



Oration “Quamvis non sine magna” of Pope Pius II (19 October 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 46)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 46)

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Abstract

In the summer of 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers arrived in Mantua where Pope Pius II's congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after that event. They were received by the pope with a correct, but rather brief and cool oration.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; Savoy; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua 1459; Louis I, Duke of Savoy; Louis I Duc de Savoie

Editor and translator

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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Appendix: Oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*" of Guglielmo de Sandiliano (19 October 1459, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

In the summer of 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers assembled in Mantua where Pope Pius II's congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after that event, quite insultingly late.¹ They were received by the pope on 19 October with a correct, but rather cool oration.

The oration exists in two versions, a rather severe one, the "*Quamvis non sine magna*", and a shorter, formal one without any recriminations, the "*Satisfacit abunde*". Both versions have survived and document firstly that the pope's orations, even the responses to ambassadors, were written beforehand, and secondly that in the present case circumstances had rapidly altered so as to make the pope change his discourse.

The question is, of course, which text was the one prepared before the reception of the ambassadors, and which was the one actually delivered.

According to Voigt, the version "*Satisfacit abunde*" was written in case the duke would send his son, Count of Geneve, to the congress, but the count did not appear, though he was quite near.²

So, the pope had to abandon this text, and instead held the oration "*Quamvis non sine magna*", giving free rein to his irritation at the princes', in casu the Duke of Savoy's, belated compliance with his summons to the Congress in Mantua.³

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 67: *Kränkend war in jenen Tagen die Nichtachtung, die Herzog Ludwig von Savoyen dem Papste erwies. Trotz seiner Nähe schickte er nur Gesandte, unbedeutende Männer und auch disse so spät*

² Voigt, IV, p. 67. Picotti, p. 190, confirms that towards the end of August the papal court still expected the count to come to Mantua. In his later oration to the Duke of Savoy's daughter-in-law, Queen Carlotta of Cyprus, Pius had the opportunity to bitterly complain of the fact that the duke's son did not bother to come to Mantua while he was in fact quite near, going to Cyprus to marry Carlotta, see oration "*Pone lacrimas*" [63]

³ Pastor, II, p. 61: *Als die Gesandten nun endlich am 19. Oktober in einem öffentlichem Consistorium erschienen, mussten sie von Pius II eine ernste, fast strafende Anrede vernehmen*

2. Themes

The basic theme of the “*Quamvis non sine magna*” is the pope’s frustration at the princes’ reluctance to embrace his crusade against the Turks:

We must say, however, that We have several times had to rebuke your prince¹ and others for not yet dispatching their envoys, in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see and feel the terrible threat to the Gospel of Christ, but still they give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. [Sect. 1]

Moreover, he reiterates the wish that the princes fulfil the splendid promises of contribution to the crusade, which they made but probably had not the slightest intention to keep, as the pope might well fear:

But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, Christian religion will not lack excellent helpers. ... Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words come from a pure heart and that your prince’s intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed the nobility, piety and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope of that. [Sect. 2]

That the European princes were not keen to join a papal crusade against the Turks at the middle of the 15th century was actually not surprising. The surprise is really that Pius, who better than any knew the political situation in Europe, could believe otherwise. But he was now looking at the world through the prism of his new, exalted office, believing the princes to be subject to the Apostolic See, and assessing more clearly than many the very real danger to Europe which the Turks represented.

¹ Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death. Son of Duke Amédee VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, whose secretary Piccolomini had been from 1440-1442

3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Pastor, the Savoyard ambassadors arrived in Mantua after 9 October 1459, and they were received by the pope on 19 October, during a public consistory. The date of their audience with the pope is documented by a report from the Sienese ambassadors.¹ There is, however, the problem that Pius, in the description of the first session of the Congress, on 29 September 1459, given in his own *Commentarii*, writes as follows:

*... after hearing mass in the cathedral, the princes and envoys were called to order. At this point a number of disputes broke out over the order of seating; worst of all was the quarrel between Venice and Savoy. ... Since there seemed to be no way to settle the question, the pope seated the Venetians behind the ambassadors from Burgundy, and told the Savoyards to sit on a stool by his throne.*²

An explanation of the apparently contradictory informations might be that the ambassadors arrived before 26 September, but were only received officially by the pope on 19 October. Such a lengthy period between arrival and reception of princely ambassadors would be rather unusual, especially as the pope had written several times to the Duke of Savoy requesting him to send his ambassadors speedily. So, on the basis of present evidence it is not clear how these informations can be reconciled, but for the purpose of the present edition the date given by Pastor has been retained – as the Sienese ambassadors attested.

The audience was composed of cardinals and ambassadors present in Mantua, other participants in the Congress and members of the Papal Court.

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

4. Text³

As mentioned above, the oration is extant in two versions, one with the incipit “*Quamvis non sine magna*” and another with the incipit “*Satisfacit abunde*”. Both versions are included in the

¹ Pastor, II, p. 61, n. 4-5

² CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, p. 137)

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

Collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460,¹ largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts²

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 169v, 178r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 42r-42v, 60r-60v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 49v-50v, ff. 72v-73r
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 67r-68r
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 161v-162r, 175-175v **(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 text was published by Mansi³:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // T. II, pp. 204-205
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca]

The “*Quamvis non sine magna*” was also published in:

¹ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

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

³ See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.2.6.

- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *[Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum.] Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum ... supplementum*. Tom. V. Luca, 1751, p. 300
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXXV. Paris, 1902, p. 108

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, only one quotation, from 1. Corinthians, has been identified.

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

6. Bibliography

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *[Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum.] Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum ... supplementum*. Tom. V. Luca, 1751

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXXV. Paris, 1902,

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

Picotti, Giovanni Battista: *La dieta di Mantova a la politica de' Veneziani*. Venezia, 1912

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

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

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2019-2020

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Quamvis non sine magna

Oratoribus ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {161v} Quamvis non sine magna causa, insignes¹ oratores Sabaudienses, adventum vestrum² in hanc usque diem fuisse dilatum³ arbitramur, fatemur tamen, incusavimus saepenumero principem vestrum et alios, qui nondum misere legatos suos in tanta necessitate reipublicae Christianae. Audiunt omnes, vident, palpant evangelium Christi pessum ire, nec tamen de remedio cogitant. Omnes ignoscunt⁴, et nemo succurrit. Expectare periculum quam vitare, malunt. Pudet dicere, dicendum est tamen: longe major est Turcis Saracenisque suae superstitionis propagandae quam nobis sacratissimae religionis nostrae tuendae diligentia. Illi, si usquam vexantur socii, praesto adsunt et turmatim occurrentes hostes expellunt. Nos Graecos, Albanos, Rascianos, {162r} Valachos, Hungaros in mediis discriminibus sine ullo subsidio relinquimus.

¹ omit. G

² nostrum G

³ dilatatum G

⁴ agnoscunt J

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Distinguished ambassadors of Savoy, We do not doubt that your arrival here was delayed until now for urgent reasons. We must say, however, that We have several times had to rebuke your prince and others for not yet dispatching their envoys, in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see, and feel the dire circumstances of the Gospel of Christ, but still they give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. Whenever their allies are in trouble, they come quickly and in great swarms to expel the enemy. We, [on our side,] have left the Greeks, the Albanians, the Serbians, the Walachians, and the Hungarians in the midst of their perils without any help.

[2] Sed hic sumus, ut de communi tandem salute cogitemus. Venistis vos Sabaudienses, venerunt et alii complures. Quisque pro sua virili magnifice sese¹ offert: si respondebunt verbis facta, non carebit magnificis adiutoribus Christiana religio. Hoc opus, hic labor est. Stat Deus contra quemque vocitans: "Si ego pater, ubi amor? Si² dominus, ubi timor." Sunt plurimi, qui Deum labiis honorant, corde autem longe ab eo³ discesserunt. Sed nihil fictum stabile, nihil simulatum potest esse diuturnum⁴. Quae fiunt in veritate et veniunt ex corde, profecto non timent casum; fundata sunt enim⁵ supra firmam petram, idest supra⁶ veritatem, quae Christus est. *Petra autem erat Christus*, inquit apostolus. Verba vestra, oratores⁷ Sabaudienses, arbitramur ex puro corde deprompta esse, et talem esse principis vestri animum, qualem expressistis. Expectamus nunc, ut magnificis sponsionibus vestris magnifica facta respondeant, cuius rei⁸ nobilitas et religio et pietas vestri principis spem nobis quodammodo certam praebent. Ad reliqua per vos dicta alia hora et alio loco respondebimus.

¹ se G

² ego *add.* G

³ longe ab eo : ab eo longe G

⁴ diuturnum G

⁵ sunt enim : enim sunt G

⁶ super G

⁷ auditores G

⁸ et *add.* G

[2] But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, Christian religion will not lack excellent helpers. This is our task, this is our labour. God stands forth and says to all: "If I am the Father, where is love? If I am the Lord, where is fear?" Many honour God with their lips, but in their heart they have gone far away from him. But no pretense and no charade can last long. What is true and comes from a pure heart needs not fear fortune for it is founded on the firm rock, the truth which is Christ. *And the rock was Christ*,¹ says the apostle. Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words² come from a pure heart and that your prince's intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed the nobility, piety, and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope of that. Concerning the other things said by you, We shall reply at another time and in another place.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 10, 4

² The oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*", see Appendix

2. Satisfacit abunde

Ad oratores ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {175r} Satisfacit abunde nobis hodie¹ dilectus filius nobilis vir Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, qui cum per valitudinem huc accedere non posset, carissimum filium suum, nobile pignus, egregium adolescentem, et vos praestantes oratores ad consulendum reipublicae Christianae transmisit. Videmus vos² laeto vultu et alacri animo. Idem faciunt venerabiles etc. Idem tota contio³. Verba vestra doctrinae et sapientiae plena fuerunt: videmini a sapiente principe missi. Magna ex dictis vestris documenta recepimus⁴, que vobiscum et cum ceteris, qui ad rem hanc⁵ vocati sunt, conabimur prosequi. Magnificas oblationes vestras laudamus et amplectemur: dignae sunt, quas Sabaudiensis domus efficiat, quae regium et imperatorium sanguinem prae se ferens, non potest non⁶ magna et regia polliceri. Dignus est princeps {175v} Sabaudiensis, quem cuncti ament, maxime vero apostolica sedes, quod quidem, vita comite, a nobis non negligetur.

