

Orations "Messis quidem", "Quamvis non dubitamus" and "Vocati estis" of Pope Pius II (5 and 8 March 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 55-57)

Orations "Messis quidem", "Quamvis non dubitamus", and "Vocati estis" of Pope Pius II (5 and 8 March 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th version

2019

Abstract

In March 1460, Pope Pius II made his first appointment of new cardinals: five were published

immediately, and one was kept secret for the time being. The five publicly appointed were Angelo

Capranica, Berardo Eroli, Niccolò Forteguerri, a relation of the pope, Alessandro Oliva da

Sassoferrato, and Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini, the pope's nephew and later pope himself

under the name of Pius III. In this context the pope gave three addresses, two to the "old"

cardinals, and one to the new, explaining the necessity for appointing new cardinals, motivating

the individual appointments, criticizing cardinals for loose and luxurious living, and telling the

new cardinals what virtues were required of them.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa

Pio II; Renaissance orations; 1460; 15th century; Appointment of cardinals, 1460; Promotion of

cardinals, 1460; Cardinals; Popes and cardinals; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The relationship between pope and cardinals was crucial to the government of the Church. During the Middle Ages the College of Cardinals had grown into an almost distinct organ of government, and groups of disaffected cardinals had caused several schisms when they elected rival popes - even the Great Schism which ended with three popes at the same time.

After the end of the Council of Basel, marked by conciliarism and quite severe opposition against the pope, the time had come for the restoration of the papacy and the redevelopment of monarchic church government based on the papal office alone.

In this development the nomination of new cardinals was quite important since it gave the pope the possibility to fill vacant positions in the college of cardinals – or if possible to expand it – with his own candidates, including papal nephews, eventually obtaining a working majority of his own design.

The first nominations of cardinals made by the popes were therefore quite important for determining the power relations between the college of cardinals and the pope, and the process of nomination and appointment was naturally tense and often conflictual.

In the electoral capitulation, signed by all cardinals at the beginning of the conclave in August 1458 which elected Pius as pope, the second item after the War on the Turks concerned the appointment a cardinals, stipulating that the pope would only appoint new cardinals with the assent of the majority of the cardinals.²

Pius' first appointment of cardinals in Spring 1460 met with severe opposition from the cardinals, especially the senior ones. However, through his consummate skills of negotiation and armwrestling, Pius gained the upperhand and made the old cardinals approve the appointment of six new cardinals, of which one was his nephew and another a close relative. One of the six appointments, the emperor's candidate³, had to be kept secret for reasons of international politics. Pius own description in the *Commentarii* of the process is quite interesting and revealing – and entertaining as well.

In this connection Pius gave three addresses: the first one the opening speech to the old cardinals on the necessity of appointing new ones, the "Messis quidem"; the second one the address to the old cardinals listing the appointees and their merits, the "Quamvis non dubitamus"; and the

¹ CO, IV, 9-11 (Meserve), II, pp. 224-241; Raynaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 28-30; Zimolo, p. 55; Ady, pp. 242-243; Boulting, pp. 288-289; Paparelli, pp. 236-237; Pastor, II, pp. 204-210; Stolf, pp. 355-357; Voigt, IV, pp. 528-534

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 4: Item quod non creabit seu assumet aliquos cardinales etiam precibus quorumque imperatorum, regum, ducum aut principum nisi de consilio et consensu majoris partis dominorum cardinalium ...

³ The provost of Salzburg, Burchard von Weissbriach

third one to the new cardinals on the virtues required of them, the "Vocati estis" with the alternative version, the "Maxima".

