

Hollywood on the Mount Titano: “Prince of Foxes” (Henry King, 1949) and San Marino as Peripheral Film Location

MARIA ELENA D’AMELIO

Introduction

In 1949, 20th Century Fox produced *Prince of Foxes* (*Il principe delle volpi*, Henry King, 1949), a Hollywood epic directed by Henry King and set in Renaissance Italy, starring Tyrone Power and Orson Welles. The film was shot at Cinecittà and on location in several renowned Italian cities, including Venice and Siena. However, several key scenes, including the main battle sequence, were filmed in the small Republic of San Marino, making it a rare example of a Hollywood production set in a European microstate. *Prince of Foxes* was the first 20th Century Fox film shot in Italy. The years 1948 to 1950 represented a period of crisis for the studio, primarily due to a decline in cinema attendance, the structural division between production and exhibition operations following the Paramount antitrust case, and the high production costs associated with Technicolor films¹. Productions filmed on location were able to circumvent some of the considerable labor expenses typical of studio-based filmmaking, with significant cost reductions achieved through international shoots². Additionally, many foreign productions, particularly in Italy, benefited from access to ‘blocked funds’ – that is to say, revenues generated abroad that could not be repatriated to or utilized within the United States³. As a consequence, the postwar years saw a blooming presence of American filmmaking in Rome, with spectacular epics such as *Quo Vadis* (Marvin LeRoy, 1951) and *Ben-Hur* (William Wyler, 1959), and romantic comedies such as *Roman Holiday* (*Vacanze romane*, William Wyler, 1953) and *Three Coins in the Fountain* (*Tre soldi nella fontana*, Jean

Negulesco, 1954), in which the large use of Italy's countryside and monuments turned the country into a picturesque commodity for American tourists. This resulted in what was to become known in popular culture as Hollywood on the Tiber, a "broader mix of major studio offices, production units, personalities and publicity" that constituted the American film colony in Rome⁴. This was also the time during which media celebrity acquired a pervasive status within Italy's society. The wedding of Tyrone Power and Linda Christian in Rome was the first major media event in post-wwii Italy which had an international impact⁵, while the city of Rome and Via Veneto in particular became "a cosmopolitan crossroads for the international elite of the rich and famous" as well as the center of gossip and scandal featured in the gossip sheet "Confidential"⁶.

San Marino, although geographically situated in northeastern Italy, was a politically independent entity with a marginal role in the above-mentioned economic, cultural, and social processes involving the Italian cinema landscape. Yet it briefly entered the international stage through local efforts, particularly those of architect and set designer Vittorio Valentini, a San Marino citizen working at Cinecittà from the 1940s to the early 1960s, who facilitated the involvement of 20th Century Fox with the San Marino government⁷. This article investigates how San Marino functioned as a 'double periphery'—both geographically marginal within Italy and symbolically peripheral within the dominant Hollywood-Italian film coproduction axis. By positioning *Prince of Foxes* as a case study, the article offers insights into broader processes of transnational and transatlantic film relations, local collaboration, and cultural representation during the early Cold War period.

Theoretical Framework: The Transatlantic and the Peripheral

Elizabeth Ezra and Terry Rowden define transnational cinema as shaped by the global circulation of images, professionals, and financing. As they argue, the term 'transnational' has moved beyond its economic and sociopolitical origins to reveal its value as a conceptual tool within the field of film studies⁸. From its inception, cinema has been

transnational, due to both the international circulation of its products and the use of international personnel in filmmaking. As Kathleen Newman notes, “borders are seen to have been always permeable, societies always hybrid, and international film history to have been key to the processes of globalization”⁹. What is new, Ezra and Rowden contend, are the conditions of financing, production, distribution and reception of cinema today¹⁰.

Thus, transnational cinema is increasingly characterized by a set of industrial practices that operate across national borders in terms of production, distribution, and reception, and by the expanded circulation of films enabled by new technologies, such as video, DVD, and digital media. However, as Stefano Baschiera and Francesco Di Chiara point out,

Italian cinema dealt with a particularly delicate relationship between local and global culture, with the permeability of national borders, and with the decline of national sovereignty as a regulatory force in global coexistence, and it did so decades before the issues of globalization and transnationalism became central in cultural, social, and economic perspectives¹¹.

