

2015

PETIT TRIANON AND MARIE ANTOINETTE: REPRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION, PERCEPTION

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<http://hdl.handle.net/10026.1/3930>

<http://dx.doi.org/10.24382/3684>

Plymouth University

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**PETIT TRIANON AND MARIE ANTOINETTE:
REPRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION, PERCEPTION**

by

DENISE CRISTINA IOANA MAIOR-BARRON

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University
in partial fulfilment for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

School of Tourism and Hospitality, Faculty of Business

In collaboration with
Château de Versailles, France

April 2015

Author's Declaration for PhD Submission

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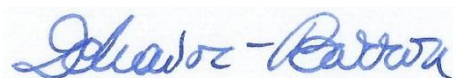
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Acknowledgements

There have been so many individuals who have contributed to this thesis and I would like to thank them all.

Firstly, my grandparents, Maria and Nicolae Maior, to whom I make a special dedication, alongside three close acquaintances who taught me the importance of art and architecture: painters Alexandrina Paiu, Nina Stuparu and architect Boris Stuparu, a very special guide on my first visit to Paris back in the early 1990s.

My former European Heritage Masters tutor, Professor Peter J. Howard, an academic who greatly inspired me. It was Professor Howard together with Professora Ascensión Hernández Martínez, under whose supervision I completed museology studies as part of my Master's Degree at the University of Zaragoza (Spain), who supported my PhD enrolment with Plymouth University.

My former PhD supervisors Professor Daniel Maudlin (School of History/Art History) and Professor Robert Brown (School of Architecture) who brought their invaluable expertise on their particular fields.

Dr Graham Busby and Professor Paul Brunt, my current supervisors, to whom I express a special Thank You, for having had the courage to take over my PhD supervision during the final stages of my research when all the data collection was completed and my rather unconventional thesis was half written. I am so grateful for their clear insight into the direction of my thesis.

A special recognition and infinite gratitude goes to all the professionals at the *Château de Versailles* who continued to be both mentors and great supporters of my endeavours. During my internships at *Château de Versailles*, I was fortunate enough to have available the expertise of Petit Trianon Head Curator Jérémie Benoît, Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin, 18th century Decorative Arts Curator Pierre-Xavier Hans and last but not least the invaluable Head Librarian Marie-Laëtitia Lachèvre, whose documentation proficiency proved to be second to none. I would also like to thank all the other *Château de Versailles* professionals who helped me during my two years spent there and since returning to the UK. Head Archivist Karine McGrath and her assistants at the *La Petite Ecurie*, Art Historian Olivier Delahaye in charge of the Petit Trianon inventory, Mr Lionel Dupont from the Statistics Department, Librarian Delphine

Valmalle and Head of Documentation of the *Centre de Recherche* Gérard Robaut, as well as interns of *Château de Versailles*, Art History graduates Cécile-Marie André, Audrey Vidoni, Nadia Francaviglia and Alexandre Laval. There are so many others working for *Château de Versailles* who always made me feel so welcome. I need to single out the very capable receptionists Françoise Billoux and Lena Kamoise. I express my gratitude to all those members of the security staff at Petit Trianon who always showed me kindness during the long hours spent interviewing visitors at the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*. Their devotion to Marie Antoinette is to be commended, being true keepers of her legacy at Petit Trianon.

A special thank you for helping me with the translation of my questionnaires goes to: Ms Silva Forapani, Mr Yann Le Petit, Mme Makiko Ichikawa, my former Masters colleague and friend from University of Zaragoza (Spain), Pilar Bernad Esteban, my niece Luisa Botta and Mr Hitoshi Onodera, graduate in Applied Linguistics from City University London, for his invaluable help with Japanese language subtleties and with translations of various Japanese media sources.

Mr Mark Tramontana - Australian national living in Japan - for having shared with me details of his own research, regarding the psychic event experienced by Miss C.A.E. Moberly and Miss E.F. Jourdain at the Petit Trianon in 1901, and for his own observations concerning the general perception of Marie Antoinette in Japan.

Mr Adrian Rozei, a notable 18th century art aficionado and true Parisian *flâneur* whose passion for the art, architecture and culture of this century, was always a true inspiration, and with whom I visited important Parisian sites connected to this period. A family friend for decades together with his late father, Professor Ionel Rozei - who kindly accompanied me and Petruca on my first visit to Versailles in the early 1990s - they have my gratitude for their infectious enthusiasm towards art and heritage.

Whilst living in Versailles, I have met many authors and authorities on Marie Antoinette and I am grateful to all of them for their time and invaluable observations. Particular thanks to Professor Annie Duprat whose support secured my access to the *Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution française (Université Paris I - Panthéon-Sorbonne)*, and also to the Institute's Librarian, Mme Marilyn Delbès. To Marie Antoinette's Biographer Simone Bertièrre, Historian and Author Patricia Bouchenot-Déchin, Author Chantal Thomas, Secretary and Co-Founder of the *Association Marie-Antoinette*, Mme Michèle Lorin who greatly added to my own understanding of the contemporary perceptions associated with the last Queen of France.

Amongst other notable connections I am grateful to have made during my PhD research is Dr Charlie Mansfield, Lecturer at the School of Tourism (Plymouth University). Since having met Dr Mansfield for the first time in Paris in 2010, he introduced me to the exciting projects of the School of Tourism, amongst these, the 2011 French-English Conference on built heritage and tourism which resulted in a prestigious publication. I would like to thank Dr Mansfield for his support and for our many discussions which sometimes resulted in heated arguments. Equally, I need to deeply thank my colleague and friend from the School of Architecture (Plymouth University), Ioana C. Popovici (Architect and PhD candidate), who helped me focus some of my ideas through our numerous discussions since 2012. Ioana was also proof-reader of my entire thesis, a task for which I am truly grateful.

A valuable input came from Mary-Eileen Russell (writer pseudonym - Elena Maria Vidal), American Historian, Marie Antoinette Author and Founder of *Tea at Petit Trianon* blog. I would like to take the opportunity of thanking her for having kindly answered all my questions. Two other American nationals who greatly helped me with my investigation into Marie Antoinette perceptions, are Composer/lyricist Cardozie Jones and Playright Joseph Vigliotti. I am grateful to both for listening to my opinions on Marie Antoinette following our meeting in 2012, and having enlisted me as the first contributor to her portrayal in their musical production performed at the 2014 New York Musical Theatre Festival (<http://www.madameinfamy.com/#!/contributors/c23jq>). Equally, I would like to thank all those who shared with me their fascination for Marie Antoinette, out of which a special mention goes to Mr Christopher Davies, British architectural historian whose invaluable testimonial forms part of the thesis analysis.

Over the past year, whilst presenting my research to academic audiences, I had the pleasure in meeting many exceptional academics and practitioners in the field of heritage studies. The work and passion shared by these individuals was a true inspiration. I would like to thank them all for providing such inspiration and exchange of ideas: Senior Lecturers in Cultural Heritage Dr Matthew W. Rofe (University of South Australia) and Dr Linda Young (Deakin University), to whom I am particularly indebted for having entrusted me with the unpublished first chapter of her incoming much anticipated book on historical house museums; Emeritus Professor in Architecture Radoslav Zuk (McGill University, Canada); Architect Ricardo Rodrigues; the exceptional Conservator Ian Fraser (Leeds Museums and Galleries Service, UK); Natural Heritage expert geologist Dr Stefan Rosendahl (University of Lusófona - Lisbon, Portugal); enthusiastic PhD cultural heritage candidates Marta Marçal C. S. Gonçalves (University of Sevilla, Spain), Laura Demeter (University of Lucca, Italy),

Elitsa Bozhkova (University of Valencia, Spain) and Sandra Reinstädler (Brandenburg University of Technology Cottbus-Senftenberg, Germany); last but not least, the Historic Royal Palaces (HRP) British heritage professionals, Chief Executive Michael Day and Conservation & Learning Director John Barnes.

Finally, the Acknowledgements would not be completed without mentioning my friends and family members who should know how grateful I am for their continued support. Without any particular order I am addressing these thoughts to Emil, Rodi, Carmen, Mona, Armando, Beri, Lulu, Cristiana, Cosmin, Andreea, Florin, Doru, Claudiu, Laura, Marina, Silvia, Serban, Ana, Willa, Graeme, Danut, Dana, Laure, Laet, Anca, Boris, Petruca and, of course, Richie, who never doubted my ability and was a tower of strength through the toughest times, also an inspiration, nurse, driver, cook, transport co-ordinator, editor, IT consultant, 'step & fetch it' and generally a 'fixer'. They have all helped me in crucial moments during my five years of research and some, even beforehand, preparing the way for such an important change in my life's direction.

Abstract

This interdisciplinary thesis belongs to Marie Antoinette studies. The contemporary dissonant commodification of the controversial historical character of the last Queen of France, detected at her former home, Petit Trianon, drives the course of the thesis research. Considering the complexity and controversy of the subject, the thesis seeks to make a contribution to extant scholarship by clarifying important modern history issues through a fresh approach: by using art history as an indicator in assessing the historical truth of the narrative of Petit Trianon, the residence identified as home to the last Queen of France.

The thesis examines Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in the context of four major narratives - the historical, cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives - relevant to the contemporary heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon as well as its visitor perceptions. In addition to sourcing evidence for the arguments originating in art history information, the thesis relies on the data collection provided by a tailor-made survey for the topic, placing the results in the wider context of a hermeneutical interpretation of data found in either history or contemporary popular culture. The array of Marie Antoinette's images detected by the analysis charts the commodification of this historical character at Petit Trianon: its production and consumption.

It is through the assessment of this commodification that the present thesis reveals the misconceptions surrounding the historical character best known as Marie Antoinette. The thesis argues that the true role of the last Queen of France was successfully obscured through juxtaposition with her perception by the French collective memory. In other words, the perception of Marie Antoinette had subverted historical truth. Furthermore, the commodification of her historical character is perpetuated in an endless chain of representations fuelled by postmodern consumerism.

Key Words

Marie Antoinette, Petit Trianon, The French Revolution, The French Third Republic, National Identity, Cultural Heritage, Media, Tourism, Hermeneutics, Qualitative Research, the Romantic Tourist Gaze, Narratives, Visitor Perceptions, Postmodern Visual Cultural Consumption, Heritage Authenticity, Heritage Commodification

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Originality and Scholarly Contribution

The thesis examines Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in the context of four major narratives that are relevant to the contemporary heritage interpretation of the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette* as well as its perception by the majority of its visitors. Fieldwork research has detected these to be the historical, cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette. The Estate is part of the *Château de Versailles* UNESCO heritage site, and has recently been subjected to a restoration and renaming as the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, designed to strengthen its identity as home to the last Queen of France.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 1.1: The 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon - the indicator for the objective assessment of the role played by Marie Antoinette

The key concerns of the thesis lie in the visual production and appropriation of cultural heritage, with analyses placed within art history and popular culture providing support for charting the contemporary dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon. The originality of the thesis resides particularly in its first aim: to evaluate the contemporary range of images portraying Marie Antoinette's historical character, relevant to the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon and its visitor perceptions. The evaluation is set against an understanding of the living environment she created - the 18th century Estate of Petit Trianon (Plate 1.1). Although the working concepts that will make this evaluation possible constantly refer to the 'image' of Marie Antoinette, the analysis, in attempting to objectively portray this Enlightened (Todorov, 2009) Monarch, intends to establish the factual reality behind the image. The evaluation further supports the fulfilment of the thesis second aim: to analyse the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character; its production and consumption at Petit Trianon.

Given the complexity and controversy of the subject, the thesis seeks to make a contribution to scholarship by clarifying important heritage issues of the modern era through the case study of Petit Trianon. The reason for focusing the argument through a heritage analysis is that the chosen historic architectural site represents, above all, a unique case of cultural heritage with a very intricate narrative structure. Analysing the causes, implications, and forces behind the narratives involved offers a better understanding of Petit Trianon, its former owner, but also of the context of French cultural heritage in conjunction with the construction of national identity during the French Third Republic, based on the myths of the French Revolution.

The academic field of the thesis lies in cultural heritage studies with focus on language systems (representation) in the context of space production and visibility (interpretation and perception). Contemporary issues related to heritage interpretation and the commodification of heritage for tourism consumption play a central role in the analysis. Consequently, despite the importance of the architectural narrative in providing evidence for the arguments of the thesis, the focus of the analysis is primarily located in the field of cultural heritage and tourism studies.

Aims, Objectives and Research Question

Aim 1 (A1) - To evaluate the contemporary range of images portraying Marie Antoinette's historical character, relevant to the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon and visitor perceptions

Objective 1 (O1) - To analyse the representations of Marie Antoinette

Objective 2 (O2) - To assess the impact of differing narratives of Marie Antoinette on visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon

Aim 2 (A2) - To analyse the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character: its production and consumption at Petit Trianon

Objective 3 (O3) - To classify the images of Marie Antoinette resulting in the commodification of this historical figure

Objective 4 (O4) - To analyse the visitor consumption of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon

Research Question (RQ):

What factors are responsible for the contemporary commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, and who are the producers and the consumers of this commodification at Petit Trianon?

UNESCO inscribed the heritage site of the Palace of Versailles in 1979. The second most visited museum in the world after the Louvre (UNWTO 2013 Report), Versailles remains a symbol of the French Monarchy, mainly represented by two historical characters: Louis XIV or the Sun King, the founder of the Royal Court of Versailles since the end of the 17th century, and Marie Antoinette, the last Queen of France who reigned at the end of the 18th century.

Despite the fact that both figures belong to the *Ancien Régime*, the first is generally regarded in a positive light, whereas the latter is renowned as iniquitous. This ubiquitous *cliché*, deeply rooted in French collective memory, was the initial instigator to the present analysis which attempts to dispel many myths surrounding this perception, by unpacking the narrative of Petit Trianon, the residence identified as the home *par excellence* to Marie Antoinette.

The controversy surrounding the historical character of the last Queen of France provided motivation for the research project. To fulfil the first aim of the analysis (see A1) - the thesis needs to analyse the representations of Marie Antoinette (O1). In order to achieve this on a practical level, all collected data are filtered *via* assessment, in the final thesis chapters (Chapters 7, 8), against the impact of each of the four investigated narratives on the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon (O2), along with the emergent images of Marie Antoinette resulting in the commodification of this historical figure. The results of the assessment establish the ranked prevalence of these main narratives within the perception of the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon, enabling not only the detection of the range of contemporary images associated with Marie Antoinette (A1) but also an explanation for the existence of these images, which supports the second aim of the thesis and its objectives (see A2; O3; O4).

In order to answer the thesis Research Question (see RQ), the analysis establishes first the historical parameters which led to this commodification. Furthermore, as the commodification detected by the research proved to be of a dissonant nature (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996), the thesis highlights the dissonance aspects generating this commodification, as well as its production and consumption. As revealed by fieldwork research, the cultural heritage

associated with the French Revolution is in dissonance with the cultural heritage defining Marie Antoinette's historical figure, the two impinging onto each other.

Through its analysis, the thesis explores at ontological level, *via* the cultural heritage represented by Petit Trianon, as home to Marie Antoinette, the paradox of modernity's self-construction - in contradiction with itself by means of manipulation, re-creation and distortion of its history (Chapters 2, 4, 5, 6, 7). It should be emphasised that the entire research project is placed under the sign of this paradox of modernity, which, from the point of view of the thesis, could be explained through:

‘the inherent nature of the modern nation state whose birth is attributed to the French Revolution by following the idea according to which the Enlightenment equally gave rise to a cultural and political agenda which increasingly found acceptance within the European aristocratic and royal environment of the 18th century, as well as to the anti-aristocratic/anti-royalist aims and movements that would ultimately bring down these archaic institutions across most part of Europe’ (Brown, pers. comm., 2011).

To this end, it is necessary to examine the duality of acceptance/rejection of the Enlightenment, persistent in contemporary French collective memory (Todorov, 2009, 2010; Baker & Reill, 2001) by primarily assessing how Marie Antoinette's historical character became, and continues to embody the negative image of the French Monarchy/ *Ancien Régime* since the 1780s. Given that her role has been highly debated even before her reign, as a consequence of the Austrian-French alliance treaty (1754) (see Kaiser, 2000; 2003a, b), the manipulation of her image starts to become clearer already. The French phobia of the Austrian created the premises for a rejection of a Queen whose legitimacy has been continuously undermined - initially by the Court, and finally by the public opinion - through means of violent propaganda (Gruder, 2002). Equally, Marie Antoinette's own endeavours in challenging some of the old precepts of the Court of Versailles *etiquette* (de Nolhac, 1898a, 1899a, 1925, 1927a, b), no longer concurrent with the social changes brought by the Enlightenment (Furet & Richet, 1973; Furet, 1978), are grossly ignored or continue to be misinterpreted and criticised as a result.

The identification of Marie Antoinette with the French Monarchy and, ironically, with an *Ancien Régime* whose social rules she sought to break (*via*

emancipation of the role of Queen of France), led to Revolutionary agents labouring to dismantle the ruling institution by targeting and destroying its most potent symbol: Marie Antoinette. In this context, her self-created environment at Petit Trianon, further completes the symbolic negative role attributed to the Queen through misinterpretation as a typical image of the royal/aristocratic disregard of a people whose living conditions contrasted markedly with their own.

By fulfilling the research aims, the thesis will prove that, this image stems from a Revolutionary propaganda strategy, further illuminating the image manipulation mentioned above, and consequently, the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character. To this end, the main focus lies in the analysis of visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon, assessed through fieldwork research. This is underpinned by the analysis of the images of Marie Antoinette and of Petit Trianon at their conception at the end of the 18th century, and their re-creation by the 19th century nationalist agenda of the French Third Republic.

Finally, the evidence provided by the research highlighted the direct impact of modernity's paradox on the fiction-reality relationship, within which it operates, more than ever, a reversal: fiction into reality, and *vice versa*. This effect could also be construed as another (postmodern this time) paradox: following the incessant re-creation and distortion of political images during the modern nationalist era, the contemporary corporatist and consumerist West is witnessing a constant multiplication of all images pertaining to diverse spheres - political, cultural, social or economic. As controversy and martyrdom have placed Marie Antoinette's image within a spectrum of cultural caricatures that range from taboo to iconic, the second aim of the research allows for an examination, through the heritage interpretation given to the site of Petit Trianon, of this paradox of modernity translated into postmodern terms - an uncontrolled perpetual multiplication of representational images having escaped the authority of their creators (Chapters 3, 8) - by charting the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character.

Conceptual and Methodology Delimitations

The main concepts (conceptual delimitations – CD) used throughout the analysis, must be delineated in order to ensure consistency of argument and a cohesive theoretical approach to the research subject.

The term of Cultural Heritage (CD1) is used in line with the UNESCO definition. Accordingly, the thesis adopts the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention acceptance of the term, which includes monuments, groups of buildings and sites (Jokhileto, 2005). It also takes into account the added dimension of the national level through the 1970 UNESCO Convention (Illicit Property) defining cultural heritage as a national state's cultural property. This refers not only to moveable, immoveable, tangible and intangible aspects of cultural heritage but also to the lives of national leaders (Jokhileto, 2005).

The concept of National Identity (CD2) refers to the modern notion of national identities formed as a result of the 19th century nationalism movements defined from a modernist perspective (Gellner, 1993a), rather than to the mediaeval understanding of the term, better known as the primordialist theory of nationalism (Llobera, 1996).

Through the concept of Tourism (CD3) it is understood Cultural Tourism as found in the 1976 ICOMOS Charter for Cultural Tourism (Jokhileto, 2005): in essence, the form of Tourism concerned with the discovery of monuments and sites.

The concept of Media (CD4) refers to all Media channels, from pamphlets and newspapers (Anderson, 1991) to film and even social media (Watson & Hill, 2006). Each chapter will specify which form of media is employed for each particular step of the analysis.

Following Barthes' (1966) structuralist approach adopted by the field research methodology informing the thesis (Maior-Barron, 2011), the Narratives (CD5) are threads of a storyline rather than a compilation of multiple stories (see also

Polkinghorne, 1988). The research of the thesis is also concerned with the associated element of 'Narrative meaning' (Denning, 2000).

Finally, the concept of Appropriation (CD6) denotes the appropriation of cultural heritage by the French Third Republic, an illegitimate, abusive manipulation of the historical past in an attempt to secure legitimacy for the Third Republic's political ideology (Hobsbawm, 1983; Lefebvre, 1991). This is the only connotation of *legitimacy* discussed in connection with Appropriation (CD6) throughout the thesis.

In order to clearly establish the research project's parameters, the following methodology delimitations (MD) were also required: firstly, it must be stressed that the analysis of the historical, cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives, provides data for the research rather than being a literature review of the sources relating to these subjects (MD1). This is the reason for which Chapters 5 and 6 dealing with these narratives only draw on certain sources. The choice of criteria was based upon the relevance which these sources have on the contemporary perception of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette.

Conducted under a hermeneutical paradigm (Chapter 4), the research analysis results are constantly evaluated for validity against the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon, sourced from architectural history in order to unearth the objective truth surrounding Marie Antoinette's historical character (MD2). The architecture narrative's indicator is identified in Petit Trianon at the time of its creation as the 18th century home to Marie Antoinette (MD3). It is however the comparison of the main elements of the historical, cinematic and architectural narratives, analysed against the contemporary heritage narrative of the site of Petit Trianon (MD4), which allows for an evaluation of the contemporary range of images portraying Marie Antoinette's historical character and its commodification at Petit Trianon.

The thesis will not identify the image of Marie Antoinette with the image of the site, the latter being only incidentally used as supporting evidence in proving the artificial construction of the former (MD5). Consequently, the image of the site of Petit Trianon provides data for the research analysis, being one of the research

variables along with the historical, cinematic and heritage narratives concerning Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette (MD1). Moreover, as the thesis focuses on the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon, resulted from the array of conflicting images of the last Queen of France (their production and consumption), the image of Petit Trianon assists this assessment, by substituting the physical site inasmuch as the commodification of Marie Antoinette substitutes her historical figure within the process. Chapter 3 clarifies the aspects concerning the tourist consumption of representations.

The thesis assesses the image of Marie Antoinette as generated solely by the four noted narratives, which field research evidence has indicated as relevant in the production and consumption of the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon. Negative evidence confirming the validity of focusing the analysis primarily on the narratives mentioned above is provided by observations punctuating the analyses contained by Chapters 5 and 6. Accordingly, the image of the Queen conveyed by the Romantic literature of the 19th century such as Alexandre Dumas' novels was found to have no direct impact on the majority's perception. Nevertheless, it did serve as source for various later media productions that added to the ambiguity of this historical character's portrayal nowadays. Equally, Marie Antoinette's image found in painting history has influenced only specialists in the field such as the art curators of the museum.

The Fieldwork Research Method and Evidence

Qualitative data collection via questionnaire-led survey at Petit Trianon

The choice of qualitative type survey was based on preliminary field research, which revealed archival and library material analysis to be insufficiently viable methods for disentangling the complexities of the general contemporary perception of Marie Antoinette. Decoding contemporary visitor perceptions of the heritage site of Petit Trianon integrated traditional methods and critical qualitative research (see Chapter 4).

The questionnaire-led survey (November and December 2010 pilot test) used a sample of 52 randomly selected visitors, including 22 French nationals. During the first stage of interviews (January-April 2011), the sample increased by 199 respondents: French-84; American-34; Japanese-26; 55-other. The second stage (November 2011 - July 2012), held during peak visiting days (low and high season), brought up the number of respondents to 100 (French) and 50 (American; Japanese). As the perceptions of Marie Antoinette and the site of Petit Trianon formed by French, American and Japanese visitors proved, after the first stage, the most relevant for the research goal of revealing the links between their cultural/background agenda and their decoding of heritage sites messages, the investigation focused on these three nationalities. Pilot test (Brunt, 1997) and first stage results indicated an association between the respondents' art and art history background and their consistently positive perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character. Sampling for the last stage excluded these respondents, in order to better reflect the perception of majority groups.

Responses were interpreted in relation to *a priori* theming for each investigative question topic, consequently establishing the main patterns of perception (Saldaña, 2013). Once these reached saturation (Richards, 2009) for each nationality (by the end of the first stage), the following responses were used to confirm the validity of the research working hypothesis (Chelcea et al., 1998). Chapter 4 provides more depth and detail regarding the methodological approach adopted.

Chapter Content

Part I. Academic Field - Theoretical Background and Literature Review

For theoretical background, the thesis considers Petit Trianon to be one of the most representative 'places of memory' defined by Pierre Nora (1986). This seminal heritage study is interspersed throughout Chapters 2 and 3, regularly prompting the discussions arising from other chosen theories.

Chapter 2 represents a contextual theoretical chapter for the four major narratives analysed by the thesis, subscribing to the stance of a rehabilitative history narrative. To this end, the chapter clarifies the wider context of the evolution of 'places of memory' throughout history, by using the nationalist theories analysing the rift between the Royal/Christian tradition and the new 'religion' of nationalism. Anderson (1991), Hobsbawm (1983; 1992) and Bourdieu (1984) are the authors whose views generate the classic testimony for this particular argument of the thesis.

The complexity of the French Revolution's subject and its sensitive nature, determined the need for a brief review of its historiography. Whilst debate on the topic is still ongoing, the silenced voices of those who were eliminated from the political arena by the French Revolution, are starting to make their side of the story known. Thus, Chapter 2 also provides a literature review of investigations of these unknown aspects of the story, which slowly establish a rehabilitative trend of history. This opens the way to a further discussion about dissonant heritage applied to the case study of Petit Trianon in Chapter 6.

Chapter 3 links the concept of 'places of memory' with authors whose views anchor them into the present time (Lefebvre, 1991; Urry, 1990; 1995; 2002). Furthermore, the chapter contains a literature review related to the main theoretical issues discussed by the thesis: heritage commodification and authenticity in the context of heritage industry. The heritage authenticity definition is chosen over others through a correspondence of principles with those ascribed to by the heritage authorities in charge of Petit Trianon's interpretation and its recent 2008 restoration. The literature review concerning

the heritage industry is supported by thesis research: fieldwork evidence and observations concerning the perception of authenticity by the majority of the visitors at Petit Trianon. These observations take into account the perspective of Urry's 'tourist Romantic gaze' as one of the main factors responsible for the commodification of contemporary heritage sites. Throughout the thesis, this model offers the sole perspective on authenticity, and is validated by research analysis. Other forms of authenticity are only incidentally reviewed in this chapter (see also Chapters 7, 8 and 9).

Last but not least, Chapter 3 includes an overview of a range of sites aimed at tourist consumption. Spanning across heritage authenticity, they are found on a self-generating cycle between authenticity and commodification of cultural heritage (Table 3.1). Such an overview is essential in completing the picture of the position reserved nowadays to places of memory such as Petit Trianon. Ultimately it is the perception by their most important consumer, the contemporary tourist, which anchors the 'place of memory' (Nora, 1986) into postmodernity. Examining these issues of the postmodern society provides a better understanding of the 2008 extensive restoration of Petit Trianon with its strategies, demands and issues, as detailed in Chapter 6.

Part II. Methodological Framework

The second part of the thesis clarifies issues pertaining to the theoretical background, by streaming all the previously analysed contexts into a framework of ideas which subsequently shape the field research methodology. Covering Chapter 4, the second part is meant to refine and provide a better understanding of the theoretical background of the thesis, including the theoretical pathways yielding evidence for its final assessment.

Chapter 4, the Methodological Framework of the thesis, is structured into 4 sections presenting the hermeneutical methodology used for analysing the representation, interpretation and perception of the site of Petit Trianon; preliminary methods of investigation used for constructing the project's working hypothesis; qualitative research conducted at the site of Petit Trianon including the thesis author's fieldwork research ethnographic elements; finally, the presentation of a critical model developed as an overview of the entire discussion built upon the academic field, literature review and methodological framework of the thesis.

The hermeneutical principles of intersecting a polysemy of meanings support the choice of methods employed by the research, including the library and archive research selection and interpretation (Scott, 1990). Furthermore, through thematic analysis (Boyatzis, 1998; Saldaña, 2013), a hermeneutical research paradigm underpins the methodology used for interpreting the visitor discourses at Petit Trianon.

This research paradigm is complemented at a theoretical level, by utilising Ricoeur's (2004) hermeneutical analysis of the uncanniness of Nora's (1986) 'places of memory' in conjunction with Halbwachs's (1980) 'collective memory', the two key theories supporting the analysis of the production and consumption of Marie Antoinette's commodification, through the power of *clichés*. This is analysed in detail in Chapter 8, which brings together the thesis methodology and its research findings.

Part III. Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette - Four Major Narratives

Part III analyses the four major narratives of Petit Trianon relevant to the site's management presentation, curatorial interpretation, and contemporary visitor perceptions. This analysis provides data for the research rather than being a literature review (see MD1).

Chapter 5 gathers data collected through the hermeneutical analysis (Scott, 1990) of the relevant sources composing the historical and cinematic narratives associated to the historical figure of Marie Antoinette. This chapter analyses first the public image of the last Queen of France as conveyed by the relevant French historical works found to date, including an evaluation of the 18th century Revolutionary pamphlets and their effect on Marie Antoinette's image. The 20th century and contemporary biographers of Marie Antoinette, who have had a direct influence over various cinematic narratives as sources of inspiration, are central to this chapter's analysis.

Chapter 5 continues to investigate the cinematic narrative surrounding Marie Antoinette. The field research proved this study to be fundamental, as the American and the Japanese visitors in particular use popular culture media sources as reference points for their perception of the site and its former owner. The first cinematic production considered is that of Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* (2006). A key point to consider is that, while Coppola's film was arguably not appreciated by the French public, it has attracted a lot of interest in the Queen's *Domaine* and life. The *Château de Versailles'* management foresaw and seized the opportunity to strengthen and further promote the site's image, whilst also planning the actual refurbishment of the building of Petit Trianon completed in 2008. The other media source composing the cinematic narrative of the thesis is that of Riyoko Ikeda's *manga La Rose de Versailles* (1972), which has had a great influence not only on the way that the Japanese public regards the site of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, but also became part of a social phenomenon of women's emancipation in 1970s Japan.

Chapter 6 provides the data collected through the hermeneutical analysis (Mugerauer, 1995) of the architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon

contained by the contemporary heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon, following its 2008 restoration. The chapter focuses, in parallel, on the principles guiding the heritage interpretation of the site as well as various issues connected to the heritage industry and its links with tourism. Furthermore, through the analysis of the 2008 extensive restoration of Petit Trianon which marked a definite change in both the ways in which the site was interpreted as well as its perception by the visiting public, the chapter elucidates two major issues from a heritage interpretation perspective: how dissonant heritage was handled by those in charge of the interpretation of Petit Trianon, and where has this restoration placed it within the range of sites spanning across heritage authenticity aimed at tourist consumption analysed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 7 interprets the results of the fieldwork research method consequently streamed into an assessment of the perception of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon as generated by the discourse of various sections of the visiting public. The chapter focuses on the contemporary perception of the site, by building upon the results of the fieldwork research method supported by the ethnographic study on 'imaginary social worlds' (Caughey, 1984).

The thesis' fieldwork research method was developed to answer questions regarding the perception of the heritage site of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette. Moreover, it focused on ascertaining the prevalence of the four major narratives (historical, cinematic, architectural, heritage) relevant for the site's contemporary interpretation and perception. Chapter 7 is dedicated to the analysis of visitors' discourse, while Chapter 8 picks up said prevalence for the final, comparative analysis of the thesis (see MD4).

It is, therefore, Chapter 8 that contains the comparative assessment of the historical, cinematic and architectural narratives of the thesis against the heritage narrative, by taking each of the former three narratives' main elements and juxtaposing them onto the context of the latter. By operating this juxtaposition, the chapter evaluates the prevailing narrative in the context of the site's perception, thereby discovering the emerging range of images associated with the last Queen of France by the majority of contemporary visitors. Chapter 8 also seeks to detect the reasons behind the formation of such images as well

as the processes that led to the unintentional strengthening of some of them, which resulted in the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon.

At the same time, Chapter 8 assesses the postmodern paradox which makes the subject of the ontological analysis of the thesis, by referring back to some of its underpinning theories and complementing them with semiotic, structuralist and post-structuralist approaches concerning the encoding and decoding of postmodern images (Barthes, 1972; Baudrillard, 1994; Eco, 1986; Hall, 1997) all supported by the ethnographic study on 'imaginary social worlds' (Caughey, 1984) intended to refine the research findings of Chapter 7.

The analysis of the narratives in tandem illustrates a better picture for drawing conclusions for the whole study of the image range associated with Marie Antoinette resulting in the commodification of her historical figure at Petit Trianon. It is through the assessment of the incessant manipulation of these images of the last Queen of France, since her reign, that the present thesis reveals the misconceptions surrounding the historical character best known as Marie Antoinette.

Part I

Academic Field - Theoretical Background

Chapter 2

The Symbolic Value of 'Places of Memory' in the Nationalist Era of the French Third Republic

Introduction

The present chapter represents a contextual theoretical chapter for the historical, cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette. The differing agendas and their underlying causes required the following analysis, which subscribes to the stance of a rehabilitative history narrative. This is construed through the prism of well-established British and French theories on nationalism (Hobsbawm, 1983; Nora, 1986; Anderson, 1991; Gellner, 1993a, b) which challenged in the past three decades, previous readings of dogmatic historical discourses. This theoretical background is relevant to cultural heritage studies which explore the relationship between Heritage and Power. With said relationship identified as the root of the heritage commodification for tourist consumption detected at Petit Trianon, the analysis of the present chapter prepares the way for Chapter 3 which further provides the theoretical background relevant to issues of heritage commodification and authenticity.

The theoretical background - equating a conceptual framework in alternative terminology - informs the Heritage and Power relationship arguments of the thesis, considering Petit Trianon to be one of the most representative heritage cases of historian Pierre Nora's theory of '*les lieux de mémoire*'/'places of memory'. Nora's magisterial study, interspersed throughout the academic field covered by Chapters 2 and 3, provides the main theoretical background of the thesis. His contribution to the understanding of the modern concept of cultural heritage represents a pivotal theoretical source, chosen for its brave challenging of modern French historical and heritage paradigms. The author's lifetime commitment to the development of an alternative approach to French culture representation earned Nora widespread recognition and a nomination at the

French Academy (Nora et al., 2002), which confirms this contribution to be the cornerstone of modern cultural heritage studies (Howard, 2001).

Chapter 2 illuminates the wider context of the symbolic value acquired by 'places of memory' during the nationalist era of the French Third Republic, by drawing on nationalist theories which analyse the rift between the Royal/Christian tradition and the new 'religion' of nationalism. The new political elites instated the latter with its own imagined (Anderson, 1991) or invented traditions (Hobsbawm, 1983) through abusive appropriation and manipulation of the old order's values (Bourdieu, 1984).

When history seems to have stopped in its natural course in order to make way for an interpretation or even re-construction of the past (stemming from the need to legitimise a present mainly defined in contrast to the past in term of political ideologies and circumstances), then history itself becomes heritage in the making - the main idea illustrated by Nora's theory presented by Chapter 2. This point of view circumscribes opposing theories regarding the legitimate birth of the modern concept of heritage, seen as culmination of the Enlightenment's ideas crystallised into the French Revolution itself.

The present thesis regards the modern concept of cultural heritage and the French national identity to which this is affiliated, as being artificially constructed through manipulation of historical discourse, starting with the very events of the French Revolution. For a better illustration of this intriguing dialectic, Chapter 2 leans on theories supporting the point of view of the imagined and respectively artificial construction of national identities (Anderson, 1991; Hobsbawm, 1983). These complement each other and offer a sound analytical basis for the above situation. Moreover, in order to explain the manipulation of cultural heritage by national identities in a bid for legitimation, the chapter focuses on the most relevant element involved in this manipulation process. This is the 'cultural capital' as found in the work of French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, in his seminal study *Distinction* (1984). It is by integrating this theory into the analysis that the thesis establishes the mechanisms behind the political, yet abusive appropriation of a certain 'cultural capital' by the French political elite of the Third Republic in an exercise of self-legitimation.

To achieve a better understanding of the views informing the theoretical background of the thesis, the conceptual context of the French Revolution and the modern nationalism associated with it must be outlined, as they underpin the thesis' arguments. To this end, Chapter 2 provides a brief overview of the main analysts and theories covering the French Revolution and its socio-political and economic reverberations until present times. The theoretical context of modern nationalism, which the present thesis argues to have been generated by the events of the French Revolution, is found in Ernest Gellner's (1993a; b) theory which represents the axis of this particular argument, around which gravitate the other nationalist analyses unpacked by Chapter 2.

Finally, Chapter 2 assembles a literature review of the main French authors attempting a rehabilitation of the past, dissonant from the Republican agenda's portrayal of French history. This is required as France's dissonant past is at the root of the contemporary dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character detected at Petit Trianon. Through the following analysis, Chapter 2 particularly helps achieve aim 1 (see A1) of the thesis, concerning objective 1 (see O1).

Founding *Les Lieux de Mémoire*

Starting with the analysis of Nora's concept of 'places of memory', the author defines his innovative term, attributing their existence to the end of what he describes as 'memory-history' (Nora, 1986: XVII). The chapter, 'Entre Mémoire et Histoire – La problématique des lieux',¹ explains how, through an acceleration of history and an increasingly rapid swing back to a past with little connection to the present - a past irretrievably lost - the natural equilibrium of history's course was shattered (Nora, 1986).

Building on this particular point of view, by means of further analysis, the thesis considers that the French Revolution was, in fact, the marker of the rift which occurred between the lived traditions, the natural development of history preceding the Revolution, and the artificial structures of the historical 'traditions' created in its aftermath. This argument is illustrated through Anderson's views on the imagined nature of national identities as well as Hobsbawm's theory on the artificial creation of the French national identity by the Third Republic.

Nora observes: 'Places of memory exist because there are not left any other environments for memory to manifest itself [translation mine]' (1986: XVII). The disappearance of traditions, of customs and ancestral norms, gives the individual an acute sense of self, without any continuity or affiliation to the past. Therefore, the memory of history becomes lost. Once this happens, places representing a concentration of memory provide a source of fascination for the past but also a material link, which gives the hope of a possible reincarnation of all that was lost. As the feeling of continuity becomes residual to places, the 'places of memory' come to life because there is no other environment left for memory to manifest itself.

Maurice Halbwachs' *Collective Memory* (1980; see also 1982) approached by the methodological framework of the thesis within Paul Ricoeur's hermeneutical paradigm of history (2004), supports Nora's take on the separation extant between tradition and history itself. As Halbwachs' (1980: 78) classic quote

¹ For the English version, see Nora (1996). Throughout the present thesis, I have used the French version, in my own translation.

states: 'history starts where tradition ends'. In fact, Ricoeur (2004) considers Halbwachs' work on collective memory based on tradition, as antithetic to historical memory.

On the other hand, once memory becomes detached from history, the latter transforms into an artificial construction itself, having been emptied of its 'affective and magical' dimension. This process is best understood through the differences between the 'lived-in' history of traditional societies and the dogma-ridden history of modernity (Nora, 1986: XVIII-XIX). What Nora calls the 'history of history' - or the awakening of a historiography consciousness – is the most visible sign of this process. As the author very astutely observes, in a country such as France, the 'history of history' cannot be an 'innocent operation'. Nora points out that, once a national constitutive event of the French, such as the Revolution, comes under question and critical analysis, even if only by a small number of French historians, the nation no longer completely identifies with the heritage defined by the French Revolution - equating, needless to say, with French tradition itself. By extension, the thesis would argue that a 'tradition' generating event coming under question could be indicative of the event's initial, artificial construction.

For a nation state such as France, built on the basis of its cultural heritage, this situation indicates a genuine crisis. Furthermore, the last incarnation of this now lost 'memory-history' was the 'nation memory'. Once the latter has been challenged by the French society's ideological crisis of the 1930s (shifting the accent placed by history from the right to the left of the political spectrum), nationalism as a determinant attribute of the bourgeoisie also fell under the challenge of an increasing proletarian internationalism. A new focus on the societal level rather than national level heralds the transition from Nation State to the Society State (Nora, 1986).

Hobsbawm's views on the invention of traditions fully support the above arguments. Nora himself acknowledged the important contribution brought by Hobsbawm's essay to the understanding of 'places of memory' (Nora, 2011a). Regarding the particular inventions of traditions by the Third Republic on the basis of the French Revolution, Nora observes that the Republican memory

created as such, was authoritarian, unitary, exclusivist, universal and intensively retrospective.

Another important factor confirming the artificiality of the creation of national identities through manipulation of cultural heritage is counter-memory, to which Nora dedicates a separate section in his first volume, *La République*. Counter-memory highlights the discordant aspects that dominant ideology needs to eliminate by re-interpretation of dissonant heritage.

Although the creation and artificial construction of national identities does, in general, involve many aspects and processes, the present analysis reveals that, at a schematic level, two main theories in the field fittingly complement each other, thus providing a linear model of explanation for the case of the French Revolution. As this has, in turn, provided the nationalist model for the later centuries, the Revolutionary/Republican alchemy of firstly forging political realities and secondly transforming the historical past, sheds light on how the modern totalitarian regimes were able to come into being, legitimate themselves and ultimately operate.

Imagined Communities

In this respect, the first theoretical source is that of *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 1991). On one hand, Anderson's analysis shows clearly that the main tool used in creating nation-states at the end of the 18th and 19th centuries, were written messages conveyed through the press and the educational system. Consequently, the reason for which nationalism was able to create itself and the national identities of the 19th century owes a great deal to the written form of conveyed messages. In the case of the French Revolution's nationalism, these were the 18th century libels and pamphlets of the Revolutionary propaganda. In effect, it was the press system which enabled the media's considerable impact on the public's consciousness at the time.

Moreover, nationalism replaced the cultural systems that had defined the preceding eras - the religious community and the dynastic realm. The author explains why nationalism would be better explained in a cultural, rather than a political context (Anderson, 1991:12): 'nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which - as well as against which - it came into being.' In fact, nationalism has replaced religion, by having itself become the 19th century's religion.

Anderson's key concept in explaining the 'artificiality' to which the thesis refers, lies in the imaginative process which, once generating bonds between the members of an otherwise virtual community, would create the basis of a strong community. But his views differ from other modernist nationalist theories (Hobsbawm, 1983; Gellner, 1993a; b), Anderson (1991:6) specifying that, although he favours the idea of modern nations' 'invention', in his opinion this does not equate with 'fabrication' and 'falsity', but with 'imagining' and 'creation'. Nevertheless, when comparing Anderson's own description of the earlier cultural systems which nationalism replaced and of nationalism itself, in the case of the latter there is suggested a definite degree of fabrication.

In the case of the dynastic realm, the imagined link between the members of its corresponding community was provided by the legitimacy of kingship, deriving

from divinity rather than popular support, and organised around a 'high centre' (Anderson, 1991:19), not a fully demarcated territory. Naturally, the religious background of the society models corresponding to the dynastic realm facilitated 'the ease with which pre-modern empires and kingdoms were able to sustain their rule' (Anderson, 1991: 14). Although the decline of the automatic legitimacy of the Western European dynasties started with the 17th century and the English Revolution (with the resulting 1649 beheading of King Charles I of England), it is only after 1789 that the principle of Legitimacy 'had to be loudly and self-consciously defended' (Anderson, 1991: 21).

The above fact supports, indirectly, the present thesis' idea of the clear break marked in the perception of historical time by the French Revolution. Moreover, Anderson also perceives the 'lived-in' history of traditional societies contrasting with the dogma-ridden history of modernity, mentioned by Nora. In the chapter 'Apprehensions of time', Anderson (1991:22) points out that in addition 'to the decline of sacred communities, languages and lineages, a fundamental change was taking place in modes of apprehending the world, which, more than anything else, made it possible to 'think' the nation.'

But whilst it is true that modernity would have favoured a different perception of historical time, the crucial moment for the creation of the rift within historical discourse is the French Revolution, an event favoured by the advent of print capitalism and bearing the responsibility of the modern nations' official birth. Anderson (1991) signals that the novel and the newspapers were the most representative examples illustrating and explaining the transformation leading to the process of 'imagining'.

Bringing this theory to reflect on the main subject of the thesis, Marie Antoinette's 18th century images resulting in her contemporary commodification, it is revealed that the impact of print capitalism is fully represented by the case of certain novels such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau's, and the pamphlets directed against the French Monarchy, particularly Marie Antoinette. As Professor Annie Duprat (pers. comm., 2012), specialist in the caricatures of the French Revolution's propagandistic pamphlets, observes:

'The French Revolution could not have happened without the pamphlets! Marie Antoinette, by having ignored, meaning not reacting against and not realising their damaging permanent effect to her image, has indirectly allowed the collapse of the French Monarchy through the pamphlets' successful attacks to her image in the public opinion of the time.'

Moreover, the fact that the Queen's image was always portrayed by the pamphlets out of any clear specific context (Duprat, pers. comm, 2012), such as the Court of Versailles or Petit Trianon, yet fabricating for these absent contexts an aura of promiscuity (particularly Petit Trianon, which acquired an image of its own), this abstraction allowed an even greater degree of 'imagining'² to take place in the readers' consciousness. This intentional ambiguity led to the public opinion's identification of the French Monarchy with Marie Antoinette and promiscuity. In fact, as Duprat (2006) noted in her work on Marie Antoinette, a second Queen was created – namely, a 'paper Queen'. The manipulation operated through the pamphlets' distorting messages, is considered by the present thesis to be one of the most effective tools that the masterminds of the French Revolution used in destroying the French Monarchy.

Coming back to the wider context of print capitalism described by Anderson (1991: 36) as the most precipitating and fruitful way of allowing 'rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others', this highlights the mechanisms operating behind the creation of the modern nations. Despite advocating the importance of the mediaeval national legacy, Llobera (1996: 103) also recognises the 'tremendous impact of print capitalism' signalled by Anderson, and does not dispute the fact that, ultimately, the bourgeoisie has 'used nationalist ideologies to further its economic objectives and political domination.'

² It is true that this 'imagination' form refers to Anderson's idea concerning the solidarity of a group as created by imagining the existence of other members belonging to the same group, but even more specifically to a form of imagination which created the perceived conflict between Marie Antoinette and the 'French people'. As such, the 'threat to the French nation' posed by the 'infamous' Queen implied by the pamphlets' messages, was the basis of a strong, adverse public opinion. Thus, my thesis extends Anderson's imagination process in creating the nation, to an explicit consideration of this process as causing an effect on the members of a same group by forging a solidarity reaction against the 'enemy'. One of the main manipulation techniques perfected by the 20th century totalitarian regimes, was the creation by the political elite of an imaginary enemy, which once targeted and depersonalised, would allow the solidarity of masses for a common cause. This is the case of the 'Jew' threat to Nazi's Germany or the 'enemy of class fight' in Communist Russian politics. For Hobsbawm's notes on the cohesion created through an 'imaginary enemy', see Hobsbawm (1983); for the role played by rumours as one of the most powerful media forms, see Kapferer (1990); for the particular French context referred to in the thesis, see Renard (2010).

On the one hand Anderson's analysis clearly shows that the main tools used in creating the nation-states of the end of 18th and 19th centuries, were the written messages conveyed through the press and educational system. Where the French Revolution is concerned, this was mostly achieved through pamphlets produced by assiduous propaganda. On the other hand, the paradox of acceptance/rejection that the thesis examines ontologically through its analysis is reflected by Anderson's (1991) observations on Renan's discourse, who was asking the 'nation' to both remember and forget key events such as the massacre of *Saint-Barthélemy's* night, massacres of French by the French, which in his opinion shaped what came to be the French nation. By analysing this discourse in his chapter aptly called 'The Reassurance of Fratricide', Anderson (1991) elucidates the creation of the French modern national identity, as well as the reason of its success in perpetuating an artificially constructed notion: through the acceptance and rejection of the Enlightenment's values by the political elites of the Third Republic, thereby becoming fixed as such in the French collective memory.

The Invention of Tradition

With regard to the Third Republic's essential input into the artificial construction of France's contemporary national identity, the thesis makes use of Hobsbawm's (1983) views, which further refine Anderson's theory. According to Hobsbawm, 1870 was the crucial political moment in European history to crystallise the new states' national identities. The 1870 French defeat at Sedan witnessed the rise of France's Third Republic, and marked the beginning of the re-creation of France's historical past through a political agenda concerned with forging a strongly defined national identity (see also Gérard, 1970).

Hobsbawm (1983: 263) reviewed the motives behind the assiduous invention of what he coined as 'political and social traditions', in 1870 to 1914 Europe. His analysis reveals that the main cause for the 'mass-producing traditions' of this period lies in the 'profound and rapid social transformations' (Hobsbawm, 1983: 263), which consequently determined the invention of political traditions.

This idea brings further depth to Anderson's theory of imagining the nation, by explaining how a social context - once prepared and ultimately created - facilitates its own political manipulation, thus providing a mutual reinforcement of the two aspects of a 'tradition' - social and political. Out of the array of such inventions of the period, Hobsbawm's analysis revealed that the middle social classes of all European nation-states were the ones to relate (and/or identify themselves) in the strongest manner nationalism supporting traditions. Through the example of the bourgeois Third Republic, the case of France is particularly relevant for this situation.

When assessing the importance of studying the 'invention of traditions', Hobsbawm links this invention directly to the evolution of modern nationalism. For Hobsbawm (1983: 12-13), the invented traditions 'are highly relevant to that comparatively recent innovation, the 'nation', with its associated phenomena: nationalism, the nation-state, national symbols, histories and the rest. All these rest on exercises in social engineering'. As a result, it is clear that the national phenomenon could not be adequately investigated without careful attention given to the 'invention of tradition'. In this respect, Hobsbawm (1983: 14)

emphasizes the subjectivity of the elements constructing the modern nations which are associated with 'appropriate, and in general, fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as 'national history').'

Placing the arguments above into the wider context of Hobsbawm's views as presented in his later work, Hobsbawm (1992) suggests that the French Revolution – and the propaganda preceding and preparing the ground for the upheaval – was chiefly responsible for the masterminded break with a certain undesirable political past.

In what the Third Republic and its construction on the basis of the French Revolution's tradition are concerned, Hobsbawm (1983: 269) distinguished three main routes used in the successful implementation of this programme of 'invented traditions'. The first and most effective was 'the development of a secular equivalent of the church – primary education, imbued with revolutionary and republican principles and content' (Hobsbawm, 1983: 271) mediated by the equivalent of the priests or friars, respectively the *instituteurs*. The second path was the invention of ceremonials such as the *Bastille Day* established in 1880, while the third was the mass production of public monuments mostly embodying the symbolic image of the Republic itself - the bare breasted Marianne. The choice is not accidental. Given the highly debated historical figures of the French Revolution, such as Robespierre, the Third Republic had to steer away from an explicit depiction of its actual past. Hobsbawm (1983: 278) unpacks the French context which facilitated such a choice by contrast with Germany:

'A comparison of the French and German innovations is instructive. Both stress the founding acts of the new regime – the French Revolution in its least precise and controversial episode (the Bastille) and the Franco-Prussian war. Except for this one point of historic reference, the French Republic abstained from historical retrospect as strikingly as the German Empire indulged in it. Since the Revolution had established the fact, the nature and the boundaries of the French nation and its patriotism, the Republic could confine itself to recalling these to its citizens by means of a few obvious symbols – Marianne, the tricolour, the 'Marseillaise', and so on – supplementing them with a little ideological exegesis elaborating on the (to its poorer citizens) obvious if sometimes theoretical benefits of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.'

Distinction

Hobsbawm's views on the inculcation of the invented traditions through education, link Anderson's theory of print capitalism with Bourdieu's (1984) cultural capital. The classic sociological study *Distinction* proved the salience of the value placed by the political and social elite, on cultural capital, once appropriated or acquired, becomes a form of 'distinction' and thus legitimation for political elites.

Through the formula [(*habitus*) (capital)]+field=practice, from the perspective of the present thesis' analysis, Bourdieu (1984) explains the underlying divisive phenomena to class condition, social conditioning and, ultimately, the ways in which each class manifests itself in practice where economic, cultural and symbolic capital are concerned. According to Webster (2010), Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* is paramount to understanding the appropriation of cultural capital by social classes. In fact, the present thesis highlights that the *habitus* is the main responsible factor for creating the distinctions between social classes.

Bourdieu's concept of the *habitus* facilitates a sociological understanding of the bourgeois French educational system, which would have privileged the class of the haute bourgeoisie, by equipping the offspring of the elites with the skills necessary for cultural capital accumulation, whilst at the same time isolating and discouraging other groups. But more importantly to the present thesis' argument, Bourdieu's *habitus* proves the existence of uncontested attributes passed on from generation to generation within the same class system, and which ultimately differentiate the social classes. Up to postmodern times, education alone would not have sufficed for the acquisition of a complete and socially recognised cultural capital. This is the reason for which, starting with the 19th century, the bourgeoisie felt the need to legitimate themselves by ostentatious mimicry and overcompensation for their class cultural conditioning and limitations.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1984) observes that the aristocracy has mastered the ease and naturalness of the inherited manners, time proving to be essential in authenticity of taste. By contrast, Bourdieu (1984: 312) defines the haute

bourgeoisie through adjectives such as 'up-tight' and 'stuffed-shirt'. In fact, due to the conscious efforts of the bourgeoisie to replace the aristocracy within the class system, including attempts to appropriate its aesthetic taste, the bourgeois manifestation of the aesthetic disposition and associated cultural values remained 'self-conscious' (Bourdieu, 1984: 208), a copy unable to naturally evolve, as was the case of aristocratic taste in England, for instance. This view is congruent with Lefebvre's (1991; see Chapter 3).

Nevertheless it is important to note that throughout Bourdieu's study, the distinction found in each class operates at a conceptual level, given that, in reality, the boundaries between classes and sections of classes were already blurred in the 1970s; a state of affairs dramatically accentuated since. Whilst the aristocracy's earlier noted attributes could well be recognised historically, the French social reality proved, through the trauma suffered by this class after the events of the French Revolution, that it had never again regrouped and recovered the status of a social class (Doyle, 2009). Given this absence of the aristocratic social class, Bourdieu could not undertake any empirical studies on the subject as in the case of bourgeois and working classes, as well as intellectuals or artists. In fact, Bourdieu (1984) considers intellectuals to be the contemporary aristocratic class of culture.

Consequently, Bourdieu (1984) assessed the distinctions found between all the studied classes, against the two types of taste central to the essay: the pure and the 'barbarous' taste. Webster (2010: 52) observes that Bourdieu heavily criticised Kant's classic study on taste, by considering the 'Kantian notions of 'pure' aesthetics, and its foil 'vulgar' aesthetics, were nothing more than the illusory constructions of a cultural elite, which had the effect of reifying the distinction between the dominant and the dominated groups in society. Bourdieu followed this accusation with an attack on intellectuals [the aristocracy of culture] for their self-serving complicity with this situation.'

At this point, one of the subtle differences between the French and German Enlightenment principles regarding the function of art must be highlighted, as it significantly contributes to concluding arguments. If, for Diderot, French Enlightenment's main art critique exponent, art should be made accessible and

target the masses in an educational manner, for Kant the appreciation of art through sublimation of senses and foregoing of ordinary considerations, such as pleasure, is paramount. This continuous cultivation of taste by the elite, disregarding popularisation of taste, would have led and imposed cultural standards.

Although there is greater kinship, in general, between Bourdieu's work and Diderot's ideas, rather than Kant's in this respect, Bourdieu has been criticised for not accounting for the importance of popular culture. Moreover, the author contradicted his attack against Kant by valuing the dominant taste of an elite over the popular taste (Webster, 2010). However, rather than a criticism to Bourdieu's stance on taste, the present thesis argues that this contradiction constitutes in fact further support to the thesis' own argument regarding the confusions generated by some of the principles and ideas of the Enlightenment. Finally, by extending the appreciation of art to all other forms of cultural production and practices and by taking into consideration the mechanism *via* which the elites impose their domination (see 'symbolic violence'; Weber, 1997), Bourdieu's work ultimately explains the self-legitimation of the bourgeois class, reinforcing and perpetuating a political discourse based on the events of the French Revolution.

The French Revolution and its Cultural Heritage

Since one of the thesis' main arguments concerns the mechanisms behind the manipulation of cultural heritage (including the monarchic tradition embodied by the last legitimate Bourbon dynasty of the *Ancien Régime*) for nationalist purposes, the following analysis does provide an overview of the historical discourse related to the French Revolution, with the event itself considered in its role of cultural heritage. Such analysis is required as the thesis fieldwork research and evidence revealed that the cultural heritage associated with the French Revolution is in dissonance with the cultural heritage defining Marie Antoinette's historical character, the two impinging onto each other.

Due to the event's historiographical complexity - directly linked to the contrasting left and right ideologies in France - what is commonly acknowledged as the 'orthodox' tradition of the French Revolution historiography consists of the views of 'a cohort of leftist writers including Jean Jaurès, Albert Mathiez, Georges Lefebvre and Albert Soboul' (Davies, 2006: 3). This canon has, in Peter Davies' view, hijacked what is known as the 'Great Tradition' of the political, right-winged Third Republic's historical discourse. This is a direct reflection of the 1930s political crisis in France, when the political movements of the left challenged the structures underpinning Republican legitimacy.

The dogmatism of this view was contested by soft and hard revisionist theories, which were in turn expanded on by post-revisionist historical discourses, further classifiable into various other categories. William Doyle (1980), one of the key hard-revisionist figures amongst the plethora of French Revolution historians, offered an overview of this complex situation, analysing the developments in the historiography and research of the event since 1939, the year marking a crucial change in the perception of its origins and interpretations.

Lefebvre's *Quatre-Vingt-Neuf* (1939) triggered this shift, whilst still remaining, one of the most important classic 'orthodox' studies of the French Revolution, whose origins the Marxist author attributes to the rise of the bourgeoisie. But after the changes the war brought to European and American political ideologies, the 1950s saw the emergent re-writing of a far more complex history

than previously perceived (see also Cobban, 1964). But, as Doyle (1980: 1; see also Doyle, 2002; Kafker & Laux, 1989) established, there is still no clear conclusion, and 'to close the case on the origins of the French Revolution [would be] an impossible task in any event.'

Roger Chartier's (1991) political-philosophical history of the French Revolution re-assesses the origins, and confirms the intricacy of the phenomenon (see also Baker & Kaplan, 1991). The essay is one of the French Revolution's Bicentenary re-evaluations of the direct links between the 18th century cultural sphere and the political arena. By reviewing Daniel Mornet's (1933) assessment of the Enlightenment's implications for the French Revolution, Chartier raises new questions which, if extensively answered, support the view of the present thesis on the manipulation and even 'invention' of the event by certain political groups. This is in line with similar American and English hard-revisionist scholarship such as Baker's (1990) or the critical review of the Republic and the Terror depicted by Schama (1989). Nevertheless, one of the most daringly challenging analyses (Furet & Ozouf, 1989) came from French academia around the Bicentenary. The views of Furet (with Richet, 1973; 1978; see also Dalberg-Acton, 2000) who is considered the most notable French hard-revisionist author, and Mona Ozouf, were criticised by Marxists (see Nora, 2011a; Blanning, 1986; 1987) for minimising the role of the French Revolution and denying the role played by the class-struggle in the course of the events (Kates, 1997). However, given that Furet in particular drifted from Marxism to hard-revisionism because of his disillusionment with Communism (which in his view is the twin of Fascism), it could be argued that his work benefits of a wide range of political insights rather than being based on one political stance.

American historians Keith Michael Baker (1987a, b; 1992; 1993; 1994), also a hard-revisionist, and Steven Laurence Kaplan (1995), have since brought considerable contributions to the subject. Furthermore, regarding the political context of the Bicentenary, Davies (2006: 170) observes that François Mitterrand's 1981-1995 presidency succeeding a lengthy governmental supremacy of the Conservative right, had 'self-consciously aligned itself with the revolutionary legacy of the 'rights of man' and the triptych, 'liberté, égalité, fraternité'. This confirms the appropriation of the French Revolution's cultural

heritage by both right and left movements, each selecting and emphasising the aspects best suited to its respective political discourse.

Based on his review of the main theoretical stances *vis-à-vis* the event, Bailey Stone (2002) attributes the French Revolution a beneficial role in universal history. Nevertheless, Stone (2002: 266) acknowledges that it represents ‘a “transitional upheaval” in the history of modern socio-political revolutions’ through a cataclysmic link between the earlier 17th and respectively 18th centuries English and American Revolutions, and the later 20th century Russian and Chinese Communist revolutions. This point of view further supports the present thesis’ argument concerning the ‘legitimised’ violence instilled by the French Revolution into the modern political arena. Furthermore, from the perspective of historical discourse continuity, all interpretations of the French Revolution adhere to views of the event as either violent break with the past or natural historical progression. The present thesis subscribes to the first: ‘The French Revolution [...] was a ‘decisive historical rupture’ that placed Louis XVI and his eventual successor, Napoleon I, in ‘totally different spheres” (Lyons, 1994 cited in Stone, 2002: 259; see also Mason & Rizzo, 1999).

Contemporary readings of the event also benefit from notable French and American scholarship, particularly stemming from feminist studies aiming to illustrate the violent, anti-feminist traits of the French Revolution (Rendall, 1984; Pateman, 1988; Landes, 1988; Fraise, 1989; Marrand-Fouquet, 1989; Outram, 1989). Concerned, in a more general context, with re-writing traditional historical discourses, American academic Lynn Hunt (1984; 1989; 1991; 1992; 1993; 2004; see also Appleby et al., 1994; Revel & Hunt, 1995), has extensively analysed the Revolutionary propaganda and the actual development of events.

In contrast with the stance outlined above, and drawing from further current contributions to elucidating the real dimensions of the French Revolution (Wasserstrom et al., 2000; Burrows, 2006; Fureix, 2005; Brown, 2006; Lindqvist, 2006; Pastorello, 2010), recent scholarship (Armenteros et al., 2008; Edelstein, 2009) seeks alternative interpretations to the Jacobin thought and action. This line of theoretical enquiry sets out to rehabilitate the actors and

ideals of the French Revolution, which suggests that the field is far from reaching agreement on the interpretation of events.

Concerning the rehabilitation of the last legitimate Bourbon dynasty, Jöel Félix's (2006) historical study, focused on the roles and attributions of the Royal couple, successfully assesses most issues generated by the tandem of political forces leading to the events of the French Revolution and operating during the event. The author, could equally be included among authors aiming to objectively review (and thus rehabilitate) the French dissonant past – as presented by the last subchapter.

Lastly, from amongst the array of conservative to liberal political positions assessing the event, the present thesis espouses Edmund Burke's (O'Brien (Ed.), 1986) visionary insight into the French Revolution. The eminent Irish political thinker, statesman and parliamentarian is considered the classical founder of the Conservative political discourse on the French Revolution (Kafker & Laux, 1989), despite having been a liberal thinker himself. This is due to the fact that authors regarding the French Revolution as a negative break with the earlier dynastic and religious traditions, are seen to be adopting a conservative view, whilst the liberal stance implies the event to be a progressive, beneficial step into modernity. The thesis' analysis of Burke's discourse suggests that its value lies mostly in his acute perception of the historical rift between the dynastic and religious traditions, triggered by the French Revolution. By comparing the English and French Revolutions, Burke noted that the contrast between the two lies precisely in the exact preservation or, respectively, the destruction of 'key elements of the past' (Davies, 2006:11).

Burke expressed particular concern for the fate of Marie Antoinette, who became the victim of not only violent attacks in the written press but, also attempted murder during the storming of Versailles Palace in October 1789. His ardent speech for the protection of the Queen of France placed the Irish political thinker under much criticism, ultimately undermining his credibility. In fact, it was Burke's defence of Marie Antoinette that rendered his discourse subjective, sparking much of the ulterior criticism his views received, despite their undeniable coherence and value (Blakemore & Hembree, 2001). This criticism

provides evidence as to the considerable impact of the French public opinion on the international perception of Marie Antoinette.

The public opinion's decisive role in the preparation of the French Revolution was previously highlighted through the theory of print capitalism and the construction of the paper image of the Queen through the Revolutionary pamphlets. Where this particular point of the Revolutionary propaganda is concerned, recent French Revolution studies have begun to acknowledge not only the pivotal role played by Marie Antoinette in the evolution of the events by her mere existence as an Austrian female figure in the period's political arena (generating continuous attacks in the press against the Monarchy itself), but also the impossibility to assess the French Revolution and its agenda without taking into consideration its connections with Marie Antoinette (Berly, 2011). Lanser (2003) also points out the yet unmet objective - in American academia - to place Marie Antoinette within a new historiography in the context of the French Revolution events.

