

## Chapter 12

# Working with images, images of work

### Using digital interface, photography and hypertext in ethnography

Roderick Coover

<i>Au sein d'une vigne</i>	From the middle of a vine
<i>Je reçus le jour</i>	I was given birth
<i>Cette mère est digne</i>	This mother is worthy
<i>Depuis la naissance</i>	Of all my love
<i>De tout mon amour.</i>	Since birth
<i>Elle me nourrit</i>	She has fed me
<i>Par reconnaissance</i>	In gratitude
<i>Mon coeur la chérit.</i>	I love her with all my heart.

(‘Joyeux Enfants de la Bourgogne’, verse 1)<sup>1</sup>

### Cantata

Winemaking in Burgundy begins in the first millennium AD<sup>2</sup> and significantly shapes the cultural development of the region. In the Middle Ages, the Church plays a central role in developing winemaking techniques and advancing the notion of *cru* by which plots of vines are distinguished and classified. This knowledge of the land, or *terroir*, is a result of generations of experiments in growing techniques, grape varieties and production methods. This medieval ‘renaissance’ (Dion 1959:285–300) in winemaking is also supported by favourable economic conditions brought about by the rise of Burgundy as a wealthy European commercial power under the Valois Dukes in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (ibid.). The trading system contributes to the increasingly central role that wine merchants, or *negoçiants*, play in the growth of the region. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they dominate the wine industry. More than just distributors, the *negoçiants* buy the grapes from growers, make the wine, and ship it by barrel and bottle to the emerging middle and upper class French and foreign markets. Independent wineries begin to form in the early half of the twentieth century, and they flourish after World War II. The rise of independent wineries occurs in large part due to increasing global trade opportunities presented by foreign distributors that would buy wine directly from the wineries as well as a growing foreign market for French wines in Europe, North American and elsewhere; to the formation of the Appellations



*Figure 12.1.1* Signs to Bouzeron © Roderick Coover.



*Figure 12.1.2* A porter resting © Roderick Coover.

d'Origine Contrôlées (AOC) in the 1930s that guarantee wine quality and origins; and to technological innovations such as the straddler-tractor and temperature-control devices that give winemakers greater control in the vines and winery. While there are numerous

books about wine and its history, there are far fewer studies about the labour practices associated with winemaking and the cultural ideas surrounding these practices.<sup>3</sup>

To study cultural aspects of winemaking in Burgundy, I begin by working as a harvester in several winemaking villages in the prestigious Côte d'Or—a region comprised of the Côte de Nuits and the Côte de Beaune—and in the more modest Côte Chalonnaise to its south. My project investigates the relationship between the language used to describe wine and the practices that go into its production: how descriptions are embedded in a synesthetic cultural experience. The work includes studying the impact of winemaking on local history, geography, and cultural practices in villages and towns that have grown over the centuries around the vineyard plots. The fortunes of these worlds have closely paralleled those of the wine trade.

I am particularly interested in how actions, events and the use of objects help one to understand the work and the world in which they are an integral part. My process includes looking at the work alongside those *with* whom I am working. Participant observation introduces the ethnographer to a lived experience. In taking images and collecting data, one looks for strategies that will bring back the diverse qualities of that experience. At the same time, looking at the world alongside one's informants helps one circumvent objectifying aspects of ethnographic photography.<sup>4</sup> I combine traditional techniques of participant observation, interviews and archival research with photo studies and video recordings, and I use digital editing and hypertext programs to work with the materials. This process takes place over two years and results in the production of a 60-minute documentary, *La Bourgogne et le langage du vin* (2003).

