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**Oration "Quam laetus quamque secundus" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 March 1452, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 18)**

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 18)**

**Oration “*Quam laetus quamque secundus*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 March 1452, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.**

**6<sup>th</sup> version**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

On 8 March 1452 Emperor Friedrich III with his betrothed wife, Princess Leonora of Portugal, and a large and brilliant entourage arrived at the gates of Rome for his imperial coronation. The following day, he entered Rome and paid reverence to Pope Nicolaus V in front of Saint Peter's Basilica. On this occasion, the high-ranking imperial diplomat, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, was commanded to deliver an oration, the "*Quam laetus quamque secundus*". In his speech, Piccolomini saluted the pope in the name of the emperor, spoke on the importance of the occasion, and formally introduced the principal members of the emperor's party.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Nicolaus V; Pope Nicholas V; Papa Niccolò V; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Empress Leonora of Portugal; Holy Roman Empire; Imperial coronations; King Ladislaus the Posthumous; King Ladislaus Postumus; Duke Albert VI of Austria; Duke Albrecht VI of Austria; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1452; 15<sup>th</sup> century

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## 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 80<sup>1</sup> 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

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

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## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

In 1452, twelve years after the election of Friedrich, Duke of Austria, as Holy Roman Emperor, the time had finally come for his imperial coronation in Rome.<sup>2</sup> By no means all elected emperors managed to get crowned as emperor, and the imperial coronation in Rome in 1452 was actually the last one to take place in Rome, and the penultimate one to be performed by a pope.

In 1452, a “proper” imperial coronation – by the pope, in Rome – still conferred a certain degree of legitimacy and authority on the emperor, not to mention the prestige accruing to the pope who crowned him.

It was not a simple or straightforward matter. Any imperial progress in Italy was fraught with danger and risk for the emperor, for the Italians and for the papacy, since frequently an imperial visit took the form of a military expedition aimed at reasserting the rights and power of the German emperors over the Italian part of the Holy Roman Empire. And even in the case of a peaceful imperial progress, the benefits and appointments bestowed by the emperor were likely to affect the delicate balance of power in Italy. So, even if the intentions of Friedrich III were entirely peaceful, Pope Nicolaus had his misgivings about the whole affair.

Moreover, at that time the Austrians were entering into open rebellion against the tutelary government of Friedrich in his capacity as guardian of his cousin Ladislaus, Duke of Austria and King of Bohemia and Hungary. Though Friedrich did not govern these two kingdoms on behalf of his cousin, the Austrians were soliciting their support.

So, during the whole triumphant progress of the emperor through Italy and the coronation festivities, the threat of a political catastrophe at home was rapidly growing, which put rather an awkward complexion on the whole enterprise.

In Rome, the emperor would graciously fulfil the role assigned to him in the rituals developed over the centuries by the Roman Papacy, underscoring the papal claims of supremacy over the religious and secular spheres<sup>3</sup> as well as the papal pretensions of approving and creating (and removing) the emperors.

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<sup>1</sup> CO, I, 23 (Meserve, I, pp. 112-117); HA, I, pp. 133-186; II, pp. 515-675; Ady, pp. 113-119; Boulting, pp. 190-197; Koller, pp. 115-126; Mitchell, pp. 110-112; Paparelli, pp. 136-145; Pastor, I, III, ch. IV; Reinhardt, pp. 155-161; Stolf, pp. 147-149; Toews, pp. 226-230; Voigt, III, 1, pp. 40-49

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the motives for the election and the reasons for the delay of 12 years, see the oration “*Fateor*” [15]

<sup>3</sup> See the oration “*Sentio*” [20], sect. 19-28

The imperial party reached the gates of Rome on 8 March 1452. According to tradition, it had to remain outside until the next day, although Piccolomini was immediately called to consult with the pope.

On the 9th, the emperor entered Rome in a solemn and splendid procession, and eventually reached the Basilica of Saint Peter's in front of which Pope Nicolaus was waiting, surrounded by his cardinals. The emperor saluted the pope according to the prescribed rituals, kissing his holy feet, and even making the oath that Emperor Sigismund had refused to make at his imperial coronation 15 years before.<sup>1</sup> The emperor then commanded Bishop Piccolomini to make a short oration on his behalf, the "*Quam laetus quamque secundus*".

The Duke of Milan's ambassadors wrote to their duke about the event: "*l'imperatore ... posto sotto lo baldechino et acompagnato con tuto lo clero et li dottori apparati con lor habiti, a piede se conduxe alla chiexa de Sancto Pietro dove lo papa con li cardinali lo expectava, et gionto che li fu smontò da cavallo ... andò al papa qual se levà da sedere et abrazòlo et basòlo, et qui el vescovo de Siena dixè alcune parole. El papa lo rispuosi.*"<sup>2</sup>

Some years after the event, Piccolomini wrote, in his *Historia Austriacis* (the first edition from 1453-1454):

*Then he commanded Enea to briefly address the Supreme Pontiff in his name.*<sup>3</sup>

And in the second/third edition of 1454-1458:

*Then he commanded Bishop Enea to speak briefly in his name, as appropriate to the meeting of the two leaders of the world.*<sup>4</sup>

In his *Commentarii*, Piccolomini – as Pope Pius II – wrote: *The emperor entered the city and kissed the holy feet of the pontiff before the doors of Saint Peter's. At his command, Aeneas then delivered a speech.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, III, p. 42

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Niccolò Arcimboldi *et al.* to Francesco Sforza, 11 March 1452, in *Carteggio degli oratori sforzeschi*, tomo 2, nr. 602, p. 771. Piccolomini's oration is also attested by a report from the Sienese ambassadors of the same day: *... e dette certe parole appropriate all atto così dal Sommo Pontifice come dal reverend nostro vescovo per parte del Imperatore* (Hack, p. 149, n. 345)

<sup>3</sup> HA, I, p. 163: *Deinde paucis verbis salutari maximum pontificem suo nomine ab Enea iussit*

<sup>4</sup> HA, II, p. 598: *Deinde pauca verba suo nomine Aeneam episcopum iussit dicere, ut in congressu duorum orbis capitum convenire videbatur*

<sup>5</sup> CO, I, 23 (Meserve, I, p. 114-115): *Cum vero caesar Urbem intrasset, atque ante fores basilicae Sancti Petri sacros summi pontificis pedes exoscularetur, Aeneas imperatoris jussu sermonem habuit*

His contemporary biographer, Campano, had this to say: *The day afterwards<sup>1</sup> he gave an oration on the crowning of the emperor.*<sup>2</sup>

And Voigt, tersely, wrote: *Enea sprach dazu einige Worte im Namen des Königs.*<sup>3</sup>

Indeed, it was not an important speech, but just a formal politeness shown by the arriving emperor to his host, the pope.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from complications connected with the coronation with the Lombard iron crown and the usual squabbles of precedence among ambassadors, the coronation went brilliantly, and the pope and the emperor afterwards had occasion to settle a numbers of more and less important issues, but most importantly to cement the alliance between the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy. These were the two only international institutions in Europe, but both had lost the power, the importance and the prestige they had in the Middle Ages and were sorely in need of each other.

One result of their consultations was a pledge from the pope to support the emperor against the Austrian rebels, leading to a papal *monitorium* against these.<sup>5</sup> Little did it help, however: the spiritual weapon of the Papacy proved as ineffective as was the emperor's own military response to the rebellion which later reached its objective when King Ladislaus was freed from Friedrich's wardship and moved to Vienna.

Thus, the Austrian rebellion became a fatal counterpoint to the whole coronation event, throwing a glaring light of reality over the outmoded political models and papal pretensions connected with the imperial coronation. Voigt justly commented: *Wohl glückte es, einen glänzenden Schein zu gewinnen, aber dieser Schein, ein hohles Schauspiel, sollte nur die Demüthigungen, die ihm folgten, desto greller beleuchten.*<sup>6</sup>

Apparently, the oration "*Quam laetus quamque secundus*" has not been known previously to scholars, e.g. Hack, who wrote (in 1999) that *Über den Inhalt der kurzen Begrüßungsreden, die*

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. after the arrival at the gates of Rome

<sup>2</sup> Zimolo, p. 22: *Postridie orationem habuit de imperatore coronando*

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, III, p. 42

<sup>4</sup> It is probably this oration Manetti refers to in his biography of Pope Nicolaus V, saying: *Atque his et huiusmodi ceremoniis de more habitis, parvam quondam oratiunculam precibus supplicationibusque referctam habuit, grataque et humana responsione recepta, e sancto pontificis conspectus abiit [i.e. the emperor],* Manetti, p. 106

<sup>5</sup> See the oration "*Sentio*" [20]

<sup>6</sup> Voigt, III, 45. See also Piccolomini's *Historia Austrialis* (see below), his *Commentarii*, Bk. 1, ch. 6-8, his oration "*Sentio*" [20], sect. 68, for his own version of the events

*Papst Nikolaus V. sowie Enea Silvio im Namen des Kaisers hielten, ist nichts bekannt; die Worte des beteiligten Sieneser Bischofs ... deuten lediglich auf einen Austausch von Höflichkeiten.*<sup>1</sup>

## 2. Themes

Though the oration is just a short, formal address, there are a couple of themes worthy of interest:

### 2.1. Empire and papacy

The titles used by Piccolomini in addressing the pope, on behalf of the emperor, are traditional, but significant.

