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Oration “Solent plerique” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (13 August 1455, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 26)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 26)

Oration “*Solent plerique*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (13 August 1456, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th version

2019

Abstract

In March 1455 Pope Nicolaus V died and was succeeded by Pope Calixtus III. After intense discussions at the Imperial Court whether or not to take advantage of the occasion to loosen the ties between Germany and the Papacy, Emperor Friedrich III decided to maintain his close alliance with the pope. Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini, an imperial top diplomat, was despatched to Rome to present, in time-honoured fashion, the imperial declaration of obedience to the new pope. Piccolomini did this in the oration, "*Solent plerique*", which he also used to exhort the pope to organize a crusade against the Turks. In doing so, he pursued a course of shifting the responsibility for the crusade from the Empire and Emperor Friedrich III to the Papacy and Pope Calixtus.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Pope Nicholas V; Pope Nicolaus V; Papa Niccolò V; Pope Callixtus III; Pope Calixtus III; Papa Callisto III; Crusades against the Turks; The Turks; The Ottomans; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory

Editor and translator

Michael v. 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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

On 8 April 1455, Cardinal Alfons de Borja² was elected pope and took the name of Calixtus III.

Following time-honoured tradition, the European rulers sent ambassadors to the new pope to declare their obedience to himself and to the Apostolic See.

News of the death of his predecessor, Pope Nicolaus V,³ reached the imperial court some weeks later, during a diet held in the presence of Emperor Friederich III⁴ at the imperial residence in Wiener Neustadt⁵. One of the main objectives of the diet was to make concrete preparations for a crusade against the Turks, the pope being responsible for assembling a fleet to support a land army under German leadership. The news of the pope's death, therefore, put an end to the diet and indeed to the German war effort.

When news of the pope's death were received, important parties at the imperial court, first among them the Archbishop of Trier,⁶ began to argue that the Germans should take advantage of the occasion to obtain the same distance and ecclesiastical independence from the Papacy that the French had previously achieved by means of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges in 1438.⁷

The emperor however, on the advice of Bishop Piccolomini of Siena, his senior diplomat and advisor on church affairs and Italian affairs, decided to continue his alliance with the Papacy which he considered important to support the waning authority of the imperial office, especially in relation to the German princes.

He therefore despatched an embassy consisting of Piccolomini and other courtiers to Rome to present the declaration of obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the new pope. It was the second time that Piccolomini performed such a task having also presented the imperial declaration of obedience to Pope Eugenius IV. The declaration was made as part of an oration,

¹ CO, I, 29; Ady, pp. 131-133; Boulting, pp. 213-214; Mitchell, pp. 115-116; Paparelli, p. 158; Pastor, I, pp. 511-512; Reinhardt, p. 186-187; Toews, pp. 265-288; Voigt, III, pp. 159-163

² Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia pope

³ Nicolaus V (Tommaso Parentucelli) (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁴ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned emperor in Rome in 1452

⁵ It was the third in a series of German diets dealing, among other things, with the military response to the Fall of Constantinople in May 1453. The first was the Diet of Regensburg, May 1454, and the second the Diet of Frankfurt, October 1454. The Diet of Wiener Neustadt began in February 1455 and ended in April

⁶ Sierck, Jakob von (1398-1456): Archbishop of Trier and Prince Elector from 1439 to his death and imperial chancellor of Friedrich III from 1441

⁷ A church law in France, incorporating a number of decrees from the Council of Basel, tending generally to limit the pope's influence in national church affairs, and particularly with regard to the appointment of bishops

the “*Solent plerique*”, delivered by Piccolomini during a public consistory in Rome on 13 August 1455.

In his report on the event to the emperor,¹ Piccolomini wrote:

Two days afterwards, the pope held a public consistory in which – as is the custom – we gave an oration and presented the [declaration of] obedience. Then the pope said much in your praise. And since we had mentioned the Turkish matter according to the conclusion reached at the diet held in your presence, the pope also praised your and the nation’s plans and confirmed that he would do everything [in his power] for the destruction of the Turks.²

Later, as pope, he wrote about these events in his *Commentarii*:

When the news of this³ was reported in Austria, there were many who tried to persuade the emperor that now was the time to exert pressure on the Apostolic See and thus reduce its power in Germany. The compacts settled with Eugenius IV⁴ had been violated, they argued; therefore they should make no submission to the new pope unless he granted the petitions of the German nation. Long regarded as a servant, Germany deserved at last to be free. This was the policy promoted tenaciously by Archbishop Jacob of Trier, who expected to profit from the dispute. Aeneas, however, argued that the emperor would gain nothing from an assault on the pope’s authority, especially if it were done for the sake of popular opinion, which is inherently fickle. The reins of government must never be handed to the people for they, as he knew, hated the rule of princes. Between princes, friendship was sometimes possible, but between the people and a king the hatred was undying. The pope and the emperor needed each other’s support, and it was folly to injure the man you hoped would help you. The start of a new pontificate was a time to win the favour of the pope by showing him kindness; if one started by lashing out, it would be difficult to then find a path to his good will. Frederick must make submission, as his ancestors had done, and negotiate an honourable treaty with the new pope; once that was agreed, the Germans would follow the emperor’s lead.

¹ In a letter from Enea Silvio Piccolomini and Johann Hinderbach to Emperor Friedrich III of 8 September 1455

² Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana / Plut. LIV 19 / Aeneae Silvii Epistolae / ep. 94, ff. 64v-67r / f. 66r: *Tenuit papa post biduum consistorium, in quo – sicut de more est – sermonem habuimus et obedientiam prestitimus. Ibi de laudibus tuis papa multa disseruit. Et quoniam de rebus turchorum mentionem fecimus iuxta conclusionem habitam in dieta coram serenitate tua habita, multa commendavit propositum tuum et nationis et confirmavit sese omnia facturum quae ad exterminium turchorum tendunt*

³ The election of Pope Calixtus III on 8 April 1455

⁴ In connection with the recognition of the Roman Papacy by Germany in 1447, right before the death of Pope Eugenius. The compacts were given final form in the Concordat of Vienna of March 1448, between Emperor Friedrich III and Pope Nicolaus V), regulating the ecclesiastical organization of Germany and the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, and effectively restoring relations between Germany and the Papacy. Piccolomini was directly involved in the events and negotiations leading up to the concordat

*Aeneas' advice prevailed and he himself was despatched together with ... Johann Hinderbach, to see his plan through. ... At their arrival a public consistory was convened in which Aeneas, after making his submission in the time-honored way, delivered an oration which praised the emperor and the empire and at the same time called for a crusade against the Turks. Afterwards, copies of this speech circulated widely.*¹

Of Pius' contemporary biographers, Campano wrote:

After the death of Nicholas, he privately counselled the emperor to refuse the demands of the German princes who requested what the French were reported to have obtained long time ago,² so that the popes would no longer be allowed to make decisions concerning the appointment of bishops, and thus he effectively countered their endeavours. As part of the embassy, finally sent to Calixtus, who had succeeded Nicolaus, he made an oath that the emperor would obey the pope and exhorted the old man to undertake an Asian war ...³

And Platina wrote:

The Germans wanted political change and tried to persuade the emperor to no longer obey the pope unless they obtained [concessions] of the same kind as the Pragmatic Sanction. They claimed that their situation was far worse than that of the French and the Italians. Indeed, they could justifiably be considered as the servants of these peoples, and especially of the Italians, unless the situation changed. The emperor was close to giving in to their insistent demands, but then Enea intervened, with great authority. He told the emperor that even when princes have conflicts concerning great matters, they eventually return to a state of peace and friendship. But between the people and the prince there is an immortal enmity. Therefore, it would be better to side with the pope than to give in to the desires of those whose minds were not moved by reason, but by emotions and cupidity. Convinced by this argument, the emperor disregarded the claims of the "populares" and chose Enea as his ambassador to Calixtus. Having gone to Rome, Enea made the traditional oath to the pope on behalf of the emperor, and having

¹ CO, I, 29 (Meserve, I, pp. 143-147)

² I.e. the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, cf, above

³ Zimolo, p. 24-25: *Mortuo Nicolao, rogationem principum Germaniae privato concilio evertit, petentium id quod diu tenuisse Galli dicerentur, ne quid Pontifici Romani statuere de templorum praefecturis liceret. Legatione ultima missus ad Callistum Nicolao suffectum, ubi iusiurandum exhibuit Caesarem illi pariturum, hortatus senem ad bellum Asiaticum suscipiendum ...*

sufficiently praised both pope and emperor he used the whole oration to plead for war against the Turks ...^{1 2}

Remarkably, at the imperial court Piccolomini's advice to the emperor did not address the advantages to Germany of loosening her bonds with the Papacy, but just the dangers in giving in to public opinion instead of supporting the pope, his fellow monarch. Only a few years before, in 1452, the emperor had had to give in to public opinion – and a public uprising – in connection with his wardship over the boy king, Ladislaus,³ and seemingly that experience had not made him more democratically minded, if anything the contrary.⁴

In Rome, the German ambassadors tried in vain to negotiate a number of issues and problems in the relations between Germany and the Papacy before making the declaration of obedience. But the pope refused to enter into such negotiations before obedience had been declared, since he would not under any circumstances accept a conditional obedience. The ambassadors had to accept this: negotiations were postponed, and when they were resumed, after the declaration of obedience, the German petitions were roundly refused by the pope!⁵

¹ Zimolo, pp, 103-104: ... *Germani, rerum novarum cupidi, persuadere imperatori conantur ne pontifici amplius obtemperet, nisi quaedam ad Pragmaticam tendentia ab eo prius impetrassent, quod dicerent sibi longe peiorem conditionem quam vel Gallis vel Ytalis, quorum servi, Ytalorum imprimis, ni res immutarentur, merito esse videbantur. Nec certe procul abfuit quin imperator tumultuantibus obsequeretur, nisi Aeneae gravissima auctoritas intervenisset. Cuius hec fuit apud Caesarem sententia, inter principes etiam de magnis rebus inter se dissidentes pacem aliquando et amicitiam componi posse, at inter populum et principem immortale odium semper extitisse. Qua re dicebat satius sibi videri cum pontifice sentire, quam eorum cupiditatibus obtemperare, quorum mentes non ratione sed appetitu et cupiditate ducuntur. Hac ratione Caesar motus, sprete popularium postulatione, Aeneam oratorem delegit, qui ad Calistum miceretur. Is Romam profectus, dum Federici iuramentum pontifici de more exhiberet, collaudato quantum satis erat utroque tota eius oratio fuit de bello Thurcis inferendo ...*

² Rainaldus, ad annum 1455, nr. 23, has the following entry: *Another - and most elegant - oration, in the same sense, was delivered by Aeneas Sylvius, Bishop of Siena, the emperor's legate to Calixtus. In this oration, he added a splendid exhortation, commending the pope's pious intentions concerning the speedy mobilization of a crusade against the Turks. (Habita est etiam alia eodem argumento perelegans oratio ab Aenea Sylvio, episcopo Senensi, ab imperatore ad Callistum legato, qua ejusdem pontificis pia consilia de cruce signata expeditione quam primum conficienda in Turcas, addita egregie adhortatione, commendavit.)*

³ Ladislaus the Posthumous of Habsburg (1440-1457): Archduke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death

⁴ In June 1436, during his conflict with the Council of Basel, Pope Eugenius IV had sent a *Libellus Apologeticus* to the European princes asserting that the revolt of the Council against the papal monarch was a threat to all monarchic governments, and asking: *Why do they [i.e. the council fathers] hasten to reduce this monarchy [i.e. the papacy], which God has established by his own word, to a popular state and to a democracy? (Cur monarchiam hanc, quam Deus suo ore instituit, ad popularem status et ad democratiam deducere festinant), cf. Stieber, pp. 27-28*

⁵ Voigt, III, pp. 160-163; Pastor, I, p. 511-512

It is worth noticing, that when Johann Hinderbach came to Rome, three years later, to present the emperor's obedience to the new pope, Pius II himself, he to some extent reused the "*Solent plerique*," even quoting the final remark almost verbatim.¹

2. Themes

The themes of the oration are:

- (obligatory) praise of pope and emperor,
- declaration of obedience, and
- exhortation to the pope to organize a crusade against the Turks.

Concerning the declaration of obedience, Piccolomini used this form:

Therefore, obeying the command given to us, we recognise, in the name of him who governs the Roman Empire, Your Holiness as the vicar on earth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and as the teacher and leader of the universal Church. We acknowledge that you are the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, the pastor of the Lord's flock, the true interpreter of the holy gospels, the teacher of moral life, the bearer of the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, and we show you the full reverence and obedience which the Roman emperors are known to have offered to your canonically elected predecessors, as bidden both by law and by tradition. This – and the extent of our mandate – is shown by the present letter. [Sect. 14]

Concerning the crusade, Piccolomini makes heavy use of his earlier orations in Regensburg, Frankfurt, and Wiener Neustadt. In the "*Solent plerique*" there are, however, some new elements.

Firstly, he shows – implicitly - that the emperor had now practically given up hope for a crusade organized by the German nation under imperial aegis. He says:

As you are aware, the emperor is trying to gather the remedies against this pestiferous beast and these evils. But as I have already said, his plans have been blocked. However,

¹ Strnad, p. 178: ... *pleraque circa hanc rem necessaria semotis arbitris cum tue clemencie placuerit latius exponemus*

he does not give up, and he does not lose courage: he is disappointed, but he is not worn down. If one way is not suitable, then he will try another. [Sect. 25].

Clearly, the responsibility for organizing the crusade was now moving from Germany and the emperor to Rome and the pope. Indeed, Pope Calixtus would prove to be indefatigable in the cause of the crusade, to which he had pledged himself in a solemn oath right after his election. However, his resources would not match his ambitions.

The oration reflects Piccolomini's growing concern with the erosion of the authority of the two supranational institutions in the Christian World, the Empire and the Papacy. He says:

Yet there is one thing we are lacking, one thing we must search for, and when we get it, we shall easily frighten and dismay our enemies. And that one thing is order, without which nothing can be done properly. We lack order, Holy Father, and plan. But that is for you and our emperor to find and to establish. For if you, the two great lights, the heads of the world, the salt of the earth, and the leaders of the world, do not impose order that makes it possible for the Christian forces to unite, then we can have no hope, and the Turks will have no fear that a Christian army may gather. [Sect. 27]

Piccolomini adds that a crusade, undertaken energetically by the pope, may be a way to restore papal authority vis-a-vis the European rulers:

And to say openly what I think: the most certain way to have the Christian kings and all the faithful nations submit willingly to you as the Vicar of Christ is to undertake a vigorous and magnificent defense of our faith and to appear to be completely intent on, with all your force, to destroy the filthy and impious people of the Turks, as you have inspired hope by making your vow, by promoting peace in Italy, and by designating wise legates. [Sect. 21]

And finally, in a remarkable piece of social criticism Piccolomini notes that the living conditions of people in the Christian kingdoms are so poor that they might actually welcome Turkish rule – especially in the event that the Turks would allow toleration of the Christian religion:

Moreover, many taxes, many extorsions of money, and many robberies burden the Christian people, and many are the abuses of our princes, not to say tyrants, against their subjects. Therefore, I greatly fear that when the Turk comes and lightens the burdens on our peoples, they will willingly bow their neck, especially if he grants freedom of faith – for he is a clever enemy. [Sect. 23]

All in all, these themes would seem to be a sketch of the main programme that Piccolomini would pursue when he himself became pope three years later, including the use of the crusade as a means of bolstering papal authority.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 13 August 1455 in a public consistory, before Pope Calixtus III.

The venue was, presumably, the Apostolic Palace.

The audience was the pope, the cardinals, the Roman Curia, ambassadors from other powers present in Rome, nobles and other eminent men desiring to witness the imperial declaration of obedience to the pope which was, after all, a highly significant gesture of politics, including church politics.

The format was that of a diplomatic address on behalf of the emperor to the pope, in a great, formal matter of state. The level of formality could not be higher, excepting in the case of the emperor's own presence, as witnessed by the splendid reception of his ambassadors at their arrival in Rome when they were met by members of the pope's and the cardinals' households, and the ambassadors residing in Rome.¹

4. Text²

The "*Solent plerique*" is one of the most widely circulated orations of Piccolomini: it is extant in numerous manuscript copies, and it was printed several times during the first generation of printing.