I use photo studies primarily as a way of training my eye to see. I find the constraints of working with a still camera help me identify evolving stories, moods and motifs; the photos serve as catalysts for further research and visual studies that shape the shooting of the documentary film. After digitising these images, I analyse both the content and my image-gathering strategies. I compare the images with my written notes and recorded interviews. The digital platform allows me to analyse and critique some of the conventions of documentary representation found in other media and to juxtapose materials constructed through differing media, thus highlighting their unique advantages, conventions and constraints. Juxtaposing data collected with a range of media shows how each medium shapes its message and helps to evoke what lies between; a composite representation derives meaning both from the content of the ethnographic materials and the links by which the reader learns to read and combine them. By preparing to make the documentary, *Bourgogne et le langage du vin*, in this way, I end up creating a second work that can only exist on a digital platform. The work develops as a 50-photo study of a harvest which unfolds across an 18,750-pixel-wide Webpage. This horizontal format permits the layering of the fifty images above bands of text about the shooting experience, the harvest and the winemaker (see Figure 12.5.2). The reader scrolls back and forth across the images and writing. Links lead to further notes, images and video clips.

This essay reflects upon that electronic work to consider how new media tools can contribute to visual ethnography. The electronic work that emerges from an ethnographic film-making practice is one that reveals its processes. Through the use of an electronic interface and hypertextual links, it provides a synesthetic experience that maximises the

role of the reader-viewer in connecting information provided through sound, image and language.

Taking photos is a process of learning to look. Images, like words, evoke worlds; they propose views<sup>5</sup> shaped by the technology and image-making choices such as those of framing, focus selection, focal range, subject choice, colour, tone, contrast, light quality and grain. The act of presenting a place through pictures is one of linking images to some idea that they both refer to and help articulate. Images can evoke the moods and expressions that define a moment; but if the images are not grounded in a web of references—whether through visual knowledge or language—viewers are left to rely on preconceptions and generalisations in order to make sense of the visual data. In an interactive, multimedia environment, the reader-viewer must actively look for clues as to how differing kinds of data may be understood, and a reader-viewer must choose a point of view by which to connect a piece of information to an idea or a narrative event. In this way, the position of the reader-viewer is analogous to that of the ethnographer looking for ways to connect a particular experience to broader questions about the culture.

In his essay, ‘The subjective voice in ethnographic film’, David MacDougall writes:

Anthropologists, by and large, have wished film to make increasingly accurate, complete, and verifiable descriptions of what can be seen—that is, of behavior, ritual, and technology—whereas filmmakers have shown a growing interest in precisely those things that cannot be seen. It was never the physical body that was felt to be missing in ethnographic films. The body was always constantly and often extravagantly before us in its diversity of faces, statures, costumes, and body decorations. It was all too easy to present such images with their accompanying exoticism. What was missing was not the body but the experience of existing in it.

There is thus in ethnographic filmmaking not only a journey of discovery from the abstract to the personal but from representation to evocation.

(MacDougall 1995:249)

Digital media present opportunities for confronting this ironic disjunction that has grown between anthropologists and film-makers. Hyperlinks and juxtapositions allow for the combination of differing modes of cross-cultural representation



*Figure 12.2.1* Subject and object: a harvester with an empty bucket © Roderick Coover.



*Figure 12.2.2* Subject and object: a bucket of grapes © Roderick Coover.

and expression. Images can present factual data and point to cultural ideas and the circumstances in which they were made depending on the contexts by which the image is examined.

I shoot the photos in this essay in 1996 during a harvest in Burgundy at the vineyards of Aubert and Pamela de Villaine in the village of Bouzeron. The village is located in the Côte Chalonnaise. The vineyards of the Côte Chalonnaise, which also includes the towns of Givry, Mercurey and Rully, stretch across the hills above the Saône river south of Chagny. Aubert de Villaine is also a co-owner and winemaker of the famous Domaine de la Romanée Conti (DRC) in the Côte d'Or where he succeeded his father and grandfather. He and his wife bought their own vineyard in Bouzeron in 1970.

