

Apt Milling Wheat

Elements of history and ethnology of soft wheat in the
Luberon rim

Study report

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Introduction

At the beginning of 2006, the Agribio 04 association offered the Departmental Museum ethnological department of Haute Provence (Priory of Salagon, Mane) to conduct an ethno-historical study on an old variety of soft wheat from the Luberon region: Apt milling wheat. It is in mid-July of the same year that Danielle Musset, director of the Museum, told me about it officially hands over the charge.

During my first meeting with Bruno Bidon, technician of the association, and Gérard Guillot, a wheat farmer, explained to me that it was a variety of touzelle¹, formerly locally grown and also called around Pertuis the 'Touzelle blanche de Pertuis'. It is in the 1980s, when its production seemed to have been completely abandoned, that the Naturalists from the Luberon Park had discovered the seed in a retired farmer's home. Buoux. They had recovered it and then distributed it to a few farmers interested in putting it back in culture. This is how it had come into the hands of members of Agribio 04.

Today, the reactivation of agricultural, milling and baking production of wheat miller of Apt is on the agenda of the association's concerns; this explains the order of the present study. Several aspects seem to motivate this project. The first of them is one of the consequences of current thinking on health and food safety. The development of allergies and intolerances that may be caused by the gluten contained in products such as bread or pasta², leads more and more people to question themselves on the origin and composition of wheat. However, certain professionals concerned with the production or the transformation of this cereal³ come to think that old varieties would contain gluten molecules that are more digestible and therefore better tolerated by subjects with certain of these intolerances. And then turning to old varieties is a militant approach, dear to many "organic" farmers, aiming to defend and promote farm seeds.

¹ Touzelle is an old variety from the South-East of France. ²

³ This speech explains the proliferation of gluten-free products in the market.

³ They could be farmers, millers, bakers or even peasant bakers who themselves manage the cultivation of wheat up to the making of bread.

Promoting Apt milling wheat therefore meant for the people at Agribio 04 both "thinking about the consumer health and reviving old tastes and biodiversity."

Why was there particular interest in this variety? As I was told Initially presented, it was renowned for its ability to adapt to the dry climate of the region, which explained in particular why many farmers had to use it. And then, it was said, the milling wheat of Apt once produced a flour particularly appreciated by bakers for bread making; there was even talk of its use in baking, particularly for the manufacture of the locally renowned oil pump. But what was it really like? Had he represented an important variety for the inhabitants of the "country"? And where did this come from? reputation ?

To answer these questions, we agreed that I would try to trace his history, that I rediscover its ancient uses, practices and know-how, but also that I would be interested in other local varieties of soft wheat. All this should allow me to understand the place that Apt miller's wheat has occupied and still occupies in the lives of inhabitants of the Luberon. In short, I was asked to highlight the socio-historical anchoring of this wheat in this region and its possible baking and pastry qualities; it would become so all the more legitimate to relaunch it.

We had agreed on the geographical area of the study: it should concern the around the Luberon Massif, in other words, the sector covered by the Natural Park Luberon Regional. But to determine the exact area of ancient cultivation of this famous variety, it was also important to overflow into the Alpes de Haute Provence towards the region of Manosque and the region of Forcalquier where, I was told, milling wheat was also used.

It is therefore at the end of all this information and questions that I undertook a month and a half field investigation, the approach of which I propose to explain immediately theoretical and methodological.

Theoretical approach and methodology of the field survey

1. The ethnobotany approach

My aim in this study was to highlight the relationships that have been maintained and which the inhabitants of the surroundings of the Grand Luberon maintain with soft wheat, and more particularly Apt milling wheat, to understand its impact on local cultivation. To do this, I was inspired by the theoretical approach developed at the Salagon Museum since several years⁴. It is part of ethnology and more particularly applied to ethnobotany in the European domain. "(...) *ethnobotany as a discipline, (...) is a ethnology with global ambitions which chooses to consider societies in the broadest possible scope possible of their relations with plants and plant environments, taking into account the methods of human sciences as well as naturalistic data*"⁵, Pierre specifies Lieutaghi in the first volume of the Proceedings of the Salagon seminars. It therefore implies to grasp what Jacques Barrau called the " *perception of the environment* "⁶ which reports on relationships between the ecosystem and society, that is to say, to understand " *how men perceive and interpret their environment and its resources and (...) how and why they have arrived at this perception and this interpretation* "⁷. To do this, I had to cross paths with both ethnological data, giving an important place to the discourse of men and women, data from plant ecology – namely botany, agronomy, geography, geology, etc. – as well as the historical elements that it was possible for me to find.

⁴ The launch of seminars since 2000 has helped to accelerate the discussions already underway at the Museum and to formalize the approach it advocates. For more information on this subject, see the book *Plants, societies, knowledge, symbols. Materials for a European ethnobotany* (Lieutaghi, Musset, 2003).

⁵ Lieutaghi, 2003, p. 42.

⁶ Barrau, 1974, p. 32.

⁷ Idem.

Here, the ethnobotanical approach was used in the context of research monographic which involves focusing on the relationship with a particular plant, Wheat miller from Apt. But it would have been limiting to focus only on this single variety. The implementation in relation to other plants, mainly other varieties of wheat, has proven indispensable. On the one hand, it would have been inconceivable for me to consider the ethnobotanical analysis of this wheat without thinking of it within the system (ecosystem) in which it develops, alongside, for, or instead of other plants, animals or humans. On the other hand, the study of the relationships social involves considering these as forming a system beyond the single relationship which the monographic study privileges. Understanding the latter – here the social relationship to wheat – it is to place it in a larger system(s).

The field work therefore consisted of identifying the interrelations, knowledge, practices and uses and ancient and contemporary representations which arise from the man/wheat relationship⁸. Furthermore, historical data allowed me to bring to light the phenomena of transformations social factors that may have influenced this report, with a view to considering it over time, since the period when I was able to find the first elements on the Apt milling wheat until Today.

2. Sources: survey methodology

A. Written sources

I started by gathering as many bibliographical references as possible, monographs, ethnological, historical, naturalist studies, as much on the region as on wheat as well as first-hand documents. To do this, I had to carry out a certain

⁸ By "man/wheat relationship" I mean the overall relationship that men and women have with wheat.

number of investigations at the Departmental Archives of Vaucluse in Avignon, to those of Alpes de Haute-Provence in Digne-les-Bains, as well as in the municipal archives of Apt and Pertuis. This research has mainly focused on the 18th century^e, XIX^e and XX^e centuries.

At the Departmental Archives, I was interested in series M (agriculture, statistics) and more particularly to sub-series 6M and 7M concerning agriculture, water and forests. Avignon, Françoise Chauzat, documentary studies officer at the Departmental Archives of Vaucluse kindly went through bundles 6M334 to 336 for me, the Mercuriales of wheat for the year IX to 1926 in which we are satisfied with generic terms concerning wheat or wheat⁹ as well as bundle 7M112 entitled *Agricultural production from 1923 to 1940* in which it is question of certain varieties. In the Departmental Archives of the Alpes de Haute Provence of Worthy, more provided than the previous ones, the 6M278, *Application of the law of July 10, 1933 on the organization of the wheat market (1933 to 1938)*, provided me with information on controls carried out on the storage of wheat and the circulation of flour. The 7M15, *Agriculture, surveys and studies (1819-1937)*, contains an *Agricultural Survey from 1929. Agricultural monograph of the Department of Basses-Alpes* carried out by Mr. Niquet, Director of Agricultural Services of Basses-Alpes who revealed valuable information to me. The 6M277, *Control of the trade of wheat from 1922 to 1932: instructions and correspondence*, contains an interesting document where it is question of certain names of imported varieties, a sheet attached to a letter from the Minister of Agriculture to the Prefect of Basses-Alpes where different types of tuzelles are discussed, a file entitled *Propaganda against the waste of bread* around 1929-1930, where the millers account for the origin of their wheat, as well as another sheet attached to a letter from a member of the Basses-Alpes Chamber of Commerce in which reference is made to native wheat and to that of foreign origin. The 6M281, *Correspondences and instructions concerning the prices of wheat and flour (1924-1939)*, also refers to the native and foreign wheat. The examination of many other bundles was particularly tedious and often without much result¹⁰.

⁹ Word formerly used to designate soft wheat. " The term "wheat" or "bled" was used for a long time in France to designate all grains or all cereals. (...). However, from the 19th century onwards, they represented little interest regarding the names of varieties, but^e century, the term wheat was quickly applied to wheat alone " (Jean-Paul Charvet, 1996).

¹⁰ they nevertheless allowed me to understand certain phenomena concerning the transformations of agriculture and wheat. These are 6M231, *Price and consumption tables. Meat (1860, 1871 to 1883); bread (from 1840 to 1849 and from 1867 to 1883)*, which contains tables by commune of the price of bread; 6M279, *Correspondence and instruction on the organization of the wheat trade from 1934 to 1939* ; 6M265, *Reports and statements of grain and other harvests*

Municipal archives most often contain only agricultural statistics or mercuriales registers. I started by going through those of Apt and Pertuis to realize that it was useless to consult others¹¹. These documents present systematically tables in which we find only generic terms such as *wheat* or *wheat*; in some inventories, wheat is classified according to characteristics such as *winter or spring wheat* or even *durum wheat or soft wheat*¹². So it is good there question of cereals but no details are given on the varieties. It is much more in the regional agricultural books or journals that I was able to find relevant information. These journals can be consulted in municipal libraries, provided that they are have been preserved. The most fruitful research has been carried out in Apt. I was able to consult *The Provençal Annals of Practical Agriculture and Rural Economy*¹³ from 1827 to 1854, the *Bulletins of the Vaucluse Agricultural and Horticultural Society*¹⁴ from 1852 to 1874, the *Bulletins monthly of the Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Agricultural Union Vauclusian*¹⁵ from August 1852 to October 1899, the *Agricultural Messenger. Review of associations and*

floury crops from 1834 to 1849, in which we find tables listing the different types of crops but where only the terms "wheat" or "wheat wheat" are used to designate soft wheat; 6M263, Reports and statements of grain and other floury crops from year VIII to 1815, in which we always find the same type of classification without any details on the varieties; 6M24, Reports and statements of grain and other floury crops from 1817 to 1833 and 6M176, Reports and statements of grain and other floury crops from 1897 to 1900, in which the same type of classification is also mentioned; 6M280, Declaration of wheat sown and harvested (1934 to 1938), in which only a distinction is made between spring wheat and autumn wheat; 6M337, Statistics of bakers (1847) and mills (1851-1843) which contains statistical information on grain mills as well as tables in which bakery production is discussed, but where only wheat and rye are distinguished as cereals; 6M256, Tables indicating the legal weight of grains from 1829 to 1899; 804 450, General Regulations of the Agricultural Committee of the Forcalquier District; 802 613, Agricultural Committee of the Forcalquier District; 7M7, Cooperative societies (1896-1940), in which most of the time there is discussion of requests for files concerning the construction of wheat silos; the 7M8 Agricultural Committees of the districts of Forcalquier (1942-39), Castellane (1838-55), Digne (1939-51) and Sisteron (1839-34), composed essentially of annual reports on the situation of the Committee. 11

The municipal archives of Forcalquier and Manosque only contain agricultural statistics – which do not are sometimes not even classified – and therefore have not been consulted for this reason.

¹² At the Municipal Archives of Apt, I examined bundle 3F6, *Agricultural statistics*, 3F2, *Crops and plantations*, and 3F5, *Agricultural losses*. At those of Pertuis, in the HH series entitled *Agriculture, industry, commerce*, I consulted the bundles concerning agriculture; in the agricultural statistics, 5F2, *Cantonal Commission*.

Agricultural and industrial statistics, 5F1, Cantonal Statistics Commission (1852-1940), 5F3, Municipal inventory of 1979, 3F3, Dominant crops: wheat, madder, olive, cocoons, vines from 1840 to 1941 in which there is a Wheat and cereals file, 3F14, Agricultural statistics of Pertuis 1890-1941, 3F15, Agricultural statistics of Pertuis 1967-1982, 4H12, Agriculture – Statistics (1917-1919) and 4F2, Mercuriales register 1857-1917. 13

Published in Marseille by Mr. Toulouzan.

¹⁴ Printed and published in Avignon by Jacquet.

¹⁵ Printed in Avignon by François Seguin.

*agricultural interests of the South*¹⁶, also monthly, from 1861 to 1876, as well as an Agricultural Survey from 1868. In Pertuis, I found a magazine called *Pertuis - Municipal Bulletin n°11. The activities agricultural. Livestock breeding at the end of the 16th century^e and early 17th century^e century*, which reports on research carried out in municipal archive documents of the city. In addition, I was able to collect a certain number of old works of great interest for study in different libraries or centers of documentation whose references are listed in the bibliography¹⁷. I will exhibit well heard during the study the information revealed by these different documents about the wheat.

B. Oral sources

The reference to ethnology was to allow me to grasp, through their discourse, the representations of men on wheat, but also to carry out a form of inventory (not exhaustive) of vernacular names of local varieties. In parallel with the research work of written documents, it was therefore important for me to collect a set of oral testimonies. To do this I met or spoke on the phone with about thirty people, often professionals who have been or still are today involved in wheat, namely farmers, millers, bakers or even presidents and storekeepers of wheat cooperatives. Interviews were conducted in a semi-directive manner¹⁸. Most of them They were recorded; other conversations were carefully noted. My interviewees answered questions prepared in advance using an interview grid precise. During these interviews, my questions mainly focused on the

¹⁶ Published in Montpellier under the direction of Frédéric Cazalis, Imprimerie Gras.

¹⁷ These are the Salagon Museum Documentation Center, the Municipal Library of Apt, the Cécénot Media Library in Avignon, and the INAPG Documentation Center in Paris. I also wanted to do some research at the Martel Fund in Forcalquier, but the documentalist informed me that it does not contain any information on wheat varieties. ¹⁸ This interview technique involves asking open-ended questions that allow the person being interviewed to talk for themselves for as long as possible, while avoiding eliciting answers that we would absolutely like to hear.

practices and representations linked to milling wheat, but it was also important to question my interlocutors on the varieties they were able to know as well as their characteristics.

I started by contacting the people involved in the revival of Apt milling wheat as well than with the naturalists of the Luberon Park. It is from these first interlocutors that I have then, little by little, I was able to get in touch with people who had previously known this famous wheat. These are almost exclusively men aged between 40 and 97¹⁹. The sample of respondents consists of a majority of active or retired farmers.

It was very difficult for me to be able to discuss with millers or bakers who formerly known and/or used as Apt milling wheat, most of them today being unfortunately deceased or unable to answer my questions. In addition, I still had great difficulty finding people who could enlighten me.

at the botanical level; scientists specializing in Southeastern wheat varieties are very rare, if not non-existent. Only one person, I will come back to this, has worked on this subject, but this one is unfortunately no longer alive. So I have referred as best I can to some INRA researchers, the work of Philippe Marchenay, the botanists of the Salagon Museum as well as to the naturalists of the Luberon Park.

The search for connoisseurs of Apt miller's wheat led me to visit areas geographical areas that were not necessarily initially planned. I first started with meet people from the Apt region and the Aigues region; I even went to interview some actors of the revival towards Grans and Mallemort; then I was led to do interviews on the Plateau d'Albion and towards Vachères. I then tried to find the trace of our famous wheat in the Manosque region, then towards the Pays de Forcalquier. I will have the opportunity later to explain the reasons for such a geographical distribution of the people interviewed.

¹⁹ Women hardly participated at all, because while they are very involved in the kitchen, they are not very involved in the activities related to wheat cultivation, cooperative management, milling and baking.

C. On the collection of naturalist data

The field work also consisted of collecting a set of botanical data concerning local soft wheats. The complexity of the classification of wheat varieties, due to their diversity as well as their great similarity, has been one of the major difficulties of this study. I first had a lot of trouble finding a herbarium listing the varieties old locals. To compensate for this lack, I have put together a collection of ears of corn and grains including several touzelles, saissettes and other local wheats ^{20. I used these} samples during some interviews to enable respondents to identify the wheat to which they referred; this operation remained very uncertain. The search for scientific equivalents to the vernacular names that I was given during the interviews was no less delicate, as even botanists have difficulty finding their way around.

D. Observations

Observations of agricultural practices related to wheat have remained very marginal due to the date the study began, as the harvest had just ended. On the other hand, Several farmers insisted on showing me their land and their machines. agricultural or their grain storage place; I also visited a mill. Finally I was able to witness the work of some bakers. The observations were therefore not, in the strict sense, participants, even though I felt it was important to compare wheat-based flours for myself old ones by using them, and to taste certain breads which come from them, with the aim of refining the understanding of the elements collected on the subject of speeches on milling practices and bakers.

²⁰ These samples come from the ITCF of Gréoux-les-Bains, from Jean-François Bolognini of the agricultural community of Longo Maï in Forcalquier, from Henri Ferté, president of the *Syndicat Touzelle* of Nîmes, as well as from Gérard Guillot of the GAEC Les Granges in Montfuron.

At the end of the field work, I had to cross-reference all the materials collected to report on their content in writing. It is therefore not a question of making a presentation exhaustive of all phenomena linked to the history of milling wheat and other varieties old wheat from the Luberon region. My intention is much more to share the elements that I was able to discover about the practices, representations and dynamics at play in this story of men and wheat. For this, I will begin by reporting the speeches relating to the general presentation of Apt milling wheat. I will then talk about the other varieties old premises. Then I will devote a chapter to the characteristics, practices and know-how agricultural and another to the uses and ancient reputation of touzelles and milling wheat. Finally, I will end with the abandonment and revival of this variety.

Chap. I. Apt Milling Wheat: Presentation

1. Determination of Apt milling wheat

The great diversity of wheat encountered throughout the field work quickly impressed me brought me to realize that their determination, and here that of the Apt – Lou milling wheat Bla Móunié ¹ in local language –, involves on the one hand understanding the categories at stake in the different discourses, and depends on the other hand on the classificatory point of view from which one decides to leave. And here the collection of oral testimonies allowed me to identify the existence from a popular classification and description ² quite distinct from those of scientists.

A. Popular classification and description

In interviews, I very regularly come across similar classification criteria. These are most often binary oppositions; the most widespread of these is the one that is made between soft wheat and durum wheat. In popular representations, soft wheats are almost systematically not bearded and used in the manufacture of bread; durum wheat, still "bearded" ³, are intended for semolina, pastry, biscuit making or manufacturing pasta. Some of these oppositions are related to the appearance of the wheat: "bearded wheat / not bearded", "white wheat / red wheat" (implies the color of the ear), "short wheat / long wheat" (takes into account the size of the straw). Still others are linked to uses and practices farmers, millers or even bakers; this is the case when the inhabitants of Lubéron make

¹ Spelled according to the Provençal-French dictionary of F. Mistral, *Lou trésoir dou Félibrige* (Mistral, 1979, p. 362).

² Here the use of the term "popular" does not in any way imply a pejorative connotation. It is used to designate the elements contained in oral testimonies, as opposed to the term "learned" which comes from scientific work and language.

³ The term "bearded" indicates the presence of more or less long edges, ending the "balls", and which bristle the ear.

the difference between winter wheat and spring wheat, for example, or use the expression "hard wheat" or "improving wheat" for a variety "which makes the dough rise", for example as opposed to wheat which does not have this quality. Finally, a distinction is often made in the popular language between "old varieties" and "modern varieties"; but here the meaning varies depending on the position of the respondents. For some farmers, the yield and the bread-making character are the criteria of this opposition; for others, it will rather be of food quality, taste, or even adaptation to the terrain. On the other hand, descriptive criteria are the same for both dialects; thus when it comes to agricultural characteristics, "old varieties" are systematically synonymous with wheat with long, fine straw, "which easily fears lodging", unlike "varieties modern" short, thick and non-lying.

Regarding the Apt milling wheat, the inhabitants of the Luberon region always classify it in the category of "old varieties" and that of "soft wheat". For the description, popular language focuses on the immediate appearance of the ear or grain. It is therefore depicted as white wheat, devoid of awns, whose "straw was tall, fine and supple". The grain is seen by some as white, by others rather red, and oval. "It is a small, elongated, stocky wheat, with a slit, a stripe in the middle⁴", says this retired farmer from Apt. Several elders say of him that he is a "pretty wheat", but they do not attribute to him any specific descriptive characteristics which could more particularly distinguish it from others old varieties. We will see later that its differentiation seems to have been built on criteria much less linked to its appearance than to its agricultural qualities as well as to the uses for which it was intended for.

