individuals, you must be informed when the owners intend to restore them, sell them or demolish them, and notify me in due course so that the State can acquire them, when the credit situation permits."

Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, who was the preferred architect of the Inspecteur Générale des Monuments Historiques from 1834 to 1860, later known simply as “architecte du gouvernement." Viollet-le-Duc’s personal conservation philosophy is known for highlighting the individual decisions of the architect in order to achieve unity and harmony and promote the glory of both the building’s original spirit and the genius of the architect for future generations. He writes in his *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française du XI^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle*, “Restaurer un édifice, ce n’est pas l’entretenir, le réparer ou le refaire, c’est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n’avoir jamais existé à un moment donné” (Viollet-Le-Duc, 1866, tome 8).[13] Although Viollet-le-Duc worked primarily on cathedrals, he also renovated chateaux such as Carcassonne, Pierrefonds, and Roquetaillade. He also wrote a 150-page entry on châteaux in his immense Dictionnaire, in which he meticulously details the history of feudalism and château architecture and directs modern architects to restore the feudal *demeures* in the vein of modernity and harmony, qualities he attributes to the Renaissance. He writes,

> “La convenance, la satisfaction des besoins, l'harmonie qui doit exister entre les nécessités et la forme, entre les moeurs des habitants et l'habitation, le judicieux emploi des matériaux, le respect pour les traditions et les usages du pays, voilà ce qui doit diriger l'architecte avant tout, et ce qui dirigea les artistes français de la renaissance dans la construction des demeures seigneuriales: ils élevèrent des châteaux encore empreints des vieux souvenirs féodaux, mais revêtant une enveloppe nouvelle en rapport avec cette société élégante, instruite, polie, chevaleresque, un peu pédante et maniérée que le XVIe siècle vit éclore et qui jeta un si vif éclat pendant le cours du siècle suivant” (Viollet-le-Duc, 1858, tome 111).[14]

Viollet-Le-Duc was blatant in his assertion that restoration was a means to a specific end and that the transformation of châteaux necessitated significant alterations that specially trained

[13] “Restoring a building is not maintaining, repairing or remaking it; it is restoring it to a complete state that may never have existed at any given time.”

[14] “The convenience, the satisfaction of needs, the harmony that must exist between the necessities and the form, between the customs of the inhabitants and the dwelling, the judicious use of materials, respect for the traditions and customs of the country, this is what must rule the architect above all, and this is what directed the French renaissance artists in the construction of the seigneurial mansions: they raised castles still imbued with old feudal memories, but wearing a new envelope in relation to this elegant, educated, polished, chivalrous society, a little pedantic and mannered that the sixteenth century saw blossom and that threw such a bright light during the course of the following century.”

gifted architects like himself could only make in their ability to create harmony out of structures that were palimpsests of bygone eras. The following images showcase this in a comparison between the ruined Chateau de Pierrefonds and the restoration in course of the chateau by Viollet-le-Duc. Working as the "Architect du gouvernement" under Napoleon III, Viollet-le-Duc imagined a more fabulous château in the place of the ruined castle. Taking liberties in style and form, he writes in the book he published on the Château de Pierrefonds, "Nous n'avons que trop de ruines dans notre pays, et les ruines ne donnent guère l'idée de ce qu'étaient ces habitations des grands seigneurs les plus éclairés du moyen age…" (Viollet-le-Duc, 1863).[15]

Figure 1. A. Chevallier, "Ruines du Chateau de Pierrefonds." Exact date unknown, before 1858. Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53024519j?rk=257512;0

[15] "We have too many ruins in our country, and the ruins give little idea of what were these dwellings of the brightest lords of the Middle Ages…"

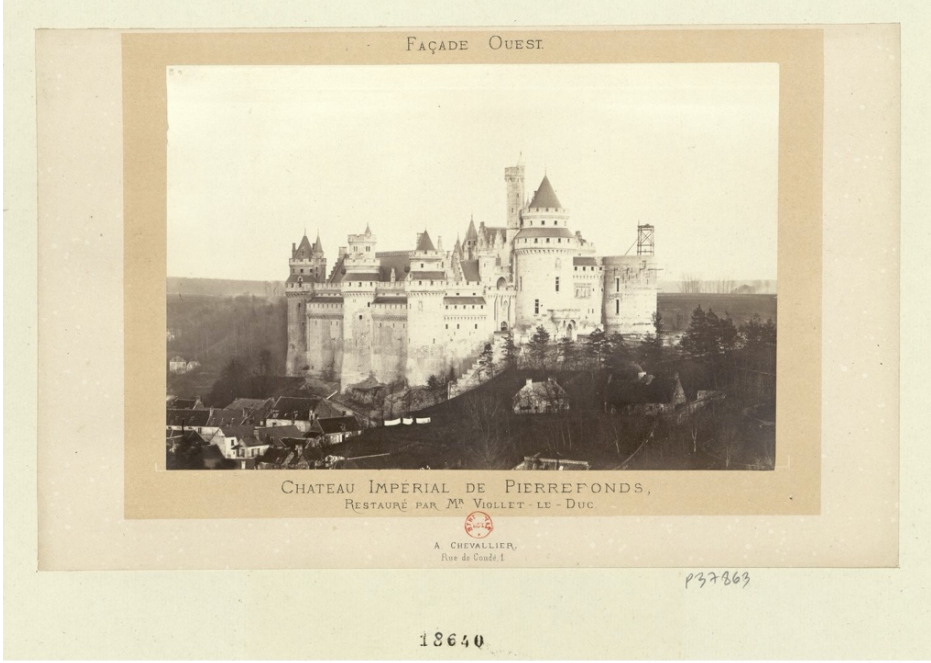

Figure 2. A. Chevallier, "Château impérial de Pierrefonds, Restauré par M.r Viollet-le-Duc." Exact date unknown, likely between 1858 and 1879. Bibliothèque nationale de France, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530245094?rk=622320;4

Restoration of the Château de Chambord

The Château de Chambord, which will also be discussed in Chapter 2, provides an interesting case study because it was one of the châteaux included in the foundational inventory and remains a property of the State. It is even featured on the Ministry of Culture's website as one of France's quintessential heritage sites and receives 1.5 million visitors on average per year (Ministry of Culture 2023). The official website declares that "In Chambord, you will discover an ideal place, made of harmony and modernity" (Ministry of Culture 2023). Indeed, Chambord's history as a national historic monument and now UNESCO-recognized World Heritage Site exemplifies the transformations of history and memory that occurred at many châteaux as they became national heritage.

At the time of its inscription on France's first list of historic monuments, the Château de Chambord was partly in ruin, having been pillaged and partly burned during the Revolutionary years and was then bought, sold, and abandoned. The aesthetic harmony that Chambord now represents was in fact fabricated by 19th century architects during numerous campaigns of restorations authorized and funded by the Commission des Monuments Historiques. The architects in charge of its second restoration from 1882 to 1894 wrote in their official report of their work, *Notice sur les Travaux de Restauration Exécutés,*

> "En réalité le château, don de la France royaliste, était une ruine et il fût demeuré en ruine, comme tant d'autres monuments historiques, s'il était tombé aux mains d'un Etat peu soucieux des grandeurs du passé. Il fallait que Chambord fit retour aux enfants de Henri IV et de Louis XIV pour que les artistes puissent voir entreprendre la restauration du plus grand, du plus beau *sejour royale de chasse* qui ait jamais construit en France" (MM. Desbois père et fils, 1894, 9).[16]

In the Middle Ages, history was "a unified Christian drama with no scope for or interest in differences between present and past" (Lowenthal, 1985, 232). The use of medieval symbols and architecture to define the present and future French nation was a new development in historical discourse that served to link the time periods in order to exert some control over the interpretation of the past and to make coherent a past that stopped resembling the present nation at the moment of the Revolution. The restorers of Chambord, the father and son MM. Desbois, laud the State for its enterprising attitude towards the restoration of historic monuments and confirm the teleological narrative pushed by the State that the modern French nation has roots in the Middle Ages.

By 1850, "grandes dépenses" had already been attributed to a first restoration of the Chateau de Chambord. The Notice de Travaux outlines the many steps taken during these

[16] "In reality, the castle, a gift of Royalist France, was a ruin and it would have remained in ruins, like so many other historical monuments, if it had fallen into the hands of a State little concerned with the grandeur of the past. Chambord had to return to the children of Henry IV and Louis XIV so that the artists could see the restoration of the greatest, most beautiful royal hunting residence ever built in France."

periods of restoration that restored Chambord to an imagined peak of aesthetic glory, set during a fantasy Renaissance period. This is, of course, a subjective judgment, held equally by the restorers, the members of the Commission des Monuments Historiques, and French erudite class of the time. For them, the Renaissance represented the highest ideals of aesthetic harmony and artistic genius that best represented the glory of France. Even Viollet-le-Duc confirms this sentiment in his Dictionnaire, writing,

> "Il n'est personne en France qui n'ait vu cette singulière résidence. Vantée par les uns comme l'expression la plus complète de l'art de l'architecture au moment de la renaissance, dénigrée par les autres comme une fantaisie bizarre, un caprice colossal, une oeuvre qui n'a ni sens ni raison, nous ne discuterons pas ici son mérite; nous prendrons le château de Chambord pour ce qu'il est, comme un essai dans lequel on a cherché à réunir deux programmes sortis de deux principes opposés, à fondre en un seul édifice le château fortifié du moyen âge et le palais de plaisance" (Viollet-le-Duc tome 111).[17]

In reality Chambord was constantly under construction for four centuries and was a palimpsest of renovations since its construction in the 16th century. The reign of Louis XIV, during the Renaissance, saw one of the more egregious additions to Chambord: the Mansard roofs covering its terraces, that the Desbois architects, who restored the château in the late 19th century, were quick to remove, calling them a "monstrous deformity" (Desbois 25). The decision to restore Chambord according to the aesthetic values of the bourgeois architects and members of the Commission des Monuments Historiques demonstrates that the restorations of the chateau as a new 'historic monument' were adapted to fit the narrative of history promulgated by the State.

[17] "There is no one in France who has not seen this singular residence. Praised by some as the most complete expression of the art of architecture at the time of the Renaissance, denigrated by others as a bizarre fantasy, a colossal caprice, a work that has neither meaning nor reason, we will not discuss here its merit; we will take the castle of Chambord for what it is, as an essay in which we sought to bring together two programs coming out of two opposite principles, to merge in a single building the fortified castle of the Middle Ages and the palace of pleasure."

Figure 3. M.M. Desbois, “Escalier de François 1er: Tourelle et Lanternes de la Tour Robert.” In Chambord: notice sur les travaux de restauration exécutés au château de 1882 à 1894, page 24.

Figure 4. Photograph of the Escalier de François 1er: Tourelle et Lanternes de la Tour Robert. “Bagages Cabine” blog, 2020. https://bagages-cabine.com/vieilles-pierres-bon-vin-road-trip-dans-la-loire

These two images highlight changes made to the Tour Robert and Escalier de François I at Chambord. The first image is included in the 1894 report, “Chambord: notice sur les travaux de restauration exécutés au château de 1882 à 1894” written by its restorers M.M. Desbois. The second image, taken in 2020, shows the same tower with noticeable differences, such as the removal of stained glass windows and simplification of the taller tower. Although details like this seem insignificant, the ensemble of decisions made by the architects contribute to an ahistorical restoration that privileges individual tastes in the present while obscuring the building’s past forms, along with important historical details that such past forms reveal. In

featuring Chambord as continuously inhabited by the King and members of the royal court, the State conveys a version of history that directly links the presence of the monarchy to the modern State through the discourse of heritage conservation. The decisions made by the architects of the State during its restoration become part of the heritage of the château as a monument, thus fulfilling a teleological end to the heritage project.

In his famous essay on "The Modern Cult of Monuments," Alois Riegl ascribes the restoration of monuments to the desire to "[single] out one moment in the developmental continuum of the past and [place] it before our eyes as if it belongs to the present" (Riegl, 1950, 38). Châteaux are commemorative of individuals but also of specific periods and aesthetic preferences. Historian Randolph Starn explains that "'art-value' is not timeless; every age, including the modern age, appreciates monuments from the past – or not – in light of its own aesthetic preferences and treats them accordingly. 'Use-value', finally, entails upkeep and adaptation to the functional requirements of the present; 'newness-value' is something else again, a function of the completeness and sheen of the newly made artifact" (Starn, 2002, 4). While concerns about authenticity would become central to the field of heritage in the 20th century, the 19th-century restorations of châteaux in France embody the will of the State to construct monuments to the idea of an eternal ruling class. Reigl calls this an 'Intentional commemorative value' which "aims to preserve a monument in the consciousness of later generations, and therefore to remain alive and present in perpetuity (Riegl, 38).

Chambord and other châteaux evolved from mere vestiges of the past to historic monuments representing the culmination of the French nation. The restoration of châteaux ensured their status in French culture and society as omnipresent living artifacts to the ruling class. The acceptance by the French public of this narrative is a testament to the cultural

hegemony of the State, accomplished via the ubiquitous role of state cultural institutions that define, interpret, and govern heritage. Ensuring that the general public opinion of the monarchy remained positive benefited the State, which continued to overwhelmingly be governed by elites despite numerous revolutions throughout the 19th century that purported to distribute power more equally (Anceau 2020, 157).[18] Georg Dehio, the president of the Université de Strasbourg in 1892 and later director of the first inventory of Monuments Historiques in Alsace-Lorraine, aptly explained the fundamental connection between the conservation of the past and the construction of the modern nation: "Nous ne conservons pas un monument parce que nous le trouvons beau mais parce qu'il représente une part de notre existence nationale" (Georg Dehio, 1905, "Denkmalschutz und denkmalpflege" cited in Recht 2016, 102).[19] This idea resonated with the elite, erudite class of French politicians and scholars even outside of France, and became generally accepted throughout the 19th century as the correct form of heritage that best represented France (Nora 2011, 97).

Towards a Nation of Monuments

The modern notion of heritage is a product of the invention of historic monuments by the French State in the 19th century. Out of the turmoil of the Revolution, the new France was less of a clear break from the past and more like a palimpsest of the values, ideologies, and aesthetic tastes that defined its long monarchic past. The French State, in its many forms over the course of the 19th century, made conscious choices to cement its power and authority over the realm of

[18] The Second Republic was marked by elitism in all levels of government. So many of the members of the Conseil d'Etat were from the bourgeoisie that Victor Hugo accused the regime of anti-intellectualism due to increased numbers of noble families throughout the government. 60% of politicians, mayors, and lawmakers were from noble families while only 5% of "modest origin" but who completed studies of law and politics in Paris. This appears in stark contrast to the goals of the French Revolution, yet demonstrates how the role of nobles in French administration did not disappear but instead evolved and solidified through the different regimes of the 19th century (Anceau, 157)

[19] "We do not conserve a monument because we think it is beautiful but because it represents a part of our national existence."

cultural heritage and ensure that its vision would be brought to fruition throughout its provinces. The first national historic monuments such as the Château de Versaille and the Château de Chambord embody the idea of "le genie nationale" and the exceptional authority of the State to protect and interpret it.

The idea of heritage as discrete monuments changed over the course of the 20th century as well. Historic monuments would grow into 'heritage sites' during the 20th century as the French State continued to envision itself as a nation in perpetual progress, allowing the authority of the State to encompass more area as part of France's natural evolution. In 1913, the Third Republic passed a comprehensive law unifying many former laws and practices of the 19th century concerning heritage, historic preservation, and historic monuments, forming the modern basis for the protection and conservation of heritage. Thirty years later, the State created a zone of protection for historic monuments to protect the areas surrounding monuments, thus widening the scope of conservation and control for historic monuments. This is recognized as the moment in which the status of historic monuments transformed into 'heritage sites.'

The existential threats to the French nation in the 20th century (war, industrialization, and decentralization) spurred the recognition of more heritage and a more robust protection of existing heritage. Throughout France and Europe, a consensus formed regarding the importance of heritage to national identity. The promotion of an authorized version of history by elites in charge of state-sanctioned cultural institutions served to regulate social tensions and naturalize the culture of elites as the culture of the general populous (Smith, 5). In doing so, the French State exercised its hegemony and further solidified the position of elites in French society as tastemakers, mediators of history, and guarantors of national heritage for future generations.

