

*Moralizing Cinema while Attracting Audiences:
Catholic Film Exhibition in Post-war Rome*

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As commercial film production was seen as a danger to the morality of the Church, Italian Catholics developed the idea of employing a positive influence over producers by creating an extensive network of parish cinemas where films could be rigorously selected and screened. While from a religious point of view, parish cinemas were meant to be a way of spreading the evangelical message, from a purely commercial perspective, they were businesses like every other cinema. This system provided the Vatican with a means of exerting pressure on the Italian film industry. However, when looking at the programming, the marketing processes and the oral history, a new picture emerges. While in theory parish cinemas could only show films approved by the Censorship Commission of the Centro Cattolico Cinematografico (Catholic Cinema Centre - CCC) to be screened in religious venues, in practice films officially only considered suitable in a public venue (*For all* and *For all with appropriate changes*) were often still shown in parish cinemas. This was a consequence of the limited number of ‘suitable’ films available at the time. Therefore, if the process of both moralising cinema and attracting audiences employed by the Vatican in conjunction with the Government presented profuse compromises, oral history allows us for the first time to better comprehend how the educational role of a parish cinema network was perceived by its actual audiences. Rome is here used as a case study, as the world Catholic center, the housing of the Vatican City, of the Catholic curia and all the main Catholic administrative offices. Responses from 325 questionnaires followed up by 32 video-interviews (available at <http://www.memoro.org/it/brookes/>) are analysed in order to response to Martin Barker’s question ‘What spaces and traditions are available to

people, and how do these shape and enable participation? [...] What information, comparisons, judgements, expectations, hopes and fear precede and then accompany encounters?’ⁱ. Looking at the parish cinemas as spaces available to Roman audiences in the post-war period and analysing their responses in relationship to this particular type of space allow us to understand how they shaped and enabled participation in the capital audiences. Moreover, the chapter attempts to discover whether the process of moralizing audiences was successful in Rome and how it was remembered by its protagonists.

A cinema in each Parish: Catholic cinemas in post-war Italy

‘The above-mentioned office [a permanent national reviewing office] will likewise look after the organization of existing motion picture theatres belonging to parishes and to Catholic associations so that they may be guaranteed reviewed and approved films. Through the organization of these halls, which are often known to the cinema industry as good clients, it will be possible to advance a new claim, namely that the industry produce motion pictures which conform entirely to our standards. Such films may then readily be shown not only in the Catholic halls but also in others’.ⁱⁱ

With these words, in 1936 Pius XI informed the Catholic world on the ways to influence film production through an energetic and organised establishment of parish exhibition, with the intent of activating its moralising process not just in its circuit of cinemas but eventually in all commercial sites as well. From 1936, parish cinemas developed into an extensive network of venues that – regulated since 1949 by the ACEC (Azione Cattolica Esercenti Cinema – Catholic Exhibitors’ Association) - reached in 1954 the number of around 4000, which

represented a third of the total exhibition sector.ⁱⁱⁱ In line with Pius XI's view on the role of parish cinemas, Mons Francesco Dalla Zuanna – president of ACEC – praised their educating and moral targets as active instruments to support apostolate and pastoral preaching.^{iv} Exerting pressure on film production through a Catholic exhibition network was not, however, the only aim of parish cinemas. Cardinal Giuseppe Siri, archbishop of Genoa, reminded Catholics of another significant role parish cinemas played: to act as catalyst for the faithful towards the vitality of the parishes themselves, thanks to the attractive role of cinema for young as well as older audiences.^v The analysis of parish cinema programming through the memories of its audiences will help us reflect on the actual success of both these purposes, on the aid of moralising through cinema and on attracting audiences to churches.

In terms of geographical distribution, as Mariarazia Fanchi states in this book (Chapter 13), the network of Catholic movie theatres only covered part of the Italian territory and when one looks into the geographical presence of cinema theatres in Italy, what Fanchi describes as the 'quality of presence' of the parish cinemas becomes more evident.^{vi} Most of the distribution is concentrated in the North and the Centre of the country, leaving the South in an isolated position^{vii}. Beside this geographical discriminating distribution, a further distinction is worth noting: while industrial cinemas predominantly developed in major urban areas, parish cinemas developed more in smaller villages and towns.^{viii} While it is difficult to assess accurately the degree of influence exerted by the Vatican over the production of commercial films in the post-war period – and this is not the intent of this chapter - it is certain that, as Giulio Andreotti – at the time Undersecretary to the President of the Council of Ministers responsible for the state intervention in the film industry - admitted, the existence of thousands of parish cinemas certainly came to put pressure on distribution and therefore on production. The network of

parish cinemas, therefore, constituted at the time a significant tool to dialogue with the film industry and to stress the importance of a moral film production.

