État présent: Dark Heritage

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Jérémie Dres's 2011 graphic novel, *Nous n'irons pas voir Auschwitz*, recounts a road trip taken by the author with his brother to explore their Polish-Jewish roots.[1] For Paris-born Dres, the idea of going to Auschwitz seemed deplorable not simply because of its reputation as a 'dark' tourist destination but also because the aim of the trip was to discover places associated with the lives of his great-grandparents, not their deaths. What their visits to Warsaw and elsewhere in Poland show is the way in which Jewish history and heritage have been both erased from the city's architecture and re-activated in other ways as a response to those visiting (from the United States and elsewhere) in search of their Jewish origins. A different critical perspective on Auschwitz-Birkenau is offered in Georges Didi-Huberman's *Écorces*, a photo-essay that calls into question the 'museification' of the site.[2] Didi-Huberman's account of his visit to Birkenau begins with three pieces of bark he has taken from trees on the edge of the camp. The bark offers a different material encounter with the site to the 'official' displays offered but also serves as a conduit for thinking about writing, photography, and the complex personal stakes of visiting such a site. I cite these two visual ethnographies as examples of exciting and highly personal forms of 'research' produced within the last decade for three reasons. Firstly, to lay specific emphasis on the importance of the visual not just as a means of documenting heritage and tourism sites and practices but as a research practice in its own right, echoing Paul Virilio's *Bunker Archaeology* project, itself an ongoing source of inspiration for scholars working on twentieth-century ruins.[3] Secondly, the texts produced by Dres and Didi-Huberman are indicative of how Auschwitz has come to operate not only as metonym for the collective atrocities of the Second World War but as site par excellence of 'dark tourism'. And finally, through their respective refusal of and encounter with Auschwitz, as a means of highlighting the deep-rooted suspicion amongst French and francophone scholars and heritage practitioners alike of tourism described in the anglophone world as 'dark'.

Coined in 2000 by John Lennon and Malcolm Foley in their now seminal *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster*, the notion of 'dark tourism' has produced entire libraries' worth of scholarship largely dominated by an Anglo-American perspective.[4] While the term 'thanatourism' had previously been proposed by Anthony Seaton to describe sites specifically dealing with death, 'dark tourism' has become the umbrella term for a great range of activities and sites dealing not only with death and atrocity but disaster, crime, and scandal.[5] However, although France's battlefield tourism features as a key example in Lennon and Foley's early study, the term 'dark tourism' does not translate well into French. It is frequently translated as 'tourisme sombre', which loses its sense of the macabre, lurid, or sensational.[6] Elsewhere these dimensions are given greater emphasis via the use of 'tourisme noir' or 'macabre', as found for example in Taïka Baillargeon's overview of existing anglophone scholarship for a 2016 special issue of the Canadian journal *Téoros: revue de recherche en tourisme* dedicated to the question *Tourisme noir ou sombre tourisme?*[7] Another less common iteration, 'tourisme obscur', is adopted by Nathanaël Wadbled, writing in the same issue on the recreational agenda of many museums and sites associated with dark history.[8] Ambroise Tézenas's photography project, *Tourisme de la désolation*, which is focused on tourism to former disaster sites, adds yet another term to the mix.[9] An excellent bilingual engagement with the theme can be found in the 2017 dossier of the journal *Mémoires en jeu / Memories at Stake* on the theme *Tourisme mémoriel: la face sombre de la terre?*; worth noting in particular in the context of the semantic stakes of 'dark' tourism is Valérie Rosoux's discussion of how darkness might lead to light in the form of both 'enlightenment' and 'reconciliation'.[10] Interestingly, where researchers remain undecided on terminology, the mainstream French press has largely opted for 'tourisme noir' in its reporting on sites of interna-

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tional interest located outside France; such reporting tends to assume a tone of moral incredulity. In a short article from 2019 dedicated to the phenomenon, for example, *Paris Match* offers the following warning to readers tempted to indulge in their own quest for the lurid: 'Attention à ne pas non plus généraliser cette curiosité macabre, qui ne représentant [*sic*] qu'une minorité touristique.'[11] To date there has been no sustained scholarly discussion of the implicit racial politics of the term 'tourisme noir' within a francophone context.[12] Elsewhere, and beyond the specific question of vocabulary, Charles Forsdick and Wendy Asquith's discussion of the anglophone domination of the field of dark tourism studies offers insightful suggestions for future research, while Asquith's working bibliography of literature on dark tourism is a wonderful (online) resource for those broaching the overwhelming array of material on the topic, not least thanks to its careful categorization.[13]

If the concept of 'dark tourism' lays the groundwork for thinking about why and how we visit sites associated with suffering and atrocity, it is also necessary to think about why such sites are preserved, how they are presented, and by whom. Of key importance for exploring such questions is the collection of essays edited by Annette Becker and Octave Debary, *Montrer les violences extrêmes*, which takes a multi-disciplinary approach to the historicization and presentation of violence.[14] In this context, the term 'dark heritage' seems more useful than that of 'dark tourism': it is this, consequently, that will constitute the focus of this *État présent*. Significantly, the notion of 'dark heritage' allows for greater consideration of scholarship and research dealing with a broader set of sites and practices: recent scholars have accordingly acknowledged the need to think dark tourism through a heritage studies perspective.[15] Tourism implies a visitor who, regardless of the claims they might make upon a space, has come from 'elsewhere'.[16] Tourism also suggests leisure and, moreover, the suspension of the everyday.[17] Heritage, on the other hand, suggests a different, more complex form of community engagement beyond the service industry established for tourist consumption (or even knowledge transfer).[18] The term can also remind us of the way in which difficult heritage is embedded within the landscape of the everyday and the local tensions which can arise from memorial projects dealing with violent, contested histories especially where the legacies of such histories remain unresolved.