Lastly, it must be clarified that, despite all the above noted controversy surrounding the French Revolution, the debates are still confined to academic circles, while the heritage of the event still constitutes the basis of the French national identity crystallised by the Third Republic. The traditions established by the latter since the 1870s are deeply seated into the French collective memory, as illustrated earlier.

The Context of Modern Nationalism: A Rehabilitative History Narrative

With regard to the nationalist stance, the thesis subscribes to the position adopted by studies which consider nationalism to be a necessary pre-condition to nations and nation-states, rather than *vice versa*. Nevertheless, in order to objectively analyse the matter of nationalism, the present subchapter also considers the main counterarguments brought to the position outlined above, as found in the work of Josep R. Llobera's (1996).

Whilst it is not the aim of the thesis to delve into an extensive analysis of all aspects and types of nationalism, nor to establish an assessment of all the *pros* and *contras* of the two opposing theories of modernist and primordialist nationalism, it does fully support the view that the French Revolution represents the birthplace of the modern nation-states. In addition, the present analysis considers this major event in the history of humankind to have provided the modern nationalism model later to be copied or adapted.

From this perspective, it is irrelevant whether nationalism is forcedly inculcated through indoctrination, or occurs through natural, cultural conditioning. In either case, what is indubitable is that the modern nationalism to which the present thesis refers was instilled by the events of the French Revolution replacing the old order of monarchical institutions, and subsequently triggering the first major shift in the historical discourse based on religious and dynastic traditions.

The particular set of views emergent from nationalist theories supporting the theoretical background earlier outlined, demonstrate objectivity with regard to the particular case of modern nationalism originating in the events of the French Revolution. As analysed below, this objectivity is due to the fact that the successful creation of modern national identities, which the French Revolution ultimately determined, is unanimously accepted by modernist as well as primordialist views. Furthermore, the thesis leans on mechanisms which all theories (Hobsbawm, 1983; Nora, 1986; Anderson, 1991) underpinning the theoretical background agree on.

Gellner's views best synthesise the thesis' nationalist position, the author being one of the leading anthropological modernist analysts of nationalism (Hall, 1998). Anderson and Hobsbawm, whose theories were previously outlined in this chapter, subscribe to the idea of modern identities germinating from nationalism. If, Hobsbawm's views are in line with Gellner's, Anderson's theory complements and enhances this theoretical position by attributing the process of 'creation' not to artificiality, but to imagination.

The 'artificiality' of national identities is a topic on which nationalist studies stand divided in two opposing positions: the anthropological primordialist theory claiming natural origins for nationalism, and Gellner's modernist theory sustaining its artificiality. The latter is criticised (Hall, 1998:3) as too modernist, optimistic and 'at a more formal philosophical level, [...] having a too instrumental view of human motivation and [...] relying excessively on functionalist argumentation'. The present thesis makes use of the already presented theories (Nora, 1986; Hobsbawm, 1983), for disapproving with this criticism. Furthermore, it employs the primordialist theory for finding the convergence points that reinforce the modernist arguments.

Llobera (1996: xiii), one of Gellner's and Hobsbawm's main critics with regard to their hypotheses on the artificiality of modern national identities, admits that the French Revolution, 'the single most important historical event in terms of nationalist effects [...] is a nationalist watershed and marks a frontier of no return'. Furthermore, Llobera (1996: 218) acknowledges that 'it is difficult to imagine what its [the nation's] future would have been without the French Revolution and its aftermaths.' Moreover, Llobera (1996: 103) does not criticise, but in fact fully supports Anderson's theory of 'print capitalism', which is the major factor responsible for the imagined character of the nation.

Gellner (1993a) reinforces the idea that national identities are constructed and chosen rather than already existent, which logically segues into the idea that nationalism determines nations, rather than *vice versa*, as maintained by the primordialist theory (Hall, 1998: 2). The artificial construction of national identity implies that high culture (Kant, 1781) imposes itself from the top,

replacing/displacing the 'previous complex structure of local groups, sustained by folk cultures' (Gellner, 1993a: 57).

Furthermore, Gellner (1993a: 124) considers that 'nationalist ideology suffers from pervasive false consciousness. Its myths invert reality: it claims to defend folk culture while in fact it is forging a high culture; it claims to protect an old folk society while in fact helping to build up an anonymous mass society.' In fact, Gellner (1993a) explains how high culture reinvents low culture, nationalist ideology sustaining a self-deception from which it nevertheless draws strength. When analysing the power of nationalism, Gellner (1993a) concludes that, it stems precisely from the artificial and forced construction of national identities. Although Llobera is the advocate of an uncontested mediaeval heritage of the modern nation-states, he does indirectly support Gellner's idea in his analysis of the construction of Western national identities after 1870.

It is precisely this artificiality of national identities which elucidates the paradox of the Enlightenment, highlighted in Chapter 1. This paradox of modernity can be explained through the nature of the modern nation state whose birth is attributed to the French Revolution. In fact, this paradox applies to a far deeper and wider context than it could perhaps be perceived at a first glance: not only was the Enlightenment embraced by Royalty, aristocracy and middle-classes alike, having led to the conflictual situation signalled above, but it also generated, through some of its idealized and politically untested notions, the core problem of later date European totalitarian regimes.

The present thesis would argue that this propagation was indirectly achieved firstly through the French Revolution's adaptation and interpretation of the Enlightenment's ideals (Priestland, 2010; see also Sassoon, 2009) and, secondly, through the 19th century Enlightenment-inspired Romanticism and its contradictions (Llobera, 1996; Gellner, 1993b), which in turn served as a starting point for the ideology of Fascism. It should be stressed that French (McMahon, 2001), and German Enlightenment are quite different in terms of key concepts and subsequent political consequences (Gadamer, 2004).

Paul Ricoeur (2004: 308) also emphasizes the paradox of modernity, modernity which in fact 'has gone a long way in defining itself in opposition to itself. Along this trajectory, Germany and France occupy very different positions, the great break occasioned by the French Revolution prolonging itself in a rupture on the level of mores and taste.'

As Burke (O'Brien (Ed.), 1986) had intuited as early as 1790 that the French Revolution, in the name of some theoretical Enlightenment principles, led to an irreparable calamity, the present thesis also underlines the lack of clarity - in terms of political translation - evidenced by Enlightenment ideals. Consequently, when confronted with historical reality, these ideals manifested their political weakness, and fell prey to the ideatic degeneration triggered by the French Revolution and the precedent of violence set by the event.

Referring to the increasingly degenerating distortion of ideas since the time of Enlightenment, Gellner (1993b) makes it abundantly clear that the Enlightenment ideals of equality - which during the time of Enlightenment itself, operated mostly at a cultural and social level - would degenerate in the following centuries through political interpretation. Ideals such as the return to humanity's roots left certain ethnic groups in a conundrum regarding which roots to choose (see also Heuer, 1998). As a result, these groups eventually became, during the same period, the target of either racial purification, as in the case of early 20th century Nazism, or the forced displacement enacted by Communism.

France's Dissonant Past

Amongst the authors initiating the effort to rehabilitate France's dissonant past are the contributors to *Les Lieux de mémoire* (Nora, 1986). Further below, the chapter classifies the most notable and recent contributions to the subject based on criteria underpinned by Hobsbawm's differentiation between the various avenues used by the political elite of the end of the 19th century for nationalist purposes in the process of manipulation of cultural heritage. Nora's explicit approval of Hobsbawm's idea (see also Nora, 2011a), is fully reflected in the structure of his most prominent work.

Consequently, the first of the three main paths devised for the successful invention of traditions was the use of Education in forming the future population of France. Nora dedicated a whole section to this important manipulative process (Ory, 1986a; Nora, 1986b, c; Ozouf & Ozouf, 1986; Marie, 1986).

The second avenue signalled by Hobsbawm, concerns the creation of new ceremonials and commemorations, also picked up by Nora's publication (see Goulemot & Walter, 1986; Amalvi, 1986; Ory, 1986b; Ageron, 1986). At a later stage, Mona Ozouf (1988) contributed work on the festivals instated by the French revolution with the aim of replacing the previous Christian/Monarchic tradition, festivals that inspired the Third Republic's own forged traditions. In what concerns the invention of traditions providing the abstract symbols necessary to make acceptable the breakaway of French history from its past, debates carry on over the significance of the national flag, the Revolutionary calendar and the national hymn (Girardet, 1986; Baczko, 1986; Vovelle, 1986).

Hobsbawm's third avenue of successful national identity creation refers to monuments and their general use by the new 19th century European elite to strengthen their image and secure legitimation. The most important monuments reflecting the French Third Republic's need to identify with the Revolutionary past in order to gain legitimacy, are the *Panthéon* (Ozouf, 1986), the *Mairie* office buildings of all French towns (Agulhon, 1986), as well as the national monuments dedicated to the dead (Prost, 1986; Ben-Amos, 1986).

Jean-Yves Andrieux (2011) is another notable French heritage author who recently compiled an edition of articles concerning the manipulation of cultural heritage (from written languages to architecture) by the European 19th century political elite. The articles selected reflect the paradox of modernity: self-construction based on denial of the immediately preceding period, coupled with a reinvention of cultural identity based on new nationalistic ideologies.

Dominique Poulot (1977; 1997; 1998a) is an established academic figure of increasing visibility in Francophile academic circles for his overt efforts to rehabilitate France's dissonant cultural heritage. In an article about Versailles Palace (Poulot, 1998b), whose title paraphrases Nora's 'places of memory', the author dispels right from the start the popular misconception according to which the Palace (as well as other Royal and aristocratic properties) would have been a site of class-based social exclusion during the *Ancien Régime*.

The initiative to dismantle popular cultural myths about both the *Ancien Régime* and the French Revolution's real parameters, is found in Jean Sévillia's (2010; see also pers. comm., 2011) work aimed at the wider public. In his position of Editor of *Le Figaro*, the author has also dedicated a special issue of the magazine to Marie Antoinette for the release of Coppola's film in 2006, in an effort to balance, to some extent, the image induced by the media launch of the movie (see also Chapters 5 and 8).

From a heritage perspective, the aforementioned authors deal with a case of dissonant heritage directly related to the concept of counter-memory, to which Nora specifically dedicated a part of his publication. Jean-Clément Martin (1986) dealing with the counter-memory stemming from the events of the French Revolution, refers to the region of *La Vendée*. Martin (2006; 2007; 2010; 2011) is actually one of the French historians having devoted extensive analysis to the violence for which the French Revolution is responsible. However, as a French Revolution historian, the author finds himself obliged to justify, to an extent, that same violence is an operation needed to maintain the French Revolution's status of legitimate founding myth for the French Republic. As shown earlier, the official Republican discourse is prone to explaining and justifying such massacres as ultimately necessary.

Dissonant heritage is one of the most sensitive political, cultural and social issues which the authorities in charge of conveying the heritage narrative of a 'place of memory' have to resolve. More complex than conflict heritage (Uzzell, 1989, 1989a; Uzzell & Ballantyne, 2008; Forbes et al., 2009), dissonant heritage is defined by John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth (1996) through the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage. The general conflict generated in such circumstances lies in the differences between an official discourse - or the 'authorised heritage discourse' (Smith, 2006) - and a minority's narrative (usually found imprinted in the collective memory of that particular group) or between the contrasting historical discourses of various political regimes. It is however the dominant ideology's discourse which has the ultimate authority over the heritage interpretation of a site of national value. The works of Ashworth and Peter Larkham (1994) and Graham et al. (2000), illustrate the manipulation to which cultural heritage was subjected due to nationalist ideologies, as well as the contemporary repercussions of this process on interpretation.

A very important aspect of dissonant heritage which leads Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) analysis of dissonance,³ was condensed by Graham et al. (2000) as the zero-sum characteristics of heritages. More recently, Graham and Howard (2008a: 3) further emphasized the initial contribution of the original two authors, summarizing that: 'dissonance arises because of the zero-sum characteristics of heritages, all of which belong to someone and logically, therefore, not to someone else'. This zero-sum trait is tested by the present thesis through the analyses of Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8, attributing its intellectual authorship to Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), and adapting the term used by Graham et al. (2000) to the research focus. In the thesis analysis, the zero-sum trait of heritage translates into the fact that the cultural heritage of Marie Antoinette impinges onto the cultural heritage of the French Revolution and *vice versa*. This is one of the key findings of the research (KF6, Chapter 9).

³ In the authors' discussion, a very important issue generated by dissonance lies in the sphere of cultural property; for various stances on the subject, see also Greenfield (1996); Gillman (2010); Carman (2005); Fairclough et al. (2008); Cuno (2009).

Laurence Gouriévidis' (2010) recent heritage analysis of the Highland Clearances further supports the point above through a review of various interpretations given to the traumatic event. The dominant discourses reflecting different perspectives confirm the vital role played by the dominant political ideology of a nation in heritage interpretation. Particularly relevant to the thesis research and supporting it with further evidence, is the fact that the collective memory of a nation is imbued with notes of the official discourse of history. Furthermore, dissonant narratives can only be found within the confines of the collective memory of certain minority groups, and require collection by rehabilitative history researchers working towards making these stories known (see the Popular Memory Group in Olick et al., 2011). In exceptional cases (see Petit Trianon), such expert knowledge, could hint to alternatives to official discourse through carefully considered heritage interpretations (see Chapter 6).

Finally, it must be stressed that the main authors whose work carved out a path for the rehabilitation of various debated historical periods and characters, were Nora (1986; 2011a, b; 2013), Todorov (1995; 2001) and Ricoeur (2004). Nevertheless, Halbwachs' (1980; 1982) analysis of the French collective memory remains the definitive work in this particular field, serving as cornerstone for the theoretical frameworks of numerous subsequent studies. It was his posthumously published study that marked a definite contrast with the previous era's perception of the past, of its history and memory (see Chapters 4 and 7).

Summary

In conclusion, this chapter has illuminated the mechanisms of manipulation through which the nationalist elites of the 19th century secured political hegemony. It also clarifies the wider context of the evolution of 'places of memory' along the historical course of the late 19th century history. As it has been demonstrated, nationalism developed its own imagined or invented traditions, through the abusive appropriation and manipulation of the old order's values by the new political elite.

This theoretical background was required for an understanding of the differing agendas (which originate in the relationship between Heritage and Power) underlying the four major narratives of the thesis. In doing so, the chapter placed the historical, cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in the context of the manipulation of cultural heritage by national identities, process which is at the root of the contemporary commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon.

Chapter 3

‘Places of Memory’ Anchored in Postmodernity

Introduction

In contrast to the historical analysis of the evolution and symbolically acquired value of ‘places of memory’ developed in the previous chapter, the present chapter scrutinises Nora’s views on the commemorative trait of ‘places of memory’ whilst linking it with other theories which provide conceptual anchorage into the present. This is achieved by providing the means to read, decode, and ultimately interpret ‘places of memory’ politically and culturally by taking into consideration the new ‘class’ of place appropriation: the postmodern visitors. The analysis of the present chapter is required as theoretical background and literature review for the process of heritage commodification which is the focus of the present thesis. Through the following analysis, Chapter 3 particularly helps achieve aim 2 (see A2) of the thesis, concerning objective 4 (see O4).

In addition to Nora’s analysis, the chapter provides a key to the understanding of Petit Trianon as a ‘place of memory’, through a ‘reading’ and ‘decoding’ of its inscribed messages, informed by Henri Lefebvre’s (1991) philosophical views on the production and interpretation of space. The theory of political appropriation present in Lefebvre’s work recommends him over other authors for the purposes of this study, and is complemented by John Urry’s (1990; 2002) classic analysis of tourism, focused on the concept of the ‘tourist Romantic gaze’. Despite extant critiques of the ‘gaze’ as not representative of tourism’s primary drivers, the present thesis incorporates it into the following analyses, as it represents the main factor responsible for the appropriation of places, highly popular with the contemporary tourist. A process of ‘absorption’ - enabled by photographic devices and the equivalent psychological and subliminal ‘appropriation’ tourists engage in - mediates the appropriation. Imagination plays a decisive role in the said appropriation, as revealed by Chapter 7 (see KF12, Chapter 9).

The thesis considers the image to be responsible for globalised contemporary tourism, consideration which complements the theories on space appropriation underpinning the analysis. From this theoretical standpoint, the development of the 'Romantic gaze' theory feeds into the explanation of the postmodern paradox of uncontrolled image multiplication. Through the individual appropriation of images, tourists and the public in general are nowadays able to devise their own interpretation of someone else's private material, released to the public with no clear depiction of its true meanings (see Chapter 8).

The last subchapter concludes the theoretical background of the thesis by developing a classification of the postmodern range of sites based primarily on two criteria of distinction: heritage authenticity and the tourist Romantic gaze. Whereas the former determines a certain differentiation between sites considering their intrinsic value, the latter concerns the extrinsic level of their perception by the majority of visitors. The heritage authenticity definition from Ashworth and Howard (1999) was chosen over other types of authenticity, such as the form of existential authenticity detected by tourism studies (Cohen, 1972; 1979) through a correspondence of principles with those ascribed to by the heritage authorities in charge of Petit Trianon's interpretation and its recent 2008 restoration (see also Chapter 6).

Commemorating *Les Lieux de Mémoire*

To begin with, Nora's analysis of 'places of memory', in conjunction with the commemorative issues informing the theoretical background of the thesis, expose definite symptoms of the crisis stemming from the incongruence between French national identity and the cultural heritage it was built on. 'Places of memory' and their nature - essentially consisting of attempts to ritualise a society without rituals and introduce fleeting moments of sacredness into a world bereft of sacred dimension - confirm these symptoms.

The multitude of manifestations assumed by 'places of memory' ranges from material to symbolic. To name just a few, they can be museums, archives, cemeteries, various collections, festivals and anniversaries; the main trait that links them all resides in what became a current phenomenon, of registering, cataloguing and ultimately commemorating (Nora, 1986).

The commemorative trait is a very important factor in explaining the existence of 'places of memory' nowadays, as there exists a direct relation between the two: an increase in commemoration determines the loss of the authentic historical value of a 'place of memory', thus giving it its absolute form of place dedicated to memory as opposed to a historical place. This view subscribes to British theories (Hewison, 1987) of the concept of heritage as a freezing factor of the natural course of historical evolution, by overpowering historical places.

As a result of the commemorative trait, Nora (1986: XXIII) considers that the study of 'places of memory' finds itself at the intersection of two main movements, one of a reflexive history and the other of a purely historical nature, the latter however depicting the end of the tradition of history read as memory. This situation leads to a reconstituted history materialised in a very 'solid' idea of heritage - equating with tangible heritage - which is nevertheless representative for a distant past that translates only into symbols nowadays.

Commemoration through the 'solid' idea of heritage determines monumentality. Anderson (1991) observes that modern monuments are in fact intrinsically linked with nationalism, due to its transcendental claims replacing religion at the

end of the 18th century. For Lefebvre (1991), on the other hand, the value of monumental space – entirely representative of the society which produced it – can be further expanded through processes specific to psychoanalysis and linguistics.

Furthermore, the increasing tendency of contemporary society towards this ‘commemorative’ dimension indicates a real need to accurately interpret messages conveyed by the past. One of the main characteristic traits of places of memory is what Nora (1986: XXXV) describes as their ‘Moebius strip’ quality, a perpetual reinforcing of symbols through their very own symbology. Given however that, ‘places of memory’ are also able to generate another history, their own, the present thesis detects the danger of this self-perpetuation, which could thus create images increasingly distanced and, eventually, dissonant from the symbol which they would have related to in the first place (see Chapters 1, 8). In this context, Petit Trianon, as home to Marie Antoinette, represents a symbol that has yet to be decoded in order to understand its original history, telling the true story of its former owner.

For a possible reading of this space and the messages originally inscribed therein, the thesis applies Nora’s theory of ‘places of memory’ to Petit Trianon, by considering that the absolute form of this historical architectural context is that which defined it as the home to Marie Antoinette. As specified at the beginning of the chapter, the thesis takes this argument further by using Lefebvre’s (1991) philosophical views on the spatial triad of space.

The Production of Space

The present thesis focuses on Lefebvre's explanation of the production of space from a political and cultural perspective in order to facilitate the understanding of all the past and present parameters defining the space of Petit Trianon. Lefebvre's spatial triad model and the consequent effects of this interpretation, presented below, are the main theoretical elements selected from this classic essay to further expand the thesis' theoretical foundation.

According to Lefebvre's (1991: 38-39) spatial triad, there are three main adjacent values of social space: the 'spatial practice' or the 'perceived' space, the 'representation of space' or the 'conceived space' and the 'representational space' or the 'lived space'. The 'perceived space' is defined through the 'spatial practice' (Lefebvre, 1991: 38) of 'a society [which] secretes that society's space [...]. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space.' The representation of space or the conceived space (Lefebvre, 1991: 38) is the 'conceptualised space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent [...]'. Thirdly, the representational space consists of (Lefebvre, 1991: 38 - 39):

'the space as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who *describe* and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated - and hence passively experienced - space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects.'

According to the above, the heritage site of Petit Trianon is nowadays a representational space. Therefore, the thesis's analysis and interpretation of the contemporary heritage site of Petit Trianon constantly refers back to the qualities associated with a representational space. However, the main indicator of the analysis - the architectural context of Petit Trianon at the time of its creation as home to Marie Antoinette - has evolved in essence from a social space to an absolute space. This clear distinction is paramount in understanding the comparative analysis of all the narratives considered throughout the thesis.

When defining absolute space, Lefebvre (1991: 236) makes a clear distinction between the dimensions of such a space and those of the 'abstract (or Euclidean) space'. By analysing the concept within the history of Western culture, Lefebvre (1991: 238) notices that in this context 'the absolute space has assumed a strict form: that of volume carefully measured, empty, hermetic, and constitutive of the rational unity of Logos and Cosmos.' It is 'made up of sacred or cursed locations: temples, palaces, commemorative or funerary monuments, places privileged or distinguished in one way or another' (Lefebvre, 1991: 240).

From this perspective, Petit Trianon, as home to Marie Antoinette, includes not only the cultural model of an 18th century art landscape created by two of the most representative architects and artists of this era, but also a Royal residence. Therefore, it is an absolute space reuniting two sets of codes, of art and political nature. Under this light and within the architectural narrative of the thesis, Petit Trianon becomes an indicator which does not need interpretation, but serves as the supporting evidence against which the other narratives are assessed, in search of the objective truth.

Given the characteristics of an absolute space, there is a clear differentiation between the ways a 'user' belonging to the absolute space and its associated time will read or decode the space, and the analogous ways of tourists perceiving the same space as found nowadays. Whereas for the former, 'time contained the spatial code and vice versa' (Lefebvre, 1991: 241), for the latter the experience is constructed mainly through the prism of an added layer of visual means. As Lefebvre (1991: 96-97) observes, this modernist emphasis on visual means poses a further problematic:

'One wonders just how many errors, or worse, how many lies, have their roots in the modernist trio, triad or trinity of readability-visibility-intelligibility. [...] Take images, for example: photographs, advertisements, films. [...] After its fashion, the image kills [the real space].'

In order to advance the argument of the thesis, emphasis should now be placed on the fact that Logos and Cosmos, respectively narrative and space, are intrinsic to an absolute space, but are separated in the case of the representational space. In order to comprehend the ways in which the historical,

cinematic, architectural and heritage narratives analysed by the thesis, are perceived by the contemporary public, it is vital to understand the essence of Lefebvre's views on the production of social space in general, which hinges on the differentiation that has to be made between Logos and space.

Lefebvre (1991) favours the idea according to which the Logos, in its Western Cartesian meaning of discourse, is compromised by having evolved separately from its content and having become a superfluous structure, independent of the reality that it should transcribe. This situation enables images, signs, and all manner of narratives to express their own reality, different from the intended message of the space they refer to. This idea links with further analyses contained by Chapters 7 (Caughey, 1984) and 8 (Barthes, 1972; Baudrillard, 1994; Hall, 1997a) which reveal through the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character - a representation with no connection to the content - the postmodern paradox of an uncontrolled multiplication of images.

In conclusion, the architectural narrative of the present thesis, as defined in the form of an absolute space continuing to convey its message throughout all chronological and cultural layers subsequently added, represents the fixed marker against which other narratives must be assessed in order to arrive at a better picture of the objective truth. In turn, said narratives require interpretation, as they have been separated by the initial '*true space*' (Lefebvre, 1991: 236) through time as well as other added layers, all of which are separately analysed by the chapters dealing with each narrative.

Given the thesis' methodology and the focus of the present chapter on the visitors perceptions of the heritage site of Petit Trianon, with the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character playing a central role, Lefebvre's philosophical views on the political and cultural appropriation of space are complemented next by John Urry's (1990; 1995; 2002) classic theory of the 'tourist Romantic gaze'.

The Romantic Gaze

The last theory informing theoretical background of the thesis belongs to John Urry (1990; 1995; 2002). His work on the evolution of tourism over the past two centuries, explaining trends in tourism but also the 'consumption' of tourist destinations, has become a classic sociological study. From Urry's theory, the thesis relies on the concept of the tourist gaze - its Romantic version - and its conditioning by preformed images, which instils a visit anticipation of notorious heritage sites, usually in contrast with the actual visit experience at the site. Meethan (2001) contributes valuable criticism brought to the tourist gaze's limitations. Urry (1992; 1999; 2002; with Larsen, 2011) also reviewed his theory by acknowledging the role of the 'embodied gaze' in the perception of tourist spaces. This makes the subject of further studies which suggest that embodiment associated to 'representation' leads to the 'non-representation' appropriation of tourist spaces (Crouch, 1999; 2004; 2009; 2012).

Despite the 'gaze' not being the primary driver for contemporary tourism, the present analysis assesses it as principal factor responsible for the appropriation of places sought by contemporary tourists, which, in the case of Petit Trianon, has proven to be inducing the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character (see Chapter 8). The Romantic gaze also contributes to explanation of the postmodern authenticity values established by the present chapter, needed to outline the context for Petit Trianon's 2008 extensive restoration and its heritage perspective issues (see Chapter 6).

Urry (1990) posits that organised travel for pleasure and cultural purposes goes back to Imperial Rome, although these were exclusive activities accessible to the elite. The 13th and 14th centuries saw pilgrimages becoming a widespread phenomenon, combining religious purposes with the earlier cultural and leisure aspects of travelling. Urry (1990: 4) observes that by the end of the 17th century, the 'Grand Tour had become firmly established [...] for the sons of the aristocracy and the gentry, and by the late eighteenth century for the sons of the professional middle class.' The nature of the Tour changed from a classical to a romantic appreciation of the spaces visited, in direct relation to the type of gaze involved. During the 19th century, the romantic Grand Tour was the apogee of

the Romantic gaze, which would also eventually become the most prominent gaze of postmodern tourism. Nevertheless, it was between 1600 and 1800 that the 'treatises on travel shifted from a scholastic emphasis on touring as an opportunity for discourse, to travel as eyewitness observation' (Urry, 1990: 4). Starting with the end of the 16th century, the visual observation in general 'came to be viewed as the basis of scientific legitimacy [...] subsequently developed into the very foundation of the scientific method of the west, based upon sense-data principally produced and guaranteed by sight' (Urry, 2002: 146).

In travelling, the romantic connotations of the Enlightenment which have encouraged this shift are best illustrated by the new perception of landscape. The new forms of garden landscapes of the last quarter of the 18th century are witnesses of this transformation (see Chapter 6). Whilst ultimately this landscape perception changed through travelling facilitates a better understanding of the context enabling the creation of the English Garden of Petit Trianon, a study of the use of the building, which functioned as an *auberge* just after the French Revolution as well as its 1867 transformation into a museum, account for the cultural importance of tourism itself in the perception of the site of Petit Trianon.

Nevertheless, in order to decipher the contemporary perception of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, a major factor which needs to be analysed is the effect of the shift from tourism as individual travelling during earlier centuries to the mass tourism of postmodernity. Mass tourism is in fact the main responsible for the emergence of stereotypical images, which in turn, generated a certain type of visit anticipation, usually far removed from reality (Urry, 1990; 1995; 2002). Not only is this 'staging' (Gottlieb, 1982; MacCannell, 1999; AlSayyad, 2011a; Robinson, 2001), in general, deliberately created and encouraged by both tourist operators and those in charge of tourist hotspots, ranging from indigenous populations to museum curators, but the majority of tourists also seem to subconsciously prefer such fabrications to the genuine reality behind the image.

Although admittedly there are various categories of tourists in search of different destinations and experiences (Cohen, 1972; 1979; 1988a, b; MacCannell, 1999;

Meethan, 2001), naturally opening the previous statement to debate, the thesis considers it generally valid with respect to the majority of the public visiting Petit Trianon, based on evidence from field research undertaken by the author. Consequently, the elements selected from Urry's study to inform the analysis have been indicated by the thesis field research to apply directly to the heritage site of Petit Trianon, in its contemporary form of Royal residence associated with a notorious and highly debated historical character.

Urry (2002) highlights an opposing theory (MacCannell, 1999) to the above, which equates tourists with modern pilgrims engaged in a quest for authenticity equivalent to the pursuit of the sacred dimension of the religious pilgrimages of yore, sought in other 'times' and other 'places'. Whilst this also holds true for a certain category of tourists or certain aspects of a visit, the field research and evidence amassed for the thesis have proven that, since it is ruled by an 'image' of other times and other places, the quest will ultimately never be fruitful. This view is supported by Lefebvre's theory on the modernist trio of visibility, according to which the image kills the real space, reinforced by his views on appearances being determined by other times and other spaces.

Nevertheless, the analogy as well as the direct link between pilgrimage and tourism cannot be ignored, as it sheds light on the process conferring paramount importance to images in contemporary tourism. The pilgrimage trait of tourism is also particularly relevant to cultural tourism, or the visiting of heritage sites. In order to illustrate the analogy between the two cultural manifestations of pilgrimage and tourism, Urry leans on MacCannell's (1999 cited in Urry, 2002: 10) analysis:

'[...] there is normally a process of sacralisation which renders a particular natural or cultural artefact a sacred object of the tourist ritual [...]. A number of stages are involved in this: naming the sight, framing and elevation, enshrinement, mechanical reproduction of the sacred object, and social reproduction as new sights (or 'sites') name themselves after the famous. It is also important to note that not only are there many attractions to which to pay homage, but many attractions are only gazed upon once. In other words, the gaze of the tourist can be amazingly fickle, searching out or anticipating something new or something different.'

Urry further employs Horne's theory who also discusses this analogy, seeing tourists as modern pilgrims carrying guidebooks as devotional texts, for whom

the only thing that matters is what they are told they are seeing. Moreover, Horne (1984 cited in Urry, 1990: 129) emphasises that the 'fame of the object [of gaze] becomes its meaning. There is thus a ceremonial agenda, in which it is established what we should see and sometimes even the order in which they should be seen.'

However, the search for authenticity as main founding factor of tourism is also contested by the view that in fact, tourists embarking on trips mainly seek escape from the ordinary. It could be summarised that tourists consume heritage either as an 'escape to fantasy' or an 'escape to reality' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996: 64). According to this, it has been argued (Gottlieb, 1982 cited in Urry, 1990: 11) that tourists would seek contrasting experiences to their habitual existence by an inversion of values, such as the middle-class tourist wanting to be 'peasant for a day' whilst the lower middle-class aspires to be 'king/queen for a day'. In addition, differences between the distinct 'liminal zones' of ordinary life versus holiday, lead to suspension and/or inversion of ordinary obligations. Furthermore, Turner and Turner (1978 cited in Urry, 2002: 11) consider that this change in liminal boundaries, encourages 'licence for permissive and playful 'non-serious' behaviour'.

Whilst this newly added element can link into many aspects of a holiday, from the point of view of experiencing authenticity, it offers insight into the deliberate choice made by tourists to experience inauthentic sights and sites, consciously preferring the hyper-reality induced by images, to an authentic reality. Umberto Eco's (1986: 44) examples of Disneyland best illustrate this situation: 'Disneyland tells us that faked nature corresponds much more to our daydream demands [...] Disneyland tells us that technology can give us more reality than nature can.' Urry (1990: 146) aptly assimilates the hyper-reality described by Eco, to Debord's (1967; 1988) 'society of the spectacle' or Lowenthal's (1985) observations on the 'habituation to replicas [which] tends to persuade us that antiquities should look complete and 'new''.

Eco's (1986) quest for the inauthentic in the USA, discovered in fact that inauthenticity can even be preferred by classic art museums for creating a reinforced setting to original artefacts, which nevertheless currently find

themselves outside their original context. Derived from Baudrillard's (1994) theory of simulacra which also informs the analysis developed in Chapter 8, Eco's theory on hyper-reality befits the present discussion.

It must be stressed that simulacra is not a safe 'reality' as the images derived from hyper-reality have a complex implication on the consequent defining of spaces to be gazed upon. Analysing Harvey's theory on 'time-space compression' (1989, cited in Urry, 1995:177), also contributing to the analysis in Chapter 8, Urry reveals that the broader changes in economic and social life of contemporary society were influenced by the uniformity of space brought about by the change of capitalist labour-time. Amongst the five main effects of time-space compression on contemporary society, the fourth is concerned with the fact that signs and images prevail, a world-wide industry producing and marketing images 'not only for products, but also for people, governments, places, universities and so on.' The fifth directly indicates images resulting from the time-space compression, and which involve production of simulacra.

The collapse of barriers induced by this compression of time-space, accentuates the need for distinctiveness, each place striving to achieve distinctiveness especially when competing with others (Urry, 1995). The thesis argues that this situation leads to a propagation of simulacra at all levels, including the commodification of heritage sites, meant to increase their popularity and cultural accessibility by no longer exclusively associating with high culture (Kant, 1781). Moreover, even authentic sites such as Petit Trianon are forced to consider a re-invention in order to appeal to a wider market characterised by fierce competition. In addition, the collapse of barriers is also directly linked to the 'de-differentiating' character of postmodernity itself, which works against the above-mentioned need for distinctiveness. This complicates the position of heritage sites even further, as they find themselves in the need of integrating the fulfilment of visitor anticipation into their aims.

Urry (1990: 83) also recognises the difficulty in addressing the topic of postmodernism (see also Featherstone, 1991), since the signifier 'postmodern' seems to be 'free-floating, having few connections with anything real [and] no minimal shared meaning of any sort'. For capturing the essence of

postmodernity, Urry (1990) leans on Lash (1990: 11) who defines the term in contrast to modernity, as 'a regime of signification whose fundamental structuring trait is "de-differentiation".' Furthermore, the de-differentiation relates to the very important observation made by Walter Benjamin (1973 cited in Urry, 2002: 84), on the 'anti-auratic' character of the postmodernist culture, the aura of a cultural phenomenon referring to the uniqueness which would have separated it from social aspects. Given the dissolution of all barriers, de-differentiation further implies that postmodern cultural forms are not consumed in a state of contemplation any longer, but of distraction. Moreover, postmodern culture affects audiences through immediate impact, which ultimately undermines any strong distinction between the high culture of the elites and the popular, low culture of the masses (Urry, 2002).

Museums in particular have been affected by the anti-auratic character of postmodernity as their aura would have distinguished them previously in their exclusive, cultural role. Postmodernity has led to a situation where museums are on the same par with theme parks but also with shopping malls - culture and commerciality merging. Urry (2002) attributes most of the blame on the booming heritage industry which is in line with Nora's commemorative trait and is further discussed in the last subchapter.

Furthermore, Urry (2002) remarks on tourism's innate postmodern traits (the visual prominence in sight-seeing and the 'spectacle' element) accentuated by postmodernism to the extent that currently, what tourists consume are representations of places and not the places themselves. This type of tourist consumption of representations rather than of the places themselves, makes the subject of other notable visual culture and heritage studies (Lash & Urry, 1994; Selwyn, 1996; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998; Crouch, 1999; Crouch & Lübbren, 2003; Crouch et al., 2005; Robinson & Picard, 2009; 2009a; Waterton, 2010; Watson, 2010; Korstanje & George, 2014). The counter-views, despite acknowledging the role of visibility, also recognise the existence of phenomenological elements in visual consumption, through tourist practices, performance and identity (Edensor 2001; 2009; Meethan 2004; et al. 2006; 2011; Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Selby, 2010; Crouch, 2004; 2010; 2011; 2012; Selwyn, 2010).

This transfer phenomenon, from place to representation becoming the object of tourism consumption, is facilitated by images, explaining the seemingly paradoxical situation of tourism reverting to the earlier, elitist form of romantic sight-seeing, which Urry's theory on anticipation links with the tourists' preformed images. It was this theory in particular which led the present thesis to detect the incongruence between preformed images stemming from tourist anticipation and the actual reality experienced. Urry's (1990: 3) assessment of visitors' anticipation is condensed as follows:

'Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos which construct and reinforce that gaze.'⁴

Urry's theory reviews previous theories (Campbell, 1987) which consider visit anticipation to be related exclusively to contemporary consumerism, and as such, anticipation to provide in itself the satisfaction which otherwise would be provided in Urry's theory by the actual experience of the visit in the case of coinciding with the anticipation. Nevertheless, Campbell (1987) does not deny the importance of the Imagination process but also considers as a key characteristic of modern consumption the paramount role played by emotion which he sees as the link between mental images and physical Stimuli, with Imagination enabling this emotional interaction.

Regarding his visit anticipation definition, Urry (1990: 83) stresses that the 'daydreaming is not a purely individual activity [...] [but] socially organised, particularly through television, advertising, literature, cinema, photography and so on.' Photography in particular is the element through which the transition from the romantic *flâneur* of the 19th century to the contemporary postmodern tourist occurs, both appropriating spaces *via* photographs. I would observe that the main trait, as well as the mastered art, of the *flâneur's* gaze is seeing without being seen, which arguably is not the case with the tourist gaze. Nevertheless, photography acts in both instances as desire to appropriate - by making a new sense of - the places 'gazed at'. With Baudelaire considered the

⁴ Inglis (2000) contributed a study on the pervasiveness of contemporary Television programmes in the anticipation of a holiday; see also Kim et al. (2009).

'progenitor' of *flâneurism* in literature, later adapted by Walter Benjamin through an ethnography research strategy used in urban studies (Jencks & Neves, 2000), the subject of the contemporary tourist seen as the romantic *flâneur* has garnered special research within visual culture and heritage and tourism studies (Tester, 1994; Jokinen & Veijola, 1997; Wood, 2005).

In addition, for the tourist, photographs are also the main incentive and determining element of the visit prior to it taking place. Thus, photography is directly linked to the postmodern tourist gaze, by pre-conditioning it as well as fulfilling it. More recent contributions further analyse the role of photography for the tourist gaze (Taylor, 1994; Selwyn, 1996; Crawshaw & Urry, 1997; Crang, 1997; Osborne, 2000; Lenman, 2003).

In fact, the visual practices discussed earlier 'provide the signs in terms of which the holiday experiences are understood, so that what is then seen is interpreted in terms of these pre-given categories' (Urry, 1995: 132). This is further explained by one of the main characteristics of the tourist gaze, which Urry draws from Culler (1981 cited in Urry, 1990: 3):

'The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is 'timeless romantic Paris'. When a small village in England is seen, what they gaze upon is the 'real olde England'. As Culler argues: 'the tourist is interested in everything as a sign of itself [...]. All over the world the unsung armies of semioticians, the tourists, are fanning out in search of the signs of Frenchness, typical Italian behaviour, exemplary Oriental scenes, typical American thruways, traditional English pubs'.'

As shown by the quote above, apart from signs in themselves, the tourist gaze also looks for distinct elements to be drawn from unique objects, unfamiliarity, unusual contexts, unusual visual environments and, with particular relevance to the thesis (Culler, 1981 cited in Urry, 1990: 12), from:

'[...] particular signs which indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even if it does not seem to be so. [...] The attraction is not the object itself but the sign referring to it that marks it out as distinctive. Thus the marker becomes the distinctive sight.'

When considering the 'gaze' itself, Urry (1990: 83) classifies it in three pairs of a dichotomic nature: Romantic / Collective; Authentic / Inauthentic; Historical / Modern Gaze. It is the 'Romantic Gaze' which 'has become considerably more

significant and is part of the mechanism by which contemporary tourism has been globalised', an increased significance facilitated by traits of postmodernity analysed earlier, in particular the prominence of images within their cultural paradigm. Although Urry (1999) later expanded this classification, the above attributes of the 'Romantic Gaze' remain unaffected.

The nature of this particular type of gaze places 'the emphasis [...] upon solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze' (Urry, 1990: 45), thus leading to a seeming paradox of postmodern mass tourism. In fact, the situation can be explained through a transfer of values, which, by taking place, brought the history of tourism full circle to present days. This transfer theoretically aligns with the assessment of class taste by Bourdieu, Urry (1990) himself having applied Bourdieu's views in explaining social class based differences in tourism trends. For instance, the intellectuals' 'ascetic' type of sightseeing resonates with the exclusivity of former aristocratic visiting trends, whilst the middle-class is more ostentatious in its travelling and visiting habits.

However, the present thesis argues that the globalisation of tourism through the Romantic gaze does not originate from the preponderance of the intellectual or middle-class visiting public, but from the very process of place appropriation *via* images, as it applies to the majority of postmodern tourists. This argument is based on that fact that the Romantic gaze, as Urry aptly noticed, is indeed the main agent through which tourism has become globalised. However, the exact process enabling this transformation remains relatively unclear. The evidence uncovered by the thesis' field research at *Château de Versailles* proves that, rather than the object or the nature of the classic 18th and 19th century Romantic gaze leading to globalisation, it was the very process of place appropriation through a hijacking/requisition of images which was instrumental to the shift. Therefore, whereas a certain elite would have travelled during the 18th and 19th centuries, increasingly enticed to appropriate spaces visited through a solitary, 'revêrie' travelling fashion in order to absorb the picturesque value of the visited landscape, contemporary 'absorbing' is enabled by the tourist devices of taking photographs and/or by its equivalent psychological and subliminal 'appropriation'. This is one of the key findings of the present thesis

(see KF12, Chapter 9). Furthermore, it is irrelevant whether tourists are travelling alone or in groups, to quiet or crowded spaces. What matters is the act itself of appropriation of a certain anticipated image.

In conclusion to the above observations, the thesis findings confirm that the globalisation of contemporary tourism was made possible not by the object or nature of the Romantic gaze, but the image which this type of gaze would seek. Urry himself makes no clear note of the transfer through which the thesis explains the full circle pattern, although the author implies it through the revision and updates of his original theory on the Romantic gaze (Urry, 2002). Therefore, the thesis' clarification regarding Urry's sociological analysis, is that tourism which has started in antiquity as a practice reserved only to the elites for social and economic reasons, and progressively became available to the masses, came to be experienced in similar individualistic ways - on a subliminal, rather than physical level - through the mediation of images allowing the tailoring of individual anticipations. Imagination plays a decisive role in the process. To explain public perception of environments visited through the mediation of imaginary social interaction, Chapter 8 of the present thesis employs the theory of imaginary social worlds as found in Caughey (1984). Tourism studies resonating with this idea are found at Long and Robinson (2009).

Postmodern Cultural Heritage Authenticity and Commodification

Finally, Chapter 3 applies the theories discussed above to the postmodern heritage industry's models of existent sites, by classifying these in a final subchapter examining the range of sites spanning across heritage authenticity aimed at tourist consumption (see Table 3.1). Found on a self-generating cycle between authenticity and commodification of heritage, their classification employs as distinction criteria a heritage authenticity definition found in Ashworth and Howard (1999), in conjunction with a literature review concerning the heritage industry, whose emergence is due to the commemorative trait of places of memory signalled by Nora. The heritage authenticity definition contained by the former criterion was chosen over others due to its matching principles to those considered by the heritage authorities in charge of Petit Trianon's interpretation and its recent 2008 restoration. The latter criterion is supported by thesis research: fieldwork evidence and observations concerning the perception of authenticity by the majority of the visitors at Petit Trianon. These observations consider the perspective of Urry's 'tourist Romantic gaze', which in the thesis' view represents one of the main factors responsible for the commodification of contemporary heritage sites.

It must be stressed that the model does not consider the perspective of any other types of authenticity, which is one of the limitations of the research (see Chapter 9). Valuable analyses of tourist authenticity types, including re-appraisal of 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell, 1973; 1976), are found at Hughes (1995); Selwyn (1996); McIntosh and Prentice (1999); Taylor (2001); Chhabra, Healy and Sills (2003); Hyounggon and Jamal (2007); Lau (2010). Macleod (2006) contributes an extensive review of tourism authenticity types, including 'existential authenticity', upon which further research expands on the thesis findings (see Chapter 9).

This overview is essential in completing the picture of the position reserved nowadays to places of memory such as Petit Trianon, as ultimately it is the perception by their most important consumer, the contemporary tourist, which anchors them into postmodernity. The overview also paves the way for a better

understanding of the 2008 extensive restoration of Petit Trianon with its strategies, demands and issues, presented in Chapter 6.

To expand on the observations on postmodernity made in the previous subchapter, it must be added that, although postmodernity might in essence refer to, aim for and even induce de-differentiation and individuality, the obverse also holds true, due to the inherent ambiguity of postmodernism. Postmodernism's hostility to authority does stem partly from the reaction of individuals against being seen as a mass, yet as noted, postmodernity's main trait is de-differentiation. Hutcheon (1986-1987 cited in Urry, 1990: 87) explains this by seeing postmodernism as 'a model that is profoundly implicated in, yet still capable of criticizing, that which it seeks to describe' (see also Hutcheon, 2002).

Nevertheless, given the nature of the Romantic gaze, there intervenes an even more contrasting clash between the anticipated image of a tourist site and the actual visiting conditions determined by contemporary mass tourism (such as over-crowded spaces given that the images are naturally creating high expectations of exclusivity), as well as the presentation and even commodification to a higher or lesser extent of heritage sites for tourist purposes. Commodification is an inherent trait of any postmodern heritage site nowadays, however, despite this being aimed at an increased attractiveness for the mass visitor, it can sometimes work against the public's anticipation.

As stated earlier, the classification of postmodern heritage sites developed by the thesis (Table 3.1) relies on the definition of heritage authenticity (Ashworth & Howard, 1999) and the present literature review grounded on the commemorative trait of Nora's places of memory. Accordingly, the postmodern *patrimonialisation* signalled by the concept of 'places of memory' finds a British equivalent in 'heritagisation' (Hewison, 1987; Walsh 1992), also known as patrimonisation in US scholarship. Cowell (2008) also contributed a valuable heritage case study, basing his discussion on this phenomenon. Hewison (1987) decries the trend of the past overtaking present and future to transform Britain into a static museum. His views are countered to a point by Raphael Samuel's trilogy *Theatres of Memory* (1994), which does not consider the

increasing appreciation for the past as negative. Another notable author concerned with this heritage analysis, is the American David Lowenthal (1985, 1996, 1998) whose views are cohesive with Nora's stance on the obsession with the past, adding that the representation of the past in each ulterior epoch is conditioned by various factors, not least political, leading to an altered understanding of history. The turning point for heritage studies, which crystallised the new understanding of the concept, as well as the process (see Smith, 2013; Winter, 2013), of heritage for the 21st century, comes from the Millennium publication *A Geography of Heritage* (Graham et al., 2000). All aforementioned stances, along other notable contributions, are reviewed by David Harvey's (2001; 2008) historical analysis of cultural heritage as a process (see also Pearce, 1998).

Emma Waterton and Steve Watson (2013) distinguish notable recent contributions to the main topics touched upon by the thesis, such as the role of heritage in creating identity and values of authenticity, or the dissonance intrinsic to this creation process, identified in the work of Laurajane Smith (2006), David Crouch (2012) and Rodney Harrison (2012). Their article provides a most up to date review of the main heritage debates (see also Harrison et al., 2008; Schofield, 2008) and the challenging questions tackled over the past few decades by the theorists mentioned in this chapter, proposing a framing theory for moving the discussion forward. Furthermore, Australian academic Tim Winter (2014a, b) highlights the unprecedented current crisis of heritage studies, mainly caused by globalisation and a postmodern shift of values contending with the previously hegemonic Western Eurocentrism. The Western European agenda of the nation state faces increasing criticism, as pointed out by authors such as Robert Mugerauer (2001). From the perspective of the thesis, extant criticism illuminates the flaws plaguing the concept due to its manipulation by Western European 19th century nationalism. Harrison (2013) also provides an important contribution to the idea of Nora's *patrimonialisation*, by building on Renan's discourse on the paradoxical idea of 'forgetting to remember' fed back into the context of the over-preservation trait of cultural heritage.

Lastly, cultural heritage and tourism studies focused on the relationship between the two concepts and the array of emerging issues on both representation and perception of heritage and tourist spaces, are paramount in establishing the following classification. Recent scholarship on the subjects of authenticity and tourism-driven commodification of heritage is provided by Nezar AlSayyad (2001), Peter Howard (2003), Melanie Smith and Mike Robinson (2006), Waterton and Watson (2010) and Smith, Waterton and Watson (2012). The representation of heritage spaces for tourism use has also garnered recent contributions from David Crouch and Nina Lübbren (2003), Brian Graham and Peter Howard (2008), Tazim Jamal and Mike Robinson (2009), Charles Mansfield and Simon Seligman (2011) and Crouch (2011).

An association between these studies suggests that the first step in understanding the nature of the sites offering various degrees of heritage authenticity to visitors, can be found in Gregory Ashworth and Peter Howard's (1999: 45) 'Meanings of Authenticity'. The authors define the concept of Authenticity from the perspective of 7 criteria (Figure 3.1):

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.1: Defining Heritage authenticity (Ashworth & Howard, 1999)

From the perspective of the 'tourist Romantic gaze' authenticity would be defined and established *via* visual means, which evidence amassed by field research for the thesis proves to be in stark contrast with the authenticity derived from any of the above sources. By intersecting the sources of authority of those in charge of the site and of the viewers, the converging picture of authenticity generated by various types of sites could be synthesised as in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: The range of sites spanning across heritage authenticity aimed at tourist consumption

1	Natural heritage sites such as National Parks or Reserves, Heritage Gardens; they tend to aim for the authenticity of all sources, but relate to all sections of the visiting public by sometimes conveying narratives which are superimposed onto their intrinsic value, in order to become accessible to all visitors (Tilden, 1957).
2	Cultural heritage sites relying on authenticity at all levels and trying to convey it and interpret it as such; e.g.: Churches, Cathedrals, religious and worship spaces in general (Ashworth & Howard, 1999).
3	Museums possessing a great deal of authentic material displayed using traditional and new museology methods of exhibiting; e.g.: national museums, art museums, community museums, eco-museums. These institutions aim to attain and convey authenticity from the perspective of all 7 above-mentioned criteria. On one hand, there is a threat to the authenticity of the material, posed by the use of new media technology and its hyper-reality effects. Museums mainly using new media displays are audience led, participatory traits being their strength (Graham & Cooke, 2010). New media technology enables innovative interpretations which are nevertheless criticised for bringing museums onto the same par with shopping malls (Urry, 1995; Cuno, 2004). Another common denominator for the new museology interpretation lies in the acknowledged aim of museums to become accessible to all through an over-arching communication or Translation of their messages (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992; 1995; 2004; 2007; Roberts, 1997; Hein, 1998; Henning, 2006; see also Chapter 6). On the other hand, the manipulation of cultural heritage by nationalist, ethnic and/or cultural agendas still plays an important role which cannot be ignored, since it threatens the 'concept' and 'history' authenticity principles (Vergo, 1989; Karp & Lavine, 1991; Walsh, 1992; Karp, Kraemer & Lavine, 1992; Pearce, 1989, 1994; 1995; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; 1995; 2000; Kaplan, 1994; Bennett, 1995; Macdonald & Fyfe, 1996; Barker, 1999; Boswell & Evans, 1999; Fladmark, 2000; Dicks, 2000; 2004; Croke, 2000; 2001; 2007; McLean & Cooke, 2003a, b; Carbonell, 2004; McIntyre & Wehner, 2001; Simpson, 2001; Macdonald, 1998; 2003, 2006; Witcomb, 2003; Kreps, 2003; Brocklehurst & Phillips, 2004; Cuno, 2004; Corsane, 2005; Littler & Naidoo, 2005; Watson, 2007; McLean, 2008; Gouriévidis, 2010). Furthermore, the tendency derived from new museology principles to evoke feelings at the expense of material authenticity leads to settings which could not be technically classifiable as museums to be subsumed to this category (see Rátz, 2006).
4	Heritage sites exuding authenticity of the material, such as heritage gem cities (Ashworth & Howard, 1999: 107-116) or cities rich in cultural heritage. This authenticity

	is often in competition - to the extent of even being deemed – with superimposed features deriving from literary (Augé, 1997; Hollis, 2009), film (Beeton, 2005) or other media sources; e.g.: Amsterdam-Bantjer tour, Oxford - Detective Morse' trail (Reijnders, 2010); Madrid - Cervantes Train emphasising Don Quixote's as much as the authorial presence (Busby, Korstanje & Mansfield, 2011); Bran Castle in Transylvania - Dracula's myth (Muresan & Smith, 1998).
5	In contrast with the above, sites with less historical or architectural notoriety or value, but benefiting from outstanding natural heritage features, use cultural, artistic and historical myth connections together with literary or film tourism in a bid for increased popularity; e.g.: Concarneau enhanced its heritage package by alluding to a built heritage connection with Vauban, the Brittany circle of artists as well as with the Maigret series, such as <i>Le Chien Jaune</i> (Mansfield, 2011); Cornwall with its myths, St Ives or Newlyn art circles and literary/film associations (Busby & Laviolette, 2006) such as the Cornish location of Port-Isaac with its history of smuggling, as well as popular series connections - <i>Doc Martin</i> (Busby & Haines, 2013). It must be noted that these sites, even when associated with literary tourism, are different to literary places which do not have any heritage value other than their connection with a literary source granting and protecting their status of cultural tourist sites; for a valuable insight into the literature and tourism relationship see Robinson and Andersen (2002). Nevertheless, cultural tourist sites could also be considered heritage sites according to other criteria not used by the thesis model (see Herbert, 2001; Fawcett & Cormack, 2001).
6	Heritage sites trying to induce authenticity by depicting a certain historical period by inauthentic means (Howard, 2003); e.g.: Williamsburg, Virginia, the archetype model of colonial re-enactment and heritage interpretation, uses costumed human guides and a carefully reconstituted setting, all inauthentic, but depicting authenticity mainly for educational reasons (The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, http://www.history.org/foundation/mission.cfm).
7	Heritage Centres - a hybrid between heritage sites and theme parks; e.g.: Wiggan Pier in UK (Urry, 1995) – mainly combine the authenticity of the 'function', 'concept' and 'history', nevertheless packaging it into a commodified form more easily accessible to the majority of the public.
8	Theme Parks (Davis, 1996; Hollinshead, 2009) that are authentic from the perspective of their function and concept, although they use inauthentic materials to depict certain heritage elements; e.g.: Disneyland (Eco, 1986; Fjellman, 1992; Zukin, 1993; Marling, 1997; Byrne & McQuillan, 1999) - see the castle of the Sleeping Beauty, a copy of Viollet le Duc's restoration at Carcassonne (Binh, 2010). Viollet le Duc's 19 th century

	restoration ethics are however questionable in terms of heritage authenticity values (Jokilehto, 1999), for instance, his 1864 restoration of Notre-Dame under the influence of Victor Hugo's novel (Hollis, 2009) later adapted by Disney in one of its most successful animated movies (<i>The Hunchback of Notre-Dame</i> , 1996). Nevertheless, theme parks such as Disney catering to the heritage of childhood tales spanning generations is arguably as authentic as any other fairy tales of the past, both instances embodying aspects of cultural heritage. Another notable type of theme parks comprises those staging foreign places by attempting to accurately represent notorious heritage landmarks, but through the lens of commodification; e.g.: Japanese theme parks (Hendry, 2009; Schlehe et al., 2010). Although not overtly theme parks of 'otherness', the architecture of the 'Polish villages' in Curitiba, a complex case of authenticity and commodification through an identity re-invention designed for tourist purposes, also exhibits such theming (Irazábal, 2004).
9	Entertainment, tourist and even residential sites that are inauthentic, but meticulously copy authentic heritage sites which in turn are increasingly becoming deemed by the hyper-reality image portrayed by the former; e.g.: Las Vegas' copies of Venice or of the Pyramids, the Japanese copies of European heritage towns such as Amsterdam, residential town replicas such as Disney's <i>Celebration</i> or copies of heritage sites manufactured with the occasion of the Great Universal Exhibitions in the past (AlSayyad, 2001a; Roy, 2004).
10	Shopping Malls that are designed to depict various famous heritage sites mingling with hotels, shops, etc., the peak of the postmodern consumerist market (Eco, 1986; Urry, 1995; Coles, 2004). Crawford (1992) analyses the threats posed by the shopping mall model subset, determining an annihilation of public space, through hyper-reality; also see the other contributions found in Sorkin (1992) for several analyses of the same effects of the hyper-reality of theme parks.

From the perspective of heritage authenticity, the last three model subsets (based on theming), exclusively rely on the use of the hyper-reality initially analysed by Eco (1986) in the context of museum presentation, and which seems to have garnered increasing popularity even with some traditional museums, the use of holograms and three-dimensional displays being favoured by majority of the visiting public according to the literature review contained by the above model. Gottdiener (2001) analyses the social implications of theming, referring to the last three model subsets: theme parks, sites such as Las Vegas and shopping malls (also see Paradis, 2004). Presence as derived from

telepresence (Minsky, 1980) and induced by virtual reality (VR) is acknowledged to have recently found an important niche in cultural heritage interpretation (Pujol & Champion, 2012).

It must be noted that the models above contain a degree of heritage authenticity which decreases in inverse proportionality with their popularity, and suggesting that less authentic sites appeal to the majority of the visiting public. Also, despite the heritage authenticity decreasing from model 1 to 10, the table indicates an aspiration towards portraying authenticity of even the least authentic models, which copy the originals with painstaking care. Given the character of postmodernity, it can be easily deduced that, for the majority of individuals, the copies displaced the originals. In support of this point, Nezar AlSayyad (2001a) offers a personal anecdote about the American academic who was disappointed to see that the real Sphinx was much smaller than its three-times-enlarged replica from Las Vegas, to which he was accustomed. AlSayyad also discusses the difficulty of establishing what is authentic or not nowadays. Disneyland could hence be considered more authentic than a heavily restored heritage monument, as the former clearly states its 'fakeness'.

Assessing the values attached to these types of sites is not the object of this study. However, it is undeniable that all these forms of authenticity do have their own legitimate function. Furthermore, they can all contribute to creating the complete picture of classic heritage authenticity in the context of a postmodern society, as they all sustain and reinforce each other (Ashworth & Howard, 1999).

Summary

The present chapter set out to complete the academic field of the thesis by discussing Nora's views on the commemorative trait of 'places of memory', commemoration which is responsible for their very existence. This theory was linked with two other significant views, anchoring the concept of 'places of memory' into present time (Lefebvre, 1991; Urry, 1990, 1995, 2002).

The new 'class' operating place appropriation - that of the postmodern visitor - was also accounted for, the present chapter being paramount in providing the theoretical background necessary to the analysis of the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, as well as the identification of its producers and its consumers at Petit Trianon. Further analyses contained by Chapters 6, 7 and 8 complete the understanding of this process and its underlying causes.

The dimensions of authenticity discussed in the last subchapter underline the need for a better understanding of visitor perception of heritage sites. To this end, Chapter 4 of the present thesis focuses on the hermeneutic method of interpreting built environments, applied in conjunction with Lefebvre's interpretation of space (see Figure 4.2), which also underpins the assessment of the architectural and heritage narratives of the site of Petit Trianon.

Part II

Methodological Framework

Chapter 4

Methodology, Fieldwork Research Method and Evidence

Introduction

Chapter 4 represents the Methodological Framework of the thesis, and is structured into 4 main parts: firstly, a presentation of the hermeneutical methodology used to analyse the representation, interpretation and perception of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon; secondly, the methods of investigation (data collection review) used inductively within the context of thematic analysis, in order to construct and test the research working hypothesis; thirdly, the fieldwork research method developed by the author for this thesis (Maior-Barron, 2011) through a questionnaire-led survey at the site of Petit Trianon (2010-2012). Finally, the last subchapter contributes a synthesis of the thesis' main arguments, applied onto the fieldwork research methods and evidence. This brings together all elements required by Part III of the thesis, which comprises an analysis of the four major narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette. Chapter 4 contributes to reaching all thesis aims (see A1; A2) and objectives (see O1; O2; O3; O4).

The author's choice of the hermeneutical paradigm of interpretation was a carefully considered decision, based on two reasons of equal importance. Firstly, the hermeneutical methodology is particularly suited to interpreting architecture and controversial built environments, as it addresses the prejudice intrinsic to the interpretation process (Howard, 2003; Gadamer, 2004). By establishing the degree of prejudice and the coordinates of various past and present creators and users of Petit Trianon, the thesis aims to deliver a clear portrayal of all the intricate narrative threads leading to the complexity of the case study. Following this strategy, the hermeneutical paradigm is directly applied throughout Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8. Furthermore, all collected data is filtered *via* assessment, in the final thesis chapters (Chapters 7, 8), against the impact of each of the four investigated narratives on the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon (O2), along with the emergent images of Marie Antoinette resulting in the commodification of this historical figure.

Secondly, the hermeneutical paradigm is the only type of analysis that not only takes into account the confluence between the generators and the receivers of a message, but also leads to conclusive insights into an objective truth (Mugerauer, 1995). Conversely, the postmodern Deconstruction paradigm of interpretation (Derrida, 1967) would eschew addressing the intricate perception of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, as it primarily maintains that there is no such thing as an objective truth. Although this too could arguably be a valid point of view, the thesis plans to reach a conclusion for the present state of affairs, seen as culmination of the development of the research subject from the 19th century to the postmodern present time, in which the thesis' analysis is anchored, by charting the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon: its production and consumption (A2).

The Hermeneutical Paradigm of Interpreting Petit Trianon

For a refined decoding of the mechanisms underpinning the creation of the image of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette in connection with the factors contributing at the dissonant commodification of this historical character, the methodological framework of the present thesis uses as starting point Robert Mugerauer's (1995) comparative study for the interpretation of built environments, praised in heritage studies (Howard, 2003: 47) as 'a particularly useful text about ways of understanding historical architecture'. Mugerauer (1995) contributed a valuable synthesis of the three main ways of Interpretation of cultural heritage.⁵

The thesis consciously focuses on the Hermeneutic paradigm of interpretation of Petit Trianon, making use of Mugerauer's guide,⁶ in turn based on Heidegger and Gadamer. This framework is complemented by the views of Paul Ricoeur (2004), perhaps the most quintessentially hermeneutical author. The focus falls on Ricoeur's analysis of Halbwachs' 'collective memory' in conjunction with his observations on Nora's *lieux de mémoire*, both necessary to fully grasp the contemporary perception of French visitors at Petit Trianon.

The thesis chooses to apply the methodology of Hermeneutics due to its congruence with the theoretical corpus assembled in support of the thesis arguments. Given the controversial nature of both historical site and figure, the hermeneutical paradigm is particularly suited to a decryption and understanding of the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon, as home to Marie Antoinette. Moreover, the main principles of the hermeneutical paradigm lend themselves to a direct application onto the case study of Petit Trianon. The thesis' hermeneutical approach comes full circle in Chapter 8, which juxtaposes the

⁵ Notable recent attempts to construct a new paradigm of investigating cultural heritage are identified within the research of Australian cultural heritage academic Dr Matthew W. Rofo, who establishes the bases, through his heritage and tourism relationship analyses, of the philosophical paradigm of Reconstruction (Rofo, pers. comm., 2014). For relevant applications of this nascent paradigm see Rofo (2004; 2006; with Winchester, 2007; 2013; with Karimi, 2014).

⁶ Robert Mugerauer (1995) successfully applies this paradigm in the interpretation of American natural landscape perceptions since the 19th century. Cultural heritage studies relevant to the present thesis utilise the hermeneutic paradigm to either reveal opinions prejudiced by nationalist purposes (see Collins, 2011) or detect the confluence between curatorial interpretation and visitor perceptions in museums. Particularly successful contributions come from Hooper-Greenhill (1999; 2000) and Davey (2012) who provides an appraisal of the hermeneutical method by highlighting its advantages.

narratives analysed by previous chapters into a theoretical and practical assessment of the range of images associated with Marie Antoinette, resulting in the commodification of her historical character.

