



HAL
open science

**Oration “Fateor” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (28
December 1450, Rome). Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 9th version. (Orations of
Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 15)**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

► **To cite this version:**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg. Oration “Fateor” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (28 December 1450, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 9th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 15). 2019. hal-01003980

HAL Id: hal-01003980

<https://hal.science/hal-01003980>

Submitted on 28 Sep 2019

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 15)

**Oration “*Fateor*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (28
December 1450, Rome). Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

8th version

2019

Abstract

At Christmas 1450, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, senior imperial diplomat and Bishop of Trieste, arrived in Rome on his way back from successful negotiations concerning the contract of marriage between Emperor Friedrich III and Princess Leonora of the House of Portugal. In Rome, his mission was to negotiate the imperial coronation that was to take place in 1452. Piccolomini was received by Pope Nicolaus during a papal consistory where he delivered the oration "*Fateor*". The main subjects of the oration were the imperial coronation, the imperial marriage, and an ecumenical council. Concerning the coronation, Piccolomini answered three questions: why the emperor wanted to be crowned; why the matter had been delayed for 10 years; and what the emperor required of the pope. Concerning the marriage, Piccolomini simply quoted some high-sounding passages from his oration given at the conclusion of the marriage negotiations, the "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14]. Concerning the ecumenical council, Piccolomini informed the pope that the emperor required such a council to be held in Germany and not to be summoned before the coronation had been held. These imperial requirements in reality put a stop to the plans for holding a new council, to the relief of the pope who was understandably averse to holding another council so soon after the council of Basel which had proven disastrous for the Papacy.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Friedrich III Habsburg; Emperor Frederick III Habsburg; Pope Nicholas V; Pope Nicolaus V; Papa Niccolò V; Ecumenical Councils; Imperial coronation, 1452; Pope Eugene IV; Pope Eugenius IV; German Neutrality; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance Oratory; 1450; 15th century

Editor and translator

Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II. Altogether 80¹ orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

At a later stage the project was expanded to include ambassadors' orations to the pope, of which about 40 are presently known.

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text. It will therefore always be useful to check if a later version than the one the reader may have previously found via the Internet is available.

I shall much appreciate to be notified by readers who discover errors and problems in the text and translation or unrecognized quotations.

12 September 2019

MCS

¹ 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted is a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

1. Introduction
2. 1436-1444 (Orations 1-5)
3. 1445-1449 (Orations 6-13)
4. 1450-1453 (Orations 14-20)
5. 1454-1455 (Orations 21-25)
6. 1455-1457 (Orations 26-28)
7. 1458-1459 (Orations 29-42)
8. 1459-1459 (Orations 43-51)
9. 1459-1461 (Orations 52-63)
10. 1462-1464 (Orations 64-77)
11. 1454, 1459 (Orations 78-80). Orthographical profiles. Indices
12. Appendix: Ambassadors' orations to Pope Pius II

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
 - 2.1. Imperial coronation
 - 2.2. Imperial marriage
 - 2.3. Ecumenical council
3. Date, place, audience and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Early Version (EV)
 - 4.1.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.1.2. Editions
 - 4.2. Final version (FV)
 - 4.2.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
 - 4.4. Differences between the Early Version and the Final Version
 - 4.4.1. Subject matter
 - 4.4.2. Structure
 - 4.4.3. Style
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla and abbreviations

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION / EARLY VERSION

0. Introduction [1-5]
 - 0.1. Captatio benevolentiae [1-2]
 - 0.2. Subject of oration [3-4]
 - 0.3. Structure of oration [5]
1. Coronation of the emperor [6-23]
 - 1.1. Why the emperor wishes to be crowned [6-10]
 - 1.1.1. Devotion [7]
 - 1.1.2. Custom [8]
 - 1.1.3. Obligation [9]
 - 1.1.4. Benefit [10]
 - 1.2. Why the coronation has been delayed for so long [11-17]

- 1.3. Why the pope should crown the emperor [18-23]
 - 1.3.1. Glory [18]
 - 1.3.2. Benefit [19]
 - 1.3.3. Justice [20]
 - 1.3.4. Rejection of the arguments of glory, benefit and justice [20-23]
2. Imperial wedding [23a]
3. Ecumenical Council [23b-23e]
4. Conclusion [24]

III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION / FINAL VERSION

1. Introduction [25-29]
 - 1.1. Captatio benevolentiae [25-26]
 - 1.2. Subject of oration [27]
 - 1.3. History of imperial coronations [28]
 - 1.4. Structure of oration [29]
2. Coronation of the emperor [30-45]
 - 2.1. Why the emperor wishes to be crowned [30-32]
 - 2.2. Why the coronation has been delayed for so long [33-39]
 - 2.3. What the emperor requires of the pope [40-45]
3. Conclusion [46]

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In October 1450, Emperor Friederich III sent a seasoned diplomat and specialist in Italian affairs, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Trieste,² to Italy with a double mission: one was to negotiate the contract of marriage between the emperor and Princess Leonora of Portugal in Naples,³ and the other was to reach an agreement with the pope concerning the emperor's coronation in Rome - and to obtain guarantees of the emperor's safety from those states he would be passing through. Obtaining such guarantees was not necessarily an easy task: many Italian states, nominally under the empire, had over the centuries achieved effective independence and were ruled by their own princes and oligarchs. In view of past events, all Italian powers, including the pope, grew extremely nervous whenever a German emperor planned to visit his Italian realm.

The papacy itself was undergoing a period of restoration after the end of the rump council in Basel and the abdication of its antipope, Felix V, in 1449. By 1450, the situation had stabilized to such an extent that the pope could celebrate a Jubilee Year which attracted many thousands of the faithful to Rome to obtain the generous indulgences connected with a jubilee and to venerate the saints.

While things were brightening up for the papacy, there was, however, one dark cloud on the horizon. As part of the agreements leading to the abdication of the antipope and the end of the schism, Pope Nicolaus had promised the French King, Charles VII, to hold an ecumenical council on French territory, possibly in Toulouse. In his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarii*, from the same year as the oration "*Fateor*", Piccolomini had written that as part of the negotiations on ending the Basilean schism, *Nicholas would call a council in the Kingdom of France a year after the Jubilee,⁴ if the other princes agreed.⁵*

If such a council were to take place, the pope would undoubtedly come under pressure to grant important concessions such as recognizing the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.⁶ And in view of what had happened at the two former councils, in Konstanz (1414-1418) and Basel (1431-1439), which had both deposed the reigning popes, the papacy was really not inclined to repeat the conciliar experience at that time.

¹ Ady, p. 112; Baldi, pp. 175-177; Boulting, p. 185-186; Mitchell, p. 108; Pastor, I, pp. 368; Stolf, p. 243; Voigt, III, pp. 18-21;

² While travelling, Piccolomini was transferred by Pope Nicolaus V from the See of Trieste to the See of Siena, his home city

³ See oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14]

⁴ I.e. in 1452-1453

⁵ Piccolomini: *De rebus* (Reject, p. 386)

⁶ In practice, the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, approved by King Charles VII in 1438, in many ways – and especially financially - made the French Church free of the pope

When the marriage negotiations in Naples marriage were concluded on 10 December 1450, Piccolomini proceeded to Rome where he arrived before Christmas, in time to witness the presentation of the apostolic sword to the emperor's brother, Duke Albrecht of Austria.

He was received by Pope Nicolaus V, an old colleague and friend, during a papal consistory at which occasion he gave the oration "*Fateor*".

The main subject of the oration was a formal request of the emperor to be crowned in Rome by the pope, presented by Piccolomini in his capacity as imperial ambassador. To this was added a brief announcement of the conclusion of the imperial marriage contract in Naples, and – more importantly – a request on behalf of the emperor to postpone the promised council until after his own coronation and to hold it in a German city.

The day after meeting in the papal consistory, the Milanese ambassador in Rome reported to his master, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan:

Per lo duca Alberto fratello de l'imperatore, quale venne ad li dì passati qui al iubileo, et per messer Enea ambasciatore del prefato imperatore, che novamente è ritornato dal re de Ragona, heri fuo sollenemente denanzi ad la sanctità de nostro signore et collegio de cardinali et alcuni altri prelate exposito per parte del predicto imperatore effeualmente come la maestà soa dispone questo anno subsequente venire in Italia et ad Roma per assumere la corona come rechiedo lo debito et consuetudine, allegando alcune excuse se fine adesso non ha cerchata questa incoronazione, et maxime per le turbationi che sono state in li Paesi de Lá et etiam in Italia, et inferendo che etiam intende volersi incoronare fra le altre cagioni per potere cum magiore auctoridade attendere insieme cum la sanctità de nostro signore ad la reformatione et quietatione de tutta la christianidade et per potere similiter comparere et intervenire per reformatione et bene de la Chyesa al future concilio. Secundo, richieseno che a nostro signore piacesse volere dechiarare et pronuntiare lo concilio per questo anno sequente dove fosse la sancità soa et etiam dove deliberava volere essere presente luy, ma che 'l dicto concilio non se facesse finché luy non avesse presa la corona. Tertio, domandarono che 'l dicto concilio se dovesse celebrare in una terra de Germania, allegando certe rasioni perché nostro signore dovesse farlo più tosto in quello Paese che in altre parti. Postremo, dicti ambasciatori notificarono ad nostro signore come novamente era conclusa parentela fra la maestà de l'imperatore et re de Ragona in questo modo, che 'l prefato imperatore havia tolta per moglie la sorella del re de Portugallo, quale è nepote del prefato re de Ragona. Nostro signore¹ conclusive gli rispose gratiosissimamente ad tutte le parti, et non solo acceptò e monstrò essere contento de la venuta de l'imperatore ad incoronarsi et de volere celebrare lo concilio ma summamente lo commandò et affermò cum juramento

¹ Pope Nicolaus

desiderare cordialissimamente che dicto concilio se facesse, solo del loco disse non potere ancora rispondere chiaro, perché lo re de Franza instantissimamente domandava se facesse in Franza et altri signori et potentie ricercavano altri lochi, sì che era necessario, considerato che `l dicto concilio se dovia procurare et fare per universal bene de tutta la Chyesa et de christiani, che primo de communi Concordia se elegesse questo loco. Unde parendomi che queste siano cose digne de sapere et importanti ne ho voluto dare notitia ad la illustre signoria vostra.¹

The report of the ambassador clearly confirms that Piccolomini delivered the oration “*Fateor*”, that it was the Early Version of the oration (including the sections on the council and on the imperial marriage, omitted in the Final Version) which was delivered by him, and that the Milanese ambassador considered the imperial ambassadorial message to be highly important.

In his *Historia Austrialis* (finished in 1458²) Piccolomini wrote about the event, without mentioning the oration as such:

The legates³ then went to the Roman Pontiff. Having informed His Apostolic Piety of the Emperor’s intentions concerning the contracted marriage and his desire to be crowned, they asked for the pope’s advice about the time and route for the emperor’s travel to Rome.⁴

And in his *Commentarii* he later wrote, in 1463-1464:

Leaving Naples around the end of the jubilee year, he returned to the pope. At a public consistory he announced that the marriage had been arranged and that the emperor would come the next year to be crowned; he also argued against granting the request of the French for a council in France. Present on this occasion was the emperor’s brother, Duke Albert of Austria, who on Christmas night was presented with the apostolic sword.⁵

Of Piccolomini’s contemporary biographers Campano does not mention the event, but Platina wrote: *Having returned to Rome, he spoke with [Pope] Nicolaus about matters pertaining to the coronation of the Emperor.⁶*

¹ Letter from Vincenzo Amidani to Francesco Sforza, of 29 December 1450. In: *Carteggio*, I, I, p. 307

² HA / Version 2 (Wagendorfer, pp. xvii-xxi)

³ i.e. Piccolomini and his ambassadorial colleagues

⁴ HA / Version 2 (Wagendorfer, II, p. 430): *[Legati] ... postquam de contracto matrimonio deque coronationis celebrandae, quae caesar haberet, desiderio pietatem apostolicam certiore reddiderunt, quo tempore quove itinere veniendum caesari foret, consilium petivere*

⁵ CO, I, 20, 2 (Meserve, I, p. 94-95)

⁶ Zimolo, p. 102: *Romam ad Nicholaum pontificem reversus, cum eo his de rebus loquitur, que ad coronam imperatoris pertinere videbantur*

It is remarkable that neither Pius himself in the *Historia Austriasis* and the *Commentarii* nor his contemporary biographers directly mention the oration even though it was in itself a highly important diplomatic oration, delivered to the pope on behalf of an emperor. Probably the matter of the council was still rather sensitive during Pius' pontificate and prudence prevailed (see below).

Having delivered his oration, Piccolomini returned to the emperor with the pope's consent to the coronation. Soon afterwards, the preparations for an imperial voyage through Austria and Italy to Rome were set in motion.

2. Themes

The oration has three themes:

- The imperial coronation
- The imperial marriage
- The ecumenical council

2.1. Imperial coronation

The main theme of the oration is the imperial coronation.

Piccolomini here develops three subthemes:

- The emperor's desire to be crowned
- Reasons for the delay
- Specific requirements in connection with the coronation

In the Early Version of the oration, Piccolomini states four reasons for the emperor's wish to be crowned.

His first motive is piety and devotion (*devotio*): the act of being anointed and consecrated as ruler is pleasing to God, just as it was during the times of the Old Testament when the kings of Israel were anointed by prophets and high priests.

The second motive is custom (*consuetudo*): The Christian emperors of the East were crowned by the patriarchs of Constantinople, and after Charlemagne was crowned in Rome in 800 the Holy Roman emperors of the West were crowned by the pope in Rome, at least those of them who managed to be crowned at all.

The third motive is obligation (*debitum*): Being crowned by the pope was a gesture of gratitude towards the papacy which had, as it claimed, bestowed the emperorship upon the German nation.

To these three motives, Piccolomini adds a fourth: benefit (*utilitas*). The coronation would make it possible for the political and the religious head of Christendom to meet and negotiate the common affairs of the Christian World.

2.2. Imperial marriage

The part of the oration concerning the imperial marriage is only a brief paragraph, mostly consisting in an ornamental rhetorical passage from the oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14], delivered by Piccolomini at the celebration following the conclusion of the marriage contract.

2.3. Ecumenical council

As explained above, the pope was in the awkward position of having promised a council to the French king, Charles VII, seemingly with the understanding that it should be held on French territory. It was a council which the pope himself definitely did not want as he dreaded the negative consequences for the papacy. The emperor did not really want it either, though out of consideration for the German princes and for the sake of consistency and politeness the fiction of the need for a council was still officially maintained.

Wisely, and following historical precedent, the pope had given his assent to the French with a significant proviso, viz. that the other princes should agree to the plan of a council on French territory.

In his oration, Piccolomini provided the solution to the pope's dilemma: referring to urgent letters recently received from the imperial court, he announced the emperor's support for a new council, but on three vital conditions: firstly, the pope was to have full control over it, secondly it should be postponed until after the imperial coronation, and thirdly it should take place on German territory.

Everybody got the message: there would not be another council and if there was one, it would be the pope's council, and not a council of the French king nor a council of conciliarist rebels against the papacy, as the Council in Basel had eventually become.

