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Mapping Cinema Memories: Emotional Geographies of Cinema-going in Rome in the 1950s

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Abstract

This article, based on the AHRC-funded project (2013-16), 'In Search of Italian Cinema Audiences in the 1940s and 1950s: Gender, Genre and National Identity', explores the power of geo-visualization for capturing the affective geographies of cinema audiences. This mapping technique, used in our project both to interrogate the Italian exhibition sector as well as to map film distribution, is explained in this article to illustrate the affective and emotional dimensions of cartographic practices related to memory. The article will firstly examine the imbrication of memory and space, before moving on to a discussion of our mapping of the memories of one of our respondents, and the questions this mapping raises about geographical and remembered space, mobility, and the relation between mapping and life-cycles.

Keywords: geo-visualization, life-cycle, space, mobility, emotional mapping, cinema audience

Introduction

This article is based on the AHRC-funded project (2013-16), 'In Search of Italian Cinema Audiences in the 1940s and 1950s: Gender, Genre and National Identity', which explores the importance of film, and the social experience of cinema-going in everyday life in Italy, by interviewing surviving audience members, analyzing their responses using data analysis software, and by contextualizing these responses through further archival research.[1] In its golden years from the post-war period until the late 1960s Italian cinema produced the internationally influential Neorealist movement, with figures like Rossellini, De Sica and Fellini achieving world fame. At that time cinema-going was the most popular national pastime, representing at its peak 70% of leisure expenditure by Italians. However, we know

little about how Italian audiences chose films, what genres and stars they preferred, and how region, location, gender, and class influenced their choices.

We have gathered memories from 1043 Italians via questionnaires, selected from a representative national sample, and have conducted 160 in-depth video interviews;[2] in addition, we are contextualizing the oral and written memories in relation to archival research into popular and specialist press reception, and to statistical information about film distribution and box office, supplied by Italian organizations SIAE (the Italian Society of Authors and Publishers) and AGIS (the National Exhibitors Association). However, our project is not merely aimed at gathering data, or at cross-referencing oral or written reminiscences with factual information, but at interrogating the nature of memory itself, as it pertains to cinema-going. This is by now a well-researched area;[3] however, what interests us is how the dimensions of memory work can be interpreted in relation to different aspects of our research: these include oral history (eg. the importance of body language, gesture and voice); the language of questionnaires (patterning and repetition); and the relationship between memories of cinema-going and geographical and topographical space, which is the focus of this article.

Geo-visualization has been used in our project in several different ways: to interrogate the vast exhibition sector developed by the 1950s in the main Italian cities; to map how distribution operated and what films were available to audiences in different parts of the country; and to chart respondents' memories against the places they remember the most. For instance, we have created a map that geotags and visualizes the position of the cinemas attended by one of our respondents, Teresa, in relation to the area of Rome where she lived. We have also embedded verbal statements by Teresa about the significance of each cinema, as well as video clips where she discusses her memories of that cinema, and have also linked data on the cinemas themselves, and on film programming.[4] Building on this preliminary activity, and bearing in mind the recent interest within audience and reception studies and cultural geography in GIS (Geographic Information Systems) and the ways in which 'the use of GIS in historical research on film and place [might] illuminate understandings of social and cultural memory' (Hallam and Roberts, 2014: 8), in this article we will investigate both the potential and the limits of this kind of mapping technique for capturing the affective geographies of respondents. The apparently empirical basis of

projects that seek to map cinema-going history has been accompanied by an acknowledgement that reconstructing cinema-going also means coming to terms with the lived experience of that activity, in its remembered forms. As Robert C. Allen writes, in reference to his project 'Going to the Show', it is necessary to understand 'cinema as a set of processes, practices, events, spaces, performances, connections, embodiments, relationships, exchanges and memories' (2010: 266).[5] This tangle of material history and subjective experience and its recovery is at the heart of our investigation of Italian memories of cinema-going.