As is the case with many of Piccolomini's orations, it has – a least - two versions: an Early Version and a Final Version.

The Early Version is identical with or close to the text of the oration as actually delivered before Pope Calixtus.

¹ Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana / Plut. LIV 19 / Aeneae Silvii Epistolae / ep. 94, ff. 64v-67r / f. 65v: *Intrantibus nobis urbem obviam venerunt legati omnium principum, qui hic erant, omnes episcopi et omnium cardinalium comites et denique familia papae*

² Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

The Final Version is the version included in the official collection of Pius II's orations, prepared in 1462 under his personal supervision.

The Final Version is actually quite close to the Early Version and the revision undertaken in connection with the papal compilation was evidently very slight.

4.1. Early Version

4.1.1. Manuscripts¹

According to Pius himself, the copies of the "*Solent plerique*" circulated widely,² and indeed a great number of manuscripts contain the Early Version of the oration^{3 4}. Among them are the following:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliothek**
Ms. 73.253, ff. 245r-256r **(H)**
- **Beromünster / Stiftsbibliothek**
C. 26, ff. 166v-170v
- **Cambridge / University Library**
Hh.I.7, ff. 99r-104v **(M) ***
- **Colmar / Bibliotheque Municipale**
Ms. 407 (198), ff. 182v-186v **(K) ***
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 70, ff. 393v-397r **(R) ***
- **New York / Coll. Phyllis Goodheart Gordan**
Ms. 33, ff. 135v-140r **(J) ***

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² CO, I, 29 (Meserve, I, pp. 144-146): *orationem habuit ... quae postea rescripta in multorum manus devenit*

³ Cf. Helmrath, pp. 300-338

⁴ The mss. collated in the present version of the text are marked with the siglum

- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent, V App. 15, ff. 222v-225v (N) *
- **Padova / Biblioteca del Seminario**
Ms. 84, ff. 36r-43v (P) *
- **Prag / Bibl. Metrop.**
L. LXIV
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Vat. lat. 6153, ff. 128r-135v (L) *
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek St. Peter**
Ms. B.VIII 15, ff. 102r-107r
- **Schlägl / Stiftsbibliothek**
Cpl. 54 (cod. 131), ff. 102r-107r (Y) *
- **Siena / Biblioteca comunale degli Intronati**
H IX 12, ff. 1r-14
- **Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket**
Ms. 7, ff. 198r-200v¹ (S) *
- **Torino / Biblioteca Nazionale**
H III 8, ff. 126v-132v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica**
Ms. II 5, ff. 94v-100v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
XI.77 (4193), ff. 96r-108v (V) *
- **Zürich / Zentralbibliothek**
Cod. 266 (alt: C 100), ff. 113r-115v (Z) *

¹ This ms. is damaged by discoloration probably due to water and in many places very difficult to read

4.1.2. Editions

The Early Version was first published as part of Piccolomini's letters, and very soon afterwards as a separate text, later again as part of the *Opera Omnia*, and of Mansi's edition of Pius' orations, and of other learned compilations:

- *Epistolae familiares*. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1480,¹ 1481,² with later editions from 1486³ ⁴ **(KO)** and 1496^{5 6}

The Koberger edition was prepared on the basis of a compilation by Nikolaus Wyle and is closely related to the ms. Vat. Lat. 6153 **(L)**.

- *Epistulae, orationes et tractatus*. Milano: Ulrich Scinzenzeler, 1496⁷
- *Varii tractatus et epistole Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi ad diversos in quadruple vite eius statu transmissae*. Collecte, dissipate et argumentis illustrate a Nicolao de Wille. Lugdunio: per Joannem de Vingle, 1497. Nr. ccccxiii^{8 9}
- *Oratio coram Calixto III de obedientia Friderici III. Imperatoris MCCCCLV*. Roma: Stephan Planck, [1488/1490].¹⁰ **(PL)**

The Planck edition appears to be closely related to the mss. from Colmar **(K)** and Zürich **(Z)**.

- *Aeneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui ... Pius Secundus appellatus est Opera quæ extant omnia, nunc demum castigata et in unum Corpus redacta His quoque, accessit Gnomologia ex omnibus Sylvii Operibus collecta*. Basileae: 1551/1571. / Epist. CCCXCVIII. Pp. 923-928 **(OO)**

The text in the *Opera Omnia edition* (1551/1571) **(OO)** is almost identical with the text as published by Koberger **(KO)** in Nürnberg. However, in at least 34 instances (see the textual apparatus), the **OO** does not follow **KO**. Häbler unequivocally states that the *Opera Omnia*

¹ Hain, nr. 147

² Hain, nr. 151

³ nr. CCCXIII [Online ed., pp. 431-]

⁴ Hain, nr. 154

⁵ Cf. Helmrath, p. 338, and Hain, nr. 156

⁶ Häbler, pp. 146-147

⁷ Hain, nr 197

⁸ With later editions of 1505 and 1518, cf. Helmrath, p. 338

⁹ Hain, nr. 198

¹⁰ Hain, nr. 153

edition simply copies Koberger's Nürnberg edition,¹ and indeed the number of variants between the two editions may simply be the result of typesetting errors or possibly slight editorial corrections. But the matter merits further investigation.

- Reusner, Nikolaus (ed.): *Selectissimarum orationum et consultationum de bello Turconico variorum et diversorum auctorum volumina quattuor*. Leipzig: Gros & Henning, 1596 // II, pp. 9-19
- 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 ...* Bd. 1-3. Jena, 1713 / I, pp. 599-601 **(MU)**

Müller's text is quite interesting. On the one hand it clearly belongs to the L/K/OO-group, and it is especially close to the OO. This supports the notion that Müller – quite naturally - copied the text from the Opera Omnia-edition. On the other hand, Müller's text has so many significant and important individual variants that it leaves room for two interpretations: either Müller has to a very unusual (and even irresponsible) extent emended the OO-version, or he used another text than the OO-version. In the last case the tantalizing question remains: which one - and how could it otherwise be so close to the OO-version which is supposed to derive from one of the printed letter editions? Collation of further texts may hopefully throw light on this issue.

- Senckenberg, Heinrich Christian von: *Sammlung von ungedruckten und raren Schriften zur Erläuterung des Staats-, des gemeinen bürgerliches und Kirchen-rechts wie auch der Geschichte von Teutschland*. 4 vols. Frankfurt, 1745-1751. Bd. IV, St. 1

Senckenberg's edition appears to be a reproduction of the text in *Oratio coram Calixto III de obedientia Friderici III. Imperatoris MCCCCLV*. Roma: Stephan Planck, [1488/1490]. (PL)

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759, I, pp. 336-349

Mansi's edition is based on the two earlier editions in the Opera Omnia-edition and by Planck.

4.2. Final Version

The manuscripts containing the final version are:

¹ Häbler, p. 138: ... *die Opera nichts weiter bieten als eine wortgetreue Wiedergabe des Textes des Nürnberger Ausgabe mit alle ihren Ungenauigkeiten und ihren Druckfehlern*

- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, 191r-198v **(F)** *
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 115r-120v **(E)** *
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 126v-131v **(D)** *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 107r-110v **(A)** *
Chis. J. VIII.286, ff. 195v-204r **(C)** *
Vat. Lat. 1788, ff. 153r-158v **(B)** *

The seventh manuscript containing the papal collection of orations, the Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544, commissioned by Felino Sandeo in 1493, does not contain the “*Solent plerique*”, presumably because it had already been appeared in print when that manuscript was produced in 1493. It is the same case with the other orations already published before that year.¹

To the knowledge of the present editor, the final version has not been published in print previously.

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

Early Version: based on 12 manuscripts listed above and marked with a siglum, and three early editions of the text.

Final Version: based on six of the seven manuscripts containing the papal compilation of Pius’ orations, cf. above.

As the lead manuscript has been chosen the Chis. J.VIII 284.

¹ Sandeo actually had a copy of the printed *Epistolae Familiares* with the “*Solent plerique*” in his library

Pagination:

The pagination is that of the lead manuscript.

Textual apparatus:

Variations between the Final Version (main text as based on the lead manuscript) and the Early Version are marked in the main text and the textual apparatus in bold types.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 15 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, most from classical sources.

Biblical: 6
Classical: 9
Patristic and medieval: 0
Contemporary: 0
All: 15

Biblical sources: 6

Old Testament: 5

- Daniel: 3
- Ezekiel: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 1

- John: 1

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.

Classical sources: 9

- Cicero: 2¹
- Horatius: 1²
- Plautus: 1³
- Terentius: 1⁴
- Vergilius: 4⁵

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6 Bibliography

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¹ De finibus bonorum et malorum: 1; De officiis 1

² Carmina: 1

³ Trinummus

⁴ Andria

⁵ Aeneis 3; Georgica 1

⁶ <http://teca.bmlonline.it/ImageViewer/servlet/ImageViewer?idr=TECA0000634339#page/137/mode/1up>

⁷ References to the *Annales* is usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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- In: Poggius Bracciolinus: *Opera Omnia*. A cura di R. Fubini. 4 vols. Torino, 1964-1969. (Monumenta politica et philosophica rariora; ser. 2, nr. 5). / T. II, pp. 1-21

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- *Oratio coram Calixto III de obedientia Friderici III. Imperatoris MCCCCLV*. Roma: Stephan Planck, [1488/1490]
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7. Sigla and abbreviations

- A** = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII 284
B = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788
C = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII 286
D = Rom, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI.211
E = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana / 97 inf.
F = Mantova, Biblioteca Communale / 100
H = Admont / Stiftsbibliothek / ms. 73.253
J = New York / Coll. Phyllis Goodheart Gordan / ms. 33, ff. 135v-140r
K = Colmar / Bibliotheque Municipale / ms. 407 (198)
L = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat.Lat. 6153
M = Cambridge / University Library / Hh.I.7
N = Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent, V App. 15
P = Padova / Biblioteca del Seminario / ms. 84
R = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70
S = Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket / ms. 7
V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / XI.77 (4193)
Y = Schlägl / Stiftsbibliothek / Cpl. 54 (cod. 131)
Z = Zürich / Zentralbibliothek / cod. 266

KO = Epistulae familiares. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486, nr. CCCCXIII [Online ed., pp. 431-]

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 ...* Bd. 1-3. Jena, 1713

OO = Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui ... Pius Secundus appellatus est, *Opera quæ extant omnia*, nunc demum castigata et in unum Corpus redacta His quoque, accessit Gnomologia ex omnibus Sylvii Operibus collecta. Baesileae: 1551. Pp. 928-932

PL = Oratio coram Calixto III de obedientia Friderici III. Imperatoris MCCCCLV. Roma: Stephan Planck, [1488/1490]

Abbreviations

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

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)

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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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei, episcopi Senensis, qui¹ postea pontificatum summum² adeptus Pius II appellatus est,³ habita Romae in consistorio publico ad Calixtum papam III. de praestatione oboedientiae nomine⁴ Friderici Caesaris cum exhortatione contra Turcos^{5 6 7}

¹ quod B, E

² maximum B, E

³ legati Caesaris *add.* E

⁴ *omit.* B

⁵ cum exhortatione contra Turcos *omit.* B

⁶ in consistorio ... Turcos : coram pontifice et cardinalibus, Idus Augusti MCCCCLV E

⁷ Oratio ... Turcos : Aeneae Silvii episcopi Senensis oratio ad Calixtum papam III. de praestatione oboedientiae et de bello Turconico **D**; Oratio Enee Pii pro Federico imperatore oratoris ad Calixtum tertium summum pontificem **H**; Oratio ex parte domini Cesaris Friderici III. ad beatissimum Calixtum papam III. per Eneam episcopum reverendissimum Senensem, poetam laureatum, oratorem missum factam **J**; Oratio reverendi in Christo patris domini Enee Silvii episcopi Senensis facta per eum ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem dominum Calixtum papam tertium in obedientia prestita ex parte invictissimi et gloriosissimi domini, domini Federici Romanorum imperatoris semper Augusti, Romae, anno quinquagesimo quinto die tertia decima mensis Augusti **K**; Oratio Enee Silvii ad Calixtum Papam offerendo obedientiam imperatoris **L, KO**; Oratio coram domino Calisto facta per dominum Eneam obedientiam praestantem nomine Caesaris **M**; Oratio Enee coram papa ad tradendam obedientiam pro imperatore **N**; Oratio reverendi in Christo patris domini domini Enee episcopi Senensis sacri imperii oratoris dignissimi coram sanctissimo papa et cardinalibus habita **P**; Oratio quam fecit dominus Senensis dictus Eneas coram papa Calixto ad tradendam obedientiam pro imperatore **R**; Oratio reverendi patris domini Enee episcopi Senensis ad Calixtum papam tertium pro obedientia prestanda ex parte invictissimi imperatoris Frederici cujus ipse pro tempore (?) cancellarius existens legationis officii fungeret **S**; Aeneae Silvii episcopi Senensis oratio ad Callistum pontificem maximum habita in exhibitione obedientiae Caesareo nomine **V**; Oratio facta per dominum Eneam episcopum Senensem legatum tunc temporis serenissimi domini imperatoris Friderici tempore papae Kalixti tertii pro exercitu gregando contra infidelissimos Turcos **Y**; Proposicio reverendissimi domini cardinalis Senensis facta ad ponficem maximum Calixtum tertium anno 1456 de modo procedendi contra Turcos et recuperandi Greciam **Z**; Æneæ Sylvii Legati Casarei, Oratio ad Papam Calixtum III. cum ei obedientiam Impetratoris offerret **MU**; Oratio Aeneae Sylvii Calixtum Papam offerendo obedientiam imperatoris **OO**; Oratio Enee Silvii episcopi Senensis coram Calixto papa tertio de obedientia Frederici tertii imperatoris MCCCCLV **PL**

Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Bishop of Siena, who after he became pope was called Pius II, held in Rome in a public consistory, to Pope Calixtus III, in the name of Emperor Friedrich, with an exhortation against the Turks

[1] {107r} Solent plerique¹ ² omnes³, beatissime⁴ maxime⁵ pontifex, qui ad tradendam oboedientiam huic sacrosanctae Romanae⁶ sedi mittuntur, non solum personae sedentis⁷ in ea, sed ejus⁸ etiam⁹ ¹⁰, quae¹¹ se¹² mittit, amplissimis¹³ verbis¹⁴ exponere laudes. Idem nunc¹⁵ et¹⁶ mihi¹⁷ faciendum¹⁸ esset, qui cum¹⁹ collega meo²⁰, praestanti et optimo juris²¹ interprete, Johanne **Hinderbachio**²², Caesareo²³ nomine oboedientiam²⁴ ad te defero. At²⁵ cum sim certus in hac tua²⁶ summi²⁷ praesulatus adeptione²⁸, quam divinitus inspiratam cuncti²⁹ fatentur, confluisse³⁰ ad te³¹ huc³² quamplurimos³³ tum principum tum civitatum legatos, tui³⁴ consocios³⁵ et dicendi peritos, non sum³⁶ nescius illos³⁷, dum³⁸ tibi et³⁹ Romanae⁴⁰

¹ *omit.* N

² solent omnes *corr. ex* solent plerique omnes H

³ homines K, PL

⁴ pater *add.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁵ *omit.* Y

⁶ *omit.* V

⁷ sedenti J, Y, L, S, KO; dedenti OO

⁸ *omit.* C // *omit.* S

⁹ *omit.* K, P

¹⁰ ejus etiam : eciam eius R

¹¹ qui K, L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹² *omit.* K

¹³ amplissimas K

¹⁴ *omit.* K

¹⁵ tunc K

¹⁶ nunc et : et nunc MU

¹⁷ nunc et mihi : quoque et mihi nunc E

¹⁸ faciendam K

¹⁹ tum V; met J

²⁰ me PL

²¹ viro P

²² Hinderbachio *corr. ex* Hinderbach A; Inderbach E // **Hinderbach H, N, M, V, J, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO;** Inderbach P

²³ Caesario K, L, KO, OO

²⁴ cum collega ... oboedientiam *omit.* Y

²⁵ ac K; et Z

²⁶ tui K, L, KO, MU, OO

²⁷ *omit.* K

²⁸ adoptione K

²⁹ cuncta OO

³⁰ conduxisse P; fluxisse K

³¹ ad te *omit.* P

³² ad te huc : hic ad te K

³³ complurimos Y, PL

³⁴ tui *corr. ex* tuos R

³⁵ consocios L, KO, OO

³⁶ solum H, P, L,

³⁷ *omit.* C

³⁸ tum M, V; cum J, Y, MU; tamen L, S, KO, OO

³⁹ tibi : tempore J

⁴⁰ Romae F

ecclesiae congratulantur¹, et apostolicum sacrum senatum², qui³ te⁴ delegit⁵, et pietatem tuam, quae demandatum munus⁶ accepit⁷, magnifice atque ornatissime commendasse.