In her essay on post-war film exhibition, Elena Mosconi reminds us how the parish cinema network was constituted of a wide range of different spaces, which operated in significantly dissimilar ways.^{ix} Some of them were competing at all effect with the commercial exhibition, while others were no more than a small room with a few chairs and a very occasional programming. In terms of competition, while in theory the commercial exhibition was partly protected by a series of limitations imposed on the parish cinema circuit, in practice these restrictions did not seem to hinder - especially in small villages - the market share. The curtailments imposed, in fact, were not all of them fully respected or did not constitute a severe constraint: the number of screening days (three to four per week) were maximised by the Sunday and days before a holiday; the maximum of three screenings per day was probably comparable to what was available in commercial cinemas; the ban of publicising films outside the church area was compensated by the publicity in magazines and posters; and the obligation to respect the CCC's classification for films could force a screening programme of at times only 9 films per year and therefore impossible to stick to in the growing number of parish cinemas. Therefore, parish cinemas were often accused of showing commercial films with little concern their moral value.^x Moreover, parish cinemas were often managed to achieve reductions and tax discounts, as well as run by non religious managers more interested in profit making than in moralising their audiences.^{xi}

While in her chapter Mariagrazia Fanchi discusses the complex issue of parish cinemas in Italy, I want to concentrate on the comparison between what the Catholic Church intended to do through its vast network of cinemas and the memories of local audiences on what those cinemas

represented for them in the reality of its capital, Rome. This will help understand what Rajana Das defines the ‘contextual formation’ to audience research: ‘how ‘time, place, cultural and other circumstances of viewing play formative roles in helping to shape even the most personal of responses’.^{xiii} The following two sections aim to understand how the contextual formation to post-war Catholic cinema-going in Rome was significant in the shaping of audiences’ responses.

Rome and its parish audiences

With a population of just under two million (1.651.754), Rome was in the 1950s the largest city in Italy.^{xiii} From a methodological point of view, the main difficulty in the attempt to explore the geographical dimension of film Catholic exhibition and audiences in Rome has been the attempt to define with certainty the total number of cinemas operating in the city under this category, as they do not appear in a reliable way on any official record of film exhibition. The source I have used in this chapter is from the SIAE (Societa Italiana Autori ed Editori, a multi-purpose society operating in the entertainment industry since 1948 as well as the official source of data in terms of cinema theatres in the country). However, despite providing significant information on cinema venues in Italy, SIAE takes into account all the venues which have screened a film even for only one day, increasing therefore the number of variables.^{xiv} I have hence cross-referenced SIAE’s data with the one provided by ACEC which, however, does not have a snapshot of the film exhibition year by year but a full database of its archive from 1949 until 1990s. The combination of the two sources should promise a fuller picture of the Catholic exhibition system in place in the post-war era.

Moreover, borrowing Klenotic’s ‘geo-ethno-historical’ approach, I have used the Geographical Information System (GIS) in order to map film exhibition in the capital, with the intention of

bringing to light up to now unexplored areas of Italian audiences research.^{xv} By geo-referencing the cinema database record and comparing it with the oral history of cinema-going in the last section of this chapter, a dialogue between ethnographic and geographical discourses will allow me to chart not only the spatial distribution of Catholic cinemas across the city, but also new cine-spatial features in practices of cinema-going in 1950s Rome.

