

# Perspectives, models and figures of the study of Italian *divismo*

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## ABSTRACT

The privileged position that the actor has historically taken in the transmission of popular culture in Italy, a melting point of *commedia dell'arte* and of the scenic methods that flourished in Europe's modern theatre, allows a figurative tradition that is rich in models and deep in culture. Cinema perpetuates this circumstance and owes some of the most essential moments of the history of Italian film to the expressive capacity of the actors and actresses, from the primitive diva cinema of the 1910s to the impact of Italian transnational stars in the 1950s and 1960s.

Because of these essential reasons, Italy is a particularly interesting context for an approach to star studies, as the impact of its stars seems to motivate a debate on the actor before the splendour of American classical cinema fostered the development of a solid methodology. Guided by an interest on certain figurative models, this article attempts to elaborate an essential cartography to Italian star studies, from its origins, its first solid expressions in the 1950s, until today, and considering its essential perspectives, its more frequent models and the discourses that the current perspectives suggest.

## KEYWORDS

Star studies, *divismo*, actor, performer, star, stardom, Italian cinema, cultural studies.

Although *star system* was a term coined in Hollywood, film stardom as an artistic and aesthetic phenomenon and attraction show has one of its first historical appearances in Italy. In fact, the Italian industry was one of the first European industries founded around the expansion of the Lumière brothers' cinematograph, which grew during the first years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The so-called "diva cinema," of a powerful cultural importance during the brief period between the invention of cinema and the outbreak of World War I, was a cinema in which different popular leading actresses played dramatic and theatrical figures, typical of the *fin de siècle* aesthetics, which would significantly influence the intercultural archetype of the vamp or *femme fatale*, eventually represented by Theda Bara as one of the first ambassadors of the American star system<sup>1</sup>. In her study on the early film divas, *Diva: Defiance and Passion in Early Italian Cinema* (2008), Angela Dalle Vacche explains how spectators went to the cinema to consume plots about passions and love, but also to enjoy the spectacle experience in itself, which in this case was based on the fascination exerted by the on-screen gestures and physical movement of actresses such as Francesca Bertini, Pina Menichelli or Lyda Borelli. Thanks to the conserved copies of these first films, today we can deduce how these figures managed to exert on celluloid the type of fascination that the last great theatrical divas such as Eleonora Duse or Sarah Bernhardt had in Europe's culture of the end of the century, and even that which led decadent literature authors to write about the mystery that the artificial body of the actresses generated from stage, immersed in the plasticity of their paradox. Dalle Vacche explains to what extent the impact of these presences determined the morphology of newly coined terms for an invention. While in the United States the public called these recent inventions *movies*, because of the constant flickering that the still precarious technology of moving images produced, in Italy the public of these first projections gave them a female name, *le film*, because the films represented women's bodies operated by famous actresses. Thus, the Italian early cinema managed to join two decisive experiences for the later settlement of film in modern culture: the visual pleasure and the miracle of stopping time or making the instant of the body in movement eternal. In other words, it linked filmic technology to the capacity of immortalising the actor's *photogénie* in a permanent and non-ephemeral show, until then limited to the theatre's static full shot and the time of a live show.

The fact that the Italian early film industry is one of the first to be rooted in the actor's gesture has a lot to do with the importance of the performer as a channel for popular culture. In a nation strongly marked by linguistic diversity and territorial segmentation (Italy's political unification is indeed late), everything that happens around the live scene has a great deal of importance until well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, the same culture that generated the seed of modern theatre with the ancient and rich tradition of the *commedia dell'arte* is the one that enters its modernity bringing into the century of cinema the essential value of the actor's mask as mediator between history and culture, screen and society. As accurate carrier of the ways of being and feeling of a society strongly rooted in the ritual and oral transmission of culture and word, the Italian cinema actor will participate in more or less industrial models without losing an essence based on the importance of what is human, in the identitarian supremacy of the gesture and the eloquence of his performance.



Eleonora Duse's scene photography

1. Although in this *femme fatale* tradition we must include relevant figures of European cinema such as Asta Nielsen, the importance of Italian diva cinema as a cultural model doesn't seem to find a match in the period.