Cultural geographers now emphasize the importance of the affective and emotional dimensions of cartographic practices (see Caquard and Cartwright, 2001) and underline the gendered assumptions that subtend views of mapping as objective and totalising: Esbester, for example, notes that 'the idea that maps are objective writes gender and emotionality out of mapping' (2009: 35).[6] The concept of affective mapping, as opposed to, say, psychogeography, which studies 'the specific effects of the geographical environment, consciously organised or not, on the emotions and behaviour of individuals' (Debord, 1955: 5), foregrounds the narratives employed by individuals and communities in imagining space or recollecting, and the discourses within which they are situated. In our work, these narratives are complicated by the intervention of time and memory, and the awareness of how the affective potential of memory is activated through particular techniques or discourses, connected to place, space, mobility and time.

With this in mind, how might we place Teresa's memories in dialogue with the map of Rome we produced in such a way that we acknowledge maps and the spaces they relate to not as fixed and static (see Ravazzoli, 2014a and 2014b) but as 'open and porous networks of social relations' (Massey, 1994: 121)? How might thinking about women's mobility in 1950s Rome help us conceptualize the ways in which Teresa herself might have perceived the city, both as a series of localities anchored in specific affective sites and institutions (home, parish, church, school, *rione* [local area] or *quartiere* [neighbourhood]), and as a movement through time, as Teresa ventured farther afield as she grew older? This article draws upon a variety of theoretical perspectives, from audience studies, to cultural geography, to memory studies, to environmental psychology, in order to examine the imbrication of memory and space. It will firstly contextualise the trope of mobility in relation

to memories of cinema-going, before moving on to a discussion of our mapping of Teresa's memories, and the questions this mapping raises about geographical and remembered space, mobility, and the relation between mapping and life-cycles (through the work of Per Gustafson).

Memories and Space

Before looking in more detail at Teresa, we would like to discuss the importance of space and mobility in the memories we have gathered. Annette Kuhn, in her book on memories of cinema-going in 1930s Britain, notes the importance of the trope of walking in the 'discursive production of memories' (2002: 33). For her, walking is an 'expression of cultural memory' (34) that is fundamental to the organisation of individuals' recollections, incorporating as it does questions of accessibility and proximity, and functioning as a kind of master trope for the spatial practices that are key to these memories (which themselves bind together notions of time and change, ageing and difference). In our questionnaire responses, a part of the ritual of cinema-going, in addition to getting dressed up, is remembered as the walk to the cinema. Several people said the aspect of cinema-going they enjoyed most was 'the walk to get there', or the journey to get there: 'going to the centre, taking the tram, it was like going abroad'.[7] Both the walk to the cinema, and the traditional Italian *passeggiata* (stroll) afterwards are mentioned as part of the pleasure of the experience, and mobility is seen as a key aspect of cinema-going. This is especially important in a period where there were often few other leisure activities available (most of our respondents listed as their pastimes reading, going out with friends or walking), and where going to the cinema is also an opportunity to get out of the house, with the space of the cinema often regarded as a place in which one might break free of parental restrictions. One respondent from outside Rome notes that 'it was the only way to go out with friends and enjoy oneself. I liked walking together as well along the road to get to the cinema'.[8] As urbanization gathered pace in 1950s Italy, waves of citizens moved away from rural life towards the cities, but in 1951 over 40% of the working population was still agricultural (Ginsborg, 1990: 210). For Sardinians in particular, on an island distant from the Italian mainland, cinema was 'a magic thing, living in a tiny town, we had to travel to go to the

cinema', as one respondent puts it. For some Italians cinema represented the first encounter with Rome – for example, on screen in *Roman Holiday* (Wyler, 1953), a film often fondly recalled by respondents.