The emperor himself is presented with the titles of *Divus Caesar, Romanorum Rex Augustus*, and called *pius, felix ac triumphator*.

The pope is given the titles of *Romanus beatissimus maximus praesul, Petri successor, verus Jesu Christi Vicarius, aeterni regni claviger*, and called *venerandus, pius, sanctus, incorruptus pater*.

The papal titles of “Successor of Peter” and “Vicar of Jesus Christ” are highly important. The first title expresses the papal claim of succeeding to the status and powers of Saint Peter, to whom the Lord himself gave the power to bind and to loose. The second title, Vicar of Christ (i.e. of God), was first used by Pope Innocent III (1198-1216). It signaled the supremacy of the papal office, also in temporal affairs.<sup>2</sup>

A little later in the oration, Piccolomini describes the meeting between pope and emperor as a meeting of *the two lights, the two eyes of the world, the two supreme swords, the two greatest powers, of which One has charge of mens’ bodies and the other of their souls*. Here, it would appear that the two offices, the imperial office and the papal office, are on the same level. However, a year later, in his great oration, “*Sentio*” [20], against the Austrian rebels, Piccolomini wrote: *The pope is greater than a count, superior to a duke, higher than a king, and even more*

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<sup>1</sup> Hack, p. 152

<sup>2</sup> Sayers, pp. 14-16

*exalted than an emperor.*<sup>1</sup> And when he himself became pope, he told the Congress of Mantua that *Our words are the words of God since We – however unworthy - are the Vicar on Earth of His son, Jesus Christ. It is Him who bids us speak; it is Him who puts the words into our mouth.*<sup>2</sup> Clearly, it is the pope and not the emperor who is God’s vicar on Earth, and his office is not limited to spiritual and religious affairs.

Although in general Piccolomini was quite the realist, in this area he had absorbed the - by then - obsolete claims and pretensions of the medieval papacy, so he would be in for quite a disappointment when, six years later, he himself became pope.

## 2.2. Austrian difficulties

In his oration, Piccolomini does not mention the Austrian rebellion directly, but he does refer to it indirectly when he says that while the emperor *was preparing this voyage, a stepmotherly Fortune changed conditions for him more times than Hydra grew new heads before Hercules.* [Sect. 1]

Subsequently, Piccolomini states that

*Caesar’s travel here has been difficult and risky. But the greater the difficulty, the greater was his glory, and you can’t do anything big or brilliant without risk. It is fitting that our Friedrich should suffer both mental and physical hardships before receiving the imperial crown. But his courage and strength has overcome all the obstacles, vanquished the perils and spurned the difficulties.* [Sect. 2]

This statement is in remarkable contrast to the claim made by Piccolomini later that year, in his oration on the Austrian rebellion, where he said about the imperial voyage to Rome that

*there was absolutely no danger on the whole route.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Oration “Sentio” [20], sect. 104: *comite major, duce superior, rege excelsior, imperatore sublimior*

<sup>2</sup> Oration “Cum bellum hodie” [45], sect. 3

<sup>3</sup> Oration “Sentio” [20], sect. 55

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The emperor entered the City and met the pope on 9 March 1452, and the oration was delivered on that occasion.

The place was the piazza before the Basilica of San Pietro.

The audience was the pope, the emperor, their courts and the assembled notabilities and the people.

The format was an ambassadorial address to the pope, on behalf of and in the presence of the emperor.

### 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

Although Pius mentions the speech in his *Commentarii*, it was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled in 1462 under his direct supervision. It is therefore not extant in the seven manuscripts containing that collection.

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>2</sup>

The oration is extant in two manuscripts:

**Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana**

346, fol. 20v- 22v **(R)** \*

**Krakow / Bibliotheka Jagiellonska**

42, fol. 83r - 83v **(K)**

The Krakow manuscript is not complete, as the last lines of the text are missing.

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

<sup>2</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

The analysis of the textual variants shows that the two extant texts cannot have been copied directly from each other, but derive from the original text through different lines of transmission.

## 4.2. Editions and translations

The oration was not included in Mansi's collection, and apparently it has not been otherwise published or translated.

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Texts:*

The edition is based on the two extant manuscripts with the Firenze ms. as the lead text.

*Pagination:*

The pagination is from the Firenze manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this very brief oration, only six direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, two biblical and four classical.

Biblical: 2

Classical: 4

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



Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

**All: 6**

**Biblical sources: 2**

Old Testament: 2

- Genesis: 1
- Wisdom: 1

New Testament: 0

**Classical sources: 4**

- Arrianus: 1<sup>1</sup>
- Cicero<sup>2</sup>
- Terentius: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Vergilius: 1<sup>4</sup>

**Patristic and medieval sources: 0**

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> Anabasis Alexandri

<sup>2</sup> De officiis

<sup>3</sup> *Heautontimoroumenos*

<sup>4</sup> Aeneis

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**K** = Krakow / Bibliotheca Jagioellonska / Cod. 42

**R** = Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana / Ms. 346

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. 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. Scriptores 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 Secvlare*. 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

# Oratio Aeneae in coronatione Friderici imperatoris <sup>1</sup>

[1] {20v} Quam laetus quamque jucundus sit, Romane beatissime maxime praesul, in tuo conspectu divus<sup>2</sup> Caesar Fridericus<sup>3</sup>, Romanorum rex Augustus, pius, felix ac triumphator, tua magis intelligit<sup>4</sup> sanctitas quam mea potest oratio explicare. Jussus tamen ego dicere, dicam pro re pauca, pro tempore non multa. Gratias agit ingentes<sup>5</sup> pietati divinae noster Augustus, quod te, Petri successorem, verum Jesu Christi vicarium, aeterni regni clavigerum, venerandum, pium, sanctum, incorruptum patrem, sui amantem facie ad faciem intuetur<sup>6</sup>. Accersitus saepe tuis<sup>7</sup> litteris et<sup>8</sup> nuntiis<sup>9</sup> optavit jam pridem venisse. Sed non totiens Herculi renixit Hydra, quotiens {21r} novercata est Caesari in hac sua profectioe fortuna, cujus inextricabiles nodos - ut Alexandrum ferunt<sup>10</sup> in curru Gordii<sup>11</sup> fecisse<sup>12</sup> - rescindere magis quam solvere licuit.

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<sup>1</sup> Untitled in the manuscript from the Biblioteca Riccardiana

<sup>2</sup> scimus R

<sup>3</sup> Fredericus *et passim* K; Federicus *et passim* R

<sup>4</sup> *em.*; intelligere codd.

<sup>5</sup> ingenti R

<sup>6</sup> intuens K

<sup>7</sup> cujus R

<sup>8</sup> ac R

<sup>9</sup> nuptiis R

<sup>10</sup> ferrunt R

<sup>11</sup> Gordei K

<sup>12</sup> factitasse K



# Enea's oration at the coronation of Emperor Friedrich

[1] Holy and Supreme Bishop of Rome,<sup>1</sup> Your Holiness knows better than I can describe in an oration how glad and joyful Friederich,<sup>2</sup> Holy Caesar<sup>3</sup>, August King of the Romans, pious, happy, and triumphant, is in your presence.<sup>4</sup> But as I have been commanded to speak, I shall do so – briefly, however, as time does not allow for many words.

Our Augustus gives great thanks to Pious God for being able to see you face to face, Successor of Peter, true Vicar of Christ, Keybearer of the Eternal Kingdom, venerable, pious, holy, and honest father who loves him well.

Often Caesar has been invited through your letters and envoys, and he did wish to come earlier. But while he was preparing this voyage, a stepmotherly Fortune changed conditions for him more times than Hydra<sup>5</sup> grew new heads<sup>6</sup> before Hercules<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, he finally had to cut through the inextricable knots of Fortune rather than to untie them – just like they say that Alexander<sup>8</sup> did with the knot on Gordias' chariot.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

<sup>3</sup> As Friedrich had not yet been crowned emperor by the pope, Piccolomini's used the title "Caesar" rather than "Imperator"

<sup>4</sup> "in conspectu"

<sup>5</sup> Hydra, the Lernaean : (Greek myth.): an ancient serpent-like water monster. It had many heads and for each head cut off (by Hercules) it grew two more.

<sup>6</sup> "renixit"

<sup>7</sup> Hercules: (Greek myth.) the Roman name for the Greek divine hero Heracles, son of Zeus and the woman Alcmene. Famous for his strength and for his adventures.

<sup>8</sup> Alexander III the Great (356-323 BC): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

<sup>9</sup> Legend of Phrygian Gordium: the chariot of a former king, Gordias, was tied with an intricate knot. When Alexander of Macedonia arrived in 333 BC, he could not unbind the knot and instead he sliced it in half with a stroke of his sword. An important source for Piccolomini's knowledge of Alexander was Arrian: *Anabasis of Alexander*. Piccolomini knew the text of Arrian in the Latin translation by Pier Paolo Vergerio which he had somehow gotten hold of

[2] Laboriosum periculosumque fuit hoc iter Caesari. *Sed quo difficilius, eo praeclarius actum est, neque sine periculo fieri potest magnum facinus et memorabile.* Multa<sup>1</sup> pati triumphaturum oportet, quia non est quietis honor comes. Neque apud<sup>2</sup> Assyrios neque apud Hebraos<sup>3</sup> neque apud Graecos neque apud Carthaginienses<sup>4</sup> neque apud Romanos neque apud Germanos summus honos umquam<sup>5</sup> sine labore partus est. Aequum fuit et Fridericum nostrum<sup>6</sup> imperiales infulas suscepturum et animi simul et corporis tolerasse molestias. Sed repulit omnia fortis animus, quae obstabant impedimenta, superavit pericula, contempsit labores. *Vicit iter<sup>7</sup> durum pietas. Datur ora tueri. Ecce tuas<sup>8</sup> et veras<sup>9</sup> audire et reddere voces.*

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<sup>1</sup> multi K

<sup>2</sup> aput *et passim* K

<sup>3</sup> Ebreos K, R

<sup>4</sup> Cartaginenses K, R

<sup>5</sup> *em.*; numquam codd.