¹ *omit.* G

² *omit.* G

³ contione J

⁴ recipimus J

⁵ rem hanc : hanc rem G

⁶ nisi G, J

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Since the health of Our beloved son, Louis, the noble Duke of Savoy, does not allow him to come here in person, it is completely satisfactory that he has sent his dear son, an excellent youth and a noble pledge, and you, distinguished ambassadors, to consult with us on the Christian Commonwealth: gladly and eagerly We see you before Us. The same do the venerable etc.¹ and indeed the whole assembly. Your speech was full of learning and wisdom. You have been sent by a wise prince, and you have given Us important advice that We shall endeavour to discuss further with you and the others who have been summoned here. We praise and accept your magnificent offers. They are indeed worthy of being implemented by the House of Savoy which carries the blood of emperors and kings and can only make great and regal promises. The Prince of Savoy merits to be loved by all, and especially by the Apostolic See, which We shall not fail to do as long as We live.

¹ I.e. the venerable brothers, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church

Appendix: Oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*" of Guglielmo da Sandiliano¹ (19 October 1459, Mantua)

Manuscripts

- Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
8 Philos 88, ff. 71v-78v **(T)**
- Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Petri, Bibliothek
b VIII 15, ff. 182v-187v **(S)**
- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Ottobon. Lat. 905, ff. 36v-39r **(V)**
[lead ms.; pagin.]

¹ Guglielmo da Sandigliano, from Vercelli: Count. Doctor utriusque juris. 1450 professor at the University of Torino (see Tommaso Vallauri: *Storie delle università degli studii di Piemonte*. Tom. I. Torino, 1845, p. 90). In 1458 appointed *magnus subcancellarius* (regente la cancelleria do stato) by Count Louis I of Savoy, whom he also served as *consiliarius et praeses audientiarum* (see Gaspare de Gregori: *Istoria Della Vercellese Letteratura Ed Arti*. Tom. I. Torino, 1819, p. 487). He was, in other words, a high official at the Court of Savoy

Oratio oratorum ducis Sabaudiae¹

[1] {36v} Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis auctoritas, quam Deus cunctis praefert ecclesiis, et tua², pater sancte³, sublimis et admiranda praesentia⁴, quem unigenitus Dei filius pastorem super gregem suum universum constituit, oratorem exigebat, qui mandata huic ducali legationi commissa, gravi et accurata oratione ad aures sanctitatis tuae deferret. Id⁵ ipsum praecogitasse praevidissequ⁶ in primis conveniebat his viris clarissimis et⁷ sapientissimis, quos devotus filius tuus Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, illustrissimus princeps meus, ad tuae sanctitatis pedes transmisit. Ego vero, beatissime pater, cui haec non levis provincia commissa est, cum me ipsum⁸ intus et in cute noverim, vix tamen⁹ tantum¹⁰ licentiae arrogare mihi praesumo, quantum auctoritatis mihi illustrissimus et nobilissimus princeps meus et hi legati sui tribuere voluerunt. Et cum me oneri injuncto imparem esse intelligam, totus expaveo.

[2] Turbat autem me tum magna praesentia sanctitatis tui, tum insignis haec reverendissimorum et illustrium virorum corona, qualem¹¹ numquam¹² vidisse me memini¹³ atque ita mihi mentem¹⁴ concutit, ut nisi tuam, pater sancte¹⁵, in omnibus rebus clementiam et erga¹⁶ devotissimum filium tuum ducem meum humanitatem paternam non ignorassem, dubitarem, ne quod¹⁷ sanctitas tua de me hodierno die aliquod¹⁸ sinistrum iudicium assumeret, neque enim¹⁹ ita a meipso alienus sim, quin intelligam nihil esse, quod minus decet²⁰, quam imperitum loqui²¹ sapientiam inter

¹ From **S** – in much later hand; Oratio pro Ludovico Sabaudiae illustrissimo duce habita Mantuae coram Pio papa secundo **T**; Oratio habita per magnificum comitem et eximium juris utriusque doctorem dominum Gulielmum de Sandiliano Vercellensem, illustrissimi ducis Sabaudie oratorem, in aula maiori palatii residentiae summi pontificis in consistorio publico die 19a Octobri 1459 **V**

² beatissime *add.* **T**

³ *omit.* **T**

⁴ Praesentia **S, T**

⁵ ad **S**

⁶ providissequ **T**

⁷ *omit.* **V**

⁸ *omit.* **S, T**

⁹ *omit.* **V**

¹⁰ tantae **S, T**

¹¹ quod licet **S, T**

¹² nusquam **V**

¹³ me memini : memini me **V**

¹⁴ mihi mentem : mentem mihi **T**

¹⁵ beatissime **T**

¹⁶ ergo **T**

¹⁷ *omit.* **S, T**

¹⁸ *omit.* **V**

¹⁹ *omit.* **S, T**

²⁰ deceat **V**

²¹ *omit.* **S**; *interlin.* **T**

perfectos. Loquor indoctus apud Dei mei vicarium, ex cuius ore sermo melle dulcior profluere solet, dicere cogor, exanimis¹ apud te, omnis sapientiae et eloquentiae patrem, quem cum in² excelso³ throno loquentem audio, non tantum vetustos⁴ illos heroes⁵ Ulixem⁶ vel Nestorem aut Romanos Crassos, Catones vel Tullium audire audire mihi⁷ videor, sed etiam⁸ simul divos ecclesiae doctores, Aurelium Augustinum, Ambrosium et⁹ Jeronimum, qui sanctam Dei ecclesiam suis sanctis eloquiis illustrarunt. Loqui etiam me intelligo in sancto cardinalium Romanae sedis collegio, qui sanctorum apostolorum personas et numerum repraesentant, in conventu praetera virorum, apud quos universae philosophiae monarchia constituta est.