### A winemaker's vocation

<i>Au printemps, ma vigne en sa fleur,</i>	In the spring my vine in flower,
<i>D'une fillette a la, pâleur;</i>	Has the pale whiteness of a little girl;
<i>L'été, c'est une fiancée</i>	In the summer, it's a fiancée
<i>Qui fait craquer son corset vert;</i>	Who bursts out of her green corset;
<i>A l'automne tout s'est onvert;</i>	In the fall, everything has shown itself;
<i>C'est la vendange et la pressée;</i>	It's the harvest and the pressing;
<i>En hiver, pendant son sommeil,</i>	In winter, during her slumber,
<i>Son vin remplace le soleil.</i>	Her wine replaces the sun.

(‘Ma Vigne’, verse 2)<sup>6</sup>

In the vines one day, de Villaine tells me that for him, ‘Wine is an image’, by which he means, as he goes on to say, that each aspect of winemaking is part of a process of working towards an *ideal form*. The image, he tells me, is ‘based on the wines that he has known in the past’. His goal is to make wine in ‘the simplest ways possible’ to yield a product that is pure. This is his vocation.

This ‘image’ of the wine is a reflection of de Villaine’s taste, memory and knowledge of what different soils, grapes and conditions might provide. It is a reflection of cultural ideals he holds about balance, structure and elegance. Such an image cannot be rendered by a single picture—it is rather formed through an accumulation of ideas and experiences held in relation to each other. If a significant part of the ethnographer’s job is to *translate* the meaning of objects, the ethnographer must also find ways to describe relationships, for a description of an object, event or person, whether through writing, imagery or other form, can explain little without drawing connections to the worlds of which it is a part.<sup>7</sup>

Take the word *clos*, for example. A common term on wine bottles, *clos* designates a walled enclosure that has been distinguished from other plots. The term often suggests that the plot has been valued for its grapes—enough at least to build the wall. As de Villaine tells me, a winemaker in the more prestigious villages is born into a world of walls, of named designations, and of precise traditions. The villages may lord over the vines, but they are also walled in by them. De Villaine explains:

In Vosne-Romanée there is a fantastic history of the invention of *cru* by the monks in the eleventh century to which the village has been entirely dedicated. For eight centuries we've made the same wine on the same plots with the same names. The growth of the village has always had a vertical growth. There has never been a horizontal growth. It has always had a fixed area of vines that is impossible to expand. The village is both a servant and a prisoner to that history.

De Villaine envisions himself as participating in a long history of winemaking. He reads logs from past winemakers to learn about prior knowledge of the soil and climate conditions, and he keeps a log of his own experiences. De Villaine believes he makes his wines to fulfil a certain ideal he has, based on what he believes a *terroir* can yield. His role is to assist in a natural process. This includes moderating negative forces, such as those of frost and mildew, which can diminish the health of the vine and the positive qualities of grapes. For de Villaine, a wine made as simply as possible with maximum reduction of chemical and biological treatments is one most likely to reflect the qualities of the *terroir*. The qualities are defined by natural elements such as aspect, drainage, bedrock and soil, all of which determine the potential quality of grapes grown on that land. The steepness of the slope effects waterflow, airflow, temperature changes and the amount of sunlight that hits the vine leaves and grapes; an east-facing aspect (Côte d'Or refers to the oriental, or eastern, direction of the valley slopes) will warm slowly with the rising sun. Soils determine water retention and influence the balance of nutrients that the grapes receive, while the grapes also benefit from a minimal top soil that will force the plant roots to reach deep into cracks in the bedrock from which grapes will gain much of their mineral characteristics. De Villaine explains:

I believe that in Burgundy, the talent—the talent which produces the great wine—is in the *terroir*. The reputation of the wine from Burgundy was made over the past several centuries and it comes from the quality of wine that the (particular) *terroir* can provide. That is the talent. The role of the winemaker is to enable the *terroir* to be in the best condition possible—to help bring forward (like a midwife) the product of the exceptional land. The role is to listen to the *terroir*. One listens always to the *terroir* to understand what to do to achieve an equilibrium in the soil, what to use as vegetal material, how to prune, how to treat the vines. There is always a selection of the best methods so that the *terroir* is in its best disposition possible to make a good wine.

