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Oration “Fabricator mundi” of Pope Pius II (14 April 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 40)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 40)

Oration “*Fabricator mundi*” of Pope Pius II (14 April 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th 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 Emperor Friederich III. In his reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope spoke about papal supremacy and the doctrine of the swords, giving them a biblical and patristic basis, about the eminence of the Roman empire, the merits of the emperor, his personal indebtedness to the emperor, his acceptance of the emperor's obedience, the emperor's acceptance of an election to the Kingdom of Hungary, and the pope's commitment to the emperor's interests.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Declarations of obedience to the pope; 15th century; 1459; Papal supremacy; Doctrine of the two swords; Kingdom of Hungary; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

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 Emperor Friederich III.

The embassy had been sent rather late from the imperial court.² It had also paused in Florence before continuing to Siena, having been informed that the pope had formally received an embassy from King Matthias of Hungary, thus implicitly recognizing his kingship - in a situation where a faction of Hungarian nobles had offered the Hungarian Crown to the emperor.

The emperor's embassy was received with the full honours accorded by the Papal Court to imperial embassies.³

The embassy consisted⁴ of Burkhard von Weissbriach, Andreas I. von Weissbriach, Johann Hinderbach and Hartung Kapell. Johann Hinderbach⁵ was to present the declaration of obedience in the emperor's name. He had tried it before when together with Bishop Piccolomini he had represented the emperor during the imperial embassy of obedience to Pius' own predecessor, Pope Calixtus III, in 1455. On that occasion, Piccolomini held the famous oration "*Solent Plerique*" [26], which in several ways served as model for Hinderbach's own oration to Pius.

According to Paris de Grassis, papal master of ceremonies of Julius IV and Leo X, Hinderbach nonetheless completely botched the job, probably overwhelmed by the solemnity of the occasion, creating the highly awkward precedent of an ambassador who was not able to deliver the prepared oration,^{6 7} which he was supposed to know by heart, or even the most important part of it, the declaration of obedience itself. Hinderbach became so confused that he could not come to the end, and appeared "*not to know where he was and who he was*". Seeing it, Pius asked him – three times - to read the rest of the oration of which a secretary

¹ CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, p. 109-110; Toews, pp. 292-293; Voigt, IV, pp. 37-40

² Strnad, p. 126

³ This ceremonial is described in the book of papal ceremonies written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, who had functioned as Pius II's master of Ceremonies, see Dykmans, I, pp. 147-150, 204-210. The ceremonial prescribed that behind the ambassador should be placed one of his attendants holding the written text of the ambassador's oration so that he could help him as a souffleur if the ambassador forgot his lines – "*et dicenda modeste et morose ac secreta commemorare*", p. 207

⁴ Strnad, pp. 112-126

⁵ Rogger

⁶ Such an omission actually became the subject of a chapter in de Grassis' ceremonial, see Stenzig, I, p. 255: *Quid agendum si orator obedientiam prestans inter orandum ante obedientiam praestationis clausulam deficiat*

⁷ On Hinderbach as speaker, see Helmrath, p. 81

standing behind Hinderbach was holding a copy, but the ambassador was by then so thoroughly flummoxed that he was not even able to do that:

... legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Interbach obedientiam nomine imperatoris eidem Pio prestare vellet, inter orandum sic defecisse dicitur, ut nunquam potuerit ad ulteriora progredi, etiam quod ipsius oratoris scriba post tergum esset habens cedulam orationis recitande, quod videns pontifex maxime quantum sibi periculi imineret responsuro ad non proposita, instanter bis ac tertio ipsum oratorem monuit, ut saltem pro honore communi legeret ipsam orationem sic scriptam, non potuit obtinere. In tantum enim ille infelix orator a memoria et a se ipso exciderat, ut ubi et quis esset nesciret.¹

Hinderbach's failure to properly present the formal declaration of obedience to the pope created two problems: could the imperial obedience be considered as properly declared if it had not been pronounced by the ambassador? And should the pope give his response, written beforehand, to an oration which had not been finished and even lacked the most essential element?

The first problem Pius solved by considering that the emperor's letters of instruction to his ambassadors² was sufficient, and he very soon formally acknowledged the imperial obedience in a letter to the emperor himself.³

As for the second problem it is not known how it was solved. De Grassis considered that in such cases the pope should not respond in person, and it seems that Pius had later reached the same conclusion. On the other hand, his oration of response is included in the official collection of Pius' responses without any mention that it was not actually held.⁴ Most probably it was held, since not holding it would further dramatize the very embarrassing situation created by the ambassador.⁵ But if he held the oration as planned, he might charitably have excluded the compliment to the ambassador for his excellent speech which was included in the prepared draft [Sect. 9].

Still, the fiasco⁶ of the ceremonial declaration of obedience would have highly – and justifiably – embarrassed and irritated the pope. The emperor was after all the highest-ranking prince in Christianity and his declaration of obedience to the pope was a public event of great

¹ Stenzig, I, p. 256. See also II, 654-656

² "instrumentum"

³ Stenzig, I, p.255; II, p. 655

⁴ But this is also applies to some other his orations which he most likely had not actually held

⁵ Cf. Stenzig, I, p. 255: *sed tamen papa aliquid loquatur habito respectu ad mandatum et litteras iam ibidem publice lectas ... prout factum fuisse legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Hinderbach*

...

⁶ Stenzig, II, p. 654: "Ein Desaster!"

symbolic importance and political significance. It appears that the personal relationship and even collegial friendship between Pius and Hinderbach¹ did not survive the botched affair. At least, later in life Hinderbach, who eventually became Prince Bishop of Trieste, sourly complained that Pius had done nothing to favour his ecclesiastical career and shown no gratitude for his previous services to him.²

2. Themes

In his reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope spoke about papal supremacy and the doctrine of the two swords, giving them a biblical and patristic basis; about the eminence of the Roman Empire; the merits of Emperor Friedrich; his personal indebtedness to the emperor; and his commitment to the emperor's interests.

2.1. Papal supremacy³

There are two "universal" offices in the world, the secular office of the emperor and the religious office of the pope. These two offices are not equal, the office of the emperor being subject to the office of the pope, for God gave all power on Earth, without restrictions or limits, to Jesus Christ, and Jesus in turn gave it to the Apostle Peter⁴:

When God, the maker of the world and the father of nature, first created the sky, he placed two great lights in it, the sun and the moon. The sun He put in charge of the day, and the moon in charge of the night. Ancient writers thought that the sun signified the Roman Pontiff, whereas the moon signified the Empire, and they taught that the souls of men are subject to the pontifical office, whereas their bodies are subject to the imperial. Comparing these two offices, people have debated how much they differ in

¹ In a letter to Piero da Noceto of 18 September 1453 Piccolomini had said that Hinderbach was *singulari benivolentia mihi conjunctus*. (WO, III, I, p. 257), and in a letter to Hinderbach himself of 26 September 1453 he addressed him with the words: *Amice singularis et optime*. (WO, III, I, p. 287)

² It should be noted that the episode of Hinderbach's black-out is only known from the report of de Grassis, who had not personally witnessed it. The story must have been remembered and retold by the curials from whom de Grassis heard it. The episode is not confirmed by other sources, see Stenzig, II, p. 655, or related in Pius' *Commentarii*. This, however, is quite understandable since the *Commentarii* were intended to celebrate Pius' activities, not to dwell on his embarrassments

³ On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

⁴ The development of the doctrine of papal supremacy began with Pope Gelasius I and was continued especially by popes Gregory I, Gregory VII (*Dictatus Papae*), Innocent III, and Bonifacius VIII (*Unam Sanctam*) – and a number of papalist theologians and canonists, of course

importance. There has also been some uncertainty whether the priesthood has the power of both swords. But all such uncertainty disappears if one reads the Holy Gospel which confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ the Lord. Furthermore there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place. [Sect. 1-2]

Pius does not mention, here, that Saint Peter's office as God's Vicar on Earth has been passed on to his successors as bishops of Rome. He had already spoken amply on this theme in his responses to other ambassadors.