The question of what constitutes heritage or *patrimoine* is already a tricky one. In order to set some parameters, I will focus on scholarship from the 2010s that deals with specific 'sites' which present dark or difficult heritage. In addition to those spaces where events took place, these also include museums and memorial spaces. In making the decision to focus on 'sitedness', three categories emerge which will organize what follows: sites associated with war, sites associated with the transnational slave trade, and, finally, sites relating to crime and punishment. Inevitably there is overlap between these categories, with architectures of confinement, for example, being a feature of all three.[19] It should be noted that concentrating on the physical encounter with sites of suffering does not preclude an awareness of how these spaces are frequently situated within a wider set of cultural references, particularly film and literature. Indeed, innovative work is being done on the complex relationships between dark tourism and writing: notably, Charles Forsdick has for example explored the previously under-examined connections between travel writing and dark tourism for the collection *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies*, while as part of her *Rwanda Genocide Stories*, Nicki Hitchcott has addressed the idea of the writer as 'literary dark tourist' through an analysis of texts written by a group of African writers following a visit to genocide memorials located in the capital of Rwanda during summer 1998.[20]

The concluding section of this *État présent*, 'All Heritage Is Dark Heritage', is something of a provocation, aimed at identifying emerging areas of research focused on heritage including intangible heritage that, while not always presented as such, might be recast as 'dark' or problematic. The complex reasons, often not fully articulated, that visitors have for visiting sites associated with suffering and atrocity have provoked endless debate amongst scholars of 'dark tourism', which has become a truly interdisciplinary field of research drawing on film, literature, anthropology, geography, philosophy, and psychology, to name but the most obvious disciplines. At the same time, the scrutiny applied to such sites, their presentation, and visitor activity can offer useful tools to be applied to all forms of tourism and heritage preservation, and potentially challenge assumed values about what heritage is.

Remnants of war

Over the past decade, scholarship dealing with the cultural legacies of France's various wars has slowly moved beyond the vicious 'memory wars' that defined previous decades. Benjamin Stora is generally credited with coining the term 'guerre de mémoire' in the mid-2000s in relation to the conflicting claims to memory made by different

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minority groups.[21] However, Pascal Blanchard and Isabelle Veyrat-Masson provide a wider analysis of the term and its use in describing the long-existing opposition established between 'history' and 'memory' both within and beyond French academia. In particular, they identify how the mainstream media and cultural representations of various conflicts including exhibitions and documentaries have added to the spaces in which such debates have played out.[22] Arguably, a new chapter has begun, embodied in the involvement of both historians and sociologists in the inauguration of a number of memorial sites dealing with France's difficult histories.

In this context, Gabriel Moshenska has produced a useful account of the embedding of 'memory' into heritage studies.[23] Much contemporary work on French war heritage and tourism nevertheless continues to depend upon a small number of established concepts and their authors. Maurice Halbwachs's *La Mémoire collective* and Paul Ricœur's *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli* are most regularly cited.[24] Marianne Hirsch's concept of 'postmemory' continues to shape discourse around second- and third-generation memory and imagination, with Hirsch developing the concept in a new monograph, *The Generation of Postmemory: Writing and Visual Culture after the Holocaust*.[25] Where scholars take Pierre Nora's omission of difficult heritage from his *Lieux de mémoire* project to task, less critical reflection has been given to the ongoing value of describing a site in this way, thus rendering 'lieu de mémoire' a catch-all term.[26] One critical exception to this tendency can be found in the notion of 'nœuds de mémoire' that frames a special issue of *Yale French Studies*, edited by Michael Rothberg, Debarati Sanyal, and Max Silverman, and dedicated to theme of multidirectional memory in post-war French and francophone culture.[27]

Alongside these established points of reference, exciting new work is being done around 'agonistic memory'. Anna Cento Bull and Hans Lauge Hansen's 'On Agonistic Memory' sets out the concept, which draws on the work of Chantal Mouffe, including her critique of cosmopolitanism.[28] According to Bull and Hansen, the promotion in Europe of a cosmopolitan mode of remembering has done little to stem the return and rise of right-wing nationalism, which draws heavily on antagonistic forms of memory linked to past conflict. Against this background, agonistic memory is posited as a reflexive form of remembering aimed at emphasizing individual agency over more abstract notions of cosmopolitan collective identity or the antagonistic positions of 'us' and 'them'. Further research by Cento and Lauge Hansen together with Nina Parish, Cristian Cercel, and Eleanor Rowley offers a transnational perspective on the war museum as 'agonistic space', which includes placing the Historial de la Grande Guerre, located in Péronne, in conversation with other military museums across Europe.[29] Other work focused on the transnational dimension of memorial sites includes Johannes Heuman's discussion of the international support garnered for the inauguration of the Mémoriel du martyr juif inconnu (now known as the Mémoriel de la Shoah) located in the Marais at a moment when Holocaust remembrance had not yet become a national priority.[30] Heuman's conclusions are significant in moving understanding of the historical stakes of the memorial to consider how the project fed into nationalist myths outside of France.

Another important theoretical development which promises to provide a new critical lens through which to explore heritage alongside other forms of cultural representation is the extensive project led by Max Silverman and Griselda Pollock around the 'concentrationary', resulting at the last count in four extremely rich essay collections.[31] What Silverman and Pollock make fundamentally clear across the various publications is the way in which knowledge and understanding of the Holocaust are heavily mediated by a cultural imaginary that problematically conflates concentration and extermination camps. At the same time, the concept of the concentrationary offers an imperative to understand and remember directed towards future responsibility over above commemoration of the past.

