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Title: *Fabricating “Cool” Heritage for Northern Ireland: Game of Thrones Tourism*

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Abstract: This article explores how Northern Ireland incorporates *Game of Thrones* narrative and brand into its heritage sites and objects in order to draw screen tourism. It examines how the region distinguishes itself from other touristic *Game of Thrones* production locations such as Croatia and Spain by territorializing the series and associating it with Northern Irish heritage. Such double branding engrains the screen production to its filming locations in the region, ensures the longevity of screen tourism, and potentially makes heritage tourism appealing for a wider group of tourists.

In 2017, the largest national museum in Northern Ireland, Ulster Museum in Belfast, showcased a 77-meters long hand-embroidered tapestry, depicting key scenes from each episode of six seasons of the renowned HBO series *Game of Thrones* (hereon *GoT*). The tapestry was placed on the floor usually dedicated to “Irish Arts”, was produced from the material coming from one of the last surviving linen mills of Northern Ireland, and was woven in the style of the traditional Bayeux Tapestry. News on the exhibition underlines that the ancient craft of tapestry “suddenly became cool” (Sweeney) and that the exhibit drew 130,000 visitors in a year (Colhoun). Despite the lack of exact figures related to *GoT* tourism on Tourism Northern Ireland’s official website, unofficially the tourism board declares that “a conservative estimate of the value of screen tourism per annum is £18 million” (agendaNI). Tourism Northern Ireland has been using *GoT* brand in various ways to promote tourism to the region. Their activities range from developing *GoT* filming locations app to organizing industry events such as workshops for international tour operators to show ways that they could include *GoT* experiences in their programs (Tourism NI, “Game of Thrones®”). The tapestry event is especially striking in the way that it ingrains the series in the geography and history of Northern Ireland, fabricating a modern heritage for the region. This article explores such branding strategies that blend *GoT*-related screen tourism with heritage tourism in Northern Ireland.

We focus on how *GoT* narrative and brand are incorporated into heritage sites and objects in Northern Ireland through analyzing promotional materials, exhibitions, *GoT*-related events and objects. Comparing the Northern Irish case with other European countries using the *GOT* brand to promote tourism we explore the ways through which Northern Ireland distinguishes itself from other production locations by territorializing the series and fastening it to the region’s heritage narrative. This is made evident by a series of partnership deals signed by the national tourist board and HBO for the use of copyrighted materials (logos, names etc.) and promotional channels. We argue that such double branding ingrains the screen production in its context/ location, at the same time as it ensures the longevity of screen tourism while making heritage tourism appealing for a wider group of tourists.

Exploring the convergence of screen and heritage tourism

Research on screen tourism—a concept in which we can include the migration of screen professionals to the production site as well as virtual travels to internet sites—often focuses on the analysis of destination tourism into production locations. It has been widely explored from a tourism studies and management perspective, which has produced research on its economic impact on the production locations (Beeton, “The Advance of Film Tourism”; Li et al.) and strategies of destination marketing and branding (Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*; Hudson and Ritchie, “Promoting Destinations via Film Tourism,” “Film Tourism and Destination Marketing”; O’Connor and Bolan; Lundberg et al.). There is also a significant amount of research on spectator motivation, focusing on the emotional involvement of spectators with TV series and how it impacts screen tourism (Kim), and on the motivation and experiences of screen production site tourists (Beeton, *Film-Induced Tourism*; Macionis and Sparks; Roesch; Connell and Meyer; Kim et al.). Film, media and cultural studies scholars, on the other hand, often focus on the ways that screen tourism commercializes the image of the space of representation or the location of production—be it the countryside in British TV series (Fish), ‘exotic’ locations such as Thailand, Greece, New Zealand and Cuba (Tzanelli, *The Cinematic Tourist*), or an extremely filmic location such as the New York City (Sadler and Haskins).