De Villaine frequently describes how the winemakers and winemaking villages are shaped by that 'talent' in the *terroir*. The wines that they produce are a



*Figure 12.3.1* Framing and light: a porter with a full pannier © Roderick Coover.



*Figure 12.3.2* Framing and light: faces at lunch © Roderick Coover.

reflection of a *relationship* by which each winemaker expresses his or her own character, tastes and decision-making.

The Côte Chalonnaise was never known for great Pinots or Chardonnays. However, in researching archives in Mâcon and elsewhere, de Villaine discovered that there was a tradition of growing the less-regarded Aligoté grape in this valley of the village of Bouzeron where he lives. Around the village the soil is particularly poor. De Villaine believes this helps intensify the flavours of the Aligoté, which is a vigorous vine. At the same time the conditions are more challenging than in the Côte d'Or, and the local wines will never sell for sums that can support the more expensive production techniques and equipment used in more prestigious areas. Not only do the soils present certain difficulties, so, too, do the meteorological conditions offer more problems such as frost, which arrives more frequently in Bouzeron than in the vineyards of the Côte d'Or. A qualitative balance sought in a product is also determined by financial circumstances; an ideal image of a wine coexists with that determined by temporal, economic or even cultural circumstances.

A village is shaped by the histories of *cru* and *terroir*. The relatively wealthy villages in the Côte d'Or, literally, are walled in as a result of this history and new, expanding generations must find homes elsewhere. Old roads in the region snake about the prized land while faster roads must pass lower in the valley to connect the vineyard villages to the merchant towns such as Nuits-St-Georges and Beaune. When cheap wine began arriving by rail from the south of France in the nineteenth century, it reduced the economic viability of wine production in less prized areas of Burgundy. After the outbreak of phylloxera, which destroyed French winemaking at the end of the nineteenth century, villages like Bouzeron did not replant vines. Instead many of its residents took industrial jobs in the nearby cities. The recent growth of Bouzeron calls upon both the medieval and recent history, and signs point to the valley's historical markers and many new vineyards (Figure 12.1.1). Signs may reflect this past but their image is more about expectations held about the present and future. They are placed on the roadside to promote an idea some villagers have about the village, its winemaking and a profitable future. They demonstrate how winemaking has been restored as the village's primary identity.

### A sense of time

<i>Puisque tout succombe</i>	Because everything dies
<i>Un jour je mourrai</i>	One day so will I
<i>Jusque dans ma tombe</i>	Even in my tomb
<i>Pourtant je boirai</i>	I will drink
<i>Je veng dans la terre</i>	I hope that in the ground
<i>Au pied de mon corps</i>	At the foot of my corpse
<i>Qu'on mette mon verre</i>	My glass will be placed
<i>Rempli jusqu'au bord.</i>	Full to the rim.

(‘Joyeux Enfants de la Bourgogne’, verse 5)

The moment de Villaine announces the harvest, the winemaker is gambling with nature and money. Bring forty harvesters to your property too early, you pay for them to sit about; if they come too late, you might lose the harvest to rain or hail. The problem is complicated by growing three different varieties—the Chardonnay, Pinot Noir, and Aligoté—which ripen at different times. Hail in the next village is ominous: for those winemakers just over the crest of the hill, the hail has caused the loss of a year's work.

For the harvester, one day falls into the next. In a routine of working between the vines buried in one's thoughts, rising up to see the wide vistas, stopping for conversations, water or wine, or sharing songs and words between the grape leaves, the fortnight can begin to seem like a single long day. The day is punctuated by highs and lows, shifting moods and changing weather.

The pickers select the grapes, and the panniers haul them to the tractor where they are checked for quality. Vineyards in less affluent areas usually cannot justify the cost of a sorting table, and, instead, the harvest workers must be trained to sort as they pick. Red grapes should not be cut too green, or with too much leaf. Rotten grapes should be cut away. Best are the tiny concentrated grapes of older vines whose roots reach far into the bedrock from where they extract richer mineral content. Gloves wear through quickly. Without them, the sugars and acids moistness of the grapes helps to bring on blisters. The gloves, clippers and grapes become intimate objects—extensions of the flesh.

