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Oration “Dominatorem caeli” of Pope Pius II (Spring 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 35)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 35)

Oration “*Dominatorem caeli*” of Pope Pius II (26 February 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

7th version

2019

Abstract

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Enrique IV, King of Castile. In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope touched upon five themes recurring in all his responses to such embassies: supremacy of the Roman Church; his own unworthiness for the exalted papal office; merits of the king and his House; acceptance of the king's obedience; gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the projected crusade against the Turks; and benevolence of pope and cardinals towards the king.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Enrique IV rey de Castilla; King Henry IV of Castile; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Castile; 15th century; 1459; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo

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 as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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**Appendix 1: Oration “*Etsi juxta sapientum*” of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo to Pope Pius II
(26 February 1459, Siena)**

Appendix 2: Letter of Pope Pius II to King Enrique IV of Castile of 27 February 1459

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Enrique IV, King of Castile. It arrived in Siena on 25-26 February, and consisted of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo,^{2 3} at the time Bishop of Oviedo, and the Minorite Alonso of Palenzuela.⁴

2. Themes

The pope's lengthy response covers the five themes recurring in his responses to such embassies⁵ and moreover has a short presentation of various views of God.

2.1. Papal supremacy

The first theme is the supremacy of the papal office.⁶

In other such orations the pope simply affirms the supremacy of the papal office, both in temporal and spiritual matters.⁷ In the oration "*Dominatorem caeli*", however, he endeavours to give proofs of this supremacy, based on the fundamental notion of the unity of God. God is the one ruler of Heaven and Earth, though he delegates the rule of Earth to one man:

Only the Christians respect the pristine authority of their fathers who alone knew the Way of Life and who had taken a page of the New Testament from the Old Book. Though they affirm that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three persons, they proclaim that

¹ CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

² His oration of obedience to the pope is extant in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 4881 / ff. 212r-216r, see Appendix 1

³ *Huic pontifici, Henrici Castelle regis predicti iussu et regnorum suorum nomine, ego ipse, tunc episcopus Ouetensis, puram, debitam ac solitam reuerentiam et obedientiam prestiti.* (Cited in Alvar Nuno, p. 45)

⁴ Trame, pp. 97-98. Apart from the oration to the ambassadors, Pius also sent a written response to the king (Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 24), see Appendix 2

⁵ On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

⁶ On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

⁷ E.g. oration "*Quotiens Nova*" [30], Introduction

there is only one God, one substance, and one power that rules all things, both those which are above, in Heaven, and those which are below, on Earth. And Christian truth recognizes the omnipotence of God, who ordains everything according to His will, and who is content that just as the heavenly court has only one ruler, likewise the government of the world should depend on the will of one alone. Therefore, in the beginning, when rational beings were created, they had their origin in one man only, Adam, who was entrusted with the government of all. [Sect. 4]

Based on scripture, Pius claims that God in the times of the Old Testament had given supreme power to the Israelite priesthood:

These words clearly show that also in the Old Testament supreme power belonged to the priests, even if the kings sometimes presumed to make decisions concerning the High Priesthood. [Sect. 8]

This claim is important because Pius - as he had explained in the oration "*Sentio*" [20] of 1452 - believed that there had been a translation of the sacerdotal office (with all its rights) from the Jewish people to the Christian Church.¹

Through Jesus Christ – God delegated the rulership of Earth to the Apostle Peter:

We read in the Gospel that all power is given to Christ the Saviour in Heaven and on Earth. If all power has been given to Him, it must include royal power which Jesus actually used when he cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple and overthrew the chairs of the money changers. This power he passed on to his disciples, that is the priests, when he said: "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you." And again: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven." However, he set one man above them all when he appointed Peter as their prince saying to him, and to him only that "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and "Feed my sheep," and other [similar words]. These words designate the power of a vicar. And it is well-known that, at the Last Supper, the Lord Himself appointed Peter and the other apostles as priests. Thus it is clear that on Earth the supreme power belongs to one man and that he is a priest. [Sect. 9]

From the Apostle Peter the supreme power has passed to his successors as bishops of Rome, the popes:

¹ Oration "*Sentio*" [21], sect. 21: *Legimus in Deuteronomio iudicium inter sanguinem et sanguinem, lepram et lepram, causam et causam ad summum sacerdotem esse remissum. Quis hic est, qui saecularia subtrahit apostolico culmini? Numquid translato sacerdotio legis quoque translatio facta est? Apud Isaiam inquit dominus: Ego te constitui super gentes et regna, ut dissipes, aedifices et plantes.*

But no human reasoning or authority can alter the divine will of Christ as expressed in the words to Peter, already quoted, that the primacy has been given to the Roman Church, and that it is this Church that has been entrusted with the vicarship of the Great God. Whoever governs the Roman Church is the teacher of Faith, the pastor of the sheep, the interpreter of divine law, and the head of all the Christian people. All should obey him who wish to avoid the punishments of eternal fire and to reign with the holy apostles and with Christ the Saviour. [Sect. 10]

It should be noted that Pius' conception of papal supremacy was not adopted by him after he attained the Papacy. It was already fully developed in the aforementioned oration "*Sentio*" [21], which he wrote towards the end of 1452, 6 years before he became pope. He had not invented it himself, it was a doctrine elaborated by theologian and popes of the Middle Ages, not the least among them Pope Innocent III, to whom Pius refers in the oration.

As he stated in that oration, the pope should not exercise ordinary rule of secular affairs. Only in exceptional and important cases, when secular power was failing, he should by virtue of his supreme office step in and make the necessary decisions:

To them we reply, with Innocent III, that the Roman Pontiff does not exercise secular jurisdiction nor give judgment in secular matters indiscriminately and without good cause, but only rarely and with good cause. For whenever nobody else can or dares give judgment in a secular matter, whenever a secular matter is evidently conducted criminally and divine majesty is being offended, and no secular judges oppose it, and whenever justice is denied, the Roman Pontiff is free to intervene, for his pontifical magisterium is concerned not only with the affairs of priests, but also with secular affairs.¹

By that time Pius was far from the ideas of supreme secular power being vested in the emperor which he had defended in his youth.² An important factor in the development of his ideas in this area might have been his direct, personal experience of the weakness of the imperial institution and the fact that it could no longer function as a universal monarchy, not to speak of a European or even a German one.

It is interesting to note the congruence between the pope's conception of papal supremacy and that expressed by the Castilian ambassador in his oration to the pope. The pope and the ambassador probably knew each other from the Basel period³ and other previous encounters, and they may have so to speak conferred notes before the public reception of the ambassador.

¹ Oration "*Sentio*", sect. 27

² See Piccolomini's works *Pentalogus* (1444) and *Epistola de ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii ... ad Friedericum Romanorum regem* (1446)

³ Alvar Nuno, pp. 41-43

2.2. Personal unworthiness

A second theme is the pope's protestation of his personal unworthiness for his exalted office, a traditional manifestation of humility expected of high ecclesiastics¹:

That power has now been passed on to Us who hold this exalted chair, though unworthy. But the lower Our condition was before, the greater is the glory of Him who raised Us to this place. We acknowledge that if anyone looks at Us and our [actions], all he will see is sinful flesh. But if he considers what God has done with Us as well as the dignity of the office that We hold, he must admit that all power on Earth is subject to Our authority, that is the authority of Christ and Saint Peter the Apostle. [Sect. 11]

As seen, even this declaration of personal humility serves as the basis for the claim to supreme power over all Earth.

2.3. Other themes

The other themes are praise of the ruler declaring his obedience, acceptance of his obedience, gratitude for his offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks, and assurance of papal benevolence.

The section on papal supremacy also contains a review of various conceptions of God. In this connection, Pius' use of the concept of the World Machine – created by God – is worth noting.²

3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 26 or 27 February, in Siena. The Castilian embassy arrived in Siena on 25 or 26, and the pope wrote to King Juan II on 27, acknowledging his declaration of obedience. The date 26 is therefore retained as the most likely.

¹ On the theme of personal unworthiness for papal office, see See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect.7.8.2

² The concept of the world machine was used by Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1195-ca. 1256) in his astronomical treatise *De sphaera mundi*, a standard textbook on astronomy at medieval universities. Piccolomini's source for this concept merits further research

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable and appropriate for papal functions.¹ The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

4. Text²

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,³ which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts⁴

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 161r-163r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 26r-30v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 28r-34r
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 45r-51v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 149r-152v **(H)** *

¹ That Pius used the cathedral of Siena as the venue for official papal functions during his stay there is shown by his own remark in a later oration to Castilian ambassadors, "*Claritudo sanguinis*" [59], sect. 1: *Claritudo sanguinis et morum elegantia singularisque virtus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici, Legionis et Castellae regis illustris, cum anno jam revoluto hoc ipso templo nobis et apostolicae sedi suo nomine praestaretur obedientia pluribus verbis recensita et explicata fuit*

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

³ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, cf. 5.1.2

⁴ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 184-189
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]

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:

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 16 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible, half from the OT and half from the NT.

