

REVIEWS/RAZGLEDI

REPRESENTATION OF SLOVENIAN FILMING LOCATIONS IN NARRATIVES OF FOREIGN-PRODUCED MOVIES

ZASTOPANOST SLOVENSКИH FILMSKIH LOKACIJ V ZGODBAH FILMOV TUJE PRODUKCIJE

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ABSTRACT

Representation of Slovenian filming locations in narratives of foreign-produced movies

The aim of this paper is to understand the role Slovenian locations play in the narratives of the foreign produced movies after Second World War. During Yugoslav period Slovenia was an attractive destination for western film makers who recognized diverse and pristine nature and preserved cultural heritage as suitable scenes for their movies. Important factors for filming were low cost coproduction agreements with Yugoslavian market-oriented film companies, low production prices and freer political atmosphere compared to the Soviet bloc countries. Their interest disappeared after the dissolution of Yugoslavia and political instability of the region. Slovenia as an attractive film destination was »rediscovered« only recently by Indian filmmakers and western European and American companies which found advantage in recently introduced tax rebate policy. In the paper we analysed foreign produced movies filmed in Slovenia since 1950s to determine the meaning of selected locations in the narratives. Out of 24 movies analysed most of them were produced by US film companies, followed by Italian and German companies. Film locations in the movie narratives mostly substitute real locations in other countries or regions. The second most frequent motive is a fantasy scene or not explicitly defined location. We also identified locations that represent idealised mountainous landscape and landscapes of North America. The results show that Slovenian landscapes are often chosen as a non-authentic substitution for other globally more recognized landscapes and their parts. Low production costs in globally competitive market most likely still play an important role for destination decision. Understanding references of Slovenian filming locations in movie narratives can be useful for location scouts and tourism workers who design promotion strategies.

KEY WORDS

cultural geography, film geography, filming locations, film producers, fictional landscape, geographical imaginations, Cinema of Yugoslavia, Cinema of Slovenia

IZVLEČEK

Zastopanost slovenskih filmskih lokacij v zgodbah filmov tuje produkcije

Namen članka je razumeti vlogo slovenskih lokacij v zgodbah filmov tuje produkcije, posnetih po drugi svetovni vojni. V času Jugoslavije je bila Slovenija privlačna destinacija za filmske ustvarjalce z zahoda, ki so prepoznali raznoliko in neobljudeno naravo ter ohranjeno kulturno dediščino kot primerno za kuliso v njihovih filmih. Pomembni dejavniki za snemanje so bili poceni koprodukcijski sporazumi z jugoslovanskimi filmskimi podjetji, ki so bila tržno usmerjena, nizki produkcijski stroški in svobodnejše politično ozračje v primerjavi z državami sovjetskega bloka. Interes tujih filmskih ustvarjalcev je izginil po razpadu Jugoslavije in nastopu politične nestabilnosti v regiji. Slovenija je bila kot privlačna filmska destinacija ponovno »odkrita« šele nedavno s strani indijskih filmskih ustvarjalcev ter ameriških in britanskih podjetij, ki so videla priložnost v nedavno uveljavljeni politiki oprostitve davkov. V članku smo analizirali filme tuje produkcije, ki so bili posneti v Sloveniji od 50. let 20. stoletja dalje, da bi prepoznali pomen izbranih lokacij v zgodbah. Izmed 24 analiziranih filmov, so večino producirala ameriška filmska podjetja, sledijo nemška in italijanska. Lokacije v zgodbah filmov večinoma nadomeščajo resnične lokacije v drugih državah in regijah. Drugi najbolj pogost motiv so fantazijski prizori ali nedoločljive lokacije. Prepoznali smo tudi lokacije, ki predstavljajo idealizirane gorske pokrajine in pokrajine Severne Amerike. Rezultati kažejo, da slovenske pokrajine pogosto ne-avtentično nadomeščajo druge globalno bolj poznane pokrajine in njihove prvine. Nizki stroški v globalno konkurenčnem trgu najverjetneje še vedno igrajo pomembno vlogo pri odločitvi za destinacijo. Razumevanje pomenov slovenskih filmskih lokacij v filmskih zgodbah je lahko uporabno za poklicne iskalce filmskih lokacij in turistične delavce, ki pripravljajo promocijske strategije.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

kulturna geografija, filmska geografija, filmske lokacije, filmski producenti, fikijska pokrajina, geografsko zamišljanje, Jugoslovanska kinematografija, Slovenska kinematografija

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1 Introduction

As a subdiscipline to Cultural Geography, Film Geography is dedicated to analysing location, region, landscape and environment and their representation in movies (Escher 2006). It studies connections between narratives in film and place. In his seminal essay, Wright (1947) proclaimed films as *terra incognitae* within geography in relation to the enormous contribution of books, magazines and other literature and arts. He proposed that geographers should not fear to investigate such »peripheral areas«. Wright's work re-examined and upgraded Lowenthal (1961) who suggested that geography should also investigate person's perception, imagination, and subjective view of reality. This »personal geography« was later elaborated also by Watson (1969) who suggested that personal perception is important because »not all geography derives from the earth itself; some of it springs from our idea of the earth. This geography within the mind can at times be the effective geography to which men adjust and thus be more important than the supposedly real geography of the earth. Man has the particular aptitude of being able to live by the notion of reality which may be more real than reality itself.«

Until today many geographers have examined films (i.e. Clarke 1997; Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006; Lukinbeal 2006; 2012; Garrett 2011; Jacobs 2013). Already in 1952 Eugen Wirth examined the relation between narratives in film and specific uses of space and place. Höfig (1973) focused on looking at the locations filmed, representations of landscapes and the economic structure of film production. Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2006) suggested that film geography is interdisciplinary research because it links *spatiality* of cinema with the social and cultural geographies of everyday life. Shiel (2001) proclaimed cinema as *peculiarly spatial form of culture*.

The film geography developed parallel to the studies of film tourism. Film-induced tourism (also: screen tourism) explores the effects that film and TV productions have on travel inspirations and decisions made when potential tourists plan their upcoming holidays (Jewell and McKinnon 2008; Quintal and Phau 2015; Spears et al. 2013). Film narratives and attributes appeal to the emotions of the viewer, and emphasise the interconnections between people, plot and place. Interestingly, the viewers will visit the place associated with their favourite films, no matter if the place is authentic or not (Rittichainuwat et al. 2018).

Film tourism is therefore an excellent vehicle for destination marketing. This type of tourism is one of the fastest growing sectors in tourism as it offers an abundance of opportunities for local community and product development. Therefore, today an increasing number of countries and regions have started to compete in attracting film productions by offering considerable tax rebates. In return, more and more production companies agree to provide marketing material for promoting the portrayed destinations. As a consequence, destinations marketers, government bodies and film commissions become more and more involved in the marketing of a film. For instance, they may negotiate the specific incorporation of place names relating to towns or other locations into the script (Polianskaia and Răduț 2016; Elmgaard and Holmgaard Christophersen 2012).

The paper conceptually revolves around the notions of geographical imaginations (representations) and landscape authenticity. In cinema, the world is imagined and re-presented; it is reproducing the »real« (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008). Cinema is a visual technology, which offer alternative views of the world. It interprets the world and display it in a particular way. Through this visual art, the reality is represented and reconstructed (Rose 2016).

Film reproductions are embedded in social and cultural practices that are temporally and spatially specific (Crang, Crang and May 1999). Authenticity is a socially constructed concept which can be managed commercially to exploit viewers (also: screen tourists') expectations and provide satisfying experiences (Chhabra 2005). In film geography constructed or symbolic authenticity means filming in sets of substitute locations that are shown on screen as opposed to real sites (i.e. where the landscape presented in the narrative is actually located or where the historical event occurred) (Ram, Björk and Weidenfeld 2016). Film locations differ from actual sites for a variety of technical considerations such as limited access or safety (Buchmann, Moore and Fisher 2010; Frost 2010; Butler 2011).