<sup>6</sup> meum K

<sup>7</sup> inter R

<sup>8</sup> tua K

<sup>9</sup> vere R

[2] Caesar's travel here has been difficult and risky. *But the greater the difficulty, the greater was his glory,*<sup>1</sup> and *you can't do anything big or brilliant without risk.*<sup>2</sup> Before a triumph, one has to endure much, for honour is not the companion of peace and quiet. Neither in Assyria, nor in Israel, Greece, Carthage, Rome, and Germany has there ever been supreme honour without labour. So, it is fitting that our Friedrich should suffer both mental and physical hardships before receiving the imperial crown. But his courage and strength has overcome all the obstacles, vanquished the perils and spurned the difficulties. *Piety has vanquished the toilsome way. It is given to see your face and to hear and respond to your words.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.19.64: *Sed quo difficilius, hoc praeclarius*

<sup>2</sup> Terentius: *Heautontimoroumenos*, 314

<sup>3</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.688-689: *vicit iter durum pietas, datur ora tueri, nate, tua et notas audire et reddere voces?*

Adapted by Piccolomini

[3] O festum, o felicem, o memorabilem diem, in quo simul duo magna luminaria<sup>1</sup> convenerunt, duo orbis oculi, duo summi gladii, {21v} duae maximae potestates, quarum alteri subsunt corpora<sup>2</sup>, alteri parent animae. Quis hujus diei sanctam venerandamque solemnitatem dignis sermonibus explicet? Quid dicam? Nunc laborasse juvat, dulce est meminisse laborum. Magna est laetitia Caesaris, magna voluptas hodie, neque ab re. Legi ego annales imperatorum: nemo<sup>3</sup> umquam ex Almania<sup>4</sup> tam pacificus, tamque honoratus, tam magnificus quam iste venit, qui cum regina et admirabili principum comitatu coronandus<sup>5</sup> adest. Henricum septimum et<sup>6</sup> conjunx<sup>7</sup> in Italiam comitata<sup>8</sup> est, sed prius diem obiit quam Romam<sup>9</sup> videre posset. Fuit et apud Carolum quartum uxor<sup>10</sup> ejus, sed Theutonica<sup>11</sup>, ejus<sup>12</sup> nationis mulier. At<sup>13</sup> Fridericus ex Austria movens desponsatam sibi Leonoram ex vetusta Portugalliae domo natam, adhuc virgunculam, pulchram<sup>14</sup> facie, moribus pulchriorem ex ultimis Hispaniarum terrarumque finibus intra Italiam ad se profectam huc secum adduxit.

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<sup>1</sup> simul ... luminaria : duo luminaria magna simul K

<sup>2</sup> alteri subsunt corpora *omit.* R

<sup>3</sup> neque K

<sup>4</sup> Almania K

<sup>5</sup> coronandum R

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* R

<sup>7</sup> conjunxit R

<sup>8</sup> comita R

<sup>9</sup> reginam K

<sup>10</sup> uxori R

<sup>11</sup> Theotonica K

<sup>12</sup> suae K

<sup>13</sup> ac R

<sup>14</sup> pulcr... *et passim* K

[3] Oh, festive, happy and memorable day when the two great lights are meeting, the two eyes of the world, the two supreme swords, the two greatest powers, of which one has charge of mens' bodies and the other of their souls.<sup>1</sup> Who can adequately describe the holy and venerable solemnity of this day? What shall I say? Now, we can take satisfaction in our labours and with pleasure remember our toils.<sup>2</sup> Great is Caesar's joy, great his pleasure today - and quite rightly so. I have been reading the annals of the emperors: no emperor has ever come here from Germany so peacefully, so honourably, and so magnificently as this one who has come to be crowned in the company of his queen<sup>3</sup> and with an admirable following of princes. Also Heinrich VII<sup>4</sup> came to Italy accompanied by his spouse<sup>5</sup>, but she died before she could see Rome. Karl IV,<sup>6</sup> too, had his wife with him,<sup>7</sup> but she was German, belonging to his own nation.<sup>8</sup> But coming from Austria, Friedrich has brought with him to this City his betrothed wife, Leonora, of the ancient house of Portugal, still a maiden, beautiful in body and even more beautiful in character<sup>9</sup>, who has travelled to Italy from the furthest regions of Spain and indeed of the world.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note, that here, like in the oration "*Moyses vir Dei*" [19] some weeks afterwards, also delivered in the presence of both pope and emperor, there is not mention of papal supremacy over the emperor in the secular realm

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini himself had had the main responsibility for preparing the emperor's journey in Italy, obtaining safeconducts from all the states to be passed through, and calming the general fear, even the pope's

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

<sup>4</sup> Heinrich VII (ca. 1275-1313): King of Germany (or Rex Romanorum) from 1308 and Holy Roman Emperor from 1312. He was the first emperor of the House of Luxembourg. Crowned emperor in 1312

<sup>5</sup> Margaret of Brabant (1276-1311): daughter of Johan I, Duke of Brabant and Margaret of Flanders. Died in Italy before she could be crowned empress in Rome

<sup>6</sup> Karl IV (Luxembourg) (1316-1378): second King of Bohemia from the House of Luxembourg. Elected King of the Romans and Holy Roman Emperor in 1346

<sup>7</sup> At his imperial coronation in Rome, 1355

<sup>8</sup> Anna of Swidnica (1339-1362): third wife of Karl IV

<sup>9</sup> "mores"

<sup>10</sup> On Leonora, see the oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14], sect. 15-19

[4] Adest et clara soboles {22r} Alberti, Ladislaus, Sigismundi nepos, Bohemiae atque Hungariae rex inclytus, quamvis puer multarum tamen et maximarum spes et<sup>1</sup> expectatio gentium. Adest et Albertus, Austriae dux sublimus, bello fortis, pace modestus, consilio maturus. Assunt et alii complures principes, duces, comites<sup>2</sup>, barones, proceres potentes<sup>3</sup> atque honestissimi nobiles, qui libentibus animis assistunt famulanturque Caesari. Exultet<sup>4</sup> igitur *totis praecordiis* Caesar, dum tali caterva cinctum in tua praesentia sese inspicit.

---

<sup>1</sup> atque K

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* R

<sup>3</sup> potentesque K

<sup>4</sup> exulta R

[4] Present is also Ladislaus,<sup>1</sup> honourable offspring of Albrecht,<sup>2</sup> grandson of Sigismund,<sup>3</sup> illustrious King of Bohemia and Hungary. Though he is still a boy, he is the hope and *expectation* of many and great *peoples*.<sup>4</sup> Present is moreover Albrecht,<sup>5</sup> exalted Duke of Austria, strong in war, modest in peace, mature in counsel. And present are many princes, dukes, counts, barons, mighty nobles and honourable lords who willingly assist and serve Caesar. Thus, let Caesar rejoice *with his whole heart*<sup>6</sup> as he sees himself surrounded but such company in your presence.

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<sup>1</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440 -1457): Duke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Duke of Austria. King of Hungary and Croatia from 1437. Uncrowned King of Bohemia. Elected King of the Romans

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

<sup>4</sup> Genesis, 49, 10

<sup>5</sup> Albrecht VI (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke of Austria

<sup>6</sup> Wisdom, 8, 21

[5] Verum ut solidius<sup>1</sup> ac<sup>2</sup> perfectius sit suum gaudium, sanctitatem tuam obnixè precatur ut<sup>3</sup>, speratam<sup>4</sup>, promissam debitamque<sup>5</sup> tum<sup>6</sup> sibi tum consorti suae coronam imperii largiaris ac, quantocius fieri potest, diem, locum modumque praescribas<sup>7</sup> coronationis<sup>8</sup>. Nam et ipse, quem Germani proceres optaverunt, principes elegerunt, pontifices in<sup>9</sup> Theutonia<sup>10</sup> coronaverunt<sup>11</sup>, tuus antecessor Eugenius approbavit, tua sanctitas semper<sup>12</sup> magnopere commendavit, {22r} quae juris sunt, quae moribus conveniunt, quae ceteri sive coronandi sive<sup>13</sup> coronati Caesares aut promittere aut agere consueverunt, erga te<sup>14</sup> tuamque sacrosanctam sedem ad unguem, ut ajunt, et tota devotione complebit. Laus Deo.

