

cating her excited state of mind, perhaps a foreshadowing of the ultimately deleted final mad scene.

11. Weaver, *Seven Puccini Librettos*, 206–207.
12. Letter from G. Ricordi, 19 October 1899, in Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 177.
13. Weaver, *Seven Puccini Librettos*, 210–211.

## 7. Fictional Reality

*Literary and Musical Imagery in the Toscas of Sardou and Puccini*

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Dieter Schickling

*Tosca* is the only Puccini opera whose plot deals with a precise historical moment. Where and when the action takes place is specifically indicated: Rome, in June 1800. Victorien Sardou's play *La Tosca* gives the date even more precisely: "L'action à Rome, le 17 juin 1800" [The action takes place in Rome on 17 June 1800]<sup>1</sup>—in other words, three days after the battle of Marengo, in which Napoleon finally defeated the Austrian troops who initially seemed to have had victory in their grasp.

In contrast to all other Puccini operas, *Tosca* required the composer and his librettists to deal with historical events and situations that were more or less familiar to their audience. How did they manage to integrate their literary model with realistic historical events? In the following investigation of this question, the focus is not on the historical precision of *Tosca*,<sup>2</sup> but rather on how Puccini, as composer and coauthor of the libretto, took a given reality and transformed it into a work of operatic theater that has flourished for over a century. With this approach, insight into Puccini's dramaturgical and musical aesthetic might perhaps be gained.

The setting of the opera's first act is described as "la Chiesa di Sant'Andrea della Valle. A destra, la Cappella Attavanti" [the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle. On the right, the Attavanti chapel]. Even though we have observed this in countless productions and portrayals, however, we should not

take it as gospel, because in the original (Sardou's stage drama) it is described somewhat differently: "L'église Saint-Andréa des Jésuites à Rome, Architecture du Bernin: pleins cintres sur gros piliers carrés de marbre blanc plaqué rouge. La vue est prise du transept de droite. Au fond, le choeur entouré d'une grille très ornée, et la fuite de l'abside vers la droite noyée dans l'ombre. . . . Au deuxième plan . . . la chapelle des Angelotti" [The right transept of Bernini's Saint-Andrea of the Jesuits in Rome. The Interior has large semi-circular arches resting on massive square, white marble pillars decorated with red marble. At the back of the stage is the chancel surrounded by an ornate wrought-iron grill; the apse on the right is immersed in darkness. . . . Downstage . . . is the private chapel of the Angelotti family.] Immediately one notices that a different location is indicated, certainly not the church of Sant'Andrea della Valle. Undoubtedly, Sardou meant the church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, built by Bernini in 1658 for the Jesuit Novitiate, a building of two storeys decorated inside with pink, gold, and white. An Angelotti chapel, however, is nowhere to be found there at all.

It was not until relatively late that Puccini and his librettists switched the scene to a different church and renamed the chapel. In the libretto sketch of February 1898, while Puccini was in the midst of composing the opera, the church is simply called "Sant'Andrea a Roma" without further description, with the chapel belonging to the "Angelotti." But the subsequent changes served the logic of the plot: that the family of a Jacobin free spirit and enemy of the pope would have had a private chapel in a Jesuit church is just as unlikely as Angelotti's escape from the Castel Sant'Angelo clear across the entire city of Rome. So it came to pass that Sant'Andrea dei Gesuiti (that is, Sant'Andrea al Quirinale) was replaced by Sant'Andrea della Valle, which is only half as far away from Castel Sant'Angelo. And so also was the Cappella Angelotti rechristened the

Cappella Attavanti, for the aristocratic family into which Angelotti's sister marries in Sardou's play. Apparently, Puccini and his librettists found it convenient to ignore the fact that no family of counts by the name of Attavanti existed at that time.<sup>3</sup>

Sardou, on the other hand, was obsessed with historical detail, attempting to lend his work an aura of authenticity. At the same time, though, he cared little whether the details, either singly or in combination, made strict historical sense—he was concerned merely with their effect on the stage. Puccini and his librettists could not be so carefree with such details, however, as they were dealing with an Italian audience that was familiar with the locale. The Italian authors had to take Sardou's mishmash of reality and fiction and transform it into a convincing reality conforming to criteria not unlike those of today's news reports, which must get the *who*, *what*, and *where* right.