In this paper I consider film as a subject of geography. The aim is to understand the role Slovenian locations play in the narratives of the foreign produced movies after the Second World War. On one hand this contributes to the knowledge of how Slovenia is perceived by foreign film creators. On the other hand, locations in successful movies are linked with film tourism in which tourism trips are attributable in some way to film associations. Therefore, the film location analysis will ideally uncover the most attractive areas for potential development of movie-induced tourism.

2 Site description

Slovenia only recently started with the policy of tax rebates to non-Slovenian film projects that are completely or partly made in Slovenia. The tax rebate incentive works in a way that 25 % of the eligible expenditure incurred in Slovenia can be claimed by the production services at the end of the company fiscal year. The money is paid by the tax authorities whereas foreign producers need to cooperate with the Slovenian company to handle the shoot in Slovenia. The projects must pass the cultural test, which assesses inclusion of Slovenian cultural elements and locations in the film story (Brdnik 2017; Internet 1; Internet 2).

After the Second World War Slovenia as part of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia had an internationally acclaimed film industry. Along with many sectors of the Yugoslav economy, the film industry underwent a decentralization. Individual film enterprises became autonomous and economically independent with their own administrations and budgets. Therefore, gaining cooperation with foreign companies was vital for the companies. It resulted in market oriented strategies for attracting foreign film producers and cooperation in technical and distribution operations. They as well profit from foreign coproduction (Liehm and Liehm 1980; Goulding 2002).

Triglav Film from Ljubljana, one of the largest film companies of Yugoslavia, was soon succeeded by Viba Film. Since the film production centres found themselves in economic and artistic competition they were forced to be more flexible in the selection of both subject matter and collaborators. They started to cooperate with production companies mostly from USA, Italy, France and Germany which according to Crane (2014) belong to the group of super and major producers in global film market. To western film makers the coproduction agreements with Yugoslav film companies were advantageous due to low cost of labour and low production services. The pristine natural and cultural environment found in Yugoslavia was an added value (Lief 1982). Viba Film studio coproduced about 40 international films (Internet 3), among them *Death and Diamonds* (1968), *Night of the Vampires* (1964) and *The Wide Blue Road* (*La grande strada azzurra*, 1957).

Western filmmakers turned to Yugoslavia to find locations for their films, no matter how diverse the themes. The main selling point was breathtaking variety of natural scenery, from forests, snow-capped mountains, rolling plains and Mediterranean-style seacoast. The various conquerors who ruled over the territory of then-Yugoslavia during the centuries, including Turks, Italians, and Austrians, have left behind an amazing array of architecture. Mosques, forts, castles, monasteries, and cathedrals can be found in a relatively small area. Yugoslavia was one country and foreign film makers could use locations in Slovenia as well as other parts of Yugoslavia whereas they cooperated with national film companies (i.e. Viba and Jadran Film).

Another advantage of Yugoslavia was the freer political atmosphere compared to the Soviet bloc countries. It was better for the morale of cast and other crew members and especially if the film is about a Russian subject. Yugoslavia captured largest part of this market in spite of the fact that Hungary, Romania, and Czechoslovakia also offered services for filming. Besides, affordable price for set constructed by Yugoslav production companies was a great advantage to foreign filmmakers, whereas prices were up to 60 percent lower than in the United States (Lief 1982).

After independence Slovenia wasn't an attractive filming destination until the government started offering tax rebates and tax exemptions in exchange that the movies are filmed in Slovenia and promote it as an attractive destination. Nowadays filmmakers mainly from the US, Italy and Germany are in search of natural beauties similar to those you can find for example in New Zealand, where often the largest part of the high-cost films are shot. Very often film makers are in search for substitute locations similar to other locations in other countries or regions – such examples are the Alps or urban Ljubljana (Internet 4). Indian producers are increasingly interested in shooting their films in Europe mainly due to offer for financial incentives and logistical support (Cucco and Scaglioni 2014).

3 Methods

The selection of 24 foreign produced movies (Table 1) was based on internet movie database IMDB (<https://www.imdb.com/>) which includes also the most extensive filming location database, and the availability of video material (online or in libraries) which enabled the possibility to analyse movie narratives. Other mostly online press sources were used to determine possible locations in Slovenia where particular movie was filmed. The information from this step was gathered in location-based web questionnaire hosted at ESRI platform. In the phase of movie watching we performed the content analysis in order to understand the meaning of certain locations in Slovenia in the story. By performing movie analysis, we mainly tried to recognize the real location of the places used in the narrative. We performed another round of news articles inquiry (e.g. field reports, interviews with production companies, extras or directors) to gather more information regarding reasons for selecting certain locations. The meaning of the place and decisions for using certain locations were further discussed in a group.

4 Results and discussion

The analysed movies were divided into 4 representation categories (Figure 1): Scenes representing idealised mountainous landscape; Scenes representing fantasy landscape or non-existent location; Scenes substituting real location outside Slovenia; Scenes representing Northern American landscape.

4.1 Scenes representing idealised mountainous landscape

Julian Alps were chosen for main scene in the movie *Heidi* (2005) to show the pristine and natural environment, an excellent place to live a simple non-stressful life, which is antipodal to overcrowded and polluted cities, where life is very competitive and runs fast. Julian Alps actually represent the Swiss Alps where Heidi, the protagonist of the story, lives with his grandfather. **The meadows at Vršič, Mali** and **Stari Tamar** were chosen as a set where the mountain cottage is located. The main reason for selecting Triglav National Park for scenes in *Heidi* were the whiteness of the mountain peaks and lower cost of production in contrast to Switzerland or New Zealand, often mentioned as locations which were initially considered for filming (Savenc 2004; 2010).

Bled lake with view on island and the castle was chosen as scene in the movie *Crown for Christmas* (2015). Bled was most likely shown on a wallpaper in the background and was not chosen as an actual filming location. The lake area is pictured in winter season when church in the island and Bled Castle are lit in Christmas lights. In the movie the area represents the estate of a King Maximilian in the country of Winshire (non-existing location) where protagonist Allie is a governess of a castle which is showed during a romantic late-night horse ride.

Figure 1: Map of locations of selected movie scenes divided in representation categories. ► p. 102

Table 1: Foreign produced movies analysed in this paper (IMDB 2018).

Date of production	English name of the movie	Genre	Language of original version	Production companies and countries of origin
1957	Sand, Love and Salt	drama, thriller	Italian	Rizzoli Film (Italy) Bavaria-Filmkunst (Germany) Zagreb Film (Croatia)
1962	Alone against the Rome	action, adventure, drama	English	Atlantica Cinematografica Produzione Films (Italy) Film servis (Slovenia)
1963	The Pirates of the Mississippi	western	German	Rapid Film (Germany) Gianni Fuchs SPA (Italy) Société Nouvelle de Cinématographie (France) Triglav Film (Slovenia)
1964	Winnetou II (The Red Gentlemen)	adventure, western	English	Atlantis Film (Germany) Jadran Film (Croatia) Rialto Film (Germany) Société Nouvelle de Cinématographie (France)
1965	Old Surehand	adventure, western	English	Jadran Film (Croatia) Rialto Film Preben-Philipsen (Germany) Rialto Film (Germany)
1966	Miss Maupin	adventure	Italian	Jolly Film (Italy) Société Nouvelle Pathé Cinéma (France) Tecisa (Spain) Film Servis (Slovenia)
1968	Under the Parasol	western	Swedish	Sven Ingvars AB (Sweden)
1968	Armour of God	action, adventure, comedy	Cantonese, English	Golden Harvest Company (Hong Kong) Golden Way Films Ltd. (Hong Kong) Jadran Film (Croatia) Paragon Films (Hong Kong)
1971	Short Night of Glass Dolls	horror, mystery	Italian	Dieter Geissler Filmproduktion (Germany) Doria G. Film (Italy) Dunhill Cinematografica (Italy) Jadran Film (Croatia) Rewind Film (Italy) Surf Film (Italy)
1978	Black Sun	crime, drama, thriller	Swedish	Jadran Film (Croatia) Stockholm Film (Sweden)
1978	Black and White like Day and Night	drama	German	Monaco Film (Germany) Radiant Film (Germany) Westdeutscher Rundfunk (Germany) Österreichischer Rundfunk (Austria)