Finally, for a large number of people interviewed, and particularly the youngest invested in the revival of old varieties, it would be "a variety of touzelle", touzelle itself considered as an "old variety" and a "soft wheat". It remains to know what popular language means by the term "variety". It would seem that it designates a subcategory of "soft wheat" or "hard wheat", but also of certain wheats considered to be varieties; this is the case of the touzelle or the saissette⁵. Thus, miller's wheat is considered a "variety" of touzelle itself considered as a "variety" of soft wheat.

⁴ Note that this last clarification is valid for all wheats.

⁵ In popular language, saissettes are often perceived as "bearded touzelles".

B. Scholarly classification and description

For botanists, wheat belongs to the Gramineae family – today Poaceae – (class of monocotyledons) and the genus *Triticum*. In the latter, they distinguish the group of naked grain wheats, whose glumes fall off when the grain is ripe, which includes four major species: soft wheat or wheats (*Triticum sativum* Lam. or *Triticum vulgare* Vill.)⁶, Chicken Wheat (*Triticum turgidum* L.)⁷,⁸ Durum wheat (*Triticum durum* Desf.) and Polish wheat (*Triticum polonicum* L.). The group of clothed wheat, particularly hardy and which grow where naked grain wheat only holds with difficulty, involves Spelt (*Triticum spelta* L.), Starch (*Triticum dicoccum* Schrank) and Einkorn or Spelt⁹ (*Triticum monococcum* L.). They are differentiated by a certain number of criteria relating to the characteristics of the ear, the glumes¹⁰, glumes¹¹, of the spine¹², grains, straw-like, etc.¹³. There are a large number of varieties from these seven species. From these, men have made selections, then hybridizations to which we owe today a multitude of cultivars¹⁴.

In the botanical classification, Apt miller's wheat is also considered as part of soft wheat, *Triticum sativum* Lam., which the botanist H. Coste describes from the as follows: “*Triticum sativum* Lamk. (*T. vulgare* Vill.). *Common wheat, touzelle*. – Annual plant with tall, erect, hollow, hairless stem; flat, broad leaves, a little rough; spike large, subtetragonal, dense, at the end leaning, with non-fragile axis; spikelets also wide or nearly as wide as long, oval, mutic or awned; *glumes* less than 1 cm.,

⁶ The floras of Abbé H. Coste (1937, p. 660) and P. Fournier (1990, p. 89) both add that *Triticum vulgare* Vill. can still be called 'touzelle' in popular language.

⁷ For H. Coste, it is also what is called Bearded Wheat or Petanielle (Coste, 1937, p. 661).

⁸ Still according to H. Coste, they are also called African Wheat (Coste, 1937, p. 661).

⁹ Coste also cites the term Blé riz (Coste, 1937, p. 662).

¹⁰ The *Etymological Dictionary of Botany* defines glume as follows: “Glume: each of the two scaly pieces that protect the spikelet in the inflorescence of a Graminea; from the Latin “gluma”, grain film” (Couplan, 2006, p. 96).

¹¹ The lemma is the covering of the flower of grasses.

¹² This is the central axis of the spike.

¹³ Linnaeus, the first botanist to attempt a classification of wheat, also took into account the opposition between autumn wheat and spring wheat to determine certain species. It seems that this aspect is no longer valid for modern botany.

¹⁴ Note that botanists differentiate varieties from cultivars. A variety is a subdivision of a species, delimited by the variation of certain individual characteristics. Le *Bon Jardinier* defines the term cultivar as follows: “Cultivar, nm Designates the lower-ranking taxa (obtained by selection) in cultivated plants. Ex: the pubescent wild form of the yellow foxglove is a variety: *Digitalis lutea* var. *pubescens*.”

almost equal, oval, keeled only at the top, truncated-mucronate, shorter than the flowers; glumes almost equal, the lower one oval, mucronate or more rarely aristate; free caryopsis, ovoid-swollen, tender, with a floury fracture. Cultivated everywhere under a large number of varieties. – Uncertain homeland. = June-August", (Coste, 1937, p. 660).¹⁵

But if specialized works list many kinds of *Tr. vulgare* Vill. (or *Tr. sativum* Lam.), few have focused on the exact determination of Wheat miller of Apt. To my knowledge, only one botanist has really been interested in this one. He This is C.-C. Mathon¹⁶ who has listed with great precision the soft wheats of the South-Eastern France. In one of his articles from 1985, he explains that "all or almost all All traditional forms [of soft wheat] of the South-East relate to the varieties following botanicals: *Tr. v. muticum* Al. (Touzelles) and *Tr. v. aristatum* (Saissettes) ». For C.-C. Mathon's work is based on the determination key developed by J. Percival and NI Vavilov can be consulted in the works of P. Jonard¹⁷.

And it is in his chapter on the touzelles that we find our Blé meunier, determined by C.-C. Mathon as belonging to *Tr. v. muticum alborubrum* Körn¹⁸ * It would therefore be a question for him a touzelle with glabrous glumes and glumes, red glumes and white grain¹⁹.

The 'Belle de Fontenay' form of the potato is a cultivar." (Burte, 1992, p. 44). This term does not exist in popular language, at least not locally.

¹⁵ Let us note that agronomists who have been particularly interested in wheat varieties give different descriptions than naturalists. I have noted as an example the one given to us by V. Vermorel: "Soft wheats are extremely numerous and variable in appearance. However, they all have the following characteristics in common: their grain is soft; the interior is filled with flour easily separable from the husk, hence a white fracture; the straw is hollow from the root to the ear. In soft wheats we find grains and ears of all colors, bearded varieties and others - these are the most numerous - without beards; some are autumn, others spring, etc." (Vermorel, 1897, p. 442).

¹⁶ This naturalist was a professor at the Faculty of Sciences of Poitiers and attached to the ethnobotany department and ethnozoology at the Natural History Museum in Paris. He unfortunately passed away.

¹⁷ For the two varieties mentioned, the classification is as follows:

" has. *muticum* Al. (Touzelles)
 aa glabrous glumes and glumes
 aaa white glumes aaaa
 white grain.....*albidum* Körn. or Al. aaaa colored
 grain.....*lutescens* Körn. or Al. aab red glumes
 aaba white
 grain.....*alborubrum* Körn. aabb colored
 grain.....*milturum* Körn. or Al. b. *aristatum*
 (Saissettes) ba glabrous
 glumes and glumes baa white
 glumes baaa white
 grain.....*graecum* Körn. baab colored
 grain, *white edges*.....*erythrosperrum* Körn. bab red glumes
 baba colored grain,
red edges.....*ferrugineum* Körn. » (Jonard, 1936, p. 9-10).

Pierre Jonard is an agronomist attached to the National Institute of Agronomic Research who, during the first half of the last century, contributed greatly to the determination and classification of soft wheat.

¹⁸ Körnicke is the German botanist who, in 1873, divided *T. vulgare* Host into 22 varieties, each comprising numerous cultivars including the one listed here (Jonard, 1951, p. 11).

I would add that a local botanist, when questioned about the classification of milling wheat, d'Apt also gave me the following information: "if we stick to the rules of the botanical classification, Apt milling wheat must be considered as a cultivar; in From this perspective, it should then also be noted *Triticum vulgare* cv. 'Milling wheat' d'Apt' ». Thus, for botanists, wheats such as Touzelle (*Tr. v. muticum* Al.) or Saissette (*Tr. v. aristatum* Körn.) would be varieties, and the Apt milling wheat a cultivar ²⁰.

2. Synonymy and homonymy

Throughout the field work, I was led to collect a wealth of wheat variety names. Their determination is extremely complex, as it is uncertain to determine wheats that have sometimes not been cultivated for 50 years. In addition, I have very quickly understood that in this field synonymy and homonymy are going well. In the interviews, the elders rarely mention this phenomenon. I nevertheless noted a allusion to this subject from my oldest interlocutor (97 years old), originally from Le Castelet: "Everyone has their own name for wheat. (...). Everyone put names to it, but it was perhaps always the same wheat". Here my objective will be to report on the problems encountered relating to the synonymy and homonymy of Milling wheat; I will stick to this analysis of wheat names encountered during the collection of oral testimonies²¹.

¹⁹ Mathon, 1985, p. 15.

²⁰ I would like to point out from the outset that throughout the study, I will use indistinctly the term used in popular language and that used in scholarly language ("variety" or "cultivar").

²¹ The object and duration of this study forced me to restrict myself to the analysis of only locally cited wheats.

A. Apt milling wheat and Pertuis white Touzelle

To the extent that, during my first meeting with the actors of the recovery, they had told me that Blé meunier d'Apt and Touzelle Blanche de Pertuis were the same wheat, My goal from the beginning was to search for both names indistinctly. Throughout the investigation, the existence of this synonymy has not ceased to be signified by the most cultivators young people involved in the revival of old varieties. But to my great surprise, in the speech of the elders, if the name of Blé meunier came back very frequently, the Touzelle white Pertuis, it turned out to be almost non-existent, even in the surroundings of the sector geographical area that corresponds to its name. Only two farmers left me hear that they had already heard this name. "Does the Touzelle blanche de Pertuis ring a bell? "Something?" I asked this resident of Caseneuve. "Yes, but in the surrounding area he didn't cultivate it much. These are names that we learned by going to the cooperatives," he replied. "The Tuzelle de Pertuis, I have already heard it said here, but I "I don't think we've grown any, or maybe we didn't know about it," says the farmer. retired from Bonnieux. Note that the old ones speak more readily of "Tuzelle", whereas Those of the generation below pronounce it "Touzelle" ²².

Of all the interviews, only one allusion to a possible synonymy, but this time between Blé meunier and Touzelle, was told to me. It comes to me from my oldest interlocutor: "I believe that it is the same wheat, Tuzelle and Meunier wheat. Because Some places they say Tuzelle and others say Meunier Wheat. Its real name is Wheat miller, I think it's the Tuzelle." I have already said elsewhere that there are many of them, especially among the youngest, to consider Milling Wheat as a variety of Touzelle. It emerges of all this a rather confused assimilation between these two terms. And furthermore, no trace, therefore, of a possible synonymy between our famous wheat and the white Touzelle of Pertuis among the older ones who cultivated the Apt milling wheat at the time when they "made the peasant » ²³ and where this one, according to them, was a common cereal. I noticed that some residents of the Apt or Grambois area had never even heard of the name Touzelle (simply), whereas, as we will see, this term seems particularly widespread among wheat connoisseurs throughout the South-East of France.

²² I would therefore write Tuzelle or Touzelle depending on the pronunciation of the people whose words will be quoted.

²³ This formulation comes up very often in interviews.

So I was able to realize that oral tradition has only carried little until Today the idea that the Apt milling wheat and the Pertuis white Touzelle are the same wheat, one of my goals was to understand what the origin was. This is where The specialist books were a great help to me. I found in *The Best Wheats of Vilmorin-Andrieux and Co.*²⁴, which dates from 1880, the first written trace of Blé meunier. In This book lists a large number of soft wheats. Among them are synonyms of Wheat from Odessa without beards²⁵ particularly caught my attention: "Richelle de Grignon; Richelle of March; Milling wheat; White wheat of Apt; White Touzelle of Pertuis; Touzelle wheat (ex parte); Wheat from Algiers »²⁶. And the *methodical and synonymous catalogue of FROMENTS* by H. L. de Vilmorin adds to the previous list of new synonyms: "Odessa wheat without beard (*Good Gardener*, 1850, p. 521. *The Best Wheats*, p. 66. M. Bonfils, 1833), Wheat from Algiers (*Good Gardener*, 1850, p. 522. MC Beauvais, 1834), White wheat from Apt (M. Delacour, 1874), Milling wheat (Vaucluse) (*Good Gardener*, 1850, p. 522. M. Reynier, 1839), Pontès wheat (M. Dupuy-Montbrun, 1887), Richelle de Bari (M. Cambon, 1881), Richelle de Mars and Richelle de Grignon (Grignon, 1836), Richelle de Provence (M. Reynier, 1839), Touzelle Blanche

²⁴ These agronomists are particularly known for having proceeded, in the second half of the 19th century^e century to a large number of wheat variety crosses. Their work accurately lists a large number of them from their time; since these have not been republished for a long time, it is particularly difficult to consult them. The best known of them, *Les meilleurs blés*, can be found online on the Agropolis-Museum website. I thought it would be interesting to report here a passage from Michel Chauvet's presentation: "The Vilmorin-Andrieux family of grain merchants dates back to the 18th century, and played a pioneering role in plant improvement. As for wheat, Louis de Vilmorin published a descriptive and comparative catalogue of wheats in 1850; he also carried out crosses between wheat and Aëgilops. It was his son Henry de Vilmorin (1843-1899) who systematized the improvement of wheat through reasoned crossbreeding from 1873. He mainly used rustic English wheats of the Squarehead type and early wheats from Aquitaine, partly derived, like Bleu de Noé, from wheats from Odessa. One of his famous creations is the cultivar 'Dattel' (1883). It was also Henry de Vilmorin who published in 1880 the book that we present here, *Les Meilleurs blés*. This book compiles the careful descriptions made in the Vilmorin company on the wheats existing at the time in Europe. The interest of these descriptions is not only academic. In order to choose the parents that the breeder will retain in his crossbreeding programs, he must know precisely their characteristics and behavior over the years.

²⁵ This wheat is described in the following manner: "Winter and spring wheat, better in February in the climate of Paris. Fine straw, of average height, half-full and a little slender. Average ear fairly widened, pink or light fawn; the awns are quite developed, especially towards the top of the ear where they take on the dimensions of small beards. White grain, very full, fairly elongated, remarkably beautiful and large. The origin of this wheat is not well known, whatever its name may say; it may come from the Black Sea, but there would be just as much reason to believe that it originated in Algeria or Spain. It is a breed which is perfectly suited to the climates of the South and which can only with difficulty give good results elsewhere. It is sensitive to cold, so that in the vicinity of Paris it cannot be sown without danger in the autumn, and as, on the other hand, it is not very early as a spring wheat, it is hardly possible to obtain any product from it except by sowing in February. In the South, on the contrary, where wheat adapts very well to light and calcareous soils, it can be sown in the autumn and obtain higher yields. In the South also it rarely has to fear lodging, an accident to which it is perhaps more subject than any other wheat in the North. A rather remarkable peculiarity of this wheat is the irregular arrangement of the spikelets which, instead of being arranged exactly one above the other on each side of the ear, frequently have the tip inclined to the right or left and are placed askew in relation to the axis. The maturity of this wheat is quite early when it has been made in the fall", (Vilmorin-Andrieux, 1880, p. 66).

of Africa (M. Cambon, 1881), Touzelle Blanche of Pertuis (M. Delacour, 1874), Touzelle of Provence (Reynier, 1839) »²⁷. In the 1895 reissue of the same work, we also find from this list the "White Wheat of the Alps (M. Jacquier, 1888) and Red Tuscan (MW Farrer, 1893) ». Here not only the milling wheat and the white Touzelle of Pertuis turn out to be the same wheats, but a number of other names are also synonymous with them, and all this comes from with a "generic" name, Odessa Wheat without a beard²⁸.

After tracking down these informants, I re-interviewed some of the people behind the recovery of Apt milling wheat, and realized that few of them had had the opportunity to have in his hands the works of Vilmorin, and among these, no one remembered even having read the name 'Milling wheat'. It is by cross-referencing the testimonies that I finally understood where the idea came from that Blé meunier d'Apt and Touzelle Blanche de Pertuis were synonyms.

In 1983, when Max Gallardo and George Guende of the Parc du Luberon rediscovered the miller wheat seed from a retired farmer in Buoux, the news is immediately communicated to their friend C.-C. Mathon²⁹, particularly interested in the subject. However, his article on the varieties of wheat from the South-East of France which I have already spoken about appears two years ago later. In this document, a century after the work of HL De Vilmorin, the botanist unravels the history of the determination of milling wheat initiated by the agronomist, and thus reduces considerably the list of its synonyms. Those that it keeps are the following: "*Touzelle-blanche-de-Pertuis* (attested in 1874) = *Blé-blanc-d'Apt* (attested in 1874) = *Milling wheat* (attested in 1839) = *Touzelle-de-Provence* (attested in 1839) = *Richelle-de-Provence* (attested in 1839), it is *Richelle-de-Grignon* (attested in 1836) = *Blé-d'Odessa-sans-barbes* (attested in 1833), (...) (VILMORIN-ANDRIEUX, p. 66; HL DE VILMORIN, p. 26) ». And C.-C. Mathon to add: "I find a population probably coming from this variety at 86-Buoux, in the Lubéron (Informants George GUENDE and Max GALLARDO, from the Parc du Lubéron, whom I would like to thank here). But the analysis of this population is not yet carried out. Note that this Wheat is very close to the Vendée Blanc-de-Mareuil, which would be

²⁶ Vilmorin-Andrieux, 1880, p. 66.

²⁷ HL de Vilmorin, 1889, p. 48. It is specified after this list: "Too fine straw to bear very large harvests, Odessa wheat without awns is one of those which gives the best grain for milling.

More resistant to drought than to cold, it is mainly found on the shores of the Mediterranean.

Note that the elements in parentheses are the names of the people or works which attest to the existence of these wheats on the date indicated.

²⁸ Note that the description made by HL De Vilmorin of this Odessa Wheat without beard, and therefore of Milling Wheat, remains very general.

²⁹ C.-C. Mathon stayed regularly in the region, specifically in Redortiers where he owned a house countryside; this is how he had been led to develop a passion for local varieties and cultivars.

interesting to find! Frédéric MISTRAL (1, p. 295)³⁰ note in the Basses-Alpes a *Blad-de-Pontis, -de-Pontus, -de Pouente* which could be the *Touzelle-Blanche-de-Pertuis = Wheat-Pontès* (attested in 1887, in HL DE VILMORIN, p. 26)... if this author did not give it as a durum wheat, specifying: *African wheat "Triticum durum"*; it is true that he cites also a *Blad-blanc-de-Pouente*, Winter wheat without awn = *Blad-blanc, Common wheat with ear white and hairless, in Provence (1, p. 294)* (Mathon, 1985, p. 15-16). Thus the actors of the Do they indirectly get their information about the synonymy between Milling wheat d'Apt and Touzelle blanche de Pertuis from the works of C.-C. Mathon who himself held it from HL by Vilmorin.

I add that one could notice in reading these scientists how, besides the White Touzelle of Pertuis, the synonyms of Milling wheat seem numerous. In the popular language of the geographical area in which I investigated, I have never heard such names of wheat: neither Richelle, nor Algiers Wheat, nor Blanc de Mareuil de Vendée, nor the names of Blé de Pontus or Pontès, or even Blad-blanc-de-Pouente of which it is question at Frédéric Mistral. It could be interesting in a later work and purely botanical to investigate whether samples of wheat bearing these names have been kept somewhere in order to compare them with those of the Apt milling wheat. This would allow to broaden the field of knowledge relating to its synonyms.

³⁰ This is the work of Frédéric Mistral *Lou Trésor dou Félibrige* or *Provençal-French Dictionary embracing the various dialects of the modern langue d'oc* from 1968, reissue of the 1908 edition.

B. Apt milling wheat and white Touzelle from Provence

A second synonymy problem arose during the fieldwork. This is a doubt which has long persisted as to the synonymy claimed by one of my interlocutors between the Apt milling wheat and the white Touzelle of Provence listed in the works of Pierre Jonard. In his *Essay on the classification of soft wheat cultivated in France*³¹ as well as in *Soft wheat (Triticum vulgare Vill.) grown in France*³², the agronomist lists a White Tuzelle and a white Tuzelle without a beard as being synonyms of the Touzelle white from Provence³³, wheat with a white ear, a glume with a glabrous external surface and a white grain. It is certain that the names of Touzelle blanche de Pertuis, Touzelle de Provence and Blé blanc d'Apt which are considered by Vilmorin and Mathon to be synonyms of Milling wheat could, by their name and botanical determination, be confused with the previous.

