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**Film Tourism as Heritage Tourism:
Scotland, Diaspora and *The Da Vinci Code* (2006).**

David Martin-Jones

Using the case study of *The Da Vinci Code* (2006), especially the extensive promotional activities surrounding the film (organised by VisitScotland, Maison de la France and VisitBritain), this article argues that film tourism be understood as a facet of heritage tourism. Scotland is a nation with a long history as a destination for heritage tourism, including literary and art tourism, whose brand identity in this regard functions slightly differently to that of England. Scotland has a large international diaspora, the result of its specific national history, which conceives of itself as Scottish, and returns – from New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the USA – to events like Homecoming Scotland (2009) to reconnect with its roots in the manner of heritage tourism. *The Da Vinci Code*, like *Braveheart* before it and *Brave* since, appeals to this international audience through its depiction of Scotland. By analysing the film's construction of history, and the scenes shot in Rosslyn Chapel near Edinburgh (Rosslyn has previously featured in paintings and photographs, and was the star of a famous diorama in the early nineteenth century), it becomes evident that a sense of return and belonging is evoked in this Scottish setting that can resonate with heritage tourists.

Keywords: Film Tourism, Heritage Tourism, Scottish Diaspora, *The Da Vinci Code*, Rosslyn Chapel, *Braveheart* Effect, VisitScotland, Genealogy, Diorama

This article seeks to enhance our understanding of recent developments in film tourism, and how film tourism relates to the broader phenomenon of heritage tourism. Focusing on Scotland, a small nation often at the forefront of developments in film tourism practice and research, I discuss a range of activities in the tourist sector that were generated by the Hollywood production *The Da Vinci Code* (2006) and the connections they reveal between film tourism and heritage tourism.

At time of writing in summer 2012, Disney Pixar's *Brave* (2012) is enjoying theatrical release and generating huge publicity for Scotland as a tourist destination. However, *Brave* is only the latest in a growing trend of such films. In 1997 the Hydra Report observed the now famous "*Braveheart* effect", quantifying the positive impact on tourism of films like *Braveheart* (1995), *Rob Roy* (1995) and *Loch Ness* (1996), by analysing visitor statistics to tourist sites such as Stirling Castle and the Wallace Monument.¹ In 2006, Rosslyn Chapel near Edinburgh was the next prominent recipient of such a tourist boom, in the wake of its appearance in the Hollywood film, *The Da Vinci Code*. Prefiguring the kinds of arrangements that are currently in place surrounding *Brave*, for *The Da Vinci Code* VisitScotland, along with Maison de la France (the French tourist board) and VisitBritain, sought out a business partnership with Sony Pictures Entertainment to market the locations which feature prominently in the film, including Rosslyn Chapel in Scotland.

This arrangement can be contextualised in relation to the boom in genealogy research in the public sphere and related developments in heritage tourism like Homecoming Scotland 2009, which targeted the Scottish diaspora not only in the UK but especially in the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia. As *The Da Vinci Code* shows, certain Hollywood films reveal much about the national and transnational complexities of identity formations that relate to

contemporary Britain, in this case the Scottish diaspora's conception of its "Scottishness". This is evidenced by discussion of the promotional activities that surrounded *The Da Vinci Code*, and indeed, its depiction of Rosslyn Chapel as a site of homecoming akin to that experienced by diasporic heritage tourists who visit Scotland. Film tourism can thus be understood to be a facet of heritage tourism, as the nation is promoted internationally to identified target markets. As I will discuss in more detail later, this requires that attention be paid to the Scottish context, especially its distinctive national history, and the role it plays in constructions of heritage. Whilst in many aspects similar to neighbouring countries like England and Ireland, and even though Scotland is often discussed as though synonymous with England in discourses surrounding British heritage, for many tourists Scotland promises a very specific, historically determined sense of national heritage which is, by turns, fuelled by films set in Scotland.

Cinema of Tourist Attractions.

Film tourism is a widespread global phenomenon. To place this article in context, a short summary of the emerging field of research on this topic is necessary. There has been scholarly research into tourism for many decades, including such milestones as Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist* (1976) and John Urry's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990). The last two decades have seen an increasing acknowledgement of film's role in promoting tourism in debates surrounding cultural tourism. Such work is often found amidst examinations of broader transformations of social and geopolitical landscapes, for example, in such texts as: Graeme Turner, *Making it National* (1994), Koichi Iwabuchi, *Recentering Globalization* (2002), Tim Edensor *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (2002), David Crouch, Rhona Jackson and Felix Thompson (eds), *The Media and the Tourist Imagination*

(2005), and Stephanie Hemelryk Donald and John G. Gammack, *Tourism and the Branded City* (2007).

There are far fewer dedicated books that focus specifically on film tourism. What might be considered the three primary texts have emerged from outside of Film Studies: Sue Beeton's *Film Induced Tourism* (2005), from Tourism Studies; Rodanthi Tzanelli's *The Cinematic Tourist* (2007), from Sociology; and Stefan Roesch's *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists* (2009), from a freelance consultant previously employed in the tourist industry. These books primarily focus on the impact of film tourism on people and place. Beeton assesses the different ways in which film tourism affects the places that people visit after seeing films shot or set there, and the communities that live there, exploring thereby the economic, social and geographical consequences of film tourism. Tzanelli continues in this vein, but places greater emphasis on the cultural aspect of film tourism by exploring what happens when various international destinations experience the impact of Hollywood films through film tourism. Looking at global, national and local level cultural and economic acceptance of, or resistance to, film tourism, Tzanelli considers the extent to which it can be said to be a reciprocal process (for instance, also beneficial for local businesses), or whether it functions as a form of cultural imperialism, perhaps even mirroring colonial or neo-colonial structures previously experienced in certain parts of the world. Finally, Roesch examines the spiritual, physical and social nature of film tourism encounters for the tourists themselves. In addition to these major works, numerous articles have appeared in such periodicals as *Journal of Travel Research* and *Journal of Vacation Marketing*, that use site-specific studies and surveys to analyse and quantify the potential benefits of, and advise on the best way to tap in to, film tourism.

By contrast, this article focuses on the interconnection between film tourism and heritage tourism in Scotland. This synergy is a phenomenon that is specific to this particular destination, due to the historical resonances that Scotland's national imagery has for the Scottish diaspora overseas. It is this which distinguishes it from many of the locations discussed in the works of Beeton, Tzanelli and Roesch, such as Hollywood studio tours, or film locations as diverse as Tunisia (*Star Wars*) or New Zealand (*Lord of the Rings*). It is also this specific national history which situates much film tourism in Scotland in the broader context of heritage tourism, an approach that is more in line with some of the existing scholarship on film tourism in Film Studies.

