



Oration "Exposcebat haud dubie" of Pius II (1 December 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 51)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

► **To cite this version:**

Michael Cotta-Schönberg. Oration "Exposcebat haud dubie" of Pius II (1 December 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 51). 2019. hal-01184654

HAL Id: hal-01184654

<https://hal.science/hal-01184654>

Submitted on 17 Nov 2019

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

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

(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 51)

Oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" of Pope Pius II (29 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

7th version

2019

Abstract

The first imperial embassy to Pope Pius II's Congress of Mantua was not accepted by the pope because the members did not have sufficient rank. The second embassy consisted of the emperor's own brother-in-law, Margrave Karl of Baden, and the bishops of Eichstätt and Trient. They arrived in Mantua on 21 November 1459 and were received by the pope on 1 December. On this occasion the pope gave the oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" in which he first motivated the special obligation of the Empire to undertake the war against the Turks and then praised the emperor's person.

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; Holy Roman Empire; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Bishop Johann von Eich; Bishop Johann von Eych

Editor and translator

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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

1. Introduction
2. 1436-1444 (Orations 1-5)
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)
8. 1459-1459 (Orations 43-51)
9. 1459-1461 (Orations 52-63)
10. 1462-1464 (Orations 64-77)
11. 1454, 1459 (Orations 78-80). Orthographical profiles. Indices
12. Appendix: Ambassadors' orations to Pope Pius II

Table of contents

I. INTRODUCTION

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Appendix: Oration “*Missi a divo*” of Johann von Eich (1 December 1459, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

During the preparations for the Congress of Mantua, Pius sent urgent letters to the emperor inviting him to participate personally in the Congress. The pope calculated, probably with some justice, that the presence of the emperor would ensure a larger participation of princes. But involved, as he was, in conflicts with other members of the House of Austria, Friedrich was unable to come to Mantua, had he wanted to.²

Instead the emperor sent an embassy to the congress, which was not accepted by the pope because the members did not have sufficient rank to represent the emperor appropriately on this solemn occasion. The emperor then sent a second embassy consisting of his brother-in-law, Margrave Karl of Baden, and the bishops of Eichstätt³ and Trient. They arrived in Mantua on 21 November 1459 and were received by the pope on 1 December.⁴ On behalf of the embassy, Johann von Eich delivered the oration “*Missi a divo*”,⁵ to which the pope replied with the oration “*Exposcebat haud dubie*”.

In his oration, the emperor’s ambassador recommended that the pope should not mobilize a crusade before he had ensured a moral reform of Christianity, a theme that Pius himself had spoken on in some of his previous orations to the German diets in 1455-1456, and actually a theme close to the bishop’s heart⁶:

*Dicebam antea te compati sponsae tuae calamitatibus, quia non est, qui faciat bonum,[et] quod vides ire vias non rectas, sed alios quidem oppressos gravibus criminibus, alios inundare vitiis, concupiscentiis, et voluptatibus, hos aliena delectari injuria, istos perversos gerere mores, et illos nulla flecti oboedientia. **Aggredierisne bellum cum his contaminatis odiosisque deo? Arbitror ego sanctitatem tuam aliter facturam, ut primum quid secundum agens vitiorum delictorumque circumcisionis populum sanctifices, quo - juxta praeceptum Josue datum - emundatum deoque gratum sine macula in terram ingrediatur promissionis.***

¹ Joachimsohn, pp.166-167; Koller, pp. 160-161; Pastor, II, p. 63-67; Picotti, pp. 287-295; Setton, II, p. 213; Toews, pp. 292-304; Voigt, IV, pp. 93-101

² Koller, p. 160

³ Johann III von Eich (1404-1464): Prince-bishop of Eichstätt from 1446 to his death. Friend of Pius from their days in the chanceries of the emperor and his brother, respectively

⁴ Pastor, p. 64

⁵ Manuscript Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent V, App. 15, ff. 259r-260v. See Appendix

⁶ Joachimsohn, p. 166

Non est officii mei legem ponere, qualiter subditorum defectibus consulere debeas, sed evangelistae dumtaxat apud te uti admonitionem, quod, uti spero, pro tua solita clementia non ingratis accipies. Habes patrum decreta praedecessorumque tuorum sanctiones, quibus moribus omnibus norma datur, et qua via unicuique incedendum sit praecipe igitur, ut quisque observet, et quis minus, condigne puniatur. Tolle abusum, corrige vitia, areamque domini domini adversione purge. Sic placabitur ira Dei, aufereturque a nobis furor [et], indignatio ejus. [Sect. 8-9]