This is how, having spotted a white Touzelle in the canton of Banon and towards the Forcalquier country³⁴, I was led for a time to wonder if it was not the Wheat miller of Apt. With a view to clarification, I attempted a determination botany. The personal and attentive observation of the wheat samples collected has allowed me led to think that, despite their great resemblance, the white Touzelle of Provence which was given to me by H. Ferté, president of the *Touzelle Union*, and which, by cross-checking, turns out to be certainly be the same wheat as a white Touzelle which had never ceased to be cultivated at Cowherds³⁵, and the Apt miller wheat from G. Guillot de Montfuron³⁶ were indeed wheat different. The article by C.-C. Mathon is the only document that could help me decide. In his famous chapter on the Touzelles from which the extract on the Milling Wheat is taken, transcribed more above, the botanist clearly distinguishes between these two wheats³⁷.

³¹ Jonard, 1936.

³² Jonard, 1951.

³³ Jonard, 1936, p. 167 and Jonard, 1951, p. 360

³⁴ I will have the opportunity to come back to the identification of this wheat later.

³⁵ Here again, I will come back later to the story of this touzelle.

³⁶ By cross-referencing, I was able to demonstrate that the Apt milling wheat that G. Guillot owns is the same as that found among farmers who cultivate it today. It itself comes from seeds found in Buoux around 1983.

³⁷

He lists the white Touzelle of Provence as follows: "Touzelle-blanche-de-Provence = Touzelle-blanche-sans-barbes (sic!) = Touzelle-blanche (P. JONARD, pp. 54, 55, 167), *Triticum vulgare muticum albidum* Al. or Körn. = *Triticum vulgare aureum* (Link.) Manf. (in ZGKG, p. 51) (but a Touzelle-blanche (attested in 1887) = Noé (attested in 1850), *Triticum vulgare muticum lutescens* Körn. Or Al., cf VILMORIN-ANDRIEUX, p. 54; HL DE VILMORIN, p. 22; J. PERCIVAL, p. 437; P. JONARD, pp. 48, 145)", Mathon, 1985, p. XV.

Thus the cross-referencing of oral testimonies, the confrontation with written sources evoked and botanical determination allowed me to unravel and clarify the history of the synonymy between Milling wheat and White Touzelle of Pertuis and to account for their possible confusion in popular knowledge with the white Touzelle of Provence which remains a very distinct cultivar for agronomists and botanists. And since this chapter was supposed to also deal with homonymy, I must add that in the region, I have not encountered to date different wheats of *Tr. vm alborubrum* Körn. bearing the name of Wheat miller. But in popular language the problems of synonymy and homonymy remain very difficult to spot, especially when it comes to domestic plants that have ceased to be cultivated for several decades, that samples are sometimes impossible to find and that the memory of those interviewed is not always very fresh. Also, it is not always heard not to exclude that certain wheats or local names could have escaped my research.

3. Geographical area of the cultivation of milling wheat

Through the interviews, I was able to identify the geographical areas affected by the culture of the Apt milling wheat before it was abandoned. It was attested to me in the city of Apt, and the villages of Goult, Bonnieux, Buoux, Castellet, Caseneuve, Cucuron, Grambois, Saint-Trinit, Revest-du-Bion, Banon and Vachères, and certainly concerns others localities³⁸. In addition to the name Touzelle blanche de Pertuis, a synonym, we have just seeing it, milling wheat, implies in itself that it was also cultivated near Pertuis. Its area of ancient culture would therefore have as its center the canton of Apt, would extend to the west as far as³⁹ towards the commune of Goult . It would involve the entire southern part of the Luberon up to the limit of the Durance, and would stop at the border between Vaucluse and Haute Provence (we do not

³⁸ The name Blé meunier is also known in Saint-Saturnin-les-Apt, even if its cultivation there has not been attested to me.

³⁹ It is not impossible that it goes even further, to the edge of the Cavaillon district, even if I have not been able to collect testimony in this sector.

already knows more about the Corbières milling wheat)⁴⁰. In the northeast, it was cultivated on the plateau from Albion, towards the communes of Saint-Trinit, Revest-du-Bion, and even involves certain municipalities of the canton of Banon (specific identification of our cultivar in Banon and Vachères). Finally, I must point out that an informant from Vaucluse who lived for a year in Mane, when he was young, told me that his father had planted milling wheat there. Apart from this testimony, no one seems to have heard of him in the country of Forcalquier⁴¹.

Today, the revival seems to interest farmers beyond this area geographical. Thanks to documents given to me by the Agribio 04 association, I was able realize that Apt milling wheat is grown by producers living in villages of Saint-Martin (04), La Brillanne (04), Reillanne (04), Montfuron (04), Gréoux-les-Bains (04), Villelaure (84), Puget-sur-Durance (84), Valdrome (26) and Roman (26). During the field work, I also met producers who sow Apt milling wheat in the municipalities of Cucuron (84), Vachères (04) and Limans (04 - Longo Mai). It seems so that, according to this information, its cultivation area has expanded geographically, phenomenon which in no way gives the quantitative dimension of its production.

⁴⁰ The former president of the Manosque wheat agricultural cooperative says he has never heard the name Blé miller in his sector.

⁴¹ The former miller of the Moulin de Pangon in Limans, who has known all the local wheats, says for example that he does not having had knowledge of milling wheat in this sector.

4. Elements of the history of denominations

A. Elements on the origin of touzelle

a. Antiquity of the touzelle

The term touzelle seems very old. It is present in many documents first-hand writings, historical studies that deal with agriculture in the Southeast of France ⁴², as well as in specialized dictionaries; depending on the sources, it can be found spelled "touzelle", "tozelle", "tuzelle", or even "touselle", "toselle", "tuselle". If we are to believe Henri Ferté, who carried out research on the origin and history of this wheat, its first reference in a written text dates back to 1042, in the Cartulary of ND de Nîmes, known as "de Rediciano", found in the Gard Archives ⁴³.

Different authors agree on the origin of the name 'touzelle'. It comes from Latin *tonsus*, shaved, hairless, which means that he is not bearded. Then, in the 17th century ^e century, the term would have passed from the Provençal "tousèlo" to touzelle in the French language.

We find it a century later in Villars, in his *History of Plants of Dauphiné* ⁴⁴, when it comes to improving the botanical classification of wheat. With *Triticum aestivum* (bearded spring wheat), *Triticum hybernum* (awnless winter wheat) and *Triticum turgidum*, instituted by Linnaeus in 1753 ⁴⁵, Lamarck, in 1786, made only one species: *Triticum sativum*. This is where Villars comes in: "Villars, in 1787 (History of Plants of Dauphiné), dismembers Lamarck's *T. sativum* and makes two new species: *T. vulgare* (bearded) and *T. touzelle* (non-bearded). (...). It is therefore Villars who first gives the name of *T. vulgare* to a group of soft wheats," Jonard tells us. And he adds: "In 1805, Host includes under the name *T. vulgare* the groups *T. touzelle* and *T. vulgare* of

⁴² Many agree that it is a variety of wheat grown only in the eastern regions Mediterranean. ⁴³

"I, Guiraldus, who have placed my life and place, ... Ad canonicos, in illorum alimonia, donare volo aliquid de alodem meum... Et ubi vocant Tosellos, ...", which means: "I, Guiraldus, want to give the canons some of my possessions... Including a cultivated land in this place called Touselle [today: Mas du Sacré Cœur north of Marguerites]", notes André Compan in an article published in "La Provence" in November 1992 (Documentary file "Céréales", Salagon).

⁴⁴ Villars, Dominique, 1786-1789, *History of the plants of Dauphiné*, vol. III, Grenoble, 1091 p., (Jonard, 1951, p. 10).

Villars, but he separates the wheat with very compact ears which he calls *T. compactum*. He gives also to the species *T. vulgare* the more defined, broader meaning which is given to it today"⁴⁶. Later the subspecies *T. vulgare* of Host would be divided into 22 varieties by Körnicke. *T. touzelle* then disappears; we will now speak of *T. vulgare albidum* which includes all the types of soft wheat without awns, with a white non-hairy ear and white grain.

b. About the Touzelle anone

This allusion to the history of the botanical classification of soft wheat in which the term touzelle played a role allows me a detour through popular classification. In my interviews with people involved in the revival of old varieties of wheat had told me that the touzelle called anone was the ancestor of the touzelles that we know today⁴⁷. On this subject, Louis Stouff specifies that in Provence, in the 14th century^e and XV^e century, "wheat is normally called "annona"; "frumentum" is rarely used; the expression "frumentum seu annona" leaves no doubt about the equivalence of the two terms. The variety of wheat is sometimes indicated and "toella" or "tozella" is the more often cited. It even happens that we distinguish the "tozella" from the "annona": in 1341, at the Archbishop of Arles in Salon there are 173 sestaria and 63 sestaria tozella; in 1446, a contract of anger passed in Avignon provides for a seed of "frumento tozella uel annona"; an analogous act of 1459 called "bono blado scilicet tozella uel annona". In these examples, annona corresponds to a different grain from touzelle, probably to the "saisseta". This is the only other word that is found. In 1418, on the estate of the Tour du Vallat in Camargue, we harvest 31 setiers of touzelle, 45 of saissette »⁴⁸.

If we are to believe the work of C.-C. Mathon, the Touzelle custard apple would be quite distinct from the *The best wheats*, which describe several varieties of touzelle, mention also the existence of this Touzelle anone⁴⁹ as being an old wheat from the South-East: "The Touzelle anona has been cultivated for a very long time in the south of France, especially in Provence, and its name would seem to indicate that it dates from Roman domination; however it is

⁴⁵ Linnaeus proposed to subdivide the genus *Triticum* into six species. To those cited here must be added *Triticum spelta*, *Triticum monococcum* and *Triticum polonicum*.

⁴⁶ Jonard, 1951, p. 10.

⁴⁷ Some of them even found the Touzelle annone seed at INRA and started growing it again.

⁴⁸ Stouff, 1970, p. 39

⁴⁹ Note in passing that "anone" is correctly spelled here with a single n.

has become quite rare today. It is quite a southern breed, of no interest to the
50 center nor the north of France where it suffers from the cold"

But the authors do not specify in any case whether it is indeed the ancestor of the varieties of
Touzelle. Even C.-C. Mathon, who lists the Touzelle anone in his list of touzelles of the
South-East, says nothing about this; it simply recalls its antiquity ⁵¹.

B. Apt milling wheat and Pertuis white Touzelle: some temporal references relating to their denomination

a. About the emergence period of Apt milling wheat in the region

I must admit that it was very difficult for me to find information relating to
the emergence of Apt milling wheat or Touzelle Blanche de Pertuis in the region. This wheat is-
Is it the result of crossbreeding and local selection? Was it introduced from elsewhere? There is much to
think that the first hypothesis is the correct one, since, to date, no one has
identified similar cultivars in other geographic areas. If this is indeed the case, there
It is very likely that the use of this wheat preceded the popular name that we have
we know him.

Oral tradition has not carried any stories about the origin of Milling Wheat.
However, people I met during this investigation attribute to it a
certain seniority. I note in the interviews sentences like: "Oh the miller's wheat,
I think he must have been called that for a long time." ⁵², or again: "Formerly, a variety
like milling wheat, it was cultivated for centuries!" ⁵³. Finally, farmers
specialists in old varieties asked about the origin of this wheat answered me
that according to specialist works, varieties of this type must be 150 to 200 years old. I do not

⁵⁰ Vilmorin-Andrieux, 1880, p. 58.

⁵¹ " *Touzelle-anone* (attested in 1832 but probably very old), *Tr. vm lutescens* Körn. or Al.
(VILMORIN-ANDRIEUX, p. 56; HL DE VILMORIN, p. 20). "This wheat, which has become very rare, is one of our old
southern breeds. It was apparently already cultivated in Provence at the beginning of Roman domination" (F. and P.
BERTHAULT, 1912, p. 39). Perhaps this Wheat, or a Wheat bearing this name, is considered to be of Roman origin
due to a likely shift from the Latin word *annona* (relating to the harvest of/for a year) or from the name of the goddess
of foodstuffs *Annona* ? (Mathon, 1985, p. 15).

⁵² Taken from the interview with my oldest interlocutor.

⁵³ Phrase from a former farmer from Bonnieux.

no precise indications as to the origin of old cultivars can be found in the works specialized that I have explored. This does not of course exclude the validity of the words of my interlocutors.

b. Time references relating to the names 'Blé meunier d'Apt' and 'White Touzelle of Pertuis'

Archives, agricultural statistics, as well as most primary documents hand concerning wheat and dating from before the 19th century^e century only mention the term *wheat* to designate soft wheat; there is no precision on the varieties cultivated. On the other hand I was able to collect much more precise information in specialized works, agricultural reviews or surveys concerning the department of Vaucluse. They give a idea and temporal references on the constitution of the names Blé meunier d'Apt and White Touzelle of Pertuis as well as the transformations they have undergone over time.

In the oldest documents I have listed about wheat in the districts of Apt and Pertuis includes the name of *Touzelle*. In *Pertuis - Bulletin Municipal*, which reports on the results of investigations carried out in the documents of first hand from the end of the 16th century^e and the beginning of the 17th century^e century, we can read: "Among the others varieties of wheat, there is one that comes up frequently when reading the timers, it is wheat 54 "touzelle" » . Furthermore, I find the same name in relation to Carpentras, Isle, Apt and Pertuis in a *statistical memoir of the department of Vaucluse* dating from 1808⁵⁵. Is this already the sought-after variety at this time? Of course, it seems very uncertain of being able to answer this question.

It was only later in the 19th century^e century that the names 'Blé meunier' appear and 'Touzelle blanche de Pertuis' in writings. They are both attested for the first time times in *The best wheats*⁵⁶ among the synonyms of Odessa Wheat without beards; the first in 1839 and the second in 1874. This is the only text in which these are listed denominations. Regarding the latter, I note all the same in the *Bulletin of the Union of*

⁵⁴ Pertuis - Municipal Bulletin No. 11, 1981, p. 34.

⁵⁵ Pazzis, 1808, p. 319.

⁵⁶ Vilmorin-Andrieux, 1880, p. 66.

Agricultural unions of the Alpes de Provence and Vaucluse of July 1896, the appellation 'Touzelle of Pertuis'⁵⁷.

Reading the ancient texts collected as part of this study, it is notable that during the 19th century^e century, in the districts of Apt and Pertuis – where “wheat is “more and more white”, says A. Bouverot in *The kitchen in the Pays d'Apt*⁵⁸ –, the works of selection which are certainly at the origin of the appearance of milling wheat, the identification of a local touzelle, the importance of wheat in this region as well as the construction of a fame, the reasons for which I will explain later, generates transformations at the level of its popular name. Thus, in an agricultural survey of the department of Vaucluse dating from 1868, it is a question of “White wheat from the district of Apt”⁵⁹; or, we remembers that Vilmorin-Andrieux listed among the synonyms of Milling Wheat, a “Wheat blanc d'Apt” certified in 1874. These two documents suggest that this appellation was used in popular language in the Apt region in the second half of the 19th century^e century. This The latter, however, did not cause the name of Blé meunier to disappear, which, if we are to believe the work of the famous agronomists has lasted locally for at least one hundred and sixty-eight years.

This concludes the presentation of Blé meunier d'Apt; it is time to report information collected about other old varieties grown locally.

⁵⁷ Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union, July 1896, August 1896, August 1897, August 1998, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁸ Bouverot, 1981, p. 87.

⁵⁹ Combes, 1868, p. 5.

Chap. II. Contemporary local varieties of milling wheat

This chapter will be devoted to the varieties of soft wheat which have been mentioned to me as being contemporary with milling wheat, that is to say cultivated until the aftermath of the second world war ¹. I chose to present them by geographical sector.

1. In the Vaucluse part

According to most of the interviews conducted in Vaucluse, the miller of Apt seems to have been the main wheat cultivated in the area around the Grand Luberon and at least to Goult where a retired farmer told me: "They almost only made this wheat, in the old days. (...). We all cultivated the same one". In Bonnieux, for example, I was told revealed that "in the past we carried a lot of milling wheat". In Caseneuve, one of my interlocutors told me that "all the farmers around were doing it. (...) There were none no other (...), or else there was spelt, but it is no longer wheat, it was not used for "to make flour." At Le Castelet, my oldest interlocutor still remembers: "I know that It was the main grain, (...) it was the only one". Few other old varieties are therefore mentioned in this sector. We will remember the following.

¹ Durum wheat is said to have been non-existent locally before the 1980s.

A. Touzelle

I note that some people sometimes speak of a touzelle with white grains and ears, although differentiated from Apt milling wheat; I had difficulty identifying it, since the people did not keep a sample. "There was one called the tuzelle or touzelle which was also cultivated," I was told in Bonnieux. Some believe that it is the White Touzelle from Provence, but a large proportion of those questioned assure that they do not never have heard of touzelle; others know the name, but attest that it has never been done in their family. Finally, I have already mentioned the fact that we find this term in old departmental texts, but no element allowed me to understand whether it was about miller's wheat or another touzelle. I explained the problems of synonymy, homonymy and possible confusion around this name; I will therefore refrain from formulating other interpretations than those already mentioned so far.

B. Saissette

Were other varieties of wheat still used? Several monographs make allusion, in addition to the touzelle, to the saissette. This is the case in *Vaucluse Agricole*, a work by 1898, in which the author mentions a wheat that he calls "country wheat or Saissette"². I note that there is no particular question of the Apt or Pertuis region in his regard. It is also the case in *the History of Vaucluse*³ in which it is said of cereals that in the 19th century^e century "they dominate and among them the wheat which is then from Touzelle and Saissette is the most frequent." Anita Bourverot's thesis on *Cuisine in the Apt region* attests more particularly of a local presence of Saissette: "Wheat of the Saissette variety and Tuselle de Provence is grown on all farms although yields are "mediocre"⁴. So what about the saissette mentioned in these texts?

² Zacharewicz, 1898, p. 49-50.

³ Galas, Locci, Grosso and Clap, 1993, p. 21-22.

⁴ Bourverot, 1981, p. 17. Note here the use of a name considered a synonym for Blé meunier by Vilmorin-Andrieux, the Touseille of Provence.

Georges Guende, a botanist at the Luberon Park, explained to me that when the seed of Milling wheat was found in Buoux around 1983, it was mixed with Saissette d'Arles⁵. "The Saissette d'Arles is a bearded wheat (...). So the two were cultivated at the same time. But milling wheat was grown more on hillsides, in dry environments because it lodging easily. And Saissette was cultivated rather in the valleys, the plain areas. There you have it, This is what a peasant from Bonnieux whom I knew well explained to me, but who is unfortunately deceased." Furthermore, in the same years, C.-C. Mathon notes that he had listed a "Saissette called *Apt* in Buoux"⁶; it is essentially the same source. It therefore seems very difficult to know if this variety really corresponds to Saissette of Arles, *Tr. v. aristatum ferrugineum* Körn⁷. A.-M. Topalov also spotted a Saissette from Arles in Haute Provence which she determines under the botanical name of *Tr. v. aristatum ErythrospERMUM* Körn.⁸

However, the elders from the Apt region interviewed here did not tell me about La Saissette called Arles. In the interviews, there is talk of a contemporary wheat harvest miller, but often in a very confusing way. The appearance of a variety in the 1950s, called Saissette 54, particularly widespread in the region, seems to be at the origin of the uncertainty expressed about the existence of the old variety. " [About Saissette] I don't remember that very well, but there was one, it was a slightly different variety. There were several varieties, but there was one called 54, Saissette 54 (...); "It was wheat from Provence," they say, for example, in Bonnieux.

Also, if in the Apt region an old saissette is recalled to memories in a very evasive, it is possible to deduce that its production has not marked local agriculture like Milling Wheat. A text published in one of the *monthly Bulletins of the Union of Agricultural unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien agricultural union*⁹ precise

⁵ In a chapter devoted to the Bouches-du-Rhône, in the *Statistics of Villeneuve*, we can note in passing that in this region, it is considered that: "the lack of beard of the touselles is the reason why in Arles we prefer the seissettes, which are provided with them; by means of these ridges, the strong gusts of wind do not beat the ears against each other and do not shake the grain. At least that is what some farmers told us" (Vol. IV, p. 371). Would the people of the Luberon have cultivated saissette for the same reasons?

⁶ Mathon, 1985, p. 13.

