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On the Trail of Joan of Arc

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ABSTRACT

The year 2012 marked the 600th anniversary of the birthday of Joan of Arc (Fr., Jeanne d'Arc) (1412–1431). Tributes to this national heroine can be found all over France. There are literally countless statues, streets and restaurants named after her and many sites dedicated to her life. However, despite widespread social and mechanical reproduction and cultural naming in relation to the Maid of Orléans, there is no official network or integrated signage in France to promote cultural heritage tourism to the numerous Joan of Arc sites and festivals, even though her life and death, by any measure, were seminal events in the country's history. Unfortunately, the pilgrim who wants to follow or intersect with Joan of Arc's trail through France, for cultural, historical or religious reasons, must do so without much help. Using Actor Network Theory and Site Sacralization Theory as framing devices, this paper explores human actors and tangible and intangible non-human factors that may have contributed to the lack of a unified tourism product despite the existence of an adequate Joan of Arc touristscape. Insights gleaned from this research include Joan's conflicted status as both/either saint and/or patriot, the existence of no cooperation or linkage between Joan of Arc sites, and cautious French tourism development policies. Several possible scenarios are suggested as suitable means to help implement or foster the creation of an on-the-ground or virtual Joan of Arc trail or tour.

Keywords: Joan of Arc, Tourism Routes, Heritage Tourism, Iconic Figures, Actor Network Theory, Site Sacralization Theory

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Introduction

With thousands of namesake sites to choose from, a modern-day Joan of Arc pilgrim might start by visiting the key sites in her life. These include her birthplace in Domrémy-la-Pucelle (Lorraine [region], Vosges [department]) and nearby Vaucouleurs where Joan met with the captain of the French garrison to ask for safe passage to meet the deposed king (Lorraine, Meuse); Gien (Centre, Loiret), a natural crossroads in the Loire Valley during her travels through the French countryside; Chinon (Centre, Loiret), called the Grand Carroi in the Middle Ages, and where Joan recognized the deposed (and disguised) king (also known as the dauphin); Orléans (Centre, Loiret), the city she recaptured for the dauphin and France; Reims (Champagne-Ardenne/Marne) where the dauphin was crowned King of France, and finally, Rouen (Upper Normandy, Seine-Maritime), where she was imprisoned and burnt at the stake (May 30, 1431). Other Joan of Arc sites worthy of visitation include Sainte Catherine de Fierbois (Centre/Indre-et-Loire), Patay (Centre, Loiret), Poitiers (Poitou-Charentes, Vienne), Compiègne (Picardy, Oise), and Reims (Champagne-Ardenne, Marne).

Some travel guidebooks and regional tourism websites provide information on individual Joan of Arc sites (e.g., birthplace in Domrémy) and festivals. For example, the Siege of Orléans, a battle which took place on May 8, 1429 in which Joan and her troops recaptured the city of Orléans for France, and her death in Rouen on May 30, 1431, are both commemorated with festivals named Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc on or near the anniversaries of these events each May. But there is no collaborative on-the-ground signage connecting the various associated French regions and departments into a unified tour. Thus, an intended pilgrim must resort to cobbling together information from disparate sources to create an ad hoc tour and many tourists pass through the landscape without knowledge or notice of the rich Joan of Arc history underfoot or nearby. Even an official 2004 press trip on the theme of Joan of Arc taken by this author was organized by tourism representatives who operated separately without much coordination at the regional (i.e., Lorraine), departmental (i.e., Vosges and Loiret) and city (i.e., Orléans) level.

1. A short French history in relation to Joan of Arc

During Joan of Arc's lifetime, the nation of France was in a struggle for its existence with England, a period that historians call the Hundred Years War (1337–1453). This long struggle is far too complicated to explore here, but in essence, it involved a complicated system of allegiances and land disputes between the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of France. One part of the historical underpinnings of the animosities can be traced back to when the Duke of Normandy (who ruled an area of northern France that traces its roots back to the Norse Vikings) defeated the English King at the

