

# Substitute locations of urban spaces in films shot in Spain: motivations, representations and consequences

Localizaciones suplantadas de espacios urbanos en películas rodadas  
en España: motivaciones, representaciones y consecuencias

**Víctor Aertsen** 

[vaertsen@hum.uc3m.es](mailto:vaertsen@hum.uc3m.es)

*Departamento de Comunicación*

*Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (Spain)*

**Carlos Manuel Valdés** 

[cmanuel@hum.uc3m.es](mailto:cmanuel@hum.uc3m.es)

*Departamento de Humanidades: Historia, Geografía y Arte*

*Universidad Carlos III de Madrid (Spain)*

**Antonio Martínez Puche** 

[antonio.martinez@ua.es](mailto:antonio.martinez@ua.es)

*Departamento de Geografía Humana*

*Universidad de Alicante (Spain)*

## Abstract

The objective of the present article is to reflect upon the phenomenon of substitute locations in fiction films, with special focus on Spanish cities. Although the use of one location to stand in for

another is a common film practice, it hasn't received much attention in film studies and related fields. To improve this situation, we start with a brief review of three moments of Hollywood's history where substitute locations have been central as an industrial practice, cultural debate and promotional strategy, and we propose six parameters that we consider of interest to pursue a detailed analysis of this phenomenon, especially in urban environments. In the second section, we discuss the use of substitute locations in Spanish cities based on the results of a quantitative and qualitative research carried out on 303 films. Finally, as case studies, we focus on examples of substitute locations in films shot in two Spanish cities, Madrid and Alcoy, identifying the main locations and reflecting upon their use in relation to the six parameters proposed in the theoretical framework. Through these different sections, we seek to contribute to a better understanding of the motivations, representations and geographical and economic consequences of this filmic practice.

**Key words:** film locations; spatial analysis; Madrid on cinema; Alicante on cinema.

## **Resumen**

El objetivo del presente artículo es reflexionar sobre el fenómeno de las suplantaciones en el cine de ficción, con especial atención a las ciudades españolas. Aunque el uso de un lugar para representar a otro es una práctica cinematográfica común, no ha recibido mucha atención en los estudios cinematográficos y otras disciplinas próximas. Para contribuir a esta cuestión, partimos de un breve repaso a tres momentos de la historia de Hollywood en los que las suplantaciones han sido centrales como práctica de la industria cinematográfica, como elemento de debate cultural y como estrategia de promoción; además, proponemos seis parámetros que consideramos de interés para profundizar en el análisis de este fenómeno, especialmente en entornos urbanos. En la segunda parte, abordamos el uso de las suplantaciones en las ciudades españolas a partir de los resultados de una investigación cuantitativa y cualitativa realizada sobre 303 películas. Finalmente, como casos de estudio, nos centramos en ejemplos de suplantaciones en películas rodadas en dos ciudades españolas, Madrid y Alcoy, identificando las localizaciones principales y reflexionando sobre su uso en relación con los seis parámetros propuestos en la primera parte del artículo. Pretendemos, con los contenidos mencionados, contribuir a una mejor comprensión de las motivaciones, representaciones y consecuencias espaciales y económicas de esta práctica fílmica.

**Palabras clave:** localizaciones cinematográficas; análisis espacial; Madrid en el cine; Alicante en el cine.

## 1 Introduction

Many times, the places where movie storylines unfold are substituted by alternative geographic spaces when shooting the film. A common practice in film production, this category of “location work” where one location is used to stand in for another might be called “substitute location” (Peterson, 2019, p. 23).

The practice of substitute location in audiovisual fiction entails a series of processes and consequences that justify its analysis from the perspective of spatial –geographic–, technical and narrative implications. In principle, one might assume that the key to this practice resides in attaining a degree of verisimilitude or plausibility that impedes or hinders detecting the disguise. Nevertheless, there are a myriad of examples where this pursuit of plausibility is not so obvious; and on the other hand, many times, the way in which the substitution is done does not require taking much care to ensure deception.

This type of “location impersonation” (Gámir & Manuel, 2007, pp. 171-177), a practice that has been common in fiction cinema since its origins, translates into a sleight of hand that makes it difficult or impedes proper identification of the place shown, and as such contributes to the construction of new geographic imaginaries that, if joined together, could lead to a virtual audiovisual mapping truly interesting from a geographical-cultural perspective. Substitute locations usually require technical reflection about how it should be undertaken, what part of the surroundings should be shown in those scenes (trying to steer away from those visual elements that might call into question its believability), or what interventions would be necessary to prevent discovery of the deception (*atrezzo*, post production processes, through digital techniques or not). And of course, it is connected to the story being told, hence the choice of what is finally depicted in the images (a certain part of a landscape, or a city), must be consistent and coherent with the script.

The practice of substitute location is also a clear example of offshoring and decentralization in the audiovisual industry. It is a phenomenon fomented by the increased mobility of teams and equipment, the appearance of permanent international filmmaking facilities staffed by qualified professionals, and adoption of tax breaks and subventions for audiovisual production by local administrations (Martínez-Puche, 2008, p. 154). Along these lines, in Spain there is the antecedent of the Hollywood productions that, with the impetus of producer Samuel Bronston, were shot here during the 1950s and 1960s with well-known stars like Charlton Heston, Rita

Hayworth, Ava Gardner and John Wayne (Losada & Matellano, 2009; León de Aguinaga, 2010; Rosendorf, 2013; Aertsen et al., 2017).

However, with the advent of digital technology, cinema has been able to “lie” in a much more sophisticated way, blurring the line between reality and fiction: the “shape” of a city can be modified at will, in such a subtle and effective way that it is no longer possible to distinguish when images are retouched or not. Thanks to computer-generated imagery (CGI) it is possible to recreate a city’s features at a given period in history, like Rome in 180 A.C. in *Gladiator* (Ridley Scott, 2000), or resuscitate cities that have long ago disappeared, like *Pompey* (Paul W.S. Anderson, 2014). It is even possible to create new, fictitious cities, as occurred in *The Matrix* (Lana Wachowski & Lilly Wachowski, 1999), where the majority of the sequences that take place in Mega City were filmed in Sydney, but architectural landmarks such as Harbour Bridge and the Opera House were digitally eliminated to avoid the city being recognized. In many cases, like in *Sin City* (Frank Miller & Robert Rodríguez, 2005), cities are constructed entirely by computer.

The objective of the present article is to reflect upon the phenomenon of substitute locations in fiction movies, exploring the concrete case of Spanish cities. For that purpose, we will begin by introducing the practice with an indispensable theoretical framework. First, we will present some terms used in the literature to refer to this process. Second, we will briefly review three moments in the history of Hollywood that are illustrative in understanding the extent of this production practice and its central place in related debates and commercial actions. Finally, we will propose six parameters that we consider of interest to pursue a detailed analysis of substitute locations, especially in urban environments.

In the second section, taking advantage of some results of the aforementioned FACES-50 project, some of the basic characteristics of the practice of substitute locations affecting Spanish cities will be presented, using data and information from the movies analyzed in that project.

The third section will focus on examples of substitute locations included in films shot in two Spanish cities: Madrid and Alcoy. The reason for the choice of these two cities is that they represent a relevant case study for exploring the possible forms in which substitution is involved in attracting and undertaking audiovisual productions in two territories with markedly different urban features. In the two cases, the research will focus on identifying the chief locations used to substitute other spaces, and the geographic spaces that those settings substitute, as well as the period in which the narrative of the analyzed films takes place. On that basis, we will reflect upon the motivations and consequences of this practice in some notable titles, and offer conclusions on

the use of substitute locations in processes for attracting film shoots, the way a territory is represented, and in the construction of collective imaginaries.

## 2 Theoretical frameworks

Although it is a common practice –perhaps precisely because of that–, the phenomenon of geographic substitution in audiovisual fiction has been scarcely dealt with in film studies and its related fields. Proof of this is the disparity of terms used to refer to this phenomenon.

In the Anglo-Saxon literature, where this practice has been chiefly examined within historic research focused on studying “on location” shootings and Hollywood “runaway productions”, substitution has been identified with terms such as “substitute locations” (Elmer & Gasher, 2005; Gleich & Webb, 2019; Peterson, 2019), “landscape body-doubles” (Elmer, 2002), “stand-in locations” (Steinhart, 2019a) and “stunt locations” (Peterson, 2019), using in many cases several of these terms interchangeably. In the Spanish-speaking sphere, especially in studies addressing relationships between geographic and cinematographic space from theoretical and thematic perspectives, the phenomenon has been referred as “impersonated places” (*lugares suplantados*) (Gámir & Manuel, 2007) or, in the specific case of cities, “transvestite locations” (*localizaciones travestidas*) (García Gómez & Pavés, 2008). In the literature addressing the phenomenon of “screen tourism”, we find references alluding to this practice with terms like “disguised places” (Roesch, 2009) and “displaced” locations or productions (Bolan et al., 2011; Irimiás, 2012), also found in Spanish bibliography (Bonet Balaguer et al., 2016). To ensure maximum precision, the term “substitute location” will be predominantly used throughout this article, considering it the most extended and precise of the English terms available, while the use of the term *lugar suplantado* is recommended when working in Spanish.

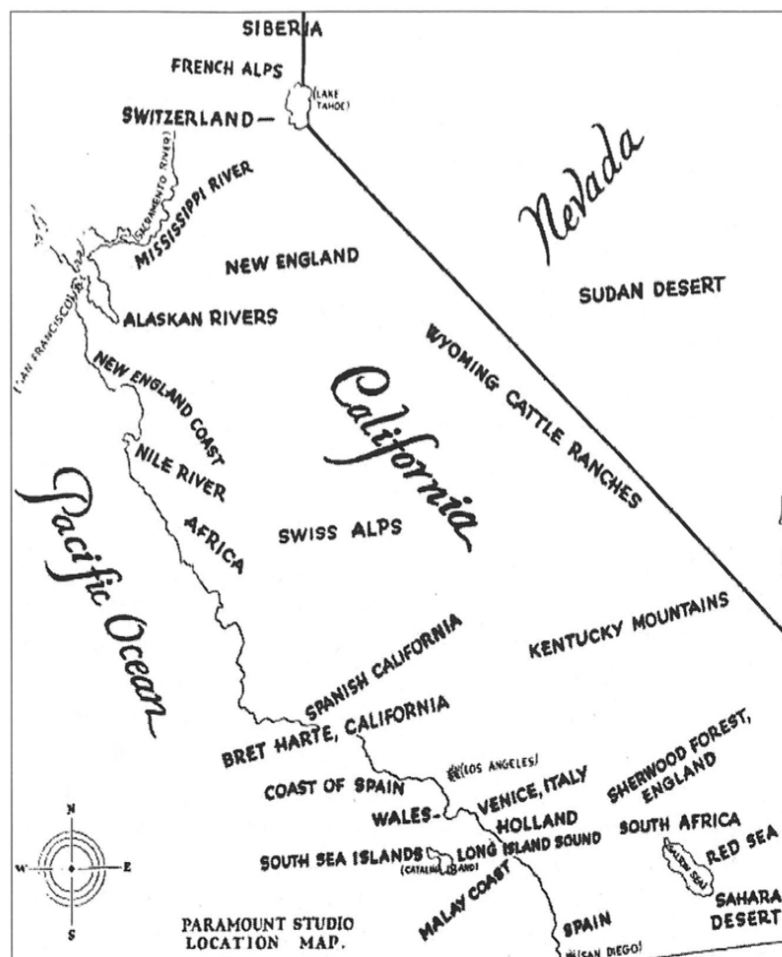
### 2.1 Spatial substitution as an historic practice

The practice of geographic substitution can be traced back to cinema’s beginnings. In her historic study about filming in real locations in the Hollywood industry between 1895 and 1927, Jennifer Peterson (2019) highlighted its importance within the North American industry since its origins, underlining an existing “contradiction at the heart of the concept of cinematic location”:

Although the term ‘location shooting’ implies authenticity and strict fidelity of place, the actual practice of shooting on location often means simply shooting outside the studio in some place that more or less resembles where the story is set (Peterson, 2019, pp. 16-17).