Concerning the issue of pope's promise to the King of France, Piccolomini in 1452, only two years afterwards, wrote, in the oration "*Sentio*" [20]:

The promise to the king of a council was not given unconditionally; no, it was given on the condition that the other kings and princes would agree. But these mostly rejected the idea. The kings of Aragon, England and Portugal do not want a council to be held in France. I myself, at the command of the emperor, in a public consistory in Rome at the end of the Jubilee Year,¹ argued against holding this council – and with good reason!
[Sect. 111]

This text clearly shows that the real message in Piccolomini's oration was not that the emperor wanted a council and that it should be held under certain conditions, no, it was that the emperor did not want another council. Moreover, Piccolomini asserts that this message was given at the emperor's command.

Toews had this commentary to this whole maneuver:

The pope's new authority was still overshadowed by the prospect of the general council which he had promised the French King. The French ambassadors in Rome urged the fulfillment of this promise. Aeneas cleverly eliminated this threat to the happiness of the pope. In a speech before the Pope and Cardinals, he announced the betrothal of Frederick and his approaching coronation. He then went on to demand, in Frederick's name, that any prospective Council should be held in Germany. Thus Nicholas could answer the French ambassadors that the princes of Europe were not unanimous in consenting to a Council in France. This action stalled the conciliar threat indefinitely and allowed the Pope to engage in other interests.²

The papal/imperial maneuver to avoid a council proved to be quite effective: it took approximately another 50 years before a new ecumenical council took place, and in the meantime the papacy had been restored to such a degree that it did not have to fear a council since it would take place under its own control.

¹ I.e. in the oration "*Fateor*"

² Toews, pp. 224-225

Voigt claimed that the urgent letters Piccolomini referred to in the Early Version of the oration, were a pure invention, proving his immoral and duplicitous character.¹ Voigt does not document his claim, though, which he made quite gratuitously and in line with his generally very negative assessment of Piccolomini's character. The important issue in this regard is whether or not Piccolomini's contribution to the matter was in keeping with his imperial master's policy. It actually was, and if there really were no letters, they were simply a diplomatic pretext of the kind necessary in times of slow communications. If the problem had not been foreseen in the instructions of the imperial ambassador and came to the fore only when Piccolomini returned to Rome from Naples, he could not very well wait a month or two before receiving specific instructions in the matter.

Catherine Fletcher makes this observation concerning the flexibility of Renaissance ambassadors in the exercise of their function:

While representatives of republics were often tied closely to instructions, a royal diplomat who enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign might well have more latitude (in terms of tactics, at least) so long as that confidence lasted. As Daniela Frigo has argued, in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, there was a 'marked distinction' between the ambassadors of princes and those of republics: in the principalities diplomacy lacked clear rules and instead relied on the reciprocal relationship of fidelity (fidelitas) from the ambassador and grace (gratia) from the prince. The republics, on the other hand, had much more formalised systems: their statute books contain numerous injunctions relating to the conduct of ambassadors. Although diplomacy was an international system and required international norms, there was sufficient flexibility to accommodate a range of local practices. Ambassadors were expected to be aware of their limits and to exercise their judgement appropriately.²

So, given that Piccolomini was negotiating about the imperial coronation with a pope fearing the spectre of a council, it may be reasonably held that his diplomatic move making it possible for the pope to politely deny the French claims for such a council was within the general scope of his diplomatic mandate, which was to ensure the coronation. Voigt's claims of personal immorality and duplicity therefore appear to be unjustified.

¹ Voigt, III, pp. 20-21

² Fletcher, p. 54

3. Date, place, audience and format

On the basis of a report by the procurator of the German Order in Rome, Laurentius Blumenau, of 15 January 1451, Voigt concluded that the consistory in which Piccolomini delivered his oration was probably held on 26 December 1450.¹ However, already the day after the consistory, on 29 December, the Milanese ambassador reported to his duke that the oration had been delivered the day before,² i.e. the 28, and this is the date retained in the present edition.

The place was probably the apostolic palace in the Vatican, and the audience consisted of the participants in a papal consistory held on that day, cardinals, prelates, and curials.

The format was that of a formal ambassadorial address, on behalf of the emperor, delivered in the papal consistory.

4. Text³

The text of the oration is extant in two versions: the Early Version is close to or identical with the oration as delivered by Piccolomini.⁴ The Final Version is the one included in the papal collection of Piccolomini/Pius' orations, prepared during the last years of his pontificate (1462-1464).

4.1. Early Version (EV)

4.1.1. Manuscripts⁵

The early version is contained in a two manuscripts:

¹ Voigt, III, 1, p. 19

² "heri", cf. *Carteggio*, I, I, p. 306

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

⁴ Reports from the Milanese ambassador of 29 December 1450 and from the procurator of the German order of 15 January 1451 confirm that it was indeed the First Version, containing the formal request for a council, to be held in Germany, that was delivered by Piccolomini, see *Carteggio*, I, I, p. 306-307, and Voigt, III, pp. 19-20

⁵ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana**
346, ff. 1r-10r **(R)***
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Pal. lat. 598, ff. 148v-153r **(P) ***

4.1.2. Editions

The Early Version has been published three times:

- Freher, Marquard (ed.): *Germanicarum rerum scriptores varii*. Frankfurt, 1602 / t. II, pp. 21-25
- Freher, M. & B.G. Struvius (eds.): *Rerum germanicarum scriptores varii*. Argentorati: Dulssecker, 1727 / II, pp. 34-38 **(FR)**
- Pius II: *Orationes*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / t. I, pp. 152-160

Freher does not indicate the manuscript on which his edition is based, and Mansi simply reproduces the text in Freher.¹

4.2. Final version

4.2.1. Manuscripts

The “*Fateor*” is included in all seven manuscripts containing the collection of Pius’ orations, produced under his own supervision in 1462:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 54r-58v **(G)***
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 74r-81r *

¹ Note that in the edition by Freher, the initial word *Fateor* has fallen out, so that the incipit of the oration in his edition is *Beatissime pater*, cf. below

- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
97 inf., ff. 48r-52v *
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 50r-54v **(D)***
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 86v-90r **(A)***
Chis. J. VIII.286, ff. 71r-78r **(C)***
Vat. lat 1788, ff. 123r-128r **(B)***

4.2.2. Editions

The final version was published twice:

- Pius II: *Orationes*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / I, pp. 140-149 [*based on the Lucca manuscript (G)*]
- Müller, Johann Joachim: *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation ReichsTags Theatrum wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. Allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno MCCCCXL bis MCCCCXCIII gestanden ...* Jena, 1713 / Theil I, pp. 376-380

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see *Collected Orations Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9-10.

Text:

The Early Version is based on the two manuscripts listed above and the edition by Freher **(FR)**.

The Final Version is based on the four manuscripts from the BAV **(A, B, C, D)** and the manuscript in Lucca **(G)**.

The lead text of the Early Version is the Riccardiana 346 **(R)** , and the lead text of the Final Version is the BAV Chis. J.VIII 284 **(A)**.

Pagination:

Early Version: Pagination is from Riccardiana the Palatinus.

Final Version: Pagination from Chis. J.VIII.284.

Textual apparatus:

The parts of the text occurring in both versions (Early and Final Version) - but with no regard to differences in grammatical form and word order - are marked in bold types.

References:

References to sources and other notes occurring in the First Version are not repeated in the Second Version.

4.4. Differences between the Early Version and the Final Version

The Final Version was thoroughly revised in connection with its inclusion in the papal compilation, indeed it is the oration most extensively revised in connection with the papal edition of Pius' orations.

The revision concerns basic subject matter, structure and content as well as the style of the oration.

4.4.1. Subject matter

The subjects of the imperial marriage and the ecumenical council were excluded from the Final Version.

As for the imperial marriage, it may have been removed simply because it contained nothing of substance, consisting mostly of a paragraph quoted from Piccolomini's speech at the end of the negotiations in Naples, the "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [10].

As for the ecumenical council, it may reasonably be conjectured that the relevant sections were removed from the "papal" edition of the orations because they did not fit the politics of Pius II. When he became pope (under this name), Piccolomini was quite as averse to holding

a new ecumenical council as his predecessors had been. The risks to the Papacy were simply too great. But in the Early Version of the oration, Piccolomini, had listed a number of excellent reasons for holding a new council:

Though the Church is now united under you as its head and as true Vicar of Christ, there are still a number of outstanding issues that would seem to require a general meeting of bishops. Many Christian princes are in open conflict: concord must be sought. The morals of both clergy and laity are rapidly deteriorating: morals must be restored. Many oppress the Church: its liberty must be regained. Though your own authority is sufficient for dealing with these issues, the implementation of [any measures] is not easy without a meeting of prelates and the agreement of the princes. Therefore the emperor wishes for a general council to facilitate matters. [Sect. 23c]

Even though these motives were not meant seriously at the time of delivery, they were still highly relevant during the pontificate of Pius II, so it would be politically embarrassing for him to republish them while pope. Moreover, the perspective of strong imperial support for a papally controlled council, also described in the oration, was by now obviously and sadly fictitious, given the emperor's personality and policies.¹

4.4.2. Structure

The structure of the Final Version differs from the structure of the Early Version in at least two ways:

Firstly, the section on the history of imperial coronations was moved from the section on the emperor's motives for the coronation to the introduction, and secondly the triple division of the section into motives (devotion, custom, obligation) was abandoned.

4.4.3. Style

Presumably, the young humanists in Pius' entourage and especially Gianantonio Campano were given quite a free hand in proposing changes of a stylistic nature, resulting in a more classical style. Indeed, such changes may have provided the pope and his humanist staff with much interesting matter for discussion – in the pope's leisure time - concerning classical Latin

¹ O'Brien: *Pope*, pp. 70-71, seems to believe that Piccolomini's position on the ecumenical council was at odds with Nicolaus Vs and his own later position on councils, but this is probably not a correct interpretation of his diplomatic message. But she is quite right in pointing out that the oration's formal assertion of the need for a council was an embarrassment to him as pope

language and style, as, presumably, the changes to the text would have been approved by the author himself.

Finally, it may be mentioned that the use of biblical and classical sources is extended in the Final Version.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 39 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical: 18

Classical: 19

Patristic and medieval: 2

Contemporary: 0

All: 39

The classical quotations equal the biblical in number. Speaking to a humanistically oriented pope like Nicolaus V, Piccolomini evidently felt more free to quote the classics than he had when speaking to Eugenius IV, cf. his oration "*Non habet me dubium [11]*".

Biblical sources: 22

Old Testament: 8

- Isaiah: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 2. Kings: 1
- 4. Kings: 1
- Proverbs: 2
- Psalms: 1
- Wisdom: 1

New Testament: 10

- Matthew: 1

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

- John: 2
- Luke: 1
- Acts: 1
- Colossians: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 2
- Romans: 1

Classical sources: 19

- Cicero: 4¹
- Gellius: 2
- Homer: 1
- Horatius: 1²
- Juvenalis: 2
- Statius: 1³
- Valerius Maximus: 2
- Vergilius: 6⁴

Patristic and medieval sources: 2

- Augustinus: 1⁵
- Jeronimus: 1⁶

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ De fato: 1; De officiis: 1; In Pisonem: 1; Tusculanae disputationes 1

² Odes

³ Thebais

⁴ Aeneis: 4; Eclogae: 2

⁵ De civitate Dei: 1

⁶ Epistolae: 1

6. Bibliography

Baldi, Barbara: *Il "cardinale tedesco". Enea Silvio Piccolomini fra impero, papato, Europa (1442-1455)*. Milano, 2012

Black, Anthony: *Political Thought in Europe 1250-1450*. Cambridge, 1992

Boulting, William: *Aeneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini – Pius II) – Orator, man of letters, statesman, and pope*. London, 1908

Campano, Giantonio: *Vita Pii II. Pontificis Maximi*. SEE Zimolo

Carteggio degli oratori sforzeschi alla corte pontificia. Vol. I: Niccolò V (27 febbraio 1447 – 30 aprile 152). A cura di Gianluca Battoni. Tom I (27 febbraio 1447 – 30 luglio 1451). Roma nel Rinascimento, 2013

Decretum magistri Gratiani. Ed. Lipsiensis Secunda. Edd. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879.

Fletcher, Catherine: *Diplomacy in Renaissance Rome. The Rise of the Resident Ambassador*. Cambridge, 2015

Freher, Marquard (ed.): *Germanicarum rerum scriptores varii*. Tom. II. Frankfurt, 1602

Freher, M. & B.G. Struvius (eds.): *Rerum germanicarum scriptores varii*. Argentorati, 1727

Helmrath, Johannes: *Die Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/55 – Studien zur Reichstag und Rhetorik*. Universität Köln, 1994

Hufnagel, Otto: Caspar Schlick als Kanzler Friedrich III. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*. VIII. Erg.b. Innsbruck, 1909, pp. 253-461

Jeronimus: *Epistolae*

- Latin: *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri epistolae*. In: J.P. Migne: *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, T. 22, col. 326-1284. Paris: 1877
- English: St. Jerome: *Letters and Select Works*. (Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers; Series 2, vol. 6)(Patristic Fathers; 29)¹

¹ <http://www.synaxis.org/cf/volume29/>

O'Brien, Emily: *The Commentaries of Pope Pius II (1458-1464) and the Crisis of the Fifteenth-Century Papacy*. Toronto, 2015

Paparelli, Gioacchino: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pio II)*. Bari, 1950. (Biblioteca de cultura moderna; 481)

Pastor, Ludwig: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*. 16 vols. Freiburg i.B., 1886-1933

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius* [1450]

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918 / II, pp. 164-228, nr. 44
- Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: Revised History of the Council. In: *Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius – Selected Letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Washington DC, 2006, pp. 318-387

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Historia Austriasis* [1458]

- Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriasis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. [1464]

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A. van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

Pius II: *Orationes*

- Pius II: *Orationes*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020

Platina, Bartolomeo: *Vita Pii II Pontificis Maximi*. SEE Zimolo

Pseudo-Isidore: *Decretales*.

- Projekt Pseudo-Isidor¹
- Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales*. In: J.P. Migne: *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*. Tom. 22. Paris, 1877, col. 326-1284.

Toews, John B.: *Emperor Frederick III and his Relations with the Papacy from 1440 to 1493*. University of Colorado, Ph.D., 1962

Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols. Berlin, 1856-63

Zimolo, Giulio C. (ed.): *Le vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina*. Bologna, 1964. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; t. III, p. II)

6. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII 284

B = Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788

C = Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII 286

D = Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

P = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Pal. lat. 598

R = Firenze: Bibl. Riccardiana / 346

FR = Freher, M. & B.G. Struvius (eds.): *Rerum germanicarum scriptores varii*. Argentorati, 1727

Abbreviations

CO = Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt* [1464]

¹ <http://www.pseudoisidor.mgh.de/>

HA = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriasis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptorum Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

HB = Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Bohemica*. Herausg. J. Hejnic & H. Rothe. 2 vols. Köln, 2005. (Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte. Neue Folge. Reihe B; 20)

MA = Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759

MPL = Migne, Jacques-Paul: *Patrologia latina*. 217 vols. 1841-1865

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

WO = *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918

Decretum = *Decretum magistri Gratiani*. Ed. Lipsiensis secunda. Eds. A.L. Richter & A. Friedberg. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1879

Epistolarium = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007

Rainaldus = *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663

Reject = *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Intr. and transl. by T.M. Izbicki et al. Washington, D.C., 2006

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION / EARLY VERSION

Oratio Aeneae episcopi Senensis serenissimi imperatoris Friderici eloquentissimi oratoris ad summum pontificem Nicolaum P.P. quintum¹

[1] {149r} Fateor², pater beatissime, maxime pontifex, eum qui coram tua sanctitate loquitur non immerito commoveri, cum propter celsitudinem throni tui, quo nullus est in terris altior, tum propter ingenium tuum divino dono aureum et omni doctrinarum genere fecundum. In cujus praesentia, qui verba facit, nisi juxta praeceptum apostoli sermonem habuerit sale conditum, illius notam Pisonis incurrat³, de quo scribit Jeronymus, qui⁴ *cum loqui nesciret, tacere non potuit*. In hoc enim orbis terrae primo maximoque auditorio non futiles et importuni locutores, sed facundi oratores audiendi sunt, *Ulyssi pares, quem sapienti facundia praeditum vocem, ait Homerus, non ex ore mittere, sed ex pectore*⁵.