Pius does, however, mention the doctrine of the two swords, the secular sword of the empire, and the religious sword of the papacy, the secular sword being subordinated to the religious sword. The theory of the two swords was famously stated by Saint Bernhard, whom Pius directly refers to [Sect. 2]. In his *De consideratione* from ca. 1150, addressed to Pope Eugenius III, Bernhard had written:

Why should you try again to draw the sword, which you were once ordered to back into its sheath? And yet anyone who denies that the sword is yours seems to me not sufficiently to consider the word of the Lord when He said, "Put back thy sword into its sheath." Therefore the sword is yours, to be unsheathed, perhaps, when you so indicate (tuo nutu), although not by your hand. For if it did not belong to you in any way, the Lord, when the apostles said, "Behold, here are two swords," would have answered not "It is enough," but "It is too much." Therefore both swords, the spiritual and material, belong to the church, but the former is to be drawn by the church, the latter on behalf of the church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of the warrior, though, indeed, at the indication of the priest and the order of the emperor.¹

Pius simply reiterated this doctrine, as elaborated by his medieval predecessors;

... the Holy Gospel ... confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ Our Lord. Furthermore there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place, and it is evident that two swords were kept among the companions of Christ, that is the priesthood. This means that supreme authority is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. [Sect. 1]

For the Renaissance popes, including Pius II, to reaffirm medieval papal claims to supremacy - also in secular affairs - was a brave, but desperate fight against the course of history, and European rulers no longer accepted such claims, if they ever had - nor did they any longer

¹ Bernhard of Clairvaux: *De consideratione*, 4, 3, 7. In: MPL, CLXXXII, col. 776. Translation by Lewis, p. 104

fear the ecclesiastical censures like excommunication which had been so effective some centuries before.¹

2.2. Eminence of the Roman Empire²

Quoting his admired model historian (“non futilis auctor”) from the 12th century, Otto of Freising³, Pius presents the thesis of four empires of which the final one and strongest, the Roman, was eventually translated to the Germans when Charlemagne was crowned emperor by the pope in the year 800. According to Pius, Christ himself, his apostles, and the Church fathers, recognized the secular pre-eminence of the imperial institution, and so does the Roman Church. One passage from the oration will suffice:

The evangelist says that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled. According to jurists, this passage shows that the emperor was the lord of the world. [Sect. 3]

2.3. The emperor’s merits

In his list of the emperor’s merits in relation to the Apostolic See, Pius mentions the following:

- The abolition of German neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Konstanz, and the restoration of German obedience to the Papacy. In 1447.
- The ending of the schism with two popes, the Roman Pope Nicolaus V, and the antipope, Felix III, elected by the rump council in Basel. In 1448.
- The suppression of a German anti-papal movement at the accession of Pope Calixtus III. In 1455.

Pius would be quite familiar with these three events since he had been one of the emperor’s main agents in each of them.

¹ See orations “*Res bohemicas*” [28] sect. 31-32; Oration “*Existimatis fortasse*” [64], sect. 16; Oration “*Sextus agitur annus*” [75], sect. 16

² See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.2: The Empire

³ Otto von Freising (ca. 1114-1158): German churchman and chronicler. Bishop of Freising from 1138

2.4. Pius' indebtedness to the emperor

Without any embarrassment whatsoever, Pius states clearly that it was the emperor who had made his ecclesiastical career possible – with the exclusion of the papacy which came solely from God:

... if ever somebody sat on this throne who ought to praise and extol the name of the emperor, it must be Us who have had, both privately and publicly, many more favours from Emperor Friedrich than We can possibly relate. Before we took holy orders, We lived at his Court for a long time. We were his secretary. And having become a member of his council, We were his ambassador on many occasions. The emperor could have used other, more qualified and learned men for these tasks, but he wanted to use Us, and this is why We were appointed bishop and later promoted to the eminent position of cardinal... the honourable offices entrusted to Us by the emperor have provided us with a great stairway to this throne. [Sect. 4-5]

The pope's commitment to the emperor is expressed at the end of the oration in the standard form he used in all his replies to the princely ambassadors.

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Picotti, the imperial embassy was received by the pope on 13-14 April 1459,¹ and on the 15th he addressed the city government of Siena. For the purpose of the present edition, 14 April has been retained as the date of delivery of the oration.

The venue was the Cathedral of Siena.

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.²

¹ Picotti, p. 97. Stenzig gives two different dates for the oration: 29.5., in Siena (II, 782), and 29.10., also in Siena (p. 655). As Pius left Siena in 23. April and arrived in Mantua on 27 May, these dates are obviously wrong. Strnad, p. 130, gives 29 March as the date of arrival of the imperial embassy in Siena

² Whether it was actually delivered, in view of Hinderbach's black-out, see above

4. Text¹

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,² which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 164r-165v **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 32r-35v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 36v-40v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 54r-57v
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 154r-156v **(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: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 195-198
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]

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

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 5.1.2

³ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

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 short oration, 12 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 8 from the Bible and 4 from patristic and medieval sources, none from classical sources.

Biblical: 8

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 4

Contemporary: 0

All: 12

Biblical sources: 8

Old Testament: 3

- Genesis: 1
- Daniel: 1
- Psalms: 1

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

New Testament: 5

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

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 4

- Bernard de Clairvaux: 1¹
- Innocentius III: 1²
- Otto von Freising: 1³
- Tertullianus: 1⁴

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ De consideratione

² Ep. Praefectum Acerbium

³ Chronica

⁴ Liber apologeticus

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¹ <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/inniii-policies.asp>.

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic 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 Austriacalis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratoribus imperatoriae majestatis

[1] {154r} Fabricator mundi naturaeque parens, Deus, cum caelum primo¹ conderet, luminaria duo² magna in eo constituit, solem ac lunam, et alterum diei praefecit, alterum nocti. Per solem prisci auctores Romanum pontificium³, per lunam imperium designari putaverunt, et pontificio quidem animas hominum⁴, imperio subjici corpora tradiderunt. Hinc dignitates inter se comparatae, et quantum altera praestaret⁵ alteri, quaesitum. Illud quoque in dubium versum, an penes sacerdotium utriusque gladii potestas inveniretur. Sed aufert omnem ambiguitatem sacra evangelii lectio, quae Christo domino omnem traditam esse potestatem in caelo et in terra confirmat.

¹ caelum primo : primum caelum G

² luminaria duo : duo luminaria G

³ pontificem G

⁴ animas hominum : hominum animas J

⁵ praestat J

To the ambassadors of His Imperial Majesty

1. Papal supremacy

[1] When God, maker of the world and father of nature, first created the sky, he placed two great lights in it, the sun and the moon.¹ The sun He put in charge of the day, and the moon in charge of the night.² Ancient writers thought that the sun signified the Roman Papacy, whereas the moon signified the Empire, and they taught that the souls of men are subject to the pontifical office, whereas their bodies are subject to the imperial.³ Comparing these two offices⁴, people have debated how much they differ in importance. There has also been some uncertainty whether the priesthood has the power of both swords.⁵ But all such uncertainty disappears if one reads the Holy Gospel which confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ the Lord.

¹ The Sun and Moon Allegory is an allegory illustrating the medieval papalist doctrine of the primacy of the religious sphere over the secular sphere, and the primacy of the Papacy over the secular powers. It is related to the general theory of Papal Supremacy and "plenitudo potestatis" as articulated by the Roman Catholic Church. This allegory was developed by Pope Innocent III and later taken up by Pope Bonifatius VIII in the bull *Unam Sanctam*

² Genesis, 3-4

³ Pope Innocent III: *Letter to the prefect Acerbius and the nobles of Tuscany, 1198: Just as the Founder of the universe established two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, so too He set two great dignities in the firmament of the universal Church ... the greater on[e] to rule the day, that is, souls, and the lesser to rule the night, that is, bodies. These dignities are the papal authority and the royal power. Now just as the Moon derives its light from the Sun and is indeed lower than it in quantity and quality, in position and in power, so too the royal power derives the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical authority.* (Medieval Sourcebook: Innocent III, r. 1198-1216). Letters on Papal Policies. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/inniii-policies.asp>.) See also Hageneder

⁴ "dignitates"

⁵ See oration "*Dominatorem caeli*" [35], sect. 7-10

[2] Christum vero suas vices beato Petro, aeternae vitae clavigero, commississe, non {154v} est ambiguum, duos quoque gladios in comitatu salvatoris, idest in sacerdotio, fuisse¹ palam est, per quos summam auctoritatem apud summum esse pontificem designatur. Nec contrarium est, quod nonnulli adducunt² de Jesu, qui beatum Petrum in periculosa nocte gladium suum materiale in vaginam recondere jussit. Non enim suum esse negavit, sed suum dixit, ac si non sua manu, sed suo jussu exercendum ostenderet, quemadmodum devotissimi doctoris Bernhardi sententia est. Sed plura in hunc modum superioribus diebus praefati sumus: non est cur hodie circumstantium aures de summi praesulis auctoritate fatigemus.