Sardou, however, rarely got the *where* quite right. A typical example would be his well-known suggestion that the river Tiber, in the opera's Act III setting, was to flow between Castel Sant'Angelo and St. Peter's. Puccini wrote, after meeting Sardou, "Io gli ho detto che il *flumen* passava dall'altra parte, sotto, e lui tranquillo come un pesce ha detto: 'oh questo è niente!' Bel tipo, tutto vita, fuoco e pieno di inesattezze storico-topo-panoramiche." ["I told him that the *flumen* flowed on the other side, below, and he, as calm as a fish, said, 'Oh that's nothing!' What a character, full of life, fire, and historic-topographic-panoramic inexactitudes."]<sup>4</sup> Even in Sardou's play the description of this scene is topographically challenging: "Au fond, . . . en perspective, la ville, entre le Colysée et le dôme de Saint-Pierre, éclairée par le soleil levant." [Behind, . . . in the distance, there is a perspective of Rome, stretching from the Colosseum to Saint-Peter's dome, now lit by the rising sun.] To obtain such a view, observers would have to dis-

rance themselves several kilometers from Castel Sant'Angelo and raise themselves very high, perhaps in a balloon over the Pincio, or else reversed, opposite the sunrise, from over the Gianicolo, where they would need a telescope to view the events taking place in the "palco davanti a Castel Sant'Angelo" [the platform in front of the Castel Sant'Angelo]. Here, the Italian authors have chosen a less spectacular but more realistic solution, so that, in the libretto, it is very simply described thus: "Nel fondo, il Vaticano e S. Pietro" [In the background, the Vatican and St. Peter's].<sup>5</sup>

As free and easy as Sardou was wont to be with geographical details, he was equally loose with facts about his characters. Those items critical to the main plot were indeed invented by the author, but they were given a diffuse kind of historical aura.<sup>6</sup> Those personages who are actually historical (such as Queen Maria Carolina, the composer Giovanni Paisiello, and the city's military governor Diego Naselli) are background figures in the drama, depicted in a way that does not quite coincide with the real historical events of June 1800. For example, during and after the battle of Marengo, Maria Carolina was actually in Livorno, not in Rome, having left a week earlier on her way to Vienna to visit her Habsburg relatives. Therefore it was in Livorno, not in the Roman Farnese Palace, that she heard the news, first of the ostensible victory over Napoleon, then of the actual defeat.<sup>7</sup> In the corresponding scene of the play, history is given a nod through a message that has the queen returning to Rome from Livorno—yet another example of Sardou's overlaying historical reality with fictional details.

An in-between figure—that is, one that is neither totally historical nor totally invented—is Cesare Angelotti, whose escape from prison opens the action in both the play and the opera. He is based on a real person by the name of Liborio Angelucci, a physician with a literary bent, a friend of the

French Revolution and consequently an opponent of the pope. He was imprisoned twice and was eventually exiled to France. When Rome became a republic in early 1798, he returned and took the post of consul. Allegations of corruption led to his downfall, even before the approach of the Neapolitans in September 1799 forced him to flee. It would be ten years before he returned with French troops to his native city, where, in 1811 at the age of sixty-five, he died a natural death. There is therefore nothing historically accurate about this character's heroic dramatics in Sardou's play, nor of his suicide within eyeshot of his pursuers. Angelucci did, however, attempt suicide during his first imprisonment in 1794, which apparently inspired Sardou to take this poetic license.

Although they found it unavoidable to address the geographical issues, the authors of the opera *Tosca* chose not to correct the character-related *inesattezze* [inexactitudes]. These were not a matter of concern to them, it seems, because almost no one in their audiences, or even the authors themselves, would have had precise recollections of the historical events a century after their occurrence. These were not important to the work because the authors had quite another goal in mind: namely, to make a compelling human story out of a quasi-historical set piece. This follows closely the reshaping of Puccini's two preceding operas, *Manon Lescaut* and *La bohème*, both of which employed a similar recipe to achieve great success with the audience.