The consolidation of the environment and the historic monument exemplifies the evolution of the State's hegemony. As France continually renewed its political regimes through monarchies, empires, and republics, the continued and unquestioned authority of State elites to own, conserve, and interpret history is emblematic of the State's hegemony. The next chapter will look at how the 20th century State continued to evolve heritage sites in the name of naturalizing and protecting the elite values and narratives of French history.

CHAPTER 2: THE PRESERVATION AND PRODUCTION OF HEGEMONY IN THE CHÂTEAU GARDEN

While the inside of chateaux is primarily focused on the lives and stories of the nobles who lived there, the outside landscape has gained increasing importance as part of the 20th-century conception of heritage as site-based rather than the isolated historic monuments of the 19th century. These spaces outside the interior realm of national heritage memory transform space based on values held by the state, thereby naturalizing hierarchical ways of seeing and being in space. This benefits the state by creating spaces that educate through experience, in conjunction with traditional modes of learning present inside chateaux, such as reading, guided tours, and audio narration. Rather, the landscape itself perpetuates the aesthetic ideals of the state, which become an expected part of the heritage experience through their reproduction.

David Harvey writes, "The 'language of beauty' is 'the language of a timeless reality.'" (Harvey, 1990, 430.) This is significant because the organization of space produces social relations through physical, imagined, and aesthetic 'appropriations' and 'dominations.' Appropriation refers to how space is occupied by objects and activities, while domination (perhaps more relevant to this paper), "reflects how individuals or powerful groups dominate the organization and production of space through legal and extra-legal means so as to exercise a greater degree of control…" (Harvey, 1989, 222). Chandra Mukerji adds that spaces, "... invest power in places, not only physically constraining and enabling patterns of social life but also providing the cultural foundations for social practices and shared patterns of imagination" (Mukerji, 2012, 1). Therefore, the château garden is an integral part of the physical and imagined space of the chateau that bestows a timeless aesthetic value onto the chateau thereby ensuring its unquestioned heritage value. The garden transcends the passage of time by keeping alive the

spatial relations put in place by former elites, now preserved by the technocratic elites of the French nation.

Similarly, Laurajane Smith writes that, "If heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes, in a sense, 'intangible'." (Smith, 54). Landscapes and gardens are inherently ephemeral - they are constantly growing and being trimmed back and maintained, and if left untended, they would certainly revert to a state of natural disorder. Thus, landscape experience is tangible and intangible at any given moment. While it can be experienced, smelled, touched, wandered through, and observed, the very act of its maintenance - a continuous act of restoration and decision-making - becomes part of gardens' intangible heritage. The land becomes an active agent of heritage-making at chateaux since it is the only element still living and keeping alive the idea of the chateaux as a space of historical and commemorative heritage. This is particularly salient given the deeper significance of the word *patrimoine,* which is closely linked to ideas about land, inheritance, and identity. The added significance of landscape (*paysage*) deepens that connection in the context of a heritage site as the connection of heritage to the land becomes literally and figuratively rooted in the earth (*terre*).

One of France's foundational ideologies about itself places the land as sacred and exceptional, an idea that was furthered after the Revolution, which saw France as the chosen place of Liberty ("*sol de la Liberté*"). French historian Hélène Dupuy writes, "L'identité de l'homme et de la terre, ce mystère redoutable, s'accomplissant en France, faisait de cette terre une terre sacrée…" (Dupuy, 1989, 26).[20] The idea of France as a sacred land has been understood as part of France's essential mythology. Indeed, France considered itself a nation of *petits patries* (small homelands) for centuries, a concept that is closely related to the agricultural *terroir,* which

[20] "The identity of man and the earth, this formidable mystery, fulfilled in France, made this land a sacred land…"

holds similar connotations of sacredness and exceptionality. Dupuy also notes that the ideology of French nationalism connected to the land promotes a fundamentally conservative attitude (conservative here refers to the impulse to protect and save the land from possible harm, in the same vein as historic monuments that were 'violated' during the Revolution were heralded as precious and in need of protection from vandals, as discussed in Chapter 1.) "L'attachement à la terre, dans ce qu'elle a de plus matériel, ses paysages, ses odeurs, est certes une donnée constante de toutes les formes de nationalisme. Mais ici [en France], l'intensité du rapport est exceptionnelle" (Dupuy, 28)[21].

Given this salient connection to the land, heritage, and conservational attitudes, it is surprising that the idea of a heritage site only appeared in official documents in the mid-20th century. However, following its establishment, a cascade of laws, notices, reports, and legal precedents followed.

From Monuments Isolés to Heritage Sites

Beginning with the law of 1913, the status of *monuments historiques* progressed successively throughout the 20th century. The first half of the century was marked by the desire to strengthen the Third Republic in the face of war and a fear of external influences on French identity and politics (Thatcher, 2018, 6). The aftermath of a 1905 law concerning the separation of Church and State saw many French monuments pillaged as legal protections and funds from the State were no longer authorized. Thus, the 1887 law on the Preservation of Historic Monuments and Artistic Objects needed to be updated. This law emphasized nationalism in conservation practices and philosophy and had especially underscored the role of the State and the Commission des Monuments Historiques. After two decades of more minor reforms, the

[21] "Attachment to the land, in what is most material, its landscapes, its smells, is certainly a constant feature of all forms of nationalism. But here [in France], the intensity of the report is exceptional."

1913 law established a modern framework for the inscription, protection, and conservation of historic monuments that strengthened central power, and extended regulations to privately owned buildings of national interest. It legitimized a broader protection schema on all things that could be considered 'national heritage' with the invention of new levels of classification and protection emanating from the State (Roellinger 2014).

Following the Second World War, cultural heritage was elevated from the national to the international scale. As Europe reckoned with the destruction of war and the collective loss of heritage and identity, France became one of the primary voices in the new fight to identify, rebuild, and protect cultural heritage through new institutional channels. At home, the new institutional power represented by the European Union did not diminish the French State's centralizing mission; the Fourth Republic is embodied by Charles de Gaulle - a national monument in and of himself - and particularly by his state-directed economic policy which stimulated 30 years of unprecedented economic growth, a period still referred to as the Trente Glorieuses from 1945 to 1975. This period touched every aspect of French political, economic, and cultural life, but is especially marked by rapid industrialization and urbanization and the first rural population decline in France's history. Pierre Nora and other scholars have noted the importance of this period and these changes to the explosion of heritage and the desire to preserve all memories of national and local identities. The Fourth Republic collapsed with that of France's overseas empire, particularly with the Algerian War for Independence, and the Fifth Republic that remains in place today has been defined again by De Gaulle's leadership and strong statist ideology. The importance of *patrimoine* was intensified in France throughout the 20th century as the country experienced profound changes in its economy, demographics, national identity, and political leadership.

However, one of the most critical changes in post-World War II heritage conservation came in 1930 when the notion of a 'site' was codified as an integral and protected aspect of historic monuments. The legislation was built out of earlier precedents, notably those from 1906 (*Loi du 21 avril 1906 organisant la protection des sites et monuments naturels de caractère artistique*) and 1925 (*Rapport sur la proposition de loi tendant à réglementer l'emploi des affiches dites panneaux-réclames et de la publicité murale*) which introduced ideas such as protected tourism zones and legal protections for sites of natural and artistic importance.[22] "The idea that some landscapes are more beautiful than others and must be protected as such found its way into French legal terminology long after the protection of public monuments had been guaranteed by the law. Whereas historic buildings began to be inspected and protected in the middle of the nineteenth century, it was not until 1906 that the law mentioned the protection of 'sites' (not landscapes) for the first time" (Baridon 2003, 314).

1930 was a benchmark year for the protection of sites with the passing of the *Loi du 2 mai 1930 ayant pour objet de réorganiser la protection des monuments naturels et des sites de caractère artistique, historique, scientifique, légendaire ou pittoresque*[23] which established a comprehensive legal framework for the identification, inscription, and protection of artistic, historic, scientific, legendary, or picturesque sites. The law (which was updated in 2000) describes establishes a "Superior Commission for Natural Monuments and of Sites," which is headed by the various directors and generals of the Ministry of Culture as well as, notably, the director of the Museum of Natural History, the president of the National Tourism Office, the

[22] "Law of 21 April 1906 organizing the protection of natural sites and monuments with artistic character" and "Report on the Bill to Regulate the Use of Billboards and Wall Advertising"
[23] "Law of 2 May 1930 on the reorganization of the protection of natural monuments and sites of artistic, historical, scientific, legendary or picturesque character"

National Archeology Society, and a lawyer for the State Council (Journal officiel de la République française 1930).

In 1959, André Malraux became the first minister of the newly formed Ministère des Affaires Culturelles, of which the mission is to "rendre accessibles les œuvres capitales de l'humanité, et d'abord de la France, au plus grand nombre possible de Français, d'assurer la plus vaste audience à notre patrimoine culturel et de favoriser la création de l'art et de l'esprit qui l'enrichisse" (Senat,"Loi sur les Monuments Historiques").[24] It was under this Ministry of Cultural Affairs that the DRAC (Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles) were created in 1963 by Malraux. The DRAC is the regional arm of the State in the management of classified and inscribed historic monuments. The Florence Charter of 1982 gave gardens the statute of monuments for the first time, in a similar vein as the Venice Charter of 1964, which detailed an international framework for the conservation and restoration of historic buildings.[25] Then, in 1991 the Ministry of Culture created the "Mission Jardins" to tackle the question of garden and landscape heritage, which was under the direction of the Monuments Historiques. By 2013, 2302 gardens were listed as historic monuments and subject to the same protections as architectural monuments as decided and managed by the Commission des Monuments Historiques.

The legal precedents for the protection of sites and landscapes are a crucial element of the French State's control of how heritage sites are conserved, managed, and promoted. A second crucial element is through the naturalization of historical and aesthetic discourses that promote elite tastes and ideologies as unquestionable. This chapter argues that the French State has

[24] "to make the most important works of humanity, and first of all France, accessible to as many French people as possible, to ensure the widest possible audience for our cultural heritage and to encourage the creation of art and the spirit that enriches it."

[25] Angèle Denoyelle argues that despite the Florence Charter's specifications for historic gardens, the French state has not followed a clear policy of restoration.

perpetuated its own values, tastes, and ideologies at heritage sites by exploiting the landscape at châteaux and promoting formal garden cultivation as an inherent element of French cultural heritage. The case studies will show how this hegemonic discourse of châteaux gardens has emanated from one of France's preeminent heritage sites, the Château de Chambord, and in turn, affected the production and interpretation of heritage at a small-scale heritage site, the Château de Condé. Gardens are charged spaces encoded with values that act as microcosms of the world in which they exist. This will undoubtedly be the case with the châteaux examined in this chapter.

Gardens and Cultural Hegemony

Landscape symbols, such as the recreation of formal French gardens at châteaux, that are identical from one site to the next serve to naturalize the State's authority over these spaces and thus perpetuate the cultural hegemony of the State. Gardens, staged rooms, and outside spaces dedicated to leisure and tourism contribute to the imagined reality of chateaux in the minds of French tourists. Scholars such as Lefebvre, Harroway, Vygotsky, Holland, and others agree that space and material culture create shared identity and consciousness, which in turn creates real social and political relations. Mukerji writes, "Objects connected by repetitions of form or style create semiotic chains that may seem on the surface simply aesthetic but can have political import by promoting a perspective about identity and political reality related to traditions of design" (Mukerji 2012, 512). Chateaux are already politically charged imaginary spaces that mythologize and nationalize the history of elites as national history. The gardens at chateaux are spatial and material constructions that continue the social and political hierarchies presented inside chateaux in the outside world, thus reifying the fantasy of the Nation, just as Louis XIV's gardens did to promote the fantasy of Roman France in the 17th century.

Chateaux are sites where the pre-Revolution monarchy is highlighted and even exalted within a discourse of national history. Even though the surrounding landscape did not figure into the original conception of historic monuments, the State cultural authorities of the 20th and 21st centuries – namely the Commission des Monuments Historiques and the Minister of Culture – chose to reimagine the site in its entirety as a concrete vestige of noble history. 'Restoration' efforts erased decades and, at times centuries, of natural regrowth, agricultural plots, less-formal garden spaces, forests, and fields. This was justified in restoring the gardens to their "original" state, which may have only existed briefly before the French Revolution. Indeed, in the years directly leading up to the Revolution, aristocrats commissioned gardens at a disturbingly high rate (Adams, 114). This can be understood as a last-ditch effort to exert power through the transformation of the landscape "as an extension of society's hierarchy of organization projecting the higher order of the state ordained by God onto the landscape… The formal garden, like the formal house and palace of the 17th century, reflected a society's structure based upon the concept of an absolute monarchy" (Adams, 111).

The creation of the Monuments Historiques occurred at much the same time as the picturesque landscape movement in France. However, the gardens at most châteaux reflect a time before the picturesque garden movement, even though the creation of the Monuments Historiques inventory and service is associated with the picturesque ideology. Most châteaux gardens are "formal" French-style gardens, which are characterized by geometric patterns reflecting spatial hierarchies. Order, straight lines, and symmetry are associated with the French formal garden style. In contrast, the picturesque or romantic garden, characterized by layers of visual and spatial elements meant to evoke wilderness, is associated with the English garden style. This is because, according to Adams, "The natural English countryside, with its intensified

farming methods, readily lent itself to the new landscape style in a way that seemed impossible in France, where feudal agricultural practices had not shaped the fields and meadows with a comparable harmony" (Adams, 125). The choice of the State's cultural officials to preserve a garden style most associated with feudalism represents a transformation of the landscape in space and time back to a predetermined "authorized" state. This portrays to French visitors the natural linear progression of power from the monarchy to the republic and, therefore, from the past to the present and future.

The 19th century was also a turning point for the idea of landscape in France. Chateaux were often pictured in the background of landscape paintings as a sign of dominance over nature and a sign of high culture and authority. From the mid-19th century, around the same time as the Monuments Historiques was founded, landscape architects implemented designs from carefully laid-out plans to tame the environment where they would be installed, applying Enlightenment-era technology and scientific thinking to aesthetic principles. Scientific rationality was heralded as the principal means of understanding and representing the world in the 19th century; previous 18th-century designs for landscape gardens were deemed unprofessional and haphazard for their lack of technical planning and mathematical design standards. In particular, English-style gardens were viewed as primitive or conflicting with the French style by the mid-19th century. As a result, many gardens were transformed into more formal designs that embodied the geometric and hierarchical design principle embodied by the Versailles gardens.

The Gardens at Versailles as Precedent

The historical origins of the aesthetic values that dominate and contribute to the "immersive fantasy space" at chateaux heritage sites begin with the perception in France of the preeminence of the gardens at Versailles (Mukerji 2012, 510). Chapter One demonstrated Versailles' importance to the founding idea and convention of preserving historic monuments as

cultural heritage; so, too, have the gardens at Versailles played a central role in producing and protecting elite aesthetics at châteaux across France. The gardens of Versailles date to the reign of Louis XIV and were designed by the 17th-century garden designer André Le Nôtre. The social and political ambitions of the gardens and the role of aesthetics in accomplishing these goals remain central to the very idea of Versailles as it is known today – as France's premier national cultural heritage site.

Chandra Mukerji writes that because the gardens used symbols, space, and form to engage with visitors (namely other court members and diplomats), they were very effective at promoting Louis XIV's vision of France as the heritor of Gaul and Rome: that is, a powerful central state whose control was unquestioned and superseded regional and local powers. In order for Louis XIV to succeed in the centralization of what at the time was a network of nobles who were not necessarily loyal to the reigning monarch, the gardens at Versailles promoted an ideology of France as the continuation of the great Roman Empire. Mukerji wrote in 1990 that "French gardeners created a cultural revolution…. As French thinkers contemplated the divide between the ancients and modems and thought about how to improve upon the wisdom of the ancients, French garden designers looked for a new way to use classical style, one still with deep stylistic and allegorical ties to the but one even more clearly expressing the economic success of the region, and the cultural and political ambitions of its court" (Mukerji 1990, 656). She argues in a 2012 work that the gardens of Versailles were a tool of political pedagogy that presented the heritage of Roman Gaul as the heritage of the French monarchy through the use of geometric space, architectural and sculptural features, and references to the classical empire (Mukerji 2012, 51).