[3] De Romano imperio, cujus nunc oratores auditi sunt³, subnectere aliqua non fuerit alienum. Historici quattuor orbis imperia magnificiunt, Assyriorum, Graecorum, Carthaginensium, et Romanorum. In ultimo potestas major et altior gloria fuit. Et sicut primum ex Assyriis ad Medos, ex Medis ad Persas migravit, ita et ultimum ex Romanis ad Graecos, ex Graecis ad Germanos translatum est. Qui alias translationes ponunt, in errore sunt. Bis Graeci imperium habuere, semel suo nomine, semel Romano titulo. Quod vero Graecorum fuit, numquam Romae imperavit. Romani vero et Graecis, et Assyriis, et Carthaginensibus jugum imposuere. Ob quam rem non immerito a Daniele propheta ferro comparatum est. {155r} Nam sicut metalla reliqua ferro atteruntur, ita⁴ et imperia quaeque Romanae virtuti concesserunt.

¹ Idest in sacerdotio fuisse : fuisse id est in sacerdotio G

² adhuc J

³ audivimus G

⁴ sic G

[2] Furthermore, there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place, and it is evident that two swords were kept among the companions of Christ,¹ that is the priesthood. This means that supreme authority is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. Some object that in that dreadful night Jesus ordered Saint Peter to put his physical sword back in its sheath, but this objection is not valid since Jesus did not deny that it was indeed his sword. On the contrary, he claimed it as his own, showing that it should be wielded at his command – though not by his own hand. This is the interpretation of the pious doctor, Bernhard.^{2 3} But since We have been saying much about this matter during the previous days, there is no reason to tire the ears of the audience today with [the matter of] the authority of the Supreme Pontiff.⁴

2. Roman Empire

[3] It is appropriate to add something concerning the Roman Empire whose ambassadors we have now heard. Historians⁵ extol four world empires: the Assyrian Empire, the Greek Empire, the Carthaginian Empire, and the Roman Empire. The last one had the greatest power and glory. Just as the first imperial power passed from the Assyrians to the Medes, and then from the Medes to the Persians, the last imperial power was transferred from the Romans to the Greeks, and then from the Greeks to the Germans.⁶ Those who speak of other translations of imperial power are in error. The Greeks had the imperial power twice, once in their own name and once under the Roman title. But the empire that was properly Greek never ruled Rome, whereas the Romans imposed their yoke on the Greeks, the Assyrians, and the Carthaginians. Therefore, Daniel rightly likens it to iron.⁷ For just as the other metals are softer than iron, thus the other empires had to submit to Roman strength.

¹ Luke, 22, 38

² Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153): French abbot of the reforming Cistercian order. Saint

³ Bernard de Clairvaux: *De consideratione*, 4, 3, 7

⁴ Pius refers to the reception of other ambassadors, during the previous weeks where he also spoke on this issue

⁵ Otto von Freising: *Chronica* 2, 13

⁶ Pius is referring to the various dynasties of the two empires

⁷ Daniel, 2, 40

[4] Hoc imperium multifariam multisque modis in evangelio et approbatum et honoratum legimus. *Exiit edictum, inquit evangelista, a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis.* Quae vox palam¹ ostendit imperatorem orbis fuisse dominum, sicut jureconsultorum² sententia est. Sub Augusto quoque salvator nasci et censi voluit, nec recusavit tributum, quamvis non teneretur, solvere. Approbavit et jura imperii dicens: *Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo.* Et ad Pilatum, sub quo passus est: *Non haberes adversum³ me potestatem ullam, nisi tibi datum esset desuper.*

[5] Apostoli ejus, Petrus et Paulus, qui regem honorandum affirmarunt, de Romano imperatore locuti sunt, quem tunc pro rege habuerunt⁴. Et quamvis essent nonnulli Caesares Christianae fidei persecutores, pro incolumitate nihilominus Romani imperii sancti patres assiduas Deo preces obtulerunt, non dubitantes, eo stante, praecusum esse Antichristi adventum. In qua sententia Tertullianus fuit et Cyprianus et Aurelius⁵ Augustinus. Sic enim verba doctoris gentium interpretantur: *Qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat, et tunc revelabitur ille filius iniquitatis, quem dominus spiritu oris sui⁶ interficiet.* Huc et prophetae regii verba trahuntur: *Et erit abundantia pacis⁷, donec auferatur luna.* {155v} Neque enim secundum illos prius incipient Antichristi pernicioosa tempora, quam luna, idest Romanum imperium, annihilaretur.

¹ omit. G

² jurisconsultorum G

³ super G

⁴ habebant J

⁵ Cyprianus et Aurelius : Aurelianus, Cyprianus et G

⁶ omit. J

⁷ omit. J

[4] In the Gospel we read how this empire was endorsed and honoured in many different ways. The evangelist says that *there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled.*¹ According to jurists, this passage clearly shows that the emperor was the lord of the world. The Saviour desired to be born under Augustus and counted in his census, and he did not refuse to pay taxes though he was not bound to do so.² And he endorsed the rights of the empire when he said: *Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's,*³ and when he said to Pilate under whom he suffered: *Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it were given thee from above.*⁴

[5] When his apostles, Peter and Paul, stated that the king must be honoured, they were, in fact, talking about the Roman Emperor who was their king then. And though many emperors persecuted the Christian Faith, nonetheless the holy fathers continuously prayed to God for the safety of the Roman Empire,⁵ being sure that Antichrist will not come as long as that empire stands. This was the position of Tertullian⁶ as well as of Cyprian,⁷ and Aurelius Augustine.⁸ And this is how those words of the Doctor of the Gentiles should be interpreted: *that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way. And then that wicked one shall be revealed: whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth.*⁹ Also the words of the royal prophet¹⁰ may be quoted in this context: *And there will be abundance of peace, till the moon be taken away.*¹¹ Thus, according to these men, the evil times of Antichrist will not begin before the destruction of the moon, that is the Roman Empire.

¹ Luke 2, 1

² Since, as God, he was above the emperor

³ Matthew 22, 21

⁴ John 19, 11

⁵ E.g. Tertullianus: *Liber apologeticus*, 30. *Denique, inquit ille, sine monitore pro omnibus semper⁵ imperatoribus Deum precantes sumus. Vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum orbem quietum optamus*

⁶ Tertullian [Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens] (ca. 160-ca. 225): early Christian author from Carthage

⁷ Cyprian [Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus] (ca. 200 -258): Bishop of Carthage and an important Early Christian writer

⁸ Augustine [Augustinus, Aurelius] (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁹ 2. Thessalonians 2, 7-8: *qui tenet nunc donec de medio fiat, et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui*

¹⁰ King David

¹¹ Psalms 71, 7: *germinabit in diebus eius iustitia et multitudo pacis donec non sit luna*

[6] Latissimus ad dicendum campus si quis imperii laudes celebrare voluerit. Nos haec praeclaris et otiosis ingeniis relinquenda putamus. Illud fatendum est antecessores nostros, Romanae urbis antistites, Romanos imperatores summis honoribus prosequi consuevisse¹. Verum si quis in hoc solio umquam² sedit, quem Caesareum nomen extollere et³ magnificare deceat, nos illi sumus, qui ab imperatore Friderico et⁴ privatim et publice plura consecuti sumus beneficia quam referre possimus. Fuimus⁵ longo tempore in ejus aula priusquam sacris initiaremur. Secretariatus officium apud eum gessimus. In consilio ejus conscripti plurimas⁶ legationes obivimus. Potuisset imperator aliis hominibus uti et prudentioribus⁷ et doctioribus, nobis tamen uti maluit⁸. Hinc nos aucti et⁹ ad episcopalem dignitatem ac cardinalatus eminentiam provecti fuimus.