This recommendation was a topos of humanist crusade orations, and Piccolomini himself had used it in his later crusade orations in Germany. However, since a reform of the Church was undoubtedly a long-term project, the imperial ambassador's exhortation to first reform the Church and then mobilize a crusade, would undoubtedly have been noted by the participants in the congress, and not the least by the Germans. The imperial ambassadors were ready to accept the pope's proposals for a German participation in the crusade, but the other Germans – under the moral leadership of Gregor Heimburg¹ - were proving quite resistant to the papal crusade project.²

Though the emperor himself was actually not interested in a crusade,³ he did the following year make another attempt to mobilize the German nation for a military venture against the Turks, summoning the princes and the cities to a diet in Vienna. The diet opened in September 1460 and was attended by the emperor in person and the papal legate, Cardinal Bessarion. The attendance at the diet was meager, and the results as disappointing as those of Mantua. The emperor announced that he would be willing to lead a crusade in person if the princes participated, too, but their representatives were not empowered to commit themselves to any course of action. In the end, it was officially concluded that the necessary resources for a crusade could not be found, and the whole project was for all practical purposes abandoned. The emperor had done his bit, but was probably relieved at the negative result.⁴

The pope eventually gave up on the empire taking a leading role in the crusade, and would later focus on alliance with other powers, Hungary, Burgundy, and Venice – and France, if possible.

The pope's oration to the imperial ambassadors is mentioned neither in his *Commentarii*, nor by his contemporary biographers, nor by Raynaldus, nor by Voigt and Pastor. A reason maybe the

¹ Joachimsohn, p. 167. See also orations "*Dilectissime*" and "*Eruditissime*" [47-48]

² Toews, p. 300

³ Toews, p. 304

⁴ Toews, pp. 308-311

pope's disappointment with the very lukewarm support of the crusade expressed by the imperial ambassador and the later German developments with regard to the crusade

2. Themes

In the oration, the pope firstly motivated the special obligation of the Empire to undertake the war against the Turks¹ and secondly praised the emperor's person.

According to the pope, four reasons made the Turkish war a special obligation for the Empire:

- As the Turks are already planning further military conquests in Europe and the Empire is actually a frontline state (after Hungary), it will be quite necessary for Germany to go to war – the sooner the better
- The authority and the dignity of the Empire as the foremost protector and champion of Christianity demand that it should take up arms to protect the Church
- The Empire has ample means to attack and vanquish the Turks
- The examples of the forefathers, and former emperors, especially Charlemagne, urge the German nation to go to war against the infidels.²

3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Pastor and Picotti, the oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" was delivered at the formal reception of the imperial embassy in Mantua on 1 December 1459³, during a public consistory in the Cathedral of Mantua. The date 29. November, however, is given in the manuscripts containing the oration "*Missi a divo*" of the Imperial ambassador (see Appendix).

¹ On Pius II and the Turks and the crusade, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 6.1.

² Contrary to medieval legend, Charlemagne did not go on a crusade against Islam – his only battle with muslims was the battle (a rearguard action) of Roncevaux in 778 which he lost

³ Picotti, p. 288; Pastor, II, p. 64

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors, and members of the Papal Court present in Mantua and other participants in the congress.

The format was a papal oration from the throne, in reply to imperial ambassadors.

4. Text¹

The oration is included in a Collection of Pius II Responses (1460),² largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 181r-182v **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano** *
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 66v-69r **(J)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 80v-83v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 102r-105v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 179v-181v **(H)** *

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

4.2. Editions

The oration was published three times by Mansi:

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

² See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.

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

- Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. 6 vols. Luca: ex typographia Josephi salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1748-1752 // V, Coll. 301-303
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. // II, pp. 208-210
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXX. Venezia, 1792 [Reedited in 1902]
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

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

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

In this brief oration, only two direct and indirect quotations have been identified, one from 1. Peter and one from Terentius' *Andria*.

