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**Oration “Multā hic hodie” of Pope Pius II (21  
November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by  
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of  
Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 49)**

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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**(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 49)**

**Oration “*Multa hic hodie*” of Pope Pius II (21 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**7th version**

**2019**

## Abstract

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September 1459, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November it was received by the pope in a public consistory. It was generally expected that the French would cause a major crisis at the congress by publicly criticizing and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily: he had recognized Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright. To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, the Bishop of Paris gave an oration which was quite pleasant and almost without references to the Sicilian matter which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. The bishop ended his oration with a declaration of obedience on behalf of his king to which the pope replied with the oration "*Multa hic hodie*".

## 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; France; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua, 1459; Charles VII, King of France; Guillaume Chartier, Bishop of Paris

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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 80<sup>1</sup> 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

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

**Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

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3. 1445-1449 (Orations 6-13)
4. 1450-1453 (Orations 14-20)
5. 1454-1455 (Orations 21-25)
6. 1455-1457 (Orations 26-28)
7. 1458-1459 (Orations 29-42)
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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French ambassadors definitely took their time to arrive and even went to Venice before Mantua to consult with the Venetians on a joint negative policy with regard to the crusade. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November it was received by the pope in a public consistory.

Apart from the matter of the crusade itself, relations between the French crown and the papacy were complicated by the determination of the French to generally influence matters in Italy, to regain the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) which had been lost to the Spanish House of Aragon, and to control the papacy, which had escaped the zone of direct French influence when the popes left Avignon and the Roman Papacy was restored (1417). At the conclave in 1458, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, related to the French royal family, had been a major contender for the papal crown, but instead the cardinals elected an Italian, Cardinal Piccolomini, in a setback for the French designs on Italy.<sup>2 3</sup>

When the French ambassadors arrived in Mantua, it was generally expected that they would cause a major crisis by publicly criticizing and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily since he had recognized Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright.

To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, Guillaume Chartier,<sup>4</sup> Bishop of Paris, gave an oration which was quite pleasant and only with a brief reference to the Sicilian matter which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. In the oration<sup>5</sup>, the bishop presented the declaration of obedience on behalf of his king, to which the pope replied with the oration "*Multa hic hodie*".

In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about the event:

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<sup>1</sup> CO, III, 37; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 56, 58, pp. 209-210; Ady, p. 177; Boulting, p. 275; Pastor, II, p. 63; Picotti, pp. 257-260; Reinhard, p. 266; Stolf, p. 354; Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

<sup>2</sup> Baldi, p. 96: *La storiografia ... ha insistito su questo aspetto, sulla precarietà della situazione politica immediate, sulle mire e sulle ambizioni francesi al controllo dell'Italia e del papato. La nomina del Piccolomini aveva però scongiurato l'elezione di un papa francese, ponendo così un freno alle aspirazioni egemoniche della corona di Francia*

<sup>3</sup> Another complication was the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges from 1438 by which the French Kingdom, following the antipapalist tendencies of the Council of Basel, had practically freed itself of the papal administration

<sup>4</sup> Guillaume Chartier (-1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. On Chartier, see Müller, I, pp. 338-339

<sup>5</sup> Du Fresne de Beaucourt, pp. 10-11

*The French ambassadors debated for several days as to whether they should make their submission or raise the question of Sicily first. But when Pius refused to grant them an audience until they made their submission, they were forced to do this first. Their spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, "According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the Earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness."<sup>1</sup> He divided his speech into sections and spoke at length on each: in praise of the pope; the eminence of the Apostolic See; the glory of his own king and kingdom. At last he made what he called a "filial" submission in the name of the king, using this term to make it clear it was not "servile" in character. He said little about the Turks, and still less did he promise support against them. The bishop of Marseille made his submission for King René, and Broccardo,<sup>2</sup> the spokesman for Genoa, delivered an oration on behalf of his city. This was flowery enough, though it revealed how a once proud city had fallen into servitude and waited now on the puffed-up arrogance of the French.*

*When everyone had had his say, the pope replied that he was unworthy of such praise. He was a lowly worm, dust and ashes, who had been called to Peter's throne not on account of his own merits but for some mysterious and divine purpose. He prayed that he would be able to perform his appointed task to the glory of God. The praises that had been showered on the Apostolic See were justified but inadequate, for the See held the keys to the kingdom of Heaven and represented God on Earth. To reject His judgment was anathema. The kingdom of France was a pre-eminent military power; her kings had done illustrious deeds and boasted an ancient lineage. Charles, who now ruled, lived up to his predecessors in every way. His submission to the Church of Rome was praiseworthy, though the aid he promised against the Turks was slight. The pope hoped for great things from that house, whose duty it had always been to defend the Church of Rome and the Christian faith against foreign foes. He likewise commended King René for his obedience and the people of Genoa for their devotion.<sup>3</sup>*

*Everyone was amazed that the French envoys, who had been so aggressive earlier, now appeared submissive and docile. The Curia was expecting to hear a harsh and bitter speech – condemnation of the pope for giving the kingdom of Sicily to a Spaniard, refusals to submit, demands for a general council. But when these expectations proved false, the Curia was renewed in its admiration for the pope.<sup>4</sup>*

Voigt had this comment:

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<sup>1</sup> In the oration *Maximum et amplissimum onus*, see Appendix 2

<sup>2</sup> Gottardo Stella, cf. Picotti, p. 259. Gottardo's oration, the "*Communem omnium*", is published in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 12

<sup>3</sup> The pope's oration was not mentioned by Pius' contemporary biographers, Campano and Platina, cf. Zimolo

<sup>4</sup> CO, III, 37 (Meserve, II, pp. 162-165)

*Man war nun gespannt auf die Antwort des Papstes, die er an den Bischof von Paris richten würde. Er nahm aus dessen Rede sechs Punkte heraus, behandelte sie indess meistens mit dem üblichen, nichtssagenden Formalismus. Doch bemerkten die Franzosen sehr wohl, dass er im feierlichen Tone von der Einheit der Kirche sprach, die auch durch die Autorität der Concilien nicht geschmälert werden könne; wer anders glaube oder Lehre, könne nicht in die Pforten des himmlischen Reiches eingehen. Obwohl der Papst sich dabei ausdrücklich verwahrte, dass er den König von Frankreich nicht meinte, der ihm ja so eben den Gehorsam geleistet, so kam er doch zweimal auf den Satz heraus, dass alle katholischen Fürsten der römischen Kirche und dem apostolischen Stuhle unterworfen seien. Seine Absicht fühlte ein Jeder heraus, und doch hatte er nicht mehr gesagt, als unzählige seiner Vorgänger zu unzähligen Malen, nichts was ihn voreingenommen und feindlich erscheinen liess.<sup>1</sup>*

## 2. Themes

The themes of the oration “*Multa hic hodie*” were those spoken on by the Bishop of Paris in his oration and to which the pope replied:

- The pope’s person
- The apostolic See
- The obedience of the French King
- Genoa
- Praise of the French king
- The crusade

The theme not spoken about was the Kingdom of Sicily which would be dealt with in a later separate meeting.

Concerning the pope’s person, the ambassador’s praise elicited the traditional, ritual declarations of personal unworthiness which would be expected of the pope – and which indeed he may have felt.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

<sup>2</sup> In 1447 Pius had heard the new pope, Nicolaus V, speak on this very theme in his oration to the Aragonese ambassadors who had presented King Alfonso V’s obedience to the pope (Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p.287). On the papal protestations of personal unworthiness, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 7.8.2.

As Pius had done in so many other responses to ambassadors offering the obedience of their lord, he used the occasion to declare the supremacy of the Apostolic See, i.e. the pope, in all matters, both secular and religious<sup>1</sup>:

*... the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches by conciliar decision. No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches scattered over the whole world should form one Church, one bridal chamber, and that Saint Peter should be its Head. His See is the perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See which God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See which he strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and the adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God. [Sect. 3]*

On this occasion, he added a clear statement about the supremacy of the pope vis-a-vis ecumenical councils<sup>2</sup>:

*Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.<sup>3</sup> Anyone who separates himself from the union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom [Sect. 6].*

Papal supremacy, not only in religious, but also in secular affairs, was a central tenet of the medieval and the Renaissance Papacy.

In this respect Pius was indeed not innovating at all, see Voigt quoted above. In 1447 he had heard Pope Nicolaus V, in the oration "*Nihil est*", tell the Aragonese ambassadors about their king:

*Non ... ignorat neminem, qui ab hac sede alienat et deviat, in statu salutis esse posse, ita ut quemadmodum qui in archa Noe fuerint salvati sint, qui vero extra illam omnes perierint, ita qui a Petri sede alieni interire necesse sit.<sup>4</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.2

<sup>3</sup> The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – however shortlived - reunion between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and recognized the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

<sup>4</sup> Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p.287

He had actually reached a clear conviction concerning this whole matter before he himself became pope, as witnessed both by his oration “*Sentio*”, of 1452,<sup>1</sup> and by a statement he put in the mouth of Bernardinus of Siena in his *Dialogus*, finished in 1457, the year before he became pope:

*... on Earth the Vicar of Christ holds the first place, he who is the head of the Church Militant, the teacher and prince of the Christian people. Do you not know that Peter was told to Feed my sheep, and Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven. Peter was made shepherd of the sheep with full power to bind and to loose. Among the sheep are not only the common people, but also kings and emperors – if they want to be considered as Christians. ... The power of Peter is large and absolute, and it has been entrusted to him to bind and to loose not only this and that but everything.*<sup>2</sup>

Pius had spoken on the same theme to most of the royal ambassadors coming to declare their master’s obedience to him as new pope, affirming the supremacy of the papacy in both the religious and the secular sphere.<sup>3</sup>

That the message was not lost on the French, is clear from the report of Nicolas Petit to the French Chancellor (see Appendix 1):

*... le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la loüange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiae Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer.*

Petit also noted the pope’s eloquent and indeed fulsome praise of the French king and royal dynasty, and of France.

Concerning the crusade, the ambassador has said very little and made no magnificent promises, so the pope could do no more than express the conviction that participation in the crusade would be a natural, traditional and excellent task for the French king.

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<sup>1</sup> Oration “*Sentio*”, sect. 26: *Non enim, ut adversarii delirant, de rebus dumtaxat spiritualibus Romanae sedis arbitrium est, cui dominus in evangelio de re quacumque tribuit potestatem, qui beato Petro aeternae vitae clavigero terreni simul et caelestis imperii jura commisit. Quod Petro, hoc et successoribus ejus Romanae urbis antistibus.* See also sect. 103-104

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, pp. 85-87: *Quia non vides in terris Christi vicarium primum tenere locum, caput ecclesie militantis esse, Christiani populi magistrum et principem. Nescis quia dictum est: Pasce oves meas, et quecumque ligaveris super terram erunt et in celis? Pastor ovium Petrus cum plena potestate ligandi atque solvendi creatus est; inter oves Christi non plebes dumtaxat, verum etiam reges atque imperatores habendi sunt, si modo Christiani videri volunt. ... Ampla et absoluta potestas Petri est, cui non hoc aut illud, sed omne ligandum solvendumque commissum est*

<sup>3</sup> E.g. oration “*Fabricator mundi*” [40] to the imperial ambassadors

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration "*Multa hic hodie*" was delivered on 21 November 1459, in a public consistory held at with the Congress in Mantua. During the consistory four orations had been heard, by Gregor Heimburg, on behalf of Duke Sigismund of Austria, and by the ambassadors of France, of King René d'Anjou, and of Genoa.

The audience consisted of the cardinals and ambassadors with their retinues, present in Mantua, as well as other participants in the Congress, and members of the papal court.

The format was a papal oration from the throne to royal ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is extant in two versions, the "*Multa hic hodie*", and the "*Placuit audisse*". The "*Placuit audisse*" is the one included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, produced under his own direct supervision in 1462.<sup>2</sup>

There seems to be no doubt that it is the "*Multa hic hodie*" version which was actually delivered at the Congress. The "*Placuit audisse*" version had been prepared in the expectation that the French ambassadors would make an acrimonious protest against the pope's dispositions in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily, but since they did not do so, the pope had to discard the prepared oration and improvise another.<sup>3 4</sup> The content of the "*Multa hic hodie*" generally agrees with the description given by the secretary of the French embassy, Nicolas Petit, in his report on the events of the day, written immediately afterwards.<sup>5</sup> The text of the "*Multa hic hodie*" was edited after the actual delivery of the oration. For example, it does not contain the direct and important statement made twice by the pope, which Petit quotes verbatim: *Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiae Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos.*

The "*Placuit audisse*" appears to be unfinished since the last section (announced in the beginning of the oration) on the crusade is missing.

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<sup>1</sup> On the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 5.1

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

<sup>3</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 83, n. 2

<sup>4</sup> A number of the arguments in the oration "*Placuit audisse*" on the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) Pius would re-use in his oration "*Responsuri*" [52], delivered some days afterwards in response to the French ambassadors complaints about his policies in this area

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Appendix

The fact that the “*Placuit audisse*” misses a part and that the “*Multa hic hodie*” only survived in a manuscript to which d’Achery had access in France is interesting and may indicate that the history of the text cannot be adequately ascertained on the basis of the presently available evidence. Indeed, the text in the “quaternio Ms. D. d’Herouval” which d’Achery knew may have originated in the French embassy to Mantua and be based on notes taken by secretaries during delivery, which would explain the absence of the text from Italian manuscripts, but this is conjecture

## 4.1. *Multa hic hodie*

### 4.1.1. Manuscripts

The text as edited by d’Achery, see below, was taken “ex quaternione Ms. D. d’Herouval”.<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1.2. Editions

- D’Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. 13 vols. Paris: 1655-1677. // Tom. IX, 1659, nr. 54, pp. 310-316 **(DA)**
- D’Achery, Luc: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis diliterant*. Nova editio ... S. Baluze, E. Martene, L.-F.-J. de la Barre. 3 vols. Parisiis: Montalant, 1723 // Tom. III, 1723, pp. 807-809
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1671-1672 // Tom. XIII, 1672, coll. 1765-1772.  
[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d’Achery]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodiit auctior* // Tom. XIX, 1732. Coll. 230-251  
[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d’Achery]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, in qua præter ea quæ P. Labbeus et G. Cossartius et novissime N. Coleti in lucem edidit, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quæ J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab

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<sup>1</sup> Mansi: *Sacrorum*, XXXII, p. 235, has this margin note to the “*Multa hic hodie*”: *Non extat hæc oratio Parisiensis episcopi*



eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notae, et dissertationes quamplurimae, 31 vols. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798 // Tom. XXXII, 1798, pp. 225-229  
[Mansi reproduces the version printed by d'Achery]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 31-38  
[After Labbé]

## 4.2. Placuit audisse

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460)<sup>1</sup>, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least three manuscripts:

### 4.2.1. Manuscripts<sup>2</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 165v-168r **(G)** \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segretao Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 35v-41v **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 41r-46v  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 58r-62v  
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 156v-159v **(H)** \*

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

### 4.2.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

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

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 219-223  
*[After the manuscript in Lucca]*

### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The text of the “*Multa hic hodie*” is taken from the edition by d’Achery (DA).

The text of the “*Placuit audisse*” 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. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 16 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 11 from the Bible and 5 from patristic and medieval sources, none from classical sources.

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.

Biblical: 11  
Classical: 0  
Patristic and medieval: 5  
Contemporary: 0  
**All: 16**

**Biblical sources: 11**

Old Testament: 6

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Canticle: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 2. Machabees: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 3
- John: 2

**Classical sources: 0**

**Patristic and medieval sources: 5**

- Augustinus: 1<sup>1</sup>
- Cyprianus: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Decretum Gratiani: 3

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> De civitate Dei

<sup>2</sup> De unitate ecclesiae

## 6. Bibliography

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus I.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segretao Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1

**DA** = D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677 (**DA**)

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriasis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols. Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. 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. Multa hic hodie

## Pii Papae II oratio habita in conventu Mantuano

Respondet orationi Guillelmi Parisiensi episcopis, oratoris regis Franciae.

[1] {310} Multa hic hodie magnaue dicta fuerunt, auditu digna. Nam quattuor orationes audivimus, quarum tres tum pro carissimo filio, Carolo Christianissimo Francorum rege illustri, tum pro carissimo filio Renato, etiam rege illustri, tum pro praepotenti Januensium populo dictae sunt. Altera maximo eloquentiae splendore ostendit orator elegans et doctor Gregorius, quantum polleret religio, dignitas, et illustrissimus Austriae sanguis. Tua oratio, venerabilis frater, Parisiorum episcopo, laudatione non eget: nam congesta coronae hujus atque consessus totius attentio quanta fuerit, plene ostendit: elegans quidem verborum ornatu, plena et artis et venustatis, sententiarum varietate redundans, quodque his majus est, elocutione suavi, cui respondebimus non ordine illo, quo per te dicta est, sed quo multa praetereuntes majora collegimus. Sex partes inde complexi, quarum quidem prima laudibus personae {311} nostrae<sup>1</sup> niti<sup>2</sup> magnopere visa est; secunda beatissimi Petri, cujus nunc insidemus sedi, dignitatem aperuit; tertia praestitam<sup>3</sup> per eundem Christianissimum regem explicavit oboedientiam. In quarta commendavit nobis Christianissimus rex Renatum regem populumque Januae; quinta in ipsius regis atque regni Francorum laude versatur; sexta optimam voluntatem regis ejusdem expressit in eo, quod pertingit expeditionem in Turcos.

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; vestrae DA

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; nti DA

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; praestita DA

# Oration of Pope Pius II held at the Congress of Mantua

He replies to the oration of Guillaume, Bishop of Paris,<sup>1</sup> ambassador of the King of France

## 1.0 Introduction

[1] Today, many and great things, worthy of hearing, have been said. We have heard four orations: three on behalf of our beloved son Charles, the Most Christian and Illustrious King of France, and our beloved son René, also an Illustrious King, and the mighty people of Genoa. In the fourth, the accomplished orator and doctor, Gregor,<sup>2</sup> showed, with splendid eloquence the great religious devotion, dignity and nobility of the House of Austria.

The great attention of this packed crowd and assembly shows, venerable brother, Bishop of Paris, that your oration merits praise. Indeed it was both elegant, skillful and urbane, with a great variety of phrasing, and - what is even more important – a graceful delivery. We shall reply to the things you said, but not in the order followed by you, and We shall omit a number of issues and only focus on the major ones. Your oration had six parts. In the first, you praised Our person extravagantly. In the second, you showed the dignity of the Chair of Saint Peter, which We now occupy. In the third, you spoke on the obedience declared by the Most Christian King.<sup>3</sup> In the fourth, the Most Christian King recommended King René<sup>4</sup> and the People of Genoa.<sup>5</sup> In the fifth, you extolled the said king and the Kingdom of the French. And in the sixth, you stated the excellent disposition of the king with regard to the expedition against the Turks.

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<sup>1</sup> Guillaume Chartier (d. 1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. French ambassador at the Congress of Mantua

<sup>2</sup> Gregor Heimburg (b. beg. 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist and statesman. Ambassador of Archduke Sigismund of Austria at the Congress of Mantua. Bitter enemy of Pius II who eventually excommunicated him

<sup>3</sup> Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death. Disinherited in 1420 by his father, in the Peace of Troyes following the Battle of Azincourt, he settled in Bourges from where he gradually regained the French territories occupied by the English. In 1429, by the agency of Jeanne d'Arc, he was crowned King of France in Reims

<sup>4</sup> René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence (1434–80), Count of Piedmont, Duke of Bar (1430-80), Duke of Lorraine (1431-53), King of Naples (1435-42)

<sup>5</sup> At the time, Genoa was under the suzerainty of the French king

[2] Quod primum attinet, non inflatur, non extollitur laudibus infirmitatis suae conscium pectus. Scimus quidem et agnoscimus nostras infirmitates, nec arbitramur aliud, cur divina bonitas nos ad sacri vicariatus Petri solium et fastigia sancta provexit, nisi ut ex nostra tenuitate luceret sua potestas, ex imperfecto nostro fulgeret virtus ipsius, qui piscatores, qui homines, et vulgo qui infirma mundi elegit, ut fortia quaeque confunderet, utque tot miraculorum fulgorem, tantam vim fidei, quae potestate mundum omnem complexa sit, que ubique radices egerit, non hominis cujusque merito, sed ipsi soli Deo adscribemus.

[3] Praeclare vero cui meritis impares insidemus beatissimi Petri sedem laudasti, quam nemo praestantissimo ingenio et flagranti studio satis digne umquam laudavit. Non enim principes, non reges, non imperatores, non potentes populi, non patrum et conciliorum decreta Romanam et apostolicam sedem fixerunt et erexerunt, *nec ullis synodice constitutis* omnibus ecclesiis per orbem praelata est, sed omnes ecclesias per orbem sparsas universum unam ecclesiam esse, *unum sibi thalamum*, et ipsius praesidem fore beatum Petrum, voluit Christus verus homo, qui regnat in Trinitate verus Deus. Haec sedes est una perfecta matris suae, una electa genetricis suae. Haec est apostolica sedes, quam verbum illud, per quod caelum et terra creata sunt, non hominum mortalitas fluxa instruxit, haec quam prophetarum praesagio constituit Deus super gentes et regna, quam apostolorum testimonio, martyrum sanguine, imperialis sedis adeptione munivit: hujus {312} ordinationi quisquis resistit, utique potestati Dei resistit.

## 1.1. Pope's person

[2] Concerning the first part, a person<sup>1</sup> who is aware of his own weaknesses does not get proud or elated when being praised. We know and recognize Our own weaknesses. We believe that the Good God has elevated Us to the the throne and holy splendour of Saint Peter's vicariate only to let His own power shine forth through Our weaknesses and His virtue radiate through Our imperfections. For He chose fishers and common men, indeed the weak of this world, in order to confound the strong<sup>2</sup> so that we should ascribe the splendour of the many miracles and the great force of the Faith - embracing the whole world and growing roots everywhere – to God Himself alone and not to the merits of any man.