The memory narratives produced in our video interviews persistently emphasize the spatial dimensions of those narratives, focusing on local topographies, travel to and from cinemas, and the spaces of the remembered experience. Space itself is key to the production of narratives: as de Certeau (1984, 115) suggests, 'every story is a travel story – a spatial practice', and in various ways our interviewees emphasize the centrality of place as, in Kuhn's words a 'mise-en-scene of memory' (2011: 94). For example, in our video interviews, one of our respondents, Giorgio (aged 79), from Turin, repeatedly mentions the locations of the cinemas he frequented in the 1940s as a youth, noting even the tram routes that connected them. In fact, one of his most heartfelt memories (of James Dean's facial expression in a particular scene from *East of Eden*) is immediately followed by 'this happened to me in the afternoon, at the Cinema La Spezia, Turin, on Via Nizza, on the corner with Corso Spezia, where the tram passes'. This precise listing of geographical detail and topographical context emphasizes both the importance of transport and mobility to Giorgio's memory, and the need for that memory to be anchored in place.[9] He demonstrates the deep imbrication of Agnew's three categories of *locale* (the setting or context of social relations), the geographical *location*, and the *sense of place,* 'the local "structure of feeling"' (Agnew, quoted in Gustafson, 2001: 6).

In a similar fashion, our respondent Renato (aged 73), also from Turin, when asked about the place of cinema-going in his childhood, begins immediately by remembering how when he left his house in Via Cairoli to get the tram to school, he passed by the ruins of houses destroyed in the wartime bombing. This is then linked to his dislike of seeing war films, as they bring back those memories, but it is striking that the place memory comes first (the 'structure of feeling' around getting the tram, and memories of getting shot at one day on the tram with his parents at the end of the war). Affect is thus 'woven into the fabric of place; part and parcel of the processes that produce places as place' (Pile, 2004: 241) and memory is a key component of that affect.

Mapping Teresa Rabitti's Memories

Teresa Rabitti was born in 1931 into a Roman family of eight and lived until 1960 in Palazzo Aldobrandini in Piazza dell'Orologio, in the heart of the city. Her middle-class Catholic upbringing and strict education are clearly expressed in her memories and evidently reflected in the type of film and cinema choices she made. Teresa's memories – as well as her demographic characteristics - mirror some of the answers received by the over 1000 questionnaires respondents across the country. Teresa's age falls into the bracket of the 80 to 90-year-old respondents, which represents 22% of our total number of respondents. In the 1950s, like 47% of our respondents, Teresa used to go to church once a week, and like 60% or the respondents she used to go to the cinema once or twice a month. In her questionnaire Teresa pointed out that she would go to the cinema any day of the week and particularly on Sunday, like 42% of our respondents. Teresa went to the cinema with her family and/or friends, and these were also the most popular answers to our questionnaire. Teresa attended mostly second-run cinemas, parish cinemas, and in the summer open-air cinemas.[10]

On our website we have created a map that geotags and visualizes the position of these cinemas in Rome with details of number of seats, owners, types of screenings, etc. This function has allowed us to work on cinema programming and distribution across the city, such as mapping the movement of films from centre to periphery, as well as determining film popularity in terms of screenings in each cinema of the Italian capital [Figure 1. Caption: Film distribution in 1953 in Rome from 1st to 3rd run cinemas according to film nationality]. As opposed to empirical data, mapping memories, however, means mapping uncertain data, a concept similar to mapping literary spaces, as often divergences occur between real locations and what participants remember.[11] Remembered spaces are fragmentary, difficult to localize, constantly transformed and remodelled and at times combine characteristics of different places[12] This imprecise geography common to literary spaces as well as to memory needs a different approach: for this reason, an 'emotional map' for Teresa Rabitti has been created. As mentioned, we have also embedded verbal statements by Teresa about the significance of each cinema, as well as video clips where she discusses individual films she saw there. What we are trying to do here is to foreground the importance of situating individual memories within the flow or circulation of films, people

and capital. This resonates with David Morley's idea that place-based identities must be 'founded on an "extroverted" definition, in which a place is seen as constituted by the flows of people, objects, and symbols passing through it' (1992: 234).

