



HAL
open science

Oration “Conversa in nos” of Pope Pius II (15 March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Final Version (2025). (Orations of Pope Pius II; 37)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

► **To cite this version:**

Michael Cotta-Schönberg. Oration “Conversa in nos” of Pope Pius II (15 March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Final Version (2025). (Orations of Pope Pius II; 37). 2019. <hal-01180301v3>

HAL Id: hal-01180301

<https://hal.science/hal-01180301v3>

Submitted on 30 Sep 2025

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

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



HAL Authorization

Oration “*Conversa in nos hodie*” of Pope Pius II (15 March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 37)

Final Version (2025)

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 Phillippe III le Bon, Duke of Burgundy. In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope mostly spoke in praise of the duke and only briefly touched upon the other themes recurring in his responses to such embassies: his own unworthiness for the exalted papal office, acceptance of the duke's declaration of obedience, gratitude for the duke's offer of aid to the projected crusade against the Turks, and benevolence of the pope and cardinals.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Philippe III le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne; Duke Philip III the Good of Burgundy; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Bourgogne; Burgundy; 15th century; 1459; Renaissance rhetoric; Renaissance oratory; Crusades against the Turks; Jean Jouffroy

Editor/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

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context
2. Themes
3. Date, place, audience, and format
4. Text
 - 4.1. Manuscripts
 - 4.2. Editions
 - 4.3. Present edition
5. Sources
6. Bibliography
7. Sigla and abbreviations

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Praise of the duke
 - 1.1. Family
 - 1.2. Character
 - 1.3. Office
 - 1.4. Actions
 - 1.5. Judgement
2. Protestation of humility
3. Crusade against the Turks
4. Acceptance of duke's obedience
5. Papal goodwill
6. Compliment to the ducal spokesman

Appendix: Oration "*Quae pulchri decoris*" of Jean Jouffroy (15 March 1459, Siena)

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 Philippe III, Duke of Burgundy.

In 1451, at the Imperial Court, Pius had met an embassy from the duke to the emperor,² and at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1454 he had met the duke personally.

He must have been much gratified and pleased to receive the embassy and the obedience of this great prince whom he much admired.³

2. Themes

The oration mainly focuses on the merits of the duke: *this magnificent prince, surpassing all others, deserves praises that are magnificent and surpass all others* [Sect. 1]. In his praise of the duke, Pius uses a division of such laudations mentioned by Saint Ambrose, comprising: family, character, office, actions, and judgement.

Otherwise, the oration contains short references to the other themes spoken of by the pope in similar responses: his own unworthiness for the papal office, the crusade against the Turks, the duke's declaration of obedience, and the papal goodwill.

Significantly, there are no statements of papal supremacy in this oration – in contrast to most of the pope's responses to other princely embassies.

An interesting minor theme is his reference to the indirect depiction of great emotions (*in casu* sorrow) in classical painting:⁴

We should rather imitate that painter who painted the terribly sad Andromache at Hector's funeral. It now remained for him to paint Hector's mother, the

¹ CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40. On the Duke of Burgundy and the crusade, see also Pius II's orations "Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17], "Existimatis fortasse" [64], "Expectatis" [73], "Sextus agitur annis" [75], and "Suscepturi" [76]

² Oration "Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17]

³ Besides his direct response to the ambassadors, Pius also sent a written response to the duke, encouraging him to pursue his efforts against the Turks and to join the papal crusade, see Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 26

⁴ The rhetorical device of *ek-phrasis*, see COR, 1: 7, 9, 2

unhappy Hecuba, but with an even more sorrowful face. But since he was unable to add more [sadness to his portrayal], he painted the mother with her head veiled so that the imagination of the onlookers would provide what his art could not. [Sect. 1]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The Burgundian ambassadors¹ arrived in Siena on 13 March 1459. There they were met by Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, who would be their spokesman before the pope. Very soon afterwards, the embassy was received officially by Pius – for the purpose of the present edition, the date of 15 March has been retained. At the reception, which probably took place during a public consistory, Jouffroy delivered an ornate humanist oration to the pope, during which he presented the duke's declaration of obedience.²

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable and appropriate for papal functions.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Sienese magnates.

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

4. Text³

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,⁴ which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

¹ The ducal counsellors Simon de Lalaing, Antoine de Roche-baron and his son Claude

² See Appendix

³ Concerning the textual trans-mission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

⁴ See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

4.1. Manuscripts¹

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 170r-171v **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 44-47r **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 52v-55v
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 71r-74v
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 163v-165r **(H)**

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: Beneditini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 228-230
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 9-10.

Text:

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

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

5. Sources¹

In this short oration, 4 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified.

Biblical: 1
Classical: 2
Patristic and medieval: 1
Contemporary: 0
All: 4

Biblical sources: 1

Old Testament: 1

- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 0

Classical sources: 2

- Cicero: 1²
- Homer: 1³

Patristic and medieval sources: 1

- Ambrosius: 1⁴

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

² De legibus

³ Iliad

⁴ Expositio in Lucam

6. Bibliography

Ady, Cecilia M.: *Pius II (Æneas Silvius Piccolomini) – the Humanist Pope*. London, 1913

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663¹

Boulting, William: *Æneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini – Pius II.) – Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman, and Pope*. London, 1908

Cerasoli, Francesco: *Il viaggio di Pio II da Roma a Mantova*. In: *Il Buonarrotti*, serie iii, vol. iv, quaderno 6. Roma: 1891

Cotta-Schönberg, Michael & Anna Modigliani: Nicholas V's only surviving oration, the Nihil est of 24 March 1447. In: *Roma nel Rinascimento*, 2016, pp. 271-288

Märtl, Claudia: *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy (g. 1473) – Leben und Werk*. Sigmaringen, 1996

Mitchell, R.J.: *The Laurels and the Tiara – Pope Pius II 1458-1464*. London, 1962. 289 pp.