¹ Oratio ... Quintum: Sequitur oratio cujusdam legati ad papam pro coronatione regis (sed domini Pii Papae II) et petitione ad eundem pro concilio congregando generali P; Romanorum Aeneae Sylvii oratio pro coronatione Friderici Regis Romanorum, ad Nicolaum V. PP. cum petitione ad eundem pro congregando Concilio generali FR

² omit. P, FR [The sentence structure with the accusative with infinitive "eum commoveri" seems to support version R with Fateor as governing verb]

³ incurret R

⁴ quia R

⁵ Gellius l.o p.o c.o XIV. in marg. R

Oration of Bishop Enea of Siena, eloquent ambassador of His Serene Highness, Emperor Friedrich to the Supreme Pontiff, Nicholas V

0. Introduction¹

0.1. Captatio benevolentiae

[1] Holy Father, Supreme Pontiff, I declare² that anyone who speaks before Your Holiness ought justly be anxious because of the exaltedness of your throne – indeed, there is no higher on earth – and because God has granted you personally a golden intellect, rich in all kinds of learning. Unless he who speaks in your presence follows the precept of the apostle and seasons his speech with salt,³ he incurs the blame of Piso, who – as Jerome writes – *did not know how to be silent, even though he did not know how to speak*.⁴ In this assembly,⁵ the first and greatest on earth, incompetent and unsuitable speakers should not be heard, but only eloquent orators like *Odysseus*,⁶ about whom Homer⁷ says that he was a man gifted with *sagacious eloquence who spoke not from his lips, but from his heart*.⁸

¹ In his oration to the newly elected Pope Calixtus III, in 1455, the ambassador of Florence, Archbishop Antonino, made heavy use of the introduction to Piccolomini's oration "*Fateor*", even to the point of quoting it directly, see Rainaldus, ad ann. 1455, nr. 21

² Piccolomini may have borrowed this opening, "*Fateor*", from Leonardo Bruni's *De re militari*, which he knew and had used in his first oration, the "*Audivi*" [1]

³ Colossians, 4, 6: *Let your speech be always in grace seasoned with salt: that you may know how you ought to answer every man (sermo vester semper in gratia sale sit conditus ut sciatis quomodo oporteat vos unicuique respondere)*

⁴ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Oceanum*, (69), 2: *Primum spinosulus noster obmutuit; postea vero Pisoniano vitio, cum loqui nesciret, tacere non potuit*. MPL, XXII, col. 655. This is a reference to Cicero: *In Pisonem Oratio*, where Cicero criticizes Piso for his lack of eloquence

⁵ "auditorium"

⁶ Odysseus (Roman name Ulysses): a legendary Greek king of Ithaca and a hero of Homer's epic poem the *Odyssey*. Odysseus also plays a key role in Homer's *Iliad*

⁷ Homer: In the Western classical tradition, Homer is the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Most modern researchers place Homer in the 7th or 8th centuries BC

⁸ Gellius, 1.15.3: *Ulixen contra Homerum, virum sapienti facundia praeditum, vocem mittere ait non ex ore, sed ex pectore*. See Homer: *Iliad*, 3.221

[2] Quibus ex rebus nihil mirandum¹ esset, si nunc ego, cui nec sententiae² suppetunt³, nec verba, quibus adiri tanta majestas debeat, sic turbarer ac pallerem, ut olim *Lugdunensem*⁴ *rhetor dicturus ad aram*. Sed adjicit animum mihi tuae sanctitatis immensa benignitas atque indicibilis⁵ humanitas, quae non solum magnos disertosque⁶ viros, sed humiles et⁷ indoctos aure inoffensa audire consuevit, morisque semper hujus sacri consistorii fuit non tantum verba loquentis quantum mittentis personam existimare. His accedit nobilis orationis materia, quae dubium est petenti utilior an concedenti gratior sit futura, cujus tanta honestas est, tanta utilitas, ut absque oratoris adminiculo persuadere se ipsam facile queat.

¹ mirandum R

² sine R

³ suppectant R

⁴ Lugdut nensemi R

⁵ iudicibilis R

⁶ discretosque FR

⁷ ac FR

[2] For these reasons, it would not be strange at all if I, lacking both the thoughts and words appropriate for addressing such majesty, were now confused and as pale as *a man who awaits his turn to orate before the altar at Lugdunum*.¹ But I am encouraged by the immense benevolence and the indescribable kindness of Your Holiness who is used to hearing not only great and eloquent men, but also – and with unoffended ears – the lowly and unlearned. Moreover, it has always been the custom of this Holy Consistory to respect the person of the sender even more than the words of the speaker. To this should be added the noble subject of my oration - I really do not know what will be greatest: its benefits to the one making the request, or the pleasure to the one who grants it. For the honourableness and the usefulness of the matter are so great that it can easily speak for itself and does not require rhetorical ploys.

¹ Juvenalis: *Saturae*, 1.44. The reference is to a speaking contest in Lyons, instituted by the Emperor Caligula, where the losersis underwent humiliating punishments

[3] **De coronatione¹ namque Caesarea futurus est sermo, quae res semper maxima et honestissima fuit, postquam sancta sedes apostolica imperatoriam dignitatem ex Graecorum gente in persona magnifici Caroli Magni transtulit ad Germanos.** Cupiens enim serenissimus et² invictissimus princeps, divus³ Caesar Fridericus, Romanorum rex Augustus, tuae sanctitati obsequentissimus filius, more majorum in hac urbe Roma suae coronationis sollemnia celebrare, hos praestabiles viros et me pusillum tuam clementiam jussit accedere, rogaturos atque obsecratos, ut {149v} ingenti ejus desiderio pio, justo atque honestissimo mos geratur.

[4] Namque si tua sanctitas ejus coronationi navare operas voluerit, nihil morabitur Caesari, sed Alpibus⁴ sine dilatione superatis tuam praesentiam festinus⁵ adibit⁶, quae sunt⁷ consuetudinis faciet⁸, imperiales infulas ex tua sacra manu recipiet, festos dies laetamque sollemnitatem tecum aget, de rebus ecclesiae atque imperii salubriter dirigendis tuis consiliis auscultabit, teque sequetur faventibusque⁹ denique superis¹⁰ coronatus, alacer ac tibi plurimum obligatus in patriam revertetur.

¹ oratione R

² atque R

³ divinus R

⁴ a hominibus P; aliis omnibus FR

⁵ festivus R

⁶ adhibet R

⁷ sim R

⁸ facit R

⁹ faventibus et R

¹⁰ super his R

0.2. Subject of oration

[3] For we shall be speaking about the imperial coronation. The coronation of emperors has always been a very important and most honourable matter ever since the Holy Apostolic See transferred the imperial office¹ from the Greek people to the Germans, in the person of glorious Charlemagne.² For the Most Serene and Unvanquished Prince, Holy Caesar Friederich, August King of the Romans,³ the obedient son of Your Holiness, desires to celebrate – in the way of his forefathers and in this city of Rome – the solemn rites of his coronation. Therefore he has sent these eminent men and my humble self to Your Clemency to ask and beg you to fulfill his immense, pious, just and honourable wish.

[4] For if Your Holiness is willing to undertake this coronation, the emperor will not hesitate, but will cross the Alps without delay and speedily come to you and, abiding by custom, accept the imperial crown from your holy hands, celebrate feast days and the joyful solemn rites with you, listen to your counsels concerning the beneficial government of the affairs of Church and Empire, follow you. And finally, having been crowned with the blessing of Heaven, he will return to his own country, happy and deeply indebted to you.

¹ “dignitas”

² Charlemagne (742/747/748-814): also known as Charles the Great. King of the Franks from 768, King of Italy from 774. In 800 crowned by the pope as the first emperor in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier. This coronation was the basis for the spurious claim of the medieval papacy to have transferred the empire from the Greeks to the Franks, through its plenitude of power, thus manifesting (and partly proving) papal supremacy in all worldly affairs

³ Friederich III of Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friederich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

[5] Haec est¹ nostrae legationis summa ac totius orationis materia, circa quam tria nobis videntur altius attingenda declarandaque esse, non ut tuae sanctitatis mentem instruamus, cui nihil est dubii², sed ut plerisque satisfaciamus, qui nostris expetitionibus³ admirari⁴ possent, si nihil amplius dicemus⁵. **Primum**⁶ est, cur tantopere majestas imperatoria coronam cupiat. Alterum **cur tam diu** hanc rem distulit. **Tertium** concedendumne sit, quod de coronatione requiritur. Quibus absolutis oratio modum haberet, nisi pauca referre oporteret, quae apud Neapolim nuper egimus. Sed illis breviter enarratis, et unica petiuncula⁷ pro concilio generali subjecta, finem dicendi faciemus⁸.

[6] Aggrediamur igitur quod primo quaesitum est: cur tam propense regia majestas⁹ coronationem efflagitat¹⁰. Quid urget? Quid est, quod tantum principem exire paternam domum, magnis et ambiguis itineribus se committere, graves¹¹ subire sumptus coronationis causa compellit? Tria sunt, beatissime pater, quae Caesarem movent: devotio, consuetudo, debitum.

¹ *omit.* R

² *dubii corr. ex dubium P; dubium FR*

³ *expeditionibus FR*

⁴ *amirari R*

⁵ *diceremus R*

⁶ *primus R*

⁷ *precatiuncula FR*

⁸ *facimus R*

⁹ *regia majestas : majestas regia R*

¹⁰ *afflagitatur R*

¹¹ *grave R*

0.3. Structure of oration

[5] This is the main purpose of our mission and the whole subject of our oration. We shall be speaking about three issues, not in order to inform Your Holiness, who is quite well aware of them, but to put those many people at their ease who might be concerned about our intentions if we did not explain them more fully.

The first is: why His Imperial Majesty so greatly desires to receive the imperial crown. The second is why he has delayed the matter for so long. And the third whether the petition for the coronation should be granted.

When these issues have been dealt with, the oration would be finished if I did not have to report, summarily, on our recent activities in Naples.¹ And having done so, briefly, we shall add a short request concerning a general council, and then we shall end our oration.

1. Coronation of the Emperor

1.1. Why the Emperor wishes to be crowned

[6] We begin with the first question: why does His Royal Majesty so ardently desire to be crowned? What is the need? What compels this great prince to leave his ancestral residence, to undertake a long and risky journey, and to incur the heavy costs of a coronation? Holy Father, the emperor's motives are three: devotion, custom, and obligation.

¹ The negotiations of the contract of marriage between the emperor and Princess Leonora of Portugal, the future empress, see Piccolomini's oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14]

[7] **Possem** complura¹ in medium afferre, quibus religio nostri principis, et pietas ac devotio in² tuam sanctitatem tuumque praedecessorem hactenus non vulgariter patuerunt. Sed **scienti** omnia beatitudini tuae superfluo narrarentur³, et regio culmini⁴ ea vulgari non placet, **quae pro sui animi magnitudine minima censet. Nam etsi omni officio ac potius pietate erga Romanam ecclesiam** tuamque sanctitatem **omnibus** satisfaciat, devotioni **tamen** suae **numquam satisfacit** ⁵. Ex hoc pietatis devotionisque fonte prorumpit tam propensa coronationis cupido {150r} atque petitio. **Arbitratur enim regia sublimitas opus esse divinae pietati acceptum, si quemadmodum in veteri testamento nunc prophetae, nunc summi sacerdotes**⁶, **nunc simul ambo reges**⁷ **ungebant**⁸, **qui regerent**⁹ Israel et Judam, et sic¹⁰ **in tempore gratiae novaque lege Romani pontifices Christianos imperatores inungant**¹¹ atque his diademata largiantur, **qui plebem catholicam legibus tueantur et armis.** Cujus rei non parvum signum esse videtur, **quod ex Germanis Caesaribus, qui per manus**¹² **primi pastoris inuncti**¹³ **Romae coronatique sunt**¹⁴, **nullum** comperimus **violenta morte periisse**, cum tamen ex Italis et¹⁵ Graecis imperatoribus maxima pars sic mortem¹⁶ obierint¹⁷, ut verum esse firmaverint, quod Satyrico carmine expressum est:

Ad generum Cereris¹⁸ ***sine caede et sanguine***^{19 20} ***pauci***
Descendunt reges et sicca morte tyranni.

Est itaque devotio Caesaris non parvis instructa firmataque rationibus, quae coronationis insignia²¹ poscit.

¹ cum plura P; cum plurima R

² et R

³ narentur R

⁴ columini R

⁵ devotioni ... satisfacit *omit.* R

⁶ sacerdote R

⁷ *omit.* P, FR

⁸ inungebant P, FR

⁹ reget P, FR

¹⁰ et sic : sic et R

¹¹ in Ungarie R

¹² manibus R

¹³ juncti R

¹⁴ sint R

¹⁵ ac R

¹⁶ in orbem P, FR

¹⁷ obierunt R

¹⁸ ceteris P; caeteris R

¹⁹ vulnere P

²⁰ et sanguine : evulnere R

²¹ insignia R

1.1.1. Devotion

[7] I could mention several reasons why the religiosity of our prince, his piety and his devotion towards Your Holiness and your predecessor are not commonly known. But it would be superfluous to explain them to Your Holiness who knows them quite well, and His Royal Highness does not want them to be publicized since to his elevated mind they do not seem be extraordinary at all. For though he satisfies everybody else with regard to his piety and sense of obligation towards the Roman Church and Your Holiness, he never satisfies his own devout self. From this fountain of piety and devotion spring his strong desire and petition to be crowned. For His Royal Highness considers it pleasing to Merciful God that just as in the Old Testament sometimes prophets, sometimes high priests and sometimes both, anointed kings to rule Israel and Juda, similarly in the time of grace and of the new law¹ the Romans Pontiffs should anoint Christian emperors and crown them to protect the Catholic people with laws and arms. A notable confirmation of this is the fact that among the German emperors who were anointed and crowned in Rome by the hands of the First Shepherd no one suffered a violent death, whereas most of the Italian and Greek emperors died in a way that proves the truth of the Satyrical Poem:

*Few kings go down to Ceres' son-in-law save by sword and slaughter
– few the tyrants that perish by a bloodless death.²*

Thus, the emperor's devotion is supported and reinforced by strong reasons for requesting the insignia of a coronation.