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

Biblical: 16
Classical: 0
Patristic and medieval: 0
Contemporary: 0
All: 16

Biblical sources: 16

Old Testament: 8

- Deuteronomy: 3
- Exodus: 1
- Numbers: 1
- 4. Kings: 1
- Jeremiah: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 8

- Matthew: 5
- John: 3

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistola de ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii ... ad Friedericum Romanorum regem*. [1446]

- Wolkan, Rudolf: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. In: *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, II, 67 (1912) 6-24, nr. 3

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Pentalogus*. [1443]

¹ References to the *Annales* are 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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7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

J = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

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)

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio facta oratoribus regis Castellae per sanctissimum Dominum nostrum papam Pium II

[1] {149r} Dominatorem caeli ac terrae eundemque creatorem mundialis machinae simulque conservatorem unum esse Deum omnipotentem¹ primi² omnium mortalium Hebraei confessi sunt, apud quos frequenter illa³ vox audita est: *Israel Deus tuus unus est.*

¹ omnium potentem J

² *omit.* J

³ frequenter illa : illa frequenter G

Response to the ambassadors of the King of Castile by Our Holy Lord, Pope Pius II

1. Papal supremacy

1.1. Divine monarchy

1.1.1. Hebrews

[1] The Hebrews were the first men to acknowledge that there is only one, omnipotent God, ruler of Heaven and Earth, who created and preserves the world machine. Often they heard the words: *Hear, O Israel, your God is one.*¹

¹ Deuteronomy, 6, 4; Mark, 12, 29

[2] Inter gentes diversae fuerunt haereses. Alii stulto errore et caeca obducti¹ caligine nullum esse Deum crediderunt, et incerto casu mortalia ruere² putaverunt. Alii Deum quidem esse arbitrati sunt, sed minime solum. Multos esse et inter se quoque dissidentes stulta meditatione professi sunt. Et hi rursus in alias divisi sectas. Quidam curare mortalia superos censuere, quidam negligere. Fuerunt et gentilium nonnulli, qui veritati propius accedentes, quamvis plures deos esse³ assererent, unum tamen omnium deorum Deum patrem, duces, imperatorem ac dominum faterentur, a quo conditum orbem gubernari regique minime dubitarent asserere, quorum principem Platonem esse, perspicuum est. Nec Aristoteles, quamvis aeternitatem mundi videtur astruere, unitatem magni Dei confundit, quippe qui non solum caelestia, sed et terrena quoque ab uno regi principe optimum ducit, cuius sententiam omnis ferme philosophorum schola confirmat.

¹ caeca obducti : stulti ducta G

² tueri J

³ deos esse : esse deos J

1.1.2. Pagans

[2] Among the gentiles¹ various heresies prevailed.

Some, in foolish error and dark stupidity, thought that there is no God and that human affairs are directed by uncertain chance.

Others believed that God exists, but not as One. Foolish speculation made them claim that there are many gods, who even have conflicts between them.

They are subdivided into various sects, some believing that the gods care about human affairs, others that they ignore them.

Some of the pagan peoples were closer to the truth: though they claimed that there are many gods, they professed that one of the gods is the father of all the other gods, their leader, ruler, and lord, and they did not hesitate to declare that it is he who has created the world and governs and rules it. The most eminent of these people is clearly Plato.²

And though Aristotle³ seems to conceive of the world as eternal, he does not doubt the unity of the Great God. Indeed, he considers it to be an excellent thing that not only the celestial [sphere], but also the earthly is governed by one lord. His views are shared by almost the whole school of philosophy.

¹ "gentes"

² Plato (428/427 or 424/423-348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

³ Aristotle (384–322 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Plato

[3] Saraceni, qui Mahumetum sequuntur, quamvis decepti pseudomagistro in plurimis errant, in hoc {149v} tamen veritati consentiunt, quia plures nominare deos¹ abhominabile ducunt, et ab uno regenda omnia profitentur.

[4] Christiani, apud quos solos incorrupta patrum servatur auctoritas, qui soli noverunt viam vitae, et qui novi testamenti paginam ex codice veteris^{2 3} extraxerunt, quamvis patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum tres⁴ personas esse asserunt, unum tamen Deum esse fatentur, unam substantiam unamque potestatem, qua cuncta reguntur, et quae sunt supra in caelis, et quae sunt⁵ infra in terris. Animadvertit quoque Christiana veritas omnipotentem Deum, qui pro sua voluntate cuncta disponit, pergratum habere, ut quemadmodum caelestis aula unum rectorem habet, a quo cuncta dependent⁶, ita et⁷ terrena gubernatio ex unius voluntate disponderetur. Ob eam rem, cum primum rationalis creatura condita est, ab uno coepit Adam, cujus regimini commissa sunt universa⁸.

¹ eos J

² veteri J

³ codice veteris : veteris codice G

⁴ tris H

⁵ *omit.* G

⁶ dependunt J

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ omnia G

1.1.3. Islam

[3] The Saracens, who follow Muhammad,¹ have been deceived by this false teacher and err in many ways. Still, they agree with truth in as far as they detest the notion of many Gods and acknowledge that all things are governed by the One.

1.1.4. Christianity

[4] Only the Christians keep the authority of the fathers unblemished. These men alone knew the Way of Life and had taken a page of the New Testament from the Old Book². Though they affirm that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three persons, they proclaim that there is only one God, one substance, and one power that rules all things, both those which are above in Heaven, and those which are below on Earth. And Christian truth recognizes the omnipotence of God, who ordains everything according to His will, and who is content that just as the heavenly court has only one ruler, on whom everything depends, likewise the government of the world should depend on the will of one alone. Therefore, in the beginning, when rational beings were created, they had their origin in one man only, Adam, who was entrusted with the government of all.

¹ Muhammad (ca. 570-ca. 632): founder of Islam

² In this case meaning, presumably, that the monotheism of the New Testament builds on the monotheism of the Old Testament

[5] {161v} Legimus in Genesi ab Adam usque ad Noe¹ per annos supra duo millia patresfamilias connumerasse, quorum nomina referuntur, quos singulariter alter post alterum regnasse non est obscurum. In arca unus praefuit omnibus Noe. Cum deinde inter filios Dei et filios hominum disceptatio coepisset², apud filios Dei unitas imperii servata est per Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. Cum vero filii Jacob in Aegypto supra modum opprimerentur, per unum, qui cunctis praefuit, liberatio parta est, Moysen, qui virtute miraculorum et populum traduxit in desertum et Pharaonem cum omni exercitu percusso mari aquis obvolvitur³. Successere deinde salvatores populi alter post alterum, quos iudices vocavere, Josue, Judas, Barach, Gedeon, Jepta, Samson et reliqui a domino instituti. Exinde reges creati sunt, Saul, David, Salomon, et in unius potestate cuncta fuerunt.

¹ hoc J

² orta esset G

³ aboluit J

1.2. Priestly monarchy

1.2.1 In the Old testament

[5] In Genesis we read that in the period from Adam to Noah there were more than two thousand heads of families, whose names are listed, and it is clear that they ruled individually, one after the other. And in the Ark, Noah ruled all. When later a conflict arose between the sons of God and the sons of men, the sons of God kept their unity of government through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And when the sons of Jacob were severely oppressed in Egypt, their liberation was obtained by one man, Moses, who was the leader of all. By virtue of miracles, he led the people into the desert, and striking the sea he drowned Pharaoh with all his army.¹ Afterwards saviours of the people followed, one after the other, whom they called Judges: as such the Lord appointed Joshua, Judah, Barach, Gideon, Jephta, Samson and others. Later on, kings were created, Saul, David and Solomon, and one man had power over everything.

¹ Here the pope's otherwise excellent memory fails him and he commits a peccadillo, confounding two episodes from Exodus: in Exodus, 7, 20, Moses strikes the waters of the Nile and changes them into blood (*et elevans virgam percussit aquam fluminis coram Pharao*), whereas in Exodus, 14, 27, he just stretches forth his hands and the waters in the Red Sea return to drown Pharaoh and his soldiers (*Cumque extendisset Moyses manum contra mare, reversum est primo diluculo ad priorem locum: fugientibusque Aegyptiis occurrerunt aquae, et involvit eos Dominus in mediis fluctibus*)

[6] Scissum est regnum sub filio Salomonis, Roboam, et duo¹ reges esse coeperunt, non tam dispositione divina quam permissione, sic regis et populi requirente peccato. Postquam vero regia potestas extincta est, et alienigenae dominati sunt Judaeorum, et modo Caldae, modo Syrii, modo Aegyptii imperium habuere, non defuerunt in Hebraico populo sacerdotes, qui suis alter post alterum jura redderent², sicut in Esdra et in³ Maccabaeorum libris obsignatum est, et ab unius sacerdotis imperio Judaica res pependit. Rediit et regia potestas Romanis in amicitiam accersitis. Exin⁴ tetrarchae creati⁵ sub magno Pompejo et usque ad salvatorem Christum pars Judaeorum regibus paruit, pars procuratoribus e Roma missis. Semper tamen, qui divinae legis curam haberet ac sacris praeesset, unus pontifex summus⁶ ac maximus habitus est, quem nunc divinum oraculum, nunc electio Levitarum, nunc regia potestas instituit.