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

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae*

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918
- *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Transl. by T.M. Izbicki et al.. Washington, D.C., 2006

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

- Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Secvlare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007
- *Collected letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 10 vols. 2022-2026. [Available in HAL Archives].

Pius II SEE ALSO Piccolomini, Enea Silvio

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

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

Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

- Pius II: *Oratione politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

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

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

Works

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

CAR = Eneas Silvius Piccolomineus (postea Pius II): *Carmina*. Edid. Adrian van Heck. 1994.

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

COD = *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo. 1952.

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

COR = *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edit. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020.

CRDM = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Collected Reports of Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455*. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

DGCB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967.

DIA = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Libellus Dialogorum*. A cura di Simona Iaria. 2015. (Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici; 12).

DLE = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Liberorum Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. by C.W. Kallendorf. 2002, pp. 126-259.

DRBG = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. [1450]

DVI = *De Viris Illustribus and other biographical Writings* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

EPI = *Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. 10 vols. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2022-2026.

EUR = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Europa*. [1458].

- Enee Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii II *de Europa*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2001. (Studi e testi; 398).
- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*. Transl. by Robert Brown. Washington, DC, 2013.

GER = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Germania*. 1458.

- Aenas Silvius Piccolomini: *Germania*. Edit. A. Schmidt. 1962.
- Aenas Silvius Piccolomini: *Deutschland*. Transl. A. Schmidt. 1962.

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. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24).

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

HE = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium seculare*. Complectens De duobus amantibus, De naturis equorum, De curialium miseriis. Cur. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007. (Studi e testi, 439).

KO = *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis*. Edit. Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481. [With later editions of 1486 and 1496].

ME = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Briefe. Dichtungen*. Übers. Max Mells. 1966.

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

RE = Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). Edit. Th. M. Izbicki. Washington, 2006.

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = Scriptores rerum danicarum.

ST = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Les misères des gens de cour. Le songe de Fortune*. Trad. Serge Stolf. 2015.

VO = Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols. 1856-1863.

WI = Widmer, Berthe (ed.): *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II. Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*. 1960.

WO = Wolkan, Rudolf: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, II. Abteilung, 61, 62, 67, 68).

Others

** Lead manuscript.

CE = Common Era.

BCE = Before the Common Era.

DV = digital version.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratoribus ducis Burgundiae

[1] {163v} Conversa in nos hodie circumstantium ora plus solito cernimus: majora, ut arbitramur, audire sperant, quam dicere consuevimus. Exposcunt idipsum merita dilecti filii nostri Philippi, Burgundiae ducis, qui nobis hodie¹ oboedientiam praestitit. Nam cum principes alios superioribus diebus non mediocriter laudaverimus, quis non intelligit admirabilem et superexcellentem principem admirabili quodam et superexcellenti genere laudum dignum esse? Sed non sunt vires nostrae, quae vel expectationi vestrae satisfacere, vel praeconia tanti ducis explicare queant. Imitandus est nobis pictor ille, qui cum in Hectoris² funere supra modum tristem³ figurasset Andromachen, restaretque mater infelix Hecuba⁴ vultu pingenda maestiori, nec haberet, quod adderet, obvoluto capite parentem⁵ efinxit, ut quod artificio deerat inspicientium suppleret cogitatio. Et nos igitur pari modo sub involucro quodam Philippi laudes ante ora {164r} vestra⁶ ponemus, longe plus cogitationi vestrae quam nostro confidentes ingenio.

¹ nobis hodie : hodie nobis G

² Iphigeniae J

³ supra modum tristem : tristem supra modum G

⁴ infelix Hecuba : Hecuba infelix G

⁵ matrem G

⁶ vestrum H

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy

1. Praise of the duke

[1] We see that all the faces turned towards Us today are more attentive than usual. The reason is, presumably, that you expect to hear Us speak more grandly¹ than We customarily do. Such expectations are certainly warranted by the merits of Our beloved son, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy,² who today has declared his obedience to Us. During the preceding days, we have greatly praised other princes, but everyone will understand that this admirable and magnificent prince deserves to be praised admirably and magnificently. However, Our abilities cannot satisfy your expectations, nor can Our eulogies do justice to such a great prince. So, We must imitate that painter³ who painted Andromache⁴ overwhelmed with grief at Hector's⁵ funeral.⁶ He then had to paint Hector's mother, the mourning Hecuba,⁷ but with an even more sorrowful face. However, since he was unable to add more [sadness to his portrayal], he painted the mother with her head veiled so that the imagination of the viewers would provide what his art could not.⁸ In the same way, We shall place Philippe's praises before you but under a veil, trusting your talent more than Our own.

¹ "majora"

² Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

³ Not identified

⁴ Andromache: (Gk. myth.) Wife of prince Hector of Troy

⁵ Hector: (Gk. myth.) prince of Troy, son of King Priamus

⁶ Cf. Homer: *Iliad*, ch. 24

⁷ Hecuba: (Gk. myth.) queen of Troy, wife of King Priamus

⁸ Not identified. A margin note in H refers to a similar example in Pliny: *Natural History*, 35.73: *Nam Timanthis vel plurimum adfuit ingenii. eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinx-isset omnes praecipueque patruum et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit, quem digne non poterat ostendere (To return to Timanthes - he had a very high degree of genius. Orators have sung the praises of his Iphigenia, who stands at the altar awaiting her doom; the artist has shown all present full of sorrow, and especially her uncle, and has exhausted all the indications of grief, yet has veiled the countenance of her father himself, whom he was unable adequately to portray)*

[2] Super Lucam inquit Ambrosius, *plenam laudationem esse, quae genus, mores, officium, factum, iudiciumque comprehendit*. Sequamur et nos hanc sententiam, ac de genere primum dicamus. Docet enim scriptura divina non solum mores, sed parentes quoque oportere laudari eorum, qui praedicabiles sunt.¹ Sed quis Philippi genus satis explicet? Si Galliam inspicimus, nulla est illustris familia, quae sanguinem ejus non recognoscat. Ipsa Francorum prosapia, toto memorabilis orbe, Philippum ex se natum fatetur. Si percurramus Germaniam, in Bavaria, in Austria, in Saxonia sanguinem ejus reperiemus. Hispaniae reges et Angli² se sibi conjunctos esse gloriantur; progenitores ejus clara nitent fama, nec nostris egent praeconiis. Apud historicos late celebres fragrantia³ suorum morum Europam omnem perfundit⁴.