The situation became particularly entrenched after 1917, with the industry establishing itself in California and the progressive implementation of the studio system as the dominant mode of American film production. This was at a time during which “location shooting became further embedded into narrative filmmaking practices, and it was transformed by its new California landscapes, where the substitute location came to be institutionalized” (Peterson, 2019, p. 30). At the beginning of the 1920s, substitute locations “became a regularized part of the industry”, with different areas of California “rendered in such a way that they could stand for locations around the world” (Peterson, 2019, p. 37). Keeping costs and logistical complications to a minimum, this allowed stories that took place in any given place in the world to be shot in California, particularly natural settings (desert, tropical, forest and mountain environments), as can be clearly observed in a map of California that Paramount used during that era (Figure 1).

Figure 1. *Paramount Studio Location Map, dated 1927*



**Note:** This early map shows one of the reasons why movies were filmed in California. The different parts of the state were labeled according to their similarity with distinct places throughout the world.

Source: Tino Balio (1985, p. 202)

Sending production units to real locations would also be utilized as a selling point in marketing strategies. However, in the majority of these cases, the realism-authenticity relationship would be managed and molded for commercial purposes, with a tendency to emphasize the realism of the locations and, at the same time, elude or mask the issue of its authenticity, a strategy that can be traced up to today. Peterson (2019) cites the example of *The Squaw Man* (Oscar Apfel & Cecil B. DeMille, 1914), a movie that uses scenarios from southern California as substitute locations of the Rocky Mountains, but whose misleading campaign highlighted the virtues of filming in the Rockies. In a promotional article, a young Cecil B. DeMille gushed about the marvels of the place:

Imagine the horizon is your stage limit and the sky your grid iron. Our perspective was the upper chain of the Rockies, and our ceiling was God's own blue and amber sky. I felt inspired. I felt that I could do things which the confines of a theatre would not permit (...). Nature did the rest (Cited in Peterson, 2019, p. 16).

While “DeMille’s fabrication is hardly surprising and rather less scandalous than some of the other tall tales of the early film industry” (Peterson, 2019, p. 16), the practice of hiding the substitution as much as possible can be observed later on. This is the case of *13 Rue Madeleine* (Henry Hathaway, 1946), one of the most significant films pertaining to a series of “semi-documentary” criminal movies in which Hollywood would begin to highlight the importance of shooting in authentic locations during the post-World War II period –after two decades of intense studio production and when this practice had diminished considerably (Chinen Biese, 2019)—. Despite the fact that the opening credits announced that “In order to obtain the maximum realism and authenticity, all the exterior and interior settings of this Motion Picture were photographed in the field – and, whenever possible, at the actual locations”, a large part of scenes set in France and London were in fact shot in North America:

Hathaway had traveled extensively prior to the war, and he insisted to Zanuck that there was no need to go to Europe to shoot the picture. He had seen areas in Quebec that could easily pass for France, and Boston and its environs could stand in for England. Hathaway also recommended the Lincoln estate in Boston to serve as the OSS headquarters. Happy to save both time and money, Zanuck approved Hathaway’s suggestion. (Pomainville, 2016, pp. 123-124).

The film came at a time that would mark a turning point for Hollywood as a production center. Between 1945 and the mid-1970s, the American industry would begin to undertake a significant

number of its productions in European countries, especially the United Kingdom, France, Italy and Spain. Widely-varying projects such as *Roman Holiday* (William Wyler, 1953), *Moby Dick* (John Ford, 1956) and *Spartacus* (Stanley Kubrick, 1960), were at the time identified as “runaway productions” (Elmer & Gasher, 2005; Steinhart, 2019a, 2019b).

Although the motives behind the phenomenon of offshoring Hollywood production were diverse (Aertsen et al., 2017), Daniel Steinhart (2019a, p. 27) points to “funding sources, geographic configurations, and the relationship between where the movies were set and where they were shot” as the three “critical forces that influenced the design of runaway productions and the industry debates about the runaway trend”. We can sum up these three factors as economics, logistics and aesthetics. Those of an aesthetic nature spearheaded the controversial debates coming from the heart of the US industry during that period, particularly inspired by unions and associations representing “below-the-line workers and ancillary service providers who don’t have the same mobility as their industry and thus fear for their jobs” (Elmer & Gasher, 2005, p. 3).

During this period, the use of authentic locations would be employed as a main argument to justify this type of productions, although “these aesthetic motives often concealed the actual economic rationales behind runaway productions” (Steinhart, 2019b, p. 103). But in the case of substitute locations, this excuse in fact revealed the real reasons. According to Daniel Steinhart (2019a, p. 47),

whenever a film was not shot where its story was set, producers stood a chance of eliciting criticism from unions. Thus, the relationship of a film’s setting to its shooting locations had wide-ranging implications for how the industry defined and debated runaway productions.

In the case of the history-themed blockbusters shot during the period, many could be partially justified by arguing that the shooting was taking place in “an area that would resemble the historical backdrop to achieve verisimilitude” (Steinhart, 2019a, p. 50), since they were stories that were set in Mediterranean landscapes such as those available in Italy or Spain. But other projects would use foreign locations to even substitute places in the United States, resulting in “by far the most contentious type of production with unions” (Steinhart, 2019a, p. 51).

As of the 1980s and up to the present day, the global film industry has won the battle with the Californian film technicians. According to Noelle Griffis (2019, p. 157):

Locations developed as a full-fledged international ancillary enterprise involving government agencies, location scouts, and production liaisons in the 1980s and



1990s, loosely bookended by the 1983 incorporation of the Association of Film Commissions International (AFCI) and the production tax credits first introduced by the Canadian government in 1997.

Within this context, substitute locations have ceased to be a cause of controversy and instead have become a selling point for attracting shootings to different territories in the world. Nowadays, according to Steinhart (2019a, p. 200), “a foreign location might play itself, but more often it serves as a substitute for another setting, either real or make-believe”. At the same time, Ben Goldsmith and Tom O’Regan (2005, p. 8), in their study on audiovisual production in the contemporary global market, point out that “the built and natural environments of a place are valued as much for what they can stand in for, what they can be bent/reshaped to represent, as they are valued for themselves”.

The value of a territory’s possibilities to substitute other locations can be appreciated in promotional materials from offices like the Malta Film Commission, whose 2015 promotional brochure has a section entitled “Malta standing in for...”, with movies in which locations from the island have been used to substitute places in Turkey, Greece, Peru, Italy, Iraq and the South of France.<sup>1</sup> Possibly due to fear that the exclusive use of the territory as substitute locations could be to the detriment of local culture led authorities in 2016 to introduce, among its criteria to qualify for a system of tax incentives, an additional 2% for movies “Featuring/promoting Maltese cultural elements”;<sup>2</sup> a bonus that increased to 5% in 2019 with a change in its text that highlighted the importance of substitutions in the debate: movies where “Malta features as Malta or local usage of facilities”.<sup>3</sup>

The preeminence of locations in the geo-economy of the contemporary audiovisual sector is noteworthy if one considers the increasing reach of computer-generated images (CGI) when creating or editing scenes. On the one hand, the growing use of these technologies has led, according to Julian Stringer (2019, p. 189), to a paradoxical situation in which “while spectacular landscapes can be generated entirely through digital means, the core business of film

---

1 Malta Film Commission (2015), “Malta. Where Stories are Told” (brochure). [https://issuu.com/maltafilmcommission/docs/final\\_malta\\_film\\_industry\\_guide](https://issuu.com/maltafilmcommission/docs/final_malta_film_industry_guide)

2 Malta Film Commission (January 2019), Financial Incentives for the Audiovisual Industry: CASH REBATE GUIDELINES”. <https://maltafilmcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Financial-Incentives-for-Audiovisual-Industry-Guidelines-Official-Do....pdf>

3 Malta Film Commission (October 2016), “Financial Incentives for Audiovisual Productions Guidelines”. <https://maltafilmcommission.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Malta-Film-Commission-Financial-Incentives-for-Audiovisual-Industry-Guidelines-1.pdf>

commissions and the interconnected culture of 'incentive-mania' (...) has blossomed into a pragmatic activity of the first order". On the other hand, by being able to intensely intervene in physical locations, these technologies allow a more flexible use of them. This facilitates studio and on-location shootings and the use of the latter as substitute locations, requiring that the shooting location only share some basic physical features with the place referred to in the story.

In the contemporary context, the growing practice and promotion of substitute locations in the area of audiovisual production coincides with an increase in attention paid to the use and representation of locations by spectators and fans in subsequent phases of film consumption. Elmer & Gasher (2005, p. 9) point out that, for example, among the inhabitants of Canadian or Australian locations that stand in for US cities, this type of practice has created "cultural anxieties over the dissemination of generic or pan-American landscapes on the screen" (Elmer & Gasher, 2005, p. 9). In other cases, the inhabitants responded in a more light-hearted way to the substitutions, as in the case of Toronto, whose web news portal *Torontoist* let neighbors share images from films where "the disguise doesn't (...) hold up the scrutiny" (Wallace, 2011, p. 160), revealing some notable element of the city despite attempts to hide it.

Finally, the value of substitutions has been called into question in relation to the screen tourism that it could produce. In this view, Irimiás (2012, p. 126) points out that in these cases "the location misses the opportunity to be promoted as a tourism destination". This is a widespread approach in the literature regarding this type of tourism (Tooke & Baker, 1996; Bolan et al., 2010), and according to Irimiás (2012, p. 126), it is important to take into account in a city like Budapest, characterized by "hosting displaced film productions where the scenery and historical places are not linked to the Hungarian capital city", for which for the audience "the emblems of the city cannot be linked to the name of Budapest since it is doubling as another place". Notwithstanding, she defends the possibility of overcoming these limitations through creative and diversified promotional campaigns, planting the possibility, for example, of capitalizing on the audiovisual legacy of Budapest by promoting an experience that includes "visiting at least 'four capitals' (Berlin, Buenos Aires, Paris, Moscow) in the same city" (Irimiás, 2012, p. 137).