[3] Video omnium mentes atque oculos in me unum conversos, expectantium expositionem ducalis mandati rebus et loco conformem. Erat profecto¹⁰ justa et honesta haec expectatio, {37r} sed quaeso per Deum immortalem, pater sancte¹¹ vosque omnes, qui hic adestis, eam expectationem deponite, et id aequis animis in praesentiarum accipiat, quod ab homine expectari¹² licet, qui continuo¹³ in¹⁴ inculto et materno sermone versatus sit, hanc meam¹⁵ magis necessariam quam honestam excusationem. Cum acceptum a vobis cognovero bona cum venia, minus verebor iniunctum mihi¹⁶ onus explicare, si quoque alterius muneris a sanctitate tua vacationem¹⁷ accepero. Non sum nescius, pater sancte¹⁸, legatos, qui a principibus et populis ad hanc sanctam sedem mittuntur, praecipuam curam et primum studium impendere consuevisse circa ea recensenda, quae ad laudem universalis ecclesiae pastoris pertinent et¹⁹ eorum principum, a quibus cum mandatis explicandis ad apostolicam sedem delegantur.

¹ exanimus S, T

² omit. V

³ illo add. V

⁴ vetustes V

⁵ heroas V

⁶ Ulissem T

⁷ audire mihi : michi audire V

⁸ et S, T

⁹ omit. S, T

¹⁰ perfecta S

¹¹ beatissime T

¹² quod ab ... expectari omit. S, T

¹³ continue V

¹⁴ omit. V

¹⁵ et add. S, T

¹⁶ iniunctum mihi : michi iniunctum V

¹⁷ vacationem S, T

¹⁸ sanctissime S

¹⁹ omit. S, T

[4] Ego vero velim, pater sancte¹, locum hunc non tam a me neglectum quam de industria praetermissum sanctitas tua existimet: primum - quod arbitror - eam rem loco minime² convenire vel temporis³, cui in primis inserviri oportere sapientes dixerunt; dehinc quia⁴ vereor, ne - si rem praeter vires et professionem meam aggressus fuero, cum illi nec ingenio nec arte sufficere me posse intelligam - oratio mea potius fastidium audientibus quam sanctitati⁵ tuae laudem ullam paritura sit,⁶ et tamquam Phormio apud Hannibalem de re militari disserens illus⁷ subsannatus recedam. Accidit, quod ita te ab ineunte⁸ adolescentia vitam instituisse scio, ut summam⁹ potius laudis ex te et¹⁰ factis ipsis¹¹ quam ex aura vulgari vel ex aliena praedicatione pendere¹² prae te semper¹³ duxeris.

[5] De illustrissimo vero¹⁴ nobilissimoque¹⁵ principe meo, Sabaudiae duce¹⁶, quamquam nihil tam altum dici¹⁷, tam egregium decantari possit, quin id et nobilitas et clementia exsuperet sua. Tamen non¹⁸ ignoro nihil a me de illo dici posse, quod¹⁹ propter debitum²⁰ fidelitatis²¹, quo illi astringor, suspicione quadam cariturum sit. Quod itaque praeclare fieri nequit²², id vero attingere praeclarius et honestius esse censui.

[6] Quamobrem utriusque virtutes his, quorum cura et professio²³ circa huiusmodi res versantur recensendas decantandasque relinquo, et me ad ea converto, quorum gratia illustrissimus princeps meus, Sabaudiae dux, reverendum Georgium de Salutiis, Lausanensem episcopum et principem, reverendum Ludovicum ex marchionibus Romagnae²⁴, Taurinensem episcopum,

¹ beatissime V

² nomine S

³ tempore S

⁴ qua S

⁵ sanctitati S, T

⁶ sed S, T

⁷ et V

⁸ ab ineunte : abeunte S

⁹ summarum S, T

¹⁰ omit. S, T

¹¹ omit. S, T

¹² impendere S, T

¹³ prae te semper : semper prece S, T

¹⁴ viro S, T

¹⁵ nobilissimo S, T

¹⁶ duci S

¹⁷ omit. S, T

¹⁸ vero S, T

¹⁹ quo S, T

²⁰ dubitem S; dubium T

²¹ felicitatis S, T

²² inquit S

²³ et professio omit. T

²⁴ em.; Romagnam codd.

illustrem Ludovicum de Sabaudia, ipsius ducis agnatum¹ et marescallum, et me virum exiguum ad pedes sanctitatis tuae direxit.