When looking at the geography of the exhibition some considerations need to be made. Roman audiences had a wide network of city centre and neighborhood cinemas which catered for all tastes and prices. To the commercial exhibition network of around 130 cinemas, one must obviously add the wide circuit of around 58 parish cinemas which were – like third run venues - scattered in all the three city zones, but - unlike them - had a smaller seating capacity (only 6 of them, in fact, had more than 500 seats). However, when looking at figure 1, one can immediately understand the significance of parish cinemas, not only because they represented about one third of the total number of movie theatres available, but also because they were significantly placed in all areas of the city, becoming accessible to all different kinds of audiences. The geo-referencing process reveals the major strategic role parish cinemas had in the city in relation to commercial ones. The map, in fact, shows a strong presence of small parish venues (<500 seats) especially in the outskirts of the city, where choice of commercial venues was more limited and the need for a wider seating capacity less apparent. At the same time it also displays a wider selection of larger parish venues (>500 seats) in the city centre, where the need to compete with bigger and more exclusive first run venues was necessary.

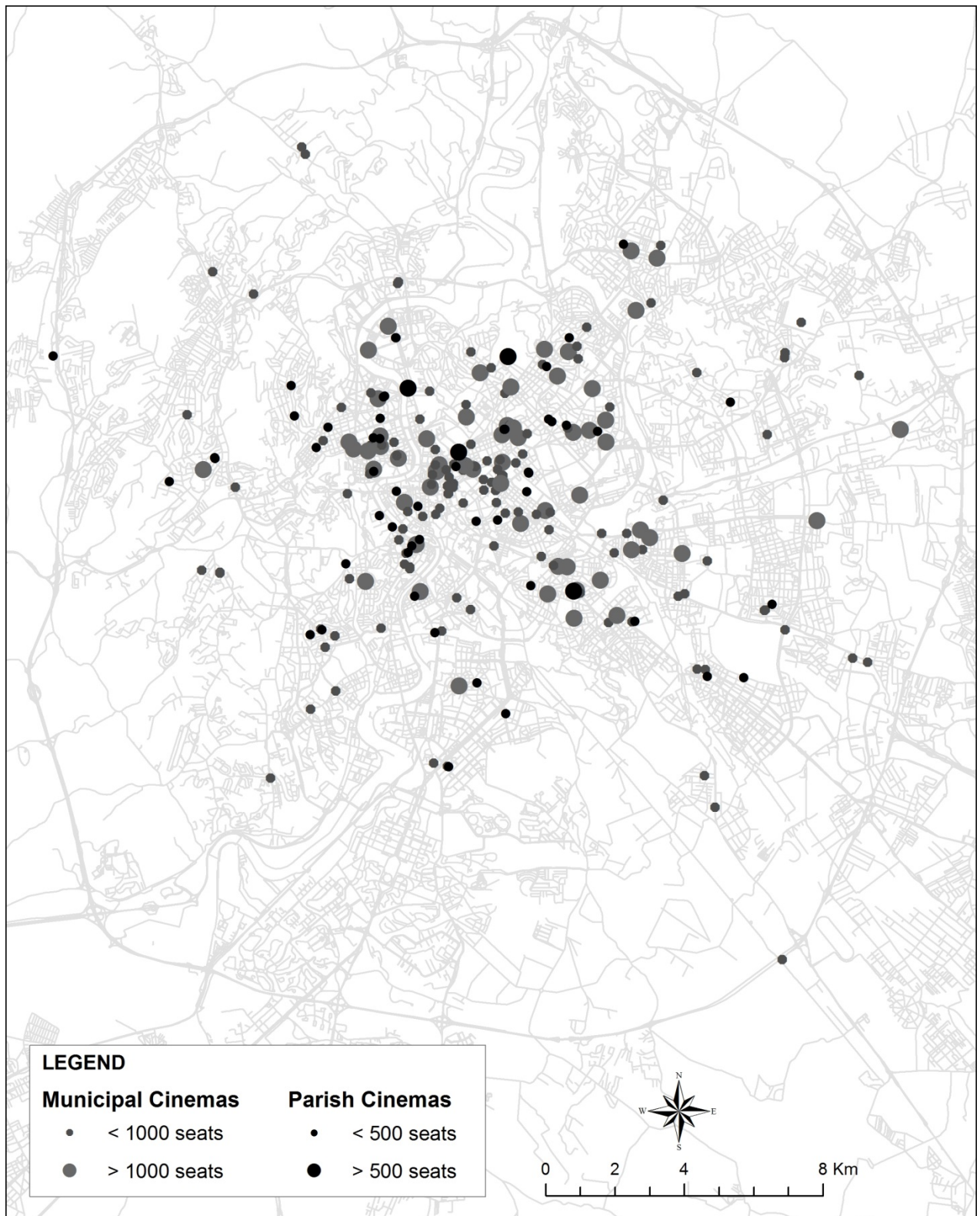


Figure 1- Map showing the distribution of commercial and parish cinema in Rome. Map

Design: Ravazzoli Elisa, 2014.

