

# WRITING (AND SCREENING) THE NATIONAL IDENTITY: ITALIAN FILM STARS IN THE 1930s<sup>1</sup>

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## Fascist Italian Cinema in the 1930s

It is possible to assume that at the beginning of the 1930s there was an explicit awareness in Italy that different national cultures had different national film cultures, and that such a correlation was taken for granted all over Europe with the exception of that country in which Mussolini exerted his power. During these years, in fact, in the field of popular culture and within the discourses of film press, journalists and speakers of all sorts gave rise to a critical debate around two central issues which were intimately correlated. On the one hand, when compared with its contemporary German counterpart, it was as if the early Italian sound cinema actually did not exist. In the course of the first four years of the new decade, about sixty-five feature films were made<sup>2</sup>, and the voices that surrounded the same film texts used to repeatedly invoke a “rebirth” of this cinema. In the light of such a situation, in *Cinema Illustrazione*, one of the most famous film magazines of the time, it was possible to write in these metaphorical terms: «Our cinematography is like a nation that has optimal artilleries, but lacks an army able to maneuver and shoot them»<sup>3</sup>.

On the other hand, not only a material presence of cinema was demanded, but an authentic, real, national film style was also required, in order to produce a good Italian citizen and to be in step with modern times. In this regard, Antonio Petrucci's observations published in the daily *Il Tevere* are clear: «While the whole Nation has its rhythm of life and its well-established trend, the cinema still wanders across the low and uncertain foggy old style of individualism»<sup>4</sup>. The whole spectrum of these discourses attests the necessity to return to the splendours of the past age – the cinema before the First World War –, but, at the same time, it encourages a new sort of stylistic form in terms of which the Italian film culture in the nation could be organized. So, as these observers hoped, a future national cinema was possible not only by recovering the (old) export foreign markets, but also by producing a new type of cultural product capable of penetrating into the everyday life of the Italians and therefore of re-configuring their social identity.

A step forward was taken in 1934 in this direction. In fact, the Direzione Generale per la Cinematografia was established on September 29, with the main object of controlling, promoting and disciplining film production in Italy. According to Jean A. Gili, rather than obeying to coercion, this *nationalization* of Italian cinema dealt with the *moralisation* of the medium in order to imitate what countries like the USA and Russia had programmed in their industries about the practices of film production, distribution and exhibition<sup>5</sup>. Thus, in the view of Luigi Freddi, the first director of such an institution, the action of the Direzione had to be based on the solutions tested by these two distinct national models. In particular, it had to be based on the following:

*On the rational and organic statement of initiatives, therefore the preparatory activity and its implementation take shape according to the established plans, with order and discipline [...],*

*considering the industrial, technical, artistic and ethic criteria sifted at the right moment and organically allotted*<sup>6</sup>.

In this cultural and political enterprise, the new Italian film stars – both men and women – had to take on the central role of representing the nation on the screen. In this article, I intend to consider the construction of the national film identities of Italian actors and actresses and their relation with their masculine and feminine essences. I would also like to demonstrate how this process was articulated in a problematic fashion.

The first step consists in demonstrating how the “public” practice of *writing* on film stars involves a series of concerns about their national and cultural identities. In fact, if our aim is to study, as we will soon see, film stars *as a social and cultural sign*, it is necessary to investigate such a phenomenon by questioning not only film texts but also the written text surrounding them. From our point of view, therefore, the primary film paratexts produced during the 1930s – specifically, books, newspapers, popular and film magazines and so on – gravitated towards the formation of various national *strategies* about stardom and aimed at transforming a relatively well-established national identity of a film star into a different one. Thus, on this level of analysis, it is possible to follow the methodological models proposed by the field of Critical Discourse Analysis, and therefore to assume that a written or spoken text, construed as a cultural form, gives shape to its ideology in the concrete practice of human language. In this sense, according to Stuart Hall’s classic sentence: «Reality exists outside language, but it is constantly mediated by and through language: and what we can know and say has to be produced in and through discourse»<sup>7</sup>.

