



**Oration “Responsuri” of Pope Pius II (11 December 1459, Mantova). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 7th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 52)**

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## **(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 52)**

**Oration “*Responsuri*” of Pope Pius II (11 December 1459, Mantova). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**7th version**

**2019**

## Abstract

When a French embassy reached the Congress of Mantua in November 1459, it soon became evident that its primary aim was not to negotiate the French contribution to a crusade against the Turks, but to present the French complaints and objections concerning the investiture of Ferrante of Aragon as King of Naples and to demand that the pope invest René d'Anjou with the Kingdom instead, since – according to the French - it rightfully belonged to René. In his oration, the “*Responsuri*”, the pope defended himself against the French accusations, justifying his actions with the military situation at the time as well as with legal obligations incumbent on the papacy, and political pressures. Consequently, he denied the French claims, but declared his willingness to have the whole matter tried in court, with himself as judge. At the end of the oration, the pope severely criticized the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges from 1438, by which law the pope's authority in French ecclesiastical matters and appointments had been greatly restricted.

## Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1459; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante I of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King Charles VII; King René d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Congress of Mantova; Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges 1438

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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 as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration "*Quam laetus*" [18], Appendix

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# **I. INTRODUCTION**

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

The political and strategic situation of Italy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was conditioned by its division into, roughly, four regions:

- Northern Italy, comprising the powerful, independent states of Milan, Venice, Genoa and Florence and a number of lesser principalities and communes.
- Central Italy, mostly comprising the Papal States (or the lands of Saint Peter). The Papal States were basically a monarchy governed by the reigning pope.
- Southern Italy, roughly comprising the Italian peninsula south of the Papal States, and forming, since 1282, the Kingdom of Naples<sup>2</sup> (often just called “the Kingdom”, Il Regno, since there was only this one kingdom in all of mainland Italy).
- The big and small islands of the Tyrrhenian Sea, including Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Islands etc., mostly kingdoms under the Spanish Crown of Aragon.

For the popes it was quite important who ruled the Kingdom of Naples, their big neighbour to the South. They managed to maintain some form of nominal, feudal sovereignty over the Kingdom, and they systematically pursued a balance of power so as to avoid that the Kingdom would become too strong in relation to the Papal State.

In 1194, the Kingdom of Sicily (Southern Italy and Sicily), due to dynastic circumstances, passed from the French Norman dynasty to the German Imperial Hohenstaufen dynasty.

In 1266, at the invitation of the papacy, Charles d’Anjou ousted the German Hohenstaufen dynasty from the Kingdom which thus passed to the French dynasty of Anjou.

In 1288, the Island of Sicily rebelled against the Angevins (the Sicilian Vespers). The Island was conquered by Pedro III of the Spanish House of Aragon, and after that it remained under the Crown of Aragon while the French Angevins governed the southern Italian Kingdom of Naples.

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<sup>1</sup> CO, III, 36-40; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 68-70, pp. 210-211; Abulafia; Ady, pp. 176-178; Boulting, pp. 275-276; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, VI, ch. 12; Mitchell, 159-161; Paparelli, 224-228; Pastor, II, p. 64-66; Picotti, 258-261, 278-286; Pillinini, pp. 68-82; Reinhardt, p. 266; Stolf, p. 354; Voigt, IV, pp. 81-89

<sup>2</sup> At the time called, confusingly, the Kingdom of Sicily

In 1442/1443, the King of Aragon, Alfonso V, after years of warfare, defeated King René d'Anjou and in his turn ousted the Angevins from the Kingdom of Naples which was then reunited with the Kingdom of Sicily.

When Alfonso died, in 1458, the Kingdom of Naples passed to his son, Ferrante I, while the Kingdom of Sicily passed to his brother, Juan II, King of Aragon.

The popes had staunchly supported the French Angevin rule in Naples, but after the Aragonese conquest in 1442/1443 the military and political realities made them bow to necessity and recognize the Spanish Aragonese rule.

In 1458, both King Alfonso and Pope Calixtus died. The king was succeeded by his son, Ferrante I, who took over the Kingdom peacefully, being recognized by his own subjects and by the Italian powers, which were bound to do so by the treaty of the Italian League (1455).<sup>1</sup> The pope was succeeded by Pius II who, as one of his first acts of government, formally invested Ferrante with the Kingdom and sent a cardinal to crown him.

He also summoned the Italian and European powers to a Congress in Mantua with the purpose of organizing a joint military response to Turkish expansion into Europe. The congress effectively began its work in September 1459, but the embassy of the French king only arrived towards the end of the congress, in late November. It soon became clear that they had not really come to contribute to a crusade against the Turks, but to put pressure on the pope to revoke the investiture of King Ferrante with the Kingdom and to invest King Rene with it in stead.

At this time, relations between the papacy and France were burdened by three important issues:

- The Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges which had been approved by King Charles VII in 1438. It heavily restricted papal authority in France in general and over the French Church in particular and greatly limited the financial flows from France to Rome (e.g. in connection with episcopal and other appointments). The popes evidently wanted the French to revoke the Sanction and to restore papal authority in France and papal incomes from France.
- The Kingdom of Naples which the French wanted to be taken away from the Spanish House of Aragon and restored to the French House of Anjou, and which the pope wanted

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<sup>1</sup> Soranzo

to keep in Spanish possession so as to avoid encirclement of Italy and the Papal States by the French (from the North and from the South).

- The crusade against the Turks towards which the French king had been very skeptical ever since the idea had been launched by the rising House of Burgundy, and for which the pope definitely needed a strong French contribution.

A side issue – to further complicate matters – was

- the pope's alliance with Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, who in 1450 had succeeded to Visconti dynasty, in spite of French claims to the duchy (via the House of Orléans), and who for this reason was quite nervous about having the French Royal house in control of Southern Italy.<sup>1</sup>

So, in November/December 1459 the situation between France and the Papacy was quite complicated: The French wanted the restoration of the French House of Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples and had not given up their designs on Milan; they also wanted to maintain the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; and finally they did not want to join the crusade against the Turks.

The pope, on the other side, wanted to keep the French out of Italy by maintaining the Spanish House of Aragon in the Kingdom of Naples and the new Sforza dynasty in Milan; he also wanted the French to abolish the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; and finally he wanted the French to join the crusade.

At the formal reception of the French embassy in Mantua, on 21 November 1459, one of the French ambassadors, Bishop Guillaume Chartier of Paris, held an oration, the "*Maximum et amplissimum onus*", in which he declared his king's filial obedience to the pope, and omitted any criticism of the pope's investiture of King Ferrante with the crown of Naples, leaving that matter for later. The papal court had actually expected that his oration would contain such a criticism, a severe one even, and therefore the pope had prepared a response, the oration "*Placuit audisse*" in which he replied to the attacks of the French. Since they were not forthcoming, he had instead to improvise another oration, the "*Multa hic hodie*", without a defense of his Neapolitan policies. However, he re-used a number of the arguments on this matter from the "*Placuit audisse*" in his later oration "*Responsuri*".

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<sup>1</sup> Pillinini, p. 71

Some days after the reception of the French embassy, the bailli of Rouen, Guillaume Cousinot, in a meeting held on 30 November,<sup>1</sup> delivered an oration in which he politely, but unmistakably criticized the pope for his investiture of King Ferrante with the Kingdom of Naples and demanded that the pope revoke the investiture and invest King René instead.

In his *Commentarii*, Pope Pius wrote about the – quite dramatic – meeting with the French ambassadors, to which the ambassadors unexpectedly brought a number of ambassadors of other powers, making it a very public meeting:

*When silence fell the bailli launched into a long speech in praise of the great deeds which the French (whom he called “the People of the Lily”) had performed in defense of the faith and the many things they had done for the Apostolic See. He explained how the kingdom of Sicily had come to them and how much blood it had cost. Alfonso, he said, had been entirely unjustified in ejecting them by force of arms. The pope had acted unfairly in putting Alfonso’s undeserving bastard son on the throne of such a kingdom and rejecting René, the rightful king. Even Calixtus, Aragonese though he was, would never have done such a thing. The pope had done the French wrong. He had been poorly advised; he had rejected the blue blood of the Lilies and preferred the Aragonese. He would be wise to undo an unwise decision: the bailli asked that he proclaim René king, reject Ferrante, and thus compensate the French for the insults they had suffered.*

*This was the gist of the speech. The language was pompous and bombastic, peppered with boasts and threats in the French fashion. As he spoke, the friends of France all shook the crests of their helmets<sup>2</sup> and, thinking the pope would not dare to reply, exulted in their triumph. For the moment, Pius made only a brief response: “Royal ambassadors, we have heard you plead René’s case and lay charges against ourselves. What we have done in the matter of Sicily was carried out in consultation with the college of cardinals. If you now demand that it be revoked as unjust, it is only right that we ask their opinion. When we have done so, we will speak to your complaints and requests. Then he dismissed the meeting.”<sup>3</sup>*

The day afterwards, on 1 December, the pope received the ambassador of King Ferrante and heard him argue for the Aragonese position in the oration “*Responsurus*”.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Picotti, p. 257, n. 1

<sup>2</sup> “*cristas cuncti erigere*”: the image used by Pius may rather refer to the raised or erect crest or comb of some birds, e.g. cocks

<sup>3</sup> CO, III, 38 (Meserve, II, p. 167)

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix 1. It was certainly no coincidence that the pope’s oration began with the word “*Responsuri*” and the Aragonese ambassador’s with the word “*Responsurus*”. Indeed, a number of the arguments in the ambassador’s

Then he fell ill:

*After this, the pope suffered a serious bout of stomach trouble and was so racked by a dry cough that both he and his physicians had doubts whether he would live. When they heard this, the French claimed it was a sham and that the pope was not truly sick. They required, demanded, insisted on an answer. They imagined their arguments had got the better of the pope and that he was trying to avoid making a reply. When Pius heard this, he said: "I'll answer that vexatious legation even if I drop dead on the assembly floor doing so. I will not give in to pain, and I won't let illness make me look a coward."*

*He then called the cardinals together and told them the reply he meant to make. Some thought he should communicate this to a small gathering, but he ordered that all the ambassadors should be summoned along with the chief officials of the Curia.<sup>1</sup>*

Some days later he received a written memorandum from the French ambassadors, with the demands presented orally by Guillaume Cousinot on 30 November (see Appendix 2).

Then, on 11 December (probably, or some days earlier), the pope replied to the ambassadors with the oration "*Responsuri*".

In the *Commentarii* the pope wrote about the event:

*When this crowd had gathered, the pope, though weak and in great pain, emerged from his chamber and entered the audience hall. After silence was called, he sat on his lofty throne, pale, in some distress, and barely able to speak. But his spirits soon revived and the words came flooding to his lips. Rising above his pain, he spoke without the slightest difficulty for three hours, a speech that commanded their rapt attention.*

*In his speech, the pope delivered a far better eulogy of the French than the bailli had done. It was true that they had done much good to the Church, but they had received no less in return. The measures taken in regard to the Kingdom of Sicily were neither unjust nor unreasonable. It was the French complaints which were unjust, since their rights had been completely respected. There was no denying, in fact, that they themselves were in the*

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oration recur in the pope's. Remarkably, the pope does not mention the Aragonese ambassador's intervention in his *Commentarii*

<sup>1</sup> CO, III, 38, 4-5 (Merve, II, pp. 169)

*wrong, for they had passed a law in their kingdom to the detriment of the Apostolic See, an act that was sending many souls to Hell.*

*This oration is published<sup>1</sup> with the others so that there is no reason to give the parts of it in detail here. If anyone wants to know how conclusively the arrogant French were refuted, the text can be found in the collected speeches.<sup>2</sup>*

The French ambassadors were, as might be expected, dissatisfied with the pope's reply,<sup>3</sup> quite uncompromising,<sup>4</sup> but the cardinals and the curials were highly complimentary and thought that Pius had preserved *"the honor of the See; ... they especially applauded the things he had said about the Pragmatic Sanction."*<sup>5</sup>

The next day, on 12 December (probably, or some days earlier), a new meeting was held with the French ambassadors, this time with a very restricted audience of eight cardinals. For two hours the French ambassadors pleaded King René's case,<sup>6</sup> but their arguments were systematically and effectively rebutted by the pope, and in the end the ambassadors, according to Pius himself, *threw themselves at his feet and begged his pardon.*<sup>7</sup>

Already on the same day as the last meeting, 12 December, the pope wrote the first of two letters to King Charles (see appendix 4) in order to expose the papal position on the matter directly to the king and to avoid that the king would only know of his position through the presumably biased reports of his ambassadors.<sup>8</sup>

Also on that day, the French ambassadors presented certain objections to the pope's oration (see Appendix 3).

Afterwards, King Ferrante sent a letter of thanks (see Appendix 5) to the pope for defending his position, and especially for upholding the legitimation of him as heir of King Alfonso made by the previous popes.

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<sup>1</sup> "scripta"

<sup>2</sup> CO, III, 38, 5-7 (Meserve, II, pp. 169-171)

<sup>3</sup> CO, III, 38, 8

<sup>4</sup> Abulafia, p. 246

<sup>5</sup> CO, III, 38 (Meserve, II, p. 171)

<sup>6</sup> See French ambassador's oration, Appendix 2

<sup>7</sup> CO, III, 39 (Meserve, II, p. 173)

<sup>8</sup> Papal letter of 12 December 1459 and 10 January 1460 to King Charles VI, see Appendix 3

Pius' contemporary biographer, Platina, just wrote: *On three occasions, he vigorously refuted the complaints of the French and the calumnies of King René concerning his confirmation of Ferrante, son of Alfonso, as King of Naples and his grant to him of the crown of the kingdom.*<sup>1</sup>

The discussions and the orations could not solve the complicated problems of the Kingdom of Naples and the Pragmatic Sanction, and subsequent events showed that in no case was the French king willing to effectively join a crusade.

So, for the time being, the Kingdom of Naples remained in the hands of the House of Aragon and the French were kept out of Southern Italy, the Pragmatic Sanction remained in force, and the French did not promise to join the crusade.

## 2. Themes

### 2.1. Kingdom of Naples<sup>2</sup>

Pius consistently presents the French (Anjou) possession of the Kingdom of Sicily as one of the great favours bestowed upon the French House in recognition of the considerable merits of the Franks towards the papacy:

*And who does not see that the transferral of the Kingdom of Sicily to the family of France, was a great and honourable gift - as also related by you? [Sect. 19]*

On their part, the French seem to have expressed the notion that the papacy granted the Kingdom to the French because it was too weak to hold on to it itself:

*Somebody may say, as you did in your oration, that the kingdom was occupied by tyrants and that the powerful Manfred could not be expelled. Therefore the Roman See granted what it could not keep on its own, preferring to give it away rather than to lose it. [Sect. 19]*

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<sup>1</sup> Zimolo, p. 107: *Gallorum querimonias et calumpnias Renati regis, quod Ferdinandum, Alphonsi filium, in regno Neapolitano confirmasset quodque eundem corona regni donasset, tribus actionibus acerrime confutavit.* Pius' other contemporary biographer, Campano, does not mention the matter

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.4



They were both right. In their fight against the German conquerors, the popes certainly did not want Sicily to continue or come back under German, imperial lordship when the Hohenstauffen dynasty fell in 1266. As they were indeed not strong enough to hold Sicily directly, they had to find another ruling house who could. It would not be the Spaniards since they now presented the danger of a new, Mediterranean hegemony. The popes, therefore, first turned to the English offering them the crown of Sicily, and only when the English said no, did they offer it to the royal house of France.<sup>1</sup>

For almost two centuries after the accession of Anjou to the crown of Sicily in 1262/1266, the alliance between the Sicilian Angevins and the papacy generally held firm, directed as it was against the main European competitor of both the French and the papacy, i.e. the Holy Roman Empire with its Ghibelline supporters in North and Central Italy. Relations, though, could become quite strained when one of the two parties began to encroach on the other's dominion and interests.

So, Pius is basically correct in pointing to a series of popes actively supporting the House of Anjou in Sicily, though he carefully avoids to mention the exceptions and the crises in the relationship. And Pius' defense of his own actions as pope, based on the legal, political and military situation of the day (see below), appears to be quite convincing: his version of the chain and state of affairs may have been heavily – and expectedly – slanted towards giving a favourable picture of his predecessors' and his own actions, but in essence it was correct.

The big unsaid, however, was that in the meantime the French claim on the Duchy of Milan and more broadly its power plays in Northern Italy had raised the spectre of another – this time a French – encirclement of the Papal State, which made it imperative for the popes to block the French interests in Southern Italy, an imperative with which the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Pius' allies, obviously agreed.

This strategic issue was evident to all, and it made Pius' declarations of impartiality in the fight between the French Angevins and the Spanish Aragonese appear hypocritical and insincere:

*If the due course of law is chosen, weapons must be laid down, and the dispute must continue with legal arguments: We Ourselves shall have the part of the just judge. For why should We care which of you possess the Kingdom? Indeed, if the judicial investigation proves that it is René who has the right to the Kingdom, We shall do as you require, nay even more. [Sect. 52]*

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<sup>1</sup> Léonard, p. 38

Nobody would have been fooled.

### 2.2.1. Military imperatives

The last pope to defend the House of Anjou as rulers of the Kingdom of Naples was Eugenius IV who fought bitterly and as long as he possibly could against Alfonso of Aragon. In the end, the military situation left him no other choice than to switch sides and recognize Alfonso as king and legitimize his illegitimate son, Ferrante, as heir to the kingdom.

In the “*Responsuri*”, Pius told the French ambassadors:

*On one side, the King of France, against the custom of his ancestors, allowed the Roman Church to be troubled, and René did not send help nor keep his promises. On the other side, King Alfonso put the lands of Saint Peter under pressure and molested and abused them with great armies. Moreover, Francesco Sforza Visconti, now Lord of Milan, had invaded the territory of Piceno, and the Basilians had, under the name of a General Council, stirred up new troubles. Under those circumstances, Eugenius accepted the advice proffered by cardinals as well as by insightful men. We do not here discuss the rights of the [two] parties; that must be decided in a proper suit of law. At any rate, Eugenius accepted a peace with Alfonso that was not only useful, but even necessary: he allowed Alfonso the kingdom, and moreover he handed over to him some cities from the Lands of the Church, among them Terracina, once called Anxur. This is the custom of war: peace is had on the conditions of the victor. It is for these reasons that Eugenius granted Alfonso the title to the Kingdom of Sicily, in a situation where René did not possess a single house or a single piece of land in the Kingdom. [Sect. 33]*

The assessment of Eugenius’ hopeless military situation is shared by modern historians. Ryder wrote:

*The Aragonese triumph in the of opposition from Eugenius IV gave Alfonso not only an immense advantage in resolving the juridical issue, but a position overshadowing the papal states. The old enemy had become Rome’s most powerful neighbour, controlling the whole length of its southern frontier, his armies camped barely 50 miles from Rome itself. Eugenius, still in his Florentine exile, had no choice but to come to terms or risk seeing his states handed over to his conciliar rival Felix. First he had to steal from Florence to Siena in order to free his hands for so spectacular a diplomatic somersault. Once there, he deputed*

*Ludovico Scarampo, Cardinal of Aquileia, a warrior cleric of Vitelleschi stamp but a good friend of Piccinino and well disposed towards Alfonso, to go as legate to Naples and arrange everything. The King met him at Terracina in June 1443 with an impressive display of cordiality and military power ... By the end Alfonso had scored another notable victory in his long-running battle with the papacy. He had won the investiture of Naples for himself, Ferdinando (whom the pope was to legitimize) and their heirs; possession of Benevento and Terracina for life; and promotion of two loyal bishops, Arnau Roger de Palars and Alfonso Borja, to the college of cardinals. In return he promised to withdraw his delegates from the Council of Basel and end all dealings with Felix.<sup>1</sup>*

Against the French accusations, Pius maintained that the military force of Ferrante, aided by Jacopo Piccinino's invasion of the Papal States, constituted a mortal threat to the papacy, forcing Pius to come to terms with the Aragonese – just as had his predecessor, Pope Eugenius IV, in 1443. Had the French been present with a military force great enough to defeat Ferrante and to protect the papacy, the situation would have been completely different, but they were not, and the pope had had to bow to necessity.

In his oration Pius said that when he became pope

*Jacopo Piccinino, one of our time's outstanding captains, had invaded the lands of the Church. A traitorous commander had turned the castle of Assisi over to him, and afterwards he also gained control of the city. He had also attacked Nocera, and, having conquered the city of Gualdo, he attacked the castle there vigourously. The people of nearby Fulgino were trembling with anxiety, as were the people of Spoleto, where the commander of the castle seemed to favour Piccinino. Some of fortresses of the Church were in the hands of the Catalans, and though We thought that they would remain loyal and steadfast, We had to fear that patriotism would make them side with Ferrante who ruled the Kingdom of Sicily unopposed... [Sect. 41]*

*Piccinino had now taken three cities from the Church, and if We did not give the Kingdom to Ferrante, for whom he was fighting, he would inflict the greatest possible damage upon Our subjects. The Romans asked for peace, the Umbrians asked for peace, the people of Piceno asked for peace, and all the neighbours asked for peace: all believed that denying the request would have serious and dangerous consequences. ... If We opposed the demands of Ferrante, a most serious and dangerous war threatened the Church. We were not strong enough to resist him, and the Bishop of Marseilles, sent by René, had brought*

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<sup>1</sup> Ryder, p. 255

*nothing but sweet words and uncertain promises. Hopes in René were farfetched and all help doubtful, whereas in Ferrante We would have an enemy close by and evident ruin. And though We see that you believe so, We did not have an envoy from the King of France with Us, for the dean of Chartres, who was then in Rome, had been sent to Calixtus to negotiate the matter of the Turks, not the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily. After the death of Calixtus, he had no business with Us, and as his mission was ended, his words carried no weight...*  
[Sect. 42]

Pius' arguments concerning the military situation were really quite convincing, and King René's complete military passivity with regard to the Kingdom of Naples since his defeat the hands of King Alfonso in 1442/1443 had left the popes without the means to resist the Aragonese claims on the Kingdom. It is difficult to disagree with Pius that in this respect the accusations of the French ambassadors were unjust.

### **2.1.2. Legal situation**

The Aragonese takeover and possession of the Kingdom of Naples had been recognized by Pius' predecessors, Eugenius IV, Nicolaus V and Calixtus III. The two first popes had also recognized Ferrante's right to succeed his father Alfonso as king, but when Alfonso died in 1458, Calixtus denied this right and declared that the Kingdom had reverted to the pope as feudal overlord.

In the Italian peace treaty of 1455, the Italian powers, including the Apostolic See, had directly recognized the Aragonese rule in the Kingdom of Naples and Ferrante's right of succession. Thus, the pope was bound by a major treaty to invest Ferrante with the Kingdom when he requested it.

Indeed, all the Italian powers had demanded that the pope respect the stipulations concerning Ferrante in the treaty establishing the Lega Italica, and moreover the princes, barons and subjects of the Kingdom had unanimously recognized Ferrante's kingship.

Concerning the French argument that Pius' direct predecessor, Calixtus III, had denied Ferrante the investiture, Pius told the ambassadors that Calixtus had not done so because he wanted to invest King René, but because he had other plans, as was well known at the Roman Curia. He did not say it directly, but at the curia it was general knowledge that the Borgia pope had planned to

make one of his own nephews, don Pedro, King of Naples<sup>1</sup> – as was also known to Italian ambassadors at the Papal Court and thus to their masters.<sup>2</sup>

As Pius told the ambassadors, there were legally three possibilities:

- 1) Kingdom had returned to the pope as feudal overlord: in that case the pope was free to appoint the king he wanted to, and he had been forced to appoint Ferrante. Thus, the French had no legal cause for complaint.
- 2) The Kingdom had been lawfully inherited by Ferrante: in that case, too, the French had no cause for complaint.
- 3) The Kingdom was lawfully due to King René: in that case, the pope had reserved René's rights – or, more precisely, the rights of other parties when he invested Ferrante with the Kingdom,<sup>3</sup> and the French were welcome to pursue the matter through a proper suit of law in which the pope would be the judge.

In his oration, Pius said:

*In no way have We diminished your rights. Though Ferrante may have had certain advantages, it was Our Kingdom to dispose of since it had either reverted to Us or was due to Ferrante by right of inheritance. Who can criticise Us for that? If Ferrante's father was the king and had made him the legitimate heir, it would be unjust to deny him the paternal kingdom. If the kingdom had reverted to Us, it was Ours to give to whom We wanted to, and We wanted to give it to Ferrante. If it belonged to the French, or to King René, or to somebody else, We did not give or wanted to give it to Ferrante, for in Our letters We reserved the rights of other parties, something that Our predecessors had not done.<sup>4</sup> So,*

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, IV, p. 22

<sup>2</sup> Pastor, I, pp. 601

<sup>3</sup> Papal bull *Divina disponente clementia* of 10 November 1458 bestowing the Kingdom of Naples upon King Ferrante, with the reservation of others' including King René's rights: *Jus etiam, quod quicumque de terris Ecclesiae, seu Tusciae, vel Lombardiae, aut Romanae Ecclesiae fideles in comitatibus, civitatibus, terris, castris, villis, seu locis a sede Apostolica seu a Regibus, seu principibus sibi concessum obtinent, nec non jus, quod privati a jure, vel per processus apostolicos olim habebant, si eos ad illud apostolica auctoritate legitime restitui contingat, etiam penitus salvum erit, nec per praesentem regni & terrae concessionem comitatum, seu aliorum concessorum hujusmodi cuiquam quoad proprietatem et possessionem praejudicium aliquod generetur, regio jure in his omnibus semper salvo* [Margin note: *Jura sua cunctis illaesa servanda*]. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 30; Müller, pp. 698-708

<sup>4</sup> Actually, already in 1445 Eugenius IV may have expressed – in a declaration to the French ambassadors – the intention not to prejudice the rights of the House of Anjou, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, pp. 222: *Eugène répondit que, pour éviter un plus grand mal et conjurer un péril imminent, il avait été obligé de céder aux exigences du roi*

*why are We being slandered? What are We rebuked for? Who does not understand that your pious king and you yourselves have been told nonsense since you believe that We have deprived the glorious House of France of the kingdom, whereas in fact We have deprived nobody of it and have deprived nobody of their rights. [Sect. 44]*

*Maybe someone will say: "But if the kingdom had reverted to You, You should have preferred the French." Indeed, We would have preferred the French if they had been as close by as Ferrante, and if We had not been threatened by so great a danger and pressured by so great a necessity. "But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very serious matter." If it was lawful to invest him [with the Kingdom], then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything. "But yes, it will ensure him the people's favour." But when We commanded that he be crowned, he did not need that, for he already had the favour of all the nobles and the people. Moreover, it had previously been settled that he should be given the crown when he requested it, as Our predecessors Eugenius and Nicolaus had agreed with Alfonso. We simply could not deny his request and go against their promises. For if private people are bound by their agreements, then princes are undoubtedly bound even more so. Nothing is more shameful than a prince who breaks faith. [Sect. 45]*

It is difficult to see how the legal arguments of the French could be stronger than the pope's, especially if they did not wish to engage in a law suit. At any rate, in that age conquest by arms was considered legitimate, and the French themselves had acquired, kept and lost the Kingdom of Naples by arms. If they could reconquer the Kingdom by arms, the matter would of course be quite different, but under the present circumstances the pope was bound by honour to support the king he had himself recognized and invested with the Kingdom.

### **2.1.3. Political agenda**

The French ambassadors accused Pius of having *spurned and rejected the House of France* because he *despises the French Nation* [Sect. 39].

There is no doubt that Pius shared the general gallophobia of the Italians and that he really did not like the French – witness many remarks scattered around in his works, e.g. his remark in the

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*d'Aragon, mais qu'il n'entendait pas préjudicer au droit de la maison d'Anjou.* See also Pope Calixtus' words to the Milanese ambassador [in Pastor's translation]: *Wir hätten noch härter gegen ihn [King Ferrante] vorgehen und ihm jedes Recht aus Nachfolge absprechen sollen. Das haben Wir nicht thun wollen, aber zur Vertheidigung der Rechte der Kirche haben Wir diese gerechte und heilige Bulle erlassen ... In derselben haben Wir seine [King Ferrante's] Rechte, wie diejenigen der anderen Prätendenten reserviert, denn Jedem soll sein Recht werden* (Pastor, I, p. 602)

*Commentarii* on ambassador Cousinot's speech to him: *The language was pompous and bombastic, peppered with boasts and threats in the French fashion*. So, in this sense he had a clear cultural prejudice against the French which may have influenced his actions in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily.<sup>1</sup>

But, more importantly, he had two clear political motives:

Firstly, he and his ally, the Duke of Milan, wanted to limit the French influence in Italy, and they therefore certainly did not want the Kingdom of Naples to revert to a French dynasty (see above).

And secondly, French military pressure from the South might force the pope to go back to Avignon. For example, a French Neapolitan army advancing on Rome at the time of a papal election – as had happened on other occasions – might result in the election of a French pope who would bring the papacy back to Avignon and France, something which must at all costs be avoided. That this issue was acute and important for Pius is shown by his description of the Conclave of 1458 where he states that the clinching argument against his main competitor in the conclave, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, was the risk of the papacy returning to France.<sup>2</sup>

So, not just cultural prejudices but clear political reasons motivated Pius to support the Spanish Aragonese House in the Kingdom of Naples and to keep out the French Angevins.

However, he could not very well admit such considerations to the French, and therefore a very important reason for his policy in the matter of Naples was left unsaid in his oration.

As everybody, including the French ambassadors, would be quite aware of the pope's political motives in this affair, their absence from the pope's otherwise convincing argumentation leaves the impression of a brilliant, but not completely sincere defense.

So, when he told the ambassadors: *Why should We want to exclude the House of France, so noble, so fond of virtue, and so well deserved by our See?* [Sect. 10] or *Why should we care which of you posses the kingdom?* [Sect. 52], he may have been overwhelmed – as happens to brilliant and passionate orators – by momentary sincerity and believed his own words, but nobody else would have.

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<sup>1</sup> See also Gilli

<sup>2</sup> CO, I, 36 (Meserve, I, pp. 187-189). See also Nowak, pp. 415-426

## 2.2. France and the crusade<sup>1</sup>

Having rejected the French complaints and accusations in the matter of Naples, Pius took up the matter of the crusade which was indeed the main purpose of the Congress. By the time the oration was delivered, it was probably quite evident that the French would not commit themselves in any way to the crusade, so Pius' exhortation to them to give their advice on this matter was really a challenge:

*Help us, ambassadors; turn your minds towards, be open to, and think of ways to solve not only the conflicts concerning this kingdom, but also the other conflicts between Christians. Let Us hear your advice; indeed We attach the greatest importance to your judgments. Do not fail Us, do not fail Christ, for this matter is Christ's own. [Sect. 55] ... We are waiting to hear how you will contribute to the quest for peace. You are acting on behalf of a great and mighty king, and much depends on you. [Sect. 57] .... Let Us hear what comfort you are bringing in these calamities. We do not doubt that you hold great things in trust. Please give your advice on what should be done about peace between Christians and war against Turks, and do fulfil the hopes kindled by your arrival. [Sect. 58]*

## 2.3. Genoa

In May 1458, the French took over Genoa, and the son of King René, Jean, entitled Duke of Calabria, was appointed governor, using the appointment to launch the Anjou war against King Ferrante. The French rule, this time, only lasted some years before the Genoese rebelled against the French.

When, in December 1459, the French ambassadors in Mantua recommended Genoa to the pope, they were really asking for the pope's recognition of the French takeover. In his answer, the pope said: *Firstly, you recommended the people of Genoa to Us. We shall keep this city in high regard both by virtue of its own merits and because of the king's recommendation* [Sect. 9]. This very diplomatic answer of the pope would have given the French satisfaction without expressing any support for the French takeover.

The French request for the removal of Archbishop Paolo Campofregoso, a leader of the Genoese opposition against the French, was left in abeyance, and when the French were ousted in 1461, he actually became doge of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> On Pius' crusade, See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1.1.



## 2.4. Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438<sup>1</sup>

In view of the French unwillingness to commit themselves in the matter of the crusade, the pope seemingly felt that he had nothing to lose in taking up the matter of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges. The Pragmatic Sanction had been issued by King Charles VII of France on 7 July 1438. It was based on a number of key decrees of the Council of Basel limiting the power of the popes in general and over the national churches in particular. It required election rather than appointment to ecclesiastical offices, prohibited the pope from bestowing and profiting from benefices, and limited appeals to Rome, with the consequence of greatly restricting the financial flows from France to Rome.<sup>2</sup> The Papacy considered the Pragmatic Sanction a mortal danger and worked systematically to obtain its abrogation and to prevent it from “spreading” to other countries, in particular Germany.

In his oration, Pius seems to consider that some form of compromise might be found concerning ecclesiastical appointments and the appeals from French courts to Rome. But he would not and could not condone that clerics would be judged by secular courts and not by ecclesiastical courts, and generally he could not accept that the French Parliament would have greater authority in religious matters in France than the pope himself.

*We are not overly concerned with the audition of legal cases, the granting of benefices, or many other things We believe can be remedied. No, what worries Us is that We see the perdition and ruin of souls and the vanishing glory of this noble kingdom. For how can it be tolerated that laymen have been made judges of clerics? ... The Roman Bishop, whose parish is the whole world, and whose province is only limited by the Ocean, only has as much jurisdiction in France as the Parliament allows him. He is forbidden to punish a blasphemer, a murderer of near relatives, a heretic – even if he is an ecclesiastic - unless Parliament gives its assent. Many believe that its authority is so great that it precludes even Our censures. Thus the Roman Pontiff, judge of judges, is subjected to the judgment of Parliament. If We allow this, We make a monster of the Church, create a hydra with many heads, and completely destroy unity. [Sect. 62]*

In this area, the pope was fighting to uphold the authority of one of the two supranational institutions in which he passionately believed, the Empire and the Papacy, against the developing European nation states.

As an inveterate believer in monarchic government, he was also fighting the rise of democracy and warned the King of France of the consequences to his own authority:

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<sup>1</sup> Combet, pp. x-xviii. See also *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.5.

<sup>2</sup> See the introduction to the Pius’ oration “*Per me reges regant*”[65] (1462)

*This would be a dangerous thing, venerable brothers, and one which would overturn all hierarchy. For why would subjects obey their kings or other bishops, for that matter, if these themselves do not obey their own superior? Whoever makes a law directed against another, must consider that he should obey it himself. [Sect. 62].*

Here, Pius follows in the footsteps of his predecessor, Eugenius IV, who – when faced with the rebellious, conciliarist council fathers at the Council of Basel – wrote in a circular letter, the *Liber Apologeticus* of June 1436, to the princes of Europe: *Why are they [i.e. the council fathers] so eager to reduce this monarchy [i.e. the papacy], which God has established by his own word, to a popular state and to a democracy?*<sup>1</sup>, warning the princes that the revolt of the council against the papal monarch was a threat to all monarchic governments.<sup>2</sup> The princes would not have been deaf to this argument and eventually came to support the pope against the council – though for other reasons, too.

## 2.5. Translation of the empire<sup>3</sup>

In his oration, Pius claims that his predecessor, Pope Leo III, formally transferred the whole Roman Empire from the Greek emperors in Constantinople to the Franks, in the person of Charlemagne:

*... but the Roman Pontiff, Leo III, granted Charles an even greater one [boon]. Leo IV, who reigned [in Constantinople] between two Constantines, one his father, and the other his son, neglected Italy, and fell into heresy as he abhorred and forbade the cult of images. Scandalized [at this development], Pope Leo transferred imperial rule from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne. What greater [boon] could the Apostolic See bestow on the House of the Franks than honouring it with Roman imperial power and giving it lordship over the lands and princely power over peoples and nations? What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?, says the Lord in the person of the prophet. The family of the Franks was honoured above all others, having received imperial power and being placed on the summit of the mountains by the Roman Church. [Sect. 17]*

Scholars have debated what exactly happened when Pope Leo put an imperial crown on the head of Charlemagne on Christmas Day 800, in Rome, and how it was understood by Charlemagne

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<sup>1</sup> Stieber, pp. 27-28: *Cur monarchiam hanc, quam Deus suo ore instituit, ad popularem status et ad democratiam deducere festinant*

<sup>2</sup> See oration “*Audivi*” [1] (1436), Introduction

<sup>3</sup> This section is mainly based on Van Den Baar. See also *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.2.2.

himself and his subjects.<sup>1</sup> However, it is quite certain that the pope did not have the legal right and the power to make such a decision and that he did not, in fact, make it.<sup>2</sup> Most probably, the imperial coronation was a symbolic- but politically very important - recognition of Charlemagne's conquest and rulership over most of Europe, more or less the old Western part of the Roman Empire.<sup>3</sup>

It is true, as Pius claimed, that it was Charlemagne's negotiations with the Imperial Court in Constantinople and recognition by the Byzantine emperor as Western emperor (but not as Roman emperor) which formalized the state of the double empire,<sup>4</sup> but this did not happen in contravention of a papal act translating the whole Roman Empire from the Byzantines to the Franks.

It is worth noting that, actually, Pius himself, in the oration, states that it is not the coronation which makes the king:

*"But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very serious matter." If it was lawful to invest him [with the Kingdom], then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything. [Sect. 45]*

The thesis of a papal translation of the Roman Empire from the Greeks to Charlemagne had not been invented by Pius II. It developed gradually from the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, nourished by the conflict between popes and emperors, and found its succinct scholastic formulation by Pope Innocent III, for whom the translation was not the result of historical circumstances but an expression of the papal supremacy over the whole world, including the empire and the emperors.<sup>5</sup> Through its inclusion in the decretal *Venerabilem*, the translation of the empire became firmly embedded in the official teaching of the Church from where Pius had it.

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<sup>1</sup> Van Den Baar, p. 1

<sup>2</sup> Van den Baar, p. 1: *Es bedarf keines Beweises, dass die spätere Theorie, Papst Leo III. habe kraft Apostolischer Autorität das Imperium von den Griechen auf die Franken übertragen, nicht dem tatsächlichen Vorgang entspricht*

<sup>3</sup> Werner, p. 435: *Il [Charlemagne] montre bien, dans ses actes émis après 800, qu'il se considère comme le successeur de Constantin et des autres empereurs romains et chrétiens. En tant que tel, il se veut l'égal des empereurs d'Orient, qu'il ne conteste d'ailleurs pas.* Van Den Baar, p. 4: *... sicher seit dem Jahre 812 hat Karl eine Gleichrangigkeit mit Byzanz angestrebt, und er spricht von einem occidentale et orientale imperium*

<sup>4</sup> Werner, p. 436

<sup>5</sup> Van den Baar, p. 99: *Seine [Innocentius III] Bedeutung für die Entwicklung dieses Gedankes besteht allein darin, dass er ihn in einer scharfen und scholastisch-sauberen Form formuliert, als erster Papst zu einem juridisch-politischen Zweck verwendet und ihm einen festen Platz in den offiziellen Begründungen der kirchlichen Ansprüche hinsichtlich des Kaisertums gesichert hat, indem die Idee mit der Dekretale "Venerabilem" in das Corpus iuris canonici einging*

Pius also knew the theory from Otto von Freising, whom he much admired, and who had written, in his *Chronica* from 1143-1146, as follows:

*Anno ab incarnatione domini DCCCI ... Karolus XXXIII regni sui anno a summo pontifice, ablato patricii nomine, coronatus omni populo ter acclamante: "Karlo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum imperatori vita et victoria." Exhinc regnum Romanorum, quod a Constantino usque ad id temporis in urbe regia, scilicet Constantinopoli, fuit, ad Francos derivatum est.*<sup>1</sup>

In this respect Pius was not innovating, but simply repeating traditional church doctrine.

Also Pius' claim that it was Pope Zacharias who took the initiative to depose the Frankish King Childeric III and to bestow the royal power on Pepin the Short, father of Charlemagne, was incorrect, though this claim, too, had become part of traditional Church teaching:

*In the hands of the useless King Childeric their kingdom lost its vigour and was sliding towards extinction. Our predecessor, Zacharias, would not tolerate the ruin of this noble realm, but sent legates who tonsured the king and enclosed him in a monastery. Then they gave the title of king and the government to Pepin, the majordomus [of the kingdom].* [Sect. 16]

What happened was that Pepin had effectively supplanted Childeric. It is true that he required the pope to legitimate his rule, when he asked him: "The kings in our kingdom do not exercise their royal power. Is this good or bad?" The pope obligingly answered that "it is better to call him king who effectively exercises power so that order is not troubled,"<sup>2</sup> but the reality of the power change was created by Pepin and the formal decision bodies of the Franks, not by the pope.

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

According to Piccotti, the oration "*Responsuri*" was probably delivered by Pius between 10 and 12 December 1459, in reply to the oration of the Bailli of Rouen, held on 30 November at the Congress of Mantua.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Otto von Freising: *Chronica* (Schmidt), V, 31, p. 420

<sup>2</sup> Werner, p. 415-416. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica* (Schmidt, V, 21, p. 410)

<sup>3</sup> Piccotti, p. 297 and 282-283, n. 2

The audience were the ambassadors from King Charles VII of France, of King René d'Anjou, and important members of the Papal Court.

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

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

The oration "*Responsuri*" is extant both individually in a number of humanist collective manuscripts,<sup>2</sup> and as part of the Collected Orations of Pius II, prepared under his own direct supervision in 1462.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of the patterns of variants, a distinction is made between an Early Version (the collective manuscripts) and a Final Version, only slightly reworked (the Collected Orations of Pius II).

### 4.1. Early Version

#### 4.1.1. Manuscripts<sup>4 5</sup>

The Early Version is contained, among others, in the following manuscripts:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliothek**  
535, ff. 128r-149v\*
- **Basel / Universitätsbibliothek**  
E III 15, ff. 46r-80r
- **Bologna / Collegio di Spagna**  
81, ff. 302v-312v

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

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

<sup>5</sup> Manuscripts collated for the present edition are given the siglum. Some of the manuscripts not collated for the present edition may contain the Final Version rather than the Early Version

- **Budapest / Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár**  
Clmae 372, ff. 84r-105v
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**  
8 Philos 88, ff. 136r-163v
- **Liege / Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire**  
6.H.6, ff. 186r-201v **(O)** \*
- **London / British Library**  
Add. MS 22161, ff. 2r-36r **(L)** \*
- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
Ms. 541, ff. 167r-181r<sup>1</sup> **(N)** \*
- **Madrid / Biblioteca de Palacio**  
3581<sup>2</sup>
- **Napoli / Biblioteca Nazionale**  
V F 6, ff. 1r-54v<sup>3</sup>
- **Napoli / Fondazione Benedetto Croce**  
XCV B 19, ff. 2v-32v<sup>4</sup>
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**  
Lat. 4314, ff. 1r-34v **(P)** \*  
Nouv. Acq. lat. 3198, ff. 1r-29r **(I)**

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<sup>1</sup> With copious research notes added by the manuscript's owner, Felino Sandei (1444-1503), Lucchese scholar and bishop. Defended the rights of the Holy See against King Ferrante I of Napoli and Charles VIII of France, and wrote the book *De regibus Siciliae et Apuliae*, finished in 1485 (Treccano, Enciclopedie Online), based on sources which very likely included his copy of the "*Responsuri*" in the ms. 541. This points to the manuscript as having been produced before 1485, which explains why he used an Early Version of the oration and not the Final Version which he had access to in the manuscript the BAV Chis. J.VI.211 (or an intermediate manuscript deriving from it), used for the production of manuscript Lucca 544, commissioned by him and produced in 1493, and containing the Collected Orations of Pius II (in the Final Version) from 1462

<sup>2</sup> From Kristeller. Foliation not given

<sup>3</sup> From Kristeller. Foliation approximative

<sup>4</sup> From Kristeller. Foliation approximative

- **Roma / Archivio dell' Eccellentissima Casa del Boncompagni**  
F 7
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 1r-44r  
Boncomp. F 7, ff. 5r-23r  
Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 54v-65v  
Ottobon. lat. 1170, ff. 327r-349r  
Ottobon. lat. 1934, ff. 32r-45v  
Ottobon. lat. 2080, ff. 309r-316v  
Urb. lat. 1028, tom. I, ff. 107r-119v  
Vat. lat. 5109, ff. 55r-74v  
Vat. lat. 6239, ff. 1r-58r  
Vat. lat. 13451, ff. 85r-110r
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**  
B VIII 15, ff. 98r-120r
- **Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket**  
Ms. 7 / f. 180r-187r<sup>1</sup> (S) \*
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**  
II 10, 72r-109v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**  
Lat. XI.77, ff. 109r-135r (V) \*  
Lat. XI.106, ff. 23r-46r  
Lat. XIV.1, ff. 101r-116r  
Lat. XIV.267, ff. 49r ff

#### 4.1.2. Editions

- D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677 / T. 8, 1658, Nr. 60, pp. 292-324

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<sup>1</sup> This manuscript is partly damaged (discoloration probably due to water), and in many places hardly legible

[On the basis of: "Ms. Cod. D. Claud. Joly, Ecc. Paris. Canonici"] (AC)

- D'Achery, Luc: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis dilituerant*. Nova editio ... S. Baluze, E. Martene, L.-F.-J. de la Barre. 3 vols. Parisiis: Montalant, 1723 / T. 3, 1723, pp. 811-820
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[Reproduces d'Achery]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodit auctior*. T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732 / Coll. 203-205  
[Reproduces 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 edidere, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quæ J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notæ, et dissertationes quamplurimæ, 31 vols. Florentiæ, Venetiis: 1759-1798 / T. 32: 1798. Facs. Ed., Paris, 1902, Coll. 230-251  
[Reproduces Labbé]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 40-77<sup>1</sup>
- *De regni Neapolitani jure pro Tremollio duce*. 1647. / Nr. 4, pp. 15-39
- *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*. T. I. Bruxelles: Hayez, 1870, pp. 367-394
- De Tummulillis da Sant'Elia, Angelo: *Notabilia temporum*. Cur. Constantino Corvisieri. Roma, 1890 / pp. 233-264

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<sup>1</sup> Note in MA: Ex edito apud Labbeum, Conc. Tom. XIX. Edit. Ven. Collata cum M.S.Cod. Lucensi ex quo dantur variantes



*[On the basis of the ms. Roma / Archivio delle Eccma Casa Boncompagni / F, 7, with corrections from BAV Chis. J.VIII 284, see below]*

## 4.2. Final Version

The Final Version is included in the seven manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, produced under the pope's personal supervision in 1462, as well as, individually,<sup>1</sup> in three other manuscripts (Bibliothèque Royale, Bruxelles; Biblioteca Marciana; British Library)

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**  
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 19r-43v **(R)** \*
- **London / British Library**  
Add MS 15336, ff. 81v-93r **(M)** \*
- **Mantua / Biblioteca Comunale**  
100, ff. 238v-262v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**  
I. 97 inf., ff. 142v-159v
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Chis. J. VI.211, ff. 159r-175r **(D)** \*  
Chis. J.VIII 284, ff.119v-132v **(A)** \*  
Chis. J.VIII 286, ff. 244r-269r **(C)** \*  
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 169v-186v **(B)** \*
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**  
Lat. XIV 265, ff. 62r-85r **(J)** \*

The Bruxelles, London and Venice manuscripts are assigned to the Final Version because – with a few exceptions - they do not share those variants which are common to the manuscripts containing the Early Version, agreeing instead with the Final Version. They may, however, derive from some Intermediate Version between the Early Version and the Final Version or – possibly –

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<sup>1</sup> And unusually. Normally, the Final Version of the orations in the Collected Orations of Pius II are not transmitted individually

from Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini's anthology of Pius' major orations, produced in 1464,<sup>1</sup> to which the *Responsuri* was apparently added in some versions.

The Final Version has not been published as such, but the Chisianus J.VIII.284 was collated in Tummulilli's *Notabilia Temporum*, see above.

### 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 of the Responsuri is based on all the manuscripts listed above marked with the siglum plus the edition by D'Achery, with the Chis. J.VIII.284 as the lead manuscript.

#### *Pagination:*

Pagination follows the lead manuscript.

#### *Textual apparatus:*

The variants common to the manuscripts containing the Early Version are given in bold types.

### 4.4. History of the text

#### *Filiation of collated mss. containing the Early Version:*<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the presently collated manuscripts, the following – tentative - filiation of the manuscripts is established as the one which accounts for most of the variants found, but it would

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6

<sup>2</sup> The letters with asterisk represent the corresponding Greek letters and indicate a "hypothesized" manuscript

have to be developed and supported by collation of further manuscripts. It appears unlikely, however, that collation of more manuscripts will give better knowledge of the Early Version of the text:

- **A\* (I/L/N/O/P/S/V/AC)**
  - B\* (I/L/N/S/V)
    - D\* (I, L)
      - I
      - L
    - E\* (N/S/V)
      - TH\* (N/S)
        - N
        - S
      - V
  - G\* (O/P/AC)
    - O
    - Z\* (P/AC)
      - P
      - AC

As he usually did, especially in the case of longer and important orations, Pius wrote a preliminary version of the text which he then delivered either having learnt it by heart or supported by notes. He probably did not read it from the manuscript. After delivery, the text was probably revised before copying and dissemination – which would have begun immediately as the Papal Court would be eager to spread its own version of the conflict with the French over the Kingdom of Naples. This would be the text in the manuscript A\*, containing the Early Version. The number of extant manuscripts containing this version is indicative of its broad dissemination.<sup>1</sup>

When the papal Collection of Orations was produced towards the middle of 1462, this very important political oration was of course included, only slightly reworked.

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<sup>1</sup> In the *Iter Italicum*, Kristeller lists many orations of Pius II without giving the incipit, so probably a good number of manuscripts besides those listed above actually contain this important and popular oration

Still later, the text was included in some editions of the Cardinal Nephew's anthology of important orations from Pius' pontificate which was first produced in 1464.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this oration, 59 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the majority, 33, from the Bible.