¹ consuesse H, J

² numquam J

³ atque G

⁴ *omit.* G

⁵ enim *add.* G

⁶ plures G

⁷ uti et prudentioribus : et prudentioribus uti G

⁸ voluit G

⁹ *omit.* G

3. Praise of the emperor

[6] So, the field is wide open to those who want to praise the empire. This We shall leave to such distinguished minds who have the time. But this We must say, however, that it has been the custom of Our predecessors as Bishops of Rome to show great honour to the Roman emperors. And if ever somebody sat on this throne who ought to praise and extol the name of the emperor, it must be Us who have had, both privately and publicly, many more favours from Emperor Friedrich¹ than We can possibly relate. Before we took holy orders, We lived at his Court for a long time.² We were his secretary. And having become a member of his council, We were his ambassador on many occasions. The emperor could have used other, wiser and more learned men for these tasks, but he wanted to use Us, and this is why We attained higher status and were appointed bishop³ and later promoted to the eminent position of cardinal.⁴

¹ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

² Piccolomini became attached to the Imperial Court in 1442 and took Holy Orders in 1446

³ 1447

⁴ 1456

[7] Nihil de summo pontificatu dicimus; illum enim pius et prudens Deus suo tantum¹ reservavit arbitrio, et suum iudicium nobis incognitum cui vult, credit. Scalam tamen ad hoc solium ascendendum honores ab imperatore recepti nobis non parvam praestiterunt. Atque haec inter alia multa private, publice vero ab eo consecuti sumus, quaecumque Romanae sedi suo tempore suoque studio bene atque utiliter obvenerunt². Atque in primis ecclesiasticam pacem ab eo recognoscamus oportet. Nam si Germania, {156r} provinciarum latissima et optimis referta viris, sub Eugenio IV., praedecessore nostro, deposita neutralitate ad hujus sanctae sedis plenissimam oboedientiam rediit, non est quod alteri acceptum feratur³ quam Friderico, qui subditorum suorum emollivit animos. Si schisma taeterrimum sub Nicolao V. extirpatum est, Friderici magna ex parte opera fuit, qui congregationem Basiliensem dissipavit. Si praeventa et impedita sunt nonnullorum principum consilia apostolicae sedi⁴ perniciosae sub Calixto III. non alium laudare quam Fridericum oportet⁵, qui non modo illis assistere noluit⁶, sed eorum conatus summo studio pertubavit. Nobilissimus certe ac⁷ piissimus imperator, cujus religionem, justitiam, mansuetudinem, clementiam reliquasque virtutes nulla nostra satis⁸ oratio explicaverit.

[8] Audivimus vos oratores suae mansuetudinis admodum libenter, quamvis de laudibus nostris nimis profuse locuti estis. Novimus ipsi nostram imbecillitatem, et cum aliorum verbis extollimur, in animo nostro dejicimur, haud ignorantes tacite reprehendi, qui pro dotibus sibi debitis, quas non habet, celebratur.

¹ *omit.* G

² *evenerunt* G

³ *referatur* G

⁴ *Apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae* G

⁵ *debemus* G

⁶ *uoluit* J

⁷ *et* G

⁸ *nostra satis : satis nostra* G

[7] We say nothing of the supreme pontificate, for that [office] was reserved by the pious and wise God himself: indeed, he entrusts it to whom He wills, and his reasons are hidden to us. But the honourable offices entrusted to Us by the emperor have provided us with a great stairway to this throne. But these and many other things belong to the private sphere. In the public sphere, it is from him that We have obtained all those things that have benefited and advantaged the Roman See in his time. First of all We must acknowledge that the peace of the Church was due to him. For when Germany, the largest of the provinces¹ and full of excellent men, ended its state of neutrality and returned to full obedience towards this See² under Our predecessor, Eugenius IV,³ it was due to Friedrich alone who softened the minds of his subjects. And when the terrible schism was ended under Nicolaus V,⁴ it was largely due to Friedrich who ousted the assembly of Basel.⁵ And if, under Calixtus III,⁶ the plots of many princes detrimental to the Apostolic See were obstructed and prevented,⁷ we must thank and praise none other than Friedrich who would not help them, but opposed their endeavours with all his might. Certainly, the emperor is most noble and pious, and our oration cannot do justice to his piety, his justice, his mildness, his clemency, and his other virtues.

4. Protestation of humility

[8] We have heard you with pleasure, ambassadors of His Grace⁸, though you have said too much in our Own praise. We know Our weakness, and when We are being praised by others, We grow sad, knowing that praise of qualities that one ought to have, but does not, is tantamount to tacit rebuke.

¹ The European territories

² 1447

³ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer]: (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

⁴ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁵ The Catholic Church considers that the Council of Basel ended in 1438/1439. Thereafter it was not a council, but an unauthorized, schismatical assembly. The rump council in Basel moved to Lausanne in 1448

⁶ Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

⁷ At the accession of Calixtus III, many in Germany wanted to reduce papal power in Germany, among them the Archbishop of Trier. Piccolomini fought against them and won over the emperor, arguing that pope and emperor needed each other. Afterwards he was sent to the new pope to present the emperor's declaration of obedience, at which occasion he gave the oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

⁸ "mansuetudinis"

[9] Oblectavit nos verborum ornatus et sententiarum gravitas.

[10] Devotionem et oboedientiam carissimi filii nostri Romanorum imperatoris ac regis,

[11] et quae nobis offert in expeditionem contra Turcos obeundam et consilia ejus {156v} grato complectimur animo.

[12] Quod citius legationem non miserit haud sine causa factum arbitramur. Quod¹ inclytum Hungariae regnum² per electionem procerum ac baronum, quemadmodum³ retulistis sibi delatum acceptaverit, confidimus non sine urgentibus rationibus factum esse, nec majestatem ejus quidquam temere fecisse putamus. Precamur pium et optimum ac maximum Deum, ut hoc novum suae serenitati, apostolicae sedi et universae reipublicae Christianae felix et faustum sit.

[13] Nos suae mansuetudini suisque commodis et honoribus cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, quantum cum Deo poterimus, semper faventes erimus ac propitii.

¹ qui J

² regem G

³ quem G

5. Compliment to the ambassador

[9] But We were pleased by the elegance and of gravity of your speech.¹

6. Emperor's obedience

[10] And We gratefully accept the devotion and the obedience of Our beloved son, the Emperor and King of the Romans,

7. Crusade against the Turks

[11] and his offers and counsels in the matter of the crusade against the Turks.

8. Kingdom of Hungary

[12] We consider that there was a good reason for his not sending this embassy sooner. We trust that it is for cogent reasons that he has accepted his election by nobles and barons to the illustrious Kingdom of Hungary, as you informed Us, and we think that His Majesty has not acted rashly in this matter. We pray to Pious God, Best and Greatest, that this new [charge] will be happy and auspicious for His Serenity, for the Apostolic See, and for the whole Christian Commonwealth.

9. Papal benevolence

[13] And together with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall always, as far as We can with God, advance and favour the interests and the honour of His Grace.

¹ In view of Hinderbach's black-out, it is difficult to imagine that Pius would actually have kept this compliment in his oration – if he delivered it

Appendix: Johann Hinderbach's oration "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*" to the pope on behalf of the emperor

As edited by Alfred Strnad¹ on the basis of BSB / Clm 3786, ff. 168r-173r. (Pagination from Strnad)

1. Introduction

[1] {166} Maximum et amplissimum munus, beatissime summe pontifex, hodierno die ad me delatum video ingenio ac viribus meis penitus impar, quod coram Sanctitate tua, summo omnium mortalium capite ac domini Salvatoris nostri in terris vicario, divi Friderici cesaris augusti parte verba factururus sim, presertim cum me nulla dicendi facultate preditum agnoscam et de his rebus dicendum sit, que tamen pro dignitate Beatitudinis tue quam eius, qui nos misit, disertissimum aliquem et eloquentissimum oratorem expeterent; qua de re vehementer vereor, ne muneris huius officio mea ineptia ne dum non satisfacere, sed nec minimo quidem, ut aiunt, digito possum attingere. Verum ad hoc me compulit reverendi in Christo patris domini Burckhardi sancte Salzeburgensis ecclesie prepositi dignissimi mandatum et auctoritas magnificique baroni et strenui militis, domini Andree de Weyspriach, et celeberrimi iuris utriusque consulti, domini Hartungi de Cappell, dominorum et collegarum meorum instancia, que me omnino se indoctiorem minusque facundum hoc munus subire coegerunt.