⁷ In the chapter on the Saissettes (*aristatum group*), we can find the following information on the Saissette d'Arles: "Group of the *Saissette-d'Arles*, *Siaisse-d'Arles*, *Siaisse-blanche*, *Siaisse-rouge*, *Saissette-de-Tarascon*, *Biaisse-d'Agde* or *-de-Bézier* (HL DE VILMORIN), *Saissette-de-Provence*, " *Touzelle* " (!) *-red-bearded*, *Bladette-bearded*, *Red-bearded-of-Provence*, etc..., which would be a *Blé-du-Rousillon*, etc... (in V. DUCOMET, p. 20) other than *Blé-du-Rousillon*, *Tr. va ferrugineum* Körn. (HL DE VILMORIN) and very different from *Blé-du-Rousillon* = *Blé-de-Bordeaux*, *Tr. vm milturum* Körn., without beards, already mentioned. From "the" *Saissette-d'Arles* comes *Saissette-de-Maninet*, *Tr. va erythrospERMUM* (Körn.) Mansf. (P. JONARD, pp. 65, 244; ZGKG, p. 59)", (Mathon, 1985, p. 16).

⁸ She also lists an Orange Saissette under the name *Tr. v. ferrugineum* All. (Topalov, 1985, p. 6).

⁹ Agricultural unions of the Alpes de Provence and Vauclusien agricultural union, August 1897 and August 1898, p. 5-6.

moreover that the town of Pertuis was " a centre for the Touzelles ", and that of Castelnaudary, "a center for "Saissette" wheat".

C. Wheat rice

In Grambois, a former farmer remembers the presence of a rice wheat – "The Wheat miller and rice wheat are the oldest wheats I have known" – which he says is a non-bearded man who shed a lot, but whom we were nevertheless unable to determine. I have tried to know a little more about this variety that no one mentions among my other interlocutors. I concluded that three hypotheses were possible. The first would be that he This is small spelt (*Triticum monococcum* L.) often called rice wheat in the language popular. But C.-C. Mathon, who carried out research on this variety, does not list it not at all in Pays d'Aigues ¹⁰. The second track is contained in an interview with Anne-Marie Topalov interviewed by Pierre Coste, found in the sound library of the Salagon Museum, which focuses in particular on varieties from the Basses-Alpes: "I have several Rietos interpretations and we explained it with Bromberger the other day; it was really the rieto variety because there were people who misunderstood it phonetically and who called it rice wheat. And this rice wheat, it has precisely an important bread-making value because that it was a wheat that had a small white, round grain like rice, and it was passed five times in the sieve. So that was the flour that we made with it. There were 30 kilos per family and per year to make either small pastas that we called "brisettes", either the doughnut batter, to make acacia doughnuts or squash blossom doughnuts, savory or sweet. (...) The rieto is the people who misheard it because they called it wheat rice, but in fact it is Rieto. (...) It is a real Italian variety that we found in old agricultural reports from the time » ¹¹. In *the life of the Bas-Alpin peasants through their cuisine, from 1850 to the present day*, Anne-Marie Topalov lists two types of wheat called

¹⁰ "In this edition, currently and/or in the last, or even the decade before last, the cultivation of *Petit Epeautre* is practiced on about sixty hectares in more than a dozen explored localities - there are still at least as many "leads" to be exploited and the list is not closed - (26-La Rochette-du-Buis, 26-Séderon, 84-Brantes, 84-Sault, 84-Viens, 84-Villemus, 84-Reillanne, 84-Montfuron, 04-Revest-du-Bion, 04- Forcalquier, 04-Lincel, 04-Saint-Maine, 04-Lurs, 04-Entrevennes, 04-Vachères-Opedette), i.e. to the North of the Ventoux-Lure axis and to the South of it, and on the left bank of the Durance between Bléone and the Asse". (Mathon, 1985, p. 25).

"Rieti": *Triticum vulgare erythrosperrum* (Körn.) Mans. (without beards) and *Tr. v. ferrugineum* (Körn.) Mans. (with beards)¹². For F. and P. Berthault, whose work dates from 1912, wheat rice, a tender bearded variety "introduced about 25 years ago, is a wheat from central Italy"¹³.

Finally, I refer to C.-C. Mathon for the third possibility. The botanist classifies the wheat rice with wheat poulards¹⁴.

D. Bush wheat

Finally, the *Vaucluse Agricole* still stipulates the existence in the department of a "wheat bush or bearded wheat, which is planted in land where local wheat cannot be grown cause of the pouring »¹⁵. It is highly likely that this wheat concerns areas where the land is said to be "better" in popular discourse and therefore clayey-silty, like those on the outskirts of the Durance, to the extent that I do not find any bush wheat in the interviews. The *Monthly bulletin of the Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Union Vauclusian agricultural*¹⁶ also indicates that Cavaillon would be "the center for wheat " Bush " "¹⁷. Its presence would therefore not imply the territory delimited by culture. old milling wheat from Apt.

¹¹ 1982, C20.

¹² Topalov, 1986, p. 19.

¹³ Berthault, 1912, p. 63.

¹⁴ In his chapter devoted to Poulards (*Triticum turgidum* L.), Mathon writes: "(...) Wheat Rice – (but this is cultivated in name) is also given to Engrain... as well as to a soft white-grained wheat... in Drôme, Ardèche, Auvergne, Aveyron and even in the Basses-Alpes", (Mathon, 1985, p. 10-11).

¹⁵ Zacharewicz, 1898, p. 49-50.

¹⁶ Agricultural unions of the Alpes de Provence and Vauclusien agricultural union, August 1897 and August 1898, p. 5-6.

¹⁷ The name Blé barbu is here considered a synonym for Blé Buisson, but it is also "the name given to a wheat whose name was unknown and which had a beard" (comments of a retired farmer from Caseneuve). Note that when it comes to a more recent period, popular language speaks of "blé barbu" to designate durum wheat.

2. Plateau d'Albion and district of Forcalquier

I have already said that I met farmers who cultivated milling wheat in certain municipalities of the canton of Banon such as Vachères, Banon or Revest-du-Bion, and even in the department of Drôme, in Saint-Trinit. But it would seem that in this area, other Soft wheat varieties held an important place in 19th century agriculture.^e century and the first half of the 20th century^e century. The agricultural survey of the Basses-Alpes department of 1929¹⁸, for example, in the "Banon – Revest-du-Bion" sector, reports the presence of 19 tuzelle and saissette . "The types of wheat grown in our communities throughout the 19th century^e s. and at the beginning of the 20th century^e s. are essentially tuzelles (tousello) and saissettes (seisseto), (...). The Tuzelles provided "the finest soft wheat"; the saissette, less renowned, adapted to less fertile soils"²⁰, writes A. de Réparaz on the subject of the villages of the countries of Lure and Albion. I myself found traces of these two varieties on the plateau of Albion as well as in the Arrondissement of Forcalquier.

A. Les Touzelles in the canton of Banon and towards Forcalquier

Interviews conducted in this geographical area also reflect the wheat crops bearing these names. "We had the milling wheat and then we had the Touzelle which was a slightly improved wheat. (...). Bread was made from it. (...) Compared to the Miller, for the Tuzelle already needed a richer ground, it was getting longer in straw. The Miller had a shorter ear of corn," recalls a farmer from Vachères. In the same village, another farmer told me that he had continued to cultivate several touzelles, until a year ago ten years, tuzelles whose seed came to him from his father²¹. What kind of tuzelles are these? it exactly? "The majority of wheat was tuzelles at the time; there was the Tuzelle White, Red Tuzelle, (...) there was Monnier... There were two or three varieties which

¹⁸ Niquet, 1933, p. 35.

¹⁹ "Tuzelle and Saissette are commonly cultivated as wheat," the survey specifies (Niquet, 1933, p. 35).

²⁰ Barruol, De Réparaz, Royer, 2004, p. 109.

²¹ This farmer explained to me that he had lost his harvest due to a weevil problem.

were all part of the touzelles," he explained to me. The farmers of Longo Mai specialized in the cultivation of old varieties of wheat had the opportunity to recover these seeds before the Vachèrois peasant loses them. These describe a touzelle which they call 'Touzelle de Vachères' as being a rather "population" that one variety: "There is bearded, non-bearded, there is white and red; it's mixed, they are populations." He also says of them that they had been able "degenerate" between them. I found this same name, 'Touzelle de Vachères', in two tables dating from 1924 and 1925 which list the specific weights of the wheat produced regionally²². The names of the different touzelles and other wheats that are there listed suggest that these are more likely names given to "populations" of wheat originating from a locality or district rather than varieties very specific, as seems to be the case for the Tuzelle known as Vachère recovered by members of Longo Mai²³.

In addition, it seems that a particularly famous white touzelle was cultivated in the canton of Banon. The former miller of the Moulin de Pangon, in Limans, told me about her with much nostalgia: "What made my mill happy, at the time of my parents, of my grandparents, it was this famous White Tuzelle that we found locally, within a radius of thirty kilometers. They were grown in Simiane, Banon, throughout the region there. It made an extraordinary flour, without adding anything. (...). And that gave good old-fashioned bread, bread with holes, just as it should be. (...). My father, my grandfather father only used that, without additives. (...). It was the bakers' favorite. (...). Me This Tuzelle marked me because I heard about it all my life from my father and everyone the millers of the region." A farmer from Dauphin also told me about a touzelle: "The There were some Tuzelle; we made some on the hillsides, (...) like in Saint-Michel, but not too much here in the sector. (...) On the hillsides, because I have the impression that these wheats feared the more humid at the bottom".

In the writings, there is mention of a touzelle particularly appreciated in the basin of Forcalquier; we can for example read about this sector in the agricultural survey of

²² These tables are attached to letters from the Minister of Agriculture addressed to the Prefect of the Basses-Alpes concerning the specific weights of local varieties. In addition to the Touzelle de Vachères, there are also: "Tuzelle de Malijai, Bon Fermier, Tuzelle de Barrême, Blé rouge de Marcoux, Tuzelle de Thoard, Hybrid inversible de Villemus, Tuzelle blanche de Valensole, inversible and good farmer of Manosque, Tuzelle de Revest-des-Brousses, Tuzelle rouge d'Entrevaux, Tuzelle blanche d'Entrevaux, Tuzelle d'Oraison, Hybrid inversible du Bar, Blé rouge de Sisteron, Tuzelle blanche de Montfort, Tuzelle blanche de Vaumeilh".

²³ Since the harvests had already taken place at the time of the study, I was unable to obtain a sample of the different varieties which, according to the farmers of Longo Mai, make up this Touzelle de Vachères and was therefore unable to determine them.

Basses-Alpes in 1929: "As on the Valensole plateau, we cultivate Tuzelle, very sought after by the millers of Marseille; it is in Forcalquier that the main ones are made transactions »²⁴. I even found a document dating from 1930 attesting to the existence of a flour mill in Forcalquier named *Minoterie de Touzelle*²⁵; this is to say the importance of this variety in the sector. It remains to be seen which touzelles are being discussed here. In its article on wheat from the south-east of France, C.-C. Mathon lists several white and red²⁶.

B. Red Wheat and Red Touzelles in the canton of Banon and the country of Albion

On the Albion plateau, A. De Réparaz identified a wheat that the inhabitants call 'Blé red' that I also find in oral testimonies. "Lou Bla Rougé was a great wheat which produced a lot of straw compared to milling wheat and Saissette. It gave two and a half tons per hectare," recalls a former farmer from the Albion region. Montsalier, I was told that "Red Wheat had a defect, the grains fell with the wind". "This rustic seed which has the disadvantage of being quite prone to losing its grains has variable returns, never very high: it "does the ten", in general, sometimes, but rarely "the twelve", but often also the "seven and the eight"²⁷, further specifies the geographer. For him, it would be red tuzelles. "Red tuzelles, or "wheats reds", which are not very sensitive to winter and early spring frosts, will still be cultivated until the 1940s-1950s" (Barruol, De Réparaz and Royer, 2004, p. 110)²⁸. C.-C.

²⁴ It can also be noted that, in the same study, it is mentioned about the Valensole plateau that "the Tuzelle de Provence is mainly cultivated there, an old local variety adapted to the climate and the soils of the region which does not fear scalding and whose grain is highly valued by the milling industry because of its flour yield, its whiteness, its fineness and its baking qualities". Regarding the name mentioned here, Tuzelle de Provence, cited, let us recall, by Vilmorin-Andrieux as being a synonym for Blé meunier, it could possibly be interesting to know if it is *Tr. vm alborubrum* Körn.

²⁵ Departmental archives of Digne, 6M277, *Control of wheat trade from 1922 to 1932: instruction and correspondence*. It also indicates the name of the owner of this flour mill: Elie Tourniaire.

²⁶ Mathon, 1985, pp. 15 and 16.

²⁷ This is the quintal/hectare. (De Réparaz, 1966, p. 345).

²⁸ In the document cited above on the saissettes in Bouches-du-Rhône, we can read that the Touzelle rousse corresponds to the *Bla Rougé* in Marseille. "Resembles the saissette, except for the beard. (...). The white sub-variety gives a very white flour and excellent bread; but it is delicate, fears dew, sunburn and bad weather. Those who prefer quantity to quality, choose the touselle rousse, whose yield is more certain and more abundant" (*Statistique de Villeneuve*, T. IV, p. 371). It would be interesting to know if this variety is the same as our Blé Rouge.

Mathon identified several red wheats – the Red Wheat of Omergues or the Red Wheat of Séderon which are closest to the land that interests us – which he determines as being mixtures of different touzelles – including the red Touzelle from Drôme²⁹ or Wheat red from Provence³⁰, listed in his famous list of touzelles – or even saissettes for

³¹ some of them . But none of these populations seem to have been recorded around Revest-du-Bion by the botanist specializing in wheat from the South-East.

In addition, a former resident of Saint-Trinit also mentioned a white touzelle cultivated by his father: "It was not very different from the Miller. (...) My Father made the flour and my uncle made bread from this pure touzelle."

C. Saissette

Just as in ancient texts, the presence of an old saissette is detectable in popular language. It is attested in Dauphin, Vachères, Revest-du-Bion and Saint-Trinit by different farmers. "The Saissette brought in more than the milling wheat. The stalk was more big, it made more grains; it's a wheat that was a little more elongated," this man explains to me former resident of Revest-du-Bion. But here again, confusion can sometimes be possible with Saissette 54 also widely cultivated locally in the 1950s. In addition, No one has kept any ears of the saffron cultivated before the Second World War, which made complex all my attempts at determination. By presenting a sample of Saissette from

²⁹ " *Touzelle-rouge-de-la-Drôme*, *Tr. v. milturum* (Al.) Mansf. or Körn. (...) which I think I find, dominant, in the *Blés-rouges* that I analyze (...) and which seems to me to be a winter form", (Mathon, 1985, p. 16).

³⁰ " *Red wheat from Provence* (attested in 1869), *Tr. v. milturum* Al. or Körn. (HL DE VILMORIN, p. 27)", (Mathon, 1985, p. 16).

³¹ "The *Blé-rouge-des-Omergues* or *-de-Mévouillon* : Population cultivated at 04-Les Omergues, originating from 26- Mévouillon, (...), with a glabrous non-bearded ear with a dominant red grain (...), with hollow straw, mixed quite frequently with a yellow bearded ear with a red grain, with hollow straw, as well as a more or less awned red ear, with a red grain, with hollow straw. It therefore seems that it is essentially *Tr. v. muticum milturum* Al., that is to say a red Touzelle (which does not seem, morphologically, to be "the" Rouge-de-Bordeaux?) mixed with *Tr. v. aristatum erythrosperrum* Körn., that is to say a white Saissette with a red grain (Saissette-d'Arles type ?) and more rarely with a *Tr. v. muticum lutescens* Körn. or Al., and a *Tr. v. muticum* Al. *fa semiaristatum* (half-Touzelle/half-Saissette). (...). The *Blé-rouge-de-Séderon* or *-de-la-Rochette-du-Buis* : Population cultivated at 26- Séderon, originating from 26-La-Rochette-du-Buis, with bearded, semi-bearded and non-bearded ears, red and yellow, with dominant red grain mixed with more or less yellow grain (with little Oat but various other impurities, notably Crucifers). Apparently a population neighboring the *Blé-rouge-des-Omergues* », Mathon, 1985, p. 17-18.

Provence, probably *Tr. va graecum* Körn.³², to the Vachèrois farmer who spoke to me of the existence, among others, of the bearded touzelle, he found that it was in reality "what was called the Red". I add that just like that of Touzelle, the name of saissette remains present in a large number of ancient texts relating to Provence.

All the old local varieties cited by my interlocutors presented in this way, I will now describe the agricultural characteristics, practices and know-how that we particularly attributes to the Meunier d'Apt and more generally to the old wheats of the region.

³² I am specifying "probably" here because C.-C. Mathon himself lists three different saissettes from Provence: *Tr. va graecum* Körn. and two others which belong to *Tr. va ferrugineum* Körn., which are very difficult to distinguish.

Chap. III. Agricultural characteristics, practices and know-how of wheat miller and other old local varieties

When rereading the interviews, I was struck by the abundance of information relating to techniques and tools used in cultural practices old ones. I have chosen to name here only those who seemed relevant to me for understanding the agricultural characteristics and know-how that are related to Wheat miller, touzelles and saissettes.

1. The ground

A. Soil and climatic conditions and choice of terrain

Spread throughout the South-East of France, the touzelles have been selected and multiplied over the centuries to accommodate soil and climate conditions specific to this geographical area. Their adaptation to these is one of the characteristics agricultural varieties most often explained by my interlocutors. "Tuzelles are varieties typically southern, they are really adapted to the Luberon and Provence, to "dry, rather poor land," a farmer who grows milling wheat and la touzelle for several generations. "These are wheats that were not too afraid of the drought, that is to say that they have quite long straws, and who says long straws says long roots, therefore well anchored and therefore less sensitive to years of drought such as this year for example," I am told again. Milling wheat also has the reputation

not to tolerate humidity. "The slightest rain, when they [the ears of miller's wheat] were going to ripen and we quickly got rust," we still remember in Grambois.

I have noticed that the vocabulary used reflects a dichotomy between drought/poverty and humidity/richness of the land. In the surroundings of the Grand Luberon and especially towards Haute Provence, the soil is described as "poor" since it is clayey-limestone and very dry". It is often opposed to that of the Durance sector where the lands are said to be "more rich" and "clayey-silty". But "richness of the soil" does not imply good production of milling wheat since it is said to "come less well". It is notable that in the interviews we almost systematically find the information that it is developing particularly better in poorer lands, even compared to close varieties. On this subject, comparisons have been made to me in several localities: " It was grown in bad lands, (...). That's the difference there was with the saissettes and touzelles for which better land was given".

In reality, for milling wheat, the choice of land depends on a tendency to lodging. "So if you put it in good soil, it would make a very long stem and hey presto, it fell. Once it was poured, once it was on the ground, it had to be picked up with a scythe or a sickle. It was grown in bad land because it remained very small there. ¹. And another one

The farmer added: "They all [touzelles and miller's wheat] have tall, fine straw, it's that's why they have to be planted in rather dry, rather clean ground, rather than in the lands of the Durance which are rather fresh, clayey, there is a problem of lodging there". This phenomenon is systematically presented to me on the subject of tuzelles and the miller of Apt as one of the most restrictive agricultural characteristics, even if its defenders like to point out that the second "does not lie down on the ground, it bends like a reed" ².

¹ A retired farmer from Bonnieux.

² We can note the remark of G. Guillot, on the subject of the lodging of milling wheat: "Its straw bends at the height of the knot, 15-20 cm from the ground. It is quite amusing because when it lodging, instead of all lying in the same direction, as if we had brushed the field, it lies in a circle. It makes you feel a bit like hair that has ears of corn."

B. Working the land

It goes without saying that Apt milling wheat was cultivated at a time when agriculture had not still undergone the technical transformations that it would experience after the 1950s. In the first half of the 20th century^e century, the work of the land was done with one or two plowshares and the harrow pulled by horses. My 97-year-old interlocutor even reports more Elders: "To plow, we had a plowshare and two animals. But I knew some who didn't do it than with an animal. I have known some who did everything "by hand" too: they cultivated the land with the pickaxe, with the spade and they sowed on that"³.

The plowing was done after the harvests: "It was necessary to plow the land in the summer, when it was dry. (...). Because if you plow when the soil is too cool, couch grass will form "develops easily" I am told. And "we did not pass thirty-six times in the fields because we worked with horses. We plowed, we harrowed and then we sowed the wheat (...)". Today, at the GAEC Les Granges in Montfuron, to prepare the soil for the cultivation of milling wheat, "we systematically pass a disk after the harvest, hoping for regrowth after the summer storms. Then September/October, we compost, we "play the record again and in the process, we plow."