6. Bibliography

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663²

Joachimsohn, Paul: *Gregor Heimburg*. Bamberg, 1891. (Historische Abhandlungen aus dem Münchener Seminar; 1)

Koller, Heinrich: *Kaiser Friedrich III*. Darmstadt, 2005

Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. 6 vols. Luca: ex typographia Josephi salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1748-1752

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXX. Venezia, 1792 [Reedited in 1902]

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

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

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)

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

² 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

- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

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

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

Setton, Kenneth M.: *The Papacy and the Levant*. Vols. 1-4. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976-1984 (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society; 114+161-162)

Toews, John B.: *Emperor Frederick III and his Relations with the Papacy from 1440 to 1493*. University of Colorado, Ph.D., 1962

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

Zimolo, Giulio C. (ed.): *Le vite di Pio II di Giovanni Antonio Campano e Bartolomeo Platina*. Bologna, 1964. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; t. III, p. II)

7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

Epistolarium = Eneae 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

Ad oratores imperiales

[1] {179v} Exposcebat haud dubie res, quae hoc in conventu geritur, imperatoriae majestatis praesentiam, siquidem fides ipsa catholica et orthodoxa tuenda proponitur, cujus protectio ad eum pertinet, qui *gladium portat ad vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*. Sed non tulerunt tempora et rerum conditiones Caesarem ex patria sua recedere. Ideo vos missi estis, praestantissimi et insignes oratores, non equidem indigni, qui tanto in consessu vices Caesareas impleatis, sive dignitates vestras, sive praecipuas dotes metimur. Novimus jampridem quemque vestrum, et singulari benivolentia prosecuti sumus cum¹ in minoribus ageremus. Gratias Caesari agimus, qui vos misit, nobis ex omni parte caros acceptosque.

[2] Non attingemus cunctas orationis vestrae partes. Praeteribimus laudes nobis attributas, quae consciuum suae parvitatibus nihil extollunt. Praeteribimus alia multa sapienter et ornatissime dicta. Duo tamen² non possumus non refricare: alterum est in Turcos de bello gerendo, alterum de laude Caesaris.

[3] In Turcos sumenda esse arma omnes fatentur. At quibus potissime³ hominibus hoc ipsum incumbat, nemo dicit. Dicemus hoc nos, si non ornate, at libere et vere, nec putamus nos quemquam offensuros veritatem dicentes, quamvis in proverbio est *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*. Quippe, cogitantibus nobis saepenumero, cui potissimum nationi contra {180r} Turcos expeditio debeatur, quamvis nemo Christianus immunis esse debeat, quattuor tamen causae occurrerunt⁴, quae nationi Germanicae hoc belli onus, sive honorem⁵ in primis demandant: prima est necessitas, secunda est auctoritas⁶, tertia facultas, quarta invitatio majorum⁷.

¹ dum J

² tantum J

³ potissimum G

⁴ occurrunt G

⁵ onus [sic!] J

⁶ est auctoritas : auctoritas est G

⁷ maior J

To the imperial ambassadors

[1] This congress surely required the presence of His Imperial Majesty since its purpose is to discuss the defense of the Catholic and orthodox Faith whose protection is his particular charge for he *carries the sword to punish evil men and to praise good*.¹ But time and circumstances have not allowed the emperor to leave his lands. Therefore he has sent you, excellent and distinguished ambassadors, and you are certainly worthy to represent the emperor in this grand assembly whether we consider your offices or your excellent qualities. We already know all of you and loved you well before being raised to Our present state.² We thank the emperor for having sent men to Us who are greatly dear and welcome to Us.

[2] We shall not touch on all the parts of your oration, and We shall pass over your praise of Us for it does not lift up a heart which is conscious of its own smallness.³ We shall also pass over many other things you spoke of so wisely and elegantly. But two things We must respond to: one is the war against the Turks, and the other is the praise of the emperor.

[3] All declare that we must go to war against the Turks, but no one says who are the people most obliged to do so. So, let Us say it, if not elegantly, then at least freely and truly, and We do not believe that anyone will blame Us for saying the truth, though the proverb says: *Complaisance gets friends, plain speaking gets hate*.⁴ We have often been considering what nation has the greatest obligation to go to war against the Turks. Though no Christian escapes this obligation, there are four reasons why this burden - or honour - falls to the German nation in particular. The first one is necessity, the second authority, the third the means, and the fourth the invitation of the forefathers.