Film Studies has variously acknowledged the connection between cinema and tourism. Work on silent cinema explores the way in which film enables a form of virtual tourism, whether by mobilising the tourist's gaze through phantom rides promoted by companies like Hales Tours (Christie, 1994: 17-18), by bringing views from around the world to the spectator via travel films more generally (Musser, 1990), or, as the various contributors to Jeffrey Ruoff's *Virtual Voyages* (2006) note of the travelogue film, at the intersection of 'travel, tourism and colonialism' (2). Indeed, several scholars have noted the pre-cinematic origins of film in various types of tourist-oriented technologies, such as portable panoramas of distant locations printed on paper scrolls (Bruno 2002, 189-90) or the theatrical dioramas of the nineteenth century (Eleftheriotis 2010, 22). This connection at the birth of cinema will be of importance later in this article when I discuss Rosslyn Chapel's pre-cinematic appearance in images that circulated internationally, including as a diorama. However, of more immediate pertinence for this discussion, many recent works have drawn attention to the way in which films are intricately bound up with issues of location marketing on the one hand and the negotiation of identities on the other.

For instance, Ellen Strain's *Public Places, Private Journeys* (2003) charts the concurrent emergence of cinema with anthropology and tourism, and the manner in which film replicates the dual fascination with, and defensiveness towards, cultural difference that characterised these practices in the late nineteenth century. Again, Elizabeth Ezra's exploration of Georges Méliès' early films analyses his voyage narratives in the context of the then transport revolution and increases in leisure tourism, drawing out the negotiation of class issues in relation to tourism which were being debated at that time (2000, 117-148). In addition, various works on specific national cinemas and locations have explored film tourism as at once a shop window for specific destinations and a medium through which the impact of tourism on identities can be analysed – from Lydia Papadimitrou's examination of depictions of Greeks working as service providers in the burgeoning tourist industry in Greek musicals of the late 1960s (2006, 108-122), to Dina Iordanova's charting of film tourism initiatives based on Dracula in post-Communist Romania (including the resulting brand ownership wrangles with Hollywood) and the split identities performed by local inhabitants as a consequence (2007, 56-60).

The closest of these studies for this article on film tourism as heritage tourism has emerged in work on films set in Ireland, a country with a similarly dispersed transatlantic diaspora to that of Scotland. For example, Stephanie Rains (2002) has examined how Ireland functions in films like *The Quiet Man* (1952) to construct an image of belonging that appeals to the Irish-American diaspora. Arguing against too-simplistic an interpretation of such films as solely promoting an inauthentic, exotic or nostalgic view of the nation, Rains asserts their potential relevance for an Irish-American diasporic audience, whose 'memory' of their home nation has become 'collective' and 'cross-generational', as opposed to always being individual

(208). Rains' point is that diasporas have a different experience of a national past than people located in the nation. This may involve a 'historically collective' memory (208) of the nation which is, of necessity, now at odds with the lived reality of the national present. For this reason, 'images of Ireland as "traditional" and un-modern are not necessarily anachronistic within the terms of their process of memory and recovery.' (208) Thus, in a similar vein, Albert Moran (2006), describes John Wayne's character Sean in *The Quiet Man* as a 'roots tourist' whose lessons in 'looking and learning' (234) about life in Ireland function to provide the diasporic viewer with a tourist's encounter with Ireland.

In certain instances, then, film tourism is linked to the negotiation of transnational identifications, in what are at times complex constructions of memory, history and heritage, be they understood individually or collectively. In this respect, the example of *The Quiet Man*, a classic Hollywood film that "mis"-represents Ireland for North American audiences is telling for this discussion of how *The Da Vinci Code* came to be used by VisitScotland to promote Scotland to potential transatlantic tourists. To see why this is I will now sharpen my focus on the Scottish context, and its relationship to heritage tourism.

British Heritage – Scottish Heritage.

Since the Hydra Report of 1997 observed the "*Braveheart* effect", the 2000s brought further reports of a similar import for the film industry and film tourism for the UK as a whole. Most significantly, 2007 saw both *The Economic Impact of the Film Industry* and *Stately Attraction: How Film and Television Programmes Promote Tourism in the UK*. It is obviously not lost on the authors of these reports that tourism is a lucrative industry,² nor that in the late 2000s, 1 in 5 overseas visitors to the UK gave credit to either films or television as

motivators for travel to a particular destination (Steele 2008, 3). Amongst the various ways in which the impact of the UK film industry is quantified in these reports, film tourism plays a prominent role in each. *The Economic Impact of the UK Film Industry* dedicates around 10% of the report to film tourism, noting that an estimated £1.8 billion of visitor spend might be due to UK films alone (40). *Stately Attraction* for its part observes the importance of UK film for the promotion of the UK in terms of its distinctive brand identity, (which they detail across various parts of the UK, including Scotland) as a ‘country (sic) steeped in history’ (4). It is this historical brand, the report suggests, that promotes film tourism most effectively.

Even though Scotland is often represented and discussed in these reports, there is nevertheless a tendency to consider the UK as rather homogenous in terms of its heritage tourism experience. This is most evident in the succinct, if perhaps Anglo-centric, shorthand in *Stately Attraction* (belying the efforts it otherwise makes to represent at least some of the UK’s various geographical regions) which considers the UK brand to be that of a ‘country steeped in history’, rather than what might more accurately be considered several countries steeped in intertwined national and regional histories. As I will demonstrate momentarily, it is not only history per se, but also the association of Scotland with a past steeped in myth and romance (along with recognisable cinematic iconography in this vein) that characterises the specific Scottish heritage brand. More specifically, then, David McCrone and his co-authors in *Scotland – the Brand* (1995) assert that, although Scotland’s heritage industry as we currently know it is, like that of England, a product of the developing post-industrial British economy of the 1970s and 1980s, nevertheless Scottish heritage finds its specific origin in nineteenth century Scotland. This includes, in particular, the popularity of tartan that followed the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822 (4-5). Much of the regalia associated with Scottish heritage, they point out, function as markers of cultural nationalism for many

Scots, and I would add in the context of this argument, diasporic Scots. After all, McCrone et al argue of such iconic markers of heritage as tartan that, whilst they are ‘false descriptors of who we are’, they also ‘provide a source of ready-made distinguishing characteristics from England’ (7). Thus Scotland’s development in terms of its potential as a heritage tourism destination is unique to the nation and its history. A closer look at the specificities of Scotland’s history and the specific conception of heritage it constructs reveals much about the kinds of film tourists likely to visit this particular part of the UK, as opposed to England or Wales, and the subsequent attraction they might find in a film like *The Da Vinci Code*.