The second part of my article deals with the star phenomenon in relation to *screening* practices. The intention here is to focus on two famous Italian male stars of the above-mentioned period – Gino Cervi and Vittorio De Sica – and to see how their masculinity is constructed with reference to other types of masculinity flowing in the social and cultural space of the nation during the second half of the 1930s. As a working theory, I intend to promote a notion of masculinity of the Italian film male stars of these years in terms of non-homogeneity and, to a certain extent, of fragmentation, particularly if we compare it with the national authoritative model promoted by the dominant fascist ideology. In this respect, it seems to me that far from establishing a coherent identity in terms of cultural and national heritage, some films of the so called “Luigi Freddi’s era” (1934-1938) put into question the gender identities of their male characters; and the way in which they tried to overcome this trouble corresponds to an exaggeration of their masculinity. This strategy, defined as “masquerade” by Joan Riviere, permits a new articulation of identities whose intent is to re-establish the male subjectivities as “normal”, “dominant” and “national”.

## Writing the National Stars

In her study on French national cinema, Susan Hayward has recently noted that it is possible to consider a national cinema on the basis of two fundamental axes of reflection. In the first one, the goal is to analyse *how the national is enunciated* in three distinct areas: in the films themselves, in the written texts about them, and finally, in the context of the archival institutes in which films are housed and displayed; the movement, along this axis, goes from the cinema as “archive” to the national as “institution”. The other direction involves the analysis of *how to enunciate the national*, and specifically of «how cinema itself contributes to the construction of the concept of

the nation and, thereby, to the myth of the “national” in national cinema»<sup>8</sup>; the movement, in this case, goes from the cinema as “device” to the national as “symbolic order”. In this second axis, the *star as sign* plays a central role in the definition of what is “national” in a national cinema.

From this particular perspective, although the star functions as a sign of the indigenous cultural codes, and therefore contributes to cement the values and the traditions of a specific national imaginary, there might be some cases in which this semiotic phenomenon encounters a number of difficulties when striving to carry out its aim. As Richard Dyer points out in his seminal book on film stars, in fact, the image of this fundamental part of cinema institution can be analysed as *a structured polysemy*. In conformity with Dyer’s remarks, the image of the star is a *complex totality*, and its signification deals with some elements whose aim is to *reinforce* or to be «to some degree in *opposition* or *contradiction*»<sup>9</sup> with one another. The nationality of the Italian film stars of the 1930s seems partly caught up in a play of correspondences, non-correspondences and contradictions, and in this sense, it can be conceived as a total amount of fragments rather than an authentic and definite cultural unity.

Thus, we are now able to say that the written texts about film stars – interviews, biographies, announcements, reviews and so on – are meaningful devices in the structuring of such a contingent entity; and we may also add that these particular paratexts fulfil the central role of creating and re-creating “discursive formations” in relation to the identity of film stars and their national belongings.

However, rather than focusing on the linguistic aspects of such discourses, I would rather analyse them as *social and cultural practices*. Under this identity, these statements are able to articulate a particular system, which, in the words of Norman Fairclough, is an *order of discourse*:

*An order of discourse is a network of social practices in its language aspect. The elements of orders of discourse are not things like nouns and sentences (elements of linguistic structures), but discourses, genres and style. These elements select certain possibilities defined by languages and exclude others – they control linguistic variability for particular areas of social life*<sup>10</sup>.

The quotation highlights the power of discourses to construct an order, and thus to produce social life meanings. We could say that a national film star is to be read as the result of a number of social and cultural orders. So as to study this aspect of a film star, using the tools of Critical Discourse Analysis, I would like to reflect on the formation of the cultural identities related to a film star, and to consider the role of discourse in producing such identities. Drawing on the words of Teun A. van Dijk, I wish to explore «how specific discourse structures determine specific mental processes, or facilitate the formation of specific social representations»<sup>11</sup>. These “mental processes” and “social representations” about fascist film stars nationality are “cultural models” and “situated meanings”; in fact, as James Paul Gee writes, in the first place, they «don’t just exist in people’s heads, but are often shared across people, books, other media, and various social practices», and secondly, they are «*negotiated* between people in and through communicative social interaction»<sup>12</sup>. In this respect, I intend to focus my attention on some texts which can be found in the Italian popular press of the 1930s, and to develop an interpretation of these texts in order to understand which discursive strategies dealt with the construction of national identity in relation to film stars.