## 1.2. Apostolic See

[3] Though you nobly praised the See of Saint Peter, which We occupy, though We are not his equal in merit, nobody has ever praised it with enough spirit and zeal. For the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches *by conciliar decision*.<sup>3</sup> No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches spread over the whole world should form one Church, *one bridal chamber*,<sup>4</sup> and that Saint Peter should be its Head. This See is the one perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See which God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See which He strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God.

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<sup>1</sup> "pectus": breast, heart

<sup>2</sup> Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*

<sup>3</sup> Decretum, D.21.3

<sup>4</sup> Decretum, D.21.3

[4] Nemo in pravum sensum sermonem nostrum detorqueat, nemo carissimum in Christo filium Carolum, Francorum regem illustrem, putet a nobis insimulari: nam Christianissimus ille rex, ut audivistis, oboedientiam apostolicae sedi omni ornatu impendit: sed illos loquimur, qui aliud aut docent aut sentiunt, quam ipse, qui est caput totius ecclesiae, cui ait dominus: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*. Nemo se fallat, nemo veritatem fidei perfida praevaricatione corrumpat. *Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudinem latius incremento foecunditatis extenditur, quomodo multi radii solis sunt, sed unum lumen et rami arboris multi sunt, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et quomodo de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, et numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundante copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fructus germinare non poterit; a fronte praecide rivum, praecisus decrescit.*

[5] Sic ecclesia Dei luce perfusa per totum orbem radios suos porrigit; unum tamen est, quod ubique diffunditur; unum tantum caput est, et una origo, et una mater ecclesia, quae incorrupta unam domum novit, unius cubiculi sanctitatem casto pudore custodit. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est, et habere non potest Deum patrem, qui Romanae sedis, quae universalem ecclesiam virtute complectitur, non tenuerit unitatem. Haec sedes demum est, quae *potestatem ligandi atque solvendi accepit*: quam si quis corripientem, corrigentem, jubentem contempserit, censeri debet sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Positus in petra legitur Moyes, ut faciem Dei contemplaretur. *Super hanc petram aedificavit ecclesiam suam* praepotens Deus, quam qui non agnoscit, divinam praesentiam intueri non poterit. Sola quippe est, per quam dominus sacrificium accipiat libenter; sola, quae pro errantibus intercedat fiducialiter; sola est, quae intra se positos valida caritatis compage custodit. {313} Haec est arca et navis, quam ingressi non immerguntur diluvio, sed super aquas evecti in sublime feruntur: omnes autem extra istius sedis arcam praeclosos diluvium extinguit et perimit.

[4] Let nobody distort the meaning of Our words, and let nobody believe that We censure Our dear son in Christ, Charles, Illustrious King of the French. For as you have heard, today the Most Christian King has with all ceremony declared his obedience to the Apostolic See. No, We are speaking of those who teach and believe differently from him who is the Head of the whole Church, and to whom the Lord says that *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church*.<sup>1</sup> Let no one deceive himself; let no one perfidiously corrupt the truth of Faith. *The Church is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength based in its tenacious root; and since from one spring flow many streams, although the multiplicity seems diffused in the liberality of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is still preserved in the source. Separate a ray of the sun from its body of light, its unity does not allow a division of light; break a branch from a tree—when broken, it will not be able to bud; cut off the stream from its fountain, and that which is cut off dries up.*<sup>2</sup>

[5] Thus the shining Church of God sends its rays of light through all the world. But the light which is spread everywhere is One. There is but One Head, and One source, and One Mother Church, which is without blemish, which knows the One home, and which chaste guards the holiness of the One chamber. Anyone who does not remain united with the Roman See, encompassing the Universal Church in virtue, is an impious stranger, an enemy who cannot have God as his father. Finally, this is the See which has received the *power to bind and to loose*.<sup>3</sup> If anyone spurns its censures, corrections, and commands, he will be considered a pagan and a publican. We read that Moses stood on a rock in order to contemplate God's face. On this rock almighty God has built his Church.<sup>4</sup> Those who do not recognize that Church cannot look at the presence of God. The Church is the only one through whom God welcomes a sacrifice. She is the only one who can intercede confidently for those who go astray. She is the only one who can guard those within her with the strong bond of love. This is the ark and the ship: those who enter it will not drown in the flood, but will sail over the waters to the high place. But those who are locked out from the ark of this see will go under and perish in the flood.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

<sup>2</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 5. Translation quoted after the New Advent edition

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>4</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

[6] Nemo sibi blandiatur, conciliorum auctoritate istius apostolicae sedis potestatem restringi, quam incommutabilis Dei sententia firmavit, neque quorumlibet doctorum et magistrorum in adversum audiantur opiniones, quas concilium Florentinum destruxit. Quicumque enim ab unitate istius sedis, ab auctoritate beati Petri sejungitur, ingredi non poterit januam regni caelestis. Diximus pro angustia pro et hora jam altiore fortasse diffusius pro hoc domicilio imperii divini, religionis et gloriae, pro imagine caelestis solii et excellentia parum, pro qua nimium dici non potest: sed nos utcumque materia locuples, longius traxit.

[7] Nunc vero tertium, quod oboedientiam praestitam vice Christianissimi regis attinet, illam nos et venerabiles fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, ut est integre delata, complectimur. Habet hoc a natura rex et a majoribus in se transfusum, tuerique non immerito debet oboedientiae meritum, quod sacrificiis praeferrere divinitus promulgata lex sanxit, beneque prospicit suo decori, suae gloriae, suae salutis, cum secutis semper Romanae sedis oboedientiam suis majoribus videat evenisse prosperitatem, quodque quantum quilibet regum detraxit ex oboedientiae studio, tantum amisit ex gloria.

[8] Quod quarto loco efflagitasti, carissimum in Christo filium Renatum regem Siciliae illustrem, Januensemque populum commendatos habeamus: nos quoque velimus Christiano illos favore complecti; cum et responsuri simus suo loco legatis ipsius, hanc rem differemus, illam strictim tunc tractaturi: quia secretior locus ad ista petitur a te, et polliceris tunc nobis aperta iri plurima latius.



[6] Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.<sup>1</sup> Anyone who separates himself from union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Considering this packed place and the late hour, We may have already have spoken too long. But if we consider the house of divine power and of religion and glory, and the image and excellence of the Heavenly Throne, We have said too little, for one cannot say enough about them. Only the importance of the matter has made Us speak at such length.

### **1.3. Obedience of the King of France**

[7] We now come to the third part, which concerns the obedience declared on behalf of the Most Christian King. We and Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, accept his obedience as it is presented in its entirety. The king knows from his own nature and from his ancestors that the merit of obedience must be guarded justly. Indeed, the law promulgated by God says that *obedience is better than sacrifice*.<sup>2</sup> And as the king considers the prosperity of those of his ancestors who remained steadfast in their obedience to the Holy See, he knows that in this way he is also guarding his own honour, glory and salvation: indeed, those kings who failed in their commitment to obedience lost much glory.

### **1.4. King René and Genoa**

[8] In the fourth place you recommended Our beloved son in Christ, the Illustrious King René of Sicily<sup>3</sup>, and the people of Genoa to Us. Those too We will look at with Christian favour. But as We are going to reply to René's own legates on another occasion, We shall postpone this matter for now and deal specifically with it later, since you request a more private place where, as you promise, you shall explain your position fully to Us.

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<sup>1</sup> The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – shortlived - reunion between the Roman and the Greek Churches, and recognized the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

<sup>2</sup> 1. Kings, 15, 22

<sup>3</sup> René d'Anjou

[9] Quintum vero, cum tu, venerabilis frater, sis exorsus collaudare ipsum Christianissimum regem, nec sustinet angustia temporis, nec satis dicere possumus ad dignitatem, neque etiam opus est extollere universas prope {314} quas audivimus inesse ipsi virtutes: nec fas est *solem facibus adjuvare*, ut nunc dicebat regis Renati orator. Nec una Francorum regum progenies est, quae magnitudine dominii antistat aliis. Nam Gaius Caesar, quem cosmographi sequuntur, latissimam Galliam propterea ostendit, quod eam descripsit, complecti quidquid inter Oceanum, Rhenum, Alpes, montes Pyrenaeos continetur. Vetustas vero gentis Francorum jam satis constat pluribus annalibus, eaque ad orientalem primum plagam sedit, demum magna hominum vi Gallias immigravit. Qui resederunt, non Francorum, sed Franconum retinent nomen. Illud autem regum genus, quod ab Orientalibus tractum est, Francorum nomen adeptum, ut venit et migravit, Galliam suis virtutibus illustravit, adjunxit quoque non omnem - Helveticorum nempe populi, paucisque exceptis Belgae gens, secluduntur ab ipso regno.

## 1.5. Praise of the King of France

[9] As for the Most Christian King, whom you, venerable brother, praised, in the fifth part, there is not time – were it possible - to say enough about his dignity nor is it needful to extol all those virtues which we heard he possesses. Indeed, it is not sensible *to assist the sun with burning torches*,<sup>1</sup> as King René’s ambassador just said. Nor is the family of the French kings the only one whose realm surpasses the others in size.<sup>2</sup> For Gajus Caesar,<sup>3</sup> followed by the geographers, has shown that Gaul was indeed very large, describing it as comprising all the lands between the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenean Mountains. Many annals confirm the antiquity of the Frankish people: First it lived to the East<sup>4</sup>, but later a great multitude from that people migrated into Gaul. Those who remained, are not called “Franks”, but “Franconians”, whereas the royal line descended from the peoples in the East gained the name of “Franks”. As they migrated and came into Gaul they made it shine with their virtues, but they did not get control of the whole territory for the Helvetian peoples and most of the Belgians are not part of their kingdom.

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<sup>1</sup> Decretum, C.6.7

<sup>2</sup> The contextual meaning is unclear

<sup>3</sup> Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

<sup>4</sup> i.e. Central and Eastern Europe

[10] Nihil vero videtur praestabilius regni ipsius religione, qua semper sic floruit, ut praecipui Romanae sedis defensores et fidei athletae omnibus regibus aliis Christianissimi nominis semper gloria praestiterunt Francorum reges. Quid enim tam admirabile quam cernere in ipso regno sparsos tamquam flores, ecclesiasticos coetus, et praeter infinitam in ipso regno collegiorum multitudinem, centum et unum episcopatus, et innumerabilium in illo monasteriorum ubique opus illustre, illustres opes, unumque regem Francorum (si bene Salomon, *in multitudine*, inquit, *populi gloria regis*), qui admirabili populorum multitudine virorumque viribus polleat, quibus natura sit datum, ut acres ingenio, pugnacissimi bello reperiantur. Sunt quidem in regno ipso ducatus et plures maximi comitatusque aequandi regnis: et mite caelum, aer suavis, fertilis ager. Sunt in ipso studia plurima scholasticorum, sed tuum illud Parisiorum, venerabilis frater, fertur illustrius, in quo theologiae maxime necessaria doctrina viget, ex quo etiam magisterium promeruisse, magni honoris, maximaeque difficultatis existimatur. Ita omnibus et fortunae, et naturae, et {315} doctrinae, et religionis purae praesidiis collustratur Franciae florentissimum regnum.

[11] Quid reges veteres majoresque hujus Christianissimi regis, qui non solum regibus plurimis et maximis anteponerentur, sed veteribus illis Scipionibus Corneliisque compararentur? Celebratur ab oratoribus pluribusque poetis virtus eminentissima Caroli magni, et Ludovici primi. Fuerunt et Dagoberti et Philippi reges, quorum virtutem Carolus ad praesens rex et reddit et imitatur. Nam et religionis et ceremoniarum fertur observantissimus, et praeclara regnorum gubernatrice sapientia regnum, quod dissipatum accepit, florentissima pace tranquillitateque moderatur. Est autem ex sapientia regis, populorum pax, et tempestatum fluctuumque secunda depulsio. Plura de aequitate, de justitia, de temperantia, pietate ipsius, dicenda forent, nisi defatigatis animis ex auditione quattuor orationum hora detraheret dicendi prolixitatem.

[10] But nothing is more remarkable than the religious piety of this people which made it flourish so greatly that, as champions of the Roman See and athletes of the Faith, the French kings, called Most Christian, always surpassed other kings in glory. Indeed, it is wonderful to see the parishes spreading like flowers in that kingdom, and the almost infinite number of religious houses<sup>1</sup>, the 101 dioceses, and the wonderful work of countless monasteries everywhere, the marvelous wealth, and the one King of the French who is wondrously rich in people and in the strength of his men (if Solomon is right when he says: *In the multitude of people is the dignity of the king.*)<sup>2</sup> It is in their nature to be astute and very warlike. In that Kingdom there are also dukedoms and many counties as great as kingdoms. The climate is mild, the air is sweet, the land is fertile. There are also many universities, but your own university in Paris, venerable brother, is said to be the most illustrious: there, the very important study of theology flourishes - even the *magisterium* [of the Church] has benefited from it. Indeed, it is held in high regard and [studies there] are considered to be very advanced<sup>3</sup>. Thus, the flourishing realm of France is remarkable for all its advantages of fortune, nature, learning and purity of religion.

[11] What about the old kings and ancestors of the present Most Christian King: not only do they surpass many other, even great kings, but they can even bear comparison with the Cornelii and the Scipios of old. Orators and many poets celebrate the eminent virtue of Charlemagne<sup>4</sup> and Louis I.<sup>5</sup> There were also the kings named Dagobert and Philip whose virtue the present King Charles reflects and imitates, for he is said to be greatly observant in matters of religion and ceremony. With wisdom - that excellent governess of kingdoms - he now rules the chaotic kingdom he took over and which today enjoys peace and tranquility.<sup>6</sup> For from the king's wisdom comes the peace of peoples and the banishment of storms and disorders. We would say more about the king's fairness, justice, moderation and piety if the audience was not already tired from hearing four orations and if the [advanced] hour did not curtail further speaking

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<sup>1</sup> "collegiorum"

<sup>2</sup> Proverbs, 14, 28

<sup>3</sup> "maximaeque difficultatis"

<sup>4</sup> Charlemagne (742/747/748 -814): also known as Charles the Great. King of the Franks from 768, King of Italy from 774. In 800 crowned by the Pope as the first Emperor in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier

<sup>5</sup> Louis the Pious (778-840): King of Aquitaine from 781. Also King of the Franks and co-Emperor (as Louis I) with his father, Charlemagne, from 813

<sup>6</sup> Note that there is no mention of Jeanne d'Arc

[12] Quod igitur exordium sumpsisti, quasi jure nostro ad extremam orationis partem sumemus: *Secundum nomen tuum sit et laus tua in fines terrae*. Nam cum oppugnantibus Turcis Christianorum fines immineat extrema calamitas, in rege vero sit ea potentia, ut ipse vel solus, vel cum paucis aliis, mederi possit. Nos tui thematis, venerabilis frater, nolumus auctoritatem negligere: nos enim et regem, qui et Christianissimus sit et appelletur, et regem Franciae Carolum, dictis per te votis alloquimur: *Secundum nomen tuum, sit et laus tua, sit in fines terrae*. Calamitas Graecorum jamdiu defleta est, jam Latinorum quotidianae clades per omnes angulos orbis intelliguntur. Quid tam regium, tam liberale, tam dignum nomine regis quam open ferre petentibus, succurrere afflictis, dare salutem periclitantibus, liberare periculis fratres eodem secum baptismatis fonte renatos, retinere, quos Turcus lacessit, principes in dignitate? Quid tam decens Christianissimum regem quam Christianae religionis decus armis contra arma, vi contra vim protegere, nec sinere tot Christianas provincias in servitutem {316} Turcorum et foedam superstitionem perverti? Quid tam proprium Franciae quam semper ad omnes pia fide paratas expeditiones tenere arma, quibus protegi valeat Christianus populus vel impetere fidei hostes, vel se ulcisci lacessitam? Nulla certe legitur expeditio adversus infideles acta insigniter, in qua Francorum non polleat nomen, eniteat virtus, fulgeat fortitudo, multaque pereximia gesta. Per Antiochiam, per Hierosolymas, per Damascum, Syriam, Phoenicem, et usque Mesopotamiam, pro populi religione arma circumtulerunt, victoresque regionibus illis sunt dominati, quamquam haec postea per inertiam nostram amisimus.

[13] Ac ne plura, quae sunt innumerabilia, consecremur, multis in historiis legimus illum prope divinum regem Carolum magnum cujus exemplis incumbere Carolus Christianissimus rex debet et studet. Et Ludovicum regem multosque Francorum reges legimus, quorum per Italiam, Africam, Syriam tum religionis, tum fortitudinis fuerunt impressa vestigia. His unum studium peculiare fuit tueri fidem, defendere sedis apostolicae auctoritatem. Id quidem agentes tamquam gratissimi, nam et illecti et provocati, et apostolicae sedis beneficiis amplissimis praeventi, tanto animo tanta gesserunt, tum praeter cetera ab ipso fonte et capite Christianae religionis, apostolica sede, ad eos fidei religio orta et per totum occidentem diffusa fluxit et emanavit. Nos ista tanta tamque multa longius produceremus, nisi alio tempore aperturum te in hanc rem plura pollicitus esses, et nisi defatigatio hujus coronae atque consessus horaque tardior amplioris sermonis eriperet aviditatem.

## 1.6. Crusade against the Turks

[12] The beginning you chose [for your oration] We shall now use as an appropriate conclusion of Our own: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.*<sup>1</sup> The attacks of the Turks are an immense threat against to the Christian lands, but your king is so powerful that he could either by himself or with a few others remedy this situation. Venerable brother, We consider the words you chose for your theme as so important that We shall, in Our turn, apply them to Charles, King of France, who both is and is called Most Christian: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.* The Greek catastrophe has been lamented enough: now we daily hear of Latin defeats in all corners of the world. What could be more royal, more grand, more worthy of the kingly name than to come to the assistance of those who require it, to succour the afflicted, to save people in peril, to free our brothers reborn from the same baptismal font from their danger, and to ensure the dignity of princes assailed by the Turk? What could more befit a Christian king than to protect the honour of Christian religion with arms against arms and with strength against strength, and not to allow so many Christian provinces to be forced into slavery to the Turks and horrible superstition? What could be more appropriate for the French than to always have their arms ready to join crusades prepared in pious faith with the aim of protecting the Christian people, attacking the enemies of our Faith, and avenging its injuries? In all the successful crusades against the infidels, we read about, the name of the French was powerful, their virtue shining, their strength radiant, and their many deeds extraordinary. In defense of the people's religion they brought their armies through Antioch, Jerusalem, Damascus, Syria, Phénicia, and as far as Mesopotamia, and as victors they became lords of those regions, though later we lost them again through our own apathy.

[13] But let Us not dwell on this inexhaustible subject. In many history books we read about the almost divine King Charlemagne whose example the Most Christian King Charles should follow. And we read about King Louis and many other French kings who marked Italy, Africa and Syria with their religious piety and with their strength. Their one concern was to protect the Faith and defend the authority of the Apostolic See. For when they were invited, and enticed, and granted extraordinary favours by the Apostolic See, they did great things with great courage: the Apostolic See, fountain and head of Christian religion, brought the Faith to that people, and from there it spread all through the West. We could speak much longer on this subject if you had not promised to say more on the matter at another time, and if the exhaustion of this assembly and the very late hour had not robbed the audience of any desire for further talk.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 47, 11: *secundum nomen tuum Deus sic laus tua usque ad extremum terrae*

## 2. PLACUIT AUDISSE

### Oratoribus Francorum regis

[14] {156v} Placuit audisse<sup>1</sup> orationem vestram, regii oratores. Idem et<sup>2</sup> venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus et universae contioni accidisse non dubitamus, sicut ex attentione omnium animadvertimus<sup>3</sup>. Neque ab re. Fuit enim ornatissima, et singularem eruditionem<sup>4</sup> prae se tulit, et, quod est in primis expetibile, suavissime pronuntiata est. Responsuri<sup>5</sup> non attingemus omnes partes, sed eas tantum, quae potiores visae sunt, neque servabimus ordinem vestrum, sed pro nostro arbitrio procedemus. Quinque sunt, quae responso egere<sup>6</sup> videntur. Primum respicit personam nostram<sup>7</sup>, alterum {157r} sedem, in qua sedemus, tertium regni Siciliae dispositionem, quartum regis vestri merita, quintum ac postremum expeditionem contra Turcos. Erimus in respondendo breves, ne plenas aures dulcissimis et ornatissimis verbis inepta oratione nostra fastidio afficiamus.

[15] Laudastis personam nostram pluribus<sup>8</sup> modis, et quae tenuissima sunt in nobis, ut maxima viderentur effecistis. Non extollitur, cum laudatur, conscius suae parvitat<sup>9</sup> pectus. Augustinus in praeclaero volumine *De Civitate Dei* salvatorem dominum idcirco rudes et infimi generis sibi discipulos<sup>10</sup> accivisse testatur, ut in eis ipse esset, qui mirabilia operaretur<sup>11</sup>. Fortasse et<sup>12</sup> propterea nos<sup>13</sup> humiles et indigni ad hoc fastigium divinitus erecti sumus<sup>14</sup>, quod aliquid per nos publice utile<sup>15</sup> divina pietas operari vult, et id vult suum videri, ut erit, quantum in ministerio nostro dignum laude<sup>16</sup> fiat. Nos enim nihil sumus, et nihil est, quod a nobis sperandum sit, nisi pius<sup>17</sup> Deus<sup>18</sup> bonum semen in nobis<sup>19</sup> seminaverit, irrigaverit et incrementum dederit.