[3] Laudant⁵ omnes ejus in adeundo facilitatem, liberalitatem, clementiam; nullam ei virtutem deesse referunt ex his, quae regiae nuncupantur.

[4] Sed⁶ neque officium ejus sua⁷ laude caret. Ducale hoc⁸ ei in plures provincias populosas et opulentas divinitus traditum est⁹ imperium¹⁰. Nemo mediocrem aliquem principem animo volvat, cum Burgundiae ducem nominari audit. Princeps hic potentissimus est, et magnis regibus par. Burgundia per se lata et dives provincia est, et olim regnum fuit. Huic accedit¹¹ Brabantia, Picardia, Campania, Flandria, Hollandia, Selandia, Frisia¹², et aliae terrae nobiles. Verum bona haec fortunae gentiles {164v} dixere. Nos fortunam¹³ nihil esse censem¹⁴, sed cuncta Dei nutu geri et in caelo et in terra profitemur.

¹ genus *in marg.* H

² Angliae G

³ flagrantia G; fragrantia *in marg. corr. ex flagrantia* H; fragrantia *corr. ex flagrantia* H

⁴ perfudit G

⁵ Mores *nota marg.* H

⁶ Officium *nota marg.* H

⁷ summa G

⁸ *omit.* G

⁹ divinitus traditum est : traditum est divinitus G

¹⁰ *omit.* H, J

¹¹ accidit provincia G

¹² Frixia G

¹³ fortunae G

¹⁴ Fortunam nihil esse censem *nota marg.* H

1.1. Family

[2] In his *Comments on Luke*, Ambrose says that *a complete laudation comprises family, character, office, actions, and judgement*.¹

We shall follow this instruction and first talk about the family, for Divine Scripture teaches us that in the case of people who merit praise, it is not only their own character but also their parents who should be praised. But who can do justice to Philippe's family? Looking at France, every illustrious family is related to him by blood. Even the Family of France, renowned throughout the world, recognises Philippe as one of its sons. Looking at Germany, we find his blood in Bavaria, Austria, and Saxony. The kings of Spain and England² are proud to be related to him. His ancestors shine with noble deeds and do not need our praises. In the works of famous historians, the fragrance of their character pervades all of Europe.

1.2. Character

[3] All praise his approachability, liberality, and clemency, and they maintain that he possesses all those virtues that are considered royal.

1.3. Office

[4] He is also highly praised for the performance of his office. God has given him ducal power over many populous and prosperous provinces. When the Duke of Burgundy is mentioned, nobody thinks of some small prince. Indeed, this is a mighty prince, equal to great kings. By itself, Burgundy is a large and rich province and was once a kingdom. Added to this are the provinces of Brabant, Picardy, Champagne, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Friseland, and other noble lands. The gentiles would call these things gifts of Fortune, but we believe that there is no such being as Fortune, and we hold that all things on Earth and in Heaven are governed by the will of God's will.

¹ Ambrosius: *Expositio in Lucam* 1, 21

² Philippe III was related to the Iberian and English royal families through his third wife, Isabella of Portugal

[5] Parum tamen laudis in gloria regnorum¹ ponimus, nisi regna ipsa recte gubernentur². Quae res ad factum et iudicium pertinent³, quae duo restant absolvenda. Ducitur Philippi laus ex⁴ facto pluribus modis. Coactus est pro tutela subditorum saepius arma sumere⁵. Bella memorabilia gessit, stravit hostes, oppida rebellantia vicit, victis veniam praebuit, regnum suum egregie defendit, adversus impios Turcos saepe auxilia⁶ nostris praedecessoribus transmisit, validas classes armavit, copias instruxit, pecunias suppeditavit, laborantes per orientem Christianos magnis aluit sumptibus. In divisionibus, quae catholicam plebem nostro tempore vexaverunt, a Romana ecclesia numquam recessit. Facta ejus et homines probant omnes, et in conspectu Dei digna sunt laude.

[6] Iudicium⁷ ejus aequum esse ipsa subditorum pax ac tranquillitas ostendit, neque enim sine recto iudicio diuturna gaudere pace datur populis⁸. *Justitia et pax*⁹, inquit propheta, *osculatae sunt*, tamquam altera sine altera esse non possit. Et si magno credimus oratori, *sine justitia nulla potest respublica stare*^{10 11}. Cum ergo tot provincias sub Philippo quam diutissime pacatas viderimus, fatendum est rectum et sanctum ejus¹² fuisse iudicium. Atque ita per omnia principem esse, cui beatus Ambrosius absolutam laudem concedere posset. Haec nos breviter et involute de tanti principis praestantia diximus. Vos etsi longe majore putabitis, non tamen ad verum usque pertingetis. Superat enim virtus ejus {165r} non solum verba, sed etiam cogitatus.

¹ regnorum gloria G

² nisi regna recte gubernentur *nota marg.* H

³ Factum, Iudicium *nota marg.* H

⁴ et G

⁵ capere G

⁶ saepe auxilia : auxilium saepe G

⁷ Iudicium *nota marg.* H

⁸ datur populis : populis dicitur datur G

⁹ Justitia et pax *nota marg.* H

¹⁰ potest respublica stare : respublica stare potest G

¹¹ sine justitia nulla res publica stare potest *nota marg.* H

¹² esse ac J

1.4. Actions

[5] However, realms only merit praise if they are governed rightly, which leads Us to the two remaining issues of actions and judgement.