Battle of Hastings (i.e., on English soil) in 1066 and then had himself crowned the King of England. As a Norman King of England, he still owned lands in France, and thus, also pledged allegiance to the King of France, but this was seen as a conflict of interest. He was also resented by the French for being a king from a neighboring country that held lands within their realm. All the push and pull came to a head with the Hundred Year's War (1337–1453), which scholars divide into three phases. In the third phase, Henry V invaded France in 1415, and a subsequent Treaty of Troyes awarded him the daughter of French king Charles VI and promised that their son, Henry VI, would be the king of both England and France (Pernoud & Clin, 1998:3). This arrangement disinherited the dauphin Charles, fifth son of Charles VI. Joan of Arc was born, lived and died all within the time period of the Hundred Year's War. As a young peasant girl, Joan was inculcated with the French desire to throw off the yoke of English rule on the continent. Thus, she put her allegiance behind the dauphin Charles.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Actor Network Theory

Actor Network Theory (ANT) is often applied to looking at social and technical development by examining human actors and non-human material factors that contribute to building or which lie within a network (Hooper & Kearins, 2007). ANT is not a perfect tool (Latour, 1996; Latour, 1999), but was first used to explore the influence of various human and non-human entities, or respectively, actors and factors, in science and technology studies. Recently, this theory has been employed by tourism scholars to elucidate and investigate tourism evolution and the complexity of modern-day travel (Duum, Ren, & Jóhannesson, 2012), tourism innovations in destinations (Paget, Dimanche, & Mounet, 2010), pro-poor tourism and the concept of the tourism chain in Costa Rica (Duum & Caalders, 2008) and network- and actor-oriented perspectives in relation to tourism policy (Bramwell, 2005). It has also been used to shed light on the complexity of tourism that is sometimes framed as dualities, such as host and guests (Jóhannesson, 2005; Smith, 1977; Smith, 1989), production and consumption (Jóhannesson, 2005), tourists and destinations, or the tourist and the object of his or her gaze (Jóhannesson, 2005, Urry, 2002). ANT “appreciates the world as emergent through unfolding relations thus drawing attention to practices and enactments through which the relations are ordered and stabilized, at least from time to time” (Duum, et al., 2012) and the multi-layered and “relational materiality of the social world” (Jóhannesson, 2005), or as an underlying tourism network that is built on multiple relations and their implied “mobilities and spatialities” (Sheller and Urry, 2004). Since there is no handbook on how to conduct step-by-step ANT research (Jóhannesson, 2005), the implications of this theory will be loosely applied to explore

human actors and non-human material factors impacting the embracement and/or abandonment of Joan of Arc as an iconic touristic figure in France.

2.2 Site Sacralization Theory

In the past two decades, tourism scholars have utilized Site Sacralization Theory (MacCannell, 1976: 43–45) to understand the steps necessary for a site to progress towards *sacralization*, or in other words, to become a successful tourist destination (see Table 1, left column). Sites investigated include Gallipoli, a site in Turkey where Australia and New Zealand lost thousands of soldiers during World War I (Slade, 2003), aboriginal sites in Australia (Clark, 2002; Clark 2009), a Norwegian cape (Jacobsen, 1997), and Historic Prophetstown, a Native American site near West Lafayette, Indiana (Forristal, Marsh, & Lehto, 2011). A modified version of MacCannell’s scheme (Pearce et al., 2003) has been used to investigate successful tourism management strategies in relation to iconic figures (see Table 1, right column).

Table. 1 MacCannell’s Original and Modified Stages of Site Sacralization
(adopted from Pearce, Morrison & Moscardo, 2003)

MacCannell’s Original Stages	Relabeled Phase by Pearce et al.
1. Naming	1. Resource identification
2. Framing and elevating	2. Marketing emphasis
3. Enshrinement	3. Interpretation
4. Mechanical reproduction	4. Sales and merchandizing
5. Social reproduction	5. Broader community use