While in the South of the country cinema's viewing conditions of darkness and promiscuity still represented a problem for the Catholic establishment in terms of decency and morality, this inappropriate role of cinema as instrument for the Church's purposes was not reflected in the capital. In Rome, in fact, the network of parish cinemas was a successful Catholic operation, described in details in the memories of its spectators. It seems that for Roman audiences Gremigni's theory could be applied, where the connection between cinema and ideology is determined by the proximity and the modalities of access to the cinema theatres. In the specific case of parish cinemas, the young audiences were attracted to the idea of watching the film prior to the condition of attending a catechism class.^{xvi} This is very similar to Dalla Zuanna's idea of using cinema to market Catholicism and its actions. However, when Gremigni affirms that the films shown were ideologically selected in relation to the Catholic values they expressed, she overestimates the level of control over the types of films available in parish cinemas. I have already discussed how the Catholic choice on film programming was more complex than predicted and several were the cases in which films with little Catholic values were shown in parish circuit.^{xvii} What is worth remembering is that the Catholic Church's moral concern was often at odd with the daily management of its own cinema circuit and compromises were negotiated especially when the parish cinema was run by a non-religious exhibitor. Obviously, when one remembers that young audiences' attendance to the cinema increased in the 1950s, as youth age 16-29 represented the majority of the cinema attendance according to a DOXA survey in 1954, the Catholic Church's concern – often expressed by Pope Pius XII – towards young audiences and exposure to inappropriate cinema is even more understandable.^{xviii}

Memories of Catholic cinemas from its Roman audiences

Despite our respondents' most vivid memories of the cinema came from their years as adolescents and young adults (15-25 years), confirming a reminiscence bump pattern which is commonly observed, childhood memories were often intense, demonstrating a profound engagement of the informants with the process of cinema-going in their young age.^{xix} When our respondents discussed their memories of parish cinema-going, the most predominant age of attendance is childhood, which must be bore in mind in the analysis of their responses. Going back to Barker's questions, I want to investigate how parish cinemas have shaped and enabled participation, exploring the information, comparisons, judgements, expectations, hopes and fear that precede and then accompany encounter with parish cinema. This will allow me to assess whether those aspects of cinema-going were in line with the process of moralising audiences aimed at by the Catholic Church.

Information, Comparison and Judgement

The oral history project provides us with information on various aspects of parish cinema network: programming, censorship, gender preferences as well as judgement on the physical qualities of the venues in comparison with commercial cinemas and significance of those venues.

Audiences remember that parish cinemas were places where they watched predominantly old films (as a 'fourth run', after they had passed through the entire exhibition system) and in particular American films. This is very much in line with a general preference of the Catholic

Church towards American cinema, expressed through the CCC film rating.^{xx} In fact, while Italian films were the highest amongst the Not Recommended and Excluded categories, amongst the most successful US films in the years 1945-60 the same categories contained only fifteen films. American productions were, in fact, held by the Catholic establishment to be in general more worthwhile than national ones. This is, for instance, very much the case of American comedies (such as the ones remembered by audiences) where immoral factors were considered to be absent and their escapist nature had the pure aim of distracting the spectators and making them laugh, without any underlying political purpose. These 'positive and instructive' qualities of the American comedies were – according to the Catholic press - apparently not present in their Italian counterparts.^{xxi}

What is, however, more interesting in the responses given in the questionnaires, is the condescending and demeaning way in which parish cinema programming was described by its audiences. The films seen were *simple, silly, little films* (filmetti) which made us children laugh (Teresa R.). They were also cheaper than commercial films (più a buon mercato), as the parishes could not afford higher rents (Natalia); neither forbidden nor daring, but *selected* (Nandy), confirming an awareness towards the screening choices made by individual parishes. Moreover, the programming was only revealed at the last minute, which obviously did not offer audiences the opportunity for an informed decision. The genres most remembered were comedies (Larry Semon's as well as Charlie Chaplin's, Stan Laurel and Oliver Hardy's films), musical, but above all westerns, which offered audiences great excitement (Velia, Giuliana D.T.). According to Angelo D.T., the range of films popular in parish cinemas was also crafted by a politics of gender: he states, in fact, how the selection of films was operated to attract boys of his age, with successes such as *Knights of the Round Table* (Richard Thorpe, 1953), *Ivanoh* (Richard Thorpe, 1952), *The Mark of Zorro* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1940), *The Lone Ranger*