0. Introduction

[1] Holy and supreme pontiff, almost all⁸ who are sent to offer obedience to this holy Roman See use to praise extravagantly not only the person occupying that see, but also the person who has sent them. I should do the same now as, together with my colleague, the eminent and excellent jurist, Johann Hinderbach,⁹ I offer you obedience in the name of the emperor. I am certain, however, that after your accession to the supreme pontificate, which all acknowledge to be inspired by God, many legates from princes and cities have arrived here. They know a great deal about you¹⁰ and are accomplished speakers, and am I sure that they have congratulated you yourself and the Roman Church, and that they have magnificently and elegantly praised the holy Apostolic Senate,¹¹ which elected you, as well as your pious acceptance of the office bestowed upon you.

¹ gratulantur E; congratulentur R

² sacrum senatum : sacrosenatum J, Y

³ que L

⁴ *omit.* L, KO, OO

⁵ elegit B; diligit K

⁶ *omit.* H; minus J; nimis K

⁷ suscepit MU

⁸ Classical expression: *Plerique omnes* (*pleraque omnia*) also occurs in Plaut. *Trin.* 29; Ter. *Andr.* 55; Haut. 830; Phorm. 172; and several times in Gellius: 1.3.2; 1.7.4; 1.21. 1; 4.17. Also used by Poggio Bracciolini: *Oratio ad patres revendissimos* (1417). In: *Opera*, II, p. 19

⁹ Johannes Hinderbach (1418-1486): Bishop of Trento from 1465 to his death

¹⁰ "conscios tui"

¹¹ i.e. the College of Cardinals

[2] Per hosce¹ ut **arbitros**² homines³ et veteris⁴ prosapiae tuae alta nobilitas, et majorum tuorum illustria facta, et⁵ **omnes**⁶ **viae**⁷ tuae cursus⁸ ita in lucem prodire⁹, ut nemo in hoc auditorio¹⁰ sit¹¹, qui nesciat, quam praeclare¹² sis natus¹³, quam scholaris acutus fueris¹⁴, quam disputator¹⁵ subtilis et vehemens, quam doctus doctor et eminens, quam providus apud reges¹⁶ consiliarius, quam justus in magistratibus¹⁷ iudex, quam castus in ecclesia presbyter, quam sanctus¹⁸ et amabilis episcopus, quam verax et incorruptus cardinalis.

¹ hos te J, Y

² arbitror D, E // **arbitror H, M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO**

³ *omit.* MU

⁴ veterum K

⁵ ac L, R, KO, OO

⁶ omnis E // **omnis M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, KO, MU, OO**

⁷ vitae D, E // vite *corr. ex vie* H; **vitae M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO**

⁸ modus cursus Y

⁹ prodire D, E // prodere P; prodigerunt K; *corr. ex prodigere* Z; prodierunt PL

¹⁰ adiutorio L, R, OO

¹¹ *omit.* P

¹² preclarus K, P

¹³ notus N

¹⁴ *omit.* S

¹⁵ deputator PL

¹⁶ regem PL

¹⁷ ignorantibus V

¹⁸ severus MU; senectus OO

[2] These men have discerningly¹ set forth the high nobility of your ancient lineage, the glorious deeds of your ancestors, and the whole course of your life so that everybody in this audience knows that you are of noble birth, an accomplished scholar, a subtle and forceful debater, a learned and eminent doctor, an astute counsellor of kings, a just judge in the courts of law, a chaste priest in the Church, a holy and gracious bishop, a truthloving and uncorrupt cardinal.

¹ "ut arbitros"

[3] Non est¹ igitur, cur tempus² in³ exponendis teram⁴ tuis laudibus. Nam⁵ etsi vita tua in hanc usque diem hujusmodi fuerit, ut vel milies⁶ decantata⁷ delectet, non sum tamen ego, qui tuas eximias ac⁸ paene divinas virtutes aequo praeconio celebrare possim⁹. Neque¹⁰ tu is¹¹ es, qui¹² rumusculos¹³ quaeras¹⁴, et¹⁵ inanes **auras**¹⁶ populi¹⁷ captes¹⁸. Sufficit tibi¹⁹ conscientia tua, quae non ab²⁰ homine, sed ab ipso rege saeculorum, justo iudice, qui non fallit **neque**²¹ **fallitur**²², coronam expectat meritorum. Nos igitur de tua beatitudine²³ nihil aliud dicemus²⁴, nisi **te quia**²⁵ ²⁶ veluti sidus quoddam²⁷ clarissimum et saluberrimum e²⁸ caelo missum credimus, sub quo beati Petri navicula, quae misere mergitur²⁹, feliciter emergat³⁰.

¹ *omit.* Z

² in expediendus *add.* Y

³ *omit.* P

⁴ terram E // feram L, KO; terram P, MU, OO

⁵ *omit.* E

⁶ milies *corr.* ex miles A; miles E // milies *corr.* ex miles H; miles V, J, K

⁷ cantata B // decantate V; decantari PL; dictitata L, KO; dictata MU, OO

⁸ hec J

⁹ possum K, L, S, KO, MU; possumus OO

¹⁰ et *add.* D

¹¹ eis *add.* N

¹² *omit.* V

¹³ rumusculus R

¹⁴ quaeres L, KO, OO

¹⁵ *omit.* J, Y

¹⁶ **auras** M, P, S, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, OO

¹⁷ auras populi : populi auras C, MU

¹⁸ captas MU

¹⁹ *omit.* K

²⁰ *omit.* E

²¹ fallit neque *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO

²² neque fallitur *add. in marg.* A // **neque fallitur** *omit.* H, M, N, P, V, J, Y, K, Z, PL, R, S

²³ sanctitate K, PL; benivolentia S

²⁴ dicimus MU

²⁵ te quia : quia te E // **te quia : quia te** M, P, K, Z, PL, J, Y, R, MU; quia tu L, S, KO, OO

²⁶ *omit.* N

²⁷ quodam L, P

²⁸ ex K

²⁹ jactatur MU

³⁰ emerget MU; emergetur L, KO, OO

1. Praise of the pope

[3] Therefore I do not need to spend time on praising your life. Indeed, until now it has been such that it would be delightful to hear it praised even a thousand times. But I am not competent to adequately praise your outstanding and almost divine virtues, and you are not one to be concerned with trifling chatterings and inane popularity. Your conscience is enough for you, and it desires that crown of merit which is given not by man, but by the King of Ages himself, the just judge who neither deceives nor is deceived. So, we shall only say only about Your Beatitude that we believe you to be like a brilliant and auspicious star sent from Heaven, under whom the ship of Saint Peter, sinking pitiously, will rise again splendidly.

[4] Consuevit enim terra Hispania¹ nobilissima, unde tibi origo est, industrios semper² et³ fortissimos viros⁴ apostolicae sedi⁵ atque⁶ imperio⁷ dare, quemadmodum⁸ Damasi et⁹ Theodosii¹⁰ manifestant **facta**¹¹, quibus te nullo pacto censemus esse¹² minorem, et¹³ nunc potissime¹⁴ cum te^{15 16 17 18} urbis illius imperialis, Senarum, matris meae, litterarum cultricis¹⁹ et otii²⁰, tam acrem defensorem²¹ {107v} et²² certissimum²³ conservatorem^{24 25} animadvertimus²⁶.

¹ Hispaniae L, KO, OO; Hispania *corr. ex* Hispanie R

² *omit.* E

³ ac E

⁴ et *add.* E

⁵ sedis P

⁶ Romano *add.* E

⁷ ipsis L, KO, MU, OO

⁸ sicut et E

⁹ *omit.* Y

¹⁰ Theodosi C, D, E // Theodosi H, V, L, KO; alii MU

¹¹ *omit.* E // **omit. H, M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO**

¹² *omit.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹³ *omit.* MU

¹⁴ potissimum MU

¹⁵ *omit.* MU

¹⁶ cum te *omit.* E

¹⁷ cum te : quando turbatorem pacis Italiae et hostem communis bonis, Jacobum Piceninum, te tam acriter insequi cernimus et K; quando turbatorem pacis Italice et hostem communis boni, Jacobum Picceninum, te tam acriter insequi cernimus et PL

¹⁸ ex L, KO, OO

¹⁹ nutricis B // cultricem V

²⁰ primum te *add.* E // primum te *add.* P, S, Z, PL; primum et *add.* K

²¹ defensionem L, R, KO, MU, OO

²² ac K

²³ certissimam L, KO, MU, OO

²⁴ defensorem PL; conservationem L, KO, MU, OO

²⁵ a te profectam, susceptamque *add.* MU

²⁶ advertimus OO

[4] The noble country of Spain, where you come from, has often provided energetic and strong men for the Apostolic See and the Empire, as shown by the deeds of Damasus¹ and Theodosius,² whose equal we believe you to be in every way, especially as we now see how you are a keen defender and a sure guardian of the imperial city of Siena,^{3 4} my homecity, devoted to letters and tranquility.

¹ Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from October 366 to his death in 384

² Theodosius I (Flavius Theodosius Augustus) (347-395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death

³ The condottiere Jacopo Piccinino was trying – with the aid of King Alfonso of Naples - to take over and become duke of the city state of Siena, like Francesco Sforza had done in Milan, cf. the variants from K and PL. Pope Calixtus opposed Piccinino's endeavours, causing a serious rift in his relations with King Alfonso, see oration "Modestius" [27]

⁴ See also Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana / Plut. LIV 19 / Aeneae Silvii Epistolae / ep. 94, ff. 64v-67r / f. 65r: *Prestat tamen non modicum impedimentum desiderio suo Iacobus Piccininus qui cum magna manu militum equestrium ac pedestrium agrum Senensem ingressus non parvam spem habuit urbem illam imperialem sibi subiicere, iamque se ducem Senarum constituerat, cuius conatus cum papa refringere conaretur missis aduersus eum non paruis copiis, indignatus est parumper rex Aragonum, qui Iacobum defendere nixus est, et in hanc usque diem defendit, non sine magno Senensium et Romane ecclesie damno*

[5] De Caesare vero¹, a quo sumus missi², dicere nonnihil eorum temeritas urget³, qui nesciunt verbis extollere suos dominos, nisi deprimant alienos. Sed horremus ingredi cum parvo navigio magnum mare, neque enim nostra oratio⁴ est, quae majestatem⁵ tanti principis pro sua dignitate valeat explicare⁶, cum non uno tantum, sed quattuor ex fontibus nostri⁷ Friderici laus abunde manet⁸: ex Romano imperio, cui praeest, ex⁹ natione Germanica, quae sibi prae ceteris obsequitur, ex domo Austriae, quae se¹⁰ genuit, et demum ex persona propria, quae corporis et animi¹¹ dotibus¹² egregie pollet¹³.

¹ non P

² sumus missi : missi sumus P

³ urgeat N

⁴ nostra oratio : oratio nostra F

⁵ magnanimitatem E

⁶ explicari P

⁷ jure K

⁸ manat E // manat L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

⁹ et J

¹⁰ eum *corr.* ex se Y

¹¹ anime J, R, Y

¹² decoribus S

¹³ pellet P

2. Praise of the emperor

[5] We must now say something about the emperor, who sent us. We are forced to do so by the temerity of those who can only extol their own lords while disparaging others' But we fear to venture upon this great sea in a small boat, and our own oration cannot do justice to the majesty of this great prince. For the praise of our Friedrich does not derive from one source only, but from four: the Roman Empire that he governs, the German Nation that obeys him above all, the House of Austria that brought him forth, and finally his own person, rich in physical and mental gifts.

[6] Si quis igitur Fridericum nostrum, ut par est, commendare voluerit, huic primo vetustas¹ imperii, et amplitudo, et auctoritas, et potestas, et magnificentia, et gloria² in medium³ deducenda⁴ erit; dicendum⁵ quid⁶ sibi⁷ velit ingens Danielis statua propter *ferreas tibias* quaevis⁸ imperia⁹ conterentes; quid grandis¹⁰ Ezechielis importet aquila; cur Assyriorum¹¹ regno¹² minitetur¹³ ab Italia¹⁴, Balaam¹⁵ ¹⁶, enarrandus omnis¹⁷ aquilae¹⁸ volatus, ut¹⁹ Cretensem illum Jovem stulte creditum Deum, ut²⁰ Teucrum²¹, ut²² Trojanos reliquos, ut potissime²³ pium²⁴ Aeneam in bellis²⁵ adjuverit²⁶; ut regibus Albanis aliquando faverit²⁷; ut Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam, ut Graecos imperatores, ut Germanos Caesares²⁸ victores hostium et mundi domitores²⁹ effecerit³⁰. [cont.]

¹ majestas K

² et *add.* N

³ modum F // medio P

⁴ dicenda K; adducenda MU

⁵ deinde L, KO, MU, OO

⁶ quod L, KO, OO; quid *corr. ex* quod R

⁷ *omit.* J

⁸ quis F

⁹ inermia MU

¹⁰ *omit.* Z

¹¹ assiratur K

¹² regna L, KO, OO

¹³ imittetur J, K, S; mutetur Y, L, KO; mutantur MU, OO

¹⁴ item *add.* MU

¹⁵ Balabam E

¹⁶ *textus corruptus*

¹⁷ omnis *corr. ex* omnes A; omnes F // et Salomoneæ MU

¹⁸ omnis *add.* MU

¹⁹ et K

²⁰ *omit.* N; et L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

²¹ est *add.* P; Theorum S; Theocum L, KO, OO; Phæacum MU

²² vel MU

²³ potissimum P

²⁴ primum P

²⁵ in bellis *omit.* S, Z

²⁶ adjuvaret L, KO, OO

²⁷ fuerit K

²⁸ Cesareos P

²⁹ domatores PL; devictores L, S, KO, OO; domitores *corr. ex* devictores R; rectores MU

³⁰ affectit OO

2.1. Roman Empire¹

[6] Anyone who would suitably praise our Friedrich, should first elaborate on the age of the empire, its greatness, its authority, its power, its magnificence and its glory. He would have to expound the meaning of Daniel's immense statue² with its *legs of iron*,³ destroying all the other empires;⁴ the significance of the eagle of Ezekiel;⁵ why the Assyrian Empire was threatened by Italy;⁶ and Balaam. And he would talk about all the flights of the eagle,⁷ and how God - whom they once stupidly thought to be a certain Jupiter from Crete - supported Teucer and the other Trojans and most of all pious Aeneas⁸ in their wars; how he once supported the kings of Alba; how he made the Romans the masters of the world and a toga-clad people; and how he made the Greek emperors and the German caesars victors over their enemies and lords of the world. *[cont.]*

¹ *The Latin text of this section is evidently corrupt, cf. the margin note in the edition of Mansi, p. 336: Locus iste in nullis editionibus sanus*

² Daniel, 2, 31

³ Daniel, 2, 33: *tibiae ferreae*

⁴ Daniel, 2, 40: the fourth empire in the dream of king Nabuchodonosor. Piccolomini identifies it with the Roman Empire

⁵ Ezekiel, 17, the parable of the eagle with its prophecy of the rebirth of the kingdom of Israel, interpreted by Piccolomini as the (Holy) Roman Empire

⁶ Piccolomini refers to the fight between the Persian Empire and the Roman Empire

⁷ The text is unclear, but Piccolomini refers to the prophecies of Balaam concerning Israel, applying them to the (Holy) Roman Empire

⁸ Aeneas, according to Virgil the ancestor of the Romans, and therefore of the (Holy) Roman Empire

[6 cont.] Quaecumque enim de Romano imperio praeclare¹ dicuntur, ad rectorem ejus proculdubio cum laude redundant. Nam sicut apostoli Petri, et² Silvestri, et³ Leonis et aliorum pontificum laudabile nomen te, qui loco eorum sedes, agit⁴ sublimem, ita⁵ et⁶ Augusti primi et⁷ Constantini **magni**⁸, Caroli victoris⁹ et aliorum Caesarum excellens gloria, Fridericum nostrum¹⁰, qui eis successit, in altum tollit^{11 12}.