[2] Eorum itaque auctoritati ac iussioni parens hoc onus subii tua, beatissime pater, solita in omnes humanitate ac veteri erga me benivolentia et consuetudine potissimum fretus, qua me semper peculiarissime es prosequutus et divina quadam animi tui bonitate. Dum in cesarea versareris curia, familiaritate prope continua et domestica complexus es, quem denique doctrine consiliorumque tuorum crebro participem ac in novissima ad predecessorem tuum Calistum legacione caesarea collegam esse voluisti. Ea quidem ratio maior est hiis patribus et dominis meis demandandi, michi vero id munus subeundi, [que] prestitit occasionem.

[3] Dabit veniam igitur immensa pietas tua, clementissime pontifex, si tue in primis atque huius alme sedis dignitati auribusque tuis pientissimis equam et condignam orationem non attulero, si denique invictissimi cesaris nostri desiderii et dulcissimis quos ad tuam gerit clementiam affectibus non respondebo. Supplebit enim tua pietas quicquid enim minus

¹ Alfred A. Strnad: *Johannes Hinderbachs Obedienz-Ansprache vor Papst Pius II – Päpstliche und kaiserliche Politik in der Mitte des Quattrocento*. In: *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 10 (1966/67) 41-183 / pp. 165-177

ornate minusve decenter quam apostolici culminis aut cesarei numinis dignitati conveniunt exposuero, cum et cesaris optimum erga tuam Sanctitatem animum et hanc summam sedem fidem, devocionem, amorem et observanciam ad unguem, ut aiunt, iam dudum sis expertus et cognoveris.

[4] At non me preterit huius aule apostolice vetus consuetudo ab his qui pontifici obedientiam prestituri veniunt observata: Solent enim primum in throno sedentis novi pontificis genus, mores et vitam, electionem sanctam atque eligencium vota meritis ac dignis efferre laudibus, eius vero qui se mittit dignitatem, amplitudinem et in hanc sedem sua maiorumque suorum merita ac demum debitis reverentie devotionibus eam recognoscentes obdientiam profiteri, quod et nobis profitendum censuimus. Et quamquam non dubitemus omnes ante nos multorum principum et communitatum legatos plenitudini in exponendis tue Beatitudinis laudibus et summo pontificatu tuo adornando insudasse, dicemus tamen et nos pro modulo ingenii nostri nonnulla, que ad eximiam tue Beatitudinis laudem credimus pertinere.

2. Praise of the pope

[5] Fuerunt in primis, ut arbitror, apud {167} Sanctitatem tuam huius¹ preclarissime imperialis Senarum litterarum cultrici et ocii patrie tue legati, qui nimirum summo apostolatui tuo congaudentes ac letabundi ita genus illustremque vetuste domus ac Picolhomini familie prosapiam, maiorumque tuorum, probissima gesta veluti veri huius rei testes ac magis conscii in lucem deduxere, ut modo sit opus nostrum circa id sermonem protendere verbis. Retulerunt eciam haud dubium quique studiis infantiam adolescentiamque tuam pro transgressoris ambobusve virtutibus et artibus illam tam domi quam fori exornaveris, qualemque divinitus indolem et summum ingenium sortitus fueris, ut nec in orando Cicerone neque carminibus quopiam poetarum, ne Marone quidem inferior videreris, unde magnam cum summis et ea tempestate celebratissimis viris amicitiam ac familiaritatem tibi comparasti ac potissimum cum Nicolao quondam sancte Crucis in Hierusalem cardinali religiosissimo viro tum Galliarum legato, apud quem secretariatus officio fungebaris – ex cuius domo secundo iam post Nicolaum quintum Romanae ac universalis ecclesie pontifex datus es, – ac deinde cum Iuliano Cesarino, qui apud Hungariam pro fide Christi occubuit, ac Dominico Firmano, cum quo primum Basileam adiisti ceterisque in omni genere virtutis ac doctrine excellentibus viris, qui tum ex diversis mundi partibus eo loco multorum regum et principum legati et quidem frequentissimi aderant, ubi tantum fidei tantumque auctoritatis nactus es, ut in maximis et arduissimis rebus ad plerasque mundi partes te oratore uterentur et nuntio.

¹ The oration was given in Siena

[6] Unde tibi omnium occidentalium insularum Britanie, Scocchie et Hibernie peragranti necessitas primum accessit et ultra montanas ac maritimas regiones perlustrandi facultas tributa fuit. Ex qua non minorem hauriende sapientie situmque terrarum agnoscendi ac mores earum gentium explorandi occasionem es consequutus quam Pitagoras ille Samius, qui se primum philosophum id est sapientie amatorem appellari voluit et apud Persas et Egiptos ac tandem magnam Greciam divinam habuisse fertur sapientiam, aut Ulixes, Troyane expeditionis superstes omnium mortalium sollertissimus, [qui] orbem terrarum circumeundo et ultimas Hispaniarum oras perlustrando humanarum rerum prudentiam creditur assequutus.

[7] Succrevit deinde celeberrimi tui nominis ac virtutis fama ac tota Germania procrepuit adeo, ut ad divum Fridericum cesarem tum in expeditionem pro prima imperii corona in civitate Aquensi, Caroli magni sede, summenda agentem et apud Franckfordiam dilectum principum habentem, ubi tunc forsitan aderas, pertingeret. Qui cum te primum {168} videret audiretque perorantem et de eximiis tui ingenii dotibus multa intelligeret, captus eloquentie tue dulcedine multisque egregiis tuis precibus te primum omnium mortalium omnium applausu principum summo poetarum honore laurea decorandum censuit et ornavit, atque opera et annis tum primorum curie cesaree, Silvestri Chimensis episcopo etiam Casparis Slick imperialis aule cancellarii, qui te genusque tuum et familiam prius in hac urbe¹ divo Sigismundo cesare in ea commorante cognoverat ac tuis eximiis virtutibus miro modo efficiebatur, ad ipsius divi cesaris familiaritatem et consilia fuisti accersitus, ubi simul et virtus et integritas tua in dies magis magisque elucebat et cognoscebatur.

[8] Brevi temporis intervallo summam in primis apud cesarem gratiam et apud omnes fidem et auctoritatem fuisti assequutus, tum precipue apud Casperem Slick cancellarium, qui te, ut par dignum tanta virtute erat, mirum in modum coluit et venerabatur. Quo factum, ut quocumque negotio impeditus aut a cesaris curia discedens summam imperialis cancellarie tue fidei tueque prudentie committeret. Quo in tempore preter occupationes publicas nullum umquam tempus pretermisisti, vel quo non egregium et singulare quoddam tuo ingenio tuisque studiis dignum opus edideris aut in scribendis ad quam plurimos illius temporis doctos et singulares homines epistulis aut historiis non vacaveris. Extant pleraque epistularum tuarum familiarum volumina, que nec Tulliane cedunt eloquentie nec virtute et doctrina Senece aut apostolicis sunt inferiores, plene sententiarum, plene facetiarum, plene et historiarum et hec quidem comice optimis iocis salibusque referte, alie vero tragediarum instar omni gravitate ac rerum humanarum varietate condite, quibus omnium arcium omniumque morum precepta, omniumque denique personarum et dignitatum genera es complexus.

¹ NB: the oration is held in Siena

[9] Inter quas plereque ad diversos principes inscripte sunt ac precipue ad inclite memorie Ladislaum Ungarie ac Boemie regem adhuc adolescentem tam alto ac longo regum et cesarum sanguine cretum tot tantorumque regnorum ac diversarum regionum et nationum principem; item ad Sigismundum illustrissimum Austrie ducem tum eciam in etate tenera constitutum. Quibus de illorum egregia et morum et litterarum institutione ita exacte egit Beatitudo tua, ut divina illis et platonica omniumque philosophorum precepta redolerent et Aristotelis, Plutarchi et Alexandri magni ac Troyani preceptoris, (Aristotelis et Plutarchi) ceterorumque maximorum principum preceptoribus libris et doctrinis non inferiores habeantur. {169} Quorum ibi operibus plena tuis sunt omnium tam Latinorum quam Germanorum gymnasia. Qua ex re te auctore ita humanitatis studia ubivis locorum gentis nostrae pullularet, ut iam omnes Sanctitatem tuam veluti parentem et magistram omnium virtutum et studiorum, quoniam ymmo et instauratorem priscarum Latinarum quemadmodum Itali Crisaloram apud se Grecarum litterarum profiteantur. Idcirco multum Sanctitati tue debet Germanica natio, que tuis institutis et exemplis ad veterem illum Romane facundie decorum et humanitatis studia est revocata et in dies magis magisque adaugetur ac recepit incrementa.