The anticipation of the lunch break and dinner is fuelled by occasional bottles of the wine and water passing between the vines. Before lunch, we wash the mud from our clothes with a garden hose. At the dining table there is a kind of weary revelry (Figure 12.3.2). The dining tables are in a cavernous room beneath the house and dormitories. The room is dark and comforting to eyes that have come in from hours in the sun. The space is damp and has a rich smell of the meat stews we are served. The soft, thick and crumbling stone walls fall into darkness illuminated only by the small beams of light that come from the door and small deep windows. In the vines we begin thinking of lunch ahead. In the dining hall, there is a desire to remain suspended between the memory and anticipation of the work outside.

Visually, when one is working in the vines, the world seems either very near or very distant; it is a world of close-ups and landscape vistas. The presence of the fellow workers comes by way of the sounds and conversations which pass through the thicket. You feel your body in parts: your hands, your knees, or your back, and you catch the occasional glimpse of other workers in fragments through the leaves, posts and wires (Figure 12.4.1).

Working with text and photos I find I have a similar visual experience of imagining wholes from parts. From an image-fragment (a cap, a hand, a face) I remember the person that was on the other side of the vines, and the dark concentrated images within that space contrast with the open shots above. In the 50-image sequence, stills of the woman in the billed cap (Figures 12.2.1, 12.5.1) appear on several occasions. As a subset, they describe a person and



*Figure 12.4.1* Fragments: a worker in the vines © Roderick Coover.



*Figure 12.4.2* Shifts in perspective: dumping the grapes in a vat © Roderick Coover.

her work. This may be complemented by text, her voice, or other biographical information. When juxtaposed with other images in the series, the same very images may say something else about the vineyard, work, tools, the narrative moments—such as the image of workers at a moment of rest (Figure 12.5.1)—or even about the plants, soil or weather. Shifting focus also can function in this way by moving attention from the people or broad landscape views to the space of the vines between. The use of grain, shifting focus, and framing by the photographer is not unlike a writer's use of adjectives, adverbs, well chosen verbs, metaphors, irony or other figures of speech. These are devices that help identify specific qualities and link ideas together.<sup>8</sup> Formal connections between images such as between the static signs and the stationary and almost pole-like stance of the tired porter in Figure 12.1.2 with his socks pulled high might also suggest an ironic position between the commercial idea and the hard work. A metonymic connection is suggested both in the focal shift within the frame and across frames, such as in the photos of a porter and the close-up of his hand (Figure 12.3.2). The close-up of the hand concentrates our attention on one part of the action. The hand is not only a place of contact between body, scarf and bucket; it is a stress point—a pivot in the action. Working with how parts describe wholes, the ethnographer finds multiple ways of describing the same images based on the kind of action they present, the narratives they point to, or the kinds of sets and series to which objects in the image might belong.

So, too, do ideas associated with images change in time. In Figure 12.2.1, a harvest worker is shown before an empty bucket, and, in Figure 12.2.2, her hand rests on the full bucket, the result of her work. Placed in relation to an image of the grapes or vines the photo of the bucket may offer an alternative statement such as one about the relationship between the small cluster and the grapes in mass. Walking in the vines before harvest, I find the clusters have a beauty as discrete, natural objects that later metamorphose into the red and white juices in that other object, the bottle. In the course of the harvest, the image of the grape cluster in my mind becomes replaced by a sensual idea that marries the single cluster with the truckload and the image with sticky touch and tannic taste. Like the intimacy of views from working in the vines, the grapes are both an idea and a substance. Cut, and piling up in the buckets and trucks, the grapes lose their identity as emblems of a product. In mass, they are only a substance: stories, histories and images revolve about them.