MacCannell’s first stage, the *naming* phase or ‘marking’ a site, is an important initial step for tourism destinations to achieve ‘site sacralization’ or destination attractiveness (Forristal, Marsh & Lehto, 2011). When applied to iconic figures, Pearce et al., (2003) redefined *naming* as resource identification, but name recognition and branding are also important early hurdles to becoming a popular or iconic figure. MacCannell’s second stage is *framing and elevating*. The term ‘frame’ (and framing) was also used by Erving Goffman, a contemporary and mentor to MacCannell, to denote a scheme that enables individuals “to locate, perceive, identify, and label” (Goffman, 1974:21) occurrences within their life space and the world at large. By rendering events or occurrences meaningful, “frames function to organize experience and guide action, whether by individuals, institutions or society at large” (Forristal et al., 2011). To MacCannell (1976), the *framing* of destinations is the ‘placement of an official boundary around the object’ which often included signage, and *elevation* is ‘putting an object on display’ or opening it up for visitation, again with appropriate signage

(MacCannell, 1976:44; Jacobsen, 1997). In relation to iconic figures, *framing* and *elevation* has been interpreted as the identification (or creation when needed) of a clear and marketable identity of an iconic figure through marketing efforts, which serves to help achieve and maintain an “elevated” status of the individual in society.

MacCannell identified *enshrinement* as the third stage of the evolution of attractions or destinations, which Pearce et al. (2003) redefined as interpretation. In the tourism literature, researchers have interpreted this stage to mean that the buildings or objects on a site become venerated themselves (Jacobsen, 1997; Leiper 1990). In relation to iconic figures, *enshrinement* has been defined as “explaining the significance of the life of the individual to serve the goals of enjoyment and understanding,” (Pearce, et al., 2003) as well as explaining the significance of the various settings or sites associated with their life.

MacCannell’s fourth stage, *mechanical reproduction*, addresses the recreation of artifacts and souvenirs associated with the site, which Pearce et al. (2003) related to sales and merchandizing of souvenirs. MacCannell believes this phase is the “most responsible for setting the tourist in motion” (MacCannell, 1976:45). In this fourth stage, the works of prominent painters, authors and artists are often identified or cataloged in libraries and other archival repositories with the name of the object they ‘reproduced’ in the title, abstract or caption. This brings an increased awareness of the site stemming from an increasing amount of information available to the public. Likewise, sales and merchandizing efforts, which often incorporate works of art or sound recordings, would increase awareness. In relation to iconic figures, mechanical reproduction is when the name and/or images of the icon enter the public record due to the creation, dissemination and cataloguing of related artistic works. Another example is the use of iconic images on postcards that are sold as souvenirs.

In relation destinations, the fifth and final stage of social reproduction, occurs when towns, schools or people start to name themselves after famous attractions (MacCannell, 1976:45). In relation to iconic figures, social reproduction occurs when the names of iconic figures are adopted as titles or place names for buildings (including churches), street names, towns, etc. This stage has also been interpreted as the development of broader community support (Pearce et al., 2003) or community buy-in in relation to the touristic icon.

3. Methodology

Using Actor Network Theory and Site Sacralization Theory as framing devices, this paper explores what human actors and non-human tangible and intangible factors (i.e., network of influences) may have contributed to the lack of a developed Joan of Arc tourism route or tour in France. The investigation timeframe is from the beginning of the Hundred Years’ War in 1337 to the present date. A key organizational step was to create a timeline of Joan’s life in order to elucidate and visualize possible networks and

connections. Another key step was to identify possible actors and factors in the Joan of Arc story by connecting with Joan of Arc scholars and enthusiasts via email and listserv postings. In essence, respondents were asked to postulate on what actors and factors *“may have contributed to the lack of a developed Joan of Arc tourism product with adequate signposting on the ground in France and resources on the web.”* Expanding on early respondents extensive and generous responses, a snowballing method of identifying additional respondents was adopted to broaden research and verify or strengthen earlier research.

4. Results

Although Joan of Arc spent all of her short life within a relatively small area of France (see Table 2), she was able to connect with the broader historical figures (actors) and political forces (factors) of the day. The English would come to see demonic forces at work in her life and death, the Duke of Burgundy saw political gain, the Catholic Church saw a chance to create a French saint and the French crown saw an opportunity to restore lands lost to the English and save France.