Indeed, the transnational nature of Italian cinema was evident since its early days. In their study of Italian serial films of the silent era, Monica Dall’Asta and Giorgio Bertellini illustrate how serials such as the *Maciste* series traveled internationally, across Europe and America, and note that “to approach silent serials solely in terms of national production means to ignore the fact that cinema – and serial cinema in particular – was the most powerful vehicle in the emergence of a globalized, transnational culture”¹².

Following World War II, Italian cinema reaffirmed and revitalized its transnational vocation, in the context of the economic, social, and cultural internationalism produced by postwar American hegemony and Cold War policies in Europe.

In examining the strong American economic and cultural influence on Italian cinema and culture, I adopt the term ‘transatlantic’ to describe the production and distribution practices that affected and influenced both Italian and American cinema and society in the 1950s and 1960s. The term ‘transatlantic’ geopolitically specifies the other-

wise too broad notion of transnationalism and helps define the specific economic, social, and cultural relations between Italian cinema and Hollywood, as well as between Italy and the United States more generally.

Italy during the 1950s and 1960s – and Rome in particular – was the center of a transatlantic culture that attracted well-known literary figures, artists, and filmmakers, such as Tennessee Williams, Aldous Huxley, Henry Moore, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, David Lean, Orson Welles, Ingrid Bergman and William Wyler¹³. As a result, Rome became a cosmopolitan hub of creative activity, especially centered on film production, that had a lasting impact on contemporary international film and art cultures.

The Hollywood on the Tiber era and its transatlantic practices had important consequences for the Italian film industry. On the one hand, they underscored the economic power of the United States over Italian cinema, given that the major studios' policies aimed to both recover blocked funds and distribute American films in the Italian market without restrictions. On the other hand, the presence of American runaway productions, particularly historical epics, contributed to the expansion of Cinecittà Studios, generated employment for Italian film workers (especially technicians and extras), and bolstered the production of Italian popular genres such as the *peplum*, horror, and spaghetti westerns – genres that were, in turn, primarily exported to the United States. As Enrico Carocci observes, the phenomenon of Hollywood on the Tiber highlights a complex relationship between two film industries at different levels but with complementary aims. It marked a period of economic and cultural exchange in which the United States' need to relocate film productions abroad matched Italian ambitions to revitalize a national cultural industry capable of promoting – both domestically and internationally – filmmakers, films, stars, products, industrial brands and traditional cultural or landscape heritage¹⁴.

Thus, in analyzing the relationship between the filming of *Prince of Foxes* and San Marino as a peripheral location, this article adopts both a transatlantic and a 'double periphery' perspective. The transatlantic

framework specifies the postwar relationship between Italy and the United States as a key site of cinematic exchanges, framing them as complex networks of interaction within a dialogic context¹⁵.

Adding the peripheral location of San Marino to this dialogue, however, introduces a gaze from the margins. Here, I draw from the concept of peripheral locations as theorized by Massimiliano Coviello and Valentina Re¹⁶. Coviello and Re conceptualize its use in contemporary TV production as a key to understanding the relationship between screenwriting, production, and distribution strategies, demonstrating the complex role that they play in both the writing and production development processes.

I argue that Coviello and Re's concept of peripherality as producer of meaning can also be applied to San Marino as a filming site for 20th Century Fox's *Prince of Foxes*, albeit with some significant differences. Coviello and Re define peripheral locations as "locations that are not included (unlike Venice or Florence) in primary tourist routes, or that do not quite correspond to the conventional, stereotypical representation of the Italian landscape and cultural heritage — that is, locations that are quite dissimilar from Sicily (*Il commissario Montalbano*), Naples (*Gomorra*), or the small medieval towns that characterize the landscape of central Italy (*Don Matteo*)"¹⁷. Runaway productions in postwar Italy thrived on precisely such stereotypical representations of the European picturesque. As Steinhart observes, Hollywood's global production strategies sought not only to capitalize on frozen foreign earnings, cheap labor, and appealing locations, but also to lure US audiences away from television by offering them authentic foreign settings, rendered with heightened realism through color and widescreen technologies¹⁸. In this framework, art-filled cities such as Venice, Florence, or Rome were generally the preferred filming locations. San Marino, however, did not fit this model: in the late 1940s, the microstate was a small, impoverished, rocky territory, largely unknown outside its immediate area and lacking the prestige of Italy's celebrated medieval and Renaissance cities.