These two previous Puccini works were both somewhat timeless operas which the audience members could relate to their own painful love stories. With *Tosca*, however, it would not be so easy for the authors to reuse this proven approach. As soon as the librettists started to work together, Giuseppe Giacosa, who was responsible for creating a more elegant, final version of Luigi Illica's draft libretto, complained, "Sono profondamente persuaso che la *Tosca* non è buon argomento

per melodramma. . . . È un dramma di grossi fatti emozionali, senza poesia . . . bisogna mettere in rilievo la concatenazione degli avvenimenti e ciò prende molto più spazio che non dovrebbe e ne lascia poco allo sviluppo dei sentimenti."<sup>8</sup> [I am profoundly persuaded that *Tosca* is not a good subject for opera; a drama of coarse, emotional action, without poetry; one must bring out the concatenation of events and this takes much more space than it should and leaves little for the development of emotions.] This early objection from the inner circle brings a fundamental dramaturgical problem sharply into focus: it also anticipates the later criticism that also fell on Puccini's music—its sensational nature. It shows the freedom-loving Italian followers of the French republic suffering under the oppression of the monarchical police state of their reactionary compatriots. Sardou wrote *La Tosca* when the French were still traumatized by their defeat at the hands of the Prussians in 1871. So he was able to indulge in fond memories of a not-so-distant time when Bonaparte freed his people from the oppression of the aristocracies and transformed France into Europe's greatest power. And it had not been very long since the king of Piedmont, with the indispensable help of Napoleon III's troops, united Italy. Sardou's *La Tosca* thus celebrates the spiritual and military superiority of France over the overall inferiority of Italy. At first glance, this seems to be a very dubious premise for an Italian opera, which would have to succeed first at home and indeed opened there to an immediately enthusiastic reception. To comprehend why that happened, one must be cognizant of the fact that the northern Italian cultural intelligentsia of the time were francophiles and were more republican than monarchical to boot.

This was true, not least of all, for Ferdinando Fontana, the librettist of Puccini's first two operas. It was he who first suggested to Puccini the idea of making *La Tosca* into an opera,<sup>9</sup> and he induced the composer to see Sardou's play twice in a

row when the famous star Sarah Bernhardt took it on tour to Milan and Turin in early 1889.<sup>10</sup> Fontana and his like-minded friends observed the authoritarian tendency of the Italian royalty and saw parallels between the contemporary situation in Italy and the confrontation between the Republic and the police state in Sardou's *Tosca*. How right they were was shown only a few years later, when Puccini was composing the first act: after rioting in Milan in May 1898, during which the Italian army used cannons against the demonstrators and killed eighty people, General Luigi Pelloux became prime minister with almost dictatorial powers and governed the land with a military regime for two years. Fontana emigrated immediately and spent the remaining twenty years of his life in Swiss exile.<sup>11</sup> It was during this politically exciting time that *Tosca* was composed and premiered, and no member of its first audience would have missed the contemporary implications that the historical background presented.

On the other hand, this political unrest may possibly have been the reason why Puccini took so long to compose the piece, and why, for six years after Fontana's initial suggestion, he put it aside.<sup>12</sup> During this period, he composed *Manon Lescaut* and *La bohème*, pieces of a more intimate character. Puccini was not very interested in contemporary politics and was, above all, no revolutionary provocateur or promoter of democracy; but rather, he was more in tune with the populist authoritarian spirit of the times. Just before the Milan riots he wrote, "Io abolirei Camera e deputati, tanto mi sono uggiosi questi eterni fabbricanti di chiacchiere. Se comandassi io, tornerei volentieri a 'Carlo Dolovio' bon'anima!"<sup>13</sup> [I would abolish the House and representatives, so tedious to me are these eternal windbags. If I were in charge, I would happily go back to good old Carlo Dolovio.] This last refers to Carlo Lodovico, the last duke of Lucca, who, just a half century before, abdicated his claim to the Duchy of Lucca in return for

the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. He was a Bourbon, like the ruler of Naples in whose name Scarpia tortured Tosca in Rome. So, in no way did Puccini share Sardou's political sympathies; he would have been quite happy to shift the plot away from a historical setting. Only after Illica's and Giacosa's libretto had taken away the quasi-realistic explosive material from the drama's model did Puccini begin to show interest in composing the work. After a third viewing of the play in the autumn of 1895, he wrote to Illica, "Fui a Firenze alla *Tosca* che trovai molto ma molto al di sotto di tua. L'elemento amore poetico (lirico) nella riduzione italiana abbonda e nella francese difetta."<sup>14</sup> [I was in Florence for *Tosca*, which I found much—much—below yours. The element of poetic (lyric) love abounds in the Italian version and is lacking in the French.] At this time, by the way, the Italian version ended with Tosca's going mad when overwhelmed by the unexpected death of her lover (in the spirit of those famous examples of Donizetti and Verdi), instead of her jumping off the Castel Sant'Angelo as Sardou had written.<sup>15</sup> Only after Sardou's objection did Puccini realize that the theatrical realism of the work required the more brutal resolution of the plot rather than the poetical one of Italian operatic tradition.