Table 2: The main events of Joan of Arc’s life and related tourism resources for the purposeful and accidental tourist

Location	Life event	Date	Heritage resource	French Region/department
Domrémy-la-Pucelle	Birthplace and childhood home	January 6, 1412	Birthplace is a museum; Joan statue on the grounds of Basilique du Bois-Chenu	Lorraine/Vosges
Domrémy-la-Pucelle	As a child, she started having visions that inspired her to help crown King Charles VII.	1424-1428	Intangible	Lorraine/Vosges
Vaucouleurs	Visits Robert de Baudricourt, captain of the French garrison, to ask for safe passage to meet the deposed king	May 1428	Joan of Arc Museum	Lorraine/Meuse
Gien	Another natural crossroads in the		Joan of Arc placard; home	Centre/Loiret

	Loire Valley		of Gien feience	
Chinon	Joan recognized the disguised (Dauphin), to be king Charles VII at Chateau Chinon	March 6, 1429	The ruins of Chinon Castle are an open air museum + museum; La rue du Grand Carroi in the Middle Ages (Medieval times)	Centre/Loiret
Sainte Catherine de Fierbois	Stopped here on the way to Chinon; later sent armorer to fetch a sword below or behind the altar her voices had told her was there	March or April 1429	Church and statue of Joan of Arc in the place	Centre/Indre-et-Loire
Orléans	Lifting of the Siege of Orléans, Joan recaptured the city for king and France	May 8, 1429	Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc at the Cathedral of Saint-Croix, commemorative statute of Joan, Maison de Jeanne d'Arc, Centre Jeanne d'Arc	Centre/Loiret
Battle of Patay	End of Hundred Years War and defeat of the English	June 18, 1429		Centre/Loiret
Reims (Rheims)	Charles VII crowned king in Cathedral of Notre-Dame	July 17, 1429	Cathédrale of Notre-Dame is UNESCO WHS; Statue of Joan in the Place du Parvis	Champagne-Ardenne/Marne
Compiègne	Joan is captured by	May	Statue de	Picardy/Oise

	the Burgundians (ruled by the Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy from 1419-1467, who vacillated between loyalties to the English and the French during his reign) and imprisoned for seven months before being turned over to the English	23, 1430	Jeanne d'Arc à Compiègne	
Rouen (capital of English Normandy)	Site of Joan's of imprisonment, Condemnation Trial and the Place du Vieux Marché (Old Market Square) where she was burnt at the stake	January 9, 1431 (trial begins) May 30, 1431 (died)	Fêtes de Jeanne d'Arc in the Place du Vieux Marché; Bucher; Abbey of St. Ouen tower where Joan as imprisoned, Larmes d'Jeanne candy	Upper Normandy/Seine-Maritime
Paris & Rouen	Nullification Trial	July 7, 1456	Text of the trial is in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris, but is only accessible by certified scholars	Île de France/Paris
Rome	Canonized/sainthood	May 16, 1920	Intangible heritage	

4.1 *Ample mechanical and social reproduction*

Joan's story was almost forgotten as it laid dormant in Latin transcriptions (factors) of her two trial proceedings (Pernoud & Clin, 1998:xii) for almost four centuries. The first trial, which historians call the Condemnation Trial, took place in 1431. When she was found guilty of heresy and dressing in male clothing (as well as other sins), she was burnt at the stake in Rouen. The second trial, which historians call the Nullification Trial, took place in 1456, twenty-five years after her death. This second trial nullified the verdict of the first trial (i.e., she was pronounced innocent of her crimes).

The original Latin transcripts were subsequently translated into French, edited and published in their entirety more than four centuries later by Jules Étienne Joseph Quicherat (1841–1849)—an actor. The very existence of these documents have allowed us to “know more details of her short life than we do of any other human being before her time and for several centuries thereafter” (Pernoud & Clin, 1998:xvi). These original trial papers in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BnF) in Paris and the British Library in London are only available to scholarly researchers. However, the trial papers are on microfiche at the Centre Jeanne d'Arc in Orléans and portions of the transcriptions are cited in articles and books.