[7] Secundo exponendum erit quam longa et lata sit Germanica natio¹³, quam religiosa, quam verax¹⁴, quam **justi**¹⁵, quam promissi tenax, quam populosa, quam dives, quanta¹⁶ illic¹⁷ nobilitas, quam¹⁸ fortis et¹⁹ experta militia, quantus ecclesiarum ornatus, quanta gloria cleri, quanta²⁰ principum magnificentia, quantus splendor urbium, quae caeli facies, quae terrae ubertas, cum provinciarum et populi decus cum²¹ principe sit commune.

¹ praeclaro Z

² apostolorum *add.* MU

³ *omit.* MU

⁴ ait K

⁵ *omit.* L, R, KO, OO

⁶ ut E // *omit.* P

⁷ ut E

⁸ **et add.** H, M, N, P, V, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

⁹ victorum K

¹⁰ *omit.* PL

¹¹ tollet E // tollet PL

¹² in altum tollit : tollit in altum K

¹³ Laudes Germanie *in marg.* N

¹⁴ ilax Y

¹⁵ **justa** N, P, K, Z, PL, L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁶ quam K; *omit.* Z

¹⁷ in ea MU

¹⁸ quanta K

¹⁹ quam MU

²⁰ quantum E

²¹ tum V

[6 cont.] All high praise of the Roman Empire no doubt also applies to the one who rules it. For just as the admirable name of the apostle Paul, and of Silvester,¹ Leo,² and the other popes also make you great who hold their place, in the same manner the eminent glory of the first Augustus,³ of Constantine the Great,⁴ and of Charlemagne⁵ the Conqueror raises our Friedrich, their successor, to the skies.

2.2. German nation

[7] Secondly, he would have to expound on how large and great the German Nation is, how religious, how truthful, how just and trustworthy, how populous, how rich, how numerous its nobility, how strong and skilled its army, how great the ornamentation of the churches, how great the honour of the clergy, how great the magnificence of its princes, and – since the regions and the cities share their distinction with their prince - how great the splendour of its cities, its climate and the fertility of the country.⁶

¹ Sylvester I (d. 335): Pope from 314 to his death

² Leo I (ca. 400-461). Pope from 440 to his death. Saint. Strong proponent of supreme papal authority

³ Augustus, Gajus Julius Octavianus (63 B-14 AD): Adoptive son of Julius Caesar. Founder of the Roman Empire and its first Emperor, ruling from 27 BC to his death

⁴ Constantine I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

⁵ 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

⁶ This section prefigures Piccolomini's book *De Germania* which he wrote a couple of years later, as a cardinal, and indeed may already have been preparing

[8] Tertio¹, describenda succurret² inclyta domus Austriae³, ex qua hic Fridericus prognatus⁴ est, mater⁵ et ipsa⁶ regum atque⁷ imperatorum, quae saepe Hungariae, saepe Bohemiae, et aliquando Poloniae⁸ reges dedit; demonstrandum⁹ et quantus fuerit¹⁰ magnus ille Rudolfus imperator, qui et¹¹ Bononiam Romanae¹² ecclesiae dono dedit¹³, et Ottokarum¹⁴, potentissimum¹⁵ Bohemiae regem, qui Austriam et Styriam Romano imperio {108r} surripuerat¹⁶, ancipiti¹⁷ bello victum¹⁸, interemit. Tum duo Alberti occurrent¹⁹ 20, duo Martis filii, *duo fulmina belli*, quorum²¹ alter²² Adolfum²³ de Nassau²⁴, fasces²⁵ 26 imperii usurpantem, apud Rhenum magno proelio²⁷ vicit et occidit, alter²⁸ impios Hussitas²⁹, ecclesiae³⁰ nostrae saeva³¹ bella moventes, quasi malleus contrivit.

¹ tertia H

² occurret Z; succurrit L, KO, MU, OO; occurrit R

³ domus Austriae : Austriae domus MU

⁴ pregnatus K, Z, PL; propagatus MU; propugnatus OO

⁵ omit. K

⁶ et ipsa : ipsa etiam MU

⁷ et K, L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁸ saepe Bohemiae ... Poloniae : et aliquando Bohemie J

⁹ demonstranda L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁰ omit. J

¹¹ omit. P

¹² Rome P

¹³ dono dedit MU

¹⁴ Ortokarum H; Otakkarum N; Orthokarum P; Ortobarum V; Otto Carolum L, KO; Otho qui Carolum MU; Ottho Carolum OO; Ottokarum corr. ex Otto Karolum R

¹⁵ potissimum N; potentissime V

¹⁶ subripuerat N, K, PL; surripuerat corr. ex subrupuerat P; subripuerat corr. ex surripuerat R

¹⁷ aucipiti R; anapati V

¹⁸ omit. N

¹⁹ occurreret K; occurrens Z; occurrerent P, L, KO; occurrant R; occurrerunt OO

²⁰ ecce add. K, PL

²¹ scilicet Albertus imperator secundus filius dicti Rodolphi add. K, Z, PL [dicti omit. K]

²² omit. L, KO, OO; unus MU

²³ Alphonsum L, KO, OO

²⁴ Nassoi H; Naussau K; Vassoi Z; Nasson P, PL, J, Y; Nasam L, KO; Nasau OO

²⁵ fastes PL; vastes Z, L, KO

²⁶ Nassau fasces : Nassonfustes V

²⁷ praeso MU

²⁸ videlicet Albertus tertius imperator add. PL

²⁹ Misitas V; Rhussitas OO

³⁰ Romanae add. suprascr. Y

³¹ omit. N

2.3. House of Austria

[8] Thirdly, he would have to describe the glorious House of Austria from which Friedrich descends. It is the mother of kings and emperors and often gave kings to Hungary and Bohemia, and sometimes to Poland, too. He would also have to show the greatness of Emperor Rudolf¹ who gave Bologna to the Roman Church and who, in a pitched battle, defeated and killed Ottokar,² the powerful King of Bohemia, who had seized Austria and Styria from the empire. Then come the two Albrechts, two sons of Mars, *two thunderbolts of war*³: the first⁴ defeated and killed Adolf of Nassau,⁵ who had usurped the imperial insignia, in a great battle at the Rhine; the second,⁶ like a hammer, crushed the impious Hussites⁷ who inflicted savage wars on our Church.

¹ Rudolf I (1218-1291): Originally a Swabian count. King of the Romans from 1273 until his death. Raised the Habsburg dynasty to a leading position. The first Habsburg to acquire the duchies of Austria and Styria

² Ottokar II (ca. 1233-1278): King of Bohemia from 1253 to his death

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.842; Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 6.46. About the two Scipios

⁴ Albrecht I (Habsburg) (1255-1308): Duke of Austria. King of the Romans from 1298 to his death

⁵ Adolph (Nassau) (ca. 1255-1298): King of the Romans (Germany) from 1292 until his death in battle 1298

⁶ Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Archduke of Austria. King of Hungary and Croatia from 1437. Uncrowned King of Bohemia. Elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1438, but died the next year / NB: the ms. PL wrongly calls him Albertus III

⁷ Bohemian Christian schismatic sect

[9] De patre¹ Ladislai loquor, inclyti regis Hungariae ac² Bohemiae, Caesaris nostri patruo, de
cujus³ admiranda⁴ probitate⁵ nihil⁶ satis dici posset⁷ ⁸. Ponendi⁹ ante¹⁰ oculos essent¹¹
Ernesti¹², Leopoldi¹³, Friderici, et aliae¹⁴ ¹⁵ complures¹⁶ *animae candidissimae* hujus excelsae¹⁷
familiae, quarum¹⁸ virtutem admirari magis quam recensere valemus¹⁹.

¹ parte F

² et N, K; atque MU

³ de cujus : denique L, KO, OO; de cujus *corr. ex* denique R

⁴ miranda K; mirandis MU

⁵ probata te L, KO, OO; probatis MU

⁶ multa S

⁷ possit K; possent S; posse OO

⁸ dici posset : potest dici MU

⁹ ponende et K, PL; sponendi R; etiam *add.* MU

¹⁰ an L

¹¹ esset N

¹² Arnesti N; Arnesti *corr. ex* Ernesti R

¹³ Leboldi J; Lepoldi Y; Leopaldi M; Leopoldi *corr. ex* *Leoparedi* R; Leopardi L, KO, OO

¹⁴ alii K, L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁵ et aliae *omit.* N

¹⁶ quamplures L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

¹⁷ ecclesie E // excelse *corr. ex* ecclesie N; ecclesiae MU

¹⁸ quorum E

¹⁹ valeamus V

[9] I am talking about the father of Ladislaus,¹ illustrious King of Hungary and Bohemia, cousin of our emperor, whose admirable integrity cannot be praised too highly. He would also set before your eyes the [princes named] Ernest, Leopold and Friedrich, and many other *brilliant souls*² from this exalted family whose virtue we must admire rather than review.

¹ 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

² Horatius: *Satirae*, 1.5.41: *animae qualis neque candidiores*

[10] Postremo, quia non imitanti majores dedecus est paterna laus filio, ad¹ Fridericum ipsum convertenda erit² oratio. De³ mansuetudine sua, de⁴ religione, de⁵ justitia, de⁶ providentia⁷ faciendum verbum, exponendum⁸ ejus iter⁹ in terram sanctam, declarandus¹⁰ felix reditus¹¹, enarranda pacis¹² consilia¹³, commendanda pietatis opera, dicendum¹⁴ quo pacto vocatus ad imperium¹⁵ fuerit; ut¹⁶ coronam regni Germanici¹⁷ apud civitatem Aquensem, imperialem in hac urbe summo¹⁸ cum honore¹⁹ suscepit²⁰; ut²¹ conjugem nobilissimam ex domo Portugalliae duxerit, Alfonsi praeclarissimi²² regis²³ neptem²⁴, unde sibi omnes Hispaniae **potentissimos**²⁵ reges^{26 27} affinitate²⁸ conjunxit²⁹; ut neutralitatem ecclesiae Romanae^{30 31} nocentissimam ex natione sua sustulerit³²; ut oboedientiam Germanici populi magno labore, majori sumptu, atque industria, tuis praedecessoribus, Eugenio et Nicolao, restituerit, unde secuta est, qua³³ nunc fruimur, et quam tantopere³⁴ commendamus³⁵, ecclesiasticae societatis unitas,

¹ ac MU

² est K, PL

³ Gesta et laudes imperatoris Friderici *in marg.* N

⁴ et S

⁵ et P

⁶ et N, P, S, Z

⁷ prudentia L, R, KO, MU, OO S

⁸ exponendi N

⁹ *omit.* K

¹⁰ declarandas N

¹¹ redditus K, Z

¹² paucis L, KO, OO

¹³ concilia J

¹⁴ dicendo H, V

¹⁵ vocatus ad imperium : ad imperium vocatus L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁶ ut *corr. ex add.* R; ad M, J, Y, L, S, KO

¹⁷ Germano L, KO; Germanorum MU, OO

¹⁸ Germanici apud civitatem ... summo : Germanicum V

¹⁹ *In K (f. 183v) the following text, from the words suscepit ut until the words magnanimi et fideles in sect. 15, is missing here, but is inserted in sect. 20 after the words et mundi*

²⁰ suscepit Y, K, R, KO

²¹ uti K, R

²² clarissimi S

²³ regis praeclarissimi : regis preclarissimi P

²⁴ nepotem V

²⁵ *em. after the Early Version*; potentissimi A, B, C, D, E, F // potentissimi H, N, V

²⁶ regis S

²⁷ neptem unde ... reges *omit.* K

²⁸ *omit.* Z

²⁹ connexit Z

³⁰ ratione L, KO

³¹ ecclesiae Romanae : Rom. ecclesiae MU

³² sustulerat F

³³ quae L, KO, OO

³⁴ tanto temporis K; tanto tempore R, S

³⁵ recommendamus J, Y; commendavimus L, R, KO, OO

quamvis¹ ejus rei² gloriam plerique in alios³ derivent⁴, quorum ea opera⁵ fuit, quae⁶ solet⁷ illorum esse, qui fugatum⁸ ab aliis fessumque cervum⁹ intercipiunt.

2.4. Emperor

[10] And finally, since praise of ancestors would be shameful to a son who did not imitate them, the oration would now turn to Friedrich himself. We should have to speak about his clemency, his piety, his sense of justice, his prudence, his journey to the Holy Land and his happy return. We should have to talk of his initiatives for peace, commend his works of piety, and tell how he was elected emperor; how he received the crown of the German Kingdom in the city of Aachen,¹⁰ and - with the highest honours - the imperial crown in this city;¹¹ how he married the noble princess of the House of Portugal,¹² the niece of glorious King Alfonso,¹³ thus becoming related to all the mighty kings of Spain; how he lifted the harmful state of neutrality towards the Roman Church from his nation; how he restored – with great toil, and even greater costs, and effort – the obedience of the German people to your predecessors,¹⁴ Eugenius¹⁵ and Nicolaus, resulting in that ecclesial unity we now enjoy and highly praise. (Some people, however, believe that the honour of this matter belongs to others who took it up when, as often happens, other brains grew weary and gave up.¹⁶)

¹ quantus K

² *omit.* K; rex V

³ in alios *omit.* B, E

⁴ detinent L, KO, OO; derivent *corr. ex* detinent R

⁵ ea opera : opera ea L, KO, MU, OO

⁶ quo PL

⁷ solent P, Z

⁸ fugatim L, KO, MU, OO

⁹ fessumque cervum : sessumque termini L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁰ 1442

¹¹ 1452

¹² Leonora of Portugal (1434-1467): Empress of the Holy Roman Empire. Portuguese infanta (princess), daughter of King Duarte and his wife Leonora of Aragon. She was the consort of Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich III, and the mother of Emperor Maximilian I

¹³ 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 to his death. For the marriage, see oration "*Quamvis grandes materias*" [14]

¹⁴ 1447-1448

¹⁵ Oration "*Non habet me dubium*" [11]

¹⁶ Presumably Piccolomini himself, who played a central role in restoring German obedience to the Holy See

[11] De his ergo et aliis quamplurimis¹ rebus cumulatissime² perorandum³ illi⁴ erit, qui⁵ Fridericum nostrum⁶ digne pro meritis laudare decreverit. Sed non sunt haec onera, quae nostris⁷ humeris⁸ committi⁹ debeant¹⁰. Satius est tacere quam **praeconia**¹¹ tanti principis tenui¹², ut¹³ nostra est¹⁴, oratione percurrere. Praetermittimus¹⁵ igitur servatum¹⁶ ab aliis morem¹⁷, et¹⁸ omissis¹⁹ hoc loco tuis²⁰ ac Caesaris nostri laudibus, ad ea veniemus²¹, quae coram te dicere atque²² agere jussi²³ sumus, munusque nostrum quam²⁴ breviter absolvemus.

¹ quam plurissimis K

² cumulatis me V

³ parandum Z; putandum L, KO, OO; disputandum MU

⁴ perorandum illi : illi perorandum J, Y

⁵ per J

⁶ vestrum D

⁷ vestris D

⁸ *omit.* R

⁹ iniuncta Z

¹⁰ scis *dub.* Z

¹¹ **majestatem** H, M, N, P, V, J, Y, K, R, Z, PL, L, S, KO, MU, OO

¹² reum L, KO; leni OO; levi MU

¹³ nec *add.* N

¹⁴ nostra est : est nostra K; est *omit.* Z

¹⁵ pretermittimus P; pretermittamus J, Y; pretermitemus Z, PL;

¹⁶ et *add.* K

¹⁷ servatum ab aliis morem : morem ab aliis servatum L, R, S, KO, OO; ordinem ab aliis servatum MU

¹⁸ ut et K

¹⁹ pretermisissis Z

²⁰ eius J

²¹ venimus R, V

²² et K, J, Y; ac L, KO, OO

²³ nixi P

²⁴ *omit.* F // *omit.* S

[11] So, anyone who decides to justly praise our Friedrich as he merits would have to speak about these and many other things. But such a burden should not be laid on our shoulders: far better be silent than praise this great prince in an insignificant oration, like ours must be. So, we shall abstain from the custom observed by others and omit here to praise yourself and the emperor. Instead, we shall come directly to the matters we have been ordered to speak about before you and be brief in fulfilling the charge conferred on us.