Date of production	English name of the movie	Genre	Language of original version	Production companies and countries of origin
1981	Jelenko	family	Croatian	Televizija Zagreb (Croatia)
1985	Transylvania 6-5000	comedy, fantasy, horror	English	Balcor Film Investors (USA) Dow Chemical Company (USA) Jadran Film (Croatia)
1987	Fortunes of war – the Balkans	drama, war	English	BBC TV (UK) WGBH (USA) Primetime Television (UK)
1987	The Dirty Dozen: The Deadly Mission	action, war	English	MGM/UA Television (USA) Jadran Film (Croatia)
1990	Captain America	action, adventure, sci-fi	English	21st Century Film Corporation (USA) Marvel Entertainment Group (USA) Jadran Film (Croatia)
1993	Death Train	action, thriller	English	Yorkshire International Films (UK) J&M Entertainment (USA) British Lion Film Corporation (UK) Jadran Film (Croatia) USA Pictures (USA)
2005	Heidi	drama, family	English	Piccadilly Pictures (UK) Surefire Films (UK) Storm Entertainment (USA) Suitable Viewing (UK) Lux Vide (Italy)
2008	The Chronicles of Narnia: Prince Caspian	action, adventure, family	English	Walt Disney Pictures (USA) Walden Media (USA) Ozumi Films (Poland) Pakt Media (Slovenia) Silverbell Films (USA) Stillking Films (Czechia)
2013	Leader (Naayak)	action	Hindi	Universal Media (India)
2013	Patriotic man	comedy, drama, sport	Finnish	Art Films Productions (Finland) MP Film Production (Croatia)
2015	Crown for Christmas	comedy, romance	English	Brad Krevoy Television (USA) Motion Picture Corporation of America (USA)
2016	Dear my Friends	comedy, drama	Korean	tvN (South Korea)
2017	Bharjari	action, comedy, romance	Hindi	R. S. Productions (India)



4.2 Scenes representing fantasy landscape or non-existent location

The Mayor's Cave (formerly **Tabor Cave**) in *Old Surehand* (1965) represents a subterranean world of labyrinth of death where main characters were fighting the bandits. Its interior is dark and enigmatic so it suits the subject of the movie.

Shots inside **Postojna Cave** in *Winnetou II* (1964) represents a place where Winnetou, Lieutenant Merrill and Ribana met (Internet 5).

The scenes at 'Beruna Bridge' in *The Chronicles Of Narnia: Prince Caspian* (2008) where the Telmarines build their war machine but are ultimately routed by the fearsome River God were shot at **River Soča near Bovec**. The mountains provided a surprisingly good match for the peaks of New Zealand where most of the scenes were filmed (Internet 6).

In *Bharjari* (2017) they needed a picturesque scene to film one of the romantic dancing sequences. They chose streets of **Ljubljana, Kamnik, Celje, Sevnica** and **Štanjel** which was suggested by domestic production company (Internet 7; Internet 8; Valenčič 2017).

In *Alone Against Rome* (1962) most of the movie was filmed in Pula arena (Croatia), whereas the forest and swamp scene were filmed near **Lavrica**. A provincial town which came under control of an evil Roman tribune against the will of the population was built in **a studio in Ljubljana**. For two scenes they borrowed and re-used war chariots used for filming Hollywood epic *Ben Hur* (1959) (Kinnard and Crnovich 2017; Internet 9).

Predjama Castle with caves, underground passages and a cliff in *Armour of God* (1986) represents a cult's monastery where Asian treasure hunter (Jackie Chan), Alan (Alan Tam) and May (Lola Forner) infiltrate the hideout and secretly rescue Lorelei. In the story this monastery is located »somewhere in Northern Yugoslavia« (Internet 10).

In *La ragazza della salina* (1957) scenes were entirely shot at the Slovenian coast. **Piran, Portorož** and **Sečovelje Salt pans** represent an undefined location, presumably somewhere at the Italian coast (since the main language is Italian) of the Adriatic Sea. In the movie the location is never explicitly mentioned (Internet 11).

4.3 Scenes substituting real location outside Slovenia

The film sets for *Old Surehand* (1965) were made in **Gramozna jama** in today's Nove Stožice district of Ljubljana to create an oriental town. In the same movie **Tomačevo** (now part of Ljubljana) represents the Mason City of the Wild West (Old West). This purpose-built outdoor studio set was built only for movie production and also used in a Swedish movie *Under the Parasol* (*Under dit parasoll*, 1968) as stand-in for Desperado City of the old west (some of the scenes were also shot in Triglav studio in Ljubljana; Internet 12). Tomačevo sets were also used in *The Pirates of the Mississippi* (*Die Flußpiraten vom Mississippi*, 1963) as a 19th century town on the banks of the Mississippi River. The area is plagued by a gang of pirates under the leadership of Captain Kelly, who live on an island in the river, from where they operate raids on passing steamboats and traders rafts, robbing them of their cargo and murdering the crews. Townspeople and settlers do their best to put an end to the crimes and rid themselves of the pirates and their daring leader.

Memories of older residents about Tomačevo studio sets are subject of emotional geography. They still remember the time when they watched the filming of the movies in Tomačevo and Gramozna jama or played around the abandoned sets (Internet 13). Tomačevo studio set could become Slovenian tourist attractive »off-location« but it hasn't been preserved until today although it was at that time situated outside residential area. They were either neglected, torn down and later overbuilt by houses inhabited by low-income working migrants from other Yugoslav republics. The filming studios could become a cultural heritage of Ljubljana (Internet 14).

The Knights' Hall in Brežice Castle was chosen as a scene in *Armour of God* (1986) and represented an unnamed hall in Vienna in which a fashion show took place.

In *The Dirty Dozen: The Deadly Mission* (1987) a **monastery in Kostanjevica na Krki** represents a French monastery at Saint-Michel where six captured scientists are being forced by the Nazis to produce the deadly gas. In the same movie a **villa at the old town of Brežice** represents one of the Nazis stronghold in France.

Most of the movie *Short Night of Glass Dolls* (*La corta notte delle bambole di vetro*, 1971) about journalist who investigates the disappearance of his girlfriend was shot in Prague which is also the location represented in the story. However, the scene of dead bodies found in Vltava River is shot in Ljubljana (**Ljubljana embankment, Makalonca, Tromostovje, Dragon Bridge**). In TV-Series of K-Drama *Dear my Friends* (2016) Piran is portrayed the way Korean youth imagine European town as a perfect travel getaway.

In *Black Sun* (*Mannen i Skuggan*, 1978) scenes filmed in **Piran** and **Portorož** represent a Spanish village in the times of Franco's dictatorship. **Tartini's square** is a Spanish square. The shots were also taken in one of **Piran's artist's studios** (Širca 2014).

The Fortunes of War: The Balkans (1987) is an episode of a TV series in which Romanian society in 1939 in Bucharest is portrayed rather negatively. Therefore, the Romanians regarded the story as an insult to their national honour and denied request to film on their territory; Bucharest was therefore re-created in different locations around Ljubljana (**Congress Square, the interior of administration building of Ljubljana University, Tromostovje Bridge**).