Finally, if we are to believe the farming methods of a farmer from Vachères, transmitted by his father, the depth of the plowing seems to be important: "For the tuzelles, it is a traditional cultivation method, that is to say superficial plowing at the level of the depth". It seems that technical constraints imposed this type of depth. since in Bonnieux, I was told that with four horses harnessed to a plow, we dug 15 cm.

³ Around Grambois, the pickaxe used for hard land was called an "eissade".

C. Soil enrichment

Enrichment of the land – animal manure being the only source of income before the Second World War fertilizer – is consistently seen among older farmers as well as among the youngest as a factor particularly favoring the lodging of milling wheat from Apt. And the thoughts on this subject are going well: "If you put a good manure in the land, you had everything falling"; or again: "Milling wheat is wheat that is not very greedy, if we put too many fertilizing elements, it risks going to bed".

Against the impoverishment of the soil, crop rotation was practiced. Oral testimonies are overlap with the fact that alfalfa and sainfoin were mainly sown for the nitrogen supply useful for the development of wheat, all varieties combined. But other crops could also be carried out as I was told in the Aigues region: "We did that on melons, on alfalfa, on sainfoin, on vetch too, it grows very well. And then we made what is called a "mesclage"; it was oats and vetches to give to the horses".

The agricultural survey of the Vaucluse department of 1868 reports for the 19th century^e century of a biennial crop rotation practice with a fallow year: "There are about forty years, the so-called first and second quality arable lands were generally cultivated by biennial rotation, fallow and wheat. (...) but [in recent years] the fallows have largely disappeared to make way for madder, potatoes, millet, broom and artificial fodder, particularly alfalfa and sainfoin"

⁴ . The investigation

The 1929 agricultural report of the Basses-Alpes department also reports a system biennial crop rotation with fallow for the Banon/Revest-du-bion area⁵. We find here still alternating with sainfoin and legumes⁶. I add here that a witness assured me

that on the Albion plateau: "The land was left to rest for at least four or five years. There made sainfoin, we left it for three or four years and then we sowed wheat on top." And In several places I am still told that "before the war of 1939-45, it was forbidden to make wheat twice in the same place".

⁴ Combes, 1868, p. 80.

⁵ Niquet, 1929, p. 13.

⁶ On the Albion plateau and up to Caseneuve, the wheat-growing lands were also used, depending on the altitude, for lavender or lavandin. "We hurried to harvest the wheat to start the lavandins. And on these lands, with the lavandin we were off for ten years during which we no longer grew wheat" they remember in Caseneuve.

Today, Gérard Guillot recommends the following practice for milling wheat: "We puts at the head of the crop rotation. That is to say after having made alfalfa or having rested the field for three years, we put in a lot of compost and we sow a cereal that is very hungry, which is very greedy like the Polonicum, or even the Florence Aurore. In the second year, we do not put more compost and that's where we're going to put Apt miller's wheat; and in the third year, we will put a barley, an oat or something like that. (...). We have already made thirds years at the Meunier d'Apt and he likes it too. There, he must not have too much to eat." So as this new farmer of old varieties sums it up, "you have to learn to sow wheat miller from Apt in rather poor lands; there is no point in bringing him tons of manure or sow it on soil with previous crops that were too rich."

2. Seeds

A. Seed selection

I wanted to report here on a dimension which does not directly concern the touzelles but more broadly the choice of seed wheat in the old cultivation area of Miller of Apt. This is a process that has been practiced for a very long time and is described in books 19th century agricultural^e century. We can read for example in the *Bulletin of the Agricultural Committee of the district of Apt* of 1872: "General rule: you must take the seed from a region which is to the north of that where it is cultivated, and to ensure that the wheat has been harvested in a state of perfect maturity. (...) Let him [the farmer] not lose sight of the fact that with equal merit, the most rustic varieties, the most likely to withstand sudden changes in from severe cold to thaws, are those which offer the most security for the future of harvests »⁷. I found what this magazine recommends in an interview with a baker. retired having worked as a farmer in the Digne region around forty years ago years: "The elders, my father, always said that for wheat you had to go and get it

at the top to sow it at the bottom and especially not the opposite." This interlocutor did not know how explain to me what the reason(s) were, but confirmed that it was a know-how well known throughout the region. A farmer from Grambois told me that it was the opposite: "My father told me that you should never look for your seeds in the upper regions. They had to be taken from below to go up, but not to go down. I still remember when he told me that."⁸.

In any case, the first version seems to have been practiced more in the surrounding area of the Luberon, at least that is what several *monthly Bulletins of the Union of the Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union*⁹, in a part devoted to "seed wheat" from which I have already quoted an extract: "Everyone knows that it You should always take your seeds from outside the localities where they will be grown, and preferably in regions where only one variety of wheat is grown, and where conditions climate and soil will be worse, so that the robust wheat will benefit from the better conditions in which it will be placed. This is an acquired point of physiology for a long time. This is why the plain goes to seek its seed wheat in the mountain, etc., which gave the high plateaus of Vaucluse, and especially those backed by the Luberon, almost the monopoly of these supplies. There, in fact, are united a climate rough and variable and a poor soil which give the plant all the robustness it needs. The city of Pertuis is the wheat shipping center of this region (Tuzelle de Pertuis)".

Furthermore, in the interviews, I systematically note that the elders had the habit, whatever the variety, of multiplying their own seed from one year to the other. "When we had a piece where the grain was beautiful, we kept it for the seed according to ». This is how some farmers have preserved old varieties such as tuzelles that came to them from their father¹⁰. One of them claims, moreover, and this also on the subject of milling wheat, that "these are seeds which do not degenerate practically not."

Finally, I must add that today, a grower specializing in varieties old ones recommend making mixtures of varieties with the aim of obtaining a ready-made harvest to make compound flours. It seems that this practice was

⁷ Agricultural Committee of the Apt district, 1872, p. 251.

⁸ Marie-France Lagarde and Philippe Marchenay report observations of this order in their work on the PNR des Ecrins (Lagarde, Marchenay, 1985). For example, Saint Paul sur Ubaye went to get his seeds from Ceillac in Queyras.

⁹ Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union, July 1896, August 1896, August 1897, p. 4.

¹⁰ These farmers remain very rare in the region.

valued by agronomists, but not for the same reasons of elements on this subject in ancient local practices.

¹¹. However, I can't find it.

B. Seed diseases and treatments

Three cryptogamic diseases have been mentioned to me concerning Apt milling wheat. I have already talked about rust which is favored by excess humidity (rain or watering). "When the wheat got rust, it made rust-colored dust on the leaves. And when you were harvesting, it was like you were working in ochre. It dried the wheat and the "The harvest was worthless," I was told in Pays d'Aigues.

I am also told about coal. "For coal, the seed was treated with copper that was mixed with water. And then we wet the wheat well with this mixture, we turned them so that there was some everywhere; we let them dry and we "Copper must be prepared at least a day in advance so that it dries a little. (...). But we don't put much of it. We did it with a small broom; we sent it on the ground and We then turned it with a wooden shovel to mix it well.

The third disease was mentioned to me by farmers who now specialize in cultivation of old varieties and not by the elders who never refer to it; it is about the caries. "Caries is a fungus that turns grains black and creates a lot of dust. at the time of threshing and which has a slightly spoiled fish smell." Because among these peasants, many people have had their milling wheat production affected by this fungus; Many believe that the contamination came from their supplier's semen, others Some explain it by unfavourable climatic conditions, others by poor choice of terrain. To fight against it, many say they have proceeded in the following manner:

¹¹ C.-C. Mathon has collected some extracts on this subject (Mathon, 1985, p. 13): "It is a fact well established by numerous tests that the mixture of two distinct varieties of wheat almost constantly gives a grain yield greater than that which would have been obtained from one or the other of these varieties grown alone... practices recommended by many experienced farmers and which we believe to be very recommendable" (Vilmorin-Andrieux, 1880, p. 167). "This practice (making mixtures) is most successful and always ensures an increased yield when one combines varieties well adapted to the locality" (Berthault, 1912, p. 109). "It has been found that by mixing two or more varieties, an average yield is obtained which is higher than the average yield of each of the varieties grown separately" (Ratineau, J., 1945, *Les céréales*, Paris, Flammarion, p. 103).

"The seed must be cleaned with water, dried and, before sowing, treated with slurry. Bordeaux or copper sulfate".

But if modern growers of old varieties recently interested in Wheat Millers say of him that he is easily subject to diseases, and particularly to caries, these These words are very rarely present in the discourse of the elders. Some of them tell even though the Milling Wheat had no disease problems. One of the few young farmers who have perpetuated know-how and preserved old varieties inherited from their Father does not think that these are more sensitive than modern varieties.

Finally, I noted a case of weevil-infected touzelles in Vachères about ten years ago. years. It would be "a small butterfly that lays eggs and develops mainly in the summer 12 with the heat » . Its owner, who works in organic farming, had subjected its seeds a treatment with sulfur and essential oils before disposing of them.

C. Seeding

The Apt milling wheat, like the other touzelles and saissettes attested in the region, is sows in the fall (it is called "fall wheat"). "The Miller is a long cycle variety; it is sown early and harvested quite late, well, quite late, this is not exactly that, earing ¹³ is done a little later than the rest." In reality, the The planting period depends on the geographical area in which you are working. Cucuron, I am told that sowing should be completed around November 8 or 10. "And there, as the climate has changed a little, we can sow later. (...). But finally the wheat they don't fear the cold too much here. Even in the Basses-Alpes, I don't think there is any problems. In the Hautes-Alpes, a little higher up, it may be that at the limit of wheat cultivation, "it is a little fairer," it was added. Towards Goult, it is said that "it was sown every two weeks before All Saints' Day and two weeks after. We had a month to sow." In Caseneuve, "the The ancients said that the week before All Saints' Day and the week after were the best. to sow". Finally, on the plateau of Albion, it seems that the sowing of wheat began

¹² According to Pierre Lieutaghi, the weevil is not a disease of standing wheat, but of stored grains.

¹³ "Earing corresponds to the time when each ear hatches from its sheath. Shortly afterwards, stamens appear outside the spikelets. This is the flowering stage, the growth of the stems is complete" (Musée de Salagon, 1983, p. 2).

earlier: "We used to sow early at the time, at the end of September," recalls a former farmer from Saint-Trinit.

Milling wheat was one of those cereals that was still sown by hand.¹⁴, then we buried the seedlings with a horse-drawn harrow. Today, we sow with seeders. I find approximately the same indication as to the quantity of milling wheat that it needed to sow one hectare of land: between 160 and 180 kilos. His seedlings come out, like many other varieties, before winter, early December, and the ears are visible in the month of May.

3. The harvest

A. The harvests

The wheat harvest began and apparently still begins around July 14th on the Albion plateau, while at this time it is coming to an end around the Grand Luberon vauclosien. At the time of the ancient cultivation of Apt milling wheat, the practices of harvesting are of course different from those of today; the farming world does not have still suffered the influence of the machinery that it would experience in the 1950s. My interlocutor 97-year-old recalls that when he was in his twenties, our wheat – the only one sown then in the surroundings of Castellet – cut himself with a scythe, and that before him his grandfather 15 used the sickle . After that, "we gathered the wheat that was cut, we made it into sheaves, (...) which were tied with a handful of straw which made perhaps fifteen ears of

¹⁴ Some people have described their hand-sowing technique to me; of course, none of it is specific to Meunier d'Apt. I noted the explanation given to me by a farmer from Caseneuve: "Six steps and we put a marker, the same on the other side. And we aimed at the marker and sent the seeds. (...). In the village, everyone knew who sowed the best, because when the wheat came out, when it was a few centimetres tall, it was clearly visible to the naked eye. (...). My goal was to extend, to send far to exceed the six metres that it borrows from the one next door; because if you only go five metres while swinging the grain, there is a metre where there is much less. There it is not pretty, it can be seen from afar. So the peasants next door say: "A sen va séla", which means that we put everything in the three meters that were in front of the marker and that there was still a meter or a little more where there was nothing."

¹⁵ Pierre Martel attests that in Haute Provence the sickle was still used late, until the war of 1914. (Martel, 1983, p. 24).

wheat". Between the two wars, that is to say at the end of the cultivation of the Meunier d'Apt, the mower, the harvester, the binder appear successively¹⁶ – drawn first by horses and later by tractor –, and finally the thresher¹⁷. I will not enter not in the many technical details involved in using these machines agricultural and refers the reader here to volume II of *Summer Wheat*¹⁸ in which Pierre Martel makes very good descriptions of the harvesters and other tools used in Haute Provence at this time effect (we can also find references there on the country of Apt).

The fact remains that the work of the binder, a machine used by the people interviewed in the frame of this study often refers, was combined with the use of the scythe. "Around the field, to pass with the binder, we made a first pass with the scythe so that the horses do not trample the wheat". Hand-cutting of wheat is therefore still practiced, Many of them remember the quality of straw depending on the varieties harvested. This is the case, for example, of this peasant from Vachères: "[about the Touzelles and Milling wheat], as the scythe was used a lot, the straw from these wheats was more easy to cut. The snips¹⁹, they had hard straw; to cut them with the scythe, It was harder. But the milling wheat had the softest straw."

In addition, the tendency to lodging is a characteristic of milling wheat which sometimes makes it incompatible in the eyes of some with increasingly sophisticated agricultural machinery. "When the milling wheat was lying down, the machines were not going well in there. So it There were indeed the beaters [of the harvester] to bring in the ears, but when they were lying like that, the beaters couldn't catch them. So someone had to "He goes over with a pitchfork and picks them up. It was complicated!" says, for example, this former Grambois. However, some of the young farmers who today cultivate milling wheat believe that, even when poured, it can be harvested without any problem with a combine harvester.

Finally, I gathered in the interviews a set of divergent assessments regarding the resistance of the grain of Apt milling wheat to shocks and wind. "It was harvested from preferably not quite ripe. Because if it was quite ripe, when harvesting, it was shaken and the grains were already falling. And then they made sheaves of them, what they called gerberons, They were small millstones, and we let it ripen, we let it dry. The grain, like the straw, was still green and it continued to grow in there. As long as everything that was in the

¹⁶ In Vachères I am told that they used the binder until 1964.

¹⁷ I noted that on this subject, some people told me about an advance in the Basses-Alpes compared to the Vaucluse: "In the Basses-Alpes, on that side, in Forcalquier, they were much further ahead than here. They always had more advanced equipment compared to us", a Vaucluse farmer told me.

¹⁸ Martel, 1983

The stem was not exhausted, the grain was growing, it was ripening quietly. And then it was brought to a threshing floor, it was taken to a stack and the thresher came to thresh the grain." And the same farmer later added: "You can't harvest it with a combine harvester. For the To harvest this, the grain must be very ripe; and this wheat that we had at the time, when it were very ripe, if there was a gust of wind, the grain would fall." I find this type of remark about milling wheat in the speech of several elderly people. However, the younger people do not seem to be of the same opinion. This is the case of this farmer from Vachérois who had kept his father's touzelle seeds for a long time, about which he indicates that: "These are wheats that were not too afraid of shocks. On the other hand, Saissette 54, I know that my father had abandoned it because the grain was falling a lot with the mistral, or during the harvest, when it was carried on the shoulder." For Monsieur Guillot also: "If we leave it [milling wheat] on the vine for a long time when it is ripe, it will not hardly loses its grains; you really have to wait three weeks after maturation so that it begins to lose its grains spontaneously."

Finally, a note concerning bearded wheat such as the saissettes. These were considered unsuitable for the new machines for the following reason: "The bearded wheat always remained attached, there were always ten or fifteen ears of corn which were attached to the divider and the binder would not bind them. So they had to be taken by hand and pushed in. And then to all the sheaves it was necessary to do that. It did not happen for long because it was "annoying". Today, it seems that harvesters have adapted to the beards of wheat.

¹⁹ This is probably the Saissette 54.

B. De-stripping and cleaning the grain

For grain crushing, I have not noted any practice specifically linked to wheat miller of Apt or other touzelles. Many remember that we used the roller pulled by a horse, the last unpicking tool recorded by Elie-Marcel Gaillard in Haute Provence before the arrival of motorization. "We did it on what we call the area, it is a surface plane whose ground has been prepared, hardened, watered and then well leveled; it must be very hard. In the middle there was a post with what was called a turnstile, with a rope. And the horse was spinning around, tied to the rope, dragging the stone roller behind him. As he went along As the horse turned, the rope wrapped around the post and the roller tended to move closer to the center. When it was in the middle, if the grain was not sufficiently shelled, we was still making a revolution. (...). Afterwards they removed the straw with a pitchfork, everything else was collected and they passed what is called the "fan". This fan removed the large straws and grain were cleaned like this ²¹ ", remembers this young farmer from Cucuron. This final stage of cleaning the grain on the floor disappears with the creation, just before the Second World War, agricultural grain cooperatives will then take charge of the operation. And then the arrival of combine harvesters will replace the use of the roller ²² .

Finally, I must also point out that I have not noted any appreciation either particular to the grain of the Miller of Apt as to its threshing, if not that of Gérard Guillot who believes that "he fights well, the grain does not break or hardly at all during threshing".

²⁰ Gaillard, 1997, p. 50.

²¹ In Goult I was told that in patois we spoke of "ponsier" to mean the dust and waste from the ears of corn.

²² "I also knew the threshing machine that ran with a wood-burning locomotive; I must have been six or seven years old. (...) It was the locomotive that made the thresher turn with belts. Then they put tractors on it. (...). At first there was only the thresher and then they put the press. So on one side they took out the grain, and on the other the bales. (...). There were about fifteen people around the thresher. There were two who carried the bales, two who divided them and tied them with wire. Then there were four on the stackers to send the sheaves, there was one who received them and another who, we called it "engrainait", that is to say he received them on the arm. Then there was the one who weighed the grain, the one who took care of the equipment... there were a few of us there! », remembers my main contact from Grambois.

C. The yield

In the interviews, I was able to identify that performance could be expressed in different ways. ways; but none of these expressions are really specific to milling wheat. In the country d'Aigues, and particularly in Grambois and Pertuis, I was told that people used to speak by example of the yield at the "mined"²³. Among other peasants, it was said rather that wheat "made 2 or 3" in bad lands and "12" in better lands when he did not pour, which means that for one kilo of wheat sown, 12 kilos were harvested. Some still speak of "specific weight" which expresses "the yield of the grain in flour". Today, we speak more readily in quintals/hectares; in this case, many agree on an average of approximately 20 quintals/hectare (between 15 and 25) for the touzelles and milling wheat. "At 30 quintals, milling wheat is because it is lying down, even before!" says a farmer from Cucuron. In Montfuron, for a year of drought like that of 2006, I am told that it would succeed in giving 30 quintals/hectare. Finally many are also expressed in tonnes per hectare; I find the figure of 2.5 tonnes at per hectare on the Albion plateau, before the soil was enriched with sludge²⁴ and 3 to 4 tonnes per hectare lower down towards Apt and Goult.

Assessments of the yield of milling wheat differ depending on the criteria of comparison used by the respondents. If we stick to the one that is often made between an old variety and a modern variety, our cultivar is placed there on the bench of less productive, called "poor yield". But if the comparison is made in relation to other old varieties current at the time, Milling wheat is renowned for giving good harvests. In the canton of Banon I was assured that milling wheat had a very good specific weight compared to other varieties.

If we are to believe the comparison made between the interviews, it appears that the performance of the Apt milling wheat does not vary specifically depending on the locality; this phenomenon can be explained by the fact that similar lands are devoted to it: the poorest. It seems yet in their speech, some believe that villages were more famous than

²³ "The "éminée" is a surface area; today we would rather speak in ares or hectares. And depending on the village, nine "éminées" are needed per hectare, there is another place, twelve are needed. You understand, it is not a regular measurement," a farmer from Grambois explained to me. Pierre Lieutaghi told me in this regard that in Antiquity the "hemina" was a Greek measurement of capacity, used by Latin agronomists such as Cato the Elder, for example, in the 3rd century

^e century BCE (De Agri Cultura, 57).