Biblical: 33  
Classical: 11  
Patristic and medieval: 14  
Contemporary: 1  
**All: 59**

### **Biblical sources: 33**

#### Old Testament: 10

- Leviticus: 1
- Isaiah: 1
- Lamentations: 1
- Psalms: 7

#### New Testament: 23

- Matthew: 6
- John: 5
- Acts: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1
- Ephesians: 1

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

- Hebrews: 1
- 1. Peter: 2
- 2. Peter: 1
- Romans: 3
- 2. Thessalonians: 1

### **Classical sources: 11**

- Cicero: 2<sup>1</sup>
- Euripides: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Homer: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Horatius: 1<sup>4</sup>
- Juvenalis: 1
- Livius: 2
- Lucanus: 1<sup>5</sup>
- Sallustius: 1<sup>6</sup>
- Suetonius: 1<sup>7</sup>

### **Patristic and medieval sources: 14**

- Ambrosius: 1<sup>8</sup>
- Burley: 3
- Decretum Gratiani: 5
- Jeronimus: 1<sup>9</sup>
- Otto von Freising: 4<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> De officiis 1; Philippicae 1

<sup>2</sup> Phonissae

<sup>3</sup> Odyssey

<sup>4</sup> Carmina

<sup>5</sup> De bello civili

<sup>6</sup> Catilina

<sup>7</sup> De vitis Caesarum / Julius

<sup>8</sup> De obitu Ambrosii

<sup>9</sup> Epistolae

<sup>10</sup> Chronica

## Contemporary sources: 1

- Bracciolini, Poggio: 1<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Invectiva in delatores

<sup>2</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 sometimes 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

**A** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII. 284

**B** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788

**C** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I. VIII. 286

**D** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI. 211

**I** = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Nouv. Acq. lat. 3198

**J** = Venezia / Bibl Marciana / Lat. XIV.265

**L** = London / British Library / Add. MS 22161

**M** = London / British Library / Add MS 15336

**N** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / Ms. 541

**O** = Liege / Bibl. du Grand Séminaire / 6.H.6

**P** = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms. lat. 4314

**R** = Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale / Ms. 15564-67

**S** = Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket / Ms. 7

**V** = Venezia / Bibl Marciana / Lat. XI.77

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

### 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 Wolk. 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

## Responsio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi data in concilio Mantuano oratoribus Caroli regis Franciae<sup>1</sup>

[1] {119v} Responsuri<sup>2</sup> verbis vestris, insignes<sup>3</sup> oratores, quae superioribus diebus ad nos<sup>4</sup> habita<sup>5</sup> longe plura continuerunt<sup>6</sup>, quam scripta nobis postmodum<sup>7</sup> reddita<sup>8</sup>, non audemus cum salvatore nostro<sup>9</sup> dicere: *Quis vestrum<sup>10</sup> de peccato nos arguet?* Sumus enim peccatores, non negamus, et iniquitate circumdati. Solus ille bonus, solus<sup>11</sup> immaculatus et innocens agnus, solus irreprehensibilis in hoc mundo versatus est, quem digito Johannes<sup>12</sup> ostendit dicens: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi.* Possumus<sup>13</sup> tamen et audemus his<sup>14</sup> verbis uti, quibus salvator usus est cum impie nefarieque caederetur: *Si male locutus sum, testimonium perhibe<sup>15</sup> de malo; si autem bene, quid me caedis?*

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<sup>1</sup> Responsio ... Franciae : Pii II. Pont. Max. Responsio data etc. **D**; Pii II. pontificis maximi responsio ad Francorum oratores in in concilio Mantuano pro Ferdinando rege **I**; Oratio Pii pontificis maximi II. ad legationem regis Francorum habita in conventu Mantuano Decembris ... **J**; Oratio Pii secundi summi pontificis responsiva in Gallos habita Mantuae in publico et generali consistorio **L**; Oratio sanctissimi domini, domini nostri Pii Papae II. Mantuae habita in publico universalique consistorio pro responsione ad clarissimos oratores sacrae majestatis regis Francorum **M**; Responsio Papae Pii Secundi ad Francorum obiecta habita Mantuae **N**; Pii pape secundi oratio responsiva ad oratorem episcopi Parisiensis in celebri conventu mantuano publice habita **O**; Pii pape secundi responsio ad oratores gallicos in celebri conventu mantuano publice habita et divinitus uno spiritu pro sua excusatione recitata **P**; Responsum Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi Datum in concilio Mantuano Oratoribus Caroli Regis Franciae **R**; Responsio sanctissimi domini nostri Pii papae II. ad Francorum propositionem in congregatione Mantuana **S**; Laurentii Valle oratio dum esset in romano papatu responsum ad legatos francorum **V**; Responsio ad orationem oratorum Gallicorum in celebri conventu Mantuano publice habita, et divinitus uno spiritu pro sua excusatione recitata **AC**

<sup>2</sup> Comodatissimum exordium *in marg.* **Q**

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* **O**

<sup>4</sup> ad nos *omit.* **J, N, S**

<sup>5</sup> adhibita **S**

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

<sup>7</sup> nobis postmodum : postmodum nobis **O**

<sup>8</sup> sunt *add.* **I**; sunt *add. in marg.* **L**

<sup>9</sup> salvatore nostro : nostro salvatore **M**

<sup>10</sup> nostrum **J**

<sup>11</sup> ille *add.* **O**

<sup>12</sup> digito Johannes : Johannes digito **V**

<sup>13</sup> possemus **P, AC**

<sup>14</sup> ipsis **AC**

<sup>15</sup> testimonium perhibe : perhibe testimonium **O**



# Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of King Charles of France, at the Congress of Mantua

## 0. Introduction

[1] Distinguished ambassadors, in reply to your speech to Us some days ago<sup>1</sup> - which was much longer than the written document presented afterwards<sup>2</sup> - We do not dare to use the words of Our Saviour: *Which of you shall convince me of sin?*<sup>3</sup> For we do not deny that We are sinners, mired in evil. Only He is good, only He is immaculate, only He is the innocent lamb, only He lived irreproachably in this world, whom John pointed to, saying: *Behold the Lamb of God, behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.*<sup>4</sup> But We can and We will dare to use those words which the Saviour uttered when he was beaten, impiously and horribly: *If I have spoken evil, give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?*<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The oration of Guillaume Cousinot, delivered on 30 November

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix 1

<sup>3</sup> John, 8, 46

<sup>4</sup> John, 1, 29

<sup>5</sup> John, 18, 23

[2] Verba vestra<sup>1</sup>, quamvis modesta fuerunt<sup>2</sup>, et nihil a vobis<sup>3</sup> dictum est<sup>4</sup> impudenter, nihil insolenter, existimationem tamen nostram<sup>5</sup> apud intelligentes et oculos<sup>6</sup> viros non parum laesere. Nam quid aliud vestra insinuavit<sup>7</sup> <sup>8</sup> oratio, quam Siciliae regnum Renato regi<sup>9</sup> exploratissimo jure deberi<sup>10</sup>; et nos a rectitudinis<sup>11</sup> tramite deviasse, qui<sup>12</sup> illud alteri concessimus, et inclutam Francorum domum de<sup>13</sup> Romana<sup>14</sup> ecclesia<sup>15</sup> optime meritam negleximus atque contempsimus, ex qua Renatus ipse natus est. Haec<sup>16</sup> enim, licet ea reverentia exposuistis, quae<sup>17</sup> hoc loco digna est, et qua tanti regis oratores uti decuit, reprehensos nos tamen et caesos<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> esse his sermonibus nemo sanae mentis ignorat. Licet igitur dicere cum magistro et domino nostro: *Si male locuti sumus*<sup>21</sup>, idest si quid injuste circa regni Siciliae dispositionem egimus, *testimonium perhibete de malo*<sup>22</sup>; *sin*<sup>23</sup> *autem bene, quid nos*<sup>24</sup> *caeditis?*

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<sup>1</sup> nostra AC

<sup>2</sup> fuerint M, O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> nobis J

<sup>4</sup> omit. J

<sup>5</sup> vestram N, AC

<sup>6</sup> acutos N; occultos S

<sup>7</sup> insinuabit I, L

<sup>8</sup> vestra insinuavit : insinuavit vestra O, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> Renato regi : regi Renato S

<sup>10</sup> debere N

<sup>11</sup> certitudinis I

<sup>12</sup> quid O

<sup>13</sup> a S

<sup>14</sup> omit. M

<sup>15</sup> Romana ecclesia : Romanis N, S; ecclesia Romana V

<sup>16</sup> nec N, S

<sup>17</sup> qua L

<sup>18</sup> cessos M; laesos AC

<sup>19</sup> et caesos : excessos N; omit. S

<sup>20</sup> nos tamen et caesos : tamen et caesos nos L

<sup>21</sup> fuimus AC

<sup>22</sup> malis S

<sup>23</sup> si I, L, N, O, P, S, AC

<sup>24</sup> vos O

[2] Though your speech was restrained and neither impudent nor insulting, We - as well as intelligent and perspicacious men - consider that they were rather hurtful. For what did your oration imply other than that René<sup>1</sup> is most assuredly the lawful King of Sicily, and that We have strayed from the path of rectitude by granting it to another, disdaining and spurning the great merits of the illustrious House of France towards the Roman Church, that House from which René himself descends. Even though you set forth these matters with the respect which is due to this place and which befits orators of a great king, everybody of a sane mind knows that We stand rebuked and castigated by your speech. Therefore We may say, with our master and lord: if We *have spoken evil*, that is if We have acted unjustly with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily, then *give testimony of the evil; but if well, why strikest thou me?*

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<sup>1</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)

[3] Sed minime hoc testimonium neglexistis: ostendere enim<sup>1</sup> conati estis multis rationibus regnum<sup>2</sup> Siciliae ad Renatum<sup>3</sup> pertinere, cujus progenitores ab ecclesia Romana investiti possessionem<sup>4</sup> ejus diuturnam<sup>5</sup> obtinere<sup>6</sup>; a Carolo scilicet<sup>7</sup>, quem primum in eo regno {120r} vocant, usque<sup>8</sup> ad hunc Renatum quem Alfonsus, rex Aragonum, armis deturbavit. Etenim quamvis aliquando Hungariae reges<sup>9</sup>, quos vocant Dyrrachienses<sup>10</sup>, regnum<sup>11</sup> obtinere<sup>12</sup>, a Caroli tamen sanguine, ex quo illi<sup>13</sup> descenderant<sup>14</sup>, non abiit; jus autem Dyrrachiensium<sup>15</sup> a regina<sup>16</sup> Johanna prima<sup>17</sup> ex<sup>18</sup> voluntate ac<sup>19</sup> decreto Romanae sedis in Ludovicum Andegavensem, regis<sup>20</sup> Francorum sanguine<sup>21</sup> genitum<sup>22</sup>, postea transfusum est, [cont.]

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

<sup>2</sup> regnatum O

<sup>3</sup> Regnatum franciae O

<sup>4</sup> investiti possessionem : possessionem investiti O

<sup>5</sup> diuturne P, AC

<sup>6</sup> obtinere M

<sup>7</sup> a Carolo scilicet : scilicet a Carolo M

<sup>8</sup> ut B; hiisque M

<sup>9</sup> rex N, S, V

<sup>10</sup> Chrachienses M

<sup>11</sup> illud *add.* AC

<sup>12</sup> detinere M; obtinuerint AC

<sup>13</sup> ille N, S, V

<sup>14</sup> descenderat N, S, V

<sup>15</sup> Chrachiensium M

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

<sup>17</sup> primo S

<sup>18</sup> cum I

<sup>19</sup> et M, R

<sup>20</sup> regem P, AC; ex *add.* S

<sup>21</sup> **Francorum sanguine : sanguine Francorum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>22</sup> natum *add.* M

[3] But, indeed, you have not omitted to provide such testimony for you have endeavoured to show, with many arguments, that the Kingdom of Sicily belongs to René, whose forefathers were invested with it by the Roman Church and had possession of it for a long time, from King Charles I<sup>1</sup> to René who was forced out by King Alfonso of Aragon with military means.<sup>2</sup> Though for some time the Kingdom was held by Hungarian kings of the so-called Durazzo dynasty,<sup>3</sup> it still belonged to the family of Charles from whom these kings descended, too. Later, and with the permission and formal assent of the Roman See, Queen Giovanna I.<sup>4</sup> transferred the rights of the House of Durazzo to Louis d'Anjou,<sup>5</sup> born of the blood of the King of France. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> Charles I [Charles d'Anjou] (1227-1285): Son of King Louis VIII of France. Conquered the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstauffen in 1266, having formally received it as a papal grant in 1262. Expelled from the island of Sicily in the aftermath of the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, he thereafter resided in Naples

<sup>2</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Durazzo dynasty: a younger branch of the Anjou dynasty, resulting from the marriage of Jean, son of Charles II of Naples, to countess Mathilda of Achaia in 1318

<sup>4</sup> Joanna I [Giovanna I] (1328-1382): Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence and Forcalquier from 1343 until her death. Reigned as Princess of Achaia and claimed the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. She was married four times

<sup>5</sup> Louis I (1320-1362): Prince of Taranto. Gained the crown of Naples by marrying his first cousin, Queen Joanna I, whose prior husband, Andrew, had died as a result of a conspiracy

[3 cont.] in quo successit filius sui nominis, et iterum nepos Ludovicus III., et denique Renatus, de quo nunc agitur, et cui regnum hoc non solum ex concessione Romani pontificis Eugenii, sed paterno et avito<sup>1</sup> successionis jure deberi putatis. Commemorastis<sup>2</sup> deinde Francorum in apostolicam sedem<sup>3</sup> et<sup>4</sup> praeclara et multa merita, quibus postergatis et<sup>5</sup> oblivioni traditis haud<sup>6</sup> recte<sup>7</sup> a nobis factum esse<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> contenditis<sup>10</sup>, quod regnum Siciliae<sup>11</sup> in Aragonensem<sup>12</sup> familiam transmiserimus<sup>13</sup>. In qua<sup>14</sup> re<sup>15</sup> non solum nos, sed praedecessores nostros arguitis, et cum<sup>16</sup> injustitiam, tum ingratitude<sup>17</sup> Romanae<sup>18</sup> primae<sup>19</sup> sedis accusare<sup>20</sup> videmini.

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<sup>1</sup> paterno et avito : avito et paterno J

<sup>2</sup> commemorasti O; commemonistis P

<sup>3</sup> omit. M

<sup>4</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> aut L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>6</sup> aut O

<sup>7</sup> rectum O

<sup>8</sup> omit. O

<sup>9</sup> factum esse : esse factum P, AC

<sup>10</sup> contemnitis I, L

<sup>11</sup> sit O; sic P

<sup>12</sup> Aragonensium N, S, V

<sup>13</sup> transmissimus J; transmisimus O

<sup>14</sup> quo AC

<sup>15</sup> omit. P

<sup>16</sup> tum M, S, O, P, Q, AC; non R

<sup>17</sup> magnitudinem B

<sup>18</sup> ac add. I

<sup>19</sup> primaeque L, N, O, P, Q, S, V, AC

<sup>20</sup> omit. M

[3 cont.] He was succeeded by a son of the same name and later by a grandson, Louis III,<sup>1</sup> and finally by René, whom We are talking about now. You believe that the Kingdom is rightfully his not only because he was granted it by the Roman Pontiff, Eugenius,<sup>2</sup> but also by right of lawful succession from his father and grandfather. Afterwards you dwelt on the many and great merits of the French towards the Apostolic See, claiming that We unjustly ignored and forgot them when We bestowed the Kingdom of Sicily on the family of Aragon. In this matter you criticize not only Us, but also Our predecessors, and you accuse the Roman and First See of injustice as well as ingratitude.

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<sup>1</sup> Louis III (1403-1434): Titular King of Naples 1417–26, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, Piedmont, and Maine and Duke of Anjou 1417-34, and Duke of Calabria 1426-34

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

[4] His nos morsibus impetiti<sup>1</sup>, his colaphis caesi, his vulnerati sagittis<sup>2</sup> sumus<sup>3</sup>, sic vos<sup>4</sup> testimonium de malo nostro<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> perhibetis<sup>7</sup>. Non<sup>8</sup> dicemus hic, quod<sup>9</sup> ex officio dignitateque<sup>10</sup> nostrae<sup>11</sup> sedi<sup>12</sup> competit: *oves pastorem suum non accusent, neque reprehendant*; non damnabimus serram<sup>13</sup>, tamquam surgat adversus illum, qui trahit in ea.<sup>14</sup> Beatum Petrum, apostolorum principem, cujus locum tenemus<sup>15</sup> indigni, potius imitabimur, qui reprehensus, quod<sup>16</sup> ad gentiles<sup>17</sup> divertisset<sup>18</sup>, rationem facti sui<sup>19</sup> reddere non recusavit. Neque beatum Leonem<sup>20</sup> IV., si oportuerit, sequi pigebit, qui ad Ludovicum imperatorem scribens: *Nos, inquit, si quid incompetenter<sup>21</sup> egimus et in subditis<sup>22</sup> justae legis tramitem non servavimus<sup>23</sup>, vestro<sup>24</sup> ac missorum vestrorum cuncta volumus emendare<sup>25</sup> iudicio*. Sic enim ex humilitatis dispensatione saepe nostri praedecessores factitarunt, ut rationem<sup>26</sup> omnibus, etiam minimis redderent eorum, quae fecissent<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> impediti O

<sup>2</sup> sagitti N

<sup>3</sup> sagittis sumus : sumus sagittis O

<sup>4</sup> nos M

<sup>5</sup> omit. I, L; vestro AC

<sup>6</sup> malo nostro : malis nostris S

<sup>7</sup> perhibitis C

<sup>8</sup> nos O

<sup>9</sup> quid S

<sup>10</sup> dignitatieque M

<sup>11</sup> nostro N

<sup>12</sup> nostrae sedi : sedis nostrae P, AC

<sup>13</sup> scienter O; feram P, AC

<sup>14</sup> eam J, M, O, P, AC; illa S

<sup>15</sup> omit. O

<sup>16</sup> quando M

<sup>17</sup> ad gentiles : a gentilibus P; gentibus O, AC

<sup>18</sup> divertisse O

<sup>19</sup> facti sui : sui facti O

<sup>20</sup> papam add. V

<sup>21</sup> non competenter O

<sup>22</sup> subdito N

<sup>23</sup> servamus O, I, L, N, S

<sup>24</sup> vestrorum L

<sup>25</sup> emendari P

<sup>26</sup> eorum add. O; de add. P, AC

<sup>27</sup> quae fecissent omit. O



[4] This is your testimony concerning our unjust actions: We are wounded by these attacks; We have been slapped in the face; We have been hurt by these arrows. Here, We shall not insist on the respect owed to the office and dignity of Our See: *the sheep should not accuse or criticize their shepherd*,<sup>1</sup> and we shall not blame the saw, turned against the one using it. Instead we shall imitate Saint Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, whose place We hold, though unworthy: for when he was rebuked for going to the gentiles, he did not refuse to give an account of his actions.<sup>2</sup> And, if needful, We shall not hesitate to follow Saint Leo IV<sup>3</sup> who wrote thus to Emperor Ludwig:<sup>4</sup> *If we have erred and strayed from the path of law when dealing with our subjects, we shall rectify all according to your and your emissaries' judgment*.<sup>5</sup> Thus, Our predecessors often and humbly endeavoured to give an account of their actions, even the smallest of them. For We should not be *lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart*.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Decretum, C.2.7.40

<sup>2</sup> Acts, 10-11. Decretum, C.2.7.40

<sup>3</sup> Leo IV (790-855): Pope from 847 to his death. Saint

<sup>4</sup> Louis II (825-875): King of Italy and Roman Emperor from 844, co-ruling with his father Lothair I until 855, after which he ruled alone

<sup>5</sup> Decretum, C.2.7.41

<sup>6</sup> 1. Peter, 5, 3

[5] Neque enim<sup>1</sup> *tamquam*<sup>2</sup> *dominantes in cleris*<sup>3</sup>, *sed forma facti gregis* esse debemus, non ignorantes potestatem in ecclesia nobis<sup>4</sup> ad aedificationem, non in destructionem<sup>5</sup> attributam, et quod<sup>6</sup> tanto promptiores ad reddendam rationem nos ipsos exhibere debemus, quanto majoribus cumulati donis et praeventi<sup>7</sup> gratiis a domino sumus. Nam multa, quae aliis essent levia<sup>8</sup> et digna venia, peccata<sup>9</sup> nobis capitalia sunt. Verum est enim<sup>10</sup>, quod ille ait, quamvis<sup>11</sup> profanus et ethnicus<sup>12</sup> auctor:

*Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius*<sup>13</sup> {120v} *in se*  
*Crimen habet, quanto major*<sup>14</sup>, *qui peccat, habetur.*

Quod si juste et pie<sup>15</sup> vivere<sup>16 17</sup> praeceptum omnibus<sup>18</sup> est<sup>19</sup>, hoc tamen<sup>20</sup> Romanum praesulem prae ceteris decet<sup>21 22</sup>, qui gregis dominici pastor et caput ecclesiae suo<sup>23</sup> exemplo reliquos trahit. Hunc non solum esse propter se ipsum, sed videri quoque<sup>24</sup> bonum<sup>25</sup> propter proximos decet<sup>26</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> *tam* M

<sup>3</sup> *clerum* P, AC

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>5</sup> *nobis add.* P, AC

<sup>6</sup> *pro* M

<sup>7</sup> *prevenienti* M

<sup>8</sup> *brevia* O; *minora* P, AC

<sup>9</sup> *peccato* N

<sup>10</sup> *est enim* : *enim est* Q

<sup>11</sup> *quamquam* O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> *heretic(h)us* O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> *despectus* O

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

<sup>15</sup> **juste et pie : pie et juste** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>16</sup> *viveret* O

<sup>17</sup> *pie vivere* : *previvere* M

<sup>18</sup> *praeceptum omnibus* : *omnibus preceptum* I

<sup>19</sup> *omnibus est* : *est omnibus* B

<sup>20</sup> *tantum* L

<sup>21</sup> *docet* M

<sup>22</sup> *Romanum praesulem ... decet* *omit.* O

<sup>23</sup> *suorum* J

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

<sup>25</sup> *bonus* I

<sup>26</sup> **oportet** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

[5] And We should always remember that We have been given power in the Church not for destruction, but for edification, and that the greater the gifts and the grace We have received from the Lord, the more We should be ready to give an account of ourselves. For many things that would be unimportant and forgiveable in others, are deadly sins for Us.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it is true what is said by a secular and pagan author:

*The greater the sinner's name, the more signal  
the guiltiness of the sin in his soul.*<sup>2</sup>

Everybody should live justly and piously, and especially the Roman Pontiff who, as shepherd of the Lord's flock and head of the Church should set an example to others: not only must he be good for his own sake, but he must also be seen to be good for the sake of others.

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<sup>1</sup> Pius also touched on this theme in his oration "*Si essemus ipsi*" [74] (1463)

<sup>2</sup> Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 8.140

[6] Neque cuiquam<sup>1</sup> tam necessarium est<sup>2</sup> quam summo sacerdoti<sup>3</sup> famam<sup>4</sup> servare<sup>5</sup> bonam, cujus neglectores testimonio Salomonis crudeles habentur. Feretis igitur aequo animo, praestantissimi oratores, si nominis nostri<sup>6</sup> curam gerentes innocentiam<sup>7</sup> nostram cum<sup>8</sup> ceteris omnibus, tum regi vestro<sup>9</sup> excellentissimo notam<sup>10</sup> facere studebimus, et de his, quae nobis sunt objecta<sup>11 12</sup>, purgabimur. Etenim quamvis *per infamiam et*<sup>13</sup> *bonam famam transeundum esse*, apostolus ait, summo tamen studio innitendum<sup>14</sup> est, ut falsi rumores cessent, et boni nominis odor custodiatur, et omnis calumnia procul<sup>15</sup> absit. Putabamus quidem<sup>16</sup> regem<sup>17</sup> Franciae<sup>18</sup> nihil sinistre<sup>19</sup> de<sup>20</sup> nobis<sup>21</sup> credere in his praesertim rebus, quae suam serenitatem<sup>22</sup> concernunt. Nam teste Deo, cui<sup>23</sup> mentiri sceleratissimum est, suum honorem, suamque<sup>24</sup> gloriam, et domus suae claritatem regnique potentiam semper magnificimus<sup>25</sup>, et multa in<sup>26</sup> ejus laudem publice privatimque<sup>27</sup> locuti sumus<sup>28</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> cuique M

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

<sup>3</sup> summo sacerdoti *omit.* B

<sup>4</sup> formam O

<sup>5</sup> observare J

<sup>6</sup> nominis nostri : nostri nominis O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> eminentiam O

<sup>8</sup> tum S, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> nostro B, M

<sup>10</sup> notum M

<sup>11</sup> nobis sunt objecta : nobis objecta sunt B

<sup>12</sup> **nobis sunt objecta : sunt nobis objecta** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>13</sup> ad I, L

<sup>14</sup> immittendum M

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* C

<sup>16</sup> equidem S

<sup>17</sup> vestrum *add. in marg.* S

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

<sup>19</sup> sinistri N, AC; sinestre V

<sup>20</sup> a I, L

<sup>21</sup> sinistre de nobis : de nobis sinistrie S

<sup>22</sup> suam serenitatem : serenitatem suam I, L

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

<sup>24</sup> suam P, AC

<sup>25</sup> magnificemus N, M; magnificamus S

<sup>26</sup> multam in : multam M

<sup>27</sup> et privatim O

<sup>28</sup> **locuti sumus : sumus locuti** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

[6] And for the High Priest it is more necessary than for others to maintain a good reputation for, according to Solomon, those who fail to do so must be considered as cruelhearted. So, distinguished ambassadors, you will bear it with equanimity if We care for our good name and make Our innocence known to all, and in particular to your excellent King, by clearing Ourselves of your accusations. For though the apostle says that we must accept *both evil report and good report*<sup>1</sup>, We must endeavour with all our might to stop false rumours, to keep the odour of a good name, and to remove all slander. We really thought that the King of France<sup>2</sup> did not think badly of Us, and especially in matters concerning His Serenity. For God - lying to whom is a grave sin - is Our witness that We have always extolled [the king's] honour and his glory, the nobility of his House, and the power of his realm, and that We have said much in his praise, both publicly and privately.

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<sup>1</sup> 2. Corinthians, 6, 8

<sup>2</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

[7] Nunc<sup>1</sup> de nobis cur<sup>2</sup> male sentiat, aut<sup>3</sup> cur sibi<sup>4</sup> putet injuriatum non possumus non<sup>5</sup> mirari. Delatorum haec jacula sunt<sup>6</sup>, Suggesterunt impii pio<sup>7</sup> regi non vera; falsa calumnia nobis<sup>8</sup> imposita est. Angeremur, cruciaremurque vehementer<sup>9</sup>, nisi sciremus apostolicam cymbam solitam esse<sup>10</sup> saepenumero fluctuare et procellis agitari frequentibus. Semper virtutes invidia sequitur, feriuntque<sup>11</sup> summos fulgura<sup>12</sup> montes. Symmachum et Damasum, praedecessores nostros, falsi<sup>13</sup> accusatores in magna deiecere<sup>14</sup> pericula. Nec<sup>15</sup> Petro nec<sup>16</sup> Paulo calumniatorum verba pepercere. *Non est discipulus supra magistrum, neque<sup>17</sup> servus major<sup>18</sup> domino suo.* Salvatorem nostrum alii vini potorem<sup>19</sup>, alii<sup>20</sup> daemonium habere mentiti sunt. Quid mirum, si et nos, vilis pulvis ac<sup>21</sup> cinis, labiis<sup>22</sup> subjacemus<sup>23</sup> iniquis? Non dolemus, quod nos *lingua dolosa* persequitur<sup>24</sup>, sed regi optimo pessimam linguam fecisse fidem molestissime<sup>25</sup> et<sup>26</sup> amarissime ferimus.<sup>27</sup> Recte Pythagoras *hirundinem, idest garrulum<sup>28 29</sup> in domo non esse tenendum* monuit, et propheta liberari<sup>30</sup> sese<sup>31 32</sup> optat<sup>33</sup> *a labiis iniquis et<sup>34</sup> lingua dolosa.*

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<sup>1</sup> hunc M

<sup>2</sup> de nobis cur : cur de nobis I

<sup>3</sup> et I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>4</sup> se S

<sup>5</sup> omit. M; nunc O

<sup>6</sup> omit. N

<sup>7</sup> pro M

<sup>8</sup> omit. M

<sup>9</sup> vehementius P, AC

<sup>10</sup> apostolicam ... esse : solitam esse apostolicam cymbam I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC; solitam esse cymbam Q

<sup>11</sup> feruntque B

<sup>12</sup> fulgora C

<sup>13</sup> falsos O

<sup>14</sup> dei ecclesie O

<sup>15</sup> at P

<sup>16</sup> ne Q

<sup>17</sup> nec M, P, AC

<sup>18</sup> servus major : maior servus N

<sup>19</sup> potentem B; potatorem I, L, M, S, O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> alium M

<sup>21</sup> et N, S, V

<sup>22</sup> gladiis N, S, V

<sup>23</sup> subiaceamus O, P; subjaceamur AC

<sup>24</sup> prosequitur C, M, AC

<sup>25</sup> modestissime M

<sup>26</sup> ac C

<sup>27</sup> tulimus J

<sup>28</sup> garolum V

<sup>29</sup> et verbosum add. in marg. D; et verbosum add. I, L, O, N, S, V; et verborum relatorem add. P, AC

<sup>30</sup> liberali M; liberalis O

<sup>31</sup> saepe P, AC

<sup>32</sup> liberari sese : sese liberari S

<sup>33</sup> liberari sese optat : sese optat liberari J

<sup>34</sup> a add. I, J, L, N, P, S, V, AC

[7] So, We cannot but wonder why he should be angry with Us now, and why he should consider himself to have been injured by Us. [What we see] here are the spears of slanderers. Impious men have told lies to the King and caused troubles for Us with false calumnies. We should be greatly distressed and wounded if We did not know that the apostolic ship is often thrown about and agitated by storms. Envy always preys on virtue, and lightnings strike the high mountains. Our predecessors, Symmachus<sup>1</sup> and Damasus,<sup>2</sup> were thrown into great perils by false accusations. And the words of slanderers did not spare Peter and Paul. *The disciple is not above the master, nor the servant above his lord.*<sup>3 4</sup> And men lied about the Saviour, some claiming that he was a drunkard<sup>5</sup> and others that he had a demon.<sup>6</sup> So, it is not strange that We, too, who are but mean dust and ashes, must suffer slanderous speech. It does not pain Us to be persecuted by *deceitful tongues*, but We are gravely and bitterly wounded that the good King trusts those evil tongues. Quite rightly Pythagoras<sup>7</sup> said that *one should not keep a swallow, a chatterbox that is, in one's home*,<sup>8</sup> and the prophet wished to be *delivered from wicked lips, and a deceitful tongue*.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Symmachus (d. 514): Pope from 498 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from October 366 to his death in 384

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 10, 24

<sup>4</sup> Pius uses the same quote from the Bible in the introduction to his *Commentarii* where he touches on the same theme: *The treacherous tongue that has not spared so many of Christ's vicars, nor Christ himself, will not spare Pope Pius II* (Meserve, I, p. 3)

<sup>5</sup> Matthew, 11, 19

<sup>6</sup> John, 8, 48

<sup>7</sup> Pythagoras (ca. 570-ca. 495 BCE): Greek philosopher and mathematician

<sup>8</sup> Burley: Pythagoras

<sup>9</sup> E.g. Psalms, 119, 2

[8] Vulneraverunt nos verba<sup>1</sup> malorum, et apud sapientem regem veluti<sup>2</sup> stulti habiti sumus; stultos dicimus, quia omnis injustus stultitiae<sup>3</sup> argui potest. Injustitia nobis et ingratitude imputata est, qui<sup>4</sup> Renato regi {121r} benemerenti jus suum abstulisse dicimur. Tolerabimusne hanc infamiam? An<sup>5</sup> potius innocentiam nostram et apostolicae sedis {296} clementiam, justitiam, aequitatem benignitatemque<sup>6</sup> omnibus<sup>7</sup> ostendemus<sup>8</sup>? Vos, regii oratores, filii estis apostolicae sedis: non audietis inviti matrem vestram<sup>9</sup> objecta<sup>10</sup> sibi diluere crimina. Docti et justis estis: libenter<sup>11</sup>, quae justa sunt, audietis. Regem vestrum magnopere colitis: gratum vobis<sup>12</sup> erit illi nihil nos<sup>13</sup> injuriatos fuisse verbis nostris intelligere. Ipse quoque rex, ut nostra fert opinio, quae sibi de<sup>14</sup> nostro in se aut suos<sup>15</sup> odio relata sunt, ut falsa demonstrentur, plurimum cupit. Satisfaciemus desiderio suo, et vobis, qui etsi vestra oratione<sup>16</sup> aestimationem<sup>17</sup> nostram<sup>18</sup> haud parum<sup>19</sup> laesistis, non tamen vestro<sup>20</sup> nomine locuti<sup>21</sup> estis, sed regis, cui remote<sup>22</sup> a nobis<sup>23</sup> agenti facile fuit<sup>24</sup> falsa pro veris inculcare. Sed jam ad rem veniamus, vobisque per singula capitula respondeamus. Duo<sup>25</sup> principaliter per vos<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> proposita<sup>28</sup> sunt. Primum Januenses<sup>29</sup> respicit, alterum regem Renatum.

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

<sup>2</sup> velut P, AC

<sup>3</sup> stultitia S

<sup>4</sup> quoniam P, AC

<sup>5</sup> at P; et O, AC

<sup>6</sup> benignitatem I, N, S, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* I, P

<sup>8</sup> ostendamus I, L

<sup>9</sup> nostram M

<sup>10</sup> obiecti J

<sup>11</sup> libenterque M

<sup>12</sup> nobis M

<sup>13</sup> **nihil nos : nos nihil I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>14</sup> deo *add.* N

<sup>15</sup> suo M

<sup>16</sup> ratione N

<sup>17</sup> **extimacionem L; extimationem P; existimationem I, J, N, S, V, AC**

<sup>18</sup> vestram O, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> haud parum : aut si Petrum J

<sup>20</sup> nostro J, N, M

<sup>21</sup> leniti J

<sup>22</sup> remoto M

<sup>23</sup> vobis P

<sup>24</sup> sint M

<sup>25</sup> Divisio *nota marg.* A; Responsio ad petita *in marg.* L

<sup>26</sup> principaliter per vos : per vos principaliter O

<sup>27</sup> per vos *omit.* I

<sup>28</sup> preposita J, M

<sup>29</sup> Genuenses N, S, V; Januam P, AC



[8] So, We have been grievously hurt by the words of wicked men, and the wise King must believe Us to be a fool - a fool, We say, for arguably all unjust people are fools. We have been accused of injustice and ingratitude because, as they claim, We have denied justice to King René in spite of his merits towards Us. Shall We tolerate this infamy? Or should We rather prove to all Our innocence and the clemency, the justice, the equity and the benevolence of the Apostolic See? Since you, royal ambassadors, are sons of the Apostolic See, you will be pleased to hear your mother defend herself against these accusations. And since you are learned and just, you will gladly hear what is just. You greatly revere your king, and therefore you will be pleased to hear that no words of Ours should have been injurious to him. The King himself, We think, must greatly desire that those things he has heard about our being an enemy to himself and to his [family] are proven to be false. We shall satisfy his wish and yours too, for though We have been greatly wounded by your speech, We know that you did not speak in your own name, but on behalf of the king. Since he lives far from Us, it has been easy to make him believe false [rumours] about Us. But let Us now come to the matter at hand and answer each of your points. The main issues brought forward by you are two: the first one concerns Genoa, and the second King René.

[9] In primo commendastis nobis nobilem populum Januensem<sup>1</sup>. Commendatissimus nobis<sup>2</sup> erit, et suis meritis et regia commendatione<sup>3</sup>. Petivistis<sup>4</sup> archipraesulem ejus urbis tamquam<sup>5</sup> majestatis<sup>6</sup> reum ad aliam ecclesiam transferri. Obstant desiderio vestro decreta<sup>7</sup> summorum pontificum, quae<sup>8</sup> praelatos invitos non cognita<sup>9</sup> causa transferri<sup>10</sup> prohibent, quod etiam in concilio Constantiensi extitit repetitum. Placet<sup>11</sup> tamen<sup>12</sup> vobis requirentibus causam adversus<sup>13</sup> eum<sup>14</sup> committere et<sup>15</sup> juxta canonicas sanctiones<sup>16</sup> procedere. Supplicastis deinde, ut haeredibus quondam Perrini<sup>17</sup> <sup>18</sup>, ducis Januae<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup>, in ea causa, quam habent<sup>21</sup> adversus mercatores Avinionenses<sup>22</sup>, silentium imponamus. Non est moris nostri cuiquam<sup>23</sup> silentium<sup>24</sup> imponere, nisi causa diligenter inspecta. Suspendemus tamen censuras jam fulminatas ad aliquod<sup>25</sup> tempus, ut interim negotium discuti possit, et justitia vobis favorabiliter ministrari.

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<sup>1</sup> Genuensem N, S, V; Janue qui P, AC

<sup>2</sup> is *add.* I

<sup>3</sup> **em.; contemplac/tione** A, B, C, D, I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC

<sup>4</sup> De januensis presuli translatione *nota marg.* D

<sup>5</sup> regiae *add.* V; laesae *add.* P, AC

<sup>6</sup> magestatis V

<sup>7</sup> Romanorum *add.* S

<sup>8</sup> quo J

<sup>9</sup> precognita O

<sup>10</sup> causa transferri : transferri causa I

<sup>11</sup> placeat AC

<sup>12</sup> in M

<sup>13</sup> adversum AC

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

<sup>15</sup> ut S

<sup>16</sup> rationes J

<sup>17</sup> Fulgosi *add.* J

<sup>18</sup> **quondam Perrini : Perrini quondam** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>19</sup> Ja- *et passim corr. ex.* Ge- L

<sup>20</sup> **ducis Januae : Genue ducis** L, N, S, V; Janue ducis I; Januensis ducis O, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> habuerat O, P, AC

<sup>22</sup> Arimotienses M

<sup>23</sup> cuipiam R

<sup>24</sup> cuiquam silentium : silentium cuiquam O, P, AC

<sup>25</sup> aliquot R

## 1. Genoa

[9] Firstly, you recommended the noble people of Genoa to Us. We shall keep this city in high regard both because of its own merits and because of the King's recommendation.

You have petitioned for the archbishop of that city<sup>1</sup> to be transferred to another see because of a crime against majesty. However, the decrees of the Supreme Pontiffs, as confirmed by the Council of Konstanz, forbid that prelates be transferred against their own will without a proper investigation of the case, and therefore your wish cannot be granted. But in view of your petition, We have decided to initiate a procedure against him and to proceed according the canonical rules.

You have also petitioned Us to impose silence on the heirs of Perrini, former doge of Genoa,<sup>2</sup> in their suit against some merchants from Avignon. It is not our custom to impose silence on anyone without careful investigation of their case. But We shall postpone the sanctions already issued against the merchants so that there will be time for further discussion of the matter and for justice to be administered with a view to your interests.

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<sup>1</sup> Paolo Campofregoso (1428-1498): Archbishop of Genova (1453), cardinal (1480), three times doge (1462, 1463-1464, 1483-1488)

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Pietro Campofregoso who was doge of Genoa from 1450 to 1458

[10] In<sup>1</sup> secundo principali membro<sup>2</sup> quattuor capita esse notavimus: primum jus Renati regis illustris in regno Siciliae; secundum<sup>3</sup> gloriosa Francorum gesta; tertium<sup>4</sup> contumeliam eis factam; quartum<sup>5</sup> ac postremum petitiones regias<sup>6</sup> conclusit<sup>7</sup>. Reddenda est<sup>8</sup> sua cuique<sup>9</sup> particulae responsio et<sup>10</sup> succincta et pro rei magnitudine brevis<sup>11</sup>. [*cont.*]

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<sup>1</sup> Divisio secundi membri *nota marg.* A; Divisio *marg. note* D

<sup>2</sup> principali membro : membro principali O

<sup>3</sup> secundo I

<sup>4</sup> tertio I

<sup>5</sup> quattuor B

<sup>6</sup> regis O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> concludit S

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>9</sup> sua cuique : unicuique N, S; sua unicuique I, L, O, P, AC; cuique sue J

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

<sup>11</sup> brevissima I

## 2. Kingdom of Naples

[10] In the second and principal part of your oration We noted four parts: firstly, the rights of the illustrious King René to the Kingdom of Sicily; secondly, the glorious deeds of the French; thirdly, the affront made to them; and fourthly and lastly, the petitions of the king. A clear and concise response must be given to each point, though - in view of the importance of the matter - it will be a brief one. *[cont.]*

[10 cont.] Nam<sup>1</sup> quod<sup>2</sup> primo<sup>3</sup> dicitis regnum Siciliae regi<sup>4</sup> Renato deberi, neque probamus neque improbamus, priusquam causa<sup>5</sup> discutiatur. Quod si<sup>6</sup> dicat aliquis<sup>7</sup>, "Cur ergo indiscussa et incognita causa Ferdinando regnum<sup>8</sup> commisisti<sup>9</sup>?", reddetur inferius ratio<sup>10</sup>. Nunc tantum hoc dicimus nos vestro juri<sup>11</sup> minime adversari, neque ullam esse gentem<sup>12</sup>, cui de regno illo<sup>13</sup> magis quam Francis faveamus, si constiterit eis<sup>14</sup> jus<sup>15</sup> competere. Nam cur nos Francorum genus excluderemus, {121v} quod<sup>16</sup> cum<sup>17</sup> nobilissimum, tum virtutis amantissimum est<sup>18</sup> ac de nostra sede<sup>19</sup> optime meritum? Non exclusimus nos Francos, sed exclusos invenimus; non praetulimus aliquem sanguini vestro, sed praelatum invenimus<sup>20</sup>; non viam novam repperimus, sed veterem tenuimus. Nihil<sup>21</sup> juri Francorum detraximus, quamvis regnum et<sup>22</sup> regni coronam Ferdinando certo modo concessimus<sup>23</sup>, sicut postea suo loco pressius<sup>24</sup> ostendetur<sup>25</sup>. Hic<sup>26</sup> ubi de jure contentio est<sup>27</sup>, nil<sup>28</sup> aliud nobis incumbit, quam partibus auditis jus reddere, qui regni<sup>29</sup> Siciliae directum dominium<sup>30</sup> Romanae ecclesiae nomine, nullo dubitante, retinemus. Verum, sicut ea quae de Renati<sup>31</sup> jure dixistis neque negamus, neque probamus.

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<sup>1</sup> Ad particularia *nota marg.* L

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

<sup>3</sup> primum AC

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* B, I, L

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

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

<sup>7</sup> alius O

<sup>8</sup> regimen N

<sup>9</sup> consisti M; commisistis I

<sup>10</sup> inferius ratio : ratio inferius N, S

<sup>11</sup> regi P

<sup>12</sup> esse gentem : gentem esse R, S

<sup>13</sup> regno illo : illo regno O, P, AC

<sup>14</sup> ei J; *ei corr. ex eis* V

<sup>15</sup> jure I

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

<sup>17</sup> tum M, O, P, AC

<sup>18</sup> sit I, L

<sup>19</sup> saepe N, S

<sup>20</sup> non praetulimus ... invenimus *omit.* N, S

<sup>21</sup> nil I

<sup>22</sup> ac P, AC

<sup>23</sup> concesserimus *corr. ex concessimus* D; concesserimus I, L; commisimus J

<sup>24</sup> expressius I, P, S; *omit.* AC

<sup>25</sup> ostendemus O, P, AC

<sup>26</sup> sic O, P, AC

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* AC

<sup>28</sup> nihil P, AC

<sup>29</sup> regi M

<sup>30</sup> dominationem N

<sup>31</sup> **regis** *add.* I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

## 2.1. Rights of King René to the Kingdom of Naples<sup>1</sup>

[10 cont.] Your initial statement that the Kingdom of Sicily legitimately belongs to King René We shall neither approve or disapprove before the case has been properly discussed. Someone may object: "But, then, why have you entrusted the Kingdom to Ferrante while the case has not been discussed or investigated?" This will be explained later. At this point We shall only say that We do absolutely not obstruct your rights and that We should favour the French most of all if it be proven that they have the right [to the Kingdom]. For why should We want to exclude the House of France, so noble, so fond of virtue, and so well deserved of our See? We have not excluded the French, but We found them to have been excluded. We have not preferred anyone to your blood, but We found that someone else had been preferred. We have not trodden a new path, but followed an old one. Though We have indeed conceded the Kingdom and the crown to Ferrante,<sup>2</sup> We have in no way infringed upon the rights of the French, as We shall explain in detail later. So, if there is disagreement about the rights of the matter, We must simply hear the parties to the case and render judgment. For there can be no doubt that it is We who, on behalf of the Roman Church, have direct lordship over the Kingdom of Sicily. So, for the present, We neither deny nor approve your statements concerning the rights of King René.

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Kingdom of Naples which did not at that time – or later – include the Island of Sicily which belonged to the Crown Aragon and later to Spain

<sup>2</sup> Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

[11] Ita et illa<sup>1</sup> manifeste atque<sup>2</sup> apertissime confirmamus, quae de gestis Francorum magnificentissimis et eorum ingentibus meritis in medium attulistis. Magna est Caroli Martelli<sup>3</sup> laus,<sup>4</sup> major Pipini, maxima sequentis Caroli, qui ob ingentia facta id magni<sup>5</sup> cognomen adeptus est, quod Alexander Macedo orbe subacto et Gnaeus<sup>6</sup> Pompejus et<sup>7</sup> Constantinus primus clarissimis<sup>8</sup> rebus<sup>9</sup> gestis meruere. Plena est<sup>10</sup> omnis historia Francorum<sup>11</sup> praeconiis<sup>12</sup>, nulla umquam<sup>13</sup> aetas vestrae gentis gloriam oblitterabit<sup>14</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> ille O

<sup>2</sup> et J

<sup>3</sup> Marcelli P

<sup>4</sup> jam AC

<sup>5</sup> maius O

<sup>6</sup> gens O

<sup>7</sup> omit. N, S, V

<sup>8</sup> clarissimus S, V

<sup>9</sup> omit. N

<sup>10</sup> preconiis add. P; iis add. AC

<sup>11</sup> historia Francorum : Franchorum gistoria P; Francorum historia AC

<sup>12</sup> peniis M; omit. P, AC

<sup>13</sup> numquam P

<sup>14</sup> oblitaverit O; conticescet P, AC



## 2.2. Merits of the French and of the Roman See

### 2.2.1. Merits of the French towards the Roman See

[11] However, We emphatically and wholeheartedly confirm your statements concerning the magnificent achievements of the French and their immense merits. Great praise is due to Charles Martel,<sup>1</sup> even greater praise to Pepin,<sup>2</sup> and the greatest praise to his successor Charles,<sup>3</sup> who by virtue of his great deeds acquired the surname of "Great", which also Alexander the Macedonian<sup>4</sup> merited when he conquered the whole world, as did Pompey<sup>5</sup> and Constantine I<sup>6</sup> by virtue of their famous deeds. Every history of the Franks is full of such praises, and no age will ever forget the glory of your people. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> Charles Martel (ca. 688-741): Frankish statesman and military leader who, as Duke and Prince of the Franks and Mayor of the Palace, was de facto ruler of Francia from 718 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Pepin the Short (ca. 714-768): King of the Franks from 751 to his death. Father of Charlemagne

<sup>3</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>4</sup> Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

<sup>5</sup> Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106-48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

<sup>6</sup> Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

[11 cont.] Nam quis<sup>1</sup> Aquitanos<sup>2</sup> Nortmannosque<sup>3</sup> religionem<sup>4</sup> Christi per Galliam persequentes edomuit<sup>5</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>6</sup> Saxones<sup>7</sup> totiens fidei catholicae rebellantes perfregit<sup>8</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>9</sup> Bohemos ac<sup>10</sup> Polonos<sup>11</sup> Christiano nomini insultantes in frena<sup>12</sup> redegit<sup>13</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>14</sup> Hungaros Pannonias devastantes coercuit? Franci! Quis<sup>15</sup> Longobardos Romanam<sup>16</sup> diripientes<sup>17</sup> ecclesiam contrivit<sup>18 19</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>20</sup> Graecos ex Apulia et<sup>21</sup> Campania<sup>22</sup> expulit<sup>23</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>24</sup> Saracenos ex<sup>25</sup> Trinacria deturbavit? Franci! Quis<sup>26</sup> citeriorem Hispaniam ex Maurorum manibus<sup>27</sup> eripuit<sup>28</sup>? Franci! Quis<sup>29</sup> Antiochiam, Ptolemaidem, Alexandriam, et nostrae salutis officinam Jerosolimam ex barbarorum dentibus<sup>30</sup> extrahere<sup>31</sup> praesumpsit<sup>32</sup>? Franci! [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>2</sup> Danos AC; videmus Pium rem augere per iocum ut eleuet, et omissis veris, falsas Francis laudes tribuere. Nam Normannis et Danis victoribus agros dare coacti sunt Franci, adeo eos compescere non potuerunt. Cum Hungaris et Polonis res Francis non fuit; iidem nec Graecos ex Campania, nec Saracenos e Sicilia aut citeriore Hispania expulerunt *margin. note* AC

<sup>3</sup> Horthmannosque B; Nortinanosque V

<sup>4</sup> religiones

<sup>5</sup> edomuerunt J; compescuit P, AC

<sup>6</sup> qui I, L, P

<sup>7</sup> Sanxones V

<sup>8</sup> perfregerit S, O, P

<sup>9</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>10</sup> et R

<sup>11</sup> Polanos M; colonos O, P

<sup>12</sup> ad fidem P; in frena *omit.* AC

<sup>13</sup> redegerit P, S; redegit *corr. ex* redegerit V

<sup>14</sup> qui O, P

<sup>15</sup> qui I, L, O, P

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

<sup>17</sup> decipientes L

<sup>18</sup> contriverit I, L, S; contreruerit P; contreruit AC

<sup>19</sup> Quis Hungaros ... contrivit : Quis Longobardos Romanam diripientes ecclesiam contrivit? Franci! Quis Hungaros Pannonias devastantes coercuit? Franci! M

<sup>20</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>21</sup> atque L, N, V

<sup>22</sup> Apulia et Campania : Campania atque Apulia O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> expulerit I, L, S, O, P; expulit *corr. ex* expulerit V

<sup>24</sup> qui I, L, O, P

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

<sup>26</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>28</sup> Maurorum manibus : manu eorum P, AC

<sup>29</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>30</sup> gentibus M

<sup>31</sup> **aliquando add.** I, L, N, S, V, O, P, AC

<sup>32</sup> presumpserit P

[11 cont.] For who tamed the Aquitanians and the Normans who persecuted the religion of Christ in Gaul?<sup>1</sup> The Franks!<sup>2</sup> And who broke the Saxons all the times they rebelled against the Catholic Faith? The Franks! And who checked the Bohemians and the Poles when they trampled on the Christian name? The Franks! And who subdued the Hungarians when they laid waste to Pannonia? The Franks! And who crushed the Lombards when they were pillaging the Roman Church? The Franks! And who drove the Greeks from Puglia and Campania? The Franks<sup>3</sup>! And who ejected the Saracens from Sicily?<sup>4</sup> The Franks! And who took Nearer Spain<sup>5</sup> away from the Maurs? The Franks! And who undertook to tear Antioch, Ptolemais, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, the workplace of our salvation, from the teeth of barbarians? The Franks!<sup>6</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the note by D'Achery: here Pius exaggerates the deeds of the Franks and the French to the point of ridicule: The French certainly did not tame the Normans except that having been defeated by them they offered them the Duchy of Normandy in 911, by the Treaty of Saint-Clair-sur-Epte. It was the same Normans – and not the French – who conquered Southern Italy, creating the Kingdom of Sicily. And the Franks did not subjugate the Hungarians

<sup>2</sup> In this section, Pius uses Francus to designate both the Franks in general and the French in particular

<sup>3</sup> Here the French Normans

<sup>4</sup> Here the French Normans

<sup>5</sup> "Citerior Hispania"

<sup>6</sup> Here the French

[11 cont.] Quis<sup>1</sup> usque ad Euphratem<sup>2</sup> et Tigrim signum crucis portare et Edissam<sup>3</sup>, Mesopotamiae urbem, Christiano nomini restituere ausi sunt? Franci! Quis<sup>4</sup> vexatam, laceratam, conculcatam, et omnibus modis a tyrannis<sup>5</sup> oppressam apostolicam sedem in pristinam libertatem et gloriam reduxit? Franci!

[12] Non<sup>6</sup> sunt haec ignota<sup>7 8</sup>, *non potest abscondi<sup>9</sup> civitas<sup>10</sup> supra montem posita<sup>11</sup>*. Nulla gens tam barbara, tam inculta, tam inhospita est, ad quam Francorum gloria<sup>12</sup> non<sup>13</sup> pervenerit<sup>14</sup>. Illustre<sup>15</sup> gentis<sup>16</sup> nomen<sup>17</sup> in omne permanebit aevum: patres filiis et<sup>18</sup> filii nepotibus in generatione et generationem nobilissimi sanguinis excellentiam et clarissima facta reserabunt<sup>19</sup>. Exegit<sup>20</sup> sibi {122r} Francorum virtus monumentum aere perennius<sup>21</sup>, quod nulla<sup>22</sup> possit<sup>23</sup> destruere<sup>24</sup> vetustas.

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<sup>1</sup> qui I, L, N, S, O, P, V

<sup>2</sup> Eufraten C, I, L, M

<sup>3</sup> et Edissam : ac ipsam O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> qui I, L, O, P

<sup>5</sup> a tyrannis : et damnis N

<sup>6</sup> nota S

<sup>7</sup> quis *add.* S

<sup>8</sup> non sunt haec ignota : nota sunt haec non ignota N

<sup>9</sup> abscondi R

<sup>10</sup> abscondi civitas : civitas abscondi I

<sup>11</sup> positam J

<sup>12</sup> Francorum gloria : gloria Francorum J

<sup>13</sup> gloria non : gloriam O

<sup>14</sup> pervenerunt O; pervenit N, P, AC

<sup>15</sup> genus *add.* I

<sup>16</sup> vestrae *add.* O, P, AC

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

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

<sup>19</sup> reservabunt O

<sup>20</sup> exigit P, AC; exigit *corr. ex* exurgit V

<sup>21</sup> perennis N; perhenne O

<sup>22</sup> mala M

<sup>23</sup> potest I

<sup>24</sup> possit destruere : destruit O; destruet P; destruat AC

[11 cont.] And who dared to carry the sign of the cross as far as Euphrates and Tigris, and bring the Mesopotamian City of Edessa back to Christendom? The Franks!<sup>1</sup> And who restored the Apostolic See to its former liberty and glory when it was being harassed, trampled upon, and oppressed by tyrants in every way? The Franks!<sup>2</sup>

[12] These matters are well-known: *a city cannot not be hidden on a mountain.*<sup>3</sup> No people is so barbarous, so primitive, and so isolated that it has not heard of the glory of the French. The illustrious name of that people will endure through the ages: from generation to generation fathers will tell their sons and sons their grandsons of the excellence and famous deeds of this glorious family. The strength and courage of the French have earned them a monument more lasting than bronze and one that cannot be destroyed by age.

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<sup>1</sup> Here the French

<sup>2</sup> Pius here fails to mention King Charles VII's important contribution to making the antipope Felix V resign in 1449, thus ending the last papal schism in the Catholic Church

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 5, 14

[13] Sed<sup>1</sup> cur haec ante oculos nostros<sup>2</sup> commemorantur, qui numquam ea<sup>3</sup> negavimus<sup>4</sup>, sed publice ac<sup>5</sup> privatim honoris causa saepe<sup>6</sup> recitavimus<sup>7</sup>? An istec<sup>8</sup> commemoratio exprobratio<sup>9</sup> est<sup>10</sup> immemoris beneficii? Nemo quidem<sup>11</sup>, qui<sup>12</sup> vos audiverit<sup>13</sup> oratores, alio sensu locutos putat. Et sane ita est. Nam cur vos haec<sup>14</sup> retulistis majorum insignia? Cur veterum imagines ante oculos nostros posuistis<sup>15</sup>? Cur triumphos et vestrae gentis trophaea<sup>16</sup> commemorastis<sup>17</sup> et ecclesiam Romanam<sup>18 19</sup> suis adjutam<sup>20</sup> viribus<sup>21</sup> exposuistis,<sup>22</sup> nisi quod indigna perpessos esse Francos arbitramini, quibus post<sup>23</sup> tot beneficia cum<sup>24</sup> religioni tum<sup>25</sup> fidei Catholicae et<sup>26</sup> Romanae ecclesiae praestita regnum Siciliae est ademptum. Ingrata igitur sedes apostolica, ingrati et nos, qui benemerentibus jus suum auferimus<sup>27</sup>, indignis<sup>28</sup> alienum<sup>29</sup> concedimus.