In addition to the existence of her extraordinary trial papers, over the past six hundred years, a conservative estimate is that more than 10,000 textual (literature and theater), visual (statutes and paintings) and musical, operatic and film works have been devoted to Joan of Arc (Margolis, 2010). Conducting a search with WorldCat, an electronic catalog of items in library collections around the globe, using “Joan of Arc” as the keyword and a date range of 1429, the year she appeared on the world stage, and ending with the year 2012, yields 7,282 items. A similar search, using “Jeanne d'Arc” as the keyword, retrieves 22,730 items. Retrieved documents include William Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 1* (1590), Voltaire's *The Maid of Oranges* (1756), Friedrich Schiller's *The Maid of Orléans* (1801), Mark Twain's *Personal Recollections* (1896), and George Bernard Shaw's *Saint Joan* (1923).

The existence of archival trial documents and thousands of artistic works related to Joan of Arc are what MacCannell classifies as mechanical reproduction, and what would Actor Network Theory would consider factors and synonymous with sales and merchandizing (Pearce, et al., 2003). Joan of Arc statues, postcards bearing her likeness and other souvenirs are also mechanical reproduction. The naming of thousands of streets, buildings, and sites (including tourism sites) after Joan of Arc is what MacCannell calls social reproduction. In their interpretation of MacCannell's social reproduction stage, Pearce et al. (2003) believe the promotion of an iconic figure should be “in line with the community's vision for itself and the kind of tourism it wants”. Thus, both material (tangible) and social (intangible) non-human factors have added to Joan's long and broad appeal, which in turn, contribute to and influence related tourism.

4.2 No direct route, no single site

Using Joan's timeline (Table 2) as guide, another non-human material factor in the lack of Joan's embracement for tourism or the spontaneous emergence of a unified tour could be the complicated, indirect geographical path tied to the chronological events in her life and the physical distances involved. For example, there is no direct route from the place she was born to where she died. On a map of modern-day France, Joan's life events took place in various current French administrative regions (see Table 2, column 5).

Also, on-the-ground observations confirm that Japanese "pilgrims" visit several key Joan of Arc sites: Domrémy-la-Pucelle, Chinon, Orléans and Rouen, which reinforces the notion that there is no single religious pilgrimage or tourism site that has more importance than others that could act as a primary gathering place for pilgrims. The woods near her hometown where she had her original visions and her hometown basilica could be considered primary religious sites, but on the other hand, the trial papers reveal she was always in prayer and she claimed to carry out her actions in the name of God, so anywhere she went from 1429 until she died in 1431 could be considered a sacred Joan of Arc site. According to Pearce, et al. (2003), from a managerial perspective, it may be a particular challenge to manage tourism for iconic figures that have worked or lived in many locations, especially when several tourism "regions could equally lay claim to an individual's past."

As a comparison, although there is no "unified" Abraham Lincoln tour per se, the numerous life stage sites, such as his birthplace, childhood and adult homes in the Midwest (Kentucky and Illinois), and the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC., are coordinated and managed for tourism at the state and national level. These sites have a commonality with Joan of Arc sites in that they are not centralized in one place, but rather are located in both rural and urban settings around the country, with long physical distances between them. However, a key difference is that most of the Lincoln sites are run and managed by the National Park Service, a federally-funded government agency that provides both historical and site visitation information on their website.

4.3 Saint and/or patriot

Another non-human factor contributing to the lack of organized tour in France may be Joan's conflicting status as both/either saint and/or patriot. Joan was born during the Babylonian Captivity of the Church (Great Schism of the Roman Catholic church), a 70-year period when the papacy was moved from Rome to Avignon, France (1378–1417). The English king supported the Roman pope and French king supported the Avignonese pope; both popes ex-communicated their rivals, thus denying them the sacraments of the "true" church. Since this time when kings were more involved with the Church,

there has been a slow devolution of the relationship leading to the separation of church and state and secularization of France.

Over the centuries, this struggle between church and state has served to muddle Joan's image of saint (church) and/or patriot (state and related politics). Until the 1880s, when numerous towns erected statues of Joan of Arc as a form of "patriotic pedagogy," Orleans was the only town with a statue of Joan of Arc. After 1880, Joan quickly became the person for whom the most statues were erected in France. As another form of "patriotic pedagogy," the French Third Republic (1870–1940) promoted Joan as one of the founding heroes of the nation in school textbooks and she was the subject of the new Republic's first commemorative monument when Emmanuel Frémiet's equestrian statue was unveiled in the Place des Pyramides, on February 19, 1874 in Paris (See Figure 1). In the last 130 years, the story of Joan's life has become a tool used by politicians to further their own ends.