## **2.2 Parameters for spatial analysis of geographic substitution**

Considering the importance of substitute locations as a practice in film production, it is of interest to have some conceptual tools to facilitate its study. In the following lines we propose six key parameters for analyzing substitute locations in audiovisual productions undertaken in a region or city.

On one hand, it seems appropriate to focus on the scope of the substitution, understanding as such the distance that separates the location used from the place referenced in the narrative. In the case of urban spaces, we can differentiate between intra-urban substitutions, when the localization utilized pertains to the same city as the diegetic place despite not being the exact same place, and inter-urban substitutions, when they pertain to different cities. This distinction is especially relevant for promotional campaigns and attracting shootings to a territory, as well as for the impact on generating geographic imaginaries, which situate inter-urban substitutions of an interregional or international nature in a privileged position.

Another parameter of importance is focused on the versatility shown by the location to substitute different geographic locations. This is the case of Liverpool, according to Les Roberts (2010, p. 205):

Liverpool's architecture and locations are more prominently exploited as backdrops for narratives set in other cities and historical periods. (...) Liverpool's cinematic geographies have served as a stand-in for, amongst others, Cannes, Vienna, Moscow, St Petersburg, Dublin, Amsterdam, Rome, New York, Chicago, Paris, London and war-time Germany.

The versatility of some cities to "double for" other urban centers is a resource usually exploited to attract filmings to a territory. Along these lines, the webpage of the Liverpool Film Office has a catalogue of shooting locations with two special sections aimed at highlighting the possibilities of shooting in "Liverpool as London" and "Liverpool as New York".<sup>4</sup>

It is likewise useful to examine the extent of the reiterated use of a city or some of its locations to substitute the same place, something that depends not only on its similarity, but also on its institutionalization in the global market of locations as a practical and accessible substitute. This is the case of Toronto, which, in spite of its versatility, stands out especially for its reiterated use as a shooting location for stories set in New York, promoting itself as "a place to experience New York for less money" (Wallace, 2011, p. 172). Positioning Toronto as a recurrent double for New York owes much to its architecture as well as to the existence of infrastructures and company services such as studio facilities and a shooting location industry that is able to "anticipate and encourage the production of New York-centered stories in Toronto" (Wallace, 2011, p. 163).

---

4 See <https://www.liverpoolfilmoffice.tv>

A fourth parameter is the proportion between a location's use as an authentic place and its use as a substitute. Liverpool and Toronto are both interesting cases since they are two cities used extensively as settings for geographic substitution. In cases in which the substitutions are more versatile, such as Liverpool, this situation can put the city's own identity and imaginaries at risk: the locations and the monuments of the city cease to be "expressive of the city's own on-screen identity and urban character" (Les Roberts, 2010, p. 205) and end up being diluted amidst the torrent of images and geographic references. This could even be compounded in cases where there is reiterated use of a city to substitute the same geographic space, as happens with Toronto. Aurora Wallace (2011, p. 159) argues that in order to secure foreign-location filming activity the city has remade itself to look more like New York, producing a "virtual erasure of local identity that threatens to undermine the value, and even self-worth, of the site being masked". Thus, a city runs the risk of not only having its identity diluted, but even directly substituted by another. Which in the case of Toronto has already had consequences on its spatial configuration, with different projects aimed at making the image of the city closer to that of New York.

In the fifth place, it is likewise useful to take into consideration the believability of the substitution, that is, the greater or lesser efficacy with which the shooting location is able to pass for the substituted location. There are films in which a great deal of attention is paid to this believability. For example, the contemporary western, *The Sisters Brothers* (Jacques Audiard, 2019), was mostly filmed in Spanish landscapes (Tabernas Desert in Almería, the Sierra of Urbasa in Navarra, and Los Monegros in Aragón) but done with such careful staging that it is practically undetected. On other occasions, in contrast, carelessness, clumsiness or lack of attention to the landscape features (natural or urban) can predominate, or there is an almost negligent incorporation of elements from outside the temporal and geographic context of the story, as is the case of the *The Battle of the Bulge* (Ken Annakin, 1965). In this movie's scenes, representing the Ardennes forest in Belgium, we can see the features of the parched Mediterranean landscape pertaining to the Spanish Meseta in mid-summer.

Finally, this last example brings us to the sixth parameter to consider: the degree of exposure of the substituted place in the film, that is, in what way is space presented in the image. There are substitutions presented with general shots, of medium or long duration, or which even revel in highlighting some aspects that could give greater prominence to the filmed location. On the contrary, there are other situations (plentiful in urban settings) where very little is shown, whether

because they are night scenes, close-up shots or have a blurred background, or because the substitute location contains infrastructures with elements that are out of line with a given natural or urban context: airports, hospital facades, airports, military barracks, prisons, outlying districts, etc. Thus, the consequence of many substitutions with little exposure is limited to the mere verification that certain places, or certain cities, have hosted shootings that have enabled this “leap in space”, with it even being difficult to accurately identify them through the location coordinates accompanying the alteration in the topography.

### **3 Substitutions in Spanish cities**

The Spanish territory has hosted shootings for a wide and diverse array of cinematographic projects throughout the 20th and 21st centuries. As one could expect from a usual industry practice, many of the locations have been used to substitute other places in fiction. In this sense, especially in the Hollywood productions, the Spanish case has some similarities with what took place in California during the first half of the 20th century, since the substitutions were motivated by economic or logistic factors, or were to take advantage of landscapes that were somewhat convincing (Losada & Matellano, 2009; León de Aguinaga, 2010; Rosendorf, 2013; Aertsen et al., 2017; Devesa, 2022). Furthermore, the country’s notable variety of landscapes fostered projects related to narratives that were very often quite alien to the reality of the Spanish territory.

Warranting special mention is the businessman and producer Samuel Bronston, who made the most out of the frozen US funds in Spain (as occurred in other European countries) and his good relationship with the Francoist authorities (García de Dueñas, 1998; Fernández & Fernández, 2009) to initiate a significant number of blockbusters in Spain in the 1950s and 1960s. After the commercial success of his first big production, *John Paul Jones* (John Farrow, 1958), filmed in the province of Alicante, he established his studios in Madrid, producing titles such as *King of Kings* (Nicholas Ray, 1960), *El Cid* (Anthony Mann, 1961), *55 Days at Peking* (Nicholas Ray, 1962), *The Fall of the Roman Empire* (Anthony Mann, 1964) and *Circus World* (Henry Hathaway, 1964). To these relevant films in the history of cinema itself we can add westerns and other epic stories filmed mainly in the provinces of Madrid and Almería: Sergio Leone’s spaghetti westerns from *Per un pugno di dollari* (Sergio Leone, 1964) to *C’era una volta il West* (Sergio Leone, 1968), and titles such as *Spartacus*, *Lawrence of Arabia* (David Lean, 1962), *Cleopatra* (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963), *Doctor Zhivago* (David Lean, 1965) or *Patton* (Franklin J. Schaeffner, 1970) could be mentioned.

The predominant themes (war, western and historic films) by their nature required the practice of substitution, in the majority of cases with an international scope. A detailed study of the settings and landscapes show their spatial concentration or dispersion, their geographic characterization, the possible reiteration of scenes, or their link with certain themes and narratives; likewise, on the proper utilization of landscape or the capacity of dissemination –national and international– of the areas shown and the consequent capacity to attract new shootings or visitors.

Work carried out within the context of the FACES-50 project provided an initial quantitative approach to the frequency of the practice of substitution in national and international cinema filmed in Spanish cities. For this purpose, a methodology was employed that led to close analysis of 303 films selected from the top of a ranking of 5,127 movies based on quantitative ratings as are the scores assigned in the Internet Movie Database (IMDb).<sup>5</sup> Of the 303 films, 122 (40.3%) make use of substitute locations of some kind, affecting part or all of their footage.

The selection also included 195 titles with scenes shot in urban areas of Spanish municipalities with over 10,000 inhabitants, a selection that has been used as our sample to assess substitution in Spanish cities.<sup>6</sup> Along these lines, 63 of these 195 films contain substitutions, which represents 32.3%. Of those, 41 are foreign<sup>7</sup> (49.4% of foreign films); and 22 Spanish<sup>8</sup> (19.6% of the Spanish ones). As can be observed, the former represents more than two times the Spanish ones, probably due to the fact that the foreign movies include big-budget productions that are associated with epic historical themes that necessitated representing places outside the Spanish territory.

While in Spanish production the substitution of narrative foreign locations only represents 37.2%, in international productions they hold sway: 90.2%. All together, we can speak of a practice in

---

5 Included in this analysis are feature-length feature films (more than 60 minutes long) with confirmed filming – totally or partially– in Spanish territory; films released before December 2018 are included. The titles were checked in IMDb, including the scores assigned and the number of votes, in the second semester of 2019; quite likely there has been some change in the established ranking between that date and today, since the scores vary according to participants in the ranking.

6 The complete map of the identified clips can be found in the viewer Spain Audiovisual Map: [https://geocine.uc3m.es/faces/mapa\\_faces.html](https://geocine.uc3m.es/faces/mapa_faces.html) (the filter “Suplantaciones” allows the user to check the clips that present a substitute location). The researchers have also elaborated a map with some of the most interesting substitutions found on these films, which can be found in: [https://geocine.uc3m.es/faces/suplantaciones\\_faces\\_map.html](https://geocine.uc3m.es/faces/suplantaciones_faces_map.html)

7 Films are considered Spanish if their production is mostly Spanish; and in cases of an equally balanced co-production, when the authors are Spanish. The requisites are just the opposite for foreign productions.

8 In 2 of these 23 films we know that there is a substitution of a foreign city, but we don't know the filming locations: this occurs in *El lobo* (Miguel Courtois, 2004), in which a city in the north of Spain substitutes Hendaya; and *Piedras* (Ramón Salazar, 2002), in which Lisbon is substituted.

which –following the proposed terminology– the broad scope of these substitutions predominates, as they add up to 74.0%. It can be observed that in international productions, once the filming country is selected (based on the structural advantages it offers), the producers make the most of the place selected to represent other geographic realities; the importance of historic films is clear, since 24 of the 38 movies that include substitute locations outside of Spain correspond to stories taking place between the Classical Era and the World War II, including both of these periods.