The background in TV series *Jelenko* (1981) is a pristine and idyllic forested mountain area in Gorski Kotar (Croatia). However, most of the scenes representing Gorski Kotar were filmed around **Kranjska Gora and Bled**.

In the opening scene of *Miss Maupin* (*Madamigella di Maupin*, 1966). **Mansion in Otočec** represents a Maupin Castle somewhere in Italy invaded by Hungarians. **The Predjama Castle and Ptuj's castle** represent the General Durand's castle. Street scenes in **Ljubljana** and **Škofja Loka** represented an Italian medieval town. Škofja Loka which is situated at the confluence of the rivers Poljanska Sora in Selška Sora and with forests in the surroundings fits the image of Italian landscape.

In the movie *Black and White like Day and Night* (*Schwarz und weiß wie Tage und Nächte*, 1978) **Ljubljana** represent a communist East German town from where an antagonist Stefan Koruga, a chess genius, comes from.

The Frankfurt scenes in *Heidi* (2005) were shot in Ljubljana (**Ribja ulica, Mestni trg**). The shots are short and very narrow so that they don't disclose the real shooting location to spectators. Frankfurt was portrayed in the story rather negatively – as antipodal to pristine life in the mountains: overcrowded with rude people and with no green areas and no views over the surroundings.

The scenes in the *Death Train* (1993) represent an unknown Russian territory right after the collapse of Soviet Union. The film was mostly shot in Slovenia. Tirnano tunnel between St. Moritz and Bolzano is shot in Bohinjska Bistrica. This is the train tunnel »**Bohinjski predor**« below Koblja Mountain on the rail line between Nova Gorica and Jesenice (Internet 15).

In *Transylvania 6-5000* (1985), a movie about two American journalists who were sent to Romania to find Frankenstein, **Novo mesto** and **Mokrice mansion** are portrayed as stereotypical places in the region of Transylvania. The quest of Frankenstein is happening in Novo mesto. Mokrice mansion represents a place where they think the monster is hiding. Reporters stayed in castle and they were looking for Frankenstein. At the beginning they were assured that there were no monsters in there. A lot of local population of the area were used as extras in this movie.

Most of the scenes for *Naayak* (2013) were shot in Slovenia. Although it is not explicitly mentioned where the story is based one could assume that it is set somewhere in India. The first Bollywood movie shot in Slovenia used most typical tourist sites around the country where the actors dance and sing (i.e. **Bled castle, Bled lake embankment, interior of Postojna cave, Light house in Piran, Castle hill in Ljubljana**). Krishnamoorthy 2013).

4.4 Scenes representing Northern American landscape

The cross-country competition and Olympic Games in movie *Patriotic man* (*Isänmaallinen mies*, 2013) were shot in **Bled** and around **Kranjska Gora**. The scenes represent a North American landscape where winter Olympics take place in which Finish athletes team uses doping to win the race.

The missile in *Captain America* (1990) which is supposed to land in Washington DC changes course thanks to Captain America. The scenes in Alaska, where the missile lands, were shot in **Trenta Valley**.

5 Conclusion

Fictional representation of landscapes, spaces and places is the domain of cultural geography. The film makers strive to achieve that scenes they select support the narration of the film and convince the viewers about their authenticity. When the viewers are convinced, they usually pay no special attention to the way how landscapes are substituted and different to what they represent in the story. Therefore, scene selection plays an important aspect of movie making.

The results show that most of foreign production companies which filmed their movies partially or exclusively in Slovenia are American based, followed by those based in Italy and (West) Germany. Slovenia was an attractive country for movie production during Yugoslav period mostly due to successful cooperation with market oriented Yugoslav film companies, openness of socialist regime, low production costs (inexpensive rent of equipment, traveling, food and accommodation, cheap labour) and diversity of natural landscape and towns in a small place. The market was bigger and film makers could enjoy abundance of different landscapes, not limited only to Slovenia: forests, snow-capped mountains, lowlands and abundance of river flows, Mediterranean-style coast. After independence, the Yugoslavian film market disappeared and the country wasn't attractive for film producers due to political instability of the region. The coproduction of foreign and domestic film companies renewed only recently through successful tourism promotion of the area, political stability and the introduction of tax rebate incentive.

Specific sites and areas have been frequently used in different movies (i.e. Postojna cave, Bled, Piran), whereas some areas have received no attention at all by foreign film makers (i.e. hilly region in the west, Pannonia plain in the east).

Most of the locations used in the analysed movies represent distinct locations from other parts of the world. Filming in Slovenia is still considered to be inexpensive and therefore production companies often decide to film part of their movies in places around Slovenia that are similar to conventional filming sites, such as places in New Zealand.

Interestingly, locations in Slovenia were often chosen to represent a stereotypical Eastern European environment (i.e. old buildings and socialist iconography). The stereotypical image about Slovenia being part of Eastern Europe is not only a western perspective. Such narrative structure is susceptible to plural meanings since these movies need to suit large number of viewers (Crane 2014; Pang 2005). Often mentioned in the interviews, the preserved cultural landscape is ideal to represent a typical Central European city, and the unspoiled nature is ideal for any kind of outdoor scenes.

Most popular scenes therefore do not correspond with collective representations among Slovenians as to what are the most iconographic sites (Urbanc et al. 2016). They are merely in line with sites which receive most attention among foreign tourists.

The government recognized the opportunity of filming in Slovenia for positive applications in local tourism and offered a general tax rebate incentive. Short distances to sights from the capital Ljubljana are one of the main advantages to film makers.

Results can be used by production companies (film scouts) to identify commonly used filming locations and to understand their references in the movies.

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ZASTOPANOST SLOVENSКИH FILMSKIH LOKACIJ V ZGODBAH FILMOV TUJE PRODUKCIJE

1 Uvod

Filmska geografija se kot podpodročje kulturne geografije posveča analizi lokacije, pokrajine in okolja ter njihovi zastopanosti v filmih (Escher 2006). Preučuje povezavo med zgodbo (narativo) v filmu in prostorom. Wright (1947) je filme razglasil za *terra incognitae* v geografiji glede na to, koliko je o tem napisanem v knjigah, revijah in drugi literaturi. Predlagal je, da se geografi ne bojijo raziskovati teh »obrobni^h področij«. Wrightovo delo je ponovno preučil in nadgradil Lowenthal (1961), ki je predlagal, da naj geografija preučuje tudi dojemanje, predstave in subjektivne poglede na realnost. Koncept te »osebne geografije« je pozneje nadgradil Watson (1969), ki je predlagal, da je osebno dojemanje pomembno, ker »vsa geografija ne prihaja iz zemlje; izvira tudi iz naše ideje o zemlji. Ta geografija misli je lahko včasih učinkovita, saj jo ljudje razumejo in je zato bolj pomembna od domnevno resnične geografije zemlje. Ljudje imajo sposobnost, da živijo zgolj ob misli na resničnost, ki je lahko bolj resnična od resničnosti same.«

Do danes so številni geografi preučevali filme (na primer Clarke 1997; Lukinbeal in Zimmermann 2006; Lukinbeal 2006; 2012; Garrett 2011; Jacobs 2013). Že leta 1952 je Eugen Wirth preučeval odnos med zgodbo v filmu in specifično rabo prostora. Höfig (1973) se je posvetil gledanju posnetih lokacij, zastopstvu pokrajin in ekonomskim vidikom filmske produkcije. Lukinbeal in Zimmermann (2006) sta predlagala, da je filmska geografija interdisciplinarna raziskava, saj povezuje prostorsko kinematografijo z družbenimi in kulturnimi geografijami vsakodnevnega življenja. Shiel (2001) je razglasil kinematografijo za »čudno prostorsko obliko kulture). Filmska geografija se je razvila sočasno s preučevanjem filmskega turizma. Filmsko motiviran turizem (tudi zaslonski turizem) preučuje vplive, ki jih imajo film in televizijska produkcija na ideje in odločitve glede potovanja, ki nastanejo, ko potencialni turisti načrtujejo svoje prihajajoče počitnice (Jewell in McKinnon 2008; Quintal in Phau 2015; Spears s sodelavci 2013). Filmske zgodbe in lastnosti priključijo iz gledalcev čustva ter poudarjajo povezave med ljudmi, zgodbo in prostorom. Zanimivo je, da bodo gledalci obiskali prostor, ki je povezan z njihovim priljubljenim filmom, ne glede na to, če je ta prostor avtentičen ali ne (Rittichainuwat s sodelavci 2018).