Sarah Bernhardt characterized by Pierrot  
and photographed by Nadar

### Historical perspectives up to the 1950s

Perhaps by this importance of the actor as a medium in the culture previous to cinema, the term that substitutes the English *stardom* in Italy is *divismo*, word that presents the performer as a cultural phenomenon previous to the birth of the star and its modern semiotics. The study of the art of the actor in Italy, which could be traced back to the *canovacci* and the self-direction manuals of the *dell'arte* comedians, persists in the cultural criticism and the encyclopaedic gloss during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, and knows an important diversification during the international expansion of cinematic culture,

around the 1950s, moment from which we could start talking about *divismo* as a proper field of study<sup>3</sup>. The foundations for these modern star studies could start at this point, in which the internationalisation of the local product and the diversification of the media and consumer platforms pave the way for the reception and study of the film star not as a local phenomenon but as a cultural sign open to the exchange and permeability of global models. The 50s crossroads is especially rich in different aspects that are worth mentioning. Firstly, at the end of the 1940s Italy standardises the neorealism model, which in its aesthetic essence supposes a gateway to modernity, especially in what refers to the cinema as producer of figures and human models. The culture of the authentic (*vero*) gesture, the non-professional face and the real settings provoke the classic stars to be unusually out of place and to lose their gestures and comfort masks, a loss that will not only influence the models of production and consumption but also those of performance and direction. Regarding the models of production and consumption, there are interesting connections between vernacular figurative models and global archetypes. For example, the influence of the heroic female character, from Anna Magnani's post-war era mother to the *maggiorate* generation, on an archetype such as the unruly woman (REICH, 2004), directly connected to the exchanges that gender roles were going through after World War II (SIEGLOHR, 2000). With regard to the models of performance and direction of actors, and more aesthetically speaking than semiotically, an important figurative reform arises as replica of the free body language of European realisms. The erratic body language, either spontaneous or artificial, of natural although mechanic appearance, will influence modern cinema establishing fruitful and long-standing dialogues in what would be a modern genealogy of performance. And this would not only cross Europe via the cinema of Rossellini, Renoir and all their disciples, but would also reach Hollywood and the American studios' yearning for possessing a model of modernisation of the classical star such as Actors Studio, of declared European roots<sup>4</sup>.

The cultural crossroads of the 1950s in Italy can be synthesised in this organic crossing between the concrete and the global,

2. An example of this tradition is Silvio D'Amico's famous *Enciclopedia dello Spettacolo*, editorial project published between 1954 and 1965, which covered different fields of the performance in Italy and included notable features of the actors' style and scenic presence in the articles dedicated to them. It should be noted that Silvio D'Amico is a referential figure in the training and study of the actor in Italy. During the 1920s he founded the Regia Scuola di Recitazione Eleonora Duse, to which, in a way, the modernisation of the Italian actor is due. Currently this institution is known as Accademia Nazionale d'Arte Drammatica Silvio D'Amico and it continues to be a benchmark in Italy for the many generations of Italian film and theatre actors who have been formed in its midst.

3. As we have mentioned, the Italian term *divismo*, that integrates the study of the actor and the star, can be considered as analogous to the English term *star studies*. In this sense, the use of both words in this article will refer to the same field of study, at the same time that it will reference its own cultural frame. In general, *divismo* is to be understood as an Italian phenomenon, while *star studies* refer to the field from its academic and international perspective.

4. As Robert H. Hethmon explains in *Strasberg at the Actors Studio* (1972), along with Stanislavski's theories, the founders considered crucial some European theatre figures (specifically Italian) such as Eleonora Duse.

between a cultural movement profoundly vernacular such as neorealism, freed from the Hollywood canon, and another one with international interest such as modernity, that flourishes in different lines of interest pointed out by Cristina Jandelli in *Breve storia del divismo cinematografico* (2007), an essential book for this field of study. In line with this discourse, Jandelli observes how breaking the barriers of the classic narrative that established neorealism and its expansive wave creates unusable rhizomes, from Ingrid Bergman and Roberto Rossellini's cinema, based on the extreme dislocation of the star, to the later interest of the American industry to produce unique scenic bodies, distanced from the classical serial model and able to embody the genuine and the memorable, from James Dean to Montgomery Clift, creating in the spectator's mind a desire of fascination towards the future actor of independent cinema. Thus, there is a harmony between both movements, between the accidental gesture of neorealism and the rebellious gesture of Hollywood's new bodies, which from a stardom point of view seems to trespass the limits of the classical canon and that is consolidated in the actors' bodies, together with the industry's intuitive need for the spectator to keep a specific memory of them.