Heitmann describes film tourism as a form of tourism with which many other forms (culture/ heritage, community, urban, nature and adventure tourism) may coincide (40-41). Recently, there has been a growing scholarly interest on the links between screen and heritage tourism. Research on the topic in the early 2000s explore the connection between heritage and fiction to examine how fictional works have impact on the heritage destination’s image (Frost) or to inquire into issues of authenticity—the ways that history and heritage may be distorted through the promotion of screen tourism, for instance the promotion of sensationalist tourism in Transylvania through Dracula films and novel (Muresan and Smith). David Martin-Jones suggests that certain countries (Scotland and the UK in his case) have “a major advantage in terms of developing film tourism as heritage tourism” (172). For Martin-Jones the advantage of Scotland and the UK emerges from the extensive portrayal of historical and cultural sites represented on screen that also draw tourists who are interested in heritage tourism. Hence, his description of heritage is predominantly limited to historical sites that “films can tap into” (173).

We intend to explore the idea of heritage as a construct that is created and recreated rather than as an established and recognized site or practice. In *Heritage, Screen and Literary Tourism* Sheela Agarwal and Gareth Shaw argue that what binds these three forms of tourism is the “co-creation of memory, history and heritage” or “exploiting the selling and retelling of the past, as well as using screen and literary links to attract tourists” (10). Agarwal and Shaw adopt a description of heritage as an element of the past that has been adapted for contemporary use. The authors insist that while “heritage resources may have intrinsic qualities such as age..., the value placed on them depends on the people who use them” (12). Hence, they describe heritage not as universally or

institutionally defined (by UNESCO for instance) historical sites but as sites and objects re-created and valued selectively over time and by different societies as well as by a different group of tourists. This understanding of heritage does not only align it with literary and screen fiction but also makes it easier to see how heritage and screen tourism may feed off of each other. Rather than exploring how screen images represent established heritage places, this article explores how screen images construct a “cool” heritage, revive potential natural, industrial or cultural heritage sites and objects through associating them with screen images.

Martin-Jones points out the discrepancy between the relatively short life of film tourism in contrast to the longevity of heritage tourism, “Unless a film is a really big box office or cult success, any film tourism impact is likely to be ephemeral, and can quickly dissipate even in already recognisable tourist locations... and mention of recently dated cinematic works might somehow distract from the greater historical longevity of the actual heritage location” (174). We argue that associating screen “ephemerality” with heritage “longevity” can be profitable for both sides. This article claims that while screen tourism benefits from the longevity of heritage tourism, heritage tourism reaps the benefits of popularity and “coolness” of screen tourism. As *GoT* tapestry in Bayeux style makes heritage “suddenly cool again” it engrains the series into the heritage narrative to ensure its longevity.

***GoT* economy**

Described as “The World’s Most Popular Show” by *Time* Magazine (D’Addario) *GoT* is a fantasy drama based on the book series *A Song of Ice and Fire* (1996) by George R. R. Martin and created by David Benioff and D. B. Weiss for the US TV network HBO in 2011. The series is set in Westeros and Essos, a fictional world of violence between power-drunk royals, dragons and magic. It tells a story of nine noble families fighting for the iron throne while the winter approaches and another race from the north threatens to destroy Westeros and Essos inhabitants. The TV series airs in more than 170 countries and holds the record for most Emmys won by a prime-time series. The number of viewers reveals the worldwide popularity of the series: each episode of Season 7 finale of *GoT* was watched by an average of 23 million accounted viewers (streaming and VOD) worldwide and probably millions of unaccounted ones, as this is a highly pirated show (D’Addario).