For centuries Scotland has been a tourist destination for people from around the world. Historically, tourism in Scotland has been fuelled by various factors. The Highland clearances of the late eighteenth century, which followed in the wake of the defeat of the Jacobite forces at Culloden in 1746, along with several subsistence crises in the nineteenth century – as well as a great deal of voluntary emigration for new lands and opportunities abroad (Devine 2000, 468-475) – gave over previously populated lands to intensive sheep farming and enabled the creation of hunting and fishing retreats for the upper classes. The Napoleonic wars for their part diverted many tourists who might previously have headed for Europe’s established capital cities on the Grand Tour to the safer haven of Scotland (Durie 2003, 37). The nation’s popularity was further boosted by regular visits from the British monarchy, most noticeably Queen Victoria’s sojourns to Balmoral for outdoor recreational activities (Seaton 1998, 14-15). Other factors also played their part, such as roads initially constructed for military purposes opening up previously inaccessible parts of the country, and improvements in postal and financial services, along with a reduced crime rate. These developments all facilitated ease of travel to and throughout Scotland (Durie, 35; Seaton, 20-21). During the nineteenth century tourism spread through the middle classes with firms like

Thomas Cook running package tours to Scotland from the 1840s, facilitated by steamships and growing rail infrastructure (Gold and Gold 1995, 101-4). In the twentieth century, better roads, more widespread availability of coach and car travel and then the cheap flight revolution all further enhanced tourist numbers (Seaton, 24-27).

Key amongst these factors, however, and foregrounding the heritage appeal of Scotland beyond its more obvious associations with tartan-clad warrior clans, breath-taking landscapes and stately homes, is literary tourism. Literary tourism is a precursor of film tourism and has proved more durable in its appeal, partly because films have a tendency to date more rapidly and drop more swiftly from the public imagination than books, and partly due to copyright reasons. James Macpherson's famous "discovery" of the epic poetry of legendary Gaelic bard, Ossian, was published in the 1760s and did much to influence literary tourism (Gold and Gold, 53-8). Such literary tourism in Scotland received further propulsion due to visits by various eminent authors, such as James Boswell and Dr Johnson (their travels being chronicled in Dr Johnson's *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775)) and William and Dorothy Wordsworth. More important, however, were the popularity of the works of Robert Burns, along with Sir Walter Scott's Romantic depiction of Scotland in many of his novels, and indeed, his involvement in the tartan pageantry that greeted King George IV in 1822 (Gold and Gold, 60-84). Literary tourism continues to this day. At time of writing, Ian Rankin's novels provide tourists to Edinburgh with a variety of destinations to visit, including the Oxford Bar that features in the Inspector Rebus books. To literary tourism we can add the visual appeal of Scotland as a tourist destination that was promoted by both art, in particular the Picturesque tradition, (Gold and Gold, 47-9; Durie, 38; Seaton, 9-10) and photography (Lenman 2003), all prior to the arrival of film tourism.

Before film tourism was officially recognised by the Hydra Report it had also influenced countless visitors to Scotland, due to films as diverse as *Brigadoon* (1954), *The Wicker Man* (1973) and *Local Hero* (1983). What was distinctive about the Hydra Report was that it quantified the impact of films on tourism, by analysing visitor numbers to sites associated with recent blockbusters. The Wallace Monument, for example, saw a rise in visitors in 1995 of over 50% on the previous year (40), and of the visitors surveyed overall, 49% had seen *Braveheart* (a higher figure than would be expected of the general population), with the report ultimately concluding that 26% of visitors to the attractions surveyed acknowledged the impact of seeing one of the three films on their decision to visit (5). The “*Braveheart* effect” continues to be cited to this day, including in *Stately Attraction* (50), which also dedicates several pages to a detailed case study of *The Da Vinci Code* and the numerous film tourism tie-ins that were generated by VisitScotland (57-61). However, this report does not really get to the heart of the broader ramifications of the film’s usefulness as a tourist draw for Scotland in light of the Hydra Report’s observation of the rise in *overseas* tourists to Scotland since the early 1990s, ‘a 50% rise in financial value from 1991-1995’ (33). As various authors have noted (Edensor 2002, 157-170; MacArthur 2003, 131-136; Seaton and Hay 1998, 229-231) a major lesson learned from films like *Braveheart* was the importance of films for attracting international tourists, including from the Scottish diaspora. Whilst the majority of tourists into Scotland hail from the UK and Ireland, in events like the Homecoming Scotland celebrations of 2009 a very different emphasis is placed on the value of the international diasporic market for Scottish heritage.

Paul Basu’s *Highland Homecomings: Genealogy and Heritage Tourism in the Scottish Diaspora* (2007) provides the most focused analysis of the importance of the Scottish diaspora for heritage tourism. Basu calculates that of the around 28 million people in the

world who are of Scottish descent, only 4.6 million actually live in Scotland (15). Thus the size of the potential market for roots tourism is vast. In fact, tourism packages tailored for the diaspora are not new, and as early as 1872, the Anchor Line offered transcontinental steamship package tours for North American tourists. Yet coupled to this history, more recently, are such factors as the popularity of research into genealogy (which, Basu reports, has become the second most common use of the internet after pornography), the acknowledgement of the importance of potential roots tourists to the Scottish economy by the Scottish Executive (now the Scottish Government) since 2000 (Basu, 2), and the specific targeting of this demographic by VisitScotland, as seen for instance in the official website ancestralscotland.com. For such tourists there is a feeling of connection with Scotland as a lost homeland. This may be a Scotland which the diaspora has never visited before, but which is, nevertheless, “known” to them as a ‘heritage landscape’ (Basu, x); and in the case of the Scottish diaspora, Basu’s research shows, this mental landscape is dominated by two major historical promoters of enforced emigration: Culloden and the Highland Clearances (61). The diaspora’s heritage landscape is undoubtedly a result of the ‘collective’ and ‘cross-generational’ memory of the diaspora, as described by Rains above, which constructs or imagines the geographically distant homeland in a way which may not reflect its present-day existence. Nevertheless, this process of imagining a Scottish homeland provides an origin for diasporic identity prior to arrival in the New World that many films about Scotland deliberately play upon.