[7] Quibus ex rebus plane cognoscimus divinam esse voluntatem, {150v} ut quemadmodum superiora unius arbitrio reguntur, ita et inferiora disponantur, quod est profecto salubrius ac⁷ pulcherrimum regimen, nec pacis⁸ bonum, quod omnes appetunt, inveniri aut inventum servari potest, nisi ad unitatem suprema potestas redeat. Sed vertunt in dubium aliqui an penes sacerdotes haec potestas, an penes laicos investiganda sit. Nam veteris testamenti pagina nunc reges, nunc pontifices praeferre videtur. Sed exploratissima res est, primum ac summum judicium ad sacerdotes pertinere, postquam divino jussu sacerdotem maximum⁹ Moyses ordinavit¹⁰. Et quamquam majus imperium fuisse Moysi quam Aaron videatur, nihil tamen sacerdotali potestati detrahitur. Nam et sacerdotem fuisse Moysen apud regium prophetam scriptura testatur, dicens: *Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus*. Invenimus praeterea sacerdotes ac prophetas jussu domini saepe reges deposuisse, ipsis autem regibus in sacerdotes domini concessam potestatem non reperimus, quamvis creandi pontifices nonnumquam sibi licentiam usurpaverint¹¹. Oziam vero lepra percussus legimus, qui se sacris immiscere prohibente pontifice non erubuit.

¹ duos J

² reddiderunt G

³ omit. G

⁴ exinde G

⁵ omit. G

⁶ pontifex summus : summus pontifex G

⁷ et G

⁸ paucis J

⁹ divino jussu sacerdotem maximum : sacerdotem maximum divino jussu G

¹⁰ Summum sacerdotium *in marg.* G

¹¹ usurparunt G

[6] Under Roboam,¹ son of Solomon, the kingdom split up and there began to be two kings, not because God willed it, but because he permitted it, since the king's and the people's sin required it. Later, royal power was destroyed, and the Jews came under the rule of foreigners: now they were governed by Caldaeans, now by Syrians, and now by Egyptians. Still the Hebrew people did not lack priests who one after the other maintained the rule of law as described in the books of Esdras² and the Machabees. Thus the Jewish state obeyed the rule of one priest. Royal power was restored after a friendly alliance had been made with the Romans. Then the Tetrarchy was established under Pompey the Great,³ and until the time of Christ the Saviour one part of the Jews were ruled by kings and another part by procurators sent from Rome. But always they had one supreme high priest, who was responsible for the observance of divine law and presided over the sacred ceremonies. Sometimes he was chosen by divine oracle, sometimes he was elected by the Levites, and sometimes he was appointed by the royal government.

[7] Thus we clearly see it to be God's will that the things [on Earth]⁴ below should be governed by one alone like they are [in Heaven] above.⁵ This is the most beneficial and excellent form of government, and the boon of peace, desired by all, can only be found and maintained if the supreme power is one.

There are some who question whether this power should be in the hands of priests or in the hands of laymen, for in the Old Testament sometimes kings and sometimes priests are preferred. However, it is well-known that after Moses, at the command of God, ordained a High Priest, supreme judgment belonged to the priests. And though the power of Moses seems to have been greater than the power of Aaron, the priestly power was in no way diminished.⁶ For in the Scriptures the royal prophet testifies that Moses, too, was a priest, saying: *Moses and Aaron among his priests.*⁷ Moreover, we find that priests and prophets, at God's command, often deposed kings, whereas we never find that kings were given power over the priests of the Lord - though sometimes they usurped the appointment of high priests. And we read that Ozias⁸ was struck with leprosy⁹ because he dared to interfere in religious matters though the High Priest forbade it.¹⁰

¹ Rehoboam: initially king of the all Israel, but when the ten northern tribes of Israel rebelled in 932/931 BC to form the independent Kingdom of Israel, he was king of the Kingdom of Judah, or southern kingdom. Son of Solomon and a grandson of David

² Ezra (fl. 480–440 BCE): Jewish scribe and a priest. Returned from the Babylonian exile and reintroduced the Torah in Jerusalem

³ Pompey the Great [Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus] (106-48 BCE): military and political leader in the late Roman Republic

⁴ "inferiora": the things below

⁵ "superiora": the things above

⁶ The priestly power of Aaron was not limited by the power of Moses since Moses himself was a priest, see the continuation

⁷ Psalms 98, 6

⁸ Ozias [Uzziah]: king of Judah

⁹ Ca. 750 BCE

¹⁰ 2 Kings 15, 5; 2 Chronicles, 26, 19-21

[8] Ad Jeremiam vero sacerdotem ac prophetam apertissima verba legimus summam concedentia potestatem: *Ecce enim¹, inquit² dominus, constitui te hodie³ super gentes et super regna, ut evellas⁴, destruas et disperdas et dissipas et aedifices et plantes.* In Deuteronomio quoque jubet {151r} dominus in difficilibus causis Levitici generis sacerdotes adiri et *morte mulctari, qui summi sacerdotis imperio non paruerit.* At ne quis dubitet in summo sacerdote potestatem summam⁵ esse, vox domini ad Moysen facta est, cum sibi successorem constituerat: *Tolle, inquit, Josue, filium, Num,⁶ virum in quo est spiritus, et pone manum tuam super eum, qui stabit coram Eleazaro sacerdote et omni multitudine, et dabis ei praecepta cunctis videntibus et potestatem gloriae tuae, ut audiat eum omnis synagoga filiorum Israel. Pro hoc, si quid agendum erit, Eleazar sacerdos consulat dominum; ad verbum ejus egredietur et ingredietur ipse, et omnes filii Israel, et cetera multitudo.* Quibus ex verbis liquido constat etiam ex veteris testamenti pagina supremam auctoritatem⁷ penes sacerdotes fuisse, etsi temere aliquando reges⁸ de pontificio summoque⁹ sacerdotio judicarent.

¹ omit. J

² dicit G

³ constitui te hodie : ego hodie constituam te G

⁴ ut add. G

⁵ maximam G

⁶ nondum G

⁷ potestatem G

⁸ temere aliquando reges : aliquando reges temere G

⁹ et summo G

[8] But we read how supreme power was clearly granted to Jeremiah, priest and prophet, with these words: *For, lo, the Lord saith: I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.*¹ And in Deuteronomy, the Lord commands that in difficult cases they should have recourse to priests of the Levite caste² and that *those who disobey the command of the High Priest should be punished by death.*³ And so that nobody should doubt that supreme power is vested in the High Priest, the Lord said to Moses when he appointed a successor: *Take Josue the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit, and put thy hand upon him. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest and all the multitude: And thou shalt give him precepts in the sight of all, and part of thy glory, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may hear him. If any thing be to be done, Eleazar the priest shall consult the Lord for him. He and all the children of Israel with him, and the rest of the multitude shall go out and go in at his word.*⁴ These words clearly show that also in the Old Testament supreme power belonged to the priests, even if the kings sometimes presumed to make decisions concerning the High Priesthood.

¹ Jeremiah, 1, 9-10: *dixit Dominus ad me ecce dedi verba mea in ore tuo: ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna ut evellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipas et aedifices et plantes.* This biblical passage was frequently used by Pope Innocent III to legitimize papal authority in secular affairs

² Deuteronomy, 17, 8-9

³ Deuteronomy, 17, 12: *But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel (Qui autem superbierit, nolens obedire sacerdotis imperio, qui eo tempore ministrat Domino Deo tuo, et decreto judicis, morietur homo ille, et auferes malum de Israel)*

⁴ Numbers, 27, 18-21

[9] Quae res apud Christianos longe clarior est, quibus sacrosanctum evangelium certa norma est¹ et infallibilis regula². Legimus autem³ in evangelio salvatori⁴ Christo *omnem potestatem datam esse in caelo et in terra*. Si ei⁵ omnis potestas tributa est, igitur et regia, qua etiam usus est, cum *vendentes et ementes⁶ eiecit de templo et cathedras nummulariorum evertit*. Hanc autem potestatem discipulis suis, idest sacerdotibus, communicavit, dicens: *Quemadmodum misit me pater, ita⁷ et ego mitto vos*. Et iterum: {151v} *Accipite spiritum sanctum⁸; quorum remiseritis peccata, remittentur eis, et quaecumque ligaveritis super terram, ligata erunt et in caelis*. Quae cum ita sint, unum tamen omnibus praefecit, et principem aliorum constituit Petrum, ei tantummodo dicens: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam; et Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum; et Pasce⁹ oves meas*, et reliqua propter quae vicaria potestas designatur. Petrum autem et alios apostolos sacerdotes¹⁰ fuisse ab ipso domino in ultima cena¹¹ constitutos exploratum est. Ob quas res manifestum est supremam in terris potestatem apud unum¹² esse debere, eundemque sacerdotem.