Where the centenary of the First World War has inevitably increased public interest in France's war heritage and notably battlefield tourism, already in 2011 Jennifer Iles made the pronouncement that at no time since the Second World War has British interest in the Great War been so strong.[32] Building on her earlier fieldwork looking at battlefield tours, Iles's focus has shifted towards the tensions between British claims on landscapes as sites of heritage and the local need to make productive use of largely agricultural land. A similar analysis is offered by Paola Filipucci, whose study of war heritage is less about the experience of visitors and more about how memory of the pre-war 'builtscape' in the Argonne region of France has been transmitted to next generation.[33] Of particular note is Filipucci's discussion of the 'souvenir' — frequently shrapnel, but also postcards and photographs held onto by families located in the region. She also identifies the region's ongoing dependence on the war narrative for tourism initiatives at the same time, as this is often cited as a reason for development problems a century after the events in question. In

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his discussion of 'anthropogenic disaster', Stephen Miles offers a counterpoint to Filipucci's critique of battlefield tourism, arguing for the importance of tourism in the making of 'place' at sites either destroyed or evacuated.[34]

Given contemporary preoccupations with industrial ruination, it is perhaps not surprising that the visual culture of ruins and 'ruinisme' has been explored in the context of the First World War. Nicole Hudgins situates ruin photography from the First World War within a longer culture that celebrated 'ruinist' art, whilst also proposing that it marks a distinct break from this. Hudgins argues that ruin photography carried out by military, commercial, and amateur photographers for different purposes provided a means of negotiating trauma, especially via the 'anthropomorphic' use of ruin.[35]

Alongside an increased emphasis on visual culture, and particularly the photograph as cultural artefact, recent scholarship on war heritage has also been marked by what has been termed the 'performative turn'.[36] In his ethnographic study of Second World War walking tours in Paris aimed at American tourists, Geoffrey M. White explores ways in which the 'positive' narrative focused around Allied intervention and D-Day is supplemented and challenged by other narratives, including those which highlight collaboration and deportation.[37] It is also worth noting as a significant contribution to the field Bertram M. Gordon's monograph *War Tourism*. Gordon considers the multiple ways in which war and tourism intersect within the space of France, from the 'tourist-like' behaviour of German soldiers to the continued tourism within France by the French population to the post-war memorial landscape.[38]

The past decade has seen the inauguration of two significant sites belonging to France's difficult history of internment and deportation. The Site mémoriel du Camp des Milles was inaugurated on 2012 and the Mémoriel du Camp des Rivesaltes (also known as Camp Joffre) in 2015. Both form part of the network of camps established under the Third Republic and operated as deportation camps during the Vichy regime; they have been the subject of numerous historical works.[39] Rivesaltes also functioned as a refugee camp during the Spanish Civil War and the Algerian War, and subsequently as a detention centre until 2007. In her highly critical account of France's use of camps during the Second World War, Anne Grynberg laments the lack of commemoration at former sites used to intern foreign Jews.[40] To date, there has been limited scholarly critique of the interpretation offered at the two sites. Two exceptions are Virginie Soulier's chapter on the 'patrimonialisation' process of former camps in Catalonia, which also references Rivesaltes, and Cécile Denis's useful account of the memorial stakes of the Camp des Milles.[41] More recently, Shanti Sumartojo and Matthew Graves have focused on the materiality of the 'visitor experience' at Les Milles which, as a former tile factory requisitioned during the Second World War, also bears witness to industrial heritage.[42]

Former deportation camps within Occupied France which have also been the focus of scholarly research include La Cité de la Muette (Drancy), which continues to function as affordable housing.[43] Ongoing archaeological work at La Muette and elsewhere has also resulted in important visual studies, including several publications showcasing internee graffiti and artwork.[44] Inevitably, with the exception of large camps whose original architecture has, for one reason or another, been preserved, the vast network of sites has largely disappeared without a trace. Thus, where spaces such as the Site mémoriel du Camp des Milles are charged with the task of making visible this network as part of their narrative display, there is always a danger that such a site is seen as 'exceptional'. Here, it is worth citing Jean-Marc Dreyfus and Sarah Gensburger's work tracing the 'almost-camps' of Paris and the challenge this work poses to the enduring image of the camp as 'exceptional'.[45]

Work on the absent and hidden heritage of the Algerian War of Independence has taken a number of interesting directions, which can be mapped both within the wider context of memory studies and the slowly shifting memorial landscape, as it opens up to incorporate more difficult histories. Andrea Smith develops a notion of 'non-lieu', distinct from that proposed by Marc Augé, to analyse the 'work of mourning' undertaken by pieds noirs seeking acceptance and recognition in Metropolitan France whilst coming to terms with the loss of their home.[46] Smith's research takes her to Aix-en-Provence and the cemetery at Luynes known locally as the 'cimetière américaine' despite containing graves of hundreds of Second World War soldiers born in North Africa. William Kidd demonstrates how the iconography of the suitcase or the 'two suitcases' has enabled the story of the pieds noirs, for whom the choice was often presented as being between the 'suitcase or the coffin', to be included alongside other twentieth-century narratives of forced migration and exile.[47] Victor Collet explores the local political stakes of memorials to those who died protesting against the Algerian War in the banlieues surrounding Paris, and the problem of erecting memorials in dis-

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tricts undergoing constant urban renewal.[48] Beyond France, the memorial landscape (or 'memoryscape') in Algeria has received significant attention from Emmanuel Alcaraz, who charts the shifting stakes of war memorials in Algeria from the 1970s until the 1990s.[49] Alcaraz emphasizes the impact the French concept of 'devoir de mémoire' has had on memorial practice in Algeria, including, notably, the privileging of memorials which celebrate military heroes rather than civilian victims.[50] Alcaraz also identifies the use of memorials to 'forget' in areas where there was limited engagement in the independence movement.