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<sup>1</sup> Accusatio *nota marg.* D

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

<sup>3</sup> numquam ea : ea numquam V

<sup>4</sup> negabimus O; negabamus P

<sup>5</sup> et V

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

<sup>7</sup> recitaverimus O, P

<sup>8</sup> isthaec N; ista I, L, O, P, AC; istic S

<sup>9</sup> exprobratio J, M, O, P

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

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* J, O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> per M

<sup>13</sup> audierit I, L, N, S, V; audit O, P, AC

<sup>14</sup> vos haec : haec vos O, P, AC

<sup>15</sup> proposuistis I

<sup>16</sup> tropheas N

<sup>17</sup> commemoratis B

<sup>18</sup> non *add.* M

<sup>19</sup> **ecclesiam Romanam : Romanam ecclesiam** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>20</sup> auctam N; auditam S

<sup>21</sup> juribus AC

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>23</sup> *omit.* N, S, V

<sup>24</sup> tum A, C // J, M, N, S, V, P, A, C; *omit.* O

<sup>25</sup> cui O; et P

<sup>26</sup> tum P

<sup>27</sup> abstulimus S; alias auferimus *add. in marg.* S

<sup>28</sup> indigne *corr. ex.* indignum N

<sup>29</sup> alienis O

[13] But why are We being reminded of these things that We have never denied, but have often spoken about with respect, both in public and in private? Is this reminder a reproach of ingratitude? No one who heard you, ambassadors, can understand you differently - and with cause! For why have you brought before us the emblems of the forefathers? Why have you paraded before Us the images of the old ones? Why have you commemorated the triumphs and the trophies of your people and described how the Roman Church was aided by them, unless you believe that the French have been molested since the Kingdom of Sicily was their due after so many favours both to the Catholic Religion and Faith and to the Roman Church? Therefore, the Apostolic See must be ungrateful, as We must be ungrateful, having robbed the well-merited of their rights and granted them to the undeserved.

[14] Excusanda<sup>1 2</sup> est hoc loco sacrosanctae<sup>3</sup> Romanae<sup>4</sup> et<sup>5</sup> apostolicae sedis auctoritas, et ab ingratitudinis nota eximenda<sup>6</sup> tanta majestas. Ad quam rem necessarium est, ut<sup>7</sup> et<sup>8</sup> beneficia referantur<sup>9</sup>, quae Romani praesules in Francorum familiam contulerunt<sup>10</sup>, neque erit inutile et<sup>11</sup> hanc partem cognovisse. Fatemur, magna sunt neque quispiam parva dixerit, quae Franci Romanae sedi<sup>12</sup> praestiterunt<sup>13</sup>, sed et mater<sup>14</sup> apostolica sedes<sup>15</sup> benemerentes<sup>16</sup> filios<sup>17</sup> suos non rejicit<sup>18</sup>, nec laborantes in vinea domini mercede debita fraudat. Horum<sup>19</sup> siquidem, quae liliati<sup>20</sup> gesserunt<sup>21</sup>, perpetuo memor<sup>22 23</sup>, quaecumque hactenus potuit<sup>24</sup>, quaecumque habuit<sup>25</sup>, in augmentum gloriae eorum<sup>26</sup> salutisque<sup>27</sup> contulit, semperque ut<sup>28</sup> domum illam praecipuam<sup>29</sup> tenuit, cujus praesidio in suis adversis se tueretur; sic et primam habuit, in quam omnem<sup>30</sup> amoris et<sup>31</sup> benignitatis<sup>32</sup> suae signum<sup>33</sup> effunderet. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> excusando O

<sup>2</sup> Excusatio *nota marg.* D

<sup>3</sup> sacrosancta AC

<sup>4</sup> ecclesiae *add.* M

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* I

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

<sup>10</sup> contulerint O

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

<sup>12</sup> Franci Romanae sedi : Romanae sedi Franci I

<sup>13</sup> prestiterint M

<sup>14</sup> maior L

<sup>15</sup> apostolica sedes : apostolice sedis P

<sup>16</sup> promerentes L

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

<sup>18</sup> reiicet V

<sup>19</sup> olim *corr. from* horum D

<sup>20</sup> quae liliati : quae praelibati I; qua libati L; que labiati M; que libati O; que libata P; qui libata AC

<sup>21</sup> **gessere I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>22</sup> perpetuo memor *omit.* M [*blank space*]; perpetuo memoria O; memoratur P, AC

<sup>23</sup> et *add.* I

<sup>24</sup> hactenus potiut : habuit J

<sup>25</sup> quaecumque habuit *omit.* M

<sup>26</sup> *omit.* V; eorumque L, P, AC

<sup>27</sup> salutis L, P, AC

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* I, L

<sup>29</sup> perpetuam C

<sup>30</sup> omne J; *omit.* O

<sup>31</sup> *omit.* O

<sup>32</sup> et benignitatis : benignitatisque P, AC

<sup>33</sup> **sinum I, L, N, S, O, P, AC**



## **2.2.2. Merits of the Roman See towards the French**

### 2.2.2.1. In the spiritual domain

[14] Here We must [rise to the] defense of the authority of the Holy Roman and Apostolic See and clear this great majesty of the accusation of shameful ingratitude. To do this We must first relate the favours granted to the family of the Franks by the Roman Pontiffs; indeed, it will be useful to also know this part. We certainly admit that the Franks have greatly benefited the Roman See and nobody may belittle those achievements. But as a mother, the Apostolic See does not reject its well-merited sons, and she does not rob the labourers in the vineyard of the Lord of their earnings. It has always been mindful of the achievements of the Lilled [House], and it has given all it could and had to further its glory and prosperity. Always it regarded that House as special which protected it in times of danger, and it was the first House to receive the signs of its love and favour. *[cont.]*

[14 cont.] Nam si<sup>1</sup> vetera simul et nova<sup>2</sup> recolimus, beneficentissima<sup>3</sup> semper inventa<sup>4</sup> est beati Petri et summi praesulis cathedra cum<sup>5</sup> in ceteros omnes, tum vestros<sup>6</sup> in Francos<sup>7</sup>.

[15] Insistamus hic paululum<sup>8</sup>, et quantum generi vestro profuerit, quantum faverit, quantum<sup>9</sup> consuluerit<sup>10</sup>, animadvertamus. Quis vobis lumen fidei, quis legem evangelicam, quis Christi sacramenta, quis viam vitae nisi sedes apostolica monstravit? *Eratis aliquando tenebrae, nunc<sup>11</sup> lux in domino estis*. Eratis mancipia Sathanae, nunc filii Dei<sup>12</sup> per adoptionem facti estis<sup>13</sup>; eratis Gehennae<sup>14</sup> servi<sup>15</sup>, nunc<sup>16</sup> haereditatem regni caelestis expectatis. Et<sup>17</sup> unde vobis<sup>18</sup> haec<sup>19</sup> libertas nisi per primam sedem, quae missis in<sup>20</sup> Galliam ac<sup>21</sup> Germaniam praedicatoribus verbi<sup>22</sup> Dei extirpato<sup>23</sup> lolio<sup>24</sup> *bonum*<sup>25</sup> tritici<sup>26</sup> *semen* in cordibus patrum vestrorum seminavit, et aberrantes Francos ad ovile Christi perduxit? Nihil his majus inveniri<sup>27</sup> potest; nulla his compensari dona<sup>28</sup>, nulla beneficia, {122v} nulla obsequia possunt. Spiritualia<sup>29</sup> haec et tam vestrae<sup>30</sup> quam<sup>31</sup> aliis nationibus communia<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> et *add.* O

<sup>2</sup> simul et nova : et nova simul O

<sup>3</sup> beneficentissimo O

<sup>4</sup> iniuncta O

<sup>5</sup> tum M, P, S

<sup>6</sup> nostros J, N, S, V

<sup>7</sup> vestros in Francos : Francos in vestros O, P; in Francos in vestros AC

<sup>8</sup> paulum P

<sup>9</sup> quantumque AC

<sup>10</sup> consulerit J; *omit.* M

<sup>11</sup> autem *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> de O

<sup>13</sup> eratis mancipia ... facti estis *omit.* P, Q

<sup>14</sup> iehenne S

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

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

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

<sup>18</sup> nobis M; *omit.* N

<sup>19</sup> prima *add.* Q

<sup>20</sup> per C

<sup>21</sup> et I, R; atque O, P, AC

<sup>22</sup> verbis O; verbum Q

<sup>23</sup> extricato Q

<sup>24</sup> lollio A, B, D, R

<sup>25</sup> boni O, P, AC

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

<sup>27</sup> adinveniri O, P, AC

<sup>28</sup> bona O, P, AC

<sup>29</sup> spiritalia A, B, C, R, V

<sup>30</sup> vestris N

<sup>31</sup> tam ... quam : tum ... cum I, L

<sup>32</sup> coram O, Q

[14 cont.] For if we consider both the old and the new, the Chair of Saint Peter and the Supreme Pontiff has always been extremely benevolent to all but especially to you Franks.

[15] Let us dwell on this a little and look at how greatly the [Apostolic See] has benefited, favoured, and cared for your people. Who but the Apostolic See showed you the light of Faith, the law of the Gospel, the sacraments of Christ, and the way of Life? *For you were heretofore darkness, but now light in the Lord. Walk then as children of the light.*<sup>1</sup> You were the servants of Satan; now you have been made *sons of God by adoption*.<sup>2</sup> You were the slaves of Hell; now you look forward to inheriting the Kingdom of Heaven. And how did you obtain this freedom except through the First See which sent preachers of the Word of God to Gaul and Germany, uprooted the weeds, sowed *the good seed*<sup>3</sup> of wheat in the hearts of your fathers, and brought the straying Franks to the flock of Christ? Nothing can be greater than these [deeds]; no favours, no benefits, and no services can match them. But these spritual benefits are common to your nation and all the others.

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<sup>1</sup> Ephesians, 5, 8

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Romans, 8, 23

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 13, 27

[16] Ad saecularia veniamus. Et in his quoque multa sunt, quae recenseri<sup>1</sup> possunt ab apostolica maiestate<sup>2</sup> in Francorum prosapiam<sup>3</sup> congesta cumulatque<sup>4</sup> dona. Languerat eorum regnum, et ad<sup>5</sup> internecionem<sup>6</sup> defluebat in manibus Childerici<sup>7</sup> inutilis regis. Non tulit Zacharias, antecessor noster, nobilissimi regni ruinam, sed missis legatis regem totondit et<sup>8</sup> in monasterio<sup>9</sup> reclusit<sup>10</sup>, Pipinoque, qui majordomus<sup>11</sup> esset<sup>12</sup>, regium<sup>13</sup> nomen et gubernationem commisit<sup>14</sup>. Atque ita servatum est Franciae regnum et in gentem, quae nunc regnat<sup>15</sup>, derivatum, quod per rectam lineam in<sup>16</sup> aliam familiam<sup>17</sup> differebatur<sup>18</sup>. Nam Pipinus, quamvis Francus<sup>19</sup> regis<sup>20</sup> sanguine natus, gradu tamen remotior<sup>21</sup> erat. Hanc ille ex apostolica sede<sup>22</sup> gratiam tulit<sup>23</sup>, nec minorem filius ejus Carolus consecutus est. Nam cum defuncto patre, germanus quoque<sup>24</sup> Carlomannus<sup>25</sup> obiisset, uxor ejus Berta Hildegardae, uxoris Caroli, gloriae invidens, ad Desiderium<sup>26</sup> Longobardorum regem cum liberis confugit<sup>27</sup>, quos ille benigne excepit<sup>28</sup>, existimans per eos Francorum vires se facile concussurum, praesertim si Romanus praesul ex filiis Carlomanni<sup>29</sup> alterum<sup>30</sup> in Franciae regem inungeret<sup>31</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> recensere O

<sup>2</sup> sede B, I

<sup>3</sup> prosapia O, P

<sup>4</sup> cumulatque O

<sup>5</sup> eorum *add.* P

<sup>6</sup> internitionem B, C, D, J, R, N, S, V; interemptionem I, L; interiectionem M; intiunctionem O; eorum interem(p)tionem P, AC

<sup>7</sup> (H)ildebrandi A, B, C, D, J, N, O, P, R, S, V; Hildibrandi I; Hilabrandi L; Ildebraud M

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>9</sup> mundo M

<sup>10</sup> reconcluit N; reduxit S

<sup>11</sup> maior regni P

<sup>12</sup> **et ingenio valeret *add.* I, L, N, O, S, V, AC; ingenio valeret *add.* P**

<sup>13</sup> regnum L; regum M; regni I, N; regimen P, AC

<sup>14</sup> Zacharias Pipinum regem dicit *nota marg.* A

<sup>15</sup> regnato O

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

<sup>17</sup> in aliam familiam *omit.* M

<sup>18</sup> deferebatur I; deferrebatur L; defferebatur M; differebat N; deferebatur O, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> Franci M

<sup>20</sup> ab *add.* AC

<sup>21</sup> remotiori V

<sup>22</sup> apostolica sede : apostolice sedis R

<sup>23</sup> retulit *corr.* ex tulit I

<sup>24</sup> ejus I; *omit.* J, L

<sup>25</sup> Karolus magnus O, P

<sup>26</sup> desideriorum J

<sup>27</sup> fugit O

<sup>28</sup> accepit M; suscepit I, O, P, AC

<sup>29</sup> Karoli magni O, P

<sup>30</sup> Albertum M

<sup>31</sup> iniungeret M, R

#### 2.2.2.2. In the secular domain

##### *2.2.2.2.1. Kingdom of the Franks*

[16] So, let Us move on to the secular domain. In this area, too, We can mention many gifts which the Apostolic Majesty heaped upon the family of the Franks. In the hands of the useless King Childeric<sup>1</sup> their kingdom lost its vigour and was sliding towards extinction. Our predecessor, Zacharias,<sup>2</sup> would not tolerate the ruin of this noble realm, but sent legates who tonsured the king and enclosed him in a monastery. Then they gave the title of king and the government to Pepin, the *majordomus* [of the kingdom].<sup>3</sup> Thus Frankish royal power was preserved, though it passed, in direct line, to another family, for though Pepin was born of the blood of the French king, he belonged to a sideline. This was the great favour that he received from the Apostolic See, and the favour obtained by his son, Charles, was just as great. For when after the death of his father, his brother Carloman<sup>4</sup> died too, Carloman's wife Gerberga<sup>5</sup> became jealous of the high state<sup>6</sup> of Charles' wife Hildegard<sup>7</sup> and fled with her children to King Desiderius of the Lombards.<sup>8</sup> Desiderius received them well, thinking that through them he might easily overcome the Frankish forces, especially if the Roman Pontiff would anoint one of Carloman's sons as King of the Franks. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Childeric III (ca. 717-ca. 754): King of Francia from 743 until he was deposed in March 751 at the instigation of Pepin the Short

<sup>2</sup> Zacharias (679-752): Pope from 741 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 22

<sup>4</sup> Carloman I (751-771): King of the Franks from 768 to his death. Second surviving son of Pepin the Short and a younger brother of Charlemagne

<sup>5</sup> Pius erroneously wrote Berta. Gerberga (8th c.): Wife of Carloman I, King of the Franks, and sister-in-law of Charlemagne. Her flight to the Lombard kingdom of Desiderius following Carloman's death precipitated the last Franco-Lombard war, and the end of the independent kingdom of the Lombards in 774

<sup>6</sup> "gloria"

<sup>7</sup> Hildegard of the Vinzgau (771-783): Second wife of Charlemagne, mother of Ludwig der Fromme

<sup>8</sup> Desiderius (d. 786): Last king of the Lombard Kingdom, ruling from 756 to 774. Charlemagne, who married his daughter and conquered his realm. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 26

[16 cont.] Praesidebat tunc in apostolica sede Hadrianus I., qui neque precibus, neque minis, neque promissis ullis flecti potuit, ut<sup>1</sup> impio Desiderii<sup>2</sup> desiderio consentiret, quamvis exarchatus<sup>3</sup> Ravennas et omnis<sup>4</sup> ager<sup>5</sup> ecclesiae Longobardorum ferro diriperetur et igne devasteretur<sup>6</sup>. Quae res Carolo unitum<sup>7</sup> regnum retinuit.

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<sup>1</sup> et O

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

<sup>3</sup> exortatus P; exharcatus V

<sup>4</sup> omnes O

<sup>5</sup> agri M, O

<sup>6</sup> **vastaretur** L, N, S, O, P, AC

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

*[16 cont.]* At that time, Hadrian I occupied the Apostolic See. Neither prayers, nor threats, nor promises could move him to consent to Desiderius' impious wish, though the Exarchate of Ravenna and all the territory of the Church were put to the sword and burnt by the Lombards. Thus Charles could keep a united kingdom.

[17] Magnum hoc<sup>1</sup>, sed majus<sup>2</sup> illud, quod Leo III.<sup>3</sup>, Romanorum<sup>4</sup> praesul, in eumdem Carolum contulit. Etenim<sup>5</sup> Leone IV., qui duos inter Constantinos imperavit, alteri<sup>6</sup> pater, alteri<sup>7</sup> filius<sup>8</sup>, Italiam negligente et in haeresim lapso, qui culturas<sup>9</sup> imaginum exhorrebat<sup>10</sup> prohibebatque, indignatus Leo pontifex maximus<sup>11</sup> imperium ex<sup>12</sup> Graecis ad Germanos in personam<sup>13</sup> magnifici Caroli Magni transtulit.<sup>14</sup> Quid<sup>15</sup> majus potuit apostolica sedes praestare Francorum domui<sup>16</sup> quam eam Romano imperio decorare<sup>17</sup>, provinciarum<sup>18</sup> dominam et principem populorum, gentium nationumque constituere? *Quid<sup>19</sup> potui facere vineae meae<sup>20</sup>*, inquit propheta in persona<sup>21</sup> domini, *et non feci?* Honorata est prae ceteris Francorum gens et in sublimi vertice montium a Romana ecclesia suscepto imperio collocata.

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<sup>1</sup> magnum hoc : magna haec N, S; huius O

<sup>2</sup> magis M

<sup>3</sup> quartus J

<sup>4</sup> Romanus O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> et I; in *add.* O, P

<sup>6</sup> alterius M

<sup>7</sup> alterius M

<sup>8</sup> alteri ... filius : alter pater, alter filius O, P; alterius filius alterius pater AC

<sup>9</sup> sculpturas *alias* culturas P; sculpturas AC

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

<sup>11</sup> magnus D

<sup>12</sup> de O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> persona P, AC

<sup>14</sup> Leo papa III. imperium transtulit *nota marg.* A

<sup>15</sup> quod J, R

<sup>16</sup> Francorum domui : domui Franchorum M

<sup>17</sup> decoraret M; *omit.* S

<sup>18</sup> provinciam N

<sup>19</sup> quod R

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

<sup>21</sup> personam M



#### 2.2.2.2. Holy Roman Empire

[17] This was certainly a great boon, but the Roman Pontiff, Leo III, granted Charles an even greater one. Leo IV<sup>1</sup>, who reigned [in Constantinople] between two Constantines, one his father,<sup>2</sup> and the other his son,<sup>3</sup> neglected Italy and fell into heresy as he abhorred and forbade the cult of images.<sup>4</sup> Scandalized [at this development], Pope Leo transferred imperial rule from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of Charlemagne.<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> What greater [boon] could the Apostolic See bestow on the House of the Franks than honouring it with Roman imperial power and giving it lordship over the lands and princely power over peoples and nations? <sup>7</sup>*What is there that I ought to do more to my vineyard, that I have not done to it?*,<sup>8</sup> says the Lord in the person of the prophet. The family of the Franks was honoured above all others, having received imperial power and being placed on the summit of the mountains by the Roman Church

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<sup>1</sup> Leo IV the Khazar (750-780): Byzantine emperor from 775 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Constantine V (718-775): Byzantine emperor from 741 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Constantine VI (771-805): Byzantine emperor from 780-797 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Iconoclasm (banning the use and cult of icons) had been initiated by Leo III (emperor 717-741), grandfather of Leo IV. Leo IV pursued his grandfather's iconoclastic policy, first with moderation, but later with great intensity

<sup>5</sup> Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 30

<sup>6</sup> Pius' linking of the Byzantine emperors' iconoclasm with the coronation of Charlemagne does not appear to be historically correct. In fact, Byzantine Empress Irene (at that time regent for her Son, Constantine VI) had already in 787 (13 years before the coronation of Charlemagne) secured the condemnation of iconoclasm by the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea and its official abolishment. The Roman pope, Hadrian I, was directly represented at the council and officially approved its decrees

<sup>7</sup> Lamentations, 1, 1

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah, 5, 4

[18] Neque, ut<sup>1</sup> vos<sup>2</sup> asserere visi<sup>3</sup> estis, dimidiatum<sup>4</sup> imperium ad Francos dimissum<sup>5</sup> est, sive duo imperia facta, Graecorum alterum, Latinorum alterum. Numquam Romani praesules hanc absurditatem commisissent, ut hosti fidei gladium dimitterent. Totum et solidum translatum est imperium<sup>6</sup>. Sed Carolus ipse cum Irene prius, imperatrice et Constantini VI. matre, et deinde cum Nicephoro<sup>7</sup> patricio, et cum eodem {123r} postea imperatoris nomen<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> adeptus, imperium partitus est<sup>10</sup>, et quod<sup>11</sup> totum accepit<sup>12</sup>, dimidiatum retinuit, orientales Graecis<sup>13</sup> partes<sup>14</sup> dimittens, sibi occiduas servans. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> ut *corr. ex* cur N; cur S; et AC

<sup>2</sup> nos N, S

<sup>3</sup> nisi M

<sup>4</sup> dimidium I

<sup>5</sup> transmissum I, L, N, S; transmissum *corr. ex* dimissum V

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

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

<sup>8</sup> nomine M, P

<sup>9</sup> imperatoris nomen : nomen imperatoris V

<sup>10</sup> Imperii divisio *nota marg.* C

<sup>11</sup> quid M

<sup>12</sup> recepit R

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* J; Graetiae N

<sup>14</sup> Graecis partes : partes Graecis I

[18] And, contrary to what you said, the Franks were not granted half an empire nor were two empires created, one belonging to the Greeks and the other to the Latins. Never would the Roman pontiffs have committed the absurdity of entrusting a sword to an enemy of the Faith.<sup>1</sup> The empire was transferred [to Charles] entire and undivided. It was Charles himself who shared the empire, first with Irene,<sup>2</sup> empress and mother of Constantine VI, and afterwards with Nicephorus,<sup>3</sup> first as patrician and later as emperor. Thus, he kept only half of what he had received as a whole, leaving the Eastern parts to the Greeks and keeping the Western parts for himself. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. by giving half of the empire to the heretical emperor in Constantinople, Constantine VI, who was thought to have iconoclast sympathies, like his father Leo IV

<sup>2</sup> Irene (ca. 752-803): Byzantine empress. Wife of Byzantine Emperor Leo IV, Regent 780-790, and from 797 to her Byzantine ruler in her own name. Abolished iconoclasm in 787

<sup>3</sup> Nicephorus I [Nikephoros] (d. 811): Byzantine emperor from 802 to his death. Cf. Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, V, 31

[18 cont.] Et quamvis imperium ad eos<sup>1</sup> Francos transierit<sup>2</sup>, qui tum<sup>3</sup> Galliam Germaniamque possidebant<sup>4</sup>, et postea in eis continuatum sit, qui Germaniae<sup>5</sup> praesunt<sup>6</sup>, non tamen Franci, qui remanserunt in Gallia, quorum Carolus soboles est, ab apostolica sede relictis sunt. Quis enim<sup>7</sup> tot pontificales, tot metropoliticas<sup>8 9</sup> sedes in regno Franciae, nisi Romanus pontifex erigi jussit? Quis tot privilegia, tot gratias, tot indulgentias vestris ecclesiis ac monasteriis nisi Romana<sup>10</sup> concessit? Quis gymnasia<sup>11</sup> litterarum<sup>12</sup>, scholam illam Parisiensem, orbe toto<sup>13</sup> celebrem<sup>14</sup> et fama<sup>15</sup> claram, nisi beati Petri successores illustraverunt<sup>16</sup>, a quibus ea indulta consecuta sunt<sup>17</sup>, quae vix<sup>18</sup> optare<sup>19</sup> audebant<sup>20</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ipsos V

<sup>2</sup> transierint O

<sup>3</sup> tunc I; cum O, S

<sup>4</sup> possidebat O

<sup>5</sup> Germanis O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> et postea ... praesunt *omit.* J

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

<sup>8</sup> metropolitanas I, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> tot pontificales tot metropolitas : tot metropolitas tot pontificales S

<sup>10</sup> sedes *add.* B, I, V; ecclesia *add. suprascr.* L; ecclesia *add.* M; Romanus pontifex O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> gignasia O, P

<sup>12</sup> nisi Romanam ... litterarum *omit.* N, S

<sup>13</sup> orbe toto : toto orbi N; toto orbe S, V

<sup>14</sup> percelebrem O, P, AC

<sup>15</sup> famam B, J

<sup>16</sup> illustrarunt C; illustraverint M

<sup>17</sup> est L, N, S

<sup>18</sup> uis J, M

<sup>19</sup> optari M

<sup>20</sup> audebat I, L, N, S, O, P, AC

*[18 cont.]* When the imperial office passed to the Franks, they were in possession both of Gaul and of Germany, but later it remained with those who rule Germany. Still the Franks who stayed in Gaul and from whom Charles<sup>1</sup> descends were not abandoned by the Apostolic See. Who but the Roman Pontiff created all those pontifical and metropolitan sees in the Kingdom of France? Who but the Roman See granted all those privileges, all those concessions of grace, and all those indulgences to your churches and monasteries? Who but the successors of Saint Peter favoured your universities<sup>2</sup> and especially the School of Paris,<sup>3</sup> famous and acclaimed in the whole world. Indeed, they could hardly have dared to hope for all those grants they received from [the popes].

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<sup>1</sup> Charles VII

<sup>2</sup> "gymnasia litterarum"

<sup>3</sup> University of Paris (La Sorbonne): Founded in 1150

[19] Illud quoque, quod a<sup>1</sup> vobis relatum est<sup>2</sup> de regno Siciliae in Francorum familiam<sup>3</sup> translato, quis non intelligit praeclarum<sup>4</sup> et maximum<sup>5</sup> fuisse munus<sup>6</sup>? Dicit<sup>7</sup> fortasse quispiam<sup>8</sup>, et vos idem<sup>9</sup> oratione vestra<sup>10</sup> sentire videmini: "Occupabant<sup>11</sup> tyranni regnum, et<sup>12</sup> Manfredus<sup>13</sup> armis<sup>14</sup> potens<sup>15</sup> expelli non poterat. Largita est<sup>16</sup> Romana sedes, quod sibi obtinere nequibat, donare quam perdere maluit." Haud quidem ita est. Innocentius enim<sup>17</sup> IV., Romanae<sup>18</sup> urbis antistes, natione Januensis<sup>19</sup>, cum deposito Friderico, ex Gallia in Italiam<sup>20</sup> rediisset, Neapolim se<sup>21</sup> contulit, ibique tamquam dominus receptus est<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup>, ad quem salutandum omnes ferme regni<sup>24</sup> proceres concurrerunt se suaque illi<sup>25</sup> committentes. Inter quos etiam<sup>26</sup> Manfredus fuit, nec<sup>27</sup> dubium erat<sup>28</sup>, quin regno toto potitus fuisset Innocentius, nisi morte immatura rebus excessisset humanis. Nec minor spes successoribus offerebatur<sup>29</sup>, si non minor illis animus, non segnior cura fuisset quam Innocentio.

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<sup>1</sup> est O

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

<sup>3</sup> familia O

<sup>4</sup> clarum V

<sup>5</sup> translato quis ... maximum *omit.* S

<sup>6</sup> familiam translato ... munus : familiae fuisse manus N

<sup>7</sup> dicet P, AC

<sup>8</sup> aspiam M

<sup>9</sup> deinde O; domini P, AC

<sup>10</sup> idem oratione vestra : vestra oratione idem I, L; oratione vestra : vestra oratione V

<sup>11</sup> occupabunt O

<sup>12</sup> de M

<sup>13</sup> **et Manfredus : Manfredusque I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>14</sup> aus N; armi P

<sup>15</sup> armis potens : armipotens M

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

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

<sup>18</sup> Romani N

<sup>19</sup> Genuensis N, V

<sup>20</sup> ex Gallia in Italiam : in Italiam ex Gallia L

<sup>21</sup> sibi O

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* I, L

<sup>23</sup> receptus est : est receptus P, AC

<sup>24</sup> regis M

<sup>25</sup> suaque illi : sua illique O

<sup>26</sup> et N, S

<sup>27</sup> neque O, P, AC

<sup>28</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>29</sup> auferebatur O; afferebatur P, AC

#### 2.2.2.2.3. Kingdom of Naples

[19] And who does not see that the transfer of the Kingdom of Sicily to the family of France was a great and honourable gift - as also related by you? Somebody may say, as you did in your oration, that the Kingdom was occupied by tyrants and that the powerful Manfred<sup>1</sup> could not be expelled. Therefore the Roman See granted what it could not keep on its own, preferring to give it away rather than to lose it.<sup>2 3</sup> But, this is hardly so. When Innocent IV,<sup>4</sup> Bishop of Rome and himself of the Genoese nation, had deposed Friedrich<sup>5 6</sup> and returned to Italy from France, he went to Naples<sup>7</sup> and was received there as lord. Almost all the nobles of the realm came to meet him and committed themselves and theirs to him. Among them was Manfred, and there is no doubt that Innocent would have become master of the whole realm if he had not died suddenly.<sup>8</sup> His successors could have hoped for at least as much if they had shown the same courage and initiative as Innocent.

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<sup>1</sup> Manfred (1232-1266): King of Sicily from 1258 to 1266. Natural son of the Emperor Friedrich II of Hohenstaufen

<sup>2</sup> The assertion of the French ambassadors was probably correct, see Léonard, p. 38: *La situation était trop difficile pour que le pape [Innocentius IV] se chargeât de la direction du Royaume: il lui fallait trouver un prince à qui l'inféoder. ... Avant même la mort de celui-ci [Friedrich II] il lui avait cherché un successeur à l'étranger, en France d'abord, puis en la personne de Richard de Cornouailles, frère du roi d'Angleterre. À l'été 1252 il avait chargé le notaire apostolique Albert de Parme d'aller proposer l'affaire à nouveau à Richard et, si celui-ci n'acceptait pas, au plus jeune frère de Louis IX, Charles [d'Anjou]*

<sup>3</sup> Freeing Southern Italy, on the borders of the Papal State, from the rule of German emperors and their replacement with another European ruling house was a major political issue for the papacy at the time, cf. Léonard, p. 109

<sup>4</sup> Innocentius IV [Sinibaldo Fieschi](c. 1195-1254): Pope from 1243 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich II (1194-1250): Crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1220. Head of the House of Hohenstaufen

<sup>6</sup> At the Council of Lyon, in 1245

<sup>7</sup> Innocent IV arrived in Naples on 27 October 1254

<sup>8</sup> This view is probably too optimistic: Innocent IV died on 7 December 1254, five days after his troops had been defeated by Manfred, close to Lucera, see Léonard, p. 39, who continues: *Renonçant une fois de plus à la gestion directe d'un royaume trop difficile, il [Innocentius IV] avait demandé à Henri III d'Angleterre, par lettres du 17 novembre, d'envoyer prendre possession du pays au nom du jeune Edmond. Puis il mourut*

[20] Sed defuncto<sup>1</sup> Alexandro IV. apud Ananiam<sup>2</sup>, qui successerat<sup>3</sup> Innocentio, Urbanus IV.<sup>4</sup>, natione Trecensis<sup>5</sup>, armorum curam et belli molestias, ut par erat, execratus<sup>6</sup>, Carolum<sup>7</sup> Andegavensem<sup>8</sup> ex<sup>9</sup> Francorum domo ad hoc<sup>10</sup> regnum vocandum<sup>11</sup> censuit. Sed prius obiit, quam Carolus intraret Italiam. Intravit<sup>12</sup> autem sub Clemente IV.<sup>13</sup> cum XXX<sup>14</sup> triremibus Romam petens, ubi per annum senatoria dignitate functus et deinde cum conjugē Beatrice jussu pontificis apud Lateranum Siculi regni coronam adeptus ad bellum profectus est, in quo victor non sine magnis ecclesiae Romanae auxiliis possessionem regni<sup>15</sup> quietam et tranquillam obtinuit. Fuissent<sup>16</sup> et alii, qui hoc oneris<sup>17</sup> cum tanto honore et<sup>18</sup> tanto<sup>19</sup> emolumento cupide<sup>20</sup> suscepissent<sup>21 22</sup>, sed liliatos, ut vos<sup>23</sup> appellatis, praeferendos<sup>24</sup> omnibus censuit apostolica majestas. [cont.]

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

<sup>2</sup> Ananiam *corr. from* Anagniam A; Inaniam O; Anarniam *aut* Avarniam P; Anagiram Q; Anaginam S; Avarinam AC

<sup>3</sup> successut [*sic!*] R

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

<sup>5</sup> Tricensis N

<sup>6</sup> exercitus B; exoratus Q

<sup>7</sup> Karolus O

<sup>8</sup> Andegavensis O

<sup>9</sup> et O

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

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

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

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

<sup>14</sup> XXXI N, S

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>16</sup> fuerunt N

<sup>17</sup> onus M, S

<sup>18</sup> cum *add.* N, S, V

<sup>19</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>20</sup> cuspide M; *omit.* O

<sup>21</sup> suscepisset R

<sup>22</sup> cupide suscepissent : suscepissent cupide P, AC

<sup>23</sup> nos M, V

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



[20] When Innocent's successor, Alexander IV<sup>1</sup>, died at Anagni,<sup>2</sup> [he was succeeded by] Urban IV<sup>3</sup>, who came from Troyes. Abhorring the business of armies and troubles of war<sup>4</sup> – as was quite right – he decided to call Charles d'Anjou<sup>5</sup> of the House of France to the Kingdom of Sicily, but died<sup>6</sup> before Charles could enter Italy. But under Clemens IV<sup>7</sup>, Charles did come to Rome<sup>8</sup> with 30 galleys and functioned as senator there for a year.<sup>9</sup> Then, at the pope's command, he was crowned at the Lateran as King of Sicily together with his wife Beatrice.<sup>10</sup> Afterwards he left for a war<sup>11</sup> in which he was victorious<sup>12</sup> – but with considerable support from the Roman Church<sup>13</sup> – and gained quiet and undisturbed possession of the kingdom. Others would eagerly have accepted this charge with its great honour and emoluments, but the Apostolic Majesty preferred the "Lilied", as you call them, to all others.<sup>14</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Alexander IV [Rinaldo di Jenne](1199 or ca. 1185-1261): Pope from 1254 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Alexander IV died on 25 May 1261

<sup>3</sup> Urbanus IV [Jacques Pantaléon] (ca. 1195-1264): Pope from 1261 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Léonard, p. 41: *Le Français Urbain IV entreprit aussitôt de réunir les forces que l'Italie pouvait mettre en ligne contre le roi de Sicile [Manfred] et de trouver l'homme à qui les confier. ... Quant à l'adversaire à opposer contre Manfred, Urbain IV se dégagea (Septembre 1262) des négociations avec l'Angleterre. ... il avait déjà envoyé, dès le début de l'année [1262], maître Albert de Parme reprendre à Paris les pourparlers tendant à la designation d'un prince français. Louis IX ... refusant pour lui et pour ses fils le trône de Sicile, ... laisse Albert de Parme aller le proposer à nouveau à son frère Charles d'Anjou*

<sup>5</sup> Charles I [Charles d'Anjou] (1227-1285): Son of King Louis VIII of France. Conquered the Kingdom of Sicily from the Hohenstauffen in 1266, having received it formally as a papal grant in 1262. Expelled from the island in the aftermath of the Sicilian Vespers of 1282, he thereafter resided in Naples

<sup>6</sup> Urbanus IV died on 2 October 1264

<sup>7</sup> Clemens IV [Guy Fouquois] (1190/1200-1268): Pope from 1265 to his death

<sup>8</sup> Charles d'Anjou arrived in Rome in March 1265

<sup>9</sup> Léonard, p. 54: *Il [Clemens IV] proclama, aussitôt couronné, la déchéance d'Edmond d'Angleterre et autorisa Charles à accepter la sénatorerie romaine. ... Le 21 juin [1265] il [Charles d'Anjou] recut le insignes de sénateur et, le 28, quatre cardinaux l'investirent, à Saint-Jean de Latran, du royaume de Sicile, dont il porta désormais le titre*

<sup>10</sup> Charles d'Anjou was crowned King of Sicily on 6 January 1266, in Saint Peter's Basilica – not in the Lateran, where he had been invested with the Kingdom, in June, see Léonard, p. 56

<sup>11</sup> Charles d'Anjou left Rome, with his army, on 20 January 1266

<sup>12</sup> Charles d'Anjou defeated Manfred at the Battle of Benevento, 26 February, 1266, in which Manfred was killed

<sup>13</sup> The pope was as poor as Charles and could not provide substantial funds for the venture. But he did guarantee some important bankers' loans to Charles, even pawning some of the Roman churches, see Léonard, p. 55

<sup>14</sup> Actually, the first choice of the popes appears to have been the English Royal house, which however declined, see Léonard, pp. 38, 39, 41

[20 cont.] Intrarunt<sup>1</sup> Franci<sup>2</sup> regnum, eoque<sup>3</sup> armis potiti sunt<sup>4</sup> - at<sup>5</sup> non {123v} sine Romanae ecclesiae<sup>6</sup> praesidio, quae non solum titulum dedit, sed etiam<sup>7</sup> arma conjunxit, et anathema in hostes<sup>8</sup> promulgavit, quod non parvi momenti<sup>9</sup> fuit<sup>10</sup>. Tenuerunt Franci exinde<sup>11</sup> regnum longo tempore – non imus<sup>12</sup> inficias<sup>13</sup>: Carolus<sup>14</sup> et item Carolus, et Robertus, et Johanna, quae prior dicta est, at<sup>15</sup> non sine<sup>16</sup> favore et magna ope Romani pontificis<sup>17</sup>. Neque enim<sup>18</sup> Conradinus<sup>19</sup>, Friderici II. nepos, qui conflato<sup>20</sup> numeroso exercitu ex Germania<sup>21</sup> in<sup>22</sup> Italiam venerat, et<sup>23</sup> avitum<sup>24</sup> regnum vindicare<sup>25</sup> conabatur<sup>26</sup>, absque<sup>27</sup> Romani praesulis auxilio<sup>28</sup> vinci capique potuisset.

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<sup>1</sup> intravit N, S

<sup>2</sup> Franciae N, S

<sup>3</sup> eorum B

<sup>4</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> ac N, S, O, P

<sup>6</sup> Romanae ecclesiae : ecclesiae Romanae AC

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

<sup>8</sup> hostem J

<sup>9</sup> monumenti M

<sup>10</sup> est J; omit. M

<sup>11</sup> Franci exinde : exinde Franci O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> virus O

<sup>13</sup> imus inficias : imus in inficias R; verum infitiam P; verum infitior AC

<sup>14</sup> omit. N

<sup>15</sup> ac M, O, P

<sup>16</sup> magno add. N, O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> **Romani pontifices : Romanorum pontificum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>18</sup> tantum M

<sup>19</sup> Conradinus L; Conradinus N; Conradinus O, P

<sup>20</sup> conflictu S

<sup>21</sup> Germanis O, P

<sup>22</sup> ante O, P

<sup>23</sup> ut AC

<sup>24</sup> agnitum O

<sup>25</sup> vindicaret AC

<sup>26</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>27</sup> ab O

<sup>28</sup> dum add. M

[20 cont.] Thus the French entered the Kingdom and conquered it with the support of the Roman Church<sup>1</sup> which granted them the title to the Kingdom as well as military aid. It also excommunicated their enemies,<sup>2</sup> something which had great importance. Afterwards, the French held the Kingdom for a long time – that We do not deny. First there was Charles, then another Charles,<sup>3</sup> then Robert,<sup>4</sup> and then Giovanna I<sup>5</sup>: they all enjoyed the favour of the Roman pontiffs and were greatly assisted by them. And when Konradin,<sup>6</sup> grandson of Friedrich II, came from Germany to Italy with a great army and tried to reclaim the Kingdom of his forefathers, he could only be defeated and taken prisoner with the help of the Roman Pontiff.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Including Pope Gregorius X (pope from 1271 to 1276), not mentioned by Pius, who actively supported Charles against Ghibelline opposition in Northern Italy, but otherwise pursued a policy of independence vis-à-vis the Angevin regime, see Léonard, pp. 110-114

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Clemens IV, who on 18 September 1266, excommunicated all who assisted Konradin of Hohenstauffen, the grandson of Friedrich II, in his war against Charles I, see Léonard, p. 63

<sup>3</sup> Charles II, called the Lamb (1254-1309): King of Naples, King of Albania, Prince of Salerno, Prince of Achaia, Count of Provence and Forcalquier and Count of Anjou

<sup>4</sup> Robert d'Anjou (1277-1343): King of Naples, titular King of Jerusalem and Count of Provence and Forcalquier from 1309 to 1343, the central figure of Italian politics of his time

<sup>5</sup> Giovanna I (1328-1382): Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence and Forcalquier from 1343 to her death. Reigned as Princess of Achaia and claimed the crowns of Jerusalem and Sicily. She was married four times

<sup>6</sup> Konrad (usually known by the diminutive Konradin, Italian: Corradino) (1252-1268): Duke of Swabia 1254-1268, King of Jerusalem 1254-1268, King of Sicily 1254-1268. Executed as traitor by Charles II d'Anjou in 1268

<sup>7</sup> A cardinal was actually sent by the pope, Gregorius X, to support Konradin's extradition to Charles I. Whether the pope also, actively, supported Konradin's death sentence and execution has been debated by scholars, see Léonard, p. 71

[21] Johannes XXI.<sup>1</sup> adeo<sup>2</sup> Carolum dilexit, ut ei Graecorum imperium committere<sup>3</sup> cogitaverit<sup>4</sup>. Fecisset<sup>5</sup> suo desiderio satis, privato Michael Palaeologo, qui conventa<sup>6</sup> Lugduni non servaret, nisi cogitationes actionesque suas repentinus interrupisset obitus. Simile studium fuit et Martini IV., qui Nicolaum III. secutus est<sup>7</sup>. Is<sup>8</sup> enim senatoriam dignitatem Carolo restituit et<sup>9</sup> Michaellem Constantinopolitanum excommunicavit<sup>10</sup>. Impedivit autem Martini<sup>11</sup> conatus<sup>12</sup> Siculorum novitas et Petrus Aragonensis, qui rebellantem Carolo Trinacriam advectus<sup>13</sup> eo<sup>14</sup> cum<sup>15</sup> valida classe sibi<sup>16</sup> subegit. Multa inter Carolum et Petrum<sup>17</sup> terra marique<sup>18</sup> secuta sunt proelia<sup>19</sup>, et<sup>20</sup> ingentibus cladibus<sup>21</sup> concussum est regnum; neque<sup>22</sup> servari a Francis potuisset, nisi<sup>23</sup> sedes apostolica adjutrix fuisset. Captus fuit navali proelio Carolus II. et apud Aragoniam in carcere detinebatur<sup>24</sup>, cum<sup>25</sup> Carolus pater<sup>26</sup> vita excessit. Nutabant<sup>27</sup> sine principe, sine auxiliis Neapolitani, {303} Capuani, Cajetani<sup>28</sup>, ceterique regni<sup>29</sup> incolae<sup>30</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> XXII A, B, C, D, M, R, V

<sup>2</sup> omit. J

<sup>3</sup> comitem J

<sup>4</sup> cogitavit O, P

<sup>5</sup> fecissetque I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>6</sup> idem add. J

<sup>7</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>8</sup> ipse S, O, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> omit. AC

<sup>10</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>11</sup> Martinus M

<sup>12</sup> conatum N

<sup>13</sup> adducto M

<sup>14</sup> eam P, AC

<sup>15</sup> tamen O

<sup>16</sup> omit. P, AC

<sup>17</sup> Carolum et Petrum : Petrum et Carolum N, S

<sup>18</sup> terra marique omit. M

<sup>19</sup> pericula I

<sup>20</sup> ab O; ab add. P, AC

<sup>21</sup> classibus D, N

<sup>22</sup> nec O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> ni AC

<sup>24</sup> tenebatur L

<sup>25</sup> tum I; tunc L

<sup>26</sup> e add. P, AC

<sup>27</sup> vacabant P, AC

<sup>28</sup> Sareptani N; Saretani S

<sup>29</sup> omit. B

<sup>30</sup> accolae I, L, N, O, P, S, AC

[21] Johannes XXI<sup>1</sup> loved Charles [I] so much that he considered granting him the Greek Empire. And if sudden death had not put an end to his plans and activities, he would have done as he wished, depriving Michael Palaeologus<sup>2</sup> of the empire because he had not kept the agreements of Lyon.<sup>3</sup> Martin IV,<sup>4</sup> who followed Nicolaus III,<sup>5</sup> had the same wish. Indeed, he reappointed Charles<sup>6</sup> as Senator [of Rome] and excommunicated Michael of Constantinople.<sup>7</sup> However, his plans were hindered by the Sicilian rebellion<sup>8</sup> and Pedro of Aragon:<sup>9</sup> when Sicily<sup>10</sup> rebelled against Charles, Pedro came sailing with a strong fleet and conquered it.<sup>11</sup> There followed many battles between Charles and Pedro, both on land and at sea. The Kingdom suffered immense misfortunes, and it could only be kept by the French with help from the Apostolic See.<sup>12</sup> Charles II was taken prisoner in a naval battle<sup>13</sup> and was being kept prisoner in Aragon when his father, Charles, died. Without its prince and without help, the Neapolitans, the Capuans, the Gajetans, and the other inhabitants of the Kingdom vacillated. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> Johannes XXI, pope from 1276-1277 (Johannes XXII was pope from 1316 to 1334, long after Charles' death)

<sup>2</sup> Michael IX Palaeologus [Palaiologos] (1277-1320): reigned as Byzantine co-emperor with full imperial style 1294/1295–1320

<sup>3</sup> Byzantine envoys came to the Second Council of Lyon in 1274, where they presented a letter from the Emperor, Michael VIII Palaeologus, sealed with the imperial golden bull, and two others from his son Andronikos and the Byzantine clergy. In the fourth session of the Council the formal act of union was issued, later to be repudiated by Constantinople

<sup>4</sup> Martinus IV [Simon de Brion] (ca. 1210/1220-1285): Pope from 1281

<sup>5</sup> Nicolaus III [Giovanni Gaetano Orsini] (ca. 1225-1280): Pope from 1277 to his death. Under this pope, Charles I gave up his office as Senator of Rome, see Léonard, p. 126

<sup>6</sup> On 29 April 1281

<sup>7</sup> Michael VIII Palaiologus [Palaeologus] (1223-1282): reigned as Byzantine Emperor from 1259 to his death. Founder of the Palaeologan dynasty which would rule the Byzantine Empire until the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. On 18, November 1282, he was excommunicated by Martin IV who was hostile to the Greeks and worked for the reconstitution of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, see Léonard, pp. 134-135

<sup>8</sup> The Sicilian Vespers: successful rebellion on the island of Sicily that broke out on the Easter of 1282 against the rule of the French-born king Charles I, who had ruled the Kingdom of Sicily since 1266. As a result the government of King Charles lost control of the island. See Léonard, pp. 138 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro III the Great (1239-1285): King of Aragon and Valencia and Count of Barcelona from 1276 to his death. He conquered Sicily and became its king in 1282, pressing the claim of his wife, Constance

<sup>10</sup> "Trinacria"

<sup>11</sup> Léonard, pp. 148-151

<sup>12</sup> See Léonard, pp. 160 ff.: *Le Sauvetage du royaume par la papauté: Pendant tout l'inter règne qui s'étend de la mort de Charles Ier à la libération de de son fils (janvier 1285-fin 1288) et même après le retour à Naples du nouveau roi, point toujours à la hauteur d'une situation difficile, les papes exercèrent une action prépondérante sur la querelle siculo-napolitaine et sur la vie entiere du Royaume*, p. 160

<sup>13</sup> Léonard, p. 157

[21 cont.] Sed affuit apostolicae sedis<sup>1</sup> legatus, qui consolatus afflictum et paene desperantem<sup>2</sup> populum in fide retinuit<sup>3</sup>; neque ullum Petrus Aragonensis apud Romanam ecclesiam remedium<sup>4</sup> invenire<sup>5</sup> potuit, quominus<sup>6</sup> cum filiis et uxore extra ecclesiam fieret, quoniam Francis fuisset<sup>7</sup> injuriatus. Martinus IV. anathema in eum promulgavit, quod etiam Honorius IV., gente Sabella natus, innovavit<sup>8</sup>. Nisi<sup>9</sup> Romani praesules<sup>10</sup> Francorum partes enixissime<sup>11</sup> adjuvissent, emarcuisset<sup>12</sup> in carcere Carolus II., et regnum Siciliae in alienas manus haud dubie venisset<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> apostolicae sedis : sedis apostolicae P, AC

<sup>2</sup> desperatem C; desperatum D

<sup>3</sup> optinuit O

<sup>4</sup> *add. in marg.* A; praesidium I, L, V, P, AC; *omit.* M, R, N, S

<sup>5</sup> inveniri N, S

<sup>6</sup> quo modo N

<sup>7</sup> fuerat R

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

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

<sup>10</sup> consules AC

<sup>11</sup> enixissent J

<sup>12</sup> evanuisset P, AC

<sup>13</sup> pervenisset I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

[21 cont.] But when the legate of the Apostolic See arrived, he comforted the afflicted and almost desperate people and kept them loyal.<sup>1</sup> Pedro of Aragon could get no support from the Roman Church: he was even excommunicated with his wife and sons for molesting the French. Martin IV issued a ban against him,<sup>2</sup> which was renewed by Honorius IV<sup>3</sup> of the Savelli family.<sup>4</sup> If the Roman Pontiffs had not greatly helped the French party, Charles II would have languished in prison, and the Kingdom of Sicily would undoubtedly have fallen into other hands.

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<sup>1</sup> Léonard, p. 162-163: *[L'interrègne] rendait aux Angevins le grand service d'interposer l'Église entre eux et des adversaires de plus en plus entreprenants; il pouvait faciliter la libération du prince prisonnier ... [II] aurait pu être fatal à la dynastie angevine, ainsi dépossédée en droit comme en fait de son pouvoir et encore atteinte par là dans un prestige déjà diminué. Heureusement pour elle le Saint-Siège était sans arrière-pensée et se conduisit aussi loyalement à son égard qu'énergiquement contre ses adversaires*

<sup>2</sup> Léonard, p 149

<sup>3</sup> Honorius IV [Giacomo Savelli](ca. 1210-1287): Pope from 1285 to his death in 1287. For his support of the Angevins, see Léonard, pp. 163-172

<sup>4</sup> The Savelli (de Sabellis) were a rich and influential Roman aristocratic family who rose to prominence in the 13th century

[22] Quid<sup>1</sup> Robertus, Caroli hujus<sup>2</sup> filius? An et<sup>3</sup> hic Romanam ecclesiam sibi clementem ac<sup>4</sup> benignam expertus est? Qualia ei<sup>5</sup> et quam inextricabilia<sup>6</sup> cum Romano imperatore Henrico VII. certamina imminabant, nisi Clemens V. auxilio fuisset<sup>7</sup>, qui etiam ejus<sup>8</sup> causa Clementinam<sup>9</sup> eam<sup>10</sup> edidit, quam vocant *Pastoralis*<sup>11</sup>? Quid<sup>12</sup> Carolus, Roberti filius, qui Florentiae dominatum obtinuit? Quos<sup>13</sup> et illi favores Johannes XXII.<sup>14</sup> adversus Vicecomites Mediolanenses praestitit, qui etiam Johannem<sup>15</sup> gente Ursina {124r} cardinalem, magni nominis virum, in Etruriam, ut sibi<sup>16</sup> obsisteret<sup>17</sup>, legatum mittere non dubitavit? [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> quod R; qui O, P

<sup>2</sup> omit. B

<sup>3</sup> hujus ... an et : filius hujusmet O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> et B, I, L, R, N, S, V, O, AC

<sup>5</sup> omit. S

<sup>6</sup> explicabilia O; inexplicabilia P, AC

<sup>7</sup> affuisset V

<sup>8</sup> sui I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>9</sup> clementiam M, R; Clementinamque V

<sup>10</sup> omit. O

<sup>11</sup> Pastorale I, L

<sup>12</sup> quod C, M, R; quod nos O

<sup>13</sup> quot V

<sup>14</sup> XII. A, C, M

<sup>15</sup> omit. N; Johannes e AC

<sup>16</sup> ipsi AC

<sup>17</sup> absisteret D, V; assisteret I, L, N, O, P, S, AC



[22] What about Robert,<sup>1</sup> the son of Charles II? Did he not also find the Roman Church benevolent and well-disposed towards him?<sup>2</sup> He would have been sorely threatened by his inextricable conflicts with the Roman Emperor, Heinrich VII,<sup>3</sup> if he had not been helped by Clemens V,<sup>4</sup> issuing the Clementine [constitution] called *Pastoralis*<sup>5</sup> in his favour. And what about Robert's son, Charles,<sup>6</sup> who obtained the lordship of Florence?<sup>7</sup> Johannes XXII<sup>8</sup> granted him many favours against the Visconti of Milan<sup>9</sup> and did not hesitate to send the highly respected Cardinal Giovanni Orsini<sup>10</sup> as a legate to Toscana to assist him.<sup>11</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Robert of Anjou (1277-1343): King of Naples from 1309 to his death. Rejected imperial rule, see Léonard, p. 222: *Le roi Robert accepta la mission que lui donnaient les faits en proclamant la decheance de l'idée imperiale et l'avènement des nationalismes dans une protestation solennelle contre Henri VII où l'on pouvait lire: "Autrefois l'empereur était maître de tout et de tous et s'intitula pour cela 'maître du monde'. Aujourd'hui, ... les rois de France, de Sicile, d'Espagne, d'Aragon, d'Angleterre, de Portugal ... et presque sans distinction tous les rois du monde échappent à son pouvoir et ne lui obéissent pas, en sorte que ce n'est qu'abusivement que l'on peut parler d'une autorité et d'un pouvoir impériaux"*

<sup>2</sup> Pope Clemens VI was quite happy to use King Robert and the Kingdom in his own conflict with Emperor Heinrich VII, see Léonard, p. 213-214: *Il [Clemens VI] parlait de la venue du Roi des Romains [Heinrich VII] comme d'un heureux événement ... En fait, ce n'était là de la part du pontife ... qu'acceptation de ce qu'il ne pouvait empêcher et précautions destinées à masquer les manœuvres défensives auxquelles il se livrait d'autre part, et don't l'essentiel consistait à opposer à Henri VII le roi de Naples*

<sup>3</sup> Heinrich VII (ca. 1275-1313): King of Germany (or Rex Romanorum) from 1308 and Holy Roman Emperor from 1312. He was the first emperor of the House of Luxembourg

<sup>4</sup> Clemens V [Raymond Bertrand de Got] (ca. 1264–1314): Pope from 1305 to his death in 1314. Infamous for suppressing the order of the Knights Templars, and as the pope who moved the Curia from Rome to Avignon, ushering in the period known as the Avignon Papacy

<sup>5</sup> The papal bull *Pastoralis Cura*, issued at Carpentras on 19 March 1314, in support of King Robert, against Emperor Heinrich VII, see Setton, I, 171

<sup>6</sup> Charles (1298-1326): Son of Robert of Anjou, King of Naples. Died before his father. Father of Giovanna I

<sup>7</sup> 1426

<sup>8</sup> Johannes XXII (Jacques Duèze or d'Euse) (1244-1334): pope from 1316 (in Avignon) to his death

<sup>9</sup> Visconti Family: important Italian noble dynasty of the Middle Ages. Rose to power in Milan, where they ruled from 1277 to 1447

<sup>10</sup> Giovanni Gaetano Orsini (ca. 1285-1335): Cardinal 1316 until his death. A Roman nobleman, nephew of Pope Nicolaus III. In 1326 the Avignon Pope John XXII sent him as his legate *a latere* to Italy, then much troubled by civil wars, with the task of bringing peace

<sup>11</sup> For a period the pope and King Robert were allies and friends, but after the pope allied himself with the imperial house (John of Bohemia) and the King of France, they became adversaries, see Léonard, p. 267-268

[22 cont.] Quid Johanna? Numquid et<sup>1</sup> ipsa sedis hujus<sup>2</sup> auxilia persensit<sup>3</sup>? Fugerat ipsa cum secundo viro in proviciam Narbonensem, cum Ludovicus, rex Hungariae, ulturus fratrem, quem Johanna virum suum interfici jussisse ferebatur, magnis congregatis copiis<sup>4</sup>, in Apuliam trajecisset<sup>5</sup>. At<sup>6</sup> sequestro<sup>7</sup> Romano pontifice Clemente VI.<sup>8</sup>, qui legatum<sup>9</sup> ad<sup>10</sup> eam rem misit<sup>11</sup> Guidonem, episcopum<sup>12</sup> Portuensem, pax his legibus dicta<sup>13</sup> est, ut<sup>14</sup> Johanna regnum<sup>15</sup> recuperaret.