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<sup>1</sup> audivisse G, J

<sup>2</sup> omit. G

<sup>3</sup> advertimus G

<sup>4</sup> orationem G

<sup>5</sup> responso J

<sup>6</sup> indigere G

<sup>7</sup> omit. J

<sup>8</sup> plurimis J

<sup>9</sup> suae parvitat<sup>9</sup> : parvitat<sup>9</sup> suae G

<sup>10</sup> sibi discipulos : discipulis sibi J

<sup>11</sup> et *add.* G

<sup>12</sup> *interlin.* G

<sup>13</sup> propterea nos : nos propterea G [*propterea in marg.* G]

<sup>14</sup> erecti sumus : sumus erecti G

<sup>15</sup> publice utile : utile publice G

<sup>16</sup> laudabile G

<sup>17</sup> prius G, J

<sup>18</sup> dominus G

<sup>19</sup> bonum semen in nobis : in nobis bonum semen G



# To the ambassadors of the King of the French

## 2.0 Introduction

[14] Royal ambassadors, We were pleased to hear your oration, and so, undoubtedly, were Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the whole assembly, as We could see from the attentiveness of all. And with good reason since it was a most ornate and singularly learned oration, which was – as is very important - delivered most gracefully. In Our reply, We shall not answer to all parts of the oration, but only to the most important. And We shall not deal with them in the order of delivery, but as We find it appropriate.

There are five points needing an answer here. The first concerns Our person, the second the See that We occupy, the third Our dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily, the fourth your king's merits, the fifth and last the crusade against the Turks.<sup>1</sup>

Our reply will be brief so that We shall not tire ears, now full of delightful and elegant words, with Our inept speaking.

### 2.1. Pope's person

[15] You praised Our person in many ways, and you made even our smallest accomplishments appear to be great. But a person<sup>2</sup> who is aware of his own weaknesses does not become proud or elated when being praised. In his famous book, *On the City of God*, Augustine<sup>3</sup> declares that the Lord took disciples of simple and humble condition so that it would be Himself who performed miracles through them. In the same way, God may have elevated Us, though insignificant and unworthy, to this high state so that Divine Piety may operate through Us, and so that whatever praiseworthy We accomplish in this ministry will be seen as being done by Him. For We are nothing and nothing may be hoped from Us unless Pious God sows the good seed in Us, and waters it and makes it grow.

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<sup>1</sup> This, the fifth part of the speech, is actually missing. In this version, the pope does not list the French kings's recommendation of King René and Genoa, nor his declaration of obedience. These two issues are treated as specific themes in the version "*Multa hic hodie*", where on the other hand the theme of the crusade is missing

<sup>2</sup> "pectus": breast, heart

<sup>3</sup> Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

[16] Romanam autem ecclesiam, apostolicam sedem, beati Petri cathedram primum in terris thronum a vobis laudari aequo animo ferimus. Multa et<sup>1</sup> prudenter, et ornate, et erudite de Jesu Christi vicariatu locuti estis, quae delectabile fuit ab ore deserto<sup>2</sup> audivisse. Verum tanta est hujus apostolicae dignitatis<sup>3</sup> excellentia, tanta gloria, tanta majestas, ut celebrari pro meritis ore humano minime<sup>4</sup> possit. Neque enim mortali voce satis extolli<sup>5</sup> potest, quod ab immortali Deo institutum laudatumque est. Romanam sedem, {157v} hoc est solium, in quo sedemus indigni, non reges aut imperatores, non populi aut civitates, non particulares synodi aut concilia generalia, non pontificum constitutiones aut patrum decreta, sed ipsa salvatoris Christi vox, ipsum Dei nostri oraculum erexit et primum omnium esse constituit dicens beato Petro, aeternae vitae clavigero: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo, et reliqua*, per quae summa potestas apostolorum principi<sup>6</sup> data colligitur a Christo domino. A Christo igitur, Deo et homine, fundata est et in sublime divinitus erecta<sup>7</sup> est Romani praesulis auctoritas.

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<sup>1</sup> omit. G

<sup>2</sup> deserto J

<sup>3</sup> sedis G

<sup>4</sup> non G

<sup>5</sup> satis extolli : extolli satis G

<sup>6</sup> summa potestas apostolorum principi : apostolorum principi potestas summa G

<sup>7</sup> divinitus erecta : posita divinitus G

## 2.2. Apostolic See

[16] But We accept your praise of the Roman Church, the Apostolic See, the Chair of Saint Peter, the First Throne on Earth. You said much both wisely, ornately and eruditely about the Vicariate of Jesus Christ, and it was a pleasure to hear such a skillfully crafted oration. However, the excellence, the glory and the majesty of the Apostolic See are so great they than can never be adequately praised by a human tongue. And no human voice can sufficiently extol what God Himself has instituted and praised. For the Roman See, the throne We are occupying though unworthy was not established by king, or emperors, or peoples, or cities, or by decrees of local synods or general councils, or by constitutions of the popes, or decrees of the Fathers, but by the words of Christ Himself, Our Saviour, the oracle of our God. And it was Him who made it the first among all when he said to Peter, the Keybearer of eternal life: *And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven,*<sup>1</sup> and other words which make it clear that it was Christ, Our Lord, who granted supreme power to the Prince of the Apostles. Thus the authority of the Roman Bishop was indeed established and given its preeminence by Christ, God and man.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 16, 18-19

[17] At quem Christum nominamus, quem Deum fundatorem nostrae potestatis adducimus? Christum equidem, quem sancti prophetae annuntiaverunt<sup>1</sup> redemptorem orbis esse venturum, quem Johannes Baptista digito demonstravit dicens: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, quem sancti apostoli, sancti evangelistae, sancti martyres filium Dei unigenitum, verum Deo patri consubstantialem praedicaverunt, natum ex Maria virgine, pro nostra redemptione passum, mortuum ac sepultum, et tertia die victorem mortis dispoliato inferno surrexisse, et denique triumphantem in caelum<sup>2</sup> ascendisse, ubi ad dexteram patris sedet, cuius divinitatem et alia quaeque<sup>3</sup> miracula ostenderunt. Nam caecis visum, surdis auditum, mutis eloquium, claudis ambulationem, et, quod maximum extitit, mortuis etiam<sup>4</sup> {158r} vitam restituit. Ventis imperavit et mari, ac se naturae dominum non in vita solum, verum etiam in ipsa morte ostendit, elementorum et siderum et lapidum naturam quatiens<sup>5</sup>, cuius salutarem legem totus orbis complexus<sup>6</sup> est. Vix enim gleba ulla sub caelo est, in qua non aliquando Christus verus Deus et verus homo praedicatus acceptusve fuerit.

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<sup>1</sup> annuntiavere J

<sup>2</sup> caelo G

<sup>3</sup> quoque *corr. ex* queque H; quoque J

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>5</sup> quotiens J

<sup>6</sup> implexus J

[17] But who is this Christ We are talking about, who is the God that we declare established our power? He is indeed the Christ whom the holy Prophets foretold would come to save the world and whom John the Baptist pointed to, saying: *Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.*<sup>1</sup> It is Him whom the holy apostles, the holy evangelists and the holy martyrs proclaimed as the only-begotten son of God, but consubstantial with the Father. He was born from the Virgin Mary, suffered for our redemption, died and was buried, and on the third day He resurrected as victor over death. He despoiled Hell, and in final triumph He ascended into Heaven where He sits at the right hand of the Father. Other miracles, too, prove his divinity. For He gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, movement to the lame, and – greatest of all – he even restored life to dead people. He commanded the winds and the sea and proved himself to be Lord over nature not only in his life, but also in his very death,<sup>2</sup> upsetting the natural order of elements, stars and stones. [Afterwards,] the whole world accepted his salutary law, and there is hardly any place on Earth where at some time Christ was not proclaimed and believed to be true God and true man.

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<sup>1</sup> John, 1, 29

<sup>2</sup> This whole section is taken, in abridged form, from the oration "*Cum bellum hodie*"

[18] Ab hoc igitur Christo, ab hoc principe, ab hoc Deo vero et singulari<sup>1</sup>, sancta sedes apostolica instituta et erecta est, et primatum super omnes gentes et super universa regna suscepit. Haec fons est<sup>2</sup> et origo<sup>3</sup> dignitatum omnium, haec mater studiorum, haec bonarum artium alatrix, haec magistra vitae, haec norma disciplinae, haec mortalium regula: haec fidem docet, mores instruit, errores corrigit, vitia punit, virtutes praemiatur, extollit bonos, deprimit malos, viam vitae aperit, mortis aditum<sup>4</sup> claudit. Haec est arca Noe, extra quam salvari nemo potest regnante diluvio. Hic est *hortus conclusus et fons signatus*, de quo scaturiunt aquae vivae, quae saliant in vitam aeternam: hic est *locus quem dominus elegit*; hic summus sacerdos est, cui qui non paruerit, morte mulctatur<sup>5</sup>: huic sedi et<sup>6</sup> prima et summa potestas credita est, nam pascendi oves officium ejus est et iudicandi auctoritas, quam si quis docentem corripientemve quoquo modo contempserit, habendus est ut ethnicus et publicanus: alienus est, profanus est, anathema est, qui Romani {158v} praesulis auctoritati detrahere praesumit. Non habet deum patrem, qui Romanam ecclesiam renuit cognoscere matrem.

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<sup>1</sup> et singulari : singularis J

<sup>2</sup> omit. G

<sup>3</sup> est add. G

<sup>4</sup> adiutum J

<sup>5</sup> multatur G

<sup>6</sup> omit. G

[18] This is the Christ, this is the prince, this is the true and one God who founded and established the Holy Apostolic See and gave it primacy over all peoples and all realms. This is the fountain and origin of all offices, this is the mother of studies, this is the nurse of the good arts, this is the teacher of life, this is the norm and rule of men. She it is who teaches the Faith, who instructs us how to live morally, who corrects errors, punishes vice, rewards virtue, lifts up the good, and throws down the wicked, opens the path of life, and closes the gate of death. Here is Noah's Ark outside which no one can be saved while the flood is reigning. *Here is the garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up,*<sup>1</sup> from which spring the life-giving waters leading to eternal life. This is *the the place which the Lord chose.*<sup>2</sup> Here is the High Priest who must be obeyed, on pain of death.<sup>3</sup> To this See has been entrusted the first and supreme power, for it has the charge of feeding the sheep<sup>4</sup> as well as the authority to judge. Anyone who rejects its teachings and corrections must be considered a pagan and a publican. Anyone who dares to put restrictions on the authority of the Roman Pontiff is impious and damned. Anyone who refuses to recognize the Roman Church as his mother does not have God as his father.

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<sup>1</sup> Canticle of canticles, 4, 12

<sup>2</sup> 2. Macchabees, 5, 19

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy, 17, 12

<sup>4</sup> John, 21, 17

[19] Qualis proculdubio est quicumque lege sua statuit, ne hoc vel illud Romano pontifici liceat in suo regno mandare et praecepta ejus cassa esse vult<sup>1</sup>. Et quis tu homo es, qui haec agis? Unde tibi haec auctoritas? Profer testimonium, si potes, ex sacro codice. An hoc secundum evangelium est vivere? Minime quidem. Christus in evangelio Petro dicit: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo*. Et tu ais papae, qui successor Petri est: cave ne hoc liges, ne hoc solvas. Nescis, miser, quia Romanum praesulem divina tantum auctoritas ligat? Sacrae tantum scripturae subjectus est papa, quae Dei digito revelata est, decretis mortalium non tenetur. "At rationi subjectus est et potestas ecclesiae in aedificationem non in destructionem data fatemur<sup>2</sup>." At non propterea tu iudex Romani praesulis es, qui errare eum arbitraris. Iudicium de ipso soli Deo servatum est: culpas suas mortalium arguere nemo<sup>3</sup> potest. En quam erronea nonnullorum sententia est! In regem nihil subdito licere volunt: in papam volunt, cujus potestas a Deo est super omnes mortales<sup>4</sup> collata. Neque advertunt parum pensi habentes, quoniam sancta sedes apostolica a beato Petro in hanc usque diem numquam audita est dogmatizare quidquam, quod ab orthodoxa fide sit alienum. Habet enim hoc privilegium a domino, ut pravis dogmatibus numquam succumbat; quia *portae inferi non praevalent {159r} adversus eam*. Haec ad eam partem dixisse satis sit, in qua sedem apostolicam laudastis.

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<sup>1</sup> velit G

<sup>2</sup> fatetur G [fatemur corr. from fatetur H]

<sup>3</sup> arguere nemo : nemo arguere G

<sup>4</sup> potestates G



[19] Such is undoubtedly the case of anyone who issues a law denying the Roman Pontiff the right to make commands concerning anything in his kingdom or who has ordered that the pope's commands should have no validity there. And who would you be, man, who did this? Where is your authority to do it? Offer testimony from the Holy Book, if you can. Is that a way to live according to the Gospel? Absolutely not. For in the Gospel Christ says to Peter: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven.*<sup>1</sup> And you would say to the pope, the successor of Peter: "Do not bind this, do not loose that!"! Do you not know, you miserable man, that only divine authority binds the Roman Bishop? The pope is only subject to Holy Scripture, revealed by the hand of God, and he is not bound by decrees of men." But we declare that the pope is subject to reason, and the power of the Church is given for edification and not for destruction." But even if you believe the Bishop of Rome to be in error, that does not give you the right to judge him, for only God can judge the pope. No mortal man may accuse him of faults. Oh, how wrong is the opinion of many men: though they do not allow a subject to have any say against their king, they would allow it in the case of the pope even if God has given him power over all mortal men. Those stupid men are unconcerned that - from Saint Peter to this day - the Holy Apostolic See has never been heard to teach anything that is contrary to orthodox faith. This privilege it has received from the Lord that it shall never succumb to wrong teachings for *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*<sup>2</sup> Let this suffice concerning your praise of the Apostolic See.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

[20] Nunc ad eum locum transeundum est, in quo de regno Siciliae mentionem fecistis. Sivimus<sup>1</sup> in hac parte pro nostra mansuetudine vos loqui, quaecumque voluistis, et quamvis nos carpere videremini, ignoscendum tamen et<sup>2</sup> vobis et regi vestro putavimus tamquam de rebus gestis parum instructis. Nos nihil credimus factum esse a nobis reprehensione dignum. Quod<sup>3</sup> si erravimus, cum consilio fratrum erravimus: cuncti enim cardinales, nullo dempto, ut faceremus, quae fecimus, consuluerunt suaseruntque. Insuper secuti sumus iter, quod Eugenius, quod Nicolaus, quod Calixtus antecessores nostri tenuerunt. Annuimus precibus totius Italiae nobis pro Ferdinando supplicantis. Nam dux Mediolani, Veneti, Florentini, dux Mutinae id ex nobis petiere, quod fecimus. Stabat Italiae foedus in id ipsum urgens. Regnum ei contulimus, qui possidebat, et quem<sup>4</sup> regnicolae omnes acceperant regem, et fidem ei jurejurando promiserant, eum in regno confirmavimus, quem pater possessor et<sup>5</sup> a praedecessoribus nostris habens<sup>6</sup> titulum, instituerat succesorem, quamvis non legitimum, auctoritate tamen apostolica legitimatum. Erat praeterea nobis pax necessaria: ita status ecclesiae requirebat, ita conditiones temporum<sup>7</sup> exposcebant. Nam quo modo intendere ad res {159v} fidei contra Turcos poteramus domestico impliciti bello?

[21] Urgebat Jacobus Piccininus Assisium, Nuceriam<sup>8</sup>, Gualdumque occupans, ingensque bellum ecclesiae minitans, nisi Ferdinandum regem declararem. Quo insuper modo decebat nos arma capere pro regno alieno, cum ille, qui suum esse dicit, domi quiesceret? At misit, dicitis. Misit quidem episcopum Massiliensem cum verbis. Nos<sup>9</sup> factis egebamus, quibus magna pars patrimonii beati Petri adempta erat. Cumque tot tantaeque rationes urgerent Ferdinando regnum concedere, nihil tamen egimus in praejudicium cujuspiam: jura unicuique sua servata sunt. Agant juris via<sup>10</sup> si qui sunt, qui se indigna pati arbitrantur. Nos recti iudicis partes tenebimus. Nec plura de tertia parte orationis vestrae.

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<sup>1</sup> sinimus *corr.* ex sivimus G; scivimus J

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>3</sup> qui J

<sup>4</sup> et quem : quemque J

<sup>5</sup> ut qui *add.* J

<sup>6</sup> habuisset J

<sup>7</sup> conditiones temporum : temporum conditiones J

<sup>8</sup> Luceriam J

<sup>9</sup> non G

<sup>10</sup> viam J

## 2.3. Kingdom of Sicily

[20] We must now pass on to the part where you mentioned the Kingdom of Sicily. In Our clemency, We allowed you to say whatever you wanted. And though it seemed as if We were being criticised, We forgave you and your king as men who were not adequately informed. We believe that We have done nothing to merit your reproval. But if indeed We have erred, We have erred on the advice of our brethren, for all the cardinals, without exception,<sup>1</sup> have advised and counseled Us to do as We did. Moreover, We have followed the course of our predecessors, Eugenius,<sup>2</sup> Nicolaus,<sup>3</sup> and Calixtus.<sup>4</sup> We have granted the requests of all of Italy on behalf of Ferrante,<sup>5</sup> for both the Duke of Milan,<sup>6</sup> the Venetians, and the Duke of Modena<sup>7</sup> asked Us to do what We did. The Italian treaty was in force, requiring the same. The kingdom was granted to the man who was in actual possession of it, and We confirmed as king the one whom all the inhabitants of the realm had accepted as king and sworn to. That man was also the one whom his father, also in actual possession of the kingdom, and having received proper title to it from our predecessors, had appointed as his successor. Though he was not of legitimate birth, he had been legitimated by apostolic authority. Moreover, it was necessary for Us to have peace: the state of the Church required it, and the prevailing conditions demanded it, for how could We plan [on going to war] for the Faith against the Turks if we were involved in a domestic war?

[21] At the time We were also under pressure from Jacobo Piccinino<sup>8</sup>, who had occupied Assisi, Nuceria, and Gualdo and threatened the Church with total war if We did not declare Ferrante king. And, finally, why should We go to war for another kingdom when the one who claimed it<sup>9</sup> remained peacefully at home? But he did send someone, you say. Yes, he sent the Bishop of Marseilles,<sup>10</sup> who came with words only. But We [did not need words], We needed action since We had lost control of the major part of the Lands of Saint Peter<sup>11</sup>. But even though so many and so great reasons pressed Us to give the kingdom to Ferrante, We did not do anything to the prejudice of anybody: the rights of all were maintained, and anyone who believes that he has suffered an injustice is free to pursue the matter in court. We Ourselves shall be a fair judge.

So much concerning the third part of your oration.

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<sup>1</sup> Even the French cardinals

<sup>2</sup> Eugenius IV (Gabriele Condulmer) (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Nicolaus V (Tommaso Parentucelli) (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 until his death

<sup>4</sup> Callixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

<sup>5</sup> Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

<sup>6</sup> Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 until his death

<sup>8</sup> Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

<sup>9</sup> I.e. René d'Anjou

<sup>10</sup> Nicolas de Brancas: Bishop of Marseille from 1445-1466

<sup>11</sup> The Church states

[22] Nunc quartam<sup>1</sup> aggrediamur, in qua regem vestrum et inclytam Francorum domum ingentibus praeconiis extulistis<sup>2</sup>. Fatemur veras esse laudes; regem ipsum pium, benignum, religionis amantem, justitiae cultorem, pacis cupidum, sobrietati modestiaeque<sup>3</sup> parentem, et divina quadam virtute praeditum, cujus prudentiam regni tranquillitas ostendit, et amissorum recuperatio dominiorum. Progenitores ejus ornare laudibus in praesentiarum frustra fuerit, quorum praeconia veteres historiae celebrant. Vulgata est orbe toto Francorum fama, quorum inclyta gesta etiam pueri cantant. Orientales populi omnes ferme, qui se adeunt ex occidenti, Francos vocitant. Fecerunt hoc Francorum regum expeditiones, qui pro Jerusalem recuperanda ingentes saepe copias eo ductarunt, et omnem Bithyniam, Troadem, Pisidiam, Ciliciam, Armeniam, Cappadociam, Syriam, atque Aegyptum conculcarunt. Gloriosa est Francorum domus et digna, quam sancta sedes apostolica magnificiat, siquidem ejus auxilio freta magnas saepe calamitates evasit. Sed neque sancta<sup>4</sup> sedes ingrata illi<sup>5</sup> fuit, quae ipsos ornavit imperio, et beneficia<sup>6</sup> beneficiis, magna maximis repensavit<sup>7</sup>. Quod<sup>8</sup> nunc, more vestusto ac<sup>9</sup> praesenti, nos honorat rex ipse, et vicarium Jesu Christi<sup>10</sup> in persona nostra recognoscit, et suam apostolicae sedi oboedientiam exhibet, implet quod sui erat officii et suo debito facit satis. Nam pontifici Romano tamquam Christi vices gerenti omnes reges, omnes populi sua debent colla submittere. Laudamus et devotionem et religionem tanti principis, quam<sup>11</sup> dignis prosequi favoribus haec sancta sedes non negliget.