The gardens at Versailles also presented a collective French identity through gardens and landscape as court elites replicated the symbols of Versailles in their own properties to gain social and cultural capital and help transform France's economic system towards a system of mercantile capitalism. The gardens at Versailles were both a process and product of the ideological conception of France as an Empire, as evidenced by the Parterre du Midi representing the domination of land and subordination of uncivilized populations, and the international capitalist trading system that supplied France with exotic plants and spurred horticultural advancements. Mukerji writes, "The garden at Versailles was a kind of territory appropriate to this social world. It showed land dominated and delineated, measured and weighed in relation to other bits of territory, and put to work for enhancing the prestige and therefore the power of France" (Mukerji 1990, 674).

French historian Michel Baridon describes what it is like to experience the gardens of Versailles, from its sensorial to its ideological enchantments (Baridon 2008). "Just as you felt the weight of political authority growing on you as you approached the center of the palace, now you are discovering the splendor of the place in which it is exercised" (Baridon 2008, 2). This is exemplified by the fact that Versailles was saved from during the Revolutionary years and afterwards as it became a national historic monument to "toutes les gloires de la France" – to the glories of France's *ancien regime* past – an idea that remains prominent in its current-day interpretation as a heritage site.[26] Baridon argues that the gardens are the life-force of Versailles; they are the only living thing that connects the château's past to the present, continuously renewing the memory of three centuries of history that would otherwise be lost to time. "Through the gardens, these different styles and different moments in history can continue, in

[26] The entrance to the Château de Versailles is inscribed with "A Toutes les Gloires de la France," which was the dedication given to Versailles by Louis-Philippe when he made it an official national historic monument in 1837.

their own way, the destiny of the château. As long as the gardens continue to be restored and maintained, Louis XIV's grand political project, which brought them into being, can be perpetuated and show us what it has become" (Baridon 1990, 3-4). The French State, who is behind the restoration and maintenance of the gardens, therefore places itself at the center of the embodiment of the French monarchy as the rightful heritor of the "gloires de France," and therefore, as the rightful owner of the decision-making processes involved in their exploitation and interpretation as heritage sites.

Figure 1. The "tapis vert" of the Gardens of Versailles. Classical statues line the central parterre which culminates in the Latona Fountain, featuring Apollo, the Sun God, as an allegory to Louis XIV (the Sun King). The 'green carpet' extends from the palace to the horizon, symbolizing the extent of the monarch's authority. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Preserving Gardens as Cultural Hegemony

The same processes and projects of power and pedagogy are still at work and continuing the legacy of social and spatial hierarchy under the guise of cultural and historical heritage. These same questions were posed in the 18th century during the first replantation of Versailles

by Louis XVI. Even in the century following the creation of the formal French gardens at Versailles, garden critics and historians questioned the impulse to maintain the formal garden style associated with the previous monarch. Garden and art historian Susan Taylor-Leduc writes, “by 1750 in France, criticism of the gardens was double-edged: the French formal style and French absolutism were perceived as inextricably linked: criticism of the first often implied criticism of the second." French garden theorists of the 1770s, such as Watelet (1774), Duchesne (1776), and Morel (1776) all felt obliged to address both the faults and merits of the 'symmetric style' in their treatises, either directly citing or implicating Versailles” (Taylor-LeDuc, 1994, 68).

Though the gardens of Le Notre, such as those at Versailles, are considered today as magnificent works of art that are central to France’s heritage identity, they fell out of favor in the 19th century when naturalism and romanticism came *en mode* and replaced formal gardens with natural gardens designed to emulate the wilderness of true ‘nature” (André 1879, 36). The formal gardens of Versailles were associated with the splendor of Louis XIV and his court, with their artificial symbolism, decorative excess, and countless imitations (André, 36). Other garden theorists, such as Watelet in his *Essai sur les jardins* (1764), drew connections from the design model of the French formal garden to the feudal origins of French domination over and hierarchization of land (Watelet 1764, 48). “The allusion to feudalism was a veiled attack on the hierarchical structure of French society; by stating that the origins of the formal style could be found in the hunting parks of medieval chateaux, he was indicting those noble families who continued to influence French eighteenth-century politics” (Taylor-Leduc, 83).

Thus, it is no secret that the formal garden style has historically symbolized political and cultural order, domination, and elitism. The reality that the French State has embraced, or perhaps co-opted, the formal garden style within its national heritage schema signifies a return to

an ideological and aesthetic past associated with the height of French cultural elitism and prosperity. Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the French State has chosen to align its cultural and aesthetic values with those of this period. Just as Louis XIV used classical symbols in his gardens of Versailles to forge a connection between France and Rome, the modern French State attempts to make a connection between itself as the purveyor of French cultural identity and Louis XIV.

In a discussion of the recent garden restoration at the Château de Sceaux, Angèle Denoyelle poses a similar question as to why the Sceaux gardens were restored to the era of Louis XIV in the style of the 17th-century gardens designed by Andre le Notre, while the chateau itself has been restored and interpreted in the style of Napoleon III in the 19th century. Denoyelle writes that, "l'échelle, la forme, la silhouette, le décor extérieur, la distribution intérieure sont étrangères à la tradition des jardins du XVIIe siècle et de celle du début du XVIIIe siècle…" (Denoyelle, 6).[27] She posits that this incoherence, or "conflict of authenticity," between the actual château and the restored gardens has less to do with historical accuracy and more to do with the aesthetic preferences of the current period (Denoyelle, 7). John Sales, the Chief Gardens Advisor to the National Trust, had the same conclusion in the late 20th century, writing about the restoration of English gardens: "Whether many, or any, of the 'restored' gardens have successfully transferred the real qualities of the original through to the present time is doubtful. Look upon almost all these gardens as products of their time and we now value them and conserve them as examples of the style of restoration or re-creation current at the moment" (Sales 1993, 4).

[27] "the scale, shape, silhouette, exterior decoration and interior distribution are foreign to the 17th and early 18th century gardens."

The case studies presented in this chapter will explore the discourse of formal garden restoration at two châteaux, both inscribed as national historic monuments. These case studies aim to demonstrate how the French State's influence and ideology that motivate the restoration of formal gardens at châteaux have replaced considerations of authenticity, historic accuracy, and alternative heritage discourses.

Case study: Château de Chambord

The Château de Chambord is the most-visited château in the Loire Valley and the second most-visited château in all of France after the Château de Versailles. In 2017, a massive restoration campaign of the château's 18th-century gardens was undertaken after fifteen years of research and archeological surveys. However, the 18th-century formal gardens only existed for roughly 50 years until they were abandoned and unmaintained for more than a century following the Revolution. Nevertheless, the Domaine de Chambord, with the Minister of Culture and the Commission des Monuments Historiques, decided to reinstate gardens in the 18th-century style, citing reasons of authenticity backed by archeological proof. However, aesthetic reasons also appear to have guided the decision to restore the fleeting 19th-century gardens, as this style of garden is the preeminent style in France and is described as "le plus beau" style of garden that had ever existed at Chambord (Morain, 2017).

History of Gardens at Chambord

Before the original construction of the gardens in 1734, the grounds at Chambord were considered too swampy to build a garden, and it had never been attempted. Only 50 years prior, from 1680 to 1686, Louis XIV had the fields to the south and west of the château overhauled to make the grounds more attractive as part of a general renovation of the château itself. In 1680, the only garden that existed was a small *jardin regulier* on the northwest corner of the chapel that likely provided the château with vegetables, fruits, and herbs. However, no archeological

traces of this small garden were found, and only a few drawings and maps from the period include the garden.

The first large-scale garden design was conceived in 1730 by Stanislas Leszczynski, the father of Marie Leczinska, wife of Louis XV, and who resided at Chambord from 1725 to 1733. This garden covered an area of 4 hectares around the northwest and southeast façades of the castle. The garden was formed by two decorative parterres framed by newly planted trees in front of both the northwest and southeast facades; in the north corner, there was also an arrangement of chestnut trees. Planting began in 1734 and continued until 1743, and it was continuously maintained in this style until 1750 by a gardener named Pattard (Bryant and Travers 2017, 22). There are also records that the Marechal de Saxe, who lived at Chambord between 1745 and 1750, made renovations, but these changes were not recorded or visible during archeological surveys. By the end of the 18th century, documents show the parterre evolved from two to four squares with a central well (Bryant and Travers, 22).

The larger social and cultural context of this period plays a significant role in the creation of formal gardens, the first of their kind to exist at Chambord in its then-200-year history. French aristocrats and nobility commissioned gardens at an astounding rate during the 18th century as part of a larger trend of using gardens to respond to political and social instability. Mukerji explains that when Louis XIV took the throne, the status of the French monarchy was unstable, and its legitimacy was questioned. This instability also threatened the ranks of court members and elites, who all aimed to demonstrate the legitimacy of their power through rich symbolism such as that found in palatial gardens linking French elites to a classical Roman past. Louis XIV did this in Versailles, but other elites replicated these efforts in smaller-scale gardens (but no less impressive) in order to connect their villas and châteaux to their immediate surroundings as an

allegory of the political and social control that the monarchy (and feudalism) represented (Mukerji 1990, 656- 658).

By the end of the 19th century the gardens had been left untended and nature transformed the garden into a meadow: "Dès la fin du xviii siècle, sans doute par manque d'entretien mais peut-être aussi par conformité à la mode naissante du jardin paysager, le parterre nord perd ses motifs de broderie et ses plates-bandes fleuries, et évolue en un vaste pré fauchable" (Bryant and Travers, 27).[28] By 1817, an inventory of the state of the gardens reports that three-quarters of the ground was uncultivated, the paths were overtaken by weeds, and the well was in ruins. The only remnants of the 18th century gardens left intact were a grove of fruit trees and one cultivated garden plot (Domaine national de Chambord, CH/41/0283-5).

After they had fallen into disrepair in the mid-19th century, Chambord's gardens were not restored until 2017. After the Revolution, the future of Chambord was uncertain, and it passed to different private owners throughout the 19th century. During this time, the gardens were not maintained, and various literary accounts mention the overgrown state of Chambord's grounds (Garrett, 2010). Finally, in 1930, Chambord became the property of the French State and from 1970 to 2017, the grounds of Chambord comprised mowed lawns and a remaining grove of trees (Figure 5).

[28] "By the end of the 18th century, probably because of lack of maintenance but perhaps also because of conformity to the nascent style of the landscaped garden, the north parterre lost its embroidery motifs and its flat-banded beds, and evolved into a vast mowable meadow."

Figure 2. Louis Poisson: Detail of a map from the early 17th century (around 1600) showing the Château de Chambord, its surrounding grounds, and its forest, before any formal gardens had been attempted on the site. This painting is located in the Galerie des cerfs of the Château de Fontainebleau. Accessed online at:
http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/docannexe/image/14356/img-3.jpg
© RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Fontainebleau) / Gérard Blot

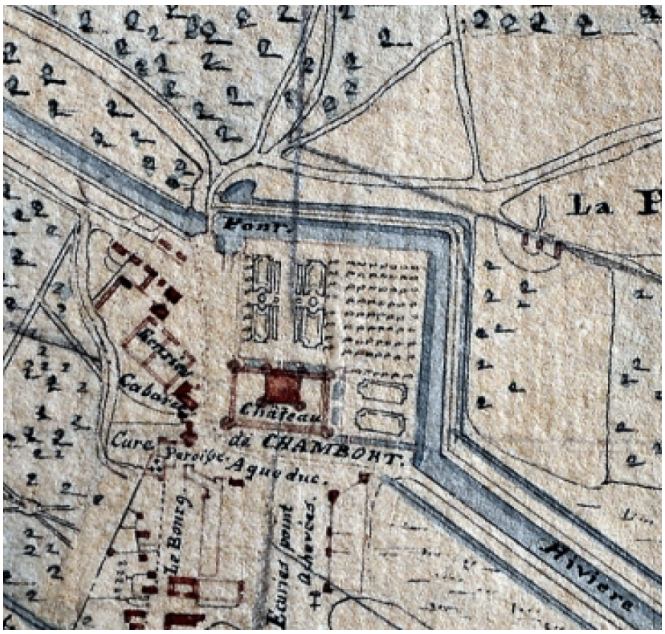

Figure 3. A plan of the Château de Chambord's grounds from 1745, after the final plantings from the 1730 formal garden plan. This is a miniature copy of the original plan commissioned by the Marshal of Saxony in 1745. Image from Domaine national de Chambord, CH/41/0070,
https://journals.openedition.org/crcv/docannexe/image/14356/img-25.jpg

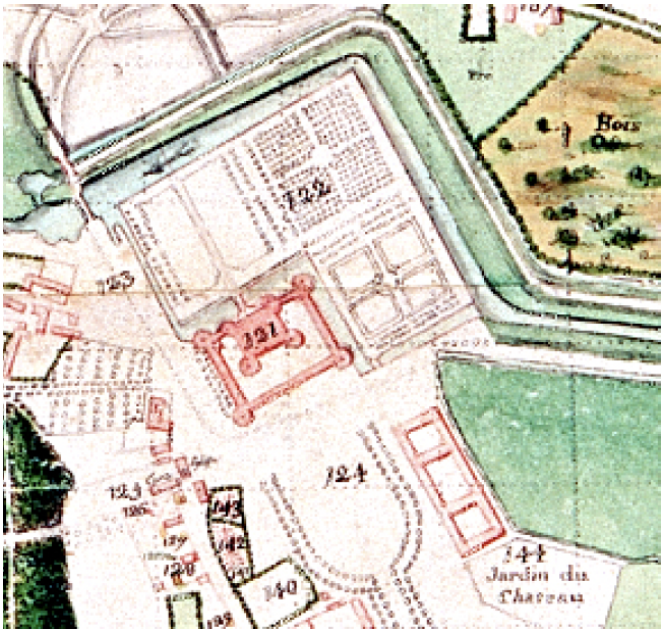

Figure 4. Plan of the gardens at Chambord in 1756, extracted from Plan général du parc de Chambord .Paris, Archives nationales, Cartes et plans, NII. https://journals.openedition.org/crcv/docannexe/image/14356/img-26.jpg

Figure 5. View of an 18th century parterre left untended and overgrown, with a grove of untrimmed trees to the right. Engraving by Antoine-Louis Goblain, 1821. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France. https://journals.openedition.org/crcv/docannexe/image/14356/img-35.jpg

Figure 6. The Château de Chambord and its grounds before the 2017 garden restoration. Photo taken by Patrick Rebai for the Domaine National de Chambord, 2015. Accessed at https://www.chambord.org/en/history/french-formal-gardens.

Restoration of Chambord's Formal Gardens as Cultural Hegemony

The Commission des Monuments Historiques officially validated the project in 2015, and the chief architect of the Commission des Monuments Historiques was in charge of the garden restoration project. The decision-making hierarchy is a crucial element that demonstrates the authority of the French State to transform space based on its values, aesthetic preferences, and ideological goals. A 2017 press release from the Château de Chambord states, "In 2017, the perception of Chambord will be totally transformed; the château is readying itself to recover and rediscover its 17th-century French gardens" ("Chambord 2017" 2017). Stuart Hall notes that "what the nation 'means' is an ongoing project, constantly under reconstruction" (Hall 220). The "restoration" of the 18th-century gardens at Chambord indeed corresponds to a *construction* rather than a "reconstruction." It represents the urge of the state to revert the natural progression of time to what the State considers its most valuable and quintessentially "French" state: the 18th-century formal gardens. That is to say, back to the moment when the aesthetic values of the modern state are most closely related to the height of the monarchy.