¹ i.e. the Christian era

² Juvenalis: *Saturae*, 10.113. Ceres' son-in-law is Pluto

[8] Sed hanc devotionem vetus¹ quoque² consuetudo praemunivit. **Tria sunt enim Romani³ imperii tempora, ex quo Julius Caesar rem populi vertit ad unum,** Italorum, Graecorum Germanorumque⁴. Praetereo **Berengarium et alios, qui apud Longobardos imperitarunt, neque enim** tantum ditionis habuerunt tantumque juris, ut⁵ imperatoriae⁶ **dignitatis⁷ deberent titulis illustrari. Priores⁸ quidem⁹ imperatores** contenti purpura perraro **diadematibus** utebantur, **habentesque regiae potestatis arbitrium** invisae **dignitatis nomen et insignia¹⁰ postponebant, ne¹¹ cum corona simul et Tarquinii¹² superbiam, quasi jure postliminii, in urbem reducere viderentur.** Ex **Graecis** vero Caesaribus non est dubium, quin plerosque **Constantinopolitani praesules** coronis ornaverint. **Ex qua re, sicut¹³ scribit Otto Frisingensis antistes, non futilis auctor,** usque adeo **Constantinopolitana sedes** intumuit, ut **non solum Alexandrinam¹⁴, sed Romanam quoque** cathedram **usque ad Phocam Caesarem et Bonifatium {150v} papam** contenderit antecedere.

¹ vetus quoque : vetusque P

² *omit.* FR

³ Roma R

⁴ Germanorum P, R

⁵ *omit.* R

⁶ imperatoris R

⁷ dignitate R

⁸ prioresque P

⁹ *omit.* P, FR

¹⁰ insignia R

¹¹ nunc R

¹² Tarquini et P; Tarquini R

¹³ sic P

¹⁴ *em.*; Alexandriam P, R, FR

1.1.2. Custom

[8] But this devotion is also bolstered by ancient custom. After Julius Caesar¹ united the people under one ruler, the Roman Empire has passed through three phases, the Italian, the Greek and the German. I pass over Berengarius² and the other Lombard rulers as they did not govern so large a territory nor have such legitimacy as to make them worthy of being distinguished with the titles of imperial office.

The first emperors were content with the purple and only very rarely did they use diadems³: though having the fullness⁴ of royal power, they deferred to use the name and the insignia of that hated office⁵ so that they would not seem to be bringing Tarquin's⁶ arrogant rule back to Rome together with the crown, as a reclaimed right. Of the Greek emperors many were crowned by the bishops of Constantinople. For this reason, as writes that excellent author, Bishop Otto von Freising,⁷ the See of Constantinople⁸ became so arrogant that until the time of Emperor Phocas⁹ and Pope Bonifatius¹⁰ it was not ashamed to take precedence not just over the Alexandrian,¹¹ but even over the Roman See.

¹ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BC): Roman general and statesman

² Berengar I (c. 845-924): King of Italy from 887, and Holy Roman Emperor after 915, until his death. Of the Frankish Unruoching family

³ i.e. crowns

⁴ "arbitrium"

⁵ "dignitas"

⁶ Tarquinius Superbus, Lucius (535-495 BC): the legendary seventh and final king of Rome, reigning from 535 BC until the uprising in 509 BC that led to the establishment of the Roman Republic

⁷ Otto of Freising (ca. 1114-1158): German churchman and chronicler. Bishop of Freising from 1138

⁸ After Emperor Constantine I transferred the capital of the Roman Empire to Byzantium (324-330), the bishop of that city became an important ecclesiastical figure and eventually one of the patriarchs of the Christian Church

⁹ Nikephoros II Phokas (ca. 912-969): Byzantine Emperor from 963 to 969. His brilliant military exploits contributed to the resurgence of Byzantine Empire in the 10th century.

¹⁰ Presumably Bonifatius VII (Franco Ferrucci (d. 985): antipope (974, 984-985)

¹¹ The Patriarchate of Alexandria

[9] At postquam **Germani principes, victis ac domitis Longobardis, qui Romanam ecclesiam** lacescebant, imperare coeperunt, irrefragabilis consuetudo coronationis inolevit, quam servare nunc Caesarem permaxime decet. Cumque Germana nobilitas¹ ex Apostolicae sedis beneficentia suaque diligentia et humilitate² imperatoriam dignitatem obtinuerit, quam Graeci superbia et ignavia ac forsitan haeresi perdiderunt, non solum debitum, sed necessarium esse videtur a Romano pontifice coronam expetere, **ut illi perpetua reddatur reverentia, a quo praecipua** recepta est **eminentia**, cum nihil ex tota philosophia magis³ sit debitum quam gratitudo. Ex quo fit, ut non solum devotione, sed consuetudine ac jure debito majestas imperatoria coronam deposcat.

[10] Conjungitur et⁴ hisce causis⁵ publicae utilitatis ratio. Multa enim inter vos⁶ simul convenientes tractari concludique poterunt Christiano populo salubria, quae per legatos inter absentes difficile peragerentur. Absoluta est jam⁷ prima quaestio, et quid Caesarem moveat diadema poscere⁸, satis intelligimus.

¹ et *add.* R

² humilitatem R

³ *omit.* P, FR

⁴ *omit.* R

⁵ *omit.* R

⁶ nos P, FR

⁷ est jam : jam est R

⁸ poposcere P, R

1.1.3. Obligation

[9] But later, when the German princes had conquered and tamed the Lombards,¹ who molested the Roman Church, and began to rule as emperors, the unbreakable custom of coronation emerged, a custom which the emperor now absolutely wants to follow. For since the German nobility, through the benevolence, diligence and humility of the Apostolic See, acquired the imperial dignity, which the Greeks had lost through arrogance, weakness and possibly heresy, it seems not only to be a duty, but also a necessity [for the emperors] to request the crown from the Roman Pontiff. Thus, they would always show reverence to him from whom they had received their preeminent position. And all philosophy [teaches] that gratitude is owed as a matter of debt.

Therefore, His Imperial Majesty requests the crown not only out of devotion, but also as a matter of custom and of obligation.

1.1.4. Benefit

[10] To these [three] reasons should be added the benefit to the commonweal². For if you meet personally, you may negotiate and decide many things of great benefit to the Christian people which may not readily be dealt with through legates, in your mutual absence.

Now the first question has been answered, and we know the emperor's motives for requesting the crown.

¹ By late 572 the Lombard tribes had conquered all the principal cities north of the Po River. They established a Lombard Kingdom in Italy which was conquered in by the Frankish King Charlemagne and integrated into his Empire

² "publicae"

[11] Videamus modo quamobrem coronatio tam diu protelata sit. Duorum hic temporum, postquam Caesar acceptavit imperium, habenda est ratio¹: alterum sub Eugenio lapsum est, alterum te pontifice. Optavit Caesar coronam sub Eugenio² recipere, **nec Eugenius erat aversus**, namque qui³ **Sigismundi** caput ornat, **Friderici quoque** verticem gemmis et auro redimere percupidus erat, **ut sic duorum Caesarum pater** maximus **coronatorque**⁴ **diceretur, quod hactenus contigisse reperio nemini**. Sed viguit illius tempore ecclesiastica divisio, **neutralitatisque** novitas Germaniam occupavit. Nec Caesari, nec papae ex usu fuit nisi deposita neutralitate de coronatione transigere. Difficile fuit⁵ - ut nosti - rem jam vetustam ac multis quaestuosam {151r} relinquere. Sed cum vicisset perseverantia Caesaris - quid enim perseveranti non demum paret? – cumque restituta fuisset oboedientia Romanae ecclesiae⁶, jamque tractandum de coronatione videretur, mox Eugenius diem clausit, speratamque Caesari coronationis sollemnitatem⁷ ademit. Atque sic primum tempus sine culpa defluxit⁸.

¹ oratio P

² coronam sub Eugenio : sub Eugenio coronam R

³ *omit.* R

⁴ *omit.* P, FR

⁵ nisi ... fuit *omit.* P, FR

⁶ Romanae ecclesiae : ecclesiae Romanae P, FR

⁷ coronationis sollemnitatem : coronationem P, FR

⁸ refluxit FR

1.2. Why the coronation has been delayed for so long

[11] Now, let us see why the coronation was postponed for such a long time. After the emperor took over the imperial office, two periods should be considered: the first one is the period of Eugenius' pontificate, the second is the period of your own.

Already during Eugenius'¹ [pontificate], the emperor desired to receive the crown, and Eugenius was not averse:² he had already crowned Sigismund,³ and he also very much wanted to adorn Friedrich's head with gems and gold so that he would be called the Great Father who had crowned two emperors – which to my knowledge has happened to no one before. But at that time the division in the Church still reigned,⁴ and novel Neutrality⁵ kept Germany occupied. It was expedient neither to the emperor nor to the pope to deal with the matter of the coronation before Neutrality had been abandoned, and - as you know - it was difficult to end this old state of affairs, profitable to many people.⁶ Eventually the emperor's perseverance was successful - what does not in the end give in to perseverance? - and [German] obedience to the Roman Church was restored. Then it was time to take up the matter of the coronation, but very soon afterwards Eugenius died, and the emperor was deprived of the coronation he had hoped for. Thus, the first period went by without any fault on the emperor's part.

¹ Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer): 1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

² Hufnagel, p. 320

³ Sigismund of Luxemburg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1387, King of Bohemia from 1419, and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1433

⁴ I.e. the schism that arose when the Council of Basel refused to be transferred to Italy by Pope Eugenius IV and elected its own antipope in 1439. The schism lasted until 1449

⁵ In 1438 the German Nation declared its neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel. The state of Neutrality ended when the German Nation recognized Eugenius IV as Pope in 1447

⁶ "quaestuosus"

[12] Neque secundum arguendum est, namque, ut primum tua sanctitas¹ divi² Petri cathedram ascendit, missi sunt oratores, qui te jussu Caesaris more³ Christiano pontificem maximum salutarent, oboedientiam tibi praeberent, ac tecum de coronatione peragerent⁴. Sed cum spes esset te suadente quam celerrime Caesarem adventare, exorta extemplo est⁵ saeva belli tempestas, quae non solum divites **Austriae principatus, sed Bavariam, Sueviam, Franconiam Rhenique florentissimas regiones atque ipsum Christianitatis cor**, caedibus, rapinis, incendiis atque omni calamitatis⁶ genere vexavit, **nobilissimosque⁷ principes et potentissimas civitates** dira, **nova** et⁸ **inaudita discordiarum** feritate concussit. Ad quas res sedandas **necessarium** fuit imperatoriam **majestatem in partibus Alamaniae** remanere, quia non **tam dispendiosa coronationis, quam pacis dilatio videbatur**. Atque sic coronationis sollemnitas necessario⁹ dilata est, cui jam dari opera potest, quando, qui dissidebant omnes, arbitrio Caesaris pace facta se commiserunt. Atque hoc satis de coronationis dilatione sit dictum.

¹ sanctitatis R

² divini R

³ in orbe FR

⁴ ac tecum ... peragerent *omit.* P, FR

⁵ *omit.* P, FR

⁶ calamitate R

⁷ nobilissimos P, FR

⁸ *omit.* P, FR

⁹ *omit.* FR

[12] Neither can the emperor be criticized with regard to the second period, for as soon as Your Holiness ascended to Saint Peter's See,¹ he – as the Christians usually do - sent ambassadors to salute you as Supreme Pontiff, to declare his obedience to you, and take up the issue of the coronation with you. But as – at your own advice – hope was rising that the emperor would come quickly, suddenly a savage storm of war arose which through slaughter, plunder, fire and all kinds of disaster ravaged not just the rich principality of Austria, but also Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia and the flourishing regions of the Rhine, the very heart of Christendom. It struck both noble princes and powerful cities with a terrible, novel and extraordinary violence. In order to calm matters, it was necessary for His Imperial Majesty to stay in the regions of Germany, for delaying the coronation did not seem as costly as delaying peace. And thus the solemn coronation had to be postponed. Now that peace has been restored and all who were fighting have entrusted their cause to the emperor's judgment, it is time to take up the matter of coronation again.

This must suffice concerning the postponement of the coronation.

¹ In 1447

[13] Nunc **tertio** loco pensandum est, quod Caesar exquirat, tuaene sit sanctitatis annuere. **Plerique mortales, si rem hanc suasuri¹ venissent, omnes orationis nervos circa gloriam collocassent. Dixissent enim, ut arbitror: “Cum divisam ecclesiam, pater sanctissime, multis magnisque curis ad unionem redegeris, cum plurimas haereses extirpaveris, cum pacem inter Christifideles summo studio servaveris, cum fana et urbis disjecta moenia grandi sumptu reparaveris, cum patrimonium ecclesiae undique direptum dissipatumque vindicaveris², {151v} cum remissionis annum Christiano populo dulcissimum expectatissimumque concesseris, quid amplius ad cumulum³ tuae gloriae quaerendum est, quam ut Caesareo capiti coronam imponas?** Tua est haec gloria magis quam Caesaris. Apostolicae sedis hic honor est, et⁴ beato Petro haec dignitas reservatur. Audi Caesarem, fac quod petitur, sic

Semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.”

¹ suasum P, FR

² vindicaveris R

³ tumulum P

⁴ omit. P, FR

1.3. Why should the pope crown the emperor?

[13] Now, thirdly, we must address the issue of whether you should grant the emperor's petition.

1.3.1. Glory

Many men,¹ had they come here to argue this matter, would have focused their entire oration on glory. They would have said - I think: "Holy Father, you have now with much labour reunited the divided Church. You have uprooted several heresies and with much zeal made peace between Christians. At great cost you have repaired the temples and crumbling walls of the City, and regained the Patrimony² of the Church that had been robbed and scattered all over. Finally, you have given the Christian people a sweet and longed for year of forgiveness.³ Now, what more remains for enhancing your glory than placing the crown on the emperor's head? This is your glory more than the emperor's. This is the honour of the Apostolic See. This dignity has been reserved to Saint Peter. Heed the emperor, do what he asks. Thus

Ever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide."⁴

¹ In this and the following sections, Piccolomin uses the rhetorical ploy of downplaying the motives of glory, utility and justice while at the same time describing them quite vividly, and thus making use of them

² "patrimonium". In times of weakened papal government, princes in the papal state set themselves up as independent rulers, and neighbouring states would occupy parts of the papal domains

³ Jubilee Year in 1450

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.609

[14] Alii ad utilitatem conversi – quae plurimum suadet – ex omnibus rebus dicerent, sanctissime pater, quas¹ fecisti quasque facturus es, nulla potest utilior esse coronatione Caesarea. Veniet² ad te divus³ Caesar, primus omnium principum, te patrem appellabit, tibi filium se praebebit⁴, tuis manibus coronabitur, jusjurandum praestabit, Germaniam regnis⁵ gravidam et⁶ ingenti populorum, principum ac praelatorum multitudine abundantem⁷, tibi et apostolicae sedi benivolam parentemque retinebit. **Contemnat quicumque velit coronas⁸, gemmas, aurum, purpuras, pomum, gladium, unctionem, consecrationem, ceremonias, pompas. Is certe, quamvis** subagrestis est, inficiari **tamen non potest⁹, quin** tuae sanctitati et apostolicae majestati conducat coronatum Caesarem in amicitias foedusque tuum esse receptum. Namque si vetera meminerimus, tunc ecclesiam floruisse, tunc imperium viguisse constabit, cum **Romani pontifices** atque **Caesares** unanimes extiterunt. Essent¹⁰ fortasse nonnulli, qui diverso calle procedentes soliusque boni et aequi juribus utentes, minime negandum dicerent moderno principi, quod priscis Caesaribus ultro fuisset oblatum; servandas esse consuetudines; quod semel promissum esset rebus immutatis minime violandum; benemeritum de Romana ecclesia Caesarem omnibus beneficiis atque honoribus cumulandum.