²⁴ The recent spreading of sludge towards Revest-du-Bion would have significantly increased the yield of the various crops.

others for their wheat yield; for example, it is said to be better in Grambois and Pertuis than at the Tour d'Aigues or at the Bastide-des-Jourdans.

Finally, I thought it would be interesting to share with the reader some information that was released by C. Mesliand who notes an increase in the yield of Vaucluse wheat in the second half of the 19th century^e century: "Information is lacking (...), but it is possible that the increase in yield is partly explained by a more generous seed at the same time as selected »²⁵. On the other hand, it seems very difficult to know if the milling wheat is concerned by this observation.

After having presented the speeches on agricultural characteristics and practices, I propose to take stock of those which are of interest to the uses of milling wheat.

²⁵ Mesliand, 1989, p. 165.

Chap. IV. Uses and reputation of touzelles and Apt milling wheat

Considering the reputation of Meunier d'Apt in terms of bakery among the members of Agribio 04, and to the extent that its name is not found in the regional monographs that I had the opportunity to consult, I devoted a part important part of my investigations is to look for elements that could provide me with information on the uses that wheat may have known locally, as well as the practices that these may have imply. These are the results that I propose to present now.

1. Uses related to domestic animals

A. The straw

Until the middle of the 20th century^e century, the cultivation of wheat in the region of Apt, Pertuis and Albion is constituent part of an autonomous functioning of the peasantry which practices the system mixed farming/livestock farming. "It was another type of agriculture. It was precisely a subsistence farming practically, they only sold the surplus. (...). It was not large productions, it was very diversified. There was a little fodder for the animals, to make them eat, there was a little wheat, then there was a little vine, asparagus, "a little garlic, fruits, vegetables, melons," they explain to me in the southern Luberon. In On almost every farm there were horses, sheep, a few pigs, chickens, rabbits, even pigeons (for meat). On the Albion plateau, "we had wheat, flock of sheep and lavender," says a former farmer from Saint-Trinit. If we believes A. De Réparaz, sheep have occupied an important place in this sector for around 1850, next to a pig farm which, from the beginning of the 20th century^e century, has considerably

diminished. C. Mesliand indicates, for his part, that the mountain cantons of Apt, Bonnieux, Pertuis or Sault, "where the pastures and rangelands constitute good part of the agricultural territory »¹, are among those where the largest was found concentration of sheep in the Vaucluse department. And in these, "[sheep farming is] closely associated with cereal growing through the use it provides of straw and small grains, (...) »².

We therefore understand that the storage of straw was of great interest. "Straw, in winter, we fed it to the animals. (...) we mixed it with alfalfa, because it lengthened a little bit of food." "And then we let it rot, we made manure from it which we used as mulch horses and sheep in the evening." Later, it was even sold: "The straw was interesting in the past; now we don't do anything with it anymore, but before it paid for the fertilizer and the thresher". This is how at harvest time, the straw was cut flush in order to harvest the most possible.

In this context, the straws of Apt milling wheat and other touzelles and saissettes, of which we remembers that they are particularly long, seem to fit well for the former farmers to the needs of the time. This explains in particular, for some of them them, that we favored this type of cultivar: "we produced wheat that had a lot of "straw for the animals," someone explains to me; and another adds: "I tell you, miller's wheat, We kept the straw to give to the animals: there were no thorns.

Moreover, the size of the stems is not the only interest that touzelles present for the animals. The speech is accompanied by a depreciation of the straw of durum and bearded wheat described as "thick", "coarse" and therefore "bad" both for food and for litter. "We did not sow these bearded wheats, because the straw was given to the sheep, and beards, to feed the sheep, it is bad: it remains between the gums, everywhere." I also note the following remark: "As long as there were animals, the "Bearded wheat was not too popular here." In several places, I even found farmers who, in an attempt to deter wild boars – which have been increasing in number over the past ten years – have over the last fifteen years in the canton of Banon – to tackle the crops, plant bearded wheat.

¹ Mesliand, 1989, p. 31.

² Idem.

B. Grain and flour

To the extent that breeding seems to occupy an important place in the various geographical areas concerned by the ancient culture of Apt milling wheat, I had to heart to investigate whether it had played a particular role in the feeding of animals domestics. However, at the end of the various interviews, it quickly became apparent to me that the wheat of generally speaking, they were rarely given barley to eat – from which flour was made – or oats entering much more into their diet. “During the war, it was forbidden to give wheat to the animals, but we never gave them too much anyway; "Barley, oats, corn, chickpeas, yes, but not wheat" they explain to me in the Pays d'Aigues. And to my question: "And did the animals like the milling wheat?", a former Revestois to answer for example: "It was the same. But the animals, what they preferred, It was oats." So it does not seem that wheat was particularly important in the feeding of sheep, pigs or horses, and even less that the Miller of Apt held a special place in this area. Several former farmers say, however, that they have gave grain of this wheat to their poultry as well as to their rabbits. When the Milling Wheat has was also found in Buoux around 1983, the farmer who cultivated it fed his chickens, who were very fond of them. There are a few of them today who can testify in the same sense: "you take milling wheat, you mix it with other varieties [modern], you give it to the chickens: they will eat the milling wheat first and they will leave the others!"

Finally, it emerges from the interviews that many improved the food of their animals with flour³. Barley still appears to be the cereal most used for this purpose, and especially for pig feed. But some also talk about using flours of wheat; this is the case of this former inhabitant of Revest-du-Bion: "chestnuts, they fattened the sheep too much⁴. That's why we made wheat flour. We boiled it potatoes, beets, cabbages and then we added a little flour." This is how the bran and the so-called "low flour" were dedicated to the animals: "There is the bran

³ Some farms had a “crusher” for this preparation.

⁴ I showed, in a study carried out in 2005 on the chestnut tree in the canton of Banon, that these trees were cut down planted in the middle of the 19th^e for centuries in order to provide food for pigs whose breeding was particularly important. century, important at that time.

alone that was given to the horses to cool them down⁵. And then there was the "flour" "bass" in which we mixed a little bit of everything. (...) We would go and get it and give it to chickens, rabbits, after having soaked it in water." To the extent that it was one of the only wheats cultivated until the end of the Second World War, there is every reason to believe that the grain of Apt miller's wheat must have entered into the preparation of these brans and "low flours". But it goes without saying that for these, the wheat was not chosen according to its quality. Thus, I do not does not in any case indicate any specific use of milling wheat for animal feed.

2. Milling, baking and pastry practices

"To eat is to consume bread, more bread or porridge at length of existence," notes an informant of Anita Bouverot in *Cuisine dans le pays d'Apt*⁶. In a region where wheat is known to have long been a staple food in the form of bread⁷, There is a strong possibility that milling wheat was intended to feed people. This is less than what most of the people interviewed in this survey claim. "A In my opinion, these varieties [the touzelles], they cultivated them for human consumption," specifies for example this farmer from the southern Luberon.

Although it was very difficult for me to meet local millers or bakers who practiced before the Second World War, several testimonies from former farmers report that flour was made from Apt milling wheat and was used in the manufacture of bread. Some of them even say that the baker of Murs, particularly renowned in the region and unfortunately deceased today, said he had used it extensively. Others still suppose that that of Rustrel, which made its bread with bundles of wood until there is about ten years, had also had to use it. In Apt, I was assured that they were doing

⁵ On the subject of horse food, I notice an opposition between that which "refreshes" and that which "inflames". Thus, while bran has a reputation for soothing their stomachs, "oats were the treat; when they had finished eating, before leaving for work, they were given oats. It was like a glass of wine, but it didn't get them drunk, it inflamed them".

⁶ Bouverot, 1981, p. 86.

⁷ Anita Bouverot reveals that the basic Aptesian diet is based on a trilogy: cereals most of the time in the form of bread, fruits and vegetables and meats (Bouverot, 1981, p. 87-89).

saissette bread and miller's wheat. The retired miller from the Moulin de Pangon says as for having produced pure Touzelle flour with which bread was made locally.

A resident of Montsalier told me that the milling wheat he harvested in Banon was intended for making bread. In Vachères, I was also told that the local Touzelle – Touzelle from Vachères –, transformed into flour, served by the village baker.

Due to the almost total disappearance of local millers and bakers over the age of 70 years old, I have little information on the uses and know-how specifically linked to the flour and bread-making from the Miller of Apt. It appears that, like the touzelles and Unlike wheats such as Florence Aurore, which I will discuss later, it did not have the reputation of being a so-called "strong" wheat⁸. Its use therefore involved practices of kneading or shaping by hand that today's bakers no longer know.

Most of the testimonies collected during the investigation indicate that these flours were pure employees. "At that time, they were already very happy to have flour. They did not were not looking for mixtures too much. It came after the war, the mixtures." And "when the millers said they had made sifted flour⁹ at 80, it could be at 95," remembers the oldest of my interlocutors. It was therefore very difficult for me to know what type flour Milling wheat was transformed. C. Mesliand writes about bread in Vaucluse at the end of the 19th century^e century: "It is brown bread, that is to say obtained from coarse flour, much closer to wholemeal bread than the white bread we eat." Finally, Before being used, "bakers used to let the flour rest (...). There was one at Bastide-des-Jourdans, which left it for six months before working on it," then they made two-kilogram loaves.

During my first meeting with the members of Agribio 04, one of them had given me to understand that the Miller of Apt had been able to enter into the manufacture of pumps oil so consumed in the region. This information had particularly aroused my curiosity; I was therefore keen throughout the investigation to multiply the investigations in the prospect of knowing more about this subject. However, I have not found any element referring to this type of manufacturing with Meunier d'Apt. But to the extent that

⁸ I have already said that in popular language, a "hard wheat" means "which makes the dough rise." We may also note the definition given in specialized works on milling or baking: "The term "hard" has a rather broad meaning, but it generally designates the ability of a flour: 1) to produce a well-developed loaf of suitable texture; 2) to absorb and retain water during the preparation of the dough and thus to produce a greater number of loaves from each bag of flour. Both of these factors depend on the physical characteristics of the dough, which itself depends on the quantity and quality of gluten it contains," (Lockwood, 1950, p. 44).

Many of my interlocutors assured me that our wheat was almost the only one to be grown in the Apt region, so there is a chance that it was used for purposes other than bread. It is interesting to report here the words of my interlocutor from Castelet aged 97 years: "Milling wheat is a wheat that was used in pastries, which was used for everything. (...). Only this wheat was made". "So the miller's wheat was used for baking and for baking?" I insisted. "Milling wheat did everything," he retorted. I add that a baker from Aptois who worked from the 1950s told me that in his time Many oil pumps were manufactured and for these, as well as for the others pastries such as brioche king cakes for example, we chose instead so-called "strong" flours, i.e. made from hard wheat.

3. Wheat transactions in the old cultivation area of milling wheat

A. Escape the monetary system

At the time of the cultivation of miller's wheat, it appeared to me that wheat was exchanged for bread, a widespread practice in Provence and Vaucluse. "There was no of exchanging flour for bread. The exchange took place between the peasant and the baker; It was the baker who got paid in grain. This was called consumption. family. I experienced it again in Banon, and in this country, in particular in Revest-du-Bion and the surroundings, in Saint-Trinit and all the area. People did not pay for their bread and at the end of the months received their invoice; in proportion, the bakers were paid in wheat," remembers the former miller of the Pangon mill. The exchange therefore took place between the baker and the farmer, the former sometimes even coming to choose his wheat right from the fields during the harvest; he then took care of having it ground by the miller. For the

⁹ "Bluter" means, in his own words, "to pass through a sieve". According to an old work on baking (Urbain-Dubois, 1933, p. 43), sifting allows, after grinding the grains, to separate the fine flour, the groats, the semolina, the bran and the germs.

value of the exchange, I am almost systematically told that it was "a kilo of wheat for a kilo of bread." Here Anne-Marie Topalov indicates about this which she calls the "swing system"¹⁰ : "They always tell you that with 80 kilos of grain, you get 100 kilos of flour and 120 kilos of bread"¹¹. Still, according to C. Mesliand,¹² "the exchange formula was undoubtedly the most widespread in Vaucluse until 1914"¹². A.-M. Topalov specifies that in the Basses-Alpes, this operation would have continued until 1935, after which we start to buy our bread. For my part I found a memory very lively from these exchanges among the different people I interviewed; some say they knew them until the 1960s.

But if we believe C. Mesliand, who sees this operation as a step towards the market system, it would seem that in transactions between peasant, miller and baker, It was not always like this. In the 19th century^e century, "wheat is still the most important element important for peasant self-consumption, we can see this clearly from the uses in terms of bread making. While domestic baking of bread seems to be uncommon in Vaucluse, the less common was the preparation of the dough at home, by women and the work of the baker consisted essentially, in the villages, of baking bread, for payment in kind. At the turn of the century, this custom was lost and we see more elaborate forms of division of labor appear: the most common is the wheat exchange or flour-bread »¹³. And Mesliand considers that this new system "corresponds to the desire, translation of a progress in the way of life, of eating better quality bread: one buys bread every day, whereas in the previous formula the bread was baked every eight or ten days and it happened that the last loaves were moldy... But what connects this use to the previous one, it is its purpose: it is always for the peasant to obtain the bread necessary for the family's diet without spending a penny, the miller and the baker being paid for their work in kind. The concern to escape the monetary exchange circuit is so strong that it is expressed in cooperative forms: from 1900 to 1914, we note the creation of around thirty cooperative bakeries in the Vaucluse villages, and their statutes accurately predict the conditions of exchange between the wheat brought by the farmer and the bread that the baker delivers to him"¹⁴.

¹⁰ "The exchange system uses wheat as the main currency," she explains (Salagon Museum Sound Library, C20).

¹¹ Sound library of the Salagon Museum, C20.

¹² Mesliand, 1981, p. 165-166.

¹³ Mesliand, 1981, p. 165-166.

B. Selling your wheat

Besides trade with bakers, wheat was also sold to brokers or millers. "I hear from my father and grandfather that they stored grain in granaries. And then they sold it in the winter to merchants. (...). And the longer it was kept, the more grain was paid; it didn't increase much, but it was a little more expensive," says one former farmer. "Sometimes the classes were not regular. So when the classes were better, we would go and get bags, we would fill them in the attic and the trucks would come "looking for them in the middle of winter," recalls another.¹⁵

The people I interviewed had a lot of trouble remembering the price at which traded in milling wheat; none of them managed to give me any indication of this precise. "There was only this one, it was the most expensive," the oldest told me. I found an indication of the price of local wheat dating from 1899: "Roussillon Barberousse wheat from Castelnaudary at 19 francs per hectare housed at the departure station, White wheat from Castelnaudary idem, Wheat bladette of Puylaurens idem, Wheat of Bordeaux or Noé idem, Wheat tuzelle blanche idem, Wheat bladette of Tuscany idem, Blé tuzelle of Pertuis at 35 fr. housed the 8 doubles Pertuis station, Arles wheat at 40 francs for 160 kilos at Avignon station »¹⁶. The Tuzelle of Pertuis of which it is question here would it correspond to the white Touzelle of Pertuis? No element has given me allowed to know more. We will remember from this extract that the price of this touzelle was particularly high. In the second half of the 20th century^e century, these prices will decrease; I will have the opportunity later to explain the reasons. As for my oldest interlocutor, he claims that in his village where only milling wheat was grown, "I knew wheat from one or two francs per kilo"¹⁷.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ In the Aigues region, I was told that the density of wheat grains was measured using a container, sometimes with a metal handle, called a "panau". "In the 'panau', for the wheat to be good, it had to weigh 13 kilos. The wheat was poured on top and then it had to be shaved with a stick. And then you could never make a mistake, it was the exact yield. The grain was put inside and then it was weighed on the scale. If it exceeded 13 kilos, if it weighed 14 or 15 kilos, your wheat was paid more. The merchants who bought it took that into account". It was the same farmer who also told me that the weight of wheat increased after storage, information that today's farmers no longer seem to have.

¹⁶ Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union, October 1899, p. 6.

¹⁷ And he added: "Wheat was worth one franc. A man earned two francs a day at the time. At that time, a working man earned two kilos of wheat per day.

From the 1930s onwards, wheat cooperatives were created; from then on all harvests will be sold to them directly. "We filled 80-kilo bags on the ground and then it was a truck that came to pick them up and take them to the silo"¹⁸, do we remember about the deliveries.

C. Trade and reputation of wheat in Apt and Pertuis according to ancient texts

If we are to believe old documents relating to the department of Vaucluse, the trade of wheat appears at a certain period as particularly flourishing in the area geographical area of the ancient culture of Apt milling wheat. Several of them report markets and important fairs, and this from the end of the 16th century^e century. At that time, "there existed in our town a large annual grain market which took place on the first Friday which followed on August 15th »¹⁹, indicates the municipal review *Pertuis - Municipal Bulletin*. It is moreover in this one that it is locally a question for the first time of touzelle of which one said that it "is highly esteemed because of the quality of its grain." According to the *Monthly Bulletin of Vauclusian Agricultural Union*, the town of Pertuis also seems to have been in the 19th century^e a center distribution of wheat from all over the canton. In that of October 1895, I note the following indications: "Some union members having asked us to provide them with wheat from seeds, we thought that we could, thanks to the organization of our warehouse Pertuis and the zeal of its administrators, provide them with top quality wheat, authentic provenances, harvested on the best hillsides of Cabrières, La Motte-from Aigues, Sannes, Saint-Martin, etc., at price conditions that are certainly more advantageous than those offered by trade. All these wheats, after having passed through the sorter of the union, would be received by a Control Commission, in Pertuis itself, and sold on sample »²⁰. And in that of July 1896 from which I have already quoted an extract, the role of the

¹⁸ I am often told that later the bags will only weigh 50 kilos.

¹⁹ Pertuis - Municipal Bulletin No. 11, 1981, p. 34.

²⁰ Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union, October 1895, p. 2-3.

The town of Pertuis is further explained, since it is said to be the shipping center for wheat "robust" from the region called 'Touzelle de Pertuis'²¹.

But Pertuis is not the only town where the distribution of wheat took place. I find the trace grain market at the beginning of the 19th century^e century in other places in the department. "This country [the Vaucluse] so poor in grains nevertheless manages to sell them, and a lot of them, to other countries richer than him. It is well known, in fact, that at the Carpentras market, as at those of Isle, Apt, Pertuis, all this wheat called Touzelle is taken to Marseille and Aix. It is well known that merchants go to Bedouin at harvest time to buy all the wheat in that genre that is harvested there, and which we said is the best in the whole Department"²², indicates the agricultural survey of Vaucluse in 1808. It is also at this time that it seems a certain success of the wheat of the city of Apt. P. Simoni explains in his *Study of the society and the Apt economy from 1806 to 1913* that "the first half of the [XIX^e] century constitutes a period of prosperity for the flour mill which ships luxury flours to Marseille [note: The statistical notice on the city of Apt published in the Revue Aptésienne of 16/11/1834 reports flour milling to be "a new industry" to which "the finesse and the beauty of regional wheats gave birth]"²³.

Thus several ancient works bear witness to a very particular reputation of the cantons of Apt and Pertuis for their wheat²⁴, fame that allowed them to extend their marketing beyond their simple perimeter, even in the Marseille region. "(...) still at the beginning of this century, how many mediocre lands, on the arid plateaus, sown with wheat... This is what explains in the first place the importance that wheat retains in the district of Apt; it does not correspond to a cereal vocation, but to the use of poor land. No doubt this extensive cultivation produces surpluses marketable, which are on the Apt market and beyond, even in flour mills Marseillaises, a reputation for good quality »²⁵, specifies C. Mesliand in *Peasants of*

²¹ Union of Agricultural Unions of the Alpes de Provence and the Vauclusien Agricultural Union, July 1896, August 1896, August 1897, August 1998, pp. 5-6.

²² Pazzis, 1808, p. 319.

²³ Simoni, 1976, p. 419.

²⁴ I also note in a village monograph by Mr. Bancal written in 1895 to which C. Mesliand refers, that the wheat in Cucuron "is one of the best in the Durance valley and especially sold as seed wheat" (Bancal, M., 1896, Arrondissement d'Apt. Monographies communales d'après les documents collectifs par les instituteurs, Cavaillon, 79 p.), "which gives it a significant added value" (Mesliand, 1989, p. 164).