[10] Quid dicam de preclaris et luculentissimis orationibus tuis, quas Beatitudo tua diversis in rebus, diversis in locis et conventionibus prestantissimorum hominum habuit, que adeo efficaces, adeo dulces et ad persuadendum apposite semper fuerunt, ut auditorium animos non humanos tantum verum eciam barbaros et Latine lingue inscios sua virtute potentes fuerint communire, quod in dietis tam Ratisponensi quam Franckfordensi apertissime extat comprobatum, quibus omnium animi, qui tum aderant in rebus adversus Turchos agitandis, adeo alieni primum fuere, ut nichil aut parum eis cordi esse viderentur, at ubi Beatitudinis tue oratione perfusi sunt, ita illius ubertate eorum corda et animi permoti fuerunt, ut iam omnes uno ore unaque sententia huic sancto proposito pioque operi paribus votis inhiarent. Qua in re Sanctitatem tuam Orpheo similimam iudicare possumus, qui saxa et volucres in humanam speciem suo cantu convertisse perhibetur.

[11] Atque utinam conclusa ibidem execucionis demandata fuissent, sicuti prudenter ac maturo consilio et opera tue Sanctitatis fuerunt instituta, non iam opus esset tue Beatitudini tot laboribus, neque Christianitas tantam exinde cladem perniciemque in multis suis finibus accepisset, sed adaucta pocius et Turchorum gens fedissima ex Europe finibus depulsa, ac urbs regia Constantinopolis usui foret restituta.

[12] Non dicam de crebris et innumeris legationibus, quas cum olim sancte memorie Nicolao papa quinto tunc Bononiensi episcopo ac reliquis oratoribus et legatis apostolicis cesareo nomine pro huius summe sedis auctoritate, honore ac viribus conservandis atque republica defensanda subiisti. Dies enim michi cederet, si vel minimam legacionum tuam partem commemorari velim, quibus in diversis mundi partibus functus es; neque ullam earum umquam frustra absolvisti.

[13] Pretereo denique coniugium illud omni evo celeberrimum atque sanctissimum, quod te legato et auctore inter divum Augustum et Leonoram eius consortem, tue quidem Sanctitatis iudicio omnium feminarum {169} nostri seculi serenissimam atque prudentissimam, apud Neapolim Alfonso Aragonum et Sicilie rege eius avunculo intermediente tuaque solertia ac diligentia confectum fuit.

[14] Omitto etiam illum singularem tue laudis tueque virtutis trompheum, quem ex memorati regis curia retulisti, a quo tum maxime huic civitati¹ irato atque infestissimo cum nemo quicquam, quod ad pacem tranquillitatemque huius urbis² pertineret, posset reportare multumque ac diu Calistus Romanus pontifex pro conservacione communis pacis apud eum frustra temptavisset. Tu solus cesarea legacionis nomine suffultus curam liberande patrie assumebas et gratissima tanti regis consuetudine fretus gratiam illius et pacem oratione tua huic urbi reddidisti. In quo tuam pietatem Demade illo Atheniensi non inferiorem iure possumus arbitrari, qui sua oratione Alexandrum magnum illius urbis hostem acerrimum conciliavit ipsamque ab imminente excidio eripuit. Qua de re multum tibi debet hec insignis civitas patria tua Sena³ tuoque nomini merito eternam indelibilemque memoriam et gratitudinem consecrabit.

[15] Reticendum quoque sentio quanta cum moderacione, gravitate et prudentia huius sancte sedis auctoritatem officumque legacionis a latere legatorum non inferius a Nicolao quinto tibi creditum in illis nostris partibus exegeris quantaque constantia atque diligentia clerum et ecclesiasticam libertatem defenderis atque temeritatem nonnullorum ordinem ecclesiasticum pro sua cupiditate opprimere conancium represseris.

[16] Nequeo tamen silere de tue Sanctitatis post longos annorum decursus in Ytaliam reditu, quam sub imperialis legacionis onere et afferendo Romano pontifici obedientie debitum non cuiusque amplioris ecclesiastice dignitatis ambitu repetisti, qui me teste semper animum, uti sapientem decuit, ad utrumque paratum habebas, sed potius ut reliquum vite in tranquillitate et ocio in ipso patrio solo ac propriis laribus apud hanc⁴ ecclesiam transigere, ut cum dies extrema tibi advenisset necessariorum saltem manibus posses tumulari. Sed Deus, qui firmata frequenter hominum consilia alternat et pro sua divina voluntate disponit in melius, non sinebat tantum virtutis lumen iuxta euvangelicam doctrinam abscondi sub modio. Sed hoc ipsum apud tue Sanctitatis predecesores instante ac promovente cesare provexit in lucem, ut luceret omnibus, qui in domo Dei sunt, utque tanta virtute tantaque et divinarum et humanarum rerum cognitio non torpesceret ocio, sed haberet materiam sese in rebus maximis et publicis, nunc potissimum universali ecclesie necessariis exercendi et cuncta meliorem in modum et ordinem disponendi.

¹ NB: again a reference to Siena as the city where the oration was held

² We are in Siena

³ We are in Siena

⁴ Again: we are in Siena

[17] Quod cum intelligeret ac divino quodam presagio dudum presensisset cesar maximo semper fervore ac diligentia id promovit et requisivit, sed nec privatam comoditatem {171} suam utilitati publice preferre aut impedire illam quoquo modo cogitabat, ut is, cuius summam prudentiam ipse suis consiliis probaverat et quem divina providentia maioribus rebus aptum et predestinatum animadvertibat, neque suo ammodo lateri adesse posse sentiebat saltem Romane ac universalis ecclesie reipublice commodis in medio Lacia minime deesset, neque enim fuit, quin te invitus dimiserat cesar atque tuum sepius a se discessum magno opere et ipse et omnes sui questi sint.

[18] Quod et Calistus summus pontifex, tue Sanctitatis predecessor, spiritu quodam prophetico visus est presensisse. Qui dum cesareo nomine apud illum instarem pro tue Sanctitatis ad cardinalatus sancte Romane ecclesie promotione quemadmodum per Nicolaum antea sue celsitudini fuerat repromissum, respondit iam hoc se dudum secum animo constituisse idque dignissimum fore sibi que tuam promotionem fato reservatam esse iudicavit ac Sanctitatem tuam non solum ut cardinem in ecclesia Dei, set ut columnam fixam immobilem constituere velle, super qua tocius ecclesiastice religionis fundamenta niti possent et que ecclesiam Dei suis aliquando humeris esset sustentura, quod iam divina et quadam inperscrutabili supernorum dispositione factum esse videmus. Ex quo tantum exultacionis, quantum leticie et gaudii accepit cesar divaque eius consors Leonora augusta suique omnes, qui Sanctitatem tuam apud se minoribus constitutam cognoverant, et omni amore obsequio et reverentia fuerunt prosequuti, non facile hac mea tenui oratione complecti possum.

[19] Neque cesar antea de tui predecessoris obitu quicquam certi habuit quam nuntius tue Sanctitatis electionem de se concorditer factam tuamque Beatitudinem in illius locum et vicem surrogatam novum illud sue maiestati optatissimum attulisset, quod certe sue celsitudini fuit singulare sublevamen. Nam si eius serenitas prius Calisti mortem prescivisset nimirum multam de statu rerum ecclesie sollicitudinem et curam habuisset. Sed ubi pietatem tuam in sede beati Petri substitutam intellexit omnis hesitatio ab eo discessit, quod sciebat tuam tanta prudentia tantaque rerum experientia preditum, ut nullum Romane ecclesie periculum imminare formidaret. Id profecto verissime dixerim, nec Constantinum primum catholici nominis Christianum principem ac fautorem de beato Silvestro suo tempore Romano pontifice, neque de Iohanne ac Gregorio Christianissimum Iustinianum, neque Valentinianum et Theodosium de beati Ambrosii {172} ad Mediolanensem ecclesiam promotione, quem seculaeri illius urbis magistratui prefecerant aut de Steffano et Adriano Romanis pontificibus Carolum magnum omnium Christianorum victoriosissimum, neque Henricum illum primum imperatorem et re et cognomento pium de Benedicto et Suidegero postea Clemente primum Bambergensis ecclesie episcopo et ad cathedram sancti Petri sua opera suaque voluntate translato, neque Ottones, Ludovicos, Henricos ac alios priscos Germanos cesares de quibus Romanis pontificibus ex arbitrio cum auctoritate ecclesie eis concessa electis et sublimatis maiorem umquam consolacionem et leticiam habuisse.