Locating the anti-museum

It is almost two decades since the Loi Taubira was passed, acknowledging the transatlantic slave trade, as well as the slave trade and the practice of slavery in the Americas, the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean, and Europe, as crimes against humanity.[51] The incorporation of France's role in the slave trade into its ever-growing 'devoir de mémoire' has not been a smooth process, either in mainland France or in overseas departments in the Antilles, whose populations continue to bear witness to its legacy.[52] As numerous memorial and museum projects have emerged, scholars have paid close attention to the complex political stakes involved, documenting the memorial process and, where necessary, adding their voices to the debates. Perhaps one of the most important questions raised in recent years is that of what role, if any, a museum can play in telling the story of slavery. Achille Mbembe's powerful polemic, which proposes the slave as figure of the 'anti-musée', should be essential reading from undergraduate level upwards.[53]

Alongside Mbembe, the extensive research carried out by Christine Chivallon on slavery commemoration in Martinique should be mentioned for its sophisticated and informed critique of the stakes of slavery memorial. Chivallon's recent work around the 'explosion' of slavery commemoration builds on earlier research problematizing plantation tourism in Martinique for glossing over the violence of slavery in favour of rum-tasting and colonial nostalgia.[54] Chivallon continues to question whether the language of heritage is adequate for talking about slavery, identifying the tendency of commemoration to focus on the abolition rather than the legacy of slavery. It is this question of legacy that drives one of the most important collections of essays produced on the topic of France's slave trade over the past decade. Under the editorship of Nicola Frith and Kate Hodgson, *At the Limits of Memory: Legacies of Slavery in the Francophone World* emphasizes attempts to 'remember' slavery within a wider, ongoing context of labour exploitation. Thus conceived, the abolition of slavery ceases to provide a moment to celebrate, instead demanding greater scrutiny as forms of forced and indentured labour continued to operate throughout France's empire.[55] The collection brings together studies of tangible and intangible heritage practices in disparate sites across the francophone world including Haiti, Tunisia, Mauritius, Senegal, Guadeloupe, and Martinique. At the same time, attention is given to Nantes and the official and unofficial memorial initiatives acknowledging the city's role in the slave trade.[56] In particular, Frith's analysis of the controversy around the memorial in Nantes is innovatively explored via Foucauldian concepts of 'heterotopia' and 'parrhesia': Frith reads the memorial space as one which disrupts the everyday, precisely through its emphasis on the ongoing tension between the Republican discourse prioritizing abolition and the ongoing legacy of slavery.[57] Another important contribution is the 2013 special issue of the heritage journal *In Situ* dedicated to *Les Patrimoines de la traite négrière et de l'esclavage*, which provides a rich selection of essays around the sub-themes, 'Mémoires des mots', 'Mémoires des routes', 'Mémoire des lieux', and 'Une mémoire à transmettre'.[58]

In addition to recent work focused around new forms of commemoration and museification, much contemporary research must grapple with how one locates (physically, theoretically, culturally) a certain site of suffering and the wider histories it represents, once this site has been over-determined by a range of different cultural representations and tourism agendas. Notable here is the island as space used for military and colonial strategies, imprisonment, and exile, as well as a point of departure for slave and penal transportation, before its transformation in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries into a tourist enclave. Where Devil's Island has become metonym for France's penal colonies within an anglophone imaginary, Île de Gorée, located off the coast of Senegal, has become an international symbol of the slave trade, with its Maison des esclaves museum providing a focal point for 'slavery tourism'. The museum has long been considered by historians and heritage scholars to be a hoax, due to clear historical inaccuracies around the specific role of the island within the slave trade.[59] Taking this position to task, Pape Chérif Bertrand Bassène offers an alternative account of the historical significance of Gorée for the transatlantic slave trade, emphasizing the symbolic rather than the historical significance of the Maison des esclaves.[60]

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Assuming Gorée to be a highly mediated space, Forsdick provides a useful overview of its complex stakes as a site that has been over-determined by different cultural representations, including literature and film as well as promotional narratives aimed first at 'roots' and subsequently 'dark' forms of tourism, via the Maison des esclaves's infamous 'door of no return'. Forsdick also interrogates the different agendas and impact of high-profile political visits, including those made by François Hollande, George W. Bush, and Barack Obama during their respective presidencies.[61]

Identifying the impact of what Chivallon has termed 'une frénésie patrimoniale inédite' on local communities is particularly important when taking stock of recent heritage and memorial initiatives around slavery.[62] Catherine Reinhardt's interviews with a cross-section of the population in Guadeloupe reveal complex, nuanced responses to different forms of memorial and heritage around slavery, which neither conform to a unified, nationalist vision nor oppose France's dominant narrative of abolition.[63] Challenging existing conceptions of memory, especially those provided by Halbwachs and Nora, Reinhardt evokes Édouard Glissant's 'pensée archipélique' instead, as offering a more fruitful theoretical tool for thinking through these responses.[64] Another example of engaging differently with slave heritage is described by Yarimar Bonilla in her ethnographic account of 'memory walks' undertaken by labour activists in Guadeloupe.[65] Bonilla argues that such walks offer activists and their families a means of linking contemporary struggles to the longer history of slavery, colonialism, and subsequent departmentalization. Although slightly predating the timeframe selected for this *État présent*, it is also worth mentioning Vivian Nun Halloran's excellent monograph *Exhibiting Slavery: The Caribbean Postmodern Novel as Museum*, which explores the connections between literary and heritage studies.[66] Of particular note is the chapter on 'Mourning Museums', which explores the phenomenon of 'slavery tourism' as it plays out in both museums and the postmodern Caribbean novel, with specific focus given to monuments and cemeteries in Haiti and Martinique.

In the shadow of Papillon

Following Frith and Hodgson's call to render visible the legacies of slavery, we should consider one often overlooked example of post-abolition labour exploitation: namely, France's extensive use of penal transportation from 1852 until 1946. Despite local ambivalence in French Guiana towards its history as France's largest penal colony, since the 1980s various restoration initiatives have been undertaken at multiple sites across the department. However, until fairly recently there has been almost no critical engagement from a museographical point of view with the presentation of these sites.[67] Instead, discussion and debate around the heritage of the *bagne* have taken place largely within local heritage journals, as has also been the case in New Caledonia.[68] Although difficult to track down outside of the territories themselves, these publications are a valuable resource with which to chart the changing stakes of penal heritage for the local community.