As a field of study that pays attention to the reception of films, star studies exceptionally understand the dialogue of the spectator with the actor's ability to mediate between screen and society<sup>5</sup>. The 1950s are a decade full of possibilities in this sense. While research on the nature of stardom came mainly from scholars like Edgar Morin (*Les Stars*, 1957) or Alexander Walker (*Stardom: The Hollywood Phenomenon*, 1970), whose works plant an intuition that would be later expanded by Richard Dyer (the multiple lectures of the stardom as text, as sign, and as symbol), other Italian cultural studies of these years reach out to cinema in order to decipher the social change. In *L'italiana in Italia* (1956), a document of the era on the sexual emancipation of women, cultural journalist Anna Garofalo writes about the decisive role of divas as models of behaviour, anticipating in a way one of the interests of feminist film theory of the 70s and its cohesion with some of the points shared by star studies and gender studies.

From this movement between global and local, and the connection between the actor and society, the dialogue



Totò by Guy Bourdin, 1955

between cinema and cultural analysis in Italy shows, during the first five decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the emergence of a triple theoretical line which is still nowadays maintained as an authentic legacy destined to confluence in modern star studies: the monographic or historiographical model, either of specific figures or of figurative models, cultural studies, and gender and feminist studies.

### Monographic and genealogical model

During the 80s, Guido Aristarco wrote *Il mito dell'attore. Come l'industria della star produce il sex symbol* (1983), an essay that was contemporary to the formation of star studies as a field of study and that concluded some of the tendencies examined in the theoretic historiographical model of Italian *divismo*. By carrying out a comparison between Hollywood's *star system* and a hypothetical Mediterranean *star system*, and the possibly interchangeable features between the figures of both systems, the author ponders on the standardisation process of the actors' singular presence. This is a canonical discourse within the historiography of stardom, focused not only in the industrial processes but also in the spontaneous traits that are enabled by the performer's individual charisma. This dichotomy between the singular and the generic, which clearly exemplifies the

5. Perhaps one of the less appreciated lines by the tradition of European film studies that had prioritised the study of the mise-en-scène and the dialogue between filmmakers. As an example, the canon established by the French school in the 50s comes to mind, where the synergy between analysis, criticism, and directing determined the theoretical line of the authors of *Cahiers du cinéma*.





Ingrid Bergman at the *Stromboli* set, 1949

existing tension between the figure and the system, between the genuine singularity of the actor and his or her permeability to the archetype or serialisation of his or her presence, could converge in the French terminology of genealogies (VALMARY *et al.*, 2011). Used by some scholars on French contemporary star studies, genealogies enable us to think of the capacity of certain charismatic, esteemed, and recognisable actors to come together under familiar or semantic groups. Thus, once surpassed the border of their individuality, they are able to converge under a general meaning. In other words, the study of actors through genealogies would allow an appreciation not only of their singularity but also of their connection to a cultural sign or a global meaning, which would ease the comprehension of its permanent importance despite the passing of time or the disappearance of its contemporary spectators, therefore securing the traits that differ a theatre actor from a cinema actor; its timelessness, its persistence or, using a term that is more faithful to its original aura, its eternity.

The monographic study in Italy, which has many uses and which, as we will see, is nowadays the focus of some academic research groups, has deepened into this cohesion between the singular and the universal, or between the ordinary and the extraordinary (DYER, 2001), applying the painless and complementary union offered by the French genealogies. It is this versatility of embodying the singular and the universal what some scholars consider the actual support of an actor's identity, a free and final pathway towards his or her universality or his or her classical condition. In 2014, the Centro Ricerche su Attore e Divismo (CRAD) of the Università di Torino organised an exemplary conference on Marcello Mastroianni. The conference's main papers revolved around the duality of the Italian star: the unrepeatable singularity of his presence and his capacity of embodying the ambiguity of a collective and modern masculinity, divided between the fortress of the seducer's mask and the fragility of the human expression. This quality opens Mastroianni's brand to different semantic connections: the *latin lover* one which goes back to Rodolfo Valentino, or the melancholic seducer one, from Marlon Brando's Tennessee Williams-like males, to other branches of Italy's figurative tradition, such as the coetaneous Gian Maria Volonté<sup>6</sup> or later figures such as Sergio Castellitto. Another analytical monographic example, although out of the reigns of academia, can be found in the revisions of Anna Magnani that appeared in the multiple publications following the hundredth anniversary of her birth in 2008, from which similar conclusions can be extracted. The interpretation of Magnani's charismatic style, typical of an icon of free manner, would *a priori* make difficult her adhesion to any serial model or tradition. However, there is a complete tradition of Western female figures with whom her model would allow different connections that are analysable from different points of view; from the German *Trümmerfrau*<sup>7</sup>, to the tradition of the *maggiorata* and of the 'unruly women,' to finally authorial figurative tendencies, such as those from Spanish Pedro Almodóvar, whose aesthetic and poetic echoes created years ago at Cannes Film Festival an