[20] Neque si ex omnibus ecclesiastici ordinis prelati sibi et ecclesie gratum et utile pontificem eligere debuisset, alium quempiam delegisset: quemadmodum in primis ac propriis suis ad tuam Sanctitatem recenter assumptam apicibus dilucide et apertissime declaravit. Neque id ab re nempe tanta semper [in] pietatem tuam benivolentia, amore, fide et caritate complexa fuit imperatoria celsitudo, ut ex suis peculiaribus fidelibus et conterraneis tam ecclesiastici quam secularis ordinis haberet neminem, cui in rebus gravissimis tantum auctoritatis, tantum fidei tantumque moment tribueret.

[21] Quod sane hec alma sedes suis in rebus plerumque compertum multis habuit experimentis in suarum sepius rerum ac negotiorum apud cesarem expeditione, ita ut verissime neque id temere affirmare neminem tantum huic sedi profuisse in ipsius auctoritate, iure et prerogativa tum apud cesarem tum apud omnes Germanie principes tuendum atque conservandum ut tuam Sanctitatem dum adhuc in minoribus in cesarea curia constitutam atque, ut hoc unum silentio non preteream, quod ex supramemoratis Silvestro quondam Chimensi antistite, quem sancte memorie Nicolaus papa quintus pro senii reverentia canisque consiliis patrem semper appellare consuevit, et Caspare Slick homine nostri seculi prospicacissimo crebro commemoratum ac pietati tue tributum audivi, qui dum in Aschaffenburgensi dieta, ubi res ecclesie in ancipiti posita erat et nonnulli Germanie principes in adversam partem magis erant inclinati, tua Beatitudo singulari sua prudentia et eximio spiritu mox consilium interrumpendi conatus adverse factionis adinvenit et sumpta unius noctis lucubratione omnes, quod ex adverso pretendebatur virus ademit et principum ac populorum auribus tua oratione persuasis, adversariorum vim et molimenta ita prevenit, ut omnis eorum conatus et machinatio elideretur et gloriosum pro voto apostolice sedis ac cesaree maiestatis triumphum {173} in rebus ecclesie apostolice et cesarei legati inde reportarent ac neutralitas ipsa sive animorum suspension ecclesie Romane nocentissima, que multis annis duraverat, tuo consilio tuaque opera de medio sublata fuerit.

[22] Ex quo non immerito summus omnium creator ac dispositor Deus ex alto prospiciens, qui nichil boni operis irremuneratum relinquit, pietatem tuam ad huius supreme dignitatis fastigium sublimavit, ut hoc saltem tue virtutis ac laboris dignum premium hoc in tempore vite summo cum honore et post hanc mortalem vitam tua Sanctitate in hoc culmine maiora promerente eternam felicitatem consequatur. Indignum profecto et divine iusticie indecens erat, ut qui universam hanc rempublicam augeantibus conservandam et defendentibus magna et hic et in celestibus premia constituerit, neque ex omni numero preterierit, quem non amplissimo honore auxerit ex maxima in ecclesie dignitate sublimavit, quod in multis et vivis et iam defunctis licet intueri.

[23] Si modo te unum tot meritis et virtutibus reflorentem et pro huius auctoritate sedis adeo decertantem non eque summo et maximo honore in Dei ecclesia sublimasset, sane – id non iniuria preteritorum pontificum dixerim – ullum umquam tam universalem et omnibus in

ecclesia catholica gratissimum antistitem prefectum, qui ita omnium gentium et nationum orthodoxarum fidem, mores, devocionem et vivendi ritus noverit et habuerit exprobatos, quantum tua Beatitudo, que omnes ultra montanas gentes et naciones ita peragravit et excellentis et illustrissimi ingenii tui acumine singula pro summa prudentia cognovit et emensa est, ut nichil sit, quod tua Sanctitas ad summum usque non noverit, non expertus sit atque perlustraverit; omnium enim regum, omnium principum, omnium denique potenciarum et comitatum vires et potenciam preclarissimi nostri illorumque diversa studia et emulaciones et quicquid ad Christiane religionis cultum et augmentum pertinet.

[24] Quapropter iure merito huius¹ sacri senatus patres reverendissimi cardinales te in huius alme sedis pontificem et patrem omnium gentium et nacionum catholicarum prefecerunt; quibus et cesarea sublimitas simulque tota Germanica nacio gratias habemus amplissimas, quod pontificem ne dum Latinis nacionibus, sed et exteris optime gratum et recognitum atque universalem elegerint et his quidem tempestatibus ecclesie necessarium et ydoneum, qui rei Christiane tam attrite tamque collapse consulere et sciat et possit, quemadmodum de tua Sanctitate omnes, beatissime pater, certissime sperant et confidunt. Qua quidem ratione, si Romana ecclesia populique et naciones singule maxime ultramontane de Nicolai quinti assumptione summpere exultabant et gratulabantur, quod illum ad horam, ut ita dixerim, in terre ultramontanis partibus fuisse et mores ac ritus gentis conprobatas habuisse diceretur, nimirum si et nunc Germanica nacio et cetera illi adiacentes regiones et populi de tue Beatitudinis assumptione supra modum letate sint et in dies magis gratulentur, que illam multis apud se annis habuerunt et virtute, doctrina, scientia, consiliis clarissimisque moribus atque institutis tuis profecerunt et edocte sunt. Neque solum de tue Sanctitatis sublimacione {174} iocundantur, verum eciam de pietatis nomine tibi rectissime assumpto utrumque et re et professione et moribus tibi omnium iudicio convenientissimo, quod cum presagio quodam prioris nominis, in ipso sacri baptismatis fonte tibi impositi, melioribus auspiciis tue Sanctitati reservatum poterat autumari, quemadmodum et Enee illi Troyanorum superstiti et Romani nominis et imperii propagatori virtutis sue merito et poetarum omnium et potissimum Homeri et Maronis assensu ex tempore repetitur.

[25] Ex cuiusquidem nominis coniectura et augurio quantum ex anteacta tua Sanctitatis vita et moribus connyci liceat, non nisi optima quedam huius alme sedis et orthodoxe fidei futurarum rerum auspicia et sperare et certissime expectare possumus, quod in nullo umquam retro pontificum sive principum Romanorum eciam adhuc infidelium et Christiana fide nostra minime illustratorum fefellerit, quemadmodum ex divo Pio Anthonio et Ludovico Caroli magni filio, Ottone tercio ac Henrico illo sancto et piissimo imperatore Germano ceterisque quibuslibet pietatis nomine insignitis extat comprobatum, tantumque amplius de republica sit sperandum, quod et pium pontificem et cesarem et re et animo piissimum et inter se animorum conformitate coniunctissimos hoc in tempore sue afflictionis Christiana

¹¹ The reference to "this senate" shows that the oration was delivered during a papal consistory, as would be expected

religio principes et capita habere meruerint. Quamobrem magnam omnes Christicole altissimo gratiam conditori habere debent, quod ecclesie sue catholice de talibus et tanta caritate invicem coniunctis principibus hoc tempore dignata fuerit providere, ex quo non parum spei et fiducie pro sui tutela ac defensione Christiana religio esset habitura.

[26] Sed ne hac mea oratione tue pietati magis assentari quam laudes tuas predicare videar reticebo pleraque, que ad cumulum tue laudis omnium ex parte merito essent referenda, neque ego is sum a quo universe laudes tue et preclara tue Sanctitatis facinora, si michi ora centum totidem lingue forent, nedum recenseri, sed nec a quoquam disertissimo rerum scriptore volumine maximo conplecti possent. Quapropter hanc partem non tam deserens quam in ea prope modum deficiens aliis maiori facundia preditis et post nos oraturis amplius relinquo prosequendam.