For many in the diaspora a visit to Scotland may signify ‘a return to the land of their imagination if not their ancestors’ (Aspinall quoted in Gold and Gold, 93). Not surprisingly, then, contemporary events like Homecoming Scotland in 2009, designed to celebrate the two hundred and fifty year anniversary of the birthday of Robert Burns, play on a sense of

belonging that appeals to cultural tourists in locations like the USA and Canada who maintain an interest in Scottish culture through Scottish societies (Hague 2002; MacMahon 2004, 3-5; Basu, 20-22). Homecoming Scotland ran over four hundred events that garnered over £50 million in revenue from an initial £5.5 million budget. 49% of those attending from other locations had family origins in Scotland (Ekos, 2010). Detailed results broken down for overseas nations where the diaspora settled show that over three quarters of those from the USA, Canada, New Zealand and Australia had researched their ancestry prior to making the trip, and that more than two thirds of these visitors actually had Scottish ancestry (TNS Research International, 2010, 44-45). These statistics are perhaps not surprising, considering that in 2007 alone, VisitScotland's website media kit *Ancestral Scotland* reports, 98,000 international visits were prompted by an interest in ancestry.³

This diasporic link can be said to distinguish many potential overseas film tourists to Scotland from those prompted to visit England by British films that travel abroad. In *Film England*, Andrew Higson draws on *Stately Attraction* to note the importance of films like Working Title's *Notting Hill* for UK tourism, uncovering the complex manner in which they 'speak to foreign audiences, who can still imagine and recognise England and Englishness, but as something precisely other, not something to which they belong' (2011, 73). Yet, whilst Higson's exploration of the purposeful exoticization of Englishness makes complete sense of the films he explores, when it is Scotland on screen things may require a different emphasis due to the diaspora's self-conception. Whilst there is a sense of attractive exoticness attached to the stereotypical Scottish cinematic imaginary, due to the historical resonances of tartanry for the diaspora (whose emigration was the product of a specific set of historical experiences that were not replicated like-for-like in England), there is also a direct relationship of

belonging evoked by films that shoot in Scotland, from *Brigadoon*, through *Braveheart*, to *The Da Vinci Code*.

The diasporic audience which film tourism is able to tap into as a form of heritage tourism ensures that the identity or belonging being negotiated, whilst at once “national” in its imagining of Scotland and Scottishness, is actually transnational. Scholars writing on this subject of diasporic identification with transnational (imagined) communities tend to evoke Arjun Appadurai’s concept of the ‘mediascape’ to describe the functioning of nationally-defining imagery, including in relation to film tourism flows into Scotland (Edensor, 1997: 136; Basu: 66). Yet Stuart Cunningham and John Sinclair’s anthology *Floating Lives* (2000) is more pointedly insightful for this article. Cunningham and Sinclair also draw upon Appadurai (2) but to examine more specifically the impact of such phenomena as satellite television, the internet and widespread DVD rental on the international circulation of media images amongst Asian diasporas. This research from another context can also inform this argument about film tourism in Scotland. Discussing ‘geolinguistic regions’ across which ‘linguistic and cultural similarities’ are observed despite geographic distance, Sinclair and Cunningham note that: ‘The media space of a diaspora tends to be ... spread throughout several of the national markets which have been the territorial unit for international media distribution in the past.’ (3) Accordingly, what this research into film tourism demonstrates is that this media space is a potential market from which flows of (heritage) tourism can potentially emanate if given the appropriate encouragement.

Thus film tourism in Scotland is a facilitator of heritage tourism more generally, the latest in a long line of shop windows for the nation that stretches back to artistic and literary forms of tourism promotion since the eighteenth century. Film tourism is currently estimated as being

worth £25m to the Scottish economy (Steele 2008, 3). Even though seemingly ephemeral, with an impact likely to last only a few years after a successful film, film tourism actually belongs to a robust tradition with greater longevity, heritage tourism. Film tourism has the added advantage of a much swifter and broader circulation to the transnational or 'floating' community that imagines Scotland, in the diaspora and beyond, and, unlike the aristocratic focus of literary or artistic tourists of two centuries earlier, it has the potential to speak across the classes in an age of low cost international travel.

The Da Vinci Code: Additionality and Rosslyn Chapel.

At this point I turn to *The Da Vinci Code*, a US\$125m Hollywood blockbuster based on Dan Brown's best-selling novel of 2003, to explore its relevance for understanding film tourism in Scotland. The film stays fairly close to the novel, which has sold over 60 million copies and been translated into 94 languages (Steele 2008, 2). It is the story of a search for the Holy Grail which is undertaken by Harvard Professor Robert Langdon (Tom Hanks), and French police cryptographer Sophie Neveu (Audrey Tautou). Shadowy forces are aligned against the questing duo, primarily the Catholic sect Opus Dei, who, supported by the Catholic Church, are intent on destroying a secret organisation called The Priory of Sion. The Priory keeps the secret of the Holy Grail, the whereabouts of the remains of Mary Magdalene. They also keep the secret that Jesus Christ's blood line continues to the present day.

When senior members of The Priory are murdered by Opus Dei, Langdon and Neveu follow clues left by Neveu's grandfather (the Grand Master of The Priory, and a curator at the Louvre where he is murdered at the start of the film) to find the Holy Grail. These clues involve discussions of art works, such as Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa* (1503-1505),

always a major draw for tourists to Paris (although the Louvre interiors were shot at Pinewood and Shepperton Studios in London), and locations with similar touristic appeal such as Sir Isaac Newton's tomb at Westminster Abbey in London (even if shooting did not occur at Westminster itself, but in Lincoln Cathedral). Their quest takes them finally to Scotland. There they visit Rosslyn Chapel, where Neveu recovers a memory from childhood in which it is revealed that she has visited Scotland before, and indeed, where she learns that she is the last remaining descendent of Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene. Neveu stays in Scotland to become re-acquainted with her grandmother, whilst Langdon returns to Paris. There he realises that the remains of Mary Magdalene have been entombed beneath the Louvre.

Of all the films shot on location in Scotland since *Braveheart*, *The Da Vinci Code* offered VisitScotland the best opportunity to promote tourism because of the possibilities it provided for additionality (a term which describes the potential that a film has to appeal to tourists, to add value in a wide variety of ways). As Margaret Hubbard (2010) notes, drawing on her experience as a tour guide, tourists from different parts of the world have varied expectations as to what a visit to Scotland will mean. VisitScotland, well aware of this, target different markets with different versions of its brand, in general terms; emphasizing the attraction of castles and gardens for European tourists, and heritage, genealogy, the Romantic lure of the countryside and activities like golf for North American and other international markets.⁴ The *Da Vinci Code* provided a number of varied hooks through which different potential tourists could be targeted. Demonstrating this additionality, Rosslyn Chapel featuring in the film promotes not only itself as a tourist destination, but also has the potential to appeal to tourists interested in other ancient buildings (whether for spiritual, architectural, or historical reasons); tourists interested in other myths and legends, such as the Loch Ness Monster;

literary tourists who might like to visit the location from the book and then take in other much written about destinations; tourists who might appreciate the proximity of Rosslyn to Edinburgh and its many attractions (from shopping to restaurants and pubs, museums, art galleries, ghost tours, etc.); tourists keen to compare the latest cinematic view of Scotland at Rosslyn to, say, Leith (*Trainspotting* (1996)) or Plockton (*The Wicker Man* (1973), *Hamish MacBeth* (1995)); and perhaps most importantly of all as I will demonstrate momentarily, tourists interested in genealogy.