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

<sup>2</sup> hujus sedis : sedis hujus O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> presensit O, P

<sup>4</sup> magnis ... copiis *omit.* AC

<sup>5</sup> trasiecisset P; trameasset Q

<sup>6</sup> et M; ac P, N, S

<sup>7</sup> sequestre D

<sup>8</sup> VII. A, B, C, D, N, R, S

<sup>9</sup> legationem J

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

<sup>11</sup> rem misit : remisit I, L; ad O

<sup>12</sup> Guidonem episcopum : episcopum Guidonem O

<sup>13</sup> facta I; data P, AC

<sup>14</sup> uti V

<sup>15</sup> regna O

[22 cont.] What about Giovanna [I]?<sup>1</sup> Did she not too receive the aid of this See? When King Louis [I]<sup>2</sup> of Hungary came to Puglia with a large army<sup>3</sup> in order to avenge his brother,<sup>4</sup> Giovanna's [first] husband, said to have been murdered on her orders,<sup>5</sup> she fled to the province of Narbonne<sup>6</sup> with her second husband.<sup>7</sup> But the next Roman Pontiff, Clemens VI,<sup>8</sup> sent Guy<sup>9</sup>, [Cardinal] Bishop of Porto as his legate in this matter and dictated a peace with the condition of Giovanna recovering her kingdom.<sup>10 11</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanna I

<sup>2</sup> Louis I the Great (1326–1382): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1342 to his death and King of Poland from 1370

<sup>3</sup> 1348

<sup>4</sup> Andrew (1327–1345): First husband of Giovanna I of Naples, and a son of Charles I of Hungary and brother of Louis I of Hungary, of the House of Anjou. When he was assassinated in 1345, Louis accused the queen of his murder and punishing her became a major goal of his foreign policy

<sup>5</sup> Léonard, p. 347: *La participation de la reine au meurtre d'André n'est pas prouvée, et c'est, en bien et en mal, tout ce que l'on peut conclure*

<sup>6</sup> Provence

<sup>7</sup> Luigi di Tarento (1320-1362): also a prince of the House of Anjou

<sup>8</sup> Clemens VI [Pierre Roger] (1291-1352): Pope from 1342 to his death. In 1352 he held a trial in Avignon, by which Gioanna I was acquitted from any charge of having murdered her husband

<sup>9</sup> Guy de Boulogne [Guy de Montfort] (1313-1373) : Archbishop of Lyon. Appointed cardinal in 1342, later as Cardinal Bishop of Porto

<sup>10</sup> At the price of selling the city of Avignon to the pope, Léonard, p. 359. Giovanna and Louis of Tarento returned to Naples on 17 August 1348

<sup>11</sup> Pius does not mention Louis of Hungary's second invasion of the Kingdom of Naples in 1350, ending in a peace concluded on 23 March 1352 with the active involvement of the Papacy

[23] Scisum est deinde regnum, et<sup>1</sup> ipse Francorum sanguis inter sese<sup>2</sup> collisus est. Nam cum Ludovicus, rex Hungariae, iterum necis<sup>3</sup> fraternae memor Carolum in Italiam misisset, qui poenas interfecti viri ex Johanna reposceret<sup>4</sup>, et jam<sup>5</sup> hic deletis<sup>6</sup> Johannae copiis et capta Neapoli regnum in potestate sua<sup>7</sup> redigisset<sup>8</sup>, Johannamque<sup>9</sup> nova<sup>10</sup> in arce<sup>11</sup> clausam<sup>12</sup> obsedisset, Ludovicus vero<sup>13</sup> Andegavensis ad eam liberandam<sup>14</sup> cum magna equitum manu in regnum venisset<sup>15</sup>, et jam schisma<sup>16</sup> esset in ecclesia Dei, et Franci atque<sup>17</sup> Hispani Clementem VII., Romani et reliqui ferme omnes Urbanum VI. beati Petri successorem putarent, ut quisque<sup>18</sup> pontifex sibi consultum ratus est, sic favores suos impartitus<sup>19</sup> est; nec tamen a Francorum sanguine recessum<sup>20 21</sup>, siquidem<sup>22</sup> et Dyrrachienses et Andegavenses<sup>23</sup> a Francorum<sup>24</sup> stirpe duxerunt originem. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> ut N

<sup>2</sup> se P, AC

<sup>3</sup> legis O

<sup>4</sup> **deposceret** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>5</sup> et jam : eciam L

<sup>6</sup> delectis N; delectis *corr. ex* deletis S

<sup>7</sup> potestate sua : sua potestate I; potestatem suam AC

<sup>8</sup> redigisset M, V

<sup>9</sup> Johannaque M

<sup>10</sup> novam M

<sup>11</sup> arcem M

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

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

<sup>14</sup> deliberandam V, P, AC; libertatem S

<sup>15</sup> ivisset N, S

<sup>16</sup> sisma M

<sup>17</sup> et N; *omit.* S

<sup>18</sup> qui N; quisquis S, V

<sup>19</sup> impartitus AC

<sup>20</sup> est *add.* I, L, M, N, V; recessit P; regnum recessit AC

<sup>21</sup> nec tamen ... recessum *omit.* S

<sup>22</sup> sic quidem M; si quidem S

<sup>23</sup> Dyrrachiensens et Andegavenses : Andegavenses et Dyrrachienses J

<sup>24</sup> **a Francorum : Francorum a** I, L, O, N, P, V, AC; Francorum ex S

[23] Then the Kingdom split into two,<sup>1</sup> and a conflict arose within the French dynasty itself. For King Louis of Hungary once again remembered the murder of his brother and sent Charles<sup>2</sup> to Italy<sup>3</sup> to demand reparation from Giovanna for the murder of her husband.<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> He destroyed Giovanna's army, conquered Naples, and had the Kingdom in his power. As he was besieging Giovanna in Castel' Nuovo,<sup>6</sup> Louis [I] d'Anjou<sup>7</sup> arrived in the Kingdom with a large force of knights in order to free her. At that time the schism had arisen in the Church of God: the French and the Spanish recognized Clemens VII<sup>8</sup> as Saint Peter's successor, whereas almost all others opted for Urban VI.<sup>9</sup> Each pope distributed his favours as his own interests dictated, but neither one deserted the French dynasty, since both the House of Durazzo and the House of Anjou descended from that dynasty. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> Between the line of Giovanna I and the House of Durazzo, both Angevin

<sup>2</sup> Charles III of Durazzo (1345-1386): King of Naples and titular King of Jerusalem as Charles III from 1382 to 1386 and King of Hungary from 1385 to 1386 as Charles II

<sup>3</sup> 1381

<sup>4</sup> Andrew

<sup>5</sup> Charles of Durazzo's successful expedition (with French and Hungarian troops) to the Kingdom in 1380 when he deposed Giovanna and later had her imprisoned and murdered, see Léonard, p, 467

<sup>6</sup> Castel Nuovo [Maschio Angioino]: medieval castle located in front of Piazza Municipio and the city hall (Palazzo San Giacomo) in central Naples, Italy. First erected in 1279

<sup>7</sup> Louis I d'Anjou (1339-1384): Second son of Jean II of France and the founder of the Angevin branch of the French royal house. (Valois). Adopted as son and heir by Giovanna I on 29 June 1380. After her death he effectively succeeded to the counties of Provence and Forcalquier. He also inherited from her a claim to the kingdoms of Naples and Jerusalem. In 1384 he led an army into Italy to claim his Neapolitan inheritance. He died on the march and his claims and titles fell to his son and namesake, Louis II d'Anjou

<sup>8</sup> Robert de Genève (1342–1394): Elected to the papacy, in 1378, as Clemens VII by the French cardinals who opposed Urban VI, and was the first antipope residing in Avignon

<sup>9</sup> Urbanus VI [Bartolomeo Prignano] (ca. 1318-1389): Pope from 1378 to his death. The last pope to be elected from outside the College of Cardinals

[cont. 23] Urbanus VI. primo<sup>1</sup> amicus, deinde hostis Carolo Dyrrachiensi<sup>2</sup> fuit, quem etiam<sup>3</sup> regno<sup>4</sup> privasse fertur cum circumseptus<sup>5</sup> in Nuceria<sup>6</sup> ab eo<sup>7</sup> teneretur<sup>8</sup>, nec filio ejus Ladislao impuberi placatus est, cui et regni possessionem adimere conatus est<sup>9</sup>, et<sup>10</sup> Ludovici Andegavensis partibus favit.

[24] Contrariam viam tenuit Bonifacius IX., successor ejus, qui Ladislaum ad regnum restituit<sup>11</sup> et coronam mandavit, Ludovici fautoribus et amicis prorsus attritis<sup>12</sup>. Derivatus<sup>13</sup> est in parte Romana<sup>14</sup> summus pontificatus<sup>15</sup> per<sup>16</sup> varias manus usque ad Johannem XXIII., qui Constantiae in magna<sup>17</sup> synodo, durante schismate<sup>18</sup>, depositus est<sup>19</sup>, cum defuncto Bonifacio IX., Innocentius VII.<sup>20</sup> et Gregorius XII.<sup>21</sup> et Alexander V. in apostolica cathedra sedissent. Johannes autem adeo<sup>22</sup> parti Andegavensi<sup>23</sup> studuit<sup>24</sup>, ut prius Roma pelli sustinuerit<sup>25</sup> quam Ladislao conciliari vellet.

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<sup>1</sup> primus S

<sup>2</sup> omit. N

<sup>3</sup> et J; autem O, P

<sup>4</sup> omit. N

<sup>5</sup> circumspectus N, S

<sup>6</sup> Etruria P, AC

<sup>7</sup> in Nuceria ab eo : ab eo in Nuceria I

<sup>8</sup> **detineretur I, L, N, O, P, S, AC; deteneretur V**

<sup>9</sup> omit. C

<sup>10</sup> omit. J

<sup>11</sup> restitui AC

<sup>12</sup> a gentis O

<sup>13</sup> dirivatus O

<sup>14</sup> parte Romana : partes Romanus P, AC

<sup>15</sup> pontifex N, S

<sup>16</sup> qui M

<sup>17</sup> magno L, AC

<sup>18</sup> sismate M

<sup>19</sup> omit. R, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> VIII. S

<sup>21</sup> XImus S

<sup>22</sup> omit. O

<sup>23</sup> parti Andegavensi : partem Andegavensem I, L; partem Andegavensium N, S; parti Andegavensium V; partibus Andegavensium O, P, AC

<sup>24</sup> su(b)stinuit I, L, N, S, V; favit P, AC

<sup>25</sup> sustinuit P

[cont. 23] Urban VI was first the friend of Charles of Durazzo but later became his enemy, and he is even said to have deprived Charles of the Kingdom when he was besieged by him in Nocera.<sup>1</sup> Nor was the pope pleased with Charles' underage son, Ladislas:<sup>2</sup> indeed he tried to deprive Ladislas of the Kingdom<sup>3</sup> and favoured the cause of Louis d'Anjou.<sup>4</sup>

[24] His successor, Bonifacius IX,<sup>5</sup> took the opposite course. He gave back the Kingdom to Ladislas<sup>6</sup> and sent him a crown – to the great frustration of the supporters and friends of Louis.<sup>7</sup> On the Roman side, the papacy passed through various hands until it came to Johannes XXIII<sup>8</sup> who was deposed at the Council of Konstanz<sup>9</sup> during the schism (after the death of Boniface IX, Innocent VII,<sup>10</sup> Gregory XII,<sup>11</sup> and Alexander V<sup>12</sup> had each occupied the Apostolic Chair). Johannes XXIII favoured the Anjou party to the extent that he had to suffer being driven out of Rome before he would be reconciled with Ladislas.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Léonard, pp. 474-475

<sup>2</sup> Ladislaus the Magnanimous (1377-1414): King of Naples and titular King of Jerusalem and Sicily, titular Count of Provence and Forcalquier (1386-1414), and titular King of Hungary and Croatia (1390–1414). He was the last male of the senior Angevin line

<sup>3</sup> See Léonard, p. 478

<sup>4</sup> Louis II (1377-1417): King of Naples from 1389 to 1399 and Duke of Anjou from 1384 to 1417. He was a member of the House of Valois-Anjou

<sup>5</sup> Bonifatius IX [Piero Tomacelli] (ca. 1350-1404): Pope from 1389 to his death. He was the second Roman Pope of the Western Schism. In this period, the antipopes Clemens VII and Benedict XIII continued to hold court as pope in Avignon under the protection of the French monarchy.

<sup>6</sup> See Léonard, p. 478

<sup>7</sup> Louis II

<sup>8</sup> Johannes XXIII [Baldassarre Cossa] (ca. 1370-1419): antipope Johannes XXIII (1410-1415) during the Western Schism. Successor as antipope to Alexander V of the Pisan obedience

<sup>9</sup> 1414-1418. The Council of Konstanz ended the Western Schism by accepting the resignation of or deposing three rival popes and electing a new one, Martinus V

<sup>10</sup> Innocentius VII [Cosimo de' Migliorati] (1339-1406): Pope from 1404 to his death. He was pope during the period of the Western Schism (1378–1417)

<sup>11</sup> Gregorius XII [Angelo Correr/Corrario/Correr] (c. 1326-1417): Pope from 1406 to 1415 when the Council of Constance forced him to resign to end the Western Schism

<sup>12</sup> Peter of Candia [Peter Philarges] (ca. 1339-1410): antipope during the Western Schism under the name of Alexander V

<sup>13</sup> Johannes XXIII first supported Louis II, then Ladislas. Afterwards a new conflict between the two arose, but a reconciliation was in preparation when Ladislas died on 6 August 1444, see Léonard, pp. 480-481

[25] Quid<sup>1</sup> Martinus V.? Quanta hic pontifex<sup>2</sup> incommoda<sup>3</sup> passus est, ut generi Andegavensi<sup>4</sup> regnum<sup>5</sup> servaret<sup>6</sup>? Adoptaverat Johanna secunda<sup>7</sup> Ludovicum Andegavensem<sup>8</sup> sibi filium; id raturum Martinus habuit. Cum mutasset Johanna<sup>9</sup> propositum et Alfonsum ex<sup>10</sup> Aragonia vocavisset, non mutavit Martinus<sup>11</sup> aut<sup>12</sup> animum aut<sup>13</sup> sententiam, sed amicus Ludovico, Alfonso semper infestus fuit. {124v} Invaserat Braccius Perusinus Aquilam, haud<sup>14</sup> contemnendam Brutiorum<sup>15</sup> urbem, eamque<sup>16</sup> cinctam<sup>17</sup> obsidione premebat; neque dubium videbatur, quin ea potitus universum ad se regnum traheret, tanta ejus inter belli duces auctoritas erat. Martinus collecto milite et magnis copiis<sup>18</sup> magno aere<sup>19</sup> paratis, inter quarum ductores<sup>20</sup> Franciscus, Sfortiae filius<sup>21</sup>, qui nunc<sup>22</sup> Mediolanensibus dominatur, tum<sup>23</sup> admodum adolescens, egregiam navavit operam. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> quod A, C, M; quis O

<sup>2</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> hic pontifex incommoda : incommoda hic pontifex V

<sup>4</sup> Andegavensis B, C

<sup>5</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> serviret P, AC

<sup>7</sup> omit. N; illa P, AC

<sup>8</sup> servaret adoptaverat ... Andegavensem omit. O

<sup>9</sup> mutasset Johanna : Johanna mutasset J

<sup>10</sup> in S

<sup>11</sup> omit. N

<sup>12</sup> autem M

<sup>13</sup> omit. M

<sup>14</sup> aut M

<sup>15</sup> **Ap/brutiorum I, L; Prutiorum V; Abruciarum O; Aprutiorum N, P, AC; Apriciorum S**

<sup>16</sup> sam S

<sup>17</sup> auctam M

<sup>18</sup> magnis copiis : magno copio O

<sup>19</sup> genere N; generi S

<sup>20</sup> **auctores I, L, M, N, O, P, S, V**

<sup>21</sup> Sfortiae filius : Sfortia O, P, AC

<sup>22</sup> omit. N

<sup>23</sup> tunc I, L, N, S, V; tamen O



[25] What about Martin V?<sup>1</sup> How great troubles did he not suffer in order to keep the Kingdom for the House of Anjou?<sup>2</sup> Giovanna II<sup>3</sup> had adopted Louis [III] d'Anjou<sup>4</sup> as her son, and Martin had confirmed the adoption.<sup>5</sup> But when Giovanna changed her mind and instead called Alfonso of Aragon<sup>6</sup> [to the Kingdom], Martin did not change his mind or his decision,<sup>7</sup> but always remained the friend of Louis and the enemy of Alfonso.<sup>8</sup> Braccio da Perugia<sup>9</sup> had attacked and besieged Aquila, an important city in the Abruzzi.<sup>10</sup> If he conquered it, he would undoubtedly take over the whole Kingdom, so great was his authority among the captains of war. But Martin collected an army and spending large funds he mobilized great forces. Among the captains of his army was Francesco,<sup>11</sup> the son Sforza,<sup>12</sup> who now rules Milan. Though Francesco was very young, he did splendidly. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. His election at the Council of Konstanz effectively ended the Western Schism (1378-1417)

<sup>2</sup> Martin V recognized Giovanna II as Queen of Naples in 1419, but only after obtaining considerable favours and lands for his own family, the Colonnas, in the Kingdom. Afterwards he he plotted, with Muzio Attendolo Sforza, to remove Giovanna from power, and in December 1420 the pope declared the French Louis III and his descendants as heirs of Giovanna, if she died without heirs of her body – as was then expected, see Léonard, p. 485

<sup>3</sup> Giovanna II (1373-1435): Queen of Naples from 1414 to her death

<sup>4</sup> Louis III (1403-1434): titular King of Naples 1417-26, Count of Provence, Forcalquier, Piedmont, and Maine and Duke of Anjou 1417-34, and Duke of Calabria 1426-34. He was the eldest son and heir of Louis II of Anjou

<sup>5</sup> Opposing the French succession, Giovanna invited King Alfonso of Aragon to come to the Kingdom and become her heir, which he did in 1421. The pope was quite irritated at this development, but did accept Giovanna's adoption of Alfonso. Later the agreement between Giovanna and Alfonso broke down. The queen annulled the adoption of Alfonso and reinstated Louis III as heir (1 June 1423). After a stay in Spain, Alfonso returned to the Kingdom in 1424 and was reinstated as Giovanna's heir in 1431. But as soon as the immediate danger passed, Giovanna once again annulled the adoption of Alfonso and reinstated Louis III as heir (June 1433). Then Louis died on 15 November 1434, and Giovanna in her turn died on 2 February leaving René d'Anjou, brother of Louis III, as heir to her Kingdom (Léonard, pp. 485-487)

<sup>6</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Gregorovius, III, 1, p. 7: *Dies brachte den Papst auf; denn wie durfte er den Thron Neapels von einem Monarchem einnehmen lassen, welcher bereits Aragon, Sizilien und Sardinien besass?*

<sup>8</sup> Pastor, I, p. 209: *Alfonso V von Aragonien verfolgte Martin V. mit bitterem Hasse, weil der Papst seine Ansprüche auf das Königreich Neapel nicht unterstützte, vielmehr seinen Gegner Ludwig von Anjou anerkannte*

<sup>9</sup> Fortebraccio, Andrea (AKA Braccio da Montone) (1368-1424): Italian nobleman and condottiero

<sup>10</sup> 1424

<sup>11</sup> Sforza, Francesco, I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, the founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

<sup>12</sup> Muzio Attendolo Sforza (1369-1424): Italian condottiero

[25 cont.] Victus est in proelio Braccius captusque, paulo post ex vulnere mortuus, obsessa<sup>1</sup> civitas liberata, et regnum Andegavensi<sup>2</sup> familiae<sup>3</sup> Romanae ecclesiae sumptibus reservatum<sup>4</sup>. Cumque Alfonsus modo una, modo altera via<sup>5</sup> regnum invaderet, et recentibus in dies<sup>6</sup> classibus<sup>7</sup> urgeret<sup>8</sup>, Martinum semper<sup>9</sup> adversum habuit; nec, eo vivo, potiri suo desiderio<sup>10</sup> valuit<sup>11</sup>, illius ducibus impeditus et ab eo extra sacra<sup>12</sup> et communionem fidelium factus. Et quamvis graves hi<sup>13</sup> essent<sup>14</sup> Martino<sup>15</sup> sumptus, non tamen destitit<sup>16</sup> quin omnia experiretur<sup>17</sup>, per quae<sup>18</sup> regnum Alfonso negatum ad Francos integrum deveniret. Non aliter Samuel regno David quam Martinus Andegavensi dominio<sup>19</sup> favit.

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<sup>1</sup> obses et O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> Andegavensis C

<sup>3</sup> reservatum *add.* I

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

<sup>5</sup> modo altera via : via modo altera N

<sup>6</sup> in dies : dietim I, J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

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

<sup>8</sup> urgeret : vigeret AC

<sup>9</sup> Martinum semper : semper Martinum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>10</sup> potiri suo desiderio : suo desiderio potiri S

<sup>11</sup> ab *add.* AC

<sup>12</sup> sacram N; sacramenta O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* O, S

<sup>14</sup> hi essent : inessent N; ei *add.* O

<sup>15</sup> Martini N, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> desistit P

<sup>17</sup> experietur M

<sup>18</sup> quem L

<sup>19</sup> familiae I; domino N, S, O, P, AC

[25 cont.] Braccio was defeated and taken prisoner, and shortly afterwards he died of a wound.<sup>1</sup> The besieged city<sup>2</sup> was liberated, and the Kingdom was saved for the family of Anjou - the Roman Church covering the costs. When Alfonso invaded the Kingdom now here, now there, all the time pressing his enemy with fresh fleets, he always had Martin as his adversary. As long as Martin was alive, he could not achieve his goal: the pope's captains kept him at bay, and he was deprived of the sacraments and the communion of believers.<sup>3</sup> And though the costs were quite a burden on Martin, he did everything he could to keep the whole Kingdom from Alfonso and in the hands of the French. Martin favoured the lordship of Anjou like Samuel<sup>4</sup> favoured the kingship of David.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 1424

<sup>2</sup> Aquila

<sup>3</sup> I.e. he was excommunicated

<sup>4</sup> Old Testament prophet

<sup>5</sup> King David of Israel

[26] Successit Martino Eugenius IV. et idem iter<sup>1 2</sup> secutus<sup>3</sup> summa vi<sup>4</sup> regnum Alfonso<sup>5</sup> prohibuit. Missus est adversus eum Johannes cardinalis Vitellius<sup>6</sup> et Johannes cardinalis<sup>7</sup> Tarentinus. Saepe collatis signis et<sup>8</sup> regis et<sup>9</sup> pontificis copiae inter se dimicarunt. Et quamvis Renatus regno<sup>10</sup> excesserit<sup>11</sup>, visusque<sup>12</sup> fuerit victori<sup>13</sup> Alfonso cedere, Eugenius tamen illi non cessit, sed omnem belli molem<sup>14</sup> in se suscepit. Incredibile fuerit, si auri pondus retulerimus, quod Romana ecclesia pro servando<sup>15</sup> Francis regno profudit<sup>16</sup>. Nam solus Eugenius longe supra quingenta<sup>17</sup> millia auri nummum ipse<sup>18</sup> in<sup>19</sup> expeditionibus absumpsit<sup>20</sup>. Tacemus rapinas, incendia, caedes, et innumerabilia<sup>21</sup> damna, quae subditi ecclesiae pertulerunt<sup>22</sup>, et Anconitanae Marchiae perditionem<sup>23</sup>, et<sup>24</sup> multarum urbium rebellionem, quae omnia passus est potius quam regi<sup>25</sup> Alfonso blandiretur, Renato<sup>26</sup> adversaretur, quem numquam reliquit<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> idem iter : iter idem N

<sup>3</sup> prosec/quutus O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> in M

<sup>5</sup> Regnum Alfonso : Alfonso regnum V

<sup>6</sup> Vitellinus I; Vitellus P, AC

<sup>7</sup> Vitellius ... cardinalis *omit.* R

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* L

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

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* A, B, C, J, M, R; regno *add. in marg.* D

<sup>11</sup> concesserit L; egresserit O

<sup>12</sup> iussusque M

<sup>13</sup> victoria N, S, V

<sup>14</sup> modum S

<sup>15</sup> pro servando : preservando M

<sup>16</sup> profugit C, O

<sup>17</sup> quinquaginta M, S, O, P, AC

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

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

<sup>20</sup> assumpsit O, S

<sup>21</sup> invariabilia N

<sup>22</sup> protulerunt O

<sup>23</sup> prodicionem O, P, AC

<sup>24</sup> ut AC

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

<sup>26</sup> Renatoque I; Renatoque *corr. ex Renato* L

<sup>27</sup> relinquit P

[26] Eugenius IV<sup>1</sup> succeeded Martin<sup>2</sup> and, following the same course, he withheld with all his might the Kingdom from Alfonso.<sup>3</sup> He sent against him Giovanni Cardinal Vitelleschi<sup>4</sup> and Giovanni<sup>5</sup> Cardinal of Taranto. Often the king's and the pope's troops fought in pitched battles. And though René<sup>6</sup> withdrew from the Kingdom and gave in to Alfonso as victor, Eugenius himself did not give up, but took on the whole burden of the war. If We told how much gold the Roman Church spent to keep the Kingdom for the French, you would scarcely believe it: Eugenius alone used far more than 500.000 ducats on military campaigns. We pass over the robberies, the burnings, the killings and the countless evils suffered by the subjects of the Church, as well as the loss of the March of Ancona, and the rebellion of many cities: all these Eugenius accepted rather than to give in to Alfonso and oppose René whom he never deserted.

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<sup>1</sup> Earlier, Pius had written in detail about the war between René d'Anjou and Alfonso d'Aragon during the pontificate of Eugenius in his *De Europa*, ch. 261-271, see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), pp. 265-271

<sup>2</sup> In 1431

<sup>3</sup> Having become pope in 1431, Eugenius IV declared that as suzerain of the Kingdom of Naples he did not accept the queen's testament but would himself decide on who should succeed her. He actually favoured the French and King René, see Léonard, pp. 487-489, but only invested René formally with the Kingdom after he effectively lost the Kingdom to Alfonso in 1442, see sect. 32

<sup>4</sup> Giovanni Maria Vitelleschi (d. 1440): Titular Patriarch of Alexandria, appointed cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1431

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Berardi di Tagliacozzo (1380-1449): Archbishop of Taranto 1421, appointed cardinal by Pope Eugenius IV in 1439

<sup>6</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)

[27] Sed neque rex ipse Carolus, qui tempestate nostra Franciae<sup>1</sup> praesidet<sup>2</sup>, ab apostolica sede<sup>3</sup> relictus est. Bis enim memoria nostra Nicolaus<sup>4</sup>, cardinalis<sup>5</sup> sanctae crucis, in Galliam missus est<sup>6</sup>, ut<sup>7</sup> quieti ejus regni consuleret, primo ex<sup>8</sup> Martini decreto, secundo Eugenii. Norunt<sup>9</sup> omnes, cujus doctrinae, cujus sanctimoniae, cujus auctoritatis hic<sup>10</sup> vir fuerit, ex cujus familia duo Romani praesules assumpti<sup>11</sup> sunt, Nicolaus V. et Pius II. Ambo enim illius<sup>12</sup> discipuli et contubernales fuimus, ambo ex illius<sup>13</sup> schola ad summum apostolat<sup>14</sup> inscrutabili Dei judicio vocati fuimus<sup>15</sup> <sup>16</sup>. Ambo<sup>17</sup> in minoribus agentes in Atrebatensi<sup>18</sup> magno conventu ei servivimus; sed {125r} Nicolaus major natu et meritis majori loco apud eum fuit<sup>19</sup>. In eo conventu legatus apostolicus, quamvis capitales inimicitiae inter Carolum regem Franciae et Philippum ducem Burgundiae<sup>20</sup> vigerent, odia hinc<sup>21</sup> atque<sup>22</sup> inde paene impacabilia<sup>23</sup> starent<sup>24</sup>, alteri tamen alterum<sup>25</sup> conciliavit, et pacem illam Atrebatensem confecit, ex qua regnum Carolo firmatum est et<sup>26</sup> solidatum<sup>27</sup>, et afflictae lacerataeque Franciae<sup>28</sup> quies data.

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<sup>1</sup> Franci O

<sup>2</sup> praesidebat N

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* O

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

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

<sup>6</sup> in Galliam missus est : missus est in Galliam I

<sup>7</sup> et O

<sup>8</sup> et M

<sup>9</sup> gnorunt P; noverunt S

<sup>10</sup> auctoritatis hic : hic auctoritatis O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> absumpti I

<sup>12</sup> eius M; ipsius L, N, S, V

<sup>13</sup> ipsius R, S

<sup>14</sup> summum apostolat : apostolat summum P, AC

<sup>15</sup> sumus O, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> ambo ex illius schola ... fuimus *omit.* B

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

<sup>18</sup> enim *add.* P, AC

<sup>19</sup> fuit *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> **Ducem Burgundiae : Burgundiae ducem** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>21</sup> huic M

<sup>22</sup> ac P; et O, AC

<sup>23</sup> impatibilia N; incompatibilia S; implacabilia J, AC

<sup>24</sup> exstarent AC; extarent P, I, L, N, S

<sup>25</sup> alteri tamen alterum : alterum cum altero S

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

<sup>27</sup> **est et solidatum : et solidatum est** I, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>28</sup> fumces M

#### 2.2.2.2.4. *Peace of Arras*

[27] Nor was King Charles<sup>1</sup> himself who now rules France, ever given up by the Apostolic See. Twice in our memory, Cardinal Niccolò<sup>2</sup> of Santa Croce was sent to France to provide for the tranquility of that Kingdom. The first time was at the decision of Martin,<sup>3</sup> the second time at the decision of Eugenius.<sup>4</sup> All know the learning, holiness and authority of this man from whose household two men have risen to become popes, Nicolaus V and Pius II. We were both his disciples and companions, and we were both called to the Supreme Apostolate from his school, through God's incruitable judgement. As young men in lesser circumstances,<sup>5</sup> we both served him at the great Congress of Arras,<sup>6</sup> but as Nicolaus was older and had greater merit, he occupied a higher position in his household. Though there was mortal enmity between King Charles of France and Duke Philippe of Burgundy,<sup>7</sup> and their mutual hate was almost inextinguishable, the cardinal as apostolic legate to the congress managed to reconcile the two and establish the Peace of Arras, That peace bolstered and strengthened Charles' kingship and gave peace to afflicted and war-torn France.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Charles VII

<sup>2</sup> Albergati, Niccolò (1373-1443): created cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426. One-time employer, mentor and friend of Piccolomini

<sup>3</sup> In 1422, Pope Martin V sent Albergati on an unsuccessful peace mission to France (Dickinson, pp. 79, 81, 82). See also Du Fresne de Beaucourt, I, p. 331

<sup>4</sup> Pope Eugenius IV

<sup>5</sup> "In minoribus agentes": Nicolaus V was ordained a priest in 1423, and was certainly not in minor orders in 1435, when the Congress of Arras was held, and Piccolomini had not yet taken orders. Thus, the expression "in minoribus (agentes)" does not refer to the clerical minor orders" as some have translated it

<sup>6</sup> 1435. On Parentucelli and Piccolomini's service to Albergati at the conference (Dickinson, p. 85-86)

<sup>7</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

<sup>8</sup> Dickinson, p. viii: *The peace conference at Arras ... did more. The long-drawn-out and heated discussions on an Anglo-French peace, ending in the withdrawal of the English, left the French to conclude a separate alliance with Burgundy. This event was a disaster for the Lancastrian rule in France ... In the French plans for reconquest the treaty of Arras was of the foremost importance*

[28] Saepe in hunc modum Romana sedes consolata est Francos, neque umquam regnum<sup>1</sup> in calamitatem aliquam<sup>2</sup> prolapsus<sup>3</sup> est, quin vigili cura nostri<sup>4</sup> antecessores ejus saluti studuerint. Longum esset singula<sup>5</sup> commemorare, quae Franci ex nostra sede<sup>6</sup> beneficia receperunt<sup>7</sup>. Illud exploratum manifestumque<sup>8</sup> est<sup>9</sup>, nulli umquam genti praecessores<sup>10</sup> nostros majores honores<sup>11</sup>, majores favores<sup>12</sup> praestitisse quam Francis. Quibus ex rebus non est, cur prima<sup>13</sup> sedes ingratitude accusetur<sup>14</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> umquam regnum : regnum unquam O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>3</sup> lapsus P, AC

<sup>4</sup> iam O

<sup>5</sup> omnia P, AC

<sup>6</sup> **nostra sede : sede nostra I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC**

<sup>7</sup> beneficia receperunt: acceperunt beneficia P; receperunt beneficia AC

<sup>8</sup> manifestum B; manifestissimumque P, AC

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

<sup>10</sup> praedecessores B, D // I, N, S, O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> favores *corr.* ex honores M

<sup>12</sup> majores favores *omit.* M; favoresque P, AC

<sup>13</sup> apostolica J

<sup>14</sup> acensetur M



[28] In such ways the Roman See often came to the assistance of the French, and whenever their kingdom suffered some disaster, Our predecessors intervened vigourously and energetically in its favour. It would indeed take a long time to mention all the cases in which the French benefited from Our See. But it is clear and evident that Our predecessors have granted greater honours and greater favours to the French than to any other people. Therefore, there is no reason why the First See should now be accused of ingratitude.

[29] Sed dicitis tacite non bona esse opera<sup>1</sup>, quae lapidantur<sup>2</sup>, sed mala<sup>3</sup>; atque idcirco displicatis regum<sup>4</sup> Franciae laudibus ac<sup>5</sup> meritis, ad ea transivistis<sup>6</sup>, quae contra liliatos sive per nos, sive per nostros antecessores facta esse dicuntur. Tertium hoc vestrae orationis membrum, cui<sup>7</sup> nunc satisfaciendum est<sup>8</sup>. Gravior<sup>9</sup> hic locus ceteris est, in quo palam animadvertimus<sup>10</sup> regem vestrum<sup>11</sup> de rebus gestis non bene instructum esse, nec vobis ipsis<sup>12</sup> omnia cognita sunt. Multa enim quasi<sup>13</sup> vera dixistis, quae sunt a vero remota. Non impingimus modestiae vestrae mendacium, nec<sup>14</sup> vos quovis modo<sup>15</sup> accusamus; ex alieno relatu locuti estis. Verba<sup>16</sup> ipsa vestra<sup>17 18</sup> cum grano salis<sup>19</sup> - ut ajunt - pronuntiata sunt; audita et vobis commissa<sup>20</sup> exposuistis. Illos poena dignos censemus, qui vel regi, vel vobis ficta pro veris<sup>21</sup> suggesserunt<sup>22</sup>. Mala illis mens<sup>23</sup>, malus animus. Ut nocerent nobis, *os in caelum posuerunt*<sup>24</sup>, fulmina<sup>25</sup> et flammam<sup>26</sup> ore conceptas tenere non potuerunt: *Alienati sunt peccatores a vulva, erraverunt ab utero, locuti sunt falsa. Sed mentita est iniquitas sibi, et sagittae parvulorum factae sunt plagae eorum.* [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> **esse opera** : opera esse I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>2</sup> lapidentur O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> sed mala *omit.* I, L, N, P, S

<sup>4</sup> regnum M, R, N, S

<sup>5</sup> et N, S; atque O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> transmissis N, S

<sup>7</sup> fuit an N, S

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> graviter M; nunc *add.* S

<sup>10</sup> animadvertamus O, P

<sup>11</sup> nostrum N

<sup>12</sup> per *add.* P

<sup>13</sup> tamquam ex quam *corr. Felinus* N

<sup>14</sup> neque C, // I, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V

<sup>15</sup> vos ... modo : quovisque modo vos P; quovis modo vos AC

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

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

<sup>18</sup> verba ipsa vestra : vestra ipsa verba J

<sup>19</sup> grano salis : grani scilo S

<sup>20</sup> iussa P

<sup>21</sup> nobis O

<sup>22</sup> **suggessere** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>23</sup> et *add.* N, S

<sup>24</sup> **posuere** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>25</sup> fulgura S

<sup>26</sup> flamma C

### 2.3. Wrongs allegedly done to the French by the Roman See

[29] But you object, silently, that you do not criticize the good deeds, but the bad. For when, in your oration, you had set forth your praises and the merits of the kings of France, you passed on to what you claim that Our predecessors and We ourselves have done against the Lilled [House]. That was the third part of your oration which must now be answered. This is a more serious issue since We plainly see that your king has not been informed correctly about past events and that they are not all known to you yourselves. For you talked about many things as if they were true, but which are in fact far from the truth. You did speak with restraint and We do not criticize you for lying nor accuse you in any way whatsoever since you have been speaking on hearsay. Indeed, your words were spoken with a grain of salt, as they say: you have simply related what you had heard and what you were charged to say. In our judgment, it is those men who have told your king and you yourselves lies instead of truths who merit punishment. Evil is their mind and evil their soul. They wanted to harm Us and therefore *they have set their mouth against heaven*,<sup>1</sup> but they could not maintain the lightnings and the flames formed in their mouth; *the wicked are alienated from the womb; they have gone astray from the womb: they have spoken false things*,<sup>2</sup> but *iniquity hath lied to itself*,<sup>3</sup> and *the arrows of children are their wounds*.<sup>4</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 72, 9

<sup>2</sup> Psalms, 57, 4

<sup>3</sup> Psalms, 26, 12

<sup>4</sup> Psalms, 63,8

[cont. 29] Magna<sup>1</sup> vis veritatis<sup>2</sup>, quae contra omnes hominum insidias, omnes artes per se ipsam facile emergit<sup>3</sup>. Recte Pythagoras *post Deum veritatem*<sup>4</sup> *colendam affirmavit, quae sola homines Deo proximos facit. Nihil*<sup>5</sup> *veritate fortius*, ut in Esdra legitur. Et in evangelio salvator noster sese<sup>6</sup> veritatem appellat. Consentiamus igitur<sup>7</sup> veritati, eique<sup>8</sup> caput inclinemus, neque recedamus ab ea. Audiamus quid objiciatur.

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<sup>1</sup> est *add.* J

<sup>2</sup> est *add.* I

<sup>3</sup> vergit O, P

<sup>4</sup> esse *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> nil I

<sup>6</sup> sepe M; se AC

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

<sup>8</sup> ei cui O

[cont. 29] Great is the power of truth which emerges, easily and by itself, against all the plots and all the machinations of men. Rightly did Pythagoras say that *after God we must serve truth which alone makes men close to God. Nothing is stronger than truth*, as it is said in the [Book of] Esdras.<sup>1</sup> And in the Gospel, Our Saviour calls himself The Truth.<sup>2</sup> So let us follow truth, let us bow to it, and let us never stray from it. Now, let us consider your complaints.

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<sup>1</sup> Quotation not identified

<sup>2</sup> John, 14, 6

[30] Accusatur Eugenius, praedecessor noster<sup>1</sup>, quod<sup>2</sup> Alfonso Hispano et<sup>3</sup> Renati hosti<sup>4</sup> regnum Siciliae commisit<sup>5</sup>, Francorum sanguinem sprexit. Haec<sup>6</sup> injuria, haec contumelia regi Franciae facta<sup>7</sup> contenditur<sup>8</sup>, vilipensa, et contempta<sup>9</sup> est nobilissima domus, tota eminentior Europa, toto generosior orbe, de Romana {125v} ecclesia optime<sup>10</sup> merita. Indignum facinus: Aragonenses<sup>11</sup> praelati sunt Francis<sup>12</sup>. Quid hic<sup>13</sup> respondebimus? Non desunt arma, quibus adversantium tela repellantur. Non negamus regnum Siciliae Aragonensi commissum esse; sed hortamur Francos<sup>14</sup>, ut facta sua meminerint et de se ipsis rationem reddant, et judicantes alios, ut jubet Pythagoras, *stateram ne*<sup>15</sup> *transilient*<sup>16</sup>. Nemo sibi ipsi ignoscat<sup>17</sup>; saepe Deum<sup>18</sup> odisse deprehenditur, qui sese<sup>19</sup> nimium diligit, et grandior in se ipsum<sup>20</sup> pietas, in Deum impietas est. Acrem<sup>21</sup> se sui<sup>22</sup> judicem<sup>23</sup> <sup>24</sup>exhibeat<sup>25</sup> necesse est, qui alios censet<sup>26</sup>. Intelligamus igitur dilucide pressequere cum<sup>27</sup> Renati tum Eugenii opera, eaque hoc loco referamus. Exinde mundus judicet, immo vero<sup>28</sup> Deus, apud quem *non est acceptio personarum*, quis alter alteri fuerit injurius.

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<sup>1</sup> praedecessor noster *omit.* N

<sup>2</sup> quid J; qui L, AC

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* J

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

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

<sup>6</sup> nec N, S

<sup>7</sup> esse *add.* M; *omit.* O

<sup>8</sup> conceditur O

<sup>9</sup> contemnata M

<sup>10</sup> bene I

<sup>11</sup> Feragonenses V

<sup>12</sup> et *add.* O, P, AC

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

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

<sup>15</sup> non C, I

<sup>16</sup> transileant M

<sup>17</sup> dignoscat O, P

<sup>18</sup> saepe Deum : deum sepe O

<sup>19</sup> se P, AC

<sup>20</sup> **ipso I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>21</sup> ante N; arcem S

<sup>22</sup> **se sui : sui se I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>23</sup> iudicio O, P

<sup>24</sup> se sui iudicem : sui iudicem se J

<sup>25</sup> exhibebat B; exhibere O, P, AC

<sup>26</sup> cesset O, P; laccessit AC

<sup>27</sup> tum J, M, O, P, AC

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

### 2.3.1. Eugenius IV

[30] Our predecessor, Eugenius, is accused of having bestowed the Kingdom of Sicily on Alfonso who is from Spain and an enemy of René, and of having rejected the blood of France. This is claimed to be an injury and an insult to the King of France whose noble House is the most eminent in Europe, the most highborn in the world, well-merited of the Roman Church. Oh, what shameful deed: the Aragonese have been preferred to the French! What shall We say to this? We do, after all, have weapons with which to repel the arms of our opponents. We do not deny that the Kingdom of Sicily has been bestowed upon the Aragonese. But We do invite the French to remember their own actions and to give an account of themselves, and – as Pythagoras bids – to not *step not beyond the beam of balance*<sup>1</sup> when they judge others. Nobody should be too lenient towards oneself. Often the man who loves himself too much may be blamed for hating God, and too great piety towards oneself is an impiety towards God. Anyone who judges others must be a severe judge of himself. So, We shall examine, lucidly and closely, the actions of both René and Eugenius and relate them here. Afterwards the world, nay even God, with whom *there is no respect*<sup>2</sup> *of persons*,<sup>3</sup> may judge who has molested whom.

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<sup>1</sup> Burley, 17 (Pythagoras), p. 74: *Stateram ne transilias, id est: ne pertransgrediaris iusticiam*. Cf: *Me zygon*, in the sense: *Do no injustice*. Symbol nr 14. Symbols of Pythagoras (recorded by Iamblichus of Chalcis), 1905, p. 65. Quoted from Guarnerio Veronese's translation from Greek into Latin of Plutarch's *De Liberis educandis*, p. 7: *Jugum stateramque non transcendere*.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. discrimination between

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Romans, 2, 11

[31] Adversatus est diu Alfonso - ut dictum est - Eugenius, et potius extrema omnia<sup>1</sup> passus, quam illi regnum committeret<sup>2</sup>.

*Justum et tenacem propositi<sup>3</sup> virum<sup>4</sup>  
Non civium ardor prava<sup>5</sup> jubentium<sup>6</sup>,  
Non vultus<sup>7</sup> instantis tyranni<sup>8</sup>  
Mente movit<sup>9</sup> solida.*

Et quamvis rex<sup>10</sup> vester<sup>11</sup> alieno auscultans<sup>12</sup> consilio novam quandam<sup>13</sup> legem et inauditam et incognitam prius, quam vocatis pragmaticam, servari<sup>14</sup> ac<sup>15</sup> Romanam ecclesiam in juribus<sup>16</sup> suis antiquis<sup>17</sup> et diutius observatis<sup>18</sup> turbari permisisset<sup>19</sup>, non tamen<sup>20</sup> perducere<sup>21</sup> potuit, ut regnum Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae peculiare<sup>22</sup>, Francis adimeret, sed obsessum in<sup>23</sup> Neapoli Renatum, quibus potuit auxiliis, consolatus est<sup>24</sup>, frumentique magnam vim ei<sup>25</sup> <sup>26</sup> misit, quo clausum populum et fame pereuntem in fide conservaret<sup>27</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> extrema omnia : omnia extrema I

<sup>2</sup> committere L

<sup>3</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>4</sup> impium et N, S

<sup>5</sup> parva A, B, C, S

<sup>6</sup> jubentum M, V

<sup>7</sup> vis I

<sup>8</sup> et add. N, S

<sup>9</sup> quatit scripsit Horatius

<sup>10</sup> res R

<sup>11</sup> noster M

<sup>12</sup> auscultans consilio : consilio auscultans J

<sup>13</sup> quidem S

<sup>14</sup> quam vocatis pragmaticam servari : pragmaticam servari quam vocat O; quam pragmaticam servari vocat P; quam pragmaticam vocat servari AC

<sup>15</sup> atque O, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> omnibus I

<sup>17</sup> juribus add. I

<sup>18</sup> non add. I, L

<sup>19</sup> promississet L

<sup>20</sup> tantum O

<sup>21</sup> produci O, S

<sup>22</sup> peculium corr.ex petulantia N; petulantes S

<sup>23</sup> omit. I, L

<sup>24</sup> omit. J

<sup>25</sup> eo I, L

<sup>26</sup> magnam ... ei : copiam maximam atque vini magna ei vi P; copiam maximam atque vini magnam ei vim AC

<sup>27</sup> contineret I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC



[31] As We have already said, Eugenius opposed Alfonso for a long time and would rather suffer anything than bestow the Kingdom upon him.

*The man of integrity who holds fast to his purpose  
is not shaken from his firm resolve by hot-headed citizens  
urging him to do wrong,  
or by the frown of an oppressive despot.<sup>1</sup>*

Heeding the advice of others, your king allowed a new law, unheard of and unknown in former times, called the Pragmatic [Sanction] to be passed and the Roman Church to be deprived of ancient rights that had been in force for ages. Still Eugenius could not be induced to deprive the French of the Kingdom of Sicily, which is the special property of the Church. Indeed, when René was under siege in Naples, the pope assisted him with such troops as he could muster, and sent large supplies of grain to keep the besieged and starving people loyal.

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<sup>1</sup> Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.3.1

[32] Cumque paulo post Alfonsi armis<sup>1</sup> cedens Renatus ad Eugenium Florentiae agentem venisset, ab eo benigne susceptus, investituram, ut ajunt, regni tum primum consecutus est<sup>2</sup>. Ibi multa Eugenio promissa<sup>3</sup> a Renato rege<sup>4</sup>, quae minime observata sunt, ex quibus quinque<sup>5</sup> hac in<sup>6</sup> parte reserare<sup>7</sup> libet<sup>8</sup>, quae suis in<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> litteris continentur aurea bulla munitis, quae apud nos custoditur. Primum<sup>11</sup> enim<sup>12</sup> auri quinque milia nummum brevi<sup>13</sup> se numeraturum promisit, quae postea numquam<sup>14</sup> dissoluta<sup>15</sup> sunt. Promisit<sup>16</sup> <sup>17</sup> et, cum<sup>18</sup> pinguioris fortunae fieret<sup>19</sup>, alia<sup>20</sup> unum<sup>21</sup> et<sup>22</sup> triginta milia; neque<sup>23</sup> haec<sup>24</sup> numerata fuerunt. Promisit ecclesiam Arelatensem<sup>25</sup> procuratori Eugenii tradere; non est tradita. Promisit cardinali Andegavensi ecclesiae suae possessionem concedere; non est concessa<sup>26</sup>. Promisit se curaturum<sup>27</sup> summo studio, ut pragmatica sanctio deleretur; non est deleta. Non accusamus<sup>28</sup> Renatum fractae fidei aut promissi non servati. Fortasse<sup>29</sup> et<sup>30</sup> sibi excusatio est, cur haec non fecerit, et aliqua sunt, quae non erant<sup>31</sup> in sua<sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> potestate. Ipse tamen Eugenio numquam<sup>34</sup> satis excusatus est.

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<sup>1</sup> **Alfonsi armis : armis Alfonsi I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

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

<sup>3</sup> permissa V

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

<sup>5</sup> quandoque I; *omit.* J; cumque S

<sup>6</sup> hac in : in hac M, N, O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> referre O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> licebit P

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

<sup>10</sup> suis in : in suis M

<sup>11</sup> primo AC

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

<sup>13</sup> premii I, L

<sup>14</sup> postea numquam : numquam postea P, AC

<sup>15</sup> soluta S

<sup>16</sup> quin *add.* M; *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> quae postea ... promisit *omit.* N

<sup>18</sup> et cum : cum et M

<sup>19</sup> fuerit P, AC

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* N, S, V

<sup>21</sup> nummum S

<sup>22</sup> ei S

<sup>23</sup> vero *add.* M

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

<sup>25</sup> Atrebatensem J; Aretalensem O

<sup>26</sup> promisit cardinali ... concessa *omit.* AC

<sup>27</sup> **se curaturum : curaturum se L, N, S, V, P, AC**

<sup>28</sup> accusabimus S

<sup>29</sup> fortassiss P, AC

<sup>30</sup> etiam AC

<sup>31</sup> fuerant S

<sup>32</sup> eius M

<sup>33</sup> L: *Here begins a lacuna which ends in sect. 34*

<sup>34</sup> non R

[32] When, shortly afterwards, René yielded to the arms of Alfonso and came to Eugenius, then residing in Florence,<sup>1</sup> he was kindly received by the pope and invested with the Kingdom<sup>2</sup>— which he had not been before.<sup>3</sup> King René gave many promises to Eugenius, but he did not keep them. Of these promises five should be mentioned here. They are contained in a letter with a golden bull, which is in Our keeping. Firstly, René promised shortly to pay 5.000 ducats. They were never paid. [Secondly,] he promised that when his conditions improved he would pay another sum of 31.000 ducats; that sum, too, was never paid. [Thirdly], he promised to hand over the Church of Arles to Eugenius's procurator. He did not hand it over. [Fourthly,] he promised the Cardinal of Anjou<sup>4</sup> to grant him possession of his Church.<sup>5</sup> He did not grant it. [Fifthly,] he promised to do everything in his power to assure the annulment of the Pragmatic Sanction. It has not been annulled. We do not accuse René of not keeping faith or of breaking his promises. There may have been reasonable excuse for not keeping some of them, and others he may simply not have been able to. But he never made a proper excuse to Eugenius.