The cinemas attended by Teresa have been geotagged in relation to the area of Rome where she lived. However, these *geospaces* have been compared to the *memory spaces* indicated by Teresa, which were less realistic and at times resembled 'imaginative representations' of the real space'.[13] Following David Harvey's view that space 'is not a given, but it is continuously produced, reconstructed and reconfigured',[14] different versions of Teresa's memories have been analysed, in order to assess how the memory spaces have changed over time and what meanings they have produced in different phases of her life (childhood, teenage years, and young adulthood). Moreover, by comparing Teresa's memories of her favourite cinemas with the memories of other respondents, we aim to create a series of potential networks between different memories of a particular cinema or different memories of going to the cinema in a particular area of Rome, networks between the programming offered by a range of cinemas in a single city, or that offered by a range of similar cinemas in different cities, and ultimately networks of cinema-going experiences across the nation. The data we have organized in this map allows us to highlight an 'affective narrative space' that becomes a 'living memory' that is continuously 'morphing with affective resonance' (Wood, 2010: 178).

In addition, the affective geographies of cinema-going related to Teresa's case study have the potential to complicate and extend further Annette Kuhn's discussion of the relationship between place, time and memories of the cinema-going experience. Her essay 'Heterotopia, Heterochronia: Place and Time in Cinema Memory' is particularly relevant here: based on her work on 1930s cinema-goers in Britain, Kuhn's article distinguishes between two broad categories of memories, those related to the 'cinema in the world' and those related to the 'world in the cinema'. Each category articulates the notion of time and place differently. On the one hand, as Kuhn explains, 'cinema in the world describes what 1930s cinema-goers recall about the role the pictures played in their own lives at the time' (Kuhn 2004: 107). Memories belonging to this first category tend to emphasize and insist on the importance of places, such as familiar cinemas, which in the cinemagoers' memories become 'nodal points, centres of attraction and energy, people magnets dotted across

memory-maps of the landscape of youth' (Kuhn 2004: 108).[15] In addition, the 'cinema in the world' memories articulate a notion of temporality strictly related to the 'temporality of reception', and time is remembered in relation to personal everyday life routines and cinema-going habits. On the other hand, the world in the cinema is often remembered as 'another world' and 'radically different from the ordinary' but at the same time 'embedded in the everyday' (Kuhn 2004: 109). Similarly, the temporality of the world in the cinema retains the characteristics of the extra-ordinary, and is therefore other than normal time, and yet embedded in it. Applying Foucault's notion of heterotopia, therefore, Kuhn argues that:

> The temporality of cinema in the world conjoins the temporality of *the world in the cinema;* and at the point where the two meet, cinema becomes, in Foucault's sense of the term a heterotopia: 'a sort of place that lies outside all places and yet is actually localizable' (2004: 109).

The cinema in the world and the world in the cinema's memories elaborate opposite notions of space and time related to the cinema-going experience. However, these diverse but, from the informants' perspective, coexisting notions tend to characterize the cinema as a place that whilst in relation to other spaces of everyday life, also has the capacity to subvert and contradict them.

Whilst Teresa's memories might fall into Kuhn's categories, they also emphasize persistently the importance of situating geographically a specific memory of cinema-going. Teresa's memories, of both types, are profoundly affected by the geographical location of a cinema within Rome's urban space. The historical map of the city and the location of culturally important sites and buildings, often affect Teresa's imaginary cinema-going map of Rome. Cinemas are remembered in relation to their proximity to or distance from a monument or *piazza*. In addition, memories of specific geographical spaces are strictly related to those of important stages of her life. Teresa's case study, therefore, emphasizes that geography is both at the core of the memories related to the cinema in the world category and potentially affecting the notion of time and space elaborated by the world in the cinema's memories. For instance, when asked to describe the experience of going to her

local parish cinema, Teresa situates that experience within a detailed geographical map of the area or *rione* of the city where she lived with her family:

> Rione Ponte was very working class, I lived in Palazzo Aldobrandini, near Palazzo Taverna, near Piazza Dell'Orologio, near Palazzo Orsini where Pius XII grew up, but also Via dei Coronari, Via di Panico, Via del Governo Vecchio that led to Piazza Navona, and children used to play on the road. We used to go to the garden of Castel Sant'Angelo to play, you just had to cross the bridge to get to that beautiful garden.