The problem of male and female actors is a problem that engages the Italian popular press from the very moment in which different voices belonging to film criticism began to speak about the

“rebirth” of national cinema. In this regard, the most urgent issue at stake is represented by the generational replacement of the Italian stars who had already lived their Golden Age during the 1910s and 1920s. The new Italian actors, according to such a demand, will have to form a whole in which the gender roles will be finally established and then consolidated. This particular imperative is considered in an article written by Umberto Paradisi in 1925 on the images of Italian film male stars who will become essential parts of the future Fascist culture.

*At long last, the male element is to be male. In **the films of our past**, the male character has never worn a proudly virile expression. Too many weaknesses in his face, in his clothes, in his gestures. This is why **we were defeated** by the Americans, and **we also got quite a good beating** from the Germans<sup>13</sup>.*

In its homophobic subtext, this abstract contains a fundamental strategic linguistic device. It is clear that the aim of the author is to promote *unification* and *identification* in relation to the sexual identity of the male characters future Italian films. More specifically, the process of *unification* deals with the word *we* related to text passages like «films of our past», «we were defeated» and «we also got quite a good beating». This pronoun, in fact, aims at connecting the daily and its readership within a national subjectivity, thereby enabling the critic to detail some shared concerns about men and their film representations. As Norman Fairclough notes, an aspect of this reduction operated by the *we* «is that it serves corporate ideologies which stress the unity of people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest»<sup>14</sup>. A specific type of discursive strategy therefore runs through this sort of texts, which attempts to construct and to establish a certain national identity by seeking a general consensus as well as widespread support with regard to cultural, aesthetical and social values. On the other hand, however, it is likewise obvious that in this sort of texts the model of masculinity which is constructed is based on explicit allusions to other geographically conterminous (i.e. German) or non-conterminous (i.e. American) national models of male identity.

In the light of these first considerations, we might say that national cultures are not coherent and unified artefacts; as Stuart Hall observes out, it is more useful to think of them in a more problematic fashion: «They are cross-cut by deep internal divisions and differences, and “unified” only through the exercise of different forms of cultural power»<sup>15</sup>. Thus, discourses which tend to present aspects of a specific national culture in terms of solidity and homogeneity legitimize their assumptions by integrating other forms of difference into themselves. As Ruth Wodak notes, what is at play here is another type of strategy, a strategy which aims at transforming a relatively well-established national identity into another<sup>16</sup>. For our purposes, we can see it at work, for instance, in a popular text published in 1931 by the film magazine *L'Eco del Cinema*; the peculiar function of this text was to launch a young male actor, Carlo Fontana Arnoldi, who, in this discursive context, was referred to as a «typical Italian actor».

*We have the pleasure and the honour to introduce to you Carlo Fontana Arnoldi, the leading actor of Cines Pittaluga. [...] You can see in him an **exuberant young guy**, endowed with a **masculine** virility; a young **man** with his hair always dishevelled, an **athletic** figure, the spirit of an overgrown child, accustomed to all types of sports. [...] You must also know that he practices all **sports** every single day and he excels in **yachting** and in **tennis** in a distinguished manner. He is now preparing one of his great **exploits**, which will enrich the **list of records** which already belong to him: the crossing from Italy to Libia in his **yacht**, and he will be the daring helmsman of the glorious sailing venture<sup>17</sup>.*