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<sup>1</sup> Priorista, p. 307: *A dì 15 di luglio 1442 ... entrò in Firenze il re Rinieri con grande honore, et fue alloggiato nella chasa di Lorenzo del Larione de' Bardi et il Comune gli fece le spese, e lla Parte Guelpha gli dava ongni in dì f. 25, et durò insino a dì 22 di settembre ch'egli se n'andò per la via di Pisa ...*

<sup>2</sup> Villeneuve, I, p. 334: *Le pontife recut René avec la plus haute distinction et lui donna même solennellement l'investiture du royaume auquel il renonçait. Mais ce fut en vain qu'Eugène voulut persuader au monarque fugitif de ne point abandonner l'Italie ...* Gregorovius, III, 5, p. 39: *Eugen verhöhnte nur das Unglück des Flüchtlings, indem er ihm das Investiturdiploam für ein verlorenes Königreich ausstellte. (!)*

<sup>3</sup> Ryder, p. 247: *Early in July René bade farewell to his phantom kingdom, leaving Castelnuovo to a Genoese creditor as a Genoese ship bore him off towards Florence. ... In Florence he was received with great honour – Eugenius even handed over the bull of investiture for Naples without further payment or ado – but René realized as the weeks passed that he could expect no more than gestures of that kind. In October he made his way back to Provence. Pius had written about René's visit to Eugenius in Florence in his *De Europa* of 1458, see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271: *Renatus ad Eugenium Florentiae morantem sese contulit*. René's visit to Florence was a diplomatic embarrassment to the Florentine government who, on July 14, sent a letter to Alfonso in Naples downplaying René's presence in the city (Maxson, p. 110)*

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Guillaume d'Estouteville. Pope Eugenius IV appointed him cardinal in 1439 and, 30 March in the same year, bishop of Angers, the main city of Anjou (Andegavium), after which he was called of Cardinalis Andegavensis. Never having gained possession of the Diocese of Angers, he was appointed Archbishop of Rouen in 1453 after which he was called Cardinalis Rhotomagensis (Du Fresne de Beaucourt, p. 191; and Nowak, p. 100, n. 14)

<sup>5</sup> Angers

[33] Cum ergo<sup>1</sup> hinc rex Franciae Romanam ecclesiam adversus consuetudinem progenitorum<sup>2</sup> impediri<sup>3</sup> {126r} sineret<sup>4</sup>, et Renatus neque auxilia mitteret<sup>5</sup>, neque promissa servata apparerent, illinc rex Alfonsus patrimonium beati Petri magnis exercitibus urgeret<sup>6</sup>, premeret, laniaret, et Franciscus Sfortia Vicecomes, nunc Mediolanensium<sup>7</sup> dominus, agrum Picenum invasisset, et Basilienses<sup>8</sup> sub nomine generalis concilii novas<sup>9</sup> excitarent<sup>10</sup> turbas, cepit<sup>11</sup> consilium Eugenius, quod cardinales et viri prudentes<sup>12</sup> sumendum pro tempore suaserunt. Non<sup>13</sup> disputamus<sup>14</sup> nunc<sup>15</sup> de jure inter partes; hoc<sup>16</sup> est agendum<sup>17</sup> et<sup>18</sup> in iudicio. Pacem Eugenius ab<sup>19</sup> Alfonso non utilem tantum, verum etiam necessariam accepit, eique<sup>20</sup> non solum regnum<sup>21</sup> permisit<sup>22</sup>, sed ultro<sup>23</sup> etiam<sup>24</sup> nonnulla de patrimonio ecclesiae oppida tradidit, inter quae Terracina<sup>25</sup> fuit, quae olim Anxur<sup>26</sup> appellata est. Sic<sup>27</sup> consuetudo belli est: pax pro<sup>28</sup> victoris<sup>29</sup> libidine semper emitur<sup>30</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> igitur I

<sup>2</sup> suorum *add.* M; progenitoris O

<sup>3</sup> impedire O

<sup>4</sup> sinet C

<sup>5</sup> admit/cteret O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> intraret AC

<sup>7</sup> **Mediolanensis** I, M, N, R, S, V, O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> Basiliensis O, P, AC

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

<sup>10</sup> excitaret P, AC

<sup>11</sup> coepit N

<sup>12</sup> prudentissimi B

<sup>13</sup> nunc N

<sup>14</sup> disputavimus O

<sup>15</sup> non ... nunc : nunc hic disputamus S; nunc non disputemus P; nunc non disputamus AC

<sup>16</sup> hic *corr.* ex hoc N; hic S

<sup>17</sup> est agendum : agendum est J

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>19</sup> absque J

<sup>20</sup> eiusque M

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

<sup>22</sup> promisit J, M, S, O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> ei J

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>25</sup> Terracena M; T(h)arentina P, AC

<sup>26</sup> Ausur N; Ansur I, O, R, S; Anser P, AC

<sup>27</sup> si I, O, P

<sup>28</sup> que N, S

<sup>29</sup> victoriae N

<sup>30</sup> *omit.* M [blank space]

[33] On one side, the King of France against the custom of his ancestors allowed the Roman Church to be harassed, and René did not send help nor keep his promises. On the other side, King Alfonso put the lands of Saint Peter under pressure and molested and abused them with great armies. Moreover, Francesco Sforza Visconti, now Lord of Milan, had invaded the territory of Piceno, and the Basilians had, under the name of a General Council,<sup>1</sup> stirred up new troubles. Under those circumstances, Eugenius accepted the advice proffered by cardinals as well as insightful men. We do not here discuss the rights of the [two] parties; that must be decided in a proper suit of law. At any rate, Eugenius accepted a peace with Alfonso that was not only useful, but even necessary: he allowed Alfonso the Kingdom, and moreover he handed over to him some cities from the Lands of the Church, among them Terracina, once called Anxur.<sup>2</sup> This is the custom of war: peace is bought on the victor's terms. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> The Council of Basel, not recognized by the Pope after 1438

<sup>2</sup> The Peace of Terracina, 1443. See Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271. Pastor, I, p. 248-249: *Im Jahre 1442 gelang es nun Alfonso endlich, seinen Gegner René vollständig zu besiegen und Neapel zu erobern (12. Juni 1442). Dieser entscheidende Erfolg nöthigte Eugen IV., der sich von dem kriegerischen, nie zufriedenen Condottiere Francesco Sforza in seinen eigenen Staaten bedrängt sah, alle Bedingungen, welche der beständig mit der Anerkennung des Gegenpapstes drohende schlaue Alfonso durch Alonso de Borja, Bischof von Valencia, stellen liess, zu gewähren*

[33 cont.] His de<sup>1</sup> causis Eugenius Siculi regni titulum Alfonso largitus est, cum jam Renatus nec unam<sup>2</sup> domum nec unam<sup>3</sup> terrae<sup>4</sup> glebam in regno possideret, et tamquam spem omnem<sup>5</sup> vendicandi<sup>6</sup> posthac<sup>7</sup> regni prorsus amisisset, arcem novam, quae Neapoli adjacet, hosti vendidisset<sup>8</sup> et nonnullis<sup>9</sup> fidelitatis iuramenta remisisset<sup>10</sup>. Nec Alfonsus ingratus Eugenio fuit, qui Picentes<sup>11</sup> in oboedientiam<sup>12</sup> ecclesiae suis armis reduxit<sup>13</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> his de : istis O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> minimam N

<sup>3</sup> nostram N

<sup>4</sup> fre- M

<sup>5</sup> omit. J

<sup>6</sup> vindicandi AC

<sup>7</sup> omit. I; post hec O, V; post ac S

<sup>8</sup> propter quod videbatur juri suo cessisse *add. nota marg.* D

<sup>9</sup> nonnulla J

<sup>10</sup> hosti ... remisisset *omit.* B

<sup>11</sup> Picenas R; Pícenos P, AC

<sup>12</sup> oboedientia P

<sup>13</sup> redigeret S

[33 cont.] It is for these reasons that Eugenius granted Alfonso the title to the Kingdom of Sicily,<sup>1</sup> in a situation where René did not possess a single house or a single piece of land in the Kingdom. As if he had given up all hope of reclaiming it later, he had even sold Castel' Nuovo in the vicinity of Naples to his enemy<sup>2</sup> and had freed many from their oaths of fidelity. Alfonso was not ungrateful to Eugenius: by arms he forced the Píenes to renew their obedience towards the Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Papal bull of Eugenius IV *Regnans in altissimis* of 1<sup>st</sup> July 1443 confirming Alfonso as king of Naples. (Müller, I, pp. 690-692). See also Villeneuve, I, pp. 330-331

<sup>2</sup> According to Ryder, p. 247, René left "Castelnuovo to the care of a Genoese creditor", who may have been the one to sell the fortress to Alfonso

[34] Idem<sup>1</sup> Eugenius Ferdinandum Alfonsi filium extra matrimonium natum ad regni Neapolitani<sup>2</sup> sive Siciliae successionem<sup>3</sup> auctoritate apostolica idoneum reddidit, cui praeter geniturae maculam nil obstat, litteris et moribus egregie<sup>4</sup> instituto. Neque novum est huiusmodi<sup>5</sup> viros ad regni<sup>6</sup> fastigia<sup>7</sup> provehi. Nam quamvis sancta lex est, quae vetito natos<sup>8</sup> coitu dignitatibus arcet - sic enim incontinentia non parum coercetur<sup>9</sup> - id<sup>10</sup> tamen<sup>11</sup> vitium patris, non<sup>12</sup> filii est<sup>13 14</sup>, et<sup>15</sup> clarissimos reges tam<sup>16</sup> ex illicito quam ex<sup>17</sup> alio minus digno concubitu natos constat: Romulus ex Rhea<sup>18</sup> sacerdote natus et Servius ex ancilla Romae regnaverunt. Apud Graecos Hercules clarus<sup>19</sup> habetur, quamvis Alcmena ex adulterio eum<sup>20 21</sup> genuerit<sup>22</sup>; et Alexandrum<sup>23</sup> Macedonem, orbis dominum, Olympias ex alio quam ex Philippo concepisse traditur.

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<sup>1</sup> id R

<sup>2</sup> regni Neapolitani : regnum Neapolitanum I, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> successorem C

<sup>4</sup> egregio O

<sup>5</sup> *infrascr.* N; homini *add.* N

<sup>6</sup> regna O

<sup>7</sup> vestigia O

<sup>8</sup> reatos O

<sup>9</sup> arcetur S

<sup>10</sup> et AC

<sup>11</sup> tantum O

<sup>12</sup> L: *here ends the lacuna which begins in sect. 32*

<sup>13</sup> fuit I

<sup>14</sup> filii est : est filii O

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* AC

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

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

<sup>18</sup> Reha J; *omit.* O [*blank space*]; Reba N

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

<sup>20</sup> *omit.* O, P

<sup>21</sup> ex ... eum : eum ex adulterio I, AC

<sup>22</sup> peperit M

<sup>23</sup> magnum *add.* S



[34] By apostolic authority Eugenius also enabled Ferrante, the illegitimate son of Alfonso, to succeed to the Kingdom of Naples (or Sicily).<sup>1</sup> Indeed, apart from the blemish of his birth there was no impediment whatsoever [to his succession] since he has been well taught, both with regard to letters and conduct. And it is certainly not new for such men to be elevated to the summit of royal government. For though it is a venerable law that bars men from high office if they are born of forbidden intercourse (for this is a strong restraint on lax morals), it is the fault of the father, not of the son, and it is a fact that famous kings have been born of illicit or otherwise unworthy intercourse: Romulus<sup>2</sup> was born of the priestess Rhea<sup>3</sup>, and Servius<sup>4</sup> of a slavegirl, but both ruled over Rome. Among the Greeks<sup>5</sup>, Hercules was greatly honoured though he had been born in adultery by Alcmene<sup>6</sup>. And it is told that even Alexander of Macedonia,<sup>7</sup> lord of the world, was conceived by Olympias<sup>8</sup> from another man than Philip.<sup>9 10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> By formally legitimizing him. This was one of the conditions of the Peace of Terracina (Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271; Ryder, p. 255)

<sup>2</sup> Romulus (771-717 BCE): Legendary founder of Rome together with his brother Remus

<sup>3</sup> Rhea Silvia: Mythical mother of Romulus and Remus. Daughter of Numitor, King of Alba Longa. Vestal priestess: Her story is told in Livius: *Ab urbe condita*, 1.3-4

<sup>4</sup> Servius Tullius: legendary sixth King of Rome (575-535 BCE). See Livius: *Ab urbe condita*, 1.39

<sup>5</sup> Hercules: (Gk. myth.) Son of Zeus and the mortal Alcmene. Had superhuman powers and enjoyed many adventures

<sup>6</sup> Alcmene: (Gk. myth.) Wife of Amphytrion

<sup>7</sup> Alexander the Great

<sup>8</sup> Olympias (ca. 375-316 BCE): daughter of King Neoptolemus of Epirus. Wife of King Philip II of Macedonia. Mother of Alexander

<sup>9</sup> Philip II (382-336 BCE): King of Macedonia

<sup>10</sup> Ferrante was particularly sensitive to the issue of his illegitimacy, and quite grateful to the pope for his vigorous defense in this respect, see his letter of thanks to the pope (Appendix 4)

[35] Et in<sup>1</sup> Numidia<sup>2</sup> natus ex ancilla Massinissae<sup>3</sup> Jugurtha<sup>4</sup> regnum tenuit. Inter Hebraeos Jacob ex ancillis magnos sustulit<sup>5</sup> patriarchas, et Phares ex<sup>6</sup> Thamar Judae<sup>7</sup> natus est, ex cujus progenie Christi<sup>8</sup> nativitas<sup>9</sup> secundum carnem trahit<sup>10</sup> originem. Et Jephte<sup>11</sup> meretricis filius Israel judicavit. Et Salomon ex ea<sup>12</sup>, quae fuit Uriae, prognatus<sup>13</sup> est, cum qua lege nostra matrimonium contrahere non licuisset. Et<sup>14</sup> ne pluribus utamur exemplis, satis est<sup>15</sup> Constantinus magnus<sup>16</sup>, qui quamvis ex Helena stabularia<sup>17</sup>, sicut ait Ambrosius, genitus esset, Romani tamen imperii {126v} monarchiam<sup>18</sup> conscendit<sup>19</sup> et magnifice gubernavit. Et Carolus item<sup>20</sup> magnus Carolum filium extra matrimonium genitum non ignobili<sup>21</sup> regno praefecit. Nec plura in Eugenii apologiam.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* N, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> Numida N; Humida S; Humidia V

<sup>3</sup> Massinissa C; Maximisse L; *omit.* O [blank space]; Mansinisse V

<sup>4</sup> incognita O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> sustinuit M; suscitavit S

<sup>6</sup> et N

<sup>7</sup> inde J, M, N, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> Christiana J

<sup>9</sup> civitas J; nativitatis N

<sup>10</sup> traxit M

<sup>11</sup> inepte M

<sup>12</sup> qua C

<sup>13</sup> procreatus S; progeneratus O, P, AC

<sup>14</sup> sed I, L

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* L

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

<sup>17</sup> et stabulario N; stabilaria O

<sup>18</sup> monarcham N; tamen O

<sup>19</sup> consendit M

<sup>20</sup> etiam P, AC

<sup>21</sup> ignobiliter O, P, AC

[35] And in Numidia,<sup>1</sup> Jugurtha<sup>2</sup> ruled the kingdom, though he was born of one of Masinissa's<sup>3</sup> slavegirls. Among the Hebrews, Jacob<sup>4</sup> sired the great patriarchs from slavegirls, and Phares<sup>5</sup> was born of Judah's<sup>6</sup> daughter, Tamar,<sup>7</sup> from whom Christ Himself descended in the flesh. And Jephthah,<sup>8</sup> one of the Judges of Israel, was the son of a harlot. Even Solomon<sup>9</sup> was born from the woman<sup>10</sup> who had been the wife of Uriah<sup>11</sup> and who – according to our law – would not have been able to marry [David]. We shall not cite more examples except this one: according to Ambrose,<sup>12</sup> Constantine the Great was born of Helena<sup>13</sup> who worked in the stables,<sup>14</sup> but nonetheless he rose to become single ruler of the Roman Empire, and he reigned splendidly. And even Charlemagne appointed his illegitimate son, Charles, as ruler of a noble kingdom.<sup>15</sup>

We shall say no more in defense of Eugenius.

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<sup>1</sup> Numidia (202 BC-46 BCE): Ancient Berber kingdom in what is now Algeria and a smaller part of Tunisia, in North Africa

<sup>2</sup> Jugurtha (ca. 160-104 BCE): King of Numidia, grandson of King Masinissa

<sup>3</sup> Masinissa (ca. 240 or 238 - ca. 148 BCE): First King of Numidia. During his younger years he fought in the Second Punic War (218-201 BCE)

<sup>4</sup> Jacob: one of the three patriarchal ancestors of the Israelites, son of Isaac. From his sons issued the twelve tribes of Israel

<sup>5</sup> Phares: (Old Testament) Son of Tamar and Judah (Genesis, 38)

<sup>6</sup> Judah: (Old Testament) One of the twelve sons of the patriarch Jacob

<sup>7</sup> Tamar: (Old Testament) Daughter-in-law of Judah

<sup>8</sup> Jephtha: (Old Testament) Judge of the Israelites

<sup>9</sup> Solomon (conventional dates: 970-931 BCE): Son of King David

<sup>10</sup> Batsheba: (Old Testament) Wife of Uriah the Hittite, and later of King David. Mother of King Solomon

<sup>11</sup> Uriah the Hittite: (Old Testament) Soldier in King David's army. Married to Batsheba. Killed, indirectly, by King David

<sup>12</sup> Ambrosius, Aurelius (ca. 340-397): Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church. Saint

<sup>13</sup> Helena (ca. 250-ca. 330): Consort of the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus and mother of Emperor Constantine the Great. Little is known of her early life. Fourth-century sources, following Eutropius' "Breviarium," record that she came from a lowly background. Saint Ambrose was the first to call her a *stabularia*, a term translated as "stable-maid" or "inn-keeper". He makes this fact a virtue, calling Helena a *bona stabularia*, a "good stable-maid". Saint

<sup>14</sup> Ambrosius: *De obitu Theodosii*, 42

<sup>15</sup> Here Pius errs: Charlemagne's son Charles was a legitimate son of his marriage with Hildegard

[36] Nunc ad Nicolaum transeundum est, qui nationi<sup>1</sup> vestrae<sup>2</sup> amicissimus fuit, et tamen<sup>3</sup> Alfonso regnum confirmavit, et Ferdinandi legitimationem ratam gratamque<sup>4</sup> habens, extendit, ampliavitque. Quid<sup>5</sup> hic? Si salvatur<sup>6</sup> Eugenius, et<sup>7</sup> Nicolaus salvus est. Ille principium<sup>8</sup> dedit his<sup>9</sup>, quae postea<sup>10</sup> secuta sunt<sup>11</sup>. Sed procedamus ulterius. Per tempora Nicolai flagrabat<sup>12</sup> omnis Italia bello: hinc Alfonso Veneti<sup>13</sup> socia<sup>14</sup> arma conjunxerant<sup>15</sup>; inde Francisco<sup>16</sup> Sfortia<sup>17</sup> Mediolani<sup>18 19</sup> potito<sup>20</sup> Florentini ex foedere juncti communibus<sup>21</sup> viribus bellum administrabant. Ardebant omnia, ubique caedes, ubique rapinae<sup>22</sup>, neque<sup>23</sup> profana neque sacra tuta<sup>24</sup> erant. Elati Constantinopolitana victoria Turci et impune<sup>25</sup> per Rasciam<sup>26</sup> et Albaniam debacchati<sup>27</sup>, extremum Hungaris<sup>28</sup> excidium minabantur.

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<sup>1</sup> rationi C; nationis I; natione L

<sup>2</sup> nationi vestrae : vestre nationi O

<sup>3</sup> inde L; cum S

<sup>4</sup> ratam gratamque : gratam ratamque I, O

<sup>5</sup> quod P, AC

<sup>6</sup> salvator O

<sup>7</sup> omit. M

<sup>8</sup> privilegium P, AC

<sup>9</sup> is A, C, D, M, R; iis L

<sup>10</sup> quae postea : postea que M

<sup>11</sup> confirmavit *add.* M

<sup>12</sup> fragrabat O

<sup>13</sup> Alfonso Veneti : Veneti Alphonso M

<sup>14</sup> socia O

<sup>15</sup> conjunxerunt J, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> Franciscus N

<sup>17</sup> Sforcie L; fortia S

<sup>18</sup> Mediolanensi L; Mediolano I, S

<sup>19</sup> dominus *add.* N

<sup>20</sup> et *corr. ex* potito N; petito O; potitus S

<sup>21</sup> omnibus I

<sup>22</sup> rapina V

<sup>23</sup> nec I, L

<sup>24</sup> tota O

<sup>25</sup> nuperrime N

<sup>26</sup> Asiam N, S

<sup>27</sup> et *add.* O, AC

<sup>28</sup> Ungari O; Ungarie S

### 2.3.2. Nicolaus V

[36] Now We must pass on to Nicolaus.<sup>1</sup> Though he was a great friend of your nation, he nevertheless confirmed Alfonso's kingship and ratified and approved the legitimation of Ferrante, even extending and enlarging it.<sup>2</sup> If Eugenius is vindicated, so is Nicolaus for it was Eugenius who set the later events in motion. But let Us proceed further. At the time of Nicolaus, all Italy was aflame with war: on the one side Alfonso and the Venetians had joined arms, and on the other side Francesco Sforza, having become the master of Milan, allied himself with Florence and made war together with them. Everything was in uproar, everywhere there was slaughter and robbery, and neither the secular nor the holy things were safe. And elated by the victory in Constantinople,<sup>3</sup> the Turks, without serious opposition, laid waste to Serbia and Albania and threatened the Hungarians with complete destruction.

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<sup>1</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Alfonso's military presence in the Papal State, actually in Tivoli, close to Rome, at the time of Nicolaus' succession in 1447 (see Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 281-282) probably had other purposes, too, but it effectually ensured that the new pope would smoothly agree to Alfonso's demands

<sup>3</sup> May 1453

[37] Operae pretium Nicolao visum est in tantis periculis de pace Italiae agere et arma, quibus cives urgebantur, in hostes vertere<sup>1</sup>. Conventus<sup>2</sup> apud Neapolim dictus<sup>3</sup> est. Eo cardinalis Firmanus<sup>4</sup> ex decreto Nicolai legatique<sup>5</sup> ex tota Italia se contulere: inter quos pax tandem<sup>6</sup> conclusa est et foedus percutsum<sup>7</sup>, cujus<sup>8</sup> conservatorem Romanum<sup>9</sup> praesulem<sup>10</sup> designavere<sup>11</sup>. In eo foedere<sup>12</sup> ab omnibus recepto inter alia cautum est, ut quaecumque cum Alfonso rege ordinata essent, eadem omnia cum Ferdinando filio contractata<sup>13</sup> et recepta esse intelligantur, quem futurum<sup>14</sup> regni<sup>15</sup> successorem<sup>16</sup> idem foedus appellat, quod apostolicae sedis legatus amplexus<sup>17</sup> est, omnis<sup>18</sup> Italia recepit<sup>19</sup>, et<sup>20</sup> Nicolaus postea ratum habuit et confirmavit. Similiter et Calixtus egit. Et nos post coronationem nostram ex consilio fratrum vestigia praedecessorum<sup>21</sup> sectati<sup>22</sup>, ne<sup>23</sup> tam salutaris pacis vinculum solveretur, foedus ipsum comprobavimus. Sed de rebus nostris paulo post agemus<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> convertere J

<sup>2</sup> convertere [sic!] J

<sup>3</sup> celebratus P

<sup>4</sup> Firmianus J

<sup>5</sup> **legati I, L, N, O, P, V, AC**; legatus S

<sup>6</sup> pax tandem : tandem pax M, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> promissum P, AC

<sup>8</sup> tamen *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> et J

<sup>10</sup> conservatorem Romanum praesulem : Romanum presulem conservatorem S

<sup>11</sup> designantes O; designarunt P, AC

<sup>12</sup> in *add.* O

<sup>13</sup> contractata *corr.* ex contracta; tracta M; **tractata I, L, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC**

<sup>14</sup> futuri P

<sup>15</sup> regem J

<sup>16</sup> possessorem S

<sup>17</sup> complexus M

<sup>18</sup> *omit.* M; scimus O; omnia S, V

<sup>19</sup> recipit V

<sup>20</sup> esse O

<sup>21</sup> nostrorum *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>22</sup> secuti M; sectati *corr.* ex sequuti N; sectantes O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> ut ne I

<sup>24</sup> agimus M

[37] Faced with such dangers, Nicolaus considered it worthwhile to begin negotiations about peace in Italy<sup>1</sup> and turn the weapons menacing its citizens toward the enemies.<sup>2 3</sup> A conference was summoned in Naples,<sup>4</sup> and, as decided by Nicolaus, the Cardinal of Fermo<sup>5</sup> and legates from all of Italy gathered there. In the end, they agreed on peace and made a treaty whose overseer was to be the Bishop of Rome. In the treaty, which was accepted by all, it was stipulated, among other things, that whatever had been agreed with King Alfonso was to be considered as having been agreed and arranged also with his son, Ferrante, who is even designated by the treaty as the future successor to the Kingdom. This was approved by the legate of the Apostolic See, accepted by the whole of Italy, and afterwards ratified and confirmed by Nicolaus. Calixtus did the same. And after Our coronation, We, too, on the advice of our brethren and following in the footsteps of Our predecessors, approved the treaty so that the bond of this salutary peace should not be broken. But We shall be dealing with Our own actions later.

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<sup>1</sup> On 9 April 1454 Venice and Milan signed the Peace of Lodi. This peace was developed into the Lega Italica which was signed on 30 August the same year, with Milan, Venice and Florence as participants. On 2 March 1455 the Lega Italica was solemnly proclaimed in Naples, now with the adhesion of the pope and King Alfonso and a number of lesser Italian rulers

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the Turks

<sup>3</sup> In his biography of Pope Nicolaus V, Giannozzo Manetti expressed quite a different view of the pope's attitude to wars between the Italian states: as long as they were at war between themselves, they constituted less of a threat against the Church State, and when they were at peace they were a grave menace to it. He therefore only joined the Italian League when he could no longer decently avoid it: *Septimo pontificatus sui anno ... factum est, ut predicti principes, res publice et populi oratores suos pro componenda inter eos pace Romam transmitterent. Ipse vero ... sapientia sua .. hoc unum conabatur, hoc unum curabat, hoc unum operabatur, ut singulis gratificaretur ac nemini suspectus haberetur; quod ... faciebat, ut nullis principibus displiceret, deinde ut Ecclesiam suam in pace atque Sedem Apostolicam, extenuate per continua ac vicissitudinaria inter se bella omnium belligerantium facultatibus, maiori auctoritate dignitateque conservaret. Bella enim inter se predictos totius pene Italie principes Ecclesie sue pacem, concordiam vero eorum versa vice bellum Ecclesie, non modo verisimilibus coniecturis, sed certa etiam et expressis argumentis et experientia quoque magistra rerum intelligebat presagiebatque. Ob has igitur causas, cum tepide in hoc ipso pacis concordieque tractatu, ne dicam frigide sese gereret, contigisse videtur post longam quondam plurium mensium inanem futilemque tractationem ut ea que tractabatur concordia ad nihilum recideret, atque propterea oratores re infecta, quinimo ... confracta, quique in patriam suam remearent. And later: At Nicolaum ... non amplius dissimulandum fore ratus, ... gratissime in hunc modum respondisse fertur: pacem ... semper sibi placuisse inquit* (Manetti, pp. 109-110, 112)

<sup>4</sup> 1454

<sup>5</sup> 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

[38] Nunc expositis Eugenii et Nicolai<sup>1</sup> operibus<sup>2</sup>, quae quantum<sup>3</sup> calumniari carpive<sup>4</sup> possint<sup>5</sup> plane cognoscitis, ad Calixtum transeamus, quem magnificis verbis ac laudibus prosecuti estis, neque<sup>6</sup> ab<sup>7</sup> re. Fuit<sup>8</sup> enim<sup>9</sup> doctrina singulari praeditus, et suo tempore civilis sapientiae facile<sup>10</sup> princeps, et rerum maximarum<sup>11</sup> experientia callens, ut<sup>12</sup> *qui multorum mores vidit et urbes*. Dicitis hunc, quamvis ejus nationis esset cujus Alfonsus illique multa deberet<sup>13</sup> <sup>14</sup>, non tamen justitiam ejus causa<sup>15</sup> violare voluisse, sed filium ejus regno privasse. Nihil horum negamus, verum incivile est non totum referre. Supplebimus nos, quod<sup>16</sup> vestrae orationi defuit<sup>17</sup>. Calixtus enim<sup>18</sup> mox ut pontificatum adiit, id<sup>19</sup> foedus, cujus supra<sup>20</sup> mentionem fecimus, ratum gratumque {127r} habuit, eoque usus est, cum Jacobus Piccininus<sup>21</sup> Senenses bello quateret, adversus quem vi<sup>22</sup> foederis<sup>23</sup> et Venetos<sup>24</sup> et<sup>25</sup> reliquos Italiae potentatus excitavit; neque<sup>26</sup> Alfonso regni<sup>27</sup> investituram<sup>28</sup> negasset, nisi Marchiam<sup>29</sup> Anconitanam et plura alia regni feudo adjici<sup>30</sup> petivisset<sup>31</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Eugenii et Nicolai : Nicolai et Eugenii J, O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> partibus P

<sup>3</sup> quanto O

<sup>4</sup> carpique J

<sup>5</sup> possunt J

<sup>6</sup> nec P, AC

<sup>7</sup> abs AC

<sup>8</sup> fuerat S

<sup>9</sup> cui O

<sup>10</sup> omit. S

<sup>11</sup> rerum maximarum : maximarum rerum I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>12</sup> et O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> debere I; deberi P

<sup>14</sup> et urbes ... deberet omit. O

<sup>15</sup> omit. M; tandem O, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> que M

<sup>17</sup> et deficit add. AC

<sup>18</sup> vero O

<sup>19</sup> ad S

<sup>20</sup> suis M

<sup>21</sup> Picelinus S

<sup>22</sup> in I, M

<sup>23</sup> virtute add. I; utile add. suprascr. L

<sup>24</sup> vinctos M

<sup>25</sup> alios add. R

<sup>26</sup> in M

<sup>27</sup> regi M

<sup>28</sup> regni investituram : investituram regni V

<sup>29</sup> monarchiam S

<sup>30</sup> feudo adjici : feudatalia N

<sup>31</sup> petiisset N; potuisset I, J, S



### 2.3.3. Calixtus III

[38] Now that the actions of Eugenius and Nicolaus have been explained, you can clearly see to what extent<sup>1</sup> they may be criticised and censured. So, let Us move on to Calixtus<sup>2</sup> whom you praised extravagantly and with good reason, for he was a man of singular learning, and in his own time he easily surpassed all in knowledge of civil law. He had experience of great affairs, and he saw *the ways and cities of many men*.<sup>3</sup> You say that though he was from the same nation as Alfonso and owed much to him, he did not wish to violate justice for Alfonso's sake, but deprived his son of the Kingdom. We do not deny this. But it is unfair not to tell all, so We shall supply what is lacking from your oration. As soon as Calixtus became pope, he ratified and accepted the treaty mentioned above, and when Jacobo Piccinino made war on the Sienese, Calixtus even by right of treaty<sup>4</sup> enjoined the Venetians and the other Italian powers to come to his help. And he would not have denied investiture with the Kingdom if Alfonso had not requested that the Anconitan March and other places be added to the the feudal domains of the Kingdom. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. to what little extent

<sup>2</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

<sup>3</sup> Homer: *Odyssey*, 1.3-4

<sup>4</sup> The treaty establishing the Lega Italica, 1455

[38 cont.] Alfonso autem vita functo<sup>1</sup>, qua ratione incertum est, Ferdinandum, quem ex foedere successorem Alfonsi<sup>2</sup> in regno Siciliae acceptaverat, a regno<sup>3</sup> removit<sup>4</sup>. Illud certum est<sup>5</sup>, quod regnum Siciliae non ad Francorum prosapiam, sed ad Romanam ecclesiam devolutum esse<sup>6</sup> declaravit<sup>7</sup>. Testantur hoc<sup>8</sup> ejus litterae, et recens curialium extat<sup>9</sup> memoria. Nihil dicimus<sup>10</sup>, quod non<sup>11</sup> in<sup>12</sup> promptu probare<sup>13</sup> possimus<sup>14</sup>. Si vixisset diutius providus et magnanimus pontifex, vidissent omnes, quo suus ferebatur et aspirabat<sup>15</sup> animus, quem nemo regnum hoc generi Gallico aut quaerere aut servare arbitratus est. Non est igitur, quod<sup>16</sup> magnopere ad Renati causam assumatis facta Calixti, quamvis Ferdinando regnum adimere conatus sit.

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<sup>1</sup> defuncto S

<sup>2</sup> Alphonsus J

<sup>3</sup> a regno *omit.* S

<sup>4</sup> removerit I, L

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> hec O

<sup>9</sup> exstat AC

<sup>10</sup> dicemus O

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* M, S

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

<sup>13</sup> non *add.* M

<sup>14</sup> possumus I, O

<sup>15</sup> aspirabatur P

<sup>16</sup> cur J

[38 cont.] However, when Alfonso died, Calixtus for unknown reasons<sup>1</sup> deprived Ferrante of the Kingdom,<sup>2</sup> though he had [previously] accepted the treaty declaring him to be Alfonso's successor to the Kingdom of Sicily<sup>3</sup>. What is certain is that he declared the Kingdom of Sicily as having reverted to the Roman Church, not to the family of France. This is witnessed by his letters and known as recent fact to the members of the Curia: We are not saying anything that We cannot readily prove. If this sagacious and magnanimous Pontiff had lived longer, all would have seen what he intended and aspired to do. At any rate, nobody believed that he meant to seek and keep this realm for the French dynasty.<sup>4</sup> So, even though Calixtus did endeavour to deprive Ferrante of the Kingdom, there is really no reason for you to insist that it was René's cause he defended.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Introduction

<sup>2</sup> In a papal bull dated 12 July 1458 (Pastor, I, pp. 600-601). See also papal bull of Calixtus III *Regis aeterni* of 28 July 1458 declaring the Kingdom of Naples as devolved upon the Roman Church (Müller, I, pp. 694-695)

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Naples

<sup>4</sup> In Rome, it was commonly believed that Calixtus had wanted to invest his own nephew, Pedro Borgia, with the Kingdom of Naples, and this is what diplomats stationed in Rome reported back to their masters (Pastor, I, p. 600)

<sup>5</sup> Gregorovius III, 13, 4, p. 72: *Die Boten des neuen Königs flehten in Rom um Anerkennung, aber Calixt behauptete, dass Ferrante nicht einmal der natürliche Sohn Alfonsos, sondern untergeschoben sei, und er beanspruchte Neapel als heimgefallenes Kirchenlehen. So wurde dies alte Vasallenland der Kirche das ganze XV. Jahrhundert hindurch in die Politik der Päpste hineingezogen. Sie trachteten danach, es mit dem Kirchenstaat zu vereinigen und nutzten das Königreich für ihre Nepoten aus*

[39] Ceterum, eo in aliam vitam translato nos ei, quamvis indigni et tanto ponderi<sup>1</sup> prorsus insufficientes, ut altissimo placuit, suffecti sumus. Ad res nostras modo veniendum est, quas multi lacerant carpuntque<sup>2</sup>. *Homines sumus et fragiles: labimur, fallimur, decipimur*. Inviti tamen erramus, et cum recognoscimus errorem, malumus<sup>3</sup> illum potius cum nostro<sup>4</sup> revocare rubore quam cum subditorum scandalo damnoque<sup>5</sup> retinere. Verum in hoc negotio regni Siciliae nihil<sup>6</sup> a nobis<sup>7</sup> factum est<sup>8</sup>, quod reprehensione dignum existimemus, quamvis illud Ferdinando concesserimus<sup>9</sup>. Sed accusamur, quod illegitimo<sup>10</sup>, quod indigno<sup>11</sup>, quod<sup>12</sup> inhabili eximiam regni dignitatem et coronam elargiti sumus; quod inclytam Francorum domum<sup>13</sup> sprevimus et<sup>14</sup> abiecimus<sup>15</sup>, nec oratores Caroli et Renati regum<sup>16</sup> audire dignati<sup>17</sup> sumus. Haec summa est accusationis; huc<sup>18</sup> omnes orationis vestrae<sup>19</sup> nervi tenduntur<sup>20</sup>. Parum est, quod Eugenius, quod Nicolaus, quod Calixtus fecit. Pius est, qui plus ceteris ausus videtur<sup>21</sup>. Pius est, qui Francos, qui nationem Gallicam, qui aequitatem justitiamque contemnit. In Pium<sup>22</sup> omnia tela cadunt. Tolerabilia sunt, quae nostri antecessores fecerunt; quod nos facimus<sup>23</sup>, ferri<sup>24</sup> non potest<sup>25</sup>. Illi excusati, nos injusti, nos ingrati, nos impii sumus, quamvis Pii nomine vocitemur.

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<sup>1</sup> tanto ponderi : tanti ponderis O, P

<sup>2</sup> carpunt C, M

<sup>3</sup> malimus L, R; maluimus O, N, S, V

<sup>4</sup> **potius cum nostro : cum nostro potius I, L, S, V, O, P, AC; cum nostro potius corr. Felinus ex potius cum nostri N**

<sup>5</sup> scandalo damnoque : damno scandaloque J

<sup>6</sup> nil I

<sup>7</sup> a nobis *omit.* C

<sup>8</sup> a nobis factum est : factum est a nobis P, AC

<sup>9</sup> concessimus M, O, P, AC

<sup>10</sup> legitimo M

<sup>11</sup> quod indigno *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* O; et P, AC

<sup>13</sup> Francorum domum : domorum Francorum M

<sup>14</sup> atque S

<sup>15</sup> abiecit J; abicemus M

<sup>16</sup> regnum S; *omit.* J, AC

<sup>17</sup> audire dignati : dignati audire O

<sup>18</sup> ut O; eo AC

<sup>19</sup> orationis vestrae : vestre orationis O

<sup>20</sup> tendunt J, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> Pius est ... videtur *omit.* J, M, AC

<sup>22</sup> Piumque V

<sup>23</sup> fecimus P

<sup>24</sup> fieri N, S

<sup>25</sup> possunt I

#### 2.3.4. Pius II

[39] When Calixtus passed on to the next life, We – God willing – were elected to succeed him, though unworthy and unfit for this heavy burden. So, now we come to Our own role in this whole affair, criticized and censured by many people. *We are a man and fragile: We fail, We make mistakes, We are deceived.*<sup>1</sup> But We do not err willingly, and when We recognize that We are in error, We will rather blushing make amends than persist in it, causing scandal and misfortune among Our subjects. However, in this affair of the Kingdom of Sicily, We have done nothing We consider worthy of reproach though We bestowed it on Ferrante. Still, We are being accused of having given the eminent dignity and crown of the Kingdom to someone who is illegitimate, unworthy and unfit; of having spurned and rejected the illustrious House of France; and of not having deigned to hear the ambassadors of kings Charles and René. This is the accusation in brief, and this is what your whole oration was about. What Eugenius, Nicolaus and Calixtus did is unimportant. Pius it is who has dared to do more than the others. Pius it is who despises the French nation, as well as equity and justice. Pius it is at whom all your weapons are aimed. What Our predecessors did is acceptable, but what We are doing is unacceptable. They are being excused, whereas We are ungrateful and impious, though called Pius.

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<sup>1</sup> Poggio Bracciolini: *Invectiva in delatores* (*Opera Omnia*, II, p. 715)

[40] Sed non deest nobis animus, quo purgemur<sup>1</sup>. *Dominus auxiliator noster, non timebimus quid faciant nobis<sup>2</sup> homines*. Bonus et misericors Deus est<sup>3</sup>, qui non patitur<sup>4</sup> tentari homines<sup>5</sup> supra vires<sup>6</sup> suas, neque nobis impingi<sup>7</sup> falso<sup>8</sup> crimina sinit<sup>9 10</sup>, quae<sup>11</sup> refellere<sup>12</sup> non {127v} valeamus<sup>13</sup>. Comprehendimus ex dictis vestris<sup>14 15</sup>, neque vobis, neque regi vestro veritatem omnem<sup>16 17</sup> esse detectam<sup>18</sup>, sed dicta esse, quae contra nos viderentur<sup>19</sup>, tacita, quae pro<sup>20</sup> nobis<sup>21</sup> adduci poterant<sup>22</sup>. Nam<sup>23</sup> quid<sup>24</sup> majus est<sup>25</sup>: sequi an praecedere? Nos apertum<sup>26</sup> a praedecessoribus<sup>27</sup> nostris<sup>28</sup> iter secuti sumus, et monstratam viam<sup>29</sup> tenuimus. Nihil plus egimus quam nostros antecessores<sup>30</sup> egisse repperimus. Dicat aliquis: "*Per viam publicam ne ambules<sup>31</sup>*," quod Pythagoreum fuisse praeceptum<sup>32</sup> Jeronimus affirmat. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> purgamur O

<sup>2</sup> mihi P

<sup>3</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> patietur J, O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> bonus et misericors ... homines omit. N, S

<sup>6</sup> viros J, V

<sup>7</sup> omit. O

<sup>8</sup> falsa I

<sup>9</sup> sunt L; possunt corr. *Felinus* ex sunt N

<sup>10</sup> crimina sinit : crimine sinet O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> quod O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> refellunt S; refellerem V

<sup>13</sup> valemus J, O

<sup>14</sup> omit. O

<sup>15</sup> ex dictis vestris : vestris ex dictis P, AC

<sup>16</sup> omnium N

<sup>17</sup> veritatem omnem : omnem veritatem O

<sup>18</sup> detritam M

<sup>19</sup> videntur N, S

<sup>20</sup> omit. M

<sup>21</sup> omit. O

<sup>22</sup> omit. L

<sup>23</sup> an O

<sup>24</sup> quod I, L, N, S, V, O, P, AC

<sup>25</sup> omit. M

<sup>26</sup> apertam M

<sup>27</sup> apertum a praedecessoribus : a praedecessoribus apertum I

<sup>28</sup> omit. I, L, S, O, P, AC

<sup>29</sup> publicam viam add. C

<sup>30</sup> nostros antecessores : antecessores nostros N

<sup>31</sup> ambulemus M

<sup>32</sup> fuisse praeceptum : preceptum fuisse M

[40] But We certainly intend to clear Ourselves. *The Lord is Our helper, We shall not fear what men will do to us.*<sup>1</sup> God is good and merciful and he will not allow men to be tested beyond their strength. He will not allow Us to be accused falsely of crimes that We cannot refute. From your speech We understand that the whole truth is known neither to you nor to your king. Moreover, you only said such things that might be in Our disfavour, whereas you remained silent on such things that are in Our favour. But what carries most weight: to follow or to preceed? We have simply been following the path opened by Our predecessors and kept to the road shown to Us. We have done no more than We find Our predecessors to have done. Here someone may say: *"Do not walk on the public road,"* which, according to Jerome, was a precept of Pythagoras. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 117, 6: *Dominus mihi adjutor; non timebo quid faciat mihi homo*

[40 cont.] Sed<sup>1</sup> hoc exponitur: *idest*<sup>2</sup> *multorum ne*<sup>3</sup> *sequaris errores*. Nos nihil errasse<sup>4</sup> aut<sup>5</sup> Eugenium aut<sup>6</sup> Nicolaum<sup>7</sup> arbitramur<sup>8</sup>, quos fuisse praesules rectissimi iudicii et integerrimae vitae constat.

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<sup>1</sup> et P, AC

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

<sup>3</sup> multorum ne : ne multorum B, M, N

<sup>4</sup> nihil errasse *omit.* P, AC

<sup>5</sup> an O; autem P, AC

<sup>6</sup> an O

<sup>7</sup> sequi *add.* P, AC

<sup>8</sup> putamus J



[40 cont.] *This means that one should not follow the errors of many.*<sup>1</sup> We believe, however, that neither We, nor Eugenius, nor Nicolaus have erred - two pontiffs who were honest in their judgments and irreproachable in their lives.

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<sup>1</sup> Burley, p. 74. Used by Jerome: *Letters*, 39 (Rufinus), 58-59, quoting Porphyrius: *Vita Pythagorae*, 42

[41] Sed aperiamus amplius innocentiam nostram factaque<sup>1</sup> nostra non solum exemplis<sup>2</sup> et auctoritate, verum etiam ratione defendamus, et quo in statu esset<sup>3</sup> ecclesia cum summi praesulatus ascendimus cathedram, ostendamus<sup>4</sup>. Audite: non<sup>5</sup> longa<sup>6</sup> res est, et breviter<sup>7</sup> explicabitur. Invaserat Jacobus Piccininus agrum ecclesiae, non ignobilis nostri temporis copiarum ductor. Assisiorum arcem per prodicionem praefecti arcis obtinuerat et urbem exinde in<sup>8</sup> potestatem<sup>9</sup> acceperat. Nuceriam<sup>10</sup> quoque<sup>11</sup> invaserat, et oppido<sup>12</sup> Valdi<sup>13</sup> potitus<sup>14</sup>, arcem summa vi oppugnabat. Timebant<sup>15</sup> vicini Fulginales, nec minus Spoletani, quorum arcis praefectus ad Piccininum inclinare videbatur, munita<sup>16</sup> quaeque<sup>17 18</sup> loca ecclesiae in manibus<sup>19</sup> Catelanorum<sup>20</sup> detinebantur, quos etsi fideles constantesque putaremus, nexus<sup>21</sup> tamen et amor nationis<sup>22</sup> timorem incutiebat, ne cum<sup>23</sup> Ferdinando sentirent, qui regno Siciliae, nemine<sup>24</sup> adversante, potiebatur<sup>25</sup>. Fuerat apud Capuam conventus principum regni<sup>26</sup>: omnes illi iurejurando<sup>27</sup> fidem ut regi suo praestiterant, nec una<sup>28</sup> quidem<sup>29</sup> vox audita fuerat, quae Renatum desiderare videretur<sup>30</sup>. Quieta omnia in regno erant<sup>31</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> facta O

<sup>2</sup> exemplo P, AC

<sup>3</sup> omit. V

<sup>4</sup> ostendemus M

<sup>5</sup> nunc P, AC

<sup>6</sup> longa P

<sup>7</sup> brevior I

<sup>8</sup> omit. O

<sup>9</sup> potestate P

<sup>10</sup> Niceriam N, S

<sup>11</sup> Nuceriam quoque : Nuceriamque I

<sup>12</sup> oppidum L, M, O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> Gualdi I, L, O, N, S, V; Evarardi P, AC

<sup>14</sup> potius R

<sup>15</sup> enim add. M

<sup>16</sup> minuta M; munite O

<sup>17</sup> quoque O

<sup>18</sup> munita quaeque : munitaque J, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> manus I

<sup>20</sup> Castellatorum M, N, S

<sup>21</sup> nixus M

<sup>22</sup> nationem M

<sup>23</sup> tum N

<sup>24</sup> nemo M; nomine O

<sup>25</sup> paciebatur O

<sup>26</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>27</sup> iureiurandi O

<sup>28</sup> omit. I

<sup>29</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>30</sup> videbatur O

<sup>31</sup> erunt M

#### 2.3.4.1. Investiture and coronation of Ferrante of Aragon

##### *2.3.4.1.1. Military imperatives<sup>1</sup>*

[41] But let Us go deeper into the matter of Our innocence and defend Our actions not only with precedents and authority, but also with rational arguments, showing in what state was the Church when We were raised to the Chair of the Supreme Pontificate. Listen now: it can be explained briefly and will not take long. Jacopo Piccinino, one of the outstanding captains of our time, had invaded the lands of the Church.<sup>2</sup> A commander had treasonably turned the castle of Assisi over to him, and afterwards Piccinino also gained control of the city.<sup>3</sup> He had also attacked Nocera, and, having conquered the city of Gualdo, he attacked the castle there vigourously.<sup>4</sup> The people of nearby Fulgino were trembling with anxiety, as were the people of Spoleto, where the commander of the castle seemed to favour Piccinino. Some fortified places of the Church were in the hands of the Catalans,<sup>5</sup> and though We believed that they would remain loyal and steadfast, We had to fear that patriotism<sup>6</sup> would make them side with Ferrante who ruled the Kingdom of Sicily unopposed. At a meeting of the Kingdom's princes in Capua all had sworn the oath of loyalty to Ferrante as their king, and not one word was heard in favour of René. Thus, there was peace everywhere in the Kingdom.

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<sup>1</sup> Baldi: Pio, p. 92: *La presenza minacciosa del Piccinino all'interno delle terre della Chiesa e l'occupazione di Assisi; il possesso di molte fortezze della Chiesa da parte di Pier Luigi Borgia ... rendevano quanto mai incerto e insicuro il controllo del nuovo eletto, e costituivano un grave elemento di instabilità interna, capace di suscitare nuovi disordini da parte di altri signori feudali*

<sup>2</sup> Ferente, p. 76-77: *Il conte Jacopo non perse il tempo. ... il 15 agosto, a una settimana dalla morte del papa, si presentò con qualche squadra davanti ad Assisi ... contrattando con il catalano che teneva la rocca, mentre Gualdo, Bevagna e Nocera gli si consegnavano spontaneamente. ... Sulle sue intenzioni solo ipotesi. Sperava forse il conte Jacopo di approfittare del vuoto sul soglio pontificio per crearsi una posizione di forza tale che al nuovo papa non restasse che nominarlo vicario?*

<sup>3</sup> 15 August 1458

<sup>4</sup> Some days after the coup in Assisi, see Nowak, pp. 427-428

<sup>5</sup> Appointees of Pius' predecessor, the Catalan Pope Calixtus III, who had placed many of his countrymen in positions of strategic importance. They would now be inclined to side with Ferrante as Catalan ruler of the Kingdom of Naples

<sup>6</sup> "amor nationis"

[42] Petebatur a nobis, ut Ferdinandum investiremus. Instabant Veneti jure foederis. Instabat dux Mediolani. Instabant Florentini. Ajebant omnes non posse illi<sup>1</sup> regnum<sup>2</sup> negari, quod<sup>3</sup> patris ultima voluntate et omnium populorum assensu<sup>4</sup> recepisset. Piccininus, qui jam tria ecclesiae oppida<sup>5</sup> occupasset, nisi Ferdinando, cui militabat, regnum<sup>6</sup> committeremus, maximum subditis<sup>7</sup> nostris malum illaturus videbatur. Pacem Romani, pacem Umbri, pacem Picentes, pacem omnes<sup>8</sup> per<sup>9</sup> circuitum petebant: omnis mora gravis, omnis contradictio periculosa judicabatur<sup>10</sup>. Nobis nihil<sup>11</sup> antiquius videbatur, nihil animo nostro<sup>12</sup> fixius<sup>13</sup> haerebat<sup>14</sup> quam conventum Christianorum facere, in quo de retundenda<sup>15</sup> Turcorum insolentia et Christiano<sup>16</sup> sanguine defendendo<sup>17</sup> tractaremus. Imminebat ecclesiae<sup>18</sup> gravissimum<sup>19</sup> et<sup>20</sup> {128r} periculosissimum bellum, si Ferdinandi postulatis adversaremur, nec nobis vires erant, quibus resisteremus, nec Massiliensis<sup>21</sup> episcopus a Renato missus aliud attulerat<sup>22</sup> <sup>23</sup> quam verba dubia et<sup>24</sup> incertas promissiones<sup>25</sup>. Spes<sup>26</sup> in Renato longinqua<sup>27</sup> et auxilium dubium; in Ferdinando propinquus hostis et apertissimum damnum. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> jure *add.* M

<sup>2</sup> illi regnum : regnum illi O

<sup>3</sup> quid V

<sup>4</sup> ascensu M; *omit.* N

<sup>5</sup> ecclesiae oppida : oppida ecclesiae J, O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> regimen N

<sup>7</sup> rebus I

<sup>8</sup> pacem omnes *omit.* B

<sup>9</sup> qui M

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* M; indicabit N; videbatur J, R

<sup>11</sup> nobis nihil : nihil nobis P

<sup>12</sup> meo J

<sup>13</sup> infixius J

<sup>14</sup> habebat N; herebatur S

<sup>15</sup> retrudenda P

<sup>16</sup> Christianorum I, O, P, AC

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

<sup>18</sup> ecce M

<sup>19</sup> grandissimum L

<sup>20</sup> ac C

<sup>21</sup> Malsiliensis O; Marsiliensis P, AC

<sup>22</sup> tulerat O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> aliud attulerat : attulerat aliud V

<sup>24</sup> dubia et : de M

<sup>25</sup> et *add.* S

<sup>26</sup> spem N

<sup>27</sup> longinquo S

[42] [At that time] We were requested to invest Ferrante [with the Kingdom]. The Venetians insisted on it by right of the treaty, the Duke of Milan insisted on it, the Florentines insisted on it. All said that We could not deny Ferrante the Kingdom which he had received by virtue of his father's last will and with the assent of all the peoples.<sup>1</sup> Piccinino had now taken three cities from the Church, and if We did not give the Kingdom to Ferrante, for whom he he was fighting, he would inflict the greatest possible damage upon Our subjects. The Romans asked for peace, the Umbrians asked for peace, the people of Piceno asked for peace, all the neighbours asked for peace. All believed that delay and refusal would have serious and dangerous consequences. To Us nothing was more important and more firmly fixed in Our mind than to hold a congress for Christians where We could deal with ending the insolence of the Turks and defending Christian blood. If We opposed the demands of Ferrante, a most serious and dangerous war threatened the Church. We were not strong enough to resist him, and the Bishop of Marseilles, sent by René, had brought nothing but doubtful words and uncertain promises. Hopes in René were farfetched and all help doubtful, whereas in Ferrante We would have an enemy close by and evident ruin.  
*[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Italian states

[42 cont.] Nec rex<sup>1</sup> Franciae apud nos legatum habuit, ut vobis<sup>2</sup> persuasum esse videmus<sup>3</sup>, quamvis decanus Carnotensis<sup>4</sup> Romae tunc ageret, qui ad Calixtum missus Turcorum, non regni Siciliae causam tractaturus<sup>5</sup> venerat<sup>6</sup>, et mortuo Calixto nihil habebat, quod nobiscum ageret, nec verbis pondus inerat<sup>7</sup> extincta legatione, quamvis<sup>8</sup> impulsus ab aliis<sup>9</sup> aliquando nos in hac parte compellaverit<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> res M

<sup>2</sup> nobis J, L, M, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> videremus J, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> Carotonensis M

<sup>5</sup> Est alia responsio data per Pium oratoribus Renati incipiens De regno Siciliae, quae est in libro responsionum Pii, ubi late probat, quod Renatus non potuit omissa via juris movere arma, et quod papa tene[ba]tur defendere regem Ferdinandum a se investitum *nota Felini* N

<sup>6</sup> venerit P

<sup>7</sup> **verbis pondus inerat : verba ponderis habebat** I, J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* N

<sup>9</sup> alio O

<sup>10</sup> interpellaverit S

*[42 cont.]* And though We see that you believe so, We did not have an envoy from the King of France with Us for the dean of Chartres, then in Rome, had been sent to Calixtus to negotiate in the matter of the Turks, not in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily. After the death of Calixtus, he had no business with Us, and as his mission was ended, his words carried no weight, though at some occasion he was pressured by others<sup>1</sup> to adress Us concerning this matter.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably an allusion to the French cardinals

[43] Quid faceremus<sup>1</sup>? Armane movere pro regno ejus<sup>2</sup> oportuit, qui nihil curare videretur<sup>3</sup>, otiosam vitam domi agens? Imparibusne<sup>4</sup> hosti<sup>5</sup> viribus<sup>6</sup> occurrendum illidendumque<sup>7</sup> muro caput fuit, castra et arces ecclesiae perdere<sup>8</sup>, patrimonium<sup>9</sup> beati Petri dilapidare<sup>10</sup>, subditos<sup>11</sup> omnes rapinae ac<sup>12</sup> neci<sup>13</sup> objicere<sup>14</sup>, defensionem fidei negligere debuimus? Profecto non ita nobis et fratribus nostris<sup>15</sup> visum est<sup>16</sup>, sed cum<sup>17</sup> aliter<sup>18</sup> non possemus, Ferdinando potius morem gerere quam Romanam ecclesiam tot periculis exponere, quam religionis, quam fidei defensionem<sup>19</sup> negligere<sup>20</sup>. Conceduntur enim multa necessitati<sup>21</sup>, et *inter duo mala minus eligitur*. Quid igitur<sup>22</sup> fecimus<sup>23</sup>? Nil amplius sane quam nostri antecessores<sup>24</sup> fecerant, quamvis illi Alfonso, nos Ferdinando regnum commisimus<sup>25</sup>. At cui Ferdinando? Nempe filio regis, etsi non legitime nato, auctoritate tamen apostolica legitimo<sup>26</sup>, haeredi a patre rege destinato<sup>27</sup> et<sup>28</sup> instituto, et a regnicolis recepto<sup>29</sup>, nobisque<sup>30</sup> vi<sup>31</sup> percussi<sup>32</sup> pridem<sup>33</sup> foederis ab universa<sup>34</sup> Italia commendato, regni etiam possessori, sive, ut vos vultis<sup>35</sup>, occupatori.