As with words like *clos* and *terroir*, so too do images of a wall, vine, soil, grapes or, indeed, a person, carry different and multiple meanings for each viewer-reader. Image-processing tools like Adobe Photoshop maximise some techniques already available to photographers while the digital interface provides a readerly experience of the images less easily attained in print media; words and pictures revolve about identified ideas and motifs. No such work can be neutral or all-encompassing. There is always something left out, material inside the frame not focused or commented upon. As the anthropologist Clifford Geertz once wrote, 'Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And, worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is' (Geertz 1973:29). Rather, identifying relationships in a world pictured through images and language is a matter of directing attention to fragments to show how their meanings may be diverse and demand further exploration.

That relationships shift, as do moods and modes, is an important and often missing part of cross-cultural representations. The image of an object is important for what the

object is but also for how the object *might* be used or what it *might* mean to one or another particular person. An individual's presence in a scene is exciting for what they *might* say or do; and a scene is alive because of what *could* happen. So, too, might an image lead to any other one in such a set; looking for connections, visual tropes can unfold into narratives. While the images cannot be restored to the actual moment of their being made, in a series they can be returned to what John Berger describes as a 'context of experience' (Berger and Mohr 1982:289). The process evokes the ways by which meanings are generated through the roles objects and actions play in their original environments. This approach to cross-cultural image-making builds relationships between images as well as between differing viewing conditions to create *an experience of context*. In this production of context, the ethnographers offer parameters that shape the kinds of choices that a reader-viewer might make. These routes through the material are often based on the ethnographer's original experience as well as on other primary texts. They are also based on the constraints of production which becomes revealed in this process. As with lived experience, there is no single true reading; the rightness—what Nelson Goodman describes as 'worldmaking' (Goodman 1978)—corresponds to the coherency of the vision presented seen from a wide range of perspectives and modes of analysis and the validity of the data supporting it. The process of placing images and other materials in a context will suggest ways images, words and sounds interconnect. For the reader-viewer, the process parallels, though cannot duplicate, participation in the original moment; the reader-viewer, like the ethnographer, is asked to test assumptions about the materials or events and their meanings.

### Fragments restored

*Joyeux enfants de la, Bourgogne*

Happy children of Burgundy

*Je n'ai jamais eu de guignon*

I've never had any bad luck

*Et quand je vois rougir ma, trogne*

And when I see my face becoming red

*Je suis fier d'être Bourguignon.*

I am proud to be a Burgundian.

(*'Joyeux Enfants de la Bourgogne'*, refrain)

Here, and this is no longer true at all vineyards, the harvest ends with the *paulée*, a harvest feast and party. The dinner is held in the same cavern beneath the main house and dormitories where we have spent two weeks of meals. Tonight



Figure 12.5.1 Changing mood: harvesters at a moment of rest © Roderick Coover.

http://Roderick.Coover/COA/TURES/WEB99/CooverWeb/OctoberHarvest2.html

Apple Google MyImex Internet Explorer

Signs of the Region

Of the harvesters staying in the dormitory, the majority are students earning some money before the school year starts. Others are returning workers who had started coming when they were younger. Dominic, with the pinnaur, works on the ships that ply the English Channel. He has come to Bouzeron with his girlfriend, Dominique, who is a student teacher. Lydie (top) studies history at a university in Paris and this is her third year as a harvestor. Bénédict (left) is engaged to a pilot who lives in the south of France, near Marseille.

Aubert envisions himself as participating in a long history of winemaking. He had prior knowledge of the terroir and climate conditions and he writes notes of his on the Bouzeron Aligoté. Aubert has been a force in promoting a regional identity for the wine under the name of the Côte Chalonnaise. Its vineyards stretch across the hills and include towns such as Oisy, Mercy, and Trully.