Croatia, Iceland, Malta, Morocco, Northern Ireland, Scotland, Spain and the USA are among the filming locations of the series. While especially Northern Ireland, Spain, Croatia, Iceland and Malta became destinations for *GoT* tourism, fan tourism also involves soundtrack concerts, fan events at the Comic-Cons and season premieres in other locations. So *GoT* brand can attach itself both to pop culture tourism as in Comic-Con, adventure tourism as in *GoT Tours* in Northern Ireland’s rural locations such as The Dark Hedges, as well as more traditional cultural heritage tourism as in Dubrovnik’s medieval Old Town. Even countries that are not part of the production of the TV series try to attract fans through

GoT-themed events. For instance, during the 2017-2018 season in Lapland Finland, a hotel chain built a *GoT*-themed snow village made of ice and decorated with the characters and symbols from the series (Lynch).

Recent research on *GoT* tourism focuses on the motivation of screen tourists (Jokinen, Pistalo) and the impact of the series on the increase of tourism in shooting locations. Tkalec, Zilic and Recher explore the effects of the series on local tourism in Dubrovnik, Croatia (King's Landing in the series) based on data collected by government sources and find "a robust and positive effect of filming the TV series in Dubrovnik on the number of tourist arrivals" (705). Arguably, the positive touristic trend is visible in several European locations screened in *GoT* (Smith). Pistalo, on the other hand, after conducting a survey with 100 tourists to Dubrovnik contends that "despite being aware of film-induced tourism, very few tourists arrive to Dubrovnik with the intention of visiting movie locations" (11). Pistalo's findings support Hao and Ryan's conclusion that being represented as a film location does not necessarily benefit already established tourist destinations like Dubrovnik—a UNESCO World Heritage site since 1979—but promote a destination that has not been previously under the tourist radar such as Northern Ireland.

Recently, authorities and residents in Reykjavik and Dubrovnik declared their worries regarding *GoT*'s stimulation of "overtourism" in Iceland and Croatia, which lead to increasing prices and is detrimental to the protection of historical heritage sites (Smith). For Dubrovnik, *GoT* "has proved both a blessing and a curse" (Smith) and in Iceland "locals fear the country is being "Disneyfied", while in Northern Ireland such concerns are less visible in the media. As opposed to already established UN heritage sites such as Dubrovnik and Sevilla, promotion through *GoT* is crucial for Northern Ireland, a region in which until recently media coverage was dominated by narratives of civil conflict between Unionist Protestants and Republican Catholics (1968-1998), also known as the Troubles. In a *New York Times* article featuring the touristic sites in and around Belfast, Peter D. Robinson, the province's unionist first minister, states that *GoT* signifies emergence from "the dark days of the past into a new era" (Rosenbloom), alluding to the Troubles.

Films and TV series production has become a way to write a new branding narrative for Northern Ireland, keen on erasing the image of the land associated with civil strife (Celik Rappas). In the last decade, Northern Ireland has started to define its natural, industrial and cultural heritage more and more through film and TV industry, *GoT* being the centrepiece in these efforts. The 3D version of James Cameron's film *Titanic* (1997) was premiered at the opening of Titanic Belfast, the maritime heritage museum (2012). Cameron's film has a crucial place in the curation of the heritage museum's collection and Titanic Belfast frequently holds *Titanic* (film)-related events and promotions (Celik Rappas). Then, during the European Heritage Days in 2014, 400 heritage locations in Northern Ireland opened their doors to the public for free. The *Belfast Telegraph* announced that, along with tours and talks that celebrate heritage, "the spotlight will also be shone on Northern Ireland's multi-million pound film and television industry, with behind-the-scenes talks on big-budget productions such as BBC2

thriller *The Fall*, HBO's hit fantasy drama *Game of Thrones* and new Hollywood blockbuster *Dracula Untold*" (Coleman). In 2016, during the world's leading real estate convention MIPIM, Belfast's strategy to draw potential investors was to organize an event that featured film production, while most other cities showcase their heritage. In 2017 Belfast City Council took the iron throne of *Game of Thrones* to the real estate convention.