---

<sup>1</sup> solidus sit R

<sup>2</sup> et K

<sup>3</sup> precatur ut : precatus erat K

<sup>4</sup> separatam R

<sup>5</sup> debitam K

<sup>6</sup> tam K

<sup>7</sup> diceres K

<sup>8</sup> coronationis K

<sup>9</sup> et R

<sup>10</sup> Theotinia K

<sup>11</sup> coronarunt K

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* R

<sup>13</sup> sunt R

<sup>14</sup> *here ends the text in K*



[5] Yet, so that his joy may be the firmer and more complete, he urgently asks Your Holiness to bestow the imperial crown, expected, promised and due, both on himself and on his consort and as soon as possible to decide the day, the place and the form of the coronation. For it is him whom the German nobles have wanted, him whom the princes have elected,<sup>1</sup> him whom the bishops have crowned in Germany,<sup>2</sup> him whom your predecessor Eugenius has approved, and him whom Your Holiness has always and highly commended. With complete diligence<sup>3</sup> and devotion he will do for you and your Holy See all that is required by law and custom and that the other Caesars, to be crowned or having been crowned, used to promise or to do. Praise be to God.

---

<sup>1</sup> 2 February 1440 in Frankfurt a.M.

<sup>2</sup> 17 June 1442 in Aachen

<sup>3</sup> "ad unguem, ut ajunt": *to the nail, as they say*



## Appendix: Oration of King Ladislaus the Posthumous to Pope Nicolaus V

King Ladislaus' oration to Pope Nicolaus V is extant in two versions, a longer one, the "*Cum animadverto*", and a shorter one, the "*Maxima*".

The mutual relationship of these two texts is unknown, but there are two possibilities:

- The shorter version represents the first draft of the text, while the longer version represents a final, greatly expanded draft. Or
- The longer version represents the first draft, and the shorter one the final, much abbreviated draft.

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**SHORT VERSION: "MAXIMA"**

**LONG VERSION: “*CUM ANIMADVERTO*”**

# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

When Friedrich III travelled to Rome for his imperial coronation in 1452, he brought with him his ward and cousin, the 12-year old Ladislaus the Posthumous, Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and King of Bohemia. He had at least three reasons for doing so. One was to manifest to the international public the eminence of the House of Austria (Habsburg). Another was to enhance his status as emperor, being attended at his own coronation by a king of two Christian realms. And the third was to avoid that during his absence in Italy, Ladislaus would be forcibly removed from his wardship by rebellious Austrian subjects, unsatisfied with his tutelary government of Ladislaus' Austrian dukedom.<sup>2</sup>

During the voyage of the imperial court to Rome, someone must have had the idea that the boy king should address the pope in a formal oration of obedience. Having princely or otherwise gifted children deliver orations to high-ranking persons was a much appreciated mark of politeness – or, as Maxson would say, a cultural gift<sup>3</sup> – in Renaissance Italy. Thus Galeazzo Maria, son of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, at the age of eight years gave a speech – written by the prestigious humanist Francesco Filelfo – to Emperor Friedrich III during his stay in Ferrara on his way to the imperial coronation in Rome.<sup>4</sup> And Poggio Bracciolini, possibly even more prestigious, wrote an oration, the *“Si quis umquam”*<sup>5</sup> to the Emperor do be delivered by his son Giovan Battista, then 12 years old, though in the end the oration was not actually delivered.<sup>6</sup> And the Duke of Milan's daughter, Ippolita, delivered a short speech in Latin to Pope Pius II in 1459, when she was 13 years old, a speech which received a wide circulation and is extant in a large number

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<sup>1</sup> See also introductions to the orations *“Quam laetus quamque secundus”* [17] and *“Moyses vir Dei”* [19], both delivered by Piccolomini in connection with the imperial coronation in March 1452, Rome

<sup>2</sup> In this matter, the Austrians were allied with the nobles in Ladislaus' two kingdoms who did not want their king to be the emperor's ward. See oration *“Sentio”* [10]

<sup>3</sup> Maxson

<sup>4</sup> Lazzaroni: *Ma il giorno dopo, lunedì mattina, mentre S.M. usciva dalla capella del palazzo, dove aveva ascoltato la messa, il fanciullo gli fece innanzi e, baciandogli la mano e fatte le debite riverenze, cominciò a recitare un discorso con tanta gravità, modestia e buona pronunzia, così correntemente e tanto correttamente da destare la meraviglia in tutti i presenti, specialmente nell'Imperatore. Il discorso, preparatogli dal Filelfo, era della lunghezza di due capitoli dell'evangelio di S. Giovanni, ma egli non si smarrì, che anzi rivelò in tale circostanza doti non comuni di memoriae di intelligenza e meritò la lode e l'ammirazione che si tributerebbe ad un uomo di 30 anni, poichè nel suo dire e nei suoi gesti pareva che l'avesse più che mandata a memoria, improvvisata con ogni perfetta dottrina e con naturalezza e spontaneità oratoria. Fu complimentato festeggiato dall'Imperatore*

<sup>5</sup> Bracciolini, II, pp. 725-735

<sup>6</sup> Schizzerotto: *In occasione dell'entrata in Roma di Federico III, il B. doveva forse recitare l'orazione augurale Latina composta dal padre, il quale tuttavia abbandonò il proposito giudicando il destinatario avido e sciocco e non all'altezza di un imperatore. Il B. tenne forse un discorso latine a Niccolò V a nome del padre e dei tre fratelli, ringraziandolo per i benefici concessi a uno di loro e pregandolo di assistere Poggio con visibili aiuti*



of manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> These examples demonstrate what D'Elia calls *a fondness for child prodigies and a belief in the difficulty and importance of a classical education in Italian society*.<sup>2</sup>

Reports of the orations written by Filelfo and Poggio Bracciolini for Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Giovan Battista Bracciolini respectively may have inspired the author of the text to write this oration to the Pope for the 12-year old Ladislaus, but this is conjecture. The early editors of the oration (Raynaldus, Müller) report the oration as having actually been held by Ladislaus,<sup>3</sup> but if so, it is rather curious that it is mentioned by Piccolomini neither in his oration "*Sentio*" [20] written later in 1452, where he specifically mentions Ladislaus' contacts with the pope during his stay in Rome, nor in his *Historia Austriasis* (1. Version 1453), nor in his *Historia Bohemica*, nor in his later *Commentarii*. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, it is safest to presume that the oration was not actually delivered by Ladislaus.

One might then wonder why not, and an obvious reason comes to mind: the oration's emphatic declaration of papal supremacy even over emperors and kings would probably not have been palatable to the emperor and his advisors. In order to obtain his coronation, the emperor went quite far in his acquiescence to papal ceremonial designed to underscore the pope's pre-eminence, but there was probably a limit to what he would accept.

## 2. Themes

Apart from the classical *captatio benevolentiae*, the standard praise of the pope and the formula of obedience the major theme of the oration is papal supremacy in both the religious and the secular field, surpassing even the authority of the emperor:

In this respect, the author makes two fundamental assertions:

- As there is only one supreme monarch in Heaven, there can only be one supreme monarch on Earth.

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<sup>1</sup> See oration "*Habuisti dilecta filia*" [42]

<sup>2</sup> D'Elia: *Renaissance*, p. 48

<sup>3</sup> Annales: 1452, 5: *Quod ad Ladislaum regem Hungariae, cui decernendas suppetias postulabat Aeneas, spectat, elegantem ac piam hanc orationem in sacro consistorio coram pontifice habuit*. In Müller's *Reichs-theatrum*, 518B, the following lines precede the text: *Der ganze Comitatz des jungen Ladislai bestundte in hundert Pferden und hat sich verselbe zu Rom durch die gegen den Pabst gehaltene schöne Oration sehr signalisiert, welche Rede also lautet:*

- As God is the supreme monarch in Heaven, his Vicar and representative, the pope, must be the supreme monarch on Earth:

*You are the most worthy Head of Church Militant, which is justly said to be modelled after Church Triumphant. For in Church Triumphant God the Creator of all holds the scepter, and likewise in Church Militant power over the whole world is certainly entrusted to you alone as Vicar of God, as Holy Church proclaims: The Lord set the Pontiff over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root up, and pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.*

*... what else should we believe that Christ meant when he only called Peter to him over the sea, when he gave him the power to bind and to loose, and when he entrusted the care of his beloved flock to him? He certainly wanted to create only one prince on Earth, who would among men act on Supreme God's behalf and with power from him, and from whom one true wisdom, one true Faith would reach the rest of mankind. Only on this man is based the sacrament of Christian Faith, to whom alone the Lord said: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren. [Sect. 3]*

The author does mention that *many question this, claiming that only the care of spiritual matters has been entrusted to the Supreme Pontiff, whereas earthly power has been given to the Roman emperor* [sect. 3]. This statement reflects the division of power into two different and separate spheres, the secular and the religious, proposed by Pope Gelasius I (d. 496), endeavouring to establish a religious authority independent of the emperor, who was previously the absolute master of all, including the Church. The author refutes this view, but in the end, he makes Ladislaus proclaim his obedience to the pope with an important reservation: *I am not the lord of the Church, but its son, and in matters of God I am subject to the priestly rule*" [sect. 6]. The important point here is: *in matters of God*. This may be a carefully formulated compromise. For those who wish to maintain the secular government's independence of the pope, the phrase limits the pope's authority to religious matters. For those who wish to maintain the pope's authority in both the secular and the religious sphere, everything is the matter of God. And even if the pope should not intervene in the ordinary exercise of temporal power, he has – as Pope Innocent III had declared two and a half centuries before - supreme authority to intervene in extraordinary matters, e.g. wars between Christian nations, blatant immoral acts of a secular ruler, and failure of the secular system of justice, as Piccolomini himself stated in the oration "*Sentio*" [20],<sup>1</sup> written later in the same year.