[12] Sane, cum accepisset Fridericus imperator¹ sanctissimae atque indelebilis² memoriae Nicolaum³ papam⁴ V., praedecessorem tuum, ex hac⁵ mortali luce migrasse⁶, complures⁷ illum dies⁸ luxit, non quidem ejus⁹ causa, quem¹⁰ pro suis gloriosis¹¹ operibus et animi¹² rectitudine¹³ in concilio¹⁴ {108v} beatissimorum¹⁵ spirituum et in regno Dei cum¹⁶ Petro et Paulo jam receptum non dubitabat¹⁷, sed propter rempublicam Christianam, cui mortem Nicolai hoc tempore funestissimam¹⁸ existimabat¹⁹, timens ne pro successoris²⁰ electione sacri senatus opiniones in²¹ diversa tendentes²² *inconsutilem* Christi *tunicam* scinderent, et²³ imminenti cervicibus nostris hostili gladio²⁴ vires adjicerent²⁵: quod licet de tanto lumine non²⁶ esset credibile, quia tamen²⁷ acciderunt²⁸ aliquando²⁹ pejora³⁰, non fuit absonum formidare similia.

¹ Fridericus imperator : imperator Fridericus V, K

² indelibilis N, J, Y, K, L, S, KO; indebilis OO

³ *omit.* K

⁴ *omit.* B, E

⁵ *omit.* K

⁶ *omit.* V

⁷ complens L, KO, OO; compluries MU

⁸ diem MU, OO

⁹ cujus L, KO

¹⁰ *omit.* P; que J, Y

¹¹ gratiosis K

¹² ad R

¹³ rectitudinem R

¹⁴ consilio K

¹⁵ beatorum Z

¹⁶ principibus apostolorum MU

¹⁷ dubitat B, E // dubitat H

¹⁸ functissimam PL

¹⁹ extimabat K, Z

²⁰ successorum K

²¹ ne V

²² tenderent MU

²³ *omit.* PL

²⁴ hostili gladio : gladio hostili K

²⁵ *omit.* K; adicerent N, P, Y, Z, J, Y; adducerent PL; addicerent L, KO

²⁶ *omit.* N

²⁷ quia tamen : tum quia R

²⁸ acciderant L, R, KO, MU, OO

²⁹ acciderunt aliquando : aliquando acciderunt J, Y

³⁰ maiora pejora J, Y

3. Death of Nicolaus V and accession of Calixtus III

[12] When Emperor Friedrich heard that Pope Nicolaus V, your predecessor of holy and indelible memory, had left this world, he mourned for several days. He did not mourn the man, however, for he did not doubt that because of his glorious achievements and his moral integrity he had already been received into the assembly of the blessed souls in the Kingdom of God, together with Peter and Paul. No, he was troubled because he thought that Nicolaus' death had happened at a very bad time time for the Christian Commonwealth. He feared that there would be conflicting opinions in the Holy Senate¹ concerning the choice of his successor and that the *seamless coat* of Christ² would be torn asunder, something which would strengthen the enemy's sword, threatening our necks. Though such may hardly be believed about this great light,³ sometimes even worse things have happened, so it was not unreasonable to fear similar events.⁴

¹ i.e. the College of Cardinals

² John 19, 23

³ i.e. the College of Cardinals

⁴ Piccolomini is referring to the risk of different groups of cardinals electing different popes, something which had happened a number of times in history and actually caused the Great Western Schism, 1378-1417

[13] Sed quemadmodum ex praematura¹ et infausta migratione² tui praedecessoris³ maerorem⁴ accepit Caesar⁵ ingentem, ita ex tempestiva et felici vocatione tua summum gaudium maximamque laetitiam⁶ consecutus⁷ est. Novit enim te Caesar⁸, cum adhuc in minoribus⁹ ageres, et cum se¹⁰ visitatum in hac urbe tempore¹¹ suae¹² coronationis¹³ adisses¹⁴, quantum intellectu¹⁵ et doctrina et¹⁶ praesertim civili sapientia, quae mundi gubernatrix existit, quantum animi¹⁷ magnitudine¹⁸ et vitae sanctimonia valeres, diligenter¹⁹ expendit²⁰, teque²¹ unum esse iudicavit, qui beati Petri locum²² jure²³ merito²⁴ aliquando teneres. Quod nunc ex concordi voluntate²⁵ ²⁶ sacri²⁷ senatus impletum cognoscit et gaudet, ac²⁸ cum serenissima conthorali sua²⁹, Leonora³⁰ Augusta³¹, prudentissima et³² sanctissima³³ femina, quae de tuo pontificatu maximo³⁴ incredibiliter exultat³⁵, festos dies agit illudque³⁶

¹ primatura L; primitura P

² migratio F

³ migratione tui praedecessoris : predecessoris tui migratione MU

⁴ memorem P, V; dolorem MU

⁵ omit. B, E

⁶ maximamque laetitiam omit. PL

⁷ adeptus L, KO, MU, OO; consecutus corr. ex adeptus R

⁸ omit. K

⁹ majoribus L

¹⁰ te N; te corr. ex se R

¹¹ omit. L, R, KO, OO

¹² sua N

¹³ tempore suae coronationis : suae coronationis tempore MU

¹⁴ adisset N, V; adisset corr. ex adisses R

¹⁵ intellectum E; intellectui S

¹⁶ omit. MU

¹⁷ cum N, L, R, S, KO, OO; consilii MU

¹⁸ multitudine MU

¹⁹ diligentur L

²⁰ expendens MU

²¹ atque V; te K, L, S, KO, MU, OO; teque corr. ex te R

²² loco J, Y

²³ dandas PL; iure corr. ex iuris R

²⁴ jure merito : juris merito S; juris meriti L, KO, OO

²⁵ omit. P

²⁶ concordi voluntate : voluntate concordi B, E

²⁷ sancti add. J, Y

²⁸ at H, R; atque MU

²⁹ seu K

³⁰ Lemiora P

³¹ omit. M, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

³² ac R

³³ sacratissima J, Y

³⁴ maxime N, R, K, Z; omit. MU

³⁵ exultet L, KO

³⁶ illud quae E // illos quia L, KO, OO; illudque corr. ex illosque R; idque S; quod MU

secum serio triumphat¹, quod² tu solus es, qui post **Gregorium**³ per annos LXXX et⁴ amplius sine⁵ competitore⁶ certus et indubitatus beati Petri successor inveniatis.

[13] But just as the emperor intensely mourned the premature and inauspicious death of your predecessor, he greatly delighted and rejoiced in your own timely and auspicious election. For the emperor came to know you before you attained your present exalted rank,⁷ when you visited him at the time of his coronation in this city,⁸ and thus he had the opportunity to closely assess your great intellect, learning, and especially your great knowledge about civil law that rules the world,⁹ as well as your greatness of soul and your holy life. Indeed, he considered you to be the only person who justly merited to hold the place of Saint Peter. Now that he knows that this has come about through the unanimous will of the Holy Senate, he rejoices and celebrates, together with his Most Serene Consort, Empress Eleonora, a prudent and holy woman, who celebrates your accession to the papacy and is overjoyed that in the more than 80 years since Gregory¹⁰ you are the only one to be the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, without any rival.

¹ reputet MU

² quia MU

³ **undecimum/XI add. J, K, L, M, N, P, R, S, Z, Y, PL, KO, MU, OO**

⁴ vel K

⁵ sive B, E

⁶ competitore : competitorie A, B, E, F

⁷ "cum in minoribus ageres". On the expression "in minoribus" see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 10

⁸ i.e. four years before, in 1452

⁹ On Piccolomini's regard for civil law, see oration "*Nisi satis exploratum*" [8], Sect. 14

¹⁰ Gregorius XI [Pierre Roger de Beaufort](ca. 1329-1378): Pope from 1370 to his death. Seventh and last of the Avignon popes, and last pope before the Great Western Schism

[14] Ea propter laetus de nuntio¹ tuae assumptionis² Caesar³, sollicitus⁴ pro debito⁵ recognitionis, nos duabus de causis ad te misit. Prima est, ut pro vetusto more sanctitatem tuam recenter assumptam suo nomine⁶ veneremur⁷; secunda, ut defendendam contra Turcos catholicam ecclesiam tuae beatitudini commendemus. In primo negotio non est, cur immoremur⁸: faciet⁹ imperator, quod¹⁰ se decet; accipiet¹¹ tua pietas, quod¹² sibi¹³ debetur. Nos igitur¹⁴ jussioni¹⁵ parentes ejus nomine, qui sacro Romano imperio praesidet, sanctitatem tuam tamquam¹⁶ domini nostri **Jesu Christi**¹⁷ locumtenentem¹⁸ in terris, ac¹⁹ magistram²⁰ et ducem universalis ecclesiae recognoscimus²¹; te²² certum et indubitatum beati Petri successorem, te²³ pastorem dominici²⁴ gregis²⁵, te sanctorum evangeliorum verum interpretem, te doctorem²⁶ salutaris²⁷ vitae²⁸, te clavigerum²⁹ regni caelestis³⁰ profiteamur, tibi³¹ omnem reverentiam et oboedientiam³² exhibemus, quam Romanorum³³ imperatores praedecessoribus³⁴ tuis canonice intransitibus praestare comperti sunt³⁵, sive jure,

¹ *omit.* Z [blank space]

² nuntio tuae assumptionis : tue assumptionis nuncio PL

³ ac *add.* MU

⁴ pollicitus K

⁵ debita K

⁶ more sanctitatem ...nomine *omit.* J

⁷ veneremur

⁸ immorem K; amonemur Z

⁹ faciat L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁰ quid Z

¹¹ accipiat N, K, L, KO, MU, OO

¹² quid Z

¹³ tibi *corr. ex* sibi J; tibi Y, L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁴ *omit.* MU

¹⁵ jussione L, KO; ejus *add.* MU

¹⁶ *omit.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁷ Jesu Christi *add. in marg.* A, F // **Jesu Christi** *omit.* H, M, N, P, R, V, J, Y, K, Z, PL, S

¹⁸ locumtenens E

¹⁹ *omit.* MU

²⁰ magistrum H // magistrum patrem MU; in gratiam L, KO, OO

²¹ *omit.* MU

²² *omit.* MU

²³ et L, KO, MU, OO

²⁴ dominice K, PL, L, R, KO; domini P

²⁵ regis P

²⁶ universalem ac MU

²⁷ salutarem PL, L, KO, MU, OO

²⁸ *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO; vite *interlin.* R

²⁹ aeterni *add.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

³⁰ regni caelestis : caelestis regni MU

³¹ tibi PL

³² reverentiam et oboedientiam : obedientiam et reverentiam P, R, K, Z, PL

³³ Romani Z

³⁴ precessoribus P, PL

³⁵ sumus B, E

sive consuetudine suadente¹. Quod², quantum nobis permissum³ sit, {109r} praesenti **sacra**⁴ docebitur⁵.

4. Obedience of the emperor

[14] Overjoyed at the news of your election and eager to recognise it duly, the emperor has now sent us to you for two reasons: the first one is to pay tribute to Your Holiness, newly elected, in his name and in the ancient manner. The second is to recommend the defense of the Catholic Church against the Turks to Your Beatitude.

There is no reason for us to dwell long on the first task: the emperor will do what he should, and Your Piety should receive what is due to you. Therefore, obeying the command given to us, we recognize, in the name of the ruler of the Roman Empire, Your Holiness as the vicar on earth of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and as the teacher and leader of Universal Church. We acknowledge you to be the certain and undoubted successor of Saint Peter, the pastor of the Lord's flock, the true interpreter of the holy gospels, the teacher of moral life, the bearer of the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, and we show you the reverence and obedience which the Roman emperors are known to have offered to your canonically elected predecessors, as bidden both by law and by custom. This – and the extent of our mandate – is shown by the present holy [letter].

¹ suadenti C // suadentes L, KO, OO

² *omit.* N

³ premissum L, KO, OO; premissum *corr. ex* permissum R

⁴ pagina K; littera S; sacra littera L, R, KO, OO

⁵ quod quantum ... docebitur *omit.* MU

[15] Nunc de secunda nostrae¹ commissionis² causa transigere³ oportet, hoc est de⁴ tuendo nomine Christiano contra Turcos - non dico Teucros⁵, numquam⁶ enim⁷ hoc⁸ erroris⁹ ¹⁰ prolabar¹¹, ut¹² genti barbarae atque immundissimae nomen¹³ eorum¹⁴ attribuam¹⁵, qui Romani populi patres habentur. Teucrici enim idem¹⁶ et¹⁷ Trojani fuerunt¹⁸, a quibus exortum genus Aeneadum¹⁹ et gens Julia²⁰ profecta Romanum fundavit²¹ imperium. Turci autem, etsi ea²² nunc²³ occupant loca²⁴, in²⁵ quibus²⁶ fuit Ilion²⁷ ²⁸ et Neptumnia²⁹ Troja, Scythae tamen³⁰ ab origine sunt, qui³¹, regnante apud Francos³² Pipino, in Asiam migravere, eamque³³ pedetentim provinciam³⁴ ³⁵ sui juris fecere, gens spurcissima et ignominiosa³⁶, fornicaria in³⁷

¹ secunda nostrae : nostrae secunda L

² iussionis N; legationis MU

³ transire K; transfigure Z

⁴ omit. K

⁵ Turci non teucrici *in marg.* N

⁶ unquam V

⁷ ergo L, KO; ego MU, OO

⁸ huc M, P, J, Y, K, Z, MU, OO; hic L, S, KO

⁹ errore J, Y; errorum K

¹⁰ hoc erroris : in errorem hunc N; in errorem hunc *corr. ex* hic erroris R; in hunc errorem PL

¹¹ prolabor H, J, Y, K, Z, L, R, S, KO, OO

¹² et *add.* OO

¹³ immundissimae nomen : immundissime nomine S; immundissimo nomini L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁴ Mahometanorum MU

¹⁵ Teucros *add.* MU

¹⁶ iidem PL, MU, OO

¹⁷ ut J; omit. K; qui MU

¹⁸ sunt J

¹⁹ Meandrum L, KO, OO

²⁰ Juliana PL

²¹ fuderat L, KO, OO; fundaverat MU

²² omit. H, L, R, KO, MU, OO

²³ etsi ea nunc : nunc etsi ea J

²⁴ omit. P

²⁵ omit. OO

²⁶ in quibus : ubi MU

²⁷ Ilium MU

²⁸ fuit Ilion : Ilion fuit K, PL

²⁹ Neptunia C // Neptunia K, Z, S; Neptuna PL; Neptune L, KO, OO; Neptumnie *corr. ex* Neptune R; omit.

MU

³⁰ autem B, E // omit. H

³¹ que L

³² et cum *add.* H

³³ tamquam K

³⁴ provincia B, E

³⁵ pedetentim provinciam : orbis partem pedetentum MU

³⁶ ignominiosa A, C, D // ignominiosa J, M, N, V, Y, K, PL, S, KO

³⁷ omit. J

cunctis stuprorum¹ generibus, tum² quidem idolorum cultrix, nunc impii³ Mahumeti sectatrix⁴ et⁵ hostis pessima nostrae religionis.

5. War against the Turks

[15] Now, we shall deal with the second part of our mission which is the protection of the Christian cause against the Turks. I do not call them Teucrians⁶ for I would never fall into the error of attributing the name of those who are thought to be the fathers of the Roman people to that barbarous and filthy people. For the Trojans and the Teucrians are the same people from which arose the Aeneids and the Julian clan which founded the Roman Empire. But the Turks, who now occupy those regions where Ilion and Neptunian Troy were once situated descend from the Scythians. When Pepin⁷ ruled the Franks, they migrated to Asia⁸ and gradually subjugated that province. They are a foul and disgraceful race, licentious and addicted to all kinds of debauchery.⁹ At that time they worshipped pagan idols, today they follow impious Muhammad and are a bitter enemy of our religion.