The State and the Domaine de Chambord used archeology to justify the choice of the 18th-century gardens and restore the garden to that period based on the vestiges excavated over the course of a 15-year survey. According to the official booklet about the garden restoration, "Between the reign of Louis XIV and the Marshal de Saxe's visits to Chambord in the mid-18th century, the château's immediate surroundings were transformed through significant terracing, hydraulic works, and landscaping. The marshy environment that existed during Francis I's time gave way to a tamed space that echoed the building's magnificence. The French formal gardens designed in 1734 were a key feature of this transformation" (Chambord 2017, 3).

The French state of the 21st century sees itself as the heritors of a long tradition of the ruling class since the time of the monarchy. The gardens of Chambord reflect and perpetuate this logic, leaving little room for imagining other versions of history, space, and power. The immediate space next to the chateau is symbolically linked to the idea of the French nation through symbols such as the Fleur de Lys, the formal French-style garden, and the constant presence of the château in the background. This is evidenced by the description of the gardens' relation to the château in the official 2017 report about the project:

> "Restoration of the French-style gardens is an exceedingly visible project, and it is of international interest. If the gardens' image cannot be dissociated from the magnificent world- famous northern facade of the château, it is because they are located at the foot of the castle, on landscapes expressly designed for Louis XIV. Visitors will discover the château not as an isolated object, but rather as a key element in a majestic composition bringing together wild natural space (the park), meticulously designed space (the gardens) and a truly exceptional architectural construction" (Chambord 2017, 3).

The restored gardens extend over 16.5 acres, the majority (44,000 m^2) of which are graveled walking paths, as well as 32,500 individual plants, 18,000 m^2 of lawns, and 800 new trees. All of this was completed in only five months of work. The project had a 3.5 million euro budget and employed over 100 people (Chambord 2018, 6).

A major discrepancy between the original formal gardens constructed at Chambord from 1730 to 1743 and the restored gardens constructed in 2017 is the time spent constructing the gardens. The 2017 restoration was completed in just three months. One article proclaims, "C'est un étrange ballet qui rythme la vie du château de Chambord depuis le début des travaux…Sous Louis XIV, il fallait des années pour réaliser ces terrassements. Aujourd'hui, les 6 hectares et demi de chantier seront achevés en trois mois" (Morain, 2017).[29] However, the scale of the restoration and the speed at which it was completed can also be understood as an erasure of the deeper context and interactions with the landscape that would have occurred in the 18th century. Gardens are not objects but rather processes that demand continuous reflection about the meanings and values encoded within them and the processes and systems that their conservation sustains. The 18th-century construction of the gardens involved profound reflections on space, society, technology, and ideology at the time. Thierry Mariage, a historian of Le Notre's gardens, writes, "The classic garden cannot be reduced to parterre broderies or the forms of bosquets. Its emergence entails certain transformations of the environment based on an exploitation of the existing site… In the form that they have come down to us, seventeenth-century gardens have lost their relationship to the environment, and hence almost all of their significance" (Mariage, xiii). Similarly, John Sales writes,

> "Given a garden with a long history, full-scale renewal, within a few years, would be an entirely inappropriate (although sometimes unavoidable) response to a decline in its condition. A far better approach would be a process of steady and gradual reappraisal and renewal, always anticipating future change, which comes from enlightened management and upkeep. As well as providing for maximum resilience and minimum upheaval, this approach retains the feeling and reality of continuity that is so vital to an historic ambience. As I said earlier, gardens are processes as well as objects and this fact should be reflected in the means for their preservation and renewal" (John Sales, 1993, 7).

[29] "This is a strange ballet that has been going on in the life of Chambord Castle since the construction began…. Under Louis XIV, these earthworks took years. Today, the 6.5 hectares of work will be completed in three months."

Figure 7. Explicative sign before entering the garden at the Château de Chambord detailing the recent restoration of the garden. The sign highlights some of the differences and changes between the original 18th century garden and the restored garden, such as plant species and building materials. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Figure 8. An aerial view of the replantation of the restored gardens. Photo taken in 2017 by the Domaine de Chambord. Accessed at https://www.chambord.org/en/history/french-formal-gardens.

Figure 9. An aerial view of the completed garden restoration. Photo taken in 2018 by the Domaine de Chambord. Accessed at https://www.chambord.org/en/history/french-formal-gardens.

Figure 10. View of the gardens from the château terrace, facing north. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Tourism increased after the plantation of the gardens in 2017, which is unsurprising given the amount of fanfare and media attention that the garden restoration received. The restored

gardens have fulfilled their role in fostering a sense of authenticity, which enchanted tourists to make the symbolic pilgrimage to Chambord to experience the château of the past, thanks to the efforts of the French State in the present. Once lost to time, the gardens can now be preserved for future generations. This narrative was presented during the gardens' inauguration, which occurred on March 19, 2017, and was attended by the President of France, François Hollande. President Hollande spoke at the inauguration, highlighting the importance of Chambord to French heritage, the motivations behind the restoration, and the support of the French State.

> "[Ce] projet était né… lorsque je rendais visite pour la première fois comme président de la République. J'avais regardé ce que le directeur me montrait, c'est-à-dire même une pelouse ou un champ devrais-je dire, qui avait laissé au mieux à l'interprétation, au pire à l'abandon. Nous avions donc convenu ce que serait une belle idée si nous y mettions tous que de restituer ce qu'avaient été les jardins de Chambord mais de le faire avec à la fois le souci de l'histoire mais aussi l'imagination humaine que nous devions laissé aux architectes, aux paysagistes pour qu'ils puissent peindre, car c'est une oeuvre qu'ils ont ainsi tracée, les jardins de Chambord. Mais pour y parvenir… Il faut un certain nombre de financements; à l'époque de la construction de Chambord, c'était les rois eux-mêmes et notamment le roi François Ier, qui y avait pourvu. Aujourd'hui c'est la République qui a un patrimoine important et un budget élevé…" (Hollande 2017).[30]

The 18th-century gardens were considered the natural choice for restoration by the state in the 21st century. This decision led to the erasure of the natural state of the grounds, which had come to be over the course of two centuries of neglect, which can be seen as a natural evolution of the château's function and role in society. However, this interpretation is now impossible as the transformation of the grounds into 18th-century gardens that are defined by the domination and transformation of nature to fit aristocratic tastes and perpetuate the political ideology of

[30] "[This] project was born… when I visited for the first time as President of the Republic. I had looked at what the director was showing me, which was, let's say, a lawn or a field that had left at best to interpretation, at worst to abandonment. So we had agreed that it would be a nice idea if we did all we could to restore what the Chambord gardens had been but to do it with both the concern for history and the human imagination that we had left to the architects, to the landscapers so that they can paint, because it is a work that they have drawn, the gardens of Chambord. But to get there… a certain amount of funding was needed; at the time of the construction of Chambord, it was the kings themselves and especially King Francis I who had provided for it. Today it is the Republic that has an important heritage and a large budget…" (Holland 2017).

Louis XIV. President Hollande himself recognizes that part of the garden restoration was left to "human imagination," which amounts to the imaginative historicizing of 18th-century gardens whose restoration was ultimately grounded in political and ideological motivations.

Case Study: Château de Condé

The State's way of doing things at national heritage sites, such as Versailles and Chambord, has become the unquestioned model for other châteaux to align themselves with the authorized heritage discourse. They then can profit from the positive consequences gained from accepting and perpetuating this discourse, namely in the form of increased tourism and potential for financial investment from the State. This case study demonstrates that the discourse of heritage promoted by the French State has become pervasive.

The Château de Condé is a small château in France's Champagne region whose history spans 1,000 years. The château was the home of François de Bourbon, the ancestor of all the kings of France since Henry IV, and the Princes of Condé and their descendants until the eighteenth century. The château is located in the town of Condé-en-Brie, which has been inhabited since the Neolithic period. The château was originally built in the 12th century and underwent significant renovations during the 16th century to become a typical Renaissance hunting estate under Charles de Bourbon (Château de Condé 2023). During the 18th century, Louis XIV confiscated the property, and it then passed through private owners from 1719 until its current owners purchased it in 1983 (Château de Condé 2023). The Rochefort family are the current private owners of the château, who inhabit the château and facilitate its restoration, management, and tourism program. The Château de Condé was classed as a national historic monument in 1979, particularly for its relation to the important historical figures in France's history who lived there and its Renaissance architecture.

Historically, the Château de Condé did not have elaborate formal gardens on site. This is confirmed by historic maps and by the château owners and staff members. However, to attract tourists, the château owners are considering planting a formal Le Notre-style garden, citing that tourists expect this kind of attraction when they come to the château and express disappointment at the lack of a formal garden. When asked about concerns about authenticity if a formal garden is planted, a château representative shrugged and stated that tourists do not care as much about that anymore, and the château could use the money from increased tourism that a garden would bring to carry out restoration projects and routine maintenance. Currently, the château does not receive money from the government to carry out expensive restorations or increase its tourism program. During a 2022 visit, parts of the château were actively undergoing restoration that had stagnated due to a lack of funds. The primary source of funding is from the château's tourism offerings, such as guided visits to the château, private conferences, and champagne tastings (Château de Condé 2023).

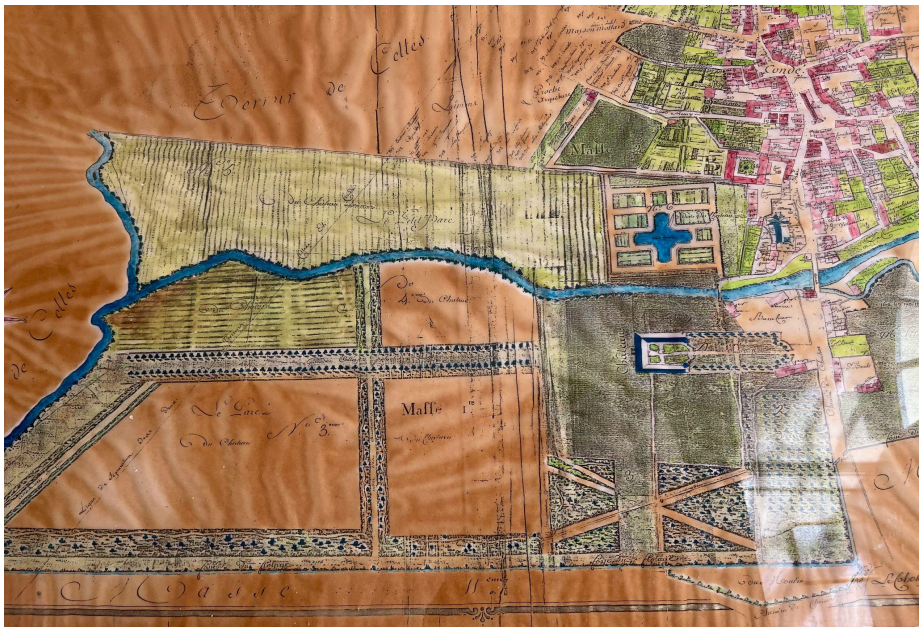

Figure 11. Detail of a map of the Château de Condé grounds. Above the château is a small garden whose form implies that it was likely a vegetable garden, confirmed as accurate by a staff member of the château. Date unknown; likely 17th century. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

The transformation of the château grounds into a garden that fits the aesthetic values of the authorized heritage discourse, defined by spaces designed and inhabited by elites and the domination and transformation of nature to fit aristocratic tastes, would constitute a breach of authenticity. In her discussion of the historically inaccurate formal garden at the Château de Sceaux, Angèle Denoyelle proposes that inaccuracies and reinterpretations in garden 'restorations' (if they can be called that) mislead visitors and create a false reality. Despite these findings, the effect on tourism has been positive at the Château de Sceaux: "Grâce à ce 'vrai' jardin à la française, avec ses broderies et son dessin très ornemental, les visiteurs étrangers trouvent ce qu'ils viennent chercher : le faste du jardin classique tel qu'ils le connaissent" (Denoyelle 7).[31] The 'splendor' of the French formal gardens that tourists seek out at châteaux can be traced to the gardens of Versailles which are at the center of France's authorized heritage discourse.

The 'restoration' of gardens that may never have existed is a judgment about how a château heritage site should look. This judgment has been passed down from cultural elites in the French government for centuries since the cultural beginnings of tourism (such as the Grand Tour). This is intimately tied to the tourist gaze and the consumption of place. What tourists expect to see is considered increasingly important in an economy where tourism is a significant economic sector. This effect, which John Urry (1990) has called the 'tourist gaze,' in turn produces a singular idea and expectation of heritage, and sites that do not fit these suffer economic losses and are forced to catch up in order to stay in the game - a decision that the Château de Condé is currently weighing.

[31] "Thanks to this 'real' garden in the French style, with its broderies and its ornamental design, foreign visitors find what they came to see: the splendor of the classical garden that they know well."

The proposed gardens at the Château de Condé are in the early stages of planning that have not yet been publicized. A Château de Condé representative expressed during an informal interview that the owners of the château, the Rochefort family, felt pushed to construct gardens in order to stay relevant as a heritage site, a feeling that has been building during the past decade as tourist preferences fluctuate. The Château de Condé representative also lamented the lack of State funding and investment in the château, which is a national historic monument with a deep history connected to the French monarchy and royalty. The representative said that the COVID pandemic was a turning point for the château's tourism offerings, as engaging outdoor spaces were in higher demand as indoor spaces were closed to the public. During the first years of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Château de Condé lost tourism revenue that has been slow to build up. Building an extravagant garden *à la française*, like the one at Chambord, might help to attract more tourists, but the owners are hesitant to proceed due to both reasons of authenticity and the financial burden. Suppose the Château de Condé were to construct a formal garden. In that case, they might qualify for State funding through a variety of programs designed by the Minister of Culture to aid private heritage sites, such as a recent (2021) program of State support for the restoration of privately owned historic monuments that wish to increase their economic and architectural attractivity, operated through the France Relance economic and cultural program. The program offers 40 million euros in state subsidies granted through the regional branches of the DRAC ("Soutien," Ministère de l'Économie 2021).

Formal gardens are entangled with ideological concerns about heritage management, tourism, and authenticity. This case study demonstrates how the hegemonic heritage discourse, emanating from the actions of the French State in constructing and preserving formal gardens at national châteaux such as Chambord and Versailles, has become a key concern for smaller

heritage sites. Château, like the Château de Condé must adopt the hegemonic discourse to stay afloat during a period where the role of heritage is constantly evolving to better serve the ideology, politics, and economic goals of the State. The Château de Condé must choose whether they will accept the authorized version of heritage that is successful among tourists and widely accepted by other châteaux heritage sites by building an inauthentic formal garden, or they must accept the consequences.

Figure 12. The entrance path to the Château de Condé. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Figure 13. The grounds adjacent to the château, a potential site for an 18th-century-style garden to be constructed. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Figure 14. The grounds behind the château. A few planted shrubs and two walking paths are mowed into the lawn leading into the forest. Photo taken by author in October 2022.

Un-Freezing Heritage at Châteaux Gardens

This chapter began with a discussion of how the invention of heritage sites transformed isolated historic monuments into multilayered spaces where place, time, and history are used to project the authorized heritage discourse cultivated by the hegemonic French State. The example of the restored 18th-century formal gardens at the Château de Chambord made clear that the French State is as involved as ever in ensuring that the presentation of heritage at châteaux reflects its own ideologies, political goals, and aesthetic preferences. The choice to restore, and thus preserve, 18th-century garden aesthetics, despite their short-lived existence, demonstrates the power of heritage to successfully relate the modern State to France's *ancien regime* by physically and symbolically linking power to place. Dominique Poulot has observed that, "Le patrimoine occupe aujourd'hui une place de choix dans les configurations de la légitimité culturelle, dans les réflexions sur l'identité et dans les politiques du lien social" (Poulot 2008, 115).[32] The State's insistence on the authenticity of 18th-century-style formal gardens at Chambord and other châteaux has been widely accepted as the natural and correct choice for châteaux. Tourists have also widely accepted this narrative of history and authenticity, proven by increased tourism at châteaux with significant gardens. The example of the Château de Condé exemplifies the pervasiveness of this narrative and exposes a downside of State hegemony in the choice for authenticity or self-preservation.