Just as Sardou had influenced Puccini, the political spirit of *Tosca's* theatrical predecessor left its influence on the opera's music. Neither before nor afterwards did Puccini compose in such a dramatic manner. Here, the least intimate subject matter of all his operas drove him to write unusually showy music. This showiness derives from the shallow nature of the text: the music too appears shallow.

But here, as in other instances, appearances can be deceptive. In defense of the music of *Tosca*, we could turn to René Leibowitz, the eminent teacher and theorist of new music, who found references to Schoenberg in the opera's harmonies.<sup>16</sup> But Puccini's compositional process also contains other

elements that, apparently for the first time, make the relationship between reality and fiction a theme of the music itself. Here are a few examples:

At the end of Act I, a *Te Deum* is sung to celebrate the apparent victory over Napoleon.<sup>17</sup> Puccini, who had been well schooled in the Roman Catholic liturgy from the days of his childhood in Lucca, did not turn to a common variant of the traditional Ambrosian hymn of praise, but instead spent several weeks researching in which form this work was sung in Rome in the early nineteenth century, and which liturgical text could precede it.<sup>18</sup> With the help of both religious and lay friends, he was finally able to discover as much as possible—but then he went on to create a liturgically impossible version: "Scelsi perciò da me stesso, sia pure con logica discutibile." [So I chose it by myself, though it be with questionable logic.] The finished piece is neither the historical quotation nor an original musical construction, but rather the product of a mixture of careful research and free choice. However, this free choice initially required historical study, because Puccini, as an up-to-date composer, could not let himself resort to the haphazard techniques of his predecessors, who might just have inserted anything they wished.

A very similar situation is found in the ringing of the bells at the beginning of the third act. From the very beginning of composition, Puccini called on Roman experts, inquiring about the pitch of the lowest bell of Saint Peter's.<sup>19</sup> He then wrote a passage for eleven bells that, with their various tones and rhythms, create an acoustical panorama of the awakening city<sup>20</sup> while simultaneously presenting a complex musical picture. Nearly every available diatonic note is sounded over the leitmotivic, wandering orchestral accompaniment to create strange and quasi-random harmonies that avoid staying in a clear key—until the deepest note (E, which corresponds to the pitch of the actual lowest bell of St. Peter's, the Cam-

panone) finally resolves the passage in E minor. It seems obvious that Puccini modeled this technique after that of Richard Wagner, especially the shifting of the tonal center at the beginning of the *Tristan* prelude. There is, however, a not insignificant difference: although Wagner would absolutely never have considered employing any extramusical influences, Puccini felt it of great importance to use the actual pitch of the real bell of St. Peter's as a tonal goal. This demonstrates again the combination of musical choice and a subtle reference to reality.

There are further examples of this reality fetish to be found in *Tosca*. Just before the bell passage, we hear the song of a shepherd who is passing in the distance with his flock. For the sake of authenticity, rather than have one of his two librettists pen the words, Puccini commissioned a text in Roman dialect by the Roman author Luigi Zanazzo. Perhaps Zanazzo deserved publication royalties, but Puccini used some clever shenanigans to hinder their payment: in the autograph score he carefully avoided entering Zanazzo's text.<sup>21</sup> And this text is missing from the first edition of the libretto as well.