¹ scriptorum P

² cum K; tunc L, KO, MU, OO

³ imperii N, J, Y

⁴ seccatrix A, F

⁵ hec L, S, KO, MU, OO; et *corr.* ex hec R

⁶ Actually, Piccolomini had earlier used the name Teucrians for the Turks, in his first oration, the “of 1436”, and in later writings, too (until 1447). Only after reading classical authors, Otto von Freising, and Aethicus Ister, whose work he mistook for a proper scholarly work, did he abandon the notion of the Turks as descendants of the Trojans or some other people from Asia Minor

⁷ Pepin the Short (ca. 714-768): King of the Franks from 751 to his death. Father of Charlemagne

⁸ Asia Minor

⁹ Cf. Aethicus Ister

[16] Quomodo autem debachati¹ sint² diebus³ nostris^{4 5} in Graecia Turci⁶, et⁷ quo impetu Constantinopolim expugnaverint⁸, Galatas deleverint, Rasciam⁹, quae superior olim¹⁰ Mysia¹¹ dicebatur, oppresserint¹², in Peloponesum, in Epirum¹³ cum exercitu venerint¹⁴ cunctisque per circuitum Christianis vincula, verbera, neces comminati sint¹⁵, non est propositi nostri nunc¹⁶ commemorare; satis enim et¹⁷ in¹⁸ Ratispona, et¹⁹ in²⁰ Frankfordia, et in²¹ Nova Civitate²² et²³ apostolici, et Caesarei et aliorum principum legati ruinam Graeciae et²⁴ ecclesiae nostrae vulnera deflexerunt²⁵.

¹ bachati N

² sunt B, E; sunt de N; sunt L, KO, OO; *omit.* R

³ temporibus L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁴ diebus nostris *omit.* Y

⁵ diebus nostris : nostris diebus C

⁶ In Graecia Turci : Turci in Grecia L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁷ *omit.* MU

⁸ expugnaverunt L, R, S, KO, OO

⁹ Rhasiam MU

¹⁰ superior olim : *corr.* ex superior olim H; olim superior P, Z

¹¹ Imina L

¹² oppresserunt S

¹³ Cyprum PL; Euboeam L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁴ venerunt L, R, S, KO, OO

¹⁵ sunt K, PL, L, R, S, KO, OO

¹⁶ *omit.* S [*blank space*]

¹⁷ *omit.* R

¹⁸ *omit.* K

¹⁹ *omit.* E

²⁰ *omit.* K

²¹ *omit.* K

²² Francfordia et in Nova Civitate : Nova Civitate et in Francfordia J, Y

²³ *omit.* MU

²⁴ *omit.* L, R, S, KO, OO

²⁵ defluerunt Z

[16] We shall not dwell on how the Turks have, in our time, ravaged Greece, attacked and conquered Constantinople,¹ destroyed Galata, overcome Rascia,² once called Upper Moesia, and come to the Peloponese and Epirus with an army, threatening all the Christians in the region with chains, scourges and killings. In Regensburg, Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt, the legates of the pope, the emperor and other princes have sufficiently lamented the ruin of Greece and the wounds to our Church.

¹ May 1453

² Serbia

[17] In hoc etiam auditorio¹ non me fugit saepe de his rebus orationes habitas esse, et ab illis quidem **disertissimis**², quibus si³ velim aequari dicendo, manifeste⁴ desipiam⁵. Nunc vero non verbis nec⁶ lacrimis, sed armis regum⁷ et populorum est opus⁸. Quae⁹ autem¹⁰ hactenus¹¹ adversus hanc Turcorum insolentiam pro tutela fidelis populi temptaverit¹² imperator, optime¹³ novit tua beatitudo, nec te latet promissa fuisse Hungaris auxilia¹⁴, quae petierunt¹⁵. Sed quam¹⁶ ratione¹⁷ perturbata sint¹⁸ ejus consilia¹⁹ et quibus artibus impedita sit hoc anno in Turcos expeditio, malo tacitus²⁰ tecum cogites²¹ quam publice ex²² me²³ audias²⁴ 25.

¹ adiutorio L, R, KO, OO

² **viris add.** M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

³ se K

⁴ manifesto MU

⁵ decipiam E // diciam K; decipiam Z, S; de sapientie L; de sapia KO; desiperem MU, OO

⁶ non K

⁷ legum Z

⁸ est opus : opus est N

⁹ quomodo N

¹⁰ que *add.* K; est *add.* L

¹¹ autem hactenus : hactenus autem P

¹² comptaverit S

¹³ *omit.* B, E

¹⁴ subsidia L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁵ petierint PL; praeterierunt L, KO, OO

¹⁶ qua modo Z; quae jam L, KO, OO

¹⁷ iam *add.* K

¹⁸ sunt H, L, KO, OO

¹⁹ concilia Z

²⁰ *omit.* L, R, KO, MU, OO; *in marg.* R

²¹ cogitabis Z; cogites S, MU

²² *ex corr.* ex extra R

²³ publice ex me : ex me publice H, R

²⁴ audies J, Y, R

²⁵ publice ... audias : extra me publice audies L, KO, OO; a me publice audies MU

[17] I am well aware that many orations on these matters have been held in this assembly, too, and even by very eloquent men – were I to try to emulate them, I should evidently fail. At any rate, now we need not words or tears, but the armies of princes and peoples. Your Holiness well knows what the emperor has done so far for the protection of the Christian people against Turkisk impudence, and you are aware of the help sought by the Hungarians and promised to them. But why the emperor's plans have been disturbed and by what ploys the expedition against the Turks has been held up this year I prefer you to consider privately rather than hear it from me publicly.

[18] Illud¹ tamen non reticebo², quae Frankfordiense concilium³ facienda decrevit duabus conditionibus subnixa fuisse⁴: altera ut⁵ certitudo⁶ classis Italicae, quae⁷ cum terrestri exercitu⁸ concurreret, suo tempore⁹ haberetur; altera ut¹⁰ Germanorum controversiae, quae possent¹¹ impedire procinctum¹², de medio tollerentur. Primam conditionem irritam fecit¹³ tui praedecessoris obitus. Secunda ne posset¹⁴ impleri¹⁵, ab his¹⁶ procuratum¹⁷ est, qui ex¹⁸ publico malo¹⁹ proprium commodum quaerunt. Atque ita, dum²⁰ Christiani cunctantur, Turci²¹ properant religionemque²² nostram funditus delere²³ nituntur, qui non contenti vicisse Graeciam²⁴ Hungariae nobili regno²⁵ imminet.

¹ id S

² recatebo K; recitabo Z, L, KO

³ consilium H, V, Y, K, L, KO

⁴ subnixa fuisse : fuisse subnixa B, E

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ certando K

⁷ quo H

⁸ terrestri exercitu : exercitu terrestri R

⁹ temporis K

¹⁰ *omit.* L, KO, OO

¹¹ possint N, L

¹² praecinctum C; pactum L, KO, MU, OO

¹³ irritam fecit : fecit irritam Z

¹⁴ possit N, R, J, Y

¹⁵ implere M

¹⁶ aliis Z; hactenus *add.* MU

¹⁷ curatum K

¹⁸ *omit.* K

¹⁹ publico malo : malo publico R

²⁰ fit ut cum MU

²¹ Turcique L, KO, OO; Turcæ MU

²² religionem L, KO, OO

²³ evertere MU

²⁴ Grece F

²⁵ nunc *add.* K, PL

[18] I must, however, speak about the two conditions attached to the decisions made by the Diet of Frankfurt. The first condition was that there should be certainty concerning an Italian fleet to reinforce the land army when needed. The other condition was the resolution of the conflicts in Germany which might otherwise impede the preparations for battle. The death of your predecessor meant that the first condition could not be met. Neither could the second one, because of those people who seek their own advantage in public misfortune. Thus, while the Christians hesitate, the Turks hasten on, endeavouring to destroy our religion completely: not content with having conquered Greece, they are now threatening the noble Kingdom of Hungary.

[19] {109v} Hungari vero¹ magnanimi et fideles populi annis supra LXX hunc hostem perpassi, nunc victi², nunc victores, suum fundendo³ sanguinem⁴ tutati⁵ sunt nostrum⁶ ⁷: qui⁸ dum⁹ ¹⁰ nos¹¹ servant, optimates¹² suos cum regibus **et**¹³ pontificibus amiserunt¹⁴. Nulla domus in Hungaria est¹⁵ digna¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ nomine, quae¹⁹ in²⁰ duobus novissimis²¹ proeliis²² contra Turcos habitis egregium et fortem aliquem²³ virum non desideraverit²⁴. Hodie vero²⁵ non est hoc regnum²⁶, quod²⁷ Turcorum impetum sustinere²⁸ possit²⁹. Attenuatum atque attritum³⁰ ³¹ externa³² jam³³ indiget ope³⁴. Legati ejus et in Frankfordia et in Nova Civitate coram³⁵ Caesare³⁶ superos³⁷ atque homines testati sunt: si reliquorum Christianorum³⁸ praesidia sentiant³⁹, sese⁴⁰ iterum atque iterum belli pericula subituros⁴¹; sin reliquantur a nobis, leges

¹ Here K continues, cf. earlier note in sect. 7

² nunc victi *omit.* F

³ fundendum P; *omit.* L, KO, OO

⁴ fundendo sanguinem : sanguinem fundentes MU

⁵ tuta K

⁶ *omit.* L, KO, OO; *interlin.* K

⁷ tutati sunt nostrum : nostrum tutati sunt MU

⁸ et MU

⁹ cum L, KO, OO

¹⁰ qui dum *omit.* R

¹¹ dum nos : nondum F

¹² optimatos R

¹³ **ac H, M, P, V, K, Z, PL, J, Y, S**

¹⁴ miserunt L, KO, OO; amiserunt *corr. ex miserunt* R

¹⁵ in Hungaria est : est in Ungaria Y

¹⁶ digno L, KO, OO

¹⁷ hoc *add.* MU

¹⁸ est digna : digna est V

¹⁹ qui OO

²⁰ *omit.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

²¹ nobilissimis H

²² bellis L, KO, MU, OO; preliis *corr. ex bellis* R

²³ suum *add.* MU

²⁴ amiserit *corr. in marg.* H; desideravit K; amiserit PL; deploraverit L, KO, MU, OO

²⁵ *omit.* MU

²⁶ non est hoc regnum : hoc regnum non est MU

²⁷ apud E // ut amplius MU

²⁸ subsinere L

²⁹ posset K, R, S

³⁰ attritatum K; contritum PL; *omit.* L, KO, OO

³¹ atque attritum : est supra modum MU

³² extrema K

³³ *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO; *interlin.* R

³⁴ opere L

³⁵ cum M, L, R, S, KO, OO; tum MU

³⁶ Cæsarem tum MU

³⁷ superiores R

³⁸ reliquorum Christianorum : Christianorum reliquorum MU

³⁹ sentiunt J, M, L, S, KO, MU, OO

⁴⁰ se L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁴¹ si reliquorum ... subituros *omit.* Y

accepturos¹, quas² Turci dederint. Neque enim³ consilium⁴ eorum⁵ est⁶ sine⁷ spe victoriae⁸ urbes et agros igni, uxores et filias lupanari, sua et liberorum capita hostili ferro committere.

[19] But the brave and faithful Hungarians have had to confront this enemy for more than seventy years, sometimes as winners, sometimes as losers. Shedding their own blood, they have protected ours. While guarding us, they lost their nobles as well as kings and bishops. Every home in Hungary, worthy of that name, has lost an excellent and brave man in the last two battles fought against the Turks. So, today that kingdom can no longer withstand the attacks of the Turks. It is weakened and beaten and now needs outside aid. In Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt – before the emperor - their legates took God⁹ and men to witness that if they could be sure of help from other Christians, they would, again and again, suffer the perils of war. But if they are deserted by us, they will accept the conditions offered by the Turks. If they are without any hope of victory, they will not give over their cities and fields to the fire, their wives and daughters to the brothel, and their own and their sons' heads to the sword of the enemies.

¹ accepturas Y

² quos L, KO; quæ MU

³ autem MU

⁴ concilium P, MU, J, Z

⁵ ipsorum J, Y

⁶ et K

⁷ animo aut MU

⁸ quippe qui prius omnia perpeti proponant quam *add.* MU

⁹ "superos"

[20] Quocumque¹ tandem modo² ad hostes Hungaria deficiat³, sive Italiam, sive Germaniam⁴ percurrere ac⁵ praedari Mahumetus⁶ voluerit, in utramque terram⁷ patenti porta⁸ aditum habet. Murus noster⁹ Hungaria¹⁰ est¹¹ et antemurale fortissimum¹², sive clipeus nostrae religionis, sub quo longo¹³ jam¹⁴ aevo^{15 16 17} protecti sumus¹⁸. At hic nunc¹⁹ clipeus²⁰ nobis subtrahitur²¹. Murus noster²² bombardis et arietibus²³ quatitur²⁴, et nos de remedio cura²⁵ nulla remordet. O ingratitude²⁶ nostram²⁷, quam²⁸ nunc vicem defensoribus nostris reddimus²⁹ Hungaris! O stultitiam populi Christiani! O caecitatem atque amentiam!

¹ jam si illos deseruerimus, quocumque MU

² tandem modo : modo tamen S

³ deficit L, KO, OO; deficiat *corr. ex* deficeret S; deficeret MU

⁴ Italiam sive Germaniam : Germaniam sive Italiam R

⁵ aut K

⁶ *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO

⁷ partem K

⁸ portu Y

⁹ vere M; vero L, R, KO, OO; *omit.* MU

¹⁰ Hungariae H, Z

¹¹ *omit.* H

¹² est *add.* H

¹³ longe L, KO, OO

¹⁴ longo jam : jam longo N, S

¹⁵ *omit.* S, OO; enim L, KO

¹⁶ longo jam aevo : longissimo tempore MU

¹⁷ jam aevo : evo iam R

¹⁸ viximus MU

¹⁹ hic nunc : nunc hic H

²⁰ *omit.* L, R

²¹ nobis subtrahitur : subtrahitur nobis R

²² vero L, KO, OO; noster *corr. ex* vero R; hic jam MU

²³ et arietibus : arietibus et M, L, S, KO

²⁴ conquatur H; patitur K

²⁵ anima L, KO, OO; conscientia MU

²⁶ magnitudinem N, R, PL; gratitudinem Z

²⁷ ut Z

²⁸ numquam Z

²⁹ reddemus H; reddamus V; *omit.* PL

[20] And if Hungary defects to the enemies, Mehmed will want to overrun and plunder either Italy or Germany, and there¹ he will find an open gate to both countries. Hungary is our wall and mighty bulwark, the shield of our religion which has protected us for so long. But now this shield is being taken from us. Our wall is being crushed by bombards and battering rams - and we are completely indifferent! Oh, the ingratitude that we now show our Hungarian defenders! Oh, the foolishness of the Christian people! Oh, the blindness and insanity!

¹ I.e. in Hungary

[21] Ab externis invadimur¹ hostibus, et nos² in cives arma³ convertimus. Sed digne patimur pro nostris iniquitatibus. Nulla inter⁴ nos concordia, nulla oboedientia est⁵, neque spirituali paremus neque temporali⁶ capiti. Jacet spreta religio justitiae, nullus honos⁷, fides paene incognita est⁸. Rex quisque sibi⁹ ¹⁰ et¹¹ pontifex esse videtur. *Quot capita, tot sententiae. Scinditur¹² incertum studia in contraria¹³ vulgus.* Illic Germaniam mille¹⁴ conturbant lites; inter Galliam et Angliam¹⁵ vetus¹⁶ odium **viget¹⁷**; Hispaniae reges inimicat¹⁸ ambitio; Italiam¹⁹ magno labore pacatam²⁰ novus²¹ jam turbo conculcit; nova²² **exurgunt²³** apud Senas incendia.