This essay therefore examines the meaning of San Marino as a peripheral location within both the narrative strategy of *Prince of Foxes*

and the broader transnational dynamics of Hollywood's runaway productions. I argue that the film's use of San Marino offers a distinctive case study in how a peripheral space can be rendered temporarily central to film narratives, symbolic geopolitics, and production practices within the transatlantic film culture of post-World War II Italy.

Historical Context: Hollywood in Italy

The relationship between America and Italy was remarkable for numerous political, economic, and socio-cultural reasons. The peninsula's strategic position between the Mediterranean, Northern Europe, and Soviet Eastern Europe positioned Italy as a focal point of the Marshall Plan and Truman Doctrine during the Cold War¹⁹. Cinema played a fundamental role in this project. Both Hollywood producers and the US government conceived the massive importation of American films into Italy to accomplish two goals: first, to open a new and lucrative film market for Hollywood productions, allowing Italy to become one of their most important foreign markets alongside Great Britain; and second, to export the American way of life, countering the perceived threat posed by Italy's Communist Party, the largest in Western Europe.

Hollywood's dominance of the Italian market at the levels of distribution and exhibition was particularly aggressive in the years following World War II. As Victoria de Grazia notes, with the abolition of the state-owned ENIC monopoly on the distribution of foreign films and the annulment of the protectionist Fascist Alfieri Law in October 1945, "Italy became a wholly open market"²⁰. In the post-1945 reconstruction of Italy, Hollywood strongly advocated for the abolition of protectionist Fascist laws and promoted the free trade of films as commercial commodities. In the immediate postwar years, Hollywood saturated the Italian market with American films both to recover earnings lost during the Fascist monopoly and as part of the US government's broader campaign to promote Americanism across Europe and the world²¹.

However, there were some limitations that the major studios – Warner Bros., MGM, Paramount, 20th Century Fox, Universal, Columbia,

RKO, and United Artists – were compelled to accept. In January 1946, Undersecretary for Foreign Trade Storoni reiterated that, since cinema was not considered a basic necessity, it had to be subject to foreign exchange restrictions. Importing companies were required to: limit their activity; operate on a foreign-currency basis; deposit revenues into restricted bank accounts; and use the accumulated amounts – within six months, to avoid excessive credit accumulation – for investments in film production²².

According to di Chio, however, during the duration of these annual agreements (1946–1950), only 34% of Hollywood's funds were actually reinvested in Italy. The remainder was transferred through other types of operations (such as charitable donations and the purchase and export of raw materials) or remained unused in restricted accounts. *Prince of Foxes* was one of the films financed through this 34% reinvestment, along with *September Affair* (*Accadde in settembre*, William Dieterle, 1950), *Deported* (*Il deportato*, Robert Siodmak, 1950) and *Three Coins in the Fountain*.

In the following years, the Italian government sought to support its national cinema industry through selective aid, beginning with Law 958 of December 29, 1949, *Disposizioni per la cinematografia* (known as the 'Andreotti Law' after Undersecretary of State Giulio Andreotti who drafted it)²³. Furthermore, the ANICA–MPEA agreements initiated in 1951 regulated financial relations between Hollywood and Italian cinema. The structure of these agreements remained largely consistent: they placed no limits on imports but required that the producer's share of revenues be deposited in restricted accounts and used only for approved purposes, such as the use of local facilities and technical processing plants, co-investment in Italian film production, and the construction or rental of movie theaters²⁴.

The filming of *Prince of Foxes* must therefore be understood within the context of these complex financial transatlantic agreements and the cultural expectations held on both sides of the Atlantic. For instance, the film's director, Henry King, sought to align geographical reality with the film's historical fiction by shooting in Renaissance cities such as Florence, Siena, Venice, and Ferrara, selecting outdoor

locations that would be most effective in Technicolor. However, producer Darryl Zanuck, concerned about the high costs, insisted that the film be shot in black and white²⁵.

San Marino was selected as a filming location for the main battle scene, shot primarily at the Second Tower of the microstate, situated in its historical center. Archival research brings evidence to how San Marino became part of 20th Century Fox's first runaway production in Italy through a mix of serendipity and strategic planning.