In this excerpt, to recall Fairclough's notion which we mentioned earlier on, it is possible to discern two distinct forms of *orders of discourse* competing with one another; each of them strives to control specific mental processes in order to articulate two types of cultural models in relation to Carlo Fontana Arnoldi's masculinity. In the first case, the set of adjectives related to Fontana's physical aspect and to his social behaviour (*exuberant, young, masculine, athletic*) is the same grammatical linguistic device which was used by many hygiene manuals of that time for describing the "real" image of the Italian man in his physical and spiritual qualities. For example, in *L'igiene dell'amore sessuale. Pagine dedicate agli uomini*, a manual published in Italy in 1929, the author, Giulio Casalini, writes that only through the control of their own excesses men will be successful in their sexual relations with women and in their ordinary business lives: «A pure life, the fight against the tendencies generated by imitation and unhealthy excitation – observes Casalini –, reverberate favourably on all human existence. The character becomes tougher and stronger. Will becomes energetic and inflexible»<sup>18</sup>. This meant that the Italian men of the 1930s, for the purpose of being dominant in the broader sense of the word, had to master their own bodies, both in a sexual and social way. «In the new Italy – as Victoria de Grazia points out in her study on women during the Fascist regime –, real men of character showed their own virility not so much by beating or purging their socialist or liberal-democratic enemies with castor oil, but rather by scattering the seeds of a large progeny»<sup>19</sup>. I shall return to this point later, when I will talk about Vittorio De Sica and Gino Cervi's masculinity performances in their movies *Il signor Max* and *L'argine*.

The second form of *order of discourse* which deserves special attention in the text quoted above deals with those nouns (*sports, yachting, tennis, exploits, records list, yacht*) which urge the addressee of the message to re-shape her/his national identity. In particular, these words tend to come across as discursive fragments of a cultural imaginary that refers to the symbolic meaning that a country like America has taken on in terms of modernity. In this sense, activities like sport or *yachting* are connected with new attitudes that informed the *ways of life* pertaining to the citizens of the nations in which "free time" had started to become increasingly more organized and institutionalized since popular culture was regarded by political governments as an emerging social problem. One of these nations, in addition to just mentioned America, was England; in fact, as Peter Burke writes: «It was [in] England in the early nineteenth century that we first see the rise of the idea of a "sporting world" which included hunting, racing, shooting, angling, cricket, walking and boxing»<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the text articulates Carlo Fontana Arnoldi's masculinity as a struggle between a solid image of "Italianess", centred on a *straight* ideal of virility, and a trans-national image of man, where the reality of several practices related to the popular culture and leisure aims to undo national boundaries.

Strategies of integration and transformation in their linguistic aspect are clearly visible as cultural devices in discourses concerning Italian female stars. It is possible to see such strategies in action, for example, in a number of articles written by the journalist Francesco Càllari in 1939 in the pages of the popular journal *Film*<sup>21</sup>. In these texts, Càllari tries to analyse the Fascist female stardom by means of two complementary axes of reflection: on the one hand, his central aim is to solidify not only the image but even the substance of the whole female star system, given that, at the end of the 1930s, male actors like Amedeo Nazzari or Antonio Centa with their bodies captivated the fantasy of the Italian audience; on the other hand, Càllari promotes a sort of correspondence between contemporary American film stars and Italian ones by trying to establish the professional identity of the latter via its close relation with the nationality of the former. With regard to this, the following example about Dria Paola and her textual relationship with Andrea Leeds is particularly germane:

*Physically the analogies are many, in the smallness of her shapes, in her hair style, in the depth of her lost look, in the anxious pose of her body; therefore, as a “distinct character” Dria Paola ideally aspires to Andrea Leeds<sup>22</sup>.*

## Screening the National Male Stars

In the previous section of this article we observed how it is necessary to begin to see masculinity as a heterogeneous, contradictory, social and historical notion; masculinity, in other words, must be defined not by any essence, but *in* and *through* a definite number of relations and transformations. Masculinities, from this point of view, do not have a pure heart guaranteed by nature, but are “invented categories”: «They are – as Sean Nixon notes – the product of the cultural meanings attached to certain attributes, capacities, dispositions and forms of conduct at [a] given historical moment»<sup>23</sup>. Moving from this theoretical assumption, my intention is to analyse the masculinities’ *representations* of two famous Italian male stars of the second part of the 1930s – Vittorio De Sica and Gino Cervi – and to establish some sort of connection between their film performances into distinct texts – *Il signor Max* (Mario Camerini, 1937) and *L’argine* (Corrado D’Errico, 1938) – and the role of their bodies in the practices of construction of national identity.