6. The figure of Volonté was, in the 90s, object of an exemplary monographic study by Fabrizio Deriu: *Gian Maria Volonté. Il lavoro dell'attore* (1997).

7. La *Trümmerfrau*, or rubble woman, is a historical archetype based on the anonymous women who cleared the rubble after the attacks of World War II. It exemplifies the widespread notion, in the Europe of the time, of the active woman in times of war. Her image has impacted popular culture through archival documentation.

8. The prize to best female interpretation was given to all the actresses in *Volver* (2006): Carmen Maura, Chus Lampreave, Penélope Cruz, Blanca Portillo, Lola Dueñas and Yohana Cobo. It is interesting to note how the film echoes in many ways the Italian genealogical tradition that

has been discussed. The main character Raimunda could be compared to the referent Sophia Loren in Vittorio De Sica's *La Ciociara* (1960), a character initially assigned to Anna Magnani, who also is alluded by Almodóvar at the end of the film in dialogue with Carmen Maura's character, Irene, who is watching a scene from Luchino Visconti's *Bellissima* (1961) on TV. Such a title doesn't seem banal choice since the film led Magnani to her internationalisation and the integration of her style (uncombed hair, black lingerie, and an absence of beautifying make-up) in the icon of female Latin beauty of her time, which would later be imported by fashion brands such as Dolce & Gabbana, which would include contemporary figures such as Monica Bellucci, and which would also be frequently referenced in Pedro Almodóvar's cinema.



Marlon Brando and Marilyn Monroe at the *The Rose Tattoo* film premiere, 1954

out of ordinary prize to a collective interpretation<sup>8</sup>. It is worth mentioning here the transcendence that, in my point of view, the concept of genealogy offers above others such as influence or reminiscence. Although all three refer to the condition of cinema as creator of shared memories, of a collective memory, while the last two refer to the most superficial layer of this phenomenon, to the free circulation of the expression and sensorial memories between filmmakers, the first deepens its roots, settling down not only in the capacity of cinema to create memories, but also of feeding itself from them, establishing itself in the reception process of the filmic text and addressing the spectator, the true transmitter of cinema's memory and the great forgotten figure of traditional film studies. In 1974, Italo Calvino condensed this idea in his text *Autobiografia di uno spettatore*, giving the spectator's memory the importance of a testimony and of documentation of the exchange process

9. It is worth mentioning that, sometimes, these works think of the actor also as a filmmaker. The looseness of the industrial structures and the privileged position of the performer in the popular culture of the early century helped that, in many occasions, figures such as Francesca



Anna Magnani at the *Mamma Roma* costume test, 1962

between reality and fiction, society and screen, of which it has always been both partly the leading character and the reverse-shot of all human expression imprinted on the cinematographic image.

### Cultural studies and feminist perspective

This hypothesis, which supports a sociologic reading of the actor within Italian studies, organically takes us to the junction between historiography studies and cultural studies that have tended to analyse the impact of stars and actors by separating them from the works where they performed, either this being the filmic text or the director's filmography. In order to appreciate the autonomy—or even authorship—of the performer as a subject, these studies understand the relation of the actor's work with its period or its cultural context, stripping it from its traditional aura of instrument for the *mise-en-scène* or the director. An example in this line of thought is the research that recovers the works of women pioneers of cinema, by authors already mentioned such as Angela Dalle Vacche, or the publications from the conference “Non solo dive. Pioniere del cinema italiano,” hosted by the Università di Bologna in 2007 and coordinated by scholar Monica Dall'Asta. By creating a dialogue between the study of women film pioneers and the cultural context of their period, together with the hierarchical and power structures in which they were located, these authors and researchers follow the theoretical path of critical studies to