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<sup>1</sup> quarto J

<sup>2</sup> extollistis J

<sup>3</sup> sobrietati modestiaeque : sobrietatisque et modestiae G

<sup>4</sup> haec *add.* J

<sup>5</sup> ingrata illi : ei ingrata G

<sup>6</sup> etiam *add.* G

<sup>7</sup> recompensavit G

<sup>8</sup> qui J

<sup>9</sup> et G

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>11</sup> quem J

## 2.4. King's merits

[22] Now we come to the fourth part where you extravagantly praised your king and the glorious House of France. We declare that this praise is true and that the king is indeed pious and benevolent. He loves religion, cultivates justice, desires peace, keeps sobriety and modesty, and is blessed with divine virtue. The tranquility of the realm and the recovery of the lost domains prove his wisdom. In vain We should now praise his ancestors since the old history books celebrate their achievements. The fame of the French has spread to the whole world, and even boys are singing about their glorious deeds. Almost all the Easterners use the name of Franks for those who come there from the West. This is due to the crusades of the French kings who often brought immense armies there to recover Jerusalem, and subdued Bithynia, Troy, Pisidia, Cilicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Glorious is the House of the Franks and worthy of being held in high regard by the Holy See. Indeed this See has often avoided catastrophes because it could depend on help from them. But the Holy See has not been ungrateful to the Franks: it has bestowed the empire on them, and it has rewarded their great services with even greater ones. When their king now honours Us, in time-hallowed manner, recognizes the Vicar of Christ in Our person, and declares his obedience to the Apostolic See, he fulfills his obligation and does as he should. For all kings and all peoples must bow to the Roman Pontiff as the Vicar of Christ. We praise the devotion and religious piety of this great prince whom the Holy See will certainly favour as merited.

*[Unfinished: the 5<sup>th</sup> part concerning the crusade, cf. the introduction to the oration, is missing]*

## Appendix 1: Extract from the report of Nicolas Petit to the Chancellor of France<sup>1</sup>

### Nicolai Petit: Narratio eorum quæ in Conventu Manuano acta sunt coram Summo Pontifice Pio II. Ad Guillelmum Juvenalem de Ursinis Franciæ Cancellarium [21 November 1459]

{308} ... Apres laquelle proposition finie<sup>2</sup>, notre saint Pere cognoissant la vertu du propoissant, à commencé l'exordium de sa response, adressant sa parole envers mondit Seigneur de Paris, disant: Orationem tuam, venerabilis frater noster Pariseorum Episcopo, laude dignam audivimus; dictis tuis, non quantum tua elegans postulat oratio, sed pro viribus respondendum. Et en cette maniere nostredit saint Pere poursuivit sa response, la divisant en six poins, le premier touchant sa personne ainsi que mondit Seigneur de Paris l'avoit prins, & peu si arresta, le second touchant le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la louange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer. Le tiers point, touchant le bon vouloir & affection que le roi à envers l'Eglise Romaine, & mesmement au bien des matieres presentes, et sur ce commença à louer & nombrer les grans fais des Roys de France, & du temps de Charles le Grant, Loys premier, & autres, disant comment l'Eglise Romaine à esté honnoree & presvee par les tres Chrestiens Roys, descendant au Roy, le louant & magnifiant bien grandement, & que sans lui ne peut estre rebouté le Thurcq, pareillement en louant le Royaume, {309} faisant diverses descriptions Franciæ & Galliarum, dont vient l'imposition de ce nom Francois, louant l'Université de Paris sur toutes autres; faisant mention des belles Eglises & Monasteres du Royaume. Le quatrieme touchant le fait du Roy de Sicile, en la faveur du Roy, & quant à ce les Catelans furent tres esbays quant nostredit saint Pere commença à ces mots: Pro parte carissimi in Christo filii Regis Renati Siciliae ac Ierusalem regis illustris. Ceulx qui estoient pour la part de Domp Ferrando vouloient romper l'audience, mais notre saint Pere leur imposa silence, & ne les voulut point oyr. Le cinquieme touchant le fait de Gennes, en quoy se declaira l'avoir en singuliere recommandation, & telle que le demaine & patrimoine de l'Eglise. Le sixieme & dernier feut l'obeïssance & reverence filiale dont lui et ses Freres Messeigneurs les Cardinaulx rendoient graces, &c.

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<sup>1</sup> From d'Achery, pp. 308-309

<sup>2</sup> The oration of the Bishop of Paris

## Appendix 2: Oration “Maximum et amplissimum onus” of Guillaume Chartier (21 November 1459, Mantua)

In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote on Chartier’s oration:

*“Their [the French ambassadors] ’spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, “According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness.” He divided the speech into sections and spoke at length on each:*

- *in praise of the pope;*
- *the eminence of the Apostolic See;*
- *the glory of his own king and kingdom*

*At last he made what he called*

- *a “filial” submission in the name of the king, using this term to make clear it was not “servile” in character.*

*He said little about*

- *the Turks,*

*and still less did he promise support against them.”<sup>1</sup>*

### Manuscripts

This oration is presently known to be extant in seven manuscripts:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliothek**  
535, ff. 113r-127v (**M**)
- **Brno / Moravska Zemska Knihovna**  
Mk 96, ff. 51v-64v (**N**)
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen**  
8 Philos. 88, ff. 54v-70v (**T**)

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<sup>1</sup> CO. III, 37 (Meserve, II, pp. 163)

- **Paris / Bibliotheque Nationale de France**  
Lat. 8576, ff. 178-187v<sup>1</sup>
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ott. lat. 905, ff. 43v-50v (**V**)  
Ott. lat. 2080, ff. 303r-309v (**O**)
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Petri**  
b VIII 15, ff, 213r-225v (**S**)

The text in the manuscripts is corrupt in several places and contains many errors of transcription.

The text has not been published previously.

### Present edition

The text has been edited on the basis of all the manuscripts listed above, except the Paris manuscript, with the Admont manuscript as the lead text, in accordance with the general principles used in the edition of Pius' orations, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9.

Pagination after the lead manuscript.

In the present version, only some of the quotations have been identified.

The notes comprise both textual variants and references etc.

### Structure

1. Introduction [1-7]
2. Obedience [8-28]
3. Crusade [29-39]
4. Conclusion [40-42]

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<sup>1</sup> See Du Fresne de Beaucourt, p. 11. Ff. 178r-178v (sections 1-4) partly illegible due to damage to manuscript



# Oratio ambasiatoris regis Francorum<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Introduction

[1] {113r} Maximum et<sup>2</sup> amplissimum onus<sup>3</sup> longe grandius viribus injunctum mihi hodie, pater beatissime, conspicio, qui de rebus maximis apud te<sup>4</sup> maximum pro maximo dicere instituo. Multa ergo saepius menti occurrentia<sup>5</sup> in ipso actus limine<sup>6</sup>, in ipso sermonis revolvens exordio, vix certe concipio<sup>7</sup>, ubi umquam altius, ubi sublimius versari potuit<sup>8</sup> intentio, quam cum<sup>9</sup> vice regia, cum<sup>10</sup> nomine regio excellentissimi et Christianissimi regis<sup>11</sup> nostri<sup>12</sup>, sanctae<sup>13</sup> ecclesiae et sanctitatis tuae<sup>14</sup> devotissimi filii, apud sanctitatem<sup>15</sup> et beatitudinem tuam filialis oboedientiae, reverentiae<sup>16</sup>, honoris et dilectionis, pietatis, fidei, pacisque populi Christiani<sup>17</sup> prosequendus est sermo, cui rite<sup>18</sup> ad plenum explicando<sup>19</sup> etiam<sup>20</sup> reminiscens<sup>21</sup> Tullii quantumcumque redundans<sup>22</sup>, quantumcumque exuberans non sufficeret oratio. Imparem eja suscepto oneri<sup>23</sup> me<sup>24</sup> sentiens satisque persuasum habens huic loco, huic operi, huic praeclaro coetui non posse stilum parem orationis afferre, jam totus in me tabescens deficio.

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<sup>1</sup> Oratio ... Francorum : *omit.* **M**; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantue 1459 de mense novembris 1459 **O**; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantuae 1459 de mense decembris **S**; Oratio pro christianissimo Francorum rege habita Mantuae coram Pio papae II. in universali conventu **T**; Oratio habita per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Gulielmum de Normandia, episcopum Parisensem, sanctissimi regis Francie oratoris in ecclesia cathedrali in cocistorio publico die 21. Novembris 1959 **V**

<sup>2</sup> vt **M**

<sup>3</sup> This initium may be partly borrowed from the imperial ambassador's oration of obedience to Pius II, the "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*", published in appendix to Pius' oration "*Fabricator mundi*"

<sup>4</sup> per *add.* **N, O, S, T**

<sup>5</sup> occurrenti **S**

<sup>6</sup> lumine **N**; limite **O, S, T**

<sup>7</sup> conspicio **N**

<sup>8</sup> versari potuit : potuerit versari **M**

<sup>9</sup> cum **M**

<sup>10</sup> cum **M**

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* **N**

<sup>12</sup> ~~sed~~ **M**; sed *add.* **N**; sed et *add.* **O, S, T**

<sup>13</sup> sacrosanctae **V**

<sup>14</sup> sanctitatis tuae : sanctitati tui **N**; sanctitati tue **O, S, T**

<sup>15</sup> sedem **M**

<sup>16</sup> et *add.* **O**

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* **O, S, T**

<sup>18</sup> ritum **N**

<sup>19</sup> explicandi **V**

<sup>20</sup> et **N, O, S, T**

<sup>21</sup> reuiuiscens **V**

<sup>22</sup> quantumcumque redundans *omit.* **N**

<sup>23</sup> meo *add.* **O, S, T**

<sup>24</sup> mei **N**; *omit.* **V**

[2] Attenuati quippe oculi mei aspicientes<sup>1</sup> in excelso, in excelso quidem sanctitatis<sup>2</sup> tuae, in excelso hujus<sup>3</sup> conventionis<sup>4</sup> dignissimae, qua meipsum video velut in alta quaedam fastigia conscendisse, ubi decus, ubi splendor<sup>5</sup> orbis, tutamentum<sup>6</sup> fidei, fundamentum justitiae, ubi te quasi solem et velut<sup>7</sup> numen quoddam<sup>8</sup> divinum et caeleste, ubi sacra tecum luminaria ecclesiae relucentia circumquaque, ubi virtutum omnium adunatum undique speculum<sup>9</sup> singulare prae fulgore igitur et splendore jam concussis, {113v} jam reverberatis humilibus oculis ac prae mole operis<sup>10</sup> depressis<sup>11</sup> humeris a<sup>12</sup> suscepto opere animus resiliret, lingua<sup>13</sup> obmutesceret<sup>14</sup>, nisi me legatio regia patrumque et<sup>15</sup> dominorum<sup>16</sup> simili<sup>17</sup> legatione fungentium specialis ordinatio et zelus domus<sup>18</sup> domini impellerent et a temeritate et praesumptione redderent excusatum.

[3] *Ubi enim onus - teste<sup>19</sup> Gregorio - ex humilitate<sup>20</sup>, oboedientia suscipitur, vincit<sup>21</sup>: ascribitur victoriae et succubuisse ad gloriam reputatur. Zelo ergo succensus<sup>22</sup>, oboedientia constrictus<sup>23</sup>, sed<sup>24</sup> tua benignitate allicitus, illud<sup>25</sup> non inelegans<sup>26</sup> jamdudum apud Caesarem dictum commemorans<sup>27</sup>: Caesar, qui apud te et de te dicere non verentur et timent<sup>28</sup>, tuam magnitudinem non agnoscunt; qui<sup>29</sup> nimis verecundantur et formidant, tuam benignitatem non attendunt,*

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<sup>1</sup> suscipientes T

<sup>2</sup> virtutis N, O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> omit. T

<sup>4</sup> Conventio *in marg.* M [NB: The margin notes in M are written in a much later hand]

<sup>5</sup> et *add.* S

<sup>6</sup> tutamentumque T

<sup>7</sup> nubem *add.* V

<sup>8</sup> quasi P

<sup>9</sup> spectaculum O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> prae mole operis : perinde O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> repressis T

<sup>12</sup> omit. O

<sup>13</sup> lingua N, T

<sup>14</sup> obmutesceret *corr. ex* obmutesceretur M; obmutesceretur N

<sup>15</sup> ac T

<sup>16</sup> disorum *dub.* N

<sup>17</sup> similique O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> omit. S

<sup>19</sup> onus teste : teste onus N

<sup>20</sup> humilitatis O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> *em.*; vinci codd.

<sup>22</sup> et *add.* O

<sup>23</sup> astrictus T

<sup>24</sup> et V

<sup>25</sup> id V

<sup>26</sup> elegans M; delegans *corr. ex* delegatus S; delegans O, T

<sup>27</sup> commemoramus O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> timeat O, S; timeant T

<sup>29</sup> quam N, O, S, T

quantum magnitudine deterreor<sup>1</sup>, tantum pietate consolor et confortor. Ad<sup>2</sup> te igitur, patrem<sup>3</sup> et re et<sup>4</sup> nomine<sup>5</sup> piissimum<sup>6</sup>, pro rege piissimo pietatis fidei verba piissima deducturus<sup>7</sup>, etsi magnitudinem<sup>8</sup> expavescam, de ipsa tui nominis<sup>9</sup> pietate confisus vires audaciamque resumam, et<sup>10</sup> sub pii simplicitate sermonis ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem juxta nomen tuum stilum totum orationis constringam<sup>11</sup>, modum mihi<sup>12</sup> praestituendo, quo et sanctitatis<sup>13</sup> tuae<sup>14</sup> et hujus<sup>15</sup> praeclarissimi<sup>16</sup> coetus expectatio diuturna et<sup>17</sup> pia et devota regis sub nomine piissimi nostra<sup>18</sup> oratio<sup>19</sup> non careat.

[4] Et ego benigna facilitate<sup>20</sup> audiendi<sup>21</sup> sermonis<sup>22</sup> prolixitate longius non<sup>23</sup> abutar. Quod<sup>24</sup> si sermo incultus, vocis exilitas<sup>25</sup>, personae exiguitas, audientiae patientiam et inepti<sup>26</sup> sermonis veniam non merentur, mittentis {114r} dignitas et rei ipsius<sup>27</sup>, de qua<sup>28</sup> agendum<sup>29</sup>, honestas benevolentiam - ni fallor - conciliabunt<sup>30</sup> apud ipsam pietatem tuam, quae non ex verborum inopia animi<sup>31</sup>, sed ex ipsa animi copia orationem nostram suscipiet, ex multis brevia recolentem. Potuissent<sup>32</sup> autem huic nostrae orationi adesse ornatus, gravitas<sup>33</sup>, si<sup>34</sup> ex ore patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistentium verba manassent. Sed placuit eis et praesertim reverendissimo in Christo patri

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<sup>1</sup> deterior N, O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> de V

<sup>3</sup> pater O, S, T, V

<sup>4</sup> omit. N

<sup>5</sup> nomineque N

<sup>6</sup> piissime V

<sup>7</sup> deducturum N, O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> magnitudine M

<sup>9</sup> tui nominis omit. N, O, S, T, V

<sup>10</sup> omit. N

<sup>11</sup> astringam T; perstringam V

<sup>12</sup> omit. M

<sup>13</sup> beatitudinis T

<sup>14</sup> sanctitatis tuae : sanctitas tua M; tua sanctitas V

<sup>15</sup> huiusmodi S

<sup>16</sup> celeberrimi M

<sup>17</sup> omit. M

<sup>18</sup> omit. N, O, S, T, V

<sup>19</sup> oratione corr. ex orationis N; oratione O, S, T, V

<sup>20</sup> felicitate N

<sup>21</sup> audiendum N

<sup>22</sup> sermones S; sermonis corr. ex. sermones T

<sup>23</sup> longius non : non longius V

<sup>24</sup> omit. T

<sup>25</sup> omit. N

<sup>26</sup> incepti T

<sup>27</sup> omit. N, O, S, T, V

<sup>28</sup> omit. N; est add. V

<sup>29</sup> agendis N

<sup>30</sup> consiliabunt M, N, O, S; conciliabunt corr. ex consiliabunt T

<sup>31</sup> Animi M

<sup>32</sup> potuisset V

<sup>33</sup> et add. O, S, T

<sup>34</sup> etsi add. O

et colendissimo praeceptori domino<sup>1</sup> archipraesuli Turonensi, longo nunc itinere fatigato<sup>2</sup>, hac die continere vocem et mihi haec exordialia<sup>3</sup> committere, neque enim hodie ex toto menti regis<sup>4</sup> satisfacere cupio, nec ego cuncta meis amplecti sermonibus opto. Sed assistentes patres et domini multa elegantius, multa specialius explicabunt, quibus hac<sup>5</sup> nostra praelocutione<sup>6</sup> brevissima, potius praeparatio<sup>7</sup>, ministranda, quam materiarum ipsarum latitudo penitus prosequenda<sup>8</sup>. Erit ergo mihi his exordialibus<sup>9</sup> primordiis cura praecipua sermone brevissimo<sup>10</sup> utique procedere et pietati<sup>11</sup> fidei ac mentis sinceritati plus<sup>12</sup> quam verborum exquisitionibus<sup>13</sup> intendere.

[5] Cogitanti igitur mihi<sup>14</sup>, quid<sup>15</sup> primum quidve potissimum habeam dicere, ne tempus inane fluat, et sanctitatis<sup>16</sup> tuae cunctorumque astantium<sup>17</sup> obtundantur<sup>18</sup> aures dignissimae, a verbis scripturae sacrae (quae<sup>19</sup> – ut Augustinus habet et narrat<sup>20</sup>, veteres de Varrone - studiosos pietatis et veritatis<sup>21</sup> tantum<sup>22</sup> oblectare queunt, quantum Cicero ipse curiosos<sup>23</sup> verborum) dignissimum<sup>24</sup> mihi visum est exordium sumere et huic sanctae<sup>25</sup> sedi et sanctitati tuae juxta nomen tuae pietatis immensae cum propheta, {114v} cum psalmista<sup>26</sup>, immo cum sancto<sup>27</sup> spiritu<sup>28</sup> et sancta ecclesia praesentare

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> longo nunc itinere fatigato *omit.* N, O, S, T, V

<sup>3</sup> exordia S; extraordinalia T; exordienda V

<sup>4</sup> menti regis : mentis regie N, S; menti regiae O, T, V

<sup>5</sup> ac N

<sup>6</sup> prolocutione O

<sup>7</sup> operatio O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> prosequendo S, T

<sup>9</sup> his exordialibus : exordialibus his O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> atque clarissimo *add.* N, O, S, T, V

<sup>11</sup> pietate N

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>13</sup> acquisitionibus N; expositionibus T

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>15</sup> quod N

<sup>16</sup> sanctitati O

<sup>17</sup> cunctorumque astantium *omit.* M, V

<sup>18</sup> attendantur N, S; obtundantur O; contundantur T

<sup>19</sup> qui N

<sup>20</sup> habet et narrat : narrat et habet M

<sup>21</sup> veritatis *corr. ex. rerum* M; rerum N, O, S, T, V

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>23</sup> curiosus O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> dignum M, V

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>26</sup> poeta O, S, T

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> sancto spiritu : spiritu sancto V

pariter<sup>1</sup> et dicere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic<sup>2</sup> et<sup>3</sup> laus tua in fines terrae** (psalmo XLVlo exarantur et<sup>4</sup> in ecclesiasticis officiis saepius<sup>5</sup> reserantur<sup>6</sup>).

[6] Scribit in *Moralibus* beatissimus<sup>7</sup> ille<sup>8</sup> sessor<sup>9</sup> apostolicae cathedrae, Gregorius, quod<sup>10</sup>, *qui in re domini in ipsa fidei<sup>11</sup> pietate se<sup>12</sup> ad loquendum praeparat, operae pretium est, ut<sup>13</sup> a sacris litteris<sup>14</sup> exordia dicendi suscipiat, ut<sup>16</sup> omne, quod loquitur, ad divinae auctoritatis fundamentum firmiter reducatur<sup>17</sup>. Scriptura namque sacra - ut ait<sup>18</sup> ille idem<sup>19</sup> 20 - veluti speculum menti apponitur, ut ibi tota vitae<sup>21</sup> ratio ordinetur. Ibi quantum proferimus<sup>22</sup>, quantum a profectu distamus, narrant gesta patrum et ad imitationem<sup>23</sup> corda provocat filiorum, ut in eorum imitationem<sup>24</sup> cum Dei adjutorio facere confidamus, quod nostra imbecillitate non possumus. More ergo Gallico, immo ecclesiastico, a verbis scripturae sacrae, quae non meo studio, sed sua propria grata sunt suavitate, indignum, quod meum os poterunt dignificare, suscepto sermonis exordio, ut juxta eloquium, juxta verbum domini sermones dirigantur et actus, placet hodierna die, si quid in sacrario<sup>25</sup> scripturarum sanctarum latet reconditum, quod a nostra exiguitate ad tuam et sanctae sedis venerationem devotam ad ipsam fidei pietatem exquiri valeat, illud compendiosissime producere et huic nostro operi contexere, quo ex hujus junctura fiant, quaecumque dixerit, gratiora et in re ipsa domini non tam gentilium quam Christi et sanctorum testimonia<sup>26</sup> quaerantur et exempla<sup>27</sup>.*

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<sup>1</sup> parum M

<sup>2</sup> sit O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> omit. M, V

<sup>4</sup> omit. V

<sup>5</sup> omit. M [blank space]; saepe O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> referantur O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> in *Moralibus* beatissimus : beatissimus in *moralibus* S

<sup>8</sup> beatissimus ille : ille beatissimus V

<sup>9</sup> assessor S

<sup>10</sup> quidem S

<sup>11</sup> sed Dei N

<sup>12</sup> sed S

<sup>13</sup> omit. T

<sup>14</sup> omit. O

<sup>15</sup> a sacris litteris : ad litteras sacris N

<sup>16</sup> omit. N

<sup>17</sup> Letter 1.24, ccsl, p. 27.176

<sup>18</sup> omit. O, S, T

<sup>19</sup> quidem O, S, T

<sup>20</sup> ille idem : idem ille V

<sup>21</sup> dicendi V

<sup>22</sup> profectus N; profecimus O, S, T, V

<sup>23</sup> imitationem M

<sup>24</sup> imitationem M

<sup>25</sup> sacra N, V

<sup>26</sup> quaecumque add. O

<sup>27</sup> et exempla omit. T

[7] Credo equidem - ut in Corinthiis<sup>1</sup> loquitur apostolus - quod<sup>2</sup>, qui<sup>3</sup> hic pietatis<sup>4</sup>, {115r} fidei<sup>5</sup> causa venimus, quasi Dei legatione fungimur<sup>6</sup> Deo quasi per nos loquente et per nos operante. Quod<sup>7</sup> si personas exuentes privatas, publicas induentes, quae<sup>8</sup> Christi [sunt<sup>9</sup>], loquamur<sup>10</sup> et agamus, dabit enim<sup>11</sup> dominus<sup>12</sup> verbum evangelizantibus<sup>13</sup> virtute multa, dabit<sup>14</sup> dominus<sup>15</sup> fortitudinem et virtutem plebi suae, et benedicet per te et in te populo suo Christiano in pace, urgente igitur ipsa Christi domini caritate et zelo domus domini, qui regi nostro Christianissimo ad nos mittendum, nobis<sup>16</sup> autem ad<sup>17</sup> loquendum dux, monitor impulsorque<sup>18</sup> est penitus impellendus<sup>19</sup>. Scribit<sup>20</sup> enim hodierna die, pater beatissime, juxta verba thematis et nomen tuae dignitatis excelsae, quod os domini nominavit nomen tuae pietatis immensae, quod non sine nutu superno tibi ecclesia sancta imposuit, breviter utcumque<sup>21</sup> recolere, et quae infinita, quae<sup>22</sup> dispersa videntur et tuae pietatis immensae magnalia<sup>23</sup> sub uno aspectu subque proportione brevissima<sup>24</sup> recensere. Quapropter nomina<sup>25</sup> rebus et res ipsas loco, personis et temporibus contemperans vice et nomine patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistentium, immo regio nomine censui a principio praemittere<sup>26</sup>: **Secundum nomen tuum sic<sup>27</sup> et<sup>28</sup> 29 laus tua in fines terrae.**

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; consimili codd.