Concerning the first oration, the "Messis quidem", Pius wrote in his Commentarii:

Once he was sure he would get much of what he wanted, he convened a sacred consistory on the Wednesday traditionally reserved for debating the creation of cardinals, and spoke as follows: "The Harvest truly is great..." [here follows the text of the oration].¹

Concerning the "Quamvis non dubitamus" and the "Vocati estis" or rather the "Maxima" he wrote:

Pius called a consistory in the cathedral that Saturday and gave orders that the three new cardinals who were present in Siena should be summoned to attend. Before they entered, he spoke at length about their election, and their individual merits, proving to everyone's satisfaction that their appointment had been both necessary and well deserved. Then the new cardinals came in. Pius had them take their places at the chancel and addressed them with these words: "My sons..." [here follows the text of the "Maxima"].²

2. Themes

2.1. Need for a sufficient number of active cardinals

The Council of Constance had decided that the number of cardinals should not exceed 24. By March 1460, three of the places in the College of Cardinals were vacant which was in itself sufficient reason to appoint new cardinals. Moreover, eight cardinals were more or less permanently absent from Rome so that Pius only had 15 cardinals available, and of those several were too old and sick to be useful.

Pius told the cardinals:

The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few. Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot the brambles and the weeds - heresies and bad morals that is - if we want to bring an

¹ CO, IV, 9 (Meserve, II, p. 226-228)

² CO, IV, 11 (Meserve, II, p. 238-241)

abundant harvest to the Lord's treshing floor and in the end store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the appointed workmen in this task. But you are few, and several of you are too old and sick to be used by Us. Therefore it is necessary to increase your number and to appoint some others to bolster your feeble strength. ["Quamvis non dubitamus", sect. 1]

2.2. Criticism of cardinals

The pope took the opportunity to criticize the cardinals as a body for its habits of high living and conspicuous consumption, a theme to which he would return later during his papacy:

... you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. ["Quamvis non dubitamus", sect. 2]

2.3. Virtues required of cardinals

The virtues which Pius required of the new (and old) cardinals he described in the "Vocati estis" with these words:

We do not ask you to strip yourselves of the old man, but rather to still be him, unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this honourable office. Until now you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious and pious: now these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than be such as you thought cardinals should be, before you yourselves attained this splendid state.

3. Date, place, audience and format

The "Messis quidem" was given on Ember Wednesday in Lent, 5 March 1460, in Siena. The other orations were given on the following Saturday, 8 March, in the same city.

The audience of the "Messis quidem" were the cardinals assembled in a secret consistory¹. The audience of the two other orations were the cardinals assembled in a public consistory in the Cathedral of Siena² and those, curials and others, attending the consistory.

The format was a papal address from the throne.

4. Text³

4.1. Messis quidem

This text is only known from Pius' *Commentarii*, ⁴ bk. IV, ch. 9, where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460. The two main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii* are:

• Roma / Accademia dei Lincei

Corsinianus 147, ff. 120v-121v

• Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 182v-183v

Of these, the Reginensis contains the first version of the *Commentarii* and the Corsinianus the Final Version, both made under Pius' personal supervision.

For the main editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General Bibliography.

² Voigt, p. 533

¹ Voigt, p. 528

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

⁴ For orations included in Pius II's Commentarii (1462-1463), see Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

4.2. Quamvis non dubitamus

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

4.2.1. Manuscripts¹

- Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana
 544, ff. 179r-180v (G) *
- Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano
 Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 62r-64v (J) *
- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 75r-77v Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 95r-98r

Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 176r-178r (H) *

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

4.2.2. Editions

The text has been published at least three times:

Contelorio, Felice: Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549.
 Romae: Lazaris, 1659, pp.51-54
 [Based on an unknown manuscript] [FE]²

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

² Felorio, p. 50: *De his cardinalibus loquutus est Pius ad sacrum collegium in publico consistorio antequam pileum rubrum traderet, ut scribitur lib. 4.* Commentariorum, *sed quia oratio Pii non refertur, ideo eam accipite ex altero ejusdem Pii manuscripto*

- Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663, ad ann. 1459, nr. 28-29, [Reproduces Felorio]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3. vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. II, pp. 89-91 [Based on the ms. in Lucca, G]

4.3. Vocati estis

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460):

4.3.1. Manuscripts

- Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana 544, ff. 180r (G) *
- Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano
 Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 64r-64v (J) *
- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 77v-78r Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 99r-99v Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 178r **(H)** *

4.3.2. Editions

The oration appears not to have been published previously.