¹ 1. Peter, 2, 14

² “cum in minoribus ageremus”. On the expression “in minoribus”, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 10

³ This is a standard reply of Pius to the laudation of the ambassadors, but the oration of the imperial ambassador actually appears to not contain such a laudation. This is possibly another indication that Pius wrote his replies to ambassadors before he heard their oration

⁴ Terentius: *Andria*, 68. (Cited in: Cicero: *De amicitia*, 24.89)

[4] Vicinitas¹, quae vobis cum Turcis est, duo facit, nam et timere nos cogit, ne superatis Hungaris, qui medii sunt inter vos et illos, res vestrae pereant. Est enim planum iter, et facultatem praebet ducendi copias in hostes. Per Danubium enim amnem² usque in superiorem et inferiorem Mysiam, quam Turci possident, milites vestros navibus transvehere potestis. Et ratione igitur imperii vestri tuendi, et ratione propinquitatis et facilitatis conveniendi cum hoste primae belli partes in Turcos ad Germanos pertinent. Is enim primus ad restringendum ignem exurgere debet³, quem propius⁴ incendia tangunt.

[5] Succedit loco secundo auctoritas et dignitas nationis, nam cum imperialis gloriae culmen apud vos sit, cuius est ecclesiam Dei protegere, fidem defendere, religionem augere, quis non intelligit ejus belli, quod pro fide tuenda suscipitur, eos duces, eos vexilliferos, eos imperatores esse debere, apud quos est insigne victricis aquilae et numquam violanda majestas?

[6] His conjungitur facultas belligerendi, neque enim inerme vobis imperium est aut regnum pauper. Longe lateque patet Theutonica natio, dives agris, armis, equis, viris, et inexhaustis {180v} argenti metallis opulenta. Et ubinam gentium nobiliores aut potentiores familiae quam in Germania? Ubi splendidiore, ditiores, munitiores urbes? Ubi ferocior populus, ubi juvenus belli cupidior, ubi robustiores milites, ubi duces prudentiores? Semper armata Germania est, semper indomita, semper victrix, aptissima profecto, quae Turcorum ferociae opponatur.

¹ vicinitatis G

² a minori G

³ exurgere debet *omit.* J

⁴ propia G

[4] Your geographical closeness to the Turks has two consequences. [Firstly,] it makes Us fear that you will perish when they have defeated Hungary which lies between you and them. The route goes through flat terrain which facilitates sending troops against enemies. You also have the means to transport soldiers by ship on the Danube river to upper and lower Moesia which is in the power of the Turks. So, because you must defend your empire and because you can easily go to meet the enemies, who are close by, the primary responsibility for going to war against the Turks belongs to the Germans. For it is the person most threatened by a fire who should be the first one to get up and put it out.

[5] Secondly there are the authority and the dignity of your nation. Since the supreme glory of empire is vested in you, it is your task to protect God's Church, defend the Faith, and make religion grow. Therefore all understand that the leaders, the standard bearers, and the generals in the war for the protection of the Faith must be those who carry the standard of the victorious eagle and inviolable majesty.

[6] To these reasons come the means for making war: your empire is not impotent and your realm is not poor. The German Nation stretches far and wide, it is rich in fields, weapons, horses, men, and abundant silver. And where do you find more noble and mighty families than in Germany? Where more splendid, richer and better fortified cities? Where a fiercer people, a more warlike youth, more hardy soldiers, more wise generals? Germany is always in arms, it has never been tamed, it is always victorious, and therefore it is certainly the most suitable [nation] to oppose the savage Turks.

[7] Quod ultimo loco magnopere suadent et invitent exempla majorum, qui res pro Christi nomine clarissimas¹ gesserunt. Namque cum nobilissimi sitis, majores vestros imitari debetis, Carolos, Pipinos, Henricos, Ottones, Fridericos, Conrados, qui non solum Germanias, Gallias, atque Hispanias, sed Hungariam, Graeciam, atque Asiam victoribus cum exercitibus percurrerunt². Quod si alii non essent, unus vos excitare et commovere satis deberet victor ille ac triumphator Carolus, qui ob magnitudinem rerum gestarum magni cognomen adeptus est. Vester ille, vester Theutonicus fuit, et sua gloria vestra est. Nec propter hoc clarissimis Franciae regibus quidquam detrahimus; sua cuique servata laus est. Illi ex Carolo orti sunt, vos Carolum genuistis. Unus igitur Carolus et Francos et Germanos commovere debet.