Bertini would take over the direction and the management of their own careers, founding a model of production with a short lifespan as it disappeared with the implementation of industrial circuits and the North American star system.

defend the transformative capacity of actresses like Francesca Bertini in the cultural frame of the 1910s, which was decisive in the settlement of the early industries. Thus, the case of Italy offers through these examples an approximation to thinking the star from a theoretical model that privileges the study of the creator within the cultural context, and, as such, it is used more frequently in the study of women filmmakers<sup>9</sup>. In this sense, and in order to specify the theory that we are using, it is necessary to emphasise that the expansion of cultural studies has enriched the visibility of subjects whose information about them has traditionally been distorted due to biographical interpretation or from the manipulation of cross-media narratives. The proliferation of this model, which has primarily occurred in the last decades, has counteracted the fact that, until recently, a big percentage of the writings on stars and their nature came almost exclusively from a hagiography based on memories (rarely produced by the own star), from a biographic narrative or from consumer platforms and advertising industries parallel to the industry of cinema, where the figure's visibility would be limited to the partly manipulated reproduction of his or her more stellar and profitable attributes.

The fracture between a traditional model of analysis mostly adopted by film criticism, and generally altered by understanding the actor as an instrument for the filmmaker or as a part of an industrial chain, and a more analytical model, expanded to the study of the cultural context of production, could find an inflection point in the 70s, where the convergence of critical theory and of the social movements of emancipation gave place to new theories such as feminist film theory. Although the latter was developed in an English-speaking context and doesn't get to Italy immediately, some studies of this time seem to be waiting for feminist film theory to come. By the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, there is an increase in the works that call for a revision of the cultural production related to the involvement of women in cinema (BELLUMORI, 1972; CARRANO, 1977; MANGIACAPRE, 1980), together with an aim to recover some figures with the intention of redefining the continuation of their legacy and the conservation of their political value (PISTAGNESI, 1988; ACHILLI, 1984)<sup>10</sup>. These are favourable decades for anything that has to do with the delimitation of the subject in the cultural context, particularly if it has been traditionally understood as a minority within the global hierarchy, which in some way also concerns actors and

stars as pieces of the filmic text that have been underestimated by theoretical and critical canons. These years, in which the great poststructuralist thinkers reform academic models, are the same years in which Serge Daney reclaims the role of the actor with an enlightening and famous quote about the importance of the interpreter for the dialogue between filmmakers<sup>11</sup>; Richard Dyer publishes *Heavenly Bodies: Stars and Society* (1986/2004), possibly his most essayistic work and also the most aware of demarcating the actor's subjective traits; and Laura Mulvey, Claire Johnston, and Mary Ann Doane, amongst others, set up the foundations of feminist film theory, which will be decisive for the study of actresses in cinema and would reach Italy thanks to contemporary academic research.

### Current situation: models and groups

Universities embrace the modernisation of the historical models examined in this text, through the consolidation of gender studies, cultural studies, and feminist film theory as theories present in Italian postgraduate programs in film studies. An example for this is the diversity of theoretical models and methodologies from which authors, academic figures, and contemporary research groups study the performer in recent projects and publications on this topic. From these, the semiotic model of a work as *Attore/Divo* (2011) stands out, in which Francesco Pitassio deals with the structure of the actor as a cultural sign and symbol or, in other words, as an interpreter and maker of his own stardom. The semiotic model is, perhaps, the one that more profoundly investigates the conflict that commonly appears when analysing an actor: his multiple essence and, thus, the unstable condition of his image. The tension generated by the fact that actor and work are one self, concentric spheres with a validity given by physical appearance, could be the cause to the confusion that comes when trying to understand an actor's work from the coincidences and contradictions between life and work, authorship and mask. Contemporary studies like Pitassio's take a different direction than, for example, the traditional hagiographic model. It is not about controlling the impurities or contradictions between mask and performer but about assuming its cohesion in order to study it. It is, therefore, an epistemological solution to the disturbing paradox of the actor dealt by Denis Diderot in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which can create inaccessible confusions by

10. In the international context, it is relevant to highlight *Offscreen: Women and Film in Italy* (1988), edited by Giuliana Bruno and Maria Nadotti.