¹ sanctissime pater quas : quas sanctissime pater FR

² venit R

³ divinus R

⁴ praebet R

⁵ regis R

⁶ *omit.* P, FR

⁷ redundantem P, R

⁸ coronam R

⁹ poterit R

¹⁰ et *add.* R

1.3.2. Benefit

[14] Others, being more concerned with the benefit – which is actually highly important - will tell you, Holy Father, that among all the things you have done and will be doing nothing can be more profitable than the coronation of the emperor. The Holy Emperor, first among princes, will come to you, call you Father, present himself to you as your son, be crowned by your hands and take the oath. And he will see to it that Germany, comprising many realms and overflowing with peoples, princes and prelates, stays kindly disposed and obedient to yourself and the Apostolic See. Anyone may disdain the crowns, the jewels, the gold, the purple cloth, the apple, the sword, the anointment, the consecration, the ceremonies and the pomp. But even he, though he be rude and primitive, cannot deny that it benefits Your Holiness and Apostolic Majesty to receive a crowned emperor in friendship and alliance. For if we think of former times, we see that the Church flourished and the Empire was strong when there was harmony between the Roman pontiffs and the emperors.¹

1.3.3. Justice

Others again, following a different path, are only concerned with what is right and lawful. They would say that you cannot deny the present emperor what was granted to the former emperors; that customs must be observed; that a promise once made should not be unmade if the circumstances have not changed; and that an emperor who deserves so much of the Roman Church should be covered with favours and honours.

¹ See Baldi, p. 175, on the imperial coronation and wedding as an occasion for furthering the alliance between pope and emperor

[15] **At¹ nos** qua via incedemus? Illosne sequi libet, qui² gloriae cupiditatem ingerunt? Nihil minus. {152r} Absit a nobis vitium³ **gentilitatis**, quae ut⁴ **laudis animal⁵ ac ventosae gloriae mancipium nisi ad populares auras et inanes rumusculos recte** facere nihil novit. Nos, qui **Christiani sumus ac non solum apud Christianos agimus, sed coram omnium Christianorum capite, duce, magistro rectoreque stamus, non oratorem, qui dixit: “Honos alit artes, omnesque incendimur⁶ ad studia gloria,” sed apostolum potius imitari debemus, qui ait: “Gloria nostra haec est testimonium conscientiae nostrae.” Nec nos latet tuam sanctitatem divina sapientia praeditam, bonum solum non populari rumore, sed conscientiae veritate⁷ metiri.**

[16] Quid igitur ab utilitate arguemus? An ex debito, quia consuetum, justum, promissum? Equidem licet his potentissimis⁸ fundamentis suadere⁹ res soleat¹⁰, mihi¹¹ tamen haec omnia relinquenda videntur. Frustra enim suasibus utitur, qui supplicat sapienti. Novit suapte ingenio sapiens concessu an refutatu digna sint¹², quae¹³ petuntur¹⁴, nec verborum falli lenocinio potest. Nos¹⁵ igitur, qui coram sapientissimo principe, coram prudentissimo orbis terrae senatu, coram luminibus et intellectu mundi, coram tanta majestate, tanta doctrina, tanta rerum peritia sermonem habemus, satis esse putamus nudis verbis imperatoriae sublimitatis petitionem exposuisse. Scimus enim, si recta¹⁶ petimus, nihil nobis negatum iri; sin¹⁷ minus, fascinare¹⁸ verbis summae prudentiae oculos aut oratione verum pervertere non valemus. In hac igitur parte, quae tuae sanctitatis examinanda iudicio est, nullas suasiones adjicimus¹⁹, sed arbitrio tuo totum relinquimus, ex quo nec justa diffidimus obtinere, nec speramus injusta.

¹ ac P

² quam R

³ initium P, FR

⁴ ait R

⁵ animalis P, FR

⁶ incedimur R

⁷ veritati R

⁸ potissime R

⁹ suaderi R

¹⁰ soleant R

¹¹ non FR

¹² fuit R

¹³ omit. R

¹⁴ potuntur R

¹⁵ hos P

¹⁶ recte R

¹⁷ si P

¹⁸ festinare P

¹⁹ adhibemus FR

1.3.4. Rejection of the arguments of glory, benefit and justice

[15] So, what road should we take? Should we follow those who desire glory? Absolutely not. Far be from us the erroneous ways of the gentile world where only popularity and empty gossip mattered, since [at that time] people were absurdly dependent on public acclaim and vain glory. No, we who are Christian and not only have to do with ordinary Christians, but stand before the head, the leader, the teacher, and the governor of all Christians, should not imitate the Orator who said: *Public esteem is the nurse of the arts, and all men are fired to application by fame*,¹ but the Apostle who says: *Our glory is this: the testimony of our conscience*.² ³And we know that Your Holiness is endowed with divine wisdom and does not measure himself with popularity, but with the truth of conscience.

[16] Should we then argue on the basis of benefit? Or on the basis of obligation, custom, right and promise? Though it would be quite customary to use such strong arguments, I shall not do so under the present circumstances. For persuasive arguments are in vain when you request something from someone who is wise: the intellect of a wise man shows him whether a request should be met or not, and he cannot be persuaded with honeyed words. Therefore, we who are speaking before the wisest prince of all, before the most enlightened senate on Earth, before the lights and the intellect of the world, before such great majesty, such great learning, and such great experience, consider it to be enough to have set forth the petition of His Imperial Highness in simple and plain words. For we know that if what we ask for is right, nothing will be denied. And if it is not right, then we shall not be able to bedazzle high wisdom by words nor to turn truth on its head by an oration.

So, in this part of our oration, we shall not present persuasive arguments for something that it is up to Your Holiness to judge: we leave the whole matter to your judgment, not doubting that we shall be given what is just, and not expecting to obtain what is unjust.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.2.4

² 2. Corinthians, 1, 12

³ Note here the contraposition of a pagan author (Cicero) and a Christian

[17] Esset jam peroratum, beatissime pater, nisi duo¹ – ut ante diximus – in calce verborum jussi essemus adjungere. Alterum est, ut Neapoli quomodo gessimus tua beatitudo cognoscat. Alterum² ut de concilio generali, quod³ sit regiae majestatis⁴ ⁵ desiderium, intelligas. Ambo haec paucis absolvemus.

[18] Apud Neapolim convenimus victoriossimum principem {152v} Aragonum⁶ atque Siciliae regem et cum eo nepotis sui, serenissimi Portugalliae regis, legatum. Cum hisce diebus plusculis in tractatu fuimus, ac demum inter majestatem Caesaream et illustrem virginem Leonoram, infantem Portugalliae, regiam⁷ sororem, sponsaliorum foedera percussimus matrimoniumque conclusimus, quo nec nobilius, nec potentius, nec honorabilius, nec Christianitati utilius inter Christianos ullum⁸ contrahi potest, quando et nobilitas nobilitati et virtus⁹ virtuti et potentia potentiae et magna magnis et summa summis addita sunt. Hinc Germanis principibus, inde Hispanis proceribus in affinitatem¹⁰, benevolentiam amicitiamque concurrentibus. Quod idcirco tuae sanctitati narramus, ut qui contrahendum esse¹¹ conjugium hoc sciebas, jam contractum esse, ut patrem decet cum filio laeteris¹². [cont.]

¹ *omit.* P, FR

² Neapoli ... alterum *omit.* P, FR

³ quid P

⁴ regiae majestati : regis inde P, FR

⁵ majestati R

⁶ Arroganum P

⁷ regina P; reginae FR

⁸ nullum P

⁹ virtutis R

¹⁰ finitatem R

¹¹ *omit.* P, FR

¹² letoris R

[17] We should now have finished speaking, Holy Father, if we had not - as we said in the beginning - been requested to add two things in the end. One is to inform Your Holiness about the negotiations in Naples. The other is to inform you about the wishes of His Royal Majesty concerning a general council. We shall deal with both issues very briefly.

2. Imperial wedding

[18] In Naples we have met with the Unvanquished Prince, the King of Aragon and Sicily,¹ and with the legate of his nephew, His Serene Highness the King of Portugal.² After many days of negotiations, we finally concluded a contract of marriage between His Imperial Majesty and the illustrious maid, Leonora, Infanta of Portugal,³ the sister of the King. Indeed, it is the most noble, powerful and honourable marriage and the most advantageous to Christendom that can be arranged, if you add virtue to virtue, nobility to nobility, power to power, greatness to greatness and highness to highness. From the one side the German princes and from the other the Spanish nobles have joined each other in this bond of marriage, in sympathy and in friendship.⁴ We report this to Your Holiness so that, like a father, you may rejoice with your son⁵ that the marriage which you knew was to be negotiated⁶ has now been contracted.

¹ Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 until his death

² Afonso V the African (1432-1481): King of Portugal and the Algarves. His sobriquet refers to his conquests in Northern Africa.

³ Leonora of Portugal (1434-1467): Empress of the Holy Roman Empire. Portuguese infanta (princess), daughter of King Duarte of Portugal and his wife Leonor of Aragon. She was the consort of the Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich III and mother of Emperor Maximilian I

⁴ This passage is lifted from Piccolomini's oration, "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14], sect. 25, held earlier in December, in Naples, at the conclusion of the marriage negotiations

⁵ i.e. the emperor

⁶ The pope was actually represented at the negotiations by an apostolic legate

[19] Sed venio ad secundum, quod addere promisi¹, idque finem orationi² praebebit. Quae hactenus dicta sunt³, beatissime pater, commisit nobis imperatoria majestas, priusquam suo ex conspectu recederemus. Quae nunc dicturi sumus, per novas et urgentes litteras in mandatis accepimus. Ea nec parva nec contemnenda sunt, sed digna tuis auribus et hoc sacerrimo coetu. De concilio namque generali deque⁴ loco conventus habendi dicendum est nobis, ex quibus rebus magna potest utilitas redundare. Licet enim sub te vero capite veroque Jesu Christi vicario unita sit ecclesia, plurima tamen sunt, propter quae necessaria videtur conventio episcoporum⁵ generalis. Dissident Christiani principes quammulti: concordia quaerenda est. Labascunt et⁶ cleri⁷ et populi mores: investiganda modestia. Oppressam ecclesiam quamplurimi lacescunt⁸: recuperanda libertas. Ad quas res licet tua satis sit⁹ auctoritas, non tamen executio sine conventu praelatorum consensuque¹⁰ principum facile potest haberi. Cupit igitur generale concilium Caesar, {153r} ut haec fiant.

¹ promissi R

² *omit.* R

³ dicta sunt : sunt dicta R

⁴ de quo R

⁵ conventio episcoporum : episcoporum conventio R

⁶ *omit.* P, FR

⁷ clerici R

⁸ lacescunt et R

⁹ satis sit : sit satis R

¹⁰ consensusque P, FR

3. Ecumenical council

[19] And now , as promised, I come to the second added issue and with this I shall conclude my oration. What I have said so far, Holy Father, was by direct instruction of His Imperial Majesty given to me before we left his presence. What we are coming to now, we have been instructed to say by new and urgent letters. They are neither small nor unimportant matters, but worthy of your ears and of this holy assembly. For we must now speak of the general council and about its venue, matters that may be of great benefit. Though the Church is now united under you as its head and as true Vicar of Christ, there are still a number of outstanding issues that would seem to require a general meeting of bishops. Many Christian princes are in open conflict: concord must be sought. The morals of both clergy and laity are rapidly deteriorating: morals must be restored. Many oppress the Church: its liberty must be regained. Though your own authority is sufficient for dealing with these issues, the implementation of [any measures] is not easy without a meeting of prelates and the agreement of the princes. Therefore, the emperor wishes for a general council to facilitate matters.

[20] Sed quod generale concilium? Verum generale concilium, non abortivum, non adulterinum, non contentiosum, non ambitiosum; concilium, in quo minora membra majoribus pareant, in quo nullum sit membrum, quod suo capiti non consentiat; concilium, inquam, quod non¹ de clavibus summi pastoris disputet², sed pro communi utilitate invigilet. Summa est Romani praesulis auctoritas: quid attinet disputare? Omnis potestas ecclesiae³ a Christo principe per Romanum pontificem veluti⁴ caput in cetera mystici⁵ corporis membra derivatur atque diffunditur. Haec professio Caesaris, haec fides est. Evangelio credit et oraculis Jesu Christi. Scit⁶ Petro et successoribus suis⁷ dictum esse a domino: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non⁸ praevallebunt adversus eam: et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque⁹ ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelis; et tu vocaberis Cephas; et¹⁰ pasce oves meas; et duc in altum rete, et cetera ejusmodi¹¹, quibus referti sunt evangeliorum codices. Ultraque¹² quisquis aliud¹³ quaerit, tenebras et¹⁴ non lucem quaerit¹⁵, stultitor eo, qui sub¹⁶ aperto ferventique sole commentitium¹⁷ lumen accendit. Ceterum quia¹⁸ majestas imperatoria non ad potentiam exercendam, sed ad fidem tuendam communeque bonum¹⁹ promovendum²⁰ tibi que assistendum interesse concilio²¹ decrevit, coronam prius accipere²² cupit, quam concilium convocetur; iudici²³ antequam coronetur, neque petit, neque suadet, neque gratum haberet. Expedi enim admodum rebus agendis coronatum Caesarem ac tibi juratum in concilio penes te sedere, tibi que²⁴ assistere, tuisque decretis favorem impendere.*

¹ *omit.* R

² disputat P

³ *omit.* R

⁴ velut R

⁵ mystica P, FR

⁶ sit R

⁷ vel ejus R

⁸ *omit.* R

⁹ quocumque R

¹⁰ *omit.* FR

¹¹ hujuscemodi R

¹² ultra quem FR

¹³ alium FR

¹⁴ *omit.* P

¹⁵ et non lucem quaerit : quaerit non lucem FR

¹⁶ *omit.* P, FR

¹⁷ commenticum P; comenticum R

¹⁸ ceterum quia : ceterumque R

¹⁹ communeque bonum : commune bonumque P, FR

²⁰ promovendi R

²¹ *omit.* P, FR

²² recipere R

²³ iudici R

²⁴ tibi P, R

[20] But what kind of general council? A general council that is not abortive, illegitimate, controversial, or ambitious; a council in which the minor members obey the major members¹, and in which no member is in disagreement with its head;² a council - I say - that does not dispute the keys of the Supreme Shepherd,³ but which has its focus on the common good. The authority of the Bishop of Rome is supreme: why discuss it? All power in the Church derives from Christ, its prince, and it is distributed through the Roman Pontiff, as its head, to the other members of the mystical body.⁴ This is the declaration and the faith of the emperor. He believes in the Gospel and in the oracles of Jesus Christ. He knows that the Lord said to Peter and his successors: *Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven;*⁵ *Thou shalt be called Cephas;*⁶ *Feed my lambs;*⁷ *Launch out into the deep and let down your nets,*⁸ and other pronouncements of this kind which fill the books of the Gospels. If anyone searches for something more, he will find darkness, and not light, and he will be more foolish than he who lights a candle in open and glaring sunshine.