3. Praise of the emperor

[27] Nunc vero de laudibus invictissimi cesaris nostri eiusque illustrissime familie dicendum foret quasque Beatitudo tua superioribus annis, dum apud felicitatis memorie Calistum papam tertium cesareo nomine legatum ageret, in prestacione obedientie ita exacte disseruit et prosequuta est, ut adhuc omnibus recenti memoria insideat, quibus tum partibus cesareas laudes quatuor ex fontibus deduxerit ex imperio sacro, cui preest, ex Germanica natione, que illi pre ceteris paret et obesequitur, ex inclita Austrie domo, que illum genuit, ex propriis suis virtutibus ac dotibus, ut non sit opus mea agressa illas extendere {175} oratione presertim cum tua Beatitudo cesarem in omnibus factis, dictis, operibus et scriptis tuis mirum in modum semper extulerit et veluti sidereo quodam fulgore illustraverit. Unde sua maiestas merito beatam se ac fortunatissimam dicere potest et estimare, quemadmodum Alexander ille Macedo Achillem felicissimum est arbitratus, qui talem ac tantum laudum suarum preconem Homerum sortitus fuerit. Pleni sunt enim omnes Sanctitatis tue codices disertissimis cesareis laudibus, historiis ac rebus gestis, que a primordio sue ad imperium assumptionis acta sunt et variis in rebus suo tempore occurrentibus cum pace tum bello sunt subequuta, ex quo non immerito cesar magnam tue Sanctitati gratitudinem et affectum debet tueque Beatitudini preter Romani pontificatus prerogativam privato eciam quodam amore atque gratitudine multum est obnoxius.

4. Declaration of obedience

[28] Pro cuiusquidem exhibicione devocionis, amoris et reverentie iuxta morem antiquitus observatam tue Sanctitati prestanda sua serenitas hos patres et dominos meos sue celsitudinis legatos me quoque designavit, ut ad huius exhibicionem muneris veniremus; quod quantum nobis permissum sit presentis mandati pagina dilucide demonstrabitur. Huius igitur mandati vigore cesareum munus exequi volentes Sanctitatem tuam uti verum et legitimum Romane ac universalis ecclesie summum pontificem et indubitatum Domini ac Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi in terris vicarium et celi clavigeri beatique Petri principis apostolorum successorem ac locumtenentem et canonice electum invictissimi principis, domini nostri, domini Friderici Romanorum imperatoris ac Hungarie, Dalmatie regis Austrieque ducis etc. nomine recognoscimus ac profitemur eidemque omnem reverenciam, devocionem pariter et obedientiam exhibemus, prestamus et facimus quam sua celsitudo imperatoria suique predecessores aliis antea summis pontificibus huic sacrosancte apostolice sedi suo tempore presidentibus prestare et exhibere consueverunt, prout alii similiter reges et principes catholici Romanis pontificibus canonice electis exhibent et faciunt et ius vetus ac inconcussa hactenus consuetudo legitima introduxit.

5. Defense of religion

[29] Superest nunc ut qualis divo cesari nostro in Christiana fide defensanda animus sit explicemus, qui profecto talis ac tantus est qualis semper fuit, quemadmodum tua optime novit Beatitudo, que cum adhuc in minoribus constituta hunc tamen in Ratisponensi quam Franckfordensi et ceteris huiusmodi rei gratia dietis institutis et apud hanc almam sedem sepe exposuit et optulit, quem et nunc quidem habet multo ampliolem ferventiolemque cum illi regni Hungarie dyadema simulque eiusdem defensio ac tutela superioribus diebus accesserit atque ab eiusdem regni primoribus ac prestancioribus cum principibus tum prelatis ac baronibus delata sit, qui suam cesaream maiestatem unanimo voto ac crebris et amplissimis eorum legacionibus adhuc diu invitarunt et summa cum instancia ac humillimis precibus deprecati sunt, ut ipsius regni coronam et gubernacula suscipere dignaretur, que sua imperialis celsitudo pro innata sibi animi modestia, non quidem privata sue utilitatis causa motus, que numquam hoc regnum sui gratia concupivit, cum iam dudum {176} hac et alia quondam laudande memorie Ladislai regis patruelis sui regna per eius mortem vacancia, que tamen ultro illi a plerisque offerebantur, acceptare recusavit neque id modo ad cuiusque iniuriam, sed dumtaxat pro republica illius regni tociusque Christianitatis terrarum et principatuum suorum hereditariorum, que illi omni ex parte confines sunt, pace et tranquillitate conservanda proque evitandis innumeris et maximis scandalis et inconvenientiis, quibus nisi sua serenitas annuisset, nedum sue maiestati et terris suis, verum

eciam regno ipsi ac Christiane universitati imminere ac irremedialiter suboriri poterant, post longam et maturam ymmo iam quoddammodo dicti regni primores fastidientem deliberacionem in Dei omnipotentis nomine publice ac solemniter coram legatis et proceribus regni acceptavit et onus ac honorem pariter et tutelam ac gubernacula regni in se suscepit tum presertim, que in tuenda fide catholica et eius finibus maiorem ex huius accessionem regni sibi causam et potenciam dari animadvertibat.

[30] Quemadmodum et nobis nuper a curia sue celsitudinis discendentibus ad coronam dicti regni debitum cum cerimoniis ac solemnitatibus ex more vetusto fieri et observari solitis suscipiendam ceteraque negocia regni iam prope collapsa ac undique turbata adiutorio Altissimi ordinanda hoc nunc in tempore ire constituebat. Quibus de rebus tuam Beatitudinem sacrumque senatum ad partem laicius avisandos a cesarea maiestate in mandatis accepimus. Tue igitur Beatitudinis officium erit, que disponente Christo summo ecclesie sue sponso ad huius apostolici culminis arcem conscendit et tam cesareo nomine quam privato eciam suo pro causa defensionis fidei fervore, cum adhuc in minoribus versaretur, hanc summo studio summaque diligentia et labore prosequuta est et priores ante se pontifices et quoslibet alios principes suis divinis et monitis et consiliis semper stimulavit et hortata est, ut ea idem ipse prosequeris et regia quadam manu sine cunctacione aliqua executioni des, quemadmodum tue Beatitudo egregie pre se ferre et iam in huius dietis¹ Mantuanis atque legatorum concepisse videtur transmissioni.

[31] Memini quondam tuam Sanctitatem beate memorie Calisto papa, predecessore tuo, hoc unum dumtaxat ordinem rebus agendis deesse summopere questum, quem ut tua pietas una cum cesare nostro et aliis catholicis principibus ac potentatibus modo pro sua et huius sacri senatus summa providentia det, cogitet et decernat opus est, id omnium divina quadam fatali dispositione tue pietati et industrie est reservatum, ut qui quondam huius rei consultor, excitator et monitor fueris, fias iam idem ipse et factor et executor, in quo et boni et summi pontificis officium exerces et rem tua virtute ac magnitudine animi dignissimam efficies et altissimo Deo, cuius vicariatum in terris geris, sacrificium et munus acceptabile prestabis, unde et perpetuam inter mortales gloriam et laudem consequeris et eternum et indelibile nomen comparabis.

[32] Cesar vero quecumque ut catholicus et Christianissimus imperator iamque Hungarorum ceterarumque gentium rex accitus pro sua magnanimitate facere poterit et debet tue pietatis voto ac communi Christianitatis saluti non deerit, dummodo et aliorum catholicorum regum et principum potencie et auxilia concurrant. Scit {177} tua Sanctitas, quibus ex rebus huius rei defectus fuerit et quamobrem apud Franckfordiam deliberata intercepta neglectave sint, que omnia Beatitudo tua secum metiri et rebus istis congruum ordinem dare atque providere dignetur, quo Christiane religioni succuratur et sevisimorum hostium conatibus

¹ This reference is curious: the obedience was declared not at the Congress of Mantua, in Autumn 1459, but in April, while the pope resided in Siena

obsisti posit. In quo et cesaris nostri opem et consilium numquam tue pietati ac communi Christianitati scito defuturum cetera pleraque circa hanc rem necessaria semotis arbitris cum tue clemencie placuerit lacius exponemus.

Scriptum et finitum Mantuae XXVIIa Octobris anno etc. LIXo¹

¹ According to this colophon, the oration was held in Mantua, which it was not. It does, however, together with the previous reference to the diet of Mantua, raise some doubt about the status of the text