11. "Actors are essential to the dialogue between filmmakers. The body of the actor traverses cinema to such an extent that it creates its true story. A story that has never been told because it is always intimate, erotic, made out of pity and rivalry, of vampirism and respect. But as cinema ages, it is of that story that films are testimonies" (1983: 201). Quote translated by author.





Sequence of the diva Pina Menichelli in *Tigre Reale*, 1916

thinking of the performer as a monolithic figure, in the same way we have learnt to approach the entity of the author.

Together with the semiotic model, I would highlight Veronica Pravadelli's methodology. Pravadelli is a relevant figure in Italy of the junction between film studies and gender studies, and her research topics could come together in her most recent work *Le donne del cinema: Dive, registe, spettatrici* (2015). Here, Pravadelli surveys the historiographic model of female representation in cinema applying notions from film analysis, feminist film theory, and gender studies, giving a fair importance to the different places occupied by women in the operation of the filmic text. Perhaps, the most interesting point of her proposal is this innovative and transversal perspective that, as her book's title states, embraces the active role of the female subject in the *mise-en-scène* (directors) and in the reception (spectators) but also in the performance (actresses). These positions are efficiently equalled thanks to the validity of a rich theoretical model that is aware of the potentiality of the filmic phenomenon beyond its textual nature and, in consequence, is able to pay attention to the star in an uncommon and very rich way in order to establish its comprehension as a fundamental axis of filmic production and its impact in popular culture.

As far as research groups are concerned, the activity of CRAD (Centro Ricerche su Attore e Divismo) of de Università di Torino stands out. Guided by Giulia Carluccio, the group defines itself as a permanent observatory of social, historical, and industrial aspects of stardom. The main trait of CRAD is the confluence between cultural traditions and new theoretical models that is expressed by their collective activity, mainly based in research projects, seminars, and conferences that

work as a meeting point for researchers of the field. Examples of their activity are the international conference already mentioned in this text "Marcello Mastroianni. Stile italiano, icona internazionale" (2014), and others around icons such as Marilyn Monroe ("Miti d'oggi. L'immagine di Marilyn", 2012) or Rodolfo Valentino ("Rodolfo Valentino. La seduzione del mito", 2009).

Another academic collective that has research topics related to *divismo* is FAScina (Forum Annuale delle Studiose di Cinema e Audiovisivi), linked to the Università di Sassari. Dedicated to the confluence of audiovisual popular culture and gender studies, it is characterised by a plurality of theoretical approaches and for its transversality in the study of feminism in culture. It is currently working on a future edition on the work and the representation of actresses in Italian film<sup>12</sup>. In a similar way, CAMPS (Centro Arti Musica e Spettacolo) of Università della Calabria has recently organised the international conference "Pensare l'attore. Tra la scena e lo schermo", dedicated to the convergence of theoretical movements and methodologies that revolve around the study of *divismo* in Italy. The programme brought together many of the figures that are currently researching the field in Italy, either in studies on cinema or theatre, and that are part of research groups or institutions, or work autonomously.

As a way of finishing our journey, and once seen the diverse models—monographic, transversal, or semiotic—and the different perspectives—in relation to a historiographical discourse (either local or global), to cultural studies or gender studies—, I would like to highlight the importance of the current state of the study of Italian *divismo*, which as we have

12. The conference "Vaghe Stelle. Attrici del/nel cinema italiano" will take place in Sassari between the 5th and the 7th of October, 2017.





Marcello Mastroianni at the dressing room

seen perfectly unites a cultural and historical tradition with deep roots with contemporary and current theoretical models in academia, and whose relevance is based, in my opinion, in its diversity and communicability. The fact that these studies converge in teaching, research and international gatherings that add to the publications and social influence, eases a transversal delivery of the model within academia that will undoubtedly benefit the expansion of the field. Furthermore, it will benefit the study of actors and stars, who find in the researcher a mediator between two forces that have traditionally possessed their aura: the film industry and its platforms as a structure of contention of their significance beyond the filmic text and the dialogue between filmmakers; and the spectators' memory, as a keeper of their sense that, from the vague and true fascination of mythification, would perhaps miss the possible discourse that we have here tried to name.

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