[7] Principio pontificatus tui, pater sancte², *exivit edictum*³ ad universos principes et populos Romano subjectos imperio⁴, in cuius exordio scripta erat deploratio casuum, quos Dei ecclesia nostris et majorum temporibus⁵ passa fuit⁶. Dehinc tamquam praesagus malorum futurorum significabas periculum imminens universo populo Christiano a communi hoste fidelium et catholicae fidei infesto persecutore, quem quotidianis victoriis ostantem stupebas, victa una parte Europae, reliquis partibus infestis signis incumbere.

[8] {37v} Demum concludebas te⁷ hanc urbem Mantuam⁸ ad⁹ conventum habendum¹⁰ elegisse, in quam¹¹ Christianos principes invitasti de summa rerum consultaturos et periclitanti ecclesiae auxilium allaturos. De ea re quoque ad illustrem¹² ducem meum¹³, speciales litteras sanctitas tua scribere dignatus est, illum ut huic sanctae consultationi per se vel honestam legationem interesset exhortans. In primis igitur, pater sancte¹⁴, illustrissimus princeps meus ob tam insigne facinus pro Christi fide a te inchoatum et ob tam familiariter scriptas ad sese litteras sanctitatis tuae immortales gratias agit dicitque te non tantum laudandum, sed etiam ab omnibus in coelum¹⁵ usque¹⁶ extollendum, qui publica¹⁷ commoda propriae saluti antepone de creveris, tibi que ipsi non peperceris¹⁸, qui¹⁹ in hac tua adversa corporis valetudine non dubitaveris longo emenso itinere voluntarios et paene intolerabiles labores suscipere, ut²⁰ infestissimo inimico viam in nos desaeviendi²¹ praecluderes et populum Dei aditum perpetuae libertatis patefaceres.

¹ cognatum S, T

² beatissime T

³ Luke, 2, 1

⁴ The speaker refers to the papal bull *Vocavit nos Pius*, issued on October 1458

⁵ presentibus S

⁶ sit T

⁷ ad S, T

⁸ Mantuanam S; Mantuam *corr. ex* Mantuanam T

⁹ omit. V

¹⁰ conventum habendum : conventus habendos codd.

¹¹ qua V

¹² Ludovicum S, T

¹³ ducem meum : meum ducem S

¹⁴ pater sancte : beatissime pater V

¹⁵ in coelum omit. S

¹⁶ ad *add.* S

¹⁷ publice S

¹⁸ tibi que ipsi ... peperceris omit. S, T

¹⁹ que S, T

²⁰ et S, T

²¹ destruendi S, T

[9] Rogat vero idem dux meus, ipsius probabilem et veram excusationem accipias, si quod¹ petebas^{2 3} - quod item ille optabat vehementer - ad ejusdem sanctitatis tuae pedes personaliter aut per unum ex liberis non⁴ venit, aut si tardius, quam casus postulabat, legationem suam remisit. Optat autem hanc suam tarditatem vel absentiam non voluntati vel negligentiae imputari, sed rerum agendarum⁵ necessitati ac populorum suorum conservandorum curae, a qua sine scandalo vacare non potest, et diversis aegritudinibus, quas continuus quinque mensibus passus est. Quod vero filium non miserit⁶, causam prae-buit aeris intemperies et contagio quaedam, quas in hac civitate invalescere continuis internuntiis et suorum⁷ frequentibus litteris admonebatur. Nihil est, si licuisset, quod magis optasset quam tantae rei per se potuisse interesse, nihil quod plus cuperet quam amplecti pedes sanctitatis tuae, quam multis rationibus amare et observare compellitur, et praesertim quia se suos nunc et cum in minoribus esset mirum in modum ab ea⁸ amatos esse non ambigit. Quod autem ab illo per se vel per⁹ filium proficere¹⁰ necessitas impedivit, implebunt hi praestantissimi viri, qui cum mandato venerunt nunc tuis auribus publicato.

[10] Sed jam tempestivum est, ut ad praecipuam¹¹ partem litterarum tuarum et ad locum, qui concernit partes consultationis descendam. Optaret princeps meus res ecclesiae Romanae eo in¹² loco constitutas esse, ut id solum in¹³ deliberationem veniret, utrum hostibus fidei bellum indicendum esset. Verum id¹⁴ consilium nec liberum neque integrum tibi rex Teucrorum¹⁵ reliquit, qui direpta Graecia denuo ingens bellum terra marique molitur. Id itaque in consilium adhiberi¹⁶ oportet¹⁷, utrum hostis a nobis in Italia vel Germania sit expectandus, an vero in Graecia exercitus trajiciendus sit¹⁸. Inter¹⁹ haec duo quantum intersit, si numquam aetas nostra experta est, veterum saeculorum exempla nos admonent.

¹ que S, T

² patebat S, T

³ *textus corruptus?*

⁴ vero S

⁵ gerendarum S

⁶ miserat S, T

⁷ suo S

⁸ ab ea *omit.* S

⁹ *omit.* S, T

¹⁰ profecto S

¹¹ Papiam codd.