[8] Agite igitur Theutones, expergiscimini, sumite animum, excutite periculum, quod ante omnes vestrae imminet nationi, cumque facile copias vestras in hostes ducere possitis³, nec vobis desunt robustissimi et munitissimi exercitus⁴. Et dignitas imperii, quod tenetis, hoc expostulet, et {181r} progenitorum vestrorum ingentia facta vos invitent. Audete tandem, et quod inter vos saepe cogitatum tractatumque est, in opus educite. Nihil habet natura vestra majus, quam ut possitis, nihil melius, quam ut⁵ velitis⁶ Christianae reipublicae cum honore⁷ Dei et vestro consulere, et prodesse quamplurimis, quod in hoc bello contra Turcos gerendo facile praestare potestis. Nec plura de prima parte.

¹ pro Christi nomine clarissimas : clarissimas pro Christi nomine G

² praecurrerunt J

³ cumque facile ... possitis *omit.* J

⁴ cum *add.* J

⁵ *omit.* J

⁶ velletis J

⁷ et *add.* J

[7] The last argument, too, is very convincing: the examples of the forefather who did splendid deeds for the name of Christ. Since you are yourselves of the highest nobility, you must imitate your forefathers named Charles, Pepin, Heinrich, Otto, Friedrich, and Konrad who, with victorious armies, overran not only Germany, Gaul, and Spain, but also Hungary, Grece and Asia.¹ Even if the others were not there, one man should be enough to inspire and move you: the victorious and triumphant Charles² who acquired the surname "Great" because of his great deeds. He was yours, he was one of you Germans, and his glory is yours. Saying this, I do not belittle the noble kings of France; everyone's honour is maintained. But the French kings descend from Charles, whereas you sired him. So, this one [man], Charles, should indeed inspire both the French and the Germans.

[8] So, act now, Germans! Bestir yourselves! Take courage! Destroy the danger that threatens your nation above all! For you can easily send your troops against the enemies. You do not lack strong and well-armed armies. The imperial dignity vested in you requires it. And the immense deeds of your forefathers urge you to do it. So, dare it now, and put into action what you have so often considered and discussed.³ Your greatest trait is your ability and your best trait your willingness to protect the Christian Commonwealth in God's and your own honour, and to benefit the many. This you may easily do in this war against the Turks.

No more concerning the first issue.

¹ i.e. Asia Minor

² Charlemagne [Charles the Great](742/747/748-814): 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

³ Especially at a series of imperial diets in 1454 and 1455 where Pius himself, as the imperial top diplomat Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini, urged the Germans to go to war against the Turks

[9] De secunda, hoc est de virtute Friderici Caesaris, paucissima subjungemus, non quod ipsi diminute locuti sitis, sed quod indigna res fuerit in ejus laude nos silere, qui cum celebrari ab omnibus debeat, praecipue tamen praeconia nostra meretur. Fridericus imperator judicio nostro felix est, nam Deum timet, diligit, et colit, et potestatem suam maxime ad Dei cultum dilatandum exercet. Juste imperat, tarde judicat. Facile ignoscit, vindictam ex malefactoribus pro necessitate reipublicae tuendae, non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exercet. Veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correptionis¹ indulget. Si quid aspere cogitur aliquando decernere, misericordiae lenitate et elemosinarum largitate compensat. Luxuria tanto in eo castigatior est, quanto posset esse liberior. Mavult cupiditatibus suis quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare. Inter linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extollitur, sed hominem se esse meminit. Pro peccatis suis sacrificia {181v} Deo suo² immolare non negligit. In omnes benignus et clemens. Quem³, cum talis sit, non veremur Augustini testimonio felicem appellare in hac vita per⁴ spem et in alia re ipsa futurum.