(Stuart Heisler, 1956) as well as more general Cloak and Dagger narratives. Angelo's awareness of Catholic strategic choices is also confirmed by other participants when commenting about issues of censorship. If the cutting of a kiss scene was fondly remembered by some Romans' questionnaires (LAR072, LAR071), it is Giuseppe's interview that sheds more light on the censoring aspect of the films: 'they were mainly chaste films, even if at the time they did not really produced risqué ones. But also *random* films, films they managed to get hold of in one way or another, films perhaps that they could get free of charge'. Giuseppe's statement confirms the discrepancy between a desire to intervene on film choice by offering a moral production and a reality made of what he describes as 'random' films, chosen more out of convenience than out of shared principles.^{xxii} This concept of arbitrariness was used in 1950 in an article on *La Rivista del Cinematografo* (official Catholic film journal) by Ildo Avetta, a Catholic architect heavily involved in the CCC, of which he became president.^{xxiii} Avetta's point, however, is very different. He claimed that the few morally acceptable films were developed by coincidence and that— in order to help those 4000 parish priests in charge of the Catholic cinemas – a new policy was needed: one that would encourage consciously healthy films and not just *randomly* healthy ones. This divergence presents a first alarm bell between ideal world and reality. While in the official literature the Catholic establishment was eager to stress the need to increase pressure on production in order to obtain a wider selection of moral films, what audiences' memories highlight is a film programming that tolerates less decent films but that audiences still seek to watch. However, a video-interview is worth mentioning here, as it presents that official position of the Catholic Church through the eyes of a spectator, Teresa R., who recites in details what was expected by the Vatican as if that was the reality of the time. The only surprising fact is that she still remains an isolated case amongst a wide range of different answers where the official attitude is not taken into account, if not completely ignored. When asked to describe her experience at the parish cinemas, Teresa's answer is:

I want to remind you that parish cinemas and oratories with screening facilities were disseminated throughout the city. They were also very popular, because their films were carefully selected and presented themes important for people, such as love, high feelings, family-related, religious, social and historical themes which would touch people's heart. Incidentally, one must consider that the religious feelings – which cover all aspects of life – as well as common morality were very felt by people. Churches were crowded on Sunday mass; many adolescents attended oratories and all children followed catechism lessons for Holy Communion and Confirmation. In every secondary school a religious teacher was present while in primary schools the teacher would cover – amongst his/her other subjects – religion and good manners. That is how I remember the school.

Teresa's discourse reflects the obvious concern expressed in Catholic official literature of a programming selection which in Catholic venues had to reflect Catholic principles. In her narrative, however, Teresa does not mention the fact that the reality of parish cinema screening was actually different. This could be due to the fact that she never experienced personally any unsuitable films being screened at her local parish cinemas, or that, coming from a very religious family, and knowing well what to expect from the dictates of the Vatican, a lack or loosening of morality in a venue which should preserve that integrity, could obviously increase her discomfort towards such events. This specific omission raises issues in terms of the discrepancy between official discourse and real practice, especially at a time in Italy where for certain families cinema represented a danger to women's morality and in some cases cinema was a forbidden practice 'even in parish cinema' (LAR165). This obvious contextual influence over Teresa's narrative is, however, limited to a small section of the Roman population interviewed. The majority refers to cinema-going as a common practice during the 1950s,

where audiences verbalise their experience as part of the everyday life and parish cinemas were still considered a safe environment. However, that moral guidance offered in the CCC film rating was often left to the individual's decision to follow or dismiss. In another interview, one participant, Renata I., remembers - as she belonged to the Catholic Action – that she would seek in the Catholic press the reviews of films allowed and forbidden. Renata clearly states that it was not a common procedure and not many people would follow those guidelines. By defining herself as a fanatic and by indicating the quarrels with her father, a Catholic man who did not however feel he had to strictly follow the CCC commandments, she offers an insight into a procedure ideally crafted by the Catholic Church but in practice interpreted differently by Catholic audiences. The contradiction between an idea of cinema as either entertainment or perdition, which Renata admits to have moved away from only in an adult life, was also the incongruity the Church was struggling to cope with at the time.