<sup>2</sup> ergo M; quo N, S; quot O, T, V

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; quot codd.

<sup>4</sup> pietas O

<sup>5</sup> fideique T

<sup>6</sup> 2. Corinthians, 5, 20: *Pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur, tamquam Deo exhortante per nos*

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>8</sup> qui N

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; *omit.* codd

<sup>10</sup> loquimur N

<sup>11</sup> vnum M

<sup>12</sup> Deus N

<sup>13</sup> evangelium M

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M; enim V

<sup>16</sup> vobis P

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>18</sup> et impulsorque M; et impulsor qui O, S, T, V

<sup>19</sup> impellente V

<sup>20</sup> subiit M, V

<sup>21</sup> utrumque O, V

<sup>22</sup> queque V

<sup>23</sup> non alia N, O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> brevis O, S, T

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>26</sup> premittitur O, S, T

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* S; sit T

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>29</sup> sic et : sit *et passim* M

## 2. Obedience

[8] Jam tempus, jam ratio postulant ad rem ipsam, ad materiam susceptam descendere et<sup>1</sup> nostri adventus<sup>2</sup> causas particularibus notulis annotare. Cum igitur, pater beatissime<sup>3</sup>, cupitavi<sup>4</sup> diutius sanctitatis tuae praesentiam huncque fulgentissimum coetum<sup>5</sup> humilibus oculis intueri<sup>6</sup>, congaudentes alacriter pietati, benevolentiae, obedientiae, sinceritati fidei, qua et curiosius et numerosius quam nobis suggestum foret, multos hic convenisse et convenire prospeximus, cum jam omnium<sup>7</sup> oculos in nos coniectos attente<sup>8</sup> cernimus prospicere, et verbum {115v} regium<sup>9</sup> nostrae vocis organo avide<sup>10</sup> praestolari, opportunum credimus seclusis exordialibus<sup>11</sup> praeludiis, quibus absurdum<sup>12</sup> ante materiam effluere<sup>13</sup> et in materia principali succingi<sup>14</sup> nostrae legationis causas in medium ducere<sup>15</sup>, hunc nobis ex regia ordinatione praecipua morem et ordinem more praedecessorum<sup>16</sup> laudabili<sup>17</sup> oboedientiae<sup>18</sup>, reverentiae<sup>19</sup>, filialis devotionis et laudis honorem debitum impendamus.

[9] Hinc ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, quaeque gerenda erunt in hac sancta conventionione, et benevolos auditores et in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptatae conclusionis effectum devotos<sup>20</sup> cooperatores praebeamus. Venient et alia, sed diebus aliis explicanda ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri in causa communi et conjunctissima<sup>21</sup>, quae summe<sup>22</sup> regis inest cordi, dilectissimi fratris sui<sup>23</sup>, serenissimi et illustrissimi regis Siciliae<sup>24</sup> Renati, necnon facta<sup>25</sup> sui

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<sup>1</sup> inde *add.* O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> nostri adventus : adventus nostri O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> pater beatissime : beatissime pater N

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M, T; cupitam S

<sup>5</sup> Conuentum V

<sup>6</sup> intuemur N, O, S, T, V

<sup>7</sup> multorum N, O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> attento S

<sup>9</sup> regum N

<sup>10</sup> qui de M

<sup>11</sup> primordialibus N, O, S, T

<sup>12</sup> *em.*; ad surdum M, T; absurdum N, O, S

<sup>13</sup> affuere N; sternere V

<sup>14</sup> subiungi O, S

<sup>15</sup> et *add.* O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> precessorum T

<sup>17</sup> laudabiliter N, O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> Oboedientia *in marg.* M; obedientia V

<sup>19</sup> reverentia V

<sup>20</sup> quo *add.* N

<sup>21</sup> convenientissima O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> summum N; summi O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> Cicilie M; Cecilie N

<sup>25</sup> *em*; facto M; factorum N, O, T; factori S

antiqui<sup>1</sup>, illustris<sup>2</sup> Januensis<sup>3</sup> domini<sup>4</sup> sub ejus dictione<sup>5</sup> reducti, quae propter ipsam temporis brevitatem, et ut<sup>6</sup> prima atque<sup>7</sup> praecipua decurrat fidei materia, hodie relinquuntur<sup>8</sup> intacta. In utroque autem hodierno<sup>9</sup> considerationis articulo et nomen tuae dignitatis praecelsum<sup>10</sup> et nomen tuae pietatis immensae saepius<sup>11</sup> commemoraturi gratissimum censuimus a principio praemittere:  
**Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae.**

[10] Pro primi expeditione, pater beatissime, jam in verbis thematis praeassumpti in tua veneratione et laude<sup>12</sup>, latissimus undique atque gratissimus<sup>13</sup>, adest<sup>14</sup> tanta<sup>15</sup>, ampla, et quae<sup>16</sup> ubertate sui cursum excedit materia<sup>17</sup>, sed non quantum ipsa exuberat, {116r} sed quantum huic nostro operi<sup>18</sup> satis erit brevem et compendiosum in ipsa fidei pietate secundum nomen tuum habitura decursum. *Vas electionis* et<sup>19</sup> scripturarum sanctarum<sup>20</sup> armarium, beatissimus Paulus apostolus, caelestis homo, terrestris angelus<sup>21</sup>, qui<sup>22</sup> de tanti hospitis conscientia loquebatur, illos<sup>23</sup> duplici honore et laude dignos<sup>24</sup> insinuat, quos et pietatis adeptae culmina magnificent et<sup>25</sup> virtutum opera condecorant, ut et dignitatibus ex<sup>26</sup> virtute, virtutibus ex dignitate honores<sup>27</sup> duplicati concrecant. Ait enim beatissimus ille<sup>28</sup>, quod *qui bene praesunt, duplici honore digni sunt*,<sup>29</sup> et quia scilicet

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T, V

<sup>2</sup> illustrissimi N; *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> Januensium N, S

<sup>4</sup> domini N, O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> ditione N, O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> Et M

<sup>8</sup> relinquuntur V

<sup>9</sup> hodierna T

<sup>10</sup> et nomen ... praecelsum *omit.* N

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>13</sup> *textus corruptus?*

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> cautus N, O, S, T; campus V

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> opere S

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>20</sup> sacrarum M

<sup>21</sup> terrestris angelus *omit.* V

<sup>22</sup> que N

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>24</sup> dignus S; *omit.* T

<sup>25</sup> ut M

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>27</sup> honore N

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>29</sup> 1. Timothy, 5, 17



praesunt<sup>1</sup> propter gradus sublimitatem, et quia bene praesunt propter ipsam<sup>2</sup> operis<sup>3</sup> strenuitatem<sup>4</sup> et virtutem. *Tunc enim*, inquit Gregorius, *vera et perfecta laus pietatis<sup>5</sup> et culminis cum cumulata<sup>6</sup> fuerit<sup>7</sup> cum laude boni operis pietatis<sup>8</sup> pariter et virtutis<sup>9</sup>*. Quod si dignitatibus quibusque singulis<sup>10</sup> laus et veneratio tribuenda, si pro donis variis concessis a domino virtutibus pariter et doctrinis laudis praeconia referenda, si colendi, amandi<sup>11</sup>, etiam<sup>12</sup> honore praeveniendi, quos virtus vel unica specialius extulerit, et - ut verbis utar poeticis - *quos aequus amat<sup>13</sup> Jupiter*, hoc est Deus<sup>14</sup>, *et ardens erexit<sup>15</sup> ad sidera<sup>16</sup> virtus.*<sup>17</sup>

[11] Quanta tu nobis, pater beatissime, veneratione colendus, quem apex tantae dignitatis extollit, quem Christus dominus non uni ecclesiae, sed toti, non urbi<sup>18</sup>, sed orbi<sup>19</sup>, non in parte<sup>20</sup>, sed<sup>21</sup> plenitudine praesesse voluit {116v} et prodesse<sup>22</sup>, in quo non virtus una, sed virtutes variae<sup>23</sup>, charismata<sup>24</sup>, dona et gratiae summum locum videntur obtinere. Ait venerabilis Beda<sup>25</sup>, idem sub aliis verbis Bernardus<sup>26 27</sup> in Canticis, quod profitente<sup>28</sup> Petro miram in Christo domino cum carne divinitatem, Christum dominum,<sup>29</sup> filium Dei vivi, respexit dominus Petrum non tantum oculo carnis, sed potius divinitatis, vidit Petri benignitatem, fidei firmitatem<sup>30</sup>, animi<sup>31</sup> sublimitatem<sup>32</sup>, barionae

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<sup>1</sup> duplici honore ... praesunt *omit.* M

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>3</sup> operum P

<sup>4</sup> serenitatem S

<sup>5</sup> potentatis M, V

<sup>6</sup> concumulata N, O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> sunt T

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> virtutibus O

<sup>10</sup> singularis V

<sup>11</sup> armandi O

<sup>12</sup> et V

<sup>13</sup> amabilis N, O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> hoc est Deus *omit.* M, V

<sup>15</sup> evexit S, V; vexit T

<sup>16</sup> aethera T

<sup>17</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.130: *pauci, quos aequus amavit Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus*

<sup>18</sup> urbis N

<sup>19</sup> orbis N

<sup>20</sup> in parte *omit.* V

<sup>21</sup> in *add.* S, V

<sup>22</sup> et prodesse *omit.* T

<sup>23</sup> non virtus ... variae *omit.* M, N, O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> carissima N

<sup>25</sup> Bede the Venerable: (ca. 672-735) English monk and author

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>27</sup> Bernhard of Clairvaux

<sup>28</sup> proficiente S

<sup>29</sup> Christum dominum : et ipsum N; et Christum O, S, T, V

<sup>30</sup> fraternitatem N

<sup>31</sup> vidit Petri ... animi *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>32</sup> sublimitate O, S, T

benignitatem Petri soliditate firmavit, Petri<sup>1</sup> soliditatem<sup>2</sup> Cephae, hoc<sup>3</sup> est capitis, nomine imposito<sup>4</sup> potestatis culmine<sup>5</sup> decoravit, ut<sup>6</sup> quisquis Christum veneratur et colit, illum venerari<sup>7</sup> debeat et colere, qui in Christi cathedra praesidet Deo auctore.

[12] Scimus, pater beatissime<sup>8</sup>, nec ignotum nobis jam tuae sublimitatis<sup>9</sup> praecelsae quod culmen, quae perfectio, quae plenitudo omnium dignitatum<sup>10</sup> et tuae pietatis<sup>11</sup> immensae amplitudini ex<sup>12</sup> cumulo doctrinarum pariter et virtutum viros elegantissimos atque doctissimos, immo eorum ore dulcissimo<sup>13</sup> imperium, regna, principatus, et urbes plerosque etiam singulares tibi magnalia, tibi praeconia concessisse<sup>14</sup> et tuae assumptioni tuisque salutaribus<sup>15</sup> initiis alacriter congratulando exorasse, implorasse tibi a domino salutes eventus tuorum, salutarium etiam<sup>16</sup> sanctissimorum optatorum<sup>17</sup>. Erit ergo nostrum post tantas<sup>18</sup> tamque<sup>19</sup> eximias congratulationes, acclamationes<sup>20</sup>, et laudes, ne jam dicta repetere, ne notissima<sup>21</sup> refrecare<sup>22</sup>, ne *solem* certemus *facibus*<sup>23</sup> {117r} *adjuvare*, breviori stilo, sed non minoris devotionis studio, non impari caritatis ardore procedere, et<sup>24</sup> pauca, sed brevius illorum more, qui<sup>25</sup> magna terrarum spatia brevi tabula pingunt, de ipsa pietate tua paulisper allicere<sup>26</sup>, non quod<sup>27</sup> plenitudini tuae, quae nullius potest laudatione<sup>28</sup> crescere<sup>29</sup>, nullius vituperatione decrescere<sup>30</sup>, exilis et tarda nostra oratio quidquid adjiciat, sed

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<sup>1</sup> Petre S

<sup>2</sup> Petri soliditatem *omit.* V

<sup>3</sup> id O, S, T

<sup>4</sup> impositio O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> culmen O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> et M

<sup>7</sup> venerae M

<sup>8</sup> pater beatissime : beatissime pater O, S, T, V

<sup>9</sup> sublimitati N, O, S, T, V

<sup>10</sup> dignificatum O, S

<sup>11</sup> pietati N, O, S, T, V

<sup>12</sup> etiam M, N, V

<sup>13</sup> dulcissimo M; dulci sono N, O, V; dulce sono S

<sup>14</sup> contexisse N; congesisse O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> salutacionibus M

<sup>16</sup> atque V

<sup>17</sup> operatorum S

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>19</sup> tantamque S

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>21</sup> votissima S

<sup>22</sup> refrenare S; refricare T; referre V

<sup>23</sup> *facibus corr. ex fascibus* M; *fascibus* N, O, S

<sup>24</sup> sed M

<sup>25</sup> in S

<sup>26</sup> adiacere V

<sup>27</sup> quidem O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> potest laudatione : laudatione potest N, O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>30</sup> discescere M

quod<sup>1</sup> fervor, devotio, caritas et mentis sinceritas Christianissimi regis nostri ad ipsam tecum<sup>2</sup> fidei pietatem luceat et clarescat et fervorem fervori ceteris adjiciat ipsaque laus<sup>3</sup> tua jam juxta verba<sup>4</sup> thematis **Secundum nomen tuum in fines terrae** diffusa, quo recensita amplius eo<sup>5</sup> more aromatum<sup>6</sup> magis ac magis redolens animos penetrans et demulcens.

[13] Tanto nos omnes et devotiores et ferventiores ad ipsam fidei pietatem currere efficiat, quanto nos pater melior, sanctior et doctior in suorum odorem meritorum attrahit<sup>7</sup>, dirigit et conducit. Ut enim in auri puritate<sup>8</sup> pretiosa gemma et in gemmae ipsius pretiositate aurum rutilantius<sup>9</sup> enitescit<sup>10</sup>, sic virtus, sic probitas et sapientia tua gradu excellentissimo decorata et quasi *lucerna supra*<sup>11</sup> *candelabrum in domo*<sup>12</sup> *domini reposita*<sup>13</sup> oculis omnium claritatem, jucunditatem, amoenitatem<sup>14</sup> inducit et cunctis, qui Christiana professione<sup>15</sup> censentur, spem magnam futurae<sup>16</sup> prosperitatis<sup>17</sup> ostendit, ut<sup>18</sup> gloriantur in te, qui diligunt nomen pietatis tuae, confiteantur<sup>19</sup> {117v} nomini tuo, et gaudeant in tua veneratione, et laude exultantes uberius te<sup>20</sup> virum doctissimum et inter doctissimos eloquentissimum, te unum nostri aevi<sup>21</sup> lumen<sup>22</sup>, nostri saeculi decus, ecclesiae sanctae datum divinitus, ut<sup>23</sup> sub te, uno pastore piissimo, et cui nil in ipsa fidei pietate deesse videtur<sup>24</sup>, ad integritatem optimi pontificis atque<sup>25</sup> summi, benedictus Deus et<sup>26</sup> pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus vicem<sup>27</sup> geris in terris, qui *consolatur nos in omnibus tribulationibus nostris*, nos<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> quo N, O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> cetum S

<sup>3</sup> lex O

<sup>4</sup> verba thematis : sermonis thematis verba S

<sup>5</sup> eorum M

<sup>6</sup> eo *add.* V

<sup>7</sup> attrahat T

<sup>8</sup> pietate O, S; *omit.* T

<sup>9</sup> rutilans S

<sup>10</sup> enitexit N; contexit O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> super N, O, S, T, V

<sup>12</sup> populo M

<sup>13</sup> e.g. Mathew, 5, 15

<sup>14</sup> claritatem ... amoenitatem : amoenitatem et jucunditatem N, O, S, T, V

<sup>15</sup> profectio N

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>17</sup> magnam futurae prosperitatis : magne consolationis N, O, S, T, V

<sup>18</sup> et M

<sup>19</sup> conficiantur N

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> cui O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> lumine N, S

<sup>23</sup> et M

<sup>24</sup> Videretur V

<sup>25</sup> et N; ac O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> atque M

<sup>27</sup> vitam O, T

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* M

visitare dignetur ex alto ad illuminandos<sup>1</sup> *sedentes in tenebris, ad dirigendos<sup>2</sup> pedes nostros<sup>3</sup> in viam pacis* et veritatis<sup>4</sup> his certe diebus malis, quibus fides catholica, pro dolor, concutitur, et refrigescit caritas, tepescit devotio, spes, et expectatio multorum ad vana<sup>5</sup>, ad transitoria convertitur, et quasi mundus totus positus<sup>6</sup> in maligno.

[14] Tradunt historiae id (noster Vincentius<sup>7</sup>, sed et ante eum in suis epistolis beatissimus Ambrosius<sup>8</sup>), quod sub Antonino<sup>9</sup> Pio, cui<sup>10</sup> propter merita nomen pietatis<sup>11</sup> adjectum<sup>12</sup>, nihil acerbum, nihil immoderatum, sed pia omnia, moderata et sancta res publica expectavit, et sicut expectaverit<sup>13</sup>, nihil nisi pium, sanctum et<sup>14</sup> moderatum<sup>15</sup> recepit<sup>16</sup>, suscepit, unde et<sup>17</sup> patrem patriae<sup>18</sup> eundem nuncupavit et pii nomine decoravit. Sic sperant<sup>19</sup> in te et de te, pater beatissime, qui noverunt nomen pietatis tuae<sup>20</sup> et jam experiuntur affectum et praestolantur effectum, quod sub te, patre pio, subque tua pietate {118r} paterna et fides catholica et sancta ecclesia virtutum omnium percipiet incrementa, quibus ornamenta<sup>21</sup> decerent<sup>22</sup>, et hostes fidei superare et in perennae<sup>23</sup> felicitatis tempora valeat respirare.

[15] Tuque, pius nomine<sup>24</sup>, te totum ad pietatem dedicans et<sup>25</sup> exercens, divina gratia ministrante, coetu fidelium assistente<sup>26</sup>, unus<sup>27</sup> eris<sup>28</sup> reparator et auctor conculcatae fidei et jam labentis<sup>29</sup> et in plerisque collapsae totius reipublicae Christianae. Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, nomen pietatis tuae

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<sup>1</sup> illuminandum O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> dirigendum O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* M, O, S, T, V

<sup>4</sup> pacis et veritatis : veritatis et pacis N, O, S, T, V

<sup>5</sup> verabilia N; narrabilia S; variabilia O, T

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>7</sup> Vincent of Beauvais (ca. 1184/1194-ca. 1264)

<sup>8</sup> Ambrose (ca. 340-397): Bishop of Milan

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; Antonio codd.

<sup>10</sup> tui M

<sup>11</sup> nomen pietatis : pietatis nomen T

<sup>12</sup> ad rectum M

<sup>13</sup> expectaverat M

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>15</sup> sed pia omnia ... moderatum *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>18</sup> pium M

<sup>19</sup> speravit M

<sup>20</sup> pietatis tuae : tuae pietatis S

<sup>21</sup> ordinata O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> decenter M, O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> punire M

<sup>24</sup> nomen T

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>26</sup> assistencium P

<sup>27</sup> unius M

<sup>28</sup> unus eris : eris unus O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* M

cum ipso<sup>1</sup> nomine summae dignitatis conjunctum, et in ipso culmine dignitatum<sup>2</sup> erectum<sup>3</sup>, ac in Petri soliditate firmatum et connexum, ad consolidanda et confirmanda in ipsa fidei pietate corda filiorum<sup>4</sup> et fratrum fulget et fulgebit in saeculo<sup>5</sup>. Et - ut<sup>6</sup> cum sapiente ecclesiastico loquar - *quasi stella in medio<sup>7</sup> nebulae<sup>8</sup> matutina et quasi sol<sup>9</sup> refulgens in Dei templo<sup>10</sup>*, tanto sole ipso atque<sup>11</sup> sideribus lucidius quanto majus<sup>12</sup> - teste Hilario - ipsas animae tenebras pellere<sup>13</sup> quam corporis et<sup>14</sup> fidei luce<sup>15</sup> rutilare quam solis. Sicut ergo sol ipse naturalis - ut philosophiae<sup>16</sup> utamur disciplinis<sup>17</sup> - situ<sup>18</sup> quidem sublimis<sup>19</sup>, motu sub continuo regularis<sup>20</sup>, purus in substantia, luminosus in<sup>21</sup> forma, ipso calore suo, ipso suae illuminationis splendore tenebras dissipat, ventos temperat, arboribus flores, aviculis cantus, omnibus animantibus vires et spiritus hilaritatem inducit, sic in te et de te spes et expectatio fidelium resultat et consurgit<sup>22</sup>.