Substitute locations became a geographic exercise without limits, since it made it possible to travel to every continent. In the analyzed films, we find Spanish locations standing in for Morocco, the United Kingdom, Mexico, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt, Germany, Algeria, Argentina, Azerbaijan, El Salvador, the Cayman Islands, Malta, Switzerland, the Ukraine, and a location in the south Pacific. But it is especially France, Italy, United States, Equatorial Guinea (with the movie *Palmeras en la nieve*), Russia, Israel and Uruguay that stand out (Table 1).

**Table 1. Countries more frequently substituted in films shot in Spanish cities**

Country	Number of substitutions	Number of films with substitutions
France	27	8
Italy	11	7
United States of America	9	6
Equatorial Guinea	9	1
Russia	7	3
Israel	5	3
Uruguay	5	2

Source: own elaboration based on data from Spain Audiovisual Map

With 22 films in our sample, Madrid is the city with most movies using substitute locations. Other cities that can be highlighted are Aranjuez (8 films), Almería (7), Sevilla (6), Alcalá de Henares (4), Segovia (4) and Barcelona (3).<sup>9</sup> This is not surprising in the case of Madrid because, according to the results of our aforementioned sample (195 movie titles), it is the city hosting

---

<sup>9</sup> Regarding the phenomenon of substitution in Barcelona, see Bonet et al. (2016).

most shootings, very far ahead of the other Spanish localities.<sup>10</sup> Precisely because of its importance, we will examine it in depth further on.

However, if we focus on the proportion that these substitutions represent in each of the cities in relation to the locations identified, 29 of the 31 locations follow this practice in Almería (93.5%), 27 of 32 in Aranjuez (84.4%), 58 of 108 in Seville (53.7%) and 12 of 29 in Alcalá de Henares (41.4%). Although the number of movies and locations is low,<sup>11</sup> these significant percentages highlight the importance of these images.

Almería is noteworthy in this route of stand-ins: through only 7 films, it is transformed into 10 geographically distinct locations: Palermo, Messina, Malta, an indeterminate French location, Jerusalem, Tangiers, Algiers, Cairo, Hatay (Turkey) and the United States. The fortress of Alcazaba is portrayed as Jerusalem in *The Visual Bible: The Gospel of John* (Philip Saville, 2003), as a French fort in *The Four Musketeers*, as Malta in *Patton*, and Hatay (Turkey) in *Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (Steven Spielberg, 1989). However, *Patton* is the movie that takes most advantage of this Andalusian city (Quesada Martínez, 2011), since it serves to portray Palermo, Messina, Malta and Algiers; and it does so –along with the Alcazaba– with its principal streets, like the Plaza de la Catedral, Velázquez and General Castaños, the Paseo de San Luis and the Parque de Nicolás Salmerón Park; this latter setting can also be seen in *Lawrence of Arabia*.

In Aranjuez, historical-themed movies predominate. Its Royal Palace appears in Richard Lester's *The Three Musketeers* (1973) and *The Four Musketeers* (1974), substituting Versailles; in Goya's *Ghost* (Milos Forman, 2006) it represents Madrid; and in *Nicholas and Alexandra* (Franklin J. Schaffner, 1971) it is the Winter Palace in Saint Petersburg. The Casa del Labrador and its adjoining gardens stand in for Madrid in *Goya en Burdeos* (Carlos Saura, 1999) and double for Ajaccio (Corsica) in *Patton*.

In Seville, in addition to several locations close to the city's ring road for *Battle of Britain* (Guy Hamilton, 1969) representing northern France, the most habitual practice is to use the central and very well-known areas of the city. In *The Wind and the Lion* (John Milius, 1975), the Plaza de América and the Plaza de España simulate Tangiers; and the Alcázares Gardens and the Reales Alcázares building itself simulate Fez. The Alcázares are transformed into Jerusalem in *Kingdom of*

---

10 Madrid has a total of 102 titles with movie shoots in its streets, with the second most important city being Barcelona, with 26.

11 Above all, if compared with those of Madrid, for which 1,782 locations corresponding to 102 films have been identified, although in this city substitutions represent less than 4%.



*Heaven* (Ridley Scott, 2005), as also occurred with the Plaza Pilatos. More exotic is the use of the Plaza Patio de Banderas, portrayed as Bakú (Azerbaijan). In all likelihood, the most well-known case is that of *Lawrence of Arabia*, where we encounter once more the Plaza de América now representing Damascus, as does the Glorieta de San Diego; the Plaza de España is transfigured into Cairo; and the Plaza Patio de Banderas also stands in for Damascus. Furthermore, a scene in the street of Macarena takes us to Deraa, in Syria; lastly, several scenes in the Plaza de Pilatos simulate New Jerusalem. One can't help wondering if the use of the Plaza de Pilatos to represent Jerusalem was known by the producers of *Kingdom of Heaven*, who used the same place 43 years afterwards.

Likewise, it is quite striking how in some cases different cities are used to represent only one city. It happens in *Blancanieves* (Pablo Berger, 2012) with Seville, which represents itself, while at the same time it uses other locations to substitute it: Aranjuez, Mataró and Vilanova i la Geltrú. *Carmen* (Francesco Rosi, 1984) also uses other cities (Carmona and Ronda) to make them pass for Seville.

To complete our review, there are very different types of substitutions if we take into account the degree of exposure of the filmed location. It is very common to have scenes that do not allow us to distinguish the formal features of a place. For example, in *Amantes* (Vicente Aranda, 1991) the interior of the old military Príncipe Barracks (today the Learning and Research Center at the Universidad de Alcalá) are used to double for the Remonta Barracks in Madrid. And the same thing happens in *La noche de 12 años* (Álvaro Brechner, 2018), with filming taking place in the San Cristóbal Fort in Berriozar (Navarra) and the old provincial jail of Segovia to substitute a penitentiary in Uruguay. These are images of places which are very unlikely to be recognized by a large audience, and hence they can easily act as a substitute location.

Other films turn out to expose the locations where they were filmed much more. Not only because the scenes are somewhat longer or take place during daytime, but also because they depict images of consolidated areas that incorporate monumental elements or are architecturally important. In these cases, the likelihood of identifying the location increases, at least for their inhabitants. The aforementioned examples of *Patton* in Almería, or many of the scenes from *Lawrence of Arabia* in Seville, are part of this category. We can add the image of the Puerta de Madrid in Alcalá de Henares, featured in a scene from *Spartacus* of almost a minute long and representing the Italian locality of Metaponto.

As a hypothesis, we consider that the practice of using recognizable spaces of cities presented with a high exposure as substitute locations, seems to have been more common in past decades than it is today. An initial approach, differentiating one type of substitution from another, reveals higher percentages of “long-exposure substitutions” in productions before the year 2000 than after that time (56.9% compared to 39.2%). We can refer to a tendency that sees more recent films abandoning shoots in historical and monumental areas that are easily accessed and have a certain international renown. This would make some sense, and would coincide with decisions put into practice in filmmaking from decades ago, as a result of the need to depict plausible scenes, as was –in the past– the incorporation of exotic locations or ones different from those that a local public could recognize. Today, well into the 21st century, the profusion of tourism activities as well as images contribute to having greater reservations when undertaking substitutions in urban areas that are more or less recognizable.

## 4 Particular cases: Madrid and Alcoy

### 4.1 Madrid

In films shot in Madrid, the relative presence of substitute locations is lower than the other cities which have been discussed. While it is impossible to carry out an absolute count regarding the relevance of this practice, it seems that it is more habitual in foreign films than in Spanish ones; and again, it is worthy of note the fact that foreigners use the city to represent places outside of Spain, especially earlier productions in the 20th century.<sup>12</sup>

Some cases of substitution are presented here, which for diverse circumstances –variety of substituted settings, veracity, being exotic, etc.– highlight the importance of considering how space is used when analyzing how audiovisual media capture and transmit images of given places and landscapes.

Some spaces that have displayed their versatility stand out. The former Delicias Station, today the Railway Museum, has become one of the most requested filming locations, above all for historic movies, after it stopped being used as a railroad station in 1969. Scenes from *Doctor Zhivago* were shot there to simulate the Moscow train station; likewise, in *Reds* (Warren Beatty, 1981), once again as revolutionary Russia; and in its exterior, for *Nicholas and Alexandra*. We find it substituting the station in a US city in *The Wind and the Lion*, one in Beijing in *Pánico en el*

---

12 Provisional conclusions from the Ficmatur-50 project.

*transiberiano* (Eugenio Martín, 1972), and in Monterrey (Mexico) in the spaghetti western *El kárate, el colt y el impostor* (Antonio Margheriti, 1974). The recurrent use of the Railway Museum as a setting, together with its versatility and reiterated use in substitution, is evident in its institutional webpage, that lists “more than thirty movies” shot there, pointing out its frequent depiction “as a foreign terminal”.<sup>13</sup>

Russian cities appear in other locations, in addition to those already mentioned. It happens, once again in *Doctor Zhivago*, in the environs of Alameda de Osuna and in an area that during the shooting had not yet been developed in the city, but which today is the area around the street of Silvano, in the northeastern outskirts of Madrid. In *Nicholas and Alexandra* it became the Winter Palace of San Petersburg, using as such the parade ground of the Royal Palace, as well as the interior of the Príncipe Pío Station.

The versatility of the Duques de Osuna Palace can be seen in its use as an imperial residence in *Doctor Zhivago*, and converted into a French and English location, respectively, in *The Three Musketeers* and its sequel, *The Four Musketeers*; this is surprising, since the facade of the palace is depicted in both productions (Figure 2). A bunker from the Spanish Civil War next to the palace also turned it into the ideal setting for the first and last scenes of *Shaft in Africa* (John Guillermin, 1973), the third film in the classic *blaxploitation* saga which, on this occasion, led the detective and main character to travel to Africa and France to dismantle a slave trafficking network headquartered in Paris, where the palace is located in the story. Y también aparece en *The Battle of the Bulge*, como mansión utilizada por el ejército estadounidense en Las Ardenas, en Bélgica.

The area of the Casa de Campo, due to its proximity to the city center, and because of its visual characteristics, provided the settings for some scenes that depicted ancient Rome in *A Funny Thing Happened on The Way to the Forum*, in a scene that does not impede us –through oversight– from contemplating the outline of the city in the background (Figure 4). A nearby place is used in *Chimes at Midnight* to represent another time (the 100 Years’ War) and place (England). And *Per un pugno di dollari* introduces the western genre to the city of Madrid, since in several scenes we can see buildings that were in the Casa de Campo fairgrounds (now a restaurant) standing in for a ranch located in the border area of Mexico and the United States.