As far as his actions are concerned, Philippe may be praised for many reasons. He has often been forced to take up arms in defence of his subjects. He has waged memorable wars, defeated his enemies, conquered rebellious cities, shown mercy to the vanquished, defended his realm excellently, often offered help to Our predecessors against the infidel Turks, armed strong fleets, raised armies, provided money, and, at great expense, assisted the poor Christians in the East. During the divisions that beset the Catholic people in our own time, he never deserted the Roman Church. His deeds are approved by all men, and they are indeed worthy of praise before God.

1.5. Judgement

[6] As for his judgements, the very peace and tranquillity of his subjects show that they are just, for without right judgement, peoples cannot enjoy lasting peace. As the prophet says, *justice and peace have kissed*:¹ there cannot be one without the other. And if we believe the great orator,² *no state can endure without justice*.³ Seeing so many provinces at peace for a long time under Philippe, we must say that his judgement is right and holy.

Thus, he is a prince in all those things that, according to Saint Ambrose, belong to a complete laudation. This is what We had to say - veiledly⁴ - concerning the eminence of this great prince. Though you may think even more highly [about this prince], you will not grasp the whole reality, for his virtue surpasses not only words but even thoughts.

¹ Psalms 84, 11

² Cicero

³ Exact quote not identified. See, however, Cicero: *De legibus*, 3, 1, 3

⁴ "involute": like the painter painted Hecuba "obvoluto capite", with veiled head

[7] Praeterimus, quae a legatis ejus in nostram relata sunt laudem, imperfectionis et ignorantiae nostrae conscii.

[8] Quae circa rem Turcorum ab his dicta sunt, probamus omnia. Faciemus quantum promissum¹ a nobis est², idque facturum ducem confidimus. Numquam tamen aut nos aut ipse tantum³ conabimur quantum par fuerit. Vellemus tamen, qui nobis et eidem duci⁴ est, eundem ceteris animum⁵ esse. Sentiret hostis Christi non esse contemnendum⁶ evangelium. Deus pro sua misericordia Christiano populo propitius adsit.

[9] Nos ducis oboedientiam ac devotionem dignam laude censemus,

[10] nec vel sibi umquam⁷ vel suis⁸ pro suo aut honore aut commodo⁹ deerimus, idemque facturos venerabiles fratres nostros sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales non dubitamus.

[11] Orationem coram nos habitam a venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Atrebatensi non extollimus sermone nostro: sua luce suisque viribus, supra quam dicere possimus, illustrem se praebuit et verborum ornatu, et gravitate sententiarum, et suavitate pronuntiationis.

¹ permissum G

² a nobis est : est nobis G

³ *omit.* G

⁴ animus *add.* G

⁵ *omit.* G

⁶ esse contemnendum : contemnendum esse G

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ numquam *add.* G

⁹ honore aut commodo : commodo aut honore G

2. Protestation of humility

[7] We pass over his legates' praise of Ourselves, since We are quite aware of Our own imperfections and ignorance.

3. Crusade against the Turks

[8] But We approve of all they said concerning the Turkish matter. We Ourselves shall do all We have promised in this matter, and We trust that the duke will do the same. However, neither he nor We shall ever be able to do all that is required. Nevertheless, We should wish that everybody had the same attitude as We and the duke. Then the enemy of Christ would feel that the Gospel of Christ is not to be scorned. May God, in his mercy, help the Christian people.

4. Acceptance of the duke's obedience

[9] We consider that the duke's obedience and devotion are praiseworthy,

5. Papal goodwill

[10] and We shall always support him and his, granting them benefits and honour. We do not doubt that our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will do the same.

6. Compliment to the ducal spokesman

[11] The oration delivered before Us by Our venerable brother, the Bishop of Arras,¹ We do praise here. Indeed, We cannot adequately describe how he excelled through the light, the force, the elegant style, the gravity of speech, and the pleasant delivery [of his oration].

¹ Jouffroy, Jean (ca. 1412 – 1473): Bishop of Arras 1453, 1461, Bishop of Albi 1462

Appendix: Oration “*Quae pulchri decoris*” of Jean Jouffroy (15 March 1459, Siena)

Manuscripts

- Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Petri / b VIII 15, ff. 151r-157r
- Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek / 8 Philos 88, ff. 193-201v

Editions and translations

None.

Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 9-10.

Pagination after the Göttingen manuscript.

Literature

Märtl, pp. 101-106.

Oratio Johannis Goffridi, Episcopi Atrebatensis, Illustrissimi Philippi Burgundiorum ducis oratoris, pro praestanda oboedientia ad Pium II., Pontificem Maximum¹

[1] {193r} Quae pulchri decoris comites pontificis maximi et administrae desiderantur, et quae velut lumina fusa divinitus te, beatissime pater, collustrant, sapientia tua et obvallata religio², majestas³ nobis profecto facultatem dicendi porrigunt⁴ et detrahunt. Plena nempe quivis earum atque in te redundans sicut orationis ubertatem extollit, sic quasi radiis et obfuso nitore animum comprimit. Si enim apud Homerum is, cui Pallas, familiare numen, vires aspirabat, Telemachus, expavit, cum eminentem prudentiae gratia fulgentemque dicendi luminibus Nestorem alloqueretur, quonam ambire⁵ affatu te intelligendi et dicendi gravissimum auctorem ausim.

[2] Quippe qui tintinabulis aureis⁶ plenus ut Aron per prima tui pontificatus exordia insonuisti ut signaculo litterae Tau Christianorum frontes armares, qui Gedeonis exemplo altera manu fers lampadem sapientiae luce accensam, dextera vero totius eloquentiae tubam dstringis. Si rursus divinae illius, quam exerces, auctoritatis fulgor⁷ apud Ezechielem tenebras timoris abducit⁸, quid non formidem {193v} respiciens te. Neque enim solum - quod Alexandro Magno maximum fuit - iidem termini sunt imperii tui et mundi, sed in quo nemo mortalium tibi miscetur alius cernere, licet cecidisse in tuo sinu et nodum et vinculum ipsius orbi et caeli custodiam. Denique, si princeps ille philosophorum, Plato, in suis legibus scripsit fieri appetitione doloris et voluptatis, ut semper novum carmen optemus, si Quintiliano auctore senatus se contemni putabat, nisi novella et accurata prodiret oratio, quid est quod novum auribus tuis aut dignum isto patrum consessu⁹ possum afferre?