¹ correctionis G

² *omit.* J

³ qui G

⁴ pro felix J

[9] Concerning the second part, the virtue of Emperor Friedrich,¹ We shall add a few words – not because you yourselves said too little about it, but because it would be shameful for Us not to add to his praises for though he merits to be honoured by all, he especially merits to be praised by Us. We believe Emperor Friedrich to be blessed for he fears, loves and worships God, and he wields his power above all to extend the worship of God. He rules justly, he is not hasty in his judgments, and he forgives easily. He exacts vengeance on evildoers for the sake of the state, not to satisfy his hate of enemies. He is merciful, not in order to give evildoers impunity, but to give them hope of correction. If he is sometimes forced to be severe, he compensates for that by merciful lenience and large alms. In view of his resources, he is remarkably restrained in his display of luxury. He would rather rule his own passions than peoples. Surrounded by men who praise him extravagantly and greet him too deferentially, he does not become puffed up, but remembers that he is a man.² He does not neglect to offer up sacrifices to God for his sins. He is benevolent and clement towards all. Since this is how he is, We do not fear to apply Augustine's³ statement to him and call him one who may be happy in hope in this life and happy in fact in the next.⁴

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

² An allusion to the "memento homo qui pulvis es," Genesis, 3, 19

³ Augustine [Augustinus, Aurelius] (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁴ The oration ends somewhat abruptly. The end may be missing

Appendix: Oration “*Missi a divo*” of Johann von Eich (1 December 1459, Mantua)

After the ms. Nürnberg / 75 Cent. V, app. 15 (N) and the Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 50v-52r (O).

Pagination follows the Ottobonensis.

Notes contain textual variants and references etc.

Normalized orthography and punctuation. For orthographical profile of the ms., see *Collected orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, vol. 11

Literature: Joachimsohn, pp. 166-167

Oratio habita per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Johannem episcopum Estitensem, gloriosissimi imperialis majestatis oratorem, 29. Novembris in ecclesia cathedrali et in consistorio publico.¹

[1] {50v} Missi a divo Caesare Friderico ad sanctitatem tuam, pater beatissime, cum rem difficilem nostrisque viribus imparem persuasuri simus, verbis utemur domini ad Josue, filium Num, in Deuteronomio saepe prolatis, videlicet *confortare et esto robustus*². Naturale siquidem existit³, ut animus ardua ac⁴ magna quaeque gerenda praecogitans, dum et labores atque adversa recte⁵ pensaverit⁶, {51r} quasi destitutus sensibus saepe deficiat, desperet dejiciaturque. Unde ne penitus succumbat ac veluti confectus taedio pedem retrahat, confortatione anxio⁷ illi succurrendum est. Sic is, quem praemisi, dux Israelitici populi promissionis terram expugnaturus a domino confortatur. Salvator denique noster Christus magnum⁸ contra hostem antiquum pro salute humani generis acturus bellum causa passionis, suis⁹ in¹⁰ manibus caelestis patria¹¹ reposita, cum prae angustia taedere coepisset ac¹² contristari, ab angelo confortatus legitur. Et Paulus ille, electionis vas, dispensatione divina futurus gentium praedicator, audita voce de caelo percussusque terrore, ut opus sibi creditum intrepidus aggrediatur, consolatione verbis viri¹³ Ananiae confortationisque cibo reficitur. Plures ad haec commemorare possem, quos, quia plenius novit tua sanctitas¹⁴, omissos facio ordinem dumtaxat dicendae rei - prout inspiraverit dominus - prosecuturus.

[2] Scio equidem, pater beatissime, quod zelum Dei habeas, calamitatibus sponsae tuae ecclesiae sanctae compatiaris, quia *non est, qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*.¹⁵ Angit cor tuum afflictio populi Christiani. Videns dispersionem dominici gregis, in quem et barbaricus saevit ensis,

¹ Oratio ... publico: Epistola et oratio N

² Joshua, 1, 6-9

³ extitit O

⁴ et O

⁵ recta N

⁶ pensavit N

⁷ *em.*; Anchitodo codd.

⁸ magnus O

⁹ *em.*; sue codd.

¹⁰ *omit.* O

¹¹ patris O

¹² et O

¹³ *omit.* O [blank space]

¹⁴ tua sanctitas : sanctitas tua O

¹⁵ Psalms, 13, 1

ipse quoque affligeris. Dissentiunt oves tibi commissae et quasi hirci invicem cornibus insultant angustiarum, et curam geris, quo unanimes pacificaeque reddantur. Inter haec quis animum tuum negabit non contristari, non taedere aut paene deficere? Certe, nisi divina fueris¹ confortatus consolatione, quod ad recuperandas animi vires pertinet, et caelesti roboratus auxilio, quod virili rerum persecutioni² convenire dicimus, sancta tua deficiet intentio, ac in te tabescet anima tua.