---

13 Retrieved from <https://www.museodelferrocarril.org/140Delicias/paneles/panel14.asp>

Figure 2. The Alameda de Osuna Palace (Madrid) substituting, from top to bottom, a French palace, an English palace, a French *château* and a mansion in Belgium, in Ardennes



Source: *The Three Musketeers*, *The Four Musketeers* and *Shaft in Africa*

Figure 4. Casa de Campo doubles for Ancient Rome



**Note:** In the background we can see the outline of the city of Madrid.

Source: *A Funny Thing Happened on The Way to the Forum*

Mexican places have been also substituted using locations in Madrid. It happens for example in *Nadie hablará de nosotras cuando hayamos muerto* (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 1995), whose action takes place in Madrid for the most part, but also in Mexico City. Madrid locations are used In *Terminator: Dark Fate* (Tim Miller, 2019) to substitute spaces in Mexico (Figure 5), specifically the streets of Río Ulla and Santa Isabel were transformed into bustling Mexican ones, as well as a *corrala* (a corridor house with a central patio) located on the street of Amparo. In the last case, the production crew took advantage of the similarity in construction between this type of building, characteristic of old Madrid, with the so-called *vecindades* of Mexico.

Figure 5. The street of Río Ulla (Madrid) substitutes one in Mexico City



Source: *Terminator: Dark Fate*

Other titles contribute to this gallery of situations, stretching –at times to an unsustainable limit– the need to incorporate an array of exotic or distant locations into the same city to avoid

displacements and unnecessary costs, taking advantages of the conditions that –at the start– were behind the decision to establish shooting at a certain location. *The Man Inside* is a demonstration of a high degree of versatility, since Madrid represents itself, but also Lisbon and Paris. Hence, a good deal of the scenes unfolding in Lisbon were shot around the Plaza de la Paja, in the Latina neighborhood, also used in a car chase scene that takes place in Madrid. An overlap that also happens with images of the city, presented through rear projection, where the protagonist is in a taxi arriving to Lisbon as well as Madrid.

Figure 6. The Palace of Velázquez in El Retiro Park simulating Berlin



Source: *Circus World*

In *Circus World*, Madrid's El Retiro Park is presented through a general shot to portray the Champs Elysees of Paris, and also a static, close low-angle shot of the Velázquez Palace to stand for Berlin. And in *El hombre de las mil caras* (Alberto Rodríguez, 2016), diverse locations in the city substitute places in the narrative, such as Paris and Geneva, besides representing themselves (Figure 7).

A space with high capacity for versatile substitutions is the airport. Orson Welles used a building of the airport –no longer in existence– in *Mr. Arkadin* (Orson Welles, 1955) to pass for that of Barcelona; while in *Lugares comunes* (Adolfo Aristarain, 2002) it served to set the movie's storyline in Madrid as well as Buenos Aires.

Figure 7. The campus from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid doubles for Paris and Geneva



**Note:** The features of functional modern architecture enable internationalization, and as such, facilitates plausible substitutions.

Source: *El hombre de las mil caras*

In *Ein Unbekannter rechnet ab* (Peter Collinson, 1974), though clever camera-work the Temple of Debod is depicted as a location in Tehran. The same temple appears in *The Man in the Brown Suit* (Allan Grint, 1989), this time portraying Cairo. Both films are based on two novels by Agatha Christie (Figure 8). The exotic nature of these substitutions clearly demonstrates the pragmatism of film production, ready and willing to take advantage of visual features in the surroundings – architecture, constructions, urban landscapes– to solve requirements of scripts entailing a leap from one place to another; however, it also highlights the relevance of this process from a cultural and geographical point of view.

Figure 8. The Temple of Debod (Madrid) representing Tehran and Cairo



Source: *Ein Unbekannter rechnet ab* and *The Man in the Brown Suit*

On the other hand, the study carried out on Madrid allows us to notice substitute locations of a smaller scope: intra-urban ones. These entail cases in which the story identifies, in one way or another, the narrative place, but filming is done in another different one, although within the same city. We documented 6 representative films, which featured 78 locations with intra-urban substitution.

One of the most striking cases is in relation to a very popular movie that incorporated the name of a neighborhood in its title: *La estanquera de Vallecas* (Eloy de la Iglesia, 1987). In the opening scenes, there is a brief shot (9 seconds) showing the Avenida de la Albufera, a street that corresponds to the Puente de Vallecas district and that is used to carry out the story in the area. But the rest of the exteriors, including those of the plaza with the *estanco* (a tobacconist



store) that gives the movie its title, correspond to the environs of the Plaza de San Ildefonso, in the Centro district. It is an odd choice coming from a director like Eloy de la Iglesia, who had filmed in Vallecas on several earlier occasions. According to Eduardo Fuembuena (2017), it had to do with the proximity of the location to the director's home (situated then at the corner of the streets of Augusto Figueroa and San Marcos).

Substitutions of this kind have been also detected in the use of El Retiro Park in *Goya's Ghosts* to represent the gardens of the Pardo palace, due to the difficulty associated with filming there. In *La voz dormida* (Benito Zambrano, 2011), various scenes take place in the Las Ventas Prison for Women, within the context of the post-Spanish Civil War, but were filmed in the installations of the Campamento military barracks on the Paseo de Extremadura. This is the other reason for the need for substitution: the inclusion of urban areas or buildings that no longer exist, as is the case of this jail, demolished in 1969 to be replaced by a residential area. What is noteworthy is that these installations were also in the process of being dismantled and destroyed, thus the images shown in the movie have become a visual testimony to this old military zone that no longer exists.

#### **4.2 The province of Alicante**

Substitute locations have been a recurring phenomenon since movie shoots began in the province of Alicante. The first fictional work filmed in the province, *La alegría del batallón* (Maximiliano Thous, 1924), used some locations of the city of Alcoy to double for the Maestrazgo area of the province of Castellon, specifically in Lucena del Cid (González & Cánovas, 1993a). Although the second fiction feature-length film, *Los cuatro robinsones* (Reinhardt Blothner, 1926) was shot in authentic locations from the city of Alicante such as "San Nicolás Cathedral, the City Hall, the Alicante Provisional Court, the walkways of Ramiro, Isabel II, Gomiz and Mártires, the Avenida de Méndez Núñez, the squares of Constitución, Alfonso XII, Castelar, etc." (González & Cánovas, 1993b), although the story takes place on the Columbretes islands (Mora et al., 2016).

Alicante is a territory whose cinematographic image has remained in the shadows of other cities and regions despite the resources available for filming there. Spanish director José Luis García Berlanga said in 2003 that the explanation for the proliferation of shootings in the regions

perhaps should be sought in its diverse geography, climate, the diversity of its landscapes; and so many foreign and Spanish directors chose Alicante and its province as the exteriors of their films, and some as their second residence. The variety is overwhelming (...) Alicante was Egypt, or a town in the Far West, or a little Mexican pueblo or a mine, where Damian dwelled with his lepers, or where the three

Musketeers rode about, or where Cervantes coincided with Dracula and Frankenstein to make the Santa Barbara Castle their own, or Alicante was Casablanca without Ingrid, but with Sara, my Maria Antonia (...). (Puche Ruiz, 2012)

Since the big productions at the end of the 1960s up to the development of Ciudad de la Luz studio in 2005, there were decades of audiovisual productions that did not create a local brand or projection, although the province has been used as a setting in 371 feature-length films, as documented by Roberto Devesa Morcillo (2022) in his doctoral thesis.<sup>14</sup>

The practice of substitute locations also took hold in the first international productions that began their sojourn in Spain, via the province of Alicante. Samuel Bronston's first blockbuster made in Spain, *John Paul Jones*, a decidedly classic film (according to the Hollywood canons that had been in place for decades), recreated the life of the famous 18th century naval captain, one of the founders of the US Navy. The film made use of spectacular locations –interiors of Madrid's Royal Palace, and Denia's castle and historic quarters– with naval battles skillfully filmed in the port of Denia in the spring of 1958. Hence, Bronston began a "honeymoon" with Spain and the Spanish government, with thanks extended by the producer in the film's opening patriotic credits. Denia's historic district was also used as the location for the protagonist's birthplace in Scotland. The Mediterranean, with its luminosity as well as facilities for shootings (due to lower costs in relation to other European countries), were determining factors for film locations. In the following years, Denia specialized in swashbuckler and pirate-themed genres, with titles like *Billy Budd* (Peter Ustinov, 1962), *El hijo del Capitán Blood* (Tulio Demicheli, 1962) and *Surcouf, l'eroe dei sette mari* (Sergio Bergonzelli & Roy Rowland, 1966), among others.

*The Return of the Seven* (Burt Kennedy, 1966) also stands out, using the town of Agost to portray Mexico in the 19th century. Noteworthy are also the uses of Alicante's bullfighting ring, seen in *Currito de la Cruz* (Luis Lucia, 1948), whose narrative action took place in Seville's surroundings, and in *El torero* (René Wheeler, 1953). In other movies substitutions are much more evident: in *Manuela* (Guy Hamilton, 1957) locations from Alicante and the island of Tabarca were used to double for areas of South America; and the palm tree groves in Elche were used to stand in for the Hawaiian Islands in *Molokai, la isla maldita* (Luis Lucia, 1959), the Upper Nile in the German

---

14 From 1902 to 2020 a total of 906 cinematographic productions were shot in the province of Alicante, including documentaries, medium-length films, shorts, TV series, TV miniseries, web series and made-for-TV movies (Devesa Morcillo, 2022).

film *Die Sklavenkarawane* (*The slave caravan*, Georg Marischka and Ramón Torrado, 1958), and Cuba in *El héroe de Cascorro* (Emilio Bautista, 1929) (Figure 9).

In *Noches de Casablanca* (Henri Decoin, 1963), the Alicante Esplanade stood in for locations in this Moroccan city, as well as the Villa Marco plantation in El Campello. Other notable cases are Jesús Franco's *Nachts, wenn Dracula erwacht* (*Count Dracula*, 1970) and *Drácula contra Frankenstein* (1972): in both films the action takes place in different spots in Central Europe, with the Santa Barbara Castle doubling for the Transylvania of Bram Stoker's protagonist.

Figure 9. Filming of *El héroe de Cascorro*, in the palm grove of Elche



Source: Mora et al. (2016)

At the beginning of the 21st century, a fundamental milestone that solidified the province of Alicante for film shoots was the construction of the Ciudad de la Luz filming studio. Notable movies were shot there, such as *Astérix aux jeux olympiques* (Frédéric Forestier & Thomas Langmann, 2008). Unfortunately, with the exception of Benidorm, the rest of the province has not been able to take advantage of its portrayal on the big screen, in spite of having been a part of the Spanish tourism imaginary, likewise through cinema (Del Rey, 2007).

#### 4.3 Alcoy

Ciudad de la Luz filming studio was fundamental for the development of the audiovisual industry, benefiting the localities where film offices were set up. In the case of Alcoy, we can differentiate three phases in its history as a filming location.

Although before the establishment of the audiovisual complex some films were shot in the city, during the years of the Ciudad de la Luz studio (2005–2012) the Alcoy saw an important increase in filming activity, with 17 fictional productions shot during the period. Seven of these feature-length films came through the Valencia Region Film Commission and Ciudad de la Luz studio, with a greater presence of international productions. The third phase begins with the closure of the Ciudad de la Luz and up to 2020, for which we documented 46 productions, including 23 feature-length fiction films, and the proliferation of horror films (Table 2).