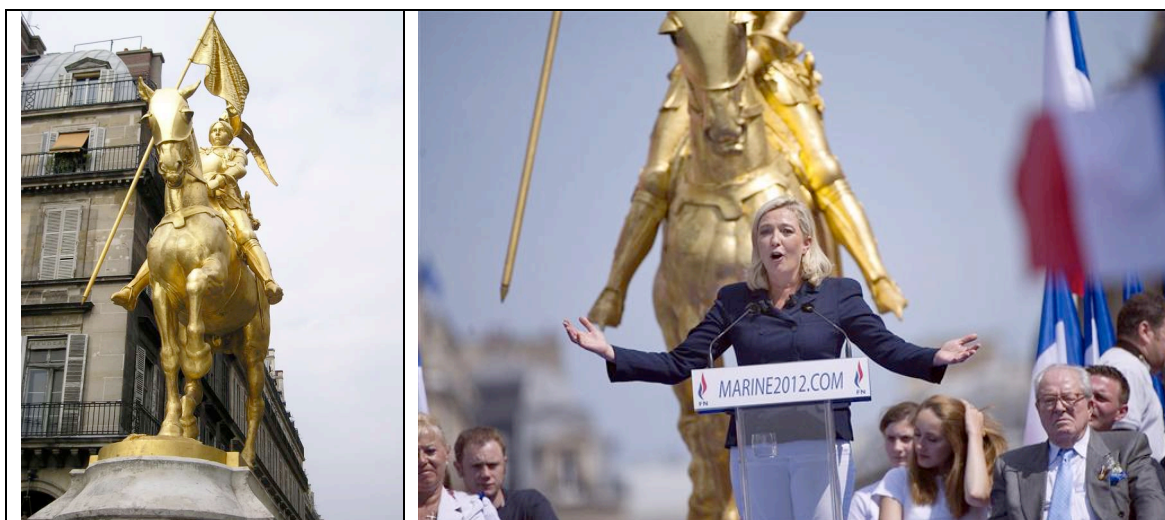


Figure 1. Emmanuel Frémiet's famous equestrian statue of Joan of Arc in the Place des Pyramides, Paris (Source: Wikipedia). **Figure 2.** Marine Le Pen (with her father Jean-Marie Le Pen with blue tie) of the conservative political party Le Front National speaking in Paris with a backdrop of Fremiet's Joan (Source: Digital Crusades).

For example, during the Dreyfus Affair, Joan was appropriated for an anti-Semitic propaganda motif (Kilgore, 2009) and described as a baptized Aryan, an "*aryenne baptisée*." The gathering point for Dreyfus' sympathizers was the aforementioned Frémiet statue. To the French Right (i.e., conservatives, but some say extreme right), represented by the Front National (FN), Joan symbolizes the " 'true France': the agricultural heritage, the military prowess in the face of foreign enemies, the self-

sacrifice in honour of the nation, and the Catholic devotion” (Davies, 1997:114) embodied in one person. Because of this, FN and Jean-Marie Le Pen (Le Pen Père) appropriated Joan of Arc for his causes such as anti-immigration and his daughter Marine (Gourevitch, 1997) continues in this tradition today. The Frémiet statue of Joan has served as backdrop for many political rallies (which become photo opportunities) by the Le Pen Père and his daughter Marine in past campaigns (see Figure 2).

On January 6, 2012 the then conservative French President Sarkozy, traveled to Vaucouleurs and Domrémy to commemorate the 600th anniversary of Joan’s birth. In his speech that day, he spoke of her role in the resistance against outside forces, but “refrained from deciding between Jeanne ‘holy’ of the Catholic Church and Jeanne ‘patriot’ of the secular republic, although he stated that [she] embodies ‘the Christian roots of France’” (L’Express, 2012). This alludes to possible conflicting views of Joan as both a saint and patriot, but as Sarkozy hinted, she couldn’t be both. In recent years, Joan of Arc has been considered a national patron saint and her status as a national emblem equals that of Charlemagne and Descartes. Additionally, she has been explored as part of French national identity and memory (Winock, 1992). Through the ages, Joan has always been a polarizing figure, with fans and detractors (Wheeler & Wood, 1996).