4.4. Maxima

This text is a heavily edited version of the "Vocati estis". It is only known from Pius' Commentarii, bk. IV, ch. 11, where it forms part of the description of the promotion of new cardinals in March 1460.

• Roma / Accademia dei Lincei

Corsinianus 147, ff. 123r-123v

• Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 186r-186v

The text was published by Rainaldus – on the basis of "Gobellinus", i.e. the first edition of Pius' *Commentarii* from 1584/1614:

• Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663 // ad ann. 1459, nr. 30

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:

"Messis quidem" and "Maxima": Based on the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

"Quamvis non dubitamus" and "Vocati estis": Based on the three listed manuscripts, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources¹

Biblical: 8 Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 8

Biblical sources: 8

Old Testament: 3

• Deuteronomy: 1

• Isaiah: 1

• Machabees: 1

New Testament: 5

Matthew: 2Colossians: 1Hebrews: 11. Peter: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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

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

• Pii secundi Pontificis Maximi *Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt*. A Ioanne Gobellino ... iamdiu compositi, et a Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo ex vetusto originali recogniti. Quibus hac editione accedunt Jacopi Piccolominei *Rerum*

¹ References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition)

gestarum sui temporis commentarii eiusdemque *Epistolae*. 1584. [2nd ed.: Frankfurt: Aubriana, 1614

- Commentarii rervm memorabilivm que svis temporibus contigervnt. Ed. A. van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
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7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

S= Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei / Corsinianus 147

FE = Contelorio, Felice: Pars altera elenchi S.R.E. Cardinalium ab anno 1430 ad annum 1549. Romae: Lazaris, 1659

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

Epistolarium = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Secvlare*. 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. Messis quidem

[1] {120v} Messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci. Messis nostra, fratres, animarum salus est; ager, in quo metimus, ecclesia, quam vestro {121r} consilio regendam accepimus. Hanc contra Turcos et infideles alios tueri debemus; ex hac tribulos et malas herbas, hoc est haereses et pravos¹ mores, extirpare cogimur, si volumus messem ad aream domini multam afferre et denique puri purgatique tritici in horreo multum recondere. Vos ad haec operarii nobiscum estis constituti; sed pauci estis, et nonnulli ex vobis aut senio aut aegritudine impediti sunt, ne ipsis uti possimus. Necesse igitur est, ut numerum vestrum augeamus et aliquos assumamus, qui debilium vires suppleant. Curare tamen oportet, quamvis est id difficile, ut dignos tanto munere eligamus, ne dicat quispiam: Multiplicasti gentem et non magnificasti laetitiam. Verum si dignitas haec merentibus danda est, in caelo quaeramus oportet, quos rubeo pileo donemus. Nos tamen ut homines eligemus homines, quando non caelum aut angelos, sed terram et homines recturi sumus.

¹ malos R

1. To the cardinals on appointing new cardinals: Messis quidem

[1] The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few.¹ Brethren, our harvest is the salvation of souls. The field where we harvest is the Church whose government We have been given by your counsel. We must protect it against Turks and other infidels, and we must uproot the brambles and the weeds² - heresies and bad morals that is - if we want to bring an abundant harvest to the Lord's treshing floor and in the end store much wheat, pure and cleansed, in his barn. Together with Us, you are the appointed workmen in this task. But you are few, and several of you are too old and sick to be used by Us. Therefore it is necessary to increase your number and to appoint some others to bolster your feeble strength. Though it is difficult we must take care to select only such men as are worthy of this high office, so that nobody may say: Thou hast multiplied the nation, and hast not increased the joy.³ If We may [only] give the red hat to those who truly merit it, We would really have to search for them in Heaven. But we are men who have to chose other men since we are not governing Heaven and angels, but Earth and men.