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<sup>1</sup> fecerimus N

<sup>2</sup> regno ejus : eius regno P

<sup>3</sup> videbatur S

<sup>4</sup> imparibusve I

<sup>5</sup> hostis *corr.* ex hosti V

<sup>6</sup> hosti viribus : viribus hosti M

<sup>7</sup> illudendumque P, S

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>9</sup> patriomonio O

<sup>10</sup> delapidato O

<sup>11</sup> subiectos I

<sup>12</sup> et R; O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> cedi M

<sup>14</sup> adjicere R; subicere O, V

<sup>15</sup> ita O

<sup>16</sup> fuit R

<sup>17</sup> tamen O

<sup>18</sup> alias O, P; aliud AC

<sup>19</sup> defensorem O

<sup>20</sup> maluimus *add.* AC

<sup>21</sup> necessitate N; necessitates O

<sup>22</sup> ergo M

<sup>23</sup> certe *add.* P

<sup>24</sup> nostri antecessores : antecessores nostri O, AC; predecessores nostri P

<sup>25</sup> concessimus J

<sup>26</sup> et *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>27</sup> *omit.* M

<sup>28</sup> ac N

<sup>29</sup> suscepto O

<sup>30</sup> nobis O, P, AC

<sup>31</sup> in M

<sup>32</sup> promissi M

<sup>33</sup> quidem M, N; *omit.* S

<sup>34</sup> universali P, AC

<sup>35</sup> etiam *add.* M



[43] So, what should We do? Should We fight for the kingship of someone who seemed not to care for it, living a peaceful life at home? But to meet an enemy with unequal forces was to knock Our head against a wall. Were We really obliged to lose the castles and fortresses of the Church, to waste the Patrimony of Saint Peter, to expose all Our subjects to plunder and killings, and to neglect the defense of the Faith? This is definitely not what We and Our brethren<sup>1</sup> thought, and since there were no alternatives, We would rather accomodate Ferrante than expose the Roman Church to so many dangers and neglect the defense of religion and Faith. Much must be done because it is necessary, and *of two evils the smallest one should be preferred*. So what did We actually do? No more, indeed, than our predecessors had already done, though they gave the Kingdom to Alfonso, whereas We gave it to Ferrante. But to which Ferrante? To a Ferrante who was the king's son, who though illegitimate had been legitimated by apostolic authority; to a Ferrante who had formally been made his father's heir; to a Ferrante who was accepted by all the subjects of the Kingdom; to a Ferrante whom all of Italy recommended to Us, by virtue of the treaty; to a Ferrante who actually possessed the Kingdom - or occupied<sup>2</sup> it, if you prefer.

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<sup>1</sup> The College of Cardinals

<sup>2</sup> As, in Roman law, actual possession was a valid legal argument, the French would have preferred the term occupation

[44] Nihil juri vestro detrahimus; nec tamen huic tot favoribus<sup>1</sup> munito aliter regnum commisimus, quam si nostrum<sup>2</sup> esset, idest si ad nos devolutum existeret, aut si illi jure haereditario deberetur. Et quis<sup>3</sup> hoc damnare potest? Si pater ejus rex fuerat eumque<sup>4</sup> legitimatum haeredem instituerat, injuria erat paternum ei regnum<sup>5</sup> negare. Si nostrum ex<sup>6</sup> devolutione fuit, licebat nobis cui vellemus dare, et illi dare<sup>7</sup> volumus. Si ad Francos regemve<sup>8</sup> Renatum<sup>9</sup> aut<sup>10</sup> alium pertinuit, nihil ei dedimus neque dare<sup>11</sup> volumus<sup>12</sup>. Reservavimus enim nostris in litteris aliorum jura, quod<sup>13</sup> nostri<sup>14</sup> antecessores<sup>15</sup> non fecerant<sup>16</sup>. Quid igitur<sup>17</sup> calumniatur? Quid reprehendimur? Quis non intelligit pio<sup>18</sup> regi<sup>19</sup> vestro<sup>20</sup> et vobis<sup>21</sup> dictas esse nugas, quibus {128v} persuasum est nos Francorum inclytam domum regno privasse, qui neminem privavimus<sup>22</sup>, nemini jus abstulimus<sup>23</sup>?

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<sup>1</sup> fautoribus S

<sup>2</sup> necessarium O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> equius M

<sup>4</sup> eum N

<sup>5</sup> paternum ei regnum : ei regnum paternum J, M; paternum regnum ei O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> omit. N, S, O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> omit. J

<sup>8</sup> aut regem M; regemque C

<sup>9</sup> pertinuit add. AC

<sup>10</sup> ad add. P, AC

<sup>11</sup> donare S

<sup>12</sup> volumus N

<sup>13</sup> quae I

<sup>14</sup> autem O

<sup>15</sup> nostri antecessores : antecessores nostri P, AC

<sup>16</sup> fecerunt AC

<sup>17</sup> omit. O

<sup>18</sup> proh J; pro N

<sup>19</sup> rege N

<sup>20</sup> nostro N

<sup>21</sup> nobis N

<sup>22</sup> privamus P, AC

<sup>23</sup> nemini derogavimus add. in marg. D; nemini derogavimus add. I, L, N, V; nemini derogamus add. O, P, S, AC

#### 2.3.4.1.2. *Legal situation*

[44] In no way have We diminished your rights. Though Ferrante may have had certain advantages, it was Our Kingdom to dispose since it had either reverted to Us or was due to Ferrante by right of inheritance. Who can criticise Us for that? If Ferrante's father had been the king and had made him the legitimate heir, it would be unjust to deny him the paternal Kingdom. If the Kingdom had reverted to Us, it was Ours to give to whom We wanted, and We wanted to give it to Ferrante. If it belonged to the French, or to King René, or to somebody else, We did not give or wanted to give it to Ferrante, for in Our letter We reserved the rights of other parties, something that Our predecessors had not done. So, why are We being slandered? What are We rebuked for? Who does not understand that your pious king and you yourselves have been told nonsense since you believe that We have deprived the glorious House of France of the Kingdom, whereas in fact We have deprived nobody of it and have dispossessed nobody of their rights.

[45] "At<sup>1</sup> si devolutum erat," dicat fortasse aliquis, "praeferendi fuerant<sup>2</sup> Franci<sup>3</sup>." Praetulissemus, si tam<sup>4</sup> prope fuissent quam Ferdinandus, et non tantum<sup>5</sup> nobis<sup>6</sup> <sup>7</sup> impendisset<sup>8</sup> discrimen atque necessitas<sup>9</sup>. "At<sup>10</sup> grave est coronatum esse Ferdinandum." Certe, si jure investitus<sup>11</sup> est, juste quoque coronatus est. Si jure caret, nihil ei corona confert. "At<sup>12</sup> populorum favorem ei conciliat." Cum jussimus coronari, non erat favore<sup>13</sup> opus: omnes enim<sup>14</sup> procures populi<sup>15</sup> favebant. Conventum insuper<sup>16</sup> erat coronam illi<sup>17</sup> dandam esse, cum peteret, quemadmodum antecessores nostri Eugenius et Nicolaus cum Alfonso patre convenerant. Non potuimus petenti<sup>18</sup> negare et promissis obviam ire. Nam si privati<sup>19</sup> ex pacto tenentur, et<sup>20</sup> principes teneri non est ambiguum. Nihil<sup>21</sup> foedius est<sup>22</sup> quam princeps<sup>23</sup> fidei fractor<sup>24</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> ac M

<sup>2</sup> fuerunt P, AC

<sup>3</sup> Gallici O

<sup>4</sup> tamen J

<sup>5</sup> tamen M

<sup>6</sup> vobis M

<sup>7</sup> tantum nobis : nobis tantum // I, L, S, V, O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* M; impendisset N

<sup>9</sup> coegisset *add.* P, AC

<sup>10</sup> et M

<sup>11</sup> investiture M

<sup>12</sup> atque contra M

<sup>13</sup> non erat favore : favore non erat S

<sup>14</sup> ei J, V, O, P, AC

<sup>15</sup> **procures populi : populi procuresque** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>16</sup> iuris O

<sup>17</sup> ei R, S

<sup>18</sup> petente O

<sup>19</sup> homines *add.* P, AC

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

<sup>21</sup> nil I

<sup>22</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>23</sup> principes M

<sup>24</sup> factor S

[45] Maybe someone will say: "But if the Kingdom had reverted to You, You should have preferred the French." We would indeed have preferred the French if they had been as close by as Ferrante, and if We had not been threatened by so great a danger and pressured by so great a necessity. "But that Ferrante was also crowned is a very serious matter." If it was lawful to invest him [with the Kingdom], then it was also lawful to crown him. And if it was unlawful, then the crown as such does not give him anything.<sup>1</sup> "But yes, it will ensure him the people's favour." When We commanded that he be crowned, he did not need that for he already had the favour of all the nobles and the people. Moreover, it had previously been settled that he should be given the crown when he requested it, as Our predecessors Eugenius<sup>2</sup> and Nicolaus had agreed with Alfonso. We simply could not deny his request and go against their promises. For if private people are bound by their agreements, then princes are undoubtedly bound so, too. Nothing is more shameful than a prince who breaks faith.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Note the view that is is not the coronation or the crown as such that legitimates the king

<sup>2</sup> In the Peace of Terracina (1435), see Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Heck), p. 271: ... *Ferdinando regis filio, cui rex post mortem Regnum destinaverat, potestatem succedendi faciat* ...

<sup>3</sup> This statement is an indirect criticism of Pius' predecessor Calixtus III who had not respected the pact with Alfonso concerning Ferrante's right to the succession

[46] Nota est nobis modestia et integritas<sup>1</sup> vestri regis. Numquam ille ex nobis peteret, ut promissa rescinderemus<sup>2</sup>, quorum tanta vis est, ut<sup>3</sup> Deus etiam<sup>4</sup> ex his compellari possit<sup>5</sup>, dicente propheta: *Memento, domine, verbi tui, in quo mihi spem dedisti*. Dicitis<sup>6</sup> fortasse nos<sup>7</sup> coronam non debuisse promittere. Verum est<sup>8</sup>, si non licuit investire<sup>9</sup>; at<sup>10</sup> si licuit illud, et<sup>11</sup> hoc licuit. Sed de justo licitoque certamen<sup>12</sup> contendentibus inter se partibus dimittamus. Nos<sup>13</sup> si de facto nostro conveniamur<sup>14</sup>, non reperiemur inermes<sup>15</sup>. Et jam satis nostra in hac<sup>16</sup> 17 parte<sup>18</sup> ostensa est rectitudo.

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<sup>1</sup> modestia et integritas : integritas et modestia L

<sup>2</sup> resignaremus L

<sup>3</sup> et O

<sup>4</sup> Deus etiam : etiam Deus I

<sup>5</sup> posset V

<sup>6</sup> dicetis I

<sup>7</sup> vos I

<sup>8</sup> et M

<sup>9</sup> investiri O

<sup>10</sup> ac M

<sup>11</sup> omit. J

<sup>12</sup> certamine M, O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> nam M

<sup>14</sup> convenimur S

<sup>15</sup> inermes O

<sup>16</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> in hac : hac in J

<sup>18</sup> nostra add. O

[46] We know your king's moderation and integrity. Never would he ask Us to break Our promises, for the strength of promises is so great that even God is bound by them, as the prophet says: *Be thou mindful of thy word to thy servant, in which thou hast given me hope.*<sup>1</sup> Maybe you claim that We ought not to have promised the crown. That is only true if it was unlawful to make the investiture. But if the investiture was lawful, the promise of the crown was lawful, too. However, the dispute about what is just and lawful in this matter We shall leave to the contending parties. But if Our own actions are questioned, We shall not be found unarmed.

And this must suffice to show that We have acted rightly in this matter.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 118, 49

[47] Nunc illud<sup>1</sup> attingamus<sup>2</sup>, quod de Aquilanis et aliis plerisque objectum est, quos sese<sup>3</sup> nobis dedere volentes<sup>4</sup> rejecimus<sup>5</sup>, ut asseruistis, ne<sup>6</sup> Ferdinando incommodaremur<sup>7</sup>. Laus nostra haec est, qui<sup>8</sup> Ferdinando fidem<sup>9</sup> servavimus<sup>10</sup>; neque parti vestrae injuriati<sup>11</sup> sumus<sup>12</sup>, cum nobis illi, non Renato sese<sup>13</sup> subijcere<sup>14</sup> vellent. Nos certe nihil<sup>15</sup> aliud facere decuit, sive ante investituram sive post, ne<sup>16</sup> regnum divideremus, quod tunc erat unitum<sup>17</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> attendamus I

<sup>3</sup> se P, AC

<sup>4</sup> nolentes M

<sup>5</sup> reicimus M

<sup>6</sup> neque M

<sup>7</sup> incommodaremus I, N, S, V; incommoda daremus *corr. ex* incommodaremus L; incommoda daremus P, AC

<sup>8</sup> incommodaremur ... qui *omit.* M

<sup>9</sup> Ferdinando fidem : fidem Ferdinando I, L, N, O, S; fidem Ferranteo V

<sup>10</sup> servamus V; conservavimus P, AC

<sup>11</sup> injuriat R

<sup>12</sup> injuriati sumus : injuriam fecimus I

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

<sup>14</sup> subiacere M

<sup>15</sup> nil I, O, P

<sup>16</sup> nec V

<sup>17</sup> unicum S



#### 2.3.4.2. Aquila affair

[47] We now come to your objection concerning the people of Aquila and several other [cities] who wanted to give themselves over to Us. As you state, We denied them in order not to cause trouble for Ferrante. It is actually to Our merit that We kept faith with Ferrante, and We did not injure your party since what the Aquilans wanted was to become Our subjects, not René's. Neither before nor after [Ferrante's] investiture was it right for Us to act differently, for otherwise We should have divided a Kingdom which at that time was united.

[48] Rursus<sup>1</sup> et illud reprehendistis, quod equites regnum petentes, qui militare Ferdinando<sup>2</sup> vellent, transire permisimus, qui ei<sup>3</sup> adversarentur, his<sup>4</sup> iter<sup>5</sup> clausimus<sup>6</sup>. Neque hoc<sup>7</sup> negamus. Sed decuit nos ita facere. Et hoc quoque<sup>8</sup> ad fidem nostram spectabat, ut eum<sup>9</sup> salvum esse vellemus, qui ex nobis<sup>10</sup> regnum accepisset. Neque hoc Francis<sup>11</sup> molestum esse debui. Nemo<sup>12</sup> ex nobis<sup>13</sup> transitum<sup>14</sup> petiit, qui Renati causam esset acturus<sup>15</sup>, cuius nominis in regno mirum silentium erat. Princeps Tarenti<sup>16</sup> primus omnium adversari Ferdinando<sup>17</sup> coepit, non quod<sup>18</sup> regem eum esse<sup>19</sup> negaverit<sup>20</sup>, sed quod<sup>21</sup> insidias ab eo sibi<sup>22 23</sup> paratas diceret<sup>24</sup>. [*cont.*]

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<sup>1</sup> rursus P, AC

<sup>2</sup> militare Ferdinando : Ferdinando militare I

<sup>3</sup> eis A, B, D, I, M, R

<sup>4</sup> iis I

<sup>5</sup> inter O

<sup>6</sup> claudimus J

<sup>7</sup> haec N, S, V, O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> quidem J

<sup>9</sup> omit. P, AC

<sup>10</sup> vobis N, S, V

<sup>11</sup> Franci AC

<sup>12</sup> neque O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> vobis J, N, S, AC

<sup>14</sup> iter add. J

<sup>15</sup> tracturus O

<sup>16</sup> Taranti M

<sup>17</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>18</sup> quia AC

<sup>19</sup> eum esse : esse eum O

<sup>20</sup> negavit O, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> quia AC

<sup>22</sup> omit. P, V

<sup>23</sup> ab eo sibi : sibi ab eo J, L, N, O, S

<sup>24</sup> dicerat P

#### 2.3.4.3. Denial of transit through the papal territories

[48] Moreover you have reproached Us for allowing some knights, who were going to the Kingdom to fight for Ferrante, to pass through [Our territories], whereas We denied transit to some who wanted to fight against him. We do not deny it, but this is what We were bound to do. For to desire the safety of him who had received the Kingdom from Us was also a matter of keeping faith. That ought not be injurious to French. Actually nobody going to fight for René has requested transit from Us, and, quite remarkably, there was no talk about him whatsoever in the Kingdom. The Prince of Taranto<sup>1</sup> was the first of all to oppose Ferrante, not because he denied that Ferrante was king, but because he claimed that Ferrante was plotting against him. [*cont.*]

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<sup>1</sup> Giovanni Antonio (Giannantonio) Del Balzo Orsini (1386 or 1393-1463): Prince of Taranto, Duke of Bari, Count of Lecce, Acerra, Soleto and Conversano, as well as Count of Matera (1433–63) and of Ugento (1453–63)

[48 cont.] Nam quotiens ad nos scripsit, semper {129r} Ferdinandum regem<sup>1</sup> appellavit, nec aliud a<sup>2</sup> nobis<sup>3</sup> petiit<sup>4</sup> quam securitatem, ne sub illo rege periret<sup>5</sup>. Promittebamus id sibi. Ceterum, sumenti<sup>6</sup> arma contra dominum ministrare<sup>7</sup> auxilia<sup>8</sup> <sup>9</sup> non debuimus<sup>10</sup> neque<sup>11</sup> ministrantibus locum dare. Sed misimus legatum, qui<sup>12</sup> rebus inspectis<sup>13</sup> regni regi principem<sup>14</sup> conciliaret, quod et<sup>15</sup> factum est, intervenientibus etiam<sup>16</sup> Venetorum<sup>17</sup> oratoribus<sup>18</sup> <sup>19</sup>, quamvis postea nova exorta discidia<sup>20</sup> simulatam fuisse concordiam<sup>21</sup> ostenderunt<sup>22</sup>, ut<sup>23</sup> ficta<sup>24</sup> quaecumque<sup>25</sup> diuturnitate<sup>26</sup> carent<sup>27</sup>. Nostri<sup>28</sup> officii erat pacem in regno quaerere, ut sive Renati, sive Ferdinandi sit, integrum potius quam lacerum<sup>29</sup> suo<sup>30</sup> domino pareat.

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<sup>1</sup> Ferdinandum regem : regem Ferdinandum I

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* M; ex N, S, O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> aliud a nobis : ex nobis aliud V

<sup>4</sup> petit N, S

<sup>5</sup> pertineret O

<sup>6</sup> administranti J

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

<sup>8</sup> auxiliari S

<sup>9</sup> ministrare auxilia: auxilia administrare J

<sup>10</sup> debemus P, AC

<sup>11</sup> nec I

<sup>12</sup> ex *add.* M

<sup>13</sup> inspecti O

<sup>14</sup> **regi principem : regem principi I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* M

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

<sup>17</sup> Frenetorum S

<sup>18</sup> intervenientibus ... oratoribus : Venetorum oratoribus intervenientibus etiam I, L; Venetorum oratoribus intervenientibus O, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> Venetorum oratoribus : oratoribus Venetorum J

<sup>20</sup> desidia O; dissidia I, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> fuisse concordiam : concordiam fuisse V

<sup>22</sup> ostenderint *corr.* ex ostenderunt N; ostenderent O, P; ostenderint AC

<sup>23</sup> ne O

<sup>24</sup> *omit.* N, S, V

<sup>25</sup> quaeque I

<sup>26</sup> diurnitate N

<sup>27</sup> continet M; rerum O; rerum innotescunt P, AC

<sup>28</sup> nostrique I, L

<sup>29</sup> laceratum I, O, P, AC

<sup>30</sup> sub V

*[48 cont.]* Indeed, whenever the prince wrote to Us, he called Ferrante king, and the only thing he requested of Us was security, so that he would not perish under Ferrante as king. And that We promised him. Otherwise, We were obliged not to help anybody taking up arms against his lord nor to make it possible for others to give such help. Instead, We sent a legate to investigate the situation in the Kingdom and to effect a reconciliation between the king and the prince. This was actually done, with the assistance of ambassadors from Venice. Afterwards new conflicts arose, showing that the reconciliation was not genuine – pretense does not last long! Whoever the Kingdom belonged to, René or Ferrante, it was our duty to let it have peace so that it would obey its master undivided rather than torn apart.

[49] Sed imputatis nobis, quod Jacobo Piccinino in regnum<sup>1</sup> transire volenti, quamvis<sup>2</sup> Renato stipendia faciat, iter<sup>3</sup> praeclusimus. Nihil<sup>4</sup> nobis certi<sup>5</sup> de his<sup>6</sup> stipendiis constat, licet vulgo ita feratur, cujus rumores saepe inanes falsosque vidimus. Illud certum est, iter a nobis Jacobum numquam<sup>7</sup> petivisse<sup>8</sup>. Sed arguitur negatio ex copiis, quas misimus in Etruriam ex agro Bononiensi ac ex aliis gentibus, quas<sup>9</sup> jussimus<sup>10</sup> Marchiae saltus<sup>11</sup> et Apennini<sup>12</sup> claustra<sup>13</sup> tueri. Id<sup>14</sup> nos tutelae<sup>15</sup> nostrae causa fecimus, veriti ne Piccinini transitus, cujus non parvae copiae feruntur esse<sup>16</sup>, agrum ecclesiae laederet<sup>17</sup> aut mutationem aliquam in<sup>18</sup> oppidis nostris ut<sup>19</sup> antea faceret, in quibus plurimi sunt<sup>20</sup> <sup>21</sup> inquieti homines et rerum novarum cupidi. Nec quisquam<sup>22</sup> arguendus est<sup>23</sup>, si res suas diligenter custodit, in qua parte<sup>24</sup> periculosius<sup>25</sup> est nimis<sup>26</sup> sperare quam nimis<sup>27</sup> timere<sup>28</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> regno J

<sup>2</sup> quamquam I; quam M; quanto O

<sup>3</sup> itur O

<sup>4</sup> nihilque I

<sup>5</sup> nobis certi : certi nobis I, L, N, S, V; certe nobis O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> omit. C

<sup>8</sup> petiisse J

<sup>9</sup> quos AC

<sup>10</sup> misimus P, AC

<sup>11</sup> saltum AC

<sup>12</sup> omit. O [blank space]

<sup>13</sup> Apennini claustra : Apeninum P, AC

<sup>14</sup> quod N

<sup>15</sup> quas jussimus ... tutelae omit. M

<sup>16</sup> feruntur esse : esse feruntur I, J, L, M, N, O, P, R, S, V, AC

<sup>17</sup> everteret J; ederet M

<sup>18</sup> etiam M

<sup>19</sup> autem add. O

<sup>20</sup> omit. O

<sup>21</sup> plurimi sunt : sunt plurimi J

<sup>22</sup> quispiam I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>23</sup> omit. M, O, P

<sup>24</sup> in qua parte omit. J

<sup>25</sup> periculosus V

<sup>26</sup> minus M, N; nimis corr. ex minus S

<sup>27</sup> minus J

<sup>28</sup> nimis timere : timere nimis O, P, AC

[49] You also rebuke Us for denying transit to Jacopo Piccinino,<sup>1</sup> wishing to go the Kingdom, though he was in the pay of René. Though it is a common rumour, We know nothing for certain about such an arrangement<sup>2</sup> – and we have often seen rumours to be empty and false.<sup>3</sup> What is certain is that Jacopo never requested transit from Us. The claim that We have denied it is based on the fact that We sent troops to Toscana from the territory of Bologna and from peoples, whom We ordered to protect the passes through the March and the Apennines.<sup>4</sup> This We did as a defensive measure, fearing that the passage of Piccinino, said to have a large force, would be detrimental to Church territory or cause a revolt in Our cities, as it had done previously – for in those cities there are many restless and rebellious men. Nobody can be blamed for defending his own with diligence: indeed in this regard it is more dangerous to hope too much than to fear too much.<sup>5</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> Piccinino, Jacopo (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

<sup>2</sup> On 1 November 1459, a month before the pope delivered his oration, the Duke of Milan's brother, Alessandro, had written to the duke that Piccinino seemed to have joined the French, see Nowak, p. 441-442. Also Baldi: *Pio*, pp. 133: The pope and the Duke of Milan agreed on the importance of keeping Piccinino from passing through the territories of the Church State in order to join the French attack on King Ferrante. However, while the duke considered it necessary for the ducal and the papal troops to unite in order to achieve this purpose, the pope had to also consider the defense of Rome and Roman territory against direct attacks of Piccinino, allied with a number of rebellious Roman barons

<sup>3</sup> Ferente, pp. 105-107

<sup>4</sup> Nowak, pp. 441-445

<sup>5</sup> Piccinino actually succeeding in making his passage into the Papal State in March 1460 (Ferente, pp. 107, and Pillinini, p. 71)

[49 cont.] Atque hoc modo singulis objectionibus respondisse sufficiat. Quod si non omnibus verba nostra<sup>1</sup> fidem faciunt, satis est nobis, quod<sup>2</sup> nemo adversus ea, quae sumus locuti<sup>3</sup>, absque mendacio loqui<sup>4</sup> potest. Numquam enim aut regi Franciae aut Renato nocere studuimus<sup>5</sup> sive facta nostra sive verba<sup>6</sup> inspiciantur<sup>7</sup>.

---

<sup>1</sup> verba nostra : nostra verba J

<sup>2</sup> quia AC

<sup>3</sup> **sumus locuti : locuti sumus** I, J, L, M, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* B; *add.* non L

<sup>5</sup> numquam ... studuimus *omit.* N, S

<sup>6</sup> vestra P, AC

<sup>7</sup> inspiciant L; inspiciamus O, P, AC



*[49 cont.]* This must suffice as a reply to your various objections. All may not believe Our words, but for Us it is enough that nobody can, without lying, say anything against what We have said. For never have We sought to harm the King of France or René, whether you look at Our words or Our actions.

[50] Sed minime pari modestia erga nos Renatus<sup>1</sup> est usus<sup>2 3</sup>. Testis est ipse<sup>4</sup> modestissimus Francorum rex, qui Renati oratores<sup>5</sup> adversus nos multa locutos audivit<sup>6</sup>. Testes sunt quamplurimi Germaniae principes, ad quos Renati litterae pervenerunt, nos partiales atque<sup>7</sup> injustos appellantes, qui domum Franciae regno Siciliae privaverimus<sup>8</sup>. Testes sunt subditi ejus et in<sup>9</sup> Provincia et in Lotharingia, quibus imperatum est, ne nostra mandata susciperent<sup>10</sup>. Testis est<sup>11</sup> cardinalis Fuxi<sup>12</sup>, grandaevus et fide dignus senex, qui ad nos scribens idcirco litteris<sup>13</sup> suae legationis per<sup>14</sup> Provinciam jussu {129v} Renati non esse paritum affirmat, quoniam in earum calce pontificatus<sup>15</sup> nostri<sup>16</sup> annus annotatus<sup>17</sup> est. Dolentes<sup>18</sup> haec<sup>19</sup> et inviti referimus<sup>20</sup>, non ut<sup>21</sup> Renatum sigillemus<sup>22</sup>, sed ut nostram patientiam<sup>23</sup> ostendamus<sup>24</sup>. Nam<sup>25</sup> quantum ad regem attinet<sup>26</sup>, nos eum et<sup>27</sup> pium<sup>28</sup> et mansuetum existimamus, et accusari potius ab eo quam accusare eum volumus<sup>29</sup>, injuriam<sup>30</sup> pati quam<sup>31</sup> facere. [cont.]

---

<sup>1</sup> omit. M

<sup>2</sup> omit. AC

<sup>3</sup> est usus : usus est N, O, P

<sup>4</sup> ratione O

<sup>5</sup> omit. B

<sup>6</sup> audiunt M

<sup>7</sup> nos M; ac O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> privavimus O, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> et in : de P, AC

<sup>10</sup> exequantur P

<sup>11</sup> omit. V

<sup>12</sup> Faxi M

<sup>13</sup> est ne O; litere P

<sup>14</sup> omit. O

<sup>15</sup> pontificis N

<sup>16</sup> omit. N, S

<sup>17</sup> annotatus M

<sup>18</sup> dolent M; nolentes P, AC

<sup>19</sup> enim O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> repetimus I

<sup>21</sup> **regem add. I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>22</sup> sigillemus I, N

<sup>23</sup> obedientiam O, P, AC

<sup>24</sup> ostendimus M

<sup>25</sup> nos J

<sup>26</sup> pertinet J; adtinet corr. ex pertinet V

<sup>27</sup> omit. L, N

<sup>28</sup> pium corr. from purum D; purum A, B, C, M, R

<sup>29</sup> **et add. I, L, N, P, R, S, V, AC**

<sup>30</sup> de iniuria O

<sup>31</sup> injuriam add. V

#### 2.3.4.4. René's campaign against the pope

[50] But René has certainly not shown Us the same consideration. Witness is the most honorable French King himself, who has heard René's ambassadors say much against Us. Witnesses are also the many German princes who have received letters from René, calling Us partial and unjust because We have robbed the House of France of the Kingdom of Sicily. Witnesses are René's own subjects in Provence and Lorraine who were ordered not to receive our letters. Witness is the old and trustworthy Cardinal of Foix<sup>1</sup> who has reported to Us that on the order of René Our letters concerning his legation in Provence are not obeyed because the year of Our pontificate is written at the end.<sup>2</sup> We are pained and unhappy to relate this, and We do not do it in order to humiliate King René, but only to show Our own patience. For We consider the king to be pious and clement, and We would rather be accused by him than accuse him, and rather suffer harm from him than harm him in any way. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre de Foix (1386-1464) : Cardinal (1409), papal legate in Avignon (1433), and Archbishop of Arles (1450)

<sup>2</sup> See the pope's letter of protest to King René of 9 May 1459 (Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 39)

[50 cont.] Audimus<sup>1</sup> apostolum dicentem: *Non<sup>2</sup> vos ulciscetes, carissimi, sed date locum irae.* Scriptum est enim<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>: *mihi vindictam<sup>5</sup> et ego retribuam.* Sed neque<sup>6</sup> vindictam poscimus. Deum<sup>7</sup> potius<sup>8</sup> rogamus et obnix<sup>9</sup> precamur<sup>10</sup>, huic regi<sup>11</sup> benignus sit<sup>12</sup> et clemens, quando per oboedientiam publice praestitam Romanae sedi<sup>13</sup>, matri et alumnae suae, reconciliatus est. Fuerat bonus et mitis princeps, ut videmus, de veritate non vere<sup>14</sup> instructus; et<sup>15</sup> quod humanum est, credens se lacesitum injuriis, non potuit<sup>16</sup> non<sup>17</sup> lacessere<sup>18</sup>. Sed cito ignis stipulae conticescit<sup>19</sup>, et exundans flamma deficientibus nutrimentis paulatim emoritur<sup>20</sup>. Caveat tamen rex ipse, ne<sup>21</sup> sedem apostolicam lacessendo eas incidat poenas, quibus vassalli<sup>22</sup> contra dominos committentes plectuntur.

---

<sup>1</sup> audivimus M, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> omit. M

<sup>3</sup> da add. I, L

<sup>4</sup> scriptum est enim omit. O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> vindicta S

<sup>6</sup> nec P, AC

<sup>7</sup> dominum B

<sup>8</sup> Deum potius : potius Deum O

<sup>9</sup> enixe O, P, AC

<sup>10</sup> ut add. O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> legi L

<sup>12</sup> est I

<sup>13</sup> et add. O, P

<sup>14</sup> bene O, P, AC

<sup>15</sup> omit. J

<sup>16</sup> tacere add. AC

<sup>17</sup> omit. O

<sup>18</sup> alias tacere add. P

<sup>19</sup> conticescit M, O, L, S, V

<sup>20</sup> evanescit P, AC

<sup>21</sup> ut C

<sup>22</sup> vaxalli D

[50 cont.] We hear the apostle say: *Revenge not yourselves, my dearly beloved; but give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay.*<sup>1</sup> But We do not want revenge. Rather, We ardently ask and pray that God will be benevolent and merciful towards this king since he has publicly declared his obedience to the Roman See and has become reconciled with his mother and nurse. As We see, this good and gracious prince has not been correctly informed about the truth of the matter, and believing himself to be injured he had to strike back – which is only human. But a burning reed-pipe soon falls silent, and without nutriment the flame gradually dies away. However, if the king molests the Apostolic See, let him beware of those punishments that befall vassals acting against their lords.

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<sup>1</sup> Romans, 12, 19: *Non vosmetipsos defendentes/ulciscentes carissimi, sed date locum irae. Scriptum est enim: Mihi vindicta: ego retribuam*

[51] Illud autem nobis grave et Christianae reipublicae<sup>1</sup> periculosum et valde noxium est, quod<sup>2</sup> stante hoc conventu Mantuano et nobis pro tutela fidei laborantibus classis Januae<sup>3</sup> armata est<sup>4</sup> et in regnum missa, et novus ignis accensus, et omnis Italiae<sup>5</sup> turbata<sup>6</sup> quies. Non erant haec tempora, quae novas inter Christianos lites cuperent.<sup>7</sup> Cum Turcis nunc<sup>8</sup> depugnandum<sup>9</sup> erat, pro fide, pro religione certandum, divinus honor tuendus, quem Turci conculcare nituntur. Quo<sup>10</sup> loco satis admirari<sup>11</sup> non<sup>12</sup> possumus<sup>13</sup> de<sup>14</sup> prudentia<sup>15</sup> et in commune bonum caritate<sup>16</sup> regis, qui cum annos<sup>17</sup> circiter<sup>18</sup> duodeviginti<sup>19</sup> tacuisset, nunc demum arma sumere et regnum vindicare<sup>20</sup> adorsus est iniquo<sup>21</sup> et importuno<sup>22</sup> tempore, idque clam nobis, ad quos directum regni hujus<sup>23</sup> dominium spectat et de omni controversia in eo iudicium. [*cont.*]

---

<sup>1</sup> religioni O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> quia AC

<sup>3</sup> Genuae N, V

<sup>4</sup> aut O

<sup>5</sup> Italia O

<sup>6</sup> est *add.* N, S

<sup>7</sup> lites cuperent : cuperent lites V

<sup>8</sup> nec O

<sup>9</sup> pugnandum N

<sup>10</sup> in *add.* J

<sup>11</sup> admirandum O

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* O, P

<sup>13</sup> et *add.* N

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

<sup>15</sup> providentia I

<sup>16</sup> prudentia ... caritate : providentia et intentione O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> annis L

<sup>18</sup> circa J; *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> circiter duodeviginti : circiter duoviginti M; duos et viginti O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> vindicare J, M, AC

<sup>21</sup> in quo B

<sup>22</sup> inopportuno AC

<sup>23</sup> regni hujus : hujus regni I, J, K, S, P, AC

#### 2.3.4.5. René's attack against Ferrante

[51] But this We must consider a grave and extremely harmful danger to the Christian Commonwealth that as We are labouring here at the Congress of Manua for the protection of the Faith, a fleet was prepared in Genua and sent against the Kingdom, and a new fire lit, and the calm of all Italy disturbed. This is certainly not the time for new conflicts between Christians. Now, we should be fighting for Faith and Religion against the Turks, and we should be defending the honour of God that the Turks are endeavouring to destroy. Therefore, We must wonder about thus king's wisdom and love of the common good, who, after 18 years of silence, has now suddenly begun to take up arms and claim the Kingdom at a most unfortunate and inappropriate time. Moreover, it has been done without Our knowledge, though the direct lordship over this Kingdom and the judgment in all its conflicts belong to Us. *[cont.]*

[51 cont.] Quibus ex rebus aperte cognoscitis,<sup>1</sup> peritissimi<sup>2</sup> oratores, non nos esse, qui Carolo Renatove, clarissimis regibus, vel domui Franciae sumus<sup>3</sup> injuriati, sed nobis potius<sup>4</sup> et Romanae sedi contumeliam irrogatam, quam pro Deo salvatore nostro parvifacimus, scientes quia<sup>5</sup> cum flagellamur, cum vituperamur, {130r} cum scandalum patimur, tunc<sup>6</sup> Deo curae sumus, dicente scriptura: *Vae mundo a<sup>7</sup> scandalis; et quem Deus diligit, corrigit<sup>8</sup> atque<sup>9</sup> castigat.*

---

<sup>1</sup> L: *Here begins a lacuna which ends in sect. 55*

<sup>2</sup> potentissimi O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> simus A, B, C, D, R; simul N; simul alias sumus S

<sup>4</sup> nobis potius : potius nobis P, AC

<sup>5</sup> omit. M; quod P, AC

<sup>6</sup> cum O

<sup>7</sup> omit. O, P

<sup>8</sup> arguit S

<sup>9</sup> et R, O, P, AC



[51 cont.] For these reasons, you plainly see, learned ambassadors, that it is not Us who have injured the noble kings Charles and René or the House of France, but that it is Us and the Roman See who have suffered injury. For the sake of God, Our Saviour, We make little of this injury, knowing that when We are scourged, blamed and treated scandalously, then We are in God's care, for as Scripture says: *Woe to the world because of scandals,*<sup>1</sup> and *whom the Lord loveth, he chastiseth and he scourgeth.*<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Mathew, 18, 7

<sup>2</sup> Hebrews, 12, 6: *Quem enim diligit Dominus castigat: flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit*

[52] Sed jam tempus est, ut ad petitiones vestras descendamus<sup>1</sup>, quae hujus sententiae<sup>2</sup> sunt: ut rescindantur quaecumque Ferdinandi gratia facta sunt; regnum Renato concedamus; homagium ab eo recipiamus; legatum mittamus, qui Renati partes consoletur, Ferdinandi<sup>3</sup> terreat; huic<sup>4</sup> favores accumulet, illi auferat; Piccinino denique iter in regnum aperiatur. Postulata<sup>5</sup> haec cum<sup>6</sup> audimus<sup>7</sup>, intelligimus<sup>8</sup> omnes in sua causa nimis<sup>9</sup> affectos<sup>10</sup> esse, id quoque<sup>11</sup> vobis<sup>12</sup> accidere<sup>13</sup>. Nam cum paulo ante questi essetis<sup>14</sup>, quod inaudito Renato rege, incognita causa Ferdinando regnum commissemus<sup>15</sup>, nunc<sup>16</sup> tamen inaudito Ferdinando<sup>17</sup>, quae sunt ei concessa<sup>18</sup> rescindi postulatis. Cur hoc vestrae<sup>19</sup> parti arrogatis, quod alteri non debuisse concedi affirmatis? "Ut par pari referatur," dicat aliquis. Verum<sup>20</sup> haec imparia sunt. Nos Renato nihil abstulimus, ut ante monstravimus; vos quidquid concessum est<sup>21</sup> Ferdinando retractari revocarique<sup>22 23</sup> petititis. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> conscendamus I

<sup>2</sup> summae O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> Ferdinando O; Ferdinandum P, AC

<sup>4</sup> cui O, P

<sup>5</sup> postulanda O; postulando P

<sup>6</sup> omit. O

<sup>7</sup> audivimus I, M, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> intelleximus AC

<sup>9</sup> omit. J

<sup>10</sup> effectos O

<sup>11</sup> id quoque : idque C, M, O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> nobis J, M

<sup>13</sup> accidit M

<sup>14</sup> estis O, P, S, V; sitis AC

<sup>15</sup> commisissimus V; commisimus J, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> nec N

<sup>17</sup> regnum comississemus ... Ferdinando omit. Q

<sup>18</sup> sunt ei concessa : ei concessa sunt S

<sup>19</sup> nostrae I

<sup>20</sup> omit. I

<sup>21</sup> concessum est : concessimus R

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

<sup>23</sup> retractari revocarique : retractarique O; revocari retractarique I

## 2.4. Petitions of the French king

[52] But now it is time to deal with your petitions.

### 2.4.1. Investiture of René with the Kingdom of Naples

In sum, they are that all concessions to Ferrante should be annulled; instead, We should give the Kingdom to René and receive homage from him; We should send a legate to help those on René's side and scare away those on Ferrante's; We should heap favours on René, and take them away from Ferrante. And finally We should open the way to the Kingdom for Piccinino. When We hear such demands, We see that all are too deeply engaged in their own cause and that this applies to you, too. For a short while ago you complained that We had bestowed the Kingdom on Ferrante without hearing King René and without a proper investigation of the matter, and now you demand that the concessions made to him be annulled without him having been heard. Why do you demand something for your own party which you would deny the other? "So that both parties will be treated equally," someone may say. But, really, that would be to treat the parties unequally, for as shown before We have not deprived René of anything, but you request that what has been given to Ferrante should be taken back and revoked. *[cont.]*

[52 cont.] At<sup>1</sup> ubi de jure alieno<sup>2 3</sup> abrogando agitur<sup>4</sup>, audienda est altera<sup>5</sup> pars et<sup>6</sup> consulte<sup>7</sup> matureque<sup>8</sup> procedendum<sup>9</sup>, ne<sup>10</sup> sine causa jus quaesitum, si quod est, auferatur. Cumque non ipsi simus<sup>11</sup>, qui primo<sup>12</sup> in Aragonenses<sup>13</sup> jus<sup>14</sup> regni<sup>15</sup> transmisimus, et adversarius vester magnam regni partem obtineat, suadet<sup>16</sup> ratio, exposcit aequitas, requirit consuetudo, jubet antiquitas prius audiri<sup>17</sup> partes quam juri<sup>18</sup> cujuspian<sup>19</sup> detractio fiat. Quod si juris iter placet, deponenda sunt arma et legibus disputandum: nos aequi judicis partes<sup>20</sup> tenebimus. Nam quid nostra interest, uter vestrum<sup>21</sup> regnum possideat<sup>22 23</sup>? Quippe, si discussa causa constiterit Renati regnum esse aut ei deberi<sup>24</sup>, non solum quae petitis, sed majora horum faciemus.

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<sup>1</sup> ac M

<sup>2</sup> omit. S

<sup>3</sup> at ... alieno omit. O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> igitur O, P, AC

<sup>5</sup> alia O, P, AC

<sup>6</sup> omit. AC

<sup>7</sup> consulto O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> consulte matureque : mature consulteque M

<sup>9</sup> est add. P, AC

<sup>10</sup> nec M

<sup>11</sup> sumus N, O

<sup>12</sup> primi V

<sup>13</sup> Aragonensem O; Ar(r)agonensem P, AC

<sup>14</sup> eius J

<sup>15</sup> possessionem add. J

<sup>16</sup> exigit AC

<sup>17</sup> audire O, P, AC

<sup>18</sup> juris N, S, O, P, AC

<sup>19</sup> cuipiam M

<sup>20</sup> partem J

<sup>21</sup> uter vestrum : ute O

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

<sup>23</sup> regnum possideat : possideat regnum O, P, AC

<sup>24</sup> debere M; obedire O

[52 cont.] But whenever another party's rights are to be revoked, then that other party should be heard, and the procedure should be careful and considered, so as to avoid that the rights demanded [by one party], if indeed it has any, should be taken away from [the other] without cause. And since it is not Us who first gave the Aragonese the right to the Kingdom, and your adversary has actual possession of the major part of it, reason urges, justice demands, custom requires, and fairness<sup>1</sup> enjoins Us to hear [both] parties before any of them is deprived of its rights. If the due course of law is chosen, weapons must be laid down, and the dispute must continue with legal arguments: We Ourselves shall have the part of the just judge. For why should We care which of you possess the Kingdom?<sup>2</sup> Indeed, if the judicial investigation proves that it is René who has the right to the Kingdom, We shall do as you require, nay even more.

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<sup>1</sup> "antiquitas"

<sup>2</sup> This statement by the pope would not have seemed credible to the audience since it was clear to all that the papacy had aligned itself with Milan to keep the French out of Southern Italy

[53] De itinere comiti<sup>1</sup> Jacobo<sup>2</sup> aperiendo<sup>3</sup>, nisi ab eo petatur, et nisi<sup>4</sup> se Renato militare fateatur, non videmus<sup>5</sup>, quid respondere possimus<sup>6</sup>, nec<sup>7</sup> nobis<sup>8</sup> satis est, quod<sup>9</sup> securitatem promittitis<sup>10</sup>. Nam contra tenentes arma sola post Deum securitas est in armis. Noscimus<sup>11</sup> nostri temporis milites, et quantum eis credere oporteat, non ignoramus. Tritum<sup>12</sup> est<sup>13</sup> illud apud eos<sup>14</sup> detestabile verbum<sup>15</sup>: *si violandum est jus*<sup>16</sup>, *regnandi causa* {130v} *violandum*. Et illud quoque verum:

*Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur*<sup>17</sup>,  
*venalesque manus: ibi*<sup>18</sup> *fas, ubi*<sup>19</sup> *maxima*<sup>20</sup> *merces*.

---

<sup>1</sup> comitis O

<sup>2</sup> comiti Jacobo : comitis Jacobi P, AC

<sup>3</sup> arripiendo M

<sup>4</sup> non O

<sup>5</sup> audemus M

<sup>6</sup> possumus O

<sup>7</sup> neque A, B, C, D, J, M, R, N, S, V; nam I

<sup>8</sup> vobis V

<sup>9</sup> quia AC

<sup>10</sup> promittat N; promittit S

<sup>11</sup> nescimus C; non scimus O; cognoscimus AC

<sup>12</sup> tutum M

<sup>13</sup> esse M

<sup>14</sup> illud apud eos : apud eos illud V

<sup>15</sup> proverbium S, V; proverbium *corr. ex* verbum N

<sup>16</sup> est jus : jus est I, N, S, V

<sup>17</sup> et illud ... sequuntur *omit.* N, S

<sup>18</sup> ubi M

<sup>19</sup> ibi O

<sup>20</sup> plurima I, N, S, V, O, P, AC

## 2.4.2. Right of transit through papal territories

[53] In the matter of letting Count Jacopo pass through [Our territories], We do not see what We can answer unless he makes a request, and unless he states directly that he is fighting for René. And is not sufficient that you promise security, for against people holding arms the only security, after God, is in arms. We know the soldiers of this age, and We are quite aware to what extent<sup>1</sup> they can be trusted. There is a common and detestable saying among them that *If wrong may e'er be right, for a throne's sake were wrong most right.*<sup>2</sup>

This, too, is said – and truly so:

*Men who follow the camp have no loyalty, no sense of duty:  
their swords are for sale;  
the cause that offers immediate reward is the good cause.*<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I.e. how little

<sup>2</sup> Verse from Euripides: *The Phoenician*, 524-525, quoted by Cicero, in Latin, speaking of Caesar. Cicero: *De officiis*, 3. 21.82: *Nam si violandum est jus, regnandi grati violandum est; aliis rebus pietatem colas*. See also Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum*, 1 [Divus Julius], 30.5

<sup>3</sup> Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 10.407-408

[54] Nos et armis et orationibus piorum<sup>1</sup> res ecclesiae servare studebimus<sup>2</sup>. Si decipiemur<sup>3</sup>, si violabimur<sup>4</sup>, ipse dominus<sup>5</sup> iudex<sup>6</sup> erit, qui ait Petro: *modice fidei, quare dubitasti?* Et<sup>7</sup> praesentia et futura in manu Dei sunt: ipse nos<sup>8</sup> secundum suam voluntatem<sup>9</sup> dirigat, et ad eam vestrorum etiam<sup>10 11</sup> regum<sup>12</sup> corda<sup>13</sup> mentesque trahat<sup>14</sup>, pacemque<sup>15</sup> illis<sup>16</sup> Christianam suadeat, qua<sup>17</sup> nihil dulcius, nihil suavius inveniri potest. Etenim cur non potius dimissis<sup>18</sup> armis aut per communes amicos aut legibus<sup>19</sup> et<sup>20</sup> jure haec lis<sup>21</sup> regni dirimitur? Si bellum eligitur<sup>22</sup>, hoc est, quod milites optant, equites, pedites<sup>23</sup> hoc illi immortale<sup>24</sup> cupiunt<sup>25</sup> esse: hinc aluntur, hinc<sup>26</sup> pinguescunt, hinc et ad principatus et ad regna conspirant. Satius<sup>27</sup> fuerit<sup>28</sup> regnum amittere, quam eos alere canes, qui omnes regni opes et<sup>29</sup> ipsos denique reges devorent.