The Da Vinci Code was not the first film targeted by VisitScotland for this reason. The case for the additional value of film tourism was made in the Hydra Report (9). Although not often mentioned in relation to the report, Hydra also analysed the effectiveness of the campaign launched by the Scottish Tourist Board (now VisitScotland) along with various partners, including Twentieth Century Fox, to market Stirling as “*Braveheart* country”. This included bringing the premiere of the film to Stirling which, along with various competitions and a cinema commercial, was estimated to have achieved a return on an overall investment of around £254,000 worth £480,000 in hotel bookings alone (54). Not surprisingly, Hydra recommended that ‘Scottish tourist authorities should liaise with film production and distribution companies to co-ordinate marketing campaigns’ (11) and that ‘tourist authorities should also engage in their own promotional activities’ (12) such as the production of movie maps which establish connections between locations and films past and present.

The events surrounding *The Da Vinci Code* followed something of a similar pattern, but on a much larger scale. VisitScotland initiated a partnership with Sony Pictures Entertainment, VisitBritain, and Maison de la France, to market the film’s destinations using an extensive international PR campaign (Steele, 2). Each of the tourist boards contributed £100,000, which

secured the partnership with Sony, who had a US\$10m promotional capability (Steele, 9). The partnership was announced in New York, on the opening night of the annual Tartan Week celebrations in April 2006. Tartan Week, often called Scotland Week, is an event which demonstrates the Scottish-American community's increasing identification with their genealogical roots (Hague 2002,152-3). It is regularly attended by North American Scottish societies and runs events which emphasize tartan pageantry (bagpiping, whisky tasting, Scottish dancing, etc.).⁵ As part of the promotional activities, the documentary *The Rosslyn Enigma*, produced by Tern TV in association with Scottish Screen, was screened in the Scottish Village at Grand Central Station. *The Rosslyn Enigma* centres on a US tourist who visits Scotland after reading *The Da Vinci Code*, to find out about Rosslyn and the grail legend. The choice of Tartan Week for the announcement clearly emphasises the link between Scotland and its diaspora through the celebration of Scottish cultural heritage, not to mention the potential of this market for tourism, which are evident in the positioning of the curious US visitor to Rosslyn at the centre of *The Rosslyn Enigma*.

The additional promotional activities surrounding *The Da Vinci Code* further illustrate its international appeal. The tourist board partnership ran a competition, called 'Codebreaker', which ran in 40 countries and offered 60 prizes for couples of a trip to London, Paris and Edinburgh, including locations seen in the film. In addition, a viral internet advertising campaign was launched, called 'Da Vinci Code Adventure', which provided an opportunity for winning teams from various countries (including Australia and the USA) to visit the locations featured in the film, and to learn about their history by solving clues and completing tasks there. This competition proliferated information about the film by requiring each prospective contestant to also invite two friends to join their team, and afterwards, by disseminating online photographs and experiences of the winning teams in the film locations

visited (Steele, 7). A series of touring maps were also created, and over 150,000 were requested from consumers eager to visit sites associated with Scotland's mysteries and legends, film tourism and literary tourism locations. This practice is ongoing, as VisitScotland also includes Rosslyn on their six day Scotland in Film and TV travel itinerary, as well as their Literary Scotland itinerary, amongst the various other themed itineraries – Robert Burns, Ancestry, Romantic Scotland, Golf, Whisky, etc. – on their website.⁶ A specific *The Da Vinci Code* location map was also produced, and distributed in the UK via the *Sunday Times*. A broadsheet size map of the top one hundred film tourist locations in Scotland entitled *Scotland on Screen*, featuring on its cover a huge portraits of Tom Hanks and Audrey Tautou (alongside smaller pictures of Mel Gibson as William Wallace, Sean Connery, Dame Judi Dench and Maggie Smith), was simultaneously distributed as a supplement in *Scotland on Sunday*, again just prior to the film's release (8). Whilst the economic benefits of this campaign are not easy to quantify, it is estimated that the equivalent of £6m of media coverage was generated, with an international media circulation of around 56m people (9).

The importance of Rosslyn Chapel to the success of this venture cannot be understated. The chapel's potential for additionality was already huge, due to its centrality to the history of Scottish heritage. In the wake of Brown's novel the number of tourists to the destination had all but doubled each year, from 38,000 in 2003 to 68,000 in 2004 to 120,000 in 2005 (Olsberg/SPI 2007, 60). Already, then, the site had demonstrated its potential to attract literary tourists who could experience it before moving on to visit other locations such as those included on VisitScotland's Literary Scotland itinerary⁷. Film tourism clearly added to this interest, as the chapel saw an additional 50,000 visitors in the year of the film's release, as numbers topped 170,000 (Steele, 10). What is perhaps less well known about Rosslyn

Chapel is that it was already a tourist destination imbued with a sense of the legendary or supernatural, with obvious appeal to a Romantic sensibility, centuries before Brown's book rejuvenated its popularity. Understanding the location's rootedness as a focus of heritage tourism assists in the analysis of the film's use of Rosslyn that follows.

Rosslyn Chapel dates back to 1446. It was built by the St Clair family who traced their lineage to the Norman invasion of 1066 (William St Clair was the cousin of William the Conqueror), and had inhabited Rosslyn Castle since the eleventh century. The chapel is well known as a literary tourism draw, famous visitors including Samuel and Boswell in 1773, Robert Burns in 1787, and the Wordsworths in 1803 (Maggi, 76-77). In their wake, prompted by descriptions of the chapel in such works as Sir Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* from 1805, literary tourists followed, including Queen Victoria in 1842 (Rosslyn and Maggi, 48). Yet visual representations of the chapel, in paintings, prints and photographs dating back to 1693 (Maggi, xv), have also influenced tourism. Prior to the Romantic, literary appreciation of the chapel it was already a part of a Picturesque itinerary of Scotland (popular amongst the middle classes by the 1820s and 1830s (Maggi, 73-88)), in the wake of paintings by Alexander Nasmyth in the late 1780s. Its association with legendary or supernatural occurrences was furthered through paintings like Joseph Michael Gandy's *The Tomb of Merlin* (1815) (Maggi, 9-23). During the nineteenth century images of the chapel proliferated due to photography and woodcut prints that obtained mass circulation in tourist guides (Maggi, 37-60). Most pertinent of all for this discussion of *The Da Vinci Code*, Rosslyn featured in two pre-cinematic visual formats associated with tourism. Firstly, the chapel was the star of a diorama by Frenchman Louis-Jacques-Mandé Daguerre, the inventor of the daguerreotype. The Rosslyn Chapel Diorama was exhibited in Paris in 1824 and London in 1826, and what may well have been a copy by Scots artist David Roberts showed later in

Edinburgh, Liverpool and Dublin (Maggi, 24-36). Secondly, Rosslyn appeared in many Victorian homes on a more portable piece of pre-cinematic technology, the Stereoscope (Maggi, 49-50).