²⁵ Mesliand, 1989, p. 164. After 1929, the author still notes that: "It is in the cantons of the plateaus and the Alpine foothills that wheat still dominates the system of arable land: in Apt, Gordes, Pertuis, Sault, Valréas, it is still at the heart of the crop rotation. These cantons are also those where secular evolution has caused the cultivated area to decline significantly, where we observe a process of abandonment which is reflected in the

Vaucluse (1860-1939). And it is notable that in the 19th century^e century, the city of Apt seems all the more recognized for the fame of its wheat, this having repercussions on production that she does. An agricultural survey from 1868 even reports that at the departmental level, while this crop has been declining since 1866, "wheat (...), mainly white wheat from the Apt district is shipped to Marseille, after having been transformed into flour in the mills of the Caulon valley, Cavaillon, Isle and Vaucluse »²⁶.

All of these extracts evoke the reputation that wheat from around the Grand Luberon. They explain it by the fact that this culture knew how to make the most of poor land, that the quantity of wheat harvested, compared to the rest of the department, was particularly important²⁷ and that the quality of the grains found there was sought after.

areas recorded as "wasteland", and it is here finally that we notice a preponderance of arable land in the whole agricultural system", (Mesliand, 1989, p. 363).

²⁶ Combes, 1868, p. 5.

²⁷ It is generally known that poor, dry lands produce grain with a higher specific gravity.

4. Assessments of milling wheat in milling and baking and their consequences on its name

A. From the fame of the touzelle to that of the miller's wheat

Before coming specifically to the assessment given by the elders of Milling Wheat from Apt, I wanted to make a detour via the one that Touzelle seems to know beyond the region and period to which I have just referred. I have already shown that Many texts reveal the antiquity of the touzelle and often give appreciations of it, sometimes at the cultural level, sometimes at the level of its use in milling and baking. The oldest writings which report this type of precision were found by Henri Ferté; I propose here to report on the most significant ones. In *the History of Nîmes*, Léon Ménard²⁸ refers to a fixing of the price of touzelle dating from 1330; on this occasion, it is said from her that it is the "name given in the country to the most beautiful and purest wheat". Around 1600, Olivier de Serres in his *Theatre of Agriculture and Field Household* indicates, him, that "the Italians, the Piedmontese, those of Languedoc and Provence, agree on this word, toselles, which is a flat wheat, prized above all others for the delicacy of its bread"²⁹. We still find in *the Economic Study of Languedoc in the 18th century*^e 30th century by Léon Dutil that "the touzelle, also highly sought after for its higher yield, came out better than the others on the poor lands of Bas Languedoc. The touzelles of Narbonnais were very renowned and sought after for their seeds."

Following my own investigations, I can report that these considerations on the touzelle had lasted until its cultivation was abandoned³¹. I take as proof the results of an agricultural survey of 1929, *Agricultural monograph of the Basses-Alpes*, which reports that, on the Valensole plateau, "the Touzelle de Provence, an old local variety adapted to the climate and terrain of the region, not fearing scalding and whose grain is highly valued by the milling industry because of its yield in

²⁸ Ménard, Léon, 1755, *History of Nîmes*, book V^e, p. 50 (source: Henri Ferté).

²⁹ De Serres, Olivier, 2001, *The theater of agriculture and field management*, Arles, Actes Sud, 1543 p. (source: Henri Ferté).

³⁰ Archives of Gard C3/21 (source: Henri Ferté).

³¹ The latter can be traced back to the same period as that of Apt milling wheat.

flour, its whiteness, its finesse and its baking qualities”³², or even that in the Forcalquier Basin “as on the Valensole plateau, we cultivate the Touzelle, very sought after by the millers of Marseille; it is in Forcalquier that the main ones are made transactions »³³. Another example in the Roya Valley where Danielle Musset indicates that Breil, we formerly cultivated the "tusela" which was appreciated for giving "very good flour fine, very white, very flexible »³⁴.

More recently, in interviews, I also find this type of assessment:

"I knew old customers who always asked for touzelle; for them it was sign of a quality of a certain white flour (...); the baker who knew how to work it, he made extraordinary bread," says for example Mr. Monteau, a miller in Grans. In the country of Forcalquier, the former miller of the Pagon mill also evokes the fame of tuzelles: "The oldest ones I have known are the famous tuzelles, which are excellent milling wheat. (...). These were the ones that the bakers preferred. (...) My father, My grandfather only used that, without additives, without anything. The whiter the flour, the more the taste of the bread was affected.

Speeches relating to the adaptation of touzelles to local soil and climate conditions as well as their milling, baking and taste qualities undoubtedly explain the persistence of their fame and their cultivation over the centuries. It is therefore not a coincidence If it seems that the Apt miller's wheat - which is none other than a variety of touzelle, should it be recall – has enjoyed the same type of fame, still detectable today through the speech of the oldest peasants around the Grand Luberon: "It was good wheat, fine wheat of the time. The flour was finer, it was less coarse. Now the wheats that "We have coarse wheat," explains this retired farmer from Bonnieux. "(...) Wheat miller, it was a wheat that made a beautiful white flour," adds for example a former Revestois. In Banon, the Meunier had the reputation of being a very good wheat, making the the whitest flour of all local varieties. Others having encountered the old baker from Murs who ran the village bakery cooperative³⁵ ensure also that "when we spoke to him about milling wheat, it was something that had value, it was listed".

³² Niquet, 1929, p. 8.

³³ Idem. It is notable that we are here in the presence of the same phenomenon as for the wheat of Apt and Pertuis. ³⁴

Musset, 1983, p. 90.

³⁵ According to my interlocutors, the Murs bakery cooperative ceased its activities in the sixties.

There is therefore every reason to believe that our famous wheat has inherited the qualities mentioned above. long already about the touzelles from which he comes, even if it is sometimes suggested that his taste stands out. At least that's what I see in the bakers' discourse and peasant bakers who today reuse certain old varieties, including local touzelles like those of Vachères. In Limans, in the community of Longo Maï where milling wheat is cultivated, transformed into flour and made into bread, I find for example the specificity of the taste of our wheat: "Apt milling wheat really has a particular taste; it gives a sweet taste to the bread, it's very tasty. The people here, there are some who noticed it right away, and said they had never eaten bread with that flour there".

Finally, I will add that the existence of milling wheat having been attested from 1839 by Vilmorin-Andrieux, it is possible that this cultivar contributed to forging the reputation of the cities of Apt and Pertuis as regards their wheat. We have seen that certain texts also mention the fame of a local touzelle and it cannot be excluded that it is precisely the miller of Apt. However, no element, either oral or written, explicitly alludes to the possibility that I am putting forward here.

B. When fame participates in the construction of the denomination

Considering the fame of wheat in Apt and Pertuis in the 19th century^e century, as well as that mentioned by the elders about the Miller, it seemed to me interesting to close this chapter to do allusion to the constitution of its denomination. First of all, there is strong reason to believe that the location of a touzelle different from the others, correlated with the status of the city of Pertuis in This period, regarding the distribution of wheat, gave rise to a new name: the 'Touzelle blanche de Pertuis' whose name, I remind you, is attested for the first time by Vilmorin-Andrieux in 1874. As for the milling wheat, whose name, if we are to believe these agronomists, is certainly even older, we understand how the qualities which it are recognized to have been able to influence this name.

The words of former wheat specialists collected in the cantons where milling wheat is absent from popular language, as in the country of Forcalquier or Manosque, have me allowed us to glean yet another interesting piece of information about the representation that this implies

such a denomination. "There is wheat that we give to animals, and otherwise there is wheat millers, finally those who make flour, who make bread," explains a retired farmer. from the village of Dauphin (04). "A milling wheat? It is a wheat which is intended for milling, which makes good flour," adds the former miller of the Moulin de Pangon.

It is therefore highly likely that milling wheat was named thus in view of its quality miller and baker mentioned by the oldest. The old cultivators of miller wheat Those questioned about this readily explain that the variety had to be called this because its success with these professionals. "So milling wheat was a wheat that made a beautiful white flour. It was the millers' wheat, that's why it was called 'Wheat miller', explains one of them, for example. This interpretation also comes back regularly during interviews with those who previously cultivated it.

Finally, whether it is ancient texts, such as in *Les Meilleurs blés* by Vilmorin-Andrieux or in the article by C.-C. Mathon, or whether it is popular language – I mean here that of the ancients – it is always a question of 'Milling wheat' and not of 'Milling wheat from Apt'³⁶. I note in this regard the reflection of a retired farmer from Vachères: "We just called it the Milling Wheat. I don't know why they say 'from Apt'. The second appellation is in fact systematically used by those who are currently participating in near or far to its revival. It would therefore be a modern addition to the vernacular name 'Blé miller'. Would this new name not implicitly reflect the need for to delimit an area of ancient cultivation of milling wheat with the idea of reviving it, or even

³⁷ view of a future IGP?

³⁶ In the first work, we speak either of 'White wheat from Apt' or of 'Milling wheat', but not of 'Milling wheat from Apt'.

³⁷ This abbreviation means Protected Geographical Indication which has just been obtained for example very recently the Little Spelt of Haute Provence.

Chap. V. From the abandonment of old varieties to the revival of milling wheat

from Apt

1. The arrival of new soft wheats

A. Decline of the wheat trade in Apt and Pertuis

The commercial success that the towns of Apt and Pertuis experienced for their wheat concerned in reality a relatively short period. If the first half of the 19th century^e century has been particularly prosperous, from the 1850s, numerous archival documents attest that we are starting to import foreign, even exotic, wheat, which is unbalancing trade premises. "The decree of 30. 09. 1858 on the free importation of grain continued to raise the opposition of farmers who feared being ousted from the Marseille market by "the wheat" of the Mediterranean". Indeed, from 1858, Apt flours were facing competition from Marseille by cheap local and imported flours"¹. And Combes indicates in 1868 that "in exchange of these flours [white wheat from Apt processed by the region's millers] and for To fill the existing deficit, the Vaucluse department draws wheat from Marseille from Irka, Marianopoli and other origins, which bakers mix with advantage with flours made with local wheat »². This is how "the price of a hectolitre of wheat is dropped in 1865 to (...) 19 fr. 50 cents. in Apt. These are the lowest prices it has reached in the last six years »³. The phenomenon also affects the entire department of Vaucluse and I find around the same time similar problems in that of

¹ Simoni, 1975, p. 185.

² Combes, 1868, p. 5.

³ Combes, 1868, p. 6. We can also note here the specificity of wheat in the canton of Sault: "the wheat of Sault, in because of its particular quality, it always sells for 3 to 4 francs more than other wheat in the department.

Basses-Alpes. This resulted in a decline in wheat cultivation, many plots of which were replaced by the vine.

Towards the end of the 1920s, the reputation of wheat in Apt and Pertuis no longer had anything to do with it. with what it had known a century earlier and we began to abandon the varieties hitherto cultivated. C. Mesliand even reports a crisis in Vaucluse wheat from 1929: "An article then appeared in the journal of the Agricultural Union, under a title in Provençal language "Lou pan de noste blad", which exalts the wheat of countries which are today devalued and delights in the evocation from the past: "We did not hear, as we do now, constantly talking about appendicitis or "intestinal obstruction" (Rhône-Durance-Ventoux - September 30, 1934) ⁴.

Obviously, we do not find the date of abandonment of the cultivation of milling wheat in the local monographs since none of them specifically record its presence. On this The respondents agree that it stopped being used around the same time. period, although this sometimes varies depending on the family. For example, a former A farmer from Grambois attests that milling wheat was no longer cultivated before the 1930s. Otherwise, most of the people interviewed from Goult to Banon remember having some still sown in the 1950s. Some even claim that "nothing was done except this wheat during the war." But even before the war began, new varieties began to appear. arrive. Which ones will gradually replace the Apt milling wheat, the touzelles, saissettes and other local wheat?

B. Towards the standardization of varieties

On the eve of the Second World War, when the cultivation of Apt milling wheat had not still completely ceased, new soft wheats are appearing. For several decades now, agricultural research has developed considerably. But it is especially from the middle of the century that the new selections which come from it begin to be used more

⁴ Mesliand, 1981, p. 497. Could the discussion on the food quality of old varieties already date back to this period?

widely ⁵. I propose to report now, in chronological order of their arrival, of those that were mentioned to me in interviews as having been grown locally.

a. Some varieties cited in isolation

In Bonnieux, I was told about a Russian wheat, cultivated about fifty years ago. "It was of Russian origin I think. He produced, but he was as crude as anything; he made sound, not flour. It wasn't good wheat," the resident told me. I have few details about This variety that I have only heard of once. In their research on the varieties of plants cultivated in the Parc des Ecrins, M.-F. Lagarde and P. Marchenay have listed a Russian wheat in Vallouise of which it is specified that "it remained green and gave little grain " ⁶. Could it be the same variety? There is little evidence to support this at this time.

In Grambois, I was told about an Italian wheat that arrived a little before the 1930s: "I don't remember "I don't remember the name; my father said Italian Wheat," reports a former farmer from this village. "It was a big wheat, bearded and whose straw was interesting." But here again I could not get more items.

The same farmer also referred to Manitoba wheat, a variety imported from Canada, that M.-F. Lagarde and P. Marchenay have identified in many locations in the Parc des Ecrins and which I myself found in a 1929 agricultural survey of the Basses-Alps ⁷. It was also mentioned to me as wheat arriving in the port of Marseille, to be delivered to the millers from the Forcalquier region to "improve" flour, in the same way as wheat American Hardwinter ⁸.

⁵ Many crosses of varieties were carried out at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century by the Vilmorin Establishments, a certain Professor Schribaux and the National Institute of Agronomic Research (Jonard, 1951).

⁶ Lagarde and Marchenay, 1985, p. 101.

⁷ Niquet, 1929, p. 28.

⁸ In Comps-sur-Artuby, Auguste Chauvet, a former miller, recounts: "Only the "tousello" lacked nerve in the dough. It made beautiful bread, provided that a mixture was made. To balance it out, you needed strong wheat, like Manitoba, which was a hard wheat. This was mixed with the other flours to give strength to the dough. You put a shovelful in the kneading trough" (Rosier-Chauvet, 2006, p. 107). I do not find this practice in my interviews, but to the extent that milling wheat (and other touzelles or saissettes) were still cultivated at the time when Manitoba seems to have appeared in the region, it is not impossible that someone tried, for a time, to mix these varieties together.

Finally, on the Albion plateau, A. De Réparaz reports a Blé des Dômes which would have been one of the first new selections from the region. I don't find it mentioned anywhere in the Vaucluse side. It is listed in the works of P. Jonard, who recognizes its qualities very special bakers⁹.

b. Florence Aurore

Florence Aurore is one of the wheats that will have had the most impact on the farmers of that time; it is also the one I have heard most about by my interlocutors after the Milling Wheat. "The Florence Aurore is a variety from the INRA which dates from 1936," one of them, whose book culture is particularly rich, reveals to me about wheat. In reality, depending on the sectors, the localities, even the countryside, the peasants say they discovered it before or after the Second World War¹⁰. They were sown throughout the area. geographical area of ancient culture of the Miller of Apt. Its presence was also attested to me in the country of Forcalquier, towards Manosque, and it was spotted at Comps-sur-Artuby¹¹, in Champsaur and Devoluy, Oisans, Valbonnais, Beaumont¹² and in Haute Ubaye¹³. It seems to have been one of those who would have cultivated himself the longest since several people left me hear that it would have been part of the last soft wheats to have been used in the region.

On the agricultural level, "Florence Aurore was a three-month wheat that was sown at spring; it was called 'Three-month wheat'. It was known for not tillering or for little tillering and was even explained to me that "it was necessary to sow it a little thicker, 200 kilos per hectare instead of 180 for milling wheat". It was considered by those interviewed to be a "half-hard wheat", "not quite durum wheat, but better than soft wheat", a "hard wheat", a "hard wheat" improving" or even a wheat "more than bread-making". It is said of it that "it weighed 87 in weight specific" – while milling wheat only made 65 –, that is to say much more than the

⁹ Jonard, 1951, p. 279.

¹⁰ Pierre Lieutaghi reports that Florence Aurore would be the product of the selection of Lemaire, an agronomist who became a dietetics industrialist ("Lemaire breads, "La vie claire" chain of stores). Florence and Aurore would be the first names of his daughters. If we believe this story, the origin of this wheat would therefore not be prior to the Second World War. ¹¹ Rosier-Chauvet, 2006, p. 107.

¹² Lagarde and Marchenay, 1985, pp. 97-99 and 100.

¹³ Collective, 1989.

normal. "It was one of the best wheats," I am told regularly. "When it arrived, it has somewhat supplanted all the other varieties; because the straw was a little lower, he feared a little less pouring and for bread making, it gave a very elastic dough, something which was sought after," I was told in the Aigues region. "It was a very good wheat, more of a semolina wheat, but I took a little to give a little of what we call strength to the flours," still remembers Mr. Bremond, former miller of the Moulin de Pangon in Limans. "He was mainly used for cakes; sometimes 20 to 30% was added to flours intended for bread making to give strength to the dough". Finally, my contact from Grambois told me told that: "the Florence Aurore was appreciated during the war; the small mills that we We had flour and hulled wheat there. And we made soup and even dishes considered on the same level as rice. Wheat was cooked with broth and a piece of pig; it was very good!"¹⁴ Its quality has made it one of the most renowned varieties of the region which, in some years, even sold for more than other soft wheats.

c. Red, Inversible and Bordeaux Red Wheat

There is considerable confusion over the names of these different wheats. I have already explained that, on the plateau of Albion, a Bla Rougé was cultivated that some recognize as the Red Touzelle. But I was able to spot that, just after the war, appears in the same sector another Red Wheat, at the same time as a wheat called Invertable, both not bearded. "The Red Wheat and the Inversible were pretty much the same; they arrived around 1945-50, but it didn't last long. The Inversible was red with stronger stems than the first, but they looked alike," recalls this former farmer from Saint-Trinit. If I don't I don't find any mention of Red Wheat in Vaucluse, but I often hear of Inversible quoted; some even call it the Inversible Red. A 1924 document found in the archives from the Basses-Alpes¹⁵, also reports the existence of an Inversible at Villemus and at

¹⁴ It is possible that this is a confusion between Florence Aurore and small spelt since the Bread wheat does not need to be hulled like einkorn.

¹⁵ This is a table attached to a letter from the Minister of Agriculture addressed to the Prefect of Basses-Alpes, the subject of which is the production of wheat varieties in the region, and in which different local cultivars are cited.

Manosque¹⁶. "It had a harder, less flexible stem and leaned less than the Meunier." I note that its "invertible" character is often contested by farmers who have sown it: "It does not supposedly did not lie down, but as it came long, it still poured." This aspect certainly explains why it was not a great success and why its abandonment was quite fast.

I must also point out that I have listed an Inversable wheat from Bordeaux whose somewhat approximate description closely resembles the Inversable I just mentioned. Lagarde and Marchenay also report a Bordeaux Inversable in Embrunais and a Reversible from Bordeaux to Valbonnais and Beaumont¹⁷. It is further listed by P. Jonard¹⁸ under the name 'Inversable de Bordeaux' and F. and P. Berthault still describe a Bordeaux wheat, synonymous with Rouge Inversable¹⁹ and which appears to be the same cultivar. The work of the first agronomist reveals that this variety would be a hybrid from the famous Wheat Red Bordeaux (as well as Hâtif Inversable) so famous in the South West of France for its baking qualities, which would explain the different names given to it. I add that some informants have also told me that their father had sown this last cultivar before the war.

d. Saissette 54

This is the most recent season and one that I have already mentioned. "54 is about the year it came out," they say. Saissette 54 was a white, bearded wheat "which looked a lot like the old one [saissette]; they were pretty much the same, only they had put a number at the end." In the canton of Banon, I was told that its weight specific was interesting. In the discourse of the older ones, it is reputed to develop more easily in good soils than milling wheat. But this one also does not seem to have had a lot of impact on farmers. "I know my father had

¹⁶ The Inversable is still cited by Auguste Chauvet in Comps-sur-Artuby (Rosier-Chauvet, 2006, p. 107).

¹⁷ Lagarde and Marchenay, 1985, pp. 98 and 100.

¹⁸ Jonard, 1951, p. 396-397.