**Table 2. Fiction features films shot in Alcoy (Alicante) (1924–2019)**

TITLE, DIRECTION AND YEAR	LOCATION IN ALCOY	SUBSTITUTION
<b>First phase</b>		
<i>La Alegría del batallón</i> (Maximiliano Thous, 1924)	Alcoy City Views	Lucena del Cid (Maestrazgo)
<i>Los cuatro robinsones</i> (Reinhardt Blothner, 1926)	Alcoy City Views	Columbretes Islands
<i>Mientras arden las fallas</i> Miguel Monleón, 1929)	Images of Alcoy	
<i>La portentosa vida del pare</i> Vicent (Carles Mira, 1978)		Iberian Coast, 14th century, Christian Conquest
<i>Héctor, el estigma del miedo</i> (Carlos Pérez Ferré, 1978)	Municipality of Alcoy	Suffocating and inhospitable rural environment
<b>Second phase</b>		
<i>Arritmia</i> (Vicente Peñarrocha, 2005) (*)	Círculo Industrial	La Havana
<i>Manolete</i> (Menno Meyjes, 2006) (*)	Escuela Industrial, Tossals i Molins, C/ Sant Blai, C/ Sant Josep. C/. San Francisco, Placeta de la Creu Roja	Madrid (Lavapiés and Gran Vía) / Linares (Cervantes Hotel)
<i>El jardín del Edén</i> (John Irvin, 2007) (*)	C/ Santa Rita, C/ San José, Racó de Sant Bonaventura.	Paris and Cote D'Azur.
<i>Nacidas para sufrir</i> (Miguel Albadalejo, 2008) (*)	Escuela Industrial (hall)	Court for civil marriages
<i>Broken notes</i> (Alex Slevin, 2008) (*)	Undetermined (abandoned factories and natural landscapes). Independent adaptation of Konami "Silent Hill 2"	
<i>Carne cruda</i> (Tirso Calero, 2009)	Undetermined	

Table 2. Continuation

TITLE, DIRECTION AND YEAR	LOCATION IN ALCOY	SUBSTITUTION
<b>Second phase</b>		
<i>Balada triste de trompeta</i> (Alex de la Iglesia, 2010) (*)	El Partidor Neighborhood – Placeta de les Eres	A suburb in Spain in the seventies
<i>Todos tenemos un plan</i> (Ana Piterbarg, 2012) (*)	Escuela Industrial	Hospital. Buenos Aires
<i>Como estrellas fugaces</i> (Anna Di Francisca, 2012)	The Rotunda Hall, Círculo Industrial, Restaurant (La Gruta)	Small town in Valencia
<i>¡Atraco!</i> ( <i>Hold-up</i> , Eduard Cortés, 2012) (*)	Círculo Industrial, Escuela Industrial, Passeig d'Ovidi Montllor, Tossal i Molins, Casa de Cultura.	Madrid
<i>Jodidos kabrones</i> (Manolito Motosierra, 2012)	Municipality of Alcoy	The Way of St James
<i>The Corpse Grinders 3</i> (Manolito Motosierra, 2012)	Alcoy, Planes	
<b>Third Phase</b>		
<i>Carnívoros</i> (Manolito Motosierra, 2013)		Distant village
<i>El amor y otras desgracias</i> (Various directors, 2013)	Alcoy/Alicante	
<i>593 vidas</i> (Alejandro Montserrat, 2013)	Undetermined	
<i>Los muertos también bailan</i> (Toni Ferri, Laura Gispe, José Miguel Idígoras, et ali. 2014).	Alcoy	
<i>Quatretondeta</i> (Camí a casa, Pol Rodríguez, 2016)	Mountains in Alicante	
<i>Atrevimiento</i> (Fernando Alonso y Frías, 2019)	Escuela Industrial (different dependencies)	Old University, Northern Spain

Source: own elaboration based on data from Alcoy Film Office

The characteristics and the current state of preservation of Alcoy's industrial heritage cannot be understood without making reference to the evolution of its industrial locations since the beginnings of the industrial boom (Pérez, 1997). Its buildings have been declared historic-artistic constructions, which includes their protection –their preservation and restoration is another subject–. These are manufacturing facilities dating from the 19th and early 20th century, constructed on riverbeds and river banks, and coexisting with residential spaces (Martínez-Puche

y Pérez, 1998). Not only do we find factories, but also emblematic Modernist buildings and constructions of other styles like Art Deco, Art Nouveau and Sezession (Dávila, 1993), including Neoclassicism and Historicism. All of these weaves an urban fabric which some have termed a “challenge to geography” (Deffontaines, 1958).

One of the most emblematic buildings which frequently appears in films is the Industrial School, located on the Viaducto de Ovidi Montllor, and that today is an extension of the Higher Polytechnic School of Alcoy (EPSA) (Vidal, 1988). Finished in 1936, it was first occupied by a military regiment and a short while later it housed the Swedish-Norwegian Hospital. After the war, it also served as a prison. It is not surprising that this building has been employed as a substitute location for hospitals in different cities, as in *Nacidas para sufrir*, *Todos tenemos un plan* and the TV series *Desenterrados*, where the exterior and the interior of the Industrial School are used as hospitals for different cities in the world. In *¡Atraco!*, the protagonist, Amaia Salamanca, works as a nurse in the substitute for the Concepción de Madrid hospital (Figure 10).

Figure 10. The Industrial School of Alcoy serves as a substitute location for the Concepción de Madrid hospital



Source: Trailer of *¡Atraco!*

Another iconic space is the Modernist building *Círculo Industrial*, on the main thoroughfare of San Nicolás, with the striking ironwork of its balcony railings, its floral and geometric designs, Hellenistic female figures and stained-glass windows. Also worthy of note is the modernist library, its Rotunda Hall, and in the basement of the latter, the Gruta (the Grotto). All of these settings have been used frequently as locations in the aforementioned movies, which encompass diverse genres: in *Arritmia*, the Rotunda Hall in the *Círculo Industrial* depicts Havana (Figure 11); and in *Como estrellas fugaces*, different spaces of the building are used to set some scenes taking place in a small town in Valencia. *¡Atraco!*, a fictional story based on a rumored jewelry store robbery

on Madrid's Gran Vía in May 1956, not only used the spaces of the Círculo Industrial building to stand in for a Madrid ballroom, but also filmed in the Industrial School and the Viaducto, with exteriors of the Cultural Centre (the former head office of the Banco de España in Alcoy) doubling for a police headquarters set in Madrid.

Figure 11. The Rotunda Hall of Alcoy substituting Havana



Source: *Arritmia*

*Manolete* had a very significant impact on Alcoy, since it involved more than 150 people, including technicians, lighting specialists and carpenters, who transformed the historic center of Alcoy into Madrid –the Lavapiés neighborhood and Gran Vía– and Linares (Jaen), where in 1947 Manuel Laureano Rodríguez, 'Manolete' fought his last bullfight. The facade of the City Hall of Alcoy was chosen to simulate the entrance to the Bar Chicote, located on the Gran Vía of Madrid, where the film's protagonists meet. Alcoy's streets of San Blas and Pintor Casanova were transformed into the *corrala* from Madrid where the bullfighter's girlfriend lived (Figure 12). Likewise, the Plaza de la Creu Roja was used to shoot the scenes just after the fatal goring which would end the bullfighter's life, with more than 250 extras. The film was an important milestone for Alcoy in the audiovisual sector, with a budget of 20 million euros, 25% of which was spent in the Valencia Region (Ciudad de la Luz and Alcoy) (Devesa, 2022).

Figure 12. The streets of San Josep and Sant Blai – Pintor Casanova, in Alcoy



**Note:** They are used to depict the moment of Manolete leaving the Hotel Cervantes de Linares (Jaén) and a scene in the neighborhood of Lavapiés (Madrid)

Source: *Manolete*

Another international production was *El jardín del Edén*, which generated 4,700,000 euros for the Valencia Region. The entire shoot took place in Valencia, Alicante, Altea, Villajoyoso, Alcoy and Novelda, representing scenes of Paris, the French Riviera and areas of the Caribbean. Not without controversy, Alcoy was also the filming location for *Balada Triste de Trompeta* (Alex de la Iglesia, 2010). The working-class neighborhood of El Partidor-Plaza de les Eres, that sprang up in the 19th century and was in a process of reconstruction when filming took place, with torn-down buildings and vacant lots full of rubble, was used by director Alex de la Iglesia for the location of



the movie's main scenes, set in a circus "in a fringe area of Spain during the 1970s, when the country was still quite underdeveloped".<sup>15</sup>

Figure 13. The filming of *Balada triste de trompeta*: the neighborhood of El Partidor-Plaça de Les Eres in Alcoi was used to portray a fringe area of a Spanish city in the 1970s



Source: Alcoi Film Office

During the time of Ciudad de la Luz, one of the reasons why films were shot in the province's towns and cities was due to the policy of subventions for national and international shoots from the Valencia Regional Government (Nieto et al., 2019). Indeed, the sponsorship contracts (2005-2008) of the Ciudad de la Luz, with an annual budget of 10-12 million euros, enabled the arrival of productions such as *Sa majesté Minor* (Jean-Jacques Annaud, 2007) and *Astérix aux jeux olympiques*. In the latter case, 5 million euros in subsidies were awarded, but the expenditure was 30 million (Devesa, 2022). Between 2009 and 2011 financial support representing 4 to 5 million euros in the form of a cash rebate for 16% of local expenditure was established. And thanks to that, Gerardo Herrero (Tornasol Media) signed an agreement with Ciudad de la Luz that would allow him to produce 20 movies due to this 16% compensation on local expenditure. It also enabled the making of *Lo Imposible* (José Antonio Bayona, 2012) along with many more productions.

---

15 EFE (2010, March 3). Balada triste de trompeta para un barrio en estado de ruina. *El Mundo*. <https://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2010/03/04/alicante/1267721574.html>

Perhaps this explains that the productions attracted to Ciudad de la Luz took advantage of the diverse settings of the province of Alicante to substitute cities such as Madrid, Paris and Linares. But the arrival of the financial crisis led to the disappearance of these tax incentives and the Valencia Region ceased to be competitive in attracting film productions. Notwithstanding, the dynamic left by Ciudad de la Luz after its closure in 2012, together with the positioning and work of some film commissions that sprung up as a consequence, have continued to attract filming, with one of the most noteworthy productions being *Dime quién soy*, a series in which Alcoy represents Athens in 1942, in the midst of the Nazi occupation.

Some of these productions have also served to attract tourists. The tourist route Alcoy Cinema Tour, presented in FITUR 2019, invites visitors to walk through some of Alcoy's most emblematic streets, squares and buildings guided by over 60 film sequences shot on locations in its urban core taken from a selection of 10 productions (8 feature-length films, 1 short and 1 web-series) filmed there between 2005 and 2019.