Traditionally associated with the academic discipline of Philosophy, the process of interpretation has undergone a shift towards other modes of investigation and other disciplines, mostly due to the ideological crisis of the postmodern era. Thus, from humanities to environmental sciences, the new interpretational approaches of Hermeneutics and Deconstruction, have become increasingly accepted and used as essential complementary views of the traditional approach, which maintains as basic foundation of interpretation, that any artefact has meaning because of its extrinsic relations (Mugerauer, 1995). Both Hermeneutics and Deconstruction stem from the traditional approach, inasmuch as the first aims not to develop a new take on the traditional interpretation, but rather 'to clarify how understanding takes place' (Mugerauer, 1995: xxvi), while the second is formulated in total opposition to the tradition, accepting its 'position – the positing' but aiming to undo it (Mugerauer, 1995: xliii).

In comparison with the traditional approach, which considers the message of the author as fixed and unique, hermeneutical interpretation must establish the confluence of the meanings emerging from all traditions involved, such as that of the creator as well as that of the public's perception of the creation in a later time-frame. Heidegger (Mugerauer, 1995: xxviii) sees this confluence, as well as the hermeneutical accent placed on the importance of the interpreter through the 'hermeneutical circle': understanding of any part of one's world, 'depends on a prior connection with or preunderstanding of the whole, and any understanding of the whole can proceed only from an understanding of, or projection from, the parts.' Whilst also emphasizing the need to consider prejudice in hermeneutical interpretation, Gadamer (Mugerauer (1995: xxviii) further streamlined Heidegger's concept:

'in the process of understanding, the hermeneutical circle is expanding concentrically [...] [and in] interpreting phenomena it is crucial to open new meaning by uncovering still-efficacious meanings from the past that bear on the present in ways that have been concealed by naturally shifting intermediate horizons (that is, over time) or by partial and derivative meanings that have come to act as blinders, restricting and monopolising our focus.'

The method of hermeneutical interpretation outlined above next integrates the case study of the thesis, linking the broader analysis with the subchapter concerning the fieldwork research method and evidence. By directly applying the hermeneutical principles outlined below, the present subchapter highlights the convergence of the theories analysed thus far and the narratives presented by following chapters into a body of knowledge fully addressing the aims and objectives of the thesis.

Firstly, Hermeneutics takes into consideration a polysemic structure of meaning as found at the meeting of the past world of the creator, of the intermediate worlds of those who intervened later, at different levels and in different ways, and finally, of the present world of the public perceiving a historical and architectural artefact. Since the hermeneutical interpretation is found at the intersection between conveyor and receptor, as well as interim users, creators and interpreters, the analysis of the thesis examines each market's agenda in order to deliver an accurate interpretation.

Taking into consideration, the architectural narrative of the Petit Trianon (as defined by the thesis), suggests that the messages inscribed into the space of the 18th century Royal residence were not a manipulation of already existent material in a statement of legitimation, but an expression of its own legitimate position. This is the marked difference between the conception (creation) of Marie Antoinette's Petit Trianon and ulterior, unsuccessful attempts at appropriation by subsequent users.

Furthermore, the situation reflects Nora's observations on the nature of 'places of memory', which come into being once the 'lived-in' tradition disappears, being replaced by self-conscious attempts to create new traditions, culminating in commemoration. Marie Antoinette's choice to feature the Norman village as part of the English Garden at Petit Trianon, even if only in a symbolic way, was the result of an innate need to be in touch with a country which has never fully accepted her. Still, the Queen did not intend this to be a conscious expression of national identity. It was only in the late 19th century that it became fashionable for members of political elites to display connections with the folk culture of the national audience.

Secondly, the hermeneutical interpretation aims to uncover what is hidden and usually overlooked because of its nearness and purposeful concealment (Mugerauer, 1995: 118): 'as Heidegger insisted, we need to reflect on what is nearest, on what is so close that we do not see or think it.' This principle of the 'near' (Heidegger, 1971), frequently utilised in the investigation and assessment of historical and heritage narratives, also applies, to varying degrees, to the thesis' analyses of the narratives centred on Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon. Despite clear indications that a closer look at the obvious would dispel many persistent popular myths, the majority of historical authors, whose works are analysed in Chapter 5, base their studies on already established facts and views, without questioning or challenging their authority. Paradoxically, the minority of authors who do focus on dismantling these myths have to purposefully disguise their findings in the form of fiction novels.

Similarly, even when faced with the obvious simplicity and restrictive/Spartan space of the quarters of Petit Trianon, a part of the contemporary public still prefers to take the mental leap of imagining it as the promiscuous setting popularised by the myth. In the same way, the May 1789 Revolutionaries who inspected Petit Trianon for evidence of the opulent luxury the Queen allegedly lavished upon her Estate were disappointed by the simplicity of the place, and concluded that all the 'treasures' must have been hidden before their arrival.

The major factor responsible for the misperception evidenced by both cases lies in the dominance of images, as discussed through Urry's theory. Consequently, the image is what becomes unanimously accepted, whereas the content itself devolves from main image generator to mere hidden message, ultimately becoming insignificant in the perception of the site of Petit Trianon by the majority of contemporary visitors.

Thirdly and most importantly, the hermeneutical interpretation of Petit Trianon takes into account the prejudice of each of the parties involved in the creation, interpretation and perception of this space, as home to Marie Antoinette. As already noted, this is crucial to the present analysis, since the power of prejudice is a significant force on both individual and societal levels. Therefore, each narrative and its assessed impact (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) uncovers and

highlights the prejudices imposed by each different context, such as Marie Antoinette's Catholic faith, the cultural background of historical authors from the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries, Sofia Coppola's self-confessed 'spoilt teenagehood', Riyoko Ikeda's Japanese feminist attitude, the French curatorial approach to the museum of Petit Trianon, or the various sections of the contemporary visiting public's cultural conditioning.

The final part of the present subchapter looks at Ricoeur's observations on Halbwachs' 'collective memory' in conjunction with several aspects generated by Nora's 'places of memory'. Hermeneutical acceptations of these two concepts are essential in drawing research conclusions on the entirety of the study, particularly in connection to its aim (A2) of charting the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, which is produced and consumed through the power of *clichés* inscribed in French collective memory, moreover through an artificial remembering process typical to 'places of memory'.

One of the sources of the above situation lies in modernity's fracturing of the historical discourse, which Ricoeur (2004: 301) sees as 'a fault-line fissuring from within the presumed encompassing, totalising idea of world history' with the French Revolution considered to be 'the mother of all ruptures'. Moreover, the role of teacher of life which the 'ancient *topos* of history' would have previously played has been subverted into many uncanny manifestations, including those of the 'collective memory' and of the 'places of memory'. Analysing the two concepts, Ricoeur (2004: 393) emphasises the fracture anew, sourcing his usage of 'uncanny' from Freud's *Unheimlichkeit*: 'the painful feeling experienced in dreams revolving around the theme of pierced eyes, decapitation, and castration.' The author investigates the themes of 'death in history', 'historicity and historiography', and 'the dialectic of memory and history', the latter being the focus of the present analysis.

Halbwachs makes a clear distinction between collective memory and historical memory. As Halbwachs places the individual memories themselves within the structure of a group, Ricoeur critiques the externality which, in these circumstances, would control the internal process of individual memory. Although Ricoeur maintains a critical view against this 'external gaze', the

philosopher also admits that Halbwachs' particular use of the notions of place and change of place is what in fact defeats 'a quasi-Kantian use of the idea of framework, unilaterally imposed on every consciousness' (Ricoeur, 2004: 124). Halbwachs observes that history is first learned in school by mechanical means of memorisation, thus inducing an external encounter with a narrative taught within the framework of a nation. The externality factor acknowledged to be polemic by Ricoeur (2004) actually plays a special role in Halbwachs' theory of 'collective memory'.

Ricoeur (2004: 394) notices that it is through this externality that Halbwachs was in fact able to explain the process of a 'progressive disappearance of the gap between the history taught in school and the experience of memory, a gap that is itself reconstructed after the fact.' Most importantly, externality is the main factor - in the discovery of historical memory - of gradual familiarisation with the unfamiliar. Familiarisation consists of an initiation process that is mostly supported by a transgenerational tie: 'As the family elders become uninterested in contemporary events, they interest the succeeding generations in the framework of their own childhood' (Ricoeur, 2004: 394). Ricoeur sees in the phenomenon of transgenerational memory the essential element ensuring the transition from learned history to living memory.

Halbwach's theory reflects Lefebvre's views on the difference between space and Logos. Moreover, it links up with Nora's and Hobsbawm's observations, bringing clearer insight to the analysis: if the national identity of a country does not fully coincide with its cultural heritage - as reflected by the invented traditions of nationalism - factions of different collective memories from groups bridging the gap between individual and nation start to evolve. In addition, the generations themselves seem to act as separate layers amidst the dialectic of memory and history, thus inducing clear distinctions between collective and historical memories.

Nora's views on generations - which could themselves be seen as 'places of memory' and consequently generators of history - complete Halbwachs' reticence to arrive at a clear conceptual delimitation for either the memory or the history of the modern era. Nevertheless, Nora's theory on 'memory-history'

distances him from Halbwachs, as he does not clearly differentiate between the collective and historical memory. Instead, as Ricoeur (2004: 403) notices, in Nora's theory, these two concepts would have been linked by the nation: 'History was holy because the nation was holy. The nation became the vehicle that allowed French memory to remain standing on its sanctified foundation'. Therefore, when Nora considers the rupture between history and tradition, he does perceive the nation's role in linking memory to history in the nationalist era. The nation was the last embodiment of memory. Nora (2011a, b; 2013) recently updated these ideas with further contributions to modern history representation, confirming the connection he discerns between 'collective memory' and 'places of memory'.

In addition, generations have contributed to the understanding of 'places of memory' and their relation to heritage. In the last volume of his work, *Les France*, Nora dedicates his chapter to exploring memory and history in connection to the succession of generations. Although in theory the sequence of generations should have countered *patrimonialisation*, the present thesis argues that the very crisis of identification with the nation has generated an endless loop of identification with an increasingly divided and reconstructed past, as demonstrated by the competition between contemporary media imagery and the images imprinted on collective memory, illustrated through fieldwork research evidence of the thesis (see Chapter 7).

Following the presentation of the 'uncanny' theories which contribute to the interpretation of results from the survey undertaken at the site of Petit Trianon (Chapter 7), the next section details preparatory field research carried out for the thesis, within the context of a thematic analysis.

Data Collection Review

Methods of Investigation Underpinning the Research Hypothesis and Adjacent Traditional Research

Before presenting the investigation method of a questionnaire-led survey developed for the thesis based on the theoretical background and methodological framework, the present subchapter reviews the methods behind the construction and testing of the fieldwork working hypothesis.⁷ Crucial in establishing the course and goals of the research strategy, these theoretical methods were complemented by practical ones, as outlined next.

The PhD fieldwork research was based on the thesis author's consecutive internships at *Château de Versailles* in October 2010 - May 2011 and October 2011 - August 2012. Granted the official authorisation of 'Chargée de recherches - Conservation', I undertook historical documentation research and conducted my own survey investigating the public perception of the museum of Petit Trianon and the impact of its 2008 restoration. The work was approved and supported by Mr Jérémie Benoît (Head Curator of Petit Trianon) and *Château de Versailles* specialists: Mr Pierre-Xavier Hans (18th century decorative arts curator), Mr Philippe Baudin (Heritage Architect of the restoration department) and Ms Marie-Laëtitia Lachèvre (Head Librarian of the curatorial documentation department). Following data collection during the first placement period, it became clear that immersion into the French culture was vital for a better understanding of the French public perception of the controversial historical figure of Marie Antoinette. Thus, further methods of interaction and observation were devised and applied during the second placement period.

⁷ Chelcea et al. (1998: 46) distinguish between 'theoretical' and 'working' hypotheses in qualitative research. In line with hypothesis coding used in qualitative research (see Saldaña, 2013), I have used this type of hypothesis, which was tested and validated by the field evidence at Petit Trianon.

Methods employed by the qualitative research in order to construct, validate and further test the working hypothesis confirmed by the survey

The following Data Sets (see also Appendix 4) were used inductively within the context of a thematic analysis. Most compatible with phenomenology (Giorgi & Giorgi, 2008) and applied successfully in psychology research such as Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; see Smith & Osborn, 2008; also Braun & Clarke, 2006) and grounded theory (see Auerbach & Silverstein, 2003), as well as arts research (see Butler-Kisber, 2010; Saldaña, 2013), this type of analysis is used by the present thesis in line with recent ethnographic research, by employing its definition as an intersection of analytical coding and hermeneutical interpretation (Kozinets, 2010; Saldaña, 2013) and, was chosen due to its characteristic of focusing on themes/patterns (Boyatzis, 1998). The themes considered by the present thesis relate to the representation and interpretation of Marie Antoinette's historical character, whilst the patterns searched for, relate to its perception. The identifying of these themes/patterns was data-driven - as opposed to theory-driven - determining an inductive approach (see Boyatzis, 1998). Furthermore, rather than as a specific method, the present thesis considers thematic analysis to be a tool used across different methods (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun & Clarke, 2006), representing an overarching approach to the archival/ library research and the ethnographic methods of informal interviews and participant observation.

The ethnographic methods of the research were carried out in my role of intern and doctoral researcher at the *Château de Versailles* but also as a French resident (2010-2012), as well as a waitress in a restaurant next to the *Château de Versailles* (April - August 2012). From this perspective, my position of researcher belongs with critical realist ethnography approaches (Smith, pers. comm., 2012; see also Brewer, 2000; Van Maanen, 2011), as my interpretation of data pertains to qualitative inquiries found on the border between modern and postmodern ethnography (Figure 4.1). Furthermore, by searching for patterns (typical for modern ethnography) and by drawing causal conclusions (see Silverman, 2007; Butler-Kisber, 2010) whilst accepting at the same time a confluence of meanings derived from many perspectives which are all accounted for, this ethnographic approach falls within the hermeneutical

interpretation underpinning the entire methodology. In what reflexivity is concerned, in line with critical realist approaches, my 'voice' (see Hertz, 1997) and my identity (see Van Maanen, 1995; Denzin, 1997; Coffey, 1999; Denzin & Lincoln, 2003; Butler-Kisber, 2010) are representative for the theoretical rehabilitative stance presented in Chapter 2, providing the research legitimization in relation to the contested notions discussed by the thesis throughout.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Figure 4.1: The Qualitative Inquiry Continuum (Butler-Kisber, 2010)

The hermeneutical principles of intersecting a polysemy of meanings supported the choice of the library and archive sources used to assess the architectural and historical narratives of the thesis. The hermeneutical interpretation was also extended to the cinematic and heritage narratives, when analysing the data corpus related to these (see Chapters 5 and 6). Scott (1990) highlights the importance of hermeneutics in extracting meaning, particularly as a vital aid to the researcher, by allowing them to enter 'into a dialogue with the author of the document being studied' (Scott, 1990: 31). Thus, further understanding is facilitated by examining the hermeneutic circle in which the document was composed. The hermeneutical principles of the 'near' and the 'prejudice' (Heidegger, 1971; Gadamer, 2004) highlighted earlier by the chapter, play a vital role in the aforementioned analyses.

There are 15 Data Sets used in the research, which are presented next in a chronological order. It can be seen that this subscribes to the stages of an inductive approach consisting in Data Collection, construction of the working hypothesis and analysis. The Data Sets 1-3 in particular gathered knowledge about the general perception of Marie Antoinette, which was ulteriorly used for constructing the working hypothesis (in conjunction with Data Sets 4-7) tested later through the questionnaire-led survey at Petit Trianon (2010-2012). A particular trait of the thesis methodology is the outline of a working hypothesis (Chelcea et al., 1998) through hypothetical coding. This is characteristic to qualitative research such as thematic analysis (Saldaña, 2013). Furthermore, the hermeneutical interpretation intrinsic to thematic analysis, with the hermeneutic circle playing a central role in extracting meaning (Thompson et al., 1994; Arnold & Fischer, 1994) further legitimates the choice of this method over other approaches. Thompson et al. (1994) also highlight the fact that a good hermeneutical interpretation must be delving into the social and historical contexts of the data, for providing a nuanced cultural interpretation. This was achieved through the intersection of the different data collected for the four major narratives of the thesis.

The hypothetical coding for the thesis employed as themes the *clichés* detected by the data collection (Table 4.1), in the representation of Marie Antoinette's historical character. Not only that these *clichés* were matched by the coding of the visitor discourses at Petit Trianon (see Chapter 7), but the power of *clichés* proved to be at the root of the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, further explaining the production and consumption of this commodification at Petit Trianon (see Chapter 8).

Finally, it should be stressed that the samples of the historical works on Marie Antoinette supplied by Chapter 5, as well as the sources from *Librairie des Princes*, are theoretical/purposive (see Mason, 2002). The cross-referencing of these two types of sampled populations against academic analyses, focused on the construction and manipulation of Marie Antoinette' image. Chapter 5 is pivotal in understanding the relation between the Republican *clichés* themed by the thesis, and their influence on the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon, elaborated upon in Chapter 8.

Data Set 1

Hermeneutical analysis of the major, up-to-date historical works, *mémoires* and novels focused on Marie Antoinette were required to assess the general message conveyed to the public by these sources and coincided in essence with the narrative perpetuated by the Revolutionary/Republican agenda.

Discussions with the main authors whose work is relevant to the thesis analysis subscribing to a historical rehabilitation narrative (Annie Duprat, Chantal Thomas and Patricia Bouchenot-Déchin) helped refine the focus of the fieldwork questionnaire. Chapter 5 contains the hermeneutical analysis of the historical narrative of Marie Antoinette - a data collection correlated with the analysis of above-mentioned authorial perspectives.

During this first stage, the research revealed the main themes approached in connection the historical figure of Marie Antoinette. As earlier outlined, these are the Republican *clichés* (Table 4.1) hypothetically coded/themed and detected later in the visitor discourses gathered at Petit Trianon (see Chapter 7), thus confirming the working hypothesis. Furthermore, these themes were detected through consecutive data sets (12 and 15) to be also pervasive in the contemporary press and other media channels, sources which had to be considered in support to shaping the argument of Chapter 8, relating to media as an external subliminal influence to visitor perceptions at a heritage site.

Table 4.1: Main clichés associated to the historical character of Marie Antoinette (their origins are detected in either French Court's slander or in the Revolutionary pamphlets appropriated by the Republican discourse) - the hypothetical theming tested through the survey at Petit Trianon

Cliché	Connotative meaning
Uneducated Arch-Duchesse	Supposedly poor education which Marie Antoinette received at the Court of Vienna, before arriving at Versailles; it emphasizes the superiority of the French Court over that of its Austrian counterpart
Queen of Fashion/ Overspending	A monarch who favoured luxury and leisure over the fulfilment of Royal duties to such an extent that she bankrupted France
A 'tête à vent' ; 'frivole' and 'nulle en politique'	Denoting a nature little inclined to serious matters, and hinting at stupidity rather than lightness of spirit or an artistic personality
Playing the shepherdess	A Queen completely cut off from the reality of the society she lived in, who furthermore substituted reality with her own version - Le Petit Trianon. This was derogatorily named La Petite Vienne, reinforcing the idea of Marie Antoinette's rejection of France and French people on the grounds of her Austrian nationality
Unfaithful spouse of depraved morality /sexuality	Attributing to Marie Antoinette a countless series of lovers, men and women, ranging from her close companions to Revolutionary figures such as Barnave, Mirabeau or even La Fayette, who supposedly changed their mind about the French Revolution's ideals under the influence of their 'lover': the Queen
Austrian spy and traitor	Supposed disloyalty to France and the French people; the favourite nickname given to Marie Antoinette by such detractors: ' <i>L'Autrichienne</i> '
'Let them eat Cake!'	Refers to the disregard that Marie Antoinette supposedly showed to the poor, and also to stupidity

Data Set 2

Informal interviews starting October 2010, with Jérémie Benoît (*Estate of Marie-Antoinette* Head Curator), Pierre-Xavier Hans (18th century decorative arts curator), Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin, Head Archivist Karine McGrath and Head Librarian Marie-Laetitia Lachèvre, yielded evidence that within art history elite circles, opinions converge at the opposite pole to that of majority public perception. Interestingly, opinion sources differ, many specialists 'reading' into historical facts or the details of the Queen's habitation, rather than interpretations based on historical narratives. They are also aware of the persisting 'negative' image of Marie Antoinette, engraved onto the French national collective memory.

Data Set 3

Hermeneutical study of relevant exhibition catalogues, press and internet sources, as well as of other relevant French libraries and archive databases (see References), were also needed to assess the general public opinion towards the last Queen of France. To understand Japanese visitor patterns, I have paid particular attention throughout November and December 2010 to the exhibition catalogues concerning the exhibitions on Marie Antoinette in Japan. These sources helped construct the multiple-choice Japanese questionnaire (see Appendix A1.3).

Press and internet releases on the exhibition held by Japanese artist Takashi Murakami at the *Château de Versailles* (14th September -12th December 2010), revealed the paramount importance of the *manga La Rose de Versailles* in the Japanese visitor perception of the historical figure of Marie Antoinette. This was due to the artist's own statement (see **Takashi Murakami** Interview):

'It's very surreal to be here," he says, waving a hand at the gilt-laden salon. "As a kid growing up in Japan I learnt about Versailles through the girls' comic book *Rose of Versailles*, which was such a big hit that it became a musical and a TV show. Everyone in Japan wants to talk to me about this particular commission, not because they're interested in me or my work or even art - they're just mad about *Rose of Versailles*. But, you know, I don't have a problem with that.'

From a hermeneutical analysis of press sources for that period (see Data Set 12) concerning *La Rose de Versailles*, I learned that Riyoko Ikeda was coming to France for *Le 38e festival international de la bande dessinée d'Angoulême* (27th– 30th January 2011). Ikeda also gave a soprano recital at Petit Trianon (Plate 4.1) and a conference talk, which I have attended (Data Set 4). Ikeda's fascination with Marie Antoinette and the 18th century (see Chapter 5) was particularly investigated. Through extension to her public (Plate 4.2), I have incorporated the testing of these two elements into the Japanese questionnaire; these were confirmed by research evidence (see Chapter 7).

In January 2011, I attended the exhibition held at *La Conciergerie* (29 October 2010-13 February 2011) - an extremely valuable source of information for details about films and filming of historical sites in general and at Petit Trianon in particular. The exhibition conveyed the extreme popularity of Marie Antoinette's historical character in media as one of the most often portrayed feminine figures of French history (Binh, 2010). This data collection informs the analyses of the historical, cinematic and heritage narratives analysed in Chapters 5 and 6.

After attending the 17th edition of the Heritage Fair (3rd-6th November 2011, Louvre Museum) to record the main French heritage publishing houses and their publications in the field, I have been introduced by Head Librarian Marie-Laetitia Lachèvre to Mr Cyril Duclos, Manager Librarian of the Heritage Library of *École de Chaillot*. Established in 1887, this institution has provided formation courses for heritage architects ever since. Nowadays, heritage architects have in France the greatest authority in terms of managing/restoring heritage (see Chapter 6). Courtesy of Mr Duclos I was granted full access to all their publications and documents, consulted in May 2012. The resulting data collection deepened my understanding of the context of contemporary French heritage studies, which partly underpins the critical reviews in Chapters 3 and 6.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 4.1: Riyoko Ikeda - 2011 Petit Trianon Recital Programme (VIP event) with ticket prices starting from 1500 Euros

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Plate 4.2: Riyoko Ikeda and her fans (Brethes, 2011)

Data Set 4

Attendance of conferences and *colloquies* complemented all the above data sets. At the *Hôtel de Ville* of Versailles history conferences (held yearly in November since 2008), I met in 2010 contemporary historians such as the late Jean Favier (French Mediaeval rehabilitative history) and Patricia Bouchenot-Déchin (rehabilitative history of the image of Marie Antoinette through historical fiction) and in 2011 the authors Jean Sévillia (rehabilitative history of the French Old Regime) and Simone Berti re (Marie Antoinette biographer). All confirmed the definite trend of misunderstood historical characters rehabilitation. At the *colloquies* held by *Ch teau de Versailles* in 2011 to raise public awareness of the complexity of Marie Antoinette's historical character, I also met/assisted to the talks of the biographers/historians Chantal Thomas and C cile Berly. These methods contributed to the data collection outlined in Chapter 5.

To better understand the agenda of Japanese *mangaka* Riyoko Ikeda, I attended her presentation at *La Maison de Culture du Japon* (2nd February 2011 Paris). While still a teenager, she was greatly moved by Stefan Zweig's biography of the last Queen of France, developing a lifelong admiration for the courage and dignity of Marie Antoinette, a figure of heroic yet tragic destiny. In her 20s, Ikeda created the *manga La Rose de Versailles* from this particular perspective. These facts helped me understand the Japanese public's perception, and consequently to refine the multiple-choice Japanese questionnaire implemented in fieldwork in February 2011. Ikeda's work forms part of the data collection provided in Chapter 5.

Data Set 5

Communication with the surveillance agents of Petit Trianon was also needed. Discussions with key members of the surveillance team of Petit Trianon indicated the public's ways of 'consuming' heritage, and revealed that the increasing understanding on the part of long-term employees of the space encompassed by Petit Trianon does lead to a better understanding of the last Queen of France, as shown in Chapter 8. Moreover, this hypothesis was tested and confirmed in April 2011 *via* a questionnaire for Personnel members - form included in Appendix A1.7 - out of which 20 (10 on permanent, 10 on temporary contracts) participated. The respondents preferred to remain anonymous, but I can state that majority of the 10 respondents with permanent contracts have senior positions.

Data Set 6

Further consultation of the *Château de Versailles* visitor numbers statistics (Table 4.2) was essential in order to establish the impact of the 2008 restoration and new presentation of the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, as well as the connection between the 2006 release of Sofia Coppola's film and the increase in visitor numbers (see Chapter 6).

Data Set 7

Enquiries and field observation at the Palace's boutiques and book shops, proved that Marie Antoinette is the heritage commodity that 'sells the most' at the *Château de Versailles*. Printed images of the Queen range from the pink 'princesse' crayons/colouring books to life-size reproductions of one of her most famous art portrait busts by Boizot - 2900 euros - or replica perfumed leather gloves - 3900 euros (Plate 4.3). The highest selling books also relate to Marie Antoinette, although statistics were not available (see Chapter 5).

Table 4.2: Château de Versailles Visitor Statistics 2002-2013

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Plate 4.3: Field observation of all Château de Versailles boutiques merchandise indicates Marie Antoinette as the highest selling commodity, from the cheapest souvenir to the most expensive products (see Data Set 7)

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Plate 4.4: Observation of the different ways tourists 'consume' Petit Trianon (see Data Set 8)

Data Set 8

The empirical research hypothesis reached through a synthesis of the methods above required adjacent empirical observation of the public visiting Petit Trianon, combined with site observation visits (Plate 4.4). Attendance to the guided tours of various *guide-conférenciers*, helped establish whether narratives of the Queen and her *Domaine* were cohesive. Chapter 6 incorporated in its analysis the various types of observation and informal interviews, on which I built upon my assessment through reflexivity (my researcher position in regards to reflexivity was defined earlier).

Data Set 9

In parallel with the above, following the initial meeting in December 2010 with Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin (Department of Architects of Historical Monuments, *Château de Versailles*), an in depth study (January-March 2011) of the architectural interventions since 1805 found at the archives of *Château de Versailles*, proved to be essential in establishing the interest of the later elites in preserving the *Domaine* of Marie Antoinette by adopting and/or adapting it according to their political agendas. Furthermore, comparing, from an architectural point of view, the state of the *Domaine* before, during and after Marie Antoinette's historical period, clarified the story told by Petit Trianon about Marie Antoinette. I have compared the building works which the three main parts of the Estate (The Palace, Grand Trianon and Petit Trianon) underwent until 1837, when the Palace became a museum (Gaehtgens, 1984; Gervereau & Constans, 2005), as my thesis was initially going to include the development of the relationship between cultural heritage and national identity during the 19th century (Maier-Barron, 2014b). This part has been excluded following the focus on the contemporary perception of the site.

Data Set 10

As an adjacent method of traditional library research which proved vital to the second stage of the fieldwork research, I consulted all relevant documents and publications relating to the French Revolution (see Chapter 2) found at La Sorbonne (*Institut d'Histoire de la Révolution française* - Université Paris I - Panthéon-Sorbonne), where I was granted unlimited access for 8 months starting March 2012, with the support of historian and author Professor Annie Duprat, and Mrs Marie-Lynne Délbès (head librarian of the French Revolution Library, La Sorbonne University). This included a first-hand viewing of the microfiches containing the 18th century Revolutionary pamphlets paramount in understanding the image of the last Queen of France.

Data Set 11

During the first and second stage of the fieldwork research I have enhanced my understanding of the visitor perception of Marie Antoinette through meetings with subjects representative of the minority visitor groups detected through field research. These respondents' discourses were gathered outside the ordinary course of interviewing I conducted at the site of Petit Trianon. An overview of their opinions (Chapter 7) refines the definition of the wider context of the contemporary perception of Marie Antoinette by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon. In 2011, I have attended the commemoration held for Louis XVI and his family, every year, on the first Sunday following the 21st January at *La Chapelle Expiatoire* in Paris (Plate 7.4).⁸

⁸ *La Chapelle Expiatoire* is a commemorative site for Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette – built on the actual premises of the Madeleine cemetery where all the victims of the *guillotine* were initially buried in communal graves. On 21st January 1815 the remains of the two monarchs were transferred to Basilique Saint Denis, the French Monarchy's legitimate place of rest. The altar is allegedly positioned on the exact spot where Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were exhumed. Initiated by Louis XVIII (Comte de Provence) the construction was finished during the reign of Charles X (Comte d'Artois) in 1826; <http://www.chapelle-expiatoire.monuments-nationaux.fr/> At the the 2011 commemoration ceremony Charles-Xavier de Bourbon Parme and his wife (recently wed) were present (Plate 7.4).

Data Set 12

Analysis of French press releases throughout the duration of field research in France, as well as an analysis (2010-2014) focusing on the prevalent image of Marie Antoinette in the international popular culture media channels, contributed through their findings to shaping the argument of Chapter 8, relating to media as an external subliminal influence to visitor perceptions at a heritage site. As a result, I have attended on the 4th November 2011 the world Premiere of the first ballet Marie Antoinette (Vienna Opera Ballet; choreography of the 2010 appointed Director, French ballet star Manuel Legris) held at L' Opéra Royal, *Château de Versailles*.

I also became acquainted with the most recent French film production on Marie Antoinette: Benoît Jacquot's *Les Adieux à la reine*. Alexandre Laval (art history and theatre acting graduate, *Château de Versailles*), an extra on the set, kindly kept me abreast of filming details. Launched on the 29th March 2012, in Versailles, where I was based at the time of the film's premiere in France, the first week's shows were boycotted by Royalist and Catholic groups (see also Duprat, 2013). Certain French Republican historians see the film in a positive light (de Baecque, 2012), whilst others, like Berly (see *Zéro de conduite*, 2012), only comment on the reduced connection which the film makes between Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution. This production is incidentally examined in Chapters 5 and 8.

Data Set 13

Financial considerations imposed that I had to seek employment starting 2012. I have worked 2-3 days a week as a waitress (April - August 2012) in one of the American style tourist restaurants near the *Château de Versailles*, next to *Théâtre Montansier* and *vis-à-vis* the Japanese owned shop Renaissance, on 24 *Rue des Réservoirs* (see Plates 4.5 and 4.6). During my employment, I have met a considerable number of American tourists whose casual comments (prompted by my various questions investigating their interest in *Château de Versailles* and Marie Antoinette) confirmed my field research findings. Other

usual restaurant customers were performers at the *Opéra Royal* of Versailles or *Théâtre Montansier* as well as the local families. During the week, many members of the *Château de Versailles* staff also preferred it to their official *cantines*. Whilst this method pertains to ethnography inasmuch as a ‘survival job’ rather than an under-cover placement (see Ehrenreich, 2005), it brought valuable contribution to the interpretation of my interviews responses, as this job experience afforded valuable insight into both the tourist and local culture, through reflexive observations and inside knowledge.

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Plate 4.5: During my work as a waitress at Sisters' Café (15 Rue des Réservoirs, Versailles) I was able to immerse myself in both the local as well as tourist life of Versailles, considering this opportunity as one of my research methods (see Data Set 13)

Data Set 14

In August 2014, I have returned at Versailles for updating my inside knowledge of the curatorial and heritage architectural projects on Petit Trianon. The conclusions of my discussions with Petit Trianon Head Curator Jérémie Benoît, Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin and Head Librarian Marie-Laetitia Lachèvre are included in the relevant chapters (5, 6 and 8). I have also analysed the boutiques merchandise and the books stocked currently at *Librairie des Princes* (Chapter 5). Furthermore, I have met key members (who preferred to remain anonymous) of *Association Marie-Antoinette* for checking my own findings against their expressed opinions and inside knowledge of French historical academia as well as Royalist and Marie Antoinette fan circles (see Chapter 5).

In addition, during the last field research trip to Versailles in August 2014, through informal interviews, I have gathered information in *Ladurée* locations, from three shop assistants (Anon. 2,3,4; pers. comm., 2014) working at the *Château de Versailles*, Paris and the Orly Airport boutiques. This information was needed for assessing the contemporary commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, analysed in detail by Chapter 8. Moreover, following an informal discussion with one of the *Château de Versailles* curators (Firmin-Moulin, pers. comm, 2014) who brought to my attention the existence of NINA's boutique in Paris and their claims to a connection with Marie Antoinette, I have investigated a specific case study of a recent market product misleadingly associated with Marie Antoinette: the 'Original Marie-Antoinette Tea', also sold by the Palace of Versailles (see Appendix 3). Through observation at Petit Trianon and *Le Potager du Roi* boutiques, as well as an informal interview of one shop assistant (Anon. 5, pers. comm., 2014) at NINA'S PARIS flag-ship boutique situated near *Place Vendôme*, Paris, I was able to further test the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon into a direction forged by Coppola's hyper-real film effects analysed by Chapters 5 and 8.

Data Set 15

During the last stages of my doctoral research (2013-2014), after returning from France, I have conducted several internet sources analyses concerning the images of Marie Antoinette resulting in her dissonant commodification at Petit Trianon. Starting from the premises that media has an external subliminal influence to visitor perceptions at a heritage site, which Chapter 8 analyses in detail, such further internet sources analyses were required.

The sampling for these particular sources, through the nature of webgraphs, equates to snowball sampling (see Krippendorff, 2013). I base this equivalency on the nature of the hypertext of internet images (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009) and its in-programmed code, which automatically selects the images, according to the rules of the said sampling. Snowball sampling is a reliable representative method when there is a clear research question, thus ensuring validity for the interpretation given by Chapter 8 when analysing the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon.

Furthermore, Marita Sturken and Lisa Cartwright (2009), who leaned on Hall (1997a) and his use of Barthes' (1977) theory referring to the denotative as opposed to the connotative meaning of photographs, observe that postmodern visual culture relates mainly to the latter. From the perspective of the thesis aim concerning the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character, this confirms that, regardless the form of assimilation of images (dominant-hegemonic, negotiated or oppositional; see Hall, 1997a), the images of Marie Antoinette are perceived first and foremost under the rule of Halls' circle of representation: the connotative meaning of images, being culturally specific, determines the cultural conditioning of each individual to be the main responsible for the final perception of her historical character (see Chapter 8; also Figure 8.4).

Fieldwork Research Method and Evidence at Petit Trianon

This subchapter details the qualitative type survey conducted *via* questionnaire at the heritage site of the *Domaine de Marie-Antoinette* for a period totalling 15 months (2010-2012).

Field research goals:

- to register and assess the image of Marie Antoinette in the perception of visitors at Petit Trianon from within and outside French borders
- to evaluate the origin and background of this image
- to establish the extant links between visitor image and visitor political and cultural background

Field research was initially focused solely on library and archive⁹ research methods. However, discussions with the museum curators and curatorial documentation librarian of the *Château de Versailles* suggested that this project would require an in-depth investigation of the visitors' perception of the site of Petit Trianon, as well as of the French public opinion regarding the *Ancien Régime* in general, and Marie Antoinette in particular. Consequently, I have expanded my research with qualitative investigation methods, and devised a questionnaire to record visitor perception on site.

At this point, it must be reiterated that the present analysis draws information and evidence from data collected specifically for this research project, set against a complex background 'reading' of historical facts and popular culture imagery sourced from media channels, all assessed against the factual evidence related to the site of Petit Trianon offered by architecture history.

This research strategy was essentially determined by the lack of any new relevant and insightful material. Nevertheless, after a meticulous review of the various narratives related to the researched topic, clear proof of manipulation of extant primary sources indicated a potentially new way of 'reading' through all

⁹ The documents at the Documentation Library and the Archives - *La Petite Ecurie* (departments of *Château de Versailles* where I have led my main research) can be classified under 'Restricted' access (see Scott (1990: 14), as they are available only to staff and academic researchers from Master level onwards.

given interpretations and finally assessing the facts objectively by taking the architectural narrative as a point of reference. The indicator of this narrative is Petit Trianon, in its original configuration as home to Marie Antoinette.

In total there were 307 valid responses (Table 4.3). The first 52 respondents (including 22 French nationals) were interviewed throughout November-December 2010 in what amounted to a pilot test (Brunt, 1997; Chelcea et al., 1998). The interpretation of their discourse allowed me to further refine the open-ended questionnaire, and helped me construct the multiple-choice questionnaire for Japanese visitors. The pilot test revealed that the majority of Japanese respondents did not speak English; therefore, a translation and redesign of the questionnaire was required.¹⁰

The following 199 respondents, interviewed between end of January and April 2011, belong to the following nationalities: French - 84; American - 34; Japanese - 26; 55 - other. For the second part of the investigation, carried out between November 2011 - July 2012, the numbers for the French, American and Japanese public, were completed up to a 100 (French) and 50 (American, Japanese), by interviewing, in the second part of the survey (on several days of peak visitor numbers), another 16 French, 16 American and 24 Japanese respondents (Table 4.3).

Considering the fact that saturation had been reached by the end of the first stage of the survey, I decided with my supervisory team at the time that the last part of the investigation should only focus on three nationalities (French, American, Japanese), as their opinions on Marie Antoinette and perceptions of the site of Petit Trianon were the most relevant to the research in terms of

¹⁰ After initial design and structure feedback from Head Curator Jérémie Benoît, the final translated version of the questionnaire was ready at the beginning of February 2011. A sample of 26 respondents completed it during February week-ends and the first week-end of March 2011. During the fall of 2010, Japanese visitor numbers rose, according to *Château de Versailles* staff observations (Benoît, pers. comm., 2010a). Takashi Murakami's exhibition at the Palace, though highly controversial, may have contributed to this increase. In February 2011 Japanese visitor numbers at Petit Trianon increased again, perhaps due to the presence of Riyoko Ikeda in Paris and Versailles, following her appearance at the *Angoulême* Festival of comics (see Data Sets 3 and 4). The earthquake and tsunami that struck Japan on 11/03/2011 affected the frequency of Japanese visits to the site. The *Château de Versailles* displayed posters throughout the Estate expressing sympathy and support for one of their most devoted audiences. I personally stopped approaching the few Japanese visitors with requests to fill in the questionnaire, as I felt this would have been inappropriate at the time.

exposing the links between the cultural background and agenda of the public and the manner in which they decode the messages of a heritage site. Apart from the rigorous on-site interviewing, I have also investigated the various perceptions of specialist sections of the public through informal meetings and communications with members of this particular group (see also Chapter 7).

The initial sampling for the pilot test and the first stage was random,¹¹ whilst the second stage excluded respondents with an art and art history educational background, given that results from the previous stages indicated a strong association between educational background related variables (see Chelcea et al., 1998; Mason, 2002; Robson, 2002; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Richards, 2009). These respondents constitute a niche minority with a perception of Marie Antoinette contrasting to that of the majority, as explained in Chapter 7. Therefore, the nationality-based selection for the second stage eliminated these respondents prior to application of the questionnaire.

The second stage, also carried out during peak season months (May, June, July 2012) confirmed the opinion held by of the majority of visitors, which had begun to take shape after the first stage. However, it was particularly challenging to gather valid responses, with many potential respondents refusing to participate or bringing the interview to a close before completion. American respondents were particularly reluctant to participate, as they were either in a hurry, disinterested in being part of such research or sometimes even intimidated by the idea of expressing their own ideas about the site and all its associated values, including the image of the Queen. There were 28 respondents whose wish to stop after the first 4 answers resulted in invalid American questionnaires (see Table 4.3). Those who did participate were assigned to the groups of the majority detailed in Chapter 7.

¹¹ The sampling was done randomly according to Veal (1992) by ensuring that as soon as I finished completing one questionnaire I would approach any other respondents passing by. During the cold months I was stationed by the exit next to the *Cour d'Honneur* (there is another by the Farm of the Hamlet which is open and used in the summer by local families but also by foreign tourists if they get lost). I have also used the latter exit point during the spring months in order to obtain answers representative of the local visitors in particular. During the cold months, I always approached the respondents by the former exit, and consequently invited them inside the building of Petit Trianon. I have made arrangements with the security personnel of Petit Trianon, to let me come back in through the door which otherwise serves only as an exit towards the gardens.

Japanese respondents were equally difficult to approach during these months, as they were mostly part of the guided group visits, rather than the individual visits the survey focused on. Following discussions with several guides, it emerged that organised groups run on too tight schedules to accommodate for the time necessary for visitors to fill in the questionnaire. My field observations whilst living and working in Versailles revealed that one of the main stops of the organised Japanese groups' visit at Versailles is the Japanese owned shop Renaissance (<http://www.societe.com/societe/renaissance-414819763.html>), by the left hand side entrance to the Palace. Since 1997, it sells Louis Vuitton and other European luxury brands favoured by the Japanese market (Plate 4.6). Every day before starting their tour of the Palace of Versailles and Petit Trianon, the Japanese guided groups stop by Renaissance.

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Plate 4.6: Japanese visitors are the main customers at Renaissance (24 Rue des Réservoirs, Versailles) luxury goods duty-free shop, which is Japanese owned and staffed entirely by Japanese shop assistants [Photo taken from my 2012 work place, vis-à-vis Renaissance]

Table 4.3: The structure of the respondents' samples over 15 months of fieldwork research

Date	Respondent Nationality	Respondent Numbers	Respondent Gender	Respondent Age Group	Respondent declared art history knowledge / background
Pilot test November-December 2010; Total Respondents: 52					
Sat.13/11/10;20/11/10; 27/11/10; 4/12/10; 18/12/10 Sun.14/11/10;21/11/10; 28/11/10; 5/12/2010; 19/12/10	French	22	14 F 8 M	36-59 60+	18 No 13 F; 5 M 4 Yes 1 F;3 M
Sat.13/11/10;20/11/10; 27/11/10; 4/12/10; 18/12/10 Sun.14/11/10;21/11/10; 28/11/10; 5/12/10; 19/12/10	American	12	7 F 5 M	26-35 36-59 60+	9 No 6 F, 3 M 3 Yes 1 F, 2 M
Sat. 20/11/10;18/12/10 Sun. 28/11/10	Japanese	3	3 F	26-35 36-59	3 F –Yes
Sat. 27/11/10; 18/12/10 Sun. 5/12/10	Spanish	4	2 F 2 M	26-35	No
Sat. 27/11/10;11/12/10 Sun 28/11/10; 5/12/10	Italian	5	3 F 2 M	36-59	No
Sun. 28/11/10; 5/12/2010	Hungarian	3	1 F 2 M	-25 26-35	No
Sat. 27/11/10	South Korean (Canadian)	1	M	36-59	No
Sun. 5/12/10	French Canadian	2	1 F 1 M	36-59	No
First Stage January-April 2011; Total Respondents: 199					
Fri. 8/04/11; 15/04/11 Sat. 19/02/11; 12/03/11 19/03/11;26/03/11; 2/04/11; 16/04/11 Sun.6/02/11; 20/02/11;13/03/11; 20/03/11;27/03/11; 17/04/11; 24/04/11	French	84	46 F 38 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+	67 No 39 F, 28 M 17 Yes 7 F, 10M
Sat. 12/02/11;19/03/11; 26/03/11; 2/04/11 Sun 13/02/11;20/03/11; 3/04/11;10/04/11; 17/04/11; 24/04/11	American	34	18 F 16 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+	29 No 14 F,15 M 5 Yes 4 F,1M

Sat. 5/02/11; 12/02/11; 5/03/11 Sun. 6/02/11; 13/02/11; 6/03/11	Japanese	26	16 F 10 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+	21 No 11 F 10 M 5 F Yes
Sat. 12/02/11;12/03/11; 26/03/11 Sun.13/02/11;27/03/11; 24/04/11	Spanish	14	10 F 4 M	26-35 36-59	No
Sat. 12/02/11; 26/03/11 Sun. 27/03/11 Fri. 8/04/11; 15/04/11	Italian	14	8 F 6 M	26-35 36-59	No
Sun. 27/03/11	Colombian	4	2 F 2 M	26-35	No
Sat. 12/02/11 Sun. 13/02/11 Fri. 8/04/11	French Canadian	5	3 F 2 M	36-59 60+	No
Sun. 27/03/2011	Kuwaiti	4	4F	-25	No
Sat. 9/04/11	Iranian	3	3F	-25	No
Fri. 8/04/11; 15/04/11	Belgian	3	2F 1M	36-59	No
Sun.10/04/11	Saudi Arabian	2	2 F	-25	No
Sat. 23/04/11	British	4	2 F 2 M	36-59	No
Sun. 24/04/11	Egyptian	2	2 F	-25	No
Second Stage November 2011 – July 2012; Total Respondents: 56					
Sat 19/11/11; 21/01/12 Sun. 22/01/12; 12/02/12; 25/03/12; 15/07/12	French	16	6 F 10M	36-59 60+	No
Sat 10/12/11 Sun 12/02/12; 25/03/12; 1/04/12; 22/04/12; 29/04/12; 20/05/12;27/05/12; 24/06/12; 1/07/12; 15/07/12; 22/07/12	American	16 valid 28 invalid	9 F 7 M	-25 26-35 36-59	No
Sat 10/12/11 Sun12/02/12; 25/03/12; 22/04/12; 29/04/12; 20/05/12;27/05/12; 17/06/12; 24/06/12; 1/07/12; 8/07/12; 15/07/12; 22/07/12	Japanese	24	15 F 9 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+	23 No 14 F, 9 M 1 F Yes

Table 4.4: The main groups¹² detected by the interpretation of respondent discourses

Group Identification	Nationality	Size	Gender	Age Group
Group 1	French	51	26 F; 25 M	36-59 60+
Group 2	French	43	32 F; 11 M	26-35 36-59
Group 3	French	21	8F; 13M	-25 26-35 36-59
Group 4	French	2	2M	36-59 60+
Free Sunday Group	French	5	5F	36-59 60+
Group Majority	American	54	29 F; 25 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+
Group Minority	American	8	5 F; 3M	26-35 36-59
Group Majority	Japanese	44	25 F; 19 M	-25 26-35 36-59 60+
Group Minority	Japanese	9	9 F	26-35 36-59
Other European Group	Italian	19	11 F; 8 M	26-35 36-59
Other European Group	Spanish	18	12 F; 6 M	26-35 36-59
Other Middle East Group	Kuwaiti Iranian Saudi Arabian Egyptian	11	11 F	-25

¹² The Free Sunday Group was not included in the interpretation of the discourses; see Chapter 7.

The interpretation of responses was based on coded answers for each topic approached by the investigative questions (see Saldaña, 2013; also Richards, 2009), which allowed me to establish the main patterns of visitor perception. Once the detected patterns reached saturation for each nationality (by the end of the first stage of the survey), the responses provided by the second stage were used as confirmation of the validity of the working research hypothesis (Chelcea et al., 1998). Richards (2009: 144) summarises saturation as: the 'arrival at a stage when nothing new is coming up'.

The methodology developed for the thesis and the preliminary results of the fieldwork research have been published in *Narrative and the Built Heritage: Papers in Tourism Research*. The published work (Maier-Barron, 2011) established the prevalence of all the narratives associated with the site of Petit Trianon and the mechanisms behind their construction. Furthermore, as the Estate of Petit Trianon is indissolubly associated with the figure of the last Queen of France (despite being built for and having belonged to various other famous historical characters), this association was also investigated.

Following Barthes' (1966) structuralist approach the Narratives are threads of a storyline rather than a compilation of multiple stories. A definition of the concept used in social science research belongs to Denning (2000; see also Polkinghorne, 1988), who refers to narrative as something told or recounted in the form of a causally-linked set of events, be they true or fictitious. The research of the thesis is also concerned with the associated element of 'Narrative meaning', which, according to Denning, is created by establishing that something is a part of a whole and links of causation. The meaning of each event is therefore produced by the part this plays in the narrative.

Through the analysis of the architectural landscape, historical, cinematic and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon, it emerged that very different agendas are involved, with commercial, political and academic interests leading to disparate interpretations. More than two centuries after the French Revolution, the historical figure of Marie Antoinette continues to be highly debated, and discrepancies abound in the portrayal of her image even by official and well established sources. Consequently, the essay focused on the image of Marie

Antoinette as generated by the four different narratives mentioned above, with the site of Petit Trianon interpreted as an indicator of their validity.

The assessment was based upon the evaluation of comments by the French and non-French visitors at Petit Trianon, in an effort to establish the prevalence of the four main narratives in visitor perceptions, as indicated by visitor discourse. For this double implication, the methodology employed qualitative research methods (Chelcea et al., 1998; Mason, 2002; Richards, 2009; Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Saldaña, 2013), reinforced by a heritage concept put forward by Howard (2003: 45): messages 'received at heritage sites [...] depend as much on the prejudices of the recipient as on the content of the message'. Prejudices have a direct, distinct influence on the individual perception of information in general (Chelcea et al., 1998). The ranked prevalence of the four major narratives of Petit Trianon, within visitor perceptions, supports the charting of the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character (see Chapter 8).

The research working hypothesis was formulated by intersecting the data provided by Data Sets 1 – 7, with a preliminary empirical observation of the public visiting Petit Trianon and site observation visits (Data Set 8). Once associated into a strategy specifically devised for this research project, the methods above were complemented by the construction and in-field application of three types of questionnaire (see Appendix 1). With the exception of the Japanese version (comprising multiple-choice questions to facilitate interpretation), I conducted all the semi-structured questionnaire types myself, recording respondent comments.

The version designed for the French public included questions meant to identify the political orientation of the respondents, as well as probe the depth of their nationalist inclinations. The English version - also translated into Spanish and Italian - naturally excluded questions of a political nature, but included questions meant to identify the degree of interest of the respective respondents/tourists for historical sites in general. The Japanese questionnaire had two additional questions meant to investigate and confirm the traits of pilgrimage tourism

characterising this particular public, as well as their space perception *via* media productions (see Chapter 7).

The first four questions for all nationals (see Table A.4) were designed to clearly gauge their interest in Petit Trianon, as opposed to other focal points of the *Domaine* of Versailles, as well as to assess their knowledge about the place. Furthermore, the second question was meant to investigate whether the aim of the 2008 restoration was achieved, namely Petit Trianon having the feel of a home rather than a museum. Although this question was not worded as such to avoid influencing the answers, the final results proved that the aim of the restoration was achieved, and even surpassed: the majority of the visiting public completely identifies Petit Trianon with Marie Antoinette, as confirmed by answers to question XII -12 (see also Table A.4).

The questions V-XI investigated the image and opinion that the public has formed about both Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, also analysing whether the visit had any bearing on these elements of perception. The final results disproved this in relation with the majority of the public, but confirmed it for particular categories of tourists, such as the Japanese nationals and a segment of the American nationals. The reason behind this shift of opinion proved to be the simplicity of Petit Trianon, as opposed to the luxury respondents had expected. Other possible factors, such as nostalgia, are analysed in Chapter 7.

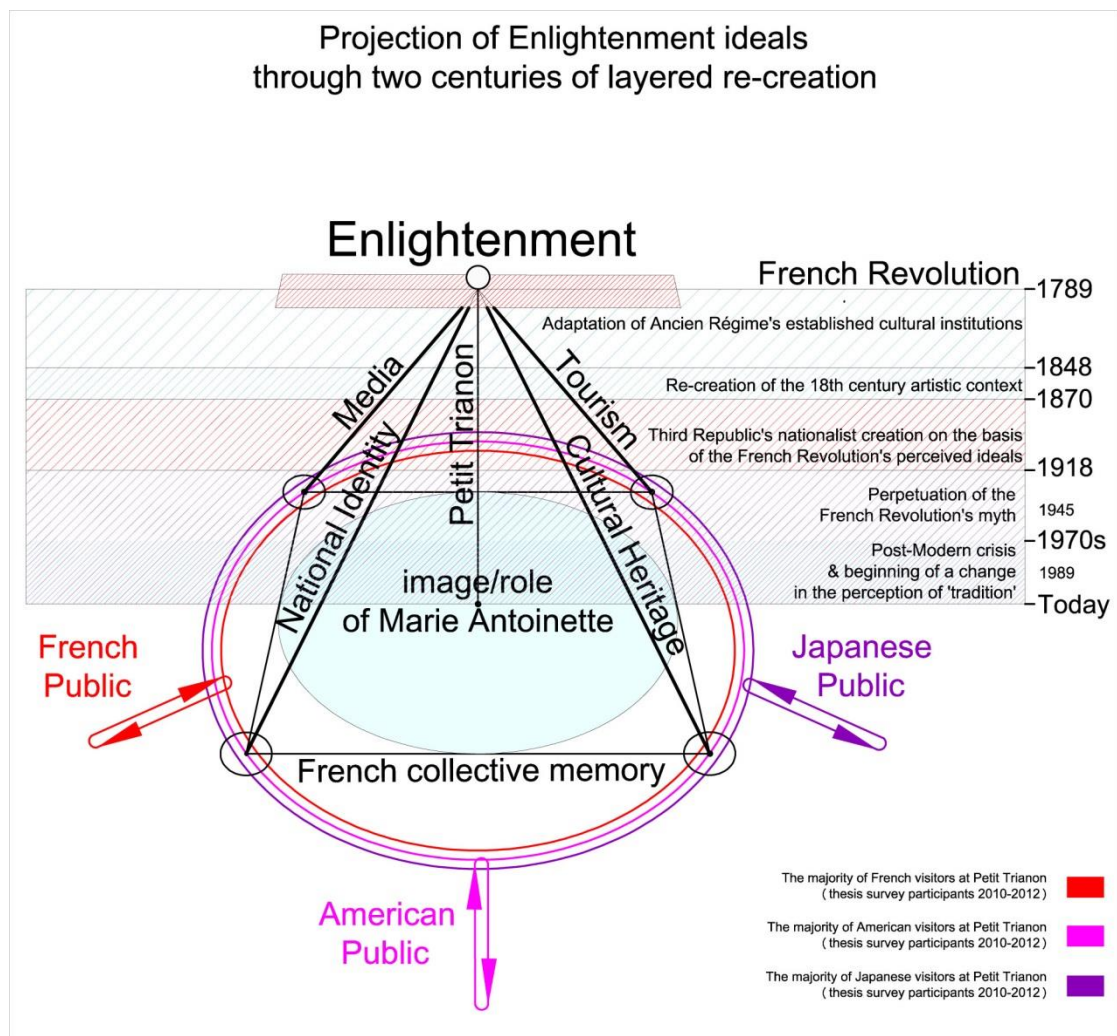
Questions XIII-XVIII (14-19 for the Japanese version) examined the degree of interest in and knowledge about the place. An additional question for Japanese visitors (13) assessed their perception of the site through pre-formed images acquired via media channels, by asking whether they would also like to visit the home of the fictitious character of the *manga La Rose de Versailles*, Lady Oscar. The positive answers of the majority group proved the significant degree to which popular culture influences the perception of the Japanese audience. The other added question for this questionnaire version (23) refers to the pilgrimage tourism characteristic of the Japanese public, which the answers confirmed. The Japanese visitor perception forms the subject of Chapter 7.

For question V, respondents of all nationalities (except the Japanese) were shown a separate list of films featuring Marie Antoinette as either the main or a secondary character (Appendix A1.6). The films were chosen in connection with Republican *clichés*, being considered as indicators of the respondents' political views. After indicating which ones they had watched, respondents were asked to rank them on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being the closest to the historical reality. After detecting the initial source of the respondents' opinions about Marie Antoinette, this proved to be an effective way to further identify their historical beliefs by comparing responses with film narratives.

Results have demonstrated that nationality does have a bearing on the visitors' perceptions of Marie Antoinette's. The Italian and Spanish visitors regarded Marie Antoinette and her Estate in a positive light, manifesting compassion for the Queen and appreciation for the beauty of the place – an attitude which possibly originates in the historical narrative present in the school curricula of the respondents' native countries. Based on the respondents' comments - which were not tested for representativeness to wider perception of these nationals -, in Italy, the school curriculum is concentrated on the depiction of The Reign of Terror regime, the Spanish respondents having generally a respect for Royalty. This perception seemed unaffected by films or media. By contrast, for the group of the majority of American and Japanese respondents, both school education and media channels which generally perpetuate and reinforce Republican *clichés* were found to have shaped the perception of the historical figure of Marie Antoinette (see Table A.4). The Republican *clichés* planted by school education and reinforced by the media explain why, for the majority of the respondents to the thesis survey, the French (national) collective memory proved influential over other nationals' perception of Marie Antoinette (see Figures 4.2 and 8.3).

Synthesis of the Academic Field, Literature Review and Methodological Framework of the Thesis

This subchapter presents a synthetic model developed on the bases of the theoretical background, by associating the literature review contained by Chapters 2 and 3 with the methodological framework of the thesis - including the fieldwork research method and evidence - detailed in the previous subchapters.



*Figure 4.2: Factors responsible for the distortions brought to Marie Antoinette's role since the 18th century, deciphered through contemporary visitor discourses at her home, Petit Trianon and resulting in the commodification of her historical figure
(©Denise Maior-Barron, 2012)*

Disclaimer: Please note that the model above does not represent a pyramid. Its four sides are not in equilibrium but quite the opposite, rising to and falling from prominence depending through each political era, depending on the time's dominant agenda. In geometrical terms, this instability represents the source of the image distortions analysed by the thesis.

This model¹³ (Figure 4.2) is critical in illustrating the entire methodology of the thesis in relation to its academic background. Furthermore, it elucidates the manner in which the theories underpinning the thesis contribute to the fulfilment of aims and objectives. The model is also essential in bringing together all elements required by Part III of the thesis, which comprises an analysis of the four major narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette.

First of all, it must be stressed that within the perception of the space of Petit Trianon on a time-line representing the chronological transformation of the Enlightenment until the present - that is, from its conception in Marie Antoinette's Enlightened vision through to the contemporary public's viewpoint - many distortions are revealed. These contributed at the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character.

As shown by the model, the main factors responsible for the distorted projection of Enlightenment throughout the following centuries are: cultural heritage, national identity, tourism and media. The layers of distortions reside within the space created by these four factors of manipulation. Whilst the first two factors are directly linked to the French collective memory, the latter two are analysed in the present thesis through the prism of their mutual reinforcement of each other in contemporary society, as demonstrated in Chapters 7 and 8.

The 'Cultural Heritage' factor of the model is mainly defined through Nora's 'places of memory' (1986), and regards cultural heritage - in the absence of history's 'real' course - as a continuously and assiduously appropriated element of modernity. The theory explaining how places in general are produced spatially and could be understood in a political context is adapted from Lefebvre's (1991) theory on human political geography. Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' (1984) further supports these theories, highlighting the antithesis of cultural heritage and economic capital, as well as its ability to legitimise new political and social elites.

¹³Model designed by Denise Maïor-Barron, June 2012. I would like to thank Lecturer Charles Mansfield (School of Tourism with French Language, Plymouth University) for impressing on me the necessity of drawing a model to illustrate the thesis' complex argument, and heritage architect Philippe Baudin (*Château de Versailles*) for the professional visual rendition of the model.

The 'National Identity' factor of the model is explained through the combined theories of Anderson (1991) and Hobsbawm (1983), framed in Gellner's (1993 a, b) wider context of the modernist anthropological theory of nationalism (see Chapter 2). Accordingly, the present thesis regards the concept of 'national identity' as an artificial construct, managing to define and project itself to the present day by manipulating cultural heritage.

Urry's theory of the *Romantic Gaze* informs the 'Tourism' factor of the model. His prominent sociological study of the evolution of tourism over the past two centuries analysed trends in tourism, but also the ways in which the contemporary public 'consumes' tourist destinations. It is important to note that tourism in its 18th century form, a mode of travel reserved to the elite, represents one of the generating factors of the 18th century picturesque landscape. Nevertheless, the distortion of the image of Petit Trianon - and consequently of Marie Antoinette - enacted by Tourism, lies in the pre-formed images that contemporary visitors unwittingly bring to their visit.

By integrating the 'Media' - the model's last factor responsible for the distortion of Marie Antoinette's and Petit Trianon's images - the thesis discerns between the real parameters of the French Revolution and its self-projection onto the French collective memory. As Anderson (1991) explains, the self-generation of nationalism and its subsequent production of the national identities of the 19th century owe much to the written form of messages conveyed. For the thesis' case study, media impact on the public started with the 18th century pamphlets of the Revolutionary propaganda.

The transversal sections of the model represent the layers of re-creation and consequent distortion of Enlightenment ideals, through interpretation according to various agendas. The understanding of these layers is underpinned by all previously mentioned theories. In addition, Hobsbawm (1983) determined that the 1870s were the crucial political decade in European history to crystallise the Western modern states' national identities – a view providing the thesis model with a watershed point for the timescale.

Following this idea, the period up to 1848 has seen many reversals and upheavals in the succession of political regimes. In terms of cultural heritage, there have been known attempts to replace the old institutions of the *Ancien Régime* through conservation and preservation, with variable (and debatable) degrees of success (O'Connell, 1989). In fact, a closer examination of new legislation and institutions emerging from the fall of the *Ancien Régime*, revealed a surprising adaptation of the old structures, and an import of ideas from England. By contrast, a further analysis of the 1848-1870 historical period indicated a clear re-creation of the 18th century artistic taste and trends through an overt appropriation of the period's artistic sensibility, prised by key political and cultural personalities such as Empress Eugénie and Prosper Mérimée (Ball, 2011). Setting the tone of this appropriation for their French contemporaries through public as well as personal examples, they initiated a trend responsible for elements of the discourse of Enlightenment becoming inspirational for the 19th century French Romanticism. Due to the focus of the thesis, however, the 1789-1870 period does not form the subject of its analysis.

The period encompassed by the thesis begins with France's 1870 defeat at Sedan, which heralded the rise of the Third Republic. This date marks the beginning of an institutionalised re-creation of France's historical past through a political agenda designed to create a strongly defined national identity within a carefully organised programme, as attested by Nora's (1986), Hobsbawm's (1983) and Anderson's (1991) work in Chapter 2. This process of re-creation is an important contributing factor of the contemporary dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon (see Chapter 2).

The base of the model is represented by the French (national) collective memory, having at its centre the true role of Marie Antoinette, developed through the projection of the initial 18th century creation of Estate of Petit Trianon, a site which subsequently serves as an analysis indicator. In these circumstances, within the graphic layout of the model, Petit Trianon represents the axis of projection. The thesis argues that the true role of Marie Antoinette was successfully obscured through juxtaposition with the Queen's perception by the French collective memory. In other words, her perceived image had subverted historical truth.

This juxtaposition was determined by many chronological layers continually interpreting this role, with the first source of distortion originating in the French phobia of the Austrian, dating back to the period preceding Marie Antoinette's reign. On the basis of evidence gathered at Petit Trianon, the thesis illustrates to what extent the French collective memory's perceived image of Marie Antoinette has influenced locals as well as visitors from abroad. For the American and Japanese majority groups partaking in the field study, results indicate that an essential source contributing to the pre-formed images of the majority of non-French visitors is the media factor – that is, popular culture disseminated through media channels (films, novels, *manga*). Furthermore, the particular element linking the French collective memory to these other nationals' perception of Marie Antoinette was identified in the Revolutionary *clichés* perpetuated by the French Third Republic's political agenda. The 18th century libellous pamphlets - from which said *clichés* originated - are therefore responsible for the image distortions of Marie Antoinette's historical character, as further analysed by Chapters 5 and 8.