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<sup>1</sup> Sect. 27

### 3. Authorship

There is no external evidence pointing directly to the author being Piccolomini, but if somebody at the imperial court should write an oration to the pope for the 12-year old King Ladislaus, Piccolomini would be quite the logical choice: his Latin speechmaking was generally considered to be eminent, and he actually spoke for the emperor himself to the pope on at least three occasions during the emperor's stay in Rome in 1452,<sup>1</sup> which nobody else did.

Moreover, none of the other members of the Imperial Court who were able to write a Latin oration of obedience for King Ladislaus would have Piccolomini's background and motivation for drafting a text which heavily reasserted the medieval papal claim of supremacy even over the emperor. Piccolomini was, after all, a confirmed papalist, soon to be appointed papal delegate, and firmly engaged in an ecclesiastical career aiming directly at high office at the papal curia and – at least – the cardinal's hat.

The internal evidence consists in similarities of content and style with other of Piccolomini's orations and writings.

#### 3.1. Similarities of content<sup>2</sup>

##### 3.1.1. Fear of God

The theme of rulers needing to fear and revere God and the Church, and to show great humility, Piccolomini had developed in a book, the *Liber de liberorum educatione*, written to King Ladislaus himself, two years before, when the boy was 10 years old. The author reused it – slightly reworked - in the "*Cum animadverto*", forming almost one third of the oration:

##### *De liberorum educatione (1450)*

At **cum Deum** prae ceteris **omnes colendum litterae clamitent, huic te primum dabis commendabisque. Hic tuus est auctor**, tuus pater, **meus dominus, huic omnia debeo, cumque omnes homines Deo gratias referre debeant, ego illi maxime regratiari et servire**

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<sup>1</sup> Interrupted only by a visit to King Alfonso in Naples

<sup>2</sup> In the comparisons below bold types are used to indicate word and passages that are identical – except for syntax and grammatical form

teneor, cujus munere factum est, ut rex nascereris. Poteram ego unus ex plebe aut unus ex rure nasci, sed inscrutabile Dei iudicium me collocat in sublimi solio. Non efferrī debeo, non tumescere, non superbire. Quod mihi datum est, alteri dari potuit. Quanto major sum natus, tanto me debeo humilius gerere, subjicere collum religioni, interesse divinis officiis. Nam cui divinus cultus est cordi, reliqua facile famulantur. *Primum quaerite regnum Dei*, scriptura dicit, *post haec omnia adjicientur vobis*. Romani, quamvis gentiles erant, *omnia tamen post religionem duxerunt, in quibus etiam summae majestatis decus conspici voluerunt, nec dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire. Ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen existimantia, si divinae potentiae bene ac constanter fuissent famulata*. Quid nos veri Dei notitiam habentes magis facere decebit? Cavebo, ne mihi religionem putem esse subjectam, quamvis maximi principis nomine gaudeam. Non dominus, sed filius ecclesiae, sacerdotis imperio, in his quae Dei sunt, subjectus sum. Theodosius Caesar, quamvis potentissimus esset et Romanum gubernaret imperium, Ambrosio tamen Mediolanensis ecclesiae praesulatum tenenti, collum subjecit imperatamque poenitentiam peregit humiliter. Constantinus autem maximam semper sacerdotio reverentiam exhibuit nec iudicium super episcopis in concilio Nicaeno ferre voluit, asseverans deos ab hominibus non esse iudicandos.<sup>1</sup>

Oration "Cum animadverto" (1452)

Et cum omnes sacrae litterae Deum colendum clamitent, huic me primum dabo commendaboque. Hic meus est auctor, meus dominus, huic omnia debeo, cumque omnes homines Deo gratias referre debeant, ego illi maxime regratiari et servire teneor, cujus munere factum est, ut ego rex nascerer. Poteram ego unus ex plebe aut unus ex rure nasci, sed inscrutabile Dei iudicium me collocat in sublimi solio. Non efferrī debeo, non superbire. Quod mihi datum est, alteri dari potuit. Quanto major sum natus, tanto me debeo humilius gerere et subjicere collum religioni, interesse divinis officiis. Nam cui divinus cultus est cordi, reliqua facile famulantur. *Primum quaerite regnum Dei*, scriptura dicit, *post haec omnia adjicientur vobis*. Romani, quamvis gentiles erant, *omnia tamen post religionem duxerunt, in quibus etiam summae majestatis decus conspici voluerunt, nec dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire. Ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen aestimantia, si divinae potentiae bene ac constanter fuissent famulata*. Quod nos veri Dei notitiam habentes magis facere decebit. Cavebo igitur, ne mihi religionem putem esse subjectam, quamvis magni principis nomine gaudeam. Non dominus, sed filius ecclesiae, sacerdotis imperio, in his quae Dei sunt, subjectus sum. Theodosius Caesar, quamvis potentissimus esset et Romanum gubernaret imperium, Ambrosio tamen Mediolanensis ecclesiae praesulatum

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<sup>1</sup> Piccolomini: *De liberorum*, 30-31 (Kallendorf, pp. 164-167)

**tenenti, collum subjecit imperatamque poenitentiam peregit humiliter. Constantinus autem maximam sacerdotio reverentiam praebuit nec iudicium super episcopis in concilio Nicaeno ferre voluit, asseverans deos ab hominibus non esse iudicandos.** [Sect. 5-6]

### 3.1.2. Formula of obedience to the pope

The formula of obedience to be used by King Ladislaus was reused by Piccolomini in his oration of obedience on the emperor's behalf to Pope Calixtus III, the "*Solent plerique*" [26] four years later:

Oration "*Cum animadverto*" (1452)

**Tuam igitur sanctitatem tamquam domini nostri locum tenentem in terris et magistrum et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus omnes. Te certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te pastorem dominici gregis, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem salutaris vitae, te denique clavigerum regni caelestis profitemur.** [Sect. 4]

Oration "*Solent plerique*" [26] (1452)

Nos **igitur** jussioni parentes ejus nomine, qui sacro Romano imperio praesidet, sanctitatem **tuam tamquam domini nostri Jesu Christi locumtenentem in terris, ac magistram et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus; te certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te pastorem dominici gregis, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem salutaris vitae, te clavigerum regni caelestis profitemur.** [Sect. 14]

### 3.1.3. World monarchy

The theme of a world monarchy, invested in the pope and reflecting God's monarchy in Heaven, was reused by Piccolomini when seven years later, as pope, he addressed the ambassadors of the King of Castile in the oration "*Dominatorem caeli*" [35] from 1459:

Oration “Cum animadverto” (1452)

Tu – inquam – dignissime militantis ecclesiae es caput, quae non sine ratione ad triumphantis exemplar dicitur ordinata. Nam ut in illa unus Deus creator omnium sceptrum tenet, ita in hac tibi uni tantum Dei vicario totius orbis imperium delegatum esse constat, ut enim sancta fatetur ecclesia. [Sect. 3]

Oration “Dominatorem caeli” [35] (1459)

Animadvertit quoque Christiana veritas omnipotentem Deum, qui pro sua voluntate cuncta disponit, pergratum habere, ut quemadmodum caelestis aula unum rectorem habet, a quo cuncta dependent, ita et terrena gubernatio ex unius voluntate disponderetur. [Sect. 4]

... concedendum est nullam esse in terris potestatem, quae nostrae, idest Christi et beati Petri apostoli, non subjiciatur auctoritati. [Sect. 11]

#### **3.1.4. Gelasian separation of imperial and papal power**

The reference to Pope Gelasius’ (d. 496) doctrine of imperial and papal authority as constituting two separate power spheres, used by opponents to counter the claim of papal supremacy (also) in secular affairs, is mentioned both in the “*Cum animadverto*” and - further developed - in the “*Sentio*” [20], written some months later:

Oration “Cum animadverto” (1452)

Nam ut in illa unus Deus creator omnium sceptrum tenet, ita in hac tibi uni tantum Dei vicario totius orbis imperium delegatum esse constat, ut enim sancta fatetur ecclesia: *Constituit dominus pontificem super gentes et regna, ut evellat, disperset, et plantet*, quamquam igitur non ignorem complures hoc in dubium revocare, solam spiritualium rerum curam summo pontifici datam esse, terrestre autem imperium Romano datum imperatori affirmantes. [Sect. 3]

#### Oration “Sentio” [20] (1452)

“Res temporalis erat,” inquit adversarii, “super qua monitorium missum est: de tutela pupilli principis agebatur, de gubernatione ducatus Austriae, de promissionibus et obligationibus inter laicos agitatis. Romani pontificis est praedicare verbum Dei, clerum instruere, sacramenta conficere, ecclesiastica beneficia conferre, spirituales causas agitare, tueri fidem, extirpare haereses, mores plantare bonos. Si quid ulterius quaerit, saecularibus iudiciis, ducibus, regibus, imperatoribus est injurius. *Duo sunt enim, quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur, auctoritas sacra pontificum et regalis potestas*, suntque actibus propriis et dignitatibus distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discreta. Nihil Romanam Sedem magis decet, quam suum cuique jus illaesum servare. Si Cypriano, si Gelasio, si Nicolao volumus aut Gregorio fidem praebere, spiritualia curet pontifex, temporalia principibus saeculi permittat. [Sect. 18]

#### **3.1.5. Focus on the liberal arts**

Piccolomini had great love for and focus on the liberal arts, often mentioning them before the other sciences and, indeed, the sacred disciplines. Below are given two parallel examples from the “*Cum animadverto*” and the “*Sentio*” [20], as well as one from a papal oration “*Catherinam Sensensem*” [62] from 1461.