[16] Quod tu nunc prae ceteris potestate sublimis, sed nunc et pridem virtutibus {118v} coruscans innumeris, ipsa tuae<sup>23</sup> sapientiae luce<sup>24</sup>, ipso tuae pietatis ardore tenebras vitiaque comprimes<sup>25</sup>, bella filiorum odiaque<sup>26</sup> extinguas<sup>27</sup>, virtutes inseres<sup>28</sup>, bona nutries<sup>29</sup> et jam nutrita<sup>30</sup> pietatis tuae

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>2</sup> dignificatum O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> erectum N

<sup>4</sup> fidelium O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> fulgebit in saeculo : in seculo fulgebit O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> fulget *add.* O

<sup>8</sup> nebulae *add.* O, S

<sup>9</sup> lucidus et *add.* V

<sup>10</sup> Ecclesiasticus, 50, 6: *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena, in diebus suis lucet : et quasi sol refulgens, sic ille effulsit in templo Dei*

<sup>11</sup> ac O

<sup>12</sup> magis N, O, S, T; est *add.* V

<sup>13</sup> compellere O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>15</sup> lucem S, T

<sup>16</sup> philosophis M, N, O, V; philosophicis T

<sup>17</sup> utamur disciplinis : discipline utamur O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> sic tu S

<sup>19</sup> sublimius N, O, T; sublimi et S

<sup>20</sup> regularum N; regulare S

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>22</sup> resurgit S

<sup>23</sup> tua N

<sup>24</sup> in teipso S

<sup>25</sup> propulses N, O, S, T; comprimas V

<sup>26</sup> et odia T

<sup>27</sup> extinguas N, O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> inseras N, O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> incita N; nutrias O, S, T

<sup>30</sup> merita O, S, T

studio custodies<sup>1</sup>, tepentes<sup>2</sup> aridosque animos tecum ad ipsam fidei pietatem succedens<sup>3</sup> et illustrans, ac<sup>4</sup> jam ferventes ferventiores efficias<sup>5</sup>, sic reges, sic principes, immo christicolae omnes in te et per<sup>6</sup> te<sup>7</sup> quasi in solis lumine fecundabuntur, operibus bonis excitabuntur<sup>8</sup>, a negligentibus comescuntur, a contentionibus et odiis animabuntur<sup>9</sup>, ad<sup>10</sup> contemplationem caelestium inducentur<sup>11</sup>, alliciantur<sup>12</sup> ad ipsam fidei pietatem defensionem, protectionem<sup>13</sup>, augmentum.

[17] Haec sunt, pater beatissime, tuae sanctae ac summae vocationis officia et tuae assumptionis salutaria initia<sup>14</sup>. Haec cum sic docueris pariter et feceris<sup>15</sup>, prout salutaribus<sup>16</sup> initiis suscepisti, magnus nomine, maximus<sup>17</sup> dignitate, magnus merito, maximus tandem praemio vocaberis in regno caelorum<sup>18</sup>. Surget et illuminabit in te Jerusalem, hoc est sancta fidelium ecclesia<sup>19</sup>, et velut aurora progredietur<sup>20</sup> rutilans et quasi *castrorum acies ordinata* ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo<sup>21</sup> et reges et principes in splendore ortus tui, hoc est in splendore<sup>22</sup> assumptionis tuae, ad ipsam fidei defensionem salubriter<sup>23</sup> undique dedicatae. Leva igitur oculos tuos et<sup>24</sup> vide: jam multi filii venerunt et venient tibi, parati<sup>25</sup> in te et sub te et illa repellere<sup>26</sup>, quae Christiano inimica sunt<sup>27</sup> nomini<sup>28</sup>, {119r} et, quae sunt apta, sectari. Magnae molis fuit<sup>29</sup> linguis, locis moribusque distantes in unum congregari.

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<sup>1</sup> custodias N, O, S, T; custodiens V

<sup>2</sup> repentes S

<sup>3</sup> succedens V

<sup>4</sup> et O; *omit.* V

<sup>5</sup> efficias N, O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> pro O

<sup>7</sup> et *add.* M

<sup>8</sup> et *add.* M

<sup>9</sup> amabuntur O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> et M

<sup>11</sup> atque *add.* V

<sup>12</sup> allicientur O, S, T, V

<sup>13</sup> et *omit.* V

<sup>14</sup> in ipsa N

<sup>15</sup> pariter et feceris : superans *dub.* S

<sup>16</sup> salutacionibus M

<sup>17</sup> magnus S

<sup>18</sup> in regno caelorum *omit.* O

<sup>19</sup> congregacio S, V

<sup>20</sup> progreditur O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>22</sup> in splendore *omit.* M

<sup>23</sup> salubrum M

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>25</sup> parari N

<sup>26</sup> repellere M, V

<sup>27</sup> inimica sunt : sunt inimica V

<sup>28</sup> nomina S

<sup>29</sup> fiunt M

[18] Sed ipsa tua pietas laude prosequenda multiplici, caritas inextinguibilis, constantia laudabilis, patientia invincibilis, qua nullis parcens laboribus pariter et expensis,<sup>1</sup> et sedem propriam tibi dedicatam<sup>2</sup> a domino dimisisti, celer et libens<sup>3</sup> pro ipsa fidei pietate hunc locum et coetum adeundum<sup>4</sup> duxisti<sup>5</sup>, omnes in benedictionibus praevenisti. Miro suavitatis odore perfudit<sup>6</sup> universos ipsa melle dulcior ex ore sacratissimo profluens oratio<sup>7</sup>, animos relevat<sup>8</sup> consternatos<sup>9</sup>, et - ut ita dixerim - ipsa tua pietas hos facit esse pios, se invicem mutuo provocantes, tibi<sup>10</sup> Petri<sup>11</sup> ad Christum gratanter referentes: *Domine, ad quem ibimus? Verba vitae<sup>12 13</sup> in te<sup>14 15</sup> habes. Ambulabunt* - inquit psalmista - *in lumine tuo et in nomine tuo<sup>16</sup> exultabunt*, quoniam gloria virtutis eorum<sup>17</sup> tu es.

[19] Venimus autem et nos, etsi post<sup>18</sup> multos, cum multis et ante multos, ipsa tua pietate perfusi, ipsa sanctae sedis veneratione permoti, quod si<sup>19</sup> morosiores in aliquo causis necessariis et<sup>20</sup> urgentibus<sup>21</sup> ad partem plenius edicendis aliquatenus retardati<sup>22</sup>, non minus ceteris<sup>23</sup> ferventes pariter et devoti. Ab ipso siquidem tuae<sup>24</sup> assumptionis exordio, ex quo vox gratissima tuae electionis<sup>25</sup> dignissimae Christianissimi regis nostri auribus insonuit, ex quo tua merita undique refulgentia, sed ipsam praecipue pietatem fidei, qua<sup>26</sup> totus ipse<sup>27</sup> refulget<sup>28</sup>, et<sup>29</sup> in qua summe

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<sup>1</sup> *textus corruptus?*

<sup>2</sup> dedicatio N

<sup>3</sup> liber O, S, T

<sup>4</sup> ad eundem O, T

<sup>5</sup> deduxisti V

<sup>6</sup> perfundit O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> Probably a reference to Pius' grand opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*"?

<sup>8</sup> revelet N

<sup>9</sup> conservatos M

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> petitur N, O, S, T

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>13</sup> *tue add.* O

<sup>14</sup> *vitae in te : vice* M

<sup>15</sup> *in te omit.* V

<sup>16</sup> *et in nomine tuo omit.* N

<sup>17</sup> *tue* O

<sup>18</sup> *postquam* N

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>20</sup> *atque* V

<sup>21</sup> *vigentibus* M

<sup>22</sup> *retarditati* M

<sup>23</sup> *venimus add.* V

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>25</sup> *electioni* O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> *quasi* N

<sup>27</sup> *totus ipse : ipse totus* T

<sup>28</sup> *refulges* V

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* N

oblectare<sup>1</sup>, gaudet, agnoscit<sup>2</sup> et percipit<sup>3</sup>. Audivit quidem et laetatus<sup>4</sup> est, gratias devotissimas et cumulatissimas<sup>5</sup> supplex<sup>6</sup>, devotus *cum hymnis et canticis* in Dei ecclesia egit et agi fecit, et agendas in regno undique<sup>7</sup> constituit, et ad tui venerationem<sup>8</sup> et obedientiam filialem legationem<sup>9</sup> instituit solemnem, quam postea, suscepta<sup>10</sup> hujus conventionis materia<sup>11</sup>, ut contextu unico<sup>12</sup> omnia tractarentur, censuit personis<sup>13</sup>, instructionibus et facultatibus ampliandam. Cum vero de instructionibus atque materiis ageretur, multa a principio super hac conventionem relata<sup>14</sup>, multa de novitatibus in regno Hungariae et aliis<sup>15</sup> suggesta tarditatis<sup>16</sup> et morae causam et materiam praebuere, nonnullis<sup>17</sup> etiam principibus maximis hac in<sup>18</sup> nostra legatione praefectis quasi in ipso itineris limine ex causis diversis et<sup>19</sup> variis, privatis et publicis, impeditis<sup>20</sup>, sicut<sup>21</sup> ad partem plenius edicemus, et pro qua tarditate et mora benignam<sup>22</sup> supportationis gratiam<sup>23</sup> imploramus.

[20] Ut autem<sup>24</sup> unde venimus et ad quid, breviter edicamus et cursum orationis, quantum fieri poterit<sup>25</sup>, restringamus<sup>26</sup>. Venimus, pater beatissime, ab illa Christianissima Francorum domo regia, cujus per orbis climata<sup>27</sup>, cujus per saecula multa<sup>28</sup> praeclara merita<sup>29</sup> claruere<sup>30</sup> et nomen

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<sup>1</sup> oblectatur M; delectare V

<sup>2</sup> agnovit N, O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> precepit M; percepit N, O

<sup>4</sup> legatus O

<sup>5</sup> rutilantissimas O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> et *add.* M, V

<sup>7</sup> in regno undique : undique in regno M

<sup>8</sup> tui venerationem : reverentiam N, O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> legationi S

<sup>10</sup> susceptam N

<sup>11</sup> materiam N

<sup>12</sup> textu unico P; unico contextu N, O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> personuit instituit O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> zelata M

<sup>15</sup> alia O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> tarditis T

<sup>17</sup> et morae ... nonnullis O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> hac in : in hac O, S, T

<sup>19</sup> diversis et *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>20</sup> nonnullis etiam ... impeditis *omit.* M, V

<sup>21</sup> sicuti N

<sup>22</sup> benigne O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> supportationis gratiam : supportationem M, V

<sup>24</sup> ut autem *omit.* N

<sup>25</sup> potest O

<sup>26</sup> Cur venerint *in marg.* M

<sup>27</sup> cujus per ... climata *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> praeclara merita : merita preclara N, O, S, T

<sup>30</sup> Laus Galliarum regum *in marg.* M



celeberrimum atque<sup>1</sup> praeclarissimum<sup>2</sup> praebuere, quae - et antiquae<sup>3</sup> generis claritate, nobili<sup>4</sup> venustate morum gestorumque<sup>5</sup> magnificentia<sup>6</sup> attestantibus undique patrum historiis exteris<sup>7</sup> atque nostris - excellens et praecipua<sup>8</sup> noscitur efulsisse<sup>9</sup>, cuius devotione, magnanimitate<sup>10</sup>, solertia jamdudum perfidorum acies superatae, ad ecclesiam regiones variae reparatae pariter et reductae, {120r} sedata schismata, haereses extirpatae, restituti sedibus Romani pontifices, adaucta eorum patrimonia<sup>11</sup> et defensa, dotatae dotibusque<sup>12</sup> adauctae variis in regionibus Christi ecclesiae et<sup>13</sup> privilegiis ac<sup>14</sup> iuribus insignitae pariter et firmatae.

[21] Haec domus, haec<sup>15</sup> stirps<sup>16</sup> regia, sub unico rege et capite principatus continens plurimos<sup>17</sup>, magnis certe<sup>18</sup> regibus<sup>19</sup> comparandos<sup>20</sup> et nexu sanguinis clarissimo exteris principes perlustrans quamplurimos<sup>21</sup> - attestante<sup>22</sup> Bernhardo – Deo<sup>23</sup> hominibusque<sup>24</sup> accepta, amicis non ingrata, vicinis non infesta, nemini<sup>25</sup> nocens nisi iniuria<sup>26</sup> lacessita<sup>27</sup>, omnibus officiosa, sed huic praecipue sedi apostolicae summa semper<sup>28</sup> devotione conjuncta et<sup>29</sup> Christi glutino tenacissimo<sup>30</sup> complicata. Venimus a<sup>31</sup> Christianissimo Francorum rege<sup>32</sup> Carolo prae suis participibus, regibus et principibus,

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<sup>1</sup> et M, V

<sup>2</sup> Christianissimum M, V

<sup>3</sup> antiqua V

<sup>4</sup> et antiquae ... nobili : teste Gregorio in registro et oratione vacatione claritate sanguinis N; Gregorio in registro et oratore vacatio claritate sanguis O; teste Gregorio in registro et oratore vacaria claritate sanguis S; teste Gregorio in registro claritate sanguinis T

<sup>5</sup> gestorum N, O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> gestorum magnificentia : magnificentiaque gestorum M, V

<sup>7</sup> rectis M

<sup>8</sup> attestantibus undique ... praecipua : inter principatus et regna velut sol inter sidera N, O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> effichasse M; efulasse N; efluxisse V

<sup>10</sup> magnalitate O,

<sup>11</sup> matrimonia T

<sup>12</sup> magnis *add.* T

<sup>13</sup> ac O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> et O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> et P

<sup>16</sup> haec stirps *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>17</sup> varios M, V

<sup>18</sup> magnis certe : certe magnis N

<sup>19</sup> regis N, O, S; regnis T

<sup>20</sup> coaequandos M, V

<sup>21</sup> et nexu ... quamplurimos *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> teste N, O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> de M

<sup>24</sup> hominibus M

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>26</sup> iniuriis P

<sup>27</sup> nemini nocens nisi iniurii lacessita *omit.* M, V

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> ut O, S, T

<sup>30</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>31</sup> ab illo M, V

<sup>32</sup> Francorum rege : rege Francorum M, O, S, T

caelica divinitus unctio<sup>1</sup>, donis<sup>2</sup> et virtutibus, victoriis atque triumphis multifarie insignito, qui gloriosissimorum suorum progenitorum non solum sequens vestigia, sed eorum merita cumulans<sup>3</sup> et adaugens sanctam ecclesiam, fidem catholicam, hanc sanctam sedem et sedentes in ea gessit et habuit in summae et plenae visceribus caritatis, gerit et geret in aevum<sup>4</sup>, se praebens in omnibus catholicum principem pariter et devotum. Ab illo Christianissimo regno profecti sumus<sup>5</sup>, quod caput ejus<sup>6</sup> Galliae, quae - teste Jeronimo - ab ipso susceptae fidei exordio<sup>7</sup> et monstris<sup>8</sup> caruit et viris semper fortibus<sup>9</sup> et devotissimis abundavit, quod - teste Floriacensi Hugone<sup>10</sup> - a Christo dilectum et protectum, quo majori quandoque necessitate depressum eo<sup>11</sup> mirabilius extitit relevatum<sup>12</sup>.

[22] {120v} Hujus enim Christianissimi regni, pater beatissime, retroactis nuper<sup>13</sup> temporibus status et negotia magna tempestate disjecta et saevis<sup>14</sup> turbinibus<sup>15</sup> agitata. Sed laus, sed<sup>16</sup> benedictio, sed gratiarum actio altissimo, cui regni peculiaris est cura<sup>17</sup>: non fuit haec<sup>18</sup> tribulatio nostra iudicis<sup>19</sup> malleus<sup>20</sup> exterminans, sed virga patris filios erudiens<sup>21</sup>, qui non est oblitus misereri,<sup>22</sup> sed<sup>23</sup> in persona a Deo dignificata Christianissimi regis nostri dona et<sup>24</sup> gratias, triumphos<sup>25</sup> et victorias tribuens speciales<sup>26</sup>, dedit cum vexatione intellectum et<sup>27</sup> cum temptatione<sup>28</sup> proventum<sup>29</sup>. Invenit<sup>30</sup> enim dominus Christianissimum regem nostrum quasi David servum suum, et memor<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> promitto S

<sup>2</sup> doctrinis S

<sup>3</sup> merita cumulans : cumulans merita T

<sup>4</sup> unum M

<sup>5</sup> profecti sumus : profectissimus N

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>7</sup> ab ipso ... exordio *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> monasteriis S

<sup>9</sup> fortissimis N, O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> Hugues de Fleury: French monk and historian who flourished in the beginning of the 12th century

<sup>11</sup> et S

<sup>12</sup> revelatum N, O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> imperio M

<sup>14</sup> servis T

<sup>15</sup> tribulationibus M

<sup>16</sup> et M

<sup>17</sup> altissimo ... cura *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>19</sup> iudices S

<sup>20</sup> malignos O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> filios erudiens : erudiens filios S, T

<sup>22</sup> non est ... misereri : nos percutiendo sanavit et sanando percussit N, O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> et N, O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> dona et *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> singulares N, O, S, T

<sup>27</sup> dedit M, V

<sup>28</sup> temptatione T

<sup>29</sup> temptatione proventum : proventum temporacionum S

<sup>30</sup> invenerit N, O, S, T

<sup>31</sup> *dub.* N; in rore T

mansuetudinis ejus<sup>1</sup> et ceterarum<sup>2</sup> virtutum ejus<sup>3</sup>, oleo sancto suo unxit eum<sup>4</sup>, etiam<sup>5</sup> cum<sup>6</sup> signo<sup>7</sup> quotidiano et perceptibili gratia curationum certarum aegritudinum<sup>8</sup>. Manus enim domini auxiliata est ei<sup>9</sup>, et brachium domini<sup>10</sup> confortavit eum.

[23] Ex parte igitur<sup>11</sup> ipsius Christianissimi regis<sup>12</sup>, quinimmo regni totius, ambasiatores humiles destinati honoris, oboedientiae et<sup>13</sup> reverentiae filialis, dilectionis, amoris, pietatis, fidei<sup>14</sup> pacisque populi Christiani verba, quinimmo rem potius deferimus<sup>15</sup>. Haec sunt nostrae legationis insignia, occasiones<sup>16</sup>, et causae sanctae<sup>17</sup>, justae pariter et honestae, pro quibus ad pedes sanctitatis tuae<sup>18</sup> cum omni humilitate et<sup>20</sup> devotione procumbimus<sup>21</sup>. Cum igitur sanctitatem tuam et celsitudinem humilibus oculis intuemur, majus<sup>22</sup> in te<sup>23</sup> considerantes quam verbis exprimere valeamus<sup>24</sup>, etsi te sermonibus congruis alloqui<sup>25</sup>, etsi te<sup>26</sup> digna mente complecti non possimus, non habentes in te pontificem, qui non possit compati imperfectionibus nostris nostrosque supportare<sup>27</sup> defectus, jussionibus regis<sup>28</sup> obsequentes, ad pedes sanctitatis tuae<sup>29</sup> devote et {121r} humiliter procumbentes, **ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri more praedecessorum<sup>30</sup> laudabili huic sanctae sedi apostolicae [et<sup>31</sup>] tibi sedenti in ea, vero et indubitato Christi vicario, sacrosanctae Romanae et totius universalis ecclesiae pontifici maximo<sup>32</sup> atque summo, tibi patri omnium**

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>4</sup> cum M

<sup>5</sup> et P

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>7</sup> cum signo : consigno N, O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> etiam cum signo ... aegritudinum *omit.* M, V

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>11</sup> enim M

<sup>12</sup> nostri *add.* O, S, T, V

<sup>13</sup> et *omit.* M

<sup>14</sup> pietatis fidei : fidei pietatis O

<sup>15</sup> differimus M, N, O

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>18</sup> tum *add.* O

<sup>19</sup> sanctitatis tuae : tue sanctitatis V

<sup>20</sup> ac N

<sup>21</sup> pro quibus ... procumbimus *omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> magis N, O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>24</sup> exprimere valeamus : valeamus exprimere N

<sup>25</sup> aliqui O

<sup>26</sup> tu N; *omit.* O

<sup>27</sup> superare V

<sup>28</sup> regis M

<sup>29</sup> cum omni humilitate et devotione *add.* [sic!] O

<sup>30</sup> precessorum T

<sup>31</sup> *em.*; *omit.* codd.