In this instance, the description and list of geographical spaces and buildings connects her memories of going to the cinema with other memories of leisure activities such as playing in the garden of Castel Sant'Angelo and enjoying the fresh air. Similarly, Teresa situates very clearly her memories of going to the cinema with her siblings:

> I used to go with my brothers and sisters, three or four of us together. The parish cinema was close to our home. I remember the parish cinema near the school Alberto da Droro [*sic*], an important Fascist institution, schools were very looked after during that time. The nearby church was San Lorenzo in Damaso or maybe Lucina, anyway near Via dei Coronari there was a parish cinema that was always full.

In this example of a 'cinema in the world'-type memory, the historical map of Rome and the history and names of its buildings seem to affect Teresa's imaginary geography of the cinema-going experience. In actual fact, whilst the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso is still within the urban area described by Teresa, it is not very close to Via dei Coronari. Perhaps Teresa provides an explanation of her personal geography of the city when asked if the distance of a cinema from home was a factor influencing her choice. In her reply she highlights that:

> The distance was important but as teenagers we used to walk, walk, walk. There were buses, but for me they did not exist, not because I had to pay for it but because I enjoyed walking. A distance of a few kilometres was nothing.

What transpires from Teresa' memories is a sophisticated knowledge of the city, its buildings and their history, as well as an emphasis on her mobility across the city through the emphatic nature of repetition ('walk, walk, walk'). The knowledge of a personal and affective geography formed by her passion for walking and journeying through the city merges with her passion for going to the cinema. These detailed maps of Rome, therefore, inform Teresa's memories of the 'cinema in the world'. Teresa also makes the temporality of this category of memories very explicit. Reminiscing about her routine of going to the cinema she stresses that:

> We used to go to the cinema mainly on Sundays, and we had the old tradition
> of dressing up on Sunday to go to church. And everybody used to go to church,
> we all went to church! And in the afternoon we used to go to the cinema. That
> is what we did on a Sunday.

For Teresa, going to the cinema is a habit inscribed within a specific set of festive rituals, such as wearing her best clothes, walking to church with her family, and going to watch a film with friends in the afternoon. As she explains, feelings and emotions experienced during the screening had a lasting effect on her. Outside the cinema, whilst walking back home, 'I would feel all excited if I watched an adventure film or profoundly poetic if I watched a romantic film'. In Teresa's memories the feelings created by the 'world in the cinema' had a short- lived but intense effect on her experience of journeying through the city and, therefore, on her memories of the cinema in the world. This is highlighted further in her reply to the question of what role cinema played in her life when compared to other forms of entertainment. As she explains:

Perhaps the most privileged, because it was the most complete. You could experience scenes from real life, you could follow a story, you could follow the characters, you could feel emotions, and all of this in the two hours of the duration of the film.

Subjective Memory, Place, and Time

David Harvey's idea of 'relational space' considers how 'there is no such thing as space or time outside of the processes that define them. […] Processes do not occur *in* space but define their own spatial frame' (Harvey, 2006: 123).[16] To this end, memory must be situated not only in relation to geographical space (considered as a process that shapes behaviour), but in relation to the passage of time and to the interaction of time and space. We can understand cinemas as acting both as geographical markers but also as temporal landmarks for autobiographical memories, and commercial as well as parish cinemas and open-air cinemas represented constant moments within individual lifecycles. A growing body of empirical research has investigated the role of place, and specific notions such as place identity, place attachment, and sense of place have surfaced in the literature.[17] Per Gustafson's article 'Meanings of Place: Everyday Experience and Theoretical Conceptualizations' will be used here to analyse Teresa Rabitti's life-cycle in relationship to cinemas she used to attend in 1950s Rome and what made these venues meaningful places.

If one looks at the mapping of Teresa's house as well as the first, second, and third-run cinemas together with parish cinemas and *oratori* (parish centres) she used to attend in the 1950s, a strong correlation between life-cycle temporal landmarks and cinema types is evident, following Harvey's idea that 'it is impossible to disentangle space from time', which forces us to 'focus on the relationality of space-time rather than of space in isolation' (2006: 123) [FIG. 2. Caption: Cinema theatres remembered by Teresa]. Harvey's idea that one cannot 'box political and collective memories in some absolute space (clearly situate them on a grid or a map)' forces us to 'think in relational terms' (Harvey 2006: 125). This is also visible in the way Teresa presents her memories: not only does she list which films she remembers seeing in each cinema theatre and how often she used to go there as well as specific events she remembers witnessing, she also describes at what age she used to attend them, and what her cinemas have become today; in this way she adds temporal layers which encourage us to interpret her memories in relational terms, by intersecting temporal and spatial perspectives in such a way that 'social processes and spatial forms are mutually interrelated' (Ravazzoli, 2014b).