Moreover, since His Imperial Majesty does not intend to exercise his power, but to protect the Faith, to uphold the common good,⁹ and to assist you by participating in the council, he wishes to receive the crown before the council is convened. Moreover, he does not request or advise or wish the council to be summoned before he has been crowned, since it would greatly facilitate matters if he could participate in the council as a crowned emperor, sworn to you, and to assist you and support your decisions.

¹ E.g. the papal presidents of the council

² I.e. the pope

³ i.e. the Keys of Saint Peter, symbol of papal supremacy

⁴ I.e. of the Church

⁵ Matthew, 16, 18-19

⁶ John, 1, 42

⁷ John, 21, 15

⁸ Luke 5, 4

⁹ On the medieval notion of the common good, see Black, pp. 24 ff

[21] Cumque sit Caesar advocatus ecclesiae, protector¹, defensor, adiutor, ac nullibi melius officium suum quam in provincia sibi² parente valeat exercere, locum celebrandi synodi in Alamania sub Romano imperio petit; in alia provincia nec potest, nec intendit consensum³ {154v} praebere. Est enim Alamania locus ex tota Christianitate commodior atque communior⁴, in qua, si quis recte prospexerit⁵, intra Rhenum et Austriam Christianitatis umbilicum ac centrum reperiet: ubi extremi⁶ ad occidentem sunt Hispani; ad orientem Graeci; ad septentrionem Norwegii⁷; ad meridiem ultimi Siciliae populi. Cumque jam Graeci in⁸ his, quae fidei sunt, cum Latina ecclesia sapiant, oportet et his locum concilii convenientem nominare, fovendi enim jam sunt et omni favore amplexandi. At hi ad Alamaniae partes per Hungariam brevem habent et facilem transitum. Urbes praeterea in Alamania sunt amplissimae et splendidissimae, mansiones accomodae, victui necessaria comparatu facilia, pax optima, pulcherrima quies, dulcissima libertas, saluberrimus aer, principes et⁹ populi promissorum ac¹⁰ justitiam tenaces, mori quam deierare aut fallere malunt. Nemo est, qui de loco Alamaniae jure conqueri possit. Nam qui medium Christianitatis et tot commoditates Alamaniae dedit Deus¹¹, is quoque velle videtur¹², ut ibi nostro tempore generale concilium celebretur. Habes, sanctissime pater, quae sit petitio Caesaris. Nobis et¹³ admodum justa videtur et utilis. Namque si pacem¹⁴ inter Christifideles¹⁵ componere, si frugalitatem¹⁶ bonosque mores serere, si libertatem ecclesiasticam vindicare, si partem unionem servare cupis – ut certissimi sumus – generale concilium non alibi convocabis, quam eo in loco, in quo tibi Caesar et possit et velit assistere.

[22] Pleraque alia, cum tuae **Sanctitati** libuerit, semotis arbitris referemus.

¹ et *add.* R

² tibi R

³ consensu R

⁴ atque communior *omit.* P, FR

⁵ prospiceret R

⁶ exivi P; exivit FR

⁷ Novergii P, R

⁸ *omit.* P

⁹ ac P, FR

¹⁰ et P

¹¹ decus R

¹² videretur R

¹³ *omit.* R

¹⁴ pater R

¹⁵ Christi fides P

¹⁶ fragilitatem P, R

[21] The emperor is the champion of the Church, its protector, its defender, and its helper, and nowhere can he fulfill this office better than in the region subject to him. Therefore, he requests that the council be held in Germany which belongs to the Roman Empire, and therefore he neither can nor will give his consent to any other venue. Germany is the most convenient and accessible location in all Christendom, for there - if you look at it rightly - you will find the navel and the center of Christianity, between the Rhine and Austria. To the West it reaches to Spain, to the East to Greece, to the North to Norway, and to the South to the farthest peoples of Sicily. And since, today, the Greeks agree in matters of faith with the Latin Church, we should select a place for the council that is also convenient for them, for they should be given every possible assistance and favour. But they have a short route and easy travel through Hungary to Germany. Moreover, in Germany there are large and splendid cities with commodious houses, provisions that are easy to buy, excellent peace, wonderful quiet, sweet liberty, healthy climate, princes and peoples who keep their promises and observe justice, and who would rather die than use tricks and deception. Nobody can complain about the German sense of justice. God has granted Germany to be the center of Christendom, with so many advantages, and thus it seems that he wants the general council to be held there, at this time.

You have now heard, Holy Father, the emperor's request. To us it seems highly just and beneficial. For if you desire, as we are sure you will, to restore peace between the Christians, to sow frugality and good morals, to reclaim ecclesiastical liberty, and to safeguard the union [of the Church] now achieved, you will not summon a council in any other place than one where the emperor can and will be of assistance to you.

4. Conclusion

[22] If it pleases Your Clemency, there are a number of other matters which we would take up you in private.¹

¹ Humanist diplomatic speakers would sometimes end their oration to a ruler with a polite request for further meetings, cf. *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 7.8

III. TEXT AND TRANSLATION: FINAL VERSION

Oratio Aeneae Silvii Picolominei Senensis qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius II. appellatus est de coronatione Caesaris habita Romae¹ coram Nicolao V. pontifice maximo²

[23] {86v} Fateor, maxime pontifex, eum qui coram tua sanctitate loquatur non immerito commoveri, cum propter celsitudinem throni tui, quo nullus est in terris altior, tum propter ingenium tuum divino dono aureum, et omni doctrinarum genere fecundum. In cuius praesentia qui verba facit, nisi juxta praeceptum apostoli sermonem habuerit sale conditum, notam Pisonis incurrit, de quo scribit Jeronimus, quia *cum loqui nesciret, tacere non potuit*. In hoc enim orbis terrae primo maximoque auditorio non fuit et inanes locutores, sed facundi oratores audiendi sunt Ulixique pares, quem *sapienti facundia praeditum vocem, ait Homerus, non ex ore mittere, sed ex pectore*.

¹ omit. C

² Oratio ... maximo : Enee Silvii episcopi Senensis legati Caesaris oratio ad Nicolaum V. pontificem de coronatione Caesaris statuenda D, G

Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini of Siena, who later became Supreme Pontiff under the name of Pius II, on the coronation of the Emperor, held in Rome before Supreme Pontiff Nicholas V

1. Introduction

1.1. Captatio benevolentiae

[23] Supreme Pontiff, I do declare that anyone who speaks before Your Holiness ought justly be anxious because of the exaltedness of your throne – indeed, there is no higher throne on earth – and because God has granted you personally a golden intellect, rich in all kinds of learning. Unless he who speaks in your presence follows the precept of the apostle and seasons his speech with salt, he incurs the blame of Pison, who – as Jerome writes – did not know how to be silent, even though he did not know how to speak. In this assembly, the first and greatest on earth, incompetent and unsuitable speakers should not be heard, but only eloquent orators like Odysseus, about whom Homer says that *he was a man gifted with sagacious eloquence who spoke not from his lips, but from his heart.*

[24] Quibus ex rebus nihil mirum esset, si nunc ego, cui nec sententiae, nec verba suppetunt, quibus adiri tanta *majestas* debeat, sic turbarer *ac pallerem, ut nudis pressit, qui calcibus anguem, aut Lugdunensem*¹ *rheter dicturus ad aram*. Sed adjicit animum mihi tuae sanctitatis² immensa benignitas atque indicibilis humanitas, quae non solum magnos disertosque viros, sed humiles et indoctos aure inoffensa audire consuevit. Morisque semper hujus sacri consistorii fuit, non tantum verba loquentis, quantum mittentis personam existimare. His accedit nobilis orationis materia, quae ut dicenti facilis erit, sic audienti se gratam suavemque praebabit, *cujus tanta honestas est, tanta utilitas, ut absque oratoris adminiculo facile persuadere se ipsam queat*.

¹ Lugdunensis C

² sanctitati C

[24] For these reasons, it would not be strange at all if I, lacking both the thoughts and words appropriate for addressing such majesty, were now confused and as pale as *a man who has trodden on a snake bare-footed or as a man who awaits his turn to orate before the altar at Lugdunum*. But I am encouraged by the immense benevolence and the indescribable kindness of Your Holiness who are used to hearing not only great and eloquent men, but also – and with unoffended ears – the lowly and unlearned. Moreover, it has always been the custom of this Holy Consistory to respect the person of the sender even more than the words of the speaker. To this should be added the noble subject of my oration that not only makes it easy for the speaker, but will also prove welcome and sweet to the listener. For the honourableness and the usefulness of the matter are so great that it can easily speak for itself and it does not require rhetorical ploys.

[25] **De coronatione namque** divi Caesaris Friderici, Romanorum {87r} **regis** Augusti, invicti, atque triumphatoris, filii tui non minus devoti quam dilecti, **futurus est sermo**. Coronatio vero Caesarum ¹ **semper maxima et** ² **honestissima** iudicata ³ est, **postquam sancta sedes apostolica imperatoriam dignitatem ex Graecorum gente in personam magnifici Caroli magni transtulit ad Germanos**. Secus autem prius fuerat.

[26] **Tria sunt enim Romani Imperii tempora, ex quo Julius Caesar rem populi vertit ad unum**. Primum est ab Augusto usque ad Constantinum superiorem, quando imperium apud Italos mansit annis⁴, ut quidam tradunt, undecim et trecentis. Alterum est a Constantino usque ad Carolum Magnum, cum X et quingentis annis apud Graecos⁵ imperatum est. Tertium tempus est de Carolo Magno usque ad Fridericum praesentem⁶, in quo supputantur anni XXXVII et sexcenti⁷, quibus Romanum imperium penes Germanos administratum est. Omitto **Berengarium et alios, qui apud Longobardos imperitarunt, neque enim** digni fuerunt, qui tantae **dignitatis deberent titulis illustrari**. [cont.]

¹ Caesaris G

² atque G

³ indicata C

⁴ Imperium apud Italos *in marg.* D, G

⁵ Apud Grecos *in marg.* D, G

⁶ presentem *corr. ex modernum* C

⁷ Apud Germanos *in marg.* D, G

1.2. Subject of oration

[25] For we shall be speaking about the coronation of Holy Emperor Friedrich, August King, unvanquished and triumphant, your son who is both devoted to you and loved by you. The coronation of emperors has been considered a very important and exceedingly honourable matter ever since the Holy Apostolic See transferred the imperial dignity from the Greek to the German people, in the person of glorious Charlemagne. Before, it was otherwise.

1.3. History of imperial coronations

[26] After Julius Caesar united the state under one ruler, the Roman Empire has gone through three phases. The first one began with Augustus and ended with the first Constantine, when the Empire was in the hands of the Italians for, as some report, for 311 years. The second one began with Constantine and ended with Charlemagne, lasting for 510 years during which the Greeks ruled. And the third one began with Charlemagne and has lasted until Friedrich, the present emperor, calculated as 637 years, during which the Empire has been ruled by the Germans. It continued from Charlemagne to the present Emperor Friedrich. I pass over Berengarius and the other Lombard rulers as they were not worthy of being distinguished with the titles of this great office. *[cont.]*

[27] **Priores quidem imperatores diadematis abstinere, habentesque¹ regiae potestatis arbitrium, dignitatis nomen et insignia postponebant, ne cum corona simul et Tarquinii² superbiam quasi jure postliminii in urbem reducere viderentur.** At postquam Graecis imperare permissum est, sollemnitas coronationis irrepit³ ⁴. Diadema tamen Caesaribus non Romani pontifices, sed **Constantinopolitani praesules** conferebant. **Ex qua re - sicut scribit Otto Frisingensis antistes, non futilis auctor - in tantum sedes Constantinopolitana sese extulit, ut non solum Alexandrinam, sed Romanam quoque usque ad Focam Caesarem et Bonifacium papam praecedere non erubuerit.** Verum cum **Germani principes, victis ac domitis Longobardis, qui Romanae ecclesiae insultabant,** saepius summis pontificibus auxilia praebuissent, atque idcirco per apostolicam sedem potestate Caesarea et imperii fascibus ceteris gentibus praelati fuissent, ut sicut jure merito imperium adepti fuerant, sic retinere dignissime viderentur, post largas ac magnificas donationes Romanae ecclesiae factas, non solum coronari, sed inungi quoque, consecrarique Romae per Christi vicarium voluerunt⁵, **ut illi perpetuam redderent reverentiam, a quo praecipuam susceperant eminentiam.** Hinc Caroli, Ludovici, Lotharii, Ottones, Henrici, Friderici, et alii complures frequenter, superatis alpibus, Italiam ingressi, non sine grandi devotione in basilica principis apostolorum imperatorias infulas susceperunt.

[28] **Quorum vestigia modo subsequens Caesarea sublimitas hos collegas, fratresque meos, et me servum tuum ad tuam beatitudinem destinavit, tria dumtaxat exposituros: primo, quod fuerit hactenus ejus desiderium circa coronationis negotium; secundo, cur tam {87v} diu dilatum fuerit; tertio, quid⁶ nunc ex tua sanctitate petatur, quas res tanto brevius referemus quanto beatitudini tuae notiores esse confidimus.**

¹ habentisque G

² Tarquini i A; Tarquini B, C, D

³ irrepit D, G

⁴ Solemnitas coronationis apud Grecos *in marg.* D, G

⁵ Germani in urbe coronari voluerunt *in marg.* D, G

⁶ quod D

[27] The first emperors did not use diadems, but having the fullness of royal power, they deferred using the name and the insignia of that office so that they would not seem to be bringing Tarquin's arrogant rule back to Rome together with the crown, as a reclaimed right. But after the Greeks were granted permission to reign, the solemn coronation was introduced. However, it was not the Roman Pontiffs, but the bishops of Constantinople who conferred the diadem on the emperors. For this reason, as writes that excellent author, Bishop Otto of Freising, the See of Constantinople became so arrogant that, until the time of Emperor Phocas and Pope Bonifatius, it was not ashamed to take precedence not just over the Alexandrian, but even the Roman See.

[The German princes conquered and tamed the Lombards, who molested the Roman Church, and they often gave assistance to the Supreme Pontiffs. Therefore the Apostolic See raised them above the other peoples through the imperial power and the symbols¹ of empire. And so that they might be seen to worthily retain the empire they had acquired legitimately, the emperors made great and magnificent donations to the Roman Church, and they desired not only to be crowned, but also to be anointed and consecrated in Rome by the Vicar of Christ. Thus they would always show reverence to him from whom they had received their preeminent position. Since then emperors named Charles, Ludwig, Otto, Heinrich, Friederich, and many others, have often crossed the Alps, entered Italy, and with great devotion received the imperial crown in the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.