#### Oration “Cum animadverto” (1452)

In your heart you have, from your most tender age, kept sacred all the liberal arts, all branches of knowledge, and – most important of all – the knowledge of the divine scriptures, as if they were – so to say - your household deities. [Sect. 2.]

#### Oration “Sentio” [20] (1452)

Christ Our Lord spread the studies of the good arts, all teaching, and the Catholic Faith itself to the Western and Northern regions with the aid of Roman virtue. [Sect. 3]

Oration “Catherinam Senensem” [62] (1461)

Only religious and holy words came from her, and all her talk was about morals, the studies of the good arts [i.e. the liberal arts], religion, piety, contempt of the world, the love of God and one’s neighbour, and the Heavenly Fatherland.

It is highly doubtful, that Catherine of Siena would have put the liberal arts on par with religion, Faith etc., but Piccolomini managed to slip them in, anyway!

**3.1.6. Ladislaus’ following in the footsteps of his ancestors**

The theme of Ladislaus’ reverence for the pope recurs, in the opposite sense, in the “*Sentio*”[20]:

In the “*Cum animadverto*”, Ladislaus promises to always revere the pope as his forefathers had done:

Cum animadverto (1452)

Majores etiam mei, qui vel Hungariae<sup>1</sup>, Bohemiae, vel Austriae praefuerunt, hujus divinae sedis praecipui semper amatores et cultores fuerunt. Eorundem progenitorum meorum vestigiis inhaerendo te aeternae vitae clavigerum summa, quoad vixero, reverentia prosequar. [Sect. 4]

In the “*Sentio*” [20], Piccolomini promises that pope will always favour Ladislaus, if he – following in the footsteps of his ancestors – shows reverence for the Church and the pope:

Oration “Sentio” (1452)

Multa suae celsitudini et apud Hungaros et apud Bohemos imminebunt, quae sedis apostolicae praesidiis indigebunt. Numquam ei favores aberunt, si progenitorum vestigia sequens matrem suam ecclesiam et Christi vicarium condigna devotione coluerit. [Sect. 13]

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<sup>1</sup> vel *add.* MU



### 3.1.7. Combining arguments from the Bible and classical authors

Piccolomini liked to prove some point by parallel use of Christian, and most of all the Bible, and classical, pagan sources.<sup>1</sup> The “*Cum animadverto*” provides a typical example, citing both the Bible and Valerius Maximus in support of the necessity of submitting to religion:

The greater I have been born, the humbler I should act, bowing my neck to religion, and participating in the divine offices. For everything comes easily to those who have the worship of God at heart. *Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, scripture says, and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.*<sup>2</sup> Though the Romans were gentiles, *they held that all things must yield to religion, even in the case of personages in whom it wished the splendour of most exalted dignity to be displayed. So holders of state power never hesitated to minister to holy things in the belief that theirs would be the governance of human affairs only if they gave good and faithful service to the power of the gods.* [Sect. 5]

### 3.1.8. Citation

The verse from Jeremiah, 1, 10: *Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas, et dissipas, et aedifices, et plantes* is used both in the “*Cum animadverto*” [sect. 3] and some months later in the “*Sentio*” [20] [sect. 31] to justify the assertion of papal supremacy.

## 3.2. Similarities of style

A couple of similarities of style support the notion of Piccolomini’s authorship of the oration:

Though the *captatio benevolentiae* is a classical rhetorical device, following its own set rules, the *captatio benevolentiae* in the “*Cum animadverto*” is clearly reminiscent of the ones in Piccolomini’s orations to popes Eugenius IV, the “*Non habet me dubium*” [11] of 1447, and to Pope Nicolaus V, the “*Fateor*” [15] of 1450 as well as in other of his orations.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 8.4.4.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 6, 33

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.8.1.

And the following phrases are clear examples of Piccolomini's use of another classical rhetorical device, *accumulatio*, of which he was quite fond:<sup>1</sup>

- Quis enim dignius in ea potuit collocari quam ille, quem a primis annis caelestem in terris vitam semper egisse constat, qui pro Christiana religione per innumeros casus, per varia itinera, per diversas mundi provincias omnem aetatem in maximis laboribus, in omni rerum difficultate contrivit [Sect. 2]
- Eorundem Christianissimorum principum vestigiis inhaerendo sacerdotium summa reverentia prosequi non postponam, ad quod natura et ipse Deus omnipotens gressus meos ab ineunte aetate direxerit, ad quod omnes conatus, omnes desideria, omnes cogitationes animi mei semper prospexerunt. Ego tandem meipsum, dominia et regna, quae mihi haereditario jure debentur, tuae clementiae, tuae fidei, tuaeque protectioni commendo, pro cuius tuae sanctitatis felicissimo statu nihil umquam arduum, nullum periculi, nullum laboris aut difficultatis genus recusabo. [Sect. 6]

### 3.3. Conclusion

To the present editor, the accumulated evidence clearly points to Piccolomini's authorship.

It is possible that Piccolomini did not compose the oration alone, but in collaboration with other qualified members of the imperial party, like Heinrich Leubing,<sup>2</sup> who spoke for the emperor at his meeting with his future bride, Princess Leonora of Portugal, in Siena, some weeks before the coronation,<sup>3</sup> or Johann Hinderbach, colleague and friend of Piccolomini,<sup>4</sup> or possibly Kaspar Wendel or Johann Tröster, both tutors of Ladislaus, who accompanied him on the imperial voyage to Rome<sup>5</sup> and who would have been familiar with Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione*.

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.9.5.

<sup>2</sup> A number of German cities had representatives in the emperor's party, among them Nürnberg, represented by its parish priest Heinrich Leubing, cf. Loose, p. 55. Already in 1446, Leubing had been member of an embassy from the German princes to Pope Eugenius IV, and he on that occasion addressed the pope after Piccolomini, who had spoken on behalf of the emperor, cf. Loose, p. 64

<sup>3</sup> HA, I, p. 155; CO I, 76; Loose, p. 55; Lazzaroni, p. 312: *Per l'imperatore le rivolse il salute un portoghese Enrico Lubin* (sic!)

<sup>4</sup> Strnad, p. 139: *Fast von selbst versteht es sicher daher, dass Hinderbach im Gefolge seines Herrn auch weiter nach Süden zog und sowohl an der Vermählung Friedrich's mit der portugisischen Prinzessin Eleonore als auch am festlichen Krönungsakt in der alten Petersbasilika teilnahm*

<sup>5</sup> WO, III, I, pp. 351-352

There is also, of course, the theoretical possibility that one of these colleagues of Piccolomini wrote the oration which Piccolomini would then have made use of in his almost contemporary oration "*Moses vir Dei*" [19], the "*Sentio*" [20] written later the same year, the "*Solent plerique*" [26] from 1455, and the "*Dominatorem caeli*" [35] from 1459, but it is somewhat difficult to understand why Piccolomini/Pius would make use of the writings of lower-ranking German *litterati* whose literary skills he might approve of, but would certainly not admire, while he himself was the acknowledged master of speechmaking. In the absence of further evidence, this explanation is not retained.

In conclusion, the "*Cum animadverto*" is – in the light of present evidence – considered most probably to be a text of an oration of obedience to Pope Nicolaus V, written for King Ladislaus the Posthumous, by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, alone or in collaboration with other members of the Imperial Court.

#### **4. Date, place, audience and format**

The text was written in March 1452, when the imperial party stayed in Rome, or a short time before. It was intended to be delivered in Rome, in the presence of the pope and the cardinals, probably a public consistory. The format is an oration by a prince to the pope.

However, the oration was most likely never delivered, see above.

#### **5. Text**

##### **5.1. Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>**

- **Berlin / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz**  
Theol. lat. Fol. 638, ff. 107v-108r

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<sup>1</sup> This following list of manuscripts, based on Kristeller, is not intended to be exhaustive

- **Dillingen / Studienbibliothek**  
76<sup>1</sup>
- **Görlitz / Milisch'sche Bibliothek**  
Ch. 4, 84, ff. 309r-310r
- **Stuttgart / Württembergische Landesbibliothek**  
HB X, 24, ff. 173v-182v  
HB X, 84, ff. 89v-90r
- **Würzburg / Universitätsbibliothek**  
M ch.f.47, ff. 130v-132r  
M ch.f.59, ff. 307r-352r<sup>2</sup>
- **Zeitz / Dombibliothek**  
7, ff. 86v-87v

## 5.2. Editions

The text is known from two early editions:

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663 [and later editions], ad annum 1452, nr. 5
- 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 ...* Theil I. Jena, 1713, pp. 518-520

In a margin note Raynaldus refers to an earlier edition by Johannes Cochlaeus, which he presumably reproduced.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pagination not given by Kristeller

<sup>2</sup> A collection of orations including "*Cum Animadverto*"

<sup>3</sup> I have not been able to determine which of Cochlaeus' many writings may have been used / MCS

### 5.3. Present edition

The present edition is based on the editions by Raynaldus and Müller.

Pagination is from Rainaldus.