¹ *omit.* G

² est *add.* G

³ enim G; aut J

⁴ Jesu *add.* G

⁵ enim G

⁶ vendentes et ementes : ementes et vendentes G

⁷ *omit.* H, J

⁸ et *add.* G

⁹ pasces J

¹⁰ *omit.* G

¹¹ ab ipso domino in ultima cena : in ultima cena ab ipso domino G

¹² in terris potestatem apud unum : potestatem apud unum in terris G

1.2.2. In the Christian age

[9] All this is much clearer in the Christian age where the Holy Gospel is the certain norm and the infallible rule. For we read in the Gospel that *all power is given to Christ the Saviour in Heaven and on Earth*.¹ If all power has been given to Him, it must include royal power² which Jesus actually used when he *cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple and overthrew the chairs of the money changers*.³ This power⁴ he passed on to his disciples, that is the priests, when he said: *As the Father hath sent me, I also send you*.⁵ And again: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them*,⁶ and *whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven*.⁷ However, he set one man above them all when he appointed Peter as their prince saying to him, and to him only, that *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church*,⁸ and *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*,⁹ and *Feed my sheep*,¹⁰ and other [similar words].¹¹ These words designate the power of a vicar. And it is well-known that at the Last Supper the Lord Himself appointed Peter and the other apostles as priests.

Thus it is clear that on Earth the supreme power belongs to one man and that he is a priest.

¹ Matthew, 28, 18: *et accedens Iesus locutus est eis dicens data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra*

² i.e. secular power

³ Matthew, 21, 12: *et intravit Iesus in templum Dei et eiciebat omnes vendentes et ementes in templo et mensas nummulariorum et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit*

⁴ The total power, including the royal power

⁵ John, 20, 21

⁶ John, 20, 22-23

⁷ Matthew, 18, 18

⁸ Matthew, 16, 18

⁹ Matthew, 16, 19

¹⁰ John, 21, 17

¹¹ Pius is referring to the whole set of pronouncements made by Jesus which were traditionally used by the Papacy to prove its supremacy

[10] Sed rursus hesitatum est, cujus ecclesiae pontifex hac dignitate fruatur, quod apud occidentales in dubium verti non potest. Nam sive Italos, sive Gallos, sive Hispanos, sive Germanos atque Britannos animo volvimus, omnes se Christum colere, et sacramenta fidei recipere, et portam caeli noscere a Romana ecclesia didicerunt. Quocirca superioritatem ejus et magisterium negare non possunt. Graeci, quoniam doctore Paulo et Andrea magistro fidem susceperunt, propter imperium Constantinopolitanum aucti potentia, adversus Romanam ecclesiam insolescere coeperunt. Asiani quoque ab apostolis evangelium edocti¹ Romam aliquandiu contempserunt. Sed non est aliqua humana ratio vel auctoritas, quae divinam possit infringere voluntatem ab ipso Christo per {152r} verba, quae retulimus Petro dicta, Romanae primatus ecclesiae datus est, et ipsius magni Dei vicaria potestas² credita. Quicumque igitur Romanae praesidet ecclesiae, hic magister est fidei, hic pastor ovium, divinae legis interpret, et totius Christiani populi caput. Huic parere omnes oportet, qui aeterni poenas incendii fugere et cum beatis apostolis ipsoque salvatore Christo regnare cupiunt.

¹ docti G

² est *add.* G

1.3. Papal monarchy

[10] But, here again, there is some doubt, for which bishop has this office [of supreme power]? In the West there can be no doubt, for whether we consider the Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans or the British, they all learnt to worship Christ, to receive the sacraments of Faith, and to know the Gate of Heaven from the Roman Church. Therefore they cannot deny its supremacy and magisterium. Since the Greeks received the Faith from Paul as Doctor and Andrew as Teacher, and since they grew in power through the Empire of Constantinople, they began to show disrespect towards the Roman Church. And the Asians, too, having been taught the Gospel by apostles, sometimes looked down on Rome. But no human reasoning or authority can alter the divine will of Christ as expressed in the words to Peter, already quoted, that the primacy has been given to the Roman Church, and that it is this Church which has been entrusted with the vicarship of the Great God. Therefore, whoever governs the Roman Church is the teacher of Faith, the pastor of the sheep, the interpreter of divine law, and the head of all the Christian people. He must be obeyed by all who want to avoid the punishments of eternal fire and to reign with the holy apostles and with Christ the Saviour himself.

[11] Haec nunc potestas ad nos delata est, indignos quidem, qui tam sublime solium teneremus. Sed quanto¹ est nostra humilitas inferior, tanto est ejus gloria sublimior, qui nos huc evexit. Fatemur, si quis nos nostraque respiciat, nihil esse in nobis praeter carnem peccatis plenam, si quis vero ea² pensitet, quae in nobis operatus est Deus, et hujus loci, quem tenemus, dignitatem animo volvat, concedendum est nullam esse in terris potestatem, quae nostrae, idest Christi et beati Petri apostoli, non subjiciatur auctoritati.

[12] Ob quam rem dignum laude censemus carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum, Castellae et Legionis regem illustrem, qui ad nos hodie per suos³ oratores recurrens in persona nostra Christi vicarium veneratur, et Romanae primaeque sedi suum impendit honorem, neque ille illos audire voluit, qui eum in diversa trahere conati sunt. Novit sapiens princeps extra viam salutis incedere, quisquis apostolicae sedis mandata contemnit. Voluit {152v} majorum suorum vulgatum iter tenere, et a matris uberibus noluit separari.

[13] Studuit, sicut amplissimo dominio potens est⁴, ita et fide clarus haberi. Non est parva gloria Romanae sedis⁵ tanti regis oboedientia, qui latissimis et⁶ potentissimis regnis imperat, ac ditissimas regiones et feroces in armis gentes potestate coerces. Magna ejus nobilitas est, qui ex Gothorum sanguine cretus, qui octoginta circiter successiones rex ex regibus ducit originem. Praestat et ipse virtute belli domique clarus et in commune bonum affectus,

¹ *em.*; quanta G, H, J

² *omit.* G

³ vos G

⁴ potens est : est potens G

⁵ sedi J

⁶ ac G

[11] That power has now been passed on to Us who hold this exalted chair, though unworthy. But the lower Our condition was before, the greater is the glory of Him who raised Us to this place. We acknowledge that if anyone looks at Us and our [actions], all he will see is sinful flesh. But if he considers what God has done with Us as well as the dignity of the office We hold, he must admit that all power on Earth is subject to Our authority, which is the authority of Christ and Saint Peter the Apostle.

2. Obedience of the King of Castile

[12] Therefore, We praise Our beloved son in Christ Enrique, illustrious King of Castile and Leon, for coming to Us today through you, his ambassadors, for showing reverence to the Vicar of Christ in Our person, and for honouring the Roman and First See. He has not listened to those who tried to pull him in another direction, for this wise prince knows that those who spurn the commands of the Apostolic See do not walk on the road to salvation.¹ Instead he has wished to follow the same course as his forefathers and never be separated from the bosom of his Mother.

3. Praise of the King of Castile

[13] He has desired to be renowned because of his faith just as he is mighty because of his large realm. It is a great honour for the Roman See to have the obedience of this great king, ruling over large and mighty realms, and having power over rich territories and peoples who are ferocious fighters. Great is his nobility since he descends from the blood of the Goths and a royal line of about 80 kings. He himself excels in courage and strength, he is famous in war and peace,² and he cares for the common good.

¹ In 1447, Piccolomini had heard his predecessor, Pope Nicolaus V, tell the ambassadors of Alfonso V, coming to present the king's declaration of obedience: *Non enim pro sua sapientia ignorant neminem, qui ab hac sede alienat et deviat in statu salutis esse posse, ita ut quemadmodum qui in archa Noe fuerint salvati sint, qui vero extra illam omnes perierint, ita qui a Petri sede alieni interire necesse est*, cf. Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

² "domi": at home

[14] qui non solum Saracenis, vivificae crucis hostibus, sollicito studio bellum infert, sed Turcis quoque long positis quo pacto resistatur¹ anxius est. Nos hujus regis² devotionem admodum commendamus, oboedientiam ejus laeto complectimur animo, et, quae pro defensione fidei offert, non recusamus. Precamur pium Deum, hanc ejus mentem custodiat et ipsum³ benignis semper oculis⁴ intueatur.

[15] Nos quidem cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus sibi et suis semper⁵ faventes erimus ac benigni.

¹ resistat G

² hujus regis : regis hujus G

³ illum G

⁴ semper oculis : oculis semper G

⁵ et suis semper : semper et suis G

4. King's offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks

[14] For not only does he energetically fight the Saracens,¹ enemies of the life-giving Cross, but he is also eager to fight the Turks though they are far away [from his own lands]. We greatly commend the dedication of this king, We gladly receive his obedience, and We accept his offers concerning the defence of the Faith. We pray that pious God will make him keep these intentions and look on him with benign eyes.