Most notable for its stimulation of discussion around the forgotten histories of the penal colony is Patrick Chamoiseau and Rodolphe Hammadi's photo-essay, *Guyane: traces-mémoires du bagne*.[69] A forthcoming English translation promises to generate further critical engagement, to supplement analyses already offered by Max Silverman, Andrew Stafford, and others.[70] Miranda Spieler and Ann Laura Stoler offer challenges to Chamoiseau's identification of the colonial ruin with a poetic potentiality for imagining the experiences of different populations. For Spieler, whose work on French Guiana focuses largely on the early stages of penal transportation, it is by contrast a lack of vestiges at many of the former forest camp sites that defines the legacy of the *bagne* in terms of the disappearance of whole populations.[71] In *Duress: Imperial Durabilities in our Times*, Stoler offers a vehement critique of the contemporary preoccupation with colonial ruins as evidence of the durability and persistence of colonial pathologies.[72] Developing Mbembe's notion of the 'postcolony', she also provides a sustained critical analysis of Foucault's discussion of the 'carceral archipelago' and his refusal in *Surveiller et punir* to engage with the phenomenon of penal transportation.[73] Although Stoler does not link this analysis to a direct case study of French Guiana's penal heritage, her work is groundbreaking in the challenges it poses to the study of colonial ruination and to the over-simplistic engagements with Foucault's work on disciplinary institutions frequently made by those writing on prison museums and penal heritage.

While French Guiana's local population has come to accept and even value the role of penal heritage as a fundamental part of its fledgling tourist industry, as discussed by Olivier Dehoorne and Lee Jolliffe, in mainland France

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there has continued to be a reluctance to acknowledge sites of imprisonment as 'patrimoine', particularly when these exist in a continuum with current carceral practices and architecture.[74] The Musée national de la prison in Fontainebleau closed in 2010 with its collections dispersed to other locations. However, in 2014, La Santé prison (at that time closed for renovation) opened its doors to the public as part of the Journées européennes du patrimoine. The idea that a working prison might form part of France's architectural heritage and be open to a general public marked something of a watershed moment in French cultural history. Over the past decade, recognition of the specific and indeed growing phenomenon of prison tourism and heritage has emerged as a field of research in its own right distinct, from dark tourism and often more closely linked to visual criminology and carceral geography.[75] Until recently, however, sites found in France and across its former empire have not featured heavily in these transnational studies, despite high-profile tourist attractions such as the Conciergerie and the Château d'If. However, it is worth noting Étienne Madranges's *Prisons: patrimoine de France*, which provides extensive photographic documentation of prisons both past and present across mainland France, as well as in overseas departments and former colonies including Guadeloupe, Martinique, French Guiana, and Vietnam.[76]

In 2018, *Monumental*, the official journal of the Centre des monuments nationaux published a special issue focused on *Patrimoine de l'enfermement*, thus finally acknowledging the importance of penal heritage conservation. This is an excellent resource which features over forty short pieces from historians, architects, archaeologists, and curators. In an opening interview, Philippe Artières makes a compelling case for what he terms 'patrimoine gris' alongside 'patrimoine doré' and 'patrimoine industriel'. In the absence of a national prison museum and consolidated archive, another outstanding resource is the site *Criminocorpus*, run by the French ministère de la Justice and presided over by Jean-Lucien Sanchez.[77] In addition to articles and virtual exhibitions focused on the history of crime and punishment in France and its colonies, there is an ever-growing number of resources focused specifically on heritage conservation.[78]

Extending our focus outwards from the carceral vestige to crime and punishment more generally, the guillotine emerges from the shadows as France's ultimate marker of dark tourism and difficult heritage. Marc Gotlieb explores the problematic presence of the guillotine within the Parisian landscape, not least due to its 'absorption into the "exhibitionary complex" that helped define modern Paris', a symbol of modernity embodying humane efficiency but also a death machine producing a lurid fascination amongst tourists and artists alike.[79] Following the twenty-five-year moratorium on its display after the abolition of the death penalty in 1981, the guillotine formed part of an exhibition held at the Musée d'Orsay in 2010 presided over by former garde à Sceaux, Robert Badinter. However, *La Veuve* remained shrouded in a black veil, giving visitors the option to see or not to see, and thus emphasizing an ongoing reluctance to accept the object into official heritage. With the recent publication of Jacques Derrida's *Peine de mort* seminars, a new take on the public spectacle of the guillotine has emerged, offering a long overdue riposte to Foucault's seminal account of public execution.[80] It is within the context of these lectures that we should hope to see future work on the guillotine and its interpretation as heritage object. Interestingly, though perhaps not surprisingly, it is in former French colonies that one is most likely to encounter a guillotine as part of a museum display, with the largest number of visitors viewing the death machine no doubt being those to the War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City.[81] Yet, as Michael G. Vann's study of colonial postcards featuring executions that circulated in French Indochina during the early twentieth century suggests, the guillotine has always played the dual role of tourist attraction and pedagogical tool.[82]

The carceral landscape of French colonial occupation is a central focus of multiple museums in Ho Chi Minh City, including the Ton Duc Thang Museum and the Southern Women's Museum, alongside the War Remnants Museum. However, unlike Hanoi, where the infamous Hỏa Lò Maison centrale is now a museum, colonial carceral heritage has otherwise largely disappeared from present-day Ho Chi Minh City. Although aimed at a general rather than an academic audience, Tim Doling's work on colonial heritage in Ho Chi Minh City nevertheless provides carefully researched insights into the city's vanishing colonial penal heritage, including lesser-known sites such as the Bót dây thép colonial police station and the site of the infamous Maison centrale, demolished in 1968 and replaced with a public library.[83]