¹ Matthew 9, 37

² Cf. Hebrews, 6, 8

³ Isaiah, 9, 3

[2] Miramur autem tantam esse petentium turbam, nam quis est clericali caractere insignitus, qui non se dignum cardinalatus honore dijudicet, qui non petat, qui non instet et inter candidatos, ut ita dicamus, videri et esse velit? Nimium viluit haec dignitas, quando vel pueri eam sibi deberi existimant. Fecerunt hoc nostri praedecessores, qui nonnullos prorsus indignos assumpsere. Licet de mortuis loqui: cardinalem Sancti Marci novistis, quem scurram vestri ordinis quidam appellavere. Vos quoque in causa estis, qui non eam gravitatem ac sanctimoniam servatis, quae hoc sit culmine digna¹. Ita enim vivitis, ut non ad republicam gubernandam electi, sed ad voluptates perfruendas vocati videamini. Non venationes, non ludos neque feminarum consuetudinem evitatis, convivia opulentiora, quam deceat, instruitis, vestimentis utimini nimium pretiosis, auro et argento abundatis, equos et famulos plures quam satis est alitis. Has delicias cupiunt omnes, nec quisquam est, qui sectari voluptates non sit idoneus. Quod si severitas, gravitas, abstinentia, doctrina, sanctitas, hanc tantummodo dignitatem elargiretur, {121v} pauciores eam peterent. Sed incidimus mores istos: non possumus prohibere petentes, non admittere facile possumus. Cogitate, qui sint idonei. De numero ipsi judicabimus, curaturi ne vel nimietate vilescat dignitas vel paucitate reipublicae non satisfaciat.

¹ digne R

[2] We do wonder about the great crowd of candidates, for apparently all men of ecclesiastical rank believe themselves to be worthy of the office of cardinal. Who does not seek it, who does not pursue it, and – to put it that way – who does not want to be and to be seen as a candidate? This dignity has really been devalued if even boys believe that they deserve it. This is a result of the actions of our predecessors promoting several who were completely unworthy. Here it is allowed to speak of the dead: you knew the Cardinal of San Marco whom some called the clown of your order. And to some extent this also applies to you, for you do not maintain the seriousness and holiness of life that this great office deserves. You live as if you had not been chosen to govern the commonwealth, but to enjoy the pleasures of life. You do not avoid hunting, or games, or the company of women. You arrange indecently opulent banquets. Your clothes are far too costly. You fairly swim in gold and silver. You have more horses and servants than necessary. All men seek such delights, and everybody is apt to pursue such pleasures. But if only strictness, seriousness, abstinence, learning, and holiness could qualify people for this high office, much fewer would seek it. But this is how it is: We cannot prevent people from seeking this office - but We can easily prevent them from obtaining it. Consider who are suitable. We Ourselves will determine their number, taking care neither to debase that honourable office by having too many or to fail the needs of the commonwealth by having too few.

¹ Angelotto de Fuschis [Fosco, Foschi, Fusco] (c. 1378-1444]: appointed cardinal in 1431. May have had a reputation for avarice. When he died, killed in his sleep by a member of his household, a fortune was found in his coffers, see Cardella, pp. 61-65. See also Infessura: *Diario*, ad ann. 1444 (Tommasini, p. 43): *Dell'anno 1444 a dì 12 de settembre fu occiso Angelotto delli Foschi cardinale di Santo Marco, et occiselo uno suo camerarie, e robaolo, et per questa cascione lo detto camerario subito fu preso ...*

2. Quamvis non dubitamus

Ad cardinales de noviter promotis cardinalibus

[3] {176r} Quamvis non dubitamus, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac dilecti {176v} filii, notissimas vobis esse¹ personas² eorum³, quos feria quarta proxime decursa in sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales assumpsimus, pro veteri tamen consuetudine de meritis ipsorum pauca dicemus. Quinque viri sunt, quos et nos et sacrum collegium fratrum nostrorum ad cardinalatus honorem hoc tempore duximus assumendos.