[3] Dicendum nempe est, quod eversos et afflictos Christianorum animos erigat de tuis virtutibus procreatricibus laetitiae publicae, ad quod jam omnes omnis Italiae doctorum hominum vires, ingenia, facundia, lepos advolaverunt. Dicendum item de firma et illustri observantia et ad tuam sedem insigni fide Philippi, ducis

¹ Alia oratio oratorum illustrissimi ducis Burgundiae, habita Mantuae iterum in consistorio publico S

² *em.*; religione codd.

³ maiestatis S

⁴ porrigant S

⁵ abire S

⁶ an reis S

⁷ fulgo S

⁸ obducit S

⁹ consensu S

Burgundiorum, quos ideo influit lenis - ut Julius Caesar decripsit – et semper in se quietus fluvijs Arar. Ideo montis Jura vertices asperi dictant. Ideo – auctore Diodoro Siculo – Hercules Alesiam oppidum condidit in medijs Burgundiae {194r} finibus et Galetem filium genuit, ut princeps noster spectans a stirpe fortitudinis et constantiae impressa sibi vestigia numquam novitatem religioni susceptae inferat neque ab alijs illatam ferat. Sed, o dulce principis ingenium!

[4] Tuum certe¹ acumen, tua dignitas, tua majestas summa conditur, et tum ex perenni fonte manantes tuae gratissimae virtutes semper novitatem dicentibus excitant copia, non satiant. Tum assidue principis nostri devotioni et observantiae ligna mense Thimatis² quadrant, quae consumi non possunt igne adjuncto. Etenim, beatissime pater, fides ipsius nescit eorum, quos coluit atque dilexit, pontificum morte restingui, sed sine senectute diebus omnibus inflorescit, flagrat, augetur. Nempe, ut gratulationem tui pontificatus adoriamur illudque explicemus, quod mos et ratio naturae consensione astricta³ et divina lex induxerunt, quamquam magnanimis moribus moratus ipse antecessoribus tuis, animi studia semper integra detulit.

[5] Cum tamen praesul renuntiatus es, ad laetitiam effudit propensiores affectus. Nam – ut omittam illum, qui dijs et heroibus adhibeatur honorem: ornata floribus templa⁴ et incrustatos ditissimis {194v} tapetibus sacros parietes – conventus principum domesticorum et contionis incredibilis ad gratias Deo agendas frontem laetissimam⁵ et trium, qui⁶ regum omnium demulcent aures, quos aula principis nostri⁷ nutrit cantorum suavitatem, quos Hercule⁸ superiores⁹ Marsiae Olympo et Amfioni sive Apollo suae puella Jonis admirarent¹⁰. Triplex ex te ratio, pater beatissime¹¹, eidem principi praebuit¹² exercitissimam alacritatem: una, quod in civitate Atrabatensi cum tu et omnium saeculorum memoria dignissimus antistes, Nicolaus V., funestissimum Franciae bellum sedasti, cum apostolico legato assideretis, sicut Ulixes et Nestor Agamemnoni, dulcissima tua familiaritas¹³ et suavissima mansuetudo totas benevolentiae fores apperuerint.

[6] Quanto autem in ipsum amore per Ratisponensem fueris¹⁴, meminit. Quantopere te tua virtus istic non solum te honestaret, sed illustraret, advertit. Quid enim

¹ certum S

² Thumatis S

³ adstricta S

⁴ omit. T

⁵ delectissimam S

⁶ esui S

⁷ principis nostri : nostri principis S

⁸ Hacule S

⁹ suppare S

¹⁰ admiraretur T

¹¹ pater beatissime : beatissime pater S

¹² provexit S

¹³ familiaritas S

¹⁴ fuerit T

magnificentius, quid tibi praeclarius quam te fuisse quasi Joseph inter exteros contionum praesidem, florem consilii, ornamentum aulae imperialis, et aurum circumfusum argento quasi insudo splendorem solis? Nonne ambrosiae sucro certe perfusi Germaniae principes te sicut {195r} Jonialem Minoea vel Solonem¹ vel Lycurgum, latores legum, admirabantur?

[7] Nonne in te viderunt per contionem Francfordensem, quid flexamina *et rerum omnium* – ut Cicero loquitur – *domina* possit oratio? Nonne meliorem – ut ait Salomon – sapientiam existimaverunt quam arma bellica, quandoquidem dissidentes a principibus Alamaniae populos et² principes inter se dissentientes uno foedere contra Turcos illaqueasti? Viderunt certe tunc oratores principis nostri verba ut tua, instar Eliae, quasi facula ignis arderent. Viderunt, quod tamquam turris David cervix tua, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis; mille clipei pendent in ea et omnia jacula et arma fortium. Cum uno impetu et instinctu et ore uno doctores sacros et musas ipsas ex te fluere arbitrarentur.

[8] Secundam vero laetitiae causam principi nostro maximam ratio illa conflavit, quae tibi et vim et nomen Pii, beatissime pater, dedit divinitus. Nempe hoc nomen ad omnem proventum Christianae felicitatis existimavit auspiciatissimum. Quid ita, quia profecto – ut Cicero saepe attestatur – fundamentum virtutis omnis est pietas. Socrates vero asserit virtutem esse, quae res impossibiles ad possibilem facultatem traducit. Vis tibi species omnes pietatis adducam, {195v} vis in patriam aut parentes aut vinctam³ religioni. Equidem arbitror Platonem bene sensisse, qui scripsit ad ferendos meliores peioresque viros regiones ita differre, ut quibusdam locis inspiratio divina insit plus quam patria, quam mater afferat.