## 6. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this brief oration, altogether 7 quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical: 5

Classical: 1

Patristic and medieval: 1

Contemporary: 0

**All: 7**

The biblical quotations dominate. Interesting is Piccolomini's reference to John of Salisbury whose *Policraticus* was known to him and also used by him in his earlier work, the *Pentalogus*, of 1443

#### **Biblical sources: 5**

##### Old Testament: 1

- Jeremiah: 1

##### New Testament: 4

- Matthew: 2
- Luke: 1
- John: 1

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

**Classical sources: 1**

- Valerius Maximus: 1

**Patristic and medieval sources: 1**

- John of Salisbury: 1<sup>1</sup>

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> Policraticus

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## 8. Sigla

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

**MU** = 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 ...* Theil I. Jena, 1713



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratio Ladislai regis ad Nicolaum, papam quintum, cum adhuc esset puer duodecim annorum<sup>1</sup>

[1] {518B} Cum animadverto, beatissime maxime pontifex, me apud inclytos pedes sanctitatis tuae constitutum, quae inter mortales Dei omnipotentis vicem gerit, coram hoc sacratissimo senatu, ad quem illustrissima totius mundi sidera atque homines doctrina et sanctitate lectissimi convenerunt, non injuria quidem in tanta rei magnitudine subsistens, unde initium orationis sumam, quibus verbis te unicum Christianorum principem, te regum regem atque in terris Deum adorem, non facile constituere possum. Haec enim tanti numinis praesentia, hic tam cessus audientium coetus, eruditissimum quoddam elegansque dicendi genus exquirat, cui me, et ingenio et eloquentia longe imparem esse cognosco. Quare tacendum existimarem, ne tantam provinciam aggrederer, in qua etiam ipsius Ciceronis aut Hortensii robur desudaret<sup>2</sup>, nisi admirabilis tuae sanctitatis clementia collapsas ingenii vires et succumbentes humeros sublevaret, quae cum omnibus ad se integra mente conversis incredibili benignitate patere non desinat {519A} mihi quoque – ut confido – consuetae mansuetudinis aditum non praecludet.

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<sup>1</sup> Elegans Ladislai regis ad pontificem oratio MU

<sup>2</sup> exsudaret MU

## 1. Introduction

[1] Most Holy Supreme Pontiff, when I see myself placed at the revered feet of Your Holiness, who represents Omnipotent God among men, and before this Most Holy Senate,<sup>1</sup> in which the most brilliant stars of the whole world and men of outstanding learning and holiness are assembled, it is quite justifiable that in such an important matter I should experience some difficulty in choosing how to begin my oration and the words to hail you as the Supreme<sup>2</sup> Prince of the Christians, King of Kings and God on Earth. For the presence of such divine greatness<sup>3</sup> and the prominence of the audience require a form of address which combines great learning with elegance, something for which I know my own intelligence and eloquence to be largely inadequate. Indeed, I should prefer to remain silent and not undertake a task in which even powerful [speakers like] Cicero and Hortensius would be sorely tried. But Your Holiness' clemency restores my failing wits and lifts my slumping shoulders, as you always meet with incredible kindness all those who turn to you with a sincere heart and – I am sure – will not fail to show me your customary gentleness.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the College of cardinals

<sup>2</sup> "unicum"

<sup>3</sup> "numinis"

[2] Te namque, beatissime pater, non sine ratione beatissimum appellamus, quem admiranda probitatis omniumque virtutum merita, incorrupta vitae integritas, ad hanc eminentissimam sedem jure optimo extulerunt. Quis enim dignius in ea<sup>1</sup> potuit collocari quam ille, quem a primis annis caelestem in terris<sup>2</sup> vitam semper egisse constat, qui pro Christiana religione per innumeros casus, per varia itinera, per diversas mundi provincias omnem aetatem in maximis laboribus, in omni rerum difficultate contrivit, in cujus pectore omnes liberales artes, omnes scientiae et praestantissima in primis sacrarum litterarum doctrina, patrios – ut ita dixerim – penates, sibi a tenera ejus aetate consecrarent.

[3] Tu – inquam – dignissime militantis ecclesiae es caput, quae non sine ratione ad triumphantis exemplar dicitur ordinata. Nam ut in illa unus Deus creator omnium sceptrum tenet, ita<sup>3</sup> in hac tibi uni tantum Dei vicario totius orbis imperium delegatum esse constat, ut enim sancta fatetur ecclesia: *Constituit dominus pontificem super gentes et regna, ut evellat, disperset, et plantet*, quamquam igitur<sup>4</sup> non ignorem complures hoc in dubium revocare, solam spiritualium rerum curam summo pontifici datam esse, terrestre autem imperium Romano datum imperatori affirmantes. Quid enim aliud credendum est Christum significare voluisse, dum ad se Petrum solum supra mare vocat, dum ei supremam ligandi atque solvendi facultatem concessit, dum sibi carissimi gregis curam demandavit? Unum certe in terris principem constituere voluit, qui summi Dei vice ac potestate inter homines fungeretur, a quo una vera sapientia, vera fides ad reliquum humanum genus perveniret. Consistit enim in hoc uno Christianae fidei sacramentum, cui scilicet soli dominus dixit: *Ego autem rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos.*

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<sup>1</sup> dignius in ea : in ea dignius MU

<sup>2</sup> in terris *omit.* MU

<sup>3</sup> et *add.* MU

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* MU

## 2. Praise of the pope

[2] Most Holy Father, it is not without reason that we call you Most Holy, for you have been raised – and most rightly so - to this eminent See because of the admirable merits of your uprightness and all your other virtues, and your unspoiled integrity of life. Who was more worthy to be placed on this see than Your Holiness, who is known to have always led a heavenly life on Earth, and who has always worked hard for the Christian religion in many difficult situations, in various travels, in different regions of the world and with much labour. In your heart you have, from your most tender age, kept sacred all the liberal arts, all branches of knowledge, and – most important of all – the knowledge of the divine scriptures, as if they were your household deities.

## 3. Papal supremacy

[3] You are - I declare - the most worthy Head of Church Militant, which is justly said to be modelled after the Church Triumphant. For in Church Triumphant God the Creator of all holds the scepter, and likewise in Church Militant power over the whole world is certainly entrusted to you alone as Vicar of God, as Holy Church proclaims: *The Lord set the Pontiff over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root up, and pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.*<sup>1</sup> I am perfectly aware that many question this, claiming that only the care of spiritual matters has been entrusted to the Supreme Pontiff, whereas earthly power has been given to the Roman emperor.<sup>2</sup>

But what else should we believe that Christ meant when he only called Peter to him over the sea, when he gave him the power to bind and to loose,<sup>3</sup> and when he entrusted the care of his beloved flock to him?<sup>4</sup> He certainly wanted to create only one prince on Earth, who would act among men on Supreme God's behalf and with power from him, and from whom one true wisdom and one true Faith would reach the rest of mankind. Only on this man is based the sacrament of Christian Faith, to whom alone the *Lord said: But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not: and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah, 1, 10: *Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna, ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas, et dissipes, et aedifices, et plantes* (Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root up, and pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant). Here, the author adapts the biblical passage, making it apply to the pope, whereas in the Bible it applied to the prophet Jeremiah

<sup>2</sup> This is the teaching of Pope Gelasius, see Introduction

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>4</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>5</sup> Luke, 22, 32

[4] Tuam igitur sanctitatem tamquam<sup>1</sup> domini nostri locum tenentem in terris et magistrum et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus omnes. Te certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te pastorem dominici gregis, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem salutaris vitae, te denique clavigerum regni caelestis profiteamur. Quo fit, beatissime pater, ut mihi quidem laetissimam hodiernam diem illuxisse sentiam<sup>2</sup>, in qua divinitus datum est et tantum et tam {519B} praesens numen intueri, colere, et saltem integra mente ac vera fide venerari. Cum enim sanctitatem tuam inter hos felicissimos ac caelestibus persimiles astantium ordines in hac sublimi apostolica sede<sup>3</sup> collocatam suspicio, nihil aliud profecto quam supernam illam in terris maiestatem videor admirari. Majores etiam mei, qui vel Hungariae<sup>4</sup>, Bohemiae, vel Austriae praefuerunt, hujus divinae sedis praecipui semper amatores et cultores fuerunt. Eorundem progenitorum meorum vestigiis inhaerendo te aeternae vitae clavigerum summa, quoad vixero, reverentia prosequar.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; atque AN, MU

<sup>2</sup> *sentio* MU

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; omit. AN, MU

<sup>4</sup> vel *add.* MU

## 4. Ladislaus' declaration of obedience

[4] Thus, we all acknowledge Your Holiness as Our Lord's representative on Earth and as the teacher of leader of the Universal Church. We proclaim you to be the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, the shepherd of the Lord's flock, the true interpreter of the holy gospels, the teacher of moral life, and finally the keybearer of the Heavenly Kingdom. Thus, Most Holy Father, I feel that this most happy day is a splendid one, in which God has given me to see, to honour, and to revere, present before me, this divine greatness with a sincere mind and true faith. Indeed, as I see Your Holiness [seated] on the exalted apostolic see, surrounded by these blessed and almost heavenly orders,<sup>1</sup> I seem to be gazing with wonder at divine majesty on Earth. For my forefathers, who governed Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, have always had especial love and reverence for this divine See. Following in their footsteps, I shall show, as long as I live, the highest reverence for you as the keybearer of eternal life.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. cardinals, bishops etc.