5. Assurance of papal goodwill

[15] Indeed We ourselves, with Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will always show him and his both favour and kindness.

¹ The Moors in Spain. Pius refers to the two Castilian campaigns against the Moorish Emirate of Granada in 1455 and 1458 which developed into a war of attrition

Appendix 1: Oration “*Etsi juxta sapientum*” of Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo to Pope Pius II (26 February 1459, Siena)

Manuscript

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 4881, ff. 212r-216r **(H)**

The manuscript is from 15th century, written beautifully, in one continuous hand. The text of the oration, however, is corrupt in several places and has a considerable number of errors, incl. of spelling.¹ The corrupt passages have been emendated or underlined. Insignificant errors have been corrected without indication in apparatus.²

NB: the text is digitally and freely available in the DVL (Digital Vatican Library).

Abbreviations in textual apparatus:

- Conj. = conjicit
- Leg. = legit
- Omit. = omittit

Editions

- López Fonseca, A. & Ruiz Vila, J. M.: *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Discursos al servicio de la Corona de Castilla*. Madrid, 2013, pp. 194-219 **(LO)**
[With Spanish translation]

¹ LO, p. 31: *Su importancia reside más en el número de obras que conserva que en la calidad de sus lecturas*

² For principles of edition (incl. orthography), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9.

Pagination

Pagination follows the Vaticanus latinus - and also the digital version (marked with an *).

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- López Fonseca, A. & Ruiz Vila, J. M.: *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Discursos al servicio de la Corona de Castilla*. Madrid, 2013
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Oratio ad beatissimum patrem dominum Pium Papam Secundum facta per eundem dominum reverendissimum episcopum Ovetensem in praestatione oboedientiae pro parte serenissimi domini regis Hispaniae

[1] {212r, col. 1} {424*} Etsi juxta sapientum sententias, beatissime ac clementissime pater, illud exploratissimum habeamus, quia sicut inexperti inexpertas sic triti tritas saepe ferant sententias et juxta Aristotelem veluti trepidantes invisa temptamus, sic mira fiducia consueta aggredimur, nunc vero longe differentius mecum agitur, nec experiri cogor, quod et Cicero in ea re dixerat, dicendi videlicet *assiduitatem partim alere audaciam*¹ ipsamque nutrire per orandi vim. Sed certe - ut ego arbitror – id Ciceroni facile fuit quippe, qui facilem dicendo princeps evaserat. Adde quia doctiori vel dissertiori se nusquam disserebat. Quare necesse erat omnem in dicendo timorem defuturum. Ego vero, etsi in hoc summo omnium tribunali {212r, col. 2} aliquid verbum habuerim, in hoc tamen formali loco tanta majestate splendenti nequaquam me fateor deseruisse. Idem consistorium videor intueri, sed novum inusitatumque minime suspicio, in quo uti quia non Cicero loquitur, sed Ciceronis ignorator balbutit, et quod impudentius temptatur coram Cicerone loqui gestio, dicam verius coram Ciceronis totiusque facundiae et sapientiae principe ac emendatore. Qua de re pro tantae lucis et claritatis splendore bene atque abunde satis mihi elargitur, mihi item similibus si ipsa quoque naturalis in nobis² intelligentia non decidat, atque spirituali conspecto fulgore humanus non desit intellectus, quia juxta³ sapientem *scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria*.⁴ Quid ergo rectum a tremebundo futurum est? Scio equidem laetum jucundumque oratorem exigit oratio, timidumque prosternit, sed certe sanctitatis tuae innata humanitas timorem evacuat. Demum si ipsae quoque ineptiae meae non merentur mittentis causam, dignitas atque rei - de qua agendus est sermo - eximia venustas dicendi additum facile – ut spero – conciliabunt.

[2] Sapientia increata, beatissime ac clementissime pater, ineffabili miroque ordine cuncta dispositiones⁵ entitati rerum omnium, {212v, col. 1} {425*} ne sub vago incertoque casu fluctuaret, vim quandam insitam esse voluit⁶, qua duratione simul et sui conservatione

¹ Cicero: *De inventione*, 1.3.4.: *constant practice in speaking led them to assume a bold front (dicendi assiduitas induit audaciam)*

² *omit.* LO

³ *em.*; *justa* H

⁴ Proverbs, 25, 27: *he that is a searcher of majesty shall be overwhelmed by glory (qui scrutator est majestatis opprimetur a gloria)*

⁵ *disponens conj.* LO

⁶ *em.*; *volunt* H

appeteret. Ex eo itaque famoso principio illa philosophophantum prima emanavit sententia, ut unumquodque quantalibet sit natura - momentaneum suae tantum entitatis ratione durationi suae intendat. Id rursus peripateticorum schola perdocuit, quia – ut inquit – *entia ipsa nolunt male disponi*.¹ Quo fit, ut necessario fatendum sit in quolibet essendi genere dari oportere primum et quidem unum ens a quo et alia entia dirigantur atque regulentur. Idque nedum insensibilibus rebus, sed et in ipso insensibili regimine universi considerare libet, quia quae ejusdem rationis existunt, idem principium habere videntur. Omnis igitur sapientiae schola unum profitetur esse oportere monarcham, a quo omnes principatus derivarentur atque illius nutu moveantur. Plato denique de re publica cum Trasymacho disputans eam ipsam complexus est sententiam, et veluti omnia entia ab uno ente omnesque substantiae ab una substantia derivari perspicuum esse, ita omnem principandi rationem effective quidem causari ab uno luculenter edocet. Hic autem dominus et summus est, per quem omnia, in quo omnia, *in cujus femore scriptum* {212v, col. 2} *est: Rex regum et dominus dominantium*.² Atque³ secundum sapientem *quae a Deo sunt, ordinatae sunt*,⁴ decuit ut⁵ in mundiali gubernatione aliquem et quidem unum vice sui principem non aliter quam summum constitueret. Idque rectus ratione ordo erit⁶. Unde in Canticis, inquit sapiens, *terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*.⁷ Ordo enim principatus praecipue secundum praelationem atque subjectionem, ascensum⁸ denique et descensum⁹ attenditur. Ascendendo¹⁰ igitur, si improbe non erratur, ad unumlibet usque conscendemus, in quo vice Christi sit omnis potestas et principandi summitas tamquam in primo supplicissimo¹¹, ultra quem gradus non sit, ut in illo decor, universi concordia, ordo ipsa quoque virtus unita consistat.

[3] Hunc igitur principatum Christus ascensus in caelum beatissimo Petro¹² suisque commisit successoribus, ut potestas sive¹³ et unitas successiva semper in uno, non quidem in multitudine servaretur. Verum, sanctissime pater, his nostris in faustis atque¹⁴ felicissimis diebus divino

¹ Dante: *Monarchia*, 1, 10, 6: *And Aristotle saw the force of this argument when he said: "Things do not wish to be badly ordered; a plurality of reigns is bad; therefore let there be one ruler."* (Et hanc rationem videbat Philosophus cum dicebat: *"Entia nolunt male disponi; malum autem pluralitas principatum: unus ergo princeps."*)

² Apocalypse, 19, 16: *And he hath on his garment, and on his thigh written: King of kings, and lord of lords*

³ itaque *leg.* LO

⁴ Not located in OT. But Romans, 13, 1 has: *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt*

⁵ *omit.* LO

⁶ *exit leg.* LO

⁷ Canticles, 6, 9

⁸ *em.*; *accensum* H

⁹ *em.*; *decensum* H

¹⁰ *em.*; *accedendo* H

¹¹ *successorum conj.* LO

¹² *pater leg.* LO

¹³ *sicut leg.* LO

¹⁴ *omit.* LO

munere summus ipse principatus ad te unum digne quidem et¹ juste delatus est, et per successum personarum ordinem te usque perductus est. Qua de re eadem in te virtus, eadem auctoritas, eadem fidei puritas consistit, quinimmo in te solo eam excellentiam profiteamur, quae in Petro fuit, et quidquid ipse ex Petra Christo quasi ex ipso summo originalique fonte susceperit, ea omnia per quandam – ut ita {213r, col. 1} {426*} dixerim – divini alvei² emanationem ad te gloriose decurrit. Eapropter res publica Christiana per totum orbem diffusa magno cum applausu summoque mentis jubilo te gregis dominici pastorem, te dominum urbis et orbis veneratur, te patrem patriae, te omnium protectorem³, te fidei defensorem congratulatur. O igitur et perbeatam rem publicam Christianam, cui tantum e caelo munus concessum est! O tempora felicia! O dies gloriosos! O denique fortunam optimam, quae nobis divinitus reservata est⁴! Sed o felicem et fortunatam Italiam, quae talem genuisti filium, qui et pater esse meretur! Sed tu, o incluta Senarum urbs, perbeata tamquam singularis parens, exulta felix, quia jam reverens⁵ recepisti, cujus clarissimam stirpem adulta habuisse laetaris ex tuis enim visceribus tam pretiosum monile, tam insigne tutamen⁶ habere meruisti, cujus vetusta nobilitas quondam decoris tibi ornamenta praestabit. Non ergo mireris, quod⁷ natus est ex te, qui longe est supra te, sed age gratias, quod talem habere merueris.