## 5 Conclusions

Throughout this article we have sought to reflect on the phenomenon of spatial substitution in fiction movies. While it is true that specific literature in this area is scant, the use of film locations to substitute other places can be traced back to the origins of narrative cinema. Paradoxically, it continues to be a common strategy today, despite CGI technologies which enable studios to digitally recreate all types of images.

In addition to reviewing some of the terms used to designate this practice in the English and Spanish literature, the paper has shed light on the role of substitute locations in key processes and debates throughout the history of cinema: its role in the development of the Hollywood industry and its establishment in California; its commercial exploitation –and at the same time, its concealment– when promoting the realism and the authenticity of locations as a marketing strategy; its presence at the core of intense social debate in the US regarding the legitimacy of the runaway productions from 1950 to 1970; its active use today by film commissions and other institutions dedicated to promoting a territory in order to attract film shoots; and cultural disputes stemming from the impact of its intensive practice on a territory, and the resulting loss of local identity and imaginaries. Based on these reflections, the article has proposed six concepts considered useful in analyzing the phenomenon of substitutions in specific territories. While these concepts are presented based on work that focuses on the phenomenon of

cinematographic substitutions in urban spaces, we can highlight their utility as analytical tools for other types of audiovisual fiction as well as for non-urban spaces.

Taking advantage of information generated in the context of the FACES-50 project, the article has presented quantitative data on the proportion of substitutions detected in a sample of 303 films shot in Spain. A total of 40.3% (122) of these moves have made use of substitutions of some type, revealing that it is a common and extended practice over time. Furthermore, the percentage of substitution, restricting it to Spanish cities, is clearly higher in foreign films than Spanish ones (49.4% compared to 19.6%). It is also worthy of note that in Spanish movies the substitution of foreign locations represents 37.2% of the cases, while in international films, it is over 90%; this coincides with a greater presence of the historical-themed genre among the foreign films, which seem especially prone to using far-reaching substitution.

Spanish cities are characterized by a seemingly inexhaustible potential for geographic substitution: the substituted locations are from all over the world. Without having similar analysis in other countries, we are not able to establish comparisons along these lines. In any case, and with the limitations of the sample used, we should highlight the significant proportion of substitutions in productions made in Almería, Aranjuez and Seville.

Finally, the aforementioned concepts have been used to illustrate some notable substitutions in two Spanish cities with very distinct characteristics: Madrid and Alcoy. In Madrid, a greater abundance of foreign movies can be confirmed; and again, it is worthy of note the fact that they use the city to represent places outside of Spain, especially in 20th century productions. The precise identification of these cases of substitute locations has highlighted the versatility of certain places: the Delicias Station, Alameda de Osuna, and the Casa de Campo. Along these lines, a predilection has been observed for surroundings and infrastructures that facilitate substitution without a high risk of being perceived by the viewing public. The economic factor, together with pragmatism in the production process, often explain the cases of multiple substitutions in one film: the city represents itself but also other locations included in the narrative. On the other hand, the incorporation of intra-urban substitution as another mode to alter the topography provides some curiosities when explaining the deception, as was noted in the case of the film *La estanquera de Vallecas*.

Alcoy is of interest because it is a city that is located outside the main circuits where, since the 1950's, the majority of audiovisual productions in Spain tended to congregate. However, in the province of Alicante –despite not being sufficiently well-known– some highly interesting

productions were made, and one of these points of interest lies in the frequency with which substitute locations were incorporated as an idiosyncratic element, clearly so in foreign movies and earlier films. In the case of Alcoy, of the 23 feature-length fiction films identified in the preceding section, 10 have included some significant substitution.

The text has also highlighted the significant effect that the creation of the City of Light had on the city, with 12 of those 23 works shot in Alcoy during the 8 years that the studios were in operation (2005–2012), including diverse foreign productions. The attraction established by the City of Light explains, in part, that several productions took advantage of Alcoy's geography and heritage to –when it became necessary– use its locations to stand in for other cities, such as Madrid and Paris (among others). The relevance of these substitutions is made evident by the fact that even the city's promoted tourist route incorporates the importance of this practice.

The close analysis of audiovisual productions, and specifically, of filming practices, could serve to enhance knowledge about what factors and decisions are involved in substitute locations. In any event, it is evident that there is a common practice of far-reaching substitutions in the foreign films.

Substitution undertaken for purely practical circumstances fuels the assertion that, in the audiovisual world, everything can be substituted by anything; however, nuances surely exist, since architectural and urbanistic features can undoubtedly be converted into opportunities that are usually taken into account by the technical management of audiovisual productions. Accordingly, it would make sense to delve into aspects such as the scope of the substitution, the versatility, etc., for which it is necessary to carry out close analyses and explore the impact that these films can have on the creation of urban imaginaries.

In the context of evaluating spatial analysis in audiovisual products, it would be appropriate to set aside a space –in research, for displaying the criteria most directly linked to the essence of audiovisual production itself, but also its reception by the general public– to spotlight the practice of substitution. Even while pointing out deficiencies, we advocate getting the attention of the general public as in the aforementioned case of the news web portal *Torontoist*, whose section Reel Toronto, active from 2007 to 2018, mixed a fun and critical spirit to “revel(s) in

digging up and displaying the films that attempt to mask, hide, or—in rare cases—proudly display our city”.<sup>16</sup>

We consider that, as a concept, substitute locations represent an element of great geographic interest: first, because of the attention it implicitly holds for “where” to film and “to which where” has to point that place. Thus, a truly vast world of alterations in topography are introduced, in which diverse aspects and factors intervene —economic, political, religious, and technical, along with those related to landscape and territory— and which have equally varied repercussions —geographic imaginaries, including deception; attention to landscapes displayed; screen tourism, etc.—. Substitution contributes, in a conscious or, very often, unconscious way, to splitting or doubling the image of the city.

It is necessary to broaden and systemize suitable methodologies focused on the study of substitute locations —both natural and urban ones— for deeper knowledge of the motives behind the substitutions, the specific decisions leading to the choice of a place, and repercussions from the point of view of geographic imaginaries, so that it would very likely be of interest to undertake qualitative surveys on perception. The elaboration of maps of substituted spaces could be useful in establishing conclusions on the key points and characteristics of these practices, as well as on possible changes over time.

There is undoubtedly interest on the part of the public —curiosity, a taste for the anecdotal— about all that concerns “audiovisual places”: the diegetic ones and those of the filming. Because of that, and although it is impossible to carry out a detailed assessment of the numerical importance of this practice, we consider that some approaches for quantitative assessment are possible, especially if combined with qualitative analysis.

**Acknowledgements:** This article is the result of the projects “Las ciudades españolas en la ficción audiovisual. Registro documental y análisis territorial y audiovisual” (Spanish cities in audiovisual fiction. A document registry and territorial and audiovisual analysis) (FACES-50), funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation (RTI2018-094100-B100), from January 1, 2019 to September 30, 2022, PIs: Carlos Manuel and Agustín Gámir; and “La ficción audiovisual en la Comunidad de Madrid: lugares de rodaje y desarrollo del turismo cinematográfico” (Audiovisual fiction in the Madrid Region: filming locations and development of

---

<sup>16</sup> Note of presentation included in each section entry. For example: <https://torontoist.com/2018/01/stephen-kings-filmed-around-toronto/>

screen tourism) (Ficmatur-50) funded by the Department of Education and Research of the Madrid Region and the European Social Fund, from January 1, 2020 to April 30, 2023, PI: Carlos Manuel.

**Authorship statement:** The authors declare no conflict of interest. The participation of the authors in the article is as follows. Víctor Aertsen: introduction, literature review (theoretical frameworks), particular case (Madrid), conclusions and writing-reviewing. Carlos Manuel Valdés: introduction, geostatistical analysis (substitutions in Spanish cities), particular case (Madrid), conclusions, writing-reviewing and editing. Antonio Martínez Puche: introduction, particular case (Alcoy), conclusions and writing-reviewing.

## References

- Aertsen, V., Gámir, A., & Manuel, C. (2017). España: lugar de rodaje para el cine estadounidense. In J. Cañero (Ed.), *North America and Spain: Transversal Perspectives* (pp. 200-213). Escribana Books.
- Balio, T. (Ed.) (1985). *The American Film Industry*. University of Wisconsin Press.
- Bolan, P., Boy, S., & Bell, J. (2011). We've seen it in the movies, let's see if it's true. Authenticity and displacement in film-induced tourism. *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes*, 3(2), 102-116. <https://doi.org/10.1108/17554211111122970>
- Bonet Balaguer, C., Campos Hernández, A., Marcos Cladellas, C., Tejedor Parodi, B., & Osácar Marzal, E. (2016). Barcelona más allá de Barcelona. La ciudad cinematográfica transformada en otras ciudades. *ARA: Journal of Tourism Research / Revista de Investigación Turística*, 6(2), 9-19. <https://raco.cat/index.php/ARA/article/view/341828>
- Chinen Biesen, S. (2019). The Classical Hollywood Studio System, 1928-1945. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 45-72). Rutgers University Press.
- Dávila, J.M. (1993). *Alcoy: Desarrollo urbano y planeamiento*. Universidad de Alicante.
- Deffontaines, P. (1958). Los horizontes de trabajo en el macizo de Alcoy. *Estudios Geográficos*, 71, 275-281.
- Del Rey Reguillo, A. (2007). Introducción. In A. Del Rey-Reguillo (Ed.), *Cine, imaginario y turismo* (pp. 9-31). Tirant Lo Blanch.
- Devesa Morcillo, R. (2022). *Cine y turismo en la provincia de Alicante ¿Oportunidades perdidas para un producto turístico cinematográfico?* (Doctoral dissertation, Universidad de Alicante, Spain) (Unpublished).
- Elmer, G. (2002). The trouble with the Canadian 'body double': runaway productions and foreign location shooting. *Screen*, 43(4), 423-431. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/screen/43.4.423>
- Elmer, G., & Gasher, M. (2005). Introduction: Catching up with Runaway Productions. In G. Elmer & M. Gasher (Eds.), *Contracting Out Hollywood: Runaway Productions and Foreign Location Shooting* (pp. 1-18). Rowan & Littlefield.
- Fernández, G., & Fernández, A. (2009). Construir lo imposible: Samuel Bronston y sus producciones en la historia del cine español. In J. Marzal Felici, & F. J. Gómez Tarín (Eds.), *El*

*productor y la producción en la industria cinematográfica* (pp. 189-202). UCM Editorial Complutense.

Fuembuena, E. (2017). *Lejos de aquí*. Titivillus.