San Marino on Screen: Geography, Fiction, and Productive Peripherality

Vittorio Valentini (1910–1992), an architect from San Marino working at Cinecittà at the time, was hired as *arredatore* (set decorator) for *Prince of Foxes* at a weekly rate of 25,000 lire, plus an additional 15,000 lire per week for any extra hours on set²⁶. Active at Cinecittà from the late 1930s through the late 1950s, Valentini contributed as set decorator to seminal works of Italian cinema, such as *The Children Are Watching Us* (*I bambini ci guardano*, Vittorio De Sica, 1944), as well as major Hollywood productions including *Quo Vadis*, *Roman Holiday*, *Helen of Troy* (*Elena di Troia*, Robert Wise, 1956) and *Ben-Hur*.

Valentini studied set design at the Accademia di Belle Arti in Bologna and at the Centro Sperimentale di Cinematografia in Rome, beginning his career in theater before transitioning to film. Although frequently uncredited, his contributions during a pivotal era – marked by the increasing internationalization of cinematic content and production contexts – were instrumental in positioning San Marino as a viable film location. Despite his career in Rome, Valentini maintained a close relationship with his hometown. During 1943 and 1944, due to the war ravaging Italy, he briefly returned to San Marino and even served as Head of State (*Capitano Reggente*) during the April–October 1945 semester, corresponding in that capacity with the Fifth Army of the Allied Military Government stationed in Florence²⁷.

Valentini's son, Gian Franco, whom I interviewed, recalled that his

father claimed to have persuaded 20th Century Fox to shoot part of *Prince of Foxes* in San Marino. However, director Henry King offered a different account, recounting that he discovered San Marino while flying over the Adriatic Sea during a scouting expedition for filming locations:

We needed a walled city and Zanuck said, 'You'll never find what you're looking for. All those walled cities have been knocked down during the war.' I rented a Fairchild 24 airplane in Rome and, flying with an Italian pilot, flew down the coast around Naples. Then we crossed the Adriatic and flew up the coast there. We landed once to refuel in a little airport that was just filled with bomb craters – they had covered one crater over to make a runway. After about half an hour in the air I pointed and said, 'There it is. There is our walled city.' We were in a little country called San Marino, and there wasn't a scratch on it, no evidence of the war at all. We circled it a few times, then landed on the bumpiest airfield I ever saw. I wondered if the plane was going to hold together. There, we got a car and drove up to San Marino. We talked to some of the officials and they said if we wanted to come and make a picture, we were welcome. I bought some postcards while I was there and sent one to Zanuck with a note: 'This is our set.'²⁸

In 1948, the local newspaper "Il Nuovo Titano" reported that representatives of 20th Century Fox had been received by the Head of State (*Capitano Reggente*) and granted permission to film scenes of *Prince of Foxes* in the historic city center. The article mentions the presence of actor Tyrone Power, director Henry King, General Director McCrake, cinematographer Leon Shamroy and actress Wanda Hendrix. Italian production managers Cesare Seccia and Renato Marabelli were also credited with facilitating the encounter. The article even alludes to a not better specified gesture of goodwill ("*gesto di simpatia*") from 20th Century Fox that the journalist predicted would not be forgotten²⁹.

Archival research in the San Marino State Archive unearthed a note in the minutes of the *Consiglio Grande e Generale* (San Marino's Parliament) dated 18 September 1948, that alludes to the nature of this goodwill gesture³⁰. This document attests the donation of one million lire from 20th Century Fox (through its Italian subsidiary, Josè Film) to San Marino's Previdenza (public welfare office). The government

particularly appreciated the donation, given the dire economic situation of the Republic in the aftermath of World War II. The war had left the country economically devastated, and relations with neighboring Italy were strained due to accusations of tax evasion and, more significantly, political tensions. Following the fall of the Sammarinese Fascist government, the first free postwar elections resulted in a center-left coalition victory. The presence of a Communist government in the heart of Italy, during a period of escalating Cold War tensions, was viewed with suspicion by the Christian Democratic government in Italy, which imposed punitive economic measures on San Marino. Only after a dramatic political shift to a Christian Democratic-led government did San Marino succeed in reestablishing more relaxed relations with both Italy and the United States, leading to renewed infrastructure investments and economic development during the 1960s³¹.