[4] Cum igitur, beatissime pater, hujus assumptionis tuae tam felicissimum atque gloriosissimum novum litteris tuae sanctitatis⁸ serenissimus atque potentissimus princeps, dominus Henricus, rex noster Hispaniae invictissimus, laetissimo animo cognovisset, crebrescente illo ingenti suavissimi odoris praeconio sapientiae, honestatis virtutumque ac meritorum {213r, col. 2} tuae sanctitatis non potuit non maxime gaudere. Nam, ut inquit Aristoteles, gaudent maxime felices existentes, cum studiosos vident ad magnos honores assumptos, veluti cum recordantur qualia egerunt. Demum sua regia serenitas corde simul et opere hymnis et processionum laudibus immensas egit altissimo gratias, quia talem nobis ejus loco in terris vicarium instituere dignatus est, qualem pro sua ineffabili sapientia ecclesiae suae profuturum providit, essetque unicae sponsae suae unicus sponsus, indubitatus pastor, pietate et sanctis desideriis plenus. Sed et habet innumeras gratias vobis reverendissimis in Christo patribus et vestro sacratissimo senatui, qui veluti sanctae matris ecclesiae veri cardines et columnae fortissimae attendentes, quod unitati congruit, quod virtuti expedit, quod fidei et ecclesiae utilitati convenit in talem patrem beata vestra vota fixistis, qualem cum Augustino legistis, *qui omnem in dominicis castris aetatem*

¹ a *leg.* LO

² a *luci leg.* LO

³ *pretorem leg.* LO

⁴ *esset leg.* LO

⁵ *em.*; *severens H*; *senescens conj.* LO

⁶ *tu tamen leg.* LO

⁷ *quia leg.* LO

⁸ *sanctitati leg.* LO

*peregisset*¹ ac sua valeret honestate et sanctitate peccata populi exterminare, sciretque et vellet fidem augere et mores corrigere. Eapropter felicem hunc pontificatum serenissimus rex tamquam caelitus nobis missum extollit, commendat, laudat. Quare illud Ciceronis tamquam a catholico dictum verissimum esse putat, quia² summis viris admirabilis felicitas {213v, col. 1} {427*} et fortuna in rebus a se gerendis e caelo semper tributa fuit a Deo, ut - sicut ipse Cicero ait Fabro Marco Marcello et Scipionibus provinciarum administrationes fore creditas, imperia collata non ob eorum modo virtutem, sed ex diis immortalibus idque - si humanis potentatibus asseverare libet - quanto amplius in eis, qui Dei penitus esse noscuntur.

[5] Ceterum, beatissime pater, quia vera tua congratulatio est, quando cum dignitate virtus extollitur et commendatur, ea de re idem invictissimus princeps, cum singula mirifica gesta, studia, res praeclarissimas tua sanctitatis apertissima fide cognovit, ingentes laudes tuas efferre non desistit, quod utique genus laudis quippe regale et praeexcellens veluti omne assentatione prorsus alienum³ dignissimum⁴ iudicandum est, quia ut ille famosus panegyricus ad Theodosium Caesarem pulchre dicebat, quod et tua sanctitas pulchrius audire potest, recte ab his laudaris, quos ipse laudare potes.⁵ Debita enim videtur esse laus, quae a digno laude procedit.

[6] Pro officii igitur necessitudine esset a nobis mos gerendus et huius loci majestati et tuae dignitatis divinae amplitudini. Sed - ut ajunt - aliena nos faciunt pericula cautum⁶ ⁷. Vidimus enim plurimos hoc in loco, qui sanctitatem tuam mirificis atque {213v, col. 2} verissimis laudibus extulerunt, et quae sapientia, quae consiliis et prudentia egerunt⁸ suis ipsi orationibus graviter ornateque narrarunt. Verum paulo post non sine omnium admiratione conspeximus illos a tua sanctitate reprehensos iri. Mirabamur quidem tam severa sanctitatis tuae censura damnatam tantopere fuisse eam partem⁹, quae apud antiquos maximosque oratores praecipue in laude versatur. Augebat admirationem illud Ciceronis praeceptum, qui cum de publica scriberet, in eo praecipue loco, ubi de instituendo praecipue agit, *alendum docet*¹⁰ *principem* atque nutriendum laude et *gloria*¹¹. Accedit, quod per sapientem laudare jubemur viros gloriosos et parentes

¹ Decretum, D.61.7 (col. 229). Not Augustine, but Celestine

² *em.*; quem H

³ alienus *leg.* LO

⁴ dignissimus *leg.* LO

⁵ Cf. Seneca: *Ad Lucilium epistulae*, 52, 11: *Why do you take pleasure in being praised by men whom you yourself cannot praise? (Quid laetaris, quod ab hominibus his laudatus es, quos non potes ipse laudare?)*

⁶ cautos *leg.* LO

⁷ Proverbial advice: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*

⁸ *em.*; egerit H

⁹ propter *leg.* LO

¹⁰ dicit *leg.* LO

¹¹ Cicero: *De re publica*, 5.7.9

nostros, eodem sapiente alibi dicente: *qui graditur sapienter, ipse laudabitur*¹. Sed et² in sacris litteris regina illa Saba plurimum laudata reperitur pro eo, quod Salomonis extulit sapientiam, inquiens: *Vicisti famam virtutibus tuis*³. His igitur allectus testimoniis laudarem utique, si auderem. In hoc tamen ceteros laudatores vincam, si plurima ingenti gloria et virtute digna omittam, quamquam mihi sint perquam notissima, nedum enim - me teste - viriles annos⁴ attigeras, in quibus solet illa aetas res ipsas seriosas senioribus remittere. Nihilominus tamen inter multos unus ipse sapientia doctus, consilio gravis et prudentia {214r, col. 1} {428*} plenus mirifice evasisti nobis coetaneis admirantibus, item cedentibus. Taceo, quibus laboribus, quibus artibus, quibus sapientia et industria hanc sanctam sedem ejusque auctoritatem a tuis primis cunabulis defenderis⁵, quot pro ea re principes adieris, quot denique provincias peragraveris. Verum, quia teste sapiente *magnorum laborum gloriosus est fructus*⁶, decebat, ut ab ea lustrareris, quam ipse lustrasti, atque eam sedem, quam juvenis defendisti, vir factus consedeas, et quam exaltasti in adolescentia, possideas in senio, eodem dicente sapiente, quia qui seminat in juventute, colliget in senectute⁷. Demum, si cetera taceam, quis mansuetudinem humanitatemque⁸ tuam non maxime mirabitur? Equidem cum omnium fere principantium domestica sit atque familiaris arrogantia, ita ut vix conspiciamus, quem et abundare fortuna⁹ et carere superbia, in te tamen nihil praeteritae mansuetudinis tuae summus pontificatus ademit, sed id solum novum efficit, ut ea ipsa praeclara et indigentia, quae animus tuus ante conceperat, jam explere incipiam¹⁰ prodigere¹¹ longius, nisi sanctitas tua me uti ceteros damnaret veluti ad aurium gratiam¹² locuturum. Taceo et de tuis laudatissimis studiis et divinis et humanis litteris. Italia certe augusta est tua dicendi gravitate, quam ceterae quoque nationes imitari coguntur. {214r, col. 2} Sed jam ponam custodiam ori meo, quia ut cum nostro Quintiliano loquar, narrandarum rerum affluentia vires orationis extinguit. Illud tamen Suetonicum dignius tuae sanctitati quam ethnico Caesari dicatum est, quia tanto principatu dignus princeps existis, sed et tanto principe dignus est tantus principatus¹³, quo fit, ut princeps et principatus claritudine uniti splendorem¹⁴ communicent. Sed et ipse Romanus Cicero praestantius quam Caesari, si vixisset,

¹ Proverbs, 28, 26: *but he that walketh wisely, he shall be saved (qui autem graditur sapienter, ipse salvabitur)*

² *omit.* LO

³ 2. Paralipomenon, 9, 6

⁴ *animos leg.* LO

⁵ *descenderis* LO

⁶ Wisdom, 3, 15: *For the fruit of good labours is glorious*

⁷ *Quotation not identified*

⁸ *inmanitatemque leg.* LO

⁹ *fortunam leg.* LO

¹⁰ *em.*; *incipias* H

¹¹ *em.*; *prodeger* H; *prodige em.* LO

¹² *gratias leg.* LO

¹³ *Quotation not identified*

¹⁴ *em.*; *splendorum* H

tuae sanctitati dicere debuisset, quia auget in te virtus dignitatem, quae tamen ex magnitudine incrementum non habet.