One particularly important penal heritage site located in Vietnam that has seen an emerging body of scholarship is the archipelago of Côn Đảo (known under French colonial occupation as Poulo-Condore). Franck Sénateur's *Poulo-Condore: le bagne d'Indochine* is structured around the personal memoir of Paul Miniconi, son of a prison guard

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stationed with his family on the island.[84] Other studies examine the tension between rapid tourism development and the Vietnamese government's commitment to conservation and sustainability given the archipelago's significant biodiversity.[85] More recently, research has sought to explore the challenges Côn Đảo poses to a Western understanding of 'dark tourism' via a specific focus on local community (including the former prisoners still living on the island), the use of the island's heritage within nationalist ideology, and the emergence of 'spiritual tourism' focused around the island's Hàng Dương memorial cemetery.[86] In this respect, Côn Đảo also provides an important case study of 'tourisme funéraire', alongside better-documented cemeteries such as Père Lachaise.[87]

All heritage is dark heritage

Running parallel with the increase in initiatives to preserve and acknowledge the vestiges and legacies, both material and immaterial, of France's difficult histories, there has been a growing body of work which actively interrogates the ideological function of what Daniel Herwitz has called 'heritage making'.[88] Although working in a different context, Herwitz draws on both Fanon and Mbembe to argue that 'heritage making' is essentially a colonial project, defined simultaneously by the plundering of relics and artefacts and the imposition of European architecture, the arts, and other cultural practices. From a postcolonial perspective, heritage becomes at once a means of affirming a unified national identity and a mode of access to a global marketplace. Another key reference is the special issue of *Civilisations* organized around the theme *Au-delà du consensus patrimonial: résistances et usages contestataires du patrimoine*.[89] To assume heritage or 'patrimoine' as possessing an inherent value risks endorsing activities that might otherwise be deemed unethical or exclusionary. To assume all heritage is dark heritage instead might therefore constitute a more constructive approach. The aim here would involve considering how heritage practices might contribute towards an ethics of spectatorship alongside a wider politics of consumption and sustainability.[90]

Moreover, identifying all heritage as dark also acknowledges the ongoing task required to unpack existing narratives and forms of interpretation which uncritically celebrate architecture, collections, and practices without attending to wider, less visible histories of oppression underpinning such sites. In this respect, scholars continue to wonder whether the museum, an essentially nineteenth-century colonial construction, can ever really be decolonized. The growing body of literature focused on both the Musée Quai Branly and the Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration suggests not.[91] Likewise, where Nantes and Bordeaux have been confronted with the demand to incorporate the memory of slavery into their maritime heritage, decisions to preserve or dismantle industrial heritage or defunct infrastructure are often predicated on aesthetics of ruination or purity, both of which evacuate the human legacy from the landscape.[92] However, a final twist to the idea of 'dark heritage' might involve further consideration of sites bearing witness to the loss of heritage rather than the erasure of human presence. Much of the focus in this *État présent* has been on scholarship looking at built heritage and the socio-cultural value of remembering human violence and suffering. Given the rise of what Robert Fletcher has termed 'anthropocene tourism', visits to sites of vanishing nature, attention should also be given to the loss or destruction of the natural world as another form of dark heritage.[93]

1. Jérémie Dres, *Nous n'irons pas voir Auschwitz* (Paris: Cambourakis, 2011).

2. Georges Didi-Huberman, *Écorces* (Paris: Minuit, 2011).

3. Paul Virilio, *Bunker archéologie* (Paris: Galilée, 2008). Virilio's study of the detritus of war along the French Atlantic coast, first published in 1975, continues to serve as a blueprint for scholars working on military and industrial forms of ruination and especially ruins relating to the Cold War. See, for example, Steve Brown, 'Archaeology of Brutal Encounter: Heritage and Bomb Testing on Bikini Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands', *Archaeology in Oceania*, 48 (2013), 26–39; Gair Dunlop, 'Relics of Acceleration: A Field Guide', in *Virilio and Visual Culture*, ed. by John Armitage and Ryan Bishop (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), pp. 207–26; and Adam Piette, 'Deep Geological Disposal and Radioactive Time: Beckett, Bowen, Nirex and Onkalo', in *Cold War Legacies: Legacy, Theory, Aesthetics*, ed. by John Beck and Ryan Bishop (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 102–15.

4. John Lennon and Malcolm Foley, *Dark Tourism: The Attraction of Death and Disaster* (London: Continuum, 2000). Other useful essay collections include *The Darker Side of Travel: The Theory and Practice of Dark Tourism*, ed. by Richard Sharpley and Philip R. Stone (Bristol: Channel View, 2009); *Dark Tourism: Practice and Interpreta-*

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tion, ed. by Glenn Hooper and John J. Lennon (London: Routledge, 2017); and *The Palgrave Handbook of Dark Tourism Studies*, ed. by Philip R. Stone and others (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

5. A. V. Seaton, 'Guided by the Dark: From Thanatopsis to Thanatourism', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2 (1996), 234–44.

6. See Oriana Binik, 'À la recherche du sublime: la dimension émotionnelle du tourisme sombre', *Espaces*, 337 (2017), 22–27; Dominique Chevalier, 'Que deviennent les mémoires douloureuses aux musées: un universel métissé?', *Mondes du tourisme*, 14 (2018), <http://journals.openedition.org/tourisme/1769> [accessed 17 March 2020], para. 8.

7. Taïka Baillargeon, 'Le Tourisme noir: l'étrange cas du Dr Jekyll et de M. Hyde', in *Tourisme noir ou sombre tourisme?* (= special issue, *Téoros*, 35.1 (2016)), <http://journals.openedition.org/teoros/2839> [accessed 17 March 2020]. See also Julie Hernandez, 'Le Tourisme macabre à La Nouvelle-Orléans après Katrina: résilience et mémorialisation des espaces affectés par des catastrophes majeures', *Norois*, 208 (2008), 61–73.