As this brief history of Rosslyn as a tourist draw illustrates, it was a central location for both literary and art-inspired tourism for several centuries before Brown included it in his novel. During this time it gathered a mystique as a location with legendary, perhaps supernatural associations, to add to its origins in a family of knights related to royal blood. Thus, whilst *Stately Attraction* is undoubtedly correct in identifying a historically oriented overall UK brand identity into which films set in Scotland can slot, as Rosslyn's visual history shows, the international appeal of Scotland is not only due to its fascinating history but also through its association with 'myth and romance' (Seaton and Hay, 235). These three factors – history, myth and romance – have together marked Scotland's identity as a heritage tourism destination over several centuries, from literary tourism onwards. In this the Scottish case is slightly different from the UK overall. After all, in identifying the potential of *The Da Vinci Code*, VisitScotland saw it as underpinning 'the core brand proposition of Scotland as a land of mystery and legend' (Steele, 2). We can also see these factors at play in *The Da Vinci Code*, in which myth in particular plays a prominent role in its cinematic construction of history in a manner that appeals to the Scottish diaspora.

Constructing Diasporic History.

This contextual background can help us unlock the appeal of *The Da Vinci Code* to heritage tourists from the diaspora. Beyond the superficial use of Rosslyn as a location, it would seem that *The Da Vinci Code* is not engaged with Scotland or Scottishness. After all, whilst the St

Clair family was linked to the Knights Templar (Maggi 2008, 133), as is acknowledged by Daguerre's inclusion of three Knights Templar in his 1824 painting of Rosslyn (Maggi, 34), and whilst there is a link between the family and the masons which dates back to the time of the chapel's construction (Rosslyn and Maggi, 17), *The Da Vinci Code* ultimately provides yet another invented history of Scotland. The value in studying the film, in line with recent research into the transnational function of stereotypical images of Scotland on screen (e.g. Dick 1990; Petrie 2000; McArthur 2003; Martin-Jones 2009; Murray et al 2009) is precisely in seeing how this construct can assist heritage tourism. This way it is possible to uncover what such an invented history might mean for diasporic viewers.

The opening address by Langdon self-consciously foregrounds the process of historical construction in which the film is engaged:

‘Understanding our past determines actively our ability to understand the present. So, how do we sift truth from belief? How do we write our own histories, personally or culturally, and thereby define ourselves? How do we penetrate years, centuries of historical distortion, to find original truth? Tonight, this will be our quest.’

The Da Vinci Code, then, is not shy about its aim of constructing an invented history that suggests unlikely links between disconnected moments in European history to provide a supposedly linear history informing European religion, art, science and culture (including the development of Christianity in Ancient Rome, through the Crusades (the Knights Templar), to the Renaissance (Leonardo Da Vinci), the Enlightenment (Sir Isaac Newton), and the northern European empires of the late eighteenth to the twentieth centuries (much of the film is set in Britain and France, and involves in particular art collected in the Louvre, a gallery

which houses international treasures procured by the French under Napoleon)). Through the figure of Neveu ('the last living descendant of Jesus Christ'), and a conspiracy theory relating to the Catholic Church, *The Da Vinci Code* thus suggests an unbroken continuum linking these diverse points in European history. Yet what is interesting for this argument is the manner in which the film intertwines this Eurocentric view of history with Rosslyn, and diasporic memories.

At several points in the film, versions of history are told by principle characters and the events they narrate are shown onscreen. These various recreations of historical moments, the majority shot in London studios at Pinewood and Shepperton, are drained or washed of their colour, an effect created during the Digital Intermediate process by EFilm, Hollywood (Thomson 2006, 53). In the Bois de Boulogne, Paris, a location known for touristic strolling during the day and sex tourism at night, when Langdon tells the story of the Knights Templar's crusade to Jerusalem to retrieve the remains of Mary Magdalene, recreated history momentarily becomes a panoramic backdrop to the story, with Langdon in the present occasionally visible in the foreground of the story. The grainy aesthetic treatment of the past is again apparent during an extended sequence in which, in the touristic Chateau Villette, Sir Leigh Teabing (Ian McKellen) discusses the Roman Empire, Constantine, and the Council of Nicea in AD325, then the flight of the pregnant Mary Magdalene to France, and finally the Spanish Inquisition. Noticeably it is this same washed out aesthetic that is used to depict Neveu's flashbacks to her childhood, which arise at certain points during the film to fill in her backstory.

When Neveu arrives at Rosslyn Chapel in Scotland she is halted by a sudden flashback to her childhood, in which she suddenly remembers having visited the chapel before as a little girl.

The similarity of this aesthetic rendering of the past serves to conflate the film's invented linear history of Europe with Neveu's recovery of her childhood and her connection with (as though it were almost an origin in) Scotland. In this way, bolstering the film's attempts to provide a spiritual origin and sense of continuity for what is a very Eurocentric view of history, Neveu's origins are presented in the manner of the diasporic tourist returning to the lands of their roots.

Neveu's story of exile rests on her parents' death in a car crash, which may have been a deliberate plot by Opus Dei. As such, Neveu has a backstory which matches that of the myth of enforced exile which dominates the heritage landscape of the Scottish diaspora (diasporic notions of origin in Culloden and the Highland Clearances as noted by Basu), even if in reality from around the 1860s onwards the majority of Scots emigrated from below the Highland line, many leaving the Lowland cities voluntarily to take advantage of opportunities in the New World (Devine 1999, 469). It is worth noting that in this respect the film differs slightly from Brown's novel, which makes it clear that the young Neveu only visited Rossllyn on a brief holiday from France (Brown, 571). By contrast, the film leaves her presence there as a child ambiguous, implying she may even have lived there for a time, or at any rate allowing the possibility of this interpretation. Most apparently in this respect, the film erases direct mention of her surviving brother, which is prominent in the scenes set in Rossllyn in the novel. Whilst the book culminates with a private family reunion of grandmother and two children, the movie suggests instead that the entire village of Roslin is keen to meet the returned Neveu. Thus in the film there is a much stronger sense of community, roots, and belonging evoked, that go beyond the immediate family, and stretch into Scotland itself.