¹² eo in : in hoc S, T

¹³ ad T

¹⁴ ad S, T

¹⁵ conciorum S

¹⁶ haberi S, T

¹⁷ optaret S

¹⁸ exercitus trajiciendus sit : exeratus S; bachari ferendus T

¹⁹ te S; *omit.* V

[11] Si enim Leo Marcianus Anastasius, secordissimi imperatores, ceterique eorum successores Constantinopoli imperantes Romano populo requirenti et ecclesiae eorum fidem imploranti opem tulissent {37r} et Vandalis Gothis¹ Attilae extra Italiam occurrissent - quemadmodum a Romano populo contra² Persam Antiochum et Philippum factum est, qui illis regionibus et provinciis imperabant, quas nunc rex Turcorum occupavit³ paene universas - adhuc Roma orbis imperio potiretur, cujus vanum nomen atque umbram a Latinis vix retineri conspiciamus, quamquam, pater sancte, hanc truculentam et potentissimam beluam Attilae vel Vandalis non facile comparavero. Illi enim direptis quibusdam Italiae atque Galliae urbibus praeter temporalia aliud paene abstulerunt nihil. Hic vero rex inhumanus et catholicae veraeque religionis persecutor, si eam vel segnitiam vel discordiam vel simultatem in principibus Latinis experietur, quam in Graecis reperitur ...⁴

[12] Non audeo quidquam⁵ gravius dicere, sed vereor, ne propediem ille sit nobis expectandus eventus, quem Lactantius Firmianus, vir mea⁶ sententia Christianissimus, ultimo libro *Divinarum*⁷ *Institutionum* populo, qui nascetur, futurum denuntiat, vel quem vetera saecula viderunt post victorias ejus impurissimi regis Cretensium, qui secunda fortuna elatus non fuit arbitratus rapina⁸ se similem Deo existimare. Ille quidem devicta Europa et parte Asiae, exactis regibus et principibus bonisque omnibus exterminatis, omnia jura divina et humana polluit, lucem in tenebras commutavit, et {75v} veram religionem, quae⁹ sine intermissione ab exordio¹⁰ mundi aureis illis saeculis observata erat¹¹, ad superstitionem idolatriamque convertit, quae orbem terrarum annis ferme mille et quingentis excaecatum obtenebratumque tenuit.

[13] Hos eventus, haec pericula tamquam de specula quadam universo populo Dei imminere¹² prospiciens, catholicus et sapientissimus princeps meus sanctitatis tuae propositum non potest non¹³ probare, et tam¹⁴ pro¹⁵ incredibili devotione, quam habet ad ecclesiam Dei, quam¹⁶ pro

¹ Belhiis S

² qui S; contra *corr. ex* qui T

³ occupat S, T

⁴ *textus corruptus?*

⁵ quidquid S

⁶ in ea S, T

⁷ Smarum *aut* sanctissimarum? S

⁸ *omit.* S, T

⁹ quam S, T

¹⁰ exidio S

¹¹ observata erat : conservata S, T

¹² in numine S; munere T

¹³ *omit.* S

¹⁴ tamen S; *omit.* T

¹⁵ *omit.* S; cum T

¹⁶ et S, T

singulari benevolentia, qua¹ privatim sanctitatem tuam² prosequitur, congratulatur tibi. Laetatur optimam spem³, quam ab exordio sancti⁴ pontificatus tui eum de⁵ te suscepisse (alias commemoravi⁶) nulla ex parte vanam fuisse. Hortatur, ut in rebus bene et sancte inchoatis tua beatitudo perseveret. Etsi enim omnia assecutus fuisse videaris, quae viro aut fortunato aut sapienti virtus vel fortuna potest afferre, nihil tamen est, quod rebus tuis majorem splendorem tribuere possit, nihil quod magis illustrare valeat pontificatum tuum aut nomen tuum quam⁷ quae virtus et maximarum rerum perpetua conservatrix est immortalitati consecrare⁸ ⁹. Nam Gaio Mario¹⁰ Arpinati¹¹ non plus gloriae attulit septies feliciter delatus consulatus¹², nec Furio¹³ Camillo dictatura aut praeda Veietana¹⁴, quam alteri Italia a Cimbrorum furore conservata alteri a Senonibus direpta urbs in statum veterem restituta.

[14] Magnum¹⁵ quippe fuit, pater sancte, te - ex patricio genere in amplissima civitate Senensi natum et¹⁶ post multos graves labores pro Dei ecclesia¹⁷ a te sponte susceptos - ad¹⁸ cardinalatum tibi aditum patuisse. Maximum autem et paene omnibus incredibile¹⁹ te ex numero tot excellentissimorum virorum unum inventum esse, cui²⁰ ab²¹ apostolico hoc senatu navicula Petri regenda comitteretur. Sed haec omnia hujusmodi esse plerique {38v} autumant, ut vel fato vel casu quodam pervenire credantur. Et qui²² altius intuentur, existiment haec ipsa sola, quantumque maxima sint, praestare non posse eam²³ felicitatem, quam vel philosophi vel

¹ quam S

² sanctitatem tuam : sanctitas tua S

³ partem S

⁴ omit. S

⁵ ad S

⁶ If the speaker was the same ambassador who delivered the oration of obedience of the Duke of Savoy to Pius II in Perugia on 9 February 1459, he may here be referring to that oration