Among the production locations' efforts to draw *GoT* fans, those of Northern Ireland stands out as the earliest and the most connected to the original HBO brand. The first significant impact of *GoT* on tourism in Northern Ireland occurred in 2013. The HBO was organising an itinerant free exhibition of the props and costumes of the first two seasons of the show as a marketing device for the running third season. The exhibition began in March 2013 in Toronto and, after travelling to New York, São Paulo, and Amsterdam ended in June 2013 in Belfast where it will take place again during the last season April to September 2019. In 2013, in 24 hours more than 12,000 free tickets were allocated to keen fans queueing online from different parts of the world, proving for the first time to the national tourist board the potential impact of the TV show in the region. (Baker). The choice of the Northern Ireland capital as exhibition stage was not as straightforward as it may sound now, after years of building a strong public perception of the association between the TV show and the region. It took a persistent work by the marketing department of Northern Ireland Screen to entice it to Belfast, a few hundred meters from the Paint Hall studio where all the interiors of the series have been shot. While in Toronto, São Paulo, and Amsterdam the exhibition was organised in partnership with the regional HBO offices (respectively HBO Canada, HBO Latin America and HBO Netherlands) and in New York with the Time Warner Cable; in Belfast, the partnership features the Northern Ireland Screen, Tourism NI and Titanic Belfast). Therefore, while the other partnerships in the exhibition strongly focused on the narrative, in Belfast the partners' association reveals an effort to emphasize the production and the linked territorialisation as a larger cultural phenomenon.

It is noteworthy that the 2013 itinerant HBO exhibition took place in Titanic Belfast creating the kind of link between the TV series and the national heritage that is going to characterise their relationship for the years to follow. While the HBO exhibition per se did not showcase the association between the show and the territory (focusing instead on costumes and props, a "Backwater Bay Interactive Experience" and a replica of the throne), the location itself of the exhibition (in Belfast and at the maritime heritage museum) contributed to establishing such association on a global scale. The agreement reached with HBO to host the event in Belfast, in fact, was the opportunity for a series of promotional initiatives aimed at linking the imaginary of the series with that of the main hosting region. For instance, on the days of the exhibition, the actors of the series were invited to other events organised by Tourism NI in heritage sites, like the Crumlin Road Gaol ("In Pictures"), while the press releases regarding the launch of the exhibition in Belfast represented the opportunity to advertise the renewed agreement to bring the production of *GoT* in Northern Ireland for the fourth season ("Game of Thrones® Exhibition") and to feed a media coverage on the tourist ambitions of the region related to the TV show (Cotter). It became

clear that a significant part of the return of investment related to the funding awarded to HBO by NIS would become manifest through screen tourism. The following year, the first-day trip tours to visiting *GOT* locations in Northern Ireland were established (Addley) and the lengthy negotiation between Tourism Ireland and HBO for a more persistent partnership finally reached a conclusion, leading to different joint agreements for events and tourism campaigns (in 2015, 2016 and 2017). From a Tourism Ireland advertising in Times Square featuring the dark edges (King's Road in the show) to the online promotion on HBO Asia, the plan to remap the region within the geography of the show, the marketing strongly worked towards a persistent association between the region and the settings of the fantasy show.