A similar problem arose at the beginning of the second act. In the distance, from beneath Scarpia's quarters at the Palazzo Farnese, we hear music from Queen Maria Carolina's celebration. In Sardou's play, the Neapolitan court composer Giovanni Paisiello himself enters to rehearse his cantata, with Tosca as soloist. Historically, this would hardly have been possible, because Paisiello was under suspicion due to his republican sympathies and would not be forgiven until a year later. Puccini would have been able to use original music by Paisiello for this scene, which he could have easily found, as he had inherited from his ancestors a very comprehensive music library, containing numerous works of the Neapolitan composer.<sup>22</sup> Apparently, because Puccini preferred to compose the piece himself, we can assume that the stylistic coherence of the

music for *Tosca* was deemed more important than some artificial historicity. Most probably this composition is what became known as the "Cantata a Giove," which in the literature is often described as a "lost work of Puccini from 1897"<sup>23</sup> but which, in fact, might be none other than the *Tosca* cantata. (Some associate of Puccini may have erroneously thought this was an independent composition, while the composer was actually working on *Tosca*.)

Also interesting is the stage music that precedes the cantata. It, too, sounds from the floor below and depicts an orchestral gavotte—dance music that lasts until the cantata begins. During Puccini's conservatory studies, the realization of figured basses from Baroque dance suites (in particular, Corelli's *Sonate da camera a tre*), and the writing of such suites, was required. Now in search of such quasi-classical dance music for the opera, Puccini apparently searched through his fifteen-year-old student material and came across a gavotte that was not in fact a figured bass realization but was instead a new, independent composition that was somehow reminiscent of the era of gavottes. This piece was not Puccini's own, however, having been composed by his since-deceased younger brother Michele, from whom he also borrowed a motive sketched on the same page, used for Cavaradossi's victorious outburst, "L'alba vindice appar." Only after a quarter century, in a private conversation just before his death, would Puccini admit to this act of plagiarism, which he excused by declaring his intention "che il fratello rivivesse con lui" [that his brother should live again through him].<sup>24</sup>

This unusual procedure—which is surely unique in the history of music—gives us another example of the complex intertwining of reality and fiction in the opera *Tosca*. Musical citations that were secret, and also personal (and for that reason kept longer from the public eye), were used to create an aura of historicity. However, because the motive composed by

Michele stemmed from the nearly immediate present, it simultaneously retained some modernity. In such moments in his *Tosca*, Puccini produces a puzzling musical conflation of real and artificial elements. His compositional tools seem conventional, but the consciousness that lies behind them certainly goes beyond the limits within which composers writing for the musical theater of those times functioned.

So *Tosca*, whose premiere coincided almost precisely with the beginning of the twentieth century, proves indeed to be an opera that lies on the boundary between traditional and new compositional dramaturgies. Inherent in *Tosca*, with all its contradictions—and perhaps because of them—are the problems that composers following Puccini had to articulate and inevitably confront.

## NOTES

1. The English translations of citations from Sardou's *La Tosca* are from W. Laird Kleine-Ahlbrandt, ed. and trans., *La Tosca: The Drama behind the Opera by Victorien Sardou* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 1990).
2. More on this subject can be found in Susan Vandiver Nicassio, *Tosca's Rome: The Play and the Opera in Historical Perspective* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), and Deborah Burton, "The Real Scarpia: Historical Sources for *Tosca*," *Opera Quarterly* 10, no. 2 (Winter 1993-94): 67-86, reprinted in Italian translation as "Possibili fonti storiche per la *Tosca*," *Nuova Rivista Musicale Italiana* 4, no. 2 (April/June 2000): 199-220.
3. *Editors' note*: In regard to this change of scene, see Deborah Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*: A Heuristic Approach to the Unifying Elements of the Opera" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1995), 408 ff.