[7] Merito igitur serenissimus ac gloriosissimus rex noster, tuae sanctitatis devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius, de tam felici assumptione nedum gavisus est gaudio magno valde, sed quod interno mentis conceptu exhilaratus est. Sperat enim te duce, te pastore, Christianum populum inter mundanas varietates fluctuantem pacem domesticam atque contra hostes fidei victoriam habiturum, quod siquidem congratulationis officium regia serenitas propter varia in sua re publica occurrentia impedimenta et praesertim ob continuationem pessimae guerraee contra Saracenos regni Granatae aliquantisper differre visa est, nihilominus integerrimam suam fidem devotionem atque reverentiam {215r, col. 1} {429*} ab ipsa die, qua felicissimum tuae sanctitatis pontificatum cognovit, semper animo et opere gessit.

[8] Superest, beatissime pater, ut post suspectam a tua sanctitate principis et regis nostri gloriosissimi de tua assumptione congratulationem, tandem sua erga tuam sanctitatem merita, suam fidem, voluntatem, mentem¹ denique et affectum cognoscas. Esset quidem perlonga habenda oratio, si particulari sermone disserere me oporteret ingentem regis nostri ac progenitorum suorum zelum atque fervorem indefessum² ad amplificationem fidei et nominis Christiani necnon amplissima merita erga Dei ecclesiam et apostolicam sedem ac in ea sedentes. Nam - ut cetera taceam - per gloriosos suos progenitores saepe damnatas haereses, extirpata schismata, summosque pontifices sedi restitutos utique comparatum est. Sed et de incrementis fidei, quid a me dici potest, quo longe majora non conspicimus? Etenim gloriosis Hispaniae regibus hoc sibi unum singulare praeconium per saecula dedicatum erit, idque non aliter quam suo et suorum sanguine comparatum, qui e faucibus hostium infidelium regna eripuerunt. Horum igitur beata vestigia noster serenissimus rex Henricus nedum imitatur, sed superat. Postquam enim regni gubernacula suscepit, non quidem deliciis vacat, ut aetas illa consuevit, sed per annos quattuor bellum {215v, col. 2} continuum magnaue strages infidelibus pro letor!, ingesta est, tantusque illorum sanguis ad Dei gloriam effusus est, ut ad id unum praesidium recurrere cogentur³, nam quem superare ferro non poterant, auro temptarent evincere. Conati⁴ enim sunt pacem auri copia comparare, offerentes denique omnes Catholicos ab eis captivos, cuius rei legatione exposita gloriosus atque catholicus rex, "Dicite", inquit, "principi vestro verius crucis Christi perfidissimo hosti, quia captivos Christicolae Christi brachio ego redimam, quippe et sanguine vestro, non quidem turpi pace. Reliquum vero, quod de auro offertis, renuntiate illud Macedonis imperatoris semper mihi animo haesisse, quia *non aurum, sed aurum habentibus*

¹ *em.*; affectum *add.* H

² *em.*; indefessum H

³ cogentur *leg.* LO

⁴ *em.*; cognati H; cogniti *em.* LO

*imperare volo.*¹ O gloriosum verbum! O animum aeterna laude dignum! Laudamus David regem pro eo, quod eam aquam concupitam effudit, quam de cisterna Bethlehemitica inter hostes cuneos advectam, sacra tradit historia. Quia igitur oblatam virtuose contempsit, dicens: “*Absit a me, ut sanguinem hominum bibam,*” scriptum est de illo sancte egisse, quia *libavit eam domino.*² Si igitur, beatissime pater, sempiterna laude David commendatur, quia aquam sprevit, quanto abundantiore laude praedicandus est princeps, qui non aquam aliquid concupitam, sed *aurum*, quod teste sapiente *ad cor regum*³ ingredi solet, pro Christi gloria contempsit. Rursus quanta regum Hispaniae {216r, col. 1} {430*} ad sedem apostolicam reverentia atque devotio fuerit, nedum in codicibus legimus, sed re ipsa experimur, nec tuae tamen sanctitati id est ignotum, quippe qui majora, quam dicere gestio, occulta fide conspexit. Nam cum hac nostra aetate nonnulli perditissimi homines auctoritatem apostolicae sedis suppressere et ad manus tumultuosae multitudinis deducere atque – ut ita dixerim – novam fidem afferre niterentur,⁴ nedum impietati eorum rex noster non assensit, quinimmo pro tuenda conservandaque hujus sedis auctoritate et praeeminentia ad omnes fere Catholicos principes me licet indignum non semel, sed saepe transmisit, a qua siquidem devotione et reverentia celsitudinem regiam numquam persecutio, numquam turbatio, numquam quorundam suasiones et studia quovis modo retrahere potuerit. Si igitur tantus fidei et devotionis cultus, tanta reverentia et oboedientia calamitatis ecclesiae⁵ temporibus inviolata atque indubitata permansit, quomodo nunc in felicitate et unitate titillabitur, aut quomodo silebit in prosperis, quae in adversis tonabatur, tuae⁶ maximae sanctitati⁷, cathedram Petri tenenti, unico atque indubitato vicario, cujus pontificatus post illa turbationis tempora non nisi auctore Deo nobis reservatus est?

[9] Itaque, beatissime pater, ea fidei et devotionis vestigia, quae – proh dolor! – ex oriente non respicis, nunc ex occidente uberius collige illisque abundantius fruiere⁸ adeo, ut ea {216r, col. 2} ipsa verba, quae ad beatum Damasum praedecessorem Jeronimum dixisse ferunt, cum ad eum de novo nomine trium Ypostaseon scriberet, non aliter quam profetando sanctitati tuae atque

¹ Petrarca: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 12, 2: *nolle aurum sed aurum habentibus imperare*

² 2. Kings, 23, 15-17: *Desideravit ergo David, et ait : O si quis mihi daret potum aquae de cisterna quae est in Bethlehem juxta portam! Irruperunt ergo tres fortes castra Philistinorum, et hauserunt aquam de cisterna Bethlehem, quae erat juxta portam, et attulerunt ad David : at ille noluit bibere, sed libavit eam Domino, dicens : Propitius sit mihi Dominus, ne faciam hoc : num sanguinem hominum istorum, qui profecti sunt, et animarum periculum bibam? Noluit ergo bibere. Haec fecerunt tres robustissimi*

³ Ecclesiasticus, 8, 3: *For gold and silver hath destroyed many, and hath reached even to the heart of kings, and perverted them (multos enim perdidit aurum et argentum, et usque ad cor regum extendit et convertit)*

⁴ The author is referring to the conciliarists (including Piccolomini!) at the Council of Basel where he stayed for some years as part of the Castilian embassy

⁵ ecce *leg.* LO

⁶ *em.*; tua H

⁷ *em.*; sanctitas H

⁸ fuere *leg.* LO

de tuis temporibus ea dixisse videatur¹: *“In oriente,”* inquit, *“sulcis obruta frumenta in lolium avenasque degenerant, et Lucifer ille, qui ceciderat, iterum super sidera posuit thronum suum. In occidente vero cespitem² fecundo terra ipsa dominici seminis puritate³ centenos fructus multiplicat, ubique jam sol justitiae oritur et incorrupta patrum servatur auctoritas.”*⁴ Quare idem dominus rex noster, occidentalium populorum praecipuus atque excellentissimus princeps, quod pro more et debito huic sanctae sedi agere consuevit, tuae nunc beatitudini gratantius atque libentius persolvere cupiens ac piissimorum principum, quorum gesta ecclesia⁵ veneratur, vestigia sequens, congrue sanctitati tuae offert illud pretiosissimum oboedientiae et humilitatis monile, quod piissimus Constantinus, ut sacra tradunt annalia⁶, beatissimo papae⁷ Silvestro obtulit, cum homo, inquit, summus aetate temporali ac caduca conditione mortalis, juste quidem ac sancte te patrem, locum Dei⁸ in orbe terrarum tenentem, toto animo reveremur teque debita religione percolimus. Quis enim se tuae sanctitatis pietati negabit, qui ejus nomine cuncta agis, qui sine ullius potestatis⁹ {216v, col. 1} {431*} consortio totius mundi gubernat imperium? Quae quidem verba ore proprio et corde gratissimo idem dominus meus sanctitati tuae respondit. Offert denique illud gloriosissimum Valentiniani ad beatum Ambrosium, quem cum Arianus Valens persecueretur, ad illum gloriosus imperator edixit: *“Confortare,”* inquit, *“pater, quia Deus, qui te elegit, semper adjuvabit, et ego filius et adjutor, ut meum decet ordinem, semper existam.”*¹⁰ Sed et illud Christianissimi Justiniani: *“Reddimus,”* inquit, *“honorem et reverentiam apostolicae sedi et vestrae sanctitati, quam decet nos semper venerari.”*