[4] Primus est Angelus, Areatinus episcopus, vere angelus et vita et morum honestate conspicuus. Huic frater fuit⁴ Dominicus tituli Sanctae Crucis in Jerusalem quondam magni nominis cardinalis. Non minor hic germano est; multa ejus extant, quae cum laude⁵ possumus commemorare. Vita omnis sua mundissima. Praefuit ecclesiae sibi commissae non sine magna subditorum utilitate. Praedicavit evangelium multis annis plebi suae. Correxit mores, reformavit quaecumque invenit male disposita. In legationibus, quae⁶ sedes sibi apostolica mandavit, diligentissimus et fidelissimus extitit, et nunc Bononiae cum maxima civium gratia legationis munus exercet.

¹ etiam FE

² esse personas : personas esse J

³ et J

⁴ frater fuit : fuit frater G ⁵ cum laude *omit*. FE

⁶ omit. J

2 To the cardinals on the new cardinals: Quamvis non dubitamus

To the cardinals on the newly promoted cardinals

[3] Venerable brethren and beloved sons in Christ, though We do not doubt that you well know those persons whom We, last Thursday, appointed cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall follow ancient custom and say a few words about their merits. At this time We and the Sacred College of our brethren found that five men should have the honour of being appointed cardinals.

[4] The first one is Angelo, Bishop of Rieti, ¹ truly an angel and remarkable for his integrity and character. His brother was Domenico, ² once a highly reputed Cardinal of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Angelo equals his brother. His many outstanding qualities are worthy of praise. All his life has been pure. He has governed the church entrusted to him to the great benefit of his subjects. For many years he has preached the gospel to his people, corrected their manners, and reformed whatever he found in need of improvement. In the missions entrusted to him by the Apostolic See, he has proven himself to be most diligent and faithful. And now he performs the office of legate in Bologna with great favour from the citizens.

¹ Capranica, Angelo (1415-1478): Appointed Cardinal in 1460

² Capranica, Domenico (1400-1458): Bishop of Fermo. Cardinal. He died just before the conclave where Pius II was elected pope, and many believed that he would have been elected had he lived. Piccolomini's first employer

[5] Secundus est¹ Berardus², episcopus Spoletanus, apud Narniam non ignobili loco natus, qui cum per scholas Italiae cathedras magna cum auditorum dilectione atque utilitate rexisset, tandemque Romanam curiam accessisset, ab Nicolao, praedecessore nostro, qui ejus doctrinae culmen admirabatur, in palatium receptus referendariatus officium accepit, in quo ita se gessit, ut omnia sibi crederet. Nam verbum ejus verbum veritatis {177r} fuit, et jam³ tum dignus cardinalatu judicatus est. Apud Calixtum quoque carissimus fuit, nec ad promotionem ejus aliud obstitit quam invidia paucorum. In nostra vero familia receptus ob famae singularis odorem et nostram gratiam et aulicorum omnium benivolentiam meruit, primusque semper apud nos habitus est, cum et prudentiam ejus, et fidem, et doctrinam et admiraremur et diligeremus.

[6] Tertius est Nicolaus, electus Theanensis, utroque jure consultus, qui sub Eugenio pontifice Viterbium ac⁴ provinciam patrimonii pro gubernatore⁵ aliquandiu summa cum laude administravit. Fuit hic, cum ageremus in cardinalatu curiae nostrae magister, domumque nostram et provide et pacifice rexit. In apostolatu vero nostro thesauriatus exercuit officium, quod fidem et dexteritatem ingenii maximam requirit, neque audivimus aliquando alium fuisse thesaurarium, qui ejus vel bonitatem vel circumspectionem superaverit. Misimus eum ad reges et principes. Nihil ei commisimus, quod non prudenter absolverit.