Finally, Tourism is the element requiring a differentiation between various sections of the contemporary visiting public. Thus, the general contemporary perception of Marie Antoinette and the Estate of Petit Trianon relevant to the 3 main nationalities analysed by the thesis is depicted through 3 concentric circles circumscribing the base of the model. The circles represent the pre-formed images of these three different sections of the public, and refer to the majority, not the minority groups identified by the research evidence (see Table A.4). The circles positioning was not determined by visitor statistics at Petit Trianon. Instead, as the circles represent the lenses through which the image of Marie Antoinette is perceived nowadays by the majority of French and non-French visitors, the order had to be naturally dictated by the logic of this perception (see Chapter 7).

Summary

Chapter 4 defined the methodological framework of the thesis, the research method developed specifically for this case study and the evidence thereby derived. These were brought together by a synthetic model which placed them in the context of the theoretical background of the thesis. It must be re-iterated that the research principles established in this section operate throughout the analysis of the narratives regarding Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette (see Chapters 5, 6 and 8). Moreover, the fieldwork research method and evidence is complemented by an analysis of the research findings (Chapter 7) and by the final assessment of the prevalence of main narratives of Petit Trianon, superimposed over the emerging range of the images of Marie Antoinette (Chapter 8), which amount to the dissonant commodification of this controversial historical figure at Petit Trianon.

Part III

Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette - Four Major Narratives

Chapter 5

Historical and Cinematic Narratives Encoding Marie Antoinette's Contemporary Perception

Introduction

To analyse the relationship between cultural heritage, national identity, tourism and media in the context of the distortive projection of the past inducing the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon, Chapter 5 defines the first two major narratives of the thesis: historical and cinematic. These narratives represent further data collection utilised for the assessment of said commodification in Chapter 8.

The chapter analyses first the perception of the last Queen of France conveyed by French and Anglo-Saxon historical sources relevant to tracing the abovementioned distortions, consequently contributing data for charting out the commodification process representing the focus of the present thesis. Historical source selection was based on prevalence in and impact on the opinions of Marie Antoinette, held by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon. While majority perception leads the course of the thesis research, minority opinions are also considered. Moreover, both types of perception are analysed against the backdrop of general trends in the representation of the historical character of Marie Antoinette in academic scholarship and popular media channels. The analysis is led by the main principles of the hermeneutical paradigm of interpretation, elaborated upon in Chapter 4. The hermeneutical circle (supported by Heidegger) is of particular relevance, as it reveals the constant reinforcement of historical knowledge inside each milieu, be it Republican or Royalist. When examining the founding myths of the Republic (in antithesis with those of the Royalty) from the perspective of the dissonant heritage specific to these contrasting history readings, the historical narrative is investigated through the lens of the zero sum heritage trait (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; see Chapter 2).

Chapter 5 tangentially investigates the French Romantic literary sources of Alexandre Dumas *père*, along with key 20th century and contemporary biographers of Marie Antoinette, most of which exercise direct influence over various cinematic narratives, or partly serve as inspiration. Despite research evidence showing that, in the case of the majority of contemporary visitors at Petit Trianon, these sources have not directly influenced the perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character, these, nevertheless, contributed at reinforcing the historical discourse of the Republican agenda, engraved in the French collective memory - the main factor responsible for shaping said perception. The Republican discourse is considered intrinsic to the Republican views, and in opposition to Royalist views. Both sides are examined throughout the chapter, and simultaneously analysed from the perspective of publications sold at *Château de Versailles*. The Republican views are also at the core of opinions on Marie Antoinette held by the majority of the American and Japanese visitors. The Revolutionary/Republican *clichés* transmitted through school education and reinforced by popular media sources form the link between French collective memory and these other nationals' perception.

Moreover, Chapter 5 reveals the intricately woven threads of analysed sources in order to explain the high degree of fiction which prevails in the case study of the thesis. The *mélange* of fiction and perceived historical truth, constituting the basis of the cinematic narrative, elucidates the mechanisms behind the production and perpetuation of perceptions of Marie Antoinette not only within the public historical narrative but also the contemporary popular culture established through media channels. The cinematic narratives indicated by field research to be the most relevant are Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* (2006) and Riyoko Ikeda's *manga La Rose de Versailles* (1972).

Through the following analysis, Chapter 5 particularly helps achieve aims 1 and 2 (see A1; A2) of the thesis, concerning objectives 1 and 3 (see O1; O3).

The Historical Narrative

The present historical narrative is understood through Roland Barthes' (1966) structuralist approach, and used accordingly in the field research methodology of the thesis (Maier-Barron, 2011). Narratives are considered as threads of a storyline rather than a compilation of multiple stories. From this perspective, a definition of the concept used in social science research (Denning, 2000) refers to narrative as something told or recounted in the form of a causally-linked set of events, be they true or fictitious. Chapters 5 and 6 assemble the presentation of the four major narratives of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, from the particular perspective of 'Narrative meaning', defined by establishing that something is a part of a whole and that something is the cause of something else (Denning, 2000). The meaning of each event is produced by the part it plays in the narrative.

The historical narrative elements are paramount in understanding the representation, interpretation and perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character relevant to the majority of the contemporary visitors at Petit Trianon. Consequently, the selection of historical sources was based on their direct or indirect influence over the encoding and the subsequent decoding of the historical character of Marie Antoinette in the case of Petit Trianon visitors, with focus on the majority groups. Royalist, Romantic, rehabilitative and feminist historiographies underpin the data collection relating to the minority visitor groups, thus representing negative evidence for the Republican views of the majority.

The source selection was cross-referenced with the stock of the main library of *Château de Versailles (Librairie des Princes)* and their best sellers, according to testimonials gathered from shop assistants during 2010 – 2012 (Table 5.1). To construct a comprehensive view of the most up-to-date tendency in the portrayal of Marie Antoinette, a few recent publications authorised by *Château de Versailles* and identified during the last field trip research in August 2014 are included in a later subchapter. It is relevant that the majority of visitors do not buy books at *Librairie des Princes* (Plate 5.1), which makes book sale trends representative for a minority of visitors, of usually art history background.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 5.1: Librairie des Princes, the main bookshop of Château de Versailles, used to cross-reference the historical narrative of the thesis

Table 5.1: 'Best-seller' biographies¹⁴ of Marie Antoinette (2010-2012) at Librairie des Princes (in alphabetical order and with original year publications)

Simone Bertière	<i>Marie-Antoinette l'insoumise</i> (2002)
Cécile Berly and Jean-Clément Martin	<i>Marie-Antoinette</i> (2010)
Madame Campan	<i>Mémoires de Madame Campan – Première Femme de Chambre de Marie-Antoinette</i> (1823)
André Castelot	<i>Marie-Antoinette</i> (1953)
Jean Chalon	<i>Chère Marie Antoinette</i> (1989)
Benedetta Craveri	<i>Marie-Antoinette et le scandale du collier</i> (2008)
Elisabeth de Feydeau	<i>Jean-Louis Fargeon, Parfumeur de Marie-Antoinette</i> (2005)
Antonia Fraser	<i>Marie-Antoinette: biographie</i> (2006)
Évelyne Lever	<i>Marie-Antoinette, la dernière reine</i> (2006)
	<i>Marie-Antoinette: correspondance (1770-1793)</i> (2005)
Chantal Thomas	<i>La Reine Scélérate: Marie-Antoinette dans les pamphlets</i> (1989)
	<i>Les Adieux à la Reine</i> (2002) (novel)
Stefan Zweig	<i>Marie-Antoinette: Portrait of an Average Woman</i> (1932)

¹⁴ Selection indicated by *Librairie des Princes* shop assistants, and based on their observations. The RMN representatives in charge of the merchandise order stock as a result of other policies in addition to monthly sales. They did not respond to my request for statistics and explanations of the merchandise selection process for French museums, in particular for *Château de Versailles*. Furthermore, the selection included only historical biographies, (except Chantal Thomas' 2002 novel), thus indicating a specialist target audience. It also reflects, to a point, the preferences of the minority public French visitors, who most often purchase books when visiting. For the other books sold by *Librairie des Princes* (English, Italian, German, Spanish or Russian in a smaller proportion), the shop assistants could not provide a pattern of best sellers. The field research evidence of the thesis (see Table A.4) revealed that the majority of the American respondents were interested in reading novels, preferring romance and anecdote to historical sources. Still, these novels did not, according to visitor perception within this group, contribute to their opinion about Marie Antoinette. The only type of novels which did have an effect on shaping their opinion on the last Queen of France, were Marie Antoinette's 'diaries' (historical fiction), in the case of female American respondents (-25 age group). These novels were not sold at *Librairie des Princes* during the field survey. The minority groups of respondents of all nationalities prefer art history books and well-researched historical novels.

Chapter 5 does not include an analysis of French or other nationals' school education curriculum sources, the complexity of the topic recommending it for a future study. However, the premises of the present chapter analysis establish, based on field research evidence (Table A.4), that school education in France, USA and Japan, bears Republican connotations, Marie Antoinette being generally represented in a negative light, if at all. Despite school education forming an important source of information on the subject of historical figures in general, and of Marie Antoinette in particular, its role is acknowledged by the thesis exclusively in conjunction with the concept of 'collective memory' - the one element to conclusively shape public perception - through the intermediary of *clichés* circulated by popular culture media sources.

In addition, field research evidence revealed the absence of a single or clear source which the majority of visitors would consider formative for their opinion about Marie Antoinette. For the majority of French and American visitors, multiple sources are found in school education as well as books, novels, TV programmes and films. With few exceptions, respondents were unable to list these sources (Table A.4). Chapter 7 analyses this particular aspect of unidentifiable sources of information in the context of the 'imaginary social worlds' theory (Caughey, 1984). In the case of the majority of Japanese visitors, apart from school education, the two sources shaping the opinion on Marie Antoinette were Ikeda's *La Rose de Versailles* and Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette*, both analysed in Chapter 5.

There is a postmodern tendency in academic French history circles to integrate truncated pieces of French history (Le Goff & Nora, 2011; Le Goff, 2014) and, furthermore, to invest the role of historian with the duty and ability to objectively portray the past (Le Goff & Nora, 2011; Smith, 2012). This is based on the recognition of otherwise old problems (Bloch, 1997) which become, in the 'making of history', new and stringent problems, new approaches and new objects (Le Goff & Nora, 2011). Moreover, the role of the public historian, which is of particular concern to the present chapter, was recently acknowledged by Nora (2011a: 15) as the key to successfully place French history into the 'heart of French culture and identity'.

All the above led to the appearance of various recent biographers of Marie Antoinette, coming from academic backgrounds not restricted to history, and submitting their work to the 'nouvelle histoire'. Yet, what the chapter must establish is how successful this aim of re-writing history could be, given the deeply rooted misconceptions surrounding the French Revolution and Marie Antoinette. In fact, the field research of the thesis revealed the peculiarity surrounding Marie Antoinette and, intrinsically, Petit Trianon, in terms of historical narrative. The misrepresentation that has defined the image of the Queen for so long, determined a reversal of reality into fiction and *vice versa*. The vehement propaganda's results and all the issues raised by it until the last hours of Marie Antoinette's life, when famously one of the incriminations was to do with the 'great expenses' incurred for building works carried out at the Petit Trianon, positioned the Queen's Estate in a reprobate but also fantasy dimension into the eyes of the public, as Petit Trianon became synonymous with the luxury and decadence of the *Ancien Régime* itself.

Reality became fiction, and fiction became reality again – a constant, long-established process, clearly translated, nowadays, into the vast literature written about the last Queen of France. Following extensive analysis of the major historical works and historical fiction novels surrounding Marie Antoinette, a clear conclusion can be drawn: on one side there are the historians, who intend to be objective, giving their own interpretation to already established historical material which cannot, after two centuries of misrepresentations, still be objective. On the other side, there are historians doing painstaking research outside historical dogmas, who often arrive at conclusions in opposition to the common beliefs so well rooted into the French collective memory. Therefore, their work can only be published if re-classified as fiction. Supported by Dorrit Cohn (2001), the present thesis considers that the difference between historical and historical fiction narratives lies in the higher probability of the latter being associated with 'untruth', despite the possibility of their truthfulness with regard to real events as historical narratives. Furthermore, there is another crucial aspect to consider when truth comes into question. As Darwin Smith (2012) suggests through his study on the professional position in which French

contemporary historians working with/at CNRS¹⁵ find themselves, research projects aiming for an accurate depiction of France's past are not only hampered financially, but also politically. Having witnessed the highly politicised milieu of French journalism, the historian seems to observe similar patterns within the CNRS.

Leaning on the observations above, the present thesis argues that, in the case of research on the historical character of Marie Antoinette, political and financial considerations converge in two possible ways. They can restrict, due to the well-established historical discourses and associated historical dogmas espoused by the majority of historians, from presenting alternative ways of understanding Marie Antoinette's historical character. Conversely, they can favour the sensationalistic type of works on Marie Antoinette's subject due to lucrative potential and the incentive of profit. Marie Antoinette sells well, not only souvenirs, but also books and films – all amounting to a veritable industry of biographies, more or less romanced, ranging between fiction and history and which, especially since the 2006 release of Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette*, flooded the market (Seth, 2006). Furthermore, Marie Antoinette's destiny makes her popular with a wide range of audiences, to which it appeals on different levels, regardless of the opinion they have of her. In fact, this entices the ever increasing avalanche of literary and cinematic productions.

The historical narrative analysis could not be complete without considering several major American and British contributions on the subject of Marie Antoinette. Perhaps due to the competitive nature acknowledged recently by Nora (2013) in an up-to-date analysis of the tandem of forces existent between the two models of modern democracy (see also Kuisel, 1993), American and French historical discourses stand in disagreement with regard to France's dissonant past. Marie Antoinette seems to be a popular subject for American academia befittingly illustrating their counter-arguments to a French Republican historical thesis. If Marxism may have been at the root of the antithesis, recent postmodern reconsiderations of history (on both sides), have made strides to reconcile the previously disparate approaches. From the vantage point of the

¹⁵ CNRS - *Centre national de la recherche scientifique*; the largest governmental research organisation in France.

present analysis, the reconciliation between American and French views over French history translates in essence into the revisionist French trends aligning the two perspectives.

Nevertheless, for the majority of American visitors the opinion on Marie Antoinette is similar to that of their French counterparts. Lanser (2003: 277) also observes that within the Anglo-Saxon milieu, the views on Marie Antoinette emerged from a 'marked contrast between Burkean hagiography to Jeffersonian demonization', but that, however, the negative extreme is starting to be challenged by recent contributions to the subject (Goodman, 2003). In fact, challenging old historical precepts is currently restricted to academic circles. Furthermore, American popular media sources, such as Sofia Coppola's film (or British author Antonia Fraser's biography, on which the film is based) despite perhaps attempting a fairer portrayal of the Queen, only reinforced old Republican *clichés* (see Table 4.1), a fact decried by both sides of the aforementioned history academia circles (Hunt, 1991; Goodman, 2003; Duprat, 2006; 2007; 2011; 2013; Lever, 2006e; Bertière, 2006; Berly, 2006; 2012; Berly & Martin, 2010). Thomas (1989a), Seth (2006), Duprat (2006, 2013) and Berly (2012) extensively review the *clichés* associated with Marie Antoinette in the French milieu, whilst Kaiser (2000), Gruder (2002), Goodman (2003) and Webber (2000; 2006) provide the American counterpart of this perception. Campion-Vincent and Shojaei Kawan (2002) contribute a French rehabilitative review of the 'Let them Eat Cake!' *cliché*.

There are key moments in Marie Antoinette's life, reign and death which are constantly reproduced and debated (Table 5.2). Whilst the early life and final moments are generally agreed on, it is the period between 1774 and 1792 (the fall of the French Monarchy) which divides opinions between Republican and Royalist sympathies. According to the hermeneutical paradigm of interpretation employed by the present thesis, this confirms the manipulation of Marie Antoinette's image by various parties.

Table 5.2: The key moments contributing to the portrayal of Marie Antoinette's controversial image by the historical narrative of the thesis

2 nd November 1755	Birth of Maria Antonia Johanna Josepha de Loraine-Habsbourg, Archduchess of Austria, youngest daughter of Francois I and the Austro-Hungarian most Catholic Empress Maria Theresa.
1755-1770	Childhood at Schönbrunn Palace: relatively 'Etiquette free' Royal Austrian upbringing, closely resembling the French Bourgeois <i>milieu</i> .
1770	Child bride married to Louis-Auguste, duc de Berry, Dauphin of France, future Louis XVI; the Dauphine is well received by the French 'people' but not as well by various factions of the Court of Versailles due to her Austrian nationality; the two teenagers belonging to previously enemy countries are thrown together into a game of circumstances which, despite keeping them apart in the beginning, gradually forged their union as a devoted couple united in political views.
1770-1774	Dauphine of France at Versailles Palace; continuing to be a well-loved Princess by the French 'people' as she is actually seen in contrast with the declining morality of the Court of Versailles; unanimously praised for her generosity and charitable nature, inclined to helping the poor.
1774	30 th January 1774 - The Masked Ball at the Opera in Paris: Marie Antoinette meets the Swedish Count Axel von Fersen, historical character upon whom rests the proof of fidelity or infidelity of the Queen towards her Royal husband, and even the proof of Marie Antoinette's alleged treason due to help received from this 'foreign' national in the course of later events.
	10 th May 1774: Death of Louis XV, the ascension to the throne of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, both in their teens.
	Marie Antoinette enters into possession of Petit Trianon, and initiates works on the garden that would become one of the most accomplished models of <i>Jardin Anglais</i> , but would also be vehemently criticised for being one of the main causes for France's bankruptcy.
1774-1778	Early reign years and childless marriage: the 'Queen of Fashion and Balls' image takes root in the public imaginary through the influence of 18 th century pamphlets; in the absence of other targets (previously, the Kings' mistress / <i>favourite</i>) due to Louis XVI's fidelity, Austrian-born Marie Antoinette becomes the ideal political figure to embody the negative image of the French Monarchy and the <i>Ancien Régime</i> .
1778	20 th December: Birth of Princesse Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte of France, first child of Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, future Duchess of Angoulême. This event intensifies the defamatory libels against Marie Antoinette, proving the underlying intention to decrease her popularity as soon as it was on the mend. The Queen proved to be an exemplary mother to all her children.
1780	29 th November: Death of Empress Maria Theresa, Marie Antoinette's mother and mentor; despite the overpowering maternal presence (even from the great geographical distance separating them), Marie Antoinette deeply cherished the most Catholic Empress of Europe. For the rest of her short life, Marie Antoinette held her mother as model and ideal.
1781	22 nd October: Birth of the Dauphin of France, Louis-Joseph-Xavier-François; the official seal of legitimation for Marie Antoinette's role of Queen of France, previously uncertain in the absence of a male heir; the

	event intensifies the calumny against Marie Antoinette, derogatory pamphlets alluding to illegitimate paternity.
1785	<p>27th March: Birth of the second son of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, the future Dauphin of France after the death of his eldest brother in 1789, and Louis XVII, King of France following the death of his father, Louis XVI; the calumny against Marie Antoinette continues.</p> <p>15th August: The outburst of The Necklace Affair (<i>L'affaire du Collier</i>) which arguably sealed the negative image of the Queen, easing the way for the final blows towards the French Monarchy through calumny; a web of intrigues surrounding the secret purchase by a high standing religious official of one of the most expensive pieces of jewellery ever made, allegedly on behalf of Marie Antoinette. The dimensions of the affair surpass credible reality, making this episode one of the most popular topics of fiction work on Marie Antoinette.</p>
1786-1787	Birth and death before the age of 1 year old of the fourth and last child of the Royal couple: Princess Sophie-Hélène-Béatrix de France. Marie Antoinette together with the King and their eldest child in particular (Madame Royale who was old enough to acknowledge this death) are very affected by the loss.
1789	<p>4th June: Death of the first Dauphin which greatly affects Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI; therefore, the fall of the Bastille and the French Revolution's first events, occur against the backdrop of the couple's bereavement.</p> <p>The night of 5th October: <i>Château de Versailles</i> invaded by an alleged 'spontaneous' mob action led by Parisian women seeking the death of the Queen (attempted murder). The Queen escapes and dominates the mob by appearing at the Royal balcony accompanied by her children (one of the moments attesting her charisma and courage in key dramatic moments).</p> <p>6th October: The Royal family leaves <i>Château de Versailles</i>, forced to move to Tuileries Palace in Paris; last day spent at Versailles before execution.</p>
1790	<p>The Royal family helplessly witnesses the rising chaos engulfing France; attempts to reinstall order and unsuccessful negotiations with various parties; the public opinion against Marie Antoinette culminates into hatred.</p> <p>26th December: Louis XVI signs the Civil Constitution.</p>
1791	<p>18th April: The Royal family is prevented from leaving the Tuileries for Saint Cloud with the occasion of Easter; a confirmation to their unofficial status of prisoners. Marie Antoinette is increasingly being targeted as a figure of hatred, to the point of her life becoming endangered.</p> <p>20th June: the Varennes <i>fuite [flight]</i> organised by Marie Antoinette with Count Hans Axel von Fersen, aiming to take the Royal family out of Paris; episode that bears high political relevance for the Republican historical discourse trying to prove the disloyalty which Marie Antoinette has shown to the French people (see Tackett, 2003).</p> <p>21st June: the Royal family captured at Varennes and brought back to Tuileries.</p> <p>25th June: The King's official attributions are suspended; the Legislative Assembly is formed as a temporary ruling measure.</p>

1792	20 th April The Legislative Assembly declares war to Austria in the name of France, whilst Louis XVI stood against plans involving any shed of French blood.
	20 th June: Attack of the Tuileries Palace, as a commemorative threat to the Varennes flight; serious concerns for the safety of the Royal family mounting amongst Royal supporters from abroad.
	25 th July : the Brunswick Manifesto (see Barton, 1967; Cross, 2011) is signed by Duke Brunswick at Coblenz - The Austrian-Prussian coalition recognises Louis XVI as sole legitimate ruler of France, pressing threats onto the Revolutionary Committee for guaranteeing the safety of the French Royal family; crucial moment used by the Revolutionary factions for the final dissolution of the Monarchy, under the pretext that Louis XVI conspired with the enemy (as some of the French Royalist supporters such as Count Fersen were involved in the planning of the Manifesto in a last desperate attempt to rescue the Royal family); the event was used against the Royal family in charges of conspiracy with foreign powers.
	10 th August: Invasion of Tuileries Palace and massacre of the Royal Swiss Guards charged with the protection of the Royal family who escape by finding refuge with the National Assembly– Official date for the fall of the French Monarchy.
	13 th August: The National Assembly decides to imprison the Royal family at Le Temple.
	22 nd September: The First French Republic is formed.
	11 th and 26 th December: Trial of Louis XVI by the Convention who finds him guilty of treason.
1793	16 th /18 th January: Death sentence voted for Louis XVI.
	21 st January: Louis XVI's death - execution by guillotine.
	1 st July: 8 years old Louis XVII (as the Royalists proclaimed the Dauphin, Louis-Charles after his father's execution) is separated by the Revolutionary Committee from his mother Marie Antoinette.
	2 nd August: Marie Antoinette is moved to <i>La Conciergerie</i> , known as the last stop for death sentence prisoners.
	14 th and 15 th October: Marie Antoinette's Trial; following lack of evidence for treason, the accusation of incest is brought on the second day leading to the moment which sealed Marie Antoinette's symbolic role of female victimisation by the French Revolution. Marie Antoinette is sentenced to death.
	16 th October: Marie Antoinette's death - execution by guillotine; birth of a modern (and postmodern) legend.

The aforementioned Royalist and Republican sympathies towards the historical character of Marie Antoinette are not actually always linked, paradoxically perhaps, with political connotations. Royalist writers (Girault de Coursac, 1962; 1990) wanting to rehabilitate the image of Louis XVI choose to denigrate Marie Antoinette, seeing the two historical characters in a conflict of interests. The defamatory discourse on Marie Antoinette can be traced as far back as Catholic contemporaries to the French Revolution events (Soulavie, 1801). Equally, there are sections of the public, such as members of *Association Marie-Antoinette*, French NGO concerned with the rehabilitation of Marie Antoinette's image, who not all consider themselves to have Royalist political inclinations. What prevails is the fascination with the figure of the last Queen of France (Lorin, pers. comm, 2014). The situation attests that Marie Antoinette transcended her political, social and cultural dimensions, having acquired the status of symbol, whether criticised or highly admired. The variations found in the perception of her historical character reinforce this symbolic value in different ways, appropriated by different identities.

Although establishing an external validation to the results of the thesis survey at Petit Trianon, makes the subject of future research, using the historical narrative of the chapter as an evaluation of whether the perception of the majority of the French public is reflected by the results of the thesis survey at Petit Trianon (2010-2012), suggests the sample of the thesis survey to be representative for the wider public. Further evidence is provided by the 1993 show (see <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GcoBWn9z790>; <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=it7VH57Az18>) dedicated to the Bicentenary commemoration of the Queen's death (Plate 5.2). This revisited the Queen's trial, after showing her life in a play, giving the 4000 spectator audience, acting as the jury, a chance to change the course of 'History' at each performance. The Queen was most often exiled to Austria, her country of birth (Franck, 1993; Berly, 2006; Seth, 2006). But if Marie Antoinette was overall not sentenced to death, life in France or elsewhere was not unanimously 'voted' either, and the exile - significantly to Austria – could suggest that the French public still considers Marie Antoinette an unwelcome foreigner who brought prejudice to their country significant enough to warrant exile to her homeland.

Even more significantly, one of the members of the public at the show marking the Bicentenary commemoration, personally commented that the Queen was ‘sentenced to death *once again*’ (Lorin, pers. comm., 2014). It is possible that the significance of the date attracted a greater number of fierce Republicans, wishing to express their opinions, as it equally attracted the Queen’s supporters. Between the two parties, the Republican views prevailed. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, despite the long-lasting, subliminal effects of revolutionary propaganda on the subconscious of the ‘good citizens’, there also exists a definite fascination with Marie Antoinette, usually found in the circles of art specialists with access to relevant sources of information (see Chapter 7).

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Plate 5.2: The theatrical re-make of the Queen’s trial in 1993 (directed by French actor Robert Hossein; historical advisers Alain Decaux and André Castelot), with the audience granted the power of the jury. The audience vote was cast after viewing a play on Marie Antoinette’s life, based on a historical discourse that reiterated certain Republican clichés, but also focused on her nobility and dignity in the face of a tragic end

19th Century Authors

The analysis of historical sources is introduced by a brief review of the main 19th century historical authors, as they were the main founders of the misconceptions surrounding the historical character of Marie Antoinette. Albeit having suffered countless distortions since the 18th century, through the work of the Revolutionary propaganda and the *clichés* it disseminated about the Queen, the field research evidence of the thesis showed that it was the 19th century through the historical discourse of the Republican agenda, which sealed a certain perception of the Queen for the majority of the contemporary visitors at Petit Trianon.

Firstly, the Republican agency and its history, re-written by Michelet (1867) during the 19th century (Durand, 2001; Duprat, 2013) constitutes a major cause of the distortions operated on the perception of Marie Antoinette. Secondly, but arguably of more importance (Berly & Martin, 2010) the 19th century French Romantic literature developed around her historical character actually added to the multitude of confusing stories woven around the sovereign. Notable in this respect are the novels of Alexandre Dumas *père* (1845; 1846-1848; 1849-1850; 1851; 1852-1855).

The son of a general who fought against the Monarchy during the French Revolution, Dumas' Republican sympathies clearly shine through in his portrayal of Marie Antoinette. Starting with a subtle depiction with slight negative traits of the image of the Queen in his first novels, he fully depicts her in a negative light in the last novel, *La Comtesse du Charny* (1852-1855), which is based, perhaps not fortuitously, on very little historical evidence. Hailed as the 'king of Romance' (Hemmings, 1979) and having undeniably enjoyed great popularity, often surpassing even that of Victor Hugo, nowadays only *Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge* (1845) and *Le collier de la Reine* (1849-1850) are still fairly well-known. The former depicting a neutral image of Marie Antoinette seen in the context of the Reign of Terror, just after Louis XVI's execution, was recalled by a few French and Italian respondents because of its 1963 Franco-Italian TV series adaptation. The latter, based on the events of 1787, is sympathetic to the opposite point of view of the party involved in the scandal,

and in fact prejudiced Marie Antoinette's image without any solid basis in reality (Table 5.2). It also inspired several other novels and films (Seth, 2006; Petitfils, 2011) including a recent American production (2001), which chose to see Marie Antoinette as guilty, implying the innocence of the real perpetrators (Mason, 2003). The two novels are sold by *Librairie des Princes* but were not reported amongst their best sellers (Plate 5.3).

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Plate 5.3: Librairie des Princes sells Dumas' Le Chevalier de Maison-Rouge (1845) and Le collier de la Reine (1849-1850) in the novels section

The 19th century sources above have been notably counteracted by Royalist biographies such as that of brothers De Goncourt (1858) or De Lescure (1866; 1867b; see also Geffroy, 1866). However, due to the exalted tone of the former and the official Royalist discourse of the latter, it is doubtful whether such sources competed successfully against the negative portrayal of Marie Antoinette, or inadvertently reinforced the Republican message by overtly challenging it. They may have even contributed to further confusion in the perception of Marie Antoinette.

The *mémoires* of contemporaries to Marie Antoinette, including her close entourage (Prince de Ligne, 1814; Campan, 1823; comte de Tilly, 1828; Vigée Le Brun, 1835-1837; Barrone Oberkirch, 1853; Karamzine, 1867; 1885; de France d'Hézacques, 1873; duchesse de Tourzel, 1883; Léonard, 1905; duc de Croÿ, 1906-1921; Marquise de la Tour du Pin, 1920) tend to be placed on a par with the array of fabricated *mémoires* published after the brief restoration of Royalty during the first half of the 19th century. Republican historians dismiss these testimonials as written from a biased perspective. Nevertheless, they are considered a valuable source in their role of testimonials to the end of the 18th century, and evaluated accordingly. These sources are sold by the *Librairie des Princes*, although, the best sellers on Marie Antoinette with one exception (Table 4.1), are the more recent works highlighted later in the chapter.

Further evidence provided by English contemporary *mémoires* whose impartiality is well suggested by 18th century political alliances (Burke, 1790; Walpole, 1823) reinforce the positive portrayal of the Queen. Even more significantly, contemporary French political figures supporting principles opposing to those of the Royalty tried, at the time, to expose the injustice made to the Queen's image as well as her real person (de Gouges, 1791; see also de Staël, 1818).

20th Century and Contemporary Historical Authors

Amongst the historical sources examined in the present subchapter, the work of the Austrian novelist Stefan Zweig is given special attention. His biography of the Queen represents one of the most important contributions to the revival cult taking place at the end of 19th and beginning of the 20th century. British author Antonia Fraser is also reviewed, as her biography of the Queen inspired Sofia Coppola's biopic of Marie Antoinette. Contributions on the subject of Marie Antoinette from American academia are also briefly considered, as the emerging historical narrative they amount to is relevant to the rehabilitative discourse based on either feminist or political readings of history.

Zweig's work initiated a process of moral rehabilitation of the Queen, contrasting the general perception of his contemporaries, stemming from the Republican agenda's negative portrayal. However, his *Marie-Antoinette* (1932) is related by an author whose research focuses on minutiae but who interprets the material found and, even more importantly, the missing material, in a Freudian manner. Although innovative at the time, the psychoanalysis interpretation minimises one's personality to one's sexual life - a simplistic view completely discounting the individual's conscious censorship, particularly strong for the Catholic tradition. Zweig depicts a very unlikely psychological and intellectual portrait of the Queen, reducing her in fact to the sum of the most common Republican *clichés* (see Table 4.1). The crucial difference to previous Republican portrayals lies in Zweig's acknowledgment and appraisal of the manner in which Marie Antoinette faced her tragic end (see Table 5.2): a sublime overcoming of one's average nature, the author stressing that Marie Antoinette would have been a totally unremarkable figure otherwise. Such approach denies to Marie Antoinette a positive contribution to either the history of Queens of France or art history, yet it appeals to readers through a feeling of closeness to her elusive historical character (Ikeda, 2011).

Zweig's focus on the tragic episodes, and especially on the supposed affair of the Queen with Count Von Fersen - to which the author devotes an important part of his psychoanalytical approach - was fully reflected by the first Hollywood biopic on Marie Antoinette (1938, starring Norma Shearer). Based on the

literature review providing the sample for the present chapter's data collection, Zweig's biography remains the cornerstone of all other cult 20th century revival sources, the author's expressed desire to understand and discover the real Queen giving the tone for similar attempts, regardless of their views towards Marie Antoinette. Apart from the undeniable quality of his literary style, Zweig's contribution lies in his review of frequently quoted sources, acknowledging or dismissing them according to authenticity. His work was signalled as one of the best sellers of *Librairie des Princes* (Table 5.1; Plate 5.4).

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Plate 5.4: Stefan Zweig's Marie Antoinette (1932) stood the test of time: still a best seller alongside far more recent works

André Castelot's historical analysis of Marie Antoinette has established his reputation since 1953 as her French biographer enjoying great popularity with the wide public as well as French TV producers and cineastes. With an array of publications on the subject of Marie Antoinette and her Royal family (Castelot, 1947; 1950; 1953; 1971; 1989), constantly re-edited and translated into other languages, the historian's work on the subject of Marie Antoinette is a hybrid

between Zweig's engaging literary style and critical observations regarding the earlier part of the Queen's life, infused however with a good dose of personal fascination with Marie Antoinette. His public - circles of admirers of the Queen and those just starting to learn more about Marie Antoinette (Lorin, pers. comm., 2014) - shares his fascination. Although certain Republican *clichés* are present, this source has a definite rehabilitative nature.

In a completely admiring vein, Jean Chalon also wrote a biography of the Queen (1989; see also 1969, 1988). Highly criticised for biased views by historians of the French Revolution (Berly, 2006), the author nevertheless brings a fresh approach to previous analyses by anchoring Marie Antoinette's story into the political context of the French Revolution, which he incidentally likens in violence and abusive treatment to totalitarian regimes such as the WWII German Nazism. Furthermore, the author makes use of astrological readings, meant to clarify the context that allowed the dramatic development of events in the Queen's life and death. Despite its non-conventional and highly subjective approach, Chalon's biography is one of the best sellers of *Librairie des Princes* (Table 5.1), its public presumably being devoted admirers of the Queen (see also Delorme, 2011).

Another two best sellers of *Librairie des Princes* (Table 5.1) targeting a very specific, narrow segment of the specialist audience, belong to Benedetta Craveri (2008) and Elisabeth de Feydeau (2005; see also 2011, 2012). The latter provides a valuable study of Marie Antoinette's *parfumeur* and his recipes. Craveri analyses the Necklace Affair (see Table 5.2), one of the most popular topics for historical fiction sources on the subject. But the complexity of the case and its importance in sealing the negative image of Marie Antoinette in the public opinion of the time, despite her proved innocence in the matter (Funk-Brentano, 1901; Mossiker, 1961), required academic analysis. Craveri's contribution aligns with earlier American studies on the subject (Maza, 2003) trying to clear misconceptions remaining even in analyses led by principal biographers of the Queen (see Lever, 2004). Furthermore, a recent British publication (Beckman, 2014) proves that the episode continues to fascinate through sensationalist intrigues involving crooks, prostitutes and the clergy, a perfect recipe for popular fiction plots.

Évelyne Lever, research historian and specialist in the Ancien Régime and the French Revolution, has contributed many publications to the subject (1996; 2002; 2004; 2005a, b; 2006a, b, c, d, e, f; with Garcia, 2008), and is quite possibly the principal French contemporary biographer of Marie Antoinette. Lever was chosen by Sofia Coppola as historical adviser for her 2006 biopic of the Queen; however the French historian did not approve of Coppola's final production (Lever, 2006e). Furthermore, Lever's work (<http://www.grignan-festivalcorrespondance.com/editions.html>) inspired a 2013 theatre play (<http://frenchculture.org/visual-and-performing-arts/events/marie-antoinette-her-own-words-0>). Although this particular piece could be considered as revisionist in essence, Lever's tone generally oscillates between an ostentatious impartiality interspersed with Republican *clichés* and an ambiguous sympathy, excusing the Queen but incriminating her in the process. When attempting an examination of historical facts from an objective perspective, Lever's work attests to the cultural and political conditioning of historians belonging to the Republican school. Moreover, the author gives a highly subjective interpretation to missing facts, reinforcing Republican *clichés* (Table 4.1). Most of Lever's books are sold by *Librairie des Princes*, some counted among its best sellers (Table 5.1).

Simone Bertièrre (2002), the other major contemporary French biographer of the Queen, maintains a clear position in her work, though she has to wage constant battle against the deeply rooted misconceptions of the public opinion, in trying to disprove them. This situation confirms, once again, the persistence and incredible power of this unfounded negative image in the French national collective memory, which makes even informed researchers to venture cautiously into the topic. Bertièrre had to leave many questions unanswered regarding the private life of the Queen, due to lack of documents and to a confusing amount of contradictory testimonies. Nevertheless, Bertièrre (pers. comm, 2014) stresses the importance of not adding any personal judgements into a biography, as it is so often the case:

'[...] Literature can teach us a lot on the subject. When I write biographies, I try above all to understand the characters of the past, simultaneously close, but different to us. I have no sympathy for colleagues who happily dish out moral judgements based on their own reactions. I respect my characters.' [translation mine]

Berti re (pers. comm, 2011; 2014) displays a particular sensibility in using her literary background for clear depiction, despite not having any personal affinity with Marie Antoinette. In fact, the author admits the contrary, and also that her interest lies in French social history in general, and in trying to arrive at a clearer picture of past political contexts. Furthermore, having written only one book on the subject and refusing to make out of Marie Antoinette's subject a lucrative business by continually churning out material for Marie Antoinette's fans (Lorin, pers. comm., 2014), the author could be perhaps considered one of the most objective contemporary French biographers of Marie Antoinette.

A further important contribution to a revised reading of the Republican historical discourse on Marie Antoinette is brought by the research of Professor Annie Duprat (2006). Specialist in the role played by caricatures in the propaganda of the end of 18th century, she brings valid observations and explanations of how a 'paper Queen' was actually created by the public opinion, clearly revealing that it was in fact this painstaking and lengthy propaganda process started at the same time as Marie Antoinette's reign, which finally destroyed her as embodiment of the French monarchy, which it indirectly targeted. The Queen's nationality provided reasons and means for violent attacks culminating in the events of 1789 (Duprat, pers. comm., 2012). Furthermore, in her most recent work, which includes the perception of contemporary popular media channels, Duprat (2013: 14) notes that not only the image of Marie Antoinette is mainly seen through 'her double, this paper queen of the propaganda, stuck to her skin like Nessus' lethal tunic', but also that 'we all bear within us a Marie-Antoinette forged by passions, by readings and films' [translation mine].

Another notable author writing about Marie Antoinette from a rather different perspective is Chantal Thomas. Having studied Philosophy and Literature, the author started her work on the 18th century by studying the artistic characters of the Enlightenment. As the image forged by the media of the time (pamphlets), did not match the character that Thomas knew through the artistic channels to which she was accustomed, she investigated further. Thus, her first work (Thomas, 1989a), studied this 'pamphlet' image and the underlying reasons. The author concludes that Marie Antoinette, as favourite target of 18th century

pamphlets, became their victim, just as Marquis de Sade became a victim in his role of pamphlet author.

Thomas' approach is notable for attempting to assemble the real character of the Queen from the analysis of her letters. A subtle understanding of Marie Antoinette's character as well as of her life, allows Thomas to depict, in a much more accurate manner, the essence of historical events. The author was also historical adviser for a *docu-fiction* series (Schifano, 2009), which is very likely to have been produced as a reaction to the previous year's release of Sofia Coppola's film (Thomas, pers. comm, 2011b). Thomas has also contributed chapters and articles to both French and American academic publications (Thomas, 1989b; 2003; see also 1999; 2004).

Her historical fiction novel (Thomas, 2002) was rewarded with the honorary Femina Prize and adapted for the French big screen. Released in 2012, the film, directed by Benoît Jacquot, portrays a typical Republican image albeit in an updated visual manner (see Chapter 8). Paradoxically perhaps, the film had excellent critiques but was an 'échec auprès du public' (Duprat, 2013: 170; see also Chapter 4). The narrative of the film was in fact a misportrayal of the novel's narrative (Plate 5.5): the lesbian relationship of the Queen was Jacquot's own addition. Despite not claiming this to be the historical truth, the film director confessed to picking up the idea from 18th century libellous pamphlets. Considering that, Thomas was trying to dispel the distortions brought to Marie Antoinette's image by pamphlets, the message of the author and its popular media representation are revealed to be completely at odds.

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Plate 5.5: Recent editions of Chantal Thomas' novel, depict on the cover scenes from the film which worked against the initial message of the author; 'mustn't judge a book by its cover' could not be better suited

Another author with a literary background who brought a considerable contribution through a Dictionary on Marie Antoinette is Catriona Seth (2006). Her publication covers a wide range of topics on Marie Antoinette's subject, making this a valuable document for a clearer portrayal of the Queen. Thus, it seems that a literary sensibility is required for re-writing Marie Antoinette's history, and authors such as Bertière and Thomas have become equally reputable French biographers of the Queen as much as those with a historical background, such as Lever.

Having made the subject of Royalist as well as Republican perspectives during the 19th century (de Alméras, 1907; 1935; Fleischman, 1908) analyses of the 18th century pamphlets concerned with Marie Antoinette - most of a pornographic nature - constantly generate further reviews (Darnton, 1982; with Roches, 1989; 2010; de Baecque, 1988; 1997; 2003; Revel, 1991; Mason, 1998; Kaiser, 1998; 2000; 2003a, b; 2006; Gordon, 1998; Gruder, 2002; Hunt, 2003; Colwill, 2003; Burrows, 2006). As such, a very important point to be debated is whether the pamphlets were the cause of the decline of the Monarchy (Thomas, 1989a; Farge, 1994; Kaiser, 2000; Biard, 2009; Duprat, 2013) or whether perhaps, as Gruder (2002) argues, these were only an effect of the decline occurred by 1789, following continual attack against the Queen issuing from the higher levels of society, such as the Court (see also Habermas, 1989; Goodman, 2003a). From the perspective of the thesis, either point of view reconfirms the manipulation of the Queen's image, which ultimately destroyed her and the French Monarchy – the indirect target of the attack. Furthermore, a common conclusion to most of these studies is that Marie Antoinette represents a unique case of an individual having been both tried and sentenced to death on the basis of 'crimes' (see Seth, 2006) committed by a 'paper' double: fiction became reality a long time ago, and continues to be so.

British historian Antonia Fraser (2002; 2006) followed, to an extent, the example of Zweig by arriving at crucial conclusions to otherwise unknown facts through personal interpretation, based on their own life experience. Fraser looked at the historical reality of the 18th century through the lens of the contemporary society to which she belongs - progressive and permissive, a time of 'sexually liberated' women. This study does not permit ample examination of each misinterpreted detail of this biography; however, the main misleading fact - also featured in Coppola's film based on Fraser's novel (Plate 5.6) - is the alleged affair of the Queen with Count Hans Axel von Fersen. The relationship remains as mythical and debated as the very image of the Queen, the two being closely interrelated. Furthermore, the affair usually acts as one of the variables which determine the polarity of the image of Marie Antoinette in the perception of the majority.

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Plate 5.6: Antonia Fraser's biography of Marie Antoinette, brings (Republican) history to life, successfully reinforcing old Republican clichés

Last but not least, a French biographer of Marie Antoinette, particularly notable due to her French Revolution history background, is Cécile Berly (2003; 2006; with Martin, 2010; 2012; 2013), increasingly known for re-evaluating the role played by Marie Antoinette in the course of the events. The author tries, to an extent, to rehabilitate the Queen's image and, indirectly, that of Louis XVI, whose historical character she feels has been unjustly misportrayed for too long (Berly, 2011). But Berly's essential contribution lies in an attempt to reconcile the French Revolution and its violence *vis-à-vis* Marie Antoinette. However, Berly's work confirms that contemporary French historians are not yet able to fully depict the true role played by the Queen, due to the French Revolution's value as founding myth of the French nation. To objectively understand and

reveal the Queen's role still implies adopting a critical stance towards the real dimensions of the French Revolution: devotion to the latter precludes objectivity towards the former. Still, Berly's and Martin's contributions (2010) are notable for trying to break with profession-specific patterns of thought and research. Other French Revolution historians such as Furet (with Richet, 1973; 1989; with Ozouf, 1989) further attest through their work to the zero sum trait of heritage, expressed at its clearest: the cultural heritage of the French Revolution's events impinges onto the cultural heritage of Marie Antoinette's historical character - seen as a symbol of the French Monarchy - and *vice versa*.

Fiction or History? Attempts to Rehabilitate Marie Antoinette's Image through Historical Fiction and Social Media

After reviewing relevant sources to the development of the historical narrative of Marie Antoinette, the present subchapter focuses on several examples of published or internet discourses attempting to rehabilitate the image of Marie Antoinette's historical character. The common denominator for the published sources lies in the use of fiction to convey, more or less successfully historical facts, whilst the social media referred to clearly aims to challenge and disprove the Republican historical discourse.

The first example is found in a literary genre of fictional personal diaries of Marie Antoinette (Plate 5.7). In fact, this is the only source indicated by fieldwork evidence to have had a clear impact on a certain part of the American visitors at Petit Trianon (young women under the age of 25; see Table A.4). However, titles and authors of such 'diaries' were not recalled by the respondents. Although the opinion of the respondents apparently improved after the reading, their image of Marie Antoinette remained negative. This is due to the fact that the message conveyed through such sources starkly contrasts with general beliefs instilled by official channels, the readers thus finding it difficult to believe that the historical discourse of these novels could be reflecting the truth. Respondents also confessed embarrassment, experienced once their opinion of the Queen became more positive, given their knowledge of how decadent she was at a time of great suffering for the poor French people. Again, the zero sum trait of heritage acts fully in these instances.

For a better illustration of these particular sources and their influence, in the absence of clear sources cited by the said respondents, a review of 50 internet comments (see References) regarding three examples of such diaries (Lasky, 2013; Erickson, 2005; Clegg, 2010) was undertaken. The conclusion based on this cross-referencing of the data collection is that the diaries addressed to teenagers seem to have a greater impact in changing the opinions on Marie Antoinette, as they endear her to young readers. Yet, what was expressed by the visitors at Petit Trianon who mentioned this type of source as being relevant to them, was the general assumption that the Marie Antoinette they came to

know and like must have changed in later life for the worse, becoming 'mean', since the diaries only covered the teenage years of the Dauphine of France. Positive comments made by the internet reviewers do exist, however, some readers even finding these diaries 'illuminating'. By contrast, Marie Antoinette 'diaries' aimed at an adult audience, given their focus on sensationalist 'confessions', such as illicit love, only reinforce Republican *clichés*, furthermore not seeming to make any difference to the readers' opinion on Marie Antoinette.

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Plate 5.7: In popular culture there is an abundance of novels written in the form of Marie Antoinette's personal diaries aimed at teenagers and adults; the genre is not however exclusively reserved to the last Queen of France but in general to Royalty surrounded by intriguing circumstances (e.g.: Princess Anastasia's diary which on Amazon is sold as a pair with Marie Antoinette's in bulk - 10 items)

Although the expressed intentions of such authors to endear Marie Antoinette's historical character to the readers, might not always be successful for various reasons, this genre has also been adopted with the same aim by reputable French historians. Besides Lever (2002), the prolific French biographer of the Queen, whose 'intimate journal' of Marie Antoinette is sold by *Librairie des Princes*, another relevant example for the contrasting Republican and Royalist views on Marie Antoinette is a contribution by the late Countess of Paris (Plate 5.8): *Moi, Marie Antoinette* (1993). Published on the eve of the Queen's death bicentenary, the book was clearly meant to bring a point of view as close as

possible to the events of the Queen's life. The personal connection of the author with Marie Antoinette ensured a completely sympathetic view, yet, as in the case of Royalist biographies, this is what undermines the historical discourse's credibility. This particular source is not sold by *Librairie des Princes*, although it is not out of print.

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Plate 5.8: Princess Isabelle of Orléans-Braganza, Countess of Paris, (1911-2003), direct descendant of Marie Antoinette's sister, Marie Caroline of Naples, historical author and consort of the Orleanist pretender, Henri, Count of Paris.

It is not possible to statistically evaluate the effect of historical fiction novels on the image of Marie Antoinette, yet there is a possibility that this type of rehabilitative discourse contributes towards a gradual change in perceptions. A notable example is provided by the work of Elena Maria Vidal (pseudonym) American historian, author of a historical fiction novel (Vidal, 1997) relevant for its genre (Plate 5.9), but more importantly for the Catholic faith of the author. A

devout Catholic, Vidal is perhaps the only author on the subject of Marie Antoinette who looks at the Queen's destiny strictly from this perspective.¹⁶ If her religious views influence the objectivity of the discourse, as the Royalist views could be suspected to, what is essential is their ability to bring the reader closer to an important trait of the analysed subject, otherwise ignored, as Vidal (pers. comm., 2014a) suggests, by other contemporary studies:

'I do write historical novels which in the USA are regarded as being the same as historical fiction. I see my novels as windows into the past and a way to make historical persons come to life. The novel is an art form. Yes, I think that my Catholic background gives me an understanding of Marie-Antoinette's own Catholic perspective of the events in her life. There are recent novels about the Queen by non-Catholics which are sadly lacking the understanding of sacrifice and martyrdom in union with Christ. Martyrdom is the key to understanding Marie-Antoinette at the end of her life.'

Whether Marie Antoinette was indeed a martyr as Vidal and other Catholic scholars suggest (Horvat, 2000),¹⁷ is beyond the authority of the present thesis to discuss. However, given the hermeneutical paradigm underpinning the methodology of the present thesis, it is crucial to acknowledge the exact religious and monarchic conditioning which acted upon Marie Antoinette's decisions, as in fact the Queen proved to be a staunch Catholic, following the model of her mother. This faith transcended the appearances of a Monarch who had to play a role at one of the most sophisticated Courts of Europe, of an 18th century adept of Enlightened ideas and even of an emancipated woman. Marie Antoinette's decisions and attitude in key moments, not least concerning devotion to her Royal consort (Plate 5.9) and when faced with the events of the French Revolution, indicate her Catholic faith to have entwined with the Monarchic tradition. Following the success of her novel in 2006, Vidal believed it necessary to further reiterate her message by creating the *Tea at Trianon* blog, not least because of the release that year of Coppola's film which Vidal (pers. comm, 2014b) felt to have reinforced the usual *clichés* detrimental to Marie Antoinette's perception, thus, needed counteracting.

¹⁶ Lee (2013) confirms that one of the most important sources of lack of objectivity in historical fiction novels lies in the secularised views of their authors nevertheless referring to a deeply religious past. The present thesis argues this to be the case even for historical biographies.

¹⁷ Both Vidal (pers. comm., 2014 a, b) and Horvat (2000) stress that even within the Catholic milieu, there are many misconceptions surrounding Marie Antoinette, akin in fact to the Republican *clichés*.

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Plate 5.9: Elena Maria Vidal tries to dispel Republican clichés in light of Marie Antoinette's Catholic faith; the Royal family is seen as a close unit, Louis XVI playing an important part which the Republican discourse usually denies to him

It is debatable whether the contribution of such internet sites can be construed as competition for the prevailing Republican historical discourses. However, Cécile Berly, one of the aforementioned French biographers of the Queen, expressed fears regarding the internet portrayal of Marie Antoinette, as it seemed to be flooded by biased views of the Queen's admirers. These views could possibly skew the correct perception of young generations, increasingly using the internet as a tool of education (Berly, 2003).

Listed among the sources causing concern, *Association Marie-Antoinette* founded in 1996,¹⁸ is the only official, non-governmental body in France overtly aiming to rehabilitate the image of Marie Antoinette. The work of the association is divided between managing the social media generated by their forum and

¹⁸ This is the official accreditation, the Association having been active much prior to this date (Lorin, pers. comm., 2014a). One of the NGO's notable founders is art curator Cécile Coutin, with an impressive profile in the field, currently working for BNF (Bibliothèque Nationale de France). Secretary and Co-Founder of the Association, Mme Michèle Lorin, continually attempts to counter the misrepresentation of the Queen which usually occurs in the popular media channels; see Lichfield (2006); Chazan, (2014).

organising various events, as permitted by available funds. Counting approximately 100 members at any one time, including Japanese nationals, the Association's Forum, where all members post under the name of Marie Antoinette, generates various discussions about the Queen, her Royal family and the French Monarchy in general, trying to constantly reveal unknown facts. The founders also organise *colloques* on the subject of Marie Antoinette and take part in TV programmes (Lorin, pers. comm., 2014b).

Patricia Bouchenot-Déchin, researcher and historian at the *Centre de Recherche* of *Château de Versailles*, has authored historical fiction concerning the real nature of the controversial relationship between Marie Antoinette and Count von Fersen (Plate 5.10). As earlier mentioned, there always have been speculations around the real foundations of the Swedish noble's strong attachment to the Queen and her family. The author thoroughly reviewed all the extant documents found in Sweden and France in order to shed light on this debated relationship, and published her groundbreaking findings in the form of a novel (Bouchenot-Déchin; 2006; see also 2004), as this seemed the only effective claim to plausibility when the fresh historical findings contrast so much with the commonly known *clichés* (Bouchenot-Déchin, pers. comm., 2010; 2011). The historian's findings revealed a devoted friendship and a platonic love on both sides.

In this respect, the thesis makes further use of sources (Webster, 1936; Chalon, 1989; Bertièrre, 2002; Delorme, 2011) that made a good case for the reasons this relationship could not have been anything else other than either pure devoted friendship or a platonic love at the most: the Catholic faith of the Queen and the devotion and respect of the Count to the French Royal couple. Moreover, Count Fersen is acknowledged to have been one of their most important political advisers (Bertièrre, 2002).

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Plate 5.10: Swedish Count Axel von Fersen was devoted to the French Royal couple and supported the Royalist cause; Royalist loyalty which led to his tragic end on the 20th June 1810. The date coincidence with the failed Varennes flight, which eventually brought about Marie Antoinette's end, is often used to put a romantic spin on their relationship.

The visitor discourse analysed in Chapter 7 confirmed the initial suspicion that members of the majority French and American visitors groups aware of and elaborating on the relationship do not consider the 'consummation' of this platonic love in the same way as authors who choose to depict it otherwise (Zweig, 1932; Lever, 1996; 2006a, b; Fraser, 2001; Farr, 2013) - in a romanticised fashion or a sympathetic and wishful way of somehow compensating, in their view, for the Queen's misfortune, with at least some moments of complete surrender to her feelings. On the contrary, the insinuations of an affair add up to all other incriminations formulated by the 18th century revolutionary propaganda, later integrated to the Republican history agenda, whence they disseminated into the French national collective memory.

The present subchapter and its findings confirm the blending of reality into fiction, which again merged into reality, a process which seems irreversible for the future in the absence of an antidote. At present, however the evidence of the aforementioned analysis highlights the persistence of the negative image of Marie Antoinette in the perception of the majority.

Historical Discourses at *Château de Versailles*

Librairie des Princes, the main bookshop of *Château de Versailles*, was used to cross-reference all the historical sources reviewed, in order to finally obtain a clearer picture of the contribution brought by the heritage site of *Château de Versailles* to the perception of Marie Antoinette's image, from a historical narrative perspective. After investigating the main points of incidence between the vast literature written about the last Queen of France and *Librairie des Princes*, the present subchapter provides an overview of the historical narrative created by the educational sources available at the bookshop.

The sources considered are the most recent contributions relevant to educational purposes, such as: *Marie Antoinette pour les nuls* (Godfroy, 2013) aimed at the majority of the adult visitors seeking more historical information on Marie Antoinette, and lacking a solid historical knowledge about the subject; the books for children of the age category 9-12 years old, and lastly for the children up to 8 years old.

Firstly, the Idiots' guide written by Marion F. Godfroy (2013), Doctor in History and member of the Institute of the French Revolution, is a richly detailed account of the Queen's life, which is surprising, given its intended audience. Although trying, to some extent, to demystify *cliché*-generated misconceptions surrounding the historical character (Plate 5.11), its tone is a good reflection of the other French Republican historical contributions previously analysed.

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Plate 5.11: The beginning of each chapter of the Idiot's guide (Godfroy, 2013) is portrayed by a caricature of the main clichés surrounding Marie Antoinette, such as the 'Austrian spy'. Although by the end of each chapter one would expect to have a less clichéd understanding of Marie Antoinette, the Republican agenda limits the scope for change in perception

Addressed to 9-12 year olds, a recently published book (Le Loarer & Bouvarel, 2014), which the cover promises to be on the subject of Marie Antoinette (Plate 5.12), is in fact a brief history of the French Monarchy. The one page dedicated to the last Bourbon dynasty, far from trying to objectively depict an event as complex as the French Revolution and its relationship with the last Queen of France, adopts (among other issues raised by the period) a simplistic and apparently biased Republican view. The tone is prejudiced enough to pass for sarcastic mocking of Republican views, but given the intended audience – in need of education, and lacking the prior knowledge to ascertain whose views are expressed in these few lines – this is not very likely. Needless to say, that the text would not be considered 'politically correct' were it not already treating such a controversial subject (Le Loarer & Bouvarel, 2014: 33):

'An Unpopular Queen

Since her arrival in France, Marie-Antoinette, Arch-duchess of Austria, incites the critique of the Court and her subjects. While the people must make even more sacrifices, the queen spends imprudently for her jewellery and wardrobe. No wonder she was accused of bankrupting the country!' [translation mine]

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Plate 5.12: French history lessons with an extremely ambiguous bivalent tone

Another recent publication of *bandes dessinées* (Plate 5.13), edited in collaboration with *Château de Versailles* (Adam et al., 2013), also perpetuates Republican *clichés* on Marie Antoinette through a mix of fiction and history. With some references to Dumas' *Le Chevalier de Maison Rouge*, the Queen having a devoted lover whom she meets in secret, disguised as a servant, the King as a murderous, jealous husband, contemporary film topics (travelling back in time to save lost loved ones), leave the reader with a very confused sense of the plot but a very clear idea of who Marie Antoinette was in essence: an unfaithful Royal spouse.

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Plate 5.13: In a recently published comic book edited in collaboration with Château de Versailles, the informed reader cannot miss a portrayal of both Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI riddled with Republican clichés

After such narratives, one would expect to find the same Republican vein running throughout the other publications aimed at younger readers (Plate 5.14). Surprisingly though, the tone is contrasting, almost Royalist. On closer examination, the reason is found in the type of the publications and their authors: these are in essence art history essays, written and drawn by authors with backgrounds in art history. At the same time, the nature of these publications addressed to very young girls lends itself perfectly to Marie Antoinette's mythical image of a fairy tale princess.

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Plate 5.14: The art books aimed at young readers do not preach Republican discourses but quite the opposite

The incoherent historical discourse signalled throughout the present subchapter could be mainly attributed to commerciality, RMN (*Réunion de Musées Nationaux*), the official organisation which runs all the French museums boutiques, stocking high volume turnover merchandise (see Chapter 6). Nevertheless, the politicisation of the French cultural milieu earlier suggested by Smith (2012) plays also an important part.

The Cinematic Narrative

To build a comprehensive view of the essential factors of Marie Antoinette's portrayal and the dissonant commodification of her historical character, this subchapter analyses the cinematic narrative relevant to the perception of Marie Antoinette by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon. The field research of the thesis proved that American and Japanese nationals use cinematic media sources as reference points. These do not influence Marie Antoinette's image imprinted into the French national collective memory, but are responsible for its perception by these other nationals, through a perpetuation of Republican *clichés* (see also Chapters 4 and 8).

Despite a complex and numerous filmography featuring Marie Antoinette as main or secondary character (estimated to 50 films, although only 3 biopics), the present chapter is narrowed down to two sources, proven to be influential for visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon. Based on field research evidence (Table A.4), these are Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* (2006) and Riyoko Ikeda's *La Rose de Versailles* (1972). Moreover, the relevance of Sofia Coppola's 2006 film lies in its connections with the promotional strategies used by *Château de Versailles*. Although highly controversial, the film attracted considerable national and international interest in the Queen's *Domaine*, to such an extent that *Château de Versailles* foresaw and seized the opportunity to strengthen and further promote the site's image, whilst also planning the actual refurbishment of the building of Petit Trianon, completed in 2008. The Petit Trianon visitor figure comparison before and after the major revival sparked by Coppola's film, revealed an increase of over 100% (see also Chapters 6 and 8).

Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* (2006)

On the 18th May 2006, the Cannes Film Festival opened with the viewing of *The Da Vinci Code*. The year's most anticipated production, however, was Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette*, the young director's third film after *Virgin Suicides* (1999) and *Lost in Translation* (2003). A recurrent theme of troubled teenage/young womanhood runs through all three. The teenage years of the last Queen of France once again inspire the artist's eye, this time of a contemporary film director. The Queen is seen to be divided in spatial terms between the suffocating etiquette which ruled at *Château de Versailles* and her beloved Petit Trianon. The haven of peace and tranquillity of the latter contrasts greatly with the rigid life at Court. However, the director chose to give this space an added dimension of frivolity and libertinage by transforming it into the set for the Queen's supposed love affair with the Count Axel von Fersen, relationship as debated and legendary as the image of the Queen herself (Plate 5.15).

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Plate 5.15: Petit Trianon (featured in all the above images where Kirsten Dunst is seen in 'en gaulle' informal outfits) was represented as an oasis of peace, a space shared with friends and children, but also a backdrop to the Queen's alleged libertinage

Despite many other notable cinematic productions, the analysis of the visitors' responses showed no direct influence of these on the perception of the site, nor an incentive to visit. By contrast, despite its controversy and not being the reason for visiting Petit Trianon, Sofia Coppola's film was known by the majority of visitors, although not always from first hand viewing. This proves the effectiveness of the film's publicity strategy and, at the same time, the impact it made on the image of the site as it subliminally succeeded to link to it. The filming (Binh, 2010), almost entirely on location (Plate 5.17; 5.18), the prize winning period costumes (2007 Academy Awards) and meticulously researched décor supported by the director's notoriety, made the release eagerly anticipated, contributing to its wide publicity. However, the film's release sparked controversy and heavy criticism (O'Hagan, 2006; Bradshaw, 2006; Dobbins, 2013; Fauth & Dermansky, undated); French, 2006; Murray, undated a, b; Poirier, 2006a, b; Lichfield, 2006). Sociological studies (Poirson, 2007; 2009; Mendelsohn, 2009) further confirm critiques for France as well as the USA but suggest great success in Japan (Plate 5.16). The field research evidence of the thesis revealed that for the majority group of the Japanese visitors, the film acts as one of the main sources of opinion on Marie Antoinette.

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Plate 5.16: Coppola's film enjoyed the greatest success in Japan where both the director and Marie Antoinette are highly admired (see Mesmer, 2008)

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Plate 5.17: Sofia Coppola marvelled at the generosity of Château de Versailles granting her access to film: 'I was given more access to Versailles than I was to the Park Hyatt in Tokyo for Lost in Translation' (cited in Willis, 2010). Her father, Francis Ford Coppola (present on set) half-jokingly observed on Marie Antoinette's popularity today: 'Marie Antoinette is Lady Di' (Poirson, 2007)

The postmodern approach of the director (Plate 5.19) was appreciated for managing to capture through anachronism clear similarities between eras of social and cultural crisis (Citton, 2009). From the perspective of creating a hybrid between a heritage film and a costume drama, as opposed to a historical film (Poirson, 2007; 2009), Coppola succeeded to depict a female protagonist trying to surpass the condition assigned to her by a declining system, and also the extent to which she achieved this within limitations imposed by both the *Ancien Régime* and the mounting Revolution which targeted her so mercilessly. However, Poirson (2007; 2009) in particular places the film's merit within a wider negative critique, considering it symptomatic for the American license to change French history, and relevant to the persistent ambiguity surrounding Marie Antoinette's perception.