⁷ et S, T

⁸ consecrati S

⁹ *textus corruptus?*

¹⁰ Gajo Mario : Baiio Mariis S

¹¹ Alpmati S, T

¹² consultatus S

¹³ furis S

¹⁴ velacana S; velatana T

¹⁵ a Senonibus ... magnum omit. S, T

¹⁶ omit. S, T

¹⁷ pro Dei ecclesiam : etiam S, T

¹⁸ in S, T

¹⁹ incredibili S

²⁰ in S

²¹ omit. S, T

²² que S, T

²³ tam S, T

theologi diffinierunt¹. Sive² autem tuis auspiciis tuaque sapientia singulari, sive³ hujus tui sancti senatus salubri consilio factum erit, ut Latini principes, nationes et populi Christiani in te⁴ diffidentes ad defensionem ecclesiae Romanae conveniant et contra⁵ pestem hanc armentur, provisumque fuerit, ut ecclesia Romana et Christiana respublica restaurentur et antiquam suam dignitatem⁶ recipiant⁷, et⁸ hostis Latini nominis⁹ late longeque vagatus spoliis privaretur¹⁰, Roma¹¹ nonne ab eo triumphante superbus adhuc sanguinem Christianum sitiens a furore suo comprimatur.

[15] Haec erit tua propria laus! Haec hujus sancti apostolici collegii gloria sempiterna! In hoc uno reposita erit vera illa et summa felicitas, non ea quidem¹² tantummodo, quam¹³ Aristoteles et plerique philosophi his inferioribus repositam esse voluerunt, sed qualem Plato et in libris *De republica* Cicero pollicentur omnibusque, qui *patriam defenderint, servaverint*¹⁴, *auxerint*, et quam Deus praeparavit diligentibus se. Nulla est via, per quam facilius aditus ad caelum vel ad superos praebeatur vel pateat.

[16] Nollem, pater sancte vosque sapientissimi viri¹⁵, quidquam in hoc sacro conventu temere proferre¹⁶. Non verebor tamen aperire, quid sentiam. Existimo¹⁷ Silvestrum papam et alios plerosque praedecessores¹⁸ tuos nulla alia ferme¹⁹ ratione in catalogo sanctorum continuatos²⁰ esse, nisi quod alii ecclesiam dotari a laicis principibus et eam locupletari obtinuerunt, nonnulli pro ecclesia et ejus privilegiis defendendis contra²¹ tyrannos extraneorum principum suffragium imploraverunt²². Tibi vero et huic tuo senatui non credemus inter hos locum defuturum²³ et eo

¹ diffiniverunt T

² sine T; sin V

³ si S, V

⁴ in te : integre *dub.* S

⁵ que S, T

⁶ suam dignitatem *omit.* S

⁷ recipiat S, T

⁸ *omit.* S, T

⁹ qui *add.* V

¹⁰ *omit.* S, T

¹¹ Rome S, V

¹² quedam S

¹³ que S

¹⁴ *omit.* S, T

¹⁵ sapientissimi viri : viri sapientissimi S, T

¹⁶ proficere S

¹⁷ estimo S, T

¹⁸ praecessores T

¹⁹ sermo S; *omit.* T

²⁰ comme[mo]ratos T

²¹ que S

²² imploravit S; implorarunt V

²³ diffuturum S

forte maiorem, quo difficilius erit tibi conquassatam et paene eversam ecclesiam reintegrare quam¹ his - quos² supra commemoravi - confirmatam atque³ unitam⁴ in suo⁵ veteri⁶ statu conservasse. Hanc palmam, hunc honorem si tibi Deus et fata servaverint⁷, laetabitur et exultabit dux meus pontificatum tuum ad salutem Romanae ecclesiae fatalem extitisse.

[17] Ut igitur hanc partem consultationis absolvam, consulit illustrissimus Sabaudiae dux, ut in hoc tuo sancto⁸ proposito perseveres nec ullo modo praeter morem tuum committas posse sanctitati tuae impingi, quod tantam rem inconsulte vel temere attemptaveris vel sapienter inchoatam timide vel inconstanter deserueris.

[18] Convento me nunc ad postremam partem edicti tui, quae suffragii invocationem⁹ respicit. Haec ducalis legatio sanctitati tuae respondet ducem meum progenitorum suorum imitaturum¹⁰ esse vestigia¹¹ et ab eorum tuto consuetoque calle nulla ex parte esse¹² deviaturum. Fuit, beatissime pater vosque omnes reverendissimi et illustres viri, qui hic adestis, fuit quoddam haereditarium munus, quod duces comitesque Sabaudiae a suis progenitoribus acceperunt sursum Christum¹³ per spatium quingentorum annorum et in eorum posteros transmiserunt, ut ecclesiam Dei singulis paene saeculis a paganorum furore defenderent.