Gámir, A., & Manuel, C. (2007). Cine y Geografía: espacio geográfico, paisaje y territorio en las producciones cinematográficas. *Boletín de la Asociación de Geógrafos Españoles*, (45), 157-190. <https://bage.age-geografia.es/ojs/index.php/bage/article/view/643>

García de Dueñas, J. (1998). Samuel Bronston. Ascenso y caída de un imperio. *Secuencias*, 9, 7-26. <https://revistas.uam.es/secuencias/article/view/4537>

García Gómez, F., & Pavés, G.M. (2008). La ciudad en el cine. Entre la realidad y la ficción. In F. García Gómez & G. M. Pavés (Eds.), *Ciudades de cine* (pp. 9-31). Cátedra.

Gleich, J., & Webb, L. (2019). Introduction. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 1-15). Rutgers University Press.

Goldsmith, B., & O'Regan, T. (2005). *The Film Studio: Film Production in the Global Economy*. Rowman and Littlefield.

González López, P., & Cánovas Belchí, J. (1993a). La alegría del batallón (1924). In *Catálogo del cine español. Películas de ficción 1921-1930* (pp. 21-22). Filmoteca Española.

González López, P., & Cánovas Belchí, J. (1993b). Los cuatro Robinsones (1926). In *Catálogo del cine español. Películas de ficción, 1921-1930* (p. 50). Filmoteca Española.

Griffis, N. (2019). The New Hollywood, 1980-1999. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 155-180). Rutgers University Press.

Irimiás, A. (2012). Missing identity: relocation of Budapest in film-induced tourism. *Tourism Review International*, 16(2), pp. 125-138.

<https://doi.org/10.3727/154427212x13485031583902e-issn1943-4421>

León de Aguinaga, P. (2010). *Sospechosos habituales. El cine norteamericano, Estados Unidos y la España franquista, 1939-1960*. CSIC.

Losada, M., & Matellano, V. (2009). *El Hollywood español*. T&B Ediciones.

Martínez-Puche, A., & Pérez, D. (1998). El patrimonio industrial de la provincia de Alicante. Rehabilitación y nuevos usos. *Investigaciones geográficas*, 19, 49-66.

<https://doi.org/10.14198/INGEO1998.19.04>



Martínez-Puche, A. (2008). El cine como soporte didáctico para explicar la evolución del viaje y la actividad turística, *Cuadernos de turismo*, 22, 145-163.

<https://revistas.um.es/turismo/article/view/48131>

Mora, K., Nira E., & Escrivá, V.G. (2016). *Alicante se rueda (1902-2014)*. Universidad de Alicante & Diputación Provincial de Alicante.

Nieto Malpica, J., Rosas Rodríguez, M., Martínez Hermida, M., & Alhambra Sempere, E. (2019). Las comisiones fílmicas en España. *Razón y Palabra*, 22(103), 87-121.

<https://www.revistarazonypalabra.org/index.php/ryp/article/view/1324>

Pérez, D. (1997). *Reestructuració dels espais industrials en l'eix Alcoi-Cocentaina- Muro*. Conselleria de Cultura i Educació (Generalitat Valenciana) & Instituto de Cultura "Juan Gil-Albert".

Peterson, J. (2019). The Silent Screen, 1895-1927. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 16-44). Rutgers University Press.

Pomainville, H. N. (2016). *Henry Hathaway: The Lives of a Hollywood Director*. Rowman & Littlefield.

Puche Ruiz, M. (2012). La geografía suplantada: Proyección anónima de la Costa Blanca en el cine. In A. Martínez et al., *Territorios de cine. Desarrollo local, tipologías turísticas y promoción* (pp. 73-91). Universidad de Alicante.

Quesada Martínez, M. (2011): Filmando el Mediterráneo: *Patton* en Almería. In F. Salvador Ventura (Ed.), *Cine y ciudades*. Intramar Ediciones.

Roberts, L. (2010). World in One City: Surrealist Geography and Time–space Compression in Alex Cox's Liverpool. In P. Burns & J. Lester (Eds.), *Tourism and Visual Culture Volume 1: Theories and Concepts* (pp. 200-215). CABI.

Roesch, S. (2009). *The Experiences of Film Location Tourists*. Channel View Publications.

Rosendorf, N. M. (2013). *Franco Sells Spain to America*. Palgrave.

Steinhart, D. (2019a). *Runaway Hollywood Internationalizing Postwar Production and Location Shooting*. University of California Press.

Steinhart, D. (2019b). Postwar Hollywood, 1945-1967, Part 2: Foreign Location Shooting. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 101-123). Rutgers University Press.

Stringer, J. (2009). The Modern Entertainment Marketplace, 2000-Present. In L. Webb & J. Gleich (Eds.), *Hollywood on location: an industry history* (pp. 181-205). Rutgers University Press.

Tooke, N., & Baker, M. (1996). Seeing is believing: the effect of film on visitor numbers to screened locations. *Tourism management*, 17(2), 87-94.

Vidal, V. M. (1988). *Arquitectura e industria. Un ensayo tipológico de los edificios fabriles de l'Alcoià*. Generalitat Valenciana - Conselleria d'Obres Públiques, Urbanisme i Transports.

Wallace, A. (2011). When the set becomes permanent: the spatial reconfiguration of Hollywood North. In J. D. Rhodes & E. Gorfinkel (Eds.), *Taking Place: Location and the Moving Image* (pp. 157-180). University of Minnesota Press.

## Filmographic references

*The Squaw Man* (Oscar Apfel & Cecil B. DeMille, 1914)

*La alegría del batallón* (Maximiliano Thous, 1924)

*Los cuatro robinsones* (Reinhardt Blothner, 1926)

*El héroe de Cascorro* (Emilio Bautista, 1929)

*13 Rue Madeleine* (Henry Hathaway, 1946)

*Currito de la Cruz* (Luis Lucia, 1948)

*El torero* (René Wheeler, 1953)

*Roman Holiday* (William Wyler, 1953)

*Mr. Arkadin* (Orson Welles, 1955)

*Moby Dick* (John Ford, 1956)

*Manuela* (Guy Hamilton, 1957)

*Die Sklavenkarawane* (*The slave caravan*, Georg Marischka & Ramón Torrado, 1958)

*John Paul Jones* (John Farrow, 1958)

*The Man Inside* (John Willing, 1958)

*Molokai, la isla maldita* (Luis Lucia, 1959)

*King of Kings* (Nicholas Ray, 1960)

*Spartacus* (Stanley Kubrick, 1960)

*El Cid* (Anthony Mann, 1961)

*55 Days at Peking* (Nicholas Ray, 1962)

*Billy Budd* (Peter Ustinov, 1962)

*El hijo del Capitán Blood* (Tulio Demicheli, 1962)

*Lawrence of Arabia* (David Lean, 1962)

*Cleopatra* (Joseph L. Mankiewicz, 1963)

*Noches de Casablanca* (Henri Decoin, 1963)  
*Circus World* (Henry Hathaway, 1964)  
*Per un pugno di dollari* (Sergio Leone, 1964)  
*The Fall of the Roman Empire* (Anthony Mann, 1964)  
*Chimes at Midnight* (Orson Welles, 1965)  
*Doctor Zhivago* (David Lean, 1965)  
*The Battle of the Bulge* (Ken Annakin, 1965)  
*A Funny Thing Happened on The Way to the Forum* (Richard Lester, 1966)  
*Surcouf, l'eroe dei sette mari* (Sergio Bergonzelli & Roy Rowland, 1966)  
*The Return of the Seven* (Burt Kennedy, 1966)  
*C'era una volta il West* (Sergio Leone, 1968)  
*Battle of Britain* (Guy Hamilton, 1969)  
*Nachts, wenn Dracula erwacht* (*Count Dracula*, Jesús Franco, 1970)  
*Patton* (Franklin J. Schaffner, 1970)  
*Nicholas and Alexandra* (Franklin J. Schaffner, 1971)  
*Drácula contra Frankenstein* (Jesús Franco, 1972)  
*Pánico en el transiberiano* (Eugenio Martín, 1972)  
*Shaft in Africa* (John Guillermin, 1973)  
*The Three Musketeers* (Richard Lester, 1973)  
*Ein Unbekannter rechnet ab* (Peter Collinson, 1974)  
*El kárate, el colt y el impostor* (Antonio Margheriti, 1974)  
*The Four Musketeers* (Richard Lester, 1974)  
*The Wind and the Lion* (John Milius, 1975)  
*Carmen* (Francesco Rosi, 1984)  
*La estanquera de Vallecas* (Eloy de la Iglesia, 1987)  
*Indiana Jones and the Last Crusade* (Steven Spielberg, 1989)  
*The Man in the Brown Suit* (Allan Grint, 1989)  
*Amantes* (Vicente Aranda, 1991)  
*Nadie hablará de nosotras cuando hayamos muerto* (Agustín Díaz Yanes, 1995)  
*Goya en Burdeos* (Carlos Saura, 1999)  
*The Matrix* (Lana Wachowski & Lilly Wachowski, 1999)  
*Gladiator* (Ridley Scott, 2000)  
*Lugares comunes* (Adolfo Aristarain, 2002)  
*Piedras* (Ramón Salazar, 2002)  
*The Visual Bible: The Gospel of John* (Philip Saville, 2003)

*El lobo* (Miguel Courtois, 2004)  
*Arritmia* (Vicente Peñarrocha, 2005)  
*Kingdom of Heaven* (Ridley Scott, 2005)  
*Sin City* (Frank Miller & Robert Rodríguez, 2005)  
*Goya's Ghost* (Milos Forman, 2006)  
*Manolete* (Menno Meyjes, 2006)  
*El jardín del Edén* (John Irvin, 2007)  
*Sa majesté Minor* (Jean-Jacques Annaud, 2007)  
*Astérix aux jeux olympiques* (Frédéric Forestier & Thomas Langmann, 2008)  
*Nacidas para sufrir* (Miguel Albadalejo, 2008)  
*Balada triste de trompeta* (Alex de la Iglesia, 2010)  
*La voz dormida* (Benito Zambrano, 2011)  
*¡Atraco!* (*Hold-up*, Eduard Cortés, 2012)  
*Blancanieves* (Pablo Berger, 2012)  
*Como estrellas fugaces* (Anna Di Francisca, 2012)  
*Lo Imposible* (José Antonio Bayona, 2012)  
*Todos tenemos un plan* (Ana Piterbarg, 2012)  
*Desenterrados* (TV Series, Xavier Cortés, 2012)  
*Pompey* (Paul W.S. Anderson, 2014)  
*Palmeras en la nieve* (González Molina, 2015)  
*El hombre de las mil caras* (Alberto Rodríguez, 2016)  
*La noche de 12 años* (Álvaro Brechner, 2018)  
*Terminator: Dark Fate* (Tim Miller, 2019)  
*The Sisters Brothers* (Jacques Audiard, 2019)  
*Dime quién soy* (TV Series, Eduard Cortés, 2020–2021)