Filmski turizem je zato učinkovito orodje za promocijo destinacije. To je eden najhitreje rastočih sektorjev v turizmu, saj ponuja obilje priložnosti za lokalno skupnost in razvoj turističnega proizvoda. Zato danes vse več držav in regij tekmuje v tem, kdo bo privabil več filmskih producentov s ponujanjem znatne oprostite davkov. V zameno vse več produkcijskih hiš privoli v pripravo marketinškega gradiva za promocijo upodobljene destinacije.

Posledično oglaševalci destinacij, vladni organi in filmske komisije postajajo vedno bolj vključene v promocijo filma. Na primer tako, da dosežejo vključitev omembe imen krajev v scenarij (Polianskaia in Răduț 2016; Elmgaard in Holmgaard Christophersen 2012).

Članek se konceptualno nanaša na pojem geografskega zamišljanja (zastopanost) in avtentičnosti pokrajin. V kinematografiji je svet zamišljen in uprizorjen; zastopa resničnost (Lukinbeal in Zimmermann 2008). Kinematografija je vizualna tehnologija, ki ponuja alternativne poglede na svet. Razlaga svet in ga prikaže na svoj način.

Skozi to vizualno umetnost je realnost uprizorjena in rekonstruirana (Rose 2016). Filmske rekonstrukcije so vdane v družbene in kulturne prakse, ki so časovno in prostorsko specifične (Crang, Crang in May 1999). Avtentičnost je družben konstrukt, ki je lahko upravljan v komercialne namene, da bi izkoriščal pričakovanja gledalcev (tudi: zaslonskih turistov) in zagotovil ugodno izkušnjo (Chhabra 2005). V filmski geografiji konstruirana in simbolna avtentičnost pomeni snemanje prizorov nadomestnih lokacij, ki so prikazane na zaslonih, in ne pravih (resničnih) lokacij (to je, kjer se v zgodbi predstavljena pokrajina v resnici nahaja ali kjer se je zgodil zgodovinski dogodek) (Ram, Björk in Weidenfeld 2016).

Filmske lokacije se razlikujejo od resničnih krajev zaradi številnih tehničnih razlogov, kot so omejen dostop ali varnost (Buchmann, Moore in Fisher 2010; Frost 2010; Butler 2011).

V članku smatram film za predmet preučevanja v geografiji. Namen je razumeti vlogo, ki jih lokacije v Sloveniji igrajo v zgodbah filmov tuje produkcije vse od konca druge svetovne vojne. Po eni strani bo to prispevalo k znanju, kako je Slovenija zaznana s strani tujih filmskih ustvarjalcev, po drugi strani pa so lokacije v uspešnih filmih povezane s filmskim turizmom, kjer so turistične poti pogosto rezultat filmskih asociacij. Zato bo analiza filmskih lokacij predvidoma razkrila najbolj privlačna območja za potencialni razvoj filmsko motiviranega turizma.

2 Opis območja

Slovenija je šele pred kratim uvedla politiko oprostite davkov neslovenskim filmskim projektom, ki so v celoti ali delno ustvarjeni v Sloveniji. Oprostitev davkov je del finančnih spodbudb za privabljanje tujih produkcijskih hiš in deluje tako, da se povrne 25 % stroškov snemanja, ki nastanejo v enem fiskalnem letu. Denar plačajo davčni organi, pri čemer morajo tuji producenti sodelovati s slovenskimi podjetji pri snemanju prizorov v Sloveniji. Projekti morajo opraviti kulturni test, ki ocenjuje vključenost slovenskih kulturnih elementov in lokacij v filmski zgodbi (Brdnik 2017; Internet 1; Internet 2).

Po drugi svetovni vojni je v Sloveniji (ki je bila del Socialistične federativne republike Jugoslavije) delovala mednarodno priznana filmska industrija. Tako kot številni sektorji jugoslovanske ekonomije, je bila tudi filmska industrija podvržena decentralizaciji. Posamezna filmska podjetja so postala avtonomna in ekonomsko neodvisna s svojimi upravami in proračuni. Zato je bilo odločilnega pomena, da so sodelovali s tujimi podjetji. To se je kazalo v marketinških strategijah za privabljanje tujih filmskih producentov ter sodelovanju pri tehničnem delovanju in distribuciji. Sodelovali so tudi v tujih koprodukcijah (Liehm in Liehm 1980; Goulding 2002).

»Triglav film« iz Ljubljane, enega največjih jugoslovanskih filmskih podjetij, je kmalu nasledil »Viba film«. Filmski produkcijski centri so se znašli v tekmi z ekonomsko in umetniško močno konkurenco. Zato so postali bolj prožni tako pri izbiri teme kot sodelavcev. Začeli so sodelovati s produkcijskimi družbami večinoma iz ZDA, Italije, Francije in Nemčije, ki po Cranu (2013) pripadajo skupini »super« in velikih producentov na filmskem trgu. Filmski ustvarjalci z zahoda so prednost v koprodukcijskih dogovorih z jugoslovanskimi filmskimi družbami videli v nizkih stroških dela in nizkih cenah produkcijskih storitev. Pristno naravno in kulturno okolje, ki ga je bilo moč najti v Jugoslaviji, je bila dodana vrednost (Lief 1982). Filmski studio Viba filma je imel koprodukcijsko vlogo pri okoli 40 mednarodnih filmih (Internet 3), med njimi *Death and Diamonds* (1968), *Night of the Vampires* (1964) in *The Wide Blue Road* (*La grande strada azzurra*, 1957).

Filmski ustvarjalci z zahoda so v Jugoslaviji iskali lokacije za svoje filme, ne glede na raznolikost tem. Najbolj so se prodajali dih jemajoča narava, raznolikost naravnih prizorov, gozdovi, zasnežene gore, valovite ravnine in sredozemska obala. Številni zavojevalci, ki so območju Jugoslavije vladali skozi pretekla stoletja, vključujoč Turke, Italijane in Avstrijce, so pustili za seboj pestre arhitekturne sledi. Mošeje, trdnjave, gradove, samostane in katedrale je moč najti na relativno majhnem območju. Jugoslavija je bila ena država in tuji filmski ustvarjalci so lahko izkoriščali lokacije tako v Sloveniji kot tudi v drugih delih Jugoslavije, pri čemer so pogosto sodelovali z domačimi filmskimi družbami (na primer *Viba film* in *Jadran film*).

Druga prednost Jugoslavije je bilo bolj svobodno politično ozračje v primerjavi z državami sovjetskega bloka. To je bilo boljše za moralo nastopajočih in drugih članov filmske ekipe, še posebej, če je šlo za rusko tematiko. Jugoslavija je prevzela velik del tega trga, čeprav so Madžarska, Romunija in Češkoslovaška prav tako ponujale storitve za snemanje. Poleg tega je veliko prednost tujim filmskim ustvarjalcem pomenila nizkocenovna gradnja scene s strani jugoslovanskih filmskih podjetij, pri čemer so bile cene do 60 % nižje kot v ZDA (Lief 1982).