In *The Da Vinci Code* the search for the Holy Grail is depicted as a quest to find personal origins in Europe, a place which, it is suggested, has a lineage that stretches back to the birth of Christianity. Put another way, in *The Da Vinci Code*, roots tourism is depicted as a grail quest. This is precisely as Basu finds amongst many of the returning diaspora to Scotland that he interviewed:

Although rarely stated as such, for many the homecoming journey *is* a therapeutic act. And if ... the journey provides the cure through reconnecting the roots tourist with the 'blood lines' of their ancestry and cultural heritage, then it is left for us to extrapolate the ailment: the loss of 'memories and traditions', a 'hunger for identity and belonging', a sense of being severed from one's roots (164)

In *The Da Vinci Code*, the diaspora's search for personal origins in personal blood lines located in Scotland is also seen to connect with Europe more broadly, and Europe in turn with a much larger narrative of religious history. The seeming validity of Neveu's personal memory recall – her childhood in Scotland is authenticated by the arrival of her grandmother – vindicates the apparently logically-connected narrative of Europe's unbroken (Christian) history. It is in Rosslyn, after all, that the connection is finally made between Neveu and an unbroken 'blood line' that is traced back, through French nobility, to Jesus Christ and Mary Magdalene. Thus Neveu's return to her roots, her recuperation of her personal memories, identity, and belonging, stands in for that of an entire diaspora seeking a return to forgotten, but reconstructed, European roots.

To return to a comment made by Rains in relation to *The Quiet Man* and its exploration of diasporic Irish-American identity, which echoes Basu's notion of the diaspora's knowledge

or familiarity with its homeland existing as a kind of ‘heritage landscape’, Rains states that ‘there is a significant manoeuvre in which diasporic memory is delineated as non-individual and always already fictionalised through the inherited, second-hand processes by which it is acquired.’ (2003, 212) In *The Da Vinci Code* this process of inheriting a fictionalised memory – one that is, as Langdon says in his opening speech, the construction of a history that is both personal and cultural – is played out in Rosslyn. This is a site with a long history of visual representation, in which diasporic memory and roots tourism combine with a broader, Eurocentric, mythical construction of history. *The Da Vinci Code*, then, was the perfect film with which to promote Scotland as a tourist destination to the diaspora.

Conclusion: Proliferating Blue Plaques.

To conclude I will place this research in the context of recent developments in UK film policy, following the decision to close the UK Film Council in 2010. These changes shed further light on the role of film tourism in heritage tourism.

The Da Vinci Code shot in Scotland due to the centrality of Rosslyn Chapel to Brown’s novel. However, every year, scores of international productions choose not to film in Scotland. Writing prior to the amalgamation of Scottish Screen into Creative Scotland in July 2010, Ivan Turok (2003) notes that whilst Scotland’s television production is boosted by national support from the BBC, its film production is unlikely to be able to attract international productions in comparison to locations like Dublin, Hamburg or Prague which are better equipped technologically, and able to offer more tax incentives than is within the power of the devolved Scottish Government to grant (558). The latter, tax issue has dogged the filmmaking sector in Scotland since its resurgence in the mid 1990s (in spite of the

sector's continued success in attracting films as diverse as *Stardust* (2007), *Under the Skin* (2012) and *World War Z* (2013) to location shoot in Scotland) and is typically mentioned in relation to the shooting of the Hollywood film *Braveheart* in Ireland for this reason. It may well be raised again during immanent debates surrounding Scottish independence. In such a context, even if an animated film like *Brave* – in which VisitScotland invested £7 million in anticipation of a £140 million additional spend in tourist revenue, and deployed many of the same promotional techniques used for *The Da Vinci Code*⁸ – escapes such issues by virtue of its digital construction of a mythical Scotland and casting of recognisable Scottish actors, such instances remain rare.

Both *Hydra* and *Stately Attraction* tie the benefit of film tourism in to an argument for maintaining at least filmmaking activity, if not an indigenous film industry, to help facilitate location shoots. In this way there is the requisite availability of facilities, skilled personnel, expertise, and organisations like Scottish Screen Locations (now incorporated into Creative Scotland), to liaise and advise on regulations, etc. This aspect is at times forgotten when considering the beneficial economic aspects of film tourism. For example, in November 2010, Prime Minister David Cameron effectively equated the primary motivation for a film production in the UK with tourist revenue by citing the success of the Harry Potter franchise:

‘There is a great tip and key for film-makers here. That is, we have got to make films that people want to watch and films which will benefit beyond themselves as they will also encourage people to come and visit the country.’ (Brooks 2010)

Yet if film production in the UK is to slot so neatly into the promotion of the heritage industry, then the maintenance of domestic production is also required, even if most domestic

films are unlikely to have the same impact as the Hollywood blockbusters that tourist boards can leverage for promotion, so that there is sufficient infrastructure to attract overseas productions. At time of writing the report by the Independent Film Policy Review Panel, ‘A Future for British Film: It begins with the audience’ notes not only the importance of maintaining domestic production, but also, noticeably, of working with potential partners like VisitBritain to give greater exposure to ‘one of the world’s greatest film heritage collections.’⁹ Such a move, apparently designed to provide the impetus for the growth of a film culture in the UK that appreciates domestic filmmaking, is also seen – the evocation of VisitBritain suggests at least – as a potential driver for the generation of tourism. Perhaps this should by now be entirely unsurprising, considering the £2.1 billion in visitor spend attributed to UK film by the Oxford Economics report for the British Film Institute, Pinewood Shepperton PLC, British Film Commission and Creative England in 2012.¹⁰

Scotland, and as *Stately Attraction* shows, the UK in general, has a major advantage in terms of developing film tourism as heritage tourism, its identifiable historical brand identity. It is worth remembering that this is not the case everywhere. In many countries where large Hollywood productions shoot, the locations chosen are specifically picked as stand-ins for somewhere else. Malta doubled for Tel Aviv, Rome, Paris, Beirut, Athens and London in *Munich* (2005), for example, and Uruguay for Havana Cuba, Columbia, Miami and Geneva in *Miami Vice* (2006). These films do relatively little for film tourism in these countries, as the host nations identities’ are effectively erased from view. This is the opposite of the impact that a *Braveheart* (shot in Ireland after all) or a *The Da Vinci Code* can have on Scotland. Indeed, this is not because these other nations cannot draw on a long history (Malta, in particular, has a similarly fascinating history that it trades upon as a tourist destination) but because Scotland in particular also has a *history of being represented as a tourist destination*

to its diaspora, in some cases by diasporic filmmakers working in Hollywood. This is the heritage that such films can tap into.