Northern Ireland as #GOTterritory

In the 2018 TV programme "The North Awaits" produced for Tourism NI and screened on several channels including TV3 Ireland and Virgin's Be3, travel journalist Ed Finn engages on the identification made by the Tourism board campaigns of Northern Ireland as "Game of Thrones territory", explaining how it "truly earns" this title as it is "home to more of the seven kingdoms locations than anywhere else in the world." Starting in 2015, the Tourism NI partnership with HOB focussed mainly on a series of campaigns to promote a strong association between *GoT* and the Northern Ireland territory: from the introduction of plaques on 25 key locations explaining their role in the TV show, to the creation of the slogan "Northern Ireland: Game of Thrones territory" used in particular for the international marketing of the region, alongside different maps, digital and otherwise. For instance, the smartphone app "*Game of Thrones* Filming locations", launched in 2016 and developed in collaboration with Northern Ireland Screen, allows to gather information about the shooting locations by navigating a map of Northern Ireland or that of fantasy geography of Westeros and Essos. For each location, the app presents a summary of the scenes shot there (stressing the plot's points of the TV show and their belonging to a given season), and a brief historical information of the "real space" with photos (often depicting the production of the TV show in the location), a "VR 360 degrees tour", and a link to the navigation to the destination. The app, therefore, strongly promotes a constant overlapping between fantasy and heritage geographies, and fantasy and heritage narratives. Westeros and Essos are Northern Ireland and Northern Ireland is Westeros and Essos. A similar approach is offered in the "paper maps" prepared by Tourism NI in 2018 in six different languages and launched during a promotional tour in Asia (@NITouristBoard). Therefore, foreign markets for which Northern Ireland has seldom been a known touristic destination are introduced to the region through the lenses of the TV show's tours to the locations.

Such tours have the visitors engage with real locations that were however significantly modified by CGI for the TV show, asking them to fill the gaps between reality and fantasy with their own imagination and recollection of their favourite scenes. Rob Stone (2016) points out how this constant blurring

between fantasy and reality through selection and participatory imagination gives to what he defines “postmodern pilgrims” the opportunity to decide what is heritage. As he argues, “Participation in such pilgrimages to these postmodern heritage sites of fictional worlds and histories arguably carries ethical implications for considering how such imagined heritage feels as real or even more real than actual historical artefacts” (271).

As we have previously mentioned, what is particularly interesting in the works done by Tourism NI for the promotion of screen tourism in Northern Ireland is the creation of new artefacts associated both with a manufacturing heritage of the country and with *GoT*. These artefacts manage to further blur the difference between real and imagined heritage, creating an attraction based on the fantasy narrative and local craftsmanship. In 2016, the first campaign in this regard pertained the production of the “Doors of Thrones” (“Game of Thrones: Doors of Thrones”): ten carved pub doors narrating events from the sixth season of *GoT* and on display in pubs across the region in proximity of the filmic locations. This initiative is noteworthy for three different reasons. First of all, the wood from the doors came from two beech trees of the Dark Hedges which fell during Storm Gertrude in January 2016. Since the Dark Hedges' brief appearance on screen in Season 2 as King's Road, the short tree-lined road in the Northern Irish countryside became an iconic postcard image for the country and a coveted tourist destination. The location appears on several promotional materials made by Tourism NI and its presence immediately recalls the association with the series. It is also the first destination to endure the consequences of its sudden popularity, with the locals complaining about the dangers that the increased volume of traffic brought to the trees' roots and the imaginary of the area. Following these concerns, in 2017 a traffic ban was introduced for the road, with new measures put in place in order to continue to accommodate the ever-increasing number of tourists visiting it (“Game of Thrones: Traffic Banned”). Therefore, the fall of the trees on the one hand presented a reminder of the delicate state and the problematic persistence of this particular attraction. On the other hand, the decision to use that wood to manufacture the doors can be understood as an attempt both to transform the effects of “overtourism” and turn natural heritage into a “remade” cultural one that associates traditional pub culture with the series. As the promotional video launching the initiative states, “what began as a tragedy is now a world-wide celebration of Northern Ireland links with the most popular TV show of all time, a permanent fixture embedded in Northern Ireland Culture; turning the trees that fell that day from a battered tourist attraction into a brand new one” (Discover Ireland).