Apart from the dubious conviction that in parish cinemas only morally acceptable films were available, what the oral history narrative provides is a portrayal of a space where accessibility and convenience were mostly valued. Not only their ticket prices were very economical (LAR045, LAR320), hence removing the financial restriction from that part of the population who could not afford to attend first and second run cinemas. Price discrimination, in fact, was a decisive aspect in defining patterns of cinema attendance in Rome and cost of cinema tickets varied significantly, partly hindering that wide choice available. Furthermore, their locations were suitably placed next to the local churches, where Romans from their neighbourhoods would regularly gather, and not only for purely religious purposes. Parish cinemas also gave children the opportunity to break free from parental restrictions and gain greater independence, as they were considered to be a safe environment they could attend on their own. Differently

from a parish cinema in a village where – as described in Livio Fantina’s essay – women and men were physically separated in different areas of the cinema and the censoring hand of the priest was very visible, in Rome those moral rules were never mentioned by audiences and the repressing role of the Church towards cinema was taken more lightly.^{xxiv} This level of freedom – at times criticised by the actual Catholic establishment – was what emerges more vividly in the memories of the spectators.^{xxv} The proximity of the parish cinemas for many adolescents represented the opportunity for an intrepid experience within the confined and safe environment of the neighborhood (Giuseppina P.). This feeling of home outside the household is also confirmed in terms of place description, where audiences remember the simplicity and the house-like feeling which distinguished these venues from commercial ones. The plainness of the interiors, the use of wooden chairs instead of first run cinemas’ lavish velvet seats, as well as the atmosphere, the simple use of a projector against a wall and the lack of a screen just seem to help defining parish cinema as another space, something different from the elegance of proper movie-theatres (LAR191, LAR247). However, despite this level of accessibility and familiarity, simplicity of interior and randomness of programming, parish cinemas still represented, in childhood memories, an occasion to do something special and to enjoy the only amusement available at such a good value. At a time in which the country was devastated by the war and – as a participant (Teresa R.) states - ‘people had nothing and cinema represented the only form of entertainment’, combining the exceptionality of the performance with the familiarity of the venue and of the community was the most striking way to attract young audiences, whose morality was close to Pius XII’s heart.^{xxvi}

Expectations, Hopes and Fears

The atmosphere and the expectations of going to the parish cinema are shared in the questionnaires and in the video-interviews in many ways: through descriptions of special

cinema arrangements, where children were entitled to a film screening after the catechism lesson; through the discussions on the films amongst friends from the parish; through memories of shouting, eating, joking and drinking; more in general, through the idea of spending time with school and church friends who would provide the real entertainment. This seems to confirm Fantina's idea that other spectators become for children audiences the real show: they remember and comment on other audiences.^{xxvii} The spectacle is provided both on the screen and outside it. The comradeship atmosphere is sociable and animated and the comments from the participants seem to confirm children's excitement for a shared experience, common to similar circumstances in other countries.^{xxviii} It is, in fact, that shared time the most valued aspect of parish cinema-going. The experience is an extension of the activities of the oratories, spaces where everybody know each other and school, church, and entertainment are all part of the same environment. It is in the oratory where Catechism is taught, where afterschool sport is practised and where amusements are available. In his interview, Angelo D.T. defines his local parish like a small village of around 63 thousand inhabitants. In this context, the alienation of the big city is eradicated through the closeness created by the local parish, where families' expectations are met and safety, friendship and well-being preserved. The anticipation of watching a film and playing in the oratory amongst friends - that Giuseppina P. fondly remembers - represents a world with limited boundaries, where nobody had to exhibit a specific dressing or behavioural code, neither to be confined by exhibition schedules and regulations. It was a space where the fear of perdition, sinning and corruption was absent, because the parish cinema was a safe place, where both female and male spectators could go on their own and parents were comfortable with that idea (LAR292 and LAR251). It was a place where the community would gather (LAR314) and a place which was good and decent (LAR026). In childhood memories the expectation of a venue which combined familiarity and exceptionality, domesticity and foreignness, allowed the creation of an educational space within a special