Figure 12.5.2 Example of hypertext interface from *Cultures In Webs* © Roderick Coover.

it is warmed with candlelight, music and a meal rich in meats and cheeses. The tables are arranged in a large and royal ‘U’ with Aubert and Pamela de Villaine at the head table. The de Villaines make an effort to hire friends and their families through generations. The children, cousins and nephews of past workers help construct a sense of community and a lore surrounding a low-paying work that is both miserable and memorable. During the feast, the workers present gifts to the winemakers and the cook. There are ritualised songs, toasts, jokes, gifts and impromptu performances. The winemakers are given a large dish, the stew-cooking chef is given a recipe book for salads. By noon tomorrow, all the harvesters will have left and an almost unfamiliar calm will return to the vineyard and village. With the goodbyes, harvesters say—‘until the next one’. *A la, prochaine*. Memory is a route toward anticipation; the present is replete with concealed and awaited narratives. The harvest now past is gathered into the memory of harvests, each with its particular conditions and its new and returning characters.

For me the work of harvesting grapes, of talking for hours with the other workers in the vines, and of taking photos of the harvest leads to the next process of developing a documentary work. Sifting through the collection I reflect on my own act of looking, on the events at the vineyard, and on how the research relates to my experiences in other vineyards in Burgundy where I am also working. The web environment mirrors this experience and promotes the inclusion of reflexive thoughts, synesthetic materials and diverse perspectives. What happens in this series in a static, readerly environment will be transformed again when I return with a film crew to work in a time-based medium, further unravelling the motifs through montage studies and interviews.

I find myself looking for ways to compare the data from this harvest experience with field notes, images and interviews I gathered in other parts of the region. Images that fit in this sequence tell a story about a harvest and its participants. The same photos are included in other sets and series about the region. In studies of roads and towns, for example, the large promotional signs on the highway marketing Bouzeron compete with those pointing to other winemaking towns. These signs are designed to attract visitors and build name recognition, as wines from Burgundy are named based on their AOC-rated *cru*; a wine’s label will state in large print its region, village or plot of origin, and only in much smaller print will it give the individual winemaker’s name. A sign for Bouzeron reads, ‘Un petit village, un gran vin’, for Meurseault ‘Les meilleurs vins blancs du monde’, for St Aubin–Gamay, ‘Son site/ses vins fins’, and at Chambertin, ‘Roi des vins’. The competition between villages presented by the many road signs is an indication of similarities between villages in the region; the signs are the result of shared histories and economic aspirations tied to the wine trade.

Working in digital media with this data not only allows one to integrate visual and audio recordings, it also allows one to incorporate differing approaches to writing. In this case, I have field notes, archival research notes, reading notes, camera logs, songs and poems I have collected, text from conversations I have had, overheard or transcribed from tapes, and drafts of several essays I have been developing about the region. I find myself using differing writing styles to explain the circumstances under which the images were taken, the choices that went into their production, and issues or ideas to which the images pertain. When I organise the photos into a series and interconnect them in various alternative series and subgroups, I find it helpful to organise my text in similar ways. Soon I have distinct bands of text that interconnect with the images and each other.

Started as a means of developing a documentary film, the electronic analyses of this project reveal choices made in the act of taking pictures and writing notes. They help one see how images and text can work together to describe cultural ideas and the cross-cultural, ethnographic practices. In such a work, the research and production strategies are exposed in the product. The reader-viewer can examine the ethnographic process, image-making choices and intellectual arguments at the same time. Viewed horizontally, such a page (Figure 12.5.2) can be read in a linear fashion. Or, the reader-viewer may proceed vertically moving across the photos and bands of text to simultaneously follow the differing text and images. One can view how arguments are derived from notes and recorded materials. Similar approaches might allow the reader-viewer to change the order in which material is compiled, or allow informants and/or reader-viewers to add their own text and images in response to the material. The original moments of production conjoin with those of reader-viewership; the ethnographer and the reader-viewer alike can find themselves linking back and forth through the material to look for traces of alternative sequences and sub-stories, and where this linking reveals gaps, the process also provokes further questions and research.