Comparing the map of the cinemas attended by Teresa against her memories about them, Gustafson's methodology can be applied to emphasize that 'meaningful places emerge in a social context and through social relations, they are geographically located and at the same time related to their social, economic, cultural etc. surroundings, and they give individuals a sense of place, a "subjective territorial identity"' (Gustafson 2001: 6). Following Gustafson, one can affirm that:

a. Parish cinemas represent the *Self* – when places have highly personal meaning, associated with roots, and the sense of community they create. It is for this reason that Teresa's memories often refer to that recognition Gustafson discusses in his research ('being recognized by and recognizing others in the neighbourhood', 2001: 10). Teresa, in fact, not only remembers going to the parish cinemas with siblings and friends, but also refers to the religious community they all belonged to. This strong religious aspect of the parish cinemas was for Teresa a deciding factor. The educational and moral connotation of these institutions is clearly described in the official ecclesiastic documents. Parish cinemas were created with the precise intent of moralising audiences while providing a certain level of entertainment. These cinemas were very different in terms of programming and structure: some of them were run directly by a priest, while for others a lay person was in charge, and this shifted the attention more onto the commercial aspect of the exhibition than its moral one. The venues could either be simple halls with a projector and chairs or fully functioning cinemas. In either case, the community they gathered was the most significant aspect for audiences to join them. If, for the Catholic Church, the parish film exhibition system was a way to safeguard Christian morality and protect vulnerable audiences from immoral films, for local audiences they represented an extension of the family setting where friends and family could gather safely. In fact, parish cinemas are – and the map can show this – representative of childhood and youth because of the domesticity of the environment and their proximity to home. Parish cinemas' features are accessibility and convenience, as not only were their ticket prices very economical, but also they were suitably located next to the local churches, where Romans from their neighbourhoods would regularly gather. Moreover, they gave children the opportunity to break free from parental restrictions, as they were considered safe environments, and children could attend alone.

Further, the localized nature of Teresa's memories is exacerbated by the way in which the parish cinema becomes a microcosm for broader historical change, or the place where that historical change makes itself visible. She discusses how the *oratorio*, or parish centre, was always a safe space where, as she says 'unpleasant things did not happen'. But she goes on to remark that the political and social upheaval of 1968 changed everything, and that children broke the *oratorio*'s table tennis tables. The relation between micro and macro is made evident here, as the parish cinema is seen no longer as a place outside history but a place into which history enters.

b.   Second and third-run cinemas are the cinemas Teresa attended more frequently. They are cinemas close to home but also scattered in other neighbourhoods, where a young girl can go without being too adventurous [FIG. 3]. The gendered nature of Teresa's experience is important to note: most of our respondents, including Teresa, state emphatically that women did not go to the cinema alone in the 1940s and '50s (she says 'it was not the custom' and never in her narrative mentions going anywhere in the city alone). This memory intersects with the work of Giuliana Bruno, in *Streetwalking on a Ruined Map*, who discusses women's restricted mobility, and how cinema was actually an important point of access to the public sphere for women, while noting that it was only in the 1950s that cinema-going became an acceptable group activity for Italian women (Bruno 1993: 51).[18] GIS can 'reveal spatial contexts, depict spatial connections, and hint at complex relations among people and places' (Kwan, 2002: 650), but Kwan also notes that feminist geographers insist that the 'material and discursive construction of gendered identities is crucial for understanding differences in the lived experiences of individuals' (646). In this context, the map alone can only tell us so much, and needs to be augmented by a knowledge of the limitations to Italian women's mobility, and of the behavioural norms that Teresa had internalized about which places and parts of the city are acceptable to frequent.[19]