Both films have in common a fundamental diegetic trait: they present a male character that gets embroiled in a situation in which he changes his identity. In the case of D’Errico’s film, following a love affair with a foreign woman, Zvanì – a countryman who lives in the centre of Italy – leaves his native community to reach Rome, and after putting on the queer clothes of an Argentinean gaucho, he starts to perform in musical shows. On the other hand, in Camerini’s film, Gianni – a Roman newsvendor who loves to travel – tries to romantically win over a foreigner he meets during a cruise by pretending to be Max Varaldo, a fictitious Italian nobleman used to mingling with the international jet set.

Both *Il signor Max* and *L’argine* organize their narratives in three parts. These parts coincide with two distinct masculinities which respectively inform about Gianni and Zvanì’s subjectivities: the first and the last part promote a “controlled” masculinity, in which the two men are reinstated in their authentic communities and where their bodies are not displayed in any distinctive fashion (these are the parts of the text in which the heroes, to mention Vladimir Propp<sup>24</sup> or, from a psychoanalytical perspective, Jacques Lacan<sup>25</sup>, do not manifest a lack); the central part articulates instead a different narrative segment in which the two men’s masculinity changes qualitatively in terms of spectacle and becomes de-centred (this is the part of the text in which the heroes try to come to terms with a lack). It is actually in this main segment of the narration that the performative aspect of De Sica’s and Cervi’s “natural” bodies puts their national identity in a critical position; and it is actually in this part that their masculinities seem in crisis, too.

However, it is worthy of note that the notion of *performance* I am here referring is a popular one, a notion which I construe as an experience (or set of experiences) of sociability and cultural knowledge. In this respect, my notion of performance involves a real body articulated by a device of representation – in the specific case a “real” male body represented on the screen – and, consequently, the social ability to read the semiotic field in which this body is inscribed. As Simon Frith states,

*Performance requires an audience and an interpretation; it is a form of rhetoric, a rhetoric of gestures in which, in performance art at least, bodily movements and signs (including the*

*use of voice) dominate other forms of communicative sign [...]. Such a use of the body depends on the spectator's understanding of it as both an object (an erotic object, an attractive object, a repulsive object, a social object) and as a subject, as a willed or shaped object, an object with meaning*<sup>26</sup>.

The representation of the performing characters in these two texts might be explained in terms of Joan Riviere's configuration of "masquerade". This concept deals with a set of practices that women and men put into effect in order to overcome a conflict, an anxiety, a crisis, and as such it involves an ostentatious manifestation of their exterior sexual qualities. So, in the words of Riviere, in the same way in which «homosexual men exaggerate their heterosexuality as a "defence" against their homosexuality», «women who wish for masculinity may put on a mask of womanliness to avert anxiety and the retribution feared from men»<sup>27</sup>. In this sense we are able to consider Gianni/De Sica and Zvani/Cervi conduct: they try to resist certain national stereotypes regarding men's sexuality as invoked by Fascist ideology by performing a relative number of acts. The masquerades they enact – the international Italian nobleman impersonated by Gianni/De Sica and the Argentinean gaucho parodied by Zvani/Cervi – give rise to a number of contingent situations in which these characters seem to recreate their own masculinities in order to compensate for a sexual lack (the foreign women encountered) by identifying themselves with other national constructions. Thus, as Chris Holmlund notes in his analysis of masculinity as multiple masquerade, with such a concept in mind «we do not have to divorce critique from identification: dressing up, putting on, and stepping out are all possibilities»<sup>28</sup>. In the light of these first conclusions, it is important to consider a sequence of *L'argine*, where Zvani/Cervi tries to perform a gaucho in the course of a musical show at the night club Il Cigno Nero; in it, his body becomes an authentic spectacle and is meant *to be looked at* by some women sitting in front of him (Figs. 1-2).