In moving into the dynamic video and DVD formats, I will be able to integrate interviews with interpretive audio and visual studies. Organised in relation to words associated with the work of winemaking in Burgundy, sound and montage studies will evoke differing moods and modes of the synaesthetic experience. Presenting the material in a time-based format will help provoke questions how spontaneous responses to sound and images are formed and how they relate to language, conscious thought and reflection.

For de Villaine, the warm days that linger on bring the unhappy realisation that this year he might have waited longer and made a yet better wine. In the few harvests of a lifetime, he remarks, one has few chances to make something truly exceptional and he worries that an opportunity was missed. He explains, by visual analogy, the predicament:

In a winemaker's life, one makes a wine thirty, forty, or if you are lucky, fifty times, but usually more like forty times, which is not a lot. And, even if one has experience and knowledge, one is always before a blank sheet. You only know what nature has written after the fact. All the year, you follow a page that is written before you, and you participate, but you never know where you are and what is nature's design.

De Villaine hadn't trusted a record from over a hundred years previously that advised waiting on harvesting the Aligoté in years, like this one, when cool winds blow from the north. The cool summer and fall sunshine meant that the Aligoté ripened later than the Chardonnay and Pinot Noir. Waiting might have achieved a greater sugar content and a richer wine. However, any change in weather and the advantage would have been more than lost and waiting adds a significant cost when harvesters who have arrived for the collection of other varieties must be kept about without work until the Aligoté is ready.

He gathers samples from the vines, clusters of grapes that were left uncut, and tests them. Although the wine that will be made from this harvest will be a good one, these remaining grapes provide an image of a potential that went unrealised—an image unfulfilled. Next time these conditions arise, he will take the risk and delay the Aligoté harvest.

## Notes

Sections of the text are included in the CD-ROM *Cultures in Webs: Working in Hypermedia, with the Documentary Image* (Cambridge: Eastgate 2003) and are reprinted with permission of the publisher. Interview text with Aubert de Villaine previously appeared in the documentary, *La Bourgogne et le langage du vin/Burgundy and the Language of Wine* (Roderick Coover 2003).

- 1 'Joyeux Enfants de la Bourgogne' is a traditional Burgundian song written by Henry Pary 1831 to the tune of 'Le petit vin blanc d'Argenteuil'.
- 2 Wines from the Côte d'Or were transported along trade routes of the Roman empire. Winemaking in the region dates to at least the third century AD (Lachiver 1988:35–56).
- 3 Landmark French-language works about cultural aspects of winemaking include texts by Gilbert Garrier (1995) and Roger Dion (1959). In the English-language press, perhaps the most intimate description of daily life in a Burgundian winemaking village is found in the non-academic *Puligny-Montmchet: Journal of a Village in Burgundy*, by Simon Loftus (1993), while important cultural ethnographies and geographies of French winemaking include works by Robert Ulin (1996) and Tim Urwin (1991) and an insightful collection of interviews with winemakers edited by Leo A.Loubère *et al.* (1985).
- 4 For a discussion about objective and reflective approaches to ethnographic photography see Pink 2001: esp. 23–4 and 49–76; and MacDougall 1995.
- 5 For an introductory discussion about how images function as *propositions* see John Berger's essay, 'Appearances', in John Berger and Jean Mohr, *Another Way of Telling* (1982:81–130).
- 6 'Ma Vigne' was written by Pierre Dupont in the nineteenth century. Lyrics and music are printed in *Le Livre d'or de la chanson française*, vol. 2, ed. Clement Marot, Paris: Les Éditions Ouvrières, 1972.
- 7 As with the use of tropes in the translation of poetry, they representation of visual, auditory and other synesthetic qualities are often evoked through recording and editing strategies. Just as such verbal or visual rhetoric provides the means of evocation, so, too, do digital media shape how conditions can be evoked due to the code and programs, the characteristics of the interface, and the speed of the processors.
- 8 For a further discussion of language and images and related sources see Coover (2001:415–38).

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