1.4. Structure of oration

[28] Following in their footsteps, His Imperial Highness has now sent me, your servant, and my colleagues and brothers to Your Holiness in order to set forth three things: firstly, what has been his intention concerning the coronation until now; secondly, why it has been delayed for so long time; and thirdly, what he now asks from Your Holiness. These things we shall relate only briefly since we trust that they are well-known to Your Holiness.

¹ "fasces"

[29] **Atque, ut primum quam paucis absolvamus: Non expedit tuae sanctitati referre qua virtute, quibus dotibus regia majestas praedita sit, nosti enim quia juste imperat; quia non extollitur aut sanguinis nobilitate aut dignitatis sublimitate; quia non magis terrenum quam caeleste regnum diligit; quia imperium suum tanto futurum altius putat, quanto circa sacerdotium submissius sese habet, nec felicius sibi quidquam arbitratur quam Deo, quam fidei, quam sedi apostolicae famulari. Ob quam causam nullos labores hactenus, nullos sumptus effugit, ut antecessori tuo sanctae recordationis Eugenio tuaeque sanctitati, quando necessitas incubuit¹, subveniret. Namque cum Sabaudiensibus procellis divi Petri navicula quateretur, Basiliensibusque fluctibus² inundaretur Ecclesia, neutralitatis quoque tempestatis malum apostolicae navis impelleret, quis alius Romano pontifici suffragatus est, quam regiae sublimitatis inconcussa devotio, quae neutralitatem extinxit, Romanae sedi Germanos conciliavit, Basilienses ex Alania pepulit, nidum schismatis evulsit, viamque facilem praebuit, qua demum integra posset unio reperiri? Possem multa referre regiae sublimitatis egregia laudandaque facinora, quibus et religio nostri Caesaris, et pietas, et zelus maximus erga Romanam sedem hactenus patuere, quae scienti supervacuo narrarentur, nec regia majestas ea vulgari cupit, quae pro sui animi magnitudine minima censet. Nam etsi omni officio ac potius pietate erga sanctam Romanam ecclesiam divinumque cultum omnibus satisfacit, sibi tamen ipsi numquam satisfacit.**

¹ succubuit G

² fluctus A, C

2. Coronation of the Emperor

2.1. Why the Emperor wishes to be crowned

[29] We shall deal with the first matter briefly for it is unnecessary to tell Your Holiness about the virtues and gifts with which His Royal Majesty is endowed: you already know that he reigns justly; that he has not become arrogant because of his noble blood or his exalted office; that he does not love his earthly realm more than the Heavenly Kingdom; and that he believes that the more respectful he is towards to the priesthood, the higher his empire will stand; and that nothing can be more blessed than serving God, Faith and the Apostolic See. Therefore he has, until now, spared no effort and no expense in order to assist Eugenius, your predecessor of holy memory, and Your Holiness, whenever the necessity arose.

For when the ship of Saint Peter was floundering in the gale from Savoy,¹ and the stormy waves from Basel were overflowing the Church,² and the evil storm of Neutrality³ threatened to wreck the Apostolic Ship, what other support did the Roman Pontiff have than His Royal Highness' unshaken devotion? He it was who ended the Neutrality, who reconciled the Germans with the Roman See,⁴ who expelled the Basilians from Germany, who emptied the nest of schism, and who prepared the road to complete union. I could say much about the grand and praiseworthy deeds of His Royal Highness which revealed our emperor's devotion, piety, and great zeal for the Roman See, but it would be useless to relate them to someone who knows them already. Moreover, His Royal Majesty does not want them to be talked about publicly, since to his elevated mind they seem not to be extraordinary at all. Indeed, in his endeavours for and his devotion to the Holy Roman Church and the worship of God he satisfies all but himself.

¹ As duke of Savoy Amédée VIII, who became antipope as Felix V, had flooded the Council of Basel with bishops from his own territories and managed to be elected (anti-)pope by the council

² The schism between Pope Eugenius IV on one side and the Council of Basel with its antipope on the other

³ German Neutrality in relation to Pope and Council from 1438 to 1447

⁴ 1447, see *Oration "Non habet me dubium" [11]*

[30] At cum menti suae semper insederit ea totis conatibus prosequi, quae Deo placeant, inter alia, quae post accepta Caesareae dignitatis gubernacula ferventi animo desideravit, illud non in postremis fuit, ut ex vicario Jesu Christi veroque piscatoris successore augustale diadema referret. Quam rem Deo placitam et acceptissimam esse ex eo maxime colligi potest, **quod ex Germanis Caesaribus, qui per manus primi pastoris inuncti¹ Romae coronatique sunt**, usque in hanc diem **nullum** reperimus **violenta morte perisse**. At ex primis imperatoribus, quibus neque fides, neque unctio, neque coronatio cordi fuit, media pars gladio periit. Ex Graecis vero, quamvis Christiani² plerumque fuerunt, Romae tamen minime coronati alii suspendio, alii incendio, alii gladio vitam finierunt, aliis oculis eruti sunt, alii sibi manus consciverunt, verumque illud in se monstrarunt, quod

*Ad generum Cereris sine caede, et vulnere pauci
Descendunt reges, et sicca morte tyranni.*

¹ invicti B

² Christianis B

[30] In his heart he has always wanted to make every effort to please God, and among those things that he fervently desired, when he had accepted the imperial office, one of the most important ones was to receive the imperial crown from the Vicar of Jesus Christ and the true Successor of the Fisherman. That such is pleasing and acceptable to God can easily be seen from the fact that, to this day, none of the German emperors who were anointed and crowned in Rome by the hands of the First Shepherd has suffered a violent death. But half of the first emperors, who neither cared for the Faith, nor for anointment, nor for coronation, died by the sword. And of the Greek Emperors, of whom most were Christians, though not crowned in Rome, some ended their life by hanging, some by fire, and some by the sword, whereas others had their eyes plucked out or their hands cut off, thus proving the truth of the verse, that few are indeed the

*kings who go down to Ceres' son-in-law save by sword and slaughter –
few the tyrants that perish by a bloodless death.*

[31] **Arbitrata est igitur regia sublimitas opus esse divinae pietati {88r} acceptum, si quemadmodum in veteri testamento nunc prophetae, nunc summi sacerdotes, nunc simul ambo reges ungebant, qui regerent Israel et Judam, sic et in tempore gratiae novaque lege Romani pontifices Christianos imperatores inungant, qui plebem catholicam legibus tueantur et armis.** Atque idcirco summum sibi desiderium fuit, quam citius posset juxta morem Germanorum principum Romanae coronationis insignibus illustrari, eoque modo et apostolicam sedem et imperium sacrum condignis honoribus prosequi. Habes jam regiae sublimitatis desiderium.

[32] Nunc cur tam diu dilatatum sit docendum arbitror, ne sibi plerique blandiantur, qui ubi loquendum est tacent, ubi tacendum est, clamant. Sunt enim nonnulli, qui postquam de coronatione incoepat sermo: "Cur," inquirunt, "non primo lustro imperiales infulas accepturus venit, si tanta cupido inerat? Aut si voluntas defuit, unde hic novus appetitus post duo lustra? Unde nova isthaec¹ religio?" Paulus apostolus apud Festum detentus, cum causam suam dicere jussus esset, beatum se dicebat, quod apud Agrippam loqueretur, suarum consuetudinum et ceremoniarum non ignarum. Noverat enim tantum oratoris verba proficere, quantum judicis providentia cognovisset. Atque hoc est, quod Isaias² ait: *Beatus, qui in aures loquitur audientis.* Erit igitur et mihi pars felicitatis, quoniam omnia nota sunt tuae sanctitati, quae referam.

¹ istec D, G

² Isaias *in marg.* D; Esaias *in marg.* G

[31] His Royal Highness therefore considered it pleasing to Merciful God that – just as in the Old Testament - sometimes prophets, sometimes high priests, and sometimes both, anointed kings to rule Israel and Juda, similarly in the time of grace and of the new law, the Roman pontiffs should anoint Christian emperors to protect the Catholic people by means of laws and arms. Therefore, he most earnestly desired the honour of receiving, as soon as possible and according to the custom of the German princes, the [imperial] insignia in a coronation in Rome and thus to distinguish both the Apostolic See and the Holy Empire with equal honours.

You have now heard what His Royal Highness desires.

2.2. Why the coronation has been delayed for so long

[32] Now I shall explain why the matter has been delayed for so long, so that we may put an end to the blatherings¹ of some who remain silent when they should speak, and speak when they should remain silent. For when the talk falls on the coronation there are many who say: “If he desires the imperial crown so much, why did he not come during the first five years to receive it? And if he lacked the will at that time, why this new desire now after 10 years? Whence comes this sudden religious fervour?” When the Apostle Paul was detained by Festus and was ordered to state his case, he declared that he was only too happy to speak before Agrippa since Agrippa knew the customs and the ceremonies of his people.² For he knew that the words of a speaker are only effective if the judge is knowledgeable about the matter in question. Isaiah says the same: *Happy is he who speaks to the ears of one who listens.*³ So my task will be a happy one since all that I shall be saying is already known to Your Holiness.

¹ "blandiantur"

² Acts, 26, 2-3

³ Isaias, 32, 3

[33] Fateor, sanctissime pater, optasse regiam majestatem in ipso regni principio Romam petere, inungi coronarique. **Nec Eugenius** alienus **erat**, nam qui **Sigismundo** Caesari diadema imposuerat, **Friderico** quoque imponere cupiebat, **ut duorum Caesarum pater coronatorque diceretur, quod hactenus nemini reperio contigisse. Sed sunt cogitationes mortalium timidae et incertae providentiae nostrae.** Obstabat coronationi **neutralitas**, qua propter divisionem ecclesiae Germani principes tenebantur, ad cujus sublationem antiquius videbatur regiae sapientiae prius navare operas, quam diadema reciperetur imperiale, non immemori¹ legis illius, quam tradit Aristoteles, in hunc modum sanxisse Solonem²: *Qui in eo tempore in eoque casu civilis discordiae non alterutra parte sese adjunxerit, sed solitarius separatusque a communi malo civitatis secesserit, is domo, patria, fortunisque omnibus careto, exul extorrisque esto.*

[34] Sed abolita neutralitate et **oboedientia** sedi apostolicae **restituta**, adduxit mox dominus urentem ventum de deserto, qui pontificem nobis illum eripuit celsumque caput morte involvit, ac spem datam coronationis novo genere calamitatis abduxit. Diceret hic gentilis: obstitit *fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*. Nec ego abnuerim, si omissa Chryssippi diffinitione, {88v} fatum³ recte praescripserimus, atque ordinem esse dixerimus inevitabili connexionem procedentem, qui de providentiae divinae fonte descendens, cuncta suis locis temporibusque disponit. Deus enim, qui omnia creavit, nullo pacto credendus est, quae faciant homines a suae providentiae legibus alienasse, sed tuae sanctitati potius hanc coronationis gloriam reservasse. Ex quo fit, ut Eugenio vivente nihil sit, quod per regiam majestatem possit videri neglectum.

¹ immemor C

² Lex Solonis *in marg.* D, G

³ Fatum *in marg.* G

[33] I declare, Holy Father that from the very beginning of his reign His Royal Majesty has wished to come to Rome to be anointed and crowned. And Eugenius was certainly not averse to this since he had already crowned Emperor Sigismund and would like to crown Friederich, too, for then he would be called the Father who crowned two emperors, which I find has happened to no one before. But *the thoughts of mortal men are fearful, and our counsels uncertain*.¹ The coronation was prevented by the issue of the Neutrality to which the German princes had bound themselves because of the division in the Church. In his wisdom, the king considered that he had to put an end to German Neutrality before he could receive the imperial crown. Indeed, he remembered the law which according to Aristotle was sanctioned by Solon: ... *if anyone at that time, and in such a condition of civil discord, shall not ally himself with one or the other faction, but by himself and apart shall hold aloof from the common calamity of the State, let him be deprived of his home, his country, and all his property, and be an exile and an outlaw*.²

[34] But immediately after the Neutrality had been abolished and obedience to the Apostolic See restored, the Lord sent a burning wind from the desert that, robbing us of this pontiff, brought death to the exalted head of the Church,³ and took away any hope for the coronation through a new kind of disaster. Here the gentile would say: *Allmighty fortune and inevitable fate*⁴ came in the way. However, passing over the opinion of Chrysippus,⁵ I declare that we may rightly understand fate as the inevitable consequence of something that descends from the fountain of divine providence and disposes everything in the right place and time. For we cannot believe that God, who created all things, has exempted men's actions from the laws of his providence. It is therefore God himself who has reserved the honour of this coronation to Your Holiness.

Thus, as long as Eugenius was alive, the Emperor certainly did not neglect this whole matter.

¹ Wisdom, 9, 14

² Gellius: 2.12.1: *In legibus Solonis illis antiquissimis quae Athenis axibus ligneis incisae sunt quasque latas ab eo Athenienses, ut sempiternae manerent, poenis et religionibus sanxerunt, legem esse Aristoteles refert scriptam ad hanc sententiam: "Si ob discordiam dissensionemque seditio atque discessio populi in duas partes fiet et ob eam causam irritatis animis utrimque arma capientur pugnabiturque, tum qui in eo tempore in eoque casu civilis discordiae non alterutrae parti sese adiunxerit, sed solitarius separatusque a communi malo civitatis secesserit, is domo, patria fortunisque omnibus careto, exul extorrisque esto."*

³ In 1447

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8.334

⁵ Cicero: *De fato*, 18.41, and 20.21

[35] Sed sunt, qui tuo quoque in pontificatu commissam negligentiam arbitrantur, qui jam quartum geris summi pontificatus annum. Quos tanto facilius refellemus, quanto recentiora sunt, quae objiciuntur. Sane ut assumptionem tuam regia serenitas accepit, cujus rei ex me primo certitudinem habuit, mox cunctos populos, quos suae clementiae regit imperium, te patrem habere, summum venerari pontificem, te Christi verum et indubitatum vicarium recognoscere voluit. Cumque omnes ad tuam conversi oboedientiam forent, cum pacem vicini tenerent, cum tranquilla Germania videretur, de coronatione cum tua sanctitate¹ nunc per oratores, nunc per litteras egit, nunc patri gravissimo atque modestissimo, cardinali sancti Angeli, apostolicae sedis legato, commissum negotium fuit.

¹ *corr.* D; sanctitas G

[35] Some, however, claim that the matter has also been neglected during your own pontificate, which is now in its fourth year. Since these reproaches concern recent events, we can refute them even more easily. Indeed, as soon as His Serene Highness heard about your accession – he actually had his first sure information from me - he immediately decided that all the peoples under his benevolent imperial rule should consider you as their Father, revere you as Supreme Pontiff, and recognize you as the true and undoubted Vicar of Christ. And when all had turned to you in obedience, when the neighbours kept the peace, and when Germany appeared to be tranquil, he began to negotiate about the coronation with Your Holiness through orators and through letters, and the whole matter was entrusted to that earnest and modest father, the Cardinal of Sant’Angelo, legate of the Apostolic See.¹

¹ Juan Carvajal

[36] At *cor hominis*, ut inquit sapiens¹, *disponit viam, sed domini est dirigere gressus ejus*. Emerserunt e vestigio novi tumultus, qui **principatus Austriae** miris modis infestaverunt tamque² multiplices et variae novitates inundarunt, ut in modum Hydrae amputata discidorum capita septuplicari viderentur. Nec solum in Austria turbulentae res proruerunt, **sed in Svevia, Franconia, Bavaria, Rhenique florentissimis regionibus atque in ipso Christianitatis corde nova, inaudita**, inexcogitata, intolerabilia **discordiarum** incendia sunt exorta, quae **nobilissimos principes ac potentissimas civitates** in bellum traxere. *Forsitan corruptos hominum mores, ut Augustinus ait, bellorum fulminibus emendare divina providentia voluit*. Sic enim per prophetam minatur dominus: *Visitabo in virga ferrea iniquitates eorum, et in flagellis peccata eorum*.