Even though Pope Calixtus III (actor) called for Joan’s retrial or Nullification Trial (factor) that eventually led to her being declared innocent in July 1456 (Hobbins, 2005:7), it took 464 more years before she was *elevated* to the status of a Catholic saint in 1920. It could be argued, that in the light of Site Sacralization Theory, Joan’s *framing and elevation* as a saint occurred out of order, that is, after her name and image had achieved widespread mechanical and social reproduction. This skipping over or reordering of stages could be a contributing factor as to why Joan has the conflicted status of being both/either saint and/or patriot.

And lastly, current French tourism policies could be confounding or compounding all the aforementioned possible reasons.

France started pulling together the disparate strands of government policy that affected tourism, however indirectly, to make a unified policy and to work with private industry to organize tourism so it didn’t distort society, pollute the country or turn livelihoods upside down. They created a planning process that is painstakingly tedious. Bureaucrats, committees, reviews, studies, analyses, more reviews, studies and analyses, then new polices to be implemented reviewed and studied. But they are happy with this singular approach. On every level, they have controls on and are cautious about tourism. Tourism development would need the go-ahead at every level (Becker, 2013:57).

Thus, the lack of a unified Joan of Arc tour may be due to the unwillingness of local, departmental and national French tourism entities to swamp the French countryside or clog city streets with tour buses, or to provide adequate signage that might be considered visual blight on the French countryside or cityscapes to guide tourists.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The existence of archival trial documents in Latin that were later translated into French by Quichert (actor), Frémiet's (actor) seminal equestrian statue and hundreds of other Joan of Arc-themed street and place names, books, articles, operas, plays, movies (factors) have contributed to an extensive social and mechanical reproduction (MacCannell, 1976) and to her broad popularity. But Joan's contested and complicated status of both/either saint and/or patriot (factors) in the French memory may have thwarted the development of a unified tourism product, although there exists, at least in the estimation of this author, an adequate tourism landscape (Duim, 2007). Also, her non-linear circuitous path through France (factor) and the long passage of time before she was designated a saint (factor) by the Catholic Church may also be key non-human factors contributing to why a clearly demarcated or unified tour has not materialized organically (i.e., without planning).

To support and encourage the purposeful or accidental Joan of Arc tourism the government and/or the tourism partners could create an auxiliary passport similar to ones carried by pilgrims walking the Way of St. James (Camino de Santiago). The Way of St. James is a series of well-developed paths that fan out over France and Spain initially designed to help religious pilgrims in the Middle Ages visit the sacred relics of the Apostle St. James in Santiago, Spain. This European-based trip was a substitute for visiting the Holy Land when it was too dangerous to travel to the Middle East. Both historically and today, pilgrims walking the path carry a paper passport with them called a *credencial* that is stamped at official stops along the routes to Santiago. Adopting or adapting this type of system, Joan of Arc tourists could collect stamps at significant Joan of Arc sites around France. The passport would also be disseminated or sold at these sites.

Alternatively, some kind of virtual passport or mobile application (app) could be developed for tourists to record their visitation to and note their progress in visiting Joan of Arc sites. A virtual passport or app, downloadable and accessible by individual Joan of Arc tourists when planning a visit or when visiting a specific site, could help mitigate tourist impact on the French countryside and cityscapes by eliminating the need for more extensive support systems. Visual blight from too much signage would be eliminated through the posting of tourist information, including directions to the site, in the digital cloud.

Lastly, in lieu of these induced methods of tourism promotion (Gunn, 1972:110), perhaps an inspired tourism innovator (Paget et al., 2010) will organically emerge as a key actor to interact with and translate the various Joan of Arc tourism sites into a unified and integrated Joan of Arc tourism landscape. However, it is likely that any one of these systems would need support and buy-in from national and departmental tourism entities in France, as well as French tourism offices overseas, in order to be in harmony with current French tourism policies.

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