Po osamosvojitvi Slovenija ni bila več privlačna filmska destinacija vse dokler vlada ni predstavila politike oprostite davkov, v kolikor gre za snemanje filma v Sloveniji in njeno oglaševanje kot privlačne destinacije. Danes filmski ustvarjalci pretežno iz ZDA, Italije in Nemčije iščejo naravne lepote, ki so podobne tistim na Novi Zelandiji, kjer pogosto snemajo visokoproračunske filme. Pogosto filmski ustvarjalci iščejo nadomestne lokacije podobne lokacijam v drugih državah ali regijah – tak primer so Alpe ali pa urbana Ljubljana (Internet 4). Indijske producente vse bolj zanimajo snemanja filmov v Evropi, ker za to dobijo finančne spodbude in logistično podporo (Cucco in Scaglioni 2014).

3 Metode

Izbor 24 filmov tuje produkcije (preglednica 1) je temeljil na medmrežni filmski podatkovni zbirki IMDB (<https://www.imdb.com/>), ki vključuje tudi najbolj obsežno podatkovno zbirko filmskih lokacij, in na dosegljivosti video gradiv (na spletu ali v knjižnicah), kar je omogočalo analizo filmskih zgodb. Drugi viri, večinoma je šlo za novičarske spletne strani, so bili uporabljeni, da bi določili verjetne lokacije v Sloveniji, kjer je bil film sneman. Informacije o lokacijah snemanja so bile zbrane s pomočjo spletnega na lokaciji temelječega vprašalnika, ki je gostoval na platformi podjetja ESRI. V fazi gledanja filmov smo uporabili metodo analize vsebine (angleško content analysis), da bi razumeli pomen določenih lokacij v Sloveniji in v zgodbi. Z metodo analize filma smo poskušali prepoznati pravo lokacijo uporabljeno v zgodbi. Opravili smo nov krog poizvedovanj po novičarskih člankih (na primer terenska poročila, intervjuji s produkcijskimi podjetji, statisti ali režiserji), da bi zbrali več informacij glede razlogov za izbor določenih lokacij. Pomen prostorov in razlogi za uporabo določenih lokacij so pozneje pretresali udeleženci v skupini.

Slika 1: Zemljevid lokacij izbranih filmskih prizorov uvrščenih v štiri kategorije. Glej angleški del prispevka.

4 Rezultati in diskusija

Filme, ki smo jih analizirali, smo razdelili v 4 kategorije (slika 1): prizori, ki predstavljajo idealizirane gorske pokrajine, prizori, ki predstavljajo fantazijsko pokrajino ali neobstoječe kraje, prizori izvirnih lokacij izven Slovenije in prizori, ki nadomeščajo severnoameriško pokrajino.

4.1 Prizori, ki predstavljajo idealizirane gorske pokrajine

Julijske Alpe so izbrali za osrednji prizor filma *Heidi* (2005) da bi prikazali neokrnjeno naravo, odličen kraj za prikaz preprostega življenja stran od stresa, ki je nasprotje prenatrpanim in onesnaženim mestom, kjer je življenje zelo tekmovalno in poteka hitro. Julijske Alpe pravzaprav predstavljajo Švicarske Alpe, kjer Heidi, protagonistka zgodbe, živi s svojim dedkom. **Travniki na Vrščicu**, v **Malem in Starem Tamarju** so bili izbrani za prizore dogajanja okoli gorske koče. Glavni razlog, da je bil za kuliso v filmu *Heidi* izbran Triglavski narodni park, so bile beline gorskih vrhov in nižje produkcijske cene v primerjavi s Švico in Novo Zelandijo, ki so jih na začetku predvideli za snemanje (Savenc 2004; 2010).

Blejsko jezero s pogledom na otok in grad so izbrali za prizor v filmu *Krona za božič* (2015). Bled je bil verjetno prikazan v ozadju le na fotografiji in tam v resnici niso opravili snemanja. Jezersko območje je prikazano pozimi, ko sta cerkev na otoku in Blejski grad odeta v božičnem okrasju. V filmu prizor predstavlja posest kralja Maksimilijana v državi Winshire (neresnična lokacija), kjer je protagonistka Allie gospodarica gradu, ki je prikazan ob romantični pozno večerni ježi s konjem.

Preglednica 1: Filmi tuje produkcije analizirani v članku (IMDB 2018).

datum produkcije	slovenski naslov filma	žanr	jezik originalne različice	produkcija podjetja in država izvora
1957	Pesek, ljubezen in sol	triler, drama	italijanski	Rizzoli Film (Italija) Bavaria-Filmkunst (Nemčija) Zagreb Film (Hrvaška)
1962	Sam proti Rimu	akcijski, pustolovski, drama	angleški	Atlantica Cinematografica Produzione Films (Italija) Film servis (Slovenija)
1963	Pirati na Misisipiju	vestern	nemški	Rapid Film (Nemčija) Gianni Fuchs SPA (Italija) Société Nouvelle de Cinématographie (Francija) Triglav Film (Slovenija)
1964	Vinetu II (Rdeči gospod)	pustolovski, vestern	angleški	Atlantis Film (Nemčija) Jadran Film (Hrvaška) Rialto Film (Nemčija) Société Nouvelle de Cinématographie (Francija)
1965	Old Surehand	pustolovski, vestern	angleški	Jadran Film (Hrvaška) Rialto Film Preben-Philipsen (Nemčija) Rialto Film (Nemčija)
1966	Gospa Maupin	pustolovski	italijanski	Jolly Film (Italija) Société Nouvelle Pathé Cinéma (Francija) Tecisa (Španija) Film Servis (Slovenija)
1968	Pod senčnikom	vestern	švedski	Sven Ingvars AB (Švedska)
1968	Božji oklep	akcijski, pustolovski, komedija	kantonski, angleški	Golden Harvest Company (Hong Kong) Golden Way Films Ltd. (Hong Kong) Jadran Film (Hrvaška) Paragon Films (Hong Kong)
1971	Kratka noč steklenih lutk	grozljivka, detektivski	italijanski	Dieter Geissler Filmproduktion (Nemčija) Doria G. Film (Italija) Dunhill Cinematografica (Italija) Jadran Film (Hrvaška) Rewind Film (Italija) Surf Film (Italija)
1978	Mož v senci	kriminalka, drama, triler	švedski	Jadran Film (Hrvaška) Stockholm Film (Švedska)
1978	Črno in belo kot dan in noč	drama	nemški	Monaco Film (Nemčija) Radiant Film (Nemčija) Westdeutscher Rundfunk (Nemčija) Österreichischer Rundfunk (Avstrija)
1981	Jelenko	družinski	hrvaški	Televizija Zagreb (Hrvaška)

datum produkcije	slovenski naslov filma	žanr	jezik originalne različice	produkcija podjetja in država izvora
1985	Transilvanija 6-5000	komedija, fantastijski, grozljivka	angleški	Balcor Film Investors (ZDA) Dow Chemical Company (ZDA) Jadran Film (Hrvaška)
1987	Sreče vojne – Balkan	drama, vojaški	angleški	BBC TV (Združeno kraljestvo) WGBH (ZDA) Primetime Television (Združeno kraljestvo)
1987	Ducat umazanih: Smrtonosna misija	akcijski, vojaški	angleški	MGM/UA Television (ZDA) Jadran Film (Hrvaška)
1990	Stotnik Amerika	akcijski, pustolovski, znanstveno-fantastični	angleški	21st Century Film Corporation (ZDA) Marvel Entertainment Group (ZDA) Jadran Film (Hrvaška)
1993	Vlak smrti	akcijski, triler	angleški	Yorkshire International Films (Združeno kraljestvo) J&M Entertainment (ZDA) British Lion Film Corporation (Združeno kraljestvo) Jadran Film (Hrvaška) USA Pictures (ZDA)
2005	Heidi	drama, družinski	angleški	Piccadilly Pictures (Združeno kraljestvo) Surefire Films (Združeno kraljestvo) Storm Entertainment (ZDA) Suitable Viewing (Združeno kraljestvo) Lux Vide (Italija)
2008	Zgodbe iz Narnije: Princ Kaspijan	akcijski, pustolovski, družinski	angleški	Walt Disney Pictures (ZDA) Walden Media (ZDA) Ozumi Films (Poljska) Pakt Media (Slovenija) Silverbell Films (ZDA) Stillking Films (Češka)
2013	Vodja	akcijski	hindi	Universal Media (Indija)
2013	Patriot	komedija, drama, športni	finski	Art Films Productions (Finska) MP Film Production (Hrvaška)
2015	Krona za božič	komedija, romantični	angleški	Brad Krevoy Television (ZDA) Motion Picture Corporation of America (ZDA)
2016	Dragi moji prijatelji	komedija, drama	korejski	tvN (Južna Koreja)
2017	Bharjari	akcijski, komedija, romantični	hindi	R. S. Productions (Indija)