However, other discourses of heritage are possible, especially pertaining to gardens which are living elements that require constant mitigation and maintenance to be preserved. Some scholars, such as Thierry Mariage and John Sales, have postulated that preserving a

[32] "Today, heritage occupies a prominent place in the configurations of cultural legitimacy, in the reflections on identity and in the policies of the social cohesion."

specific era obscures the broader meaning of the site within the scope of history and time. “We need to relearn how to take advantage of the surroundings while realizing that they cannot be frozen in time... The protection of sites involves their management first and foremost; landscape makes sense only when considered in terms of movement, the renewal of societies, agrarian forms, and the ways in which we occupy the land” (Mariage, 113). John Sales has expressed a similar plea against the restoration of gardens in the name of heritage: “Perhaps the gardens that give the best impression of antiquity and continuity are those that have never had the benefit of a full scale ‘restoration’” (Sales, 6). Scholars like John Dixon Hunt and Jill Sinclair offer a new perspective on historic gardens that place the experience of the gardens at the center of their historical function rather than the truthfulness of their design. Hunt and Sinclair lament that gardens, such as the one at Chambord, no longer capture the memories, emotions, experiences, and historical context but are nonetheless revered for their perceived authenticity (Sinclair 2013, 116; Hunt 2004).

Because the French State has worked tirelessly to ensure that the formal garden has become emblematic of châteaux, and therefore of French heritage, it is difficult to imagine châteaux without formal gardens, even when there is ample documentation of this reality (such as in photos of Chambord before 2017). However, to do so is to go against the naturalized and largely unquestioned heritage discourse perpetuated at a majority of châteaux throughout France, following in the footsteps of iconic heritage sites like Versailles that have become ingrained in the very conception of French heritage and that are intimately tied to the ideology of the French State as the guarantor of French heritage and cultural identity (Leniaud 1992). Chapter 3 will examine the case of a château that is subverting the authorized heritage discourse through the

very kind of garden that scholars like Hunt, Sinclair, Mariage, and Sales envisioned as a more authentic, experiential form of heritage preservation and production.

CHAPTER 3: IS COUNTER-HEGEMONY POSSIBLE AT CHÂTEAUX? THE CASE OF MONTROND-LES-BAINS

The previous chapters have established that the French State constitutes a hegemonic entity and have demonstrated the extent to which it has perpetuated its values and naturalized its institutional control of cultural heritage, particularly at châteaux. The pervasiveness of the dominant heritage discourse has led to the reproduction of elite aesthetic values to boost tourism at heritage sites. However, new forms of heritage have appeared in the past decades that push the idea of 'French heritage' in new directions, specifically towards a democratized conception of heritage that tells diverse stories and narratives in new forms. While the most visited sites, such as Versailles and Chambord, remain grand symbols of elitism, popular forms of heritage that center classes besides the ruling class have become more common in France. These new narratives push against the Authorized Heritage Discourse established by the ruling class since the Revolution and are closely guarded by state institutions and offer counter-hegemonic perspectives on what constitutes heritage and who heritage is for.

This chapter seeks to evaluate whether heritage that is counter-hegemonic to the French State can exist at châteaux. This chapter will look at forms of resistance to state hegemony and the univocal narrative of French history and identity presented at châteaux. Gramsci defines this as a "contradictory consciousness" among subaltern classes. However, Smith and Pendlebury have remarked that assimilationist policies of heritage bring new forms of heritage into an existing framework rather than challenging the authorized discourse. As an effort to remain the sole guarantor of French heritage, the Minister of Culture has begun incorporating these new heritage forms into the existing heritage framework by creating new labels, such as for rural and intangible heritage, and re-interpreting alternative heritage discourses to fit existing labels, such as the extension of the 'patrimoine' label since 1980 (Heinich, 2009).

Patrimoine, which was once used to describe the grand monuments to the highest echelons of French culture and history, such as the Château de Versailles, the Opéra Garnier, and the Cathédrale de Notre Dame, was rebranded in the 1980s in order to envelop new heritage narratives that centered local memories and everyday life. This enabled the French State and its heritage institutions (notably the Directorat du Patrimoine under the Minister of Culture) to incorporate these potentially disruptive narratives into the existing fold without significantly changing the system. The name given to this new category is telling: '*petit patrimoine*' or 'small heritage' indicates the symbolic and institutional importance given to these new discourses (Kowalski 2012, 312). Rather than making waves, *petit patrimoine* remained under control within the institutional confines allotted by the State. Kowalski writes, "[The] idiom of heritage subsumes diverse local identities under a national imagination that gives them a higher value and relates them to universal aspirations while providing national imagination with a concept and a desire for territorial and cultural diversity" (Kowalski, 325). This leads to whether alternative heritage discourses can exist meaningfully within the French State's hegemonic heritage framework. Moreover, as popular heritage (a more neutral name for *petit patrimoine)* continues to be recognized in France, will châteaux also be able to change their interpretations?

As a ubiquitous part of French history and identity, the hegemonic interpretations of châteaux are not set in stone. With more local and regional heritage outside of the Monuments Historiques label competing with 'authorized' national heritage sites, the State's authority is put into question, along with its values and cultural hegemony. New heritage discourses actively and subconsciously challenge the idea of heritage as homogenous and unified within the larger scheme of French nationalism. The case study presented in this chapter looks at the heritage discourses at a rural medieval chateau that is currently in the process of moving towards the State

hegemonic heritage discourse and its heritage garden that represents a struggle against the subsuming State heritage process in order to remain local, community-centered, and reject hegemonic narratives and elite identities.

The Need for Counter-Hegemony

From its very conception after the Revolution to its evolution towards omnipresence in French society throughout the 20th century, the safeguarding of French cultural heritage by the State has been largely unquestioned in part due to the omnipresence of State institutions and officers on all levels of decision-making and planning related to heritage. Through the Paris Office of the Inventory, the regional offices of the Service des Monuments Historiques, the Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles (DRAC, Regional Directorate of Cultural Affairs under the Minister of Culture), and the Institut National du Patrimoine, the central State has "remained the main source of symbolic credentials for all governmental cultural administrators and experts, including those specifically trained to be employed by local government agencies" (Kowalski, 317).

Jean-Michel Leniaud, one of the preeminent French cultural historians, further describes the hegemony of the French State as follows:

> "Son pouvoir d'unification repose sur la concentration des moyens administratifs et financiers, l'éminence culturelle de la capitale, forgée de longue date et l'organisation des médias écrits et audiovisuels et s'exprime par quelques concepts : progrès, unité, professionnalis- me (c'est-à-dire fonctionnarisation) et Lumières (entendez "développement culturel"... En corollaire, l'identité est présentée comme une sous-culture, le croupion de ce qui a résisté à l'effort de décentralisation, un complexe d'infériorité, le résidu obsolète du passé." (Leniaud, 1997, 54)[33]

[33] "Its unifying power is based on the concentration of administrative and financial means, the cultural eminence of the capital, forged since a long time and the organization of the written and audiovisual media and is expressed by a few concepts: progress, unity, professionalism (that is, functionalization) and Enlightenment (understood as 'cultural development'...As a corollary, identity is presented as a subculture, the end of what resisted the decentralization effort, an inferiority complex, the obsolete residue of the past."

Gramsci conceived of civil society as an arena in which the dominant ideas established by the hegemonic State concerning the organization of society are both reinforced and contested. A civil society that appears open and democratic is foundational to the ruling class achieving the 'consent' of subaltern classes to govern, as opposed to political domination. However, counter-hegemonic expressions in civil society rarely become genuine threats to the ruling class. John McSweeney theorizes that this is because these would-be expressions of counter-hegemony have been detached from discussions of class and elitism and that, "Without the orientation of class, the concept of 'counter-hegemony' becomes meaningless" (McSweeney 2014, 1). Counter-hegemony is, critically, a movement that stems from non-elite classes and challenges control of state power by imagining a radical transformation of capitalist society, of which heritage continues to become increasingly entrenched.

Heritage in France has become a lever of economic development and capitalist growth, emanating from State institutions and official policy. This makes it challenging to achieve counter-hegemonic action through heritage discourses and processes because the qualifications for recognition as an official heritage site are closely tied to economic targets that represent heritage as primarily an economic endeavor, which is increasingly becoming a priority of the State and its partners. The linking of heritage and tourism exemplifies this, as heritage sites have become motivated to present heritage in a way that encourages tourism and consumption on a global scale. The French Minister of Culture from 2020-2022, Roselyne Bachelot, said in a press release for a new development program sponsored by the Ministry of Culture, the Ministry of Territorial Cohesion and Relations with Local and Regional Authorities, and the Heritage Foundation, "La culture et le patrimoine sont des leviers majeurs de la revitalisation des territoires et une nécessité pour construire leur avenir économique, ainsi qu'un cadre de vie

vivant et attractif" (Bachelot, 2021).[34] Other statements in the same press release mention "touristique attractiveness" as the central goal to small rural towns' cultural heritage policy. In 2019, economists and historians Francesca Cominelli and Xavier Greffe confirmed that, "Naguère considéré comme une charge transmise de génération en génération, le patrimoine est désormais considéré comme un levier de création d'activités et d'emplois" (Cominelli and Greffe, 2019, 4).[35]

Because small towns and villages are at a disadvantage economically, State economic policies targeting local heritage are often implemented for the collective economic good. Gramsci describes this as the 'consent' of the governed in a hegemonic society, where citizens freely allow the State to implement its policies because there is no alternative to the reality presented by the State. Investing in local heritage

Recent scholarship in the field of heritage has questioned the economic use of heritage and reimagined how heritage could pose an alternative to the dominant expression and use of heritage by the hegemonic state. Historian Iain Robertson calls this movement, "heritage from below," which comprises small-scale efforts to enact structural change that is particularly rooted in "a sense of inheritance that does not seek to attract an audience. Rather, it is an expression of, and draws on the ordinary and quotidian that, furthermore, is underscored by embodied practice…" (Robertson, 2012, 2). 'Peasant' culture, as it is often called in France, remains a small percentage of national heritage lists, but the heritage that these places claim is a strong example of how new discussions about heritage, the role of the State, and opportunities for local

[34] "Culture and heritage are major levers for the revitalization of rural territories and a necessity to construct their economic future, as well as a vibrant and attractive quality of life."
[35] "Formerly considered as a charge transmitted from generation to generation, heritage is now considered as a lever of creation for [economic] activities and employment."

identity and collective memory strengthening can constitute a counter-hegemonic movement in the field of heritage.

Despite negative connotations and stereotypes about the French countryside that have persisted since the 1970s that paint rural citizens as backwards and uncultured, rural communities care about their local heritage for reasons that transcend its economic potential, such as its connection to and ability to foster local identity, memory, and community.[36] French rural historian Joseph Nicolai perceives rural cultural heritage as "a site of struggle over the imagined community" of France, employing Benedict Anderson's observation about a certain brand of nationalism that is manufactured by processes of modern capitalism and communication (Nicolai, 3). However, the expansion of tourism through State economic and cultural policies has led to the loss of local decision-making and agency in the conservation and promotion of heritage resources that may have sentimental value and/or functional uses for the communities in which they are found. The existence of rural heritage that is managed, interpreted, and funded by local engagement, rather than by State institutions, indicates the counter-hegemonic power that local communities have in creating alternative heritage discourses and redefining 'French heritage' in their own terms.

'Tout-Patrimoine' or 'Heritage from Below'?

Most heritage scholars agree that heritage has become nebulous and generalized in the context of an ever-widening global market for heritage experiences. However, scholarly opinions differ regarding what some see as an uncontrolled explosion of heritage that threatens to devalue the very idea of heritage (such as Nora 2011, Heinich 2009, and Ambroise-Rendu 2017) and

[36] For further reading see: Weber, Eugen. *Peasants Into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976 and Farmer, Sarah Bennett. *Rural Inventions: The French Countryside After 1945*. Oxford University Press, 2020.

what others see as an opportunity for emancipatory resistance to a hegemonic cultural regime (such as Robertson 2012 and Smith 2006).

Many French scholars have criticized what they consider to be an inflation of the notion of heritage that is detrimental to society. Pierre Nora discusses this idea in his essay, "Explosion de patrimoine," where he writes that cultural heritage is ideologically essential to the unity of the French nation through the affirmation of a singular French culture (Nora 2011, 96). However, the 1970s and 80s constituted an age of heritage expressed as memory, identity, and social relations. Nora points to rapid social and economic changes (particularly the massive decentralization effort preceding that period) that led to a national sentiment of loss and rupture with the past, which triggered an impulse to protect and expand heritage across the board (Nora 100). This is evidenced by an increase in organizations, museums, archives, libraries, and donations to protect cultural heritage, under rhetoric promoting each individual's duty to conserve their past. This jump from national historic monuments to individualized and heterogenous conception of heritage has saturated the category of heritage to the point where society has become a tyranny of memory where national heritage no longer has the same gravity as it once did (Nora, 110). Historian François Harzog shares this opinion, writing, "Au cours de ces années [1980s], la vague patrimoniale, en phase avec celle de la mémoire, a pris de plus en plus d'ampleur jusqu'à tendre vers cette limite que serait le 'tout-patrimoine.' Tout comme on annonce ou réclame des mémoires de tout, tout serait patrimoine ou susceptible de le devenir" (Harzog, 2003).[37]

Historian Nathalie Heinich has also called this "nouveau patrimoine" or 'new heritage,' which she argues risks devaluing the very notion of heritage, which she conflates with artistic value: "Autant dire que, plutôt qu'une « artification » de notre environnement, l'inflation

[37] "During the 1980s, the wave of heritage, in line with that of memory, has grown to the point where it would be the 'all-heritage.' Just as memories of everything are announced or demanded, all would or could become heritage."

patrimoniale tend à opérer une « désartification » de la notion de patrimoine" (Heinich, 2019).[38] The 'notion of heritage,' then, becomes a sacred pillar of French identity associated with the historically elite field of fine arts (exemplified by the historical preference for certain periods of architectural styles on the Historic Monuments lists). Scholars, researchers, and heritage industry professionals within the state cultural institutions that manage, interpret, and fund heritage projects fail to see alternative heritage discourses as instruments of radical social reform for the communities who implement them. Instead, they solidify the discourse of the French State as the purveyor of heritage values and tastes while condemning local heritage to an inferior rank in both the heritage schema and the French identity.

Laurajane Smith has also brought into question the power of alternative heritage discourses to center the function of heritage on a local level, rather than the national scale. She suggests that viewing heritage as a process, rather than a place or an object, can challenge the authorized discourse and legitimize marginalized identities that are typically excluded in the master narratives and national identity. French historian Marc Augé has argued that culture and identity are inseparable from one another, and that they form the basis of individual and collective identity and reality (Augé, 1989). Even in the 1980s, in the apparent midst of the 'explosion' of French heritage, some scholars and elected officials perceived a lack of local *lieux de mémoire*, collective memories, meaningful public spaces, and autonomy in making cultural decisions (Morel, 1993, 70). This trend has continued into the present-day as meaningful expressions of local identity through culture, including cultural heritage, cannot compete with the national heritage discourse perpetuated by the State that is attached to economic growth.

[38] "Suffice to say that, rather than a «artification» of our environment, heritage inflation tends to operate a «disartification» of the notion of heritage."

The following case study of counter-hegemonic heritage narratives aims to show how counter-hegemonic narratives can exist, even when confronted with hegemonic efforts to install the authorized heritage discourse and can offer a radically different perspective on the meaning and use of heritage in the 21st century.

Case Study: The Château de Montrond-Les-Bains and its Medieval Garden

The Château de Montrond-les-Bains is a feudal château built in the 12th century located in the rural municipality of Montrond-les-Bains.[39] In 1793, members of the republican army pillaged and set fire to the castle. The ruins of the château were used as a stone quarry during the first half of the 19th century and left abandoned until 1969, and the ruined site was later inscribed on the list of Monuments Historiques in 1934 (Montrond-les-Bains 2023). The château was partly restored in the 1970s after the formation of the association Amis du Château du Montrond, then purchased by the city in the 1980s. The château comprises a postal museum and a medieval garden and receives around 6,000 visitors annually (Montrond-les-Bains 2023).