¹⁹ Berthault, 1912, p. 54-55.

abandoned because when the binder was used it was falling apart a lot," remembers this resident of Vachères. This is why some people have told me that they only grew it for two or three years.

e. Doctor Mazet

After Florence Aurore, local farmers talk about a wheat called Doctor Mazet. "It was a white, non-bearded wheat from the Vilmorin house." This wheat would have been cultivated from the 1950s and would have lasted for many years. Its presence is notable throughout the geographical area covered by the study. As with the Inversable de Bordeaux, Jonard described as originating from the Hasty Inversible²⁰. If we are to believe the miller of the Moulin Saint Joseph in Grans, Doctor Mazet was "a strong wheat, of very good quality, which made a extraordinary bread".

f. Preparer Etienne

Wheat Preparer Etienne appeared a little after Doctor Mazet, but I have little information on this variety. According to P. Jonard, it would also be a cross with the Early Reversible Wheat²¹.

g. Star of Choisy

Etoile de Choisy is by far the wheat that was most cultivated during the second half of the XX^e century. If I believe my informants, it must have appeared later, towards the end of the years 1950 and the beginning of the 1960s. I find it all around the Grand Luberon up to towards Forcalquier and Manosque; A. De Réparaz also reports his presence on the plateau of

²⁰ Jonard, 1951, p. 314-315.

²¹ Ibid., p. 246.

Saint-Christol. P. Jonard states that this is a cross made by the INRA of Versailles (in 1933)²², which suggests that it must have been cultivated in other French regions²³.

"(...) the Etoile de Choisy does not lose grain and fears the wind much less than the Tuzelle »²⁴, specifies A. De Réparaz. It is described as a non-bearded wheat with high straw, which which sometimes made her fall, even if she was known to lie down much less than the older varieties; however, it required slightly better land. In almost all The farmers I interviewed said it was particularly renowned for its yield; "it was the "the wheat that yielded the most," I am assured. Some say it yielded three tons. per hectare.

But among millers and bakers, the Etoile de Choisy does not seem to have known the same resonance. I understood it when the old miller of the Moulin de Pangon told me about it gave his own assessment: "All farmers grew several varieties before This Star of Choisy has arrived and has made us stink. The farmers have started to make this wheat because unlike others, it gave a very high yield. But from the point of view baker, he was absolutely worthless!" And it is true that there are many testimonies which recognize its poor quality in terms of bread-making, in the sense that it produced flour "flat" that did not make the dough rise. It is to the point that some even say it is closer durum wheat than soft wheat. It was therefore only used in biscuits "because it produced flour drier, better for making cakes", in biscuit making as well as for manufacturing of animal feed. "L'Etoile de Choisy was at the forefront for a few years. It "There was so much going on that it went into the 'total food'," recalls this farmer from Caseneuve. If we are to believe our old miller, it follows that this cultivar would have, among other things, participated in the death of the local flour mill. "What made us strong at the time had disappeared: our local customers first and local wheat, including these famous tuzelles. At the time, our The range of action was limited to 20-30 kilometers. And as soon as there was competition, it was necessary to carry our flours in Marseille and the entire Bouches-du-Rhône region, Nice, etc. Not only do we were no longer supplied with good wheat, but we now had bad varieties, these famous Choisy Stars which were catastrophic for the local milling industry".

²² Jonard, 1951, p. 434-435.

²³ For example, the miller of Comps-sur-Artuby also mentions this (Rosier-Chauvet, 2006, p. 107).

²⁴ From Réparaz, 1966, p. 345.

h. Capitol

Capitole is one of the last soft wheats in the region. It is said to have been one of the most grown in the 1960s with the Etoile de Choisy and better for breadmaking than it. It had a shorter stem and had a very good yield. We remember sowing it still around ten years ago in Vaucluse and Haute Provence.

i. Darius

Darius was cultivated at the same time as Capitoline wheat. It arrived on the plateau d'Albion and around the Grand Luberon after the Etoile de Choisy, at the beginning of the years 1970. This is a non-bearded variety with very short and "thick" straw which "did not lie down never", but which therefore "made a less good litter". "The Darius, in terms of performance, "It was a revolution! It was the one that produced the best yield of all these wheats," I was told. confided. "There was a variety that was called 'meunier', it was the famous Darius." Thus, for the former storekeeper of the Forcalquier cooperative, "Florence Aurore, Capitole and Darius were real "milling wheats". It was considered superior in bread making by report to the Capitol and even considered by some as a "wheat improving" flours. Its cultivation will last until the arrival of durum wheat in the region.

Thus, whereas previously each terroir retained one or more varieties which corresponded particularly to its soil and climate conditions, the trend is now to standardization. the latest varieties mentioned here seem to gradually cover in a generalized manner Vaucluse, Haute-Provence, and even, for some of them, others French regions. Today, for example, the Soisson variety is grown in all regions specialized in soft wheat²⁵.

²⁵ This variety does not, however, concern the territory which interests us here.

2. The major post-war transformations: reasons and consequences of the emergence new selections

The abandonment of old varieties is both the cause and consequence of profound transformations in the agricultural and artisan world which appeared to me, at the end of this investigation, as being at the heart of the issues raised locally by the revival of milling wheat of Apt and more broadly the interest given today to old varieties. The aim here is not to report on the whole of a relatively broad and complex process, but much more to report on aspects that were mentioned to me by the people interviewed as being significant in the abandonment of ancient wheats.

A. At the agricultural level

In the aftermath of the Second World War, it was the agricultural world that was to experience first transformations. The so-called "autonomous" or "semi-autonomous" subsistence system disappears to be replaced by intensive and productivist agriculture. Technical advances and Scientists are creating increasingly efficient machines and fertilizers. The diversity of activities are gradually disappearing in favor of monocultures; in this context, the presence of animals domestic workers are becoming increasingly rare on farms.

These upheavals imply that wheat responds to new needs and to new practices which will have direct consequences on their morphology and size. Since farmers no longer need the straw previously stored for bedding, it will be shorter and shorter²⁶, The lodging problems thus disappear. The wheat beards no longer present a disadvantage for harvesters whose mechanisms are poorly adapted to them. little.

²⁶ The straw is now crushed directly in the field at harvest time.

Last but not least, performance is now the most important parameter. "At all times research has been carried out on him. (...) 150 years ago the yield per hectare was very low. It "It was therefore logical that they focused on research on yield," says the farmer. "In 1975, The farmers produced 30 quintals of hectares, 40 when it was a good year. But in the last years when we grew soft wheat, the harvests gave us 70 to 80%," we remember in several communes. "The Red of Bordeaux, the Milling Wheat of Apt or the touzelles are wheats which – and this is why they have gradually been abandoned – do not have high yield and which do not at all meet the criteria of bakery or "industrial milling," a young grower of old varieties explained to me.

B. At the bakery level

Performance is therefore not the only factor that played a role in the transformation. progressive variety. New baking requirements are also at the origin of this. If I I must believe the artisans involved in wheat, interviewed as part of this study, at the beginning In the 1950s, there was an attempt to make bread that was whiter and whiter, a phenomenon that corresponds to the change in consumer taste ²⁷. A former baker from Apt taught me that this process was only possible through an increase in the oxygenation of the dough during the kneading, for which hands were no longer sufficient. These new constraints will lead to, in the same way as for agriculture, a mechanization of bread making. "A At that time it was the baker who held the goal of making good bread, it was bread-making which conditioned the work of the baker. He followed his dough from kneading to resting, to weighing, to shaping, then he let it 'grow' on the table. Everything was done according to the conditions ambient climates, and it was the dough that was in charge." Little by little, the automatic kneaders, rounders, shapers, etc. "Before, the dough was kneaded very Slowly, everything was aired. What destroyed the good flour, the good bread, were the famous kneading machines

²⁷ Some argue that this new demand was influenced by the Americans during the war.

"fast," I am told. The acceleration of numerous technological advances has thus made possible the expected changes in the taste of the bread.

These transformations in baking practices will gradually impose on wheat characteristics that old varieties such as milling wheat did not have. "The Touzelles does not have a good reputation for bread making, especially since the excessive mechanization of bread, not only in terms of kneading, but also in the "rolling" and shaping; mechanization does not really match the varieties "old". Thus, wheat was required to have more and more strength in order to make flours adapted to the new machines. "They moved towards increasingly harder, which had more and more strength. After the war, (...) the flour had to adapt to the baker's work. So we put the emphasis on different varieties, (...) more and more rich in proteins, which are more resistant to mechanization, and therefore to the mill too: they are more "hard to grind," the miller at the Saint-Joseph de Grans mill told me.

C. At the milling level

Some inhabitants of the Apt region say that before the Second World War, the sector had nine flour mills whose mechanism was increasingly sophisticated, and this in a way accelerated after 1945. "Roller mills existed well before the war. But in my opinion This technique became widespread from this period and the "stone millstone," explains the same miller. We remember, thanks to certain ancient texts mentioned above, that, well before this time, people had begun to demand more and more flours whiter. But in the aftermath of the war, the bakers' desire to only produce white bread implies the complete abandonment of stone mills, which are more famous for flours complete which then no longer interests anyone.

In addition, the use of new wheat selections has given rise to new ways of prepare the flours. "At the time we made pure touzelle flours" we remember at Pagon mill. Then, little by little, the millers had to adapt to the cultivars that I already have described above and began to design mixed flours. "Wheats like Etoile de

Choisy were very bad. So we tried to improve our flours with Manitoba which cost us an arm and a leg. Manitoba and Hardwinter were Canadian wheats and from America. We went through a broker in Marseille and the prices were very expensive! We incorporated as little as possible, but a little was needed to give strength."²⁸ . It is and so we began to mix sometimes up to three or four different wheats. This This phenomenon led mills to produce flour with ever greater precision, until measure its strength²⁹ , all this with the aim of making them more and more compatible with the modern bakery. "Today the flour is ready to be worked; whereas before, "We were the ones who had to improve them," the same baker told me again.

Finally, the difficulty I faced during the investigation in meeting millers is indicative of the total disappearance of local flour milling, a phenomenon which ended in the 1980s. "There was a decline in bread consumption and terrible competition from mills," the former miller at the Pagon mill explains to me. Today, the majority of the local wheat production is transformed in the large Marseille mills. Thus, it It appears in interviews with the few millers interviewed that the small local mill would have been one of the major victims of the transformations analyzed above – those of the varieties y being directly linked – compressed at the same time between the new agricultural requirements, those of the bakery and those of the cooperatives to which I am about to refer.

In the 1930s, in Apt, Pertuis, Revest-du-Bion, Manosque, Forcalquier, etc. were created, agricultural wheat cooperatives which will play a very important role in the sense that they will serve as a showcase and distribution of new cultivars. They are the relay between the suppliers and farmers who come to deliver their harvest and buy their new seeds on the one hand, and between the latter and the mills on the other hand. "The cooperatives which were created have harmed local milling; everything went through the silos, whereas before we was supplied directly from the farmer, wheat was bought at the harvest for the year. (...). In fact, we had the prices that the cooperatives imposed on us and we were no longer able to make a margin. necessary on flours," explains this former miller.

²⁸ I was also told that wheat from central France called Capelles was added to these flours.

²⁹ This is measured using an index, the "w" and an "alveograph"; today the large mills have real laboratories to analyze and improve flours before marketing them.

A. Increasingly compartmentalized professions

If the emergence of cooperatives contributes to the death of local flour mills, their existence will also lead to other consequences. Many local farmers today are ignoring the requirements and practices of milling and baking. "So the cooperatives "Where did they sell the wheat: to merchants, to millers?" I asked them. "I don't know. at all. We didn't deal with flour. We sold the wheat, we were paid for it, and then "It was over; after that we didn't know where it was going," explains one farmer, for example. And he is It is striking that the oldest of them, like my 97-year-old interlocutor – one of the the only people surveyed to have grown wheat as adults before the advent of cooperatives – have a great deal of knowledge about how flour and bread were made, and what these know-how involved between them.

The baking world also seems to ignore the wheat that farmers grow. Talking to local bakers, I realized that they had almost no knowledge of the varieties contained in their flours. "There is nothing marked on the flours, we don't know what kind of wheat it is. It took me a long time to find out that there were "old varieties and modern varieties," Olivier Pignard, a specialist baker, told me. in old varieties.

So it appeared to me that previously the wheat/bread exchanges implied an obvious communication between different professions, and shared knowledge about the culture of wheat, from its transformation into flour, then into bread. We remember for example that the baker chose his own wheat in the field. It appears that the increase in intermediaries (merchants, cooperatives), has initiated a real compartmentalization between the different professions concerned with wheat, most of them being almost completely ignorant of the practices and constraints experienced by others. The baker being the last link in the production chain and transformation of this cereal, it is not surprising that he is, today, the least concerned by the varieties.

B. The hegemony of durum wheat

Around 1975-77 the first durum wheats began to appear, all bearded.

At the start we had Bidi 17, there was practically only that. Then we had Montf erier, Agat , " he says. we remember in the canton of Banon up to Mane. In Vaucluse it is rather a question of varieties called Claudio or Defer. "The first durum wheats were selections from Africa north. They were sold to the semolina producers of Marseilles." And then, towards the end of the 1980s, with the creation of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), premiums for the cultivation of durum wheat have were put in place, thus greatly promoting their employment ³⁰.

In addition, these bonuses call for regulations which require the use of only seeds certified in the National Variety Catalogue, seeds which must be purchased each year. "To get the bonus, especially at the beginning, you have to buy 80% of seed per hectare," he explains to me. "That's 110 kilos of seeds per hectare at a high price." It also appears that these varieties involve the purchase of fertilizers that farmers find increasingly expensive. "For these varieties of durum wheat, if there are not three nitrogen inputs, if there is not a fungicide and if there is not "If it doesn't rain, there's no harvest," I was assured again.

Today, most local farmers no longer supply the region's bakers. – who now use "wheat from the Centre" or from the Paris region – but the semolina producers and pasta manufacturers at the national level. Thus, just as in some regions of the South- In the West, in Vaucluse and Haute Provence, durum wheat has gradually swept away all the varieties of soft wheat that were previously cultivated. Some of the farmers interested in these The latter also believe that "the premiums have caused farm seeds to disappear. We have "I never had the right to do it again," some farmers complain. And indeed, neither the Milling Wheat nor the others are listed in the famous catalog of varieties.

³⁰ They were favoured because of their "good adaptation to the altitude and climate of the region". Towards Gap and Sisteron for example, the cultivation of soft wheat continued to be practiced because of a poor adaptation of durum wheat to this region.

3. The revival of Apt milling wheat

A. The rediscovery of milling wheat

In 1983, Max Gallardo, from the Parc du Luberon, found milling wheat, mixed with Saissette d'Arles, at a farmer's in Buoux, Monsieur Chabaud, who gave him food to his chickens and his pigeons, the latter preferring them, I was assured, to other grains. Naturalists from the Park then recovered some and referred to C.-C. Mathon for his determination botany. The Park, then emerging, then began to think about setting up a plan for revival of milling wheat.

At the start of this investigation, Bruno Bidon, the technician from the Agribio 04 association, had given me a document drawn up by the Luberon Park, entitled *Feasibility study for a economic revival of a traditional Luberon wheat variety recently found*, in which we can read: "The protection and enhancement of genetic heritage local counting among the essential objectives of the Luberon Park, it was naturally alerted by the CNRS Ethnobotany Research Department of the urgency of finding a old variety of wheat traditionally cultivated in the Luberon regions, today abandoned by professionals following changes in local agriculture and considered as if practically extinct. This is Milling Wheat (*Tr. V. muticum alborubrum* Körn) = Wheat white of Apt = white Touzelle of Pertuis". The study planned "the multiplication of the seed by cultivation on several farms", "purification of seeds by sorting at the hand, grain by grain", "chemical analysis to know the baking value of this wheat", "of bread making trials" as well as a "market study".

The first step was to entrust the seed to a farmer from Saint-Saturnin-les-Apt – which, I was told, failed in its seed multiplication project – then to René Grégoire, a passionate farmer from Bonnieux, who unfortunately passed away, without whom the Milling wheat would never have been revalued. "He had sown half a hectare of it. And then he had it broke, he had beaten him by hand; he had done all that in the traditional way, at home. (...). He told me

every time: "we have to succeed to relaunch this variety", remembers Georges Guende. Then These seeds were distributed to different farmers in the region. This is how Gérard Guillot of the Agribio 04 association, like a few other local farmers, sows and have been marketing for around twenty years now.

The chemical analysis of the milling wheat was indeed carried out. This was based on a presupposition clearly explained in the famous document relating to the feasibility study: "By the fact of a By happy coincidence, this one [the Milling Wheat] was found at the home of an old farmer in a small village. located in the heart of the Luberon which, by tradition, still perpetuates the seed mixed with a another old variety, the Saissette d'Arles, for feeding its domestic animals which are particularly fond of it. This behavior probably suggests that this old variety, like most traditional plant varieties, has interesting characteristics in terms of taste quality." I also learned from the naturalists of the Luberon Park themselves as well as research in the libraries of Avignon had made it possible to find the famous *statistical memoir on the department of Vaucluse* ³¹ of Mr. Pazzis. The people of the Luberon Park had retained that "the Pazzis" was precisely talking about the Milling wheat as a high quality grain with which a first-class bread was made value " ³². Studies were therefore carried out by an agronomic analysis laboratory. "Laboval had told us that milling wheat was unbakable. This information had a "a little discouraged." And this is the reason why Max Gallardo and Georges Guende say they have abandoned the idea of having bread-making trials done. So the next steps in the process recovery plans never saw the light of day. "We were told why it had been decreed unbreadable by Laboval: it was most certainly bread-making, but not with the techniques modern bakery. So it would have been necessary to find the way of doing it, kneading it by hand, etc. (...). What we wanted was to bring the variety onto the market. But we had to find farmers and bakers who were interested. At the time, organic and all that was only in its infancy beginnings. So we had a hard time and the recovery didn't happen," they explain today.

³¹ Pazzis, 1808.

³² I managed, after many twists and turns, to get my hands on this famous document – which I have already mentioned – and which exists in two copies at the Cécénot Media Library in Avignon. Having consulted it with particular attention, I found the information already indicated on a touzelle in the Apt and Pertuis region, but no mention of Blé meunier.

B. The recovery

At present, a second recovery process is underway. It is driven by farmers involved in the Agribio 04 association, who have been sowing milling wheat since mid-1980s; the members of the GAEC Les Granges in Montfuron are the most active. transformations having been particularly profound in the agricultural world, that of the flour milling and baking for around sixty years, the use of milling wheat requires the relearning of almost forgotten practices. The aim of this revival is in particular to create a network enabling the expansion of knowledge relating to cultural and baking practices required by this ³³.

Three years ago, offers were made to local farmers as well as millers and bakers to reuse this variety. Since then, a group of about ten farmers are trying to experiment with growing it. I met some of them who told me specified that they were sowing only small areas for the moment. Some of these crops would have been affected one year by decay, leading their owner to believe that the cultivar was more prone to the disease than others. Experts believe that it is actually from a problem of choice of land and insufficient knowledge of the cultural requirements of the Miller of Apt. This aspect clearly reflects the experimental stage at which his reimplantation in the region.

In terms of milling and baking practices, milling wheat is transformed into flour only by Mr. Monteau, miller in Grans, the only one to agree to deal with small quantities of grain; he transforms it into type 80 flour. A few rare bakers or peasants-Bakers are also experimenting with bread making. "It's difficult to work with because you "I'm not used to it," admit the most beginners. "The problem is that we make flour with it the Miller of Apt which is the opposite of what is now offered to bakers. Today, they are offered flour with which they have almost nothing left to use. "to do," I am still assured at the Saint-Joseph mill. The most experienced is Olivier Pignard, from Tarascon, which only uses old varieties to make its breads, including doughs

³³ This objective also explains the commissioning of the present study.

are worked in the Corsican kneading trough³⁴. “Old varieties are worked more slowly and less longer than modern varieties. (...) For the Meunier d’Apt, it takes less than ten minutes of kneading”. In the *Boulangerie des 7 épis bio*, the dough made from Meunier flour is shaped by hand then cooked in molds; mixed with flour from Florence Aurore, it is³⁵ balled. Some players in the recovery believe that it would be interesting to promote this second preparation by labeling a bread made from these two wheats as a local product. If However, according to the words of this specialist baker, pure Meunier d’Apt would produce bread "compact, which is perfect, which brings a lot of aroma and flavor"³⁶.

³⁴ This is the slowest of the mixers.

³⁵ It is said to "hold together" better when mixed with another variety than on its own.

³⁶ He says it is even better 24 hours after it is made, "the time to let it improve".

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