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<sup>1</sup> pias N; *omit.* S

<sup>2</sup> studuimus I

<sup>3</sup> dejiemur I; decipimur M, S

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

<sup>5</sup> Deus I; ut O

<sup>6</sup> vindex N, S, V

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

<sup>8</sup> ius O

<sup>9</sup> suam voluntatem : voluntatem suam O, P, AC

<sup>10</sup> quoque I

<sup>11</sup> vestrorum etiam : etiam vestrorum O, P, V, AC

<sup>12</sup> regnum M

<sup>13</sup> regum corda : manus AC

<sup>14</sup> trahant O

<sup>15</sup> pacem I

<sup>16</sup> illi O

<sup>17</sup> quia O

<sup>18</sup> dimissis *corr. ex. admissis* N; admissis S

<sup>19</sup> iuribus M

<sup>20</sup> aut I, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> lex O

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

<sup>23</sup> peditesque N, S, V; *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>24</sup> immortales O; mortale R

<sup>25</sup> capiunt J

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

<sup>27</sup> sanctius I

<sup>28</sup> fuit P

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



### 2.4.3. Conclusion

[54] We shall endeavour to defend the Church both with arms and with the prayers of the pious. If We are disappointed, if We suffer violence, then Our judge will be God who said to Peter: *O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?*<sup>1</sup> Both the present and the future is in the hands of God. He rules according to His own will, and He bends the hearts and minds of your kings to it and urges them to [work for] peace among Christians. Nothing is sweeter, nothing is more delightful than that peace.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, why not lay down your arms and settle this conflict either through mutual friends or through legal procedure? If you choose war, you do as the soldiers want. Indeed both knights and common soldiers desire that war should be permanent, since they are living by war, grow fat by war, and aspire to princedoms and kingdoms through war.<sup>3</sup> It would be better to lose the Kingdom than to foster those dogs who devour all the wealth of a kingdom and finally the kings themselves.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 14, 31

<sup>2</sup> Cicero: *Philippicae*, 13.1.1

<sup>3</sup> As had the pope's own ally, Francesco Sforza, who from *condottiero* had become Duke of Milan. And as Jacobo Piccinino had been trying to, when he attacked Siena in 1456. The duke might not have appreciated the reference to the dogs of war

[55] Exposcit praeterea tempus hoc, ut Christiani<sup>1</sup> sepositis<sup>2</sup> inter<sup>3</sup> se<sup>4</sup> odiis, concordibus animis<sup>5</sup> atque studiis<sup>6</sup>, ad tutelam<sup>7</sup> fidei se accingant<sup>8</sup> et tela, quae viscera nostra<sup>9</sup> fodiunt, Turcorum pectora feriant. Juvate nos, oratores, et ingenia vestra<sup>10</sup> intendite, aperite media<sup>11</sup>, excogitate<sup>12</sup> vias, quibus non solum hae<sup>13</sup> lites regni, sed aliae quoque Christianorum controversiae sopiantur. Audiemus consilia vestra, judiciis vestris plurimum tribuemus. Nolite nobis, nolite Christo deesse. Christi hoc negotium est. Ex latere nostro<sup>14</sup> nihil<sup>15</sup> deerit. Quidquid<sup>16</sup> in nobis aut<sup>17</sup> consilii aut auxilii erit<sup>18</sup>, studii<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup>, diligentiae<sup>21</sup> vobis et<sup>22</sup> reipublicae in hac parte<sup>23</sup> communicabimus.

---

<sup>1</sup> Christianis S

<sup>2</sup> suppositis M; depositis R

<sup>3</sup> in B

<sup>4</sup> inter se : intestinis I

<sup>5</sup> armis I

<sup>6</sup> stipendiis J

<sup>7</sup> cautelam O

<sup>8</sup> attingant M, O

<sup>9</sup> viscera nostra : nostra viscera M

<sup>10</sup> ingenia vestra : vestra ingenia M

<sup>11</sup> montes J; medias S

<sup>12</sup> L: *Here ends the lacuna which began in sect. 51*

<sup>13</sup> hec J, M

<sup>14</sup> ex latere nostro *omit.* AC

<sup>15</sup> nil I

<sup>16</sup> que quidem S

<sup>17</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>18</sup> et O

<sup>19</sup> ac *add.* J

<sup>20</sup> erit studii : aut studii erit N

<sup>21</sup> diligentes N; diligentis S

<sup>22</sup> ac J

<sup>23</sup> hac parte : parte hac O

### **2.3. French contribution to the crusade**

[55] Moreover, the times require that Christians should put an end to their enmities and prepare themselves for the defense of the Faith with united minds and energies: indeed, the weapons now piercing our own entrails should be turned against Turkish breasts. Help us, ambassadors; turn your minds towards, be open to and think of ways to solve not only the conflicts concerning this Kingdom, but also the other conflicts between Christians. Let Us hear your advice, indeed We attach the greatest importance to your opinions. Do not fail Us, do not fail Christ, for this matter is Christ's own. On Our side nothing will be lacking. Whatever We have, counsel, help, energy and diligence, We shall share with you and the Commonwealth.

[56] Nostro<sup>1</sup> iudicio nullo<sup>2</sup> pacto ferendum est<sup>3</sup>, ut haec regni<sup>4</sup> dissensio<sup>5</sup> latius efferatur: aut pace aut<sup>6</sup> indutiis<sup>7</sup> componenda est. Si ferro dimicatur<sup>8</sup>, actum est<sup>9</sup> de regno et verendum, ne hoc incendium<sup>10</sup> per omnem Italiam latius<sup>11</sup> evagetur. Injuriosi essemus et inimici<sup>12</sup> patriae<sup>13</sup>, si<sup>14</sup> pro nostra<sup>15</sup> virili<sup>16</sup> pacare Italiam non curaremus. Dissidentes in Germania principes per legatos conciliavimus<sup>17</sup>, et nunc viscera nostra patiemur evelli, Italiam lacerari, regnum ecclesiae incendi, diripi<sup>18</sup>, desolari? Non fient<sup>19</sup> haec nobis<sup>20</sup> volentibus<sup>21</sup>. In Turcos, qui vere Christianus est<sup>22</sup>, in Turcos<sup>23 24</sup> armari debet et Christiano parcere sanguini<sup>25</sup>. Non debet Renato durum videri, si pro communi salute paululum<sup>26</sup> arma {131r} continere<sup>27</sup> rogatur<sup>28</sup>, qui per tot annos nullo rogante continuit<sup>29</sup>. Cogitemus tandem<sup>30 31</sup> quo pacto regnum hoc<sup>32</sup> quietum reddatur, et non<sup>33</sup> sinamus hanc<sup>34</sup> portam<sup>35</sup> aperiri Turco<sup>36</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> vestro N, S

<sup>2</sup> vestro N, S

<sup>3</sup> omit. O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> regna M

<sup>5</sup> discensio M; discensio O; dissentio P

<sup>6</sup> omit. O

<sup>7</sup> iudiciis M, O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> dimicatur *corr. ex* dimittitur D; dimittitur A, B, C, J, M, R, L, N, V; dimittitur *et in marg.*: vel dimicandum I; demittitur O; committitur S; dirimitur P, AC

<sup>9</sup> omit. V

<sup>10</sup> et *add.* M

<sup>11</sup> per omnem Italiam latius : latius per omnem italiam S

<sup>12</sup> iniuria O

<sup>13</sup> patris O

<sup>14</sup> sed N

<sup>15</sup> nostro B

<sup>16</sup> vi S; parte *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> conciliamus AC

<sup>18</sup> dirimi et I; dirrupi M

<sup>19</sup> fiunt J

<sup>20</sup> haec nobis : nobis hec O

<sup>21</sup> nobis volentibus : volentibus nobis I, V

<sup>22</sup> omit. J, M

<sup>23</sup> Turchorum M

<sup>24</sup> in Turcos *omit.* S

<sup>25</sup> sanguine S

<sup>26</sup> paulum I

<sup>27</sup> arma *add.* M

<sup>28</sup> cogatur P, AC

<sup>29</sup> **conticuit N, S, V, O, P; conticuit *corr. ex* continuit AC**

<sup>30</sup> demum C

<sup>31</sup> cogitemus tandem *omit.* N

<sup>32</sup> regnum hoc : hoc regnum N, S

<sup>33</sup> omit. O

<sup>34</sup> hac M

<sup>35</sup> hanc portam : portam hanc O, P, AC

<sup>36</sup> aperiri Turco : Turco aperiri P, AC

[56] In Our own judgment, it is intolerable that this conflict about the Kingdom be carried any further: it should be settled either through a peace or by way of a truce. If fighting continues, the Kingdom is finished, and it must be feared that the fire spreads to all of Italy. We would harm the fatherland and be its enemy if We did not with all Our strength seek to make peace in Italy. Through Our legates we have reconciled the warring princes in Germany, so why should We now tolerate that our own entrails be torn out, that Italy be destroyed, and that the realm of the Church<sup>1</sup> be set on fire, robbed, and wasted? This will not happen if We can prevent it. Every true Christian must arm himself against the Turks and spare Christian blood. It should not seem hard to René if for the sake of the common good he is asked to refrain from war for a period, considering that he has stayed passive for so many years when nobody asked him to. So, let Us consider how this Kingdom can have peace, and let Us not allow the gate to be opened to the Turk.<sup>2</sup> *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of Naples

<sup>2</sup> The Turks could easily invade Italy through the harbour cities in the South and actually did so 20 years later

[56 cont.] Nihil<sup>1</sup> ille<sup>2</sup> magis cupit, quam vires Italicas inter se concurrere, ut<sup>3</sup> tandem ab his vocetur, qui fuerint<sup>4</sup> debiliores<sup>5</sup>, sicut in Graecia factum est<sup>6</sup>. Dissidentibus<sup>7</sup> enim<sup>8</sup> inter se Constantinopolitanis imperatoribus vocati in auxilium Turci ab his<sup>9</sup>, qui erant inferiores, utramque<sup>10</sup> denique partem<sup>11</sup> oppresserunt. Agite, praestabiles oratores, incumbite huic parti, consulite in medium, quae pacis sunt. Nam hoc<sup>12</sup> potissimum est, quod sapientissimum regem<sup>13</sup> vestrum vobis<sup>14</sup> mandasse in litteris ejus vidimus.

---

<sup>1</sup> nil I; enim *add.* O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> enim D

<sup>3</sup> et M

<sup>4</sup> fuerunt J, O

<sup>5</sup> fuerint debiliores : debiliores fuerint N

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

<sup>7</sup> desidentibus M

<sup>8</sup> autem M

<sup>9</sup> iis I

<sup>10</sup> utrumque O, P, AC

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> quod *add.* O

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

<sup>14</sup> nobis M, N, V, S, P, AC

[56 cont.] For his greatest wish is a conflict between the powers of Italy, leading, in the end, to his being called in by the weaker part, as happened in Greece. For when during a conflict between Constantinopolitan emperors the weaker party called in the Turks,<sup>1</sup> and then the Turks eventually subjugated both parties. So, act now, distinguished ambassadors, take up this matter,<sup>2</sup> and give your advice on how to make peace. For, as We have seen in his letter, this is what your most wise king has commanded you to do above all.

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<sup>1</sup> Like John VI Kantakouzenos who in 1347 defeated his rival for the imperial throne, John V Palaeologus, with the aid of the Ottoman Turks

<sup>2</sup> "incumbite huic parti"

[57] Intellexit prudentissima serenitas sua<sup>1</sup> ad domandam<sup>2</sup> Turcorum ferociam<sup>3</sup> Christianorum pacem atque<sup>4</sup> concordiam necessariam esse<sup>5</sup> ejusque rei curam in hoc conventu vestrae circumspectioni commisit. Expectamus<sup>6</sup>, quae media quaerendae pacis afferatis. Maximi et potentissimi<sup>7</sup> regis vices geritis, multum in vobis<sup>8</sup> situm<sup>9</sup> est<sup>10</sup>. Imperator eo animo est<sup>11</sup>, ut pax per omnem Christianitatem reformetur; idem propositum nostrum est. Si<sup>12</sup> concurrat<sup>13</sup> rex vester, concurrent<sup>14</sup> et<sup>15</sup> alii<sup>16</sup> quamplurimi, et cessabunt tandem<sup>17</sup> civilia et intestina bella, vertentur Christianorum tela in hostes fidei, sentiant<sup>18</sup> Turci, quid<sup>19</sup> valeat Christianus miles, et quantus in hostem<sup>20</sup> assurgat. Christianissimus<sup>21</sup> rex vester<sup>22</sup> consensu populorum, gentium<sup>23</sup> nationumque vocitatur<sup>24</sup>, magni honoris nomen gerit<sup>25</sup>; servanda est et ad posteros transmittenda haec dignitas virtute majorum<sup>26</sup> quaesita. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> prudentissima ... sua : prudentissima sua serenitas O; sua prudentissima serenitas P, AC

<sup>2</sup> evitandum I; domandum O

<sup>3</sup> saevitiam P, AC

<sup>4</sup> pacem atque : pacemque M

<sup>5</sup> omit. O

<sup>6</sup> exspectamus O

<sup>7</sup> potissimi O

<sup>8</sup> nobis V

<sup>9</sup> scitum M

<sup>10</sup> omit. L

<sup>11</sup> eo animo est : est eo animo L

<sup>12</sup> eo add. O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> concurrerit I

<sup>14</sup> concurrunt S

<sup>15</sup> omit. J

<sup>16</sup> et add. S

<sup>17</sup> omit. N

<sup>18</sup> sentiant O

<sup>19</sup> quam P, AC

<sup>20</sup> hostes I, M, O, P, AC

<sup>21</sup> omit. O; Christianus P, AC

<sup>22</sup> noster M

<sup>23</sup> omit. AC

<sup>24</sup> Christianissimus add. P, AC

<sup>25</sup> erit M

<sup>26</sup> aliorum O



[57] In his great wisdom, His Serenity knows that peace and concord among Christians is necessary in order to tame the savage Turks, and he has entrusted this matter, in this Congress, to your sagacity. We are waiting to hear how you will contribute to the quest for peace. You are acting on behalf of a great and mighty king, and much depends on you. The emperor believes that peace must be restored throughout all of Christendom, and We share this belief. If your king agrees, many others, too, will agree, and in the end civil and internal wars will end. The weapons of the Christians will be turned against the enemies of the Faith. The Turks will know what a Christian soldier is worth and how he stands up against the enemy. The peoples and the nations agree in calling your king Most Christian. This title carries great honour, It has been obtained through the virtue of his ancestors and must be kept and handed on to his descendants. *[cont.]*

[57 cont.] Verum<sup>1</sup> sicut *imperia*, ita et egregia cognomina *his artibus retinentur, quibus ab initio parta<sup>2</sup> sunt*. Franci, cum<sup>3</sup> ab initio pro defensione et augmento catholicae<sup>4</sup> fidei, pro tutela et<sup>5</sup> gloria<sup>6</sup> Romanae sedis, nulla timerent<sup>7</sup> pericula, nullos declinarent<sup>8</sup> labores, nullos fugerent<sup>9</sup> sumptus<sup>10</sup>, sed delicias, voluptates, regna, imperia, et<sup>11</sup> ipsam denique vitam pro communi salute contemnerent<sup>12</sup>, et nunc in Europa, nunc in Asia<sup>13</sup>, adversus<sup>14</sup> inimicos crucis depugnarent<sup>15</sup>, Christianissimi<sup>16</sup> jure<sup>17</sup> merito<sup>18</sup> vocati sunt. His nunc itineribus incedendum est, ut haereditas tanti nominis conservetur.

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<sup>1</sup> rerum N

<sup>2</sup> parta *corr. ex.* parta A; parata N, S

<sup>3</sup> tamen N; autem P, AC

<sup>4</sup> apostolicae I

<sup>5</sup> pro M

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

<sup>7</sup> timuerunt O, P, AC

<sup>8</sup> dedignarentur M; dedignarent R; declinaverant O; declinaverunt P, AC

<sup>9</sup> fugerunt P, AC

<sup>10</sup> sumptos O

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>12</sup> comntemnerent *corr. ex* contempserunt P; contempserunt AC

<sup>13</sup> cum *add.* AC

<sup>14</sup> versus N

<sup>15</sup> pugnarent J

<sup>16</sup> Christi N

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

<sup>18</sup> meritoque J

[57 cont.] Indeed, just like *sovereignty*, eminent surnames are *easily preserved by those practices which brought them into being in the first*.<sup>1</sup> In the beginning, the Franks feared no dangers, refused no labours, and spared no costs for the protection and glory of the Roman See and for the defense and expansion of the Catholic Faith. Indeed, they gave up delights, pleasures, kingdoms, empires and even their own lives for the sake of the common good, and they fought the enemies of the Cross sometimes in Europe and sometimes in Asia. Rightly they were called Most Christian. Now the same path must be followed if the inheritance of this great name shall be maintained.

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<sup>1</sup> Sallustius: *Bellum Catilinae*, 2.5: *Imperium facile his artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est*

[58] Venistis, oratores, ad hunc conventum, qui de communi Christianorum salute sollicitus est. Rex maximus et potentissimus vos misit, in quem omnium oculi<sup>1</sup> respiciunt<sup>2</sup>, cujus progenitores saepe rem Christianam tutati sunt. Audiamus, quam rebus afflictis consolationem affertis<sup>3</sup>. Non ambigimus<sup>4</sup>, quin<sup>5</sup> vobis multa commissa sint<sup>6</sup>. Consulite in medium, quae pacis inter Christianos, quae belli contra Turcos sint; et spem, quam de vestro<sup>7</sup> adventu concepimus<sup>8</sup>, implete. Sapientes<sup>9</sup> viri estis, et periculum<sup>10</sup>, {131v} in quo<sup>11</sup> sumus, agnoscitis<sup>12</sup>. Christi an Mahumeti<sup>13</sup> lex plus valeat, in<sup>14</sup> certamen<sup>15</sup> venit. Jam<sup>16</sup> ferus ille et<sup>17</sup> terribilis coluber evangelium salvatoris nostri<sup>18</sup> ex<sup>19</sup> Asia deturbavit. Aegyptios, Afros<sup>20</sup>, Mauros, et Hispaniae partem<sup>21</sup> suae<sup>22</sup> vesaniae subegit, et diebus nostris Bizantium<sup>23</sup>, regiam<sup>24</sup> urbem et orientalis imperii<sup>25</sup> quondam<sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> caput, armis evicit, et usque ad Danubium et Savum<sup>28</sup> signa<sup>29</sup> protulit<sup>30</sup>. Jam Hungaris imminet<sup>31</sup>, jamjam<sup>32</sup> Germaniae et Italiae servitutem minatur, nec cessabit victoriam sequi, nisi magno resistamus<sup>33</sup> animo<sup>34</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> omnium oculi : oculi omnium O, P, AC

<sup>2</sup> conspiciunt S

<sup>3</sup> fertis N; affertis *corr ex.* fertis S; afferatis M, O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> ambigemus M

<sup>5</sup> quoniam N

<sup>6</sup> sunt N, S; sint *corr. ex* sunt V

<sup>7</sup> nostro L

<sup>8</sup> concipimus M

<sup>9</sup> sapienti N

<sup>10</sup> in periculo M

<sup>11</sup> estis et *add.* P, AC

<sup>12</sup> cognoscitis J

<sup>13</sup> Maumethis A, B; Mahumetis C

<sup>14</sup> inter I

<sup>15</sup> certamine M

<sup>16</sup> venit jam : jam venit O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> est S

<sup>18</sup> salvatoris nostri : nostri salvatoris P, AC

<sup>19</sup> de S

<sup>20</sup> Asios P

<sup>21</sup> partes R

<sup>22</sup> sui M

<sup>23</sup> Birantum M

<sup>24</sup> egregiam J; regina O

<sup>25</sup> orientalis imperii : imperii orientalis P, AC

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

<sup>27</sup> imperii quondam : quondam imperii N

<sup>28</sup> Samum I; Sanium M

<sup>29</sup> arma C; insignia I

<sup>30</sup> pertulit P

<sup>31</sup> eminet L, P

<sup>32</sup> Januam N, S; jam I, O, V

<sup>33</sup> resistemus N, S; resistimus P, AC

<sup>34</sup> *omit.* V

[58] You have come, ambassadors, to this congress which is dealing with the common safety of the Christians. You have been sent by a great and mighty prince, whom all are looking to, and whose ancestors often defended the Christian cause. Let Us hear what comfort you are bringing in these calamities. We do not doubt that you hold great things in trust. Please give your advice on what should be done about peace between Christians and war against Turks. And do fulfil the hopes kindled by your arrival. You are wise men, and you know our danger. A battle is coming which will decide whether it is the law of Christ or the law of Muhammad which will prevail. Already this savage and terrible serpent has driven the Gospel of Our Saviour from Asia. He has subjected the Egyptians, the Africans, the Moors and a part of Spain to his own folly, and in our own time he has conquered Byzantium, royal city and once the capital of the Oriental Empire. He has now sent his standards forward to the Danube and the Savus. He is now looming over the Hungarians, and he is already threatening Germany and Italy with servitude. He will not stop pursuing victory unless we resist him courageously.

[59] Taedet referre, quanta<sup>1</sup> patiuntur infelices Christiani, qui proximi sunt<sup>2</sup> rugienti et saevissimo leoni. In servitute pueri rapiuntur<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>. Matronae ac<sup>5</sup> puellae libidinem foedissimae gentis explere<sup>6</sup> coguntur. Virorum alii cruces, alii palos<sup>7</sup> subeunt. Quidam exemplo Isaiae per medium<sup>8</sup> secti<sup>9</sup> animas tradunt. Quibusdam etiam<sup>10</sup> vivis<sup>11</sup> in morem<sup>12</sup> Bartholomaei cutis adimitur<sup>13</sup>. Nullum tormenti genus<sup>14</sup> nostri non ferunt. Non aetati, non sexui parcitur. Sanguis omnium, qui pereunt, ex nostris manibus<sup>15</sup> requiretur<sup>16</sup>. Jam Rasciani<sup>17</sup> aetate nostra desciverunt<sup>18</sup> a fide, jam Bosnenses<sup>19</sup> defecerunt. Bulgaria<sup>20</sup> et Graecia tota Turcorum est, nisi Peloponnesi<sup>21</sup> portio quaedam. Albani exhausti sunt, Hungari fessi, Valachi exterriti<sup>22</sup>: nisi opem ferimus, aut fugere aut sese dedere<sup>23</sup> et cum perfido<sup>24</sup> Mahumeto Christum blasphemare<sup>25</sup> cogentur. Et nos interim miseri inter nos contendimus.<sup>26</sup> Absint<sup>27</sup> hae<sup>28</sup> lites, facessant<sup>29</sup> Christiana<sup>30</sup> jurgia<sup>31</sup>, resurgat pax, si non perpetua saltem temporalis, donec Turcorum pestis ab Europa ejiciatur<sup>32</sup>. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> quanto O

<sup>2</sup> omit. M

<sup>3</sup> capiuntur P, AC

<sup>4</sup> qui proximi ... rapiuntur omit. O

<sup>5</sup> et J

<sup>6</sup> replere O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> palas AC

<sup>8</sup> medios J

<sup>9</sup> per medium secti : septi per medium L, O; secti medium V; secti per medium I, N, S, P, AC

<sup>10</sup> omit. V

<sup>11</sup> iuris L; viris N, S

<sup>12</sup> modum I

<sup>13</sup> eximitur I

<sup>14</sup> est quod add. suprascr. V

<sup>15</sup> nostris manibus : manibus nostris I

<sup>16</sup> requiritur M

<sup>17</sup> Rasienses N; Rusciani AC

<sup>18</sup> desiguerunt B; desiverunt C; desinerunt M, R

<sup>19</sup> Bohemi O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> Hungaria N; Burgaria S, V

<sup>21</sup> Peloponensi L, N; Peloponensis S; Peloponesi V

<sup>22</sup> extincti N; exterminati S

<sup>23</sup> aut fugere aut sese dedere : aut sese dedere aut fugere S

<sup>24</sup> perfide M

<sup>25</sup> et cum perfido ... blasphemare omit. J

<sup>26</sup> contendemus AC

<sup>27</sup> abeant J; absunt O

<sup>28</sup> hec M

<sup>29</sup> fatigant M; cessent S

<sup>30</sup> omit. P, AC

<sup>31</sup> Christiana jurgia : jurgia Christiana M

<sup>32</sup> dejiciatur I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

[59] It would be sickening to relate the great sufferings of the unhappy Christians living as neighbours of the roaring and ferocious lion. Boys are carried into slavery. Matrons and girls are forced to satisfy the lusts of this shameless people. Of the men some die on the cross and some on the stake. Others like Isaiah give up their souls being sawn in two parts. Others again are flayed alive like Bartholomew. Neither age nor sex is spared. We shall be held to account for the blood of all who perish. Now, in our own time, the Serbians have fallen from the Faith, and the Bosnians have deserted. All of Bulgaria and Greece is in the hands of the Turks, except a part of the Peloponese. The Albanians are worn down, the Hungarians are exhausted, the Wallachians are terrified. Unless we bring them help, they will be forced to flee or to surrender and blaspheme Christ with the infidel Muhammad. And in the meantime we miserable men fight between ourselves. Away with these conflicts, away with quarrels between Christians. Let peace arise again, if not forever then at least until the Turkish plague has been driven out of Europe. *[cont.]*

[59 cont.] Quod facile fiet, si magnus et pius rex vester<sup>1</sup> suas manus, suas operas interposuerit, et vos ipsi suo nomine<sup>2</sup> totis assurgatis viribus, consulendo, dirigendo, agendo, nihil omittendo usquequo<sup>3</sup> pace inter Christianos composita<sup>4</sup>, terrestris et maritimus exercitus ducatur in Turcos, adversus quos raro<sup>5</sup> sine<sup>6</sup> Francorum sanguine feliciter pugnatum est.

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<sup>1</sup> rex vester : vester rex P, AC

<sup>2</sup> suo nomine *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>3</sup> us S

<sup>4</sup> posita I

<sup>5</sup> Caroli N

<sup>6</sup> sive N



[59 cont.] This will happen easily if your great and pious king gives his support and help to the cause, and if you yourselves, in his name and to your greatest ability, consult, direct and act, omitting nothing, until there is peace between Christians and a land army and a naval force is sent against the Turks, whom we have rarely fought successfully without the participation of French royal family<sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> "sanguis"

[60] Ceterum, quia pragmaticae sanctionis superius incidit mentio<sup>1</sup>, cuius secreta magis pulsavimus, quam aperuimus, urget nos<sup>2</sup> conscientia<sup>3</sup> immo vero<sup>4</sup> caritas, qua genti vestrae devincti<sup>5</sup> sumus, priusquam<sup>6</sup> finem dicendi<sup>7</sup> facimus<sup>8</sup>, de hac re pauca<sup>9</sup> libare<sup>10</sup>, ne taciturnitas nostra indulgentia videatur<sup>11</sup>, et quod<sup>12</sup> sanabile vulnus est<sup>13</sup>, fiat mortale<sup>14</sup>, et nos a consortio vestro oporteat<sup>15</sup> abstinere, quoniam sicut<sup>16</sup> in veteri lege sancitum est<sup>17</sup>, *super<sup>18</sup> omnem animam, quae mortua est, non ingreditur pontifex*, quod teste Jeronimo perinde<sup>19</sup> accipiendum est, ac si dicat: *ubicumque peccatum est, et in peccato mors<sup>20</sup>, illuc<sup>21</sup> pontifex non accedat<sup>22</sup>*. Cupimus sanctam esse Francorum gentem et omni carere {132r} macula et cum apostolo dicere: *Despondi<sup>23</sup> enim vos uni viro virginem<sup>24</sup> castam exhibere Christo<sup>25</sup>*. At hoc fieri non potest, nisi haec sanctionis macula<sup>26</sup> seu ruga deponatur, quae quomodo introducta sit, ipsi<sup>27</sup> nostis<sup>28</sup>. Certe non auctoritate generalis synodi nec Romanorum<sup>29</sup> decreto pontificum recepta<sup>30</sup> est, quamvis de causis ecclesiasticis<sup>31</sup> tractans<sup>32</sup> absque placito Romanae sedis stare non possit.

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<sup>1</sup> ratio R

<sup>2</sup> non M

<sup>3</sup> congruentia O, P, AC

<sup>4</sup> verus S

<sup>5</sup> devincti J

<sup>6</sup> quam S

<sup>7</sup> finem dicendi : dicendi finem M, N, S

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* O; faciamus J, N, P, AC

<sup>9</sup> de hac re pauca *omit.* P; hac re pauca : ea aliqua AC

<sup>10</sup> libet dicere N

<sup>11</sup> **reputetur I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>12</sup> quidem N, S

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* J; et N, S

<sup>14</sup> immortale N, S, V

<sup>15</sup> oportet S

<sup>16</sup> *omit.* M, O

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

<sup>18</sup> supra P, AC

<sup>19</sup> proinde J, O, P, AC

<sup>20</sup> et in peccato mors *omit.* J

<sup>21</sup> illic N; illud O

<sup>22</sup> **accedet I, L, N, P, S, AC;** accedit O

<sup>23</sup> dispondi M

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

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

<sup>26</sup> sanctionis macula : macula sanctionis N

<sup>27</sup> ipsa O

<sup>28</sup> nostri N; nescitis P, AC

<sup>29</sup> Romano O

<sup>30</sup> accepta N, S

<sup>31</sup> ecclesias L

<sup>32</sup> tractarunt O; tractatus AC

## 4. Pragmatic sanction of Bourges, 1438

[60] There has been mention of the Pragmatic Sanction, whose secrets We have just touched upon, and not gone deeply into.<sup>1</sup> Now, before We finish this oration, Our conscience and indeed the love We have for your people urge Us say a few words on this matter so that Our silence shall not be seen as tolerance and a healable wound become mortal and make it necessary for Us to keep apart from fellowship with you.<sup>2</sup> For in the Old Law it is written that the *High Priest shall not go in at all to any dead person*,<sup>3</sup> which according to Jerome means that *wherever a sin has been committed and there is death in that sin, there the high priest shall not go*.<sup>4 5</sup> We desire the French people to be holy and unblemished, and to say with the apostle: *For I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ*.<sup>6</sup> But this cannot happen unless the blemish or the wrinkle of the sanction is removed. You yourselves know how it was established: certainly, it was never accepted by the authority of a general synod<sup>7</sup> nor by any decree of the Roman pontiffs, but since it deals with ecclesiastical matters it is not valid without the assent of the Roman See.

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<sup>1</sup> On Charles VII and the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, 1438, see Du Fresne de Beaucourt, III, ch. 13

<sup>2</sup> This is a veiled threat of excommunication

<sup>3</sup> Leviticus, 21, 11: *pontifex ... et ad omnem mortuum non ingreditur omnino*. Pius quotes the Latin text after Jerome

<sup>4</sup> Jeronimus: *Epistolae*, 64 (Ad Fabiolam), 3. In: MPL, XXII, col. 610. Note the use of allegory

<sup>5</sup> Elsewhere, Pius entertains the notion of a translation of the priesthood from the Jewish high priests to the Roman popes

<sup>6</sup> 1. Corinthians, 11, 2

<sup>7</sup> The Pragmatic Sanction of 1438 builds – with some modifications - upon a number of key decrees of the Council of Basel, from the period in which it was recognized by Pope Eugenius IV. The council may not formally have approved the text of the Sanction, but it was not required to

[61] Ferunt aliqui<sup>1</sup> initium ei<sup>2</sup> datum, quia nimis onerarent Romani<sup>3</sup> pontifices regnum Franciae nimiasque pecunias inde<sup>4</sup> <sup>5</sup> corraderent<sup>6</sup>. Mirum<sup>7</sup> si haec ratio Carolum movit, quem praecessoris<sup>8</sup> sui magni Caroli imitatore debeat<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup> esse, cuius haec verba leguntur: *In memoriam*<sup>11</sup> *beati Petri apostoli honoremus sanctam Romanam ecclesiam et*<sup>12</sup> *apostolicam sedem*<sup>13</sup>, *ut quae nobis sacerdotalis mater est dignitatis, esse debeat*<sup>14</sup> *ecclesiasticae magistra rationis. Quare servanda est cum mansuetudine humilitas, et licet vix ferendum*<sup>15</sup> *ab illa sancta sede imponatur jugum, tamen feramus et pia devotione toleremus*. Non est credibile Carolum, qui modo regnat, suo sensu<sup>16</sup> hanc pragmaticam introduxisse. Deceptum putamus et piaementi<sup>17</sup> suggesta fuisse<sup>18</sup> non vera<sup>19</sup>. Nam quo pacto religiosus princeps<sup>20</sup> ea servari sivisset<sup>21</sup>, quorum praetextu<sup>22</sup> summa<sup>23</sup> sedis apostolicae auctoritas laeditur<sup>24</sup>, et<sup>25</sup> religionis nostrae<sup>26</sup> vires enervantur, unitasque<sup>27</sup> ecclesiae et libertas perimitur? Durum verbum<sup>28</sup>, durius<sup>29</sup> factum. Audite patienter, hortamur<sup>30</sup>. Vulnere, quae putrescunt, non olei lenitate, sed vini potius<sup>31</sup> austeritate sanantur<sup>32</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> idcirco *add. in marg.* D; **idcirco add. I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC**

<sup>2</sup> initium ei : ei initium J

<sup>3</sup> Romanos O

<sup>4</sup> unde J; *omit.* AC

<sup>5</sup> pecunias inde : inde pecunias O, P

<sup>6</sup> corroderent J, M, P, N, S

<sup>7</sup> dirum M

<sup>8</sup> praecessoris *corr. ex* precessores A; precessores C, J, R; praedecessoris D, I, L, N, O, S, AC; **predecessores P, V**

<sup>9</sup> dicebat C, M; decebant J

<sup>10</sup> **imitatorem decebat : decebat imitatore I, L, O, P, S, V, AC; dicebat imitatore N**

<sup>11</sup> memoria N, AC

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

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

<sup>14</sup> debebat S

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* J

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

<sup>17</sup> piaementi : pia mente S

<sup>18</sup> esse R

<sup>19</sup> fuisse non vera : non fuisse vera C

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

<sup>21</sup> sinisset *corr. ex* sivisset L; scivisset J, M, V; sinisset N, R

<sup>22</sup> praetexta N

<sup>23</sup> summae N

<sup>24</sup> legitur J

<sup>25</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>26</sup> vestre R

<sup>27</sup> unitas B, M, P

<sup>28</sup> durum verbum : verbum durum O, P, AC

<sup>29</sup> durum M

<sup>30</sup> et *add.* M

<sup>31</sup> vini potius : pocius vini J, S

<sup>32</sup> satiantur N; sanentur S

[61] Some say that that it was caused by the Roman pontiffs overtaxing the Kingdom of France and collecting too much money from it. It would be remarkable if such a reason could have moved Charles,<sup>1</sup> who ought to imitate his predecessor, Charlemagne, writing as follows: *In memory of the blessed Apostle Peter, let us honour the Holy Roman Church and the Apostolic See. As she is our mother by virtue of her priestly dignity, she should also be our teacher by virtue of her ecclesiastical office. Therefore, we should be subservient to her with all meekness, and even when a barely tolerable yoke is put upon us by that Holy See, we should carry it and bear it with pious devotion.*<sup>2</sup> It is not believable that the Charles who reigns now could have introduced the Pragmatic Sanction on his own initiative. We believe that he was deceived and that falsities were presented to his pious mind. For how could a religious prince allow such things that serve as a pretext for damaging and undermining the supreme authority of the Apostolic See, for weakening the sinews of our religion, and for destroying the unity and liberty of the Church? The words are hard, but the deed is even harder. We exhort you to listen patiently. Festered wounds are cleaned not with mild oil, but with sharp wine.

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<sup>1</sup> Charles VII

<sup>2</sup> Decretum, D.19.3. The text quoted by Piccolomini is a late forgery. It was also used by Piccolomini in his oration against the Austrians, the "*Sentio*" [20] (1452), sect. 97

[62] Non ponderamus causarum auditiones<sup>1</sup>, non beneficiorum collationem<sup>2</sup>, non alia multa, quae curare putamus. Illud nos angit, quod animarum perditionem ruinamque cernimus et nobilissimi regni gloriam labefactari<sup>3</sup>. Nam quo pacto tolerandum est clericorum iudices laicos esse factos? Pastorum causas oves<sup>4</sup> cognoscere? Siccine *regale genus et sacerdotale* sumus<sup>5</sup>? Non explicabimus honoris causa<sup>6</sup> quam<sup>7</sup> diminuta est in Gallia sacerdotalis auctoritas: episcopi<sup>8</sup> melius norunt<sup>9</sup>, qui pro nutu saecularis potestatis<sup>10</sup> spiritualem gladium nunc exerunt<sup>11</sup>, nunc recondunt<sup>12</sup>. Praesul vero Romanus, cuius parrochia orbis est, cuius provincia nec<sup>13</sup> Oceano clauditur, in regno Franciae tantum<sup>14</sup> jurisdictionis habet<sup>15</sup>, quantum placet parlamento. Non sacrilegum, non paricidam<sup>16</sup>, non haereticum punire<sup>17</sup> permittitur, quamvis ecclesiasticum, nisi parlamenti consensus adsit, cuius tantam<sup>18</sup> esse<sup>19</sup> auctoritatem nonnulli existimant<sup>20</sup>, ut censuris<sup>21</sup> etiam<sup>22</sup> nostris praecludere aditum possit<sup>23</sup>. Sic iudex iudicum<sup>24</sup>, Romanus pontifex, iudicio<sup>25</sup> parlamenti subjectus est. Si hoc admittimus, monstruosam<sup>26</sup> ecclesiam facimus, et hydram<sup>27</sup> {132v} multorum capitum introducimus, et unitatem prorsus extinguimus. [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> auditores M; auditionem C, I, J, L, N, O, P, S, AC

<sup>2</sup> collationum M

<sup>3</sup> labefacturi O

<sup>4</sup> causas oves : oves causas P

<sup>5</sup> suum P, AC

<sup>6</sup> causam J

<sup>7</sup> quantum AC

<sup>8</sup> et P, AC

<sup>9</sup> gnorunt P

<sup>10</sup> status I

<sup>11</sup> exercent N, S, O, P, AC

<sup>12</sup> recludunt I, L; recludunt N, S; excludunt O, P, AC

<sup>13</sup> omit. N

<sup>14</sup> quantum O

<sup>15</sup> habebit AC

<sup>16</sup> parricidam D, I, L, N, S; patricidam P, AC

<sup>17</sup> puniri C, R

<sup>18</sup> totam O

<sup>19</sup> tantam esse : esse tantam J

<sup>20</sup> extimant M

<sup>21</sup> censurus M

<sup>22</sup> ex O

<sup>23</sup> sit V

<sup>24</sup> iudicium B

<sup>25</sup> omit. M

<sup>26</sup> monstrosam AC

<sup>27</sup> ideam condram P; quamdam add. AC

[62] We are not overly concerned with the audition of legal cases, the granting of benefices, or many other things We believe can be remedied. No, what worries Us is that We see the perdition and ruin of souls and the vanishing glory of this noble kingdom.<sup>1</sup> For how can it be tolerated that laymen have been made judges of clerics? That the sheep examine the cases of their pastors?<sup>2</sup> Are we not a *royal and priestly race*?<sup>3</sup> For the sake of honour We shall not explain how greatly priestly authority has diminished in France: the bishops know it better who, at the whim of the secular power, now take out their spiritual sword, and now put it back. The Roman Bishop, whose parish is the whole world, and whose province is only limited by the Ocean, only has as much jurisdiction in France as the Parliament allows him<sup>4</sup>. He is forbidden to punish a blasphemer, a murderer of near relatives, a heretic – even if he is an ecclesiastic - unless Parliament gives its assent. Many believe that its authority is so great that it precludes even Our censures. Thus the Roman Pontiff, judge of judges, is subjected to the judgment of Parliament. If We allow this, We make a monster of the Church, create a hydra with many heads, and completely destroy unity.  
[cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> The Kingdom of France

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Decretum, C.2.7.40: *Oves pastorem suum non accusent nec reprehendant* (The sheep should not accuse or criticize their shepherd)

<sup>3</sup> 1. Peter, 2, 9: *Vos autem genus electum, regale sacerdotium*

<sup>4</sup> The role of parliament in ecclesiastical affairs was not part of the Pragmatic Sanction, as already Felino Sandei remarked in a margin note in the ms. Lucca 541

[62 cont.] Periculosa haec<sup>1</sup> res esset<sup>2</sup>, venerabiles fratres, quae<sup>3</sup> hierarchiam<sup>4</sup> omnem confunderet<sup>5</sup>. Nam cur regibus, cur aliis praesulibus<sup>6</sup> sui subditi<sup>7</sup> pareant<sup>8</sup>, cum ipsi superiori suo non<sup>9</sup> pareant<sup>10</sup>? Quam quisque legem in alium statuerit<sup>11</sup>, eam sibi servandam putet. Verendum est, ne prope adsit, quod ad Galatas<sup>12</sup> significare videtur<sup>13</sup> apostolus, quia *post discessionem*<sup>14</sup> *revelabitur*<sup>15</sup> *homo*<sup>16</sup> *peccati*. Adventum<sup>17</sup> quippe<sup>18</sup> Antichristi<sup>19</sup> sollicitant, qui discessionem<sup>20</sup> a Romana<sup>21</sup> ecclesia quaerunt<sup>22</sup>, quam<sup>23</sup> prae se ferre<sup>24</sup> videntur, quae sub obtentu pragmaticae<sup>25</sup> fieri dicuntur.

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

<sup>2</sup> est B, I, J

<sup>3</sup> qui J

<sup>4</sup> ierarchiam A, B, C, D, S; gerarchiam O, P

<sup>5</sup> confunderent O

<sup>6</sup> praesidibus O, P, AC

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

<sup>8</sup> parerent P, AC

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

<sup>10</sup> cum ipsi ... pareant *omit.* B, J, M

<sup>11</sup> statuunt O; statuit P, AC

<sup>12</sup> Thessalonicenses *em.* AC

<sup>13</sup> significare videtur : videtur significare O, P, AC

<sup>14</sup> dissessionem B, S, O, P; discensionem J

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> hora P, AC

<sup>17</sup> adventi O

<sup>18</sup> qui prope L

<sup>19</sup> Antechristi A, B, D, M, R

<sup>20</sup> discensionem J; dissessionem S, O, P

<sup>21</sup> Roma O

<sup>22</sup> ferunt M

<sup>23</sup> qua A, C // M, R; **qualem** I, L, N, O, P, S, V, AC

<sup>24</sup> prae se ferre *omit.* O

<sup>25</sup> sanctionis *add.* O, P, AC



[62 cont.] This would be a dangerous thing, venerable brothers, and one which would overturn all hierarchy. For why would subjects obey their kings or other bishops, for that matter, if these themselves do not obey their own superior? Whoever makes a law directed against another, must consider that he should obey it himself. We must fear that the event mentioned by the apostle to the Galatians<sup>1</sup> is approaching: after the *revolt the man of sin be revealed*.<sup>2</sup> Those who wish to leave the Roman Church are in reality inciting the advent of Antichrist. And leaving the Church is precisely what they seek who support the Pragmatic Sanction.

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<sup>1</sup> Error for Thessalonians

<sup>2</sup> 2. Thessalonians, 2, 3: *Ne quis vos seducat ullo modo: quoniam nisi venerit discessio primum, et revelatus fuerit homo peccati filius perditionis*

[63] Sed credimus haec, ut ante diximus, regi vestro incognita esse, cujus natura benigna est et inimica mali. Docendus est et<sup>1</sup> instruendus<sup>2</sup>, ne pestem hanc in<sup>3</sup> suo regno<sup>4 5</sup> debacchari amplius et animas interficere sinat. Vos episcopi<sup>6</sup> lucernae estis ardentes coram eo et candelabra lucentia in domo domini. Sic lucete, ut lux vestra tenebras omnes ac caligines pragmaticae sanctionis ex nobili ac<sup>7 8</sup> Christianissima Francorum gente depellat, solumque<sup>9</sup> lumen solis<sup>10</sup>, idest veritatis splendor et claritas<sup>11 12</sup> eluceat. Quod si rex vester opera vestra fecerit, et vos mercedem prophetae<sup>13</sup> recipietis<sup>14</sup> a domino, et ipse<sup>15</sup> par suis progenitoribus ac major<sup>16</sup> per omnes<sup>17</sup> orbis ecclesias et in Romana potissimum<sup>18</sup> jure merito et erit et<sup>19</sup> vocabitur Christianissimus<sup>20</sup>.

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

<sup>2</sup> est et instruendus : et instruendus est V

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>4</sup> suo regno : regno suo P

<sup>5</sup> in suo regno *omit.* AC

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* N, S; et I, L, O, P, V, AC

<sup>8</sup> nobili ac : nobilitate J

<sup>9</sup> solum J

<sup>10</sup> lumen solis : solis lumen I

<sup>11</sup> caritas I; veritas AC

<sup>12</sup> et claritas *omit.* J

<sup>13</sup> *omit.* P, AC

<sup>14</sup> recipiet N

<sup>15</sup> *omit.* O, P, AC

<sup>16</sup> ac major : majorque O, P, AC

<sup>17</sup> omnis I

<sup>18</sup> potissime D

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

<sup>20</sup> Finis *add.* I, L, M, P, R, V; Laus deo *add.* N; explicit *add.* O; Amen *add.* S

[63] But, as We have said before, We believe that these things are not known to your king, who is kind by nature and an enemy of evil. He must be advised and informed so that he will not allow this plague to run wild in his kingdom and kill souls. You bishops are the candles before God and the shining lights in the house of God. Shine so that your light will drive all the shadow and darkness<sup>1</sup> of the Pragmatic Sanction out of the noble and Most Christian people of France so that only the light and clarity of the sun, that is of the truth, will shine forth. If the king does this for you, you will receive the prophet's reward from the Lord, and he himself will equal or even surpass his ancestors, and he will rightly be and be called Most Christian by all the churches of the world and especially by the Roman Church.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2. Peter, 1, 19

## Appendix 1: Oration “*Responsurus*” of Andrea de Santa Croce (1 December 1459, Mantua)

A number of the arguments in the following text closely resemble arguments in Pius’ oration “*Responsuri*”, and the initia of the orations are almost identical. These similarities raise the question of the relationship between the two texts.

### Date

In his oration, Santa Croce refers to the oration of the French ambassadors as having been given the day before (*pridie*). This was 30 November (see above), so Santa Croce’s oration would have been given on 1 December.

### Manuscript

The oration is presently known to be extant in two manuscripts:

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale de France**  
NAL 3198, ff. (P)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele**  
Vitt. Em. 792, ff. 2r-29v

The Paris manuscript is damaged and in places difficult or impossible to read.

### Edition

The text has been edited at least once:

- A. Pellicia: *Raccolta di varie Croniche, Diari et altri Opuscoli così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*. Tom. IV. Napoli, 1782, pp. 331-349 (PE)

It is not known on which manuscript Pellicia’s edition is based.

### Present edition

The text is edited on the basis of the Paris manuscript (P) and Pellicia's edition (PE).

Pagination after Pellicia.

### Literature

Abulafia, David: Ferrante I of Naples, Pope Pius II and the Congress of Mantua (1459). In: *Montjoie. Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, ed. by B.Z. Kedar et al. Aldershot, 1997, pp. 235-249

Pellicia, Alessio Aurelio: In orationem Andreae de Sancta Cruce Commentarius praevius. In: *Raccolta di varie Croniche, Diari et altri Opuscoli così italiani, come latini, appartenenti alla storia del Regno di Napoli*. Tom. IV. Napoli, 1782, pp. 299-328

## **Andreas de Sancta Cruce jur. peritissimus consistorialis advocatus inclyto Ferdinando regi SAP<sup>1</sup>**

Scribit Plinius Isocratem viginti talentis unam suam vendidisse orationem, Demosthenem vero quinquaginta. Ego jussu tuae Majestatis Mantuam ad Universalem omnium Christianorum regum et principum conventionem per Pium II. Pontificem Maximum indictam accessi, ubi orationem infra descriptam pro tuorum regnorum defensione disserui. Scio nec materia, nec personis, nec loco aliquam per quemquam habitam orationem majori praemio dignam, nisi quod<sup>2</sup> pronuntiantis<sup>3</sup> verborum ornatus inaequalitas esse posset. Recipiat eam Majestas tua, in qua titulos omnes tui principatus ascripsi et tuae personae ad regium solium meritum, postquam nostrorum temporum gesta rem publicam concernantia per me fideliter scripta. Si haec suo pretio compensabitur, destinare curabo, in quibus tui genitoris in Italia gesta ac tuos ad regni adeptionem successus perleges ad tuorum consiliorum ingerendis normam, cum ut plurimum ex praeteritorum notione praesentia et futura prudentius et accuratius ordinantur.

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<sup>1</sup> Andreas ... SAP : Ferdinando Regi Siciliae Andreas de Sancta Cruce Advocatus PE

<sup>2</sup> quaedam PE

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

## **Andreae de Sancta Cruce, juris peritissimi<sup>1</sup> advocatque consistorialis et Ferdinandi regis, oratio adversus Gallorum oratores habita in concilio Mantuano<sup>2</sup>**

[1] {331} Responsurus, sanctissime pater, ad ea, quae per illustres Christianissimi principis, Francorum regis, aliorumque principum Galliarum oratores pridie hoc in loco contra jura serenissimi<sup>3</sup> principis Ferdinandi, regis Siciliae, vestrae sanctitatis devotissimi filii, dicta fuere, deducam brevissime ejusdem in regno Siciliae jura, per quae omnium aliorum jura hoc loco exposita inefficacia esse, manifestissime apparebit verbis caritate plenis, ad pacem et ad armorum depositionem tendentibus, et ad finem hujus sanctae<sup>4</sup> congregationis et desiderii vestrae sanctitatis facientibus.

[2] In<sup>5</sup> primo hoc unum praemisero, quod ea, quae per dictos oratores pridie hic dicta fuere, nec hujus sanctae conventionis loco nec tempore nec eorum {31v} dominis, pro quibus verba fecere, convenisse. Venit sanctitas vestra, maximo cum sui corporis ecclesiasticique status incommodo, zelo tutandae Christianae religionis incensa, ad hanc Mantuanam civitatem, ut devotissimos Christianae religionis principes conveniret exhortareturque, ut murum se facerent in die belli, ut uno spiritu, anima una, mutuaque caritate bellum contra fidei hostem inirent, dimisso contentionis tribunali judicio Romae, ne vestrae sanctitatis mens huic sanctae rei intenta privatis contentionibus turbaretur. Nec conveniebat hostibus fidei, quorum exploratores plurimos hic esse credendum est, nostras Christianorum principum infirmitates detegere, sed unanimi voluntate principum Christianorum eos terrere.

[3] Qui ergo hoc in loco Christianorum principum contentiones adducunt, rem loco impertinentem faciunt et contrariam<sup>6</sup> ejus<sup>7</sup>, ad quod<sup>8</sup> haec conventio {332} extitit instituta. Tempore hoc Christianae religioni bellum indictum est per hostes fidei, in pudicitias nostrarum virginum debacchantes. Veniunt contra nos unita potentia, quorum exercitus strepitum audimus. Et utinam solum de propagandis finibus, tollendis sedibus hominum natorumque nostrorum

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; peritissimi P

<sup>2</sup> Andreae ... Mantuano : Responsio facta oratoribus regis et aliorum principum Galliae pro Ferdinando rege Sicilie in dieta Mantuana per Andream de Sancta Cruce utriusque juris doctorem regium et sacri Apostolici consistorii advocatum PE

<sup>3</sup> sacratissimi PE

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

<sup>5</sup> si PE

<sup>6</sup> contrarium P

<sup>7</sup> eis PE

<sup>8</sup> quae PE

servitutibus ageretur. Sed de templis, de aris<sup>1</sup>, de sacramentis, de sepulchris, de parentum ossibus, de imaginibus, de annalibus, de litteris, de legibus nostris delendis atque perdendis intendunt. Sanctorum patrum editae constitutiones sunt, ac per duos immediatos praedecessores sanctitatis vestrae litterae publicatae omnibus Christifidelibus, quibus mandatur hoc tempore per Christianos principes contentiones et arma deponi.

[4] Qui ergo inter Christianos principes novas contentiones adducunt et arma, rem tempori inconvenientem agunt, ac contra expediens Christianae religioni de directo mandatis apostolicis adversantur<sup>2</sup>. Principes ii<sup>3</sup>, quorum nomine agitur, sunt ex Christianissima Galliarum gente contra potentissimam Italiae partem, a quibus duabus potestatibus potissima sperantur<sup>4</sup> hujusmodi<sup>5</sup> belli praesidia. Sacris litteris mandatum est populo Dei bellum agente: qui non venient, gladio esse perdendos, ut de Jahel<sup>6</sup> Galaad<sup>7</sup> judicum quinto<sup>8</sup> legitur esse factum.<sup>9</sup> Et Caesar in quinto commentariorum libro in fine asserit hoc esse moris Gallorum, ut qui ad commune bellum vocatus novissimus venit, in conspectu multitudinis cruciatibus omnibus affectus necatur. Si qui ad bellum non veniunt aut ultimi, gladio perdendi sunt.

[5] Quid contra eos, qui bellum contra hostes ordinari impediunt, ut bellum fidelibus inferant? Qui ergo hoc tempore de bello inter fideles agunt, rem eorum dignitatibus inconvenientem attemptant, ac divinas ipsorumque Gallorum consuetudinis poenas incurrunt. Concluditur ex his, quae pridie hoc in loco dicta fuere, nec loco nec tempori nec dominis eorum, qui praemissa exposuere, dignitatibus convenisse. Et hoc pro responso dari sufficeret. Sed ut auribus vestrae sanctitatis et aliorum, qui praemissa audierunt de jure {333} praefati serenissimi<sup>10</sup> regis Ferdinandi, satisfaciam, non ut judiciales contentiones adducam, et jura breviter enarrabo, referamque primo, in quibus ambo convenimus, demum veras juris conclusiones eliciam.

[6] In hoc, beatissime pater, ambae partes pariter convenimus. Siciliae regnum ad Romanam spectare ecclesiam jure directo, Christiano principi infeudandum. Hoc Rogerii I. regis et Guilelmi II.<sup>11</sup> recognitiones et investiturae demonstrant, qui regnum hoc signis, armis, et impensa Romanae ecclesiae acquisitum ab ecclesia Romana reverentissime receperunt. In hoc etiam

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<sup>1</sup> de aris *omit.* PE

<sup>2</sup> adversantes PE

<sup>3</sup> hii PE

<sup>4</sup> sperantur P

<sup>5</sup> hic P

<sup>6</sup> Jabes PE

<sup>7</sup> Galaath PE

<sup>8</sup> XIX PE

<sup>9</sup> Judges, 4-5

<sup>10</sup> sacratissimi PE

<sup>11</sup> primi PE



ambo convenimus ad Fredericum II., Germaniae principem, Romanorum imperatorem, ut Romanae ecclesiae feudum devenisse, ac eo suis demeritis et sententiali iudicio fuisse privatum. In hoc etiam pariter convenimus Carolo, secundogenito Francorum regis, pro se suisque filiis masculis tantum et una femina deficientibus masculo per Clementem papam IV. primo fuisse concessum, ita ut suis armis et impensa Manfredum ex Frederici jure venientem ex<sup>1</sup> regno ejiceret, quadraginta octo millia ducatorum annis singulis Romanae ecclesiae pro censu daret, Bevenetanam civitatem pro sede summi pontificis designaret, certamque militiam sua impensa pro singulis Romane ecclesiae necessitatibus paratam haberet. Et<sup>2</sup> his modis et conditionibus in Lateranensi ecclesia Clementis papae IV. auctoritate extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCLXV.