Figure 1. The Château de Montrond. Photo taken by author in November 2022.

[39] Montrond-les-Bains is located in the Loire department with a population of around 4,000, and has tourism related to the château as well as a thermal spa and a casino.

Château Renovations and State Intervention

Since 1997, the château's large tower has been home to a postal museum which fills three floors of the tower. A local postman gave his collection to the association Amis du Château de Montrond in the 1970s, who then installed the museum exhibits following the partial renovation of the ruined château. Objects dating from 1870 are shown, and exhibits are regularly updated due to the large quantity of objects in the collection and limited space in the tower. The Amis du Château de Montrond website states, "Cette collection comprend notamment des balances, des sacoches, des boîtes aux lettres, des téléphones, des tampons, des machines, du matériel de pesage, des figurines, des maquettes, des costumes, une boule de Moulins et bien d'autres objets qui mettent clairement en évidence l'avancée des technologies en matière de communication depuis la fin du XIXème siècle jusqu'au début du XXème siècle."[40] One of only six postal museums in France, the museum at Montrond-les-Bains has provided an important regional resource for students who conduct research in the museum and its archives. This example of local and civil heritage within a medieval chateau is unique and provided for more than 20 years an important site of local heritage that linked the town's medieval past to its more recent past, with exhibits highlighting connectivity, communication, and local agency.

However, since 2021, renovations of the château are being undertaken in partnership with the State, the Loire Department, and the municipality of Montrond-les-Bains. The renovation of the château is specifically aimed at increasing its tourism potential. According to the deputy of culture and heritage for the city, Marie-Odile Moulager, "Ce projet d'envergure vise le développement d'une offre touristique familiale en complément du casino et des thermes…avec

[40] "This collection includes scales, bags, letter boxes, telephones, stamps, machines, weighing equipment, figurines, models, costumes, a ball of Moulins and many other objects that clearly highlight the advance of communication technologies from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century"

la volonté de garder le site accessible au plus grand nombre" (Coquet, 2021).[41] The renovation includes the restoration of the exterior walls, the tower, the entrance, the interior commons, and the main facade. In addition, the vault of the chapel on the top floor of the tower will be recreated in order to provide an observation deck to view the surrounding landscape, the emblematic *plaine et massif du Forez*.

The renovation of the Château de Montrond costs 1.3 million euros. The State subsidizes it in part through the 'Plan de Relance,' an economic stimulus package that seeks to accelerate economic development throughout the country and has a budget of 100 billion euros (Coquet 2021). The "Plan de Relance" ("Recovery Plan") was introduced by the French government in 2020 as a preliminary response to the economic crisis caused by the COVID-19 pandemic. It is designed to create jobs, fund research and innovation, fund job training and youth programs, and invest in a transition to a more sustainable economy. It notably includes a significant investment into the heritage sector in the form of a dedicated 2 billion euro budget to support the restoration and renovation of historic buildings (614 million euros), the development of digital resources at heritage sites (428 million euros), and the creation of cultural events (30 million euros) (Plan de Relance 2020). Digital content at heritage sites includes virtual tours, online exhibitions, and the digitization of archival material, all of which are part of the Château de Montrond's renovation and development. Overall, the Plan de Relance aims to address long-term challenges that have been exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, particularly in economically vulnerable regions and municipalities, such as the community of Montrond-les-Bains.

[41] "This major project aims to achieve the development of a family tourism offer in addition to the casino and the thermal baths…with the desire to keep the site accessible to the greatest number."

The renovation of the Château de Montrond will displace the postal museum and install in its place a museum showing the daily life of a seigneurial habitant of the château, including a staged bedroom, dining room, and guard room. Marie-Odile Moulager has said, "L'objectif est de recréer un logis médiéval, comme si le seigneur venait de quitter les lieux il y a 10 min," according to an article published by L'Essor (Bonnet 2022). The relocation of the postal museum to an indistinct municipal building and the transformation of the château to conform to the authorized heritage discourse is directly connected to the cultural hegemony of the State due to the investment of the State in the project.

The presence of the postal museum in the château offered an alternative use of a historic building that fit the needs of the local community and provided a rare historical resource in the region. Though not a traditionally 'authentic' use of the château's tower, the museum instead represented an alternative to the identical reproduction of heritage at châteaux, which claims to be 'authentic' but in many cases falls closer to 'kitsch' (Houbart 2011). The restoration of the château by the State and its partners denies the Montrond-les-Bains community agency to make decisions about its unique heritage and local identity. Instead, it installs a subsuming national narrative that protects the State as the sole guarantor of heritage. The Amis du Château du Montrond has recently spoken to journalists claiming they feel 'chased away' by the local government officials working with state partners to restore the château (Montagnier, 2023).

Figure 2. An exhibition in the Musée Postal du Forez. Date unknown. Source: https://amischateaumontrond.fr/nos-activites/les-visites/musee-postal

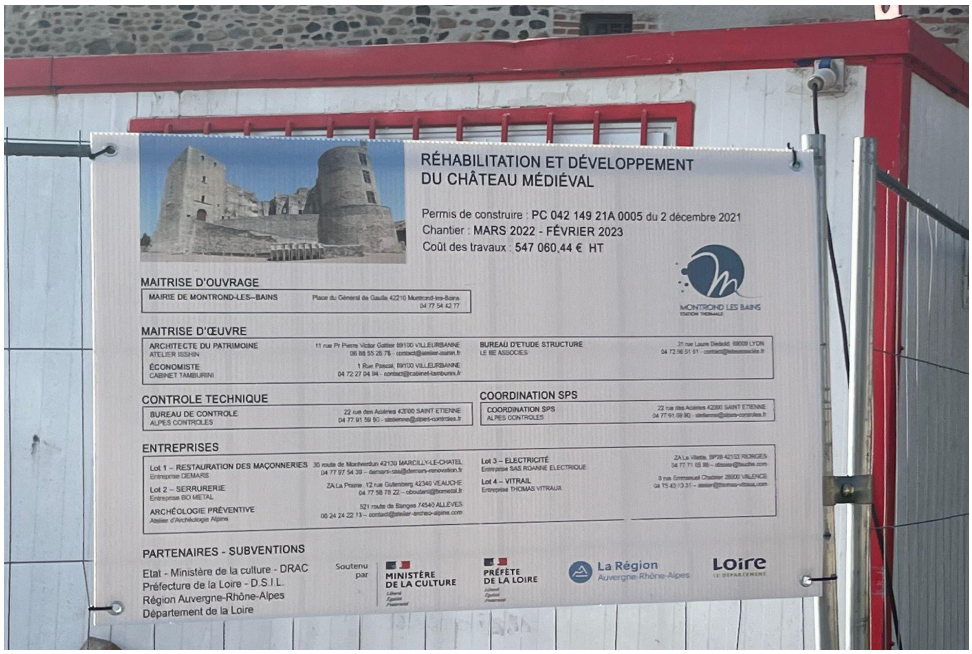

Figure 3. Official notice regarding the restoration of the château displaying the financial investment of the State by the Minister of Culture and its regional office (DRAC). The notice distinguishes between the 'restoration' of the château and its 'development' into a tourist attraction. Notably, the notice does not mention the Amis du Château de Montrond. Photo taken by author in November 2022.

Le Jardin de Marguerite

A medieval garden on the château grounds represents an alternative heritage discourse that privileges community participation and local identity rather than focusing on economic growth, tourism, and the national heritage discourse. A team of 23 local volunteers constructed the garden in 2014, and volunteers continue to maintain and document the garden, often welcoming school groups and tourists to participate (Le Progrès 2016). The garden combines pedagogy and sensory participation, inviting visitors to feel, smell, taste, and observe the plants and understand the history and horticulture of the typical medieval garden as it is reproduced. The Jardin de Marguerite is described on the website of its creator, the Amis du Château de Montrond:

> "Ce jardin a été dessiné en respectant les préceptes médiévaux, préceptes don't nous connaissons l'existence grâce, notamment, à des documents toujours disponibles de nos jours ardi le Capitulaire de Villis et le plan de l'Abbaye de Saint Gall et les nombreuses enluminures des livres d'heures et de prières (tels le livre d'heure du Duc de Berry et le livre de prière de la duchesse Anne de Bretagne)." (https://amischateaumontrond.fr/nos-activites/les-visites/jardin-medieval)[42]

The Jardin de Marguerite was founded by the then-president of the Amis du Château de Montrond, Elie Lafont. Lafont, Lafont conceived of the project to construct a medieval garden first in 2012. Two years later, the project was mainly financed with funds donated to the Amis du Château de Montrond (though with some help from the mayor) totaling 25,000 euros (Le Progrès 2016). In addition, the gardener for the primary school of Montrond-les-Bains since 1990, Daniel Devoucoux, retired in 2010, volunteered to help with the construction and plantation of the garden plots (Le Progrès 2016).

[42] "This garden was designed with respect to medieval principles which we know thanks to, notably, documents still available today such as the Capitulary de Villis and the plan of the Saint Gall Abbey, and the numerous illuminations from books of hours and prayers (such as the book of hours of the Duke de Berry and the prayer book of the Duchess Anne de Bretagne)."

Figure 4. The Jardin de Marguerite. Photo taken by author in November 2022.

Figure 5. The Jardin de Marguerite in the foreground of the château, as constructed in 2014. Photo taken by author in November 2022.

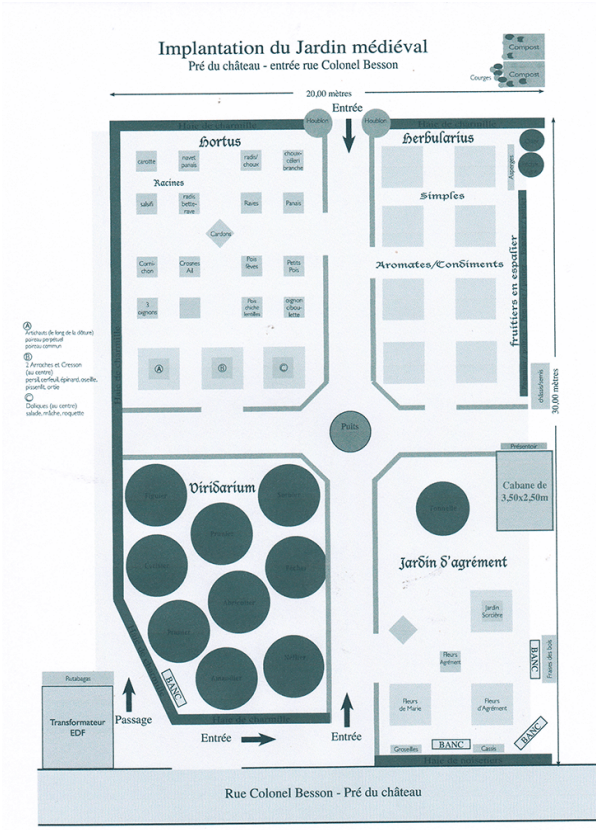

Figure 6. Plan for the Jardin de Marguerite with plantings specified. The garden includes a kitchen garden (top left), an aromatic and medicinal garden (top right), an orchard (bottom left), and a flower garden (bottom right). The garden boasts over 90 varieties of plants.

The garden is the only distinguishing feature in the landscape surrounding the château, which is otherwise an expanse of grassy fields, scattered trees, and dirt paths. The garden links the working history of the chateau to its contemporary state as a cultural heritage site. This is a challenge to the formal garden experience found at many other châteaux, which is based mainly on looking, following, and engaging with the gardens in a hierarchical way designed under aristocratic values. While formal gardens are a space of meditation, grandeur, and political pedagogy, the medieval garden invites sensory exploration, playfulness, and a vision of medieval life that is connected to regular people of the working class. Here, a formal garden in the French style would be historically inaccurate and would detract from the participative aspect of cultural heritage, which is central to the goals of the Amis du Château de Montrond association who

created and continue to maintain the medieval garden as a space for community and social cohesion.

In 2022, the garden was granted the label “Jardin remarquable” by the Minister of Culture. The prize of “jardin remarquable” is often awarded to picturesque gardens however in recent years it has been granted to a diversity of gardens. This is notable because, as Pendlebury et. al. state in a discussion of English heritage, “Merely enabling more people to enjoy heritage, or extending how it is defined to recognise the diversity of society, does not in itself challenge power relations and control over the process by which heritage is defined and managed” (Pendlebury, 2004, 23). That being said, the Jardin de Marguerite does not display its “jardin remarquable” classification anywhere on the premises or on the website. The garden celebrated its classification in June 2022 with a three-day celebration hosted as part of the national *Rendez-vous au jardin* festival in which gardens, classified or not, host various activities to celebrate the diversity of garden culture in France. The Jardin de Marguerite participated in the *Rendez-vous au jardin* festival in previous years as well, under themes such as 2021’s “Transmission de Savoirs” (Transmission of knowledge) and 2022’s “Les jardins face au changement climatique” (Gardens against climate change”). During the festival, locals participated in garden activities such as learning about medicinal plants, a garden-themed poetry workshop, and a workshop linking the senses, memory, and plants.

The Jardin de Marguerite constitutes ‘heritage from below’ because it represents a continuous process of heritage-making that depends on the engagement and valorization of the local community rather than State interventions and labels. It does not exist for the ‘tourist gaze’ like the formal French gardens often found at châteaux. Instead, the garden serves the community not through its economic value but through its ability to strengthen community ties

and foster a sense of local identity. Heritage from below "by its very nature, [is] often itself oppositional and is often best expressed in the illusive, ephemeral and everyday" (Robertson, 20). The President of the Amis du Château de Montrond, speaking of the heritage process at the garden, evokes "deep social bonds" and a call to reimagine the purpose of heritage in society.

> "Tout cela est possible grâce au monde associatif auquel nous avons la chance d'appartenir. Ce monde n'a pas de frontières, il engage un nombre impressionnant d'individus, il constitue un réseau gigantesque, il est là, partout, tissant des liens sociaux profonds, reflétant ainsi l'image de ce que doit être notre société."[43] (https://amischateaumontrond.fr)

This demonstrates the power of the garden to counter the typical discourse of heritage at châteaux perpetrated by the State at châteaux throughout France, including recently at the Château de Montrond.As the château becomes a space of performed and consumed heritage, the garden is a physical reminder of the power of heritage 'from below' to challenge hegemonic assumptions about the interpretation and use of heritage 'from above.' Cultural historian Veysel Apaydin writes that heritage "transformation, reconstruction and destruction can be problematic for communities unless the communities themselves actively decide on – and engage with – these processes, from a bottom-up perspective" (Apaydin 2020, 13). The Jardin de Marguerite is the only remaining cultural heritage associated with the château that exemplifies a bottom-up heritage-making process.

[43] "All this is possible thanks to the associative world to which we have the chance to belong. This world has no borders, it engages an impressive number of individuals, it constitutes a gigantic network, it is there, everywhere, weaving deep social bonds, thus reflecting the image of what our society must be."

Figure 7. The beds of the vegetable garden (potager) of the Jardin de Marguerite in November 2022.

A Future *En Train de Se Developper*

The case study of Montrond-les-Bains is still a developing story. The medieval Jardin de Marguerite can potentially threaten the hegemonic discourse of heritage that the State and its regional cultural and administrative partners are installing at the château. As a form of counter-hegemony, the garden exemplifies an alternative discourse of heritage that includes working-class labor, values, and experiences rather than purposely excludes them as authorized heritage discourses and their purveyors often do. The authorized heritage discourse perpetuated by the hegemonic State is thus contested and subverted by the garden and the local community that supports it. “Dominant ideas about the heritage values of ‘authentic material culture’ and the ‘built environment’ are…rewritten and redefined within a cultural process that privileges the performativity of ‘doing’ and ‘being,’ rather than the possession of, or association with, material objects” (Smith, 237). A significant consequence of the national ‘touristification’ of heritage is the loss of local memory and practice, which is detrimental to local identities and community

cohesion when replaced by generic heritage experiences that tourists have become accustomed to (Urry, 2002).