4. Eugenio Gara, ed., *Carteggi pucciniani* (Milan: Ricordi, 1958), 172, no. 200 (13 January 1899).
5. In the oldest available draft of the libretto of the third act, the direct translation from Sardou stills stands: "In prospettiva la città fra il Colosseo e San Pietro." See Pier Giuseppe Gillio, "Il terzo atto di *Tosca* nella prima stesura del libretto: documenti inediti," *Tosca*, concert program of the Teatro alla Scala (Milan: La Scala, 2000), 68.
6. See Nicassio, *Tosca's Rome*, and Burton, "The Real Scarpia."
7. See Harold Acton, *The Bourbons of Naples: 1734-1825* (London: Methuen, 1956), 436 ff.
8. Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 150-151, no. 169 (23 August 1896).
9. See *ibid.*, 32, no. 31 (7 May 1889), n. 1.
10. "Lettere di Ferdinando Fontana a Giacomo Puccini," *Quaderni pucciniani* (1992), no. 135 (30 September 1889). *Editors' note*: see also Burton, "An Analysis of Puccini's *Tosca*," 418-462.
11. For a biography of Fontana, see Biancamaria Longoni, "Vita e Opere di Ferdinando Fontana," in *Quaderni pucciniani* (1992): 237-247.
12. It is well known that Puccini began to compose soon after Alberto Franchetti gave up his contract in 1891 with their common publisher, Giulio Ricordi, using the libretto of Luigi Illica. For details of this exchange, see Deborah Burton, "The Creation of *Tosca*: towards a clearer view," *Opera Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (Spring 1996): 27-34.
13. Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, 159, no. 182 (15 April 1898).
14. *Ibid.*, 131, no. 143 (just after 9 October 1895).
15. *Editors' note*: For a discussion and transcription/translation of this alternate ending, see Gillio, chapter 11, this volume, and Gillio, "Il terzo atto."
16. René Leibowitz, *Histoire de l'Opéra* (Paris: Buchet/Chastel, 1957), 338-342.
17. *Editors' note*: Whether this Te Deum was intended to celebrate the victory at Genoa on 4 June 1800 or that of Marengo on 14 June is discussed in Handt, chapter 2, and Kleine-Ahlbrandt, chapter 5, this volume.

18. Pietro Panichelli, *Il pretino di Giacomo Puccini*, 4th ed. (Pisa: Nistri-Lischi, 1962), and Giuseppe Pintorno, *Puccini: 276 lettere inedite* (Milan: Nuove Edizioni, 1974), nos. 45 and 46 (August 1898).
19. Panichelli, *Il pretino di Puccini*, 51–53.
20. In the first draft of the libretto one can already see the intention to have the bells precisely name neighboring churches, which means it was very likely Illica's idea and not, as one would think, that of the composer Puccini. See Gillio, "Il terzo atto," 69. *Editors' note*: see also Gillio, chapter 11, this volume.
21. See Gara, *Carteggi pucciniani*, no. 205 (27 September 1899), no. 207 (4 October 1899), and no. 211 (October 1899).
22. As of 1980, at least part of this library was still to be found in the Villa Puccini in Torre del Lago, as can be seen in a catalog provided by the Sovrintendenza Archivistica per la Toscana (*Archivio Puccini in Torre del Lago*). According to Puccini's granddaughter Simonetta, that library belongs to her inheritance; is it not accessible, nor are the contents of the library currently known.
23. The piece is still listed this way in the latest version of Mosco Carner, *Puccini: A Critical Biography*, 3rd ed. (London: Duckworth, 1992), 556. On this occasion, it should be mentioned that Carner's book, though very useful when it was first published in 1958, is somewhat lax in its documentation and by now is outdated.
24. For the details on this point, see Dieter Schickling, "Giacomo's kleiner Bruder, Fremde Spuren im Katalog der Werke Puccinis," *Studi pucciniani* 1 (1998): 90.

## 8. The Political and Cultural Worlds of Puccini's *Tosca*

*Anticlericalism in Italy at the Turn of the Century*

(1998)

John Anthony Davis

There have been few periods when Italian audiences might be expected to respond more immediately to the anticlerical themes in *Tosca* than the year in which Puccini's opera was first performed in Rome. This chapter's aim is not to consider how the themes of religion and anticlericalism were developed in the staging of *Tosca*, but rather to explore the wider political and cultural backgrounds that gave these themes a special *immediacy for contemporary audiences*. In doing so, a number of sideways glances are made toward the remarks by Eugen Weber in chapter 4 of this volume, because, although developments in Italy in the final decade of the nineteenth century were in many respects very similar to those in France of the Third Republic, in important respects they were also quite different.

As is well known, the tensions between church and state in liberal Italy were a product of the Risorgimento. Italy's new political unification had been premised on the destruction of one of the oldest states in Europe, the temporal dominions of the popes in central Italy, which, from the earliest times, had been a principal cause of the political division of the Italian peninsula. The popes could afford to have the best-dressed army in Europe because they never had to use it: the integrity of their temporal state had been guaranteed by the great Catholic powers of Europe. But when Germany's unification