[3] Sed loquar apertius, pater beatissime³, quamquam satis me intelligas. Innotuisti cunctis, adhortatus es omnes, quatenus pro defensione fratrum Christianorum adversus immanissimum Teucrorum⁴ principem arma assumant, cujus rei habendi consilium relicta tua principali sede ad locum istum descendisti. Ad⁵ parum dubito, quin sancti tui propositi praesenseris adversa inter tuos: *regnum adversus regnum*⁶, gentem contra gentem sedicionesque et proelia, quoniam ergo oppugnabis hostem, qui aequo in fideles⁷ recalcitrati [sunt] et indomito animo⁸, quod gravius judico. Vide, ne peccaverit populus tuus concitaveritque adversum se iram domini et pugnans convertatur in fugam, praevaleatque Abimelech.

[4] Et forsitan sunt hi, qui nunc dicant tibi: “Ibimus et pugnabimus ac voci domini mandatisque tuis oboedimus.” Ob id igitur *confortare in domino et in potentia virtutis*⁹ *ejus*¹⁰ neque in altero confidas. Vana est enim spes omnis aliena ab illo, quoniam juxta prophetam *fallax est equus ad salutem*¹¹, et *non salvatur rex per multam virtutem neque gigas in multitudine virtutis suae*.¹² Dominus autem *adjutor et protector noster est*,¹³ qui *salvat sperantes in se*¹⁴, quo dirigente in manibus tuis opus suum non obstabunt regnorum dissensiones aut gentis tuae proelia. Dabit enim facile unicoque¹⁵ momento, ut sit populus tuus unus et sequatur te ducem, quocumque praeieris.

¹ divina fueris : fueris diuina O

² persecutionem O

³ sancte O

⁴ Turchorum O

⁵ omit. O

⁶ Isaiah, 19, 3

⁷ em.; fides codd.

⁸ em.; quinino codd.

⁹ potentia virtutis : virtutis potentia N

¹⁰ Ephesians, 6, 10

¹¹ Psalms, 32, 17

¹² Psalms, 32, 16

¹³ Psalms, 32, 20

¹⁴ Daniel, 13, 60

¹⁵ unico O

[5] Verum non existimabis¹ ista obventura tibi, nisi manus extenderis in caelum clamaverisque ad altissimum. Etenim etsi bona det², tribuit tamen et³ petentibus⁴ se et his⁵, qui pulsando perseveraverunt,⁶ ⁷ neque opus hoc tam grande putabis esse unius diei, veluti ex miraculo hostem tam fortem absque sudore et sanguine prosternas. Nam et si recte censeas, reperies⁸ semper dominum fidelium suorum voluisse experiri virtutem, ut temptati ac probati atque⁹ saepeque afflicti nanciscantur salutem perveniantque ad victoriam. Nolo dare exempla ei, qui antea novit, quod obsecrationibus, quantis curis et angustiis Moyses, famulus domini, populum ab Aegypto duxerit¹⁰, quem pertulerit in deserto, ut saepe lassatus quasi desperans nec tamen¹¹ clamare ad dominum cessavit¹².

[6] Non replico, quod instantiis quantisque admonitionibus sanctae quondam memoriae Romani pontifices, tui praedecessores, ad subveniendum oppressis fidelibus Christianorum populum requisiverint, et eam¹³ causam non solum urbe Romana, sed et¹⁴ tota Italia relictis, montes transiverint regesque et¹⁵ principes ad gerendum bellum adversus Saracenos adhortati sunt, quorum vestigia quia sequitur sanctitas tua, experitur dominus fidem in te, quod pro salvandis ovibus suis latentem virtutem palam facias murumque te ponas pro domo Israel ac invadenti lupo obviam pergas, non fugam veluti mercenarius - quod absit - quaesiturus, sed pugnam ut pastor bonus pro commissis ovibus virilis suscepturus. Et haec dum feceris, pater beatissime, pastorem proprium protectoremque firmum cunctis te ostendis, cujus et oves audient vocem omnesque intrepide sequentur. Quae vero cura tibi creditis gregibus adhibenda sit, audi - quaeso - patienter, summe pastor, pro tua clementia. *Etenim si¹⁶ bonus sis, veluti es, quid tua, unius¹⁷*

¹ extimabis O

² omit. O

³ omit. O

⁴ potentibus N

⁵ omit. O

⁶ perseveraverit O

⁷ Matthew, 7, 8

⁸ reperias O

⁹ ac O

¹⁰ abduxerit O

¹¹ tantum O

¹² cessaverit O

¹³ em.; eamque cod.