8. Nathanaël Wadbled, 'Les Fonctions du tourisme obscur', in *Tourisme noir ou sombre tourisme?*, <http://journals.openedition.org/teoros/2851> [accessed 17 March 2020].

9. Ambroise Tézenas, *Tourisme de la désolation* (Arles: Actes Sud, 2014).

10. Valérie Rosoux, '"Du désespoir à l'optimisme": comment faire du clair avec de l'obscur?', in *Tourisme mémoriel: la face sombre de la terre?*, ed. by Annette Becker and Charles Forsdick (= special issue, *Mémoires en jeu*, 3 (2017)), pp. 88–95.

11. Antoine Thoraval, 'Le Tourisme noir: quand le macabre attire', *Paris Match*, 19 June 2019, <www.parismatch.com/Actu/International/Le-tourisme-noir-quand-le-macabre-attire-1631718> [accessed 17 March 2020]. See also Isabelle Stassart, 'Tourisme noir, la fascination du désastre', *Le Figaro*, 3 February 2015, <www.lefigaro.fr/photos/2015/02/02/01013-20150202ARTFIG00332-tourisme-noir-la-fascination-du-desastre.php> [accessed 17 March 2020]; 'Les Touristes affluent à Tchernobyl depuis la diffusion de la série', *Le Point*, 6 June 2019, <www.lepoint.fr/culture/les-touristes-affluent-a-tchernobyl-depuis-la-diffusion-de-la-serie-06-06-2019-2317455_3.php> [accessed 17 March 2020].

12. While the 'whiteness' of all forms of tourism has been addressed to good effect by scholars such as Dean McCannell in his longstanding work on sightseeing, there is also little within an anglophone context that considers the racialized semantics of 'dark' tourism. Dennis Childs does identify the disjunct between white tourists and black prisoners at Louisiana State Penitentiary as part of a searing critique on the carceral legacy of slavery in the United States. Beyond academic work in this field, the most striking commentary on dark tourism and race can be found in a 2017 episode of the Netflix series *Black Mirror* entitled 'Black Museum'. Dean McCannell, *Empty Meeting Grounds: The Tourist Papers* (London: Routledge, 1992); Dennis Childs, *Slaves of the State: Black Incarceration from the Chain Gang to the Penitentiary* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2015).

13. Wendy Asquith and Charles Forsdick, '"Dark Tourism": The Emergence of a Field', in *Tourisme mémoriel: la face sombre de la terre?*, ed. by Becker and Forsdick, pp. 46–55; Wendy Asquith, 'Working Bibliography about Dark Tourism', *Mémoires en jeu* (April 2017), <www.memoires-en-jeu.com/notice/working-bibliography-about-dark-tourism> [accessed 17 March 2020].

14. *Montrer les violences extrêmes*, ed. by Annette Becker and Octave Debary (Grane: Créaphis, 2012).

15. See, for example, Catherine Roberts and Philip R. Stone, 'Dark Tourism and Dark Heritage: Emergent Themes, Issues and Consequences', in *Displaced Heritage: Responses to Disaster, Trauma and Loss*, ed. by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane, and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2014), pp. 9–18.

16. For classic work on the figure of the 'tourist' from a French perspective, see Marc Augé, *L'Impossible Voyage: tourisme et ses images* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 1997) and Jean-Didier Urbain, *L'Idiot du voyage: histoire des touristes* (Paris: Payot, 2002).

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20. Charles Forsdick, ‘Dark Tourism’, in *Keywords for Travel Writing Studies: A Critical Glossary*, ed. by Charles Forsdick, Zoë Kinsley, and Kathryn Walchester (London: Anthem, 2019), pp. 63–65; Nicki Hitchcott, *Rwanda Genocide Stories: Fiction after 1994* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2015).

21. Benjamin Stora, *La Guerre des mémoires: la France face à son passé colonial* (La Tour d’Aigues: Éditions de l’Aube, 2011).

22. Pascal Blanchard and Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, ‘Memory Wars: A Study of the Intersection between History and Media’, in *The Colonial Legacy in France: Fracture, Rupture, and Apartheid*, ed. by Nicolas Bancel, Pascal Blanchard, and Dominic Thomas, trans. by Alexis Pernsteiner (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), pp. 89–112. Demonstrating the timeliness of its concerns, and helpfully consolidating key materials from the debates in question, this English translation brings together material from the following: *La Fracture coloniale: la société française au prisme de l’héritage colonial*, ed. by Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Sandrine Lemaire (Paris: La Découverte, 2005); *Ruptures postcoloniales: les nouveaux visages de la société française*, ed. by Nicolas Bancel and others (Paris: La Découverte, 2010); Renaud Dély and others, *Les Années 30 sont de retour: petite leçon d’histoire pour comprendre les crises du présent* (Paris: Flammarion, 2014); and Pascal Blanchard, Nicolas Bancel, and Dominic Thomas, *Vers la guerre des identités: de la fracture coloniale à révolution ultranationale* (Paris: La Découverte, 2016).

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Imaginaries: Tracing Totalitarian Violence in Popular Culture, ed. by Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015); *Concentrationary Art: Jean Cayrol, the Lazarean and the Everyday in Post-war Film, Literature, Music and the Visual Arts*, ed. by Griselda Pollock and Max Silverman (London: Berghahn, 2019).

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62. Chivallon, ‘Rendre visible l’esclavage’, p. 15.

63. Catherine Reinhardt, ‘Telling Stories of Slavery: Cultural Re-appropriations of Slave Memory in the French Caribbean Today’, in *At the Limits of Memory*, ed. by Frith and Hodgson, pp. 49–67.

64. Édouard Glissant, *Mémoire des esclavages la fondation d’un centre national pour la mémoire des esclavages et de leurs abolitions* (Paris: Gallimard, 2007), p. 166.