4.2 Prizori, ki predstavljajo fantazijske pokrajine ali neobstoječe kraje

Županova jama (nekdanja **Taborska jama**) v *Old Surehand* (1965) predstavlja podzemni svet blodnjakov smrti, kjer se glavni junaki borijo z razbojniki. Njena notranjost je temačna in skrivnostna, kar ustreza vsebini filma.

Prizori znotraj **Postojnske jame** v *Vinetuju II* (1964) predstavljajo prostor, kjer se spoznajo Vinetu, stotnik Merrill in Ribana (Internet 5).

Posnetki »mostu Beruna« v *Zgodbi iz Narnije: Princ Kaspijan* (2008), kjer so Telmarini zgradili svoj vojni stroj, a jih je naposled preusmeril strahoviti rečni bog, so bili posneti na **reki Soči** blizu Bovca. Gore presenetljivo dobro zastopajo vrhove na Novi Zelandiji, kjer je bila posneta večina prizorov (Internet 6).

Za film *Bharjari* (2017) so iskali slikovite prizore za snemanje ene od romantičnih plesnih scen. Izbrali so ulice v **Ljubljani, Kamniku, Celju, Sevnici** in **Štanjelu**, kar je predlagalo domače produkcijsko podjetje (Internet 7; Internet 8; Valenčič 2017).

Večino filma *Sam proti Rimu* (1962) je bil posnetega v areni v Pulju, pri čemer so bili prizori v gozdu in mokrišču posneti blizu **Lavrice**. Podeželski kraj, nad katerim je proti volji prebivalstva prevzel oblast rimski tribun, so zgradili v **filmskem studiu v Ljubljani**. Za dva prizora so si sposodili bojne kočije, ki so jih uporabili za snemanje hollywoodskega epa *Ben Hur* (1959) (Kinnard in Crnovich 2017; Internet 9).

Predjamski grad z jamami, podzemnimi prehodi in pečino v *Božjem oklepu* (1986) predstavlja samostan kulta v katerega se prikradeta azijski lovec na zaklade (Jackie Chan), Alan (Alan Tam) in May (Lola Forner). Iz skrivališča zlikovcev uspeva na skrivaj rešiti Lorelei. V zgodbi se ta samostan nahaja »nekje v severni Jugoslaviji« (Internet 10).

V filmu *Pesek, ljubezen in sol* (1957) so bili prizori v celoti posneti na slovenski obali. **Piran, Portorož** in **Sečoveljske soline** predstavljajo nedoločljiv kraj, verjetno nekje na italijanski obali (saj je osrednji jezik italijanski) ob Jadranskem morju. Lokacija ni nikoli izrecno navedena (Internet 11).

4.3 Prizori izvirnih lokacij izven Slovenije

Filmsko sceno za *Old Surehand* (1965) so izdelali v **Gramozni jami** v današnjih Novih stožicah v Ljubljani, da bi ustvarili orientalsko mesto. V istem filmu **Tomačevo** (danes del Ljubljane) predstavlja Mason City na divjem zahodu (starem zahodu). Ta namensko zgrajen zunanji filmski studio so uporabljali samo za filmsko produkcijo. Uporabljen je bil tudi v švedskem filmu *Pod senčnikom* (1968), kjer je predstavljal Desperado City na divjem zahodu (nekateri prizore so posneli tudi v prostorih Triglav studia v Ljubljani) (Internet 12). Kulise v Tomačevem so uporabili tudi v filmu *Pirati na Misisipiju* (1963) za mesto iz 19. stoletja, ki se nahaja na bregu reke Misisipi. Območje je prepredeno s krdeli piratov, ki jih vodi kapitan Kelly. Živijo na rečnem otoku od koder organizirajo roparske napade na mimo vozeče parne čolne in trgovska plovila, na katerih pobijajo posadko in plenijo tovor. Meščani in naseljenci se na vse pretege trudijo, da bi se znebili kriminala, piratov in njihovega drznega vodje.

Področje čustvene geografije zajema zgodbe starejših prebivalcev Tomačevega, ki se spominjajo časov, ko so spremljali snemanje filmov v Tomačevem in Gramozni jami ali pa se podili mimo zapuščenih kulis (Internet 13).

Tomačevski studio bi lahko postal slovensko snemalno prizorišče namenjeno turističnim obiskom, vendar se do danes ni ohranil, čeprav se je takrat nahajal zunaj poseljenega območja. Kulise so bodisi propadle, ker jih niso vzdrževali, bodisi so jih podrli in na njihovem mestu zgradili hiše, ki so jih nasečili nizko plačani priseljenci iz drugih republik Jugoslavije. Filmski studio bi lahko postal kulturna dediščina Ljubljane (Internet 14).

Viteška dvorana v gradu Brežice v *Božjem oklepu* (1986) predstavlja neimenovano dvorano na Dunaju, kjer se odvija modna revija.

V *Ducatu umazanih: Smrtonosna misija* (1987) samostan v Kostanjevici na Krki predstavlja francoski samostan v Saint-Michelu, kjer nacisti silijo šest ujetih znanstvenikov, da proizvedejo smrtonosni plin. V istem filmu **vila v starem delu Brežic** predstavlja trdnjavo nacistov v Franciji.

Večino filma *Kratka noč steklenih lutk* (1971), ki govori o novinarju, ki preiskuje izginotje svojega dekleta, je bilo posnetega v Pragi, ki je tudi kraj, ki je predstavljen v filmu. Toda prizor s trupli, ki so jih našli v reki Vltavi, so posneli v Ljubljani (**Ljubljansko nabrežje, Makalonca, Tromostovje, Zmajski most**). V televizijski seriji korejske drame *Dragi moji prijatelji* (2016) je Piran predstavljen tako kot naj bi si korejski mladostniki predstavljali evropsko mesto, ki ga obiščejo v okviru sanjskega potovalnega pobega.

V *Možu v senci* (1978) prizori posneti v **Piranu in Portorožu** predstavljajo majhno špansko vas v času Frankove diktature. **Tartinijev trg** predstavlja španski trg. Prizori so bili posneti tudi v enem od **piran-skih umetniških ateljejev** (Širca 2014).

Sreče vojne – Balkan (1987) je epizoda v televizijski seriji, kjer je romunska družba leta 1939 prikazana dokaj negativno. Romuni so zato zgodbo označili za žalitev njihovega narodnega ponosa in zavrnilo prošnjo za snemanje na njihovem ozemlju; Bukarešto so zato poustvarili na različnih lokacijah v Ljubljani (**Kongresni trg, notranjost rektorata Ljubljanske univerze, Tromostovje**).