[7] Cui Carolus II., ejus filius, successit in regnum, qui de eodem a Coelestino V. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCLXXXV. Hic rex quinque filios procreavit, cujus primogenitus Carolus, {334} Martello cognominatus, in regem Hungariae electus est. Secundus filius, Ludovicus, sanctam religionem minorum professus et sanctorum catalogo ascriptus. Tertius vero filius Robertus, sapientissimus princeps, in Siciliae regno patri successit. Quartus in principatum Tarenti, et quintus in ducatum Dyrachii est evectus. Hic sapientissimus Robertus post patris obitum in Siciliae regno succedens a Clemente V. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCXV. Cumque unicus filius, Calabriae dux, patri praemoreretur, relictis duabus filiis, Johanna primogenita et Elisabeth, licet fratres et fratrum filios haberent, cupiens primogenituram fratri regi Hungariae et ejus filiis restituere, primogenitam Johannam et filio Andreae secundo genito regis Hungariae in uxorem dedit, ut tam primogeniturae jure quam<sup>3</sup> matrimoniali vinculo Andreas in regno succederet. Secundogenitam neptem primogenito fratris regis Hungariae matrimonio copulavit, sicque sapientissimus princeps neptes ambas reginas fecit, et Siciliae regnum primogeniturae restituit, et suae proli conjunxit.

[8] Et in hoc, beatissime pater, pariter convenimus. Succedentibus in regno Andrea et Johanna - ut supra relatum est - mortuo Roberto, cum juvenculus puer in Neapolitano palatio inter puellares delicias versaretur, ut virum cum uxore decet, praefata Johanna spiritu diabolico incensa factione plurium astantium puellarum virum juveniculum laqueo apud fenestram suspendit. Cumque ob scelestissimum facinus Romanae ecclesiae vindictam, cujus auctoritate plurimi interempti fuerunt facinoris conscii, Johanna vereretur, ac timens exercitum Ludovici, qui ex regno Hungariae ad vindicandam fratris mortem magno cum exercitu veniebat, ipsa in Gallias in provinciam Provinciae et civitatem Avinionensem, quae suae erant, aufugit<sup>4</sup> ducto secum Carolo, filio ducis Dyrachii, sibi consobрино patruele. Cumque ob Caroli pueritiam eum bello

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<sup>1</sup> omit. PE

<sup>2</sup> omit. PE

<sup>3</sup> ac PE

<sup>4</sup> aufugitur PE

praeficere non posset, ut sibi praesidia conciliaret, Andegaviae ducem adoptavit. Hoc Andegaviae domus juris principium {335} ex viricida, e<sup>1</sup> regno exule, Romanae ecclesiae hoste, nullum<sup>2</sup> in Regno jus habente, cum viro competiisset ex Roberti patris institutione. Et si quod jus habuisset feudorum jure ex homicidio ipso jure privata extitisset.

[9] Abeuntibus Hungaris regina Johanna praeparata classe in regnum reversa est ac per regnicolas spe Caroli, patruelem filii, Dyrachii ducis juvenis, in regnum recepta. Haec videns Carolum, ducis Dyrachii filium patruelem, in virtutibus adolescere, ad quem regnum de jure spectabat, semotis regis Hungariae filiis, adoptionem de domo Andegaviae ducis<sup>3</sup> factam revocavit. Et ne frustratus dux Andegaviae<sup>4</sup> videretur<sup>5</sup>, eidem provinciam Provinciae in compensam dedit, Avinionense civitate partim ob delicti poenam, partim pecunia accepta<sup>6</sup> Romanae ecclesiae relaxata.

[10] Ea mortua Carolus, Dyrachii dux, ex filiis Caroli II. tertius cognominatus, successit in regnum, de quo per Urbanum VI. extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCLO. Hic mortuo Ludvico rege in regnum Hungariae vocatus est, illucque accedens, Hungariae regnum pacifice assecutus, aliquorum factione extitit interemptus, remanente sibi Ladislao et Johanna filiis. Cumque Ladislaus minor<sup>7</sup> esset, Andegaviae dux, adoptione Johanna I. ad regnum aspirans regimine<sup>8</sup> {34v} destitutum exercitum potentissimum paravit ac regnum quasi totum occupavit. Sed a Ladislao, Caroli filio, suffragio Cajetanae civitatis, quae eum in regem recepit et recognovit, Andegaviae dux cum omni exercitu extitit e regno expulsus, ipseque rex Ladislaus pacificus per Bonifatium papam VIII.<sup>9</sup> in ecclesia principis apostolorum extitit investitus et coronatus anno MCCCC. Hic ad Hungariae regnum et ad<sup>10</sup> patris vindictam aspirans, et, cum maximo ac potentissimo exercitu progrediretur, veneno interemptus est et<sup>11</sup> absque filiis decessit. Cui Johanna soror secunda<sup>12</sup> cognominata successit in regnum, quae felicitis recordationis Martini papae V. auctoritate extitit investita et coronata anno domini MCCCCXVII. Et licet contra eandem Ludovicus, Andegaviae dux, bellum movere praesumpsisset, nullo jure suffultus, eam in reginam {336} recognovit et veneratus est. Et cum ipse Ludovicus, Andegaviae dux, ipsi reginae

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

<sup>2</sup> nullo PE

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; duce P, PE

<sup>4</sup> facta revocavit ... Andegaviae *omit.* PE

<sup>5</sup> videret PE

<sup>6</sup> recepta PE

<sup>7</sup> iunior P

<sup>8</sup> regine P

<sup>9</sup> IV. PE

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

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

<sup>12</sup> sua PE

praedecefferit, omnis spes suae adoptionis, quam sibi vindicare praesumpserat, sua morte evanuit, Johanna regina omnium approbatione, omni jure Andegaviae domus excluso, manente.

[11] Vexata Johanna praefata a praefato<sup>1</sup> Ludovico, Andegaviae duce, et ejus gentibus oppressa, gloriosae memoriae Alfonsi, regis Aragonum, contra infideles bellum agentis, bello strenui, proximitate regni ulterioris Siciliae vicini, praesidia imploravit. Praefatus gloriosissimus rex, videns se juramento astrictum viduis oppressis auxilia petentibus non deesse, sed eas pro posse tueri, sua impensa et militia personaliter ad regni protectionem venit. Quo factum est, ut maternalem affectionem adoptionisque jus in dicti regni successionem merito conquisierit eaque motus ad regni gubernacula protectionis jure vocari meruerit<sup>2</sup>. Et licet sanctae memoriae Eugenius papa IV. pro Romana ecclesia, non pro principe aliquo regnum acquirere optaret<sup>3</sup>, destitutus spe certas conditionales dispositiones<sup>4</sup> in Renatum, Ludovici filium, fecit<sup>5</sup>, videlicet si Pragmatica Sanctio<sup>6</sup> contra ecclesiae libertatem facta ex regno Franciae tolleretur, Andegavensis et Arelatensis ecclesiarum possessio eis, quibus apostolica sedes contulerat, pacifice assignaretur<sup>7</sup>, et certa pecuniarum summa infra tempus certum pro necessitatibus recuperationis status ecclesiae incumbantibus solveretur, et Basiliense concilium ad schisma anhelans dissolveretur.

[12] His non secutis, ut dominorum et populorum regni Siciliae desideriis<sup>8</sup> satisfaceret, ne destrueretur, ipsique regno et terris Romanae ecclesiae pacem daret, revocatis quibuscumque aliis dispositionibus – ut dictum est – conditionaliter factis et non impletis, jure et necessitate status ecclesiae tam in temporalibus quam in spiritualibus exigentibus, regnum ipsum praefato gloriosissimo principi, Alfonso regi, qui pietate vocatus venerat, qui regnum protexerat, a quo recognoscebatur in regem<sup>9</sup>, qui ecclesiae terras a tyrannis oppressas protegere sperabatur, concedere statuit ac eum in regem praeficere, destinatoque {337} legato apostolico in Terracinam civitatem de regno investivit, ac per bonae memoriae cardinalem Sancti Pauli vulgariter nuncupatum, ad eum regem missum, bullam destinavit, qua ut ab omni catholico antistite coronam recipere posset permisit. Hic gloriosissimus rex Alfonsus<sup>10</sup> volens sibi Romanam ecclesiam et regni jura benemeritis vindicare, videns marchiam Anconitanam praecipuasque Romanae ecclesiae terras, Assisium et Tudertum pluresque in patrimonio beati Petri a tyrannis

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

<sup>2</sup> eaque motus ... meruerit *omit.* PE

<sup>3</sup> optavit PE

<sup>4</sup> dispositiones P

<sup>5</sup> fecerit P

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

<sup>7</sup> assignarentur PE

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* P

<sup>9</sup> in regem : integer P

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

oppressas, propriis<sup>1</sup> regni<sup>2</sup> sumptibus laboribusque<sup>3</sup> non parcens magno cum exercitu personaliter in Marchiam profectus est. Quo factum est, ut omne patrimonium ecclesiae ad sanctae memoriae Eugenii papae manus et oboedientiam redire coegerit, ipso Eugenio ejusque fidelibus se non mediocriter juvantibus.

[13] Reversoque in regnum dicto rege, mandatis Eugenii papae obtemperante<sup>4</sup>, iterum congregato exercitu prope urbem venienti<sup>5</sup> ad<sup>6</sup> civitatem Tiburtinam, ut hiemaret, injunctum<sup>7</sup> est. Quo tempore praefatus pontifex Eugenius e vita assumptus est ac ab hoc saeculo migravit. In cujus pontificatus vacatione tanta cum reverentia ad ecclesiae unitatem et pacem se habuit, sacrum collegium exhortando ad futuram liberam sanctam futuri pontificis maximi electionem, optimos cives patriae monendo, discolos astantes minis et terroribus comprimendo, ut maxima pars pacis patriae et pacificae electionis secutae sibi ascribi potuerit. Relaxatis quoque<sup>8</sup> omnibus terris sanctae memoriae Nicolao papae V.<sup>9</sup> pontifici assumpto, dimissaque libere Tiburtina civitate, et pro receptis dignis muneribus pro reparatione publicorum locorum compensata mutuatisque eidem pontifici, qui cum maxima paupertate pontificatum<sup>10</sup> ingressus fuerat, ducatis quadraginta quinque millibus dandis certis armigeris, qui civitatem Esium Marchiae occupabant, eaque recepta per pontificem, omnibusque in pace dimissis, illatoque bello ad poenam his, qui ecclesiae occupatoribus praesidia publica praestiterant eisque parumper<sup>11</sup> afflictis, in regnum Siciliae<sup>12</sup> reversus est.

[14] Demum Italicorum dominos de mutua occupatione certantes {338} adeo exercitualibus tumultationibus terruit, ut arma deponere et ejus timore foderamque inire didicerint<sup>13</sup>, quam ipse ut pacis amator amplexus est, totamque Italiam foedere pacis univit<sup>14</sup>. Romanum pontificem pro pacis conservatore deputari voluit, omnesque qui sibi adversati fuerant, ad gratiam recepit, tantaque justitia et pace ipsum regnum ejusque populum gubernavit, ut non lictoribus, non fascibus aut securibus, non armatis militibus, sed inermis ephebum<sup>15</sup> principum juvenumque

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<sup>1</sup> persone P

<sup>2</sup> regiis P

<sup>3</sup> laboribus P

<sup>4</sup> obtemperans P

<sup>5</sup> veniens P

<sup>6</sup> in P

<sup>7</sup> ventum P

<sup>8</sup> relaxatis quoque : relaxatisque PE

<sup>9</sup> omit. PE

<sup>10</sup> pontificium PE

<sup>11</sup> patratu pro PE

<sup>12</sup> rebus add. PE

<sup>13</sup> didicit P

<sup>14</sup> vinxit PE

<sup>15</sup> omit. P

nobilium<sup>1</sup> caterva comitatus spatiaretur in silvis ibidemque ut plurimum pernoctaret. Auditaque Constantinopolitanae civitatis clade omni<sup>2</sup> populo ex Graecis, qui Christianam religionem tuebantur<sup>3</sup>, praesidia non mediocria praestitit, tandemque a sanctitatis vestrae<sup>4</sup> praedecessore, Calixto papa, excitatus crucem<sup>5</sup> assumpsit. Et nisi ipse pontifex secum de prudentia et certis privatis affectibus contendisset, talia Christianae religioni praesidia praestitisset, quod pericula, quibus agitamur, et pro quibus haec sancta conventio facta est, minime imminerent.

[15] Postremo, cum se morti proximum vidit, Ferdinandum filium, trium summorum pontificum auctoritatibus ad regni Siciliae successionem admissum, et quem ad regni gubernacula adeo instruxerat, ut figuli more alterum sibi constituisset, haeredem testamento instituit, eumque in solio regio ante obitum videre voluit, ac per eum primo, demum per alios omnes astantes principes adorari {339} et revereri<sup>6</sup>, consignatisque eidem<sup>7</sup> sceptro, fortissimis ac inexpugnabilibus arcibus, omnique regia suppellectili religiosissimus princeps animam Deo dedit.

[16] Et licet defecta omni Caroli prole, omnique Andegaviae domus jure sublato, triumque<sup>8</sup> summorum pontificum auctoritatibus jus suum usque ad obitum fuisset firmatum ac stabilitum, ut sibi jus<sup>9</sup> in nullo deesset, et ne ea, quae eo vivente facta fuerant, ejus reverentia facta fuisse per aliquos dici possent, Calixtus pontifex post ejus obitum, cum contra eum ejusque prolem minas et odia fulminaret, bullam edidit, per quam<sup>10</sup>, etsi contra Ferdinandum filium injuste inveheret, jus regium Alfonsi regis comprobavit et stabilivit, statuens usque ad ejus obitum ipsum regem fuisse. Quisque ex his<sup>11</sup> faciliter, quod juris est, potest elicere, et quantae differentiae sit Andegaviae domus principium, medium et finis ab Alfonsi regis principii, medii et finis juribus.

[17] Inchoavit Andegaviae domus a Johanna expulsa nullum habente jus, vocatus ad regni occupationem et Italiae pacis<sup>12</sup> perturbationem. Alfonsus rex a vera regina, in quam vera Caroli I. progenies declinaverat et finierat, vidua oppressa ad defensionis jus naturali jure permissum<sup>13</sup> ad regni tutelam et pacem.

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

<sup>2</sup> omnium PE

<sup>3</sup> tutabantur P

<sup>4</sup> sanctitatis vestrae : vestrae sanctitatis P

<sup>5</sup> calicem PE

<sup>6</sup> et revereri *omit.* PE

<sup>7</sup> ibidem P

<sup>8</sup> trium P

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

<sup>10</sup> per quam : pro qua PE

<sup>11</sup> iis PE

<sup>12</sup> partis PE

<sup>13</sup> promissum PE

[18] Medium Andegaviae domus fuit jus nullum habuisse, si quod jus sibi pollicitum fuisset, jure legitimo perdidisse et Siciliae regnum et ecclesiae terras saepius bello turbasse atque inquietasse. Medium Alfonsi regis extitit regnum quietasse, delinquentibus pepercisse, ecclesiam tutasse, ac optimis meritis jura regni continuo auxisse.

[19] Finis autem nostrorum temporum est Andegaviae domus, ut defecto omni jure successionis Caroli I. et sic nullo existente ex ipsius {340} Caroli vocatione jure ipsa, Andegaviae domo nullum jus habente cum de inferendo bello contra fidei hostes agitur, Christianorum conventionem impedire atque turbare. Finis vero Alfonsi et Ferdinandi est quattuor sumorum pontificum auctoritate regum jus firmasse, jura omnia ecclesiae recognovisse, omnes subditos in eorum justitia et pace confovere, ac<sup>1</sup> contra infideles, si non inquitetur, arma convertere.

[20] Explicato jure aeternae memoriae Alfonsi regis superest, ut ad serenissimi<sup>2</sup> Ferdinandi regis jura condescendam. Etsi ex praemissis satis clare appareant sacratissimi Ferdinandi regis successionis jura<sup>3</sup>, tamen<sup>4</sup> ut uberius ac manifestius sua post patris obitum jura innotescant, dico Ferdinandi regis in Siciliae regni successione legitimam successionem firmari, primo, patris desiderio et testamento, secundo, omnium principum et populorum unanimi electione, tertio, vestrae sanctitatis et Romanae ecclesiae auctoritate, quarto, paternarum virtutum imitatione.

[21] Primum<sup>5</sup> fuerit sanctae memoriae Alfonsi regis continuatum desiderium, ut Ferdinandus filius sibi in Siciliae regno succederet, ex hoc facile comprehendi potest, cum XVIII continuis annis post prima litterarum rudimenta eum, ut sibi assisteret, injunxit feceritque, ut nihil verbo vel scripto regia auctoritate mandaretur, quin ejus filiationis et progeniturae denominatione fieret, nil regum expediretur, divinum humanumque jus concernens, quin Ferdinandus ut filius interesset, ac in eum regiam disciplinam figuli more componeret, omnium regni principum filios Ferdinando coetaneos secum ali ac secum regia disciplina imbui injunxit, ut sicut regni gubernacula ita et regiarum disciplinarum amicorumque<sup>6</sup> notitiam relaxaret nulla in his mandandi, sed interessendi sola auctoritate concessa, ut primo in eum animam, postea linguam faceret eruditam regiae disciplinae. O clarissimum et perseverans regum desiderium! O maximam filii in patrem oboedientiam! O utriusque in alterum assensum pientissimum! O sapientissimum consilium ad constituendum sibi {341} idoneum successorem! O per singulos orbis principes imitandam in natos regiam disciplinam<sup>7</sup>!

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<sup>1</sup> et PE

<sup>2</sup> sacratissimi PE

<sup>3</sup> omit. P

<sup>4</sup> tum P

<sup>5</sup> quantus PE

<sup>6</sup> animorumque PE

<sup>7</sup> regiam disciplinam : regia disciplina PE

[22] Erudiendum<sup>1</sup> apud se sapientissimum regem tot<sup>2</sup> annis continuo regia dignitate educatum filium tacentem, nulla dicendi, sed solum<sup>3</sup> audiendi auctoritate praeditum educasse, ut facile dici possit consilio fecisse, quod natura impossibile est patris in filium perseverasse substantiam. Compositis, quae in regno perfici poterant, cupiens Ferdinandi filii perfectionem in regiam dignitatem eum extra regnum regio exercitui praefecit, quod nisi experimento et decernendi auctoritate perfici non poterat. Demum completis omnibus regi convenientibus disciplinis, senio gravis<sup>4</sup>, superveniente obitus tempore, quod scriptis ac<sup>5</sup> editis publicis praeconiis<sup>6</sup> notum fecerat, executionem habere cupiens, Ferdinandum filium in solio sedentem videre voluit et ut regem per se primum, demum per cunctos alios astantes principes adorari. Sacris omnibus omnique thesauro regiaque suppellectili, fortissimis arcibus consignatis eum regem voluit vivens moriendo sentire. Ex quibus, quantum<sup>7</sup> fuerit Alfonsi regis desiderium<sup>8</sup>, ut Ferdinandus filius in regno succederet, cunctis clarissime innotescit. Quod fuit primum, quo dixi, regium jus in Ferdinandum patris voto legitime fore transfusum.

[23] Superest, ut ad secundum deveniam, ut ostendam, quantus fuerit populorum assensus, ut Ferdinandus patris voto ac testamento haeres praeficeretur in Siciliae regnum. Omittam id, quod Alfonso rege vivente ostensum est, ne ipsius Alfonsi reverentiae ascribi posset. Mortuo Alfonso convocatis omnibus regni principibus communitatumque oratoribus in Capuanam civitatem tam concors<sup>9</sup> quam unanimis, tam liber et prompto desiderio omnium regni procerum populorumque accessit assensus, ut regno praeficeretur, quod<sup>10</sup> neglectis minis et tumultuationibus, quae in limitibus regni fremebant, eundem in regem eligunt, et unicum regem regis haeredem filium et legitimum successorem laeto animo recognoscunt omnibus acclamantibus: “Vivat rex Ferdinandus,” publicas {342} functiones et alia regia jura prompto animo offerentes, ad quae nullus ex regni principibus aut populis defuit, et ante alios Tarentini principis oratores. Et deputatis totius regni nomine ad bonae memoriae Calixtum papam, et demum eo mortuo ad sanctitatem vestram ex primoribus regni principibus illustribus, duce Andriae, comite Sancti Angeli, et Carolo de Campo Basso<sup>11</sup>, quibus demum adjunctis extitit reverendus pater dominus

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<sup>1</sup> erudiendos PE

<sup>2</sup> quinquaginta P

<sup>3</sup> sola P

<sup>4</sup> gravior P

<sup>5</sup> et PE

<sup>6</sup> ut *add.* P

<sup>7</sup> quantus PE

<sup>8</sup> desiderius PE

<sup>9</sup> consors PE

<sup>10</sup> quo PE

<sup>11</sup> Basio P; Vasio PE

archiepiscopus Beneventanus ex insigni regni prosapia, et doctoribus duobus ex primoribus consilii regni oratoribus.

[24] Ea a praefato praedessore et eo tunc vita functo a sanctitate vestra petierunt, quae regis filio haeredi et legitimo successor de jure et infeudationis forma bullarumque apostolicarum tenore ab apostolica sede debebantur, idest eundem de regno investiri et debite coronari, et ut a turbulentis comminationibus praefati sanctitatis vestrae praedecessoris<sup>1</sup> desisteret, nec eos in eorum pace turbaret, asserentes hanc omnium principum populorumque mentem fore, et ut eorum justis desideriis satisfaceret, adjicientes feudi dominum eadem lege astringi praefixo a jure tempore ad praebendam petitam investituram, quibus et vasallus ut petat, et quorum culpa deficeret easdem esse comminatas a lege poenas. Haec tam publica et nota sunt, ut non oporteat verbis ulterioribus magnifieri, ex quibus constat Ferdinandum in regem populorum voto et electione assumptum, quod fuit secundum.

[25] Quantum divina pontificalisque auctoritas ceremoniarumque forma regiae dignitati Ferdinandi regis ejusque successionem accesserint, repentina comminantis pontificis {343} mors et divina vestrae sanctitatis electio, illico post Alfonsi regis obitum non humanae cogitationi, sed miraculis ultra vires et potentias naturales emanantibus ascribenda judicium perhibent, de quibus plurima commemorarem, quae ad divinam voluntatem et miraculo ascribi necessario fore concluderem, nisi defunctorum piacula suaderent silentium. Notissimum est divinum coruscasse judicium, cui quantum sanctitas vestra adhaeserit et Dei sententiam et juris secuta absque alicujus praejudicio cunctis constat.

[26] Ceremoniarum debita forma quam<sup>2</sup> publica, quam<sup>3</sup> celebris omnium applausu<sup>4</sup> et devotione servata sit in ejus investitura et coronatione omnibus, qui in his<sup>5</sup> interfuerunt, innotuit. Factae fuerunt coram omni populo, omnibus regni principibus ac populis praesentibus. Et post coronationem juramenta fidelitatis praestantibus eo<sup>6</sup> ordine et modo, ut legibus injunctum<sup>7</sup> est: vexillo sanctae Romanae ecclesiae pro investiturae signo eidem devotissime tradito, per ipsum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae et sanctitatis vestrae legato<sup>8</sup> et omnibus successoribus legitime intrantibus juramentum fidelitatis, et observantiae omnium, quae in forma infeudationis continebantur, praestitum est<sup>9</sup>, praecedentibusque jejuniis, poenitentia, et lotionem corporis

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; praedecessor P, PE

<sup>2</sup> *atque* PE

<sup>3</sup> *quae* PE

<sup>4</sup> *plausu* P

<sup>5</sup> *locis* PE

<sup>6</sup> *et* PE

<sup>7</sup> *juris statutum* PE

<sup>8</sup> *legatum* P

<sup>9</sup> *praestitum est omit.* P



diebus septem, praeparatis sacris inter missarum sollemnia oleo sacro unctus, regiis insignibus decoratus: solio et sceptro regiis, ut judicando cunctis regni populis recta judicaret; gladio et armis, ut populos in die belli praecederet et eos ab hostibus tueretur; trabea veste, ut religioni et consiliis intenderet; regia corona et<sup>1</sup> regalia insignia jure debito, ut<sup>2</sup> certa decertatione cepisse omnibus innotesceret<sup>3</sup>; pomo regio, ut eo regni possessionem sub sua potestate tenere omnibus appareret. Triumphali equitatu omnium applausu et oboedientia investitus et coronatus fuerit, ut recte dici possit in ejus dignitatis assumptione nil ex divinis favoribus et<sup>4</sup> sacrorum sollemniis et ceremoniis defuisse, sicque in eum nil defuisse<sup>5</sup>, quod in vetere<sup>6</sup> pontificali approbatione divino scriptoque jure pontificalibusque decretis sancitum est. Quod fuit tertium.

[27] Superest, ut ostendam {344} Ferdinandum regem paternae virtutis et sapientiae imitatore et legitimum successorem fuisse, quod fuit ultimum. Maximum<sup>7</sup> est ad regiam successionem, ut in regno successor a praedecessoris virtutibus non declinet. Indignatur populus, si filius a parentum virtutibus deviare. Ideo ad Samuelem clamavit populus dicens: *“Ecce tu senuit<sup>8</sup>, et filii tui non ambulant in viis tuis. Constitue nobis regem etc<sup>9”</sup>*<sup>10</sup> (Primo Regum VIII. capitulo<sup>11</sup>). Ferdinandus rex apud Alfonsum patrem – ut praemissum est – educatus tanta cura ejus virtutes studuit imitari, ut primo fidem et patrium affectum omnibus fidelibus conservaverit, nullo arcium custode, nullo praeside aut magistratu, nullis privilegiis contrariis aut immunitatibus post patris obitum ab iis<sup>12</sup>, in quos paterna fides fuerit commutato, tanto amore devotos patrios prosecutus est, ut ea sola in eum dilectionis causa susceperit, si patrius devotus extiterit<sup>13</sup>.

[28] Religionis sacrarumque ceremoniarum observantiae adeo genitoris imitator extitit, quod etsi sanctae memoriae Alfonsus maximus<sup>14</sup> ceremoniarum cultor cultor fuerit, in eo eum praevenerit, quo junior aetas, ut senem non ita patienter inclinet, in ipsum etsi aetate juvenem tantus inest observandarum sacrarum ceremoniarum zelus, ut si quem ex principibus senioribus astantibus sacris in jocum aut risum prosilire<sup>15</sup> aut verbum<sup>16</sup> a sacris alienum proferre contingat, tanta

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<sup>1</sup> ut P

<sup>2</sup> et P

<sup>3</sup> certa decertatione ... innotesceret *omit.* PE

<sup>4</sup> ex P

<sup>5</sup> nihil defuisse : adfuisse PE

<sup>6</sup> in veteri : inveterata PE

<sup>7</sup> maximus PE

<sup>8</sup> Senunti PE

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

<sup>10</sup> 1. Kings 8

<sup>11</sup> VIII. capitulo : c. VIII. PE

<sup>12</sup> hiis PE

<sup>13</sup> extiterat PE

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

<sup>15</sup> prosiliret PE

<sup>16</sup> dibum PE

gravitate et animi indignatione contra indevotos se exhibuerit, ut ad religionis debitam reverentiam senili exemplo astantes etsi antiquiores compellat.

[29] Quid dicam de imitatione paternorum morum in servanda justitia, ut a muneribus illibata servetur<sup>1</sup>? Quid de ejus moderatione in verbis? Quid de vitae continentia? Prudentia in consiliis? Quid de linguae disertione atque verborum gravitate et moderantia in responsis? Quid de familiae cultu? Quid de militari disciplina? Quid de clementia in subjectos<sup>2</sup>? Quid de severitate in rebelles? Quid de animositate et constantia in rebus adversis? Quid de fortitudine et indefesso corporis labore {345} et exercitatione? Quid de ejus placabilitate in caros? In quibus omnibus patrem excedere et se suamque aetatem superare omnium judicium extat.

[30] De prudentia et sapientia plura referrem, quae in tam juvenili aetate admiranda ab omnibus judicantur, nisi quia convenientius est<sup>3</sup> nota relinquere, quam si inchoato principio ablutionis instar tanta occurreret dicendorum copia, ut aut omissis injuriam aut omnibus explicatis vestrae sanctitatis auribus taedium afferrem. Unius solius exempli relatione contentus ero, ut Salomonis primo inter concertantes mulieres de filiatione iudicio eum recta<sup>4</sup> ratione comparem. In conventu omnium principum et populorum in Capuana civitate, de supra<sup>5</sup> verbum fecimus, a pluribus exhortabatur, ut ad conciliandos sibi dominorum principum populorumque animos in eo sui principatus exordio ex publicis oneribus populis aliqua relaxaret. Regio animo omnibus consulentibus respondit regia consueta jura diminui non convenire, nec velle fidem populorum pretio sibi quaerere. Cujus animum omnes admirati aequa mente reverentiaque amplexi sunt. Omnesque tam principes quam populorum legati solitas functiones exsolvere promiserunt. Rex habito omnium assensu plura, quam petita fuerant, populis sua liberalitate dimisit, regem intrepidum, liberalissimum ac paterni animi imitatore uno exemplo se exhibens.

[31] Ex quibus recte concluditur Ferdinandum regem patris voto ac<sup>6</sup> testamento, populorum electione, divina pontificali auctoritate, et paternarum virtutum imitatione in regnum Siciliae legitimum successorem et regem.

[32] Superest videre, an sanctitas vestra recte fecerit<sup>7</sup> Ferdinandum regem investivisse<sup>8</sup> et coronasse<sup>9</sup>, et an ejus investitur veniat revocanda, et an alius investiendus sit, et an transire volentibus in regnum Siciliae contra Ferdinandum regem et bellum inferre debeat de jure aut

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<sup>1</sup> tuetur PE

<sup>2</sup> subjectis PE

<sup>3</sup> ut *add.* PE

<sup>4</sup> certa P

<sup>5</sup> super PE

<sup>6</sup> et PE

<sup>7</sup> fecit PE

<sup>8</sup> investisse P

<sup>9</sup> ornasse PE

aequitate vestra sanctitas assentire, quae et per hos Galliae oratores fuerunt in medium ducta atque petita. Hoc quidem de jure notissimum est dominum {346} feudi et quemlibet jurisdictionem investiendi habentem denegare non posse investituram et haereditariorum bonorum possessionem exhibenti legitimum testamentum non cancellatum, non abolitum<sup>1</sup>, et ad feudi successionem et investiturae concessionem admittere debere eum, si is<sup>2</sup>, ad cujus successionem venit, in possessione feudi usque ad mortem extiterat. Hoc feudorum consuetudines mandant. Hoc divi Hadriani edictum constituit, nec expedit in hujusmodi bonorum consignatione de proprietate tractare, sed necesse est talem successorem haberi, qualis et mortuus habebatur, proprietatis juribus in eorum jure manentibus, nec ex eo juri alicujus praejudicantibus.

[33] Stat ergo juris necessitas<sup>3</sup>: quod<sup>4</sup> etsi proprietatis jura ita notoria non extarent, prout sunt, et superius clarissime est deductum, non potuisse successori Alfonsi regis regni titulum et regni possessionem et investituram denegare, nisi voluisset jura<sup>5</sup> feudi et vassalagii obsequia perdidisse. Non enim minus dominus feudi vassallo tenetur ad dandam infra tempus investituram et ad juris feudalis amissionem, si denegaverit, quam vassallus, si feloniam domino commiserit. Quis sanae mentis vestrae beatitudini persuasisset investituram et coronationem debitas denegare, jura feudalia ob denegationem amittere, vicinum regem ex illata injuria hostem sibi vindicare? Investivit et coronavit sanctitas vestra eorum jurium, quae Alfonso regi competebant, et in quorum possessione pacifica<sup>6</sup> viginti annorum totius Christianitatis et ipsius Francorum regis approbatione pacifica fuerat. Conquisivit sibi census ecclesiae debitum et Beneventanam civitatem, ipsius Ferdinandi regis filialem oboedientiam, ac beneficium maximum, cum suis pecuniis, suo imperio. Jacobus Piccininus, strenuissimus capitaneus, civitatem Asissii et terram Gualdi, quas – ut asserebat – suo juri occupaverat, liberaliter restituit. Investivit sanctitas vestra, qui pacificus<sup>7</sup> erat possessor, regis filium, per tres vestrae sanctitatis praedecessores ut succederet habilitatum, pro quo jure foederum Italicorum et ligae omnis {347} Italiae potentatus instetit, et quibus, nisi omnis Italiae bellum in se convertere voluisset, contradicere recte non poterat, et hoc fecit absque alicujus injuria et juris praejudicio.

[34] Tractemus – si sapimus – de eorum retractatione. Restituemus et Beneventanam urbem. Restituemus et Assisium et Gualdum. Renuntiabimus et census promissioni. Vindicabimus amicum vicinum regem in hostem acerrimum. Cum jure suadente, cum de contractus rescissione

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<sup>1</sup> obolitum P

<sup>2</sup> jus PE

<sup>3</sup> necessitate PE

<sup>4</sup> qui PE

<sup>5</sup> regna P

<sup>6</sup> jugi *add.* PE

<sup>7</sup> pacifice PE

agitur, oporteat omnia, quae facta sunt, revocare et in pristinum casum reducere. Namque {44r} et supremus princeps sicut et contractu, ita et rescissione contractus tenetur, suadente naturali jure, quibus et supremi principes obligantur. Qui haec assereret, non recte saperet. Petitur, ut Renatus de Andegavia, qui<sup>1</sup> viginti annorum cursu regem Alfonsum passus est, investiatur. Qui haec petit, quid sit investitura, ignorat. Investitura est enim, prout lege deceditur, aut possessionis traditio aut recipiendae possessionis facultas, aut ad receptam superioris auctoritas. Clarum est duos non posse in solidum possidere eodem tempore. Sicque casu nostro Ferdinando rege possidente alteri possessio dari non potest. Possessorem etiam injustum possessione ejici causa non cognita leges prohibent. Sicque primo modo investitura alteri dari non potest.

[35] Secundo esset bellum inferre, quod<sup>2</sup> contra oboedientem<sup>3</sup> filium, juri se offerentem, contra pacificum possessorem, contra domino obsequentem in omnibus juri feudi convenientibus prohibitum est et ab omni humana lege alienum, cum superior legibus eum teneatur tueri et ab eo injurias propulsare. Sicque secundus modus investiturae alteri dari non potest.

[36] Tertio modo clarissimum est dari non posse, cum nisi possessori pacifico non competat, sicque ex his clare apparet, quam a jure alienum sit investituram petisse. Quare transitus ad offendendum oboedientem regem petatur, non sine admiratione est, tum eo ipso, quo quis vim infert, contra se offerentem juri acquiescere, jus quod alias sibi de jure competeret, amittit, teneturque {348} superior jurisdictionali auctoritate, qua fungitur, armis suam jurisdictionem tueri. Sicque si aliena a jure sint, quae hoc in loco exposita fuere, vestra sanctitas et et hic sacer ordo dijudicet.

[37] Tetigerunt aliqua civitatem Januensem concernantia, in qua cum serenissimus Ferdinandus rex maximum interesse praetendat, pauca dicam, ut nil intactum remaneat. Est potentissima orbis terrarum caput Italia, pontificali, imperiali regioque jure decorata et sine horum jurium auctoritate indivisibilis, si monarchico ordine, quo Christiana religio gubernatur, cum ad instar superioris formata sit, vivere volumus, nec patrum terminos egredi. Januensis civitas juris Italici, quae ad censum, quo se aeternae memoriae Alfonso, regi Siciliae, obligaverat et solvere denegaverat, bello se subjecit ac plures ex optimatibus civibus debitum jus regium recognoscere volentes e civitate expulit, quo eidem jure legitimo indictum est bellum, non ad dominii civitatis submissionem, sed ad optimatum civium ad civitatem restitutionem contra tyrannidem contra jura civitatis exortam. In hoc bello jure pietate suffulto Ferdinandus rex haereditario jure successit. Sicque justum bellum habuit, et de Januensi civitate status alteratione nullatenus se immiscet; sed ut exclusa tyrannide civibus indebite exclusis ad civitatem admissis, suis legibus

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<sup>1</sup> jugi *add.* PE

<sup>2</sup> qui PE

<sup>3</sup> obedientiam P

Italicoque jure gauderet pro posse studuit; qui ergo de ejus dominio se immiscuit, inconsulto pontificio, imperiali regioque Italico jure, etsi hoc fecerit inferiorum auctoritate pacto assensu juramentis, quae in hoc nulla sunt, indivisibiles leges Christiani ordinis pontificis imperialisque potestatum violat atque perturbat. Sicque tyrannicum jus usurpat, quod satis est ad omnem regiam dignitatem denigrandam, a quo quantum quilibet rex maxime, qui Christianissimum nomen sibi vendicat, cavere habeat diligenter advertat. Sunt enim indivisibilia jura regnorum nec inferiorum assensibus aut submissionibus violanda, nec ipsorum regum pactionibus et juramento {349} vallati, sine imperiali pontificaliue potestate, si Christianam legem profiteamur ac patrum terminos egredi non intendimus.

[38] Requirit igitur ipse Ferdinandus Rex vestram sanctitatem, hunc sacrum ordinem, omnesque astantes principes principumque oratores, ut sancta jura non violentur, arma contra eum deponantur, sua jura ad regnum a vestra sanctitate, cui immediate subicit<sup>1</sup>, protegantur et defendantur, nec permittatur, ut sibi bellum aliquod inferatur.<sup>2</sup> Alias protestatur se suumque regnum divino ac<sup>3</sup> gentium humanoque juribus permittentibus armis tueri nec per eum stare quominus bellum in infideles inferatur, considerentque, qui ea agunt, quibus legibus, quibus divinis praeceptis contravenire nituntur. Insurgat pro Deo sanctitas vestra et illustrissimi principes, regum<sup>4</sup> et principum oratores requirant Christianissimum regem et principes Galliarum, ut arma deponant, legibus, locis et temporibus se conforment<sup>5</sup>, divinas ultiones effugiant. Sunt principes gentium Christianissimarum, qui potentiam omnem saepius pro Christianae religionis tutela liberaliter posuere, facile est, ut assentiant Christianorum votis, ut arma hoc tempore deponant, et quod<sup>6</sup> viginti annorum curriculo passi sunt, non innovent. Quod si fiet, maxima pars desiderii sanctitatis vestrae complebitur, quod Deus vestrae sanctitati et nobis concedere dignetur, qui vivit et regnat trinus et unus per infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen. Finis.

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<sup>1</sup> subicitur PE

<sup>2</sup> et ut arma deponantur *add.* PE

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* PE

<sup>4</sup> regumque PE

<sup>5</sup> confirment PE

<sup>6</sup> jugi *add.* PE

## **Appendix 2: Memorandum of French ambassadors (beg. December 1459, Mantua)**

### Manuscript

- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ottobon. lat. 905, 53r-54r

### Present edition

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

[1] {53v} Quamvis, beatissime pater, ea, quae praeposita fuerunt ultima Novembris<sup>1</sup> in praesentia vestrae beatitudinis per oratores Christianissimi Francorum regis, ab eadem beatitudine seriose et luculenter resumpta sint et sufficienter suae excellenti memoriae commendata, ita ut ulteriore scripto minime opus esse videretur, ordinationi tamen vestrae sanctitatis parendo praefati oratores substantiam expositorum et requisitorum sub brevi compendio in hanc formam redigerunt<sup>2</sup>:

## 1. Kingdom of Sicily

[2] Et primum quantum ad factum regis Siciliae attinet,

- quod in propositum extitit prae suppositis **juribus et titulis notoriis praedicto regi Renato in regno Siciliae pertinentibus** et competentibus, prout die praescripta latius declaratum fuit et, dum opus fuerit, declarabitur,
- **continuata insuper liliatorum possessione in regno** praedicto CLXXXVIII<sup>l</sup>lorum annorum spatio vel circa,
- **gravaminibus**, vitiis et oppressionibus nihilominus **illatis** dicto serenissimo Siciliae regi **Renato** in hac parte et ad utilitatem favoremque Ferdinandi praedictum regnum manu violenta occupantis,
- consideratis etiam **obsequiis** retroactis temporibus assidue sedi apostolicae ex fidei orthodoxae **per Christianissimos Francorum reges**, consanguineos proceres, magnates et regnicolas suos **impensis**, quae orbi universo nota sunt, quam ob causam ipsos inter ceteros principes catholicos ac universos Christicolae sedes apostolica commendatissimos semper habuit, quos praeterea praesens negotium cum pro interesse generali tum particulari multifarie concernit,

petunt et requirunt praefati oratores ea, quae sequuntur:

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<sup>1</sup> 30 November

<sup>2</sup> After the verbal presentation of the French demands made to the pope on 30 November, the pope had evidently asked the ambassadors also to present them in writing. See oration *“Responsuri”*, sect. 1: ... *in reply to your speech to Us some days ago - which was much longer than the written document presented over afterwards ...*

[2] Primum est quatenus omnia facta et gesta ad utilitatem et in favorem Ferdinandi praejudiciumque et dispendium regis Renati cassare et annullare ac in pristinum statum reducere dignetur vestra sanctitas tam super infeudationem quam super coronationem dicti Ferdinandi ac aliis quibuscumque declarando ea cassa et nulla nulliusque roboris et efficaciae.

[3] Secundum, ut serenissimi regem Renatum Siciliae in vassallum ecclesiae recipiat vestra sanctitas, investituram praedicti regni sibi conferendo prout dictis liliatis tempore Caroli<sup>1</sup> primi semper continuatum extitit, et ut in talibus fieri est assuetum.

[4] Tertium dignetur praelibata sanctitas destinare legatum vel legatos sufficienti potestate suffultos ad praetactum Siciliae regnum praelatis, proceribus ceterisque viris ecclesiasticis et saecularibus significaturos declarationem pariter et investituram praemissas, ut deinceps parere et oboedire habeant serenissimo regi Renato veluti regi vero, ecclesiae vassallo, regni domino haeredique indubitato.

[5] Quartum, ut hoc rationabile et canonicum opus debitum et congruum sortiatur effectum dignetur saepefacta<sup>2</sup> sanctitas mandare capitaneis et rectoribus exercitus seu armatae ecclesiae quatenus impedimentum nullatenus inferre habeant comiti Jacobo Piccinino et suis nec aliis quibuscumque in auxilium domini ducis Calabriae ad recuperationem regni progressuris. Qui potius favores omnes licitos passagia {54r} et quaevis viveramina<sup>3</sup> praestent, adeoque per universas terras et exercitum ecclesiae dicto comiti Jacobo et aliis quibuscumque, ut praedicitur, tutus sit accessus revocando et revocari faciendo omnes et singulos, qui sub praetextu mandatorum sanctitatis vestrae vel suorum ordinati sunt ad impediendum transitum dicti comitis Jacobi, suorum et aliorum quorumcumque ad succursum et auxilium praefati domini ducis Calabriae, offerentes saepefacti oratores nomine serenissimi principis, regis Renati praedicti, talem securitatem praestare sanctitatis vestrae, quod per antedictum comitem Jacobum aliosque suae comitiae nullum inferretur damnum terris et dominiis ecclesiae, et si quae facta forent, taliter reperabuntur quod saepefactam sanctitatem vestram merito debebit contentari.

## 2. Status of Genoa

[6] Alterum et secundum membrum insignis Januae dominii statum concernens tripliciter extat divisum:

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<sup>1</sup> Karoli doc.

<sup>2</sup> sepefacta doc.

<sup>3</sup> *dub.* cod.



[7] Primo igitur iidem<sup>1</sup> oratores Christianissimae majestatis nomine ejusdem celsitudini regiae sanctitatem vestram exorant, ut Januenses tam in generali quam in particulari ejusdem majestatis subditos et oboedientes eorumque jura, facta et negotia dominumque Calabriae ac alios officiales auctoritate regia commissos ad regimen et tuitionem civitatis et dominii Januae in sua speciali gratia singulariter commissos suscipiat eos omni favore prosequendo, prout celsitudo regia per dominum Cozeraneum certiorata spem et fiduciam singularem in eadem sanctitatem gerit.

[8] Secundo oratores praedicti nomine quo supra beatitudinem vestram<sup>2</sup> exorant, quatenus privilegia, jura et praerogativas<sup>3</sup> Christianissimae majestatis conservando et protegendo attentis saepefactis criminibus et delictis commissis et patratis per Perrinum quondam de Campo Fregoso processibus super hoc agitis sententiis, declarationibus et bonorum publicationibus idem et adversus eum secutis cassare dignetur vestra sanctitas et mandare cassari, seu pro infectis reputari omnes sententias obtentas pro parte dicti Perrini aut suorum in curia Romana vel coram quocumque iudice ecclesiastico in praejudicium bancariorum de Avinione occanx<sup>4</sup> obligationis vel fidejussionis factarum praedicto primo propter et ob causam reductionis civitatis Januae hosque bancarios a sententia vel sententiis excommunicationis in eorum latis causis praemissis absolvi, silentium imponendo quibuscumque dicti Perrini sese haeredes dicentes aut jus suum habere praetendentibus, ne occanx<sup>5</sup> praemissa adversus dictos bancarios quicumque attentare praesumant, constitutoque de processu contra dictum Perrinum agitato, de quo saepefacti oratores promptam offerunt facere, fidem declarare obligationes, nomina et bona praedicta praefato Christianissimo Francorum regi pertinere, mandando insuper, ut sententiae pro jure praedictae celsitudinis regiae late in hac parte libere exequantur.

[9] Tertio attenta infidelitate archipraesulis Januae, praedicti Perrini fratris ipsiusque criminis conscii<sup>6</sup>, et ea de causa sit minus rationi consonum praedictum archiepiscopum in ea civitate moram protrahere et cives carere antistite, exorant dicti ambasiatores nomine quo supra quatenus vestra sanctitas praedictum archipraesulem ad aliam ecclesiam transferre dignetur, dictae civitati Januae talem praeficiendo pastorem, qui sedi apostolicae sacrosanctae sit obsequiosus, Christianissimae majestati fidus, civibus gratus et acceptus.

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<sup>1</sup> idem cod.

<sup>2</sup> *dub.* cod.

<sup>3</sup> praerogativas cod.

<sup>4</sup> *dub.* cod.

<sup>5</sup> *dub.* cod.

<sup>6</sup> consii cod.

## Appendix 3: Response “*Jam certis lapsis diebus*” of French ambassadors (12 December 1459)

*After D’Achery: Spicilegium, tom. IX (1669), pp. 323-329*

### Responsio legatorum Caroli VII. Regis Francorum ad orationem a Pio Papa II. Habitam in Conventu Mantuano, quae edita est in tomo VIII. Spicilegii, pag. 292

[1] {323} Jam certis lapsis diebus, beatissime pater, ad praesentiam vestrae Sanctitatis jussu Majestatis Christianissimi domini nostril Regis Francorum, veniam primum eidem, obedientiam et reverentiam filialem, siccut ... ejusdem Majestatis consuetum est, cum ea qua potuimus reverentia & devotione praestitum.<sup>1</sup> Nos quoque ad concludendum de succursu praestando fidei Catholicae, ob quem haec Conventio indicta est, venisse insinuavimus, paratissimos nos esse audire quae in praesenti Conventione aperientur, & in his cooperari omnibus modis rationabilibus. Quibus auditis vestra Sanctitas benigne nos suscepit, plures & celeberrimas laudes suis elegantissimis sermonibus Regi nostro Christianissimo attribuens.<sup>2</sup>

[2] Altera autem die<sup>3</sup> ad ejusdem vestrae Sanctitatis praesentiam pro materia Regis Siciliae, & insignis Januae civitatis accessimus, vocatis tamen nobilibus Principibus, seu Principum Ambaxiatoribus qui domino nostro Regi faederibus, amicitia singulari & cognatione juncti sunt, sicut nobis in instructionibus expresse mandatum fuerat: in quibus causis quas pro tuendo non solum jure praefati domini Regis Renati, sed totius domus Regiae Francorum deduximus: nihil diximus animo quempiam accusandi, aut eorum qui jam vita functi sunt, aut qui adhuc in humanis agunt, sed duntaxat juris prosequendi gratia, quod praefatis regibus & incytae domui eorum competit: justamque rem petere arbitrate suos, quaerendo praefatum dominum Siciliae Regem in rem suam restitui, & in contrarium acta cassari.

[3] Super his cum ea modestia qua scivimus & potuimus {324} locuti sumus, sicuti Vestra Sanctitas pro sua clementia benigne interpretata est cum primum super his respondit, & quid insuper

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<sup>1</sup> 21 November 1459. Oration “*Maximum et amplissimum onus*” of Guillaume Chartier

<sup>2</sup> Oration “*Multa hic hodie*” [49]

<sup>3</sup> 30 November 1459

fiendum sit, vestra Sanctitas cum reverendissimis Patribus dominis Cardinalibus cogitare poterit, ut ipsius Regni praedicto domino Renato, cui debitum est, justa restitutio fiat, quam nullatenus in praejudicium succursus fidei Catholicae cedere putavimus; quin potius ad ejus auxilium singulare, dum ille strenuissimus & victorisissimus Princeps dominus Dux Calabriae filius praenominati Regis, qui restitutionem Regni paterni, auxiliante sibi divino praesidio, manu valida prosequitur virtutibus optimis praeditus, in aetate convenienti constitutus, Regibus et magnis Principibus omnium fere nationum religionis Christianae conjunctus, magna auxilia ipsi fidei Catholicae Altissimo dirigente ferre poterit.

[4] Sed dum his in rebus super nostris petitionibus responsum disertissimum oratione<sup>1</sup> Vestrae Sanctitatis dictum est, aliqua dicta fuere, quibus pro tuendo Christianissimi domini nostri Regis honore, jure & fama cum omni reverentia vestrae Beatitudinis & Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae, ut fideles nuntii tanti Regis aliquid respondere compellimur.

[5] Non enim in primis subticere possumus unum, quod ipsius domini nostri Regis honorem admodum concernit: illud videlicet, quod inter cetera praelocuta enarrando beneficia Regibus & Regno Francorum a Sede Apostolica praestita dictum est, Zachariam Papam Legatum in Franciam mississe, & et per eundem tonsum fuisse Hildericum Regem, atque Pipino, Caroli Martelli filio Majori domus Regiae, longe tamen distant a sanguine Regio ipsius Regni regimen concessum extitisse, quo mortuo succedentibus sibi & Carolomanno & suis fiiiis, mortuo Carlomanno postulantibus Sedi Apostolicae Desiderio, relictisque dicti Carolomanni, & suis filiis, ad Regnum seu portionem Regni praedicto Carolomanno contingentem eosdem filios vocari. Sedes Apostolica rejectis supplicationibus praefatis, omnia {325} jura Regni collata in Pippinum, praefato Carolo Magno confirmavit, & in eum contulit. Quibus verbis enui videtur, Christianissimos Francorum Reges exhinc successores non ex vera stirpe Clodovi descendisse necnon Regni dispositionem sedi Apostolicae competere.

[6] Ut autem hujus rei veritas omnibus innotescat, nec quidquam sinistrum animis audientium concipiatur, scimus ex Historiographis & Chronicis authenticis ac probatis, quibus fides adhibetur, quis fuit Clodoveus ille Christianissimus Rex, ad quem e caelo lilia transmissa fuere, sacraque unctio, & alia quae divinitus recepit, quae usque in hodiernum diem tum in ... tum in sacra unctione, tum in miraculis dietim coruscantibus, tum in curatione ulcerum, quae vulgariter escroüelles, latine vero scrophulae nuncupantur, & in vexillio auriflammeo ad Francorum Reges caelitus emisso, tum in aliis ... singularitatibus, & specialissimis praerogativis pluribus, & diversis modis impensis apud Francorum Reges permanent. E perlectis ad plenum historiis, & chronicis

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<sup>1</sup> The oration "*Responsuri*" of 11 December 1459

authenticis clare constabit Pippinum praefatum a stirpe Clodovei & successoribus ejus descendisse, & a sanguine Regio processisse.

[7] In quantum vero Regem & Regnum ipsum tantis insignibus donis caelitus decoratum & illustratum concernit, certum est eosdem nulli in terra subjici, nec cuiquam humanae subjacere potestati. Intellexit praeterea haec decreta sacris Canonibus antiquorum Conciliorum, ac decretis summorum Pontificum confirmari, propter quae sicut devotus Ecclesiae filius, sicut Princeps Catholicus & Christianissimus eadem decreta cum aliquibus additionibus, quae Apostolicae Sedi nequaquam derogare videbantur, acceptare duxit.

[8] Unum aliud in postrema parte praelibatae orationis tactum est, cui aliqua ex parte etiam respondere cogimur. Arguitur quidem ipse dominus noster Rex, quod pragmaticam sanctionem in suo Regno sustinet, quae privilegiis sedis Apostolicae derogare praetenditur; atque exinde Regnum ipsum rugam atque maculam contraxisse allegatur. In qua re pro defendendis ipsius Regis et regni innocentia, honore, & fama, ut tenemur, aliqua in praesenti explicare duximus.

[9] Praesentata olim fuerunt decreta