[7] Quartus est Alexander, ordinis Augustinensium magister generalis, summus theologicae⁶ sapientiae doctor atque interpres, qui annos duos et XLta in religione versatus, eximius cultor et paupertatis et humilitatis extitit. Huic patria est Saxumferratum. Parentes ejus quinquennem aut paulo majorem⁷ dicaverunt, cum in fontem cadens mortuo similis extraheretur. Locus, in quo primo receptus est, beatae Mariae sacer habetur.⁸ In die beatae Mariae professionem emisit, et revolutis annis eadem festivitate et missam primam celebravit, et magisterium theologiae adeptus est, et in civitate beatae Mariae ad cardinalatum per nos assumptus est. Vir omni ex parte perfectus, vocatus a Deo tamquam Aaron. Nescius, nihil⁹ petens et dignitates prorsus effugiens receptus est in consilium nostrum. Traxit nos odor boni nominis et vitae exemplaris verissima fama¹⁰. Nam etsi animus ejus honorem quemvis horreret, virtutes tamen ejus petebant, ne inhonoratus relinqueretur.

¹ secundus est *omit.* FE

² Bernardus J

³ et iam : etiam J

⁴ et G

⁵ gubernatione FE

⁶ theologiae FE

⁷ deum *add*. FE

⁸ beatae Mariae sacer habetur in die *omit.* FE

⁹ nil FE

¹⁰ vitae ... fama : vita exemplarissima FE

[5] The second is Berardo, Bishop of Spoleto, who comes from a noble family in Narni. He has held many chairs at Italian universities and has lectured there to the delight and benefit of his audiences. In the end, he joined the Roman Curia. Nicolaus, Our predecessor, who admired his eminent learning, brought him into the palace and gave him the office of referendary. In this office he did so well that Nicolaus gave him all kinds of tasks, for his words were words of truth. Already then he was judged worthy to be promoted cardinal. Also Calixtus held him in great esteem, and the only barrier to his promotion was the jealousy of a few people. We took him into Our own household because of his exceptional reputation, and he has richly deserved Our favour and the goodwill of all the courtiers. He always had Our high regard since We admired and loved his prudence, loyalty, and learning.

[6] The third is Niccolò, Bishop Elect of Teano, specialist in both laws. Under Pope Eugenius, he, for a period, administered Viterbo and also the province of the Patrimony with great distinction. While We were a cardinal, he was the master of our household and governed Our house providently and peacefully. During Our pontificate, he has performed the office of treasurer which requires the greatest loyalty and flexibility. We have never heard of another treasurer who showed as much goodness and caution. We have also sent him on missions to kings and princes, and all the tasks We have given him he has performed with sagacity.

[7] The fourth is Alessandro,⁴ General of the Augustinian Order and an eminent doctor and interpreter of theological wisdom. He has been a monk for 42 years and has alwas greatly cultivated poverty and humility. His home town is Sassoferrato. When he was five years old or a little older, he fell into a spring, but was pulled out, more dead than alive. Afterwards his parents gave him to God. The monastery⁵ where he was first received is dedicated to the Holy Virgin. He made his profession of vows on the day of the Holy Virgin, and years later he celebrated his first mass and also became a master of theology on that same feastday. He was also promoted cardinal by Us in the City of the Blessed Virgin.⁶ He is perfect in all ways, and has been called by God like Aaron. He did not know that he would be received into Our council, he did not seek it, and indeed he has been fleeing all honourable offices.⁷ It was Us who took notice of his good name and his true reputation for an exemplary life. He himself shied away from the honour, but his virtues required that he should have it.