Furthermore, whilst an anthropological reading of the biopic (Backman Rogers, 2012) praises the film's value as a document for feminine rites of threshold, with deep transcendental connections surpassing the 18th century or even contemporary femininity, Mendelsohn (2009) critically reviews the film (from an Anglo-Saxon perspective) as unsuccessful, due to the one-sided manner of recounting events. Nevertheless, the script of the film inspired by Fraser's biography of Marie Antoinette was purposely trying to look at the past through the Queen's own eyes, aiming to achieve a sympathetic biopic focused on the feelings of the unhappy sovereign: a 'history of feelings' in Coppola's own words (O'Hagan, 2006). But 21st century moral principles guide both Fraser's and Coppola's versions of Marie Antoinette's life, so from an accurate historical perspective this defeats the purpose of trying to make the public empathise with the sovereign. Ironically, the bubble-gum pink pair of Converse (trainers) placed surreptitiously in one of the film shots clearly show this failed attempt, as instead of placing the viewer in mind of the 18th century, the gesture brings Marie Antoinette into the 21st century. This temptation to 'update' Marie Antoinette is not exclusive to Coppola (see Chapter 8; also Appendix 7).

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Plate 5.18: Petit Trianon plays an important part in Coppola's film whose exterior scenes were exclusively shot on location. The interior, being too small, did not lend itself to the scenes depicting a world of libertinage.

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Plate 5.19: A postmodern anachronistic portrayal of Marie Antoinette

At the same time, Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* was acknowledged as an undoubtedly valuable artistic vision on the Queen's life, despite its historical mishaps (Lever, 2006e; Berly & Martin, 2010; Duprat, 2013). Because of its one-sided manner, according to some respondents at the thesis' survey (see Table A4) the biopic succeeded to a certain extent to give viewers an idea of 'what it must have been like to be the Queen'. Kirsten Dunst's charmingly teenage demeanour contributed to this appeal (Plate 5.20), and the French and American respondents belonging to the minority groups of the thesis survey,

attested to have appreciated her acting, although not faithful to historical accuracy, as in their view, the Queen exuded much more dignity and refinement (see Table A.4). The historical accuracy of the film narrative was also considered lacking, yet the respondents would not have expected historical accuracy from a film that they regarded as an anachronistic interpretation of the 18th century.

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Plate 5.20: A charmingly teenage demeanour for Marie Antoinette

On the other hand, from the perspective of Republican teaching of history, Briand (2013; see also Besson, 2014) does not consider the film fit for showing to students as a source of reliable information about French history, as this would give the wrong impression that Marie Antoinette was a victim of the French Revolution (Plate 5.21). This view is supported by Duprat (2013), Poirson (2007; 2009) and Ozouf (2011) inasmuch as they also disapprove of the idea of Marie Antoinette being shown in the role of the victim of bestial masses. Berly and Martin (2010) only remark on the unorthodox manner of portraying the Queen by one of her *dévots* (in reference to the adultery scenes).

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Plate 5.21: The unsuitability of the film in teaching French history within the Republican school curriculum, is not due to Coppola's raunchy scenes (depicting Marie Antoinette's alleged affair with Count Fersen); instead, Briand (2013) points out a derogatory discourse undermining the French Revolution with Marie Antoinette seen as its victim (see second image depicting the Queen's bedroom vandalised by the Revolutionaries in October 1789)

Coppola's biopic, although trying deliberately to omit the political and adjacent social implications of the years before the outbreak of the French Revolution - for which it was criticised by the aforementioned French Republican historians - actually reinforces the Republican historical agenda by portraying the Queen as an embodiment of all Republican *clichés* with few exceptions (Plate 5.22). This is attested by having been rewarded in 2006 at Cannes with the 'grand prix de l'Education nationale' (Poirson, 2009), definite proof of its narrative conforming to the official French historical discourse (see also Mazeau, 2008; Biard, 2006; Biard & Leuwens, 2007; Dupuy, 2007; Duprat, 2007; Dallet, 2007).

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Plate 5.22: Most of the Republican clichés (see Table 6.3) were reinforced by the film

Thus Sofia Coppola only tried to 'defend' the Queen sympathetically, as she could identify herself in the 'spoilt child' type of behaviour (Coppola, 2006) but she did not rewrite history as such. Regarding the aforementioned *clichés*, Coppola paradoxically meant to dispel one of the most widespread: 'LET THEM EAT CAKE!'. Yet despite having explained very well herself that what is taught at a basic level about the *Ancien Régime* in the American schools, is a conglomerate of *clichés* (Poirson, 2009), the message sent by the promotional trailer and the lavish décor painstakingly staged with the help of *Ladurée* (Plate 5.23) worked against this aim (see Chapter 8).

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Plate 5.23: Film Promotional Trailer images and elaborate confiserie reinforced the cliché LET THEM EAT CAKE! which Coppola was purposely trying to dispel

The above observations could seem contradictory, but what they reveal is that each side of the producers of Republican and Royalist historical discourses, appropriate differently the historical knowledge relating to Marie Antoinette

generated by media popular channels such as a film. Not only is the film director (Coppola) restricted by the hermeneutical circle applying to her own milieu of historical knowledge, but the circle also acts on audiences and critics, which in turn affects the assessment of the film's objectivity. As Chapter 8 reveals, when knowledge translates into images, the hermeneutical circle shifts into the circle of representation (Hall, 1997a). Moreover, the volatility of images removes them from the control of their creator (Plate 5.24), confirming that films are destined to be read on many levels, some lost in the wake of commerciality and entertainment.

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 5.24: An 'imaginary' scene meant to show the public what the pamphlets would have claimed the Queen to be, was intentionally depicted in contrast to Coppola's 'real' Marie Antoinette; according to the internet use of this image, its meaning is completely lost

Coppola's film further reveals that the 'real' Marie Antoinette is still raising passions in France with the same intensity as over two centuries ago. Both fascination and hate are perhaps best described by Coppola's own comments to her film's conflicting *accueil* at Cannes (O'Hagan, 2006):

"It's very French", she says, shrugging, when I bring up the catcalls at Cannes, 'Afterwards, I had a lot of French journalists saying, "I like your Marie Antoinette but I still hate the real Marie Antoinette". I guess she's still kind of a loaded subject there.'

From the perspective of the present analysis, the impact of Coppola's biopic over the general perception of the site of Petit Trianon and of the character of Marie Antoinette (Duprat, 2007), even if in an indirect form, cannot be ignored.

Following the previous black and white Hollywood 1938 biopic of Marie Antoinette filmed exclusively in the studio (Plate 5.26), and despite its influence over the 20th century film representations of Marie Antoinette (Mason, 2003; Poirson, 2009), Coppola's hyper-reality¹⁹ film inaugurated, through its narrative and star actress (Plate 5.25), a new form for this representation. The eclectic mixture of accurate 18th century costumes with updated versions became Coppola's contribution to high fashion, further reinforcing the representation of Marie Antoinette in popular culture. By bringing Marie Antoinette's character to the fore in the media, Coppola's biopic inadvertently generated an invitation or a challenge to other authors as well as cineastes, actors and performers to further explore Marie Antoinette's historical character (see Chapter 8).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 5.25: Norma Shearer's 1938 Hollywood personification of Marie Antoinette

¹⁹ The hyper-reality was confirmed by Sofia Coppola's press review (Coppola, 2006 cited in Poirson, 2009: 238): 'I immediately wanted to bring my vision to the film: offset, colourful, and certainly not historical. I wanted the public to feel right at home in the 18th century, as they had felt in the Japan portrayed in *Lost in translation*. To achieve this, we had to create an energy and modernity breaking with the cold tone of period drama and historical films. I used pop-rock music to express Marie-Antoinette's distress, flashier colours than in real life, and close-ups of Kirsten Dunst's face, so that viewers could connect with her. Marie-Antoinette had to be a young girl alive.' [translation mine]

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Plate 5.26: Visually contrasting 20th and 21st century Hollywood biopics of Marie Antoinette (the wedding scene in the Royal Chapel); both productions set the trend for a certain image of Marie Antoinette in film (Poirson, 2009; Binh, 2010) and, through the latter, for media and popular culture representations of Marie Antoinette (Chapter 8), through Kirsten Dunst as Marie Antoinette's new avatar (Goetz, 2006)

Lastly, it must be highlighted that Coppola's film was not on sale in any of the boutiques of *Château de Versailles* during 2010-2012, but in 2014 was part of the main display in *Librairie des Princes* (see Chapter 7).

Riyoko Ikeda's *La Rose de Versailles* (1972)²⁰

The present subchapter analyses Riyoko Ikeda's *manga* (1972) which has had a great influence not only on the Japanese public's perception of the site of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in particular, but also played an important role in the social phenomenon of female emancipation in 1970s Japan (Ikeda, 2011). Furthermore, Ikeda was awarded in 2009 the Legion of Honour, 'for the major role played in promoting the French culture in Japan' [translation mine] (Brethes, 2011). The Japanese public visiting Petit Trianon is the second highest in terms of numbers, after the French public.²¹

The *shōjo manga* was adapted into a TV series of cartoons (*anime*), *Lady Oscar* (TMS, 1979-1980) and even a film produced and directed in Japan in 1979 by Jacques Demy (Binh, 2010; Shamoon, 2007). Following the analysis of Coppola's film - the other source of influence over the opinion on Marie Antoinette held by the Japanese majority group of visitors - the present subchapter is structured around the assessment of the common ground between the film and the *shōjo manga*. This assessment provides further data collection for the analysis of Japanese visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon (Chapter 7).

Ikeda was inspired to design her *manga* in her twenties, after reading as a teenager Zweig's biography of Marie Antoinette. Ikeda (2011) was greatly impressed by this and developed a deep long-lasting admiration for the Queen and for the courage and dignity she proved capable of when faced with her tragic yet heroic destiny. Ikeda also 'loves' Marie Antoinette for having been a rebel (Mauger, 2011). *La Rose de Versailles* faithfully adopted the historical discourse found in Zweig's novel, thus having, in essence, the same Republican historical narrative as Coppola's film. However, Ikeda 'excuses' the Queen not only because of her own sympathy for the sovereign, but also due to Japan's

²⁰ *La Rose de Versailles* (*shōjo manga*) was serialised between April 1972 and December 1973 (Shamoon, 2007), in the *Margaret Comics* (Ikeda, 2002); it is sold in Europe in 2 volumes. The image analysis contained by the present subchapter is based on the French 2002 version of *La Rose de Versailles* sold by *Librairie des Princes*.

²¹ This information cannot be confirmed by statistics, since no statistical studies on criteria of visitor nationality exist specifically for Petit Trianon. Observation based on personal communication had with the security personnel of Petit Trianon, and on-site research.

fascination with the 18th century (Oka, 2008; see Plate 5.27). Members of the French minority group detected by the field research were acquainted with and, unanimously, fans of the *manga*; Ikeda's illustrations as well as her interpretation of the Queen's tragic destiny appeals to art history background respondents. It was also known to Italian respondents.

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Plate 5.27: Riyoko Ikeda, trained soprano at the age of 40, sees a personal dream come true: performing in 2011 at Le Petit Théâtre de la Reine where Marie Antoinette once acted. The mangaka's notoriety turned her recital into a VIP event organised by CVS (see Chapter 4)

Another shared trait between the American film director and the Japanese *mangaka* is the portrayal of Marie Antoinette's history/story as a result of their own agendas: Coppola has an attraction for 'lostness', while Ikeda (2011) is focused on femininity in all its forms, representations and manifestations, including transgender issues (Ikeda, 1978). The fictitious main character of *La Rose de Versailles* is Marie Antoinette's captain of *Gardes du corps*, Oscar de Jarjayes, an androgynous figure, strengthening the idea of female emancipation to which the storyline is also dedicated.

Given the social position of women in Japan, until not long ago, authors such as Ikeda felt a great admiration for women who broke social patterns as Marie Antoinette incontestably did in her time: the Queen was an emancipated woman who managed to shatter patterns but not by libertinage, as common misportrayals would have it. Marie Antoinette was the first Queen to play both the role of sovereign and that of the Royal Mistress, Louis XVI being totally devoted to her. Being in charge of the Court's *Fêtes*, Marie Antoinette became quickly known for her exquisite refinement and taste in matters of music and theatre, at the same time 'daring' to express herself by either simple, overt support of musicians and artists of the time or by taking part in theatre plays (see Maisonnier et al. 2006; Oka, 2008) and even commissioning major art and architectural works - most at Petit Trianon. By taking the lead within the political couple that she was forming with the King, amidst the turmoil of their last years, Marie Antoinette became a symbol of early feminist empowerment, appealing even more to a culture where the role of the woman has always been secondary to that of man (Ikeda, 2011).

What needs to be highlighted regarding the cinematic narrative associated with *La Rose de Versailles* is the tremendous impact had on the Japanese public perception of the character of Marie Antoinette (see Chapter 7). Equally, the presence of the fictitious character of Oscar, has not only taken on real dimensions in the public imaginary as revealed by the field research evidence of the thesis (see Table A.4) and the mourning effect had on the readers at its death (Ikeda, 2002; 2011), but arguably surpassed Marie Antoinette's popularity according to trends of Japanese cosplay (Plate 5.29). Nevertheless, the two characters and their fictitious entwined destinies, as imagined by Ikeda, could

not exist separately (Plate 5.28). Their story lines support and complement each other, creating the setting for the Japanese interpretation of the French Revolution events. This is, in essence, Republican, focusing on the poor living conditions of the French people, which is the main factor used in legitimising the violence and abuses of the events.

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Plate 5.28: Both Marie Antoinette and Oscar are popular culture staples in Japan as attested by the Pullip collection dolls - Marie Antoinette is depicted in various manga scenes completed by their outfits, such as for instance praying for the health of her eldest son and promising that in exchange she will give up her relationship with Fersen. Oscar is always attired in male clothing – a distinguishing and defining trait.

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Plate 5.29: Within Japanese cosplay trends, Oscar's popularity does not seem to diminish since the 1970s (Ikeda, 2002), but only to grow - fact attested by recent adverts to ready-made costumes

The third out of the three main characters presented in the *manga*'s introduction is Count Axel von Fersen, who plays a particularly important role in the narrative (Plate 5.30). Ikeda (2011) confessed to having been shocked at first, when she read Zweig's account of the affair between the Queen and Fersen. Yet, she came to feel sympathy for their love, which they could not fulfil through marriage. In the *manga*, she introduced a particular scene meant to legitimate an otherwise illegitimate relationship, making it thus acceptable to Japanese mentality: during one of their secret encounters, Marie Antoinette asks Fersen to promise that he will marry her in another life (Plate 5.31). This is the key to understanding why the majority of Japanese visitors at Petit Trianon have a positive image of Marie Antoinette. Despite any other Republican *clichés* (Plate 5.32), Ikeda's *manga* depicts Marie Antoinette's destiny as being in essence tragic. In the same manner as, Coppola does not rewrite history as such but gives a sympathetic look into the Queen's life, Ikeda adapts Marie Antoinette's tragic circumstances to a Japanese understanding, eventually making her into the victim that the majority of Japanese visitors at Petit Trianon see her as (see Chapter 7).

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Plate 5.31: 'Oh, Fersen, promise to me that you will marry me in another life!' 'I promise!'

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Plate 5.32: Petit Trianon seen through Republican clichés - as in Zweig's biography, a costly whim of a Queen which sent France into ruin

Lastly, the present subchapter explores the tremendous role *La Rose de Versailles* had in shaping Japanese opinions on Marie Antoinette, filtered through the analysis of the appeal that this *manga* had and continues to have over generations of Japanese fans. According to Shamoon (2007), *La Rose de Versailles* revolutionised the modern genre of *shōjo manga* by shifting the genre focus from *dōseiai* (same sex love) to heterosexual romance, moreover depicted explicitly (Plate 5.33). This is common ground with Coppola's biopic of Marie Antoinette, the analysed relationships referring partly to the same characters: Marie Antoinette and Fersen. Ikeda (2011) acknowledged her intention of providing female emancipation to Japanese young girls previously accustomed to heterosexual relationships equating female submissiveness to male power. Ikeda de(re)constructed these traditional views by introducing adult heterosexual romance between equals (Shamoon, 2007). Toku (2007) considers *La Rose de Versailles* as a defining part of the *shōjo manga* golden era which revolutionised patterns of expression and illustration.

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Plate 5.33: Marie Antoinette and Fersen physically consume their love at the Tuileries after Fersen risks his life coming to see the Queen; the episode is faithful to Zweig's biography

Nevertheless, Ikeda confessed to having been conditioned by the genre to gradually introduce this new idea of heterosexual romance, building upon *dōseiai* (which was accepted and encouraged by Japanese Meiji culture as necessary before marriage) by setting up a budding romance between Marie Antoinette and Oscar when in their early teens (Plate 5.34). However, Oscar is dressed as a man, whereas *dōseiai* is based on sameness of the girls' appearances, underlined by mythical relationships such as Castor and Pollux (Shamoon, 2007). Duprat (2013) considers this imagined relationship to be an allusion to Marie Antoinette's lesbian portrayal in the 18th century pornographic pamphlets, which, however, was not confirmed by Ikeda (2011). From the complexity of the genre as subject of anthropological studies (Suzuki, 1998; McLelland, 2000; Kenji Tierney, 2007; Napier, 1998), the thesis highlights the *manga's* acknowledged contribution to shifting boundaries between genders.

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Plate 5.34: An allusion of a budding romance between Marie Antoinette and Oscar; all the ladies at the Court are jealous despite knowing that Oscar is a woman dressed as a man

Consequently, Marie Antoinette's historical character partly became a symbol of female emancipation in Japan through an imaginary relationship. But this is added onto the real dimensions of her role, as Ikeda did not eschew from also depicting poignant moments of the Queen's life (Plate 5.35) and death, including the understanding that Marie Antoinette remained faithful to the Monarchic order to which she belonged through her lineage (Plate 5.36) - narrative elements directly inspired by Zweig.

All the aforementioned aspects, on the background of 'the lush, rococo setting and sweeping epic scale [which] certainly appealed to girls' sensibilities' (Shamoon, 2007:3) made *La Rose de Versailles* highly popular, shaping Japanese opinion on Marie Antoinette. Yet, the fact that Oscar surpassed Marie Antoinette within reader popularity is of particular interest. When considering that Marie Antoinette is seen in antithesis with the events of the French Revolution, while Oscar, despite being an aristocrat, changes sides during the events, it becomes clear that the zero sum trait of heritage is again in operation, this time through the intermediary of symbolic fictional characters. Consequently, the central role that Marie Antoinette continued to play within the narrative of *La Rose de Versailles* could be attributed to Ikeda's (2002: preface) own extreme fascination with Marie Antoinette:

'I remember with great nostalgia that period of my life, and a time passed at debilitating speed. I remember being besieged by work to the point of growing painfully thin and having to receive nutrients via injection, receiving injurious letters from certain literary female figures, falling into depression because I lacked ideas, drawing with a 40° fever and ice cubes on my hand... At the time, I had a passion to which I was capable to sacrifice everything, without regret, a once in a lifetime fixation - like the 'explosion of a star', to use Stefan Zweig's expression - a moment of revelation I wouldn't exchange for anything, and also, the youth of being 24.' [translation mine]

According to Osamu (1995 cited in Toku, 2007), the *shōjo manga* of the 1970s went beyond simple entertainment, having shifted to the self-expression of its authors, the above confirming this.

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Plate 5.35: Ikeda depicted tragic moments amongst which the separation from the Dauphin and her majestic defence in court crowned by the moment known as 'J'en appelle à toutes les mères!' (see also Chapter 8)

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Plate 5.36: A Marie Antoinette full of courage and dignity from the moment of her first encounter with the events of the French Revolution; she is seen as a symbol of the Monarchic order itself and not as traitor

Within the process of appropriating Marie Antoinette's image, through the authors' personal fascination as well as own agendas, Ikeda's work confirms (along with most other authors presented by the chapter) the hermeneutical circle which acts throughout their narratives. The zero sum trait of heritage is further seen at its clearest through the final captions of Marie Antoinette's last thoughts (imagined by Ikeda) before her death (Ikeda, 2002):

'[addressed to the masses insulting her] 'Even if my head rolls and my blood gushed forth, I will always keep my eyes open... and will continue to watch over the future of my country, France – You look!'[translation mine]

[addressed to Fersen] 'Know I would have loved you till my last breath. Farewell, Fersen. Never forget me. We will meet again in Heaven.' [translation mine]

[her dying thought the moment her head is severed] 'God... I come to Thee' [translation mine]

The lines above clarify the reasons for which a supporter of the French Revolutions ideals cannot approve of the last Queen of France and *vice versa* (the zero sum trait of heritage), unless ways to reach compromise between their true stories are found. Ikeda also highlights the main traits that define the role of the Queen, the woman, and the Christian all embodied by Marie Antoinette: devotion to her country of adoption which she considers as hers, the love for a man that she chose and was not chosen for her, and finally, her deep connections to a religion that was made obsolete by the French Revolution. These conflicting roles made her the most cherished historical character of contemporary Japan, although through the intermediary, it seems of another woman: Riyoko Ikeda.

Summary

Chapter 5 analysed the historical and cinematic narratives relevant to the contemporary perception of Marie Antoinette by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon. By cross-referencing Republican and Royalist sources detected in both academia and popular culture media channels, the analysis defined the encoding of Marie Antoinette's image imprinted into the French collective memory and its perception by other nationals. This lays the foundations for further analyses contained by the following chapters, concerned with the decoding of said perception and its complex associated imagery, leading to the dissonant commodification on Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon.

The essential findings of the present chapter converge into the following insight: all the authors contributing to the encoding of Marie Antoinette's contemporary perception are conditioned by their own cultural and political background (with the hermeneutical circle as well as the principle of prejudice fully explaining these limitations) to the extent that reality becomes fiction becomes reality (see KF2, Chapter 9). Moreover, all the aforementioned analyses evidenced that there are as many 'Marie Antoinettes' as academic or popular culture authors on the subject (see KF3; Chapter 9).

Finally, the chapter revealed that the cultural heritage of the French Revolution and Marie Antoinette are in antithetical positions, best described through the zero sum trait of heritage earlier mentioned in Chapter 2 (see KF6; Chapter 9). Their dissonant historical discourses are at the root of the persisting negative perception of Marie Antoinette for the majority, especially because the French Revolution is the founding myth of contemporary French society, and also the perceived birthplace of modernity's human rights.

Chapter 6

The 18th Century Architectural and Heritage Narratives of Petit Trianon Assessed *via* the 2008 Restoration of the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*

Introduction

Chapter 6 uses the recent extensive restoration of Petit Trianon (2008) to analyse the architectural and heritage narratives of the thesis. Underpinning the entire analysis, the hermeneutical paradigm focuses on both the principles of 'near' as well as of 'prejudice' elaborated upon in Chapter 4. The confluence between the messages of the site's creator (Marie Antoinette) detected in the 18th century architectural narrative and that of the interpreter (renovation expert teams and the management of Petit Trianon) detected in the heritage narrative, provides the data for subsequent analysis in Chapter 8, which superimposes all the layers of representation, interpretation and perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character.

Chapter 6 first reviews details of the restoration relevant in discerning the agendas involved, in particular those of the management representatives of the site *versus* the curatorial and architectural expert teams. The images of Marie Antoinette conveyed through a certain portrayal of the image of Petit Trianon by the different parties are of crucial importance to grasping the complex issues surrounding the restoration of this notorious heritage site, as well as the mechanisms behind the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character and how it is produced.

Furthermore, in the context of the recent restoration and naming of Petit Trianon as the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, the chapter evaluates the principles underlying the 18th century architectural narrative of Marie Antoinette's Petit Trianon, which represents the indicator of objective assessment of the Queen's image. Consequently, the chapter gives an account of the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon, and then brings the analysis of the 2008 restoration - which marked a definite change in both the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon as well as its visitor perception - to a conclusion. Petit Trianon is investigated in the

context of the heritage industry and its links with tourism, the last subchapter clarifying two major issues from a heritage interpretation perspective. Firstly, how dissonant heritage was dealt with by those in charge of the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon, and secondly, the positioning of Petit Trianon, through the 2008 restoration, on the spectrum of heritage authenticity degrees and sites aimed at tourist consumption (see also Chapter 3).

Through the following analysis, Chapter 6 particularly helps achieve aims 1 and 2 (see A1; A2) of the thesis, concerning objectives 1 and 3 (see O1; O3).

Managerial versus Curatorial and Heritage Architects Agendas

The following analysis compares the managerial agenda with those of expert teams (curatorial, heritage architects) by analysing the messages encoded in the 2008 restoration of the Petit Trianon building (Plate 6.1).

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Plate 6.1: With a restored layout, Domaine de Marie-Antoinette opened its doors to the public on 2nd October 2008

Political and Economic Considerations for the 2008 Restoration

The life of the historical house museum of Petit Trianon started on the 22nd February 1867, when *Le Moniteur* announced its opening under the patronage of Empress Eugénie, opening coinciding with the Great Universal Exhibition held in Paris the same year (De Lescure, 1867a; Desjardins, 1885; 1894). Historical house museums, generally dating back to the second half of the 19th century in both Europe and the USA,²² were created due to a wave of appreciation and desire to commemorate the lives of important/key political and cultural figures (Christensen, 2011; Young, 2015).

²² The type of historical house museums referred to, are dedicated to political figures; otherwise the oldest house museums were dedicated to literary prominent figures such as Shakespeare as early as the 18th century (Watson, 2007). For a classification of historical house museums, see Young (2015).

Petit Trianon was founded as a memorial dedicated to the last Queen of France, due to the deep admiration of Empress Eugénie for Marie Antoinette. Eugénie related to the Queen *via* other means than a strictly historical link: her artistic sensibility was the main factor of her perceptive understanding of the former sovereign and her creation at Petit Trianon (Bigorne, 1998; Granger, 2005; Chapman et al., 2007). In the wake of this deep understanding, Pierre de Nolhac set up a rehabilitative curatorial tradition concerning Petit Trianon as the home to Marie Antoinette at the end of the 19th century (de Nolhac, 1899b; 1925; 1927; de Nolhac et al., 1927; Montupet, 2006).

However, Petit Trianon remained shrouded in an aura of remoteness, and it did not garner the attention of the mainstream visitors until recently. Its sudden popularity was triggered by Coppola's filming of *Marie-Antoinette* during 2005, encouraged by the President of *Château de Versailles* (see Appendix 5) at the time, Christine Albanel. In fact, President Albanel carefully constructed a marketing promotion around the notoriety of the American film director, which despite being questionable from a traditional curatorial point of view, it has had the anticipated effects of increasing visitor numbers at Petit Trianon.

A study of all the figures relating to visitor numbers since 2002²³ reveals an increase in excess of 100% from 2004 to 2007, with the strict comparison between 2005 and 2006 showing an increase of 46.3%. 2008 saw a further increase of 13.1% that stabilised the figures until 2010, when a slight fall of 10% was registered in comparison with 2009. The drop could be attributed to the general economic situation; however, looking at visitor numbers for the *Château de Versailles*, which actually increased by almost the same amount, suggests that the drop could be a confirmation of the initial impact of the film promotion (Busby & Klug, 2001). 2011 brought an almost 10% increase from numbers registered in 2010, followed by an increase of just over 25% in 2012, and finally, a 29.7% increase in 2013. Compared to the 2010 figures for the *Château de Versailles*, which increased by 6.7% in 2011, 16.2% in 2012 and 20% in 2013, Petit Trianon attracted in 2013 a fifth of the total number of visitors for the

²³ There are no statistics dating before 2002. I have however had confirmation from the curators of Petit Trianon and security personnel that the 2002 numbers matched the general average per day, according to each season.

Palace (compared to only a tenth in 2002), which indicates the site's well-established popularity. Since one of the reasons behind the 2008 restoration was a better visit flow distribution at the Palace, the statistics confirm this aim to have been successful (Figure 6.1).²⁴

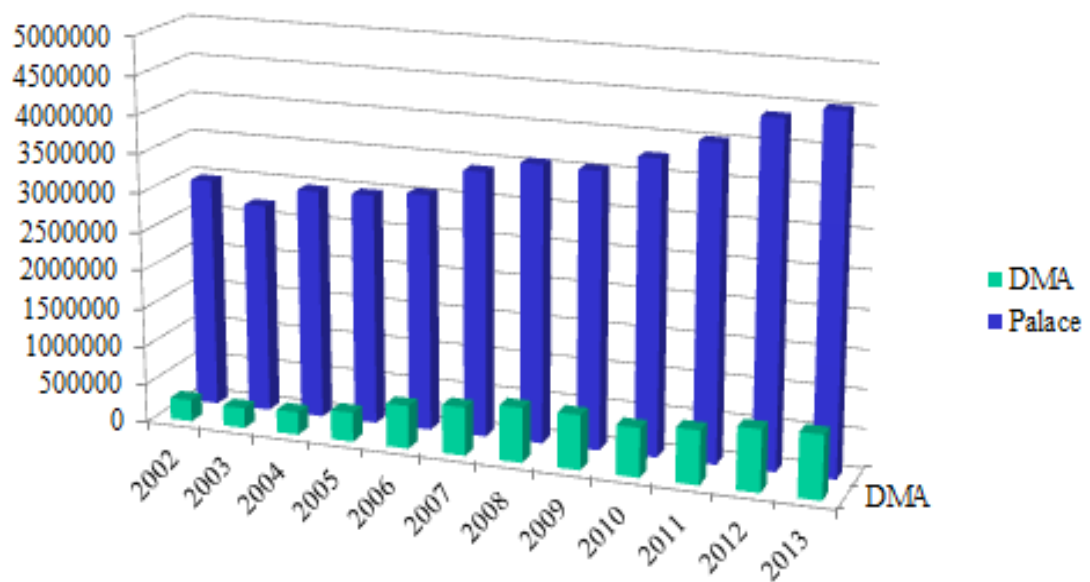


Figure 6.1: Visitor numbers at the Domaine de Marie-Antoinette (DMA) and the Château de Versailles (Palace) – total of paid and free entries

On the 13th June 2006, *Montres Breguet*, the Swiss company founded by Abraham-Louis Bréguet - the Queen's watchmaker, renowned for manufacturing the perpetual watch *Marie-Antoinette*, commissioned in 1783 by an unknown admirer of the Queen and finished only 34 years after her tragic death - became the official sponsor of the total restoration of the building of Petit Trianon (Plate 6.2). This was the first time that Petit Trianon underwent a complete refurbishment on this scale (Lablaude et al., 2006a, b; 2007).

²⁴ My evaluation was based on analysing the paid and free entries to the Palace, based on figures provided by the *Château de Versailles* (see Chapter 4). However, it is not possible to know statistically how many visitors to the Palace also visited the Estate of Marie-Antoinette, or *vice versa*.

The sponsorship contract garnered concerns from some of the curators of Petit Trianon about the site's deterioration due to increased visitor traffic attracted after the completion of such a high-profile project (Benoît, pers. comm., 2010a; Baudin, pers. comm. 2010; 2011a, c).

Montres Breguet had its own agenda and narrative: promoting and enhancing the company's image by association with Royalty through the historical figure of Marie-Antoinette. The 1983 robbery of the *Marie-Antoinette* watch from the L.A. Mayer Museum of Islamic Art (Jerusalem), eventually led to *Montre Breguet's* decision (2005) to remake the watch from the detailed technical blueprints of the original (see also Kurzweil, 2001; Hayek et al., 2009).

The manipulation of certain events for marketing purposes is confirmed by the fact that, despite the recovery of the original watch in 2007, the new watch came to surpass it in fame through closer association with contemporary Versailles, as part of a new narrative (Plate 6.3). One crucial part of this new narrative was Marie Antoinette's oak, struck down by lightning in 2005. For *Montres Breguet*, led at the time by Nicolas G. Hayek, the news coincided with the decision to rebuild the original watch, which resulted in negotiations with *Château de Versailles* for the wood (source of material for the casing of the new watch). As a result, a piece of the oak tree under which Marie Antoinette had often rested while at Petit Trianon, provided the 5.5 million euros finance for the total restoration of the building of Petit Trianon (Plate 6.4).

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Plate 6.2: Blue pink Carrara marble plaque at the entrance of Petit Trianon, acknowledging the restoration contribution of Montres Breguet

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Plate 6.3: Breguet associating its image with Marie Antoinette in the media (2006, Le Figaro, special issue dedicated to Coppola's film) within a new narrative



Plate 6.4: A new lease of life - The root of Marie Antoinette's oak which provided the finance for the 2008 restoration of the Petit Trianon building (exhibited in front of the visitor entrance)

Introducing the new *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*: Heritage Commodification versus Heritage Authenticity

All manner of narratives serve as background not only for heritage interpretation, but also for heritage financing (Ashworth & Howard, 1999). This implies aspects of heritage commodification, a hotly debated issue impinging on the loss of heritage authenticity. Possibly an effect of the 'patrimonialisation' of the contemporary society (Nora, 1986; see also Chapter 3), heritage commodification engages complex theoretical and philosophical discussions. The postmodern commodification of culture covers a wide range of motives and implications (Appadurai, 1986; Bhaba, 1994; Edson, 2004; Misiura, 2006), focalising extensive scholarship on the endangering of authenticity by tourist consumption (MacCannell, 1999; Meethan, 2001; Robinson, 2001; Macleod, 2006). Still, the very existence of authenticity is as debated as its loss, many authors forwarding a different understanding of the concept and thus influencing its evaluation (Cohen, 1988b; Bendix, 1997; Phillips, 1997; Wang, 1999; Waitt, 2000; Upton, 2001; Roy, 2004; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006; Orbaşlı & Woodward, 2009; Knudsen & Waade, 2010; Crouch, 2011).

The term heritage commodification has acquired a wide range of meanings: from a sophisticated form of cultural representation as defined by Hall (1995; 1997) translated into heritage parameters by Ashworth and Graham (2005) - in this instance, representation is a discourse vital to conveying the intrinsic values of heritage - to the most basic of commercial products, such as a mass-produced souvenir (Ashworth & Howard, 1999). Souvenirs are invested at the same time with a symbolic value (Goss, 2004; see also Schouten, 2006; De Azeredo Gr newald, 2006), which makes the commodification process even more complex in terms of rivalry to authenticity. Moreover, heritage discourse manifests through a wide range of *milieus*: from the personal level to that of the media, or from local to international dimensions, and/or from the popular discourses of television programmes and films to professional discourses such as prizes and awards (Groote & Haartsen, 2008). With regard to the images associated with all the above discourses, opinions are again divided between those who consider the nature of identities created through images to be arbitrary, such as marketing of certain tourist places (Urry, 1995; Meethan,

2001), and those who believe them to be deeply rooted in cultural phenomena (Anholt, 2010). This particular association between image and place is analysed in Chapter 8, associating the evidence provided by the thesis fieldwork with the effects of the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon, which, furthermore has proven to be uncontrolled.

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Figure 6.2: 'Commodification of the Past', based on Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996)

Heritage commodification (Figure 6.2) is an inherent trait of and an essential factor to the subsistence of heritage sites. As long as it is controlled by those in charge of the heritage interpretation of the site, it is a good source of much needed financial revenue (Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Howard, 2003). What the present thesis argues against is the uncontrolled commodification of heritage (see Chapter 8). In the case of Petit Trianon, however, the curatorial team is trying to control the image of Marie Antoinette conveyed through the commodification process, as illustrated by the next subchapter.

Nevertheless, conflicts of interest often lead to compromises, as demonstrated by the 2008 restoration negotiations held between the managerial and the curatorial and heritage architects expert teams. Once the sponsorship contract was signed, a meeting took place between the managerial team, represented by President Christine Albanel and the Director Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, and a team of Petit Trianon's specialists: Head Curator Christian Baulez, Head of the Heritage Architectural Department, Pierre-André Lablaude, and one of his main collaborators, Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin (pers. comm, 2012; 2013).

At this point it must be stressed that President and Director of *Château de Versailles* are both politically charged positions (see also Rykner, 2010a, b), which is perhaps unsurprising, given the previous role of the current museum. With nomination for these posts indirectly supervised by the President of the Republic, the personalities elected on a four year mandate typically come from prior ministerial or governmental positions. As a result, the sponsorship contracts and any other projects undertaken by holders of these positions have a double role: firstly, securing the prominent legacy of their mandate and, secondly, attracting increasing funds.

The position of head curator (working in any French museum and especially at *Château de Versailles*) in the context of a restoration process, is also limited by two main aspects, quite opposite to the position outlined above. Firstly, the nature of traditional conservation principles is purist, giving priority to the authenticity of material²⁵ over induced feelings of authenticity (Crouch, 2012; Schorch, 2014), and to the classic material representation over the induced visual representation favoured within new museology interpretation (see Vergo, 1989; Edensor, 2002; Appleton, 2006; Waterton & Watson, 2010; Watson & Waterton, 2010; Graham & Cook, 2010; Light, 2011; Waterton & Watson, 2013). Nevertheless, Petit Trianon has had the theoretical status of a historical house museum since its founding in 1867. Therefore, the pronounced feel of a home conferred by the 2008 restoration layout, clearly differentiates the museum presentation of Petit Trianon from that of the European art museum, based on the European tradition of collecting (Pearce, 1995) - a particularly Western approach imposed on other cultures, such as the Japanese, since the 19th century (Morishita, 2010; Tythacott, 2012). This classic Western tradition is best exemplified by the Louvre Museum, much criticised for the 'death of the experience' operated by the removal of artefacts from their context (Hetherington, 2014).

²⁵ In the case of Petit Trianon, this poses a particular problem due to the scarcity of objects and furnishings belonging to Marie Antoinette. For the auction sales during the French Revolution, see Beurdeley (1981). For Petit Trianon's inventory right after the events, see Département de Seine et Oise (1793-1796); Ledoux-Lebard (1989). For later (re)-acquisitions, see Rheims (1925); Mauricheau-Beaupré (1934); Mayer (1974; 1976); Baulez (1978; 1989, 1999, 2001). For collections found in the possession of other museums, inside and outside France, see Ephrussi (1879); Zeck (1990); Tollfree (2006).

The second factor impinging on curatorial decisions is the implication in the restoration process of the heritage architect, who has, in France, the authority to make final decisions on the course of restoration projects (but not interior furnishing). Although historically, the Western European tradition equally favoured historians/art historians as well as architects in the creation of heritage discourse (theoretically and practically – see Jokilehto, 1999; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2000; Hernández Martínez, 2008), the French tradition values architectural expertise, possibly as a result of the restoration ethos of architect Eugène Viollet-le-Duc (Foucart, 1986; Ball, 2011; Baudin, pers. comm., 2011a, b; see also Chapter 4).

Despite a certain rivalry between the heritage architect and curator professions, confirmed through thesis fieldwork research, the authority of the former professional over the latter in built restoration decisions remains uncontested due to tradition. Nevertheless, more recently, the management gained increasing authority over the decisions of both aforementioned professionals. Following these clarifications, it is easier to understand the conflict of interests behind the negotiations of a large-scale restoration like the 2008 Petit Trianon project. Although the head curator of Petit Trianon at the time, Christian Baulez had worked over a period of approximately 30 years on restoring pieces of furniture, furnishings and other features of the old Petit Trianon, also conducting extensive curatorial research throughout his career time (Baulez, 2007), he opposed the 2008 large-scale restoration, as it implied increased visitor access. Under contractual obligation to Breguet and faced with the inevitability of the project, Baulez devised preventative measures against potential future damage. Consequently, the general curatorial restoration outline successfully impressed upon the managerial team the need to limit visitor numbers to the second and third floors. This limitation was achieved by strict scheduling of a limited number of guided visits for small groups at certain times of day, as opposed to the individual visits available on the ground and first floors. Since 2010, guided visits to these upper floors are no longer available on a daily basis, and require advance booking.

From the specialist expertise point of view, the restoration sought to strengthen the association between Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon, while also

achieving a better coherence of the heritage narrative by re-placing the site into a historical continuity (Baudin, pers. comm., 2011b). A clear shift from old museology exhibition trends particular to historical house museums, to contemporary museology principles (Vergo, 1989, Walsh, 1992; Hodge, 2011; Christensen, 2011) was undoubtedly achieved. The challenging museographic project consisted in preserving and strengthening the identity of Petit Trianon as Marie Antoinette's 'home', as well as making clear references to all the later-period other inhabitants through a modified collection display (see Appendix 2). Nevertheless, the ground and first floors, open to individual visits, do exclusively represent Marie Antoinette's period (Plate 6.5), with only the last two levels displaying other inhabitants and their periods. As a result, the field research evidence (Table A.4) revealed that the majority of visitors do see Petit Trianon at least as half 'home', half museum when asked about the feel of the place. Apparently, only the lack of more personal effects belonging to the Queen detracts from the total feel of the sovereign's home.

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*Plate 6.5: 'Marie Antoinette à la rose' by Mme Vigée Le Brun -
One of the most known representations of Marie Antoinette in painting, found in the possession
of Château de Versailles and displayed at Petit Trianon on the first floor*

Furthermore, the majority of visitors totally ignore the details of the initial construction and estate ownership during eras preceding and succeeding that of Marie Antoinette, as well as the existence of the other two floors (Table A.4). Consequently, Petit Trianon's heritage interpretation can be described as a double level museum presentation (Benoît, pers. comm, 2010a), one dedicated to the mass public and another aimed at the informed visitor. This aspect resonates with the traits of 'personal cultural capital' (Busby & Meethan, 2008; see also Meethan, 1996). Given the loss of most of the furniture, art objects and other furnishings dating from Marie Antoinette's period, the initial museum set up in 1867 recreated the atmosphere of the 18th century through a mix of authentic and period pieces donated by Empress Eugénie (Pincemaille, 2003). Since, more authentic pieces were acquired, the retrieval of those sold during the French Revolution being one of the Palace's policies from 1938 (Baulez, 1989).

The feel of a 'home' was accentuated by reinstating the functionality of other building segments, such as the *réchauffoir* (Plate 6.6) and the *domestiques* quarters. Authentic furniture and art objects dating from the later periods to Marie Antoinette's, are now exhibited - not in their original places, but on the last two floors of Petit Trianon. Thus, the first floors, included in the general visit, could be entirely reconfigured and presented as Marie Antoinette's, whilst the last two floors display several other historical periods in addition to 18th century pieces, as well as the more intimate aspects of the house. In order to convey this clearly, the *Centre de Recherche* has designed 'virtual tours' of Petit Trianon and documentaries containing the layout of all various inhabitation periods, presented in one of the rooms at the beginning of the visit (Plate 6.6). The compromise situation is typical for complex heritage sites faced with choosing a particular period to preserve over others (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Howard, 2003, Hems & Blockley, 2005; Misiura, 2006), the demand of the public being the final factor of decision. This 'demand' is confirmed by the total identification of Petit Trianon with Marie Antoinette - despite prior/subsequent ownership – a fact proved entirely by the thesis survey.

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Plate 6.6: Le Réchauffoir (ground floor) reinforces the museum's old role of a historical residence, allowing visitors to better understand the value of Petit Trianon from this perspective; nevertheless, part of the kitchen quarters were also converted to a media space where historical documentaries can be watched; however, the majority of respondents to the thesis survey (except the minority groups) did not watch the documentaries, due to room over-crowding or being unaware of their existence (see Table A.4)

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Plate 6.7: Naming Petit Trianon - the main and the side entrance towards the Estate of Petit Trianon display the new name

On the 1st July 2006, President Albanel, launched the concept of *Domaine de Marie-Antoinette*, site designated by the building of Petit Trianon, its gardens and the model Norman Village. Although historically incorrect, as Petit Trianon has never been officially known under this name (Plate 6.7), the designation signalled the opportunity seized by the *Château de Versailles* to revive the interest of the public in the last Queen of France, her much debated home and its associated legends. Thus, Petit Trianon acquired a strengthened identity.

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Plate 6.8: On the 24th September 2008, the restored Petit Trianon was inaugurated officially in the presence of Nicolas G. Hayek, President of Montres Breguet SA (about to cut the inaugural ribbon), Jean-Jacques Aillagon, President of l'Établissement Public de Versailles and Director Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel

After one year of closure, Petit Trianon re-opened to the public on the 2nd October 2008. Officially inaugurated on 24th September 2008 (Plate 6.8), the first guided visits of the newly restored home of Marie Antoinette were conducted by the Director of *Château de Versailles* at the time, Pierre Arizzoli-Clémentel, who published the restoration layout and ethos that same year (Arizzoli-Clémentel, 2008a).

During the closing period, three main exhibitions on Marie Antoinette were held in France (Salmon et al., 2008), the USA (Chapman et al., 2007) and Japan (Bascou et al., 2008). Taking advantage of the exhibit material becoming available for travel, these exhibitions were conceived to maximise the marketing impact of the new restoration in three of the countries supplying the highest numbers of visitors at Petit Trianon. Furthermore, a hermeneutical analysis of the three exhibitions' intended messages addressed to their respective public, confirmed the thesis field research evidence regarding the image of Marie Antoinette as perceived by the majority of French, American and Japanese visitors at Petit Trianon.

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Plate 6.9: The 2008 Grand Palais exhibition became an important reference on Marie Antoinette's contribution to the 18th century art - in her role of 'commanditaire' (patron) as well as artists' supporter (poster found outside the curatorial offices, 2010-2012)

Accordingly, the 2008 *Grand Palais* exhibition (Plate 6.9)²⁶ whose main organiser was Xavier Salmon (at the time painting curator of *Château de Versailles*) brings an eulogy to Marie Antoinette's contribution to 18th century art history. Yet, the first article of the Introduction to the catalogue by historian Jean Tulard, member of *L'Institut* and emeritus Professor at La Sorbonne reveals the typical, though subtle, Republican historical stance (see also Chapter 5). Tulard's account is a perfectly illustrative example of the contrast between Republican historical readings of the historical character of Marie Antoinette and the dimensions of the character suggested by art history. In fact, assessing the narrative tone used by art historians to portray the last Queen of France (using as source exhibition catalogues as well as art and fashion history publications - de Nolhac et al., 1927; Jallut, 1955, 1969; Grouvel, 1964; Tapié et al., 1989; Boyer & Halard, 1995; Chazal et al., 2001; Kayser et al., 2003; Choffé, 2004; Boysson et al., 2005; Salmon, 2005; 2008; Maisonnier et al., 2006; Weber, 2006; Chapman et al., 2007; Salmon et al., 2008; Duvernois, 2008; Arizzoli-Clémentel & Gorguet-Ballesteros, 2009; Lanoë et al., 2011; Masson, 2013) confirmed this hypothesis: art history knowledge (best supported by literary sensibility – see Chapter 5) unlocks the content behind the controversial, Republican *cliché* ridden image of the Queen of France (see Figure 8.4).

Furthermore, the general attitude of the French public revealed by the survey explains why, in the Introduction of all the exhibitions relating to Marie Antoinette, art historians usually employ an appeasing tone in order to cultivate the open-mindedness of the French public to discovering 'the Marie Antoinette' so unknown to them. It is true, however, that even art historians harbour slightly different attitudes, either due to market constraints (having to offer the wide public material unfamiliar due to their Republican inclinations) or their own political convictions, somewhat deducible from their articles (Maral, 2012; Delalex et al., 2013; for a similar attitude of the establishment's head gardener, see Baraton, 2006). In this respect, the 1905 Law which entitles any French *fonctionnaire* to abstain from expressing their religious and political views (Firmin-Moulin, pers. comm., 2014) becomes relevant for the French Republican democracy and its paradoxes.

²⁶ Since, the 2008 Grand Palais exhibition catalogue has become an important reference for art historians training to be curators (Firmin-Moulin, pers. comm., 2014).

The second exhibition, held at San Francisco Fine Arts Museum, in 2008, unveiled for the public Marie Antoinette's contribution to the 18th century art legacy, Petit Trianon's outstanding architectural value, and even suggested the unexplored dimensions of the historical character of the last Queen of France (Chapman et al., 2007). The same year, an exhibition held in France at the Louvre (with itinerant showcases in Tokyo and Kobe) focused on the 18th century court rituals in connection with Marie Antoinette (Bascou et al., 2008). The Japanese fascination with European courts and especially the Queen is discussed by the Japanese curator Oka (2008), who also highlights the lack of academic research on the reasons behind this fascination (see Chapter 8).

Finally, it must be stressed that exhibitions provide the main means for the curators in charge of Petit Trianon to control, up to a point, the portrayal of Marie Antoinette, as well as its commodification. Otherwise, the heritage interpretation used for the site of Petit Trianon does not fully reflect the curatorial tradition, for reasons explained later in the chapter. In conclusion to the present subchapter, the above analysis contributes to outlining the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette, through a better understanding of the 2008 restoration ethos, strategies and aims. Furthermore, the agendas of all those involved in the restoration provide a clearer insight into the web of decisions behind the narrative conveyed.

The 18th Century Architectural Narrative of Petit Trianon

The present subchapter presents the pivotal narrative of the thesis - the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon -, against which all the historical facts are assessed in terms of validity. Therefore, the analysis determines the principles underlying the narrative, by taking as a starting point the first extensive restoration of Petit Trianon since the outbreak of the French Revolution, which was completed in 2008. This sought to recreate Marie Antoinette's world in the most accurate manner possible. At present, the *Domaine* is the closest to its former self since the outbreak of the French Revolution. The aim of the restoration has thus been achieved: Petit Trianon looks as though the Queen is due back home at any moment (Plate 6.10).

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Plate 6.10: 'Marie Antoinette en gaulle', her favourite dress style worn at Petit Trianon and Le Hameau

But would she approve of the make-over of her much-loved, former home? It is true that the restoration has neglected the rural value of the Estate, which the Queen herself favoured most, by not rehabilitating her model Norman village (Plate 6.12; see also Appendix 8). Whilst some of the buildings and features were completely lost over the years, some repairs were made to those still standing. Still, the intervention was limited to façadism and restoring the surrounding gardens - proof of the contemporary dominance, in terms of recognised value, of the national identity expressed in the heritage of Petit Trianon. Thus, the royal neo-classical value prevails over its royal vernacular counterpart, designed and preferred by the Queen (Plate 6.11).

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Plate 6.11: Cultural Heritage Authenticity in the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon (Richard Mique's 1780s creation; see Bandiera, 1985; Mique, 1998) from the perspective of the creator's message - the central role of the English Garden and its fabriques, most found at Le Hameau de la Reine

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Plate 6.12: 19th century graffiti and derelict interiors of most of Le Hameau buildings (see also D'Abbes, 1908) such as Maison de la Reine (first 2 images) and Le Boudoir (third image) reveal that the vernacular role of this part of the Estate has been shadowed by the Royal neo-classical elements

In fact, a very important finding of the thesis field research revealed that Petit Trianon's initial Enlightened message - a return to innocence, of a simplicity of life, as well as purity of art, expressed in its neo-classical but even more so Royal vernacular forms (Plate 6.12) - has been severely distorted since. The majority of the contemporary public perceive Petit Trianon as a symbol of the last period of the French *Ancien Régime* Royalty, itself misportrayed and ultimately misunderstood (see Chapters 4, 7 and 8; also Appendix 8).

Petit Trianon was designed by Ange-Jacques Gabriel and constructed between 1762-1768, for the personal use of Louis XV and his *favorite*, Marquise de Pompadour. After her sudden death, Madame du Barry enjoyed the retreat in the King's company until 1774, when Louis XVI's ascension to the throne, brought the Estate under the property of his young Queen, Marie Antoinette. Between 1774 and 1789, Petit Trianon underwent many changes commissioned by the Queen, to her architect Richard Mique who, together with artist Hubert Robert, designed the *Jardin Anglais* of the Estate with all its *fabriques*, as well as the Norman model village (see Lavedan, 1944; Dams & Zega, 1995; de Raïssac, 2011).

For an accurate illustration of the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon, the present subchapter must clearly delineate the premises of the creation of Petit Trianon, including its design as type of architecture designed as a Royal 'escape' in contrast to the rigid Court *etiquette* of the palace of Versailles, purposely instilled for political reasons of state centralisation by Louis XIV (Lecoq, 1986; Pommier, 1986; Himelfarb, 1986; Jourdan, 1997).

Nevertheless, even the great monarch who became a legend for mastering his own image through the use of art and architecture had to find alternatives to balance the overpowering effect of a carefully and meticulously orchestrated Court routine which employed visual techniques to a particularly high degree (Lecoq, 1986; Pommier, 1986; Himelfarb, 1986; Jourdan, 1997). To 'escape' the *etiquette*, retreats such as Marly were built, where the Sun King would visit from time to time in the company of a small, select group of courtiers. His successor, Louis XV followed this example, building Petit Trianon especially for this purpose.

Marie Antoinette followed the path established by her predecessors by choosing to have her own retreat, restricted to a close circle of companions. Nevertheless, the inversion of gender roles through the unprecedented emancipation of the Queen led to high criticism, making Petit Trianon the epicentre of constant disapproval (de Raïssac, 2011). Marie Antoinette was in fact the first Queen to play both the role of sovereign and of King's *favorite*, commissioning major art and architectural works, most located at Petit Trianon. Previous French Queens with similar architectural input - such as Catherine or Marie de Medici (Hill, 2003; Galletti, 2012; Martin, 2011) - were acting as Regents.

Apart from its political protocol value (Plate 6.13) (Arizzoli-Clémentel & Ducamp, 1998), the Estate of Petit Trianon reflected, during Marie Antoinette's residence, her Enlightened principles regarding the upbringing of children. It is acknowledged by historians and art historians alike (Carrott, 1989; Duprat, 2013; Kayser, 2003) that Marie Antoinette strongly adhered to the Enlightened ideas of raising and educating children, sourced from Rousseau's novel *Émile*. The site had an educative role for the Royal offspring (Plate 6.14) (de Nolhac, 1899a; 1925; 1927; Martin, 2011; Duprat, 2013), particularly through the model Norman village and working farm the Queen chose to build (Saule & Arminjon, 2010; see also Chapter 8), and the art she commissioned for the neo-classical *fabriques* of the *Jardin Anglais* of the Estate (Dassas, 2006).

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Plate 6.13: Petit Trianon served for political protocol receptions: in 1781 for Joseph II, Emperor of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; in 1782 for le 'Comte du Nord' (the future Russian Tsar Paul I); for Gustav III, King of Sweden in 1784

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Plate 6.14: The Enlightened ideas adopted by the last Bourbon dynasty are fully reflected by Marie Antoinette's education and attitude towards her children, brought up in a close relationship with their parents previously unacceptable for Royalty. The Estate of Petit Trianon provided the perfect setting.

It must be noted, however, that even the French Enlightenment's art trendsetters espoused two different strands of discourse: firstly, the use of art as propaganda - the *philosophes*, particularly Denis Diderot and his views as art critic for the annual *Salons* - (Leith, 1965); secondly, the Enlightened model of a simplified aestheticism in accordance with the principle of return to nature. Well portrayed by the model of *Jardin Anglo-Chinois* made fashionable by Rousseau's novel *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, the second principle also informed the creation of Petit Trianon (Desjardins, 1885; Gromort, 1928; Hazard, 1946; Saudan & Saudan-Skira, 1987; de Brancion, 2003, Choffé, 2004; Salmon, 2008; Lamy, 2005; 2010).

Diderot's ideas were faithfully adopted by the painter Jacques-Louis David. It is very important to follow up this inconsistency particular to the *philosophes* strand of discourse, as this links with Gellner's reading of Enlightenment principles (Chapter 2), untested by practice and generating political confusion. Whilst Diderot criticised Boucher and the *pastorale* imagery of his paintings (lack of educational role), he also enthusiastically praised certain still nature subjects for their purely aesthetic quality (Leith, 1965). Naturally, this contradiction distorted the initial message of art as propaganda, which referred to the purely educative message for the public, and not conveyor of anti-Royalty messages. The numerous connections between those in power and key figures of the Enlightenment offer supporting evidence in this sense (Jourdan, 1997).

The artistic trajectory of painter David perfectly demonstrates the use of Enlightened principles of art as propaganda (Clark, 1999; Campbell, 2006), which the present thesis considers to have, in fact, been manipulatively used by certain power-avid circles in an anti-Royalist political sense. David's initial influence on the French fashion of neo-classical art after visiting Tivoli - the ancient site of Roman Emperor Hadrian - combined with the time's discovery of Pompeii, further contribute to the understanding of the evolution of political events towards the end of the 18th century, seen through the lens of art and architecture manipulation in support of the Revolutionary political agenda (Leith, 1965). David's career could indicate that the artists and intellectuals instrumental to disseminating the propaganda, either renounced the untested ideas/ideals previously supported with such fervour, or that their true motivation

- and that of the masterminds of the French Revolution - was simply to secure power by any cost, without true ideals or convictions. Ascending to fame by challenging the monarchy through his art, David became the hero artist of the French Revolution (Priestland, 2009), only to later become the official painter of Emperor Napoleon I. Regardless of David's questionable adherence to Enlightenment principles, his career highlights the bivalency and contradictions generated by the Enlightenment, extending into art and politics, but also science (Mauzi, 2008; Stalnaker, 2010), religion and morality (Mauzi, 1960).

By contrast to the above, Marie Antoinette's artistic concept of the entire Estate of Petit Trianon confirms the undistorted Enlightened ideals and messages behind the model of Rousseau's English Garden: perfecting an imperfect world through a symbolic return to nature's uncomplicated beauty (Saudan & Saudan-Skira, 1987). Marie Antoinette was a declared adept of these ideals, which she followed privately through her duties of mother, in a role defined through new parameters unprecedented by any of the other Queens of France, and previously restricted by the old *etiquette* (Duprat, 2013). An investigation of the transitions stemming from France's Absolutist Monarchy and the little acknowledged, Enlightened rule of the last legitimate Bourbon dynasty is fully evident in Marie Antoinette's legacy at Petit Trianon.²⁷ Acknowledging the transition from 17th century Monarchic representation to the contrasting 18th century Monarchic aspiration to non-representation in accord with Enlightened values (Jourdan, 1997) the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon confirms the Enlightened character of the last ruling generation of the Bourbon dynasty. This feeds into the core argument of the thesis: the creation of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette was influenced by this climate of Enlightened ideas. The main sources of information on 18th century neo-classical architectural principles and its associated picturesque landscape are the references provided by the experts of the century themselves (Laugier, 1753; Morel, 1776; Watelet, 1774, 1777; 1784; De Lille, 1782; Carmontelle, 1779; Le Rouge, 1776-1779 ; de Ligne, 1781; de La Borde et al., 1781-1784 ; 1784-1797 ; de Laborde, 1808).

²⁷ See also her choice of representation in painting (National Museum of Women in the Arts, 2012) for the less formal outfits acceptable at Petit Trianon – which nevertheless caused another stir in the public opinion of the time (Sheriff, 2003; Weber, 2006).

To conclude the present analysis of the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon, a contemporary translation of the Enlightenment principles mentioned above is necessary. Although the external aspects of the 18th century picturesque landscape (De Andia, 1978; Bigorne, 1998; de Brancion, 2003; de Lorme, 2006; Largardère et al., 2008) garner significant attention, the differences between the present and the world of the 18th century are greater than appear at first glance. What to the contemporary mind may seem an evident reality, more than two centuries ago was a challenging revelation.

The ideas of the Enlightenment, in particular, could perhaps equate today to quantum philosophy and/or New Age religions (although the scale to which these are embraced by the contemporary society is only a very dim reflection of the amplitude and impact which the Enlightenment had on the 18th century). In the absence of widespread individual understanding of these contemporary trends (e.g. quantum philosophy), a considerable part of the population nevertheless tries to embrace some of the revelations conveyed, although it will take some time for these insights, once proven valid, to benefit society on the whole. Considering that the Enlightenment did not refer solely to science or religion, but to all the aspects of life as defined at the time, the true Enlightened ideals addressing the progress of humanity were *dans l'air du temps*, garnering legitimation from supporters among the aristocratic class and Royalty (Darnton, 1979). Thus, to label or criticize the espousal of these ideals as mere fanciful divertissements of a 'bored' aristocratic class, would equate to falling into the trap of listening to classical music with contemporary ears (Ashworth & Howard, 1999), voiding the context of its meaning.

Furthermore, the common acceptance of the British history of art academia regarding the progress which the 'picturesque' ideals would have eventually induced in 19th century England - through the philanthropic projects of 'cottage' housing - is written off for the 18th century French counterpart as an often excessive artistic experiment (Maudlin, 2013). Moreover, the 18th century French picturesque was deprived of its chance to develop into a social movement (see also Garric, 2014), as seems to have been the case in England (Macarthur, 2007).

Nevertheless, the analysis of the present thesis (carried out through archival research and targeting ulterior attempts to appropriate the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon; see Chapter 4) confirmed the fact that the Enlightenment was responsible for the complete change in the perception and role of art, away from the purely aesthetic course the Renaissance had steered it towards (Leith, 1965). From this point of view, Petit Trianon's 18th century architectural narrative reflects the perfect balance achieved by Marie Antoinette in embodying the ideals of the Enlightenment (as previously explained) into the Estate of Petit Trianon. Research analysis carried out suggests that, while Petit Trianon was, in the conception of the last Queen of France, a creation and reflection of its time, without aims of legitimation and perception manipulation, the later periods continued to add and re-adapt the estate for various aims, culminating with Empress Eugénie's transformation of the building into a museum dedicated to Marie Antoinette – a restitution gesture towards the original creation of Marie Antoinette and its ethos.

The Heritage Narrative of Petit Trianon

The present subchapter probes into the details of the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon, the fourth major narrative of the thesis. It is important to note that this narrative is seen from the perspective of the heritage interpretation given to Petit Trianon by the expert curatorial and heritage architectural teams, following its 2008 extensive restoration into the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*. After reviewing the agendas of the teams involved and the principles underlying the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon, the present subchapter answers the following question: How is the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon relating to the commodification of Marie Antoinette presented in such a complicated case of heritage management and controversial architectural narrative?

Thesis research indicates the answer to be mostly by omission, defined as an intentional derogation of the museum's curatorial team to clearly present an opinion in conflict with the general beliefs of the public. During the fieldwork undertaken between 2010 and 2012, I also noted the omission of certain merchandise from the boutiques of the Palace, such as Sofia Coppola's film. In 2014 however, this particular film takes central place in the DVD rack (Plate 6.15). By contrast, *Marie-Antoinette, la véritable histoire*, the rehabilitation series whose historical adviser was Chantal Thomas (see Chapter 5), is no longer sold (Plate 6.16). This is not due, however, to curatorial team decisions, as the authority over the choice of the merchandise and the stock of the boutiques rests solely with RMN (*Réunion de Musées Nationaux*) who favour best-selling items.

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Plate 6.15: The demand of the general public led for the Librairie des Princes to sell Sofia Coppola's Marie-Antoinette (2006), which they previously (2010-2012) did not. Judging by the stock in 2011 (first image) and 2014 (second image), the range is increasingly aimed at the non-specialist public

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Plate 6.16: Low budget or specialist documentaries that are not visually striking but try to explicitly show a slightly different side to Marie Antoinette are gradually replaced by visually enticing productions, including Sofia Coppola's blockbuster film, Marie-Antoinette

The curatorial hesitance to adopt a clear-cut stance *vis à vis* the image of Marie Antoinette seems, for the moment, the best solution (Maier-Barron, 2015c), although my field experience showed that the visitors are as easily influenced by a live heritage site interpretation as by a well known film. Live heritage interpretation involves human contact, be it through traditional human guides or heritage actor performances (e.g.: Hampton Court) – with the latter under debate from supporters (Samuel, 1994; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, 1998) and vehement opponents who accuse it of destroying authenticity (Hewison, 1987). Live interpretation (see Campbell, 1995; Rubridge, 1995; Ford, 1997; Jackson, 2000; Tivers, 2002; Jackson & Rees-Leahy, 2005; Jackson & Kidd, 2011), as opposed to static or virtual interpretation, has a proven record of being effective (Howard, 2003; Worsley, 2004; Kidd, 2011; Hunt, 2011), though it does require a coherent and cohesive presentation discourse, which at the moment is not possible at Petit Trianon for various reasons.

Firstly, the historical character of Marie Antoinette is surrounded by controversy amidst the French public but also French specialists. As the guides for the booked groups are not directly controlled by the museum's curatorial team, but external *guide-conférenciers* specialising in History of Art employed by RMN (*Réunion de Musées Nationaux*) and not specifically designated to Versailles. My personal observations and further discussions with security staff proved that these particular guides bring their own interpretations to Petit Trianon. In the same way that historians interpret the same material in so many different ways, their presentations differ from one to another. An 'in-house' group of guides is gradually being built up by Petit Trianon Head Curator Jérémie Benoît, but lack of funds delays the implementation of the project. Eventually, some of the security staff will be able, after prerequisite training, to present guided visits with a cohesive narrative established by the curatorial team of Petit Trianon.