[37] Quae res **necessario majestatem regiam in partibus Alamaniae**³ tenuerunt, ut pacem prius componeret inter subditos, quam nationis terminos egrederetur. Ob quam rem mirari neminem decet, si tanto tempore coronatio suspensionem accepit, nec enim tam **dispendiosa coronationis** quam communis **pacis dilatio videbatur**. Instant tamen adhuc adversantes, Romanumque principem non solum praesentia, sed futura quoque pensiculate et enucleate praemeditari oportere contendunt, nec imperanti fas putant dicere: *Non putaram*. Sed non est hominis futura praenosceri. *Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae*. Et iterum: *quid crastina voverit aetas scire*⁴ *nefas homini*.

¹ Sapiens in marg. D, G

² tanquam C

³ em. [following the Early Version]

⁴ scires B; sciri C

[36] But as the Wise One says: *The heart of man disposeth his way: but the Lord must direct his steps.*¹ Suddenly new tumults arose, disturbing the Austrian principalities most astonishingly, and overwhelming them with so many and various political problems that, like the Hydra, every time one revolting head was cut off, it was replaced by seven others. And not only did uprisings break out in Austria, but new, unheard of, unthinkable and intolerable fires of discord broke out also in Swabia, Franconia, Bavaria, the flourishing regions of the Rhine, the very heart of Christendom. These disorders pushed noble princes and powerful cities into war. Maybe, as Augustine says, *Divine Providence decided to correct the ways of men with the thunderbolts of war.*² For thus threatens the Lord through the Prophets: *I will visit their iniquities with a rod and their sins with stripes.*³

[37] These matters made it necessary for His Royal Majesty to stay in the regions of Germany in order to make peace between his subjects before he left the nation.⁴ Therefore nobody should wonder that the coronation was postponed for some time, since delaying the coronation did not seem as costly as delaying the common peace. However, there are still some opponents who insist that the Prince of the Romans should consider carefully⁵ not only the present, but also the future, and that it does not behoove a ruler to say: *I had not thought of that!*⁶ But it is not given to men to know the future. *O mind of man, knowing not fate or coming doom.*⁷ And again: *What the morrow's years might bring, 'twas sin for man to know.*⁸

¹ Proverbs, 16, 9: *cor hominis disponet viam suam sed Domini est dirigere gressus eius*

² Quotation not identified

³ Psalms, 88, 33: *visitabo in virga scelera eorum et in plagis iniquitatem eorum*

⁴ Note that the *termini nationis* refer to the German nation as not including Italy

⁵ "pencilate et enucleate"

⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.81. Cf. Valerius Maximus, 7.2.2, where this maxim is attributed to Scipio Africanus

⁷ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10, 501

⁸ Statius: *Thebais*, 3, 562-563: *Quid crastina volveret aetas scire nefas homini*

[38] Quid mirum, si futuri {89r} temporis statum regia majestas ignoravit, quando nec prophetae ventura noverint, nisi specialiter revelata? Nam neque Samuel¹ novit quem ungere regem deberet ex filiis Jesse, nisi quando ad ultimum venit. Neque Nathan² scivit aedificationem templi regi David esse prohibitam, cum diceret³: *Omne quod est in corde tuo vade, fac, quia dominus tecum est*. Nec Eliseus⁴ defunctum Sunamitis filium intellexit, nisi postquam mulier ad se venit. In tantum quippe obscura est caligo futuri, ut dubitet Augustinus Hieronymique sententiam praestoletur: Utrum angeli⁵, qui Luciferum sunt secuti, prius casum sciverunt suum, quam ceciderint. Quibus ex rebus liquido patet, nec dum vixit Eugenius, nec hactenus in tuae sanctitatis pontificatu facultatem habuisse majestatem regiam, ut ad coronationem profisceretur tot, ut praediximus, impedimentis obstantibus.

[39] Sed tempus jam est, ut ad **tertiam** et ultimam nostrae commissionis particulam transeamus, ac quid regia majestas ex tua sanctitate deponat, breviter aperiamus. Fidelibus quidem ac piis principibus nihil accidere mali potest, quod non cedat⁶ utiliter. *Scimus enim, quia diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*. Placuit divinae pietati coronationem regiam hucusque differre, ut quietior et honoratior haberetur. *Cum placuerint domino viae hominis*, inquit sapiens, *etiam inimicos ejus vertet ad pacem*. Ecce composita sunt in Austriae principatibus, quaecumque turbulenta fuerunt. Expiata est latronibus provincia. Vicini pacem observant. Germani principes, qui cum civitatibus contendebant, reconditis armis et odio seposito super litibus, quas habebant, regiae sublimitatis arbitrium praestolantur.

¹ Samuel *in marg.* D, G

² Nathan *in marg.* G

³ dicet G

⁴ Heliseus *in marg.* G

⁵ Utrum angeli *in marg.* D, G

⁶ caedat B

[38] Why should it surprise anybody that His Royal Majesty did not know what the future would bring when the prophets did not know future events either, unless they had been specially revealed? Samuel did not know which one of the sons of Jesse to anoint as king until he came to the last one.¹ Nor did Nathan know that King David had been forbidden to build a temple when he said to him: *Go, do all that is in thy heart: because the Lord is with thee.*² Nor did Elisha know that the son of the Sunamite had died before that woman came to him.³ So dark is the cloud of the future⁴ that Augustine, borrowing⁵ a sentence from Jerome, may doubt whether the angels who followed Lucifer had foreknowledge of their fall.⁶ For these reasons it is quite clear His Royal Highness was not free to depart for his coronation while Eugenius lived nor before now, during the pontificate of Your Holiness.

2.3. What the emperor requires of the pope

[39] But now it is time to pass on to the third and last part of our commission and to briefly state what His Royal Highness requests from Your Holiness. For when evil befalls faithful and pious princes, it will always turn out well. *And we know that to them that love God all things work together unto good.*⁷ It has pleased Merciful God to delay the royal coronation until now so that it may be conducted more tranquilly and honourably. As the Wise One says: *When the ways of man shall please the Lord, he will convert even his enemies to peace.*⁸ Now the turmoil in the Austrian principalities has been settled. The region has been freed of robbers. The neighbours keep peace. The German princes who fought with the cities have laid down their arms, put their enmities aside, and referred their disputes to the arbitration of His Royal Highness.

¹ 1. Kings, 16, 12

² 2. Kings, 7, 3

³ 4. Kings, 4, 8-34

⁴ Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.29.30: *prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte premit deus*

⁵ "praestoletur"

⁶ Quotation not identified

⁷ Romans, 8, 28

⁸ Proverbs, 16, 7

[40] Quapropter, cum rursus coronationis offeratur facultas, cupit imperatoria majestas tuaeque sanctitati enixissime supplicat, quae sunt ad coronationem necessaria ex parte tua ut quantocius parentur, ut dies celebrandae sollemnitatis in urbe dicatur, ut in oppidis atque provinciis tuae sanctitati¹ parentibus tutus facilisque transitus pateat, ut sint hospitia non solum multitudinis capacia, sed etiam digna nobilitatis. Ne desint ementibus victui necessaria, ne sint vectigalia toleratu graviora, ne quid injuriarum curialibus irrogetur. Nam et regia sublimitas proceres suos cunctamque familiam modestissime transire jubebit. Hisce petitionibus, quamvis alias tua sanctitas caute, sollicite, religiose, clementer annuerit, quia tamen ex causis antedictis inveteratae res sunt, haud indignum visum est rursus eadem postulare.

¹ sanctitatis G

[40] Therefore, as a new opportunity for the coronation presents itself, His Imperial Majesty desires and earnestly begs Your Holiness to speedily make the necessary preparations for his coronation, to announce a date for the celebration in the City,¹ to arrange safe and easy passage through the towns and regions that obey Your Holiness as well as lodgings that may hold many people and are suitable for noblemen. It should be easy to buy provisions, and tolls should be reasonable so that the courtiers will not be burdened unduly, for His Royal Highness will order his nobles and his whole retinue to travel simply. Your Holiness has already agreed to these petitions, circumspectly, solicitously, conscientiously and gracefully, but since, for the abovementioned reasons, it is now some time ago, it seems appropriate to present them again.

¹ i.e. Rome

[41] Plerique mortales, si rem hanc suasuri venissent, omnes orationis nervos circa gloriam collocassent. Dixissent enim, ut arbitror: “Cum divisam ecclesiam, pater sanctissime, multis curis ad unionem reduxeris, cum plurimas haereses extirpaveris, cum fidei nostrae cultum ampliaveris, cum pacem inter {89v} Christifideles summo studio seminaveris, cum fana et urbis disjecta moenia reparaveris, cum patrimonium ecclesiae undique direptum dissipatumque vendicaveris, cum remissionis annum Christiano populo dulcissimum expectatissimumque concesseris, quid amplius ad cumulum gloriae tuae restat, nisi ut Caesareo capiti coronam imponas? Audi Caesarem, fac quod petitur.

*Stat sua cuique dies, breve et irreparabile tempus
omnibus est vitæ, sed famam extendere factis
hoc virtutis opus.*

Sic semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.”

Sed fuit haec **gentilitatis** detestanda consuetudo, quae nisi ad populares auras et inanes rumusculos recte quidquam agere nescivit¹, **laudis animal et ventosae gloriae** mancipium.

[42] At nos qui Christiani dogmatis sectatores sumus, et non solum apud Christianos agimus, sed coram omnium Christianorum capite, rectore, duceque stamus, non oratorem, qui dixit *Honos alit artes, omnesque incendimur ad studia gloria*², sed apostolum potius imitari debemus, qui ait: *Gloria nostra haec est testimonium conscientiae nostrae*. Nec nos latet sanctitatem tuam singulari sapientia praeditam bonum suum non populari rumore, sed conscientiae veritate metiri. Relinquimus igitur vana laudis nomina, remquem nudam coram tua sanctitate ponentes non ambigimus, quin ejus honestatem utilitatemque pensites multumque Christiane reipublicae conducere videas, si regia majestas ad tuam praesentiam proficiscatur deque rebus ecclesiae atque imperii resarciendis cum tua sanctitate conveniat.

¹ nesciunt B

² glorie G

[41] Many men, had they come here to argue this matter, would have focused their entire oration on glory. They would have said - I think: "Holy Father, now that you have, with much labour, reunited the divided Church, uprooted several heresies, extended our religion, with great energy made peace between Christians, at great costs repaired the temples and crumbling walls of the City, regained the possessions of the Church that had been robbed and scattered everywhere, given the Christian people a sweet and longed for year of forgiveness,¹ what more remains for augmenting your glory than to place the crown on the head of the emperor? Heed the emperor, do what he asks.

*Each has his day appointed; short and irretrievable is the span of life for all:
but to lengthen fame by deeds – that is valour's task.*²

Thus

Ever shall your honour, your name, and your praises abide."

But this was the detestable custom of the gentile world that could only act with an eye to popularity and vain gossip, since it was a creature of praise and a slave of *puffed up glory*.³

[42] No, we who follow the Christian teachings and not only have to do with ordinary Christians, but stand before the head, the leader, the teacher and the governor of all Christians, should not imitate the Orator who said: *Public esteem is the nurse of the arts, and all men are fired to application by fame*, but the Apostle who says: *Our glory is this: the testimony of our conscience*. And we know that Your Holiness is endowed with singular wisdom and does not measure himself by popularity, but by the truth of conscience. So, leaving aside the vain titles of praise and placing the matter simply before Your Holiness, we do not doubt that you will carefully consider how honourable and advantageous it is and see how greatly it will benefit the Christian world⁴ if his Royal Majesty comes to your presence and meets with Your Holiness to mend the affairs of the Church and the Empire.

¹ The Jubilee Year of 1450

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 10.467-469

³ Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 5, 20

⁴ "Christianae reipublicae"

[43] Quod si nonnullorum planetarum conjunctiones humano generi salubres existimantur, cur non duorum luminarium maximorum conventum¹ Christianitati judicaverimus salutarem? **Contemnat quicumque velit coronationem, aurum, gemmas, purpuras, pomum, gladium, unctionem, consecrationem, ceremonias, pompas. Is certe, quamvis** agrestis est et ingenio duro, negare **tamen non poterit, quin** usui sit Christiano populo multumque commoditatis adducat utriusque gladii concursus, et **Romani pontificis ac Caesaris** unitas, quae tunc solida certissimaque habetur, quando per coronationis sollemnitatem alter alteri individua caritatis affectione connectitur.

[44] Ceterum, quia non est opus verbis, ubi se res ipsa suadet, ac prius concessa quam petita videtur, satis esse censemus, et quod fuerit regium desiderium, et cur dilationes intercesserint, et quid tandem petatur strictim cursimque narravisse. In quibus rebus, si tua sanctitas, ut spem gerimus indubiam, sublimitati regiae morem gesserit, memori et gratissimo principi complacebit. Merita quamvis erga sedem apostolicam maxima sint, tamen majora sequentur, et *ante Ararim Parthus bibet aut*² *Germania Tigrim*, {90r} quam tuae sanctitatis imago tuaque virtus ex suo *pectore* dilabatur.

[45] **Pleraque alia, cum tuae clementiae libuerit, semotis arbitris referemus.**

¹ conventum *corr. ex* conventus A, C

² *omit.* G

[43] If the conjunctions of many planets are thought to be wholesome for humankind, then why should we not believe that the meeting of the two greatest luminaries is salutary for Christianity? Anyone may disdain the crowns, the jewels, the gold, the purple cloth, the apple, the sword, the anointment, the consecration, the ceremonies and the pomp. But even he, though he be rude and thick-headed, cannot deny that it profits the Christian people and brings great benefit when the two swords meet¹ and there is harmony between the Roman Pontiff and the Emperor, which is most solid and firm when they are bound by mutual affection through the solemnity of the coronation.

3. Conclusion

[44] However, there is no need for many words when the matter itself is evident and appears to be granted even before being requested. So, we consider it sufficient to have explained, summarily and briefly, what is the king's desire, why there have been delays, and what is now being requested. We firmly trust that if Your holiness will accommodate His Royal Highness in these matters, you will please a prince who is both mindful and grateful. For though his meritorious actions with regard to the Apostolic See are already very great, even greater ones will follow. *Sooner shall the Parthian drink from the Ararat and Germany the Tigris,*² *than the image of Your Holiness and your virtue shall fade from his heart.*³

[45] When it pleases Your Clemency, there are a number of other matters which we would take up with you in private.

¹ I.e. the sword of political authority (the Empire) and the sword of religious authority (the Papacy)

² Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 1, 62

³ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 1, 63