[9] Quid enim patriae tuae Senensi gloriosius cedit illo naturali pietatis instinctu, qui feram et lupam intulit⁴, ut progeniem Aeneae Pii nutrirer et conditorem urbis et imperii morem⁵ se gereret. Stupent veteres Cyrum cane et Abidem cerva esse nutritos. Haec innata Senensi solo pietas est mirabilior. Fertur Camillus, pietate insignis, Senas instauravisse procuratrices illorum⁶ pontificum, qui cum⁷ tyrannos, tum ipsum mundi terrorem Fridericum ferocientem sola pietate armati profligaverunt. Atqui haud scio, beatissime pater, patriane⁸ pietatem in te transfudit, aut pietatem majorem patriae revehis. Cur enim vigilias, curas, labores, peregrinationes juvenis arripuisti, nisi ut eam reveheres gloriam patriae, quam Smyrneis⁹ Homerus, Virgilius

¹ Salomonem S

² *omit.* T

³ iunctam S

⁴ impulit S

⁵ matrem T

⁶ eorum S

⁷ tum S

⁸ patriamve S

⁹ Sirinueis S

Mantuae, aut Boethius Hesioch, Staius Tolosae¹ ², atque – ut praeteream historiae propinquiorem – Lucanum et Ovidium – ut ait Quintilianus – {196r} lascivientem quam Mitilensibus Sappho et Venesinis affert Horatius. Tu nuper illatum patriae tuae ferrum et imminentem cladem et belli extremas flammam in pacem, otium, incolumitatem vertisti.

[10] Et quando – quaeso – pietati quam in matrem omnium, sedem Romanam, edidisti gratiae relatae, nisi laboribus Jacob eandem sedem sponsam tibi³ acquisisses⁴. Laudatur M. Nemiis Agrippa⁵, seditionis⁶ sedator. Saphirum⁷ miratur miratur antiquitas omnis⁸ passim et molientem quatenus Babylonios regi suo subditos faceret. Pulchrum fuisse - Cicero dicit - Ajacem aut Achillem, sed Ulixem ab Agamemnone appellatum fuisse finitorem⁹ discordiarum. Quis igitur non admiretur te te pietate insigni fortissimas Alamanorum gentes et tantum gregem, qui neutralitatis¹⁰ obtentu sine pastore vagabatur deformis, in ditionem Romanae sedis potestatemque redegisse. Erat certe periculosissimum te Italum hominem ad concitatas contra caput Italiae gentesve ivisse¹¹: inisti! Erat divini hominis aut Dei opus cum ea gente, quae – ut Cornelius Tacitus asserit - alienigenas minime patitur honoribus florere: floruisti! In tanto fremitu persuadere: persuasisti! Ferreas {196v} mentes ad votum flectere: flexisti!

[11] Verum – obsecro – quem non accendat illa tua pietatis et¹² religionis imago, qua velut Moyses contra Pharaonem liberaturus populum Dei primus atque solus exurgis? Quem non acuat altitudo animi, qui¹³ velut Josuae sexcenta millia peditum non times¹⁴? Tu dominantem Asiae et Xerxe majorem Turcum¹⁵ non times, et curas, ne quis timeat illum. Quem denique non trahat in spem audendi omnia tua Phinees¹⁶ alacritas et promptitudo laboris? Et illa etiam David in perficiendo deliberata celeritas, illa Adoniae filii prudentia, qua Turco bellum necessario inferendum praevides. Sunt certe quidam, qui etsi plurimum facultatis habent, inermes¹⁷ tamen non tantum virium tenent, ut enitantur¹⁸. At quod fecit bello piratico victor Pompejus,

¹ Tholosie T

² *textus corruptus?*

³ omit. T

⁴ acquisivisset T

⁵ Probably Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa

⁶ seditioni S

⁷ Topirum S

⁸ omnia S

⁹ servirem T

¹⁰ neutrabilitatis S

¹¹ ve S

¹² ac S

¹³ quia S

¹⁴ timuit S

¹⁵ Turca.. *et passim* T

¹⁶ Phinies S

¹⁷ emerres S

¹⁸ evitantur S

tu extrema hieme tuae perfectionis¹ iter aperuisti. Surgit igitur in laetitiam maximam animus principis nostri et² ex praesentibus spem futurorum metitur. Sed sibi ob tui nominis famam specialissime gaudet. Nam cum laus principis bonum, divinum sit, et famam ferunt a Jove esse, fama tua populos proximos Turcis ab {197r} interitu ad vitam, a desperatione ad spem, ab exitio ad vitam revocabit.

[12] Quid ita quia certe in oratione de lege agraria saepe legisti *homines, ut metuant, contemnant, ament, oderint, opinione non minus quam certa ratione aliqua commoveri*.³ Quo pacto quia subditorum animos illabatur opinio principem clavo laudis infixum quasi nervis et argenteis funibus detineri⁴, ne peccet nec detineri⁵ modo, sed influere subditis facilitatem virtutis, nec solum facilitatem, sed spei praesidium vincendi durissima. Verum ista relinquo, beatissime pater, quoniam quae constituit principis praecipua⁶ gloria respuere gloriam, tu quasi Cato sequentem te laudem refugis. Nam sicut in Alcmoi florifera mensa prudens Ulixes obvolvebat caput et velabat faciem, quoties⁷ a Dimeto⁸ cantore collaudabatur, sic⁹ divino pudore modestus quamquam omni laude sublimis laudari te graviter sustines.