¹ Berardo Eroli (1409-1479): Italian jurist. Appointed cardinal in 1460

² Niccolò Forteguerri (1419-1473): Elected Bishop of Teano in November 1458. Apppointed cardinal in 1460. Related to Pius II whose mother was a Forteguerri

³ In this context, the papal lands in Toscana

⁴ Alessandro Oliva [di Sassoferrato] (1407-1463): General of the Augustinian Order. Appointed cardinal in 1460

^{5 &}quot;locus"

⁶ Siena

⁷ "dignitates"

[8] Postremus est Franciscus, administrator ecclesiae Senensis, noster secundum carnem nepos, pontificii juris interpres, de quo non est cur verba faciamus, tum quia suspecta esset commendatio nostra, tum quod non modo nostro, sed cardinalium judicio dignus hoc munere putatus est. Rogati ab eis promotionem ejus fecimus; ipsi, an bene consuluerint, videbunt.

[9] Hic in diaconum, ceteri in presbyteros cardinales vocati sunt. Spes nobis est utilem hanc promotionem futuram. Nam, excepto nepote nostro, reliqui omnes matura aetate sunt. Nemo infra quadragesimum annum¹ agit. Doctrina singulari excellunt; prudentia et rerum² experientia ingens³ in omnibus, nullae in his sordes, non⁴ ambitio⁵, non arrogantia, non avaritia, quae hominem excaecat et idolatram⁶ facitⁿ, non libido, quae hominum vires effeminate, non crapula, non ebrietas dominatur. Vicerunt⁶ hi viri quaevis {178r} vitia, et mundae omnibus manus, sincerae mentes, videntes et solertes animi: aptissimi profecto, qui vicario Jesu Christi et assistant et consulant. Audivistis, qui sunt, quos promovimus, nunc⁶ ut eorum tres, qui adsunt, videatis oportet. Ite vos, diaconi cardinales, atque eos adducite, ut in collegio vestro consedeant.

¹ omit. FE

² omit. FE

³ ingenii FE

⁴ non *corr. ex* nulla G

⁵ non ambitio *omit*. FE

⁶ idolatriam J

⁷ idolatriam FE

⁸ vixerunt G

⁹ hunc FE

[8] Last comes Francesco,¹ administrator of the Church of Siena, our nephew after the flesh, specialist in pontifical law. There is no reason to speek about him both because Our praise would be suspect, and because he was considered worthy of this office not only by Us but also by the cardinals. Since they requested his promotion, We granted it. They will see if their advice was good.

[9] Francesco has been assigned to the order of cardinal deacons, the others to the order of cardinal priests. It is Our hope that this promotion will prove beneficial, for except Our nephew all are of mature age, none being less than forty years old. They have remarkable learning, wisdom, and great experience in all areas. There is no meanness in them, no ambition, no arrogance, and no greed which blinds man and makes him an idolater. Also there is no licentiousness which makes man weak as a woman. They are not given to drunkenness and crapulence. They have defeated vice, and they all have clean hands, sincere souls, and clear-seeing, astute minds. Indeed, they are perfectly capable of assisting and advising the Vicar of Jesus Christ. You have now heard whom We have promoted and should now see the three who are present. Go, cardinal deacons, and bring them here to take their seat with you as members of your college.

¹ Francesco Piccolomini Todeschini (1439-1503): Appointed cardinal in 1460. Nephew of Pius II through the pope's sister, Laudomia. Elected pope, under the name of Pius III, in 1503, but died within a month

3. To the new cardinals

3.1. Vocati estis

Ad novos cardinales, qui aderant

[10] {178r} Vocati estis, filii, fratres nostri, ad cardinalatus honorem. Magna vobis dignitas credita est. Collegium enim venerabilium fratrum nostrorum, ad quod modo recipiendi estis, nihil aliud est quam Christiani orbis senatus et militantis ecclesiae supremum tribunal. Judicare de religione, de fide, de omni majori causa vestri ordinis est. Curate ut tanto digni fastigio sicut crediti¹ estis, ita reperiamini. Non petimus, ut *veterem hominem exuatis*, sed potius retineatis, nisi si quid est latens, quod tantae gloriae non conveniat. Fuistis humiles hactenus: servate hoc decus. Fuistis casti: augete hanc virtutem. Fuistis sobrii: abstinentes, religiosi, pii, nunc his dotibus maxime pollere oportet. Non dabimus vobis aliam doctrinam, nisi ut tales esse conemini, quales existere cardinales debere judicastis, priusquam ipsi hunc splendorem consequeremini. Amen.