The impact of *Prince of Foxes* on the microstate was significant, as documented by contemporary local newspapers such as “Il Nuovo Titano” and “La Scintilla”, which detailed the arrival of the troupe, the actors, and the production activities in the Second Tower – one of the three iconic towers of San Marino depicted in the national coat of arms³². Although the crew was primarily composed of American and Italian personnel, the production recruited more than 250 San Marino citizens as extras, out of a total population of 15,000 at the time. The fame of Tyrone Power and the exceptional nature of such a major epic production taking place on Mount Titano prompted many Sammarinese citizens to close their businesses and shops to witness the filming³³.

Prince of Foxes is based on Samuel Shellabarger’s novel and centers on the historical figure Cesare Borgia (played by Orson Welles) and his fictional soldier Andrea Orsini (played by Tyrone Power), who ultimately betrays his master for the love of Camilla, the wife of the governor of Città del Monte. The microstate is strategically situated along the route to Ferrara, which Borgia must conquer. To reach Ferrara, Borgia must first gain control of this fortress city perched atop a steep mountain. As a result, Città del Monte is compelled to host

Orsini as Borgia's ambassador, despite its leaders' awareness of his true mission: to facilitate the city's capture. Orsini is expected to seduce Camilla and assassinate her husband, but he ultimately falls in love and switches sides, aiding Città del Monte in resisting Borgia's forces. The historical and geographical allusions embedded in the narrative clearly align Città del Monte with San Marino. Both are small, walled, independent republics with longstanding traditions of liberty and democracy, situated between Emilia-Romagna and the Marche regions; both resisted foreign conquest to preserve their autonomy. Historically, San Marino was indeed threatened by Cesare Borgia, who militarily occupied the Republic in 1502 for six months before being forced to withdraw after the election of Pope Julius II, an adversary of the Borgia family³⁴.

Thus, San Marino effectively doubles as the fictional Città del Monte, with its iconic medieval towers serving as the backdrop for the film's climactic battle between Borgia's forces and the city's defenders led by Orsini. This battle sequence was widely covered in local newspapers, which emphasized how San Marino's historic towers provided a natural set for portraying the siege and eventual liberation. For instance, "Il Nuovo Titano" humorously wondered whether Cesare Borgia had returned to occupy San Marino, noting the presence of flags, banners, and artillery set up near the Second Tower³⁵. Giorgio Pedrocchio highlights how Italian magazines such as "Hollywood" and "Cine Illustrato" sent journalists to San Marino, intrigued by the choice of a marginal and lesser-known location over more celebrated Renaissance cities, and by the presence of star Tyrone Power in the microstate³⁶. Even *La Settimana Incom* produced a newsreel titled "*Divi in Italia - Tyrone Power a San Marino*"³⁷, which opened with footage of the Second Tower and celebrated the Republic as a land of freedom and refuge. The segment continued with close-ups of Power in costume and scenes from the set, marveling at the sight of wartime cannons and explosions staged within the peaceful and neutral Republic of San Marino.

Conclusion

The presence of American star power and international crews momentarily transformed the microstate of San Marino into a global stage. During the filming of *Prince of Foxes*, the historic center of the Republic was even surrounded by signs reading “Los Angeles City Limits,” a playful reference to the fictional assault by Borgia being filmed at the towers³⁸. Yet, San Marino’s involvement was not merely passive: the Republic leveraged its history and landscape to align with the film’s ideological narrative of resistance and freedom.

San Marino’s ‘double periphery’ – both distant from the glamour of Hollywood on the Tiber and lacking an independent film industry – proved instrumental in producing layered meanings in the production and reception of *Prince of Foxes*. While the small Republic lacked the allure and recognition of more famous Italian cities such as Venice, Florence, or Rome, its geographic positioning offered a realistic setting for the fictional Città del Monte. Furthermore, owing to its political history and long-standing tradition of neutrality, San Marino served not merely as a picturesque backdrop but as an emotionally and historically charged site. Its geographic and symbolic significance became integral to the film’s narrative themes of freedom and peace.

San Marino’s experience serves as a reminder of the contingent nature of cinematic geographies – how locations on the margins can attain temporary centrality through transnational circuits of production. It also reflects the broader dynamics of American soft power during the Cold War and the intertwined histories of American and Italian cinema productions, stars, and locations in postwar Italy.