¹⁴ omit. O

¹⁵ ac O

¹⁶ omit. O

¹⁷ Christus O

*hominis, sanctitas ecclesiae Dei¹ proderit ceteris perverse ambulantis?*², ut beatus Bernhardus³ ad Eugenium, praedecessorem tuum,⁴ aiebat.

[7] Dicebam antea te compati sponsae tuae calamitatibus, quia *non est, qui faciat bonum*, [et] quod vides ire vias non rectas, sed⁵ alios quidem oppressos gravibus⁶ criminibus, alios abundare vitiis, concupiscentiis, et voluptatibus, hos aliena delectari injuria, istos perversos gerere mores, et illos nulla flecti oboedientia. Aggredierisne bellum cum his contaminatis odiosisque deo? Arbitror ego sanctitatem tuam aliter facturam, ut primum quidem sectam agens vitiorum delictorumque circumcisionis populum sanctifices, quo - juxta praeceptum Josue datum - emundatum⁷ deoque gratum⁸ sine macula in terram ingrediatur promissionis.

[8] Non est officii mei legem⁹ ponere, qualiter subditorum defectibus consulere debeas, sed evangelistae¹⁰ dumtaxat apud te uti admonitione¹¹, quod - uti spero - pro tua solita clementia non ingratis accipies. Habes patrum decreta praedecessorumque tuorum sanctiones, quibus moribus omnibus norma datur, et qua via unicuique incedendum sit praecipe igitur, ut quisque¹² observet, et qui minus, condigne puniatur. Tolle abusus, corrige vitia, areamque domini debita animadversione purge. Sic placabitur ira Dei, aufereturque a nobis furor indignationis ejus. Non praevalebit amplius contra nos hostis, sed dabit illum dominus calcandum pedibus conterendumque manibus tuis. Tunc videbis concurrentes reges, principes et populos¹³, qui dicent, quia *dirigitur salus in manu illius¹⁴ salvumque faciet dominus populum suum¹⁵* per illum.

[9] Ad haec se offert invictissimus imperator, tuae sanctitatis devotissimus filius, {52r} ut sit votis tuis paratus praestetque pro viribus sacri imperii, quidque poterit persona ac rebus, auxilia atque subsidia adjuvandis liberandisque Christianis oppressis fideliter laturus, super quo apud sanctitatem tuam juxta instructionem a sua majestate nobis traditam latiore habebimus. Referre sermonem non existimavi necesse, ut sinceritatem, fidem ac¹⁶ religionem gloriosissimi

¹ *omit.* O

² Bernhard of Clairvaux: *De consideratione*

³ Bernhard de Clairvaux (1090-1153): Cistercian abbot. Prolific writer

⁴ Pope Eugenius III (ca. 1080-1153): Pope from 1145 to his death

⁵ et O

⁶ oppressos gravibus : gravibus oppressos O

⁷ emundatus N

⁸ gratus N

⁹ legemque O

¹⁰ euangelica O

¹¹ admonitionem O

¹² quisquis O

¹³ et *add.* O

¹⁴ Genesis, 39, 3: *dirigi in manu illius*

¹⁵ Psalms, 27, 9: *Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine*

¹⁶ atque O

imperatoris nostri apud sanctitatem tuam aliter extollere, quantaque nobilissima archiducalis domus Austriae, de qua originem ducit, pro tuenda fide catholica semper egerit, principesque ejus saepe usque ad mortem certaverint. Novit enim ista beatitudo tua ex longaeva familiarique notitia, praecipue autem devotissimi Caesaris nostri ad deum religionem fervoremque, in qua tantum ceteros praecellit, ut neminem sibi parem obtinere videatur. Nunc oro dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, mundi salvatorem, quatenus opus hoc sanctum, pro quo ista celebratur conventio, salubriter dirigat et ad suam laudem Christianique populi salutem feliciter perficiat¹ ipso praestante, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Laus Deo.²

¹ in *add.* O

² Amen. Laus Deo *omit.* O