entertainment atmosphere. In this book (Chapter 13) Mariagrazia Fanchi states that the Church's educational objectives shifted from cinema towards television in the second half of the fifties, indirectly encouraging those categories at risk (mainly women and children) to reduce their cinema going practice. What our audiences remember, though, is that while parish cinema attendance might not have played a formative role in terms of religious education because of the lack of strict control of film exhibition, it certainly developed in young Romans those social skills so often remembered in the questionnaires and interviews. While the Catholic Church would pay attention to monitor the 'tension between the *willingness to promote cinema and the need to exercise control over it*', audiences were more interested in sharing a social space which was safe, familiar and exceptional at the same time.

Conclusions

For Italian audiences of the 1950s cinema was by far the most popular pastime. While Rome represented, at that time, the centre of film production and consumption, very little has been written on the habit of cinema-going in the city in the post war period and even less on the role parish cinemas played in their memories. This case study of Rome in relation to parish cinema gathers new evidence specifically on Catholic exhibition memories. As age was a significant aspect in the choice of cinema theatres, parish cinemas were the spaces predominantly associated with children. Those cinemas acted, therefore, as temporal landmarks for autobiographical memories and represented perpetual moments of those specific times in the lifecycles of their audiences.

When looking at topographical memory and local belonging one can reflect upon the vital relationship between the cultural geography of the city and cinema-going, especially in the case of parish cinemas. Their presence in the capital was very visible, partly because of their

invaluable role of allowing children to experience cinema at low cost especially at a time when mobility was limited and price discrimination was vital in cinema venues' selection. Furthermore, they secured a safe and familiar environment for parents to leave their youngsters unattended in a space close to home but away from a tighter domestic control. Therefore, low ticket cost and safe surroundings constituted a strong attraction for both parents and children which the Catholic Church was eager to exploit. As a result, parish cinemas, even more than commercial ones, performed a formative role in audiences' childhood, and cemented the process of attracting a younger population towards the parish community.

The analysis of parish cinema programming through the memories of its audiences was here meant to help us reflect on the actual success of a twofold aim: moralising through cinema and attracting audiences to churches. If the oral history cannot prove for sure that the existence of parish cinemas came to put pressure on distribution and therefore on production, it can certainly help us in discovering how the process of moralizing audiences was left unnoticed by its protagonists. On the contrary, what this study seems to disclose is that perhaps in the Italian capital parish cinemas had a part more in strengthening the role of the church community than in the audiences' moralizing process desired by the Vatican.

When the city was at its height in the development of a strong film industry and an even strong exhibition sector, audiences' participation was – going back to Martin Barker's words – shaped and enabled by spaces and traditions which, in the case of parish cinemas, were available to satisfy their expectations and hopes. The Catholic community in the local parishes represented at the time that 'contextual formation' to personal identity and continuity, 'which place-related memories, particularly those that concern childhood places', are an important source of.^{xxix}

Endnotes

i Barker, Martin. 2012. 'Crossing Out the Audience' in Christie, Ian, ed. *Audiences: Defining and Researching Screen Entertainment Reception*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 190.

iii Encyclical of Pope Pius XI *Vigilanti Cura* (On Motion Pictures) promulgated on June 29, 1936.

iii Fanchi, Mariagrazia. 2006. 'Non censurare ma educare! L'esercizio cinematografico cattolico e il suo progetto culturale e sociale' in Ruggero Eugeni and Dario E. Viganò, eds., *Attraverso lo schermo. Cinema e cultura cattolica in Italia*. Roma: Ente dello Spettacolo, 106.

iv Dalla Zuanna, Francesco. 1956. 'L'esercizio cattolico'. *La Rivista del Cinematografo*, Vol. 6, 26.

v Siri, Giuseppe in Baragli, Enrico. 1956. 'Cinema "nostro" in Italia', *Civiltà Cattolica*, Vol. III, quad. 2545 (30th June 1956), 30-42, 33.

vi Fanchi, Mariagrazia. 2006. 'Non censurare ma educare! L'esercizio cinematografico cattolico e il suo progetto culturale e sociale', 107.

vii In Lombardia 1 cinema per 3600 people, in Sicily 1 per 7250 in the early 1960s (Fanchi, Mariagrazia. 2006, 107).