While the State-sanctioned transformation of the château is a move towards encoding the hegemonic heritage discourse of elite values and memories into the heritage experience for tourists, the Jardin de Marguerite subverts the 'tourist gaze' and the 'economic gaze' by providing a space for collective identity and cohesion that challenges the wide-held belief that rural communities lack historical and cultural knowledge and expertise. In light of the château's transformation, the garden itself becomes a heritage site that tells the story of local agency, community, and identity that exists outside of - or despite - national hegemonic heritage discourses and development.

CONCLUSION: NEW PERSPECTIVES ON HERITAGE IN THE AGE OF HEGEMONY

This thesis has analyzed the actions of the French State in producing heritage discourses at châteaux as historic monuments and heritage sites from the 19th to the 21st century. It expands on the idea that there is an 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' at châteaux by introducing the concept of cultural hegemony, first identified by Italian theorist Antonio Gramsci during the Fascist regime in 1930s Italy, as an equally salient concept in modern France because it enables a deeper understanding of how culture plays a role in the domination of society by the ruling class. In France, the elite ruling class has controlled narratives of history, culture, and identity for centuries, beginning with the decision to safeguard the Château de Versailles immediately after the Revolution, followed by a systemic institutionalization of the field of heritage. These institutions remain relevant today despite many regime changes and political advancements.

The French State, through the Ministry of Culture and the Commission nationale du patrimoine et de l'architecture (which replaced the Commission nationale des monuments historiques and the Conseil national des parcs et jardins in 2016), and the organizations involved in creating, identifying, and protecting heritage contribute to a technocratic and hegemonic heritage industry in France. Historian Alexandra Kowalski astutely summarizes the situation in her exploration of heritage, memory, and national identity: "What has come to be named *patrimoine*, or heritage, is a complex institution made up of discourses about cultural property, symbolic and transactions, and concrete practices and policies" (Kowalski 2012, 308). This 'heritage' is the product of two centuries of hegemonic processes in France that have effectively de-centered the memories, needs, and values of local populations in the name of constructing a national identity based on collective memory (Nora 2011).

Châteaux could very well have been eradicated after the Revolution, and many were indeed destroyed. Yet, instead, they were protected, seemingly for the benefit of humanity, as spaces of historical, cultural, and moral formation, and as a heritage to be passed down to future generations of French citizens. Today, châteaux are a vital part of France's collective identity, culture, and economic sector due to their important role in France's tourism economy. Châteaux have mainly become museums of noble history, where elite aesthetic preferences are preserved in the name of cultural nationalism and shared identity. The physical experience of heritage sites is inextricable from the memories and meanings they are imbued with. Historical realities are imagined and invented in the name of heritage, as we have seen at both the Château de Chambord and the Château de Condé.

These realities become cemented and recreated as the 'authorized heritage discourse' that is accepted and perpetuated at châteaux throughout France. The restoration of châteaux exteriors to embody a specific time period and architectural ideology of perfection and aesthetic harmony and the transformation of châteaux landscapes to formal gardens are both decisions seeped in ideological and political motivations of the French State. These decisions are further bolstered by the belief that these decisions are made for the benefit of France's collective identity and shared knowledge of history. However, this makes for a largely homogenous narrative within a society that has diverse experiences of the past but little space to tell them in a meaningful way. This is perhaps the most convincing evidence that heritage has become a vital tool in the preservation of the French State's hegemony.

Yet, this is not a pessimistic revelation. Recognizing cultural hegemony within a society also creates space for challenges and transformations of the dominant culture through social struggle and the creation of alternative cultural forms. Historian Alexandra Kowalski imagines a

future where despite the institutional and ideological hierarchy between national and local heritage – *patrimoine* vs. *petit patrimoine* – these differences are not dialectically opposed but rather interdependent and inextricably linked. “Both historic monuments and heritage are an inheritance: they are (cultural) capital, (symbolic) wealth, and (collective) property. But the cultural wealth of the nation in the age of heritage is not solely measured, as it was in the age of monuments, by the number of rare and valuable objects found or gathered on its ground, as items ‘of aesthetic or historical value’ independent from their particular territorial, historical, and cultural origins” (Kowalski 2012, 324). Local expressions of identity and agency, such as those analyzed in the case study of the Château de Montrond, are precisely the kind of living heritage that centers alternative discourses about territory, history, and culture at a château.

Certain French scholars certainly lament what they view as a loss of prestige and exceptionalism in French heritage, best exemplified by Pierre Nora who writes, “la metamorphose de la notion de patrimoine a fait de lui, pour le dire nettement, le contraire de ce qu’il était. Des plus anciennes, des plus belles et des plus prestigieuses creations du ‘génie nationale’ au quotidien le plus traditionnel, de la cathédrale au lavoir de village, le passage constitue un moment clé” (Nora 2011, 99).[44] This perspective minimizes the discourses of heritage that do not conform to the authorized discourse, in many instances relegating them to mere nostalgia. As heritage became more professionalized and commercialized, forms of heritage that evaded this fate were seen as insignificant at best, and reactionary at worst (Smith 2017, 615).

[44] “the metamorphosis of the notion of heritage has made of itself, to put it plainly, the opposite of what it was. From the oldest, most beautiful and prestigious creations of the 'national genius' to the most traditional quotidian, from the cathedral to the village lavoir, the passage constitutes a key moment.”

As a contrast to Nora's perspective, Laurajane Smith sees heritage as "a process of navigating social change and dissonance [that] works to negotiate the social and political narratives and values that address the needs of the present; in this process social and political value, and the narratives they justify, are created and recreated…" (Smith 2017, 616). Heritage sites are not frozen places. They are constantly in flux and are often sites of struggle between national governments and local populations (Apaydin 2020). Critical heritage scholar Veysel Apaydin writes, "The material culture of the past and present has a significant value for the future of groups and communities – which is why it is frequently targeted by powers interested in controlling land, resources and social or political relations" (Apaydin 2020, 3). This is indeed the case of the French State and its desire to control heritage as a resource of ideological and spatial domination.

Visiting a major national heritage site, such as the Château de Versailles or Château de Chambord, one is met with an immediate air of grandeur – and crowds of tourists waiting for tickets, maps, and audio guides. Inside the château awaits rooms filled with opulent furniture, jewels, and paintings, complete with descriptions of what life might have been like for the king, lord, or lady. Ambling through manicured formal gardens, one might feel transported to another century, except for the faint buzz of nearby vehicular traffic that breaks the illusion. This type of heritage is not inherently bad, but it merits deeper consideration within the context the authority of the State in all cultural, economic, and political affairs.

On the other hand, a local heritage experience may begin with parking in a gravel lot down the street, as with the Château of Montrond-les-Bains. As you walk through the garden, you find a local guide there to answer any questions about plant varieties, gardening techniques,

or historical knowledge. This type of heritage can also reveal profound discoveries about the people of France, their history and culture, and how they relate to the world around them.

Scholars such as Apaydin, Smith, Lowenthall, Hall, and Robertson advocate for a paradigm shift in how heritage scholars understand the values, discourses, and processes of heritage in the 21st century. It is easy to overlook, as Nora and other French scholars do, the contributions of local heritage to the construction of national identity and memory, but it is vitally important to the field of heritage studies to recognize the power and value of local heritage (also called dissonant heritage, "*petit patrimoine*," and unofficial heritage). Though many châteaux are a product and process of the French State's hegemonizing heritage discourse, there are still opportunities where this discourse is subverted and reimagined by members of local communities in France. French heritage scholars should resist the impulse to ascribe these forms of heritage to a lower rank within France's national heritage schema (i.e. no more '*petit patrimoine'*). Heritage sites and historic monuments are products and processes of a continuously evolving narrative of history based on the needs of the present; any effort to conserve such a site or object must also consider these functions as they pertain to identity, nationalism, and continuity. It is therefore imperative to the future of French heritage to recognize the unparalleled role of the French State in the creation and preservation of heritage.

The fight for hegemony in French heritage may very well begin at the local level, as many Revolutions in French history have. Cases of local resistance to the authorized heritage discourse, such as that of the garden of Montrond-les-Bains, offer an optimistic view of the future of French heritage at châteaux. Heritage 'from below' can rise to the level of the hegemonic heritage discourse, particularly if it is recognized as doing so and not dismissed outright as a product of reactionary nostalgia. Recognizing the subsuming discourse of the State

and centuries-old state institutions that remain at its helm enables the critical recognition of dissonance within the heritage field. The heritage field, in France as elsewhere, is in evolution, spurred by new voices who demand a meaningful recognition of diverse experiences of the past. Châteaux, despite their historic symbolization of the ideological and physical domination of a people and a landscape, can be part of these tide changes, too.

Works Cited

Introduction

Buttigieg, Joseph. “The Contemporary Discourse on Civil Society: A Gramscian Critique.” *boundary 2*, 32:1, 33-52, 2005.

Dewald, Jonathan. " Rethinking the 1 Percent: The Failure of the Nobility In Old Regime France." American Historical Review, vol. 124, no. 3, 1 Jun. 2019, pp. 911-932.

Durand, Anne-Aël. “Journées du patrimoine : châteaux ou églises, publics ou privés... ces monuments historiques à visiter ce week-end,” Le Monde, September 21, 2019. https://www.lemonde.fr/les-decodeurs/article/2018/09/15/inscrits-ou-classes-chateaux-ou-eglises-publics-ou-prives-portrait-robot-des-monuments-historiques_5355363_4355770.html

Fonseca, Marco. Gramsci's Critique of Civil Society: Towards a New Concept of Hegemony. New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 2016.

Gramsci, Antonio. “The Intellectuals”, in Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 1971. Translated and Edited by Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith. New York: International Publishers, pages 3-23

Gramsci, Antonio, Bellamy, Richard (Richard Paul), and Virginia Cox. Antonio Gramsci: Pre-Prison Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Hall, Stuart. Un-settling ‘the heritage’, re-imagining the post-nation. Whose heritage? Third Text, 13:49, 3-13, 1999. DOI: 10.1080/09528829908576818

Lears, T. J. Jackson. “The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities.” The American Historical Review 90, no. 3 (1985): 567–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/1860957.

Lenoir, Luc et Wladimir Garcin-Berson. “Les vrais chiffres du budget consacré à notre patrimoine par l’État,” Le Figaro, April 20, 2019. https://www.lefigaro.fr/economie/le-scan-eco/decryptage/les-vrais-chiffres-du-budget-consacre-a-notre-patrimoine-par-l-etat-20190420

Lipsitz, George. “The Struggle for Hegemony.” The Journal of American History 75, no. 1 (1988): 146–50. https://doi.org/10.2307/1889660.

Mouffe, Chantal. Gramsci and Marxist Theory. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979.Nora

Nora, Pierre. Les Lieux De mémoire. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1997.

Nora, Pierre. Présent, Nation, mémoire. Paris: Gallimard, 2011.

Smith, Laurajane. Uses of Heritage. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Su, Xiaobo, Peggy Teo. The Politics of Heritage Tourism In China: A View From Lijiang. London: Routledge, 2009.

Chapter 1

Anceau, Eric. Les élites françaises: Des Lumières au grand confinement. Paris: Passés Composés, 2020.

Auduc, Arlette. Quand les monuments construisaient la nation. Le service des monuments historiques de 1830 à 1940, Paris, Comité d'histoire du ministère de la culture, 2008

Bercé, Françoise. *Des Monuments Historiques Au Patrimoine Du XVIIIe Siècle à Nos Jours, Ou, Les "égarements Du cœur Et De L'esprit"*. Paris: Flammarion, 2000.

Buttigieg, Joseph. "The Contemporary Discourse on Civil Society: A Gramscian Critique." *boundary 2, 32:1, 33-52, 2005.*

Caffin-Carcy, Odile. "Que Devint Versailles Après Le Départ de La Cour ?" Revue Historique 286, no. 1 (579) (1991): 53–80. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40955092.

Carrez Anne. La Commission des monuments historiques de 1848 à 1852. In: Histoire de l'art, N°47, 2000. Personnalités et institutions. pp. 75-85 DOI : https://doi-org.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/10.3406/hista.2000.2905

Chateau de Versailles. "L'Histoire," Accessed 1/3/2023 https://www.chateauversailles.fr/decouvrir/histoire

Choay, Françoise. L'Allégorie du patrimoine. Paris, Éd. du Seuil, 1992

Dehio, Georg. "Denkmalschutz und denkmalpflege", Kunst-historische Aufsätze, 1905.

Desbois, MM. "Chambord: notice sur les travaux de restauration exécutés au château de 1882 à 1894." Bibliothèque nationale de France,1894.
https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k934692c/f77.item

Donald, Dwayne. Forts, curriculum, and Indigenous métissage: Imagining decolonization of Aboriginal-Canadian relations in educational contexts. *First Nations Perspectives: The Journal of the Manitoba First Nations Education Resource Centre, 2(1), 1–24, 2009.*

Fraisse, L. 2005. Viollet-le-Duc exégète des châteaux médiévaux. In Auraix-Jonchière, P., & Peylet, G. (Eds.), Châteaux romantiques. Presses Universitaires de Bordeaux. doi:10.4000/books.pub.28146

Gramsci, Antonio. Quaderni Del Carcere. G. Einaudi.1974

Gramsci, Antonio. "The Intellectuals", in Selections from the Prison Notebooks, 1971. Translated and Edited by Q. Hoare and G. N. Smith. New York: International Publishers, page 3-23

Gramsci, Antonio, Bellamy, Richard (Richard Paul) and Virginia Cox. Antonio Gramsci: Pre-prison Writings. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Guizot, François. Rapport au Roi. 1835 Bibliothèque nationale de France https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k25143.image

Hall, Stuart. Un-settling 'the heritage', re-imagining the post-nation. Whose heritage?, Third Text, 13:49, 3-13, 1999. DOI: 10.1080/09528829908576818

Harvey, David C. Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: temporality, meaning and the scope of heritage studies, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 2001, 7:4, 319-338, DOI: 10.1080/13581650120105534

Janvier-Badosa, Sarah, Kévin Beck, Xavier Brunetaud, Muzahim Al-Mukhtar. Historical Study of Chambord Castle: Basis for Establishing the Monument Health Record. International Journal of Architectural Heritage, 2013, 7 (3), pp.247-260. 10.1080/15583058.2011.634959. hal-02090617

Lears, T. J. Jackson. "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities." The American Historical Review 90, no. 3 (1985): 567–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/1860957.

Leniaud, Jean-Michel. L'Utopie française : essai sur le patrimoine. Paris : Mengès, 1992

Lowenthal, David. The Past Is a Foreign Country. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Maier-Barron, Denise. "Palace of Versailles UNESCO Heritage Site: Survivor of the French Revolution." Conference Proceedings The Right to [World] Heritage, BTU Cottbus - Senftenberg 2014.

Merimée, Prosper. Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur (Monuments Historiques). 1840. Accessed

via the Archives des Monuments Historiques, 1/7/2023. https://mediatheque-patrimoine.culture.gouv.fr/les-monuments-historiques-avant-1913#:~:text=En%201840%2C%20la%20Commission%20des,publication%2C%20augment%C3%A9e%2C%20en%201846.

Merimée, Prosper. Rapport au Ministre de l'Intérieur (Monuments Historiques). 1846. Accessed via the Archives des Monuments Historiques, 1/7/2023. https://mediatheque-patrimoine.culture.gouv.fr/les-monuments-historiques-avant-1913#:~:text=En%201840%2C%20la%20Commission%20des,publication%2C%20augment%C3%A9e%2C%20en%201846.

Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, des Cultures, et des Beaux-Arts. Circulaires Ministerielles Relatives À La Conservation Des Monuments Historiques, 1832 – 1874. Accessed via the Archives des Monuments Historiques, 1/7/2023. https://mediatheque-patrimoine.culture.gouv.fr/les-monuments-historiques-avant-1913#:~:text=En%201840%2C%20la%20Commission%20des,publication%2C%20augment%C3%A9e%2C%20en%201846.

Ministère de l'instruction publique et des beaux-arts. Direction des Beaux-arts. Monuments historiques. Loi et décrets relatifs à la conservation des monuments historiques. Liste des monuments classés. 1889

Montesi, Aurore. Iconographie du château de Chambord : imaginaire et réalité. Université de Lorraine, 2013.