[13] Ergo, patres reverendissimi, si duo sunt, quae solent parere¹⁰ victoriam – ut scripsit Plato – confidentia scilicet ducis in hostes et vigor famae, ne turpitude sequatur, si in libris Josuae cernimus, quoties pontifex excessit e vita propter {197v} novi praesulis laetitiam dissolvi carceres et civitates amissas recuperari, princeps noster et sibi gaudet, et ecclesiae congratulatur, et Christianorum salutem refert acceptam, vestrae prudentiae vobisque gratias maximas agit propter pontificem nobis exhibitum, habentem - quod Salomon efflagitat¹¹ - *manus tornatiles*, ut non secretis solum disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis vere civilis *manus plenas hyacinthis*, qui *aurea*¹² prudentia - ut Quintus Fabius - periculosissimum bellum sine periculo a patrimonio beati Petri discussit manus distinctas¹³ saphiris caelesti celeritate consulte¹⁴ conficiendi, et qui nitore sermonis argentea propugnacula sciat super montem Sion aedificare, ut omnes in ipso sapientiae partes experiamur.

¹ perfectionis S

² omit. T

³ Cicero: *De lege Manilia*, 15, 43: *cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri*

⁴ distineri S

⁵ destineri S

⁶ em.; praecipua S; principia T

⁷ quotiens et passim S

⁸ Dimodeto S

⁹ ac S

¹⁰ parere T

¹¹ flagitat S

¹² Canticle, 11, 14: *Manus illius tornatiles, aureae, plenae hyacinthis* (His hands are turned and as of gold, full of hyacinths)

¹³ districtas S

¹⁴ em.; consulta codd.

[14] Nunc, beatissime pater, appendicem tuae pietatis oboedientiam absolvemus tanto facilius, quanto puderet nos umquam aberravisse a tuo solio. Tacita namque verecundia prohibemur oboedientiam novam afferre, quam quidem integram semper praestitimus, integram ferimus. Divinis nempe illis instauratur decretis, quibus, si quis ecclesiam non audierit¹, est sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Cum igitur fulmen, idest² caelestis ingenii Augustinus, in LXX. quaestione³ scripserit beatum Petrum totam ecclesiam {198r} potestate complecti: *Quoniam – inquit - sicut omnes apostoli et ecclesia tota erant in Christo, ita et ecclesia tota et apostoli omnes erant in Petro.* Nos Isaia concrepante fatemur regna gentesque perituras, quae non servient tibi. Nos elogia scimus Ezechielis, qui laedentibus tuum sacrum tribunal imprecatur dispersionem in omnes ventos, famem, et gladium, et exempla stuporem. Nos naturam sequimur omnia reducentem ad unum et aevum ordinem, quo inferiora superioribus, potentiora potentioribus⁴ semper obtemperant. Siquidem tua haec virtus, divitiae, dignitas cuncta subjiciunt, quis virtuti a Deo tibi collatae non pareat, cui procellae obsecundarent?

[15] Tu quidem humanis oculis, quod⁵ natura subduxit peccatum, aufers et transfers. transfers. Tu extremas extremitates Olympi cuspide linguae⁶ irrumpis. Tu telum, quod Eliae {135r} temporibus aeneum fuisse legimus, extendere potes ut pellem. Huic igitur sacro vestibulo tuae auctoritatis oboedientiam tantam princeps noster effundit, ut ab apostolorum temporibus infusa nostrae Burgundiae Christi religio et per Dotildem, filiam regis Burgundiae, in reges Francorum transfusa radices egit⁷ inevertibiles. Esto enim ut Menias {198v} loquitur: “Surrexit populus tuus in adversarium tibi.” Tunicam et pallium sustulit et tuae sedis cauponatus est auctoritatem. Esto Philistini terra impleverunt puteos Isaac: nos certe statuta quaelibet, quae tuam dignitatem auctionantur, sprevimus, quasi cassiculos araneorum aspernantur. Ut furtum Achor⁸ fugimus, ut Chorae⁹ superbiam, ut ambitiones Dathan et Abiron respuimus et horrescimus.

[16] Dominus etiam tuam potestatem decrevit, et quis mortalium poterit infirmare? Numquid collectitius hominum numerus, seditio principum, externa vis, praelatorum quorundam factis firmatam verbo Dei tuam potestatem refringent, quando caelum et terram transibunt, et illa Christi verba: “*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,*”¹⁰ numquam transibunt? Quod autem secundum est

¹ audiverit S

² adest T

³ questionibus T

⁴ *em.*; impotentioribus codd.

⁵ *omit.* S

⁶ ligue S

⁷ erigit S

⁸ Athor T

⁹ Thore S

¹⁰ Matthew, 16, 18

quamvis Midam¹ aut Croesum² aut clarum opibus quispiam³ vincat reconditos in Ananiam Sophiram. Beatissimi Petri aculeos credimus nondum excussos, nosque monet mos ille, quo pedibus apostolorum omnes se ut suas projiciebant. Quamvis enim ex praesepio surrexit ecclesia, nos assentimur splendori, quo tua sedes, victrix Neronis, {199r} Galbae⁴ Domitiani cum suis laureis caput coronatum attollit, purpuras purpuras quasi opima spolia referens, jure gentium irrumpit imperatorum sedes et opes.

[17] Quid enim de sublimi tuae sedis vertice aliud Isaias ostendit *pro eo* – inquit – *quod fuisti derelictus, ponam te in superbiam saeculorum, gaudium in generatione et generationem, suges lac gentium et mamilla regum lactaberis. Pro aere afferam tibi aurum et pro ferro argentum.*⁵ Hoccine altare Dei primo ligneum, inde lapideum, tum argenteum docet verticem divitiarum tibi deberi. Non luxum quidem, ut haeretici blacterant, sed praesidium salutare, quo septa religio majestatem inferat, majestas reverentiam creet, reverentia parturiat oboedientiam. Equidem, beatissime pater, huic tuae pietatis gradui polliceor observantiam talem, qualem Christianissimi Franciae reges, a quibus princeps noster directo manat, Carolus magnanimus et Pipinus, qui regibus longobardis tui patrimonii praedam eripuerunt, qualem reges Burgundiae et, qui loco regum fuerunt, duces contra Gothos et Hunnos pro tuis opibus et dignitate tuenda, qualem praeterea Hugo, dux Burgundiae, qui rex Italiae accersitus⁶ Berengarium diripientem patrimonium {199v} Petri proelio vicit. Et quid – obsecro – ab aliis duobus ducibus Burgundiae, et item regibus Italiae, Rudolfo et Lothario, actum est proeliis, nisi ut Petri dignitas⁷ et opes perseverarent. Declarant ad id observantiam nostram⁸ vicesies et quattuor Romanae sedis impulsu instructae Burgundiae acies, quas partim Nicolao, partim Calixto, partim alias tibi enumeravi⁹.