In Gustafson's terms, the second and third-run cinemas are indicative of that relationship between *Environment-Self* where the place 'offers the respondents various kinds of opportunities (to perform certain activities, to feel or experience something desirable, opportunities for personal development)' (2001: 11). In these cinemas, in fact, Teresa starts exploring the geography of the city, venturing into new neighbourhoods and

experiencing her first moments of independence. However, the areas investigated are still familiar to our participants, reflecting what Gustafson describes as both 'formal knowledge (geographical, historical)' of the place, as well as 'familiarity with the lived-in physical environment' (2001: 11). An example of these kinds of cinemas is the Augustus, where Teresa watched most of the films of her youth.

c.   First-run cinemas are places associated with adulthood, a more stable financial situation, and geographically are significantly more distant [FIG. 4]. Age was a significant aspect in the choice of cinemas. Romans would choose first-run cinemas when they were older because they were more independent in their travelling and in their film choice but also because they were financially more autonomous and could afford more expensive cinema tickets. In Gustafson's theory, first-run cinemas seem to fall into the category of the *Other-Environment*, where people 'discuss the "atmosphere", the "climate", or the street-life of a place (usually a city) in such a way that properties of the inhabitants come to characterize the urban environment itself' (2001: 10). In this sense, Teresa's memories associate her status as inhabitant of the heart of the city with the urban environment of the city centre where all first-run cinemas were located. Attending this type of cinema was something Teresa could only do from the age of twenty onwards and this is the first information she provides when describing them. Renegotiating women's position in the urban environment is evident in much of the oral history collected in our project, and the practice of attending city centre cinemas meant for many women travelling across the city and exploring new areas on their own. However, in Teresa's case this seemed to be possible only when financial – as well as personal - freedom was achieved from parents.

Conclusion

The past/present relationship is essential to consider when we think about attempts at mapping space: on the one hand, any attempt to reproduce Teresa's Rome of the 1950s has to acknowledge 'the simultaneous coexistence of social relations that cannot be conceptualized as other than dynamic' and 'the necessity of thinking in terms of space-time' (Massey 1992), while on the other, the dynamic of memory and recollection is often geographically or topographically driven and layered over time, creating the 'palimpsest-like quality of topographical memory' (Kuhn 2002: 20).[20] Time also needs to be considered as an

essential feature of the protagonist's life-cycle, and as we have shown, particular periods of Teresa's life are strongly associated with particular cinemas and particular areas of the city, corresponding closely to changes in her independence and capacity for mobility.

Of course memory itself was classically understood as spatial: Kilbourn (2013: 51) notes the 'still pervasive visual-spatial model of memory', based on the classical art of memory (founded on *locus* and *topos*).[21] It is possible that video interviews could lead to a richer understanding of this spatial and geographical idea of memory, as we might, for example, analyse the hand movements and gestures Teresa makes as she reconstructs her journeys round Rome, or tries to remember the location of a particular cinema.

In conclusion, these 'emotional maps' can be 'ways of charting how people experience subjectively the spaces shown on geographic maps and showing emotions, bodies and relations in space' (Esbester, 2009: 40). Our broader aim in this research is to interrogate our own project, and what we might be hoping to ascertain from mapping Teresa's (and other respondents') memories. We are not merely measuring those memories against an official account of the period, nor are we using them as just another historical source (alongside, for example, the archival material on cinemas that we are also embedding in the map). Rather, we are aiming to create an 'affective narrative space' (Wood, 2010: 178) in which emotion and memory are valued for what they can tell us about Teresa's (gendered) experience in 1950s Rome. Most of all, we seek to remember that 'mapping […] offers most when it raises new questions about spatial and temporal connectivity, rather than promising closure on the question of what was going on in the past' (Verhoeven, Bowles and Arrowsmith, 2009: 79).

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[2] Interviews were conducted by the Italian non-profit organization Memoro (http://www.memoro.org) under our direction.

[3] There is now a large bibliography on audience and reception studies. See, amongst many other important works, Staiger (1992), Maltby, Stokes and Allen (2007), and Fuller-Seeley (2008).