¹ invaduntur N

² *omit.* N

³ committimus vel *add.* K

⁴ intra L, KO, OO

⁵ *omit.* P

⁶ paremus ... temporali : neque temporali paremus L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁷ honor N, K, Z

⁸ sed L, KO, OO; *omit.* MU

⁹ *omit.* N

¹⁰ quisque sibi : sibi quisque C

¹¹ *omit.* H, V; aut L, KO, MU, OO

¹² scinduntur in PL

¹³ temeraria S

¹⁴ non nullae H; mille *in marg.* H

¹⁵ Galliam et Angliam : Angliam et Galliam Z

¹⁶ necnon K

¹⁷ *viget corr. ex urget* A, C; *urget* F // *urget* H, V; **viret M, N, P, K, Z, PL, J, Y, L, R, S, KO, OO**

¹⁸ *omit.* K; *dimicat* Z; *immutat* N, L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹⁹ Italia R; *jam add.* PL

²⁰ placatam P; potatum Z

²¹ nonus K

²² *corr. from novas* A, C; *nona* N

²³ *exurgunt corr. ex exurunt* A, C; *exuerunt* B, E // *exuriunt* H, V; *exuritat* N; **exurunt M, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, S, KO, OO**

[21] We are being attacked by external enemies, but We turn our swords against our fellow citizens! Justly we suffer for our wickedness! There is no harmony among us and no obedience, and we obey neither our spiritual nor our secular leader.¹ The respect for justice is trodden under foot, there is no honour, and loyalty is almost unknown. Everybody is his own emperor and pope. *Many heads, many minds.*² *The wavering crowd is torn into opposing factions.*³ Germany is disturbed by a thousand conflicts. Between France and England the old hate is still fresh. Ambition sows enmity among the kings in Spain. Italy had been brought to peace with great effort,⁴ but now it is now shaken by new turmoil, and in Siena new fires are flaring up.⁵

¹ I.e. the pope and the emperor

² Cf. Cicero: *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, 1.5.15: *Quot homines, tot sententiae*

³ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2.39

⁴ The Peace of Lodi, 1454, and the Italian League, 1455

⁵ The condottiero Jacopo Piccinino had designs on the Siennese state, allying himself with King Alfonso V of Naples, and probably also with a faction of the nobility. Piccolomini would later, in 1456, be asked to negotiate a peace between Siena and the king, see his oration "*Modestius*" [27]

[22] Quid speremus¹? His moribus² procuratores Mahumeti sumus. Viam³ ipsi⁴ patefacimus⁵ hosti, et terga nudamus, quae⁶ feriat⁷. Quid⁸ dicam⁹? Tanta inter nos¹⁰ est¹¹ invidiae¹² ac¹³ malivolentiae¹⁴ 15 pestis¹⁶, tantum¹⁷ venenum, tanta rabies, ut videre videar¹⁸ complures nostrae religionis homines servire Turcis malle, quam Christianum ferre¹⁹ aliquem principem²⁰.

¹ pro *add.* S

² motibus C

³ nam L, KO, MU, OO

⁴ Christi PL, J

⁵ patefecimus H, K, Z

⁶ qui K

⁷ ferit MU, OO

⁸ quod L

⁹ dicamus N, R; *omit.* M, L, S, KO, MU, OO

¹⁰ vos OO

¹¹ inter nos est : est inter nos D // inter nos est : est inter nos K

¹² invidia L, R, KO, OO

¹³ aut K; et L, R, KO, OO

¹⁴ malivolentia P

¹⁵ invidiae ac malivolentiae : malivolentiae et invidiae J, Y

¹⁶ tanta inter ... pestis : Quod tanta est inter aliquos invidia, tanta benevolentiae pestis MU

¹⁷ odii MU

¹⁸ videatur E, R // videat L, KO

¹⁹ *omit.* P

²⁰ ferre aliquem principem : aliquem ferre principem MU

[22] So, what hope do we have? Our own ways¹ make us the agents of Mehmed. We ourselves are opening up the road to the enemy and are baring our backs to the lash. What can I say? There is so great a plague of envy and hatred between us, so much poison, so much madness, that I see many men of our own religion who would rather serve the Turks than have a Christian prince.

¹ "natura"

[23] Tot deinde¹ ² sunt in Christiano populo³ vectigalia, tot pecuniarum extorsiones, tot rapinae, tot principum, ne dicam tyrannorum nostrorum⁴ {110r} in subditos contumeliae, ut magnopere verear, ne venienti⁵ Turco et onera⁶ relaxanti⁷, plebes nostrae⁸ libenti animo colla⁹ submittant¹⁰, maxime vero¹¹, si - ut est callidus hostis - libertatem de fide fecerit¹². Sed, o Christianum populum, o plebem electam, o¹³ vineam¹⁴ domini¹⁵ Sabaoth, o Christi haereditatem, o testamentum, o regnum Dei: quo nunc redacta es¹⁶, Christiana societas? Ex quattuor patriarchalibus¹⁷ ecclesiis, quibus¹⁸ Christiana subnixa fides¹⁹, in²⁰ orbem²¹ universum palmites extendit, majores nostri duas per ignaviam et **socordiam**²² cum²³ Jerosolymitana sede turpiter perdiderunt. Nos tertiam et illam quidem, quae post Romam²⁴ secunda²⁵ fuit, in qua tot nobilissimi imperatores, tot sancti pontifices claruerunt²⁶, tot generalia concilia²⁷ celebrata, tot sacri²⁸ canones editi²⁹ ³⁰, tot sacratissimae leges promulgatae sunt³¹, non minori³² damno, majori tamen³³ desidia³⁴ prorsus amisimus³⁵.

¹ demum L, KO, MU, OO

² deinde sunt : sunt demum R

³ Christiano populo : populo Christiano MU

⁴ *omit.* N

⁵ veniente N, J, Y, L, R, S, KO

⁶ contra B, E

⁷ relassanti P; relapsanti V

⁸ nostri N

⁹ celsa L, KO, OO

¹⁰ submittant P; subjiciant MU

¹¹ *omit.* S

¹² fecit L, KO

¹³ et Z

¹⁴ veniam L

¹⁵ dei H

¹⁶ est K, MU

¹⁷ parrochialibus J, Y

¹⁸ *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁹ subnixa fides : fides subnixa N

²⁰ *omit.* S

²¹ urbem K

²² secordiam C, D, F // socordiam MU; socordiam *corr.* ex secordiam M; **secordiam H, L, N, P, K, PL, J, Y, L,**

R, S, KO, OO

²³ *omit.* V

²⁴ Romanam PL

²⁵ *omit.* J, Y

²⁶ qua tot nobilissimi ... claruerunt *omit.* V

²⁷ consilia K, L

²⁸ tot sacri : et K

²⁹ *omit.* H

³⁰ tot sancti pontifices ... editi *omit.* Y

³¹ *omit.* K

³² minore MU

³³ majori tamen : quam MU

³⁴ desideria OO

³⁵ emisimus V

[23] Moreover, many taxes, much extortion of money, many robberies burden the Christian people, and in many ways our princes, not to say tyrants, abuse their subjects.¹ Therefore, I greatly fear that if the Turk comes and lightens the burdens on our peoples, they will willingly submit, especially if he grants freedom of Faith – for he is a clever enemy.² But, oh Christian people, oh chosen people, oh vineyard of the Lord Sabaoth, oh inheritance of Christ, oh testament, oh Kingdom of God: to what state have you been brought now, Christian Commonwealth? Of the four patriarchal churches, on which the Christian faith was based and whence it reached out to the whole earth like vine sprouts, our forefathers shamefully lost two – together with the See of Jerusalem - out of faintheartedness and sluggishness. And we ourselves have now lost the third one,³ the one that was second only to Rome, and in which so many noble emperors and so many holy bishops flourished, so many general councils were celebrated, so many sacred canons were issued, and so many sacred laws were promulgated – indeed this is not a trifling nuisance, but an enormous failure.

¹ Note this remarkable – and rare – example of social criticism in Piccolomini's writings

² Indeed, the policy of religious toleration pursued by the Turkish rulers might be conceived of as a threat to Christian rulers. Elsewhere in this oration as well as his other orations and writings, Piccolomini expresses the conviction that the Turks aim at destroying Christianity. It would appear that Piccolomini here actually distinguishes between Christianity as a religion and Christianity as a geopolitical entity (Europe). On Mehmed's policy of religious toleration see Crowley, pp. 246-247. See also Babinger, p. 453

³ i.e. Constantinople

[24] Evangelium salvatoris, quod in omnem terram intonuit, sola jam audit Europa, nec ipsa quidem omnis¹. In occidenti² ³ Saracenis premimur, septentrionis magnam partem caeca gentilitas invasit⁴; ex orienti⁵, qua⁶ Graecia protenditur, Turci nos populere⁷; prope est, nisi⁸ vigilamus⁹, nisi¹⁰ consurgimus¹¹, nisi Deus adjuvat¹², nisi tua sanctitas¹³, ut coepit¹⁴ ¹⁵, animose occurrat¹⁶, ut et hunc¹⁷ tuum thronum et quidquid¹⁸ restat Christiani nominis¹⁹ Mahumetus occupet²⁰, qui jam sine resistentia²¹ terrae dominus ac maris²² esse videtur.

¹ omnes Z, S

² occidente J, R, MU

³ a *add. supracr.* A; a *add.* B, E // a *add.* MU

⁴ tenet MU

⁵ oriente L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁶ quae L, KO, OO; quam MU

⁷ compulere MU

⁸ ni R; nihil MU

⁹ vigilemus J, Y

¹⁰ nisi *corr. ex ni* A; ni C, F // ni M, R, S, V, Z; *omit.* K

¹¹ consurgamus PL, J, Y

¹² adjuvet J, K

¹³ tua sanctitas : sanctitas tua H

¹⁴ ceperit J, Y, S; temperet L, KO, OO

¹⁵ ut coepit : tempestive et MU

¹⁶ succurrat N, J

¹⁷ hic MU; huc OO

¹⁸ quod J

¹⁹ nomine S

²⁰ occupat P, L, KO, OO

²¹ et *add.* K

²² dominus ac maris : ac maris dominus MU

[24] The gospel of the Saviour which he proclaimed to the whole world is now heard by Europe alone, and not even by all of it. In the West we are under pressure from the Saracens. In the North a large area has been invaded by blind¹ pagans. From the East, starting with Greece, we have been thrown out by the Turks.² Unless we are vigilant, unless we rise up, unless God helps us, unless Your Holiness firmly opposes Mehmed - as you have already begun to - he will soon occupy your throne and whatever remains of Christianity for he seems already and without any resistance to have become lord of land and sea.

¹ i.e. to the Christian truth

² In the context – Europe being gradually lost to Christianity – Piccolomini is probably speaking about the Balkans, but in other contexts the East would more likely imply Asia Minor and the Levant

[25] Adversus hanc pestiferam bestiam¹ et adversus haec² mala conatus est imperator, ut nosti, remedia³ conquirere⁴. Sed⁵ praerepta⁶ sunt ejus, ut ante dixi⁷, consilia⁸. Non tamen⁹ proposito cadit, neque animo¹⁰ deficit¹¹: deceptus est, non defatigatus. *Hac*¹² *non*¹³ *successit*¹⁴, *alia aggredietur*^{15 16} *via*. Quaecumque sibi¹⁷ ut¹⁸ imperatori Romanorum¹⁹, ut advocato ecclesiae, ut²⁰ protectori²¹ fidei orthodoxae, ut²² Austriae duci, ut²³ religioso principi **et**²⁴ homini Christiano incumbere videntur, pro tutanda²⁵ religione minime postergabit. Sed quoniam propulsare Turcos et illatam Christianae plebi contumeliam ulcisci commune²⁶ opus est omnium fidelium²⁷ magnoque sumptu et²⁸ magnis viribus indiget, supplex orat²⁹ tuam beatitudinem Caesar³⁰, quae³¹ Christi vicarium³² gerit³³, ut³⁴ antequam hostis³⁵ appropinquet magis, una³⁶ secum ad ea³⁷ intendas animum³⁸, per quae Christiani³⁹ potentatus inter se⁴⁰

¹ belluam MU

² impendentia MU

³ auxilia MU

⁴ conquerere K

⁵ sunt L, KO, MU, OO

⁶ praerepta *corr. ex* precepta A, C; precepta B, E // precepta N, V, Y, K, L, R, KO, MU, OO; praerepta *corr. ex* precepta J; precepta P

⁷ ante dixi : audisti V

⁸ concilia Z

⁹ a *add.* N, R, MU; *omit.* L, KO, OO

¹⁰ decidit aut *add.* MU

¹¹ deficit L

¹² hoc Z

¹³ vero L, KO; non *corr. ex* vero R

¹⁴ succedit P

¹⁵ alia aggredietur *omit.* B, E

¹⁶ aggredietur S; aggredditur H, P, J, Y; egredietur N, R, Z

¹⁷ *omit.* MU, OO

¹⁸ et M; et *add.* J, Y

¹⁹ Romano J, Y

²⁰ et J, Y

²¹ preceptori J

²² et Z

²³ et J

²⁴ **ut L, N, P, K, Z, PL, J, Y, L, R, KO, OO; et MU**

²⁵ tuenda K; curenda MU; curanda L, KO, OO

²⁶ omnino MU

²⁷ ope *add.* MU

²⁸ ut P

²⁹ erat PL

³⁰ utpote eam *add.* MU

³¹ quo N, R

³² Christi vicarium : vicarium Christi MU

³³ agit MU

³⁴ et K

³⁵ antequam hostis : antiquum hostem S

³⁶ et *add.* V

³⁷ secum *add.* M, S

³⁸ animus V

³⁹ Christiane M, S, L, KO

⁴⁰ sese Z

pacem tenentes¹, adversus infideles arma convertant et² communem hostem ex Europa deturbent³. Quod licet difficile videatur hac infelici⁴ tempestate nostra⁵, in qua tantopere⁶ divisi sumus, nihil est tamen, quod⁷ diligentis⁸ hominis studium non perficiat. Vigilanti, instanti⁹, urgenti, pro voto cuncta succedunt: *labor improbus omnia vincit*.

[25] As you know, the emperor is endeavouring to oppose this pestiferous beast and these evils. But as I have already said, his plans have been blocked. However, he does not give up, and he does not lose courage: he is disappointed, but he is not worn down. *If one way does not work, he will try another.*^{10 11} As Emperor of the Romans, Champion of the Church, Protector of the True Faith, Duke of Austria, pious prince, and Christian, he will certainly do everything needful for the protection of our religion. But since it is the joint task of all the faithful to cast out the Turks¹² and avenge the injury to the Christian people, and since it requires great expenses and great forces, the emperor begs of Your Beatitude, as Vicar of Christ, that - together with him and before the enemy approaches any further - you should endeavour to make the Christian powers keep peace between them, turn their weapons against the infidels, and chase the common enemy out of Europe. This may seem difficult in this unhappy time of ours when we are so disunited, but nothing is impossible for a dedicated man. Those who are vigilant, insistent, and energetic will succeed in everything they wish for: *toil triumphs over every obstacle.*¹³

¹ tenentis S

² ut K

³ deturbent B, E // deturbent N; deturbent *corr. ex* deturbent R

⁴ *omit.* MU

⁵ tempestate nostra : nostra tempestate MU

⁶ tantopere : tanto tempore K

⁷ *omit.* N, V

⁸ diligentius D

⁹ *omit.* J

¹⁰ Terentius: *Andria*, 670: *Hac non successit, alia aggrediemur via*

¹¹ Indeed, an imperial strategy having failed to mobilize the German princes, the emperor is now more than ready to try a papal strategy

¹² As Piccolomini had said already twenty years before, in his *Oration "Audivi" [1] of 1436*

¹³ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1.145-146: *Labor omnia vicit improbus*

[26] Incidisti, beatissime¹ pater, in haec luctuosa et, ut ita dixerim, fastidiosa tempora, quae fidem catholicam {110v} paene concussam et undique laniatam Christianam plebem ostendunt. *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra² audentior³ ito*: quo difficilius, eo praeclarius ages⁴. Non est⁵ impossibile, si mihi credis, Constantinopolim totamque⁶ Graeciam de manibus Turcorum eripere, si⁷ modo his⁸ itineribus incedamus⁹, quae sunt aptissima. Neque mari¹⁰, neque terra Christianae potentiae Turci sunt pares¹¹: et hominibus, et equis, et navibus¹², et curribus¹³ ¹⁴, et quibuslibet¹⁵ armis, et rei militaris¹⁶ peritia superiores sumus, et auro¹⁷. Quod¹⁸ si armetur Christianum robur, fugient¹⁹ hostes *sicut stipula ante²⁰ faciem²¹ venti, Sarmacidaque²² nostris relinquent spolia sine vulnere et sanguine.*²³ Mira²⁴ res²⁵: neque²⁶ facultas nobis deest²⁷, qua possumus²⁸ Turcos exterminare, neque voluntas. Nam viribus multo²⁹ quam³⁰ illi³¹ praestamus, et nemo est³² Christiano³³ nomine³⁴ insignitus, qui nolit

¹ sanctissime J, Y

² quia S

³ audientius B, E // ardentior P; ardencius K; audientior R, Y

⁴ agas N; agis S

⁵ omit. N

⁶ totam K

⁷ omit. P

⁸ is H

⁹ incidamus H, K, Z

¹⁰ mare L, KO

¹¹ Christianae potentiae Turci sunt pares : Turchi sunt pares Christianae potentiae V

¹² manibus B, E // manibus S, K

¹³ curribus *corr. ex* turribus A; turribus B, C, E, F // turribus H, Z, S

¹⁴ navibus et curribus : curribus et navibus MU

¹⁵ quibuscumque Z

¹⁶ militari P; potentia *add.* J, Y

¹⁷ superiores sumus et auro : et auro superiores sumus MU

¹⁸ et P, K; quia L, KO; quot OO

¹⁹ fugiant S

²⁰ ante *corr. ex* a R

²¹ ante faciem : a facie L, KO, OO

²² Sarmacidaque *corr. ex* Sarmaciaque A, C // **Sarmatiaque H, M, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, OO;**

mavortiaque MU; Sermatiaque N; Sarmatesque V

²³ Sarmacidaque ... sanguine *omit.* E

²⁴ miras J, Y

²⁵ mira ras *omit.* MU

²⁶ atque E

²⁷ est K; adest Y

²⁸ possumus N, P, Z, PL

²⁹ multuens Z

³⁰ *omit.* F

³¹ quam illi *omit.* MU

³² ex R

³³ est Christiano : Christiano est F

³⁴ populo B, E

perire Turcos¹. Quid igitur² obstat³? Cur⁴ stamus? Cur non exurgimus⁵? Cur non defendimus plebem nostram⁶? Cur non propulsamus injurias⁷?