[18] Pignora hujus sunt fundatae a¹⁰ majoribus principis nostri per Burgundiam, Belgas, Lotharingiam, Frisiam, metropolitanam et cathedrales ecclesiae, quas etiam offensus non violat. Si quis inde auferre quidpiam nititur, defendere properat: Constantini exemplo in nullo sibi subjici patitur. Pignora item istius rei sunt trium religionum capita, tria ornatissima totius orbis et supra octingenta monasteria auctissima¹¹ opibus, quae in suis patriis eminentissima fulgent. Ultimo, beatissime

¹ Nudam S

² clarum S

³ quisquam S

⁴ Galle S

⁵ Isaiah, 60, 16-17

⁶ accersitos S

⁷ dignitatem S

⁸ omit. T

⁹ Here, Jouffroy seems to imply that had had delivered an oration to Pope Calixtus III and an earlier one to Pius II himself. Such orations are otherwise unknown, and they are not listed in Märtil's Werkverzeichnis, cf. Märtil, pp. 340-343. Also, Jouffroy did not address an oration directly to Nicolaus V, but he did deliver an oration at the occasion of his funeral, cf. Märtil, pp. 341-342

¹⁰ a a J. S

¹¹ aucta T

pater, ne quis mortalium oboedire tibi detractet dignitatis obtentu, nos profitemur tibi delatum sceptrum, non quod fabricavisse fertur Vulcanus artifex, sed sceptrum intuentis¹, quod principes te genu supplices² adorant inclinatos - quod Baruch propheta loquitur - humero³ et cervice in terram.

[19] Etenim, beatissime pater, ut nobilitares solutus⁴ legibus super gentes et regna cum summo imperio, cum iudicio infinito, cum potestate non {200r} coartata, cepisti ferream virgam, quae tamquam vas figuli obnitentes quosque constringat. Adstrictum tenes manibus gladium ancipitem ad faciendum vindictam in nationibus, ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis⁵ ferreis. Cepisti custodientem paradisum rumphiam⁶ igneam, quae montium fundamenta comburens humiliat montes excelsos, rupesque perennes excitatius frangat⁷, quam fertur dux ille ille Poenorum Taurinos saltus igne et aceto fregisse. Quapropter sive quod in Paralipomenon legitur veros duces esse cepisse pro regibus, et plurima ducis nostri dominia regna fuerunt, sive quod Isaias pronuntiavit: *qui tenuerit foedus, meum dabo illi locum in domo mea et nomen melius*⁸, et pectus ejus nullis ventis vibrat, quamquam praestantissimus princeps omnibus conciliis sortitus est, delatum sibi primum locum post reges, ipse tibi sese prosternens tanto parere tibi studet ardentius, quanto scit omnem potestatem a Deo esse, et quanto didicit, quotiens tibi paretur, totiens prosperitatem augeri.

[20] Ergo - ut omnia in summa concludam – tu pater, historiae et omnis doctrinae antistes, scis Annianum Marcellinum scripsisse Burgundos, veterum Romanorum sobolem florentissimum {200v} regum⁹, quod Eutropius scribit obtinuisse legis, quod in Commentariis Caesaris constat communi¹⁰ regem Atrebatem Belgarum etiam Lotharingiae regum tute scis. Et ne praeteream Cimbros Flandriae et Brabantiae partem, quos emigrasse ab extremis Galliae finibus Oceano nudante ipsorum, Annaeus Florus affirmat. Profecto, quamquam illos Marius fudit, non impune segregatos, quid tamen virium roborisque habentur, ostendunt Sillanus¹¹ et Cassianus¹² et Scipionis exercitus a Cimbris fusi, obriti, castris exuti, et LXXX millia

¹ aut ventres S

² supplices S [blank space]

³ homero S

⁴ soluti S

⁵ manibus S

⁶ rumpheam S

⁷ frangit T

⁸ Isaiah, 56, 4-5: *Qui custodierint sabbata mea, et elegerint quae ego volui, et tenuerint foedus meum, dabo eis in domo mea et in muris meis locum, et nomen melius a filiis et filiabus (They that shall keep my sabbaths, and shall choose the things that please me, and shall hold fast my covenant: I will give to them in my house, and within my walls, a place, and a name better than sons and daughters)*

⁹ regnum T

¹⁰ omit. T [blank space]

¹¹ Sillanis T

¹² Cassianis T

Romanorum militum caesa, calorum XL millia, et Aurelii Servulii mors et Carbonis e proelio fuga, morte deterior, et legiones tres cum suis aquilis ablatae Caesari. Tu idem nosti Frisiae regnum, quod vix Drusus Germanicus ausus est penetrare. Scis Arduennae regnum Valentiniani temporibus excellens usque Nammetes¹ atque Leucros, quae invictissimi Philippi, maximi ducis, parent imperio.

[21] Quare cum in suis legibus scripserit Plato, ut unusquisque in ara Dei apud antistitem nomen suum et gentis suae et tribus deferat, cum vetus consuetudo flagitet oboedientiae professionem, ut quod quisque verbo concessit, re non imminuat, cumque innumeris {201r} princeps tribuum Moysi sese describunt et orbis ipse Christo nascente describitur, nos tibi vicario Dei viventis deferimus pro tuo nutu atque renutu specie, frequentia, numero, celebritate, potentia orbis praestantissimas urbes, viros fulgentes nobilitate, cor perseverans atque legitimum.²

¹ Mammetes T

² Dixi *add.* T