viii In 1949, the Belgian Jesuit Félix A. Morlion, heavily involved in Italian cinema in the postwar period, had put pressure on parishes of 3000 small Italian towns to develop their own cinemas in order to fight against the potential risk of the development of commercial initiatives. Morlion, Félix. 1949. [Redazionale], *L'ora dell'azione*, n. 16, 21st April 1949.

ix Mosconi, Elena. 2003. 'Tanti punti di proiezione' in *Storia del cinema italiano 1949-53*, Venezia: Marsilio, 180.

x Mosconi Elena. 2003. 'Tanti punti di proiezione', 177-197, 181; see also Treveri Gennari, Daniela. 2009. *Post-war Italian Cinema. American Intervention, Vatican Interests*. New

York: Routledge; Fantina, Livio. 2003. 'I giudizi del CCC' in *Storia del cinema italiano 1949-53*, 80-92, 83.

xi On the Facebook group *Old and New Roman Cinemas*, Andrea Lesti posts what he found on the parish website linked to the Colombo Cinema in Via Vedana:

«Don Eugenio Fornasari in 1951 started the adventure of providing his parish of a cinema, as the area was lacking a commercial cinema. This parish cinema, run by the parish and then subcontracted to a private who run it both in the winter and in the summer (open air) seasons, worked perfectly well until 1970s ».

xii Das, Rajana. 2011. *Interpretation*. Unpublished PhD, LSE.

xiii <http://cinqantamila.corriere.it/storyTellerThread.php?threadId=censimento1951#>

Accessed on 24th October 2012.

xiv Mosconi, Elena. 2003. 'Tanti punti di proiezione', 187 n. 2

xv Klenotic, Jeffrey. 2011. 'Putting Cinema History on the Map. Using GIS to Explore the Spaciality of Cinema' in Richard Maltby, Daniel Biltereyst, Philipp Meers eds. *Explorations in New Cinema History. Approaches and Case Studies*, Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 60.

xvi Gremigni, Elena. 2009. *Pubblico e popolarità : il ruolo del cinema nella società italiana, 1956-1967*, Firenze : Le lettere, 61.

xvii Treveri Gennari, Daniela, 2009; see also Morreale Emiliano. 2011. *Così piangevano. Il cinema melo nell'Italia degli anni cinquanta*. Roma: Donzelli Editore, 84.

xviii 'Gli svaghi preferiti', *Bollettino della DOXA*, 1954, 96-100; Fanchi, Mariagrazia. 2005. 'Il film ideale in relazione al soggetto, ovvero agli spettatori a cui il film è destinato' in *Pio XII e il cinema*, Dario E. Viganò ed., Roma: Ente dello Spettacolo, 69.

xix Fitzgerald, Joseph M., & Lawrence, Renee. 1984. 'Autobiographical Memory across the Life-span'. *Journals of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*, 39 (1984), 692–698; Rubin, D. C., Wetzler, S. E., & Nebes, R. D. (1986). Autobiographical memory across the adult

lifespan. In D. C. Rubin (Ed.), *Autobiographical memory* (pp. 202-221) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 202-221).

xx Treveri Gennari, Daniela. 2009.

xxi Valmarana.1951. 'Il film comico'. *La Rivista del Cinematografo*, Vols. 6-7, 25.

xxii This discrepancy had already been denounced in 1937 in the pages of *La Rivista del Cinematografo* (official Catholic film magazine) by the Salesians when they affirmed: 'it is extremely hard to combine film entertainment with something that reflects fully our principles' (Atti Salesiani, 1937, *La Rivista del Cinematografo*, 125-127).

xxiii Avetta, Ilvo. 1950. 'Film buoni...per caso. Chi ha pensato ai quattromila parroci preoccupati per un pubblico che, mal contato, sarà di un milione di persone?', *La Rivista del Cinematografo*, Year XXIII, n. 1, January 1950, 14.

xxiv Fantina, Livio. 2003. 'Ridere, piangere, cantare' in *Storia del cinema italiano 1949-53*, 162-176, 164.

xxv Baragli, Enrico. 1956. 'Cinema "nostro" in Italia', *Civiltà Cattolica*, Vol. III, quad. 2545 (30th June 1956), 30-42, 36-37.

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