Identity is, therefore, something we perform, and to see identity as "performativity" is to say that we may *feel* that we have an authentic self; but there is no essence, no pure thing. Identity is, rather, constituted *within* the representation and *within* the prevalent cultural codes, regulations and discourses. To quote Judith Butler: «The "coherence" and "continuity" of "the person" are not logical or analytic features of personhood, but, rather, socially instituted and maintained norms of intelligibility»<sup>29</sup>. Identity is a resistant or subversive act, but it is a contingent and strategic one, given that it can allude to identities culturally available to the subject.



Fig 1 - *L'argine* (Corrado D'Errico, 1938). Man as spectacle.



Fig. 2 - *L'argine* (Corrado D'Errico, 1938). Female gaze.



Fig. 3 - *Il signor Max* (Mario Camerini, 1937). Lifestyle magazines for men.



Fig. 4 - *Il signor Max* (Mario Camerini, 1937). Female gaze.

By way of conclusion, I would like to take into consideration the part played by Vittorio De Sica in the film I have just mentioned, *Il signor Max*. This actor is certainly one of the most famous male stars of the 1930s; his prestige reaches its highest point at the end of this decade when, for example, the film magazine *Cinema* identifies him as the third best Italian actor of 1940<sup>30</sup>. Vittorio De Sica, as noted by Paola Valentini, is an authentic “inter-medial subject”, shared by a large number of media including theatre, cinema, radio, record industry, popular press and so on<sup>31</sup>. Yet, his national image is constantly put into question: film magazines like *Cinemagazzino* or *Film* represent his body or his face in connection with other photographic images belonging to American male film stars such as Gary Cooper<sup>32</sup> or James Stewart<sup>33</sup>.

In the case of the film made with Mario Camerini, *Il signor Max*, De Sica/Gianni, masquerading himself as an international nobleman, operates in the same way: he aims to control his male body by using it performatively as a cultural product and as an “invented category”. He can thus construct a masculinity split in several distinct national identities. We can see it at work, for example, during the fourth sequence of the film, when Gianni/De Sica, at the port of Naples, meets the foreign woman; in this occasion a number of cultural objects (lifestyle magazines for men like *Esquire*) and a technological device (a photocamera Leica) are able to «promote – as Jill Greenfield et al. points out – a form of masculine identity based on consumption and fashion»<sup>34</sup> and, in the process, they join the character and his masculinity to other national fantasies (Figs. 3-4).

[Revision by Gloria Lauri-Lucente]

- 1 This text was originally presented as a paper at the International Conference *History of Stardom Reconsidered*, University of Turku, November 9-11, 2006.
- 2 See Aldo Bernardini (ed.), *Il cinema sonoro 1930-1969*, Anica, Roma 1992.
- 3 “Materia prima del Cinema”, in *Cinema Illustrazione*, VII, no. 25, June 22, 1932, p. 3 (my translation).
- 4 a. petr. [Antonio Petrucci], “L’ultima rinascita”, in *Il Tevere*, April 9, 1933 (my translation).
- 5 Jean A. Gili, *Stato fascista e cinematografia. Repressione e promozione*, Bulzoni, Roma 1981, pp. 92-93.
- 6 Luigi Freddi, “Discorso al pubblico”, in *Cinema*, I, Vol. I, no. 7, October 10, 1936, p. 251 (my translation).