The selection of San Marino as a filming location raised hopes for a continued relationship between the microstate and the American film industry – hopes that ultimately did not materialize. After *Prince of Foxes*, San Marino served as the backdrop for two Italian productions: *Paolo e Francesca* (Raffaello Matarazzo, 1950) and *Estate violenta* (Valerio Zurlini, 1959), but Hollywood never returned to Mount Titano.

The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but several possibilities can be suggested. On the one hand, following Henry King’s own account,

the microstate had simply been in the right place at the right time, its political and geographic characteristics closely resembling the walled city described by Shellabarger. Yet competition from other Italian cities, combined with the development of increasingly favorable agreements between the Italian and American film industries, likely contributed to the declining interest in San Marino.

On the other hand, if we consider the role of the Sammarinese figure Vittorio Valentini – who suggested San Marino as a location, as he had earlier done for *Lo sconosciuto di San Marino* (Michał Waszyński, 1946) – it is significant to note that Valentini ceased working on Hollywood runaway productions after *Quo Vadis*, retiring to San Marino to focus on painting. This likely severed the tenuous but steady link between the microstate and Hollywood.

Finally, it is worth considering a reflection that appeared in “Il Giornale d’Italia” on 1 October 1948, authored by Luigi Monsanto³⁹. The journalist reported that for a month, a film crew had been stationed in San Marino, with guards restricting access and fans hoping to glimpse Tyrone Power. He also noted that San Marino’s Secretariat for Foreign Affairs (equivalent to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) had already received several inquiries from foreign studios interested in filming there.

While acknowledging that cinema-driven tourism could offer valuable resources for San Marino’s strained finances, Monsanto warned that it might also compromise the “small but most honest State.” The article seems to praise the Sammarinese socialist-communist government for defending its workers and maintaining its State-run attitude towards economy, but there is a tone of criticism for the government’s apparent skepticism toward a capitalist model of economic development embodied by the Hollywood film industry – alongside fears that an influx of foreign capital might overturn the microstate’s political balance, as indeed occurred a few years later. The article was titled *San Marino is not Hollywood*. Yet, even for a brief, dreamlike moment, it was.

- ¹ P. Lev, *Twentieth Century-Fox: The Zanuck-Skouras Years, 1935–1965*, New York, University of Texas Press, 2013, pp. 161–227.
- ² D. Steinhart, *Runaway Hollywood: Internationalizing Postwar Production and Location Shooting*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2019, p. 294.
- ³ F. di Chio, *Hollywood e il Tevere. Capitali e film di interesse americano in Italia, dal 1946 al 1973*, in E. Carocci, I.A. De Pascalis, V. Pravadelli (eds), *Culture cinematografiche italiane negli Stati Uniti del secondo dopoguerra*, Milano, Mimesis, 2023, p. 51.
- ⁴ A. Gardner, M. Nicholls, A. White, *Cold War Cultures and Globalisation: Art and Film in Italy: 1946–1963*, “Third Text”, Vol. xxvi, n. 2, 2012, p. 210.
- ⁵ F. Vitella, *Tirone, la volpe e il Papa: il matrimonio Power-Christian e la fan culture italiana del dopoguerra*, “Cinema e Storia”, n. 5, 2016, p. 83.
- ⁶ S. Gundle, *Hollywood Glamour and Mass Consumption in Postwar Italy*, “Journal of Cold War Studies”, Vol. iv, n. 3, 2002, p. 113.
- ⁷ M. Verdone, *L'impegno artistico di Vittorio Valentini*, in list first author *et al.* (eds), *Vittorio Valentini. Scenografia e pittura*, San Marino, Pinacoteca di San Francesco, 31 March–19 April 1980.
- ⁸ E. Ezra, T. Rowden, *General Introduction: What is Transnational Cinema?*, in E. Ezra, T. Rowden (eds) *Transnational Cinema: The Film Reader*, New York, Routledge, 2006, p. 1.
- ⁹ K.E. Newman, *Notes on Transnational Film Theory: Decentered Subjectivity, Decentered Capitalism*, in N. Durovicová, K.E. Newman (eds) *World Cinemas, Transnational Perspectives*, New York, Routledge, 2009, p. 4.
- ¹⁰ E. Ezra, T. Rowden, *General Introduction*, cit., p. 1.
- ¹¹ S. Baschiera, F. Di Chiara, *Once Upon a Time in Italy: Transnational Features of Genre Production 1960s-1970s*, “Film International”, Vol. XLVIII, n. 6, 2010, p. 104.
- ¹² M. Dall'Asta, G. Bertellini, *Italian serial films and international popular culture*, “Film History”, Vol. XII, n. 3, 2000, p. 302.
- ¹³ A. Gardner, M. Nicholls, A. White, *Cold War Cultures and Globalisation*, cit., p. 205.
- ¹⁴ E. Carocci, *Il cinema come oggetto e come mediatore. Un'introduzione agli scambi tra Italia e Stati Uniti, dal secondo dopoguerra agli anni Settanta*, in E. Carocci, I.A. De Pascalis, V. Pravadelli (eds), *Culture cinematografiche italiane negli Stati Uniti del secondo dopoguerra*, cit., p. 11.
- ¹⁵ Ivi, p. 12.