<sup>32</sup> magno N

**fidelium et totius gregis dominici<sup>1</sup> pastori<sup>2</sup> dignissimo atque sanctissimo, filialem oboedientiam, reverentiam, devotionem<sup>3</sup>, honorem exhibemus<sup>4</sup>, immo per nos reexhibet<sup>5</sup> suo et regni nomine Christianissimus rex noster<sup>6</sup> sincere, humiliter, fideliter pariter et devote.**

[24] Mens ipsa Christianissimi regis nostri ad hanc sanctam sedem devotionem plenior [est<sup>7</sup>], quam possint verba nostra quaecumque exprimere. Missorum verba mittentis comitatur affectio. Devotissimus regis supplebit animus, quod nostra non potest<sup>8</sup> oratio. Ipse enim, etsi corpore absens, nobiscum semper spiritu adest et loquitur gaudens<sup>9</sup>. Haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque. Absentes absens auditque<sup>10</sup> videtque. Jam nostri corporales, sed regis et regnicolarum mentales oculi in te respiciunt, ut te patrem filii, te Christi vicarium Christi servi, te pastorem pariter et ductorem<sup>11</sup> oves gregis dominici sequantur<sup>12</sup>, venerantur<sup>13</sup> et<sup>14</sup> colant, gratias agentes Deo cum beato Paulo apostolo, quod fides, quod pietas tua, qua nihil splendidius in pastore, principe<sup>15</sup> vel rectore, jam annuntiat in universo mundo. Nulla<sup>16</sup> dies umquam<sup>17</sup> hanc<sup>18</sup> memoriam<sup>19</sup> exuret<sup>20</sup> aevo<sup>21</sup>. Semper honor<sup>22</sup> nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt perpetuis<sup>23</sup> temporibus locisque in omnibus memorandae, inter quas praecipuum culmen {121v} assequitur, quae de ipsa fidei pietate undique praedicatur, propter quam merito censuimus a principio praemittere **Secundum nomen tuum sic et<sup>24</sup> laus tua in fines terrae.**

[25] Scio, pater beatissime, moris usitati, approbatae consuetudinis existere in prima legatione tum<sup>25</sup> pro celsitudine dignitatis, tum pro personae meritis laudes et magnalia congerere<sup>26</sup>. Optarem

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<sup>1</sup> dominice T; et *add.* N, S, T

<sup>2</sup> pastore M

<sup>3</sup> et *add.* O

<sup>4</sup> exhibeamus N, O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> exhibet N, O, S, T, V

<sup>6</sup> ipse N, O, S, T, V

<sup>7</sup> *em.*; *omit.* codd.

<sup>8</sup> esse *add.* N

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>10</sup> audit T

<sup>11</sup> doctorem V

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>13</sup> venerentur O

<sup>14</sup> ac S

<sup>15</sup> precipue O; precipuo S

<sup>16</sup> ullam S

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* N, P

<sup>18</sup> umquam hanc : hanc unquam O, S, T

<sup>19</sup> *em.*; memorari M; nemorum N; memori O, S, T, V

<sup>20</sup> exiret M

<sup>21</sup> uno M

<sup>22</sup> honos N, O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> perpetuo N

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>25</sup> tam O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> comterere M

ego infimus, cui verbi<sup>1</sup> sors prima<sup>2</sup> hodie noscitur contigisse, si linguam, si<sup>3</sup> mentem haberem, ut rei congrueret, si vires, si ingenium et tempus suppeterent, si par esset voluntatis facultas<sup>4</sup>, in ipsis totis<sup>5</sup> hodie laudibus effluere<sup>6</sup>, sed quoniam non potest nostra oratio cum ipsis tuis meritis ipsoque<sup>7</sup> affectu<sup>8</sup> in re<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> pari passu incedere, agnoscens modestiam tuam<sup>11</sup> sicut nec ambitu quaesisse principatum, ita nec<sup>12</sup> fastu quaerere laudis praeconium ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem tuam cursum orationis censui restringendum<sup>13</sup>, pietatem dico<sup>14</sup> <sup>15</sup> non quantum<sup>16</sup> miserationis<sup>17</sup> affectum, sed quae in se pariter<sup>18</sup> complectitur pias necessitates fidei et omnium pariter<sup>19</sup> fidelium. Si enim inter pietatem et pietatem<sup>20</sup> aliquid noscitur esse distantiae, illa sine dubio major, quae pro Deo<sup>21</sup> exercetur et fide, quae quanto communior, tanto - teste Ariopagita Dionysio – modo<sup>22</sup> dignior atque perfectior. O pietatem mirabilem,<sup>23</sup> dictis et scriptis memorandam! O<sup>24</sup> te ineffabilem virum, velut Martinum alterum, quem nunc<sup>25</sup> sacra recolit ecclesia<sup>26</sup>, nec labore victum, nec morte vincendum, qui nullum laborem pro grege<sup>27</sup> domini censuit recusandum. Tuum ergo, pater beatissime, etsi virtutibus omnibus plenissimum et<sup>28</sup> instructissimum geras animum<sup>29</sup>, {122r} nihil in te Deo et hominibus acceptius, nihil majus ipsa sacra ad fidem pietate, quae tecum<sup>30</sup> innata coaluit<sup>31</sup>, et quae tibi hunc<sup>32</sup> honorem peperit maximum<sup>33</sup> atque summum.

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<sup>1</sup> verba O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> premia O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> et N

<sup>4</sup> facultatis O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> totus M, O, S, T; totus *corr. ex totis* P

<sup>6</sup> affluere O

<sup>7</sup> ipsoque meo N; non que P; ipsam in eo S; ipsam meo O, T

<sup>8</sup> affectum S

<sup>9</sup> affectu in re : in re affectu N

<sup>10</sup> in re *omit.* N, O, S, T; meo V

<sup>11</sup> viam P

<sup>12</sup> me M

<sup>13</sup> constringendum S

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>15</sup> cursum orationis ... pietatem : dico N

<sup>16</sup> quantumque N; quantumcumque O, S, T; que tam V

<sup>17</sup> miserimus O, S; miserrimis T

<sup>18</sup> parum M

<sup>19</sup> omnium pariter : pariter omnium O, S, T

<sup>20</sup> et pietatem *omit.* O

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>22</sup> nostro N, O, S, T, V

<sup>23</sup> amirabilem O

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>25</sup> mater V

<sup>26</sup> Allusion to the Feast of Saint Martin of Tours, whose feastday had just been celebrated

<sup>27</sup> rege O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>29</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>30</sup> ad fidem ... tecum : que tecum ad fidem plenitudine S; que tecum ad fidem pietate N, O, T

<sup>31</sup> convaluit V

<sup>32</sup> huic O; habent S; *omit.* T

<sup>33</sup> maximum *omit.* N

[26] Quis enim te uno<sup>1</sup> etiam in minoribus<sup>2</sup> constituto belli justissimi pro fide suscipiendi<sup>3</sup> justitiam, honestatem, facilitatem<sup>4</sup>, possibilitatem immo et<sup>5</sup> necessitatem, et quid in eo liceret secundum aequitatem, deceret secundum honestatem, expediret secundum utilitatem, attentius et curiosius exquisivit?<sup>6</sup> Quis doctius invenit?<sup>7</sup> Quis elegantius explanavit? Quis antecedentia ad rem ipsam concomitantia<sup>8</sup> et consequentia intimius censuit perscrutanda? Testis est pietatis tuae ante<sup>9</sup> assumptionem tuam illa ad Germanicos populos et in<sup>10</sup> Germanicis instruens universos<sup>11</sup> *Cladis {59v} Constantinopolitanae* expressiva<sup>12</sup> epistola, ex cuius serie luculenta evidenter apparet, ex qua fecunda pariter et facunda totius sapientiae et eloquentiae et quod<sup>13</sup> pluris caritatis<sup>14</sup> immensae processerit<sup>15</sup> apotheca, testimonium perhibent hac<sup>16</sup> in sancta conventionem Mantuana labores, vigiliae<sup>17</sup>, expensae, opera magnifica<sup>18</sup>, *dulciora super mel et favum* sanctissima<sup>19</sup> monita<sup>20</sup>, divina potius quam humana, ad pias lachrimas, ad devotos<sup>21</sup> gemitus, ad salutare affectus<sup>22</sup> pariter et effectus<sup>23</sup> cunctos provocantia et pro quibus omnibus **secundum nomen tuum**<sup>24</sup> – juxta verba thematis ipsa<sup>25</sup> – jam<sup>26</sup> **laus tua in fines terrae** diffusa.

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<sup>1</sup> viro V

<sup>2</sup> moribus M

<sup>3</sup> sustinendi M

<sup>4</sup> felicitatem O

<sup>5</sup> omit. N, O, S, T

<sup>6</sup> In this passage, Chartier is referring to Pius' crusade orations, including those held at the German diets in 1454 and 1455, and in particular the "*Cum bellum hodie*" and the "*Constantinopolitana clades*"

<sup>7</sup> invenerit N, S

<sup>8</sup> comitantia O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> an M

<sup>10</sup> omit. M

<sup>11</sup> universis N

<sup>12</sup> expressura O, S; expressione T; expresissima V

<sup>13</sup> quot N, S

<sup>14</sup> claritatis O

<sup>15</sup> processit O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> ac O, S, T

<sup>17</sup> labores vigiliae : vigiliae labores M

<sup>18</sup> opera magnifica : magnifica opera N

<sup>19</sup> sacratissima V

<sup>20</sup> merita O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> pios N, O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> effectus V

<sup>23</sup> affectus V

<sup>24</sup> omit. O, S, T

<sup>25</sup> juxta ...ipsa omit. M

<sup>26</sup> sit M; idem V

[27] *Exulta* - inquit psalmista - *et lauda*<sup>1</sup>, *habitatio Sion, quia magnus in medio tui*<sup>2</sup> *sanctus Israel*. *Exulta, inquam*<sup>3</sup>, *sancta nostra ecclesia, exulta, conventio Mantuana, quia magnus in medio tui*<sup>4</sup> *sanctus Israel*.<sup>5</sup> *Magnus quidem per sapientiam, per eloquentiam, per vitae sanctimoniam exterius relucens, major per caritatem interius exardescens, maximus per dignitatem superius eminentem*<sup>6</sup>, {122v} *qua nihil majus, nihil altius, cujus honor conduplicatur cum eo, quo*<sup>7</sup> *docet*<sup>8</sup> *modo*<sup>9</sup> *in ea militatur, cum*<sup>10</sup> *ad aedificationem, ad ipsam fidei pietatem omnia ordinantur. Describens*<sup>11</sup> *vir ille heroicus*<sup>12</sup> *Mantuanus vates, Virgilius, ipsum Aeneam suum, quem usque ad sidera censuit extollendum, conclusit tandem insignem pietatis virum, quinimmo est*<sup>13</sup> *dicere visus*<sup>14</sup>:

*Sum pius aeneas, fama per*<sup>15</sup> *aethera notus.*<sup>16 17</sup>

[28] *In*<sup>18</sup> *tantis et ad*<sup>19</sup> *tanta legislator Moyses*<sup>20</sup>, *a domino praefectus et vocatus, fide grandis ab apostolo dictus est, et in scriptura sacra*<sup>21</sup> *pro singularis*<sup>22</sup> *laudis praeconio*<sup>23</sup> *dictus piissimus atque mitissimus. Inveniens*<sup>24</sup> *dominus David*<sup>25</sup> *secundum*<sup>26</sup> *cor suum*<sup>27</sup>, *memor fuisse dicitur pietatis et mansuetudinis ejus. In tantum* - inquit Chrysostomus - *piissimus dominus noster Jesus Christus benevolentiae et pietatis nostrae delectatur affectu, ut*<sup>28</sup> *suam misericordiam sit*<sup>29</sup> *ipsis*<sup>30</sup> *praecipue*

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<sup>1</sup> et lauda omit. S

<sup>2</sup> cui M; omit. S; tuo T

<sup>3</sup> inquit S, T

<sup>4</sup> tuo O, S

<sup>5</sup> exulta inquam ... Israel omit. M, V

<sup>6</sup> imminentem O; emanentem T

<sup>7</sup> quod O

<sup>8</sup> docet O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> omit. T

<sup>10</sup> tum M

<sup>11</sup> distribuens M

<sup>12</sup> heuricus O

<sup>13</sup> et V

<sup>14</sup> est dicere visus : loquens ab eo est inductus M

<sup>15</sup> pro M; super T, V

<sup>16</sup> motus S

<sup>17</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.372

<sup>18</sup> ita O, S, T

<sup>19</sup> a O

<sup>20</sup> Moses T

<sup>21</sup> omit. M

<sup>22</sup> singulari S

<sup>23</sup> pronomio M

<sup>24</sup> inveniret S, T

<sup>25</sup> servum add. O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> omit. S

<sup>27</sup> cor suum : suum cor N

<sup>28</sup> in N

<sup>29</sup> sic O, S, T

<sup>30</sup> ipsius N; ipsos S

*piis et misericordibus impensurus*. Noli igitur, pater beatissime, negligere gratiam, quae data est tibi in ipsa fidei pietate et major tibi a domino repromissa, sed ut probe geras, quod<sup>1</sup> probissime meruisti, ut talis<sup>2</sup> semper accrescas, quales ante<sup>3</sup> te summos pontifices fieri exorasti<sup>4</sup>, monuisti et<sup>5</sup> docuisti. Abundet magis ac<sup>6</sup> magis ipsa caritas<sup>7</sup>. Crescant cum dignitate merita. *Operare bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*<sup>8</sup>, quinimmo ad fidem ipsam, proh dolor, conculcatam. Exerce<sup>9</sup> te ipsum<sup>10</sup> ad ipsam tui nominis pietatem. Exultare<sup>11</sup> in ipsa pietate tua, in qua laetatur et laetabitur<sup>12</sup> pariter<sup>13</sup> Christianissimus rex noster et super salutare tuum {123r} exultabit<sup>14</sup> vehementer.

[29] Nos autem<sup>15</sup> humiles ipsius oratores, legati et ambasiatores, tibi ex parte ipsius oboedientiam, reverentiam<sup>16</sup> et honorem devote et humiliter impendentes, exultabimus et laetabimur in te. Reserabimus et psallemus ipsas virtutes tuas, non hic tantum, ubi locus et tempus non patiuntur ad plenum, sed ubicumque locorum benedicet in te et per te anima nostra domino, et omnia, quae intra<sup>17</sup> et quae<sup>18</sup> extra nos sunt, nomini sancto tuo<sup>19</sup>, nomini - inquam<sup>20</sup> - et tuae dignitatis praecelsae et tuae<sup>21</sup> pietatis immensae, propter quae a principio censuimus merito praemittere<sup>22</sup> ***Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae***. Quod in primo nostrae<sup>23</sup> legationis expediendum<sup>24</sup> fuerat<sup>25</sup> articulo, etsi<sup>26</sup> non, ut<sup>27</sup> decuit<sup>28</sup>, facultas tempusque tulit, devote et humiliter complevimus.

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<sup>1</sup> quid N

<sup>2</sup> tales N, O

<sup>3</sup> apud N

<sup>4</sup> semper ... exorasti *omit.* M

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>6</sup> et O, S, T

<sup>7</sup> tua *add.* O, S, T, V

<sup>8</sup> Galatians, 6, 10: *operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei*

<sup>9</sup> ecce O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> te ipse ipsum M

<sup>11</sup> exaltare M, V

<sup>12</sup> laetatur et laetabitur : laetabitur et laetatur O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> parum M; *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>17</sup> quae intra *omit.* T

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* S, T

<sup>19</sup> sancto tuo : tuo sancto S, T

<sup>20</sup> inquit S

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>22</sup> amittere O

<sup>23</sup> primo nostrae : nostre primo S

<sup>24</sup> expetendum O, S, T

<sup>25</sup> fuerit N; *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> et se O, S, T

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>28</sup> detur N



### 3. Crusade

[30] Superest pro totius hujus nostrae orationis conclusione brevissima, ut de sacratissima hujus<sup>1</sup> conventionis materia aliquid<sup>2</sup> sed brevius, sed compendiosius subjungamus, nosque<sup>3</sup> vice regia praesentantes in ea<sup>4</sup> et benevolos auditores - juxta<sup>5</sup> polliciti<sup>6</sup> seriem ordinis - et devotissimos<sup>7</sup> cooperatores<sup>8</sup>, quoad<sup>9</sup> fieri poterit<sup>10</sup>, praebeamus.

[31] Non opus est<sup>11</sup>, pater beatissime, jam tuis sacratissimis<sup>12</sup> litteris et monitis<sup>13</sup> a majestate regia cum omni devotione susceptis elegantissimo et luculentissimo, sed devotissimo atque piissimo<sup>14</sup> exaratas stilo, clades, miserias, egestates atque inopias populi Christiani, conculcationem fidei catholicae amplius recensere et tuum et<sup>15</sup> nostrum exagitare dolorem. Jam lacrimas excutit {123v} dolor, verbisque viam<sup>16</sup> suspiria stringunt totumque hominem ad lamenta convertunt. Flevit propheta sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup> excidium, crebras cum lacrimis lamentationes ingeminans. Quanto magis, si locus pateretur et tempus, deflenda<sup>19</sup> nobis non urbis, non populi, non gentis unius tantum, sed multarum, sed amplissimarum, famosissimarum ac<sup>20</sup> opulentissimarum acerbissima discrimina, ubi non rerum, non locorum tantum amissio, sed pessima, sed miserabilis servitus, et captivitas personarum et damnatio timenda animarum, Christiani<sup>21</sup> nominis<sup>22</sup> interitus pariter et occasus, quod<sup>23</sup> historiarum labor, tragoediarum gemitus ad nostram pertulit<sup>24</sup> notitiam, quasi minus<sup>25</sup> est, quam<sup>26</sup> videmus. Sed tempus, pater beatissime<sup>27</sup>,

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<sup>1</sup> cuius N sacre *add.* O

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>3</sup> nos V

<sup>4</sup> eo N, O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>6</sup> politici M, N

<sup>7</sup> devotionis N, O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> cooperatores N

<sup>9</sup> quod id O, S; quo id T

<sup>10</sup> fieri poterit : poterit fieri S

<sup>11</sup> Materia conventionis aggregiatur *in marg.* M

<sup>12</sup> sanctissimis N, O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> meritis N

<sup>14</sup> atque piissimo *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> tuum et *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> nostra N

<sup>17</sup> Iherosolimitane O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> Sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae : Ierosolimitane sancte civitatis V

<sup>19</sup> defluenda O

<sup>20</sup> et T

<sup>21</sup> Christianae N; Christianorum O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> nos M; *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>23</sup> quid N

<sup>24</sup> protulit O, S, T

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>26</sup> quod T

<sup>27</sup> pater beatissime : beatissime pater O

nunc potius medelae quam querelae, auxilii<sup>1</sup> quam lamenti tempus. Inquit psalmista, *tempus faciendi*<sup>2</sup> potius quam<sup>3</sup> loquendi, quoniam *dissipaverunt*<sup>4</sup> *legem domini*.<sup>5</sup>

[32] Ipsa pietas fidei non tam sublimitate<sup>6</sup> verborum<sup>7</sup> quam strenuitate actuum operumque bonorum, non tam<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> elegantia<sup>10</sup> sermonis<sup>11</sup> quam amplitudine tractanda caritatis et {61r} ostensione spiritus et virtutis robur, fidei caritas<sup>12</sup>, fides caritatis robur. Tunc verus fructus, verum nomen ambarum cum indissolubilis nexus earum et summa<sup>13</sup> igitur caritate et pia miseratione condolendum praeteritis, sed pro caritatis opere, zelo et diligentia occurrendum futuris<sup>14</sup>, nec tantum vastitatis praeteritae deflenda incommoda, quinimmo et<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> calamitatis futurae exhorrescenda et providendapericula. *Tunc enim*<sup>17</sup> - inquit<sup>18</sup> Cassiodorus - *futuris*<sup>19</sup> *calamitatibus tollimus locum, cum bonam providentiam gerimus futurorum*. Expetivit Sathanas, ut {124r} crebraret<sup>20</sup> sicut triticum, sed tuum est, pater beatissime, consolidare<sup>21</sup> corda filiorum et fratrum<sup>22</sup> et<sup>23</sup>, cum *liquefacta est terra, confirmare columnas ejus*.<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> Inanes<sup>26</sup> paleae vento jactantur<sup>27</sup>, triticum non capit<sup>28</sup> ventus<sup>29</sup>. Invalidae<sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> arbores<sup>32</sup> impulsu turbinis evelluntur. Arborem

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<sup>1</sup> quam querele auxilii *omit.* N

<sup>2</sup> domine *add.* S

<sup>3</sup> potius quam : quam potius S

<sup>4</sup> disparuerunt T

<sup>5</sup> Psalms, 118, 126

<sup>6</sup> subtilitate M

<sup>7</sup> quam eloquencia sermonis *add.* O, S, T

<sup>8</sup> talis N

<sup>9</sup> non tam : quam O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> eloquentia N, O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> sed modis N

<sup>12</sup> caritatis N, O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>14</sup> futurum N, O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* N, V

<sup>16</sup> de *add.* M

<sup>17</sup> igitur V

<sup>18</sup> incipit S; *omit.* V

<sup>19</sup> futurum N

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* M; crebaret O; cribraret T, V

<sup>21</sup> considerare O

<sup>22</sup> et fratrum *omit.* O

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> cum V

<sup>25</sup> Psalms, 74, 4: *Liquefacta est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea, ego confirmavi columnas ejus*

<sup>26</sup> in aves M

<sup>27</sup> iactentur M, V

<sup>28</sup> rapit M

<sup>29</sup> in ventus O; juvenus S

<sup>30</sup> in valido M

<sup>31</sup> ventus invalidae : invalidae ventus T

<sup>32</sup> arboris O, S, T

fundatam<sup>1</sup>, firmatam<sup>2</sup> radice, domum supra petram fundatam, hanc sanctam sedem Petri soliditate firmatam procella nulla subvertit.