Another reason preventing the presentation of a coherent and homogenous heritage interpretation of Marie Antoinette's image is the museum's financially independent status. Since becoming *Établissement Public*, in 1995, the *Château de Versailles* is no longer subsidised by the French State, having to raise its own funds. This led to a more accentuated commodification of its historical characters, with Marie Antoinette being the highest-selling commodified part of Versailles' cultural heritage.

Although heritage commodification is a debated trait of heritage in general, practice shows that it is vital to the survival of self-financed sites. If an attempt to exclude dissonant merchandise used to be apparent between 2010 and 2012 through the films and books sold by RMN controlled Palace boutiques, the 2014 fieldtrip revealed a different matter. Since 2008/2009, the presence in the boutiques and shops of both the Palace and Petit Trianon of trademarks such as *Ladurée* and *Angelina* was encouraged by the management of *Château de Versailles*. They are now associated with the very image of Marie Antoinette, but as conveyed by Coppola's film through its publicity trailer. Moreover, *Ladurée's* multicoloured pastel and mostly candy-pink macaroons encourage heritage inauthenticity (see Chapter 3), as further analysed in Chapter 8.

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Plate 6.17: The night festivities 'Les Féeries de la Reine' held at Le Hameau in December 2010; a contemporary adaptation by CVS of Les Fêtes Nocturne given by Marie Antoinette for official protocol visits

Lastly, the present lack of coherence can be attributed to the departmental organisation within the Palace, with a marked lack of close communication between the many departments involved in the creation of the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon. The most relevant example is that of CVS (*Château de Versailles Spectacles*) private enterprise in charge of event management for the wide and select public. By not working closely with the curatorial team of Petit Trianon, one of the nocturnal festivities held at the end of 2010 at *Le Hameau* and meant to evoke (Plate 6.17) the exquisite *fêtes* organised by Marie Antoinette on her Estate, had a mix of 18th century and techno style musical background, and presented as the two main characters of the show a ghost-like Marie Antoinette and Louis XIV. Knowing that a great number of tourists 'marry' the two sovereigns anyway, the further confusion spawned by this event is not difficult to imagine.

Regarding the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon as indicator for Marie Antoinette's image, the founding of the museum as a memorial dedicated to the last Queen of France, was due to the deep admiration that Eugénie had for Marie Antoinette (Plate 6.19). The Empress' artistically inclined personality related to the Queen in ways beyond mere historical lineage, in particular through her artistic sensibility (Gabet, 2008; Vottero, 2011). Eugénie felt continually drawn to the period that Marie Antoinette came to represent. Not only did Eugénie become an avid collector of 18th century art, but she also started to increasingly emulate the figure of Marie Antoinette (Granger, 2005; Chapman, 2007b; Vottero, 2011). Several of the Empress' official portraits by Winterhalter (Plate 6.18) are acknowledged to have been specifically composed on the basis of Mme Vigée Lebrun's portraits of Marie Antoinette (Granger, 2005; Salmon, 2005; Chapman, 2007b; Gabet, 2008; Vottero, 2011).

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Plate 6.18: Empress Eugénie gradually came to identify her image with that of Marie Antoinette, developing a cult for the last Queen of France; she 'had a fascination with Marie-Antoinette bordering on obsession' (Chapman, 2007b)

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Plate 6.19: 22nd February 1867, opening of Petit Trianon as historical house museum dedicated to the last Queen of France, under the patronage of Empress Eugénie, and part of the Great Universal Exhibition. In the attique room pictured above, dedicated to Eugénie as founder of the museum, the curatorial team kept the original display of the 1867 exhibition items.

Pierre de Nolhac – Head Curator of *Château de Versailles* museum²⁸ – followed in the footsteps of the Empress, consolidating the rehabilitative curatorial tradition concerning Petit Trianon as the home to Marie Antoinette. Similarly to Eugénie’s fascination, the most notable curator of the museum, who published the greatest amount of literature on Marie Antoinette in her role of Dauphine (see Plate 6.21; de Nolhac, 1898a) as well as Queen (de Nolhac, 1898b; 1899a; 1899b; 1925; 1927) became enthralled by this historical character, to whom he dedicated the entirety of his eulogistical, yet precise research (Montupet, 2006). The curator’s mixed background in literature and history could explain the origins of this different understanding, in contrast with the defamatory Republican historical thesis constructed at the time around the French Monarchy and *Ancien Régime*. De Nolhac could possibly be the initiator of the rehabilitative wave of literature attributed generally to Zweig (1932).

Most importantly, de Nolhac established a curatorial tradition concerning Marie Antoinette, which the thesis field research proved to be still alive.²⁹ Therefore, unlike historical authors who, in trying to excuse the Queen, indirectly incriminate her with the usual *clichés* perpetuated by the Republican agenda, the curator made a *de facto* analysis which revealed that the real reason for the accusations brought to the Queen was her feminist emancipation. By having emancipated the role of the French Queens, who previously would have had a mere procreative status, Marie Antoinette attracted first the animosity of the Court, consequently - and strategically - adopted by preparatory Revolutionary propaganda, successfully aimed at destroying the monarchic institution.

Furthermore, de Nolhac set up a rehabilitative curatorial tradition concerning Petit Trianon as the home to Marie Antoinette, by clearly establishing the real connections and role of this Royal residence. Accordingly, far from being a playground (see Chapter 8), the space of Petit Trianon was a fitting space for a monarch who challenged the rigidity of the French Court *etiquette* dating from a previous century and initially based on the Spanish model. Marie Antoinette’s

²⁸ Pierre de Nolhac became head curator in 1892, and retired after hosting the First World War Treaty at *Château de Versailles* in 1919. Paradoxically, de Nolhac studied history with Ernst Renan.

²⁹ This evidence is based on my gained inside knowledge of the Versailles curatorship, during my two consecutive internships with the *Château de Versailles* (2010-2012). This was further confirmed by my main points of contact, Head Curator Jérémie Benoît and Heritage Architect Philippe Baudin.

own upbringing at the Austro-Hungarian Empire's Court of the most Catholic Empress, which displayed a far more relaxed *etiquette* (Plate 6.20) associated however with very strict religious morals, favoured the young Queen's intentions of politically appropriating her space. Hence, Petit Trianon became one of the important material statements of the emerging emancipation of a French Queen in the context of a planned shift away from the old *etiquette* (Plate 6.22).

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Plate 6.20: Marie Antoinette's childhood at Schönbrunn benefited from a far more relaxed etiquette than the code of Versailles Court, the Imperial children even being encouraged to act in theatre plays. The heritage narrative alludes at this aspect with two paintings by Weikert depicting Marie Antoinette's theatre performances as a child, adorning the entrance of Petit Trianon

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Plate 6.21: As acknowledged by the curatorial tradition launched by Pierre de Nolhac, Marie Antoinette had already started challenging Court etiquette in her role of Dauphine of France. Paintings portraying her emancipation - for instance, challenging of the period's view of horse riding as detrimental to female fertility - immortalised by Krantzinger, are exhibited at Schönbrunn (pictured) and in private collections, but not at Petit Trianon.

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Plate 6.22: Appropriating the space of Petit Trianon implied challenging the old patterns defining the role of the Queen of France, previously restricted to mere procreation; Marie Antoinette dared to emancipate this role, fact little known outside a restrained circle of experts, and difficult to convey to the public - the painting above is part of a private collection and not exhibited in Petit Trianon.

These facts, acknowledged by de Nolhac through his studies on Marie Antoinette, continue to be a certainty amongst the specialists in charge of the heritage of Petit Trianon (Baudin, pers. comm., 2011b):

‘The true provocation of Marie-Antoinette is to have secured an autonomy from the King unprecedented, with the exception of a handful of official mistresses, by any of the former Queens. This is what the centuries to follow will hold against her, too strong a feminine emancipation in relation to the dominant figure of the King, which, of course, has served as pretext for his downfall, which she allegedly provoked through her <<debauchery>>’ [translation mine].

Therefore, the curatorial and specialist expert opinions on Marie Antoinette's image originate in both *Château de Versailles*' curatorial tradition set by de Nolhac, as well as an ability to 'read' the Queen's legacy in art through possession of relevant art knowledge. For instance, any specialist in 18th century decorative art is aware of the style that Marie Antoinette has established by commissioning specific pieces according to her exact requirements (Hans, pers. comm., 2011).³⁰ This would not only suggest her highly artistic nature, but also an emancipation of the role of the Queen of France, which Marie Antoinette exercised in a cultural and political context defined by Enlightened ideas.

Similarly, the art and architecture work commissioned at/for Petit Trianon, confirm these two aspects of artistic and political empowerment. Knowledge of the Court duties successfully performed by the Queen, of the real dimensions of her political role and devotion shown to the King, as well as of her fulfilment of the roles of exemplary mother and charitable monarch, further expands the curatorial and expert understanding of Marie Antoinette's historical character. The experts' image, however, contrasts severely with the image of Marie Antoinette perceived by the majority of the visiting public (see Chapter 7). This contrast leads to the lack of curatorial commitment to a clearly expressed opinion (Plate 6.23).

³⁰ For exceptional pieces or features commissioned by Marie Antoinette, see Ephrussi (1879); Rheims (1925); Verlet (1949; 1961); Moulin (1975); Alcouffe (1999); Carlier (2006). Rondot (2008) contributes a valuable insight by highlighting that the Queen worked closely with the experts whose art she commissioned. Dassas (2008), curator of art objects at the Louvre Museum, confirms this, believing, furthermore, that Marie Antoinette did not have the time to establish a style which would become recognised by art history, such as Catherine or Marie de Médicis, for instance. See also Hans (2007a) and Chapman (2007a).

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Plate 6.23: Marie Antoinette's active role of mother reflected by the 18th century architectural narrative of Petit Trianon is acknowledged by the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon in a subtle manner (Maior-Barron, 2015c); for an official painting of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette at the birth of the first Dauphin, which also used to be displayed at Petit Trianon, see Bossard (2001); Delahaye (pers. comm., 2015)

Petit Trianon in the Postmodern Heritage Picture

Finally, the present chapter tackles the two major issues concerning Petit Trianon from a heritage interpretation perspective. Firstly, how the case of dissonant heritage was dealt with by those in charge of its interpretation. Secondly, where exactly has Petit Trianon been placed by the restoration within the authenticity spectrum of sites aimed at tourist consumption (see Chapter 3).

Chapter 2 referenced the concept of dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996): the discordance or lack of agreement and consistency as to the meaning of heritage. Accordingly, the general conflict sparked by such circumstances lies in the differences between an official discourse and a minority's narrative - usually found imprinted into its collective memory - or between the contrasting historical discourses of various political regimes.

However, in the case of Petit Trianon, this situation presents atypically: there is no specific conflict between the official and French collective memory discourses, which would create the basis of a heritage interpretation having to deal with a case of dissonant heritage. Furthermore, although the source of conflict lies indeed in the clash within the historical discourse of the present French political regime regarding the true identity of the French Monarchy of a different political era, the conflict cannot exist in reality, as the *Ancien Régime* was successfully transformed by the Republican ideology into a fitting piece of its own defining history. Instead, there is a minority expertise - that of curators and art specialists - growing towards a progressive, although slowly and subtly implemented heritage rehabilitative narrative. The differences between this minority and the majority of French historians regarding the image of Marie Antoinette, further contribute to the complexity of the situation.

Regarding the placement, through the 2008 restoration, of Petit Trianon within the wider context of heritage sites aimed at tourist consumption, evaluating it against the generic classification developed by the thesis in Chapter 3, this shows Petit Trianon to once again be a rather atypical case. Firstly, the Estate of Petit Trianon is a historical house museum as well as a heritage site,

amongst the first world heritage sites to be inscribed by UNESCO in 1979 (see 1972 World Heritage Convention).

Secondly, despite its uncontested notoriety, as well as its historical and architectural value, Petit Trianon had to recently rely on the publicity brought by an American film director's contemporary vision of its former royal owner for attracting sponsorship and increased popularity amongst its visitors. While the film did not have the desired impact on the perception of the majority of the French and international public, some of its elements did strengthen the commodification of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette's images, *via* promotional campaigns devised by the management of *Château de Versailles* (Chapter 8).

The aforementioned reliance on a film's publicity denotes, to an extent, the characteristics of the subset 4 of the model developed by the thesis (see Chapter 3), where heritage sites of rich cultural value are in competition with their media induced images. However, in the case of Petit Trianon, the competition does not derive from the notoriety of the film, which would have attracted initial interest after its release, but by the promotional strategies linking into the launch event, as masterminded by the management of Versailles. The curatorial team's opposition to these strategies, further accentuates the atypicality of the case.

When assessing the heritage interpretation of historical house museums in general, one particular trait must be highlighted: the criticism currently faced by these particular types of museums for emphasising material culture (see Young, 2014) over the display of ideas, thus risking the conveyance of a false domesticity scene without reifying the lives and ideas of former inhabitants (Christensen, 2011). From this perspective, the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon is arguably not guilty of such practices. The 2008 restoration ethos was based on clearly evoking the practical context in which Marie Antoinette's time at Petit Trianon would have been spent, as well as the *raison d'être* and true meaning of this residence: a statement of emancipation of the role of the Queen by challenging the old rules of Absolutist monarchic etiquette.

However, the dissonant heritage value intrinsic to Petit Trianon inhibits a full illustration of the Enlightened ideas behind Marie Antoinette's residence at Petit Trianon, although they are strongly suggested by the interpretation boards found at the entrance of the Estate.³¹ Yet the dissonance intrinsic to heritage 'should not be regarded as an unforeseen or unfortunate by-product' (Graham & Howard, 2008: 3). This is due to two main aspects: the market segmentation which occurs when heritage is seen as an economic commodity (tourist consumption by various cultures invariably leading to dissonance) and secondly, the zero-sum characteristics of heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) - an effect of the inclusion/exclusion traits generated by the concept of heritage ownership.

The above observations on dissonance lead to a further point: that of heritage creating a certain identity of a place through the meaning (Hall, 1997) given to the heritage associated with it by those in charge of its interpretation (Graham & Howard, 2008). The creation of identity through heritage is an essential point of debate for the present thesis, whose arguments have illustrated the manipulation of cultural heritage by the 19th century national identity (see Fladmark, 2000; Bradburne, 2000; Young, 2015). An analysis of the identity created by the heritage interpretation of the 2008 restoration is needed in order to conclude on the position currently occupied by Petit Trianon in the authenticity range of sites aimed at tourist consumption.

As revealed earlier in the chapter, from the perspective of tourist consumption, Petit Trianon was packaged by the management team of *Château de Versailles* into a media generated image (see Chapter 8). From the perspective of the zero-sum trait of heritage, the identity created by the curators and the heritage architect expert teams could be evaluated as a rather politically neutral interpretation allowing a comfortable appropriation by all visitors, a fact confirmed by the thesis fieldwork findings (see Chapter 7).

The appropriation of heritage sites illustrates Bourdieu's (1984) observations on cultural capital: heritage becomes the cultural capital that visitors acquire

³¹ But these boards are very rarely read by the majority of visitors, as my own observation revealed and heritage Architect Philippe Baudin (pers. comm., 2011a) has confirmed.

through their visit. Nevertheless, there is a marked contrast between the visitors (Plate 6.24) to Petit Trianon prior to the creation of the museum's new identity via re-naming as *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, and the majority of those visiting since (Plate 6.25). As such, Petit Trianon could have previously been considered a place of visit for the informed visitor groups, usually art lovers, collectors and *connoisseurs*, as well as of those with Royalist sympathies. In the same manner as Napoleon III and Eugénie would have boasted with Petit Trianon to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert on their 25th August 1855 visit (treating the Estate as part of their Royal cultural capital), since 1867 when Petit Trianon became a historical house museum, its regular visitors would have had a clear idea of the site's significance and value.

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Plate 6.24: Charitable event organised by French aristocracy in 1901 at Le Hameau du Petit Trianon – Royal cultural capital

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Plate 6.25: Since 2008, Petit Trianon is part of the main visit - the access is facilitated by 'Disney like' visitor trains

After being included and heavily advertised as part of the main visit route, following the recent promotional events surrounding the 2008 restoration, Petit Trianon no longer represents a form of cultural capital as before, often being visited 'because it is there'. From the perspective of this type of visitor perception, Petit Trianon turned from a form of cultural capital (Plate 6.24) into an economic commodity appropriated accordingly, rather than culturally. This further suggests that since the 2008 restoration, Petit Trianon must have entered into the tourism circuit which *Château de Versailles* attracts as part of one the most visited museums in the world, perhaps a 'must-see' landmark due to its notoriety rather than its history/art history value.³²

³² For the theory defining such landmarks, see Chapter 3. An analysis of the type of tourism that *Château de Versailles* increasingly attracted in recent years, after becoming an *Établissement Public* in 1995, did not fall within the focus of this thesis. Although the visitor numbers could suggest a trend pertaining to mass-tourism rather than cultural tourism, I would argue that a new type of cultural tourism is beginning to take shape under the influence of consumer culture, phenomenon which I am interested in studying further. This argument partly challenges the recent contribution from Smith, Waterton & Watson (2012), which suggests that cultural tourism does not differ from mass tourism.

Material culture, once invested with a symbolic meaning through individual daily practices of any nature (de Certeau, 1984), becomes cultural capital. By further considering that postmodernity turned all individuals into everyday tourists consuming the images of places surrounding them in abundance whether at home or away (Urry, 1995), Petit Trianon, even 'consumed' into the typical postmodern state of distraction (see Chapter 3), could still be considered a form of cultural capital (e.g: 'destination-based' cultural capital; Busby & Meethan, 2008). Nevertheless, the present thesis argues that in the absence of the intentional and conscious traits characterising Bourdieu's term, this cannot be the case.

However, the redénomination - or the naming - of the Estate brings to the fore a further aspect important in the discussion of the symbolic and cultural capital value of the heritage site of Petit Trianon. Given that naming 'represents a way of creating new connections between the past and the present' (Alderman, 2008: 195) at both the personal level of an individual as well as that of places (particularly cultural landscapes; see also Rofe & Szili, 2009), it can be deduced that, the managerial point of view excepted (see Chapter 8), the redénomination generated nevertheless a symbolic capital for Petit Trianon.

Furthermore, naming 'is used to fix the identity of places, often as part of larger renegotiations [...] In doing so, place names can be scripted to evoke [...] associations with the past or to honor [sic] specific historical figures' (Alderman, 2008: 208). Acknowledged to be a fairly common practice in heritage management (Mitchell et al., 2001: 285), naming would further serve the general goal attributed to heritage landscapes created to serve 'the demands of post-modern consumers to purchase symbolic capital in the form of unique products, and experiences that reflect a bygone era.' This confirms that not only did the redénomination strengthen the connections between Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette, but that it also added a new layer of distinction to the old identity of the site: a Royal distinction, previously obscure to the majority of visitors coming to *Château de Versailles*.

Lastly, considering that Petit Trianon represents a heritage site as well as a museum, the final aspects of the analysis take into account the creation of

identity by museums from the educational perspective of the postmodern museum representation and its reception by an audience. In this context, according to McLean (2008: 283) 'there are three layers to the negotiation of identity in the museum: the identities of those encoding the representations; the identities of those decoding the representations; and the identities of those being represented.' McLean's analysis revealed that although the three layers are not mutually exclusive, they are 'contingent through the democratisation of the representation process' (McLean, 2008: 284).

Furthermore, whilst 19th century museums were a reflection of the Tradition of interpretation, now they face the responsibilities of its Translation (Bhabha, 1994; see also Knell et al., 2007 and Table 3.1). In essence, this shift means that the modern museum interpretation, which would have fully reflected nationalist ideologies (Fladmark, 2000; Smith, 2006) as well as paternalist approaches to heritage - from a dominant male perspective (Smith, 2008) - comes under challenge by postmodernity to such an extent that some authors even suggest that contemporary heritage is led by the agendas of losers rather than victors, when referring to previously suppressed narratives belonging to a colonial past (Lowenthal, 2006 cited in Harvey, 2008: 32).

Regarding the first aspect of the Tradition, Petit Trianon proves once more to have been completely atypical since foundation. Not only did it not reflect a nationalist ideology, but it was also dedicated to a female historical figure, by another female historical figure. Nevertheless, taking into consideration that one of the most important reasons - together with the concepts of cultural capital and dominant ideology - for creating the national museums of the 19th century was the need for legitimation of the new political elite (Ashworth & Howard, 1999), Petit Trianon fully reflects this process.

With regard to the Translation, the chapter has already clarified to what extent the interpretation of Petit Trianon could entirely convey the third layer of identity considered by McLean (2008) - in other words, that of the identity of Marie Antoinette. A recent European heritage educational programme (ARRE 2002-

2004/2009-2011)³³ as well as a series of annual event programmes organised by *Château de Versailles* (2011; 2012; 2013; see also associations with the French national event *Rendez-vous aux jardins* starting with 2014) take place on the Estate, with focus on the garden heritage. Advertisements for Petit Trianon outside the site also focus on Marie Antoinette's garden legacy (Plate 6.26).



Plate 6.26: An example of the main advertisements used by *Château de Versailles* for Petit Trianon throughout 2010-2012 (first image); since 2012, 12 RER trains decorated inside with elements of the neo-classical *Jardin Anglais* of Petit Trianon operate on the Paris-Versailles route (second image).

³³ The participants are part of the Association of European Royal Residences (ARRE), formed in 2001, with headquarters at the *Château de Versailles*.

Summary

The analysis in Chapter 6 contributed several important key findings to the thesis (see Chapter 9). Based on the hermeneutical paradigm underpinning the thesis, the chapter analysed the points of confluence between the messages of the creator and of the interpreter, contained by the 18th century architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette. This is necessary for the final assessment of the representation, interpretation and perception of the historical character of Marie Antoinette, which explains its dissonant commodification.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 reviewed the details of the extensive 2008 restoration of Petit Trianon by establishing the agendas involved in the process, affording insight into the images of Marie Antoinette conveyed through a certain portrayal of the image of Petit Trianon by the different parties involved. This is relevant to the how the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character is produced at Petit Trianon.

Finally, after positioning Petit Trianon within the bigger picture of postmodern heritage sites and museums, the thesis needs to examine next the visitor reception of the 'encoding' contained by the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette* through recent presentations. To reach this goal, the following chapter analyses the 'decoding' found in the discourse of Petit Trianon visitors.

Chapter 7

Republican, Royalist and ‘In-between’ *Memories* of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon

Introduction

The present chapter evaluates the findings of the fieldwork research method (a survey conducted on site at Petit Trianon for a period totalling 15 months), through an assessment of visitor discourse from within and outside French borders. From the perspective of the hermeneutical paradigm interpretation underpinning the methodology of the present thesis (see Chapter 4), the evaluation provides information on the cultural conditioning and ‘prejudice’ manifested by the contemporary visitors at Petit Trianon. This is essential for the final analysis developed in Chapter 8, with the aim of detecting the array of images associated with Marie Antoinette and the reason behind their existence, charting this controversial historical figure’s commodification at Petit Trianon. Furthermore, the present chapter affords a first insight into how said commodification is consumed at Petit Trianon, with the full process being elucidated in Chapter 8. Through the following analysis, Chapter 7 particularly helps achieve aims 1 and 2 (see A2) of the thesis, concerning objectives 2 and 4 (see O2; O4).

Given that the research methodology is qualitative, the confirmation of the empirical hypothesis of the survey was delivered by a pattern of perception instead of percentages. The interpretation focused on the answers to the questions regarding the images of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon in relation to historical knowledge, cultural background and, last but not least, media influences. This was achieved within a thematic analysis, in connection with *a priori* coding and theming based on the *clichés* detected in association with Marie Antoinette’s historical character (see Chapter 4).

The survey applied to a sample of 307 visitors (see Chapter 4), confirmed, first of all, that the prejudices of each individual are equally responsible for the perception of a heritage site as the heritage interpretation itself (Poria et al.,

2003; Howard, 2003). Secondly, the research further confirmed that visitors contribute to the creation of a museum's identity through their own decoding, defined as an 'active practice of untangling the multilayered narratives, impressions, ideas and images of heritage, which visitors assimilate into their existing repertoires of historical knowledge' (Dicks, 2000: 219).

The analysis of the range of images translated into *memories* of the historical character of Marie Antoinette is underpinned by Nora's theory of 'places of memory' (1986), in conjunction with the philosophical concept of 'collective memory' (Halbwachs, 1980) and framed in the context of Ricoeur's hermeneutical paradigm of history (2004) (see Chapter 4). The resulting process of internalising external images associated with historical characters and their links with the places that incarnate the memory of what is lost, are the underlying notes of the analysis.

The interpretation of the research results (based upon the evaluation of comments of visitors at the Petit Trianon), is supported by Urry's 'tourist Romantic Gaze' (1990; 2002) further refined by anthropological theories (Caughey, 1984; Ivy, 1995; Guichard-Anguis & Moon, 2009; Berque, 2002; 2004). John L. Caughey's 'imaginary social worlds' theory provides a clearer insight into the mechanisms allowing contemporary perceptions to take on the value of *memories*: the majority of visitors perceive the visited environments through the mediation of these 'imaginary social worlds'. Further anthropological research of Japanese tourism, travel culture, and modern Japanese identity explain the mixed visual-phenomenological perception which Japanese visitors display in apparent contrast to Western visual cultures.

Republican versus Royalist *memories* of the last Queen of France

The present subchapter assesses the discourses of the majority of French visitors at Petit Trianon, which, based on the sample of the thesis survey, proved to be Republican. In addition, the discourses of the various minority groups detected through thesis fieldwork research generally display a Royalist attitude in their perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character, be it politically or culturally generated.

The French public manifesting a strong nationalist character (Group 1 hereafter), invariably described Marie Antoinette, as *dépensière*/spendthrift *frivole*/frivolous, totally disconnected from the harsh reality and miserly living conditions of the non-privileged French people, which she never travelled outside the Palace to see, and finally, an Austrian spy and traitor who even deserved her end. But whilst it is true that a small number of respondents went that far in expressing their adversity towards the Queen, based on the 1993 show directed by French actor Robert Hossein (see Chapter 5), the contemporary French public seems to exhibit a kinder attitude. Nevertheless, Group 1 expressed the belief that Marie Antoinette was against the Revolutionaries, thus being the catalyst of violence in those days. This opinion was invariably linked, for the respondents, with her 'terrible political sense' and 'unfortunate' influence over the King to accept the *Varennnes fuite*/flight, which some mentioned that she had planned with her 'lover'.

The Varennes episode is actually mentioned by another group (Group 2 hereafter), whose respondents are not as certain about the alleged events as members of the first group, but still harbour thoughts of justice being made by eliminating not only the Monarchy as an institution, but also the King and the Queen themselves. Thus, the Varennes episode legitimizes the violent end of the Monarchy: it was this particular instance that 'proved' the King and the Queen had turned against their people. Moreover, receiving assistance from a foreign national (Count Axel von Fersen) further cemented the ulterior course of events (Plate 7.1).

It is important to note the inclination of respondents from Groups 1 and 2 to mainly blame the Queen of malignant influence over Louis XVI, a King they regard as weak, unsuited to govern, and easily led by his foreign consort. These views are, in fact, straightforward translations of the historical Republican agenda's portrayal of the last Bourbon dynasty, well aligned with the French Revolution's propagandistic chauvinist distortions.

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Plate 7.1: The Varennes flight, organised by Marie Antoinette, is attributed as much alleged importance today (Groups 1 & 2 of French respondents) for the fall of the Monarchy as it was in the 18th century

Petit Trianon is seen by members of both groups as a *prise de guerre*, which they are glad to be able to visit since it is now 'in the hands of the people', despite its identification with Marie Antoinette. Paradoxically, the same respondents are also proud of their Royal heritage including Versailles, since it has 'to do' with the French Monarchy - an arguably Royalist stance. But this situation is contradictory only in appearance, and confirms, in fact, the success of propaganda-led manipulation which insinuated that the French Revolution was a conflict between the French Monarchy represented in particular by Marie

Antoinette and the French people. As such, the failings of the French Monarchy in its institutional role - establishing a much earlier alignment of French politics and social issues with the economic aspects of the time (Furet & Richet, 1973) - came to be attributed to Marie Antoinette herself.

The successful transfer of realities achieved by the Revolutionary propaganda has been perpetuated by the Republican agenda until present days, explaining not only why the contemporary French public would nevertheless be proud of its Royal heritage, but also their positive perception of other monarchic generations. The image of the Sun King is especially held in high esteem, therefore in total contrast to Marie Antoinette's image. In fact, the 'bad' and the 'good' Kings/Queens theory (Michelet, 1867) was one of the avenues that Republican historians used in the aftermath of the French Revolution to justify the elimination of the French Monarchy (Nora, 2013).

The members of Group 1 have not been influenced in their perception of the site and Marie Antoinette by any film or novel (see also Chapter 4 and Table A.4), whilst members of Group 2, also depending on their age, generally considered films to be an important source of information about a certain era, though mostly at a visual level. The history learnt at school still acts as their main source of information. Mostly belonging to a younger generation than the members of Group 1, they are clearly more open to new ideas, and some even expressed confusion regarding the many contradictory stories one can hear about Marie Antoinette these days. Furthermore, Group 1 considered Petit Trianon to be a luxurious place confirming the 'big expenses' incurred for its building, whereas the members of Group 2 expressed their surprise at the simplicity of the building and its furnishings, which contrasted with their perception prior to the visit.³⁴

A closer look at the education history curriculum shows that the ever present effect of the 18th century propaganda (Plate 7.2) was perpetuated by the

³⁴ Another clear distinction was noticed between the responses of the women and men of the first two groups: within the first group, the women seem to be slightly more aggressive in their attitude towards the Queen, whilst in the second they tend to be kinder and more neutral than the men. In fact, several female respondents belonging to Group 2, expressed pity for the tragic fate of Marie Antoinette, attitude best described by one respondent's words: 'no matter what she would have done, nobody could deserve such an end' (13/03/2011).

Republican agenda and the adjacent teaching system devised by Jules Ferry and other prominent figures of the French Republican 19th century education system (Nora, 1986). Despite this, however, a gradual rehabilitation of Monarchic historical figures started at the end of the 1980s, and France has stepped onto a path of genuine reconciliation with its past, thanks to the Fifth Republic and its leader, President François Mitterrand (see Chapter 2).

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Plate 7.2: The 18th century media image of Marie Antoinette in libellous caricatures corresponds to the perception held by Group 1 and 2 and the image based thereon (the message contained seems remarkably unchanged)

The third group (Group 3 hereafter) is set apart by its members' artistic or art history academic background. The art formation seems to give an entirely different perception of the Queen and of Petit Trianon, Marie Antoinette being regarded as an Enlightened monarch, emancipated, beautiful, powerful and a fervent supporter of Music/Musicians and Arts/Artists. For these respondents, Petit Trianon clearly reflects all her qualities, and is a perfect embodiment of *l'art du vivre* of the Enlightenment. Members with an art history academic

background see Marie Antoinette first and foremost as a victim - and even scapegoat - of the political conjecture.

The majority of Group 3 respondents regard Sofia Coppola's film as the artistic view of an American director. Anachronisms such as the 1980s music constitute a fresh approach to most, but do affect the perception of historical accuracy, with the film rated 2 or 3 on a scale of 1 to 5.³⁵ For members of this Group, the best portrayal of the Queen (Plate 7.3) is Jean Delanoy's *Marie Antoinette* (1956). Group 3 was also well acquainted with the Japanese *shōjo manga*, very popular in France since the early 1980s, not least through its TV adaptation of anime *Lady Oscar* (1979-1980).

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Plate 7.3: Michèle Morgan (1956) seems to best embody Marie Antoinette according to Group 3 respondents, despite the somewhat inaccurate film narrative

Apart from the aforementioned three main groups to which the French public belongs, there is another one not included in the classification, comprising visitors who usually come on the first Sunday of each month when the entrance

³⁵ With 1 being the furthest from historical facts. The film 'closest to reality' was considered Sacha Guitry's *Si Versailles m'était conté*. Group 3 members base their beliefs not so much on historical knowledge but on their own understanding of facts via art/art history background.

is free of charge. They do not have pre-formed opinions, but are happy to be able to visit a former Royal residence on a family day outing. Surprisingly, their generally lower level of education suggests a higher degree of open-mindedness, although my field research evidence could not gather enough responses to establish a pattern of interpretation for this group's opinions. The lack of sufficient responses was mostly due to either lack of time on their part (family outings), or a certain reluctance to answer questions which they found too challenging, once I had started the interview.³⁶

The French public could be differentiated into regular and occasional visitors, with Yvelines department residents forming not only the majority, but also visiting consistently and purposely for the Estate of Petit Trianon, its surrounding gardens in particular. The farm of *Le Hameau* is very popular in particular with local families, who bring their children to see and enjoy the countryside. According to the opinions expressed, the respondents of this group belong either Group 2, 3 or 4 (as numbered by the survey), with very few exceptions fitting into Group 1.

Last, but not least, the group (Group 4 hereafter) which further differentiated itself from amidst the residents of Versailles / Yvelines represents ancient aristocratic families. Despite having interviewed on site only two respondents belonging to this group, the elaborated discussions which I further initiated, confirmed their views to be representative for a close-knit community sharing the same social rituals *vis à vis* the monarchy, such as the commemoration held for Louis XVI and his family, every year for the 21st January at *La Chapelle Expiatoire* in Paris (Plate 7.4). The decision to include these respondents as forming a particular group was legitimised by further research into the validity of the conclusions drawn thus far (Halbwachs, 1980; Lefebvre, 1991).

³⁶ Following the result of Sunday interviews on 5/12/2010 and 6/02/2011, I have decided to exclude this particular group from the interpretation of responses, and stop further interviewing of French respondents on the first Sunday of each month. Nevertheless, the 5 discourses gathered (5F) highly indicated that this group does not hold a pre-formed opinion about Marie Antoinette.

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Plate 7.4: 21st January 2011, La Chapelle Expiatoire commemoration for Louis XVI, Marie Antoinette and the Royal family; counter-memory event embodying narratives such as that of Christian faith including Les Chouans and their sacrifice in support to the Monarchy

This group's worship of the last legitimate ruling Bourbon dynasty equals in intensity their strong belief in the injustice brought by the events of the French Revolution, confirming the counter-memory signalled in chapter 4 of the thesis. At the same time, they feel this on a deeply personal level, one of the respondents mentioning the terrible fate of their ancestor who perished under the *guillotine*, as if it happened yesterday. Equally, Marie Antoinette - as well as the entire Royal family - is still mourned with an intensity which could be surprising at first glance. For the members of Group 4, Petit Trianon has always been a part of their legitimate cultural capital, a point of identification with a social order to which they still belong (Plate 7.5). Halbwachs (1980) himself noted the particularities of the French aristocratic families and their contrasting memories to those of the bourgeoisie.

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Plate 7.5: Petit Trianon in 1901, used as a setting for an aristocratic charitable event celebrating the 18th century and Marie Antoinette's legacy

After the presentation of the main French national groups identified by the field research, the next subchapter unpacks the mechanisms behind the group perceptions outlined above.

French Collective Memory: Animosity, Curiosity and Nostalgia

The observations made thus far on the various social groups' attitudes towards the historical character of Marie Antoinette fully confirm Halbwachs' 'collective memory'³⁷ theory, presented in Chapter 4 within Ricoeur's hermeneutical paradigm analysis of historical uncanniness. My thesis research evidence has confirmed the relationship between an individual and the collective memory of the group he/she belongs to, particularly the compulsory nature of individual memories within the structure of a group (Halbwachs, 1980) which, associated with the externality noticed by Ricoeur, would, in these circumstances, lead the internal process of individual memory.

Accordingly, the individual memories of the groups' members detected by my field research clearly originate in the external memories of the cultural groups to which they belonged during childhood. Since socialising and further cultural development generally occurs within the same *milieu* (Chelcea et al., 1998), they would naturally come to regard their external initial contact with memory and history, through an individually appropriated sense of memory as well as history, which thus becomes intimately felt and lived.

When considering heritage as the practical experience created for the visitor, the concept of 'memory work' comes to the fore (Hodge, 2011: 116), with heritage in general being:

'[...] framed as 'memory work': an interdependent process of remembering and forgetting. *Memory*, whether individual or collective, is not stable. *Memory work* is not about retrieving a past truth; it is about reconstructing the past's present, shifting legacies 'in anticipation of the future' [Hallam & Hockey, 2001: 3].'

Furthermore, Hodge (2011: 117) considers that: 'Material and affective mechanisms entangle individual memory with collective memory at history sites, a contested process that reproduces structured social value and meaning.'

³⁷ A notable counter-view to the set of ideas which favour the idea of an artificial, uncanny type of 'remembering', encouraged nowadays by visual culture, is found in Alison Landsberg (1997; 2004) 'prosthetic memory'.

Although the definition of the concept of collective memory has been indeed criticised (Ricoeur, 2004) as well as revised since conception (Olick et al., 2011), recent heritage fieldwork research has confirmed my own findings relating to the present-day validity of Halbwachs' theory (Gouriévidis, 2010). In fact, Halbwachs revolutionised the understanding of collective memory by coining and theoretically developing the term. As Russell (2006: 792) pertinently notices:

'[...] there have been many different articulations of this concept both before and after Halbwachs's work on collective memory, but a broad comparison of the most typical articulations and the most salient characteristics of the concept before and after Halbwachs reveals a general shift in the way that collective memory has been conceptualised in French literary and intellectual discourse over this period.'

If early modern French theorists of the memory of groups (usually nations), such as Montaigne or Corneille, regarded type of memory as external to and detached from individuals, due to being immanent to the group through symbolic representation, according to Russell (2006: 796), Halbwachs considered 'that all remembering relies on the dynamics of groups such as families, social classes, and religious communities.' One of his most prominent contributions is the emphasis on the affective dimension of collective memory, Halbwachs stressing that it is internalised through episodic memory, a deeply personal, lived and felt, non-transferable variety of memory, in contrast with the semantic memory of the early modernity (Russell, 2006).

It is this particular, deeply personal nature of collective memory in Halbwachs' definition that explains the process of 'remembering' by various groups at heritage sites, which the present thesis detected to mainly manifest through three particular psychological affects: Animosity, Curiosity and Nostalgia. These emerged from within the discourse analysis of the majority as well as the minority of French visitors at Petit Trianon (see also Table A.4).

The three affects suggest a different perception of the same material to which visitors are exposed to, thus leading to a further enquiry into heritage-generated connection of an individual with a place. McDowell (2008: 40-47) discusses the different types of memory present at heritage sites as being in accord with the intention of the heritage interpretation, which takes on various nuances such as

'Remembering the Past' and 'Politicizing the Past (and Present)', though both are selectively attained (see also Uzell (1989a, 1996; with Ballantyne, 2008). The remembering-forgetting process intrinsic to heritage (Harrison, 2013) best reflects this selectivity. Key to understanding not only the construction of the heritage interpretation, but also its reception by visitors, selectivity also operates at Petit Trianon, with the different attitudes of visitors seemingly originating beyond the heritage interpretation which keeps a rather neutral tone.

Having established that the three attitudes are not stirred by the material display of the museum/heritage site interpretation, it becomes evident that they originate in the link between 'places of memory' and 'collective memory' (see Chapter 4). Consequently, the internalisation of the images and impressions conveyed by the site into *memories*, owes as much to cultural conditioning and historical knowledge, as to these more or less powerful emotional affects evoked by links with the past. Nora's theory elucidates why 'places of memory' - be they tangible or intangible - are paramount in anchoring the aforementioned links into the consciousness of visitors, their symbolic value conjuring feelings without which, admittedly, the collective memory would only stagnate (up to an extent) at an external and artificial level.

Animosity is the product of a lifelong indoctrination, constructed through 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) and the 'depersonalisation' of the enemy (Hobsbawm, 1983), theories briefly reviewed in Chapter 2 with regard to the totalitarian regimes' techniques of mass manipulation. Curiosity is defined by the present thesis as an intermediate term between the extremes of Animosity and Nostalgia, as it could originate in either Animosity tamed by a less defined understanding of one's own beliefs, or in an unclear Nostalgia evoked by sheer empathy with the trials of human destiny. Regarding heritage sites with a connection to violence, Ashworth (2008) considers separately the concepts of curiosity and empathy in their role of powerful elements informing the heritage consumption by tourists. Both, however, stem from a human natural instinct: the former from the attraction to anything that is spectacular, including violence, and the latter from the identification of the individual with either the victims or the perpetrators (Dann, 1981; 2005; Ashworth, 2008; for memory construction, see also Pearce, 1993; Prentice, 2004; Kavanagh, 2000).

Finally, Nostalgia is generally considered by heritage studies to originate in a conservative attitude (Howard, 2003). Still, research of its social functions expanded this understanding: nostalgia actually results from an affective habitus, defined as a 'structure of feeling in Western modernity' (Tannock, 1995 cited in Hodge, 2011: 120), and reifies a subjective separation from an idealized past, simultaneously representing a bridge across that separation (Plate 7.6). As Hodge (2011: 120) further observes:

'Those embroiled in nostalgia do far more than wallow in sentimental denial. By invoking a 'lost and longed for earlier period', they are 'involved in escaping or evading, in critiquing or in mobilizing to overcome the present experience of loss of identity, lack of agency, or absence of community' [Tannock, 1995: 454].'

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Plate 7.6: A 'dreamlike' Marie Antoinette dominating a historical films exhibition held at La Conciergerie (2010-2011) best describes the nostalgia felt by her admirers; scene from the Hollywood 1938 biopic of the Queen, starring Norma Shearer (see Chapter 5)

'In-between' *Memories* of Marie Antoinette: the Discourse of Visitors from outside French Borders

Other Nationals

Apart from the American and the Japanese visitors whose perception formed the focus of the thesis analysis, the only other national groups with consistent responses were the Italian and Spanish visitors. These groups see Marie Antoinette and her Estate in a positive light, manifesting both compassion for the Queen as well as appreciation for the aesthetic qualities of the place. Based solely on the samples of the thesis survey, my observations were that this attitude comes from the historical narrative presented in their native countries; in Italy, the school curriculum focuses on the depiction of The Reign of Terror aspect of the French Revolution, whilst the Spanish seem to generally hold Royalty in great respect. Films or media seem to bear no relevance to these nationals' visitor perception of the site.

In spite of the relatively small number of respondents (11), another well-defined group comprised young Middle-Eastern women (Table 4.3), all familiar with Sofia Coppola's film, which they considered to accurately depict historical reality (Plate 7.7). Although it was impossible to further test my observations, research suggests that these respondents manifest an absolute fascination for and worship of Marie Antoinette, similar to that of Japanese female respondents but with an added note of an uncontested approval and admiration. Moreover, the Kuwaiti respondents mentioned having been shown Coppola's film during high school history classes, apparently taught by a young female who chose the film as a perfect example depiction of the historical context prior to the French Revolution. Rather than being criticised, Marie Antoinette seems to have gained the total admiration of these young female Kuwaitis, possibly because of her attempts to emancipate the female role in a patriarchal society. The expected, socially submissive role of the aforementioned respondents (equivalent perhaps to that of the 1970s Japanese woman) sparked an identification with Marie Antoinette and her endeavours, especially in Coppola's contemporary portrayal.

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Plate 7.7: Coppola's Marie Antoinette, idolized by young Middle Eastern women as contemporary inspiration for female emancipation

Whilst it was not possible to make a further distinction based on the nationality of the respondents, from the point of view of the prevalence of the four main narratives analysed by the thesis, the non-French respondents - particularly those artistically inclined, but without a formal artistic background - do change their opinion of Marie Antoinette (formed through school education and media images) once they see her Estate. This change starts with the realization that Petit Trianon is much smaller and simpler than they imagined. Consequently, this group comes to appreciate the *décor* and style of Petit Trianon, especially the *Jardin Anglais* and its *fabriques*, the site becoming their favourite location on the entire Estate of Versailles.

Formal art training has clearly distinguished another group, which merits a description despite being in the minority. Although the nature of this group's views requires a separate ethnographic study, two of the most representative cases detected through field research - reflecting the general attitude of this particular group - are outlined below, as they indicate the vast array of contrasting images which Marie Antoinette continues to generate.

The first example is of a Canadian artist/art dealer, whom I have met at the inaugural specialist visits organised by the Palace at Petit Trianon, as part of a series promoting a different image of the Queen. Held at *Le Petit Théâtre* by Chantal Thomas, the inaugural session focused on the image of the Queen in Thomas' novel *Les Adieux à la Reine*. During the presentation, I noticed one of the participants, whose bohemian appearance and evident personal and emotional interest in the author's own perception of Marie Antoinette intrigued me. After the conference, I approached him in order to further investigate his attitude. During our conversation, he revealed that he had relocated to France five years ago, without any solid employment opportunities, so that he could establish, by any possible means, a link with the last Queen of France. In the space of his residence, he has built - symbolically as well as physically - a shrine for the lost sovereign, and is currently living in a continual search for Marie Antoinette. When asked at what point he would feel that the search is over, he responded:

'In the same way that, when asked what brought me to France when I first entered the country, my reply was 'L'amour pour la dernière Reine de France', I can also answer you that this love for Marie Antoinette will always keep me searching for her.'³⁸

The second example is provided by Christopher Davies, a British respondent with an academic background in architectural history (Table 7.1), whose opinions reflect the earlier noted interest of this group, although in a slightly different manner. His views originate in empathy with Marie Antoinette's martyrdom as well as an appreciation of the important role which he feels Marie Antoinette plays in modern art history.³⁹

³⁸ Anon. 1 (pers. comm., 2011). This respondent is not included in the ordinary course of data collection through the questionnaire, as noted by Chapter 4.

³⁹ As the respondent and I were put in touch by the curatorial department of *Château de Versailles*, the communication became regular and I have managed to gain a greater insight into his motivations. With his permission, I have selected relevant excerpts from our conversations. This respondent is also not a part of the sample of 307 respondents.

Table 7.1: A representative discourse on Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon, for respondents with art/architectural history academic background fascinated by the historical figure of the last Queen of France

<p>Christopher Davies, British respondent</p>	<p>'I [...] find the period after the revolution and before Pierre de Nolhac very interesting, the thought of that place in such a sad and neglected state, so romantic, stirs up all kinds of thoughts. I couldn't believe that the Trianon was once used as a tavern.'(Davies, pers.comm, 2011a) ' [...] I long for this period in history to be a reality in my life, well the period before the revolution, the music, the art, the clothing, the sensibility and the general beauty of everything the rich encountered. In my opinion there has never been and never will be another period in time like it.' (Davies, pers.comm, 2011c).</p> <p>'My obsession has got to the point where my house is named Trianon and all the paint colours I choose are inspired by Versailles (now I know that's crazy). I suppose my interest has gone from being about the building to being about Versailles as a place and all its connections. Once you start you can't stop [...]. The whole French royal family at the time of the revolution, to me should be made saints for what they went through and you can, in my opinion, still feel their presence at Versailles. Versailles has always seemed to me when walking around it, a house that has been shut up for the winter.' (Davies, pers.comm, 2011b).</p> <p>'My 'Pilgrimage' took place the weekend of my birthday [...] started at the Conciergerie and I followed the route the tumbrel had taken on that sad day with Marie Antoinette in my thoughts along every inch [of the way]. Once I had done this I did feel closer to the reality of what the Queen had gone through and felt a deep sadness for her and her family.' (Davies, pers.comm, 2011d) ' [...] I felt that the most moving of places was the <i>Chapelle Expiatoire</i>, I took a rose and placed it at the foot of Marie Antoinette's beautiful statue and prayed for both in the chapel below. [...] The place I have left to visit is the final resting place St Denis, this I feel will be the completion of my pilgrimage of sorts.' (Davies, pers.comm, 2011c).</p> <p>'I know this is silly but I have transformed the 20ft wall on my stairs at home into a stylish MA [sic] memorial. The wall is painted her favourite grey/blue colour and the copy of her bust that sits on the fireplace in her state bedroom that I have, is on a rococo wall shelf with 'Vive La Reine' above it in silver 18th century typeface, it looks great, I don't care what my visitors think.' (Davies, pers.comm, 2011d)</p>
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Although the aforementioned examples could seem isolated cases of an extreme fascination with the figure of Marie Antoinette (Plate 7.8), I have in fact had the confirmation that these are not singular views. During my time living in France, I have encountered many other similar cases, whose fascination with Marie Antoinette is taking over the ordinary course of their lifestyle in the same way as 'fans' of contemporary celebrities live for their idols. Indeed, research has demonstrated Marie Antoinette to be the most popular feminine French historical personality after Joan of Arc (Binh, 2010), but it is her private existence that seems to continually spark passionate fascination, more than any other character of French or Universal history for that matter.

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Plate 7.8: The living room of an anonymous member of the minority group detected through field research, whose members are utterly fascinated by the historical figure of Marie Antoinette

Furthermore, for some of the members of this group, the obvious fact of Marie Antoinette being dead for more than two centuries now is a mere fleeting thought, bearing no weight in comparison to the hope that she would make herself present during their visit at Petit Trianon, through a piece of dress, a hair lock, the scent of her powder or anything at all, bringing them closer to someone as elusive and intriguing as the last Queen of France. Given the nature of the present thesis, this extreme fascination and its causes or variations (including pathological obsession; see Castle, 2003) cannot integrate the qualitative research, and is best suited to an ethnographic study. The present analysis focuses next on the evaluation of American and Japanese visitor discourses. These sections of the foreign tourist market are relevant to the present research as they are the third and second most numerous visitors after the French, also indicating a direct relation of the perception of the site via images pre-formed through popular media channels, particularly films and comic strips/cartoons.

American Visitors at Petit Trianon

The majority of the American visitors are generally acquainted, to a degree, with Sofia Coppola's film, although not always at first hand. Moreover, the film does not feature as the main or only film (see Table A.4), to have contributed to their opinions on Marie Antoinette. In fact, the majority of the American public bases its knowledge on a series of *clichés* such as the famous 'Let them eat cake!' which Coppola has, paradoxically, tried to dispel through her movie. It is important to note that the *clichés* themselves indicate the level of knowledge of the respondents; during the field survey, I have noticed a tier structured pattern of beliefs (see Chapter 8).

The American respondents manifest dichotomist views, either admiring the Queen or strongly disapproving of her, according to their own interpretation and reaction to the otherwise very similar enculturation material they would have been exposed to. As research evidence of the thesis shows, the factor responsible for the development of different attitudes lies in the level of education. A University degree shapes a different understanding, further altered in the case of respondents with art or art history degrees. A further differentiation stemmed from the geographical region of the respondents' degree or college education; for instance, respondents educated in California espoused far more open views and they frequently mentioned Yale or Harvard University, where history scholars challenge both American and French Republican historical discourses.

When it comes to Petit Trianon and its image, the majority of American respondents are definitely surprised to see its simplicity, especially in comparison with the Palace of Versailles, which they ultimately preferred due to the display of luxury. As such, the majority of these respondents had expected Petit Trianon not only to be a much more luxurious place, but some of them had even imagined it to be 'Pink' (-er). My further promptings in establishing the origin of this 'Pink' colour expectation revealed that the images induced by Sofia Coppola's special effects in filming the early period of the Queen's life (Plate 7.9), were only partly responsible.

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Plate 7.9: Sofia Coppola's special visual effects in the film scenes as well as for the launch promotion were partly the cause of the PINK expectation

In fact, the commodified image of Marie Antoinette - as conveyed through the presentation of the Palace boutiques' merchandise - seems to have cemented the 'pink' associations. For instance, the *Ladurée* macaroons were indirectly introduced by Coppola's film. This particular case of commodification is detailed in Chapter 8 within the assessment of the prevalence of the cinematic narrative over that of the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon.

Apart from the above noted section of the American public, another distinguishable group includes art collectors, artists of all backgrounds and history-passionate respondents, all looking deeper at the site. This group of respondents has the same perception of the Queen and her Estate as their French and other nationalities counterparts, film narratives being irrelevant to their perception of the site in general. It is important to stress that what seems to lead the noted minority to a different understanding of Marie Antoinette's historical figure is mainly an artistic sensibility, and not just historical research.

For a practical illustration of the total contrast found between Marie Antoinette's perception held to be authentic by the majority of the American public and the representatives of this minority group, excerpts from two visitor discourses

belonging to the aforementioned minority are provided below. Their opinions on Marie Antoinette are used in this instance as a negative evidence and testimony for the majority of American visitor perception of the last Queen of France, which is in complete contrast to the perception formed *via* artistic sensibility.

Cardozie Jones and Joseph Vigliotti have recently completed writing the *Madame Infamy* musical (see <http://www.madameinfamy.com>) reviewing Marie Antoinette's destiny from a fresh rehabilitative perspective, contrary to the commonly accepted Republican *clichés*.⁴⁰ Their research brought them to visit Petit Trianon and explore the space where the Queen had once lived for confirmation of their research findings. Although they were not part of the mainstream visitors to the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, as I was in fact their guide at the unofficial request of the Heritage Architectural Department, our subsequent communication led me to discover the evolution and contrast of their early life and subsequently formed opinions, which fully represent the marked contrast between the majority and minority of the American visitors evidenced by my field research. Their own long-term research on the subject of Marie Antoinette, together with their native (inside) knowledge of the American perception, provide a reliable confirmation to my own findings (see Table 7.2).

⁴⁰ In relation to this, following feedback *via* the musical premiere's spectator comments, Cardozie Jones (pers. comm., 2014) noted: 'I think I most appreciated the women who walked away feeling empowered by a "new" Marie Antoinette story'. I have met the respondents in July 2012, after they enquired at the Palace of Versailles for an unofficial guide for Petit Trianon, as they had themselves noticed the Republican agenda's interpretation normally given by the *guide-conférenciers*, specialists in History of Art, employed by RMN (*Réunion de Musées Nationaux*) – see Chapter 6. They are not part of the 307 Respondents sample.

Table 7.2: Negative evidence for the perception of the majority of American respondents

1	<p>Cardozie Jones (Composer/lyricist)</p> <p>'In America (and I assume in other countries as well) we don't spend much time learning about Marie Antoinette in our study of world history. In studies of cause and effect, she is simply one of many factors that exacerbated the tensions leading up to the French Revolution. What little is taught about her paints a picture of the last Queen of France: a lavish, self-indulgent and heartless woman, so hated by her people that they sent her to the guillotine. As a school-aged child, one's assumption is that she must have done something horrible to deserve such a punishment. Here, at a young age, through a cursory and extraordinarily biased glance at the life of this woman, we become assimilated into the larger social perspective of who she was and what part she played in history. When someone asks us if we know who Marie Antoinette was, we feel comfortable saying 'yes'.</p> <p>Additionally, and what's most interesting to me is, even though we lack any true understanding (or for that matter, concern) for who she was, I would go so far as to say her name and persona are staples in American pop culture [Plate 8.10]. Every year on October 31st, when Americans celebrate Halloween, "Marie Antoinette Wigs" and "Marie Antoinette Costumes" are hugely popular items, and they have been for as long as I can remember. Similar to the idea of someone like Cleopatra, the importance of the icon has far surpassed the importance of the person or the life it represents.</p> <p>Any expertise I have developed on the subject of Marie Antoinette has come from an interest sparked by my best friend and now - writing partner, Joseph Vigliotti. He approached me in 2008 asking that I write the music to accompany a script he had written that parallels the lives of Marie Antoinette and an American slave. Immediately, I thought we were writing some kind of musical comedy. Based on all I knew about Marie Antoinette, the thought of comparing her to a slave seemed ludicrous. But then he sat me down and talked to me about the research he had done, and expressed to me the fervor in which he felt these two stories were kindred to one another. Any conceptions I had developed about the 'lavish, self-indulgent, and heartless' queen of France had been toppled over. Immediately, after reading his script, and diving into my own research, I realised that there was a story that had not been told. It was the story of a girl who was thrust into circumstance and did the very best anyone could be expected to do. It was the story of a girl who felt an incredible amount of obligation to live up to the expectations of her mother. It was the story of a girl whose reputation was turned into scandal for sport. It was the story of a girl who was, ultimately, not born free.</p> <p>Years have passed and we are still looking for new ways to depict her as a complete and complex person: one with wishes, fears, virtues and flaws. As artists, while we are working, above all toward integrity, we are also writing for the commercial business of American musical theatre. This means we try to find the balance between truth, and what it means to give the audience an experience that they will walk away having enjoyed (and essentially having paid for). [...] Specifically as a songwriter, there is something about music that I feel has the ability to enhance the potential for this story to be heard and felt. We have often been asked, "Does it have to be a musical? Why not a play?" For us, it is like asking if the sun has to rise in the morning. It is simply part of the original design and we could never imagine it existing any other way.' (Jones, pers. comm., 2013).</p>
2	<p>Joseph Vigliotti (Playwright)</p> <p>'Growing up in America we often learn about different world leaders either through stories or shallow parochial text books. In retrospect, the teachings feel like headlines of a one-sided political newspaper that we find so often to be the norm these days. My personal connection to Marie Antoinette did not come until much later in life. In fact, all I knew about her was that she was beheaded for being greedy. Often times, I would get the stories of Marie Antoinette confused with stories of Imelda Marcos, the Philippine first lady known for her collection of shoes. Both were depicted for their greed and power, and both not American.</p>

My search for the real Marie Antoinette did not come out of any interest in who she was, but rather another female in American history. Many years back I was doing research on a relatively famous American slave out of my passion for African American history. I am, by trade and passion, a theatre artist (director and writer) and always wanted to re-create this character live on stage, but always felt that there was something missing from her story, perhaps another voice or soul, but I never knew quite whose voice that was. On the back burner this story went.

Many years later, I was living in Los Angeles when Sofia Coppola directed Marie Antoinette starring Kirsten Dunst. By this time, while I had a passion for history and was very much intrigued by Coppola's fusion of punk rock and period décor, in all honesty, what I cared most about was how this queen got beheaded. Despite growing up knowing it happened, I never knew quite why or what led up to it, besides the famed line of "Let Them Eat Cake". If you have seen the movie, you know the main reason for which I attended never occurred. After two hours plus of watching a young queen be ... just be...with no action...and no head rolling, I was greatly disappointed. [...] This led me to my search for who the real Marie Antoinette is. More specifically, I wanted to know what occurred from the time she left Versailles until she took her final walk onto the scaffold.

Surprisingly enough, through my research, what I discovered was that this was the missing voice, the counterpart to the American slave I was studying years earlier. I found that both these women had an uncanny number of parallels in terms of their life experiences. This fuelled my journey even more to go in deeper. What I learned to be true as a story teller and theatre artist is that every person who has ever lived is a three hundred and sixty degree person, but often history books only tell one side of that person. This is typically the side that is written down by those who have triumphed. Typically those who are silenced are those who have been, or will soon become oppressed.

In my research through film, video, biographies (both historical fiction and non) and literally walking in her foot steps through body research my opinion is that Marie Antoinette is indeed some of the things that history books say about her, but she is also many other things that books rarely write about. My job as a playwright and dramaturge is to look at the whole picture of who she was and draw conclusions. This includes not only the events of her life, but the society in which she grew up, and what the expectations of her were. [...] Often we put our own societal expectations on historical characters of the past without any consideration of the emotional differences that time and space play [...].

In my opinion, Marie Antoinette was oppressed and victimized by her circumstance. She came into power at a very young age. She was unprepared, and like all her siblings, used as a pawn to serve the needs of the empire, needs established by her mother. Though we cannot make an exact comparison to the world we live in today, we can look at young celebrities in the media today, see what growing up with power and attention does to their well-being [...]. Another iconic image that comes to mind when I think of what life may have been like for Marie Antoinette is Madonna. She was a young pop artist that rose to fame rather quickly, yet admits what little talent she felt she had. As she was trying to find who she was throughout her late teens and early twenties, the media would follow her around and draw opinions on who she was. There were times when she was demonized for it, and others when she was iconized for it. Later on she grew up, had children, found spirituality and purpose. Today, she is respected by many people who deem her as a legend. When asked about her youth and her choices, she notes: "It is not normal for someone to grow up and explore who they are and who they will become in front of the eyes of the world, most people get to do that exploring in private." This is exactly what happened with Marie Antoinette. All eyes were on her all of the time.' (Vigliotti, pers. comm., 2013).

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Plate 7.10: Marie Antoinette as an American popular culture staple (see also Saint-Amand, 2003 and Lanser, 2003) - Halloween wigs and costumes abound every year, ranging from purposeful elegance to burlesque and crude grotesque

Composer/lyricist Cardozie Jones' discourse is supported and complemented by the views of playwright Joseph Vigliotti, although the two differ in their approach. Whereas Jones is mostly guided by artistic sensibility, Vigliotti is still under the influence of rational deductions. It is also important to highlight the playwright's comparison between Marie Antoinette and Madonna. In fact, Madonna herself seems to have a fascination with Marie Antoinette, having tried to associate her own image with the 'decadent' Queen as early as her 1990 public performances, or more recently, for the celebration of her 55th Birthday, with an 18th century costume themed party (Plate 7.11). Through her own notoriety, Madonna actually perpetuates and reinforces the common American *clichés* surrounding the Queen. This is another example for the continual multiplication of postmodern images (see Chapter 8).

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Plate 7.11: Madonna's impersonations of Marie Antoinette - Vogue (1990) and Re-invention (2004) tours, and her 55th Birthday party on the Côte d'Azur/French Riviera (2013)

There are certain, clear differences between the French and American perceptions of Marie Antoinette's historical character. Whereas the perception of French nationals is dictated by elements intrinsic to the collective memory, the perception of American nationals indicates a definite influence of the imaginary induced not only by media channels, but also by their cultural conditioning. Flooding the American stream of consciousness with media figures a few decades earlier than Europe, technological progress has contributed to the structure of this cultural conditioning. Consequently, the well-established American culture mostly operates within the same parameters defining postmodernity. If, for the majority of the American public, the postmodern traits of the contemporary visitors described by Urry's 'gaze', feature prominently, various cultural traditions infiltrate these 'guiding' parameters in the case of other nationals. Furthermore, in the case of the majority of American visitors, my research findings have indicated that the image prevails over the content. The last subchapter investigates whether the perceptions held by the American visitors (as well as the Japanese) also qualify for the role of *memories*, as confirmed in the case of the French public.

Japanese Visitors at Petit Trianon

The next discourse assessed belongs to the Japanese nationals, clearly differentiated from the rest through direct links between their cultural background and the image of Marie Antoinette, as revealed by thesis research (see Maior-Barron, 2015a, b).

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Plate 7.12: Japanese respondents intently answering the questionnaire of the thesis survey

The Japanese visitors showed only slight differences between women and men in their affinity towards the media sources that added to their opinion on Marie Antoinette. Women were unanimously self-declared fans (*otaku*) of Ikeda's *La Rose de Versailles*, whilst the men seemed to favour Sofia Coppola's film to the famous *shōjo manga* (Table A.4). Although the said film and the *manga* are not the only reasons to visit, both are highly popular, and contributed to these nationals' perception prior to the visit. Nevertheless, the Japanese visitors generally appear very attentive to details once they have arrived at the

destination, invariably enhancing their historical knowledge by 'looking properly' at the site (Benoît, pers. comm., 2011a) and taking in the site through all their senses, as opposed to a mere visual registering. The majority of the respondents to the thesis survey also spent a long time (in average 15 minutes) answering the questions, clearly reflecting in depth (Plate 7.12).

Furthermore, despite being well acquainted with Coppola's film as well as Ikeda's *manga*, the majority of Japanese visitors expected Petit Trianon to be much simpler than the Palace of Versailles, and their prior to and post visit images generally coincided. A direct explanation is provided by the appreciation and understanding of the respondents for the 18th century neo-classical and picturesque genres, confirmed by the thesis survey. The unanimously accepted fascination of the Japanese public with Marie Antoinette - the most popular historical figure of contemporary Japan (Oka, 2008) - has also been confirmed by my field research. Most Japanese respondents (with few exceptions; see Table A4) ticked the first two boxes of Question 23 which refers to the wish to visit other places connected to the historical figure of Marie Antoinette, such as the Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna - birthplace and childhood palace of Marie Antoinette - or *La Conciergerie* in Paris, where the Queen was imprisoned before being guillotined. The latter proved slightly more popular than the former, confirming the deep empathy which the majority of respondents have for Marie Antoinette's tragic death. *La Conciergerie* displays a shrine for Marie Antoinette and the Royal family, fulfilling the nostalgic needs of visitors with Royalist sympathies of a political or cultural nature (Plate 7.13).