32

¹ traditi J

3 To the new cardinals

3.1. Vocati estis

To the new cardinals who were present

[10] Sons and brothers, you have been called to the honourable office of cardinal. Great is the honour given to you: the college of our venerable brethren, into which you will now be received, is nothing but the Senate of the Christian world and the supreme tribunal of the Church militant. It is the task of your order to judge in matters of religion and faith, and in all major causes. Show yourselves to be worthy of this honour. We do not ask you to strip yourselves of the old man,¹ but rather to still be him, unless there is something hidden in you which is unsuitable for this honourable office. Until now you have been humble: keep that distinction. You have been chaste: make that virtue grow. You have been sober, abstinent, religious, and pious: now these virtues must flourish more than ever. We give you no other precept than to be such as you thought cardinals should be before you yourselves attained this splendid state. Amen.

¹ Colossians, 3, 10

3.2. Maxima

[11] {123r} Maxima, filii, et excellentissima dignitate donati estis: ad collegium apostolicum vocati consiliarii nostri et conjudices orbis terrarium eritis, *inter causam et causam, inter sanguinem et sanguinem, inter lepram et lepram* discernere vos oportebit. Successores apostolorum circa thronum nostrum sedebitis. Vos senatores urbis et regum similes eritis, veri mundi cardines, super quibus militantis ostium ecclesiae volvendum ac regendum est. Cogitate animo, quos viros, quae ingenia, quam integritatem haec dignitas requirit: humilitatem, non superbiam; liberalitatem, non avaritiam; abstinentiam, non ebrietatem; continentiam, non libidinem; scientiam, non ignorantiam; virtutes omnes, nullum vitium hic honos exposcit. Si fuistis hactenus {123v} vigilantes, nunc vigiletis oportet adversus malignum hostem, qui numquam dormit cogitans *quem devoret*. Si liberales fuistis, nunc opes in rebus honestis profundite et maxime in alendos pauperes! Si cibi potusque abstinentes fuistis¹, nunc praecipue luxuriem fugite! Absit avaritia, facessat crudelitas, exulet arrogantia! Sint *libri sacri semper in manibus vestris*, dies noctesque aut discite aliquid aut alios docete! Opera efficite per quae *lux vestra coram hominibus luceat*! Et denique tales estote quales esse debere cardinales dijudicastis, antequam ipsi hoc culmen ascenderetis!

¹ omit. C

³⁴

3.2. Maxima

[11] My sons, the office¹ bestowed upon You is a very great and excellent one. You have been called to the Apostolic College to be Our advisors and co-judges of the world. You shall have to judge between blood and blood, cause and cause, leprosy and leprosy.² As successors to the apostles you will be seated around Our throne. You will be senators of the City and like to kings. You will be the world's true hinges around which the gate of the Church Militant turns and by which it is governed. Consider what souls, what men, what minds, and what integrity this office requires: humility, not pride; generosity, not greed; abstinence, not drunkenness; continence, not lust; knowledge, not ignorance. This honourable office requires all the virtues, and no vice. If you were vigilant before, now you must be especially vigilant against the evil enemy who never sleeps, but is always seeking whom to devour.³ If you were generous, now spend you wealth on honourable things and especially on nourishing the poor. If you were abstemious in eating and drinking, now you must flee all luxury. Banish greed, cruelty, and pride. Always have the holy books in your hands,⁴ and spend day and night in learning or teaching. Endeavour to let your light shine before men!⁵ And, finally, be such as you thought cardinals ought to be before you yourselves were raised to this exalted state.

¹ "dignitas"

² Deuteronomy, 17, 8

³ 1. Peter, 5, 8

⁴ 1. Machabees, 12, 9

⁵ Matthew, 5, 16