[10] Idcirco hic devotissimus princeps paratus semper cum apostolo ad oboediendum fidei in omnibus, sanctiori, potiori ac legitimiori modo, quibus potest et debet, matura cum praelatis, principibus¹¹ ac cunctis statibus regnorum suorum deliberatione suscepta pro se et cuncta ejus stirpe regia et ecclesia regnorum et dominiorum suorum sanctissimae personae vestrae tamquam vero, unico et indubitato pastori ac legitimo Petri successori et summo pontifici ac vicario Jesu Christi in terris veram, rectam, gratam, sinceram et indubitam, puram et simplicem reverentiam et oboedientiam promittit, pollicetur et praestat illamque pure et simpliciter ac efficaciter per nos humillimos ejus oratores eidem vestrae sanctitati dat et exhibet {216v, col. 2}

¹ videat *leg.* LO

² *em.*; conspitem LO

³ puritatem *leg.* LO

⁴ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Damasum* (15), 1. MPL, XXII, col. 355. Piccolomini had used this quotation in his oration *“Sentio”* [21] (1452), sect. 132

⁵ *em.*; ecclesiae H

⁶ *em.*; ancilia H

⁷ principe *leg.* LO

⁸ ei *leg.* LO

⁹ pietatis *leg.* LO

¹⁰ Cassiodorus: *Historia tripartita*, VII, 8. Decretum, D.63.3 (col. 236)

¹¹ *em.*; principiis H

et legitime praestat, quam et nos illius nomine pure et humiliter¹ praestamus atque devote exhibemus, et nihilominus idem devotissimus dominus rex eidem sanctitati vestrae reverenter et humiliter, ut catholicum decet principem, caput inclinat omnesque cogitationes, sua cuncta studia sanctitati tuae libenter devovet easque omni fide, benevolentia, honore et reverentia complectitur, subdens insuper arbitrio sanctitatis vestrae non solum regna, dominia et potentatus, sed quidquid in eo est et voluntatis et arbitrii.

[11] Postremo solent hoc in loco nonnulli sanctitatem tuam suasionibus permultis hortari ad rem utique perbeatam omnique attentione dignam resistantiam videlicet contra immanentissimum fidei hostem, Turcorum perfidum canem, quod utique exhortationis genus a nobis recte omittetur, quippe qui argumentis pluris experimus² adeo eam rem infixam esse tuae sanctitatis visceribus, ut nil carius habeat, nil jucundius praestoletur. Monemur enim, ut inquit philosophus, ad ea, in quibus pigritamur, non quidem ad ea, quae festinamus, veluti si quis currentem ad cursum aut agonizantem ad bellum moneat. Itaque arbitratur³ serenitas regia rem ipsam in eo statu esse, ut longe magis remedio quam hujusmodi monitionibus indigere videatur. Verumtamen regia celsitudo tanto rem ipsam libentius commemoratur, quanto ardentius illius exitum felicem desiderat. Inter has tamen sanctitatis tuae vehementes curas guerram {217r, col. 1} {432*} justissimam contra perfidos regni Granatae Saracenos cordialissime recommittit. Hi enim tanto crudeliores tantoque fidei Catholicae pestilentiores habentur, quanto viciniore qui veluti serpentes in sinu nostro degentes nos dictum corrodunt, cogimurque, *ut fabulae fingunt, inclusum hostem Argi⁴ centum oculis observare.*⁵ Adeo enim in Granatam guerra justa, adeo sancta et pernecessaria est, ut in quodam generali vetustissimoque concilio veterum decreta patrum sanxerunt Hispanicum⁶ bellum Jerosolimitano per omnia adaequandum. Qua de re sanctitati tuae regia devotio plurimum supplicare decrevit, ut sic illud negotium peragat, quod⁷ istud minime omittat memorque semper existat illius famosae atque tuae sanctitati notissimae Tullii Ciceronis sententiae, qui cum de re publica ageret, sic inquit: *Decet rem publicam gubernantem curam gerere, ne, dum universam rem publicam tueri intendit, partem aliquam deserat*⁸. Nec enim huic Christianissimo principi solum contra infideles Granatae regnum utique potentissimum bellum instat, verum etiam contra universam Africam, tertiam orbis plagam, qui, ut Afrorum semper mos fuit, fraudibus et dolis cunctas teste Vegetio superat nationes⁹, in qua

¹ simpliciter *leg.* LO

² experiremur *leg.* LO

³ em.; arbitramur H

⁴ em.; argum H

⁵ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Furiam* (54), 9. MPL, XXII, col. 554

⁶ Hispani cum *leg.* LO

⁷ quia *leg.* LO

⁸ Quotation not identified

⁹ Cf. Vegetius: *De re militari*, 1, 1: *We were always inferior to the Africans in wealth and unequal to them in deception and stratagem (Afrorum dolis atque divitiis semper impares fuimus)*

bellicosissimi reges sub perfido Mahumeto regnantes novas nuper inhiere conjurationes in filium tuae sanctitatis obsequentissimum regem nostrum. Nam veluti olim iidem ipsi Carthaginenses Hannibalis viribus freti {217r, col. 2} moliebantur senatum Romanum ad Carthaginem transferre et, juxta Livium, sicut Hannibal ipse in Italia militans pollicitus fuit Romanum imperium tradere Capuanis, non aliter hi astutissimi Poenorum reges ac fidei catholicae crudelissimi hostes Hispanias sub Christo militantes ad Africam sub Mahumeto transferre totis viribus moliuntur.

[12] Quorum vires regia animi magnitudo divino¹ brachio assistente et tuae sanctitatis² favoribus et ad Deum precibus³ minime pertimescit⁴, quinimmo si, ut sunt polliciti, nos perfundabunt, speramus gratanter audiet brevia tua sanctitas. Nihilominus tamen pro hac sanctissima et pernecessaria contra Teucros resistentia regia serenitas omnes cogitationes, omnia consilia cunctasque ejus copias et potentiam sanctitati vestrae offert, et, quidquid ejus virium est, in manibus sanctitatis⁵ vestrae reponit, ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, cujus res agitur, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

¹ dominico *leg.* LO

² sanctitati *leg.* LO

³ principibus *leg.* LO

⁴ pertimescat *leg.* LO

⁵ sanctitati *leg.* LO

Appendix 2: Letter of Pope Pius II to King Enrique IV of Castile of 27 February 1459

[From: *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Cur. O: Raynaldus. Ad annum 1459, nr. 24]

Pius Papa II charissimo in Christo filio Henrico Castellae et Legionis regi illustri, salutem etc.

Venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Ovetensis, et dilectus filius frater Alfonsus de Palencuela consilarii et oratores tui litteras tuae serenitatis ingenti fide et devotione plenas nobis humiliter praesentarunt, et procuratorium tuum regio sigillo munitum facunde ac graviter nobis in generali consistorio permanentibus perorarunt, tuam integerrimam fidem et devotionem erga nos et Apostolicam Sedem ac ardentissimum animum circa exaltationem fidei Catholicae cum praecipua virtutum et meritorum tuorum commendatione expresserunt. Verum licet per nos viva voce satis copiose responsum fuerit, tamen quia maxime delectamur per nostras litteras cum tua serenitate proloqui, tanquam nostro et Ecclesiae peculiari filio, utique respondere instituimus. Putamus, fili charissime, bonum esse divinae voluntatis auspiciis, quod tua sublimitas ingens gaudium ex nostra ad summi apostolatus apicem assumptione susceperit, et quod bene concipiat et speret de nobis; quamvis enim imbecillitatem nostram ad tantam sarcinam sentimus, confidimus tamen in domino, qui debiles fortes facit, quod superatis horum temporum difficultatibus, in quibus fides Christi maximis periculis conflictatur, tandem divina suffragante clementia perditissimi hostes fidei sectae Mahometicae cultores, a quibuscumque plagis, tam Orientalibus quam Occidentalibus partibus, per Christianos exterminabuntur, tuque Catholicus et gloriosissimus princeps spurcissimos Sarracenos, cum quibus bella assidua non sine celsitudinis tuae maxima laude geris, vi et potentia tua repelles, et interim exercitus Catholicus tam terrestris quam maritimus, ad cuius praeparationem festinamus, procedet adversus imanissimos Turcas victoriam reportaturus, quod ut fiat temporibus Dominum orare non cessabimus, et nostras operas et conatus nostros exponere decernimus, prout alias tuae serenitati per nostras litteras significavimus, pro quarum rerum complemento iter nostrum, Deo concedente, ad dietam Mantuae indictam properamus. Caeterum, charissime fili, devotas commendationes, et oblationes tuas paterna charitate recepimus et habemus acceptas, nec deficiemus in omnibus, quae concernant honorem tuae coronae, et regnorum et subditorum tuorum teque uti charissimum peculiarem nostrum et Romanae Ecclesiae filium habemus, et in charitatis nostrae visceribus conservare intendimus, tuamque regiam personam clarissimis virtutibus eminentem, ac omnes, quos nobis commendatis, et pro quibus supplicatis, gratiis et favoribus Apostolicis fovere curabimus. etc. Dat. Senis MCDLIX, XXVII Februarii, anno I.