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Plate 7.13: Given the general Republican portrayal of Marie Antoinette (see Chapter 5) La Conciergerie displays a surprisingly nostalgic discourse meant to fulfil the demands of its usual visitors – admirers of Marie Antoinette

The wish to visit other important places linked to Marie Antoinette's life (and mostly death) highlights the pilgrimage trait which characterises the Japanese public, as does the fact that most respondents visited Versailles more than once. Indeed, one of the traits of pilgrimage is the circuit of the trail of worship (Horne, 1984; see Chapter 3), which the thesis field research has confirmed to be the specific case of the Japanese public worshipping not only 18th century European Court culture, but also Marie Antoinette. As such, the Japanese public would not only visit one particular place identified with their object of fascination or worship, but also a further series of places, usually in the order prescribed by those invested with authority, be they travel guides, TV programmes, or sometimes school education. Based on the experience of the Japanese public, evidence suggests that the pilgrimage approach to visiting/travelling determines a far more authentic (see Chapter 3) visit experience than the usual, single-site focused Western approach.

Crouch (2011: 94) considers it 'strange that authenticity has spilled into tourism, often through Graburn's anthropological conduit of aligning tourism with a sacred journey. The diversity of what tourism has always been rather mocks the

depth of sanctity that pilgrimage denotes'. In spite of his challenging tone, Crouch (2011) does in fact sustain this view through his own research findings on postmodern values of authenticity and their relationship with heritage and tourism, considering that the phenomenological experience provides authenticity, albeit in a contingent manner.

Given that authenticity of the experience is understood from a phenomenological perspective, this brings perception - emerging from fiction or reality - under question, calling for further investigation of the sources on which fiction is based. With fiction and reality often overlapping at heritage sites, Howard (2003:80) observes that:

'The mythical heritage is very powerful, and can be taken quite seriously, though that does not excuse untruthful Interpretation. Literature provides many of these sites. The heritage of Bran Castle in Romania is more concerned with being the home of Dracula than any element of reality [Muresan & Smith, 1998]. Interpretation at such sites can be quite honest in quoting a legend, just as one can interpret an event from a work of literature [...] The only problem arises when legends and literature are confused with reality'.

The quote above refers to the danger of fiction taking over reality in the case of the Interpretation given to a site by its authorities. My analysis further investigates the competition between the two within the visitor perception of a site, even when this is not generated by confusion stemming from a potentially untruthful heritage interpretation. As already established in Chapter 6, this is not the case of Petit Trianon.

The blurred boundaries between fiction and reality within the Japanese visitor perception first come to light in the respondents' opinions on Marie Antoinette's historical character. With the exception of 4 out of a total of 44 respondents from the majority group, the opinions expressed were conveyed by Ikeda's *manga*, as well as that of Coppola's film.

'A young Queen who did not have the opportunity of knowing the poor living conditions of her contemporary French people, being thus a victim of the violence of the French Revolution' (choice answer 3, question 9).

This answer was combined by the majority of respondents, who also stated that they appreciated the 18th century art (choice answer 13; question 4), with:

‘a beautiful Queen with plenty good taste and artistic refinement’ (choice answer 4, question 9) and ‘a Queen who loved the rural and far more simple and natural feel of Petit Trianon to the weighing etiquette of the Palace of Versailles’ (choice answer 5, question 9).

Yasumasa Oka (2008) confirms the general Japanese perception to have been greatly influenced by Ikeda’s message (Plate 7.14), the *mangaka*’s work being the most important source of knowledge on Marie Antoinette, in the absence of a detailed portrayal of the Queen in Japanese schools. Furthermore, Oka (2008: 023) observes that there seems to be a marked difference between the French nationals’ perception of Marie-Antoinette, who still tend to vilify her as ‘they’ did during the 18th century, and that of the Japanese nationals who by contrast see her as a victim:

‘Finally, for the Japanese, the character of Marie-Antoinette is simply the unfortunate victim of a political marriage devised to strengthen the Habsburg - Bourbon alliance: a lovely/pretty princess made Queen, never having known anything other than a worry-free, luxurious life, who then becomes a tragic heroine, caught up in the turmoil of the Revolution and endless suffering’ [translation mine].

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Plate 7.14: Marie Antoinette’s perception by the majority of the Japanese visitors at Petit Trianon: a direct result of Ikeda’s representation in La Rose de Versailles (1972)

An exception to this commonly held opinion was provided by two young couples (familiar with Coppola's film but not with Ikeda's *manga*) interviewed in high season. Having expressed their fascination with Marie Antoinette, they opted for answers 1 or 2:

'a bad young Queen, spoilt, capricious and spend-thrift who deserved her tragic destiny' (choice answer 1, question 9)

'a stupid young Queen, spoilt, capricious and spend-thrift who nevertheless did not deserve such a tragic end' (choice answer 2, question 9)

This exception and the contrasting attitude of fascination yet reprobation can be explained as resulting from the identification of visitors with either the victims or the perpetrators, depending on their own psychological construct, as earlier noted. Conversely, the minority group of 9 female respondents (interviewed in low season at different dates) occupies the other extreme in the range of opinions, their perception coinciding with that of art minority groups detected across all the other nationals of the same background. For these young women from an art academic background, Marie Antoinette is:

'The Queen *par excellence* who will remain forever in the collective memory for her courage and her majestic manner of facing her tragic destiny' (choice answer 7, question 9).

By answering question 13 - asking Japanese visitors whether they would also visit Lady Oscar's house - the majority not only failed to point out that this character was fictitious, but also highlighted the importance of Marie Antoinette's character from a cultural heritage perspective, as only half answered affirmatively. Naturally, the fascination with 18th century court rituals (Oka, 2008; Brown, pers. comm., 2011) could also be the cause for the greater interest in Petit Trianon rather than an 'ordinary' aristocratic mansion as that of Oscar de Jarjayes/Lady Oscar. The appeal which the Japanese female public in particular has for the *manga* and its main character was already analysed (Chapter 5).

This major finding of the thesis survey determined a further analysis of the Japanese cultural background, detailed by the next subchapter together with the comparison between the two modes of perception of the majority of the American and Japanese visitors.

Imaginary Social Worlds *versus* Authentic Tourist Experiences?

To understand the mechanisms behind the perceptions detailed by the previous subchapter and refine research findings, the thesis draws from anthropological theories which also help establish whether said perceptions qualify for the role of *memories*, as in the case of the French public.

The prevalence of the imaginary over reality in the context of the public's interaction with historical as well as media figures forms the subject of the work of American anthropologist John L. Caughey (1984). Despite the Cartesian distinction between imagination and reality dominant in the West,⁴¹ Caughey established, through extensive ethnographic research, that the imaginary actually plays a very important role in American culture. The social interaction thus occurring *via* the popular media channels, proved to be particularly pervasive for the majority of Americans.

Although Caughey's work was published in the 1980s, referring mainly to American society, the author has further tested his ethnographic results on various cultures, proving his hypothesis equally valid in other cultural contexts. Moreover, the fieldwork evidence of the present thesis has confirmed Caughey's assertions to be valid not only in the context of the American visitors' perception, but also in the context of the perception of the site and its former owner by the French and Japanese visitors, as detailed below.

Last but not least, one particular thread of Caughey's research - the imaginary social relationships which contemporary individuals form with media figures - was confirmed by the fieldwork research at Petit Trianon, and has also helped elucidate the phenomenon of Marie Antoinette's perception by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon. The prevailing image of Marie Antoinette is very well defined in their consciousness, although this is inspired by various external sources and, naturally, not by a personal encounter with the Queen. By taking for granted an identity received *via* media channels - this holds true for past historical figures and contemporary celebrities - the majority of the public

⁴¹ Reality is defined as tangible, measurable materiality, totally distinctive from the imaginary realms, which leads to the mental illness stigmatization of people affording the latter equal importance.

unquestioningly assimilates these 'media-fashioned and propagated' identities into their personal, 'imaginary social world'. Patterns of expression such as 'Marie Antoinette would have approved of that' (referring to the richly ornate *confiserie* sold by the Palace's boutiques), or 'She just didn't care about the people, she was so spoilt' (used by the majority of American respondents to the survey which I conducted), have confirmed Caughey's theory (Plate 7.15).

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Plate 7.15: Marie Antoinette's character in 'imaginary social interaction' with contemporary Americans who either want to live as her (see advertised wallpaper), court in 'her' style (see 'saucy' lingerie), entertain/play (see drag queen / Halloween wigs, Barbie dolls) or criticise USA leaders for a 'decadent' lifestyle and risky politics

Furthermore, my own findings at Petit Trianon suggest that popular media channels are responsible for creating the values of the visitors' 'imaginary social worlds', by both validating, as well as reinforcing this social nature of the imaginary. The majority of visitors at Petit Trianon display clear signs of managing the schizophrenia between the symbolic values of their 'imaginary social worlds' and tangible reality. This 'managing' is actually facilitated by the increasing lack of clear boundaries between the real and the perceived the

respondents being neither in charge or fully aware of the bases of their own beliefs. The social media of the 21st century also strengthen the parameters of the imaginary, while reality - understood in dualist Cartesian terms - becomes increasingly uncertain due to this inversion of values witnessed by postmodernity.

Unlike earlier historical periods subject to the influence of media, beliefs are no longer based on clear sources, but on a multitude of concurring, subliminal factors such as marketing, advertising and heritage commodification. Whereas Anderson (1991) noticed that, starting with modernity, the members of a group would become socially engaged in interaction of an imaginary nature - for instance, by reading the same newspaper - the pervasive nature and complexity of contemporary media makes it increasingly difficult for individuals to distinguish between different sources of information.

At first glance, the Japanese perception of the site of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette seem to contrast with the above, as there is the added element of these visitors 'reading' into the actual encountered space and improving their historical knowledge through other means rather than just factual information. However, further research revealed a complex context of Japanese perception identical to the aforementioned Western 'imaginary' interaction. The main reason for the convergence of these two perceptions lies in the collapsing of time and space attested in the contemporary Japanese travel experience, the *tabi* (travellers) searching for their own past and spatial identity in present time and far away from home (Guichard-Anguis & Moon, 2009).

According to Brown (pers. comm, 2011) there is an evident Japanese fascination with the European court rituals, which the Japanese perception likens to its own pre-Western past, especially the Tokugawa period. This was translated later into one of the main slogans of identity reconstruction during the Meiji period: *Bunmei Kaika* (Civilization and Enlightenment). Furthermore, the 17th and in particular 18th century 'little dramas' taking place in the court of Versailles, and apparently mirroring the Tokugawa political and social context, turned Versailles into the historical European court preferred by the majority of the Japanese public.

All the aforementioned studies and observations clearly suggest the presence of the imaginary in the Japanese visitor perception of heritage sites. Firstly, when considering the source of the collapse of time and space within Japanese tourist perception, it must be noted that the Japanese *tabi no bunka* (culture of travel) pre-dates its Western counterpart, through custom pilgrimages for both religious and leisure purposes, traceable back to the 10th century. It is this aspect of leisure which gives it priority, since the European pilgrimage had solely religious connotations - see Santiago de Compostela, Camino Frances (Guichard-Anguis, 2009). *Tabi* itself equates with 'walking and searching for the meaning of life' (Guichard-Anguis, 2009: 3) and thus manifests either spiritual or ludic nuances, with one of the main ingredients of *tabi* being dream and nostalgia (Guichard-Anguis, 2009).

The present thesis interprets the two main 'ingredients' of *tabi* as essential in rendering the phenomenological experience of the sightseeing, both powerful and valuable. The absence of the past and space left behind provide an acute perception of present time and its enfolding landscapes. However, the thesis also argues that this constant comparison of past and absence with present and presence induces the imaginary social interaction derived from Caughey's theory. Although the social interaction with media or historical figures could not be tested, the imaginary social worlds are nevertheless strongly evident in the case of the Japanese visitors at Petit Trianon, especially when taking into account that for the majority of questionnaire respondents, there was not a clear differentiation between the real and the imaginary characters of *La Rose de Versailles* (Plate 7.16).

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Plate 7.16: From manga to anime, Takarazuka theatre and 'cosplay' (costume play), Oscar de Jarjayes seems to have become as real as Marie Antoinette in Japanese perception (see Chapter 5)

Graburn (1977), pioneered⁴² the idea of the pilgrimage nature of tourism inducing the authenticity of experience, by establishing links between authenticity and motivations for travelling and sightseeing in the context of the 'sacred journey'. The author further analysed Japanese tourism and constructions of identity (Graburn, 2009) investigating the reasons behind the search of the self in other times or far flung destinations (domestic foreignness). Graburn (2009: 21) illustrates his reasoning by reversing Lowenthal's (1985) famous dictum into 'a foreign country is the past'.

The search for oneself through travelling is not exclusive to Japanese culture. The confluence between two of the most powerful cultural forces of postmodernity, heritage and tourism in its role of 'social phenomenon' (Porter, 2008: 268) rather than industry, indicates both as responsible for the identity construction of the 'self' as well as that of the 'other', which inherently leads to a search for identity. However, the anxieties of modern Japan, mostly translated into the fear of identity loss - from national to individual - seem to exacerbate the nature of this search. The Edo (Tokugawa) period (1603-1868) which arguably defines the Japanese modern identity before Westernisation and industrialisation, generates a permanent nostalgia and search of that past which

⁴² For other authors considering various links between tourism and pilgrimage, see also Turner (1969; with Turner, 1978); Horne (1984); Bauman (2003). For a valuable analysis of anthropological approaches to tourism studies, see Leite and Graburn (2009).

to many Japanese seems to be closer to their definition of the Japanese cultural essence than their uncertain and unsettling present (Creighton, 2009). Yet this search is placed under the same illusions of those faced by the West, as even in Japan, traditions suffered the same process of 'invention' (Ivy, 1995; Guichard-Anguis, 2009) as those of the West described at length in Chapter 2.

Considering the above, is the Japanese visitor perception different from its Western counterpart, especially from that of the majority of American visitors, which embodies the archetypal postmodern perception of heritage? The studies of Japanese architect and cultural, economic and urban policy proponent Kisho Kurokawa (1994) concerning the symbolic values contained by the Japanese construction of identity in relation to landscape and the inherent symbiosis between the two suggest a closer affiliation of Eastern thought to the subtle realms of reality than its Western counterpart. This is confirmed by Brown (2013), whose analysis of the Japanese perception contextualised within the understanding of place and identity revealed phenomenological elements to bear a strong influence over this perception.

Ivy's reflections on the modern Japanese identity further clarify issues of Japanese tourist perception concerning the present thesis. Ivy's analysis of the evolution of *tabi* in the context of the 1970s (the peak period of Japanese industrialisation), when emancipation occurred at many levels of society, showed not only that emancipation in *tabi* had an impact on other main developments such as, women's emancipation, but also that it was facilitated by the introduction of an American model current at the time. 'Discover Japan', the movement which crystallised the contemporary *tabi*, was in fact constructed on the bases of 'Discover America' (Ivy, 1995: 42). Both aimed at a national re-discovery of Japan (respectively America), they played upon the national, which was reinforced through an appeal to each citizen's consciousness and need of personal rediscovery.

This approach, nationalist in essence, was replaced in the course of two decades by the postmodern movement 'Exotic Japan' (Ivy, 1995: 48), arguably well-aligned, again, with the international postmodern discourse of globalisation and discovery of 'other' cultures (Meethan, 2001; Robinson, 2001). Whereas

'Discover Japan' was an invitation for Japanese natives to re-discover themselves, 'Exotic Japan' was mainly aimed at non-natives, thus a construction for 'the other', through induced stereotypical images (Ivy, 1995). Yet appearances are deceptive, and an inversion of reality values becomes evident. The Japanese postmodern discourse of *tabi* is constructed on contradictions and paradoxes, claiming to portray one reality but conveying its reverse through a 'counternarrative strategy' (Ivy, 1995: 51), endless meanings unfolding in Derrida's deconstructive fashion of postmodernity (Berque, 2002).

Once established that contemporary Japan 'suffers' the same fate as the West, the analysis investigates whether the uncanniness of modern Western history did also infiltrate Japan. Ivy's studies provide an affirmative answer. Not only is the uncanniness noted by Ricoeur (2004) present through marginalised events of 'traditions' revived by the Japanese nativist ethnology of the beginning of the 20th century - *Tono Monogatari* (Ivy, 1995) - but the fact that their revival coincides with their marginalisation indicates, as noticed by Eyal Ben-Ari (1996), a nostalgia for artificially sustained cultural forms, indicating a denial of the successful Westernisation which is, in fact, embraced by the contemporary Japanese society. The authenticity of traditions marked by the elusive representation of their absence is also questioned by Tansman (1996).

The Orientalist philosopher Augustin Berque's lifelong immersion into the Japanese culture, allowed for a comparative analysis of the Western and Japanese philosophical perceptions of space and being. Berque (2002) reveals - through the Japanese philosophy of the Kyoto School - that between the two philosophical modes there is one major difference.

Accordingly, the Western philosophical traditions derived from Plato, the modern school of thought initiated by Descartes, and more recent phenomenological theories like Heidegger's, converged into a common understanding of an Absolute existence (understood either in the religious or the metaphysical sense) whose rapport with the existence of beings in space is explained through either mimetic or determinist causes, but also through what Berque himself coined *médiance* (2004). Berque (2002) shows that Nishida Kitarô (the Kyoto School leading figure) considers the existence of beings in

space as absolute, the space and being merging in fact into a matrix independent of other realities. This is the key to understanding that the Japanese culture is in essence postmodern: the interpretation of any hypothetical abstract object, being not its image, but another object in itself.

The Japanese nationalist philosophy has become more current since the 1990s, being favoured initially by an affirmation of Japan's cultural identity 'a trend of thought known as *Nihonjinron* which flourished especially in the seventies, though its roots can be traced at least way back to the national studies (*kokugaku*) of the Edo period, and most notably to Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801)' (Berque, 2002: 90). The Kyoto School philosophical thesis *Kindai no chôkoku* (overcoming modernity) together with Kitarô's concept of *basho no ronri* (logic of place) share, in essence, the theme of 'Absolutising the world' (Berque, 2002: 91), which leads to postmodern views. As this postmodern philosophy and associated perception exist since the 17th century, it is consequently argued that in Japan postmodernity preceded the modernity introduced by the West at the end of the Edo period (Berque, 2002).

But are the contemporary Japanese studies such as Ivy's or Kitarô's postmodern philosophy further expanding the contemporary Japanese popular culture and perceptions? As Tansman (1996: 202) aptly wonders while assessing the general validity of Ivy's conclusions 'Who are these Japanese [to which the studies apply]?'

Regarding the general traits of postmodernity and whether they apply or not to the majority of Japanese, it could be argued that the attraction manifested by the Japanese general public for costumes of any period, not only 18th century - although this is a definite favourite - suggests a clear isolation of form from its original source in the popular perception. Or, otherwise put, a separation of the image from its content, the image taking on a life on its own in typical postmodern fashion.

Secondly, from the point of view of tourist perceptions, recent studies also indicate clear evidence of postmodern traits. Accordingly, the Japanese visitors look for the familiar either in the domesticated foreign-ness of the Japanese

theme parks depicting European destinations (Hendry, 2009) or in the international destinations which they come to know through school education and literature. Places associated with Jean-Henri Casimir Fabre in France and Anne of Green Gables in Canada (Guichard-Anguis, 2009) or Shakespeare, the Brontës and Beatrix Potter in the UK (Surman, 2009) are typical examples. Moreover, not only does the 'anticipation' exist in the case of the Japanese visitors as much as in that of Western visitors, but their large numbers often impose demands to have this anticipation fulfilled, prompting the tourism providers to construct the 'gaze' accordingly (Guichard-Anguis, 2009).

Interpretation Overview

Based on the construction of the gaze, the main theory of tourist appropriation of sites (which underpins the thesis analysis; see Chapter 3), the present chapter brings to a conclusion the interpretation of French, American and Japanese perceptions of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in particular, and of cultural heritage, in general (Urry, 1990; 1995; 2002). Thus, it must be stressed that the tourist Romantic gaze overarching these perceptions, apart from the hunt for signs in themselves, drives a search for distinct elements drawn from unique objects, unfamiliarity, unusual contexts or visual environments and, of particular relevance to the thesis - as Culler (1981 cited in Urry, 1990: 12) observes - from:

'[...] particular signs which indicate that a certain other object is indeed extraordinary, even if it does not seem to be so. [...] The attraction is not the object itself but the sign referring to it that marks it out as distinctive. Thus the marker becomes the distinctive sight.'

In the case of Petit Trianon, this has been confirmed by thesis research evidence provided by fieldwork. For the majority of visitors, the attraction does not reside primarily in the architectural value of the place (with most of the neoclassical or picturesque values either ignored or constituting a secondary source of attraction to visit) but in its very connection with Marie Antoinette.

In conclusion to the aforementioned perceptions, detected across the various sections of the public visiting Petit Trianon nowadays (Figure 7.1), evidence demonstrates that, while revolutionary propaganda seems to still have long-lasting effects subliminally at work in the unconscious of the 'good citizens', there is also an incredibly strong fascination with Marie Antoinette, a fact which, at first glance, is as surprising as the reverse.

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Figure 7.1: The main visitor perceptions associated with emotional affects and memories of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon detected through thesis fieldwork research

Taking a closer look clarifies the situation, as it is easy to perceive that the controversy and the violence directed towards this historical figure ultimately led to her martyrdom (see Chapter 5). Since the tragic end of Marie Antoinette, the Queen's image ranged from taboo to iconic. In parallel with the official discourse of the Republican agenda, during the second half of the 19th century, an entire romantic literary genre bloomed around the figure of the sovereign who, as inexplicably as during her life, seemed to conquer as many hearts as ever. This situation is self-propagated to the present day through the cultural conditioning of contemporary visitors of Petit Trianon, whose interest perpetuates these stories and their appeal.

Furthermore, these perceptions seem to qualify for the role of *memories* as much as in the case of the French public, or the other nationalities. The reason for which the perceptions of the latter are construed by the thesis as the equivalent of *memories* - in line with Halbwachs' theory (1980) - resides in the presence of an imaginary social interaction of the majority of the American and Japanese visitors with Marie Antoinette, as demonstrated earlier. In the same fashion as the 'familiarisation' with this media figure and historical character occurs, the perception of her image is equally recognizable and intimately felt. However, there seems to be a clear difference between the *memories* of French visitors through the intermediary of the national collective memory element, and those induced by an imaginary interaction. The reason lies in the collapsing of time that occurs in tourist perception, which then arguably could not transform mere acquaintance into memories, keeping them permanently as impressions. For this reason, the thesis considers these perceptions to be 'in-between' *memories*.

Summary

Chapter 7 set out to explore the perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character by the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon from within and outside French borders. Patterns of perception of certain minority groups detected through ethnographic methods (see Chapter 4), served as negative evidence for refining the results.

Furthermore, the patterns of perception detected through the interpretation of the data collected by the research method of questionnaire (see Chapter 4), further expanded on the results and evidence provided by the methodology. The analysis of Chapter 7 revealed most of the research key findings of the thesis, as comprised by the Conclusions of the thesis (see KF6-13, Chapter 9).

Finally, by analysing visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon, Chapter 7 contributed an insight into how the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character is consumed at Petit Trianon, with the full process being assessed next in Chapter 8.

Chapter 8

***'Ange ou Démon?'* Contemporary Images of the Last Queen of France at Petit Trianon**

Introduction

The following analysis of the tandem of forces created by the four major narratives presented throughout the previous chapters of the thesis, focalises them into the cohesive picture required to draw conclusions on the whole study. Chapter 8 compares each of the historical, cinematic and architectural narratives of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon, against the heritage narrative of the site. This comparative assessment ultimately fulfils the aims and objectives of the thesis (see Chapter 1), assessing the images of Marie Antoinette prevailing in the perception of the majority of contemporary visitors and the reasons behind their formation, by charting the commodification of this controversial historical figure at Petit Trianon. Furthermore, in the case of the cinematic narrative - used by the management team of *Château de Versailles* to promote the renewed identity of the site in view of and after the 2008 extensive restoration - the chapter investigates the process leading to the uncontrolled commodification of Marie Antoinette's image.

Underpinned by the hermeneutical methodology of the thesis, the chapter draws from three main theories by Nora, Urry and Lefebvre, applied to the emerging images of Marie Antoinette to explain what could be defined, in a nutshell, as a 'multiplication' of postmodern images. The trait of 'places of memory', noted by Nora for their ability to generate endless histories of their own, links with Urry's observation that the image - as object of the Romantic gaze - is appropriated by the visitor, taking over the real site/person. It also connects with Lefebvre's idea of signifier becoming the signified, in an uncontrolled chain of perpetuation induced by postmodern values mainly based on 'visuality'. Images perpetually generate other images, which the research evidence has demonstrated to become uncontrollable, ultimately defying even the logic of their initial, intended creation. This is one of the paradoxes of postmodernity (see Chapter 1), stemming from the paradox of modernity

regarding the embracing/rejection of the ideals of the Enlightenment – an ontological argument which weaves through the entire thesis.

For a wider, theoretically informed assessment of this particular process, the chapter further links the aforementioned theories with secondary theories of representation and semiotics leaning on the work of Jean Baudrillard (1994; 2001), Umberto Eco (1986), Stuart Hall (1997a) and Roland Barthes (1972).⁴³ The circle of representation theory (Hall, 1997a) is considered by the thesis to be a further elaboration on the hermeneutical circle previously used in the analyses of Chapters 5 and 6.

The chapter defines the term hyper-reality, which underpins the following analysis, in a metaphorical, rather than literal sense referring to visual technology, although in some cases the two merge. Therefore, hyper-reality is defined as another reality, more 'real' than the reality defined in Cartesian terms. Leaning on Baudrillard (2001), who coined the term and developed a model of four phases in the construction and workings of the hyper-real image, the present chapter uses the fourth phase - the furthest from the pure representation - to explain how the media images of Marie Antoinette have become their own simulacrum, having completely replaced the historical character of Marie Antoinette.

Eco (1986) further supports this idea by testing the power of hyper-real images in the context of heritage. In his quest of the 'great inauthentic' throughout the USA, Eco revealed that the illusionary effects of images are not confined within popular culture milieus, but that they are also increasingly used in art representation practices. The fact that authenticity is a fluctuating concept is significant for the present analysis, especially when investigating the many strategies used in either curatorial or consumerist practices.

⁴³ It is acknowledged that visual culture analyses need to be detached from language analyses given that they operate within different parameters (Balm & Holcomb, 2003; Heywood et al., 2012). Schirato and Webb (2010) provide a counter-argument for these views by successfully linking visual analyses of art spaces to their intrinsic narratives. In the present chapter, the thesis also uses a mixture of the two types of analysis to bring together the messages of its four major narratives and the images they generate.

The cultural theorist Hall (1997a) contributes another idea regarding signifying practices - the circle of representation and its reinforcement of stereotypical images - which further elucidates the process analysed in the present chapter. Considering that certain images circulate within a culture, taking on particular meanings, associations and values, and that their representation and its meanings are connected to a continuous circle reinforcing them as simulacra, Hall's circle continually reinforces images over time, until they come to form a closed self-perpetuating system of illusion or even a way of 'seeing the world' (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998 cited in Pritchard & Morgan, 2010: 128).

All the above theories are encapsulated by Barthes (1972) and his theory of the myth as a semiological system as well as depoliticised speech. Barthes representation of the value of the myth as semiological system (1972: 115), resides in a spatial 'metaphor' which suggests the perpetual multiplication of images analysed by the present thesis. The sign represented by the myth always divides into a signifier and a signified, with the signifier becoming another sign (Figure 8.1). By seeing image narratives as part of a language of signs, the chapter thus merges textuality and imagery in the context of the contemporary visual culture and its relationship with heritage, which the present chapter reveals to be symbiotic.

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Figure 8.1: Barthes' spatialisation of the pattern of reproduction of the myth

Furthermore, the depoliticised speech dimension which Barthes (1972) attributes to the modern myths created by the bourgeois society (and in the view of the present thesis, strengthened by the communist social systems) explains a very important trait revealed by the present analysis: the fact that the content behind the images ascribed to myth, has vanished. Baudrillard's (1994: 43) idea that the 'Myth, chased from the real by the violence of history, finds refuge in cinema' completes this, giving further support in the comparative analysis of the cinematic narrative of Marie Antoinette and the heritage narrative of her home Petit Trianon.

Finally, the present chapter applies the hermeneutical paradigm principles described by the methodology of the thesis. Based on the data collection review provided by previous chapters (5, 6 and 7), the analysis of Chapter 8 intersects the messages of the creator with its encoding by historians, cineastes, artists and heritage experts, and also with the decoding of the visitors perception, in the wider context of the consumerist, visual media oriented contemporary society (Figure 8.2). By taking into account the validity of all these representations, interpretations and perceptions, the chapter contributes to the final conclusions of the entire study regarding the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon. Furthermore, through the following analysis, Chapter 8 contributes to reaching all thesis aims (see A1; A2) and objectives (see O1; O2; O3; O4).

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Figure 8.2: The hermeneutical paradigm applied to the interpretation of the data collection provided by Chapters 5, 6 and 7. The intersection of the experts' encoding and the visitors' decoding of the messages of the creator (Marie Antoinette) intrinsic to Petit Trianon, provides a range of contemporary images of Marie Antoinette's historical character inducing its dissonant commodification at Petit Trianon

The Historical Narrative of Petit Trianon as Home to Marie Antoinette versus its Heritage Narrative

A comparison between the historical narrative of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon (see Chapter 5), and the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon, reveals that the historical discourse and the heritage interpretation do not coincide entirely in the case of Petit Trianon, although there are incidental points of convergence. This is peculiar, since a heritage interpretation normally has to be based on the perceived historical truth. However, the complexity surrounding Marie Antoinette's image extends to a realm of legend, surrounding both the owner and the house, which renders historical facts secondary.

The Ghost Image

An illustrative case for the legends woven around Marie Antoinette in relation to her Petit Trianon is that of her 'ghost' image, which has particular relevance. In 1901, two English tourists of supposed high credibility (Plate 8.1) thought they had entered another dimension whilst visiting Petit Trianon. A laborious archive research and subsequent investigation of paranormal activity established that the two English ladies saw images of the late 1780s Petit Trianon. Moreover, they also reported the presence of the Queen (see also Tramontana, pers. comm., 2014a, b, c), while sketching a patch of trees near the building. Thoroughly researched, the book was printed for the first time in 1911, and clearly expressed the very close connection felt by the authors between the Queen and her *Domaine*. Later editions of the book (Moberly & Jourdain 1952; 2003) include a brief review of other similar 19th century and beginning of the 20th century ghost sightings at Trianon.

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Plate 8.1: The authors of An Adventure (1911): Charlotte Anne Elizabeth Moberly (1889) and Eleanor Frances Jourdain (cca. 1912), Dons at Oxford University

This subchapter does not enquire into the veracity of these beliefs (see also Audinot, 2002), but makes use of them to illustrate how this particular image of Marie Antoinette is continually perpetuated. Although it seems that there have not been any recorded sightings of the kind since the beginning of the 20th century, the legend of Marie Antoinette's ghost lives on. It was mentioned to me by various members of the security personnel of Petit Trianon and also by some of the respondents interviewed, especially those living nearby, in the position of visiting the site often and familiar with it in another light than from a tourist's perspective.

One member of Petit Trianon's security staff has admitted to having seen the Queen on their first day at work. Her Majesty, who was heading for her theatre through the internal corridor which leads towards it, turned and gave them an approving smile.⁴⁴ This information was forwarded to me as a good luck omen for their new position of guarding the Royal Estate of Petit Trianon, rather than

⁴⁴ My personal communication with various other security staff detected 3 others members who believe in the existence of Marie Antoinette's ghost, despite the absence of personal sightings. They preferred to remain anonymous. Furthermore, the Questionnaire for Security Personnel members (see Appendix A1.6) gathered 20 responses (10 from members with permanent contracts and 10 from temporary contract staff), enhancing my observations. Since these respondents also preferred to remain anonymous, it can only be added most of the permanent contract holders are staff in senior positions.

an extraordinary event. In fact, the security staff members with progressing careers all seem to be deeply devoted to Marie Antoinette, judging by the expressions they used in our conversations when referring to the last Queen of France.

It was following this field research observation made at the beginning of my interviewing strategy that I set out to investigate this adjacent dimension of Marie Antoinette's image through the visitor discourses gathered at Petit Trianon. I have opened - after the formal end of the interview - the subject of her ghostly apparitions. This led me to discover that art collectors or artistically inclined and trained respondents of any nationality, either believe strongly in the Queen's immortality in a symbolic way, or do not accept her end, feeling that something can still be done about it, mostly by keeping her memory alive. As for the specific belief in a ghostly dimension of Marie Antoinette's historical character, this seems to be restricted to a relatively small sample of respondents.⁴⁵

At the first photographic exhibition organised by the *Château de Versailles* in 2010, the picture chosen to represent the image of Petit Trianon was a 1953 *mise en scène* of the earlier noted ghostly apparition (Plate 8.2). In Izis' photograph the Queen is seen in a white dress next to The Temple of Love. The curatorial team criticised the choice made by Karine McGrath (2010), head archivist of *Château de Versailles* and the exhibition's main organiser. My personal communication with Ms McGrath (2011), revealed that the choice was an obvious one, as it represented not only a legend well known to specialists, locals and some tourists, but also implied the inseparable symbolic connection between the Queen and Her Estate, recently restored to strengthen this specific identification. Moreover, the ghost of Marie Antoinette is allegedly seen only at Petit Trianon and not anywhere else on the Estate of *Château de Versailles*.

⁴⁵ Only 12 respondents alluded to a belief in the possible existence of Marie Antoinette's ghost, though without the support of sightings. The respondents (10F and 2M) were part of French Group 2 (5F), residents of the Yvelines; Group 3 (4F; 2M); American Minority Group (1F). This relatively small proportion of testimonials and further absence of reported sightings, acts as negative evidence, confirming the existence of an image without content, analysed throughout the present chapter.

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Plate 8.2: The 1953 mise en scène of the 1901 sighting chosen in 2010 as a representative photo for the recently launched at the time, Estate of Marie-Antoinette

This situation of the 'ghost' image of Marie Antoinette clearly denotes a very important aspect signalled by Nora's theory of 'places of memory', Urry's 'Romantic gaze', and Lefebvre's, as well as Barthes' observations on the multiplying nature of the signifier which thus becomes the signified. In this case, the 'ghost' apparition signalled by the two English tourists became a legend in itself, and as all legends, it does not have to have a clear origin, nor to be exact or proven true. Furthermore, this legend, although perhaps initially containing a kernel of truth, seems to have been perpetuated since by various individuals, without any supporting evidence. Others claim to provide evidence through their own 'ghostly' encounter with the Queen, but it is debatable if the local lore did not induce certain impressions to be taken as evidential for such encounters.

As the 'ghost' of Marie Antoinette became a legend, it further placed the historical character of Marie Antoinette itself in a realm of legends and fairy tales through a mythical process. Jasmin Becket-Griffith, successful American illustrator of Disney and non-Disney characters turned into faeries, was inspired to create her first range of doll figurines in 2006 by introducing faerie Antoinette.

A portrayal of Marie Antoinette's ghost forms the subject of one of her recent Werewolves series of paintings. The artist notes on the picture description that inspiration struck after visiting Petit Trianon. Without stating whether the white haired 'beautiful maiden' - as she calls her subject - is either Marie Antoinette or her ghost, she does imply it by specifying that this is Marie Antoinette's garden and Temple. In the next picture of the series, she whimsically muses about the portrayed maidens being every part the werewolves that their wolf companions are (Plate 8.3). Furthermore, the proximity to the Temple resembles the aforementioned 1953 *mise en scène*, whereas the sighting in *An Adventure* (Moberly & Jourdain, 1952) locates the Queen by the building of Petit Trianon. It is likely that both artists felt as if Marie Antoinette's ghost should rather be drawn to The Temple of Love, their artistic visions connecting easier to stories of Romantic love. This constitutes proof of the appropriation of the Queen's image according to different agendas.

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Also directly inspired by the aforementioned book (Moberly & Jourdain, 1952), a recent French *bande dessinée* (Goetzinger & Goetzinger, 2011) was launched in Paris through an exhibition of limited edition prints from this work (Plate 8.4). The narrative takes new dimensions, and although based on ‘recherche historique précise’ (Duprat, 2013: 217), it mainly builds upon the 1901 sighting, placed in the context of a different plot occurring in the 1930s. Nevertheless, *Marie-Antoinette, La Reine Fantôme* (see also Sowers, 2014 – a doll version bearing the same name) does not claim any authenticity, the authors having simply tried to give a possible explanation to the existence of Marie Antoinette’s ghost on the grounds of Petit Trianon at the beginning of the 20th century.

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Plate 8.4: The launch of the bande dessinée and sales exhibition

The Cinderella Image

Whilst not directly connected to the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon as home to Marie Antoinette, but to the heritage narrative of the Queen's tragic death and subsequent immortality, a further illustrative example of the legendary dimensions of Marie Antoinette's image is the story of the shoe lost on the flight of stairs leading to the Guillotine.

This particular image must be examined, as it constitutes one of the details that remain etched in the collective memory of her admirers. As Cinderella lost her shoe to be found again by Prince Charming, it seems that Marie Antoinette's shoe provided a material link for the spiritual connection between the sovereign and those enamoured of her. Exhibited for the first time in 1883 at the Caen Museum of Fine Arts, its authenticity is not confirmed. However, as the museography essay explains, the symbol matters far more than the reality (Tapié et al., 1989). At the celebration of 200 years since the outburst of the French Revolution, the museum dedicated a special exhibition to the shoe (Plate 8.5), which further indicates a realm of legend surrounding the Queen nowadays.

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Plate 8.5: The ethnographic study dedicated to Marie Antoinette's legendary shoe

The Cinderella image is not associated only to Marie Antoinette's death, but also to her early life. Given the aura of Romanticism which it added to the perception of Marie Antoinette's historical character starting with the 19th century, this further historical connection might have transformed the shoe lost at the *échafaud* into a legend. One of the reasons for which Marie Antoinette has been fiercely criticised during her reign was her attendance at balls given in Paris, outside the Royal environment of the Court of Versailles. Without precedent, this attitude fuelled much gossip and critique. However, the age of the Enlightenment was to blame if any guilt has to be attributed, as the classes became encouraged to mingle more than ever during social events (Todorov, 2009).

The legendary ball on the 30th January 1774, when Marie Antoinette - still Dauphine de France - is said to have met Count Axel von Fersen, the character who remains in the collective imaginary, her secret lover, represents the key point reminiscent of Cinderella's story. As Marie Antoinette and her entourage's incognito time at the ball had to be limited due to their status and restrictions of Court etiquette, the Dauphine, just like Cinderella, disappeared at midnight.

This 1774 masquerade ball event is a moment particularly cherished by cineastes (Plates 8.6; 8.7) and artists (Plate 8.8), strengthening the Cinderella image of Marie Antoinette even if, admittedly, there is a slight inversion of the female and male roles. However, the Cinderella image is not included in the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon, being solely linked to the aforementioned Caen exhibition, through curatorial interpretations of the historical narrative of the last Queen of France.

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Plate 8.6: Most recent cinematic 'Cinderella' image: Coppola's Marie-Antoinette (2006), film dedicating important scenes to the 1774 Opera masquerade ball

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Plate 8.7: Jean Delanoy's Marie Antoinette (1956) and the Opera Masquerade ball - the mysterious princess attending incognito refuses to reveal her identity before fleeing the scene

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Plate 8.8: Faerie Antoinette at The Masquerade ball, by Jasmine Becket-Griffith

The 'Queen of Refinement' Image

The next strand of historical research included by the heritage narrative of the site, although for a limited period of time (see also Appendix 6), is the history of Marie Antoinette's perfume. Élisabeth de Feydeau's (2005) research on Jean-Louis Fargeon, the Queen's *parfumeur* (see Chapter 5), led her to liaise with Francis Kurkdijan, one of the most appreciated French perfume noses, in order to recreate Fargeon's formula designed for Marie Antoinette, re-named *M.A. Sillage de la Reine*. Launched in 2006, *Château de Versailles* sold the perfume in order to raise the necessary funds to buy Marie Antoinette's *coffret de campagne* (Plate 8.9).

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The narrative of Marie Antoinette's perfume seems to have been copied by a mass-media market launch of another perfume claiming to be derived from Marie Antoinette's formula, designed by Fargeon and inherited by his apprentice Lubin in 1798. Pitched at an exclusive clientele, *Bouquet de la Reine* - now Black Jade (Plate 8.10) - was launched in 2011 by Lubin House. It claims to originate from the story of a black vial of perfume Marie Antoinette apparently kept with her in prison, and handed to Duchesse de Tourzel before being taken to *La Conciergerie*. As historical authenticity is not attested by any documents, this amounts to a legend known amongst the experts, based on a story transmitted through generations by de Tourzel family (Isaac, 2011).

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Plate 8.10: Black Jade: the packaging subtly incorporates Marie Antoinette's image associating itself with luxury and refinement

But for the owner of Lubin House, the story is 'actually less compelling than the object as a talisman, which today lies secreted away in a vault somewhere' (Isaac, 2011). This attitude starkly contrasts with that of curators such as Tapié, for whom the story counts more than the object itself. Furthermore, despite the publicity launch of Black Jade (Plate 8.10), whose appearance seems to convey a refined aristocratic image, the chosen date for the launch event in New York - 14th July 2011 - betrays the purely commercial value of the chosen insignia (Plate 8.11). Once again, there is a noticeable, stark contrast between the goal behind *Château de Versailles'* promotion of *M.A Sillage de la Reine* for raising funds in order to acquire a Royal item, and Lubin's indirect celebration of the French Monarchy's fall.

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Plate 8.11: The launch in USA...14th July 2011

Black Jade's story and launch fully illustrate postmodern consumerism - the images prevailing over their own content - as well as the depoliticised speech value of the myth. As the launch took place in the USA, the date's significance must have been used as a pro-Republican statement in order to turn what could have potentially been an item dedicated to Royalty, into a statement of cultural refinement. This attests the blurring of boundaries between culture and consumerism (Urry, 1995), together with the evaporation of the content of the myth (Barthes, 1972). Instead of the launch date offending those wishing to associate themselves with the Queen, the date's significance seems to have gone unnoticed for the majority: only the connection of the merchandise with the Royal image has been retained. At the same time, given that the perfume's historical provenance cannot be attested, the marketing campaign sourced authenticity from the 'connoisseur expert knowledge' unavailable to a public thus enticed even more to become part of this perceived exclusive circle.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ I base this observation on the analysis of 30 buyer reviews on sites offering Black Jade at lower prices (see Black Jade References). The majority of the reviews associated the fragrance with elegance and sophistication, and several raved about the refined taste Marie Antoinette must have had, even thanking her! This confirms the efficiency of the marketing strategies. At the same time, however, perfume bloggers started expressing doubts about the perfume's connections with Marie Antoinette, once a very heated 'virtual row' sparked around claims of this connection, between one blogger, her followers and the owner of Lubin House; see <http://olfactoriastravels.com/2011/10/04/review-lubin-black-jade/>.

The House of Houbigant, established in 1775, in Paris also alludes to connections with Marie Antoinette on their official site (see Houbigant References). Furthermore, although Houbigant has recently attested Royal customers such as Princess Diana and Crown Princess Mathilde of Belgium, legitimacy through longevity and continuity of Royal connections are always prized and employed in marketing strategies. Despite Houbigant not having launched a perfume claiming authentic links to Marie Antoinette, its formula contains *fleurs d'oranger* (Plate 8.12) - an essence known to have been favoured by the Queen - and is marketed by sales agents in the USA Nordstroms as Marie Antoinette's perfume (Scarbrough, pers. comm, 2014).

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Plate 8.12: House of Houbigant perfume, connected to Marie Antoinette by sales agents in Nordstroms, the USA

Marketing ploys on the other side of the Atlantic failing to meet authentic links are nothing new, Houbigant perfumes have been advertised as early as 1922 in connection with Marie Antoinette as well as other Royals of the 19th and 20th century (Plate 8.13).

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Plate 8.13: USA and Canada 1922 posters for Houbigant perfumes claiming connections to Marie Antoinette, Empress Eugénie and Queen Marie of Romania: a Royal marketing recipe transcending countries and centuries

The above examples provide insights into the differences between a curatorial approach to history and a consumerist one, insights merging into the fourth and last case depicting a refined Image of the Queen, that of Dior House. In September 2013 a contract of sponsorship for restoring *La Maison de la Reine* at Petit Trianon was signed between the *Château de Versailles* and *Dior* (see Appendix A8). The envisaged restoration is aimed at the interior of the derelict *Maison de La Reine*. A sponsorship and consequent representation in the media by Dior for *Maison de la Reine*, the main building of the vernacular setting of Petit Trianon, defies the essence of the initial intended message of the Queen's Norman Hamlet, primarily meant to represent the French vernacular and its charm through simplicity.

Dior's sponsorship, although not unconnected, proves once again the postmodern paradox which the present chapter explores ontologically, through the media channels' influence, in fierce competition with heritage narratives seeking authenticity. Dior's sponsorship followed by the launch in Japan and the USA of a new cosmetic range in 2014 (Plate 8.14) also embodies the marriage between curatorial and consumerist approaches (Plate 8.15) in representations of heritage and the image of Marie Antoinette. The range bearing the name of *Trianon* rather than *Marie Antoinette* suggests an intended curatorial

connection, Dior not only associating itself with the refined image of the Queen but also appropriating the heritage space whose restoration it supports. The commercial motives are of course also present through the choice of countries for the launch, Europe providing less customers for luxury goods associated with Marie Antoinette and her Estate. Also, giving certain nationals priority, a similar marketing strategy to that of Lubin becomes apparent: the suggestion of a niche market for a range flatters prospective consumers.

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Plate 8.14: The Dior launch of its Trianon Spring 2014 range made available first in Japan and then USA

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Plate 8.15: Dior, in its role of sponsor for La Maison de la Reine, secured the most prominent advertising space at Château de Versailles: a publicity canvas covering the left hand wing of the main Palace which is currently (2014) under restoration for creating better access into the Estate of Versailles. Dior did not contribute to this restoration, nor did it link specifically to Petit Trianon in this advertising instance, focusing instead on its own fashion creations placed against the background of the 17th century Bosquet de la Colonnade, as this frames better the desired Dior image

The 'Queen of Frivolous Fashion' Image

Despite the refinement with which Marie Antoinette is usually associated, there is yet another image which must be considered: that of the iconic fashion Queen. This does not however express refinement but mainly frivolity, and is thus in complete contradiction with the exquisite taste and elegance generally attributed to the last Queen of France.

Partly a result of *clichéd* representations, partly an effect of the mid 1770s period (Plate 8.16) when Marie Antoinette tried to gain increased legitimization at the Court following the model of Louis XIV (Delpierre, 1975; Webber, 2006) - who successfully enhanced his Royal image through the use of flamboyant fashion - this image is most frequently encountered in popular culture, but also in some curatorial traditions such as those of fashion museums.

Still, this came to be associated indirectly with Petit Trianon's heritage narrative, following the 2011 exhibition of Galliera Parisian Museum of Fashion at the Grand Trianon (Saillard et al., 2011). The press release highlighted the frivolous aspects, whilst stressing, at the same time, that the influence of the 18th century fashion enabled free interpretations in the fashion industry. Marie Antoinette was not the sole inspiration for the exhibition's theme, but her image dominated the promotion of the event as well as the fashion creations presented. However, these were identified with her image either through the exhibition poster presentation, as was the case of a Vivien Westwood dress (Plate 8.17); Coppola's film - through Olivier Theyskens / Rochas dress created for Kirsten Dunst in 2006 (Plate 8.18); or, through details commonly associated with Marie Antoinette and used by the creators for their dresses to the expense of historical accuracy in the perception of the public (Vivien Westwood, Plate 8.19).

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Plate 8.16: Authentic 1776 hand-coloured engraving of Marie Antoinette from La Galerie des Modes (personal collection of Mr Mark Tramontana)

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Plate 8.17: Vivien Westwood's creation seemingly fitted for a Queen

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Plate 8.18: Olivier Theyskens / Rochas designed one of Kirsten Dunst's outfits for the 2006 Vogue special issue dedicated to Coppola's film release

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Plate 8.19: Vivien Westwood design using the notorious necklace that contributed to the fall of the Monarchy through calumnies to Marie Antoinette's image in the public opinion

The Archetypal Mother Image

One of the episodes which inscribed Marie Antoinette's undisputed Royal eloquence and grandeur into the great book of History is the trial following which she was sentenced to death. Her appeal to all the present women, to try and imagine why as a mother, she would not debase herself to even answer the abominable questions about the alleged sexual abuse of her son, marked the moment when the public opinion started questioning the authenticity of the French Revolution's ideals. Moreover, this moment strengthened Marie Antoinette's image of the archetypal mother and woman subjected to the violent attack of the chauvinist French Revolution (Varaut, 2006). The fact is unanimously accepted, rather than only confirmed by feminist studies (Plate 8.20; see also Chapter 5).

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Plate 8.20: A 19th century representation of the moment etched in history as 'J'en appelle à toutes les mères!' which, according to several historians, was the crowning moment of eternal glory for the Queen (personal collection of Mr Mark Tramontana)

Marie Antoinette's dutifully fulfilled role of Royal mother, doubled by complete devotion to her children (to whom she dedicated most of her time spent at Petit Trianon), is highlighted through the curatorial presentation of the 2008 restoration (see Chapter 6) by exhibiting the Dauphin's 'goat-drawn carriage' at the entrance of the historical house museum (Plate 8.21). Further items specifically related to the aforementioned mother role, are displayed at the superior levels of the building (Plate 8.22; 8.23), which are not part of the ordinary visit. The heritage narrative intentionally chose to highlight this important role played by the Queen, albeit indirectly conveyed through the striking presence of the carriage placed at the beginning of the ordinary visit route. The layout and particularly the display of the other two floors accessible with guided visits reinforce this image, in marked contrast to the cinematic narrative images detailed in the next subchapter.

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Plate 8.21: The goat-drawn carriage: the item belonged to the first Dauphin who died in 1789, having suffered of a degenerative spinal condition

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Plate 8.22: An allegorical portrayal by Pajou of Marie Antoinette as Venus with the occasion of the first Dauphin's birth in 1781 (in 2010, this piece was placed in the King's Room found in L'Attique of Petit Trianon)

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Plate 8.23: Gravure by Née after an undated sketch by Lespinasse: Marie Antoinette in the gardens of Petit Trianon, holding the hand of her son, Duc de Normandie, born in 1785. Estimating by his height, the date is around 1788

In conclusion, the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon does not resonate with the *clichés* of Republican history, due to Petit Trianon's rehabilitative curatorial tradition. As demonstrated above, there exists an affinity between the heritage narrative and what could be called a Royalist historiography. Other connections - such as the 'ghost' image of Marie Antoinette - originate in local lore or popular history in an indirect and unintentional way previously analysed. Nevertheless, they eventually integrate the heritage narrative.

This unintentionality provides evidence for the uncontrolled multiplication of postmodern images best highlighted by the perfume examples: not only that fabricated narratives could infiltrate the heritage narrative from outside the expert knowledge, but the reverse could also be true. Yet, the perfumes example questions the authenticity of the images emerging from the impact of various narratives, best analysed in the context of the next juxtaposition presented in the chapter, between the cinematic and the heritage narratives of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon.

The Cinematic Narrative of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon *versus* the Heritage Narrative ... a Republican Portrayal of the Queen

The next narrative to be assessed against the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon is the cinematic narrative originating in Sofia Coppola's film about the life of the last Queen of France. Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* (see Chapter 5), was proven by the fieldwork research to have been the only cinematic/media production with a direct (but also indirect) influence on the perception of the site by the majority of both American and Japanese visitors. These nationals' perception of the heritage site of Petit Trianon, as well as the historical character of Marie Antoinette, has already been explained (see Chapter 7). But what the present section establishes is the process through which the film narrative came to prevail over the heritage narrative of the site, inducing as a result a certain image of Marie Antoinette.

The subchapter is divided into two sections: the first examines the direct media influence of the film over the perception of the site, and film elements used by the *Château de Versailles* management in the construction of the site's image; the second provides an overview of the film's influence - with the film considered in this second instance to be solely a media source rather than a cinematic narrative - on wider off-site perceptions of Marie Antoinette. Given this second aspect, the subchapter provides a clearer insight into the subliminal influence of the media, testing Caughey's theory of 'imaginary social worlds', and basing the analysis on the prevalence of the imaginary over reality. Chapter 7 has concluded this to apply to the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon.

The Association of Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* with Petit Trianon via the *Château de Versailles* Marketing Strategies

Selwyn (2010) considers that there are two strands of media influences to be considered in the case of tourist attractions, analysed in the following two sections. Firstly, that generated by the tourist attraction itself through publicity, marketing and any associations used to alter in a way, the perception of its visitors. Secondly, there are media channels, which, independently from the tourist attraction, contribute to a certain perception of said attraction.

Studies concerning the role of tourist providers (such as museums) in creating media messages (Hooper-Greenhill, 1995) revealed that the influence of this type of media is as important as that of popular mass-media channels. In the case of Petit Trianon, however, the media does not play a central role in the conveyance of its curatorial display (see Chapter 6). Nevertheless, in what Petit Trianon's visitor perceptions are concerned, Chapter 7 detected an association of the site with the colour pink (see also Table A.4), which could be attributed to Coppola's film *Marie-Antoinette* (2006). This preliminary hypothesis is tested in the following analysis.

First and foremost, the process leading to the uncontrolled commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character, as well as the reinforcement of the image of the sovereign (as portrayed by Sofia Coppola's promotional film trailer and advertising campaign), were accidental. In the case of the cinematic narrative used by the *Château de Versailles* to promote Petit Trianon's renewed identity in accord with the 2008 restoration, the elements to unintentionally seal a commodified image of Marie Antoinette in the perception of the majority of visitors, were not meant to associate the cultural heritage of the site with the film, but merely to address financial revenue needs.

Unlike the Louvre museum and its connection with Dan Brown's novel-based film *The Da Vinci Code* - which attracts a significant number of visitors (Long & Robinson, 2009) - *Château de Versailles* did not explicitly associate itself with Sofia Coppola's production because of its overt, inauthentic representation of the Queen by the film launch campaign (Plate 8.24). Both films were launched

at Cannes Film Festival the same year. The Louvre has fully embraced the association, offering *The Da Vinci Code*, *Between Fiction and Fact* trail (<http://www.louvre.fr/en/routes/da-vinci-code>), whilst private tour operators organise *Da Vinci Code* tours starting from the Pyramid outside the museum.

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Plate 8.24: 18th May 2006, the launch of Sofia Coppola's Marie-Antoinette at Cannes Film Festival attracted a lot of interest. At the viewing, part of the public booed (see Chapter 5).

Despite the fact that needs for increased revenue stimulated the 2008 restoration, with a view to increase popularity and visitor numbers, the access to the main Palace became an issue (Hasquenoph, 2011) which needed to be addressed at all costs. The promotion of Petit Trianon was seen as part of the solution to the overcrowding by diverting the visitor flow (Baudin, pers. comm., 2010). However, considering the financial revenue needed by *Château de Versailles* to remain open and function properly, this cannot be taken lightly. Having become an *Établissement Public* in 1995 (as opposed to a national museum, previously financed by the French State), the new status offered greater freedom to its management, but it has also considerably increased the financial pressures involved.

Before delving any further into the analysis, it must be reiterated that the management of the UNESCO heritage site *Château de Versailles* is a separate entity from its curatorial department. Therefore, the analysis is focusing on the *Château de Versailles* management actions and repercussions to the perception of the site, and not on the heritage interpretation formulated by its curators. Led by contrasting agendas, the two perspectives clash: whilst the management actions are meant to increase the financial revenue of the site, the curatorial team is concerned with preserving the site's heritage authenticity values (see Chapters 3 and 6).

It is not the aim of this subchapter to argue against associations of heritage sites with film productions. The dominating postmodern visual culture creates not only the perfect context for such associations, but also a demand which needs to be fulfilled (see Beeton, 2005), whilst enabling the provision of increased revenue for the sustenance of heritage sites. However, what the thesis argues against is the process of commodification based on heritage inauthenticity and historical inaccuracies, which can occur when such associations are not controlled by those in charge of managing the heritage sites. This is supported by the research findings at Petit Trianon, which conclude the present analysis by demonstrating how the elimination of a sole element used in the managerial promotion of the site, *Le Macaron*, could have perhaps avoided the uncontrolled heritage commodification of the historical character of Marie Antoinette and, implicitly, of Petit Trianon (Plate 8.25).

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Plate 8.25: The 'Imported' image reinforcing inauthenticity and historical inaccuracies - The Marie Antoinette Pink Macaroons (pictured: Ladurée Marie Antoinette Hamper currently - March 2015 - available online)

The fieldwork research results have shown that, for the majority of the French, Japanese and American visitors, the prevailing image of Marie Antoinette is that generated by Media through nation-specific cultural conditioning, supported to a certain degree by the management's 'Place Making' (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Morgan, 2004; Misiura, 2006; Huertas Roig et al., 2010; Cooper et al., 2012; also Govers and Go, 2009). For the majority of visitors, the fieldwork research confirmed the prevailing images of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon to be associated with the colour pink (Plate 8.27; see Table A4). I could not test this finding on the sample of the Japanese visitors of the thesis survey. This limitation was compensated for by an internet analysis focused on the image of Marie Antoinette. It seems that the pink association also applies to the Japanese public in general (see also Plate 8.40): the Japanese lifestyle magazine *Best Flower Arrangement* (2012) dedicated an article to the Marie Antoinette style - in fact, a faithful copy of Coppola's set props (Plate 8.26), the macaroons also taking a central place.

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Plate 8.26: 2012 Best Flower Arrangement (lifestyle Japanese magazine) - Table of Marie Antoinette/Art de Vivre III

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Plate 8.27: The prevailing Image Colour of Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon for the majority of visitors... PINK

The question is 'Why?' as Sofia Coppola's film was not known first hand by majority of respondents (with the exception of the Japanese visitors), yet their images of both Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette were those induced by the film. This major finding of the thesis field research determined further exploration into the transfer of values operated by the *Château de Versailles*' induced heritage commodification of the historical character of Marie Antoinette.

The main details used by the *Château de Versailles* from Sofia Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* were actually the macaroons. A connection with *Ladurée*, whose shop opened in 2009 at the *Château de Versailles*, sealed the pastel pink image of both Marie Antoinette and Petit Trianon. 'Marie Antoinette' macaroons, sold in pink boxes by *Ladurée* in their boutique, used to be located at the exit of the main Palace tour.⁴⁷ Since the usual visit route to Petit Trianon led from this point of exit to the Estate, the majority of tourists participating in my 2010-2012 survey had visited the boutique before setting off to Petit Trianon.

Whilst true that there are other products (Plate 8.28) within the 'pink' theme (Plate 8.29) underpinning the presentation of Marie Antoinette's historical character by all the boutiques of Versailles - from pink *toile de jouy* to pink crayons souvenirs (see also Appendix 6) - it is the connection of the macaroon with the Revolutionary *cliché* ('Let them eat cake!'; see Figure 8.3), which has enough impact to commodify Marie Antoinette's image through dissonance and threaten heritage authenticity.⁴⁸ Therefore, the *Ladurée* macaroon is not only an 'Imported' image reinforcing inauthenticity and historical inaccuracies (Plate 8.25), but is also responsible for the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon (see also Appendix 3).

⁴⁷ In March 2013, *Ladurée* also launched a limited edition blue range of Marie Antoinette macaroons. Moreover, during the last field research trip to Versailles in August 2014, I have learnt that the Original Pink Macaroons Marie-Antoinette became, in the past couple of years, a special edition item released only for Christmas, Valentines Day and Easter (see Data Set 14; Chapter 4).

⁴⁸ In this instance, the dissonance incorporated into heritage commodification builds on Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996), whilst authenticity refers to the history criteria by Ashworth and Howard (1999). *Ladurée* was founded in 1862, having patented the double deck macaroons much later in the 1930s. The macaroons featured in Coppola's trailer are thus an anachronism which now was adopted by the Palace's boutiques.

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Plate 8.28: Pink boxes of Ladurée tea, bearing the name of Marie Antoinette are sold in the Château de Versailles Ladurée shop (first image) and other Paris branches, including Orly Airport (second and third images) where they are best sellers in comparison with other flavours (Anon. 2,3,4; pers. comm., 2014)

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Plate 8.29: A candy pink theme running throughout the boutique displays related to Marie Antoinette at Château de Versailles

This 'pink' expectation also illustrates Urry's anticipation theory (see Chapter 3): media preformed images play a very important role in conditioning the visitors' perception of a site. Moreover, this is a case of Eco's (1986) 'hyper-reality' prevalence over the real in the context of heritage site perception, as the exaggerated visual effects induced initially by Coppola's film launch and perpetuated by the commodified image based thereon ultimately determine the visual quality of the real site.

Interestingly, the majority of respondents display symptoms of a total inversion of media and reality values - that is to say, media messages are unquestioningly accepted as reality. Only on my prompting did they wonder, though briefly, whether the focus of truth rather lies in the immediate reality presented to them on their visit. A comment by one of the respondents illustrates the above: she was 'not quite sure' but had a 'feeling that during Marie Antoinette's time they didn't yet have sneakers' (American respondent, 10/04/2011). This refers to a shot from Coppola's film showing Marie Antoinette's shoes collection, which surreptitiously included a pair of bubble-gum pink Converse sneakers.

The uncontrolled self-multiplication of images leads to unforeseen effects to be dealt with by the creators of the initial images (Barthes, 1972; Baudrillard, 1994). In the case of Petit Trianon and its recent restoration, the clashing agendas of the various authorities in charge of the management and heritage interpretation of the Estate, led to increased commodification of the image of Marie Antoinette, in a completely unplanned direction. As such, despite the aim of the curatorial restoration to objectively portray this historical character, the commodification incited by Sofia Coppola's film actually strengthened the *clichés* to which it was commonly associated (Figure 8.3). The process fully illustrates the circle of representation defined by Hall (1997a). Moreover, it is the *clichés* that actually make the connection between the French national collective memory representation of Marie Antoinette and that of the other nations (see Chapters 4, 5, 7; also Table A.4).

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Figure 8.3: The uncontrolled dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character based on the circle of representation theory (Hall, 1997a)

As a powerful subliminal factor contributing to the image of a site/historical character, heritage commodification competes, often successfully, against heritage authenticity. The fieldwork research of the thesis demonstrated this to be the case for the perception of the image of Marie Antoinette by the majority of visitors: regardless of the detailed heritage interpretation of the site itself, one element of commodification, the macaroon, outweighed the curatorial effort. Moreover, this element was not directly generated by the film's narrative but by its promotional trailer, which played on the powerful effect of various images to increase viewing rates. For commercial reasons, the message conveyed by the promotional trailer was developed in stark contrast to that of the film director, as shown in Chapter 6 (Plate 8.30).

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Plate 8.30: Coppola tried to dispel the 'Let them eat Cake' cliché and underlying misconceptions, through the 'imaginary' Marie Antoinette portrayed in this scene

The Impact of Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* in its Role of External Media Source

So far, the juxtaposition between the cinematic and the heritage narratives analysed by the present thesis has been examined from the point of view of the media images generated by Coppola's film. Although indirectly, these images have had an impact on the perception of the site through the marketing strategies of *Château de Versailles*.

As noted earlier, external channels which shape tourist perception independently from the tourist attractions themselves, provide the second thread of investigation for subliminal media influence. Analysing the visual culture of tourism, Crouch (2010a, b) emphasizes that this does not act on a *tabula rasa*, the encounter between the space and the tourist being constructed *a priori* on a series of components (Crouch & Lübbren, 2003).