Nora, Pierre. Les Lieux De mémoire. Paris: Editions Gallimard, 1997.

Nora, Pierre. Présent, Nation, mémoire. Paris: Gallimard, 2011.

Pariset, Jean-Daniel. Procès-verbaux de la Commission des Monuments historiques de 1848 à 1950, conservés à la Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine. http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/monumentshistoriques/index.html#preface

Perschler, M. (1999). From Oblivion to Eternity: The Château de Versailles and the Politics of Commemoration in the 1920s. In: Reinink, W., Stumpel, J. (eds) Memory & Oblivion. Springer, Dordrecht. https://doi-org.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/10.1007/978-94-011-4006-5_41

Poulot, Dominique, and Richard Wrigley. "The Birth of Heritage: 'Le Moment Guizot.'" Oxford Art Journal 11, no. 2 (1988): 40–56. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1360461.

Recht, Roland. Penser le Patrimoine 2. Paris: Hazan, DL 2016.

Riegl, Aloïs. The modern cult of monuments: its character and its origin. MIT Press, Cambridge (Mass.), 1982

Rücker, F. (1913). Les origines de la conservation des monuments historiques en France (1790-1830). Paris: Jouve & Cie..

Swenson, Astrid. The Rise of Heritage: Preserving the Past In France, Germany and England, 1789-1914. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Smith, Laurajane. Uses of Heritage. New York: Routledge, 2006.

Smith, Laurajane. "Heritage, the power of the past, and the politics of (mis)recognition," 2022. J Theory Soc Behav. 2022;1–20. DOI: 10.1111/jtsb.12353

Smith, Laurajane & Gary Campbell (2017) 'Nostalgia for the future': memory, nostalgia and the politics of class, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 23:7, 612-627, DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2017.1321034

Starn, Randolph. Authenticity and historic preservation: towards an authentic history. *History of the Human Sciences*, *15*(1), 1–16, 2002. https://doiorg.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/10.1177/0952695102015001070

Tanchoux, Philippe. "Heurs et malheurs de l'administration chargée des monuments historiques en France; 1830-1848." Culture and Local Governance, vol 1, no. 1, 2008.

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. Description du château de Pierrefonds (3e éd.). Paris, 1863. https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k5467779k/f41.item

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle - Tome 3 - (C suite). 1854. Accessed via Project Gutenberg, 1/7/2023. https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/30783/pg30783-images.html

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel. Restoration. The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire Raisonne, trans. Kenneth D. Whitehead (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1990)

Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène-Emmanuel and Merimée, Prosper. "Rapport de Conseils pour la restauration en 1849," Bulletin du comité historique des arts et monuments, Tome 1, 1849.

Chapter 2

Adams, William H. The French Garden, 1500-1800 (New York, 1979): Ch. 5, 103-38.

André, Edouard François. L'art Des Jardins: Traité général De La Composition Des Parcs Et Jardins. Paris: G. Masson, 1879.

"As History Unfolds," Domaine de Chambord, 2023. Online. Accessed 8 April 2023.

https://www.chambord.org/en/history/the-chateau/as-history-unfolds/

Baridon, Michel. The cultural foundations of contemporary French landscape architecture, Studies in the History of Gardens & Designed Landscapes, 23:4, 310-327, 2003. DOI: 10.1080/14601176.2003.10435304

Baridon, Michel. A History of the Gardens of Versailles. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.

Bryant, Simon and Cécile Travers, "Ni fait, ni à faire : Chambord, un château à choix multiples", Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles [Online], 12 | 2017, Online since 23 December 2017. Accessed 10 March 2023. URL: http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/14356; DOI: https://doi.org/10.4000/crcv.14356

"Chambord 2017," Domaine de Chambord, 2017. Dossier de Presse. PDF. Accessed online 31 March 2023. DOMAINE_CHAMBORD_DOSSIER_PRESENTATION_2017_ANGLAIS_BD.pdf

Dupuy, Hélène. Terroirs et mémoires. Généalogie d'un mythe national. In: Espaces Temps, 42, 1989. Racines, derniers temps. Les temps de l'identité, sous la direction de Yveline Lévy-Piarroux. pp. 23-30. DOI : https://doi-org.proxy1.library.virginia.edu/10.3406/espat.1989.3489

"En 1913, le Sénat votait la loi sur les monuments historiques," Sénat. Online. Accessed 8 April 2023. https://www.senat.fr/histoire/loi_sur_les_monuments_historiques.html

"Fiche pratique : Les jardins protégés au titre des monuments historiques et des autres legislations," Ministère de la Culture. 9 January 2021. Online. Accessed 31 March 2023. https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Thematiques/Monuments-Sites/Ressources/Les-fiches-pratiques/Fiche-pratique-Les-jardins-proteges-au-titre-des-monuments-historiques-et-des-autres-legislations

Harvey, David. The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry Into the Origins of Cultural Change. Oxford, England: Blackwell, 1989.

"History of the Latona Fountain," Château de Versailles. Online. Accessed 1 April 2023. http://latone.chateauversailles.fr/en/page/the-latona-fountain/history-of-the-latona-fountain

Hollande, François. "Inauguration des jardins au Château de Chambord," Press release, Ministère de la Culture et Communication. 20 March 2017. Transcript accessed online 3 April 2023. http://www.elysee.fr/declarations/article/inauguration-des-jardins-du-chambord/

Hunt, John Dixon. The Afterlife of Gardens. London: Reaktion, 2004.

"Le Château de Condé Est Un Lieu Où L'on Sent Vivre L'histoire," Château de Condé. January

2023. Online. Accessed 8 April 2023. https://www.chateaudeconde.fr/d%C3%A9couvrir/histoire-de-la-principaut%C3%A9-de-cond%C3%A9/

Morain, O and F. Faure. “Le réveil de Chambord : nouvel écrin des jardins à la française,” Franceinfo, 12 April 2017. Accessed 21 March 2023. Online. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/culture/patrimoine/le-reveil-de-chambord-nouvel-ecrin-des-jardins-a-la-francaise_3364857.html

Mukerji, Chandra. “Reading and Writing with Nature: Social Claims and the French Formal Garden.” Theory and Society 19, no. 6 (1990): 651–79. http://www.jstor.org/stable/657755.

Mukerji, Chandra. "Space and Political Pedagogy At the Gardens of Versailles." Public Culture, vol. 24, no. 3, 1 Sep. 2012, pp. 509 - 534.

“Nouveau jardins à la française,” Domaine de Chambord, 2017. Online. Accessed 1 April 2023. https://www.chambord.org/en/history/french-formal-gardens

Pattieu, Sylvain. “La ‘Vie de Château’ Ou Les Gains Symboliques Du Tourisme Populaire. France, 1945-Années 1980.” Revue d’histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-) 56, no. 2 (2009): 52–78. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20531709.

Philippe Poirrier. Heritage and cultural policy in France under the fifth republic, International Journal of Cultural Policy, 9:2, 215-225, 2003. DOI: 10.1080/1028663032000119251

Poulot, Dominique. L’historiographie dupatrimoine dans laFrancecontemporaine In Pellistrandi, Benoît, and Jean-François Sirinelli, ed. *L’histoire culturelle en France et en Espagne.* Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008. 105-125. Web. http://books.openedition.org/cvz/15088.

Taylor-Leduc, Susan B. Louis XVI's public gardens: The replantation of Versailles in the eighteenth century, The Journal of Garden History, 14:2, 67-91, 1994. DOI: 10.1080/01445170.1994.10412499

Thatcher, Mark (2018) State production of cultural nationalism: political leaders and preservation policies for historic buildings in France and Italy. Nations and Nationalism, 24 (1). pp. 64-87. ISSN 1354-5078

Roellinger, Mathilde. "Centenary of the French Law on Historic Monuments," Art Antiquity and Law 19, no. 4 (December 2014): 327-332

Sales, John. “Garden Restoration Past and Present.” Garden History 23, no. 1 (1995): 1–9. https://doi.org/10.2307/1587009.

Sinclair, Jill. “‘Recollections And Hopes’: People’s Perception Over Time of the Gardens at

Vaux Le Vicomte." Garden History 41, no. 1 (2013): 116–34. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24636007.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

"Soutien aux investissements dans les monuments historiques appartenant aux collectivités territoriales et aux propriétaires privés," Ministère de l'Économie, des Finances de la Souveraineté Industrielle et Numérique18 August 2021. Online. Accessed 8 April 2023. https://www.economie.gouv.fr/plan-de-relance/mesures/soutien-investissements-monuments-historiques

Watelet, Claude-Henri. Essai Sur Les Jardins. Réimpr. de l'éd. de Paris, 1774. ed. Genève: Minkoff Reprint, 1972.

Yengué, Jean Louis. Du château à la forêt: la place de la nature à Chambord. Revue forestière française, 2019, 71 (4-5 (Habitats forestiers et forêts Habitées)), pp.357-370. DOI: 10.4267/2042/70812.

Chapter 3

Ambroise-Rendu, Anne-Claude, et Stéphane Olivesi. « Du patrimoine à la patrimonialisation. Perspectives critiques », Diogène, vol. 258-259-260, no. 2-3-4, 2017, pp. 265-279.

Augé, Marc. Domaines et châteaux. Paris: Seuil, 1989

Bonnet, Alexandre. "Château de Montrond-les-Bains : réhabiliter pour reconstituer le passé," *Essor Loire*, 30 July 2022. https://www.journal-du-btp.com/chateau-de-montrond-les-bains-rehabiliter-pour-reconstituer-le-passe-111626.html (Accessed 21 February 2023)

Carroll, William. "Hegemony, Counter-hegemony, Anti-hegemony," https://socialiststudies.com/index.php/sss/article/view/23790

Cominelli, Francesca and Xavier Greffe, "L'économie politique du patrimoine culturel." In Situ. Au regard des sciences sociales, 1/2019, mis en ligne le 15 octobre 2019, URL : http://journals.openedition.org/insituarss/436

Coquet, Noémie. "Montrond-les-Bains : Une rénovation de taille prévue au château," *Essor Loire*, 26 August 2021. https://www.lessor42.fr/montrond-les-bains-une-renovation-de-taille-prevue-au-chateau-27296.html (Accessed 6 February 2023)

De Saint-Pulgent Maryvonne. Sujétions et privilèges de l'Etat collectionneur : de la loi de 1913 sur les monuments historiques à la loi de 1992 sur la circulation des biens culturels. In: *Revue de l'Art*, 1993, n°101. pp. 63-66. www.persee.fr/doc/rvart_0035-1326_1993_num_101_1_348060

Hartog, François and Saskia Brown. Regimes of Historicity: Presentism and Experiences of Time. Columbia University Press, 2015. https://doi.org/10.7312/hart16376.

Heinich, Nathalie. Introduction. L'inflation patrimoniale. In La fabrique du patrimoine: « De la cathédrale à la petite cuillère ». Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 2009. doi:10.4000/books.editionsmsh.2647

Houbart, Claudine. "Identical Reconstruction and Heritage Authenticity." *S.A.V.E. Heritage: Saveguard of Architectural, Visual, Environmental Heritage,* 2011. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/259755749_Identical_Reconstruction_and_Heritage_Authenticity

Kowalski, Alexandra. "The Nation, Rescaled: Theorizing the Decentralization of Memory in Contemporary France." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 2 (2012): 308–31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41428500.

Lecoq Anne-Marie. Le patrimoine dénaturé. In: Revue de l'Art, 1993, n°101. pp. 41-51. DOI: https://doi-org.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/10.3406/rvart.1993.348056

Leniaud, Jean-Michel. "Affaires Culturelles et Culture: L'Etat, les Sociétés Savantes et les Associations de Défense du Patrimoine : L'Exception Française." La Revue Administrative 50, no. 295 (1997): 53–61. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40774259.

"Les amis du château ont inauguré le jardin medieval," Le Progrès, 06 June 2016. Online. Accessed 8 April 2023. https://www.leprogres.fr/loire/2016/06/06/les-amis-du-chateau-ont-inaugure-le-jardin-medieval

"Les politiques du patrimoine en France," Vie-publique.fr. Published 14 September 2022. Online. Accessed 21 February 2023. https://www.vie-publique.fr/parole-dexpert/286217-les-politiques-du-patrimoine-en-france-code-du-patrimoine-monuments

Maior-Barron, Denise. Let Them Eat Macarons? Dissonant heritage of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 25:2, 198-218, 2019. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2018.1475411

McSweeney, John. The absence of class: Critical development, NGOs and the misuse of Gramsci's concept of counter-hegemony. *Progress in Development Studies*, *14*(3), 275–285, 2014. https://doi-org.proxy01.its.virginia.edu/10.1177/1464993414521339

Montagnier, Rodolphe. "À Montrond-les-Bains, les Amis du château, s'estimant 'chassés' par la mairie, partiront 'avec tout, même la cheminée,'" Le Pays, 27 February 2023, accessed 27 February 2023. https://www.le-pays.fr/montrond-les-bains-42210/actualites/a-montrond-les-bains-les-amis-du-chateau-s-estimant-chasses-par-la-mairie-partiront-avec-tout-meme-la-cheminee_14268776/

Morel, Alain, “Identité et patrimoine”, Civilisations, 42-2, 1993, 65-75. http://journals.openedition.org/civilisations/2296

Nicolai, Joseph. "Rewiring UNESCO's World Heritage Centre and Rural Peripheries: Imagined Community and Concrete Inequality From France's Corsica to China's Heyang." *International journal of communication* [Online] (2017): 4541+. *Gale Literature Resource Center* (accessed February 9, 2023).

Nora, Pierre. *Présent, Nation, mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 2011.

Nora, Pierre. Recherches De La France. Paris: Gallimard, 2013.

Nora, Pierre, and Lawrence D. Kritzman. Realms of Memory. English-language ed. / edited and with a foreword by Lawrence D. Kritzman. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996.

Pendlebury, John & Townshend, Tim & Gilroy, Rose. The Conservation of English Cultural Built Heritage: A Force for Social Inclusion? International Journal of Heritage Studies. 10. 11-31, 2004. 10.1080/1352725032000194222.

Periáñez, Albarrán José David. 2022. “Three Significances of the Notion Heritage: A Study of the Dissonance between Institutionalization, Tourism Image and Social Perceptions in Rural Areas.” Pasos: Revista de Turismo y Patrimonio Cultural 20 (1): 101–22. doi:10.25145/j.pasos.2022.20.007.

“Plan de Relance,” Ministère de la Culture, 2020. Communique de Presse. 3 September 2020. Accessed online 8 April 2023. Downloaded from https://www.culture.gouv.fr/Presse/Communiques-de-presse/Plan-de-relance-un-effort-de-2-milliards-d-euros-pour-la-Culture

Robertson, Iain J. M. Heritage From Below. Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012.

Skinner, Patricia, ed. The Medieval and Early Modern Garden In Britain: Enclosure and Transformation, C. 1200-1750. New York: Routledge, 2018.

Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. New York: Routledge, 2006.

“Une opportunité économique et d’attractivité pour le monde rural,” Agence Nationale de la Cohésion des Territoires, 8 July, 2021. Accessed 21 February 2023. https://agence-cohesion-territoires.gouv.fr/une-opportunite-economique-et-dattractivite-pour-le-monde-rural-564

Urry, John. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. London: Sage Publications, 2002.

Conclusion

Apaydin, Veysel. Critical Perspectives on Cultural Memory and Heritage: Construction, Transformation and Destruction. London: UCL Press, 2020. DOI: https://doi. org/10.14324/111.9781787354845

Kowalski, Alexandra. "The Nation, Rescaled: Theorizing the Decentralization of Memory in Contemporary France." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 54, no. 2, 2012: 308–31. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41428500.

Nora, Pierre. *Présent, Nation, mémoire*. Paris: Gallimard, 2011.

Smith, Laurajane & Gary Campbell. 'Nostalgia for the future': memory, nostalgia and the politics of class, International Journal of Heritage Studies, 23:7, 612-627, 2017. DOI: 10.1080/13527258.2017.1321034