I do not mean, however, to unthinkingly cheerlead for film tourism. As Beeton's work shows in particular, its financial potential notwithstanding, film tourism is not unquestionably a good thing for local businesses and communities (97-139). Indeed, as Tzanelli illustrates, its benefits may begin to appear ambiguous if its potential environmental impact is taken into consideration (47-56). Current indicators suggest that Scotland, and the UK more generally, will increasingly need to negotiate these consequences of film tourism. Even so, the key development evident from *Braveheart* through *The Da Vinci Code* to *Brave* is the increased activity surrounding film tourism in Scotland, and its identification as a phenomenon of importance for heritage tourism.

Film tourism in the UK more broadly is now increasingly being recognised as heritage tourism. Nevertheless, this is not always a straightforward matter, and often depends on who owns the heritage in question. 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. Rosslyn Chapel, for example, makes no overt mention of the film in its guidebooks, introductory video or displays. This is not uncommon amongst sites where films have been shot in other parts of the UK, and may attest to ownership issues surrounding copyright akin to those which Iordanova recounts in relation to Romania's attempts to promote itself on the back of *Dracula*, and which again surfaced in the wrangle over the fate of New Zealand's Hobbiton post-production of the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy (Roesch, 41). This may explain why a 2012 television advertising campaign for the Ford Mondeo motorcar which features a fan of Dan Brown's book visiting the actual locations

from the book and the film states, solely and explicitly, that his motivation for tourism is the book – this even though the locations seen on screen (such as the Louvre) are visually recognisable of the film.

Nor is Rosslyn exceptional in this either, as Scottish locations with a much longer, iconic status in movies and television, like Eilean Donan Castle (the castle on the loch which is by now almost a trademark for Scotland) also make little mention of the numerous films to have shot there in their tours and displays. Perhaps this is also because films tend to slip more quickly through the public imagination, and mention of recently dated cinematic works might somehow distract from the greater historical longevity of the actual heritage location, which is undoubtedly a major factor in their attractiveness.

Yet recognition is increasingly evident in some places. For many years the weather-beaten plaque commemorating the shooting of *Local Hero* in Pennan was something of an exception. Now other instances of such memorialising for heritage tourism are more readily apparent. Most noticeably, in King's Cross Station in London, prior to its refurbishment in 2012, a dedicated tourist attraction in the shape of a luggage trolley half "disappeared" into an outside wall was constructed in homage to the entrance to the fictional platform 9¾ that appears in the Harry Potter franchise. At that time there was a free-standing sign inside the station, pointing would be tourists to it. Admittedly, the decision to commemorate the film in this way may have been as much a testament to the need to control crowds in a busy station as it was to film tourism itself. After all, the attraction made no income, and the queue for it in the summer could threaten to interfere with taxi drops offs, but at least it stopped tourists milling around in search of the non-existent Platform 9¾. Noticeably, when the station's refurbishment was complete, the attraction reappeared in a permanent dedicated space, in an

easily accessible location away from the crowds, providing ample space for tourist photographs. If it remains debateable whether this is more an attraction or a crowd control measure, more concretely, in Notting Hill, where the distinctive blue plaques of the heritage industry are already plentiful, there is a plaque on display to commemorate the travel bookshop which served as the inspiration for the book shop in *Notting Hill*. Film-tourism is becoming a more organised and more visible phenomenon.

Yet in this respect the UK currently lags behind others, such as its close neighbour, France. It lacks, for instance, the standing exhibition that pays tribute to early cinema's pioneers at the Cinémathèque in Paris, or the plaques commemorating sites like Hotel du Nord (from both the book and film of that name) on the Canal Saint Martin, a real location which did not even feature in the film proper. For film tourism to become a prominent, permanent characteristic of the UK's heritage tourism industry, having a recognisable brand is undoubtedly an asset. This is especially so in Scotland where several centuries as a heritage tourism destination, coupled with its international diaspora, means it will likely continue to attract movies to shoot in its well-known locations. However, not wishing to detract anything from the recent achievements of VisitScotland, for the number of film tourism plaques to proliferate will require many more promotional successes like that of *The Da Vinci Code*. Film-tourism in Scotland would undoubtedly be bolstered if tax incentives could be used to promote location shooting. Indeed, as the use of London studios during the filming of *The Da Vinci Code* demonstrates, maintaining a domestic production base in the UK, and fostering an engaged national and international audience for British films, is paramount to the future success of film tourism as heritage tourism.

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¹ The Hydra Report is often referred to as such because it was completed by Hydra Associates Limited. Its official title is 'The Economic and Tourism Benefits of Large-scale Film Production in the United Kingdom'. It was commissioned by the British Film Commission, Scottish Screen Locations and the Scottish Tourist Board in 1997.

² The World Trade Organisation calculates that in 2007 'total international tourism receipts' reached US\$1 trillion (almost US\$3 million a day) (Anon, 2011). In 2010 the *Financial Times* reports that tourism is the fifth largest industry in the UK (Tighe et al., 2010).

³ <http://www.visitscotland.org/pdf/ANCESTRAL%20SCOTLAND%20FACTFILE.pdf> (Accessed 17/12/11)

⁴ Interview with Jenni Steele, European PR Manager for VisitScotland, VisitScotland offices, Ocean Point, Edinburgh, 05/02/2010.

⁵ Tartan Week has changed in more recent years. The Grand Central Scottish Village having been removed, the week now sees lower profile but no less significant business meetings taking place between organisations involved in the tourist industry to systematically synergise their capacity to mobilise international visitors.

⁶ <http://www.cometoscotland.com/what-to-do/explore-scotland/view-itinerary-ideas/itinerary-details/?cmd=view&item=7> (Accessed, 17/12/11)

⁷ <http://www.cometoscotland.com/what-to-do/explore-scotland/view-itinerary-ideas/itinerary-details/?cmd=view&item=26> (Accessed, 17/12/11)

⁸ <http://www.visitscotland.com/brave/> (Accessed, 01/09/2012)

⁹ <http://www.culture.gov.uk/publications/8743.aspx> (Accessed, 24/01/12)

¹⁰ <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-economic-impact-of-the-uk-film-industry-2012-09-17.pdf> (Accessed 20/09/12)