To discover how this *tabula* is encoded by the media, the subchapter considers Coppola's film to be an external media source rather than a cinematic narrative linked to the site of Petit Trianon. With media channels working independently in an endless number of ways (see Chapter 7), this strand of media influence poses far more complex questions. Given the notoriety of Marie Antoinette and the conflicting perceptions which her historical character inspires, assessing such independent influence in the case of Petit Trianon would make the subject of another study. Below are a few examples indicative of what the media generally conveys - independently of the site of *Château de Versailles* - about the image of Marie Antoinette.

Hermeneutical analysis (see Data Sets 12, 15 , Chapter 4; also Chapter 5) regarding Marie Antoinette's perception and image by various groups (from outright Republicans to Royalist sympathisers), together with a French press analysis of the years following Petit Trianon's 2008 restoration, revealed their messages to correspond with Marie Antoinette's images in history, ranging from taboo to iconic. Mostly, what became apparent is that the internet, as well as the French press, perpetuates the Republican *clichés* (Plate 8.31).

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Plate 8.31: A 2009 Point de Vue article derogatorily likens Carla Bruni, wife of the French President at the time (Nicolas Sarkozy) to Marie Antoinette (see also Allen (2009a, b); similar comparisons were also made in relation to the most recent French First Lady (Samuel, 2013)

There are, however, other niche perceptions which could be aligned with the groups detected by the survey of the thesis (see Chapter 7), although naturally, further variations exist. For instance, gothic artists would be fascinated with Marie Antoinette and drawn to the tragedy of her story, whilst others would cherish her Enlightened artistic contribution to 18th century art. Individual, as well as group affinities and agendas will be drawn to various aspects of her history, stories and image. The present study focuses on finding the mechanisms behind the formation of these images by detecting important perception patterns based on fieldwork and archival research.

Since Coppola's use of this bubble-gum pink, the media seems to associate the colour with Marie Antoinette. A recent advertisement for Swatch (Montre Breguet) confirms this visual link, as well as the postmodern paradox analysed

by the thesis: the bubble-gum pink colour associated with the aforementioned *clichés* surrounding the Queen, is assimilated into recent representations of Marie Antoinette in popular culture, although not always consciously or in an intentionally derogatory manner (Plate 8.32).

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Plate 8.32: Representations of and advertisements associated with Marie Antoinette's character: ever pinker, after her visual reinvention by Coppola

Did Coppola's film have such a considerable impact in the noticeable revival of interest in Marie Antoinette's character? It seems so: after the film's launch in 2006, Marie Antoinette's character is used in advertisements more than ever (Plate 8.33). Although Marie Antoinette as an advertising figure is nothing new, dating back to the 19th century, it quite possibly began during her reign (Webber, 2006; Haru Crownston, 2013), when she reportedly encouraged her *marchands de modes*, *coiffeur* and *parfumeur* to use her name to entice the custom of the aristocracy and bourgeoisie alike (see Saponi, 2010; Autié et al., 2007; de Feydeau, 2005; 2011). For this attitude - unprecedented for a Queen - she has been constantly criticised (Sheriff, 2003).

In contemporary representations of Marie Antoinette, fashion has also changed, becoming ever more flamboyant and candy-pink in order to fulfil consumer expectations. Through her hyper-real representations, Coppola offered a visual trend to those wishing to associate themselves with this image by emphasizing

their emancipation from the old-fashioned perceptions of both Marie Antoinette and the 18th century. Thus, Plate 8.33 depicts a refined Marie Antoinette in the German beer and Samsung advertisements (left top and bottom), a pink, flamboyant merger with Madonna's take on the style for coffee and Sky TV. Only Stabilo chooses a historical scene, that of the guillotine day, highlighting Marie Antoinette in a would-be ironic, if not tasteless, manner. Analysing the intended markets of these products reveals that mass-market consumerism prefers the 'revamped' image, only niche markets choosing less familiar aspects or, in an attempt to associate their product with luxury ('Damm: German Beer, French refinement'), the icon of refinement image.

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Plate 8.33: Contemporary advertisements using Marie Antoinette's character: food, perfume, coffee, HD TV sets, SKY channels, and even highlighter pens

Marie Antoinette's historical character also seems to have inspired American pop stars to reinvent themselves in her image (Plate 8.34), such as Katy Perry and Beyoncé in their recent pop culture endeavours - perfume launches and music tours. However, neither of these two performers associate themselves with Marie Antoinette; the connections are created by the press based on Madonna's impersonation of the Queen, which has now become a style in its own right. The circle of representation (Hall, 1997a) is once more in operation.

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Plate 8.34: The press likens the appearances of Kate Perry (2012) and Beyoncé (2013) to Marie Antoinette by assimilating them in fact to Madonna's impersonation of the Queen

This also exemplifies the self-perpetuation of images and resulting distortions, the image becoming the content in an endless chain of representations further and further away from their initial object (Barthes, 1972) and, ultimately, copies without an original (Baudrillard, 1994).

Another American artist well-known for the visually striking performances and ever changing representational identities displayed (Lady Gaga) also chose Marie Antoinette as inspiration for one of her latest albums, which won the 2010 Brit Awards (Plate 8.35). Although Lady Gaga has a different approach to representing the Queen, she nevertheless bases her representations on various stereotypical images already discussed above, merging and assimilating them with other popular myths. Thus, Lady Gaga merged the Cinderella and the phantom images of Marie Antoinette into one image, also hinting at the Phantom of the Opera myth (Plate 8.36). Interestingly, the point of connection between the two images is the space of the 19th century Garnier Opera. Coppola also had her masquerade ball filmed at Garnier, whose space however only 'played the role' of the no longer existing 18th century Paris Opera where the actual ball would have taken place.

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Plate 8.36: Lady Gaga playing out her own rebellious fantasies, mixing and merging a tailored image of Marie Antoinette

American media also used scenes from Coppola's film for rather crude puns in the context of 'breaking' news concerning Miss USA (Plate 8.37). This suggests a definite familiarity of the general public with the film the year it was released, and constitutes a further example for Hall's circle of representation.

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Plate 8.37: Original scene from Coppola's Marie-Antoinette (2006) against a press release referring to Miss USA 2006 Tara Conner (featured with Donald Trump) being given another chance to keep her crown after rumours of 'indecent behaviour' (under-age drinking)

Coppola's film seems to have definitely influenced the fashion industry which, despite always having cherished Marie Antoinette, has only produced representations of the Queen's style (post film launch) in the vein of Coppola's vision. Coppola's leading actress in the role of Marie Antoinette, Kirsten Dunst, has had a definite impact on the image of Marie Antoinette in the fashion industry. Recently, leading fashion houses have copied her style - again, it was not Marie Antoinette's, but Coppola's, designed for Dunst. This further illustrates the theories referenced above (Plates 8.38; 8.39).

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Plate 8.38: 2006 Vogue fashion shots taken by Annie Leibovitz at the Grand Trianon (which affords a better photographic perspective than the restrictive set of Petit Trianon) reproduced, a few years later, on the catwalk

In the same way as the publicity trailer of the film has conveyed a message starkly contrasting with the film's narrative, the costumes used for the publicity fashion shots were not those featured in the film and awarded the Oscar prize for 'Best Historical Dramas Costumes'. Instead, these are updated versions meant to bring Marie Antoinette's image into contemporaneity. The situation signals the effects of the collapse of time, further suggesting that postmodernity fantasizes not only about what the past *would have been like* but also imagines what the past *would look like today* (see Appendix 7). Thus, the back and forth travelling within the same time-line was annihilated, in essence, by the collective imaginary (Plate 8.39).

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Plate 8.39: From a fashionable Dunst to the 'new' Marie Antoinette - Kate Moss - who would nowadays apparently prefer pink outfits and take luxurious pink bubble baths at the Ritz

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Plate 8.40: A 2012 October Japanese Vogue issue further confirmed the candy pink colour also associated with Marie Antoinette's character in the Japanese contemporary popular media channels, as well as her contemporary update (apart from clear references to Coppola's imagery, the cross-dressing signals a note of female emancipation derived perhaps from Ikeda)

Private individual or independent shops (Etsy) and blogs (see Data Set 15; Chapter 4) have also embraced Coppola's new Marie Antoinette style, from fashion (Plate 8.41) and body art (Plate 8.42) to wedding venues, cakes and catering suggestions (Plate 8.43). The bubble-gum pink is the visual common denominator for Marie Antoinette's image in these instances, as well as for internet art and photography in general, the shots ranging, however, from abstract to borderline pornographic.

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Plate 8.41: Copying the bubble-gum pink Converse sneakers but apparently in a different semiotic context; on the right, fashion image inspired by Coppola's Marie Antoinette (left), collected by online Blogger Canadawhore

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Plate 8.42: Tattoo of a Marie Antoinette fan identifying with her historical character via Coppola's portrayal of the Queen; 'Love me for who I am not for who you want me to be'

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Plate 8.43: Online bloggers who favour the wedding venue catering themed around Coppola's Marie Antoinette (Coppola is not mentioned, only Marie Antoinette)

It also seems that Coppola's film, by bringing Marie Antoinette's character to the fore in the media, inadvertently generated an invitation or a challenge to other cineastes, actors and performers to further explore Marie Antoinette's historical character. Amongst a series of television programmes and documentaries on Marie Antoinette, in 2011, the first Marie Antoinette ballet premiered at the Royal Opera of *Château de Versailles*. Performed by Vienna State Opera (Plate 8.44; see also Chapter 4), the ballet's narrative portrayed a Marie Antoinette similar to Coppola's version, except for the final act of the confrontation with the French Revolution.

The Revolution was depicted as a violent and savage attack on France (Rameau's aria *Les Sauvages / Les Indes Galantes* was powerfully used for this purpose), but Marie Antoinette's dignified attitude and strength were replaced by the agony of a fragile woman, fearful and helpless. Admittedly, this form of art merges human feelings and their exterior manifestations, so despite the dignity with which Marie Antoinette acted, her feelings might well have been of fear and despair. This is an example of the many interpretations given to Marie Antoinette's story, but not of images' manipulation, in this case a re-interpreted content having prevailed over the image.

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Possibly meant as a cinematic reply to Coppola's '*rose bonbon*' film (Charbon, 2012), another production centred on Marie Antoinette was released in France in 2012, under the direction of Benoît Jacquot, and starring top model and Hollywood actress Diane Kruger (Plate 8.45). The fictional plot does not claim historical authenticity. Based on Chantal Thomas' novel *Les Adieux à la reine*, Jacquot's film came to be in a conflict of interests with its literary source: whilst Thomas tried to rehabilitate the Queen through her fictitious plot, Jacquot reinforced calumnies of infidelity brought to the Queen by Revolutionaries, this time by attributing her a female lover (Comtesse de Polignac) rather than the usual favourite of the cineastes (Count von Fersen).

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Plate 8.45: Diane Kruger - the first film embodiment of a Sapphic Marie Antoinette; film launch article in Têtu, French gay publication

This particular example brings two insights. Firstly, artistic licence can work against messages intended for the public, as Jacquot only wanted to add psychological depth to the plot which he treated in an anthropological manner in order to analyse 18th century life at the Court of Versailles. Secondly, the personal resonance and identification Kruger felt with Marie Antoinette, whose role she was convinced she had to play because of her age, nationality and her mother's name (Marie-Thérèse), which were uncanny in her opinion. Thus, the actress became the perfect candidate for a faithful copy. Diane Kruger,

however, discerned these similarities on a personal, rather than acting skills level. This is mainly a proof of the blurred boundaries between fiction and reality, but also of the image prevailing over the content. In this instance, the psychological character of Marie Antoinette was grossly ignored not only by the film director but also by his star actress, both overly focused on personal, identity-driven quests.

While examples such as the above abound, the study does not include an exhaustive analysis of the identities to have appropriated or been influenced by Coppola's Marie Antoinette image through various themes. Instead, the present section is focused on finding a pattern of perception to better structure the visitor perception of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon. The findings above could suggest an impossibility of finding patterns of perception, as postmodern culture is 'increasingly centred around visual experience in which subjects become lost in a blizzard of signs' (Edensor, 2005: 105). However, Selwyn (2010) believes that the hallucinating media images connected to sites of visit are in fact juggled by tourists through their own 'self' images. Therefore, Cultural Identity plays an important role in representation (Hall & Du Gay, 1996) which it helps construct, as demonstrated by the examples above. Equally, the process of interpellation through which images address the viewer as 'you' (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009) ensures a homogenisation of the viewers' perception of certain messages intended by various agencies, including the advertising companies. Moreover, the collapse of time coupled with enhanced technology - both particular traits of postmodernity - favour the fulfilment of individual or group fantasies, fulfilment based on the imaginary social interaction noted by Caughey (1984). Long and Robinson (2009) also contribute a valuable review of the complex relationship between tourism, popular culture and the media which highlights the role played by imagination.

But what brings together all the above examples, issues and mostly the array of different appropriations of the same original, is the evaporation of the content of the myth (Barthes, 1972) and the refuge of this myth in cinema (Baudrillard, 1994), a milieu in which it found its content. Needless to note, said content is a copy and not the original. Voase (2010), studying the cinema and the eroding of historicity, provides an even more unsettling suggestion: not only that

Baudrillard's theory is tested and proved to be valid, but moreover the copy comes to be preferred even when the original is not absent. The author gives the example of a Gwyneth Paltrow look-alike, praised for being more Gwyneth than Gwyneth herself.

Considering that media and the tourist imagination are converging cultures (Crouch at al., 2005), images are given absolute primacy in these circumstances and become the source of negotiable identities, accelerated in heritage by the nature of the concept itself, constantly under the manipulation by different agencies (Howard, 2003). The subchapter analysis is concluded below by associating the majority of the emerging images of Marie Antoinette with *clichés* (which provided data for the coding and theming carried out by the thesis; see Chapter 4).

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Figure 8.4: A tiered model of cliché reproduction through Hall's circle of representation amongst the majority and the minority groups detected by the field survey of the thesis at Petit Trianon

Following this association, a very important observation that needs to be made is that during the field survey, it became clear that the *clichés* themselves indicated the respondent's level of knowledge on the historical character of Marie Antoinette. This enabled me to construct a tier structured pattern of beliefs directly associated with different *clichés* (Figure 8.4). But it was the art history knowledge which dispelled *clichés*, and not the historical knowledge. Nevertheless, the minority groups which differentiated themselves from the majority through various criteria (see Chapter 7) also proved to favour particular stereotypical images, though not as consistently present within the consciousness of the particular group. Consequently, the more common the *cliché* and its image, the less knowledge of Marie Antoinette's historical character this denoted, along with a wider spread among the public which would take the *cliché* for unquestionable truth. Hall's circle of representation illustrates the reinforcement of *clichés* and/or stereotypes within each group, also influencing group perception.

The majority of the public visiting Petit Trianon since 2006, after the release of Sofia Coppola's film form the base of the tier structure, represented by an isosceles triangle. This group proved difficult to interview, as its members were interested in the site mainly at a visual level, and visited mostly out of curiosity (as revealed through interviews). Moreover, the respondents were disappointed by the difference between media portrayal and the reality experienced during their visit.

Clichés such as 'lavish', 'luxurious' and 'decadent' clearly show the direct influence of the Republican historical portrayal of Marie Antoinette, perhaps via Sofia Coppola's narrative or through other media influences. The colour pink, so often mentioned due to the director's special effects, and unintentionally strengthened by the *Château de Versailles*' commodification process, proved the strong influence that cinematic images can subliminally induce. In this case, the transmission occurred through the commodification of this image by the managerial team of the site itself, as explained earlier. With the base tier representing the majority of visitors, and top tier bringing together the other minority groups detailed in Chapter 7, could it be concluded that, for most of the

visitors at Petit Trianon, the cinematic narrative prevails over the heritage narrative?

Before delving into the comparative analysis of the architectural narrative of the thesis against the heritage narrative of the site, the answer to the above question takes shape through two statements gathered during my field survey at Petit Trianon. Firstly, a reply illustrative for the general attitude of the majority of visitors when asked to grade the closeness of Sofia Coppola's film narrative to historic reality:

'I don't know and I don't care, even if it wasn't true is much better than reality, we need to dream on otherwise what have we got left?' (French respondent, 17/04/2011)

Secondly, Petit Trianon Head Curator (Benoît, pers. comm., 2010a) explained the reason for which the team withholds more specific information about the true character of Marie Antoinette from the heritage interpretation given to Petit Trianon:

'What can we do? We have to let the public perceive what it wants, scandal, immorality, etc., as that is what interests them; if we were to tell them the truth outright, they would ask for their money back!'

The Architectural Narrative of Petit Trianon *versus* the Heritage Narrative

When juxtaposing the architectural narrative of Petit Trianon with its heritage narrative, two aspects come to the fore: the representational and the non-representational traits intrinsic to any landscape (Crouch, 2010b). In this instance, the architectural narrative is examined under the light of an 18th century Neo-classic and picturesque landscape.

Despite controversy and lack of scholarship on the relationship between representational and non-representational attributes associated to art and cultural landscapes - some theorists completely separate them, whereas others consider them fluid and merging into one another (see Crouch, 2010b) - the present thesis identifies them separately so as to better structure the analysis of the juxtaposition between the two narratives.

Consequently, the representational attributes are further associated with cultural resonance (Crouch, 2010b), and the non-representational attributes - regarding functionality of the landscape's elements - with cultural feelings (Schorch, 2014). Whereas the cultural resonance applies in the case of the minority groups interviewed, which base their perception mainly on art history knowledge, the cultural feelings evoked by Petit Trianon refer to members of the majority groups whose opinions of Marie Antoinette improved after the visit, despite a lack of art history knowledge

The representational qualities of the architectural narrative, embodied by the initial messages encrypted in Marie Antoinette's creation - Petit Trianon - translate nowadays into a symbolic interpretation of the site. The symbology of Petit Trianon would relate to art and architecture experts in particular, including the curatorial and heritage architectural teams who worked on the restoration of Petit Trianon. Therefore, the heritage narrative (as constructed by the specialist team) and the architectural landscape narrative translated as explained above, almost identify with each other, in a nearly perfect juxtaposition. However, given that those familiar with this symbology are a minority, these representational details bear little relevance for the majority of visitors.

Yet something must be 'speaking' to all those who, despite their lack of expert knowledge, register an improvement of their opinion on Marie Antoinette. The thesis argues that the answer lies in the non-representational aspects of the landscape of Petit Trianon, providing a physical encounter between the landscape and its visitor. The subchapter does not use the phenomenological approach of tourist perception (Cohen, 1979) as this tends to counteract rather than complement the appropriation of heritage places through the mediated gaze (Urry, 1995; Malpas, 2008), which provides the theoretical underpinning of the present thesis. Furthermore, the analysis is not based on the concept of 'senses of place and senses of time' (Ashworth & Graham, 2005), directly relating to heritage sites and their staged, manipulated making.

Instead, in order to analyse the proposed juxtaposition and detect the reasons for which non-expert visitors do change their opinion of a historical character once experiencing the site first hand, in connection with their long past lives (Nora's 'places of memory'), the subchapter employs Bourdieu's (1977) Cultural Anthropology. In Bourdieu's definition, the human habitat as *habitus* is essential in defining cultures, in general, and peoples' existences, in particular. The details of habitat construction are able to tell a whole story about the particularities and traits of the human inhabiting it. This is the principle taken into consideration when referring to the symbolic dimension. Furthermore, the following analysis selectively draws on the anthropological manner of interpreting through symbology, certain material features and museographic objects, as well as their link with both transcendental archetypes (Bernea et al., 1999; Bodenstein, 2007) and daily practices (Christensen, 2011; De Certeau, 1984).

The underlying link between these theories is the suggestion that nostalgia is the key factor in the alteration of visitor perceptions of a site or museum (Gregory & Witcomb, 2007; see also Watson et al., 2007; Watson, 2010), whether extant prior to the visit or unexpectedly flaring up during the visit, as in the case of non-expert visitors. Consequently, following the anthropological principle that a place can speak in many ways if one only understands the symbology behind appearances, or emotionally connects with the place, I will next sketch an itinerary of Petit Trianon and briefly record the 'voices' of the

house, the garden, their many features, *Le Petit Théâtre* and, finally, the Queen's Hamlet.

The building of Petit Trianon is striking by its apparent symmetrical simplicity (Plate 8.46). Upon entering the place, the few personal belongings of the Queen, her childhood paintings by Weikert depicting her in a theatre play with her siblings, as well as a Sèvres bust bearing a close resemblance to Marie Antoinette and which still shows traces of mending after having been smashed in October 1789 (Plate 8.47), invite nostalgic reflection, despite a nostalgic atmosphere not being a deliberate feature of the heritage narrative of Petit Trianon (Benoît, pers. comm, 2014). The Queen's upbringing at the Austrian Court of her mother Marie Therese must have contrasted strongly with the rigid *etiquette* she was suddenly plunged into as a young bride, arriving at Versailles aged 14. Moreover, the Sèvres bust on the mantelpiece suggests that she may well have been exactly the opposite of what it is commonly taken for her image nowadays. Even if one is unaware of impartial comments made by her British contemporaries such as Horace Walpole (1823) or Edmund Burke (1790) - regarding her beauty reinforced by a natural demeanour exuding absolute kindness towards all - an elegant and uncontrived simplicity makes itself present from across the room.

The little carriage having belonged to her eldest son, also contributes to a nostalgic first impression, as one is reminded that Marie Antoinette was also a mother, and this place was shared with her family. In fact, if taking the guided visit to the upper floors, the idea of the place as a family home becomes even clearer, in stark contrast to the den of iniquity from Republican history *clichés*. The main bedrooms upstairs belonged to the King, his sister Madame Élisabeth (Plate 8.48; 8.49) who became Marie Antoinette's closest friend, the Royal children and their nannies. In fact, the place was known to host female company and generally the life was focused around the Royal children's daily activities.



Plate 8.46: Petit Trianon, the cube that inspired countless copies because of its beguiling simplicity

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Plate 8.47: A Sèvres bust after Lecomte (1783) capturing a close resemblance to the Queen's real features which being irregular proved extremely difficult to reproduce. The forehead and the face are lined by the traces of expert mending following damage by Revolutionary vandalism

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 8.48: The King's bedroom is the most sumptuous bedroom of the house

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 8.49: Madame Élisabeth's room - the King's sister became the usual companion of Marie Antoinette and the Royal children at Petit Trianon (she later shared their life in prison and even death by guillotine, being executed shortly after Marie Antoinette)

The *champêtre* feel of the entire estate, is enforced through the extensive constructed views from each window (Plate 8.50). Documents relating to the building works confirm what is suggested by these views: that the Queen must have been a keen gardener and that she loved nature. It was in fact this garden that preoccupied her the most, the work of transformation starting the moment she entered into possession of Petit Trianon in 1774 (Baulez, 1977).

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Plate 8.50: A view of Le Temple de L'Amour from L'Entresol

Whilst the improvements brought to the house have been merely done at the level of furnishings (Plate 8.51) and a few aesthetic and functional architectural details (Lablaude, 2006a, b), the garden underwent a complete make-over, becoming one of the most accomplished examples of the 18th century French *Jardin Anglais* (see De Lille, 1782; Carmontelle, 1779; Le Rouge, 1776-1779; de Ligne, 1781; Lablaude, 2010).

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Plate 8.51: Until money could be allocated to refurbishment in 1787-1788 (see Hans, 2007b), the previous occupants' furniture was kept in the Queen's bedroom. The bed exhibited nowadays is a period substitute.

The design of the garden embellished by its *fabriques* such as the Temple of Love (Plate 8.52), the Belvedere (Plate 8.53), the Grotto (Plate 8.54), and the Hamlet (Plate 8.55), has been considered the most refined expression of the new art of gardening, in tune with nature's feel and not against it. The publications of the time praised the exquisite manner in which the context of Petit Trianon had been accomplished - for instance, in the famous poems of L'Abbé De Lille (1782: 15) regarding the garden and its owner, as one:

*'Alike her auguste and young deity,
Trianon joins grace and majesty
For her it is adorned, and it is adorned through her.'* [translation mine]



Plate 8.52: Le Temple de L'Amour designed by Richard Mique in 1781 features Bouchardon's statue - L'Amour making a bow for himself out of Hercule's club



Plate 8.53: Exterior and interior views of Le Belvédère (1781), the music garden kiosk



Plate 8.54: La Grotte is said to have been the place where Marie Antoinette received the news of the Palace being invaded on the 5th October 1789, her last day spent at Petit Trianon



Plate 8.55: Le Hameau [The Hamlet] designed by Mique on the Norman rural architecture model, was Marie Antoinette's choice over the frequent Roman classical or exotic themes typical to 18th century English gardens

Nowadays, despite the loss of most of the trees planted at the time (see Lablaude, 2010), the garden retains its charm and air of a peaceful retreat. But, contrary to the common beliefs about Petit Trianon being mainly a retreat for the selfish pleasure of its owner, the Estate had a protocol (Arizzoli-Clementel, 2008b) and educational function. The diplomatic receptions of European Royalty and aristocracy were held at Petit Trianon (see also Chapter 6). Marie Antoinette was in charge of organising these protocol events, known for the exquisite attention to detail and highly welcoming attitude of the Queen who inspired the English, Swedish, Russian, Austrian and Italian guests to emulate her accomplished, Enlightened hostess style. The Queen insisted on serving her guests along with her servants, an unprecedented attitude for a Queen of France. Furthermore, apart from being used by Marie Antoinette for her own children, who spent most of their time with the Queen when at Petit Trianon, the farm of *Le Hameau* (Plate 8.56) was part of a greater project undertaken by Louis XVI at his experimental farm at Rambouillet, in order to improve the ovine and cattle stock of the country (Saule & Arminjon, 2010). Furthermore, de

Nolhac's (1906: 383) curatorial expertise reveals that 'the Hamlet was occupied by several rustic households, who lived on the spot and carried on real farming operations. The Queen established there the families of a farmer, a gardener, and a keeper.'



Plate 8.56: La ferme today
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The Queen's Theatre (Bellessort, 1933; Lablaude, 2002) is a clear reminder of Marie Antoinette's artistic nature (Du Bled, 1891), thus perfectly completing her anthropological portrait. Taking a guided tour, one would be astounded to find out that this delightful mini copy of Versailles Opera (Plate 8.57) was not built in gilded marble but far cheaper materials, such as pressed cardboard. The effect was nevertheless exquisite, at only a fraction of the cost. The theatre performances were accessible to a close circle of friends, as normally the Queen would not be allowed to act in public: this is another example of Marie Antoinette's emancipation of the role of the Queen of France by aligning it with the female liberation favoured by Enlightened ideals (Mauzi, 1960; 2008). Unfortunately, as Thomas (2011a) aptly observes, due to other members of the Court such as Mme de Pompadour previously known to perform in theatre plays, Marie Antoinette came to be blamed for acting as a Royal Mistress rather than a Queen. Furthermore, the Queen's affinity for roles of servants and peasants with whom she tried to identify within the limits of her imposed noble status, led to even further criticism, as well as the false image of Marie Antoinette 'playing the shepherdess' at Petit Trianon. Partly attributed to Marie Antoinette on the basis of the existence of the Farm at Petit Trianon as earlier noted, the shepherdess image is clarified by curator de Nolhac (1906: 384):

'No credence must be given to the numerous legends that are rife on the subject of the Hamlet, such as that which shows us the royal family playing at shepherds and shepherdesses, and assuming various rustic characters in order to live in the Hamlet. This is a ridiculous fable. Marie Antoinette never played at keeping farm, and the King never disguised himself as a miller; but it is sufficiently piquant sight to see them interesting themselves so intimately in agricultural labour, and seeking recreation and rest amid these rustic surroundings.'

In 1785 Marie Antoinette's last performance at *Le Petit Théâtre* was in the role of Rosine in Beaumarchais' play *Le Barbier de Séville* (Desjardins, 1885: 278). Despite fierce criticism for absolute imprudence on the part of the Queen for playing such an anti-Royalist theatre role, the event confirms the participation which the aristocracy and Royalty manifested towards the Enlightened ideas of the time, which they did not regard as a threat but on the contrary, being ready to support these (see Chapter 6).

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Plate 8.57: Le Petit Théâtre and its rustic décor

Lastly, the Queen's Hamlet shows very clearly that the 18th century ideals of a return to nature and its associated values are not as pressing for contemporary society. In fact, a closer look reveals that the idyllic Norman village has lost its charm ever since the Queen left it. None of the later inhabitants gave it the same care and importance (Plates 8.58; 8.59). Even the restorations done since Petit Trianon became a museum in 1867, have always focused on other parts of the Estate, prioritised over the vernacular-inspired architecture which became secondary to the Royal dimension that defines Petit Trianon nowadays. Nevertheless, *Le Hameau* underwent extensive archaeological research (see Heitzmann, 2000; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2005; 2006), as did other parts of the Estate (Heitzmann, 2009; see also 1988, 2004; 2007a, b). The 2013 contract of sponsorship, signed between the Palace and the perfume company *Dior* for the restoration of the derelict interior of *Maison de La Reine* (Plate 8.60), is not focused on the architectural value of the place, but rather on the images associated with it, interpreted through a consumerist lens.

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Plate 8.58: Archive documents attesting the March 1809 demolition of one of the most important buildings of Le Hameau, reserved for dairy production. As Napoleon's sister (Pauline de Borghese) or wife (Marie Louise) to whom he successively offered Petit Trianon were not interested in farming activities, it was demolished rather than repaired after the 1809 hurricane. The non-rustic parts by contrast were repaired.



Plate 8.59: The former 'La laiterie de préparation' highlighting a nostalgic absence

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Plate 8.60: Getting closer to La Maison de la Reine transforms the picture from idyllic to nostalgic. Curator Jérémie Benoît (fourth photo) was embarrassed to show me around the interior of all the derelict buildings of Le Hameau

Summary

Chapter 8 contributed important research key findings to the thesis (KF1, 6, 7, 12, 13; see Chapter 9), bringing together insights from the previous chapters' analyses into a comprehensive understanding of the research subject. More specifically, the present chapter investigated the emerging images of Marie Antoinette following the juxtaposition of the historical, cinematic and architectural narratives against the heritage narrative of the site of Petit Trianon. The application of theories relevant to the analysis of the chapter, revealed that the origins and development in time of these images is often difficult to disentangle or completely separate. The collective imaginary has mixed and merged their initial contents, thus creating an alchemy from which resulted the crystallised images reviewed throughout the subchapters.

A particular trait noticeable in the contemporary augmentation of this alchemical process is the time-space compression which Harvey (1989 cited in Urry, 1995: 177) sees as defining postmodernity. Furthermore, Urry (1995) explains, through Harvey's theory, the perpetuation and reinforcement of signs (Chapter 3), on which the present chapter draws in order to formulate a conclusion.

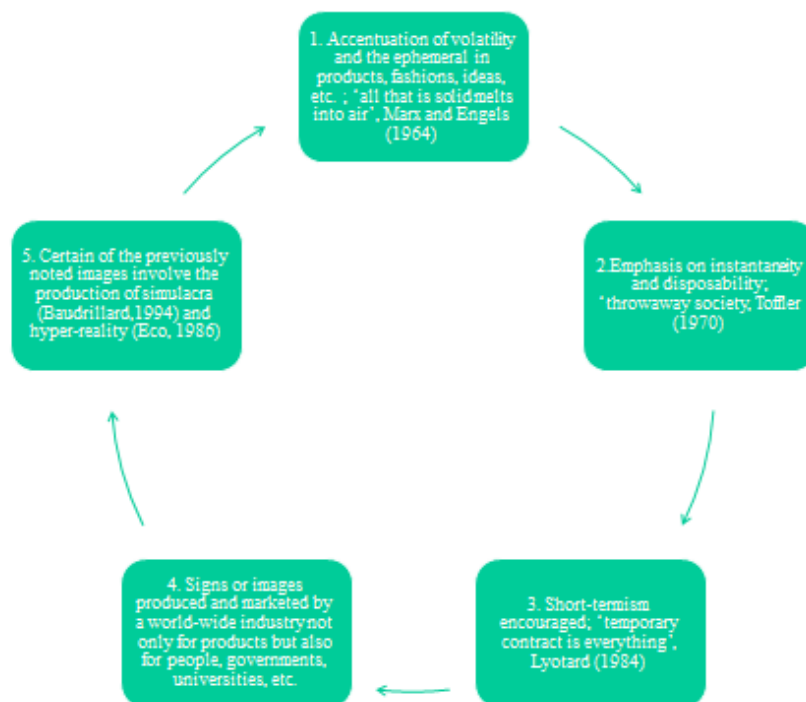


Figure 8.5: Harvey's (1989) effects of time-space compression and my interpretation for the uncontrolled multiplication of images seen through the circle of representation (Hall, 1997a)

These signs, understood as the ever renewed signifiers according to Barthes' (1972) theory, prevail in the majority of visitors' perception of heritage and tourist spaces. When further combining these insights with Hall's circle of representation (Figure 8.5), it becomes evident why Marie Antoinette's images came to replace the content ever since her reign. It is also evident that, should Marie Antoinette somehow make herself present in the present day, the army of her copies would overcome the real person in the opinions of the public who takes these images as truth. Not only would they be disappointed but, as Voase (2010) has discovered, the copies would definitely be 'more like' Marie Antoinette than Marie Antoinette herself.

Consequently, the analysis of the present chapter affords insights into the reasons behind the contemporary appropriation, by most of the visitors at Petit Trianon, of the (post)modern myth 'Marie Antoinette', through the commodification of this historical character. An endless chain of representations increasingly distanced from an absent reality that inspired them in the first place is thus generated, or, as an endless series of copies without an original (Baudrillard, 1994). With culture and commerciality merging, it becomes irrelevant whether Marie Antoinette is an '*Ange ou Démon*', as the chapter set out to discover. Marie Antoinette is what every consumer/visitor wants her to be (Plate 8.61).

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Plate 8.61: Contradictory images of Marie Antoinette held to be authentic by various parties - the martyr Queen (Ange) merged with the Queen frivole (Démon). Between the two extremes the entire repertoire of Marie Antoinette's images, all found in a shop window...

Chapter 9

Conclusions

Introduction

The thesis examined Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in the context of four major narratives relevant to the contemporary heritage interpretation of the Estate of Marie Antoinette, as well as its perception by a sample of visitors. By assessing the heritage interpretation, the *Château de Versailles* marketing promotion and the visitor perceptions of the recent restoration and renaming of Petit Trianon as the *Estate of Marie-Antoinette*, the thesis revealed critical points of intersection between the encoding and the decoding of the contemporary range of images associated with Marie Antoinette, resulting in the dissonant commodification of this historical figure at Petit Trianon.

The necessity of the research is best reflected by the amount of highly contradictory images of the last Queen of France, dependent on acceptations/readings of the French Revolution (see Chapter 2), which also influence the understanding of the modern concept of heritage, born from amidst the comprehensive changes triggered by this event (Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Harvey, 2001). The thesis research focused on a case analysis of dissonant heritage commodification: the conflicting representation, interpretation and perception of Marie Antoinette *vis-à-vis* the French Revolution. Furthermore, given that heritage studies are the first postmodern academic subject (Howard, 2003), the nature and subject of this thesis have been necessary for quite some time. Last but not least, the first total restoration of Petit Trianon (2008) since the French Revolution made this research even more significant, as well as afforded an unprecedented research opportunity into contemporary visitor perceptions of Marie Antoinette.

Original Contribution to Knowledge

Given the complexity and controversy of the subject, the thesis sought to make a contribution to scholarship by clarifying important heritage issues of the modern era through the case study of Petit Trianon. The analysis represented a comprehensive approach designed to deliver a configuration and a structured overview of the complex and debated role played in French history by Marie Antoinette, through the lens of cultural heritage, by using her Estate as an analysis indicator. The dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon was the underlying drive to the entire analysis.

The research confirmed the inseparable connection between Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette in contemporary visitor perceptions, despite other previous and later ownerships. This connection is generated regardless of the origin of the site's narrative. Whether it concerns the historical, cinematic, architectural or heritage narrative, Petit Trianon seems to remain mainly linked to the last Queen of France despite these narratives' clearly distinctive agendas and different interpretations. Moreover, this connection legitimizes Petit Trianon to 'speak' on behalf of its former owner.

Additionally, the Petit Trianon - Marie Antoinette link led to an original thesis, as evidenced by the first aim (A1): achieving an objective evaluation of the contemporary range of images portraying Marie Antoinette's highly debated historical character, set against an understanding of the living environment she created on her 18th century Estate. Furthermore, despite the importance of the architectural narrative in providing evidence for the arguments of the thesis, through its second aim (A2) of charting the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon, the analysis brings an original contribution to the field of cultural heritage and tourism studies focused on visitor perceptions.

Methodology

The hermeneutical paradigm of interpretation was the methodology chosen for the thesis. Based on the philosophical interpretation paradigm derived from Heidegger (1971), and adapted to art environments *via* filtering through Mugerauer's (1995) successful application of this paradigm in the interpretation of American natural landscape perceptions since the 19th century, the hermeneutical methodology proved suitable to the thesis subject through three main concepts. These are found in the hermeneutical principles of the 'prejudice' (Gadamer, 2004) in conjunction with that of the 'near' (Heidegger, 1971) and in the intersecting conveyance of meanings which provides the final assessment of this type of interpretation (Mugerauer, 1995).

The hermeneutical paradigm of interpretation of space and of its associated perception was directly applied to the architectural and heritage narratives of Petit Trianon, and extended to the assessment of the historical and cinematic narratives of Marie Antoinette, particularly through the hermeneutical circle derived from Heidegger (1971). To explain the perpetuation of Republican *clichés* in the contemporary perception of Marie Antoinette, the hermeneutical circle was then translated into the circle of representation (Hall, 1997a).

The fieldwork research method consisted in a questionnaire-led survey conducted at Petit Trianon over 15 months. This part of the research focused on the investigation of French, American and Japanese visitor discourses, as these nationals' cultural and political backgrounds proved to be a relevant contribution in elucidating contemporary visitor perceptions of Marie Antoinette's historical character. This, in conjunction with the assessment of the heritage interpretation given to Petit Trianon, following its 2008 restoration, allowed for the subsequent analysis of the production and consumption of the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon.

Adjacent methods of research used to complement the visitor perceptions survey, included public archival (Scott, 1990) and library research (see Chapter 4). Following Scott's (1990) representativeness, a sociological principle essential in extracting meaning from consultation of records, it must be noted

that the documents consulted were always considered for their representativeness to the total amount of extant artefacts/documents and all other related sources. The 'deliberate destruction or removal' (Scott, 1990: 25) of various documents is an equally important aspect of representativeness. The precarious situation of Marie Antoinette original artefacts, defined by scarcity due to their continual destruction, further reinforced the validity of the decision to use a visitor perceptions survey at Petit Trianon as the main method for the thesis. This was designed and interpreted on the bases of a thematic analysis - analytical coding and hermeneutical interpretation (Saldaña, 2013; see also Chapter 4).

Fulfilling the Thesis Aims and Objectives

To fulfil the first aim (A1) of the research – to evaluate the contemporary range of images portraying Marie Antoinette’s historical character, relevant to the heritage interpretation of Petit Trianon and visitor perceptions (A1) - the thesis analysed the representations of Marie Antoinette (O1; see Chapters 5, 6). In order to achieve this on a practical level, all collected data was filtered *via* assessment, in Chapters 7 and 8, against the impact of each of the four investigated narratives on the majority of visitors at Petit Trianon (O2), along with the emergent images of Marie Antoinette.

In order to fulfil the second aim (A2) - to analyse the commodification of Marie Antoinette’s historical character; its production and consumption at Petit Trianon - the classification of the abovementioned emergent images, charted out the commodification of Marie Antoinette’s historical figure (O3). Furthermore, the results of the assessment established the ranked prevalence of these main narratives within visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon, enabling not only the detection of the range of contemporary images associated with Marie Antoinette (A1) but also an explanation for their existence, in the context of the analysis of visitor consumption of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon (O4).

Key Findings

The analysis of the four major narratives of the thesis (operating in tandem) illustrated a better picture for drawing conclusions on the whole study of the image range associated with Marie Antoinette, and the subsequent dissonant commodification of this controversial historical figure at Petit Trianon. It is through the assessment of this commodification that the present thesis revealed the misconceptions surrounding the historical character best known as Marie Antoinette. The thesis argued that the true role of the last Queen of France was successfully obscured through juxtaposition with her perception by the French collective memory. In other words, the perceptions of Marie Antoinette had subverted historical truth. Furthermore, the commodification of her historical character is perpetuated in an endless chain of representations fuelled by postmodern consumerism.

Interpreted according to the hermeneutical paradigm, the aforementioned narratives, in conjunction with fieldwork research findings of the survey conducted at Petit Trianon over 15 months, revealed the predominance of Republican perceptions of Marie Antoinette, generated either directly by a Republican political agenda or indirectly, through *clichés* circulated by historical, literary or popular media channels.

Each chapter containing the data collection and its interpretation along with the analysis of the aforementioned narratives (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8) contributed with key findings. The visitor perceptions analysis in Chapter 7 revealed most findings, confirming their paramount importance to the study. The understanding acquired through the overall review of thesis chapters was that analysed narratives themselves involve very different agendas, as commercial, political and academic interests have led to separate interpretations (KF1).

The assessment of the historical and cinematic narratives in Chapter 5 converged into the insight that all the authors contributing to the encoding of Marie Antoinette's contemporary perception are conditioned by their own cultural and political background (with the hermeneutical circle as well as the principle of prejudice fully explaining these limitations) to the extent that reality

became fiction became reality (KF2). Moreover, the analyses of the aforementioned narratives demonstrated the existence of as many 'Marie Antoinettes' as academic or popular culture authors on the subject, and only those authors (analysed by the chapter) with a literary as well as a Catholic background seem to reach a consistent, objectively formed, positive image of Marie Antoinette in contradiction with the common Republican *clichés* (KF3).

By contrast, the architectural and heritage narratives assessed in Chapter 6 revealed a common understanding of the identity found behind the complex imagery associated with Marie Antoinette's historical character. This identity of the Queen is nevertheless in complete contrast with the array of contemporary representations to which her historical character is subjected (KF4). Chapter 6 also revealed that, within the art history professional milieu, Empress Eugénie, the founder of Petit Trianon historical house museum in 1867, as well as Pierre de Nolhac, the Head Curator of Petit Trianon and the *Château de Versailles* (1892-1919), were instrumental in initiating a rehabilitative trend in perceptions of Marie Antoinette.

Furthermore, Chapter 6 revealed that the curatorial interpretation of Petit Trianon historical house museum - where dissonant heritage is concerned - is mostly achieved by abstinence from a clearly expressed image of Marie Antoinette (KF5). This is related to another key finding delivered by Chapters 5 and 6: the cultural heritage of Marie Antoinette impinges onto the cultural heritage of the French Revolution and *vice versa* (KF6). In fact, the dissonant historical discourses associated with Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution cause the persistence of negative images of Marie Antoinette within the majority perceptions, due to the French Revolution's status as founding myth of contemporary French society, and perceived birth place of modernity's human rights.

With the cultural heritage of the French Revolution impinging onto the cultural heritage of Marie Antoinette's historical character, and *vice versa*, from the point of view of the French Republican historical discourses, a rehabilitation of the Queen could only happen at the expense of a completely different understanding of the French Revolution events. The data collection and

analysis contained in Chapter 5 proved this to be impossible at the moment, given the deeply rooted misconceptions surrounding these events within Republican perceptions.

Chapter 7 provided explanations for the contemporary visitor perceptions of Marie Antoinette at Petit Trianon detected by the field research, by analysing the cultural and political factors involved in shaping these perceptions. As already noted, a literary as well as an artistic sensibility, together with art history knowledge is what distinguished between the majority and the minority perceptions of Marie Antoinette. This also applies to the visitor perceptions at Petit Trianon (KF7), with Chapter 8 examining this distinction and the process behind it. Whilst it is true that even art historians harbour slightly different attitudes due to Republican inclinations/political convictions, when literary sensibility and/or a Catholic faith intervene, the level of the *clichés* associated with Marie Antoinette decreases dramatically (see Figure 8.4). Regarding the Catholic faith, it must be reiterated that this offers a greater insight into the conditioning which Marie Antoinette herself would have received, from a religious and moral perspective. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 5, it is this particular difference of faith between historical characters of the past and the contemporary secularised society which favours the perpetuation of many historical misinterpretations. Nevertheless, as Chapter 5 also established, even within the Catholic milieu, the opinions on Marie Antoinette are strongly divided.

Concerning visitor perceptions, the key findings are completed by several facts revealed through the filtering of the visitor perceptions analysis at Petit Trianon. Accordingly, the perception of the French majority groups was conditioned by the national collective memory (KF8), whilst within the perception of the American and the Japanese majority groups, cinematic narrative prevailed over others (KF9). However, not only do French visitor perceptions equate artificial personal memories derived from the national collective memory (Chapter 7), but also, other non-French contemporary visitor perceptions could take on the value of such *memories* (KF10), a concept Chapter 7 established to be 'in-between' *memories*. The process was explained in the light of Caughey's (1984) 'imaginary social worlds' theory.

Chapter 7 also revealed that, as opposed to the French and American majority groups of the thesis survey, the Japanese majority group has a consistently positive image of Marie Antoinette (KF11). This is because the cinematic narratives which influenced these nationals' perception of Marie Antoinette have underlining positive tones due to their authors' agendas (female emancipation in the case of Riyoko Ikeda and troubled young womanhood in the case of Sofia Coppola).

However, the thesis research detected Coppola's *Marie-Antoinette* to also have been the cause for the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character through the *Ladurée* macaroons sold at *Château de Versailles*. Chapter 8 analysed this uncontrolled commodification detected through the visitor perceptions survey at Petit Trianon. Another key finding of the thesis (KF12) is that the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character through the *Ladurée* macaroons revealed a contemporary 'absorption' of the heritage site of Petit Trianon enabled not only by tourist devices such as photography (Urry, 1990; 1995; 2002) but even more importantly, by its equivalent psychological and subliminal 'appropriation' through media images. The colour 'pink' and the indirect associations that visitors at Petit Trianon made with Coppola's image of Petit Trianon and Marie Antoinette (as generated by the visual narrative of her film) was reinforced through the *Ladurée* macaroons available at the *Château de Versailles* boutique. Furthermore, even visitors unfamiliar with Coppola's film bought into this association, which further evidences the aforementioned psychological and subliminal 'appropriation'. This key research finding contributes to Urry's (1990; 1995; 2002) theory of the gaze by suggesting that, rather than the object or the nature of the classic 18th and 19th century Romantic gaze leading to globalisation, it was the very process of place appropriation through a hijacking/requisition of images by each individual visitor which was instrumental to the shift.

Out of all the above, the most valuable key findings in fulfilling the aims and objectives of the research are KF6, KF7 and KF10 in conjunction with KF11 and KF12. This is because KF6 completely reflects the manipulation of events of the past during the modern nationalist era; KF7 highlights the importance of art in education and finally, KF10, KF11 and KF12 confirm and explain the powerful

postmodern influence of images in creating a distorted understanding of knowledge. Overall, the thesis findings relate to the literature in the field of heritage and tourist consumption studies, by supporting the idea of the visual prevalence over other forms of perception of space.

Nevertheless, there is one piece of evidence suggesting that, even if 'visuality' was proven to prevail over other forms of perception, a different perception may be at work. Therefore, there is perhaps an opportunity for the Petit Trianon heritage practitioners to convey their messages of the past to the wide public through other means than visual displays. The last key finding (KF13) signalled by the thesis, lies in the research evidence (see Table A.4) that the visit improved the opinion on Marie Antoinette in the case of the majority of Japanese respondents as well as approximately a third of the members of the French Group 2 and of the American majority group. The consistently positive opinion of the other minority groups was further reinforced by the visit, the analysis of Chapter 8 suggesting nostalgia as the cause.

Answering the Research Question

The Research Question of the thesis - 'What factors are responsible for the contemporary commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure, and who are the producers and the consumers of this commodification at Petit Trianon?' - led the analysis throughout.

The answer amounted to the following conclusion: whilst the array of images associated with the historical figure of Marie Antoinette resulting in her dissonant commodification originate in popular culture, and are in contrast to the 'Marie Antoinette' images sourced in art history, the instigator of this commodification, was identified in the antithetic positions of the cultural heritage associated with Marie Antoinette and the French Revolution.

The feminine emancipation of the Queen provided a good source for debate, but it was ultimately her nationality that proved to be the main catalyst of the monarchy's downfall. Having become a symbol of the French Monarchy and the *Ancien Régime* whose etiquette, ironically, Marie Antoinette challenged at the time, the cultural heritage associated with her historical character developed in antithesis with the cultural heritage of the French Revolution (KF6). Chapter 5 reflected this antithesis through the zero sum characteristic/trait of heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996) first noted by Chapter 4.

All the other key findings contributed to a clear overview and further expanded the answer to the research question through the contribution of each chapter. These key findings explained not only the process of the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical character at Petit Trianon, but also revealed an ongoing process through which distorted images of this controversial monarch, persist in contemporary visitor perceptions of the majority, at Petit Trianon.

Research Applications

The first application of the thesis research consisted in my contribution to a 2011 publication concerning narratives and the built heritage in relation to tourism consumption. Edited by Lecturer Charles Mansfield and Simon Seligman, Chatsworth House's former Head of Communications, the publication brings together important contributions from the editors (Mansfield, 2011; Seligman, 2011) but also heritage practitioners (Hunt, 2011), architectural historians (Hollis, 2011) and authorities in the field of tourist consumption (Meethan, 2011).

A practical and academic application of the thesis research materialised into a cultural theory research group developed for 3rd year undergraduate students at Plymouth University's School of Architecture. I have designed this in 2012, following my two consecutive internships with *Château de Versailles*, at the invitation of Professor Robert Brown. The research group has proven to be successful, and is presently (2015) running for the third consecutive year. Even more importantly, the success lies in the students' final dissertations which range greatly in their chosen topics (Plate 9.1).

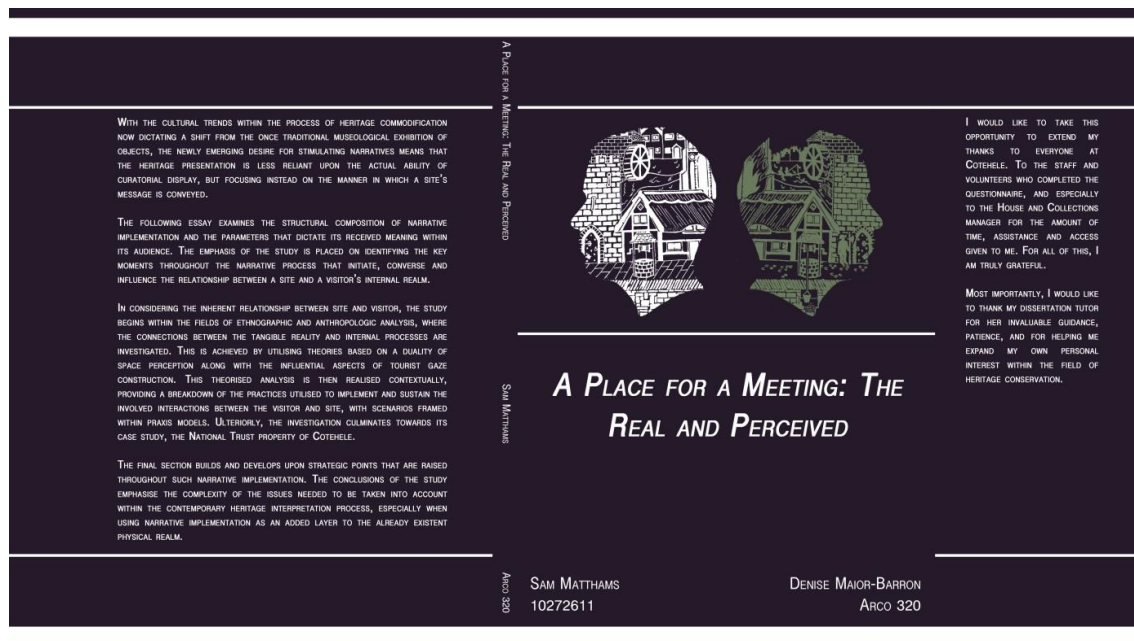


Plate 9.1: Cover for one of the top mark essays of my research group at the School of Architecture/Plymouth University; my student's research on visitor perceptions at the National Trust property of Cotehele was greatly appreciated by the collection manager Rachel Hunt, (who kindly offered her support with this particular research project)

The thesis analysis was specially designed as a formula suitable to the unique combination of extreme animosity and fascination which the historical character of Marie Antoinette exerts, furthermore within political and cultural contexts where a reversal of fiction and reality became the norm. Fabricated elements that suddenly gain popularity, featuring dubious pedigrees that remain unquestioned by the majority, completely reflect how easily collective perceptions can be manipulated when there is not a clear record of the past kept by an established authority (Nora, 1986). The conveyors as well as the receivers seem to have been successfully deceived by the nationalist century into believing that they belong to a clear historical past, whilst postmodernity ensures this illusion to be as successfully perpetuated by the consumer culture and its unethical commodification of the past. This formula is a reflective model for a far wider context than the commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure at Petit Trianon. The thesis methodology could be applied universally to the complex post-modern visitor perceptions of any historical figure that bears legendary connotations, and whose true character cannot be readily grasped.

Consequently, I intend to apply this paradigm in Transylvania, at the tourist location of King Vlad the Impaler's birth place (Sighisoara), a restaurant featuring connections with the Dracula myth. From this perspective, the thesis fits within the wider academic field studies of heritage commodification *versus* authenticity in the context of sustainability. An important topic of high actuality in heritage studies, this is of interest not only to heritage academics but also to practitioners in the field (Maior-Barron, 2014a). Also, as visitor perception research studies at Royal heritage sites are of high actuality and increasingly acknowledged as paramount to the dissemination of the intrinsic values of these sites, the methodology of the present thesis contributes a valuable model of qualitative investigation. During my participation at a recent ICOM-DEM HIST conference on issues of heritage authenticity (see References), the discussions with practitioners looking after some of Europe's most notable Royal Residences, confirmed the research value of the thesis in this field.

Research Limitations and Possible Future Use for Practitioners

The thesis research included the design of an Authenticity model in Chapter 3 when examining the range of sites spanning across heritage authenticity aimed at tourist consumption (see Table 3.1). Found on a self-generating cycle between authenticity and commodification of heritage, the classification employed as distinction criteria a heritage authenticity definition found in Ashworth and Howard (1999), in conjunction with a literature review concerning the heritage industry, supported by thesis research: fieldwork evidence and observations concerning the perception of authenticity by the majority of the visitors at Petit Trianon. However, these observations took into account the perspective of Urry's 'tourist Romantic gaze' as one of the main factors responsible for the commodification of contemporary heritage sites. Throughout the thesis, this model offered the sole perspective on authenticity, and was validated by research analysis. Other forms of authenticity were only incidentally reviewed by Chapter 3 and Chapter 7 (when analysing the Japanese visitor perceptions of heritage sites), which could be construed as a possible limitation of the thesis.

The comparison of the architectural and heritage narratives in Chapter 8, deliberately excluded phenomenological forms of perception of tourist spaces (Cohen, 1972; 1979) as these would have been at odds with the visual appropriation of space on the basis of which the research was conceived. Given, however, that research evidence (KF13) suggests nostalgia to be a possible reason for the improvement of opinions on Marie Antoinette occurring during the visit at Petit Trianon, further research on this understudied factor of heritage perception, could benefit from the testing of visitor authenticity forms.

A prime candidate would be existential authenticity because of its intimate connection with nostalgia, established through emotional links. Furthermore, this type of authenticity has been highlighted by recent heritage studies (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006: 300): 'It may also be useful as a framework for practical market research and for planning activities based on tourists' aspirations to existential authenticity.'

Such further research could therefore provide alternatives for practitioners in what concerns Petit Trianon's dissonant heritage interpretation. Chapter 6 explained the limitations which curators currently face in the interpretation of Petit Trianon. Whilst the nature of the dissonant heritage would continue to be an obstacle to this interpretation, elements that appeal to existential authenticity could enhance the intrinsic nostalgic feel of Petit Trianon without clashing with either the curatorial authenticity principles or by overtly challenging the dominant Republican discourse.

Elements appealing to existential authenticity by engaging other senses than the visual - olfactory, auditory and tactile sensations - are successfully employed in alternative heritage interpretations of heritage sites. In this sense, *Historic Royal Palaces* is continually testing various techniques for evoking the past (Day, 2014) and avoids reliance on single methods, favouring instead 'multiple triggers for the visitor's experience' (Barnes, pers. comm., 2014). In France, elements of a successful heritage interpretation related incidentally to the 18th century and Marie Antoinette are unintentionally put together by the International Perfume Museum in Grasse (Plate 9.2).⁴⁹

⁴⁹ Unintentionally inasmuch as the nature of a perfume museum appeals to the olfactory senses. The next-door villa acquired by the museum, has recently become host to a vintage dress collection, boasting a genuine 18th century unused roll of fabric. Under the dim light meant to protect the fabrics from fading, already enveloped by the seductive scents of the tour of the museum, one experiences a completely different perception than visual consumption (observations made during my visit to the Grasse museum, 26th January 2009).

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

Plate 9.2: Personal objects related to olfactory senses: Marie Antoinette's 'nécessaire de voyage' for the Varennes flight (see Chapters 5 and 7), currently on display at the International Perfume Museum. These are elements appealing to the existential authenticity of a visit, which could perhaps be employed at Petit Trianon through an evocation of period scents (even in the absence of the actual objects)

A Concluding Note

In conclusion, the present thesis contributed to dispelling modernity's founding myths, which persist and continue to distort the destinies of past historical figures, whose lives were sacrificed at the altar of political illusions and their power games. Pivotal to the analysis of detecting these distortions were the contemporary visitor perceptions recorded at Petit Trianon, which charted out the dissonant commodification of Marie Antoinette's historical figure.

In the case of this controversial historical character, the thesis argued that the most effective antidote for distortion and aid in achieving an objective portrayal lies in art history knowledge. When supported by literary and artistic sensibility, it was the art history knowledge which proved consistently able to dismantle the many myths surrounding Marie Antoinette, bringing instead to the fore her contribution to art history as well as to the history of the Queens of France. This contribution lies in a feminine emancipation of the political and cultural roles assigned to Marie Antoinette, which she challenged until the very end: by fulfilling and surpassing her duties of an Imperial daughter and a gage for one of the most important European peace treaties of the 18th century; of a Royal spouse and mother; of an Enlightened monarch, fervent supporter of the arts and artists; and last but not least, of an 18th century symbol of the Christian monarchic tradition.

However, between the hate/animosity of the majority and the love/adulation of a minority, the last Queen of France remains deeply misunderstood. Throughout the analysis of the thesis, Petit Trianon assisted in the objective assessment of many of these *clichés* and myths, 'speaking' for its former owner's true identity, and, in its uncontested nostalgic appeal, it seems certain that it will continue to do so.

APPENDICES

Figure (Text/Chart/Diagram/image etc.) has been removed due to Copyright restrictions.

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6.4 Personal Photographs 2011

6.5 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)
Source : '*Marie Antoinette à la rose*' (1783) by Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun [Petit Trianon].

6.6 Personal Photographs 2011

6.7 Personal Photographs 2011

6.8 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

6.9 Personal Photograph 2011

6.10 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)
Source : '*Marie Antoinette en gaulle*' (1783) by Elisabeth Vigée Le Brun [Hessische Hausstiftung, Germany].

6.11 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)
Source : '*Plan des Jardins Français et Champêtre du Petit Trianon avec les masses des Bâtiments*' (1786) by Richard Mique [Estensa Library, Modena – Italy].

6.12 Personal Photographs 2011

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Sources : '*Illumination du Belvédère et du rocher du Petit Trianon lors de la fête donnée par Marie-Antoinette en l'honneur du son frère Joseph II*' (1781), by Claude-Louis Châtelet [Estensa Library, Modena – Italy].

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6.14 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

Source : '*Marie-Antoinette et ses enfants au pied d'un arbre*' (1789) by François Dumont – [The Louvre Museum].

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6.16 Personal Photographs 2012/2014

6.17 Personal Photographs 2010

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6.19 Personal Photographs 2011

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Source: '*Performance at Schönbrunn by the Archduchesses of Austria, of Il Parnaso Confuso on 24 January 1765*' & '*Performance at Schönbrunn by the Archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian of Austria and the Archduchess Marie-Antoinette, of the Ballet– Pantomime The Triumph of Love on 24 January 1765*' (1778) by Johann Georg Weikert.

6.21 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Marie-Laëtitia Lachèvre)

Source : '*Marie-Antoinette avec vêtement de chasse*' (cca. 1768) by Joseph Krantzinger [Schönbrunn Palace - Salon de l'Impératrice].

6.22 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

Source : '*Marie-Antoinette devant le temple de l'Amour*' (1780s) Attributed to Jean-Baptiste André Gautier-Dagoty [Private Collection].

6.23 *Château de Versailles* Digital Collection (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

Source : '*The Pavillon Français – Petit Trianon*' (cca. 1788) François-Denis Née, after Louis-Nicolas Lespinasse [*Château de Versailles*].

6.24 *Château de Versailles* Archives (Courtesy of Karine Mc Grath) ; Source : Collection Malitte-Richard.

6.25 Personal Photographs 2012

6.26 Personal Photographs 2011/2014

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Source : *Enjambée de la Sainte Famille des Thuilleries à Montmidy* (1791) Anonyme français/ French Anonymous author [BNF – Bibliothèque Nationale de France : Département des Estampes et de la Photographie].

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Source : '*Marie Antoinette Harpie*' caricature, Anonyme français/ French Anonymous author (last quarter of the 18th century) [BNF – Bibliothèque Nationale de France : Département des Estampes et de la Photographie].

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8.48 Personal Photograph 2011

8.49 Personal Photograph 2011

8.50 Personal Photograph 2011

8.51 Personal Photograph 2011

8.52 Personal Photograph 2011

8.53 Personal Photographs 2011/2012

8.54 Personal Photograph 2011

8.55 Personal Photograph 2011

8.56 Personal Photographs 2011

8.57 Personal Photographs 2011

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A2.2 *Château de Versailles* Petit Trianon Architectural Plans (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

A2.3 *Château de Versailles* Petit Trianon Architectural Plans (Courtesy of Philippe Baudin)

A3.1 *NINA'S PARIS* list of products

A3.2 Personal Photographs 2014

A3.3 Personal Photographs 2014

A3.4 Personal Photographs 2014

A3.5 Personal Photographs 2014

A3.6 Personal Photographs 2014

A3.7 Personal Photographs 2014

A6.1 Personal Photographs 2014

A6.2 Personal Photographs 2014

A6.3 Source : *Perspective [L'Information interne du Château de Versailles]* (2014) 124, janvier-mars.

A7.1 Source: *When Sally Met Sally* (2013) TV and Radio Programme 2 May [online]; Available at: <http://www.whensallymetsally.co.uk/entertainment/tv-and-radio/queen-elizabeth-1-power-lesbian-modern-portrait-secret-life> [Accessed: 20 July 2014]

A7.2 Source: *When Sally Met Sally* (2013) TV and Radio Programme 2 May [online]; Available at: <http://www.whensallymetsally.co.uk/entertainment/tv-and-radio/queen-elizabeth-1-power-lesbian-modern-portrait-secret-life> [Accessed: 20 July 2014]

A7.3 Source: *When Sally Met Sally* (2013) TV and Radio Programme 2 May [online]; Available at: <http://www.whensallymetsally.co.uk/entertainment/tv-and-radio/queen-elizabeth-1-power-lesbian-modern-portrait-secret-life> [Accessed: 20 July 2014]

A7.4 Source: *When Sally Met Sally* (2013) TV and Radio Programme 2 May [online]; Available at: <http://www.whensallymetsally.co.uk/entertainment/tv-and-radio/queen-elizabeth-1-power-lesbian-modern-portrait-secret-life> [Accessed: 20 July 2014]

A7.5 Source: *When Sally Met Sally* (2013) TV and Radio Programme 2 May [online]; Available at: <http://www.whensallymetsally.co.uk/entertainment/tv-and-radio/queen-elizabeth-1-power-lesbian-modern-portrait-secret-life> [Accessed: 20 July 2014]

A8.1 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.2 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.3 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.4 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.5 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.6 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.7 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.

A8.8 *Château de Versailles* (2015) *Les Carnets de Versailles*, No 7, Avril-Septembre.