Ozadje televizijske serije *Jelenko* (1981) predstavlja pristna in idilična gozdna gorska pokrajina v Gorskem kotarju. Večino prizorov, ki se dogajajo v Gorskem kotarju, so posneli v **Kranjski Gori** in na **Bledu**.

V začetnem prizoru *Gospe Maupin* (1966) **dvorec na Otočcu** predstavlja grad Maupin nekje v Italiji, ki so ga zavzeli Madžari. **Predjamski grad** in **Ptujski grad** predstavljata grad generala Duranda. Ulični prizori posneti v **Ljubljani** in **Škofji Loki** predstavljajo italijansko srednjeveško mesto. Škofja Loka, ki se nahaja na sotočju Poljanske Sore in Selške Sore, z gozdovi v okolici ustreza predstavi italijanske pokrajine.

V filmu *Črno in belo kot dan in noč* (1978) **Ljubljana** predstavlja komunistično vzhodnonemško mesto od koder prihaja antagonist Stefan Koruga, šahovski genij.

Frankfurtski prizori v filmu *Heidi* (2005) so bili posneti v Ljubljani (**Ribja ulica, Mestni trg**). Posnetki so kratki in ozki, da ne bi gledalcem razodeli prave lokacije. Frankfurt je bil v zgodbi prikazan v negativni luči – kot antipod pristnemu življenju v gorah: prenaseljen z osornimi ljudmi, brez zelenih površin in brez razgledov na okolico.

Prizori v *Vlaku smrti* (1993) predstavljajo neznani ruski teritorij, kmalu po propadu Sovjetske zveze. Film je bil večinoma posnet v Sloveniji. Prizor v predoru Tirnano na odseku železniške proge med St. Moritzem in Bolzanom, je bil posnet v Bohinjski Bistrici. Gre za **bohinjski železniški predor** skozi Koblo na proggi med Novo Gorico in Jesenicami (Internet 15).

V *Transilvaniji 6-5000* (1985) dva ameriška novinarja pošljejo v Romunijo, da bi našla Frankensteinovo pošast. **Novo mesto** in **dvorec Mokrice** sta prikazana kot stereotipna kraja v Transilvaniji. Iskanje Frankensteina se dogaja v Novem mestu. Novinarja domnevata, da se pošast skriva v dvorcu Mokrice. Ostaneta v dvorcu in iščeta pošast. Na začetku so ju prepričevali, da tam ni pošasti. Veliko lokalnih prebivalcev je sodelovalo pri statiranju v filmu.

Večino prizorov za *Voditelja* (2013) so posneli v Sloveniji. Kljub temu, da ni jasno navedeno, kje se zgodba dogaja, lahko domnevamo, da nekje v Indiji. Ustvarjalci prvega bollywoodskega filma posnetega v Sloveniji so za snemanje plesa in petja igralcev koristili večinoma kraje vsepovsod po državi, ki sodijo med turistično najbolj obiskane (na primer **Blejski grad, bregovi Blejskega jezera, notranjost Postojnske jame, svetilnik v Piranu, grajski hrib v Ljubljani**) (Krishnamoorthy 2013).

4.4 Prizori, ki nadomeščajo severnoameriško pokrajino

Tekmovanje v teku na smučeh in Olimpijske igre v filmu *Patriot* (2013) so snemali na **Bledu** in v **Kranjski Gori**. Prizori predstavljajo severnoameriško pokrajino kjer se odvijajo zimske olimpijske igre. V igrah finski športniki jemljejo poživila, da bi osvojili zlate kolajne.

V *Stotniku Amerika* (1990) izstrelek, ki bi moral pristati v Washingtonu DC, krene iz začrtane poti zahvaljujoč stotniku Amerika. Prizore pristanka izstrelka na Aljaski so posneli v **Trenti**.

5 Sklep

Preučevanje nadomestnih pokrajin, krajev in prostorov, ki so prikazani v filmih in televizijskih serijah, je domena kulturne geografije. Filmski ustvarjalci strmijo k temu, da izbrani prizori podprejo zgodbo filma in prepričajo gledalce o njihovi avtentičnosti. Ko so gledalci prepričani, se običajno ne ozirajo več na način, kako so pokrajine nadomestili, in kako se razlikujejo od tistih v zgodbi. Zato izbira snemalnih prizorov velja za pomemben vidik pri ustvarjanju filma.

Rezultati kažejo, da je večina tujih produkcijskih hiš, ki so v Sloveniji snemale delno ali v celoti, ameriških, sledijo jim italijanska in (zahodno) nemška. Slovenija je bila privlačna država za filmsko produkcijo v času Jugoslavije predvsem zaradi uspešnega sodelovanja s tržno usmerjenimi jugoslovanskimi filmskimi podjetji (poleg slovenskih tudi hrvaška), odprtosti socialističnega režima, nizkimi produkcijskimi cenami (poceni najem opreme, potovanje, hrana in namestitve, poceni delovna sila) ter raznolikosti naravne pokrajine in mest na majhnem prostoru. Trg je bil večji in filmski ustvarjalci so lahko uživali raznolikost pokrajin, ki jih niso omejevale le meje Slovenije: gozdovi, zasnežene gore, nižava, obilje vodnih tokov, sredozemska obala.

Po osamosvojitvi Slovenije je jugoslovanski filmski trg izginil in država ni bila več privlačna za filmske producete, predvsem zaradi politične nestabilnosti v regiji. Koprodukcijsko sodelovanje med tujimi in domačimi podjetji se je ponovno vzpostavilo šele nedavno zaradi uspešne turistične promocije države, politične stabilnosti in politike povračila produkcijskih stroškov.

Posamezna območja in kraji so bili pogosto uporabljeni v različnih filmih (na primer Postojnska jama, Bled, Piran), nekatera območja pa niso bila predmet zanimanja s strani tujih filmskih ustvarjalcev (na primer hribovit zahod, panonska nižina na vzhodu).

Večina uporabljenih lokacij v izbranih filmih predstavlja določljive lokacije z drugih delov sveta. Snemanje v Sloveniji še vedno velja za poceni, zato se produkcijske hiše pogosto odločajo za snemanje delov svojih filmov po krajih v Sloveniji, ki spominjajo na filmsko bolj poznana območja, kot je na primer Nova Zelandija.

Zanimivo je, da so lokacije v Sloveniji pogosto izbrali za zastopstvo tipskega vzhodnoevropskega okolja (na primer starih stavb in socialistične ikonografije). Stereotipna slika Slovenije, umeščene v vzhodno Evropo, ni le zahodnjaško gledanje. Takšna struktura zgodb je del splošnega prepričanja, filmi pa morajo ustrezati velikemu številu gledalcev (Crane 2014; Pang 2005). Pogosto je v intervjujih navedeno, da je ohranjena arhitekturna pokrajina odlična za prikaz tipičnega srednjeevropskega mesta, neokrnjena narava pa je idealna za katerikoli zunanji prizor.

Najbolj priljubljeni prizori zato ne ustrezajo kolektivni predstavi Slovencev glede najbolj prepoznavnih območij (Urbanc s sodelavci 2016). Ustrezajo le prepoznavnosti Slovenije, ki pritiče tujim turistom.

Vlada je prepoznala priložnost, ki jo za razvoj lokalnega turizma ponuja snemanje v Sloveniji in ponudila povračilo dela produkcijske potrošnje. Kratke razdalje do lokacij iz glavnega mesta Ljubljana so ena izmed pomembnejših prednosti za filmske ustvarjalce.

Rezultati raziskave so uporabni za produkcijska podjetja (iskalci filmskih lokacij), da prepoznajo, katere so najbolj pogosto uporabljene filmske lokacije in da razumejo, kakšen pomen so imele v filmih.

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6 Viri in literatura

Glej angleški del prispevka.