[33] *Oportuit* - inquit Bernhardus loquens ad Eugenium - *ad tuum apostolatum damna referri<sup>3</sup>fidei et scandala quaeque emergentia<sup>4</sup> in regno Dei<sup>5</sup>, hoc est in ecclesia militanti, ibique primum fidei perquiri remedia, et<sup>6</sup> resarciri detrimenta*, ubi fides<sup>7</sup> stabilimentum accipit, ubi fides detrimentum nescit, in qua et sub qua fidei probatissima luminaria claruere. Sed cum pro fide ipsa certamen<sup>8</sup> nunc cum eo habeatur, qui toto malignitatis spiritu in Christum debacchatur, quem nec pudor a turpitudine, nec timor a periculo, nec ratio cohibet<sup>9</sup> a furore, cum quo non verbo, sed facto, non doctrina, sed ferro, non sermone, sed armis et vigore veniet dimicandum, sanctum fuit atque laudabile, nec a patrum moribus insolitum, etiam principum hunc accersiri coetum, ut bellis, odiis<sup>10</sup> et contentionibus depositis et contractis in unum viribus tecum unanimiter<sup>11</sup> causam ipsam fidei suscipiant, protegant et defendant. Regum enim<sup>12</sup> et principum dilectione mutua fortificantur imperia, augetur<sup>13</sup> et protegatur ecclesia. Geminata potestas resistentiam conduplicat, et duplicatae vires se ipsis<sup>14</sup> redduntur fortiores. {124v} Principes enim saeculi intra<sup>15</sup> ecclesiam potestatis culmina tenere dignoscuntur, ut fidem<sup>16</sup> et<sup>17</sup> ecclesiam tueantur<sup>18</sup>, qui quanto majores ex Dei munere, tanto obligatiores in reddenda domino<sup>19</sup> ratione.

[34] Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, in hoc coetu celebri<sup>20</sup>, in hac sancta conventionem coram te, patre patrum pastoreque pastorum<sup>21</sup>, velut cum Deo Abraham per<sup>22</sup> se<sup>23</sup> vel per<sup>24</sup> suos populorum

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>2</sup> fundatam firmatam : firmam N, O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> referre et O; referre S

<sup>4</sup> hoc *add.* O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>7</sup> spes S

<sup>8</sup> certamine M

<sup>9</sup> cohibetur O

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> unanimum M

<sup>12</sup> etenim O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> augetur N

<sup>14</sup> ipsis M

<sup>15</sup> inter T

<sup>16</sup> idem V

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>18</sup> teneantur M, N

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>20</sup> celebrari S

<sup>21</sup> pastoreque pastorum *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>22</sup> pro M

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>24</sup> pro M

principes congregati, et - quod summe oblectat<sup>1</sup> - audire et<sup>2</sup> videre exultationes Dei<sup>3</sup>, exultationes sedis apostolicae<sup>4</sup> in gutture eorum et quasi jam gladii ancipites ad defensionem fidei in manibus eorum. Jam fervet in multis tuis salutaribus<sup>5</sup> monitis et exemplis gloriosus ardor tantae materiae, jam plurimum animata corda. Et ubi rebus ordo datus extiterit<sup>6</sup> et sub unanimitate negotia complanata<sup>7</sup>, non verebuntur plurimi gentis incredibilem<sup>8</sup> expetere<sup>9</sup> feritatem<sup>10</sup>. Sed quo amplius gentilitatis fervore cognoverunt errorem, illic intrepidi et calore fidei armati ferventius accedent<sup>11</sup><sup>12</sup>, parati ad omnia pro Christi nomine sustinenda.

[35] Non enim desunt christianis vires, non opes<sup>13</sup>, non ingenia, non<sup>14</sup> arma bellica, non viri corpore fortes, sed animo validiores. Tantum unanimitate, concordia, sinceritate, magnanimitate opus est, quae<sup>15</sup>, si<sup>16</sup> affuerint<sup>17</sup>, hostium sacrae fidei ejectionem<sup>18</sup> et nobis<sup>19</sup> consolationem futuram<sup>20</sup> minime dubitandam<sup>21</sup>. Exercuerunt diutius<sup>22</sup> tyranni ecclesiam, exercuerunt<sup>23</sup> haeretici et pseudochristiani, sed Christi gratia ministrante a sanctis<sup>24</sup> patribus, ab orthodoxis principibus, postquam<sup>25</sup> in eorum mentibus<sup>26</sup> fides coaluit<sup>27</sup> protecta et defensa, potuit semper dicere: *Saepe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, etenim non potuerunt mihi.*<sup>28</sup> {125r} Habet justitia sacrosanctae fidei quandam lucem suam, quae illuminat, refici et allicit mentem inhaerentem sibi, quam piis mentibus - ut sacri doctores insinuant - solidant et confirmant praenuntiatio prophetica, scripturarum concordantia, rationabilitas contentorum, irrationabilitas singulorum errorum,

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<sup>1</sup> oblectatur O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> est O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> exultationes Dei *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>5</sup> salutacionibus M

<sup>6</sup> extitit N

<sup>7</sup> complacita M

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; incredibile M; incredule N, O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> competere O

<sup>10</sup> veritatem *corr. ex* feritatem T

<sup>11</sup> ferventius accedent : accedent ferventius O, S, T; si eventus accidunt V

<sup>12</sup> attendant N

<sup>13</sup> opus M

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>15</sup> qui O, S, T

<sup>16</sup> sibi N, O, S, T

<sup>17</sup> affuerit N; affuerunt T

<sup>18</sup> erectionem T

<sup>19</sup> vobis O

<sup>20</sup> futurum N, O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> dubitandum N, O, S, T, V

<sup>22</sup> divinis M

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>24</sup> hominibus *add.* M

<sup>25</sup> quam M

<sup>26</sup> virtutibus M

<sup>27</sup> conualuit V

<sup>28</sup> Psalms, 128, 2

legislatorum<sup>1</sup> idoneitas, diligentia recipientium, miraculorum claritas, ecclesiae permanens stabilitas, quae - ut dicit Hilarius - *habere dignoscitur proprium, ut<sup>2</sup> tunc vincat ecclesia<sup>3</sup>, cum laeditur, intelligat, cum arguitur, tunc exurgat, cum superata videtur, dum persequitur<sup>4</sup>, floret, dum opprimitur, crescit, dum patitur, vincit<sup>5</sup>*. Vix enim - Jeronimo teste<sup>6</sup> - *nisi tempore belli generantur<sup>7</sup> strenui*. Tempore haeresium viri clarissimi<sup>8</sup> atque probatissimi claruere. Grandis dolor grande ingenium facit. Necessitas ipsa jam dudum artes reperit<sup>9</sup>, ac duris in rebus major industria. Tunc enim - ait<sup>10</sup> in epistolis<sup>11</sup> Ambrosius juxta commonitionem apostoli - *cum tempora mala sunt<sup>12</sup>, bonis operibus redimenda*.

[36]<sup>13</sup> Tunc virili, constanti et<sup>14</sup> inconcusso opus est animo, qualem te habuisse et habere in hac<sup>15</sup> sacra fidei pietate jam sacra<sup>16</sup> opera tua, orationes piissimae, labores, vigiliae et expensae undique insinuant, ut illius dudum ferventissimi<sup>17</sup> Eliae velut in altero Eliseo spiritus conduplicatus<sup>18</sup> cognoscatur<sup>19</sup> adesse. Et jam nil in te pastoris vigilantissimi, tutoris zelantissimi ac patris piissimi videatur deesse. Votum igitur et desiderium tuum sanctum et laudabile - quod rex noster Christianissimus, sacrosanctae<sup>20</sup> fidei cultor praecipuus,<sup>21</sup> probat, laudat, reveretur<sup>22</sup> et ex totis animi praecordiis complectitur - non opus laudibus extollere, sed caritate, pietate pariter {126v} et opere una tecum pariter concurrere ac<sup>23</sup> divinam clementiam exorare, ut<sup>24</sup> sanctitatem tuam in hoc ardore fidei, in hac mentis sinceritate, in hoc<sup>25</sup> integerrimo religionis studio per tempora longiora

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<sup>1</sup> legislatoris M, V

<sup>2</sup> et O

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>4</sup> prosequitur M

<sup>5</sup> vicit M

<sup>6</sup> Jeronimo teste : teste Jeronimo S, T

<sup>7</sup> gignuntur M, N, V

<sup>8</sup> preclarissimi O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> artes reperit : reperit artes N, O, S, T

<sup>10</sup> ut O, S, T

<sup>11</sup> apostolis N, O, S, T

<sup>12</sup> sint T

<sup>13</sup> In place of sections 36-38, S – erroneously – inserts a long passage, filling ff. 224r-224v completely, from Jean Jouffroy's oration "*Frequentiam principum*", held at the beginning of the Congress of Mantua. The passage in S begins with the words *opprobrio et lacessiti* and ends with the words *quales existimas virorum*

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>16</sup> fidei pietate ... sacra *omit.* M

<sup>17</sup> ferventissimum N, T

<sup>18</sup> duplicatur N; duplicatus O, T

<sup>19</sup> cognoscitur N, O, T

<sup>20</sup> laudabile quod ... sacrosanctae *omit.* M

<sup>21</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>23</sup> ad M

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>25</sup> ardore fidei ... hoc *omit.* O, T

conservet et omnium in Christo credentium corda in ipsa fidei pietate tecum consolidet et confirmet.

[37] Optasset et optaret Christianissimus rex noster tuis sacratissimis<sup>1</sup> litteris exoratus<sup>2</sup> in hac conventionem sanctissima et tuam vidisse praesentiam et sacratissima eusdem sanctitatis tuae audire et audisse verba<sup>3</sup> quidem<sup>4</sup> melliflua, et alternos etiam immiscendo sermones vivae vocis mutuo<sup>5</sup> re faciliari alloquio, quod magnificum, laudabile pariter et jucundum. Sed quantum magnae molis fuit<sup>6</sup> tantum regem tanti regni sub ejus moderamine respirantis<sup>7</sup> cum tanta multitudine sollicitudinem dimittere<sup>8</sup>, ut, quos loca, tempora negotiaque disjungunt, pietatis<sup>9</sup> desideria operaque<sup>10</sup> conjungant, nos humiles servitores suos immo et majores nostros<sup>11</sup>, ex causis plurimis retardatos, censuit ad sanctitatem<sup>12</sup> tuam<sup>13</sup>, ad hanc sanctam conventionem transmittendos, praecipiens et injungens, ut ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, ad communicanda et contractanda<sup>14</sup>, quaeque gerenda erunt<sup>15</sup>, et benevolos<sup>16</sup> auditores et devotos cooperatores praebeamus, ipsum fideliter atque veraciter<sup>17</sup> perhibentes et tecum magna fidei pietate perfusum<sup>18</sup> et a<sup>19</sup> gloriosissimorum progenitorum suorum<sup>20</sup> moribus minime degenerantem<sup>21</sup> et<sup>22</sup> in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptare<sup>23</sup> conclusionis effectum<sup>24</sup> propitium pariter et benignum, sicut communicatis et perpensis<sup>25</sup> hujus sanctissimae<sup>26</sup> materiae et gestorum in ea debitis et<sup>27</sup> circumstantiis veniet convenientius explicandum.

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<sup>1</sup> sanctissimis T

<sup>2</sup> exoratis M

<sup>3</sup> verba *add.* O, T

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* M, V

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>6</sup> sicut M

<sup>7</sup> conspirantis T

<sup>8</sup> immittere M

<sup>9</sup> pietatisque O, T

<sup>10</sup> opera O, T

<sup>11</sup> meos V

<sup>12</sup> sanctitatis O, T

<sup>13</sup> tue O; tue et T

<sup>14</sup> tractanda V

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>16</sup> benignos N, O, T

<sup>17</sup> verarum M

<sup>18</sup> perfusius N

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* N, O, T

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* N, O, T

<sup>21</sup> degenerent N, O, T

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>23</sup> adoptate N, O, T

<sup>24</sup> profectum *add.* N

<sup>25</sup> propensis M

<sup>26</sup> sancte O

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* M, O, V

[38] Astamus igitur<sup>1</sup>, pater beatissime, sanctitatis {126r} tuae pedibus devote procumbentes, non minus avidi tuam sapientiam in hac sancta materia audire, et in omnibus mediis convenientibus venerari, et sequi quondam<sup>2</sup> reginam<sup>3</sup> Saba dudum Salomonis regis sapientiam experiri. Tu igitur, pater beatissime et pastor vigilantissime, qui totus aestuas sacro fervore fidei atque ardes, qui nostris persuasionibus non eges, sed nobis omnibus stimulus es: emitte sapientiam tuam, lucem<sup>4</sup> et veritatem<sup>5 6</sup> de sede magnitudinis tuae. *Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina*<sup>7</sup> tua justa.<sup>8</sup> Opportune et importune labora ut bonus miles Christi. Opus fac evangelistae pacem, evangelizans in filiis, exorans et annuntians, quae ad pacem sunt Jerusalem, et *abundantiam in turribus*<sup>9</sup> domini<sup>10</sup>, hoc est ad ipsam fidei<sup>11</sup> defensionem et augmentum, quo nihil creatori<sup>12</sup> summo acceptius, nihil ipsis supernis<sup>13</sup> civibus jucundius, nihil hominibus in terris habitantibus<sup>14</sup> utilius. Quod si fortitudo, quae patriam tuetur a barbaris<sup>15</sup>, plena est justitia, quae non solum tuetur patriam, loca et corpora, sed fidem, sed<sup>16</sup> animas, justitia erit et honestate plenissima.

[39] Tuum est igitur, pater beatissime, ad tantae pietatis opus, ad tantae justitiae causam, ad Christi injuriam propulsandam<sup>17</sup> media salutaria tibi a domino specialius<sup>18</sup> revelata, a<sup>19</sup> te curiosius exquisita in medium ducere et nos *in via domini dirigere*.<sup>20 21 22</sup> Hoc enim tui nominis et tui mysterii exercitium proprium. In hoc tuae gloriae et tuae famae decus. In hoc tui pontificatus fructus saluberrimus, quo tibi a fidelibus cunctis fidelis praestanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulatus. Jam vereor prolixiori sermone in his generalibus saepius<sup>23</sup> agitatis fieri onerosus. Patres

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<sup>1</sup> ergo M

<sup>2</sup> quam M; quemadmodum O, T

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; regina codd.

<sup>4</sup> tuam *add.* N

<sup>5</sup> tuam *add.* N

<sup>6</sup> lucem et veritatem *omit.* O, T

<sup>7</sup> Deuteronomy, 32, 2

<sup>8</sup> juxta N, O, T

<sup>9</sup> Psalms, 121, 7

<sup>10</sup> tuis O

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* N, O, T

<sup>12</sup> oratori T

<sup>13</sup> superius N, O

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* M, N, V

<sup>15</sup> que *add.* O

<sup>16</sup> et O, T

<sup>17</sup> expulsandam N

<sup>18</sup> a domino specialius : specialius a domino O, T

<sup>19</sup> ad N, O, T

<sup>20</sup> erigere V

<sup>21</sup> Ecclesiasticus 36, 19

<sup>22</sup> Here ends the lacuna in S which began in sect. 36

<sup>23</sup> sepe O, S, T

colendissimi, {126v} viri magnifici, hic vice regia pariter assistentes, plura specialius et elegantius explicabunt, quaeque<sup>1</sup> specialiora ea<sup>2</sup> et gratiora<sup>3</sup> et<sup>4</sup> rei accomodiora<sup>5</sup> provenient.

## 4. Conclusion

[40] Ut finem igitur nostrae orationi imponamus, libet pro conclusione finali ut<sup>6</sup> in ipsa pietate tua, in tua consolatione et nostra, sermones penitus concludamus. Suscepisti igitur, pater beatissime, culmen pastoralis fastigii<sup>7</sup>, locum sacerdotii summum<sup>8</sup>, vicariatum Christi. Tibi navisecclesiae commissa est. Tibi soli dictum est: *Duc in altum*.<sup>9</sup> Materiam, locum, tempus<sup>10</sup>, virtutem<sup>11</sup> habes: rem profer in actum. Quod si procellosum mare, periculosum et<sup>12</sup> infestum et nunc<sup>13</sup> fera<sup>14</sup> tempestate disiectum, noli turbari. Qui fundavit ecclesiam, super mare et super flumina praeparavit<sup>15</sup> eam. Mirabiles elationes maris, sed mirabilior in altis dominus, qui dominatur potestati maris et mitigat motum fluctuum ejus, qui imperat ventis et mari<sup>16</sup>, qui beatissimum Petrum apostolum ambulanti in fluctibus maris, ne mergeretur, erexit, et coapostolum<sup>17</sup> ejus Paulum tertio naufragantem de profundo pelagi liberavit. Ipse te et nos de tribulationibus eripiet, dans<sup>18</sup> cum tentatione proventum. Ait enim sessor primus<sup>19</sup> cathedrae tuae<sup>20</sup> secundo capitulo suae Canonicae: *Novit dominus pios de temptationibus eripere, impios vero aeternis cruciatibus tradere concremandos*.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> quae quo M; in quo O, S, T

<sup>2</sup> eo O

<sup>3</sup> graviora V

<sup>4</sup> ut O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> accomodiora T, V

<sup>6</sup> omit. M; et S

<sup>7</sup> vestigii N

<sup>8</sup> sanctum N; secundum O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> Luke, 5, 4

<sup>10</sup> temporis V

<sup>11</sup> virtutis M, N, S, V

<sup>12</sup> omit. V

<sup>13</sup> et nunc : nunc et O, S, T

<sup>14</sup> vera S

<sup>15</sup> preparant S; praeparat V

<sup>16</sup> ventis et mari : mari et ventis V

<sup>17</sup> cum eo apostolum O, S, T

<sup>18</sup> deus P

<sup>19</sup> sessor primus : primus sessor N, O, S, T

<sup>20</sup> omit. N, O, S, T

<sup>21</sup> 2. Peter, 2, 9: *Novit dominus pios de tentatione eripere: iniquos vero in diem judicii reservare cruciandos*



[41] Potens est enim dominus, si nos praecepta, si legem suam et fidem<sup>1</sup> viderit adamare, augere, et defendere<sup>2</sup>, ab omni hoste et miseria<sup>3</sup> liberare. Quisquis sanctorum patrum recolit sententias et sacras perscrutatur scripturas, ex omni parte {127r} reperit de spiritus sancti consolatione repletas. Una<sup>4</sup> Matthatiae<sup>5</sup> domus, parva<sup>6</sup> Machabaeorum familia virique<sup>7</sup> pauci populum<sup>8</sup> domini, civitatem sanctam Jerusalem ab omni miseria liberarunt<sup>9</sup> et reges potentissimos compresserunt. Quinque panes erant in deserto, cum erogari esuerientibus incoeperunt; quod ubi fieri coepit, sportas et cumulos repleverunt. Sic sperandum in domino, quod ubi coeperimus tantae rei operam impendere, non desinet dominus concedere, ut non tantum ad necessitatem habeamus, sed de ipsa abundantia in benedictione domini exultemus. Confidimus igitur, pater beatissime, in domino, quod qui coeperit<sup>10</sup> in te<sup>11</sup> et per te opus bonum, perficiet solidabitque adaugens in te et per te<sup>12</sup> incrementa frugum fidei et iustitiae nostrae et cum laude, et numquam moritura memoria<sup>13</sup> beatitudinis tuae.

[42] Magnificabit dominus nomen tuum, ut<sup>14</sup> non recedat laus tua de ore hominum, sed sicut censuimus a principio praemittere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic et<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup> laus tua in fines terrae.** *Magnum* - inquit apostolus - *pietatis sacramentum*<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>, magnus quaestus pietatis<sup>19</sup> cum sufficientia. Exerce igitur te ipsum ad ipsam<sup>20</sup> tui nominis pietatem, quae valet ad omnia et promissionem habere dignoscitur vitae, quae nunc est, et futurae. Qui<sup>21</sup> hujus vitae repromissor est<sup>22</sup> Deus. Non deerit remunerator, sed pro laboribus mercedem, pro vigiliis quietem, pro tribulationibus gaudium, pro parvis magna, pro temporalibus restituet sempiterna in illa felicitate et gloria, ubi superato<sup>23</sup> quocumque hostium certamine<sup>24</sup> et cara securitas<sup>25</sup>, securam<sup>26</sup> tranquillitas, tranquilla jucunditas,

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<sup>1</sup> et fidem *omit.* V

<sup>2</sup> et *add.* O, S, T

<sup>3</sup> vult nos *add.* O, S, T

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>5</sup> Macharie O, S; Machatie T

<sup>6</sup> una ... parva *omit.* M

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>8</sup> populi O, S, T

<sup>9</sup> liberavit O, S

<sup>10</sup> cepit M; texerit S

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* O, S, T

<sup>12</sup> opus bonum ... per te *omit.* N, O, S, T

<sup>13</sup> memorie M

<sup>14</sup> et O, S, T

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>16</sup> laus tua ... sic et *omit.* O

<sup>17</sup> pietatis sacramentum : sacramentum pietatis O

<sup>18</sup> 1. Timothy, 3, 16

<sup>19</sup> pietas N, O, S, T, V

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* O; optimam T

<sup>21</sup> quoniam V

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* V

<sup>23</sup> separato S

<sup>24</sup> certamen T

<sup>25</sup> et *add.* N, O, S, T

<sup>26</sup> fecunda N

jucunda felicitas, felix aeternitas, aeterna beatitudo, beata sine fine Dei {127v} visio, quam tibi et nobis concedat, qui in saeculorum saecula<sup>1</sup> vivit et regnat<sup>2</sup>. Amen.<sup>3</sup>

Explicit oratio reverendissimi patris Guillelmi, episcopi Parisiensis, oratoris illustrissimi regis Francorum proposita Mantue in ecclesia majorum coram serenissimo domino nostro, domino Pio papa II. ac conventione Mantuana, die 21 Novembris anno domini 1459.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> saeculorum saecula : secula seculorum V

<sup>2</sup> dominus *add.* M, V

<sup>3</sup> dixi *add.* T

<sup>4</sup> Explicit ... 1459 : finis Deo gratias N; Deo gratias S; Dixi T; *omit.* V