[4] http://italiancinemaaudiences.org/dhp-projects/mapping-teresa-rabittis-memories/. Key inspirations for this work have been the mappings undertaken by Karel Dibbets, in his project on the Netherlands, 'Cinema Context' (http://www.cinemacontext.nl), and by Robert C. Allen in his work on North Carolina from 1896-1939, 'Going to the Show' (http://docsouth.unc.edu/gtts/).

[5] Jeffrey Klenotic has a similar view, arguing that sites of movie consumption constitute a 'material network of time-space relations with socially embedded and physically embodied audiences' (2011: 79).

[6] See also the editorial on 'Emotional Geographies' in the 2001 issue of *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* (Anderson and Smith, 2001).

[7] All translations from the Italian are ours.

[8] See Jankovich, Faire and Stubbings on their inteviews with inhabitants of Nottingham on their memories of cinema-going: 'many […] maintained that travelling to the cinema was part of the adventure of cinemagoing'. (2003: 176-77).

[9] Giorgio's memory reminds us of Verhoeven et al's prescription that we should, in reconstructing cinema history, study both the physical transport of films (how they got from one place to another), and how the audience got to the cinema, and what obstacles they faced in doing so (Verhoeven, Bowles and Arrowsmith, 2009: 71).

[10] In the 1950s film exhibition in Italy had a particular and complex structure, as audiences had a wide choice of cinemas, which Corsi suggests reflected very distinct types of audiences: wealthy audiences who could afford first-run city centre elegant cinema theatres; the middle class audience living in residential areas outside the centre attended predominantly second-run cinemas as they were wary of first-run prices and preferred to wait until new films had reached their neighbourhoods; and third-run audiences who understood that cheap ticket prices were associated with uncomfortable wooden seats (Corsi, 2004: 446). In addition, an extensive network of parish cinemas - which constituted at times almost 30% of the total number of seats available – gave Italians an eclectic choice in terms of venues and programming. In a city like Rome (around 2 million inhabitants), the biggest in Italy at the time, parish cinemas represented one fifth of the total number of cinemas, with over 16,000 seats (information courtesy of ACEC (Catholic Association of Cinema Exhibitors)).

[11] See http://www.literaturatlas.eu/en/project/project-structure/data-model/ [accessed 28th July 2015, and Reuschel and Hurni (2011).

[12] This is how Reuschel, Piatti and Hurni (2013: 145) describe fictional settings.

[13] Reuschel, Piatti and Hurni (2013: 138). They define geospace' as 'real, physical space, which can be described geographically and represented cartographically, with measurable distances between any desired points'.

[14] Quoted in Oudenampsen and Robles-Duran (2013). Harvey is following Henri Lefebvre here in *The Production of Space* (1974).

[15] See also Allen's view of cinemas as 'internally heterogeneous nodal points in a social, economic and cultural cartography of cinema: intersections of overlapping trajectories, networks, trails, and pathways' (Allen, 2006: 24)

[16] His emphasis. He goes on to note that 'an event or a thing at a point in space cannot be understood by appeal to what exists only at that point. It depends upon everything else going on around it (although in practice usually within only a certain range of influence)' (124).

[17] See Tari Peleaz, *Experiential Hospitality Environments: The Roles of the Interior Architectural Features in Affording Meanings of Place*, MA thesis, Florida International University, 2011.

[18] Bruno (1993: 51) notes that 'the "institution" of cinema (that is, the act of going to the movies and its viewing space) historically legitimized for the female subject the denied possibility of public pleasure in leisure time. Cinema provided a form of access to public space, an occasion to socialise and get out of the house'. See also Fanchi, 2010.

[19] For example, she tells a long anecdote about accidentally frequenting a cinema where there was a variety performance before the film (very common in the period) and her shock at seeing scantily dressed dancing girls.

[20] Casey, quoted in Kuhn 2002: 16, notes that 'places serve to situate one's memorial life'.

[21] See also Giuliana Bruno on places as 'the site of a mnemonic palimpsest' (2002: 221).