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Legitimacy and heritage circulation: the genealogical taste of Itxassou's cherries (French Basque Country)

Abstract: In Itxassou in the French Basque Country, various forms of the heritagization of the cherries are coexisting : festivals, derivatives and ,small-scale' heritages are some of them. Three groups of people are taking part in the heritagization system. With the development of those various forms, an important matter appeared: the legitimacy of granting an heritage status. Different dimensions are intertwined in the heritagization of the cherries: the 'territory', the 'terroir' and the 'land'. This study deals with the ,land' part of the subject which is closely related to the model of the Basque home, called the ,Etxe'. The ,Etxe' ,is telling' its inhabitants what they can hand down. On the one hand, the ,Etxe' seems to directly grant a heritage status, as it enables to operate a selection between various items. On the other hand, the ,Etxe' seems to show its inhabitants how to grant a heritage status.

Keywords: Cherries, French Basque Country, Heritagization, Legitimacy, ,Etxe'.

This research has been conducted within the framework of the inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in Aquitaine, which is supported by the ITEM laboratory of the University of Pau and the Pays de l'Adour¹. In this context, our point of view is focused on the cherries in the town of Itxassou and their characteristic as being granted a heritage status. A selection has been established by outsiders first. This point of view has then been crossed with the one of the Itxassou inhabitants, called the Itsasuars, met during this survey and who recognize the cherries as an integral part of their heritage.

This living heritage does not only concern the fruit itself, it also concerns the cherry trees, their integration into a cultural landscape, or by-products such as cherry jam. All those different dimensions have been investigated in this study.

Two positions were observed during this investigation : an ,external' position, considering a large part of this work, was conducted within the framework of the Intangible Cultural Heritage's inventory supported by the French Culture and Communication Ministry, and a more ,internal' one, by conducting field surveys consisting of collected testimonies and participant observations, which enable to approach and comprehend the Itsasuars personal histories about their living heritage, the cherries and the cherry trees. This study, consistent with the existence of the important work being done around this heritage by different people, is focused on the heritagization of the cherries and the cherry trees by the

¹ Project "Inventory of the Intangible Cultural Heritage : comparative analysis Aquitaine, Quebec and Caribbean", 2011-2014. Program financed by the Regional Council of Aquitaine and the Culture and Communication Ministry. Exhibition to celebrate the end of the project at the Ethnography Museum of the University of Bordeaux "(Extra)ordinary daily life, intangible cultural heritage in Aquitaine", from September the 18th 2014 to May the 29th 2015. <http://www.patrimoine-immateriel-aquitaine.org>.

inhabitants of Itxassou in their own village and beyond. Bertrand Richard (2010 : 10-11), who prefaced Alban Bensa's book, *After Lévi-Strauss, Anthropology for a human scale*, explains :

“The speech of experts thinking they know even better than the individuals themselves what their actions, desires and frustrations are made of [...], this absolutely does not allow the anthropologist to understand the way of thinking of others, to see things from their perspective and, in turn, to be willing to let the person interviewed do the same thing toward him: the art of reversal is essential in anthropology”.

Field surveys have been conducted between November 2012 and August 2013. About twenty Itsasuars were interviewed, more than once for some of them. It was only a matter of informal discussion for others. Celebrations were attended such as the Celebration of the Brotherhood of the Cherry², the Festival of Cherries³ and the Octave of God's Celebration⁴.

It was necessary, to be able to conduct field researches, to proceed with caution. Indeed, for 'our' scientific work, we allow ourselves to intrude into a community, knowing that our presence may disturb its inhabitants. Furthermore, studying the concept of heritage may reveal itself a difficult task to undertake: it can be a delicate subject to mention for some of the respondents, especially when this very concept is linked with the land, the terroir and the territory. Meeting respondents is always rewarding even if complicated. There are some boundaries that need to be appeased: it is of particular importance for the investigator to take into account and integrate this alterity and be able to make others understand him.

Talking about the cherry trees, the cherries, the cherry jam, the landscape and their heritagization, entails mentioning personal histories, family histories, collective histories about Itsasuars common asset. It also entails analysing Itxassou social history and beyond that, it's studying the way Itsasuars talk about their territory, between themselves or with others, and what they wish to do about it.