The second reason for the interest in the “Doors of Thrones” campaign is its manufacturing process. Linking traditional craftsmanship with modern tools and design, the production of the doors mirrors the Northern Irish contribution in the production of the show and the consequent national pride in the making of the props and decors of the show. As the *Guardian* article's title ‘Game of Thrones: International Success Story Crafted in Belfast Shipyards’ (Lawson) implies, embedding the production work for *GoT* within the lineage of industrial and craftsmanship heritage of Northern Ireland is common (Celik Rappas). Finally, and more importantly, we need to consider the dissemination of the

doors to different local pubs linked to the locations of the sixth season of *GoT*. Such a display via the traditional pub culture creates a new tourist itinerary following the borders of the small nation and featuring remote locations usually not regarded as international touristic destinations. The strategy to create such touristic itinerary based on the narrative of *GoT* is also manifested by the introduction of the “journey of door passport” (FIGURE 1), inviting the tourists to collect stamps at each door. The tourist board stresses how this initiative is deeply rooted in the national heritage: “From Cairncastle to the Glens of Antrim, via the Dark Hedges and Cushendun Caves, each door is within reach of a different filming location in Northern Ireland. This trail around Game of Thrones® Territory is a piece of cultural heritage in the making” (“Game of Thrones® Rooted in Northern Ireland”).

The “Doors of Thrones” campaign represented a significant promotional success. According to a press release it received “up to 30 awards and accolades from the marketing and advertising industry” and “reached an estimated 126 million people around the world, with the campaign’s various short films being viewed 17 million times, generating coverage worth about £11.3 million” (“Giant Medieval Tapestry”). The following year’s campaign, in 2017, followed into similar footsteps, further developing the association between artisanal national craft and the imaginary of the TV show. The aforementioned *GoT* Tapestry was exhibited at the Ulster museum for the first time on the occasion of the launch of the 7th season (July 2017), and then again for the eighth and final season (March 2018) with the addition of new scenes. The tapestry can also be browsed “virtually” from the Irish tourism board website (“Northern Ireland: Game of Thrones Tapestry”) where the viewer can directly scroll it episode by episode or directly “jump” to key characters, geographies, iconic battles, “traditions of the seven kingdoms”, untimely ends, and weddings. The website welcomes the visitor remind that “After so many years of production, Game of Thrones® has truly become a part of Northern Ireland’s heritage and culture” (“Northern Ireland: Game of Thrones Tapestry”) moving, therefore, the narrative from the “heritage in the making” of the “Doors of Thrones” marketing to a statement that this heritage association between the nation and *GoT* is now a matter of fact.

Walking through the exhibition you are invited to collect a visitor questionnaire aimed mainly at finding out if you are at the Ulster Museum and in Northern Ireland expressly for *GoT* or by happy coincidence. The introductory panel reminds the visitor again that the show has become part of Northern Ireland’s heritage and culture and that this exhibition is a celebration of this relationship. Every time the narrative goes back to the linen manufacturing heritage of the country and it creates a strong link with the making of the show, mentioning that the same linen was used for the costumes of the characters. The tapestry itself opens with the slogan “Northern Ireland: Game of Thrones Territory” hand-embroidered on the linen. The location of the exhibition, in the arts and craft section of the Ulster Museum, invites again such association, moving seamlessly from Celtic burial jewellery to the *GoT* tapestry (FIGURES 2 AND 3). What we consider particular noteworthy is the attempt to create a permanent legacy of such an association. Like the “Doors of Thrones” campaign, the tapestry is an attempt to offer something tangible and, possibly, everlasting from a TV show

which reached its final season. This is quite significant, considering that one of the most common questions that have constantly been raised about the impact of *GoT* on the local screen industry and economy is what happens when the show is eventually over. The creation of a *GoT* cultural heritage in the country attempts to create a history among other histories, keeping features of the show alive in their settings after its end.