- ¹⁶ M. Coviello, V. Re, *Translocal Landscapes: “La porta rossa” and the Use of Peripheral Locations in Contemporary Italian TV Crime Drama*, “Academic Quarter / Akademisk kvarter”, 2021, pp. 60–78.
- ¹⁷ Ivi, p. 63
- ¹⁸ D. Steinhart, *Runaway Hollywood: Internationalizing Postwar Production and Location Shooting*, cit., p. 303.
- ¹⁹ D.W. Ellwood, *L’impatto del Piano Marshall sull’Italia*, in G. P. Brunetta (ed.), *Identità italiana e identità europea nel cinema italiano dal 1945 al miracolo economico*, Torino, Fondazione Giovanni Agnelli, 1996, p. 87.
- ²⁰ V. de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America’s Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe*, Cambridge (MA), Harvard University Press, 2005, p. 82.
- ²¹ D.A. Forgacs, S. Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*, Bloomington (IN), Indiana University Press, 2007, p. 153.
- ²² F. di Chio, *Hollywood e il Tevere*, cit., p. 52.
- ²³ D. Forgacs, S. Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War*, cit., p. 132.
- ²⁴ F. di Chio, *Hollywood e il Tevere*, cit., p. 54.
- ²⁵ A. Anile, *Orson Welles in Italia*, Milano, La Nave di Teseo, 2023, p. 190.
- ²⁶ San Marino, Archivio privato Gian Franco Valentini, *20th Century Fox’s contract with Vittorio Valentini*, 21 July 1948.
- ²⁷ San Marino, Archivio privato Gian Franco Valentini, *Letter from Brigadier General Hume to Vittorio Valentini*, 2 April 1945.
- ²⁸ H. King, D. Shepard, T. Perry, *Henry King, Director: From Silents to ‘Scope*, Los Angeles (CA), Directors Guild of America, 1995, pp. 148–49.
- ²⁹ “Il Nuovo Titano”, 12 September 1948, give pages or other publication details.
- ³⁰ Archivio di Stato della Repubblica di San Marino, Atti del Consiglio Grande e Generale, Seduta Pubblica, 18/09/1948.
- ³¹ V. Casali, *Manuale di Storia Sammarinese*, San Marino, Libreria Cosmo, 2009, p. 135.
- ³² “Il Nuovo Titano”, 12 September 1948; “La Scintilla”, 9 September 1948.
- ³³ G. Pedrocco, *Pellicole a San Marino*, “I Quaderni SUMS”, a. IV, n. 7, 2021, p. 83.
- ³⁴ I. Biagianti, *L’Età moderna e contemporanea*, in L. Gorgolini, S. Pivato (eds), *Storia di San Marino*, Rimini, Bookstones, 2022, p. 36.

³⁵ “Il Nuovo Titano”, cit.

³⁶ G. Pedrocco, *Pellicole a San Marino*, cit., p. 80.

³⁷ *La Settimana Incom*, 09 September 1948, n. I018703, <<https://patrimonio.archivioluca.com/luce-web/detail/IL5000009840/2/il-regista-americano-king-gira-film-san-marino-ne-e-protagonista-tyrone-power.html>> (retrieved October 20, 2025)

³⁸ A. Anile, *Orson Welles in Italia*, cit., p. 190.

³⁹ L. Monsanto, *Il turismo come minaccia. San Marino non è Hollywood*, “Il Giornale d’Italia”, 1 October 1948.