6 Conclusion

[26] Holy Father, you have come upon griveous and difficult times, when the Catholic Faith is almost shattered, and the Christian people is being mauled on all sides. *Yield not to ills, but go forth all the bolder to face them*⁸: the greater the difficulty, the greater the glory. Believe me, it is not impossible to wrest Constantinople and all of Greece from the grip of the Turks if only we choose the most suitable ways. Neither on land nor at sea do the Turks equal Christian power: we are superior both in terms of men, horses, ships, wagons, arms of all kinds, knowledge of warfare, and money. In front of armed Christian forces, the enemies will scatter *as stubble before the wind*⁹ and will *leave Sarmatian spoils for our soldiers, without wounds and blood*.¹⁰ For, remarkably, we lack neither the means nor the will to exterminate the Turks: we are much stronger than them, and all who are distinguished with the name of Christian will want to destroy the Turks. So, what hinders us? Why do we stand still? Why do we not rise up? Why do we not defend our people? Why do we not remove the injuries?

¹ perire Turcos : Turcos perire MU

² omit. PL

³ obstat H; obstet R; abstat MU

⁴ quid V

⁵ exurgimus J; exurgamus R

⁶ cur non exurgimus ... plebem nostram omit. N

⁷ injuriam L, KO, OO

⁸ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.95

⁹ Psalms, 82, 14: *sicut stipulam ante faciem venti*

¹⁰ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.18.061: *Thou son of Salmacis, win spoils that cost nor sweat nor blood (Salmacida, spolia sine sudore et sanguine)*

[27] Sed unum nobis deest¹, unum² inquirendum est, quo habito facile terrebimus³ et consternemus⁴ hostem⁵. Hoc unum est ordo, sine quo nihil est, quod⁶ rite valeat⁷ explicari⁸. Ordine caremus, beatissime pater, et modo⁹. At¹⁰ hunc¹¹ tuum¹² est¹³ et¹⁴ nostri Caesaris invenire¹⁵ et¹⁶ 17 adhibere¹⁸ rebus agendis. Nisi¹⁹ enim vos²⁰ duo luminaria magna, vos prima²¹ orbis capita, vos sal terrae, et mundi²² praesides²³ ordinem ponitis²⁴, quo²⁵ Christianae vires in hoc opus uniantur²⁶, non est, quod vel²⁷ nos speremus, vel Turci timeant Christianum conflari exercitum. Age igitur, sanctissime²⁸ pontifex²⁹, fortem sume animum, erige nobilissimam³⁰ mentem laudatissimumque³¹ illud³² 33 in³⁴ omni gente vulgatum, quod in assumptione tua votum emisisti³⁵, ante oculos semper habeto.

¹ de istis L, KO, MU, OO

² *omit.* J, MU, OO

³ terrebimus K; *omit.* Z [blank space]

⁴ prosternemus MU

⁵ hostes Z

⁶ *omit.* Y

⁷ rite valeat : valeat rite M, N, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

⁸ explicare L, R, KO, OO; expediri MU

⁹ medio P

¹⁰ *omit.* J

¹¹ nunc L, KO, MU, OO

¹² tua L, KO, MU, OO; tuum *corr. ex tua* R

¹³ interest L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁴ *omit.* P

¹⁵ *omit.* L, KO, MU, OO

¹⁶ *omit.* Y, MU

¹⁷ invenire et *in marg.* R

¹⁸ adhaerere L, KO, OO; attendere MU

¹⁹ *omit.* R

²⁰ nos K

²¹ primi L, S, KO, OO; prima *corr. ex primí* R

²² *Here K inserts the missing text, cf. note in sect. 10*

²³ praesules N, L, KO, MU, OO

²⁴ ponetis N

²⁵ quae J, K, Z

²⁶ veniantur L

²⁷ ut H

²⁸ summe H, J, Y, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO; sancte K

²⁹ sanctissime pontifex : pontifex sanctissime N

³⁰ erige nobilissimam : nobilissimam erige MU

³¹ laudatissimum L, KO, MU, OO; que *add. interlin.* R

³² id J, S

³³ et *add.* P, K, Z, PL

³⁴ *omit.* P, K

³⁵ demisisti H

[27] Yet there is one thing we are lacking, one thing we must search for, and when we have it, we shall easily frighten and dismay our enemies. That one thing is order without which nothing can be done properly.¹ We lack order, Holy Father, and plan. But that is for you and our emperor to find and give to the enterprise. For if you, the two great lights,² the heads of the world, the salt of the earth, and the leaders of the world, do not impose an order that makes it possible for the Christian forces to unite in this undertaking, we can have no hope and the Turks will have no fear that a Christian army may gather. So, act, Holy Bishop, be strong, raise your noble mind, and always have before your eyes that praiseworthy vow³ you made at your election and which has been made known among all peoples.

¹ Note the theme of order, implying hierarchy and authority, which was and would become more important to Piccolomini/Pius

² A medieval metaphor for the Papacy and the Empire

³ Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 18, gives a brief and a long version of the oath

[28] Intelligis, quid¹ Caesar promittat². Clarissimum³ illum Aragoniae regem, potentia et sapientia incomparabilem, in hoc opus volentissimum⁴ ⁵ habes. Philippo, duci⁶ Burgundiae, nobilissimo et piissimo⁷, maximis regibus⁸ comparando, nihil magis cordi est quam pugnare in Turcos. Hungari auxilia⁹ expectant¹⁰, belli fortunam sub tuo vexillo iterum experturi. In Germania multi sunt principes, qui corpora sua¹¹ adversus¹² hos¹³ hostes devovere. Carolus, rex Francorum, et re¹⁴ et nomine Christianissimus, suorum progenitorum vestigia non¹⁵ deseret, quorum fortia facta¹⁶ omnis decantat ecclesia. Neque¹⁷ fortes - ut opinor - Anglorum¹⁸ manus¹⁹ deerunt. Castellanis²⁰ et²¹ Portugallensibus, rerum gestarum gloria²² clarissimis, innatum²³ est pro fide certare. Voluntarii sunt et prompti omnes populi²⁴ pro Christi fide arma suscipere. Sed omnes in te oculos²⁵ direxere²⁶. Omnes ex te modum atque ordinem²⁷ expectant.

¹ *omit.* H; quod L, KO, OO

² promittit E // promittit H, P, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

³ gloriosissimum PL

⁴ valentissimum J, Y, L, KO, MU, OO

⁵ jam *add.* MU

⁶ dicte R; duce V

⁷ cuilibet MU

⁸ rebus K, L, KO, MU, OO

⁹ auxilium H

¹⁰ in *add.* Z

¹¹ *omit.* B, E

¹² adversum Y

¹³ istos MU

¹⁴ et re *omit.* J, Y

¹⁵ sequi B, E

¹⁶ fata J, Y

¹⁷ ne quaeque L, KO

¹⁸ angelorum L

¹⁹ *omit.* K

²⁰ Hispanis MU

²¹ ut F

²² *omit.* OO

²³ unitum Z

²⁴ Christiani *add.* R

²⁵ in te oculos : oculos in te N, R

²⁶ erexere N; direxisse Z

²⁷ modum atque ordinem : ordinem atque modum R

[28] You see what the emperor promises. Also, the glorious King of Aragon, of incomparable power and wisdom, will willingly join you in this enterprise. And Philippe, noble and pious Duke of Burgundy,¹ alike to the greatest kings, wants nothing more than to fight against the Turks. The Hungarians are already expecting help and will once again try the fortune of war, this time under your standard. In Germany, many princes have promised to go to war in person. Charles, King of France,² Most Christian both in fact and in name, will continue in the footsteps of his forefathers, whose deeds are proclaimed by the whole Church.³ And strong troops will come from England, I believe. The Castilians and the Portuguese, famous for their glorious deeds, are born fighters for the Faith. All peoples are willing and ready to take up arms for the Christian faith. But they have all turned their eyes to you, and they all expect that order and planning should come from you.

¹ Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

² Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death. Disinherited in 1420 by his father, in the Peace of Troyes following the Battle of Agincourt, he settled in Bourges from where he gradually regained the French territories occupied by the English. In 1429, by the agency of Jeanne d'Arc, he was crowned King of France in Reims

³ Cf. Piccolomini's oration "Audivi" [1], of 1436, sect. 55: *Then they will acknowledge the truth of the Homeric saying that a reputation is never quite false if it is sung by many people (Verumque illud Homeri experientur dicentis: famam numquam penitus vanam esse, quam populi multi decantant)*

[29] Exurge igitur¹, aperi ecclesiae **thesauros**², aperi caeli portas³, promitte⁴ dignam **laborum**⁵ mercedem, effunde largiter⁶ spiritualia dona in Christi milites, {111r} mitte operarios in agrum⁷, qui⁸ messem domino⁹ gratissimam¹⁰ metant¹¹. Hoc¹² tuum¹³ est opus, hoc est, in quo Deo possis¹⁴ et¹⁵ hominibus¹⁶ complacere¹⁷. Scio multos tibi deberi¹⁸ titulos postquam caelum¹⁹ **petieris**,²⁰ ²¹ sed nullius²² illustrior sarcofago²³ tuo²⁴ inscribi poterit, quam si perditae²⁵ sub²⁶ praedecessore²⁷ tuo Constantinopolis recuperator²⁸ et ultor communis injuriae²⁹ ³⁰ vociteris. Atque, ut aperte dicam, quod sentio, haec certissima via est, per quam Christiani reges et fideles³¹ cunctae³² nationes tibi ut³³ Christi vicario cervices³⁴ suas libenter³⁵ inflectant, si defensionem fidei nostrae fortiter ac³⁶ magnifice suscipias, et³⁷ quemadmodum vovendo³⁸, Italicam³⁹ pacem⁴⁰ juvando, et sapientissimos⁴¹ legatos designando spem dedisti

¹ iterum S

² **thesaurum** H, M, N, P, V, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO

³ *omit.* F

⁴ promittam K; permitte L

⁵ **labore** M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, L, R, S, KO, MU, OO; laboris V

⁶ largitor PL

⁷ in agrum *omit.* L, R, KO; agrum *omit.* MU, OO

⁸ *omit.* MU, OO

⁹ domini N, R; dominando S; eam *add.* MU

¹⁰ sacratissimam N; ditissimam L, KO, MU, OO

¹¹ metent Z, PL, L, R, KO, MU, OO

¹² *omit.* C

¹³ unum Y

¹⁴ Deo possis : posset Deo N; possis Deo PL

¹⁵ ex V

¹⁶ omnibus V

¹⁷ placere S

¹⁸ tibi deberi : deberi tibi MU

¹⁹ caelos J, Y

²⁰ *petieris corr. ex potieris* A, C; *potieris* B, E, F // **potieris** M, N, P, J, Y, K, Z, PL, R, KO, OO; *petieris corr. ex potieris* H

²¹ postquam caelum *petieris omit.* MU

²² nullus C, E // nullus H, V, J, Y, K, Z, S, MU

²³ sactafago K; sacrofago J, L, KO, OO; sacrosancto MU

²⁴ nomini MU

²⁵ predicte K

²⁶ suo F

²⁷ precessore K, M; de precessore R; predecessori Z

²⁸ recuperatorum L

²⁹ injuria Z

³⁰ ultor communis injuriae : communis injuriæ ultor MU

³¹ *et add.* H

³² cuncti N

³³ *et* K

³⁴ servitos K

³⁵ nationes tibi ... libenter *omit.* N

³⁶ *et* N, R, S, MU

³⁷ *omit.* J, Y

³⁸ monendo K; fovendo M, J, Y, L, S, KO, MU, OO; vovendo *corr. ex favendo* R

³⁹ Italicam L, S, KO, MU, OO

⁴⁰ *et add.* PL

⁴¹ sanctissimos N

ad¹ exterminandum² Turcorum foedam³ et impiam gentem⁴ totis⁵ conatibus erectus atque intentus esse videare^{6 7 8}. Pleraque⁹ alia ad rem hanc¹⁰ idonea, semotis arbitris, cum¹¹ tuae pietati¹² videbitur, latius exponemus.^{13 14}

[29] So, arise, open large the coffers of the Church, open the gates of Heaven, promise a just reward for the labours, bestow generous spiritual gifts on Christ's soldiers, send workers into the field who may *reap a harvest* to please the Lord. This is your task, this is how you may please both God and men. I know that when you go to Heaven, you will have many titles, but the most glorious title that may be written on your sarcophagus is to be called the pope who regained Constantinople, lost under your predecessor, and who avenged the common injury. And to be completely frank: the most certain way to have the Christian kings and all the faithful nations submit willingly to you as the Vicar of Christ is to undertake a vigorous and magnificent defense of our Faith, just like you have inspired hope by making your vow, by promoting peace in Italy, and by designating wise legates, completely intent on working with all your power to destroy the filthy and impious Turkish people. There are other things relevant to this matter that we should like to relate to Your Holiness¹⁵ whenever it may please you.

¹ *omit.* L, R, KO, MU, OO

² exterminandam P, V, J, Y, K, Z, PL; exterminandi OO

³ sedem PL, L, R, KO, MU, OO

⁴ ita ad reliqua MU

⁵ tot J, Y

⁶ videaris N; videaris *corr. ex* videare R

⁷ esse videare : esse videare E

⁸ erectus atque ... videare *omit.* MU

⁹ et *add.* J, Y

¹⁰ rem hanc : hanc rem K

¹¹ *omit.* J

¹² beatitudini MU

¹³ Laus Deo *add.* N; Finis orationis Pii papae secundi *add.* J; Finis *add.* V, Y; Deo gratias. Amen *add.* P; Deo gratias *add.* PL

¹⁴ Such an ending in an oration to a prince was not infrequently used by humanist ambassadors, e.g. Leonardo Bruni in his *Oratio ad papam Martinum V: Sunt alia quedam a nobis seorsum tue beatitudinis exemplificanda, que cum tempus dabitur exponemus* (Bruni: *Opere*, p. 810). Cf. *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, sect. 7.8.4

¹⁵ "pietas"