In April 2019, the new touring *GoT* exhibition reaches Belfast again, after being in Paris and before landing to Barcelona. It will be in Belfast on the same dates of the launch of the eighth and final season. However, on this occasion, the exhibition is bigger, more ambitious than the 2013 exhibit. For the first time, it is not free, but comes with a significant ticket cost attached to it (from £15 to £17.5 on the weekends) and is back in the Titanic quarter, in a new exhibition space in very close proximity to the studios. It can be easily considered as the test run for the “GOT legacy project,” an initiative to be launched in 2019 which consists of transforming the locations built for the show into permanent tourist attractions open to the public. This can be seen as the last step to form a persistent heritage from the *GoT* production in Northern Ireland since, alongside the natural locations already present in the map and freely accessible, new spaces will be available to showcase the props, sets, built environment, and costumes. The series of sets built in the Linen Mill studios, and often showcased by Northern Ireland Screen production portfolios, will be one of such new tourist destinations. Therefore, on the one hand, Northern Ireland will continue to offer to the tourists the natural and cultural heritage associated with the show, while, on the other hand, the facilities built for the show will become part of the national heritage and will be treated as cultural artefacts. Even in the press release of Tourism NI the boundaries between Northern Irish geography and those of Westeros and Essos are difficult to draw, with references to the fantasy places Winterfell, Castle Black, and Kings Landing as “iconic locations” in the country (Tourism NI, “HBO® to Launch”).

Conclusion

Exploring *GOT* tourism in Northern Ireland Tzanelli suggests that *GoT* tourism is connected to heritage and national myths as the promotion of fan tourism links the violence represented in the show to that which is part of the national history, “the series’ hyper-real plot (of kings, royal families, dragons and witches) has informed territorialized claims over tourist flows in the province’s filmed locations” (3) and “the marketing of filmed Northern Irish sites draws on combinations of Northern Ireland’s thanatic heritage matrix (its dark history of civil strife and terror).” We claim that the attempt to ingrain the series to the land expands beyond the socio-political history and region's "thanatic heritage" to the reconstructed heritage of its filming locations.

This article claims that screen-related tourism connects itself with heritage tourism as a way to justify the notion of the ingrained-ness of the image to the land, the city where it is shot and the culture of this location. Images are fleeting, not only in the ontological sense of the moving image but also in terms of

production and consumption value, since screen production is only temporary and film and TV series become outdated. To avoid the impression of fleeting images, *GoT* locations attempt to engrain the series and its legacy into the space through deeper heritage connections. Especially in Northern Ireland *GoT* writes a new heritage narrative, both in connection to the region's "thanatic heritage" through its violence narrative, as Tzanelli claims, and re-writing new heritage narratives that are associated with nature (*GoT* territory), culture (pubs) and craftsmanship (linen and tapestry).

Such an association of heritage narratives to *GoT* brand has started to be developed in production locations beyond Northern Ireland. In January 2019, just as the fans await the last season of the series, British alcoholic beverages company Diageo produced an exclusive *GoT* limited edition collection of single malt scotch whisky to "honour the great houses and the Night's Watch as the world of Westeros collides with the world of whisky" ("Find a Whisky for You"). Whisky, considered as a part of Scottish heritage, especially thanks to The Scotch Whisky Heritage Centre (1987, as of 2006 The Scotch Whisky Experience), is here rebranded in connection to popular culture. Eight different whiskies of the *GoT* collection, each representing different royal families in *GoT*, also happen to represent different historic regions and whiskey distilleries of Scotland. For instance, the House Stark blend of the collection coming from the Dalwhinnie distillery in the Speyside region in the northeast is described as "House Stark's resiliency, strength and ability to thrive under the most intense situations are greatly shaped by Winterfell's frigid temperatures" ("Find a Whisky for You"). Among the most expensive is the House Lannister blend which is produced in the Southwest Campbeltown's Lagavulin distillery and is described as "mirroring the meticulous calculation and tenacity employed by the Lannisters in their rise to conquer the Iron Throne" ("Find a Whisky for You"). The association of historic distilleries and Scottish whisky heritage with *GoT*'s seven houses shows how Northern Ireland's efforts towards creating territorialized heritage narratives may indicate the appearance of a new trend, which we may see more frequently exploited in other screen tourism sites in the future.

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