[19] Nec umquam illustrissimae religiosissimaeque¹⁴ familiae in gravibus periculis Romana ecclesia frustra auxilium imploravit. Testis est insula Rhodiorum¹⁵ potenti manu Amedei Sabaudiae comitis a¹⁶ Saracenorum {39r} obsidione liberata et Romanae ecclesiae restituta. Testes sunt¹⁷ Peloponnesus et Achaia, quas ab incursu Turcorum protexit vir illustris et strenuus Ludovicus secundogenitus Sabaudiae comitis, Helvetiorum princeps tritavusque hujus illustris Ludovici, quem oratorem ducalem ante pedes sanctitatis tuae astare conspicias. Testis est etiam

¹ quas T

² his quos *interlin.* T

³ ac S, T

⁴ unicum S

⁵ sua S

⁶ vera S; vero T

⁷ servarint S

⁸ tuo sancto : sancto tuo S, T

⁹ revocationem S

¹⁰ *omit.* S, T

¹¹ secuturum *add.* T

¹² *omit.* V

¹³ versus S, T

¹⁴ -que S

¹⁵ que *add.* S, T

¹⁶ *omit.* S, T

¹⁷ *omit.* S

delectus¹ ab altero Ludovico Sabaudiae comite habitus in populis Helvetiorum Allobrogum sub Coelestino III., praedicante divino Bernhardo, quem natum esse ex Johanne domino Methonis, nobilissimo vassallo ejusdem² Sabaudiae comitis, memoria³ proditum est.

[20] Praetereo ingentem exercitum ad protectionem fidei et recuperationem terrae sanctae traductum ab Amedeo viridi^{4,5} proavo illustrissimi principis mei sapientissimo atque in primis fortissimo viro, cujus propositum mors intempesta apud Siciliam interrupit. Praeterire etiam libet infinitas alias expeditiones militares et innumerabiles labores, quos hi catholici principes pro ecclesia Dei et fide Christiana sponte assumpserunt, ne nimis longa sumatur oratio. Absit ergo, ut⁶ tam insignem laudem et⁷ gloriam haereditariam a majoribus acceptam⁸ dux meus de familia sua auferri patiatur. Absit, ut in gravibus periculis ecclesiam Romanam a se desertam esse velit vel se inter postremos defensores Christiani nominis connumerari. Est diis gratia, unde hic⁹ et velit et possit et cumulate et sponte proficere.

[21] Sunt fidelissimi potentesque vassalli, devoti populi, amplum imperium, clara indoles, et copiosus numerus liberorum. Et - quod cunctis praeeminet - est animus, est erga¹⁰ Deum, religio et in ecclesiam Romanam innata devotio. Summa est itaque ducalis mandati: exhibet atque offert illustrissimus princeps¹¹ et excellentissimus Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, se, suos, et sua ad¹² omnia, ad quae sedes apostolica¹³, sacrum Romanum imperium, cujus se esse membrum palam¹⁴ profitetur, et Christiani principes uniti, eum¹⁵ duxerint¹⁶ advocandum pro defensione fidei Christianae ac¹⁷ universalis ecclesiae et Romani imperii protectione. Nec se vel suos in hoc ipso officio exhibendo ab aliquo aequali principe superari patietur.

[22] Tu vero, beatissime pater, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam unicam atque individuum sponsam tuam pretioso unigeniti filii Dei sanguine consecratam, sanctorum apostolorum praedicatione

¹ *em.*; deletus codd.

² *omit.* T

³ memorie S, T

⁴ viride S, T

⁵ Amédée VII the Green of Savoy (1334-1383)

⁶ *omit.* S, T

⁷ eandem S, T

⁸ inceptam S, T

⁹ hec V

¹⁰ apud S, T

¹¹ *omit.* S, T

¹² et S, T

¹³ fides catholica S, T

¹⁴ *omit.* S, T

¹⁵ cum S, T

¹⁶ dixerint S

¹⁷ et S, T

fundatam, beatorum martyrum passione¹ et confessione constructam, quattuor conciliorum², quae sacri evangelii vicem obtinent, stabilimentis³ olim roboratam, nunc vero furore impiorum paene disjectam et labefactam, quam Deus⁴ fidei tuae et protectioni credere⁵ dignatus est, protegere⁶ atque defendere⁷. Et ne quid respublica Christiana detrimenti patiatur, providere pro tua mirifica et incredibili sapientia procurabis⁸. Et quando quidem⁹ optimam rei bene gerendae occasionem nactus¹⁰ es¹¹, nullus te terror vincat, nullus casus, nulla res quantumcumque¹² gravis ab hoc tuo sancto proposito te retrahat.

[23] Credendum enim est¹³ Deum ipsum immortalem, cujus¹⁴ auspiciis tam salubre opus inchoatum est, ad singula recte et prospere agenda tibi futurum propitium et pro tuis benemeritis gratiam redditurum. Vos vero, reverendissimi patres, qui in partes sollicitudinis vocati estis, consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis¹⁵. Hoc pro executione ducalis mandati habui, quae dicerem. Quae autem a vobis consulta, deliberata, conclusae¹⁶ fuerunt, Deus optimus maximus et caelites omnes probent. Amen.¹⁷

¹ beatorum martyrum passione *omit.* S, T

² consiliorum S

³ stabili mente V

⁴ Dei T

⁵ tradere S, T

⁶ protegere S, T

⁷ defendere S, T

⁸ procuras S, T

⁹ quod S; *omit.* T

¹⁰ noctis S

¹¹ est V

¹² quamcumque S

¹³ enim est : est enim S

¹⁴ tuis S, T

¹⁵ fixis S

¹⁶ conclusa *omit.* V

¹⁷ dixi T