[5] Et cum omnes sacrae litterae Deum colendum clamitent, huic me primum dabo commendaboque. Hic meus est auctor, meus dominus, huic omnia debeo, cumque omnes homines Deo gratias referre debeant<sup>1</sup>, ego illi maxime regratiari<sup>2</sup> et servire teneor, cujus munere factum est, ut ego rex nascerer. Poteram ego<sup>3</sup> unus ex plebe aut unus ex rure nasci, sed inscrutabile Dei iudicium me collocat in sublimi solio. Non efferrī debeo, non superbire. Quod mihi datum est, alteri dari potuit. Quanto major sum natus, tanto me debeo humiliter gerere et subicere collum religioni, interesse divinis officiis. Nam cui divinus cultus est cordi, reliqua facile famulantur. *Primum quaerite regnum Dei*, scriptura dicit, *post haec omnia adjicientur vobis*. Romani, quamvis gentiles erant, *omnia tamen post religionem duxerunt, in quibus etiam summae majestatis decus conspici voluerunt, nec dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire. Ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen aestimantia, si divinae potentiae bene ac constanter fuissent famulata*. Quod nos veri Dei notitiam habentes magis facere decebit. Cavebo igitur, ne mihi religionem putem esse<sup>4</sup> subjectam, quamvis magni principis nomine gaudeam. Non dominus, sed filius ecclesiae, sacerdotis imperio, in his quae Dei sunt, subjectus sum.

[6] Theodosius Caesar, quamvis potentissimus esset et Romanum gubernaret imperium, Ambrosio tamen Mediolanensis ecclesiae praesulatum tenenti, collum subiecit imperatamque poenitentiam peregit humiliter.<sup>5</sup> Constantinus autem maximam sacerdotio reverentiam<sup>6</sup> praebuit nec iudicium super episcopis in concilio Nicaeno ferre voluit, asseverans deos ab hominibus non esse iudicandos. Eorundem Christianissimorum<sup>7</sup> principum vestigiis inhaerendo sacerdotium summa reverentia prosequi non postponam, ad quod {520A} natura et ipse Deus omnipotens gressus meos ab ineunte aetate direxerit, ad quod omnes conatus, omnes desideria, omnes cogitationes animi mei semper prospexerunt. Ego tandem meipsum, dominia et regna, quae mihi haereditario jure debentur, tuae clementiae, tuae fidei, tuaeque protectioni commendo, pro cuius tuae sanctitatis felicissimo statu nihil umquam arduum, nullum periculi, nullum laboris aut difficultatis genus recusabo.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> debent MU

<sup>2</sup> maxime regratiari : majores habere MU

<sup>3</sup> ergo MU

<sup>4</sup> omit. MU

<sup>5</sup> peregit humiliter : humiliter peregit MU

<sup>6</sup> sacerdotio reverentiam : reverentiam sacerdotio MU

<sup>7</sup> Christianorum MU

<sup>8</sup> Haec ad Nicolaum Ladislaus add. AN



## 5. Kings' submission to God and religion

[5] And<sup>1</sup> since all the sacred scriptures proclaim that God must be worshipped, I shall first of all give and entrust myself to Him. He is my creator, he is my Lord, to whom I owe everything. All men should thank God, but I am obliged to thank and serve him more than other people, since it is through His bounty that I have been born a king. I could have been born as a commoner or a peasant, but by God's inscrutable judgment I have been placed on a high throne. This must not make me elated or arrogant. What has been given to me, could have been given to somebody else. The greater I have been born, the humbler I should act, bowing my neck to religion, and participating in the divine offices. For everything comes easily to those who have the worship of God at heart. *Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, scripture says, and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you.*<sup>2</sup> Though the Romans were gentiles, *they held that all things must yield to religion, even in the case of personages in whom it wished the splendour of most exalted dignity to be displayed. So holders of state power never hesitated to minister to holy things in the belief that theirs would be the governance of human affairs only if they gave good and faithful service to the power of the gods.*<sup>3</sup> This is what we who know the true God should do. I shall therefore take care not to consider myself as above religion though I can rejoice in my status of a great prince. I am not the lord of the Church, but its son, and in matters of God I am subject to the priestly rule.<sup>4</sup>

[6] Though Emperor Theodosius was very powerful and ruled the Roman Empire, he still bowed his neck to Ambrose, Bishop Milan, and humbly performed the penance imposed upon him. And Constantine showed the greatest reverence towards the priesthood and refused to pass judgment over bishops at the Council of Nicaea, declaring that gods should not be judged by men.<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> Following in the footsteps of these most Christian princes I shall unfailingly show the greatest reverence towards the priesthood, to which nature and God himself has directed me since my childhood, and at which all my efforts, all my desires, and all my thoughts have ever been aiming. Finally, I entrust myself as well as the dominions and realms due to me by hereditary

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<sup>1</sup> Here begins a lengthy quotation from Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione*, cf. Introduction, sect. 3.1.1.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 6, 33

<sup>3</sup> Valerius Maximus, 1.1.9: *Omnia namque post religionem ponenda semper nostra civitas duxit, etiam in quibus summae maiestatis conspici decus voluit. quapropter non dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire, ita se humanarum rerum futura regimen existimantia si divinae potentiae bene atque constanter fuissent famulata*

<sup>4</sup> This section echoes John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, IV, 3 (Dickinson, p. 9 ff): That the prince is the minister of the priests and inferior to them (title of chapter 4)

<sup>5</sup> John of Salisbury: *Policraticus*, 4.3. MPL, CIC, 516B-C

<sup>6</sup> Here ends the lengthy quotation from Piccolomini's *De liberorum educatione*

right to your clemency, your faith, and your protection, and I shall never avoid any kind of difficulty, danger, labour, and or [in supporting] the honourable<sup>1</sup> state of Your Holiness.

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<sup>1</sup> "felicissimum"

## SHORT VERSION: “MAXIMA”

The short version is mostly identical with the text in sect. 4-6 in the longer version, partly consisting in a quotation from Piccolomini’s *De liberorum educatione*.

If the shorter version represents the original draft, it was expanded into a more elaborate version, containing also a formal declaration of obedience to the pope, and – in view of its length and complexity – probably not to be delivered by the boy king himself, but by an orator on his behalf, e.g. Piccolomini himself. The present editor considers this scenario to be the most likely.<sup>1</sup>

If the shorter version was the final one, it may have been abbreviated with a view to being delivered by Ladislaus himself.

The text is extant in some manuscripts listed by Kristeller in his *Iter*, and among them the:

- **Würzburg / Universitätsbibliothek**  
M ch f 47 (4217), f. 130r

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<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that on some points the shorter version more faithfully reproduces the *De Liberorum Educatione*, which it quotes extensively. This may support the notion that the longer version is a later, reworked version of the text

Maxima mihi hodie, pater beatissime, voluptas est, ingens gaudium, singularis laetitia, cum te, beati Petri successorem verumque Jesu Christi vicarium intueor, cujus affari clementiam et osculari sanctitatem concessum est mihi. Majores mei, qui Hungariae, Bohemiae et Austriae praefuerunt, hujus divinissimae sedis praecipui semper amatores et cultores fuerunt. Eorundem quidem progenitorum meorum vestigiis inhaerendo [te]<sup>1</sup> aeternae vitae clavigerum summa, quoad vixero, reverentia prosequar. Interea dominia et regna, quae mihi haereditario jure debentur, personamque meam debilissimam tuae clementiae, tuae fidei, tuae protectioni commendo. Cum autem omnes sacrae litterae Deum colendum clamitent, huic me primum dabo commendaboque. Hic meus est auctor, hic meus dominus, huic omnia debeo. Cumque omnes homines Deo referre gratias debeant, ergo illi maxime regratiari et servire teneor, cujus munere factum est, ut ego rex nascerer. Poteram ego unus ex plebe aut unus ex rure nasci, sed inscrutabile Dei judicium me collocavit in sublimi solio. Non efferrī debeo, non tumescere, non superbire. Quod mihi datum est, alteri dari potuit. Quanto major sum natus, tanto me debeo humiliter gerere, subjicere collum religioni, interesse divinis officiis. Nam cui divinus cultus est cordi, reliqua facile famulantur. Romani namque, etsi gentiles essent, omnia tamen post religionem ponenda dixerunt, in his quibus etiam<sup>2</sup> summae majestatis decus conspici voluerunt nec dubitaverunt sacris imperia servire. Sed ita humanarum rerum regimina existimantes profutura, si divinae potentiae bene atque constanter fuissent famulata, quod nos veri Dei notitiam habentes studiosius facere decebit. Cavebo igitur ne religionem mihi putem subjectam, quamvis magni principis nomine gaudeam. Non dominus, sed filius ecclesiae sacerdotum imperio in his, quae Dei sunt, subjectus sum. Theodosius Caesar quamvis potentissimus esset et Romanum gubernaret imperium, Ambrosio tamen Mediolanensis ecclesiae praesulatum tenenti collum subiecit imperatamque poenitentiam humiliter peregit. Constantinus autem maximam semper sacerdotio reverentiam praebuit, nec judicium super episcopis in concilio Niceno ferre voluit asserens deos ab hominibus non esse judicandos. Eorundem Christianissimorum principum vestigiis inhaerendo sacerdotium summa cum reverentia prosequi non postponam, interim quod in humanis subsistam. Ad Dei laudem ecclesiaeque catholicae gloriam et honorem. Amen.

Hanc orationem serenissimus princeps, rex Hungariae atque Bohemia, [*in marg.*: Ladislaus] fecit ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum papam Nicolaum Quintum tempore, quo cum Augusto Caesare Friderico Romam intrabat.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.* after Longer Version;

<sup>2</sup> *em.* after Longer Version; inest cod.