- 7 Stuart Hall, *Encoding/Decoding*, in Stuart Hall *et al.* (eds.), *Culture, Media, Language: Working Papers in Cultural Studies, 1972-1979*, Hutchinson, London 1980, p. 131.
- 8 Susan Hayward, *French National Cinema*, Routledge, London-New York 2005, p. 8.
- 9 Richard Dyer, *Stars*, British Film Institute, London 1998<sup>2</sup>, p. 64.
- 10 Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, Routledge, London-New York 2003, p. 24.
- 11 Teun A. Van Dijk, "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis", in *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 4, no. 2, 1993, p. 259.
- 12 James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method*, Routledge, London-New York 1999, p. 52.
- 13 Umberto Paradisi, "Per far posto e dar prezzo al film *italiano*", in *Il Tevere*, August 6, 1925 (my translation; my bold emphasis).
- 14 Norman Fairclough, *Language and Power*, Longman, London 2001, p. 106.
- 15 Stuart Hall, *The Question of Cultural Identity*, in Stuart Hall, David Held, Tony McGrew (eds.), *Modernity and Its Future*, Polity Press/The Open University, Cambridge 1992, p. 297.
- 16 Rudolf De Cillia, Martin Reisigl, Ruth Wodak, "The Discursive Construction of National Identities", in *Discourse & Society*, Vol. 10, no. 2, April 1999, p. 161.
- 17 Galvanometro, "Un lupo... di mare! Carlo Fontana Arnoldi... tipico attore italiano", in *L'Eco del Cinema*, IX, no. 92, July 1931, p. 16 (my translation; my bold emphasis).
- 18 Giulio Casalini, *L'igiene dell'amore sessuale. Pagine dedicate agli uomini*, F. Casanova & C., Torino 1929, p. 97 (my translation).
- 19 Victoria de Grazia, *Le donne nel regime fascista (How Fascism Ruled Women. Italy, 1922-1945)*, University of California, Los Angeles-London 1992), Marsilio, Venezia 1993, p. 72.
- 20 Peter Burke, "The Invention of Leisure in Early Modern Europe", in *Past and Present*, no. 146, February 1995, p. 139.
- 21 See "Che cosa potrebbero fare", in *Film*, II, no. 14, April 8, 1939, p. 6; "Che cosa potrebbero fare", in *Film*, II, no. 22, June 3, 1939, p. 6; "La fabbrica delle attrici", in *Film*, II, no. 11, March 4, 1939, p. 9.
- 22 Francesco Callari, "Che cosa potrebbero fare", in *Film*, II, no. 22, cit., p. 6 (my translation).
- 23 Sean Nixon, *Exhibiting Masculinity*, in Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London 1997, p. 301.
- 24 Vladimir Ja. Propp, *Morfologia della fiaba (Morfologija skazki*, Academia, Leningrad 1928), Einaudi, Torino 1988.
- 25 Jacques Lacan, *La significazione del fallo*, in Id., *Scritti (Ecrits)*, Seuil, Paris 1966), Einaudi, Torino 1974, vol. II, pp. 682-693.
- 26 Simon Frith, "Editorial", in *New Formations*, no. 27, 1995-1996, p. V.
- 27 Joan Riviere, *Womanliness as a Masquerade*, in Victor Burgin, James Donald, Cora Kaplan (eds.), *Formations of Fantasy*, Methuen, London 1986, p. 35; originally published in *The International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, Vol. 10, 1929.
- 28 Chris Holmlund, *Masculinity as Multiple Masquerade: The "Mature" Stallone and the Stallone Clone*, in Steven Cohan, Ina Rae Hark (eds.), *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema*, Routledge, London-New York 1993, p. 225.
- 29 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Routledge, London-New York 1990, p. 23.
- 30 See *Cinema*, V, Vol. I, no. 87, February 10, 1940, p. 1.
- 31 Paola Valentini, *Modelli, forme e fenomeni di divismo: il caso Vittorio De Sica*, in Mariagrazia Fanchi, Elena Mosconi (eds.), *Spettatori. Forme di consumo e pubblici del cinema in Italia 1930-1960*, Marsilio, Venezia 2002, pp. 108-131.
- 32 See *Cinemagazzino*, a. V, no. 58, 9 April 1938, pp. 6-7.
- 33 See De Sica's image in *Film*, a. I, no. 18, 28 May 1938, p. 7; and Stewart's image in *Film*, a. I, no. 49, 31 December 1938, p. 7.
- 34 Jill Greenfield, Sean O'Connell, Chris Reid, "Fashioning Masculinity: *Men Only*, Consumption and the Development of Marketing in the 1930s", in *20<sup>th</sup> Century British History*, Vol. 1, no. 4, 1999, pp. 457-476.