65. Yarimar Bonilla, ‘The Past Is Made by Walking: Labor Activism and Historical Production in Postcolonial Guadeloupe’, *Cultural Anthropology*, 26 (2011), 313–39.

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79. Marc Gotlieb, 'The Guillotine Sublime', in *Is Paris Still the Capital of the Nineteenth Century? Essays on Art and Modernity, 1850–1900*, ed. by Hollis Clayson and André Dombrowski (New York: Routledge, 2016), pp. 53–72.

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81. Other guillotines found on public display include a second guillotine in Vietnam housed in the Hỏa LòPrison in Hanoi. See Christina Schwenkel, *The American War in Contemporary Vietnam: Transnational Remembrance and Representation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009). Also of note is the one housed in the local museum at Borail, New Caledonia. A replica is displayed at Fort Teremba. Debates about the mythical status of New Caledonia's first guillotine (believed to be the one used to execute Louis XIV) are investigated by Paul Griscelli in 'La Guillotine du Camp-Est: l'infernale odyssée des bois de justice de Louis XIV', *Bulletin de la Société des études historiques de Nouvelle-Calédonie*, 33 (1977), 1–40. In French Guiana, the dismantled guillotine now housed in the Camp de la transportation in Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni has been the subject of ongoing discussion; see Marie-Blanche Potte, 'Les Pénitenciers d'outre-mer, une histoire des mises à l'écart', *Monumental*, 1 (2018), 52–53.

82. Michael G. Vann, 'Of Pirates, Postcards, and Public Beheadings: The Pedagogic Execution in French Colonial Indochina', *Historical Reflections*, 36 (2010), 39–58.

83. Tim Doling, *Exploring Ho Chi Minh City* (Ho Chi Minh City: The Gioi Publishers, 2014). See also Tim Doling, 'House of Horrors — Bot Day Thep', *Historic Vietnam* (2015), <www.historicvietnam.com/house-of-horrors> [accessed 17 March 2020], and 'Icons of Old Saigon — The Maison centrale de Saigon, 1866', *Historic Vietnam* (2015), <www.historicvietnam.com/maison-centrale-de-saigon> [accessed 17 March 2020].

84. Franck Sénateur and Paul Miniconi, *Poulo-Condore: le bagne d'Indochine* (Paris: Gobelins, École de l'image, 2016).

85. See Gregory D. Ringer, 'Convicts and Conservation: Con Dao National Park, Vietnam', in *Sustainable Tourism: A Global Perspective*, ed. by Rob Harris, Tony Griffin, and Peter Williams (Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 2002), pp. 221–37; and Philip Hayward and Giang Thuy Huu Tran, 'At the Edge: Heritage and Tourism Development in Vietnam's Con Dao Archipelago', *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*, 3 (2014), 113–24.

86. Charles Fox, Sophie Fuggle, and Charles Forsdick, *A Poetics of Space: Images of Con Dao* (London: Pavement Books, 2018).

87. See, for example, Michelangelo Giampaoli, 'Rock around the Grave: la tombe de Jim Morrison au Père-Lachaise', *Ethnologie française*, 42 (2012), 519–29; and Stéphane Toussaint and Alain Decrop, 'The Père-Lachaise Cemetery: Between Dark Tourism and Heterotopic Consumption', in *Dark Tourism and Place Identity*, ed. by White and Frew, pp. 13–27. There is also a growing body of work on war cemeteries, including Caroline Winter, 'First World War Cemeteries: Insights from Visitor Books', *Tourism Geographies*, 13 (2011), 462–79. Jean-Didier Urbain's *L'Archipel des morts: cimétières et mémoire en Occident* (Paris: Payot & Rivages, 2005) also remains a classic reference on 'tourisme funéraire' from a European perspective.

88. Daniel Herwitz, *Heritage, Culture, and Politics in the Postcolony* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012).

89. *Au-delà du consensus patrimonial: résistances et usages contestataires du patrimoine*, ed. by Cyril Isnart and Anaïs Leblon (= special issue, *Civilisations*, 61.1 (2013)).

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90. One area of emerging research here involves debates around ‘patrimoines gastronomiques’. Élise Mognard identifies the complex relationship between foie gras as ‘patrimoine alimentaire’ and the role of the *touriste-mangeur* in endorsing the unethical practice of ‘gavage’; Élise Mognard, ‘Foie gras, gavage et “touristes-mangeurs”: une sociologie de l’alimentation à l’heure de la mondialisation’, *Mondes du tourisme*, 10 (2014), 95–99. Offering a different approach to the issue of foie gras, Rafi Youatt draws on Derrida’s *L’Animal que donc je suis* to call for a politics of responsivity towards ducks and geese subjected to the process of ‘gavage’: Rafi Youatt, ‘Power, Pain, and the Interspecies Politics of Foie Gras’, *Political Research Quarterly*, 65 (2012), 346–58; Jacques Derrida, *L’Animal que donc je suis* (Paris: Galilée, 2006).

91. On the Musée Quai Branly, see Dominic Thomas’s chapter on ‘Museology and Globalization’, in *Africa and France: Postcolonial Cultures, Migration, and Racism* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 14–41; on the Cité nationale de l’histoire de l’immigration, see Nancy L. Green, ‘The Immigration History Museum’, in *The French Republic: History, Values, Debates*, ed. by Edward Berenson, Vincent Duclert, and Christophe Prochasson, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011), pp. 242–51.

92. See Lionel Laslaz, ‘Renaturalizing without Heritage-Making: Banning “Outdated Facilities” and Landscape Blemishes in Alpine Protected Areas’, *L’Espace géographique*, 42 (2013), 335–49.

93. Robert Fletcher, ‘Ecotourism after Nature: Anthropocene Tourism as a New Capitalist “Fix”’, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27 (2019), 522–35.

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