In Itxassou, various forms of the cherry and the cherry tree heritagization are coexisting: three groups of actors are taking part in those heritagizations (the 'Xapata'⁵ and 'Itsasuarrak'⁶ associations and the Brotherhood of the Cherry⁷). They receive supports from political, religious, economical and heritage fields. Each group wants to promote this common asset. However, each one seems to give different definitions to the heritage and heritagization concepts, therefore taking different positions regarding them. Those various positions point out a fragmented heritagization of this common asset. Studying the cherry and the cherry

² Celebration of the Brotherhood of the Cherry of Itxassou, on May the 24th, the 25th and the 26th 2013.

³ Festival of Cherries organized by the 'Itsasuarrak' association, on June the 2nd 2013.

⁴ Octave of God's Celebration, on June the 9th 2013.

⁵ The 'Xapata' association was founded in 1994 ; it consists of about ten cherry producers of Itxassou. Since its creation, the association supported many projects : creation of an orchard-museum and the Cherry logo of Itxassou/Istasu, participation in carrying out the evocative space 'Ateka' and, currently, applications to obtain the registration of the Itsasuar cherry in certification systems.

⁶ The 'Itsasuarrak' association, 'Itsasuarrak' meaning 'the people of Itxassou', founded in 1952, is a sports and cultural association : Basque pelota, dances, organization of the Festival of Cherries... If the brass band has existed since its creation and played during several years, this group does not exist anymore. This association has always been linked with the parish and was created according to the 'JAC' movement (Jeunesse Agricole Catholique – Agricultural Catholic Youth).

⁷ The Brotherhood of the Cherry of Itxassou was created in 2007. A brotherhood gathers people who want to protect a product and the territory connected to it. The brothers wear a ceremonial costume, a head gear and a long necklace medal. Each year, they organize a chapter where other brotherhoods come and participate or where new members are enthroned.

tree of Itxassou gave us the opportunity to hear, see, smell, taste and touch: landscapes, trees in flowers and fruits, two celebrations, a village evocative space, an orchard-museum, jam... But it also allowed us to witness lacks of understanding and disagreements between the different groups involved.

The current situation of the cherry-heritage in Itxassou, the history of the transition of the Itsasuar cherry from cherry-object to cherry-heritage, and connections between the legitimacy of granting this fruit a heritage status and the ,Etxe', the Basque home, have been highlighted by field surveys coupled with numerous readings and other documentary sources.

A tree, a fruit, a village: what heritages for the cherries and the cherry trees today in Itxassou?

The heritagization of ,living things' possesses its own characteristics: it is at the crossroads of biological and social, natural and cultural aspects. It includes plants, animals, landscapes but also, and more recently, traditional and local food and farm products called terroir products. This living heritage is diversified, constantly evolving, ephemeral and somewhat random. Its evolutionary and diversity potentials are significant, but it also possesses a limited lifespan. The configuration and the preservation of this living heritage are enabled by many related knows-how. Numerous complicated questionings are born from the analysis of the plant heritage and its terroir products. The reviewed cherry and cherry trees are planted, rooted in a specific land, terroir, territory. The living heritage belongs both to nature and culture, the raw and the cooked, man's action in greater or lesser degree. Each Itsasuar group who takes an active part in the heritagization of the cherry trees, the cherries and the terroir derivatives, talk in their own way about their land, their terroir and their territory. Therefore, many questions are brought up by the study of this living heritage. Regarding power issues, the place of each player in their respective families, but also in their community and their village, and identifiable territorial conflicts due to heritage disputes, amongst other things. There are various collective levels where these conflicts can be found and felt: within groups of players, within families, but also on a more intimate level.

For Itsasuars we met, it is clear that the cherry, the cherry tree, the landscape and the terroir products born from them, are a major part of Itxassou's heritage as well as their own. However, some of them confided in us their lack of understanding regarding how this heritage is promoted and handed down. Presently, these heritages appear to be available to everyone and, at the same time, fragmented between different groups. We already introduced the three groups of players taking part in the heritagization process. Various elements of the village and of several groups contain these heritages. They take various tangible and intangible forms : from cherry trees evolving throughout seasons and cherries to the fruit pattern affixed here and there on many possessions and two celebrations amongst other things.

The simple fact of living in the cultural landscape of Itxassou is enough to grant every Itsasuars' families the right to possess the cherry heritage, even if they do not work in the agricultural field. In this case, the appropriation of this heritage is different and sometimes done with discretion. Théa Manola (2012 : 360-361) explains : "the spatiality of the living space as a human presence, open to the world and to others, is the landscape". The connections linking families to their ,Etxe' and, by extension, to their land, determine how the heritage shall be handed over. For cherry producers, this transmission is done in the first meaning of the word: all and every private assets belonging to the ,pater familias' is handed

down to the heirs. We are here in presence of assets carrying an economical, an emotional value. For families who don't cultivate any fruits but descend from farmers, the heritage transmission has nothing to do with economy. It is based on the links existing between them and their ancestors. For the other ones (those who don't produce any cherries and are not from farmers' families), the transmission is based on an emotional aspect, on their eating habits and on intra-family histories. With the distance increasing between groups and their land or their home, the heritage, even if it is still the subject of great interest, takes diversified forms. We were able to observe these forms throughout their projection in belongings: in farmers families, there are baskets, crochet-works and sledges which are used to drive the cherries down from the hills ; in the others families, located further away from the cultivated land, it takes the form of ornaments and household linens wearing a cherry pattern. The cherry-heritage is also present in Itsasuars' personal histories. It is perceptible, on a sensory level, by those who live in the heart of this cultural landscape. Their senses are stimulated by the creation of interactions between them and their environment (consisting of cherries, cherry trees and cherry jams). In his book, *The Taste of the World*, David Le Breton (2006 : 32) says :

“Sensory and world perspective experience is based on interrelationships between the subject and his human and ecological environment. Education, identification to close relations, language games, which give names and meanings to tastes, colors, sounds etc., mould children sensitivity and establish their ability to share their feelings with those close to them and to be understood by the members of their community”.

Sharing emotions and feelings with one another about the cherry-heritage is a delicate and complicated matter, which can be broached by the study of items. Indeed, these ‚small-scale‘ heritages and sentimental prized possessions are, for Jocelyne Bonnet-Carbonnell (2008 : 12), “an original documentation which determines ‚from inside‘ the cultural reality of a society and tells us what this society is with more than mere words”. ‚Small-scale‘ heritage pertains to the intimate, to the identity, to the family mostly or to tightly united other groups. It possesses an important evocative power, creates identity, is not institutionalized and is not granted any economic value by its holders. Laurent-Sébastien Fournier (2008 : 13) gives this ‚small-scale‘ heritage a sentimental, subjective and symbolic value.

The cherries in Itxassou: between common asset and heritage

Before the appearance of various heritagization movements, from 1993 to this day, the landscape, the cherry tree, the cherries and the cherry jam belonged to personal history, to community history and, at the same time, to the heritage of farming families. When an object is being looked at, and when its situation at a given point in time is studied, this object may – or may not – be chosen and enter into an heritagization process, whether the observed ruptures threaten it or not. This situation, brought to light by one or several actors, shall induce a heritagization process or, quite the contrary, this object shall decline. Different people, internal or external to it, may realize this focus.

In Ixtassou, a focus on the situation of the cherry and the cherry tree was undertaken by several groups of people at different points in time. Different periods in the cherry-object history, then in the cherry-heritage history, were highlighted by these various and specialized studies.

The first period started in the 1900's and ended in the 1960's. At this time, the cherry was considered as an object and not as a heritage, except in farmers families. The prosperity of this fruit cultivation in Itxassou is brought out by several documentary sources. Generations of Itsasuars talk about economic exchanges made on marketplaces, especially the one called 'Laxia'. If the cherry did possess an important economic value, it was also the well-spring of many relational exchanges within families, between neighbors and in a wider spectrum of relationships.

The second period extended from 1960-1965 to 1993-1994. Various rupture movements occurred during these years. The terms movement and rupture are associated to insist on the fact that these moments of rupture have always been present: the cherry-object and the cherry-heritage never ceased to exist. But, these marks of rupture also induced the evolution, the renewal of this object and this cherry heritage. The production of Itxassou cherries experienced a period of prosperity until 1960-1965, followed by a period of decline for some reasons. The agricultural engineer François Halty⁸ explains them:

"this process is not specific to Itxassou and its cherries. It has touched the entire rural society. Technical progress induced a deep evolution of this society". Therefore, farmers had to mechanize their farm, borrow, increase their production and look for more reliable and regular agricultural activities. They mainly based their production system on cows and sheep, therefore specializing themselves in milk production. The cultivation of cherries, too random, was abandoned: cherry trees became old, ill and were never renewed. At the same time, other regions, such as Lot-et-Garonne, Pyrénées-Orientales and the Rhône Valley, developed fruit cultivations. Therefore, 'Laxia' marketplace declined and Itsasuar producers couldn't sell their products in this specific place anymore. In about 25 years, the production of cherries fell from 170 tons to 16.8 tons" (Halty, 1983 : 11).

Moreover, family and cultural transmission also underwent a rupture: a few families continued to hand down grafting techniques, an essential stage in cherry cultivation, while other families stopped to do it altogether. Another important event touched the community: the brass band stopped to play. This group of musicians (brass instruments and percussions) was established at the beginning of the 1950's, just before the creation of the Festival of Cherries. It was one of the first branches of the 'Istasuarrak' association to be founded. The brass band was 'supporting' the cherry with their music; on the musicians red beret, two small cherries were affixed. The different festive demonstrations of the village were livened up by them. The brass band stopped to play music for about ten years, then started again. We previously highlighted the fact that the cherry-object is perceived on an emotional and sensory level, the both of them being closely related. Without the music of the brass band, without wearing the beret affixed of the cherry pattern, it is an important part of the culture and the intimate perception of this fruit which disappeared.

Between 1983 and 1993-1994, other movements of rupture were observed. In 1993, the situation of the cherry trees and the production of cherries dropped again compared to what they were in 1982-1983. At this time, the cherry trees, too tall, became dangerous. They were planted at the edge of meadows so they wouldn't disturb land-based activities and were grafted on wild rootstocks, especially on wild cherry trees gathered in Itxassou and its surroundings. The harvest was difficult to carry out. At this time, the production dropped again, to about 15 tons of cherries⁹. Likewise, the transmission of this fruit cultivation continued to collapse.

⁸ François Halty, agricultural engineer.

⁹ Numbers given in the "Program of economic and employment revitalization of the Basque Country, 1994-1998, Recovery and development of the sector of the Cherry of Itxassou".

The last period extended from 1993-1994 to this day. Several movements of rupture occurred during this one (the evolution of the plantation of cherry trees, a fixed date for the Festival of Cherries, the creation of various derivatives, the second time the brass band stopped to play music, amongst other things) as well as heritagization movements.

Groups of actors and forms of heritagization

We are going to study the different forms of heritagization of the Itxassou cherries established by three groups of actors since 1993-1994. This date is an important one: this is the time where Itasuars became aware of the necessity to protect their plant heritage and to renew their plantations. Safeguarding this legacy was indeed an urgent matter. The transition of the cherry from 'object' to 'heritage' was done at the exact and symbolic moment of this renewal, which was initiated by a political program and producers who were owning the greatest number of cherry trees, of this plant heritage. At this time, this item was considered as a heritage, because it was handed down by the 'pater familias', but not as a community heritage. The emotional impact of the Itxassou cherry in others Itsasuars hearts as well as its notoriety provided the necessary impulse to the heritage movement so this common asset could become a collective legacy.

Three groups of actors are taking part in the heritagization system of the Itxassou cherry: the producers association 'Xapata', the 'Itsasuarrak' association and the Brotherhood of the Cherry. Even if these groups are working closely on this fruit, other Itasuars are the heirs and the promoters of this heritage as well as those who handed it down. Michel Vernières (2011) gives an explanation of these heritagization movements:

"It seems that the way this process unfolds varies with territories and is greatly influenced by the nature of social demands, which are often pluralistic, because they hold a strong identity dimension. In each case, the nature of the heritagization process is different depending on the initiators, the viewpoints of the actors of this heritagization system, their role models, imaginaries, advisors and expectations, the conflicts between actors and the forms of local appropriation of this process".

The first 'Xapata' association (a non-producers association which worked for the promotion of the cherry) and the Economic Interest Group for the Cherry of Itxassou (which worked for producers) were created at the same time in 1994. Then, the two organizations merged under the same name: the 'Xapata' association. The revival of the cherry, induced by some Itsasuar farmers, belongs to a specific concept of Basque agriculture to 'build' the land. The revival project of the Itxassou cherry does not only concern Itsasuar farmers, it also consists of a collective project centered on economic, emotional and territorial dimensions. Moreover, it implies a thorough and wider reflection on how the Basque land is seen and how its future is decided, but also how these elements are connected with Basque identity. Not long ago, the 'Xapata' association chose the Chamber of agricultural and rural development of the Basque Country, 'Euskal Herriko Laborantza Ganbara' (EHLG), to support their project to register the Itxassou cherry as an 'Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée' (AOC'-Designation of Controlled Origin) and an 'Appellation d'Origine Protégée' (AOP'-Protected Designation Origin). 'EHLG' is an association of agricultural and rural development created in January 2005 in agreement with the law of 1901. Within the context of a concerted local development of the Basque Country territory¹⁰, this association is to

¹⁰ Presentation of the 'EHLG' association, <http://www.ehlgbai.org>.

contribute to the development of a sustainable farming as well as the protection of a farmer and rural heritage. In keeping with the movement of the Peasant Confederation, 'EHLG' was created in response to the non-recognition of Basque peasants and is linked with territorial claims. Several heritagization actions were conducted by the 'Xapata' association: grafting and plantation works of more than 5000 cherry trees, creation of an orchard in order to protect the different cherry varieties and to connect every elements of the Itsasuar heritage, participation of the creation of the evocative space 'Ateka' and the 'Krakada' pastry, creation of a logo, registration of the cherry in certification systems...

The 'Itsasuarrak' association is a sports and cultural association founded in 1952 in connection with the movement of the 'Jeunesses Agricoles Chr tiennes', the rural Christian youth movement. At its beginning, the 'Itsasuarrak' association was only composed of the brass band and the dance branches. Several other branches were then opened and today, it consists of pelota, bicycle touring and gymnastics men and women teams. Each first Sunday of June, the association also organizes the Festival of Cherries. Since its creation, it has supported several movements of enhancement of the cherries: survey of producers and inventory of cherry trees in 1982-1983, donations of saplings to private people, wearing and transmission within various branches of the association by the representation of small cherries on the berets and scarves worn by volunteers of the celebration, by members of the dance branch and, before them, by musicians of the brass band.

The Brotherhood of the Cherry of Itxassou was officially founded in 2007. Before that, the few attempts to create it in the last decade had failed. We were able to meet several members of the Brotherhood of the Cherry of Itxassou and to be present at the mass as well as the chapter of this brotherhood on May 26th 2013. The collected testimonies and observations have been valuable sources to understand the connections the members of the brotherhood share with the terroir products they protect, the terroir products they try to grant a heritage status to. These connections pertain to personal histories, sometimes shared in a familial, friendly and convivial way within the Brotherhood, and sometimes also shared beyond the village. The analysis of all these links with cherries is essential, but, beyond that, the connections to the terroir, the territory and the land have to be studied. They are represented in tangible and intangible elements: suits, banners, songs, initiation rituals...

What heritage circulation? The connections between the different forms of heritagization

Fragments of the circulation of the cherry-heritage in Itxassou shall be enlightened by studying two moments when the three groups we have mentioned are on display: the Festival of Cherries and the Celebration of the Brotherhood of the Cherry. When we began to investigate the heritagization of the cherry in Itxassou, we found out that these two festive events were celebrated one week apart: the Celebration of the Brotherhood of the Cherry takes place the last week-end of May and the Festival of Cherries, the first Sunday of June. For the time being, these two celebrations, which are about the very same cherry-heritage, still cannot take place on the same day. The fact that they are celebrated with a time lag is symptomatic of the difficulty to gather everyone around the same living heritage born of the land.

In his article, "Ritual temporality and social change. The circulation of senses in the festive calendar in a Basque village", Xabier I aina (2004) expounds the different Itsasuar festive events, religious and non-religious, which were celebrated between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 1950's. In order to identify elements of social change, he

makes a detailed observation about the modifications of these celebrations. Their analysis, as well as the one of the God's Celebration, the Octave of God's Celebration and the patron saint festivals, is indeed essential to clarify the place each actor takes in the village organization. All these celebrations operate a focus on the role of the different actors and heritagization issues.

The respective roles assumed by the three groups of actors during these celebrations were highlighted by the comparison of many testimonies, photographs and our participation in both cherry festivals in 2013. The study of newspapers articles notifying these celebrations is also highly instructive. Indeed, a conflation is often made between both festivals by people from outside the village: the producers are assigned to organize the celebration of the cherry while the Brotherhood of the Cherry only attend it. But the reality is quite different. For a lot of people, only one celebration can exist. How do we understand the existence of two festivals happening at the same place and regarding the same common asset?

The celebration is a heritagization form. The heritagization of a common asset is done, most of the time, amid an identity crisis. A consensus is rarely reached: several groups of players face each other on the heritagization ground. The issue regarding the legitimacy of granting a heritage status arise.

For several decades, members of the three associations were taking part in the cherry celebration, even if disagreements appeared between the producers and the 'Itsasuarrak' association about the question of the donation, then the selling of cherries during the festival and the choice of a fixed date for it, amongst other things. The 'Xapata' and 'Itsasuarrak' associations became closer since the 'Itsasuarrak' association offered to sell cherry jams and other derivatives of 'Xapata' producers during the celebration. Most of the members of the Brotherhood have already played in the 'Istasuarrak' brass band and were the ones who animated the majority of istasuar festivals. When the brass band stopped to play music, protecting the wearing of the cherry-heritage became an urgent matter. The Brotherhood and its cherry celebration were then founded. The berets, worn by the fellows, were created in the line of those of the brass band. Currently, if many members of the 'Xapata' and 'Istasuarrak' associations get together during the festival of the cherries, the celebration of the Brotherhood of the Cherry is boycotted. Few Itsasuars go to it. But the Mayor, some town councillors as well as the priest play an important role in it.

,Etxe', heritage and legitimacy

Even if the cherry heritagization consists of territory, terroir and land dimensions, we choose to only broach the 'land' part of the subject and its connections to the 'Etxe'. Indeed, with the progress of our field investigations, at the heart of the interviews and the participant observations, we could only notice the omnipresence of the concept of the 'Etxe'.

We reached a more mythical and personal aspect of the relationships connecting each person to its 'Etxe', between 'loyalty and freedom'. Our field researches coupled with the collected testimonies and the participant observations of three istasuar celebrations allowed us to understand this notion. Moreover, several books enlightened us about the founding 'myth' of Basque society. In the Basque Country, even if other homes are carrying a name and 'an history' and are what is called 'etxe', this specific term is mainly used to name a home which is linked with a farm in a rural society. The term 'etxe' is then written 'Etxe', the capital letter emphasizing the personality, the mythical world and the social organization associated with this architecture.

The Basque home was a man shelter and, in the old days, birth and death were a part of the ,Etxe'. It was also a working place, a religious space and, beyond its more ,intimate' functions, the ,Etxe' was at the cornerstone of the organization of Basque society. The social organization was, indeed, based on the homes in which landowners, the ,householders', were living. This organization evolved, even if a few of its ,old' elements, observable during festivals, remain at the present day.

This indigenous ,myth of the house' is not a particularity of the Basque Country. Other Pyrenean territories present it, for instance the Hautes-Pyrénées according to Georges Augustins' works (1982), the Béarn according to Pierre Bourdieu's analyses (2002), and the Gers and the south of Landes (Zink : 1993).

In the Basque Country, the interests of the ,Etxe' are more important than those of the individuals. Most of the interviewees explained to us that they were still called by the name of the ,Etxe' in which they were born, even if they were not living in it anymore and have been gone for many years. Indeed, except for those who simply visit the ,Etxe', what is essential is to protect the house and its name. Therefore, this house, composed of tangible and intangible assets, can only be handed down to one heir. Despite the important changes made about it by the Civil Code at the beginning of the 19th century, legal strategies were established by local notaries since then and currently, a throwback of the wish not to divide the heritage is still going on. Those who were not entitled to inherit the 'Etxe' took other ways to find their place in the village society.

Those excluded from the ,Etxe' were, therefore, excluded from the cherry-heritage.

The actors of the cherry heritagization in Itxassou and their connections to the ,Etxe'

The cherry trees are planted in the grounds of owners and tenants gardens, of public and community spaces, of farms, near houses or more isolated from them, of the lower parts of Itxassou neighborhood or of roadsides leading to hilltops... If all houses are ,etxe' – the ones connected to a farm possessing a special ,Etxe aura' – they do not seem to all have the same value, exactly like the cherry trees planted in their ground.

Alongside the throwback of a certain ,aura' of ,Etxe' landowners, it is essential to highlight that Itsasuar cherry producers are the holders of the majority of the cherry plant heritage. Many people wish to take part in the renewal movement of cherry trees. Various heritagization paths, established by all the different actors, were induced by this renewal. The cultivation of cherry trees, the cultivation of this heritage, grants a particular place to producers.

Nowadays, elements of this ,aura' can be understood by the observation of Itsasuar celebrations as well as the few words we shared with our witnesses. A cherry tree grafted on a wild cherry tree of an Itxassou forest and planted by the tenant of an ,etxe' not connected to a farm can have a lesser value compared to a cherry tree grafted on a non-indigenous rootstock but planted in the ground of an ,Etxe' which is many decades old. An expression of the great importance of the ,Etxe' regarding this living heritage lies in the names given to houses connected to cherry varieties: ,Xapata', ,Peloá', ,Markixta'.

The number of rings in the trunks of cherry trees does not necessarily give them a more important value. The highest value of a cherry tree seems to be the fact of being planted in the ground of an ,Etxe'. In the past, a scale of value existed between all the ,etxe', between the smallest and the largest houses (lesser or greater number of cherry trees), between the oldest and the ,newest' ones and between the ,bordes' (names of houses which ended by

,xoborda' and were located in the highest part of the village) which sheltered ,disinherited' people.

In Itxassou, if the house is losing its central role in the political organization, Xabier Itçaina (2004: 322) explains that "it seeks, within the religious organization or other local associations of the Catholic religion, a symbolic shelter". Therefore, the representatives of the four houses ennobled in the Middle Ages, namely the ,Zubeleta', ,Larrondoa', ,Zabaloa' and ,Fagaldea' houses, known to be the oldest of Itxassou, had the honour to carry the canopy during the God's Celebration and the different processions of the liturgical year (Itçaina, 2004: 323). These old hierarchies continue nowadays.

Genealogical elements are highlighted by reading the lists of the different members of the three groups of actors: indeed, members of the same families are taking an active part in the three associations. The implication of a person in a particular association is directly linked with the place of this person within his/her own family, on ,the genealogical cherry tree'.

Indeed, the legitimacy to grant a heritage status is different depending on their bloodline and whether or not the persons have inherited the ,Etxe'. Therefore, these members are constantly looking for this legitimacy, to acquire one or to root one ever more deeply.

Pursuit of legitimacy to grant a heritage status

The legitimacy of granting a heritage status consists of different dimensions: for Itsasuars who are not originally from the village and who are considered as the ,disinherited' persons and farmers, this legitimacy depends on their status and their connections to the ,Etxe'. These Itsasuars, who have various personal histories, are all taking part in the three studied groups.

We were able to observe that even if Itsasuars members of the Brotherhood of the Cherry, native or not of the village, had never been farmers, as Itsasuars, they were still having the right to own the cherry asset, then the community heritage.

In the past, some people were day labourers during the harvest season of the cherry. They told us about their childhood memories when they were gleaning cherries elsewhere than at home because they did not own any or only a few cherry trees. Other witnesses also reported having played this game when they were children or teenagers.

We already studied a few testimonies regarding the legitimacy to grant a heritage status. A colleague mentioned the fact that producers feared the Brotherhood might be stealing something from them while a cherry producer from the ,Xapata' association thought that members of this Brotherhood were appropriating themselves the cherry concept. We also observed that the majority of the first Brotherhood members was connected with music and played in the brass band. The fact that this group stopped to play the second time seemed to have triggered the process of finding another heritagization path. In the past, these members belonged to the ,Itsasuarrak' association and held a firm place at once regarding the cherry-heritage and within the village. According to testimonies, other more personal reasons seemed to have induced these ,Itsasuarrak' departures as well as the end of the brass band.

The Brotherhood members are looking for legitimacy on a personal and a local level, and beyond it.

During the chapters of the Brotherhood of the Cherry, the main goal is to connect oneself with the ,Etxe' as well as with the village history: costume, initiation gestures allow the cherry-heritage to be integrated into the various human and social dimensions of each

member. Each time they wear this kind of clothes, which bear a heritage meaning, they get closer, they reaffirm their connection to their family and village roots. We are talking here about a double identity movement, both on an individual and on a collective level.

This pursuit of legitimacy is perceived throughout religious and political dimensions. Indeed, during the first year, the mayor allowed the chapter of the Brotherhood to be celebrated on the pediment place. He had just been enthroned at the time but now holds an essential role in the enthronement ceremony. Then, the celebration of the chapter of the Brotherhood shifted from a public to a religious place. A priest was also initiated the same year the mayor was.

The initiations of one of the founders of the Festival of Cherries and a jam producer, who was introduced as an Itsasuar cherry producer (but not as such by the ,Xapata' association) allow to connect oneself to the ,Itsasuarrak' association and the land of the village at the same time.

If the members of the Brotherhood are constantly seeking a multi-scale legitimacy, it is also the case of the two other groups of players who are establishing legitimacy movements on a local level and on many more levels.

On its side, the ,Itsasuarrak' association offered to the producers of the ,Xapata' association to put their cherry jams on display so they would sell them during the Festival of Cherries, therefore connecting the festival to the Itsasuar land. We found out that fixing the celebration date had created a distance between producers and ,Itsasuarrak'. Other factors had induced the decrease of the supplying of Itsasuar cherries during the celebration and people had then to import them. The association also renewed cherry trees on their ,Atharri' site and produced jams. Before that, the association was taking part in the protection movement of cherry trees, drawing them and the land of Itxassou closer. The ,Xapata' producers own the complete legitimacy of granting the cherry of Itxassou a heritage status even if they changed the genealogical heritage of the cherries.

Conclusion

In this research, we connected the legitimacy of granting the Itsasuar cherry a heritage status and the connections between the actors and their ,Etxe'. Indeed, we highlighted the fact that it was not so much the heritage of the person than the heritage of the house which was important. On the one hand, the ,Etxe' seems to directly grant a heritage status, in other words it enables to select items over others. On the other hand, the ,Etxe' seems to show its inhabitants how to grant a heritage status. The actors may not be the ones to grant a heritage status but the houses they belong to or they belonged to. We were able to observe and analyze the different heritagization forms of the cherry established by the three groups of actors depending on the connections they share with their ,Etxe'. Everything linked with the house is important: ,Etxe' in Itxassou or near another village, situation of a particular neighborhood, house belonging or not to a farm, small or large farm, old or new house, build or not in the land of the ,Etxe'... These different elements give a ,hierarchy' to the heritagization legitimacy.

Moreover, we studied that the different heritagization forms were made in response to other heritage creations. There seems to be ,an escalation': if a new heritage action challenges one or several older forms of heritagization, new ,strategies' are then created and used as an answer. It means that a group of actors representing a peculiar connection to the ,Etxe' has to find or create a place or even recover its former place in the cherry heritagization system, and therefore find this place in its family and its village organization. We closely touch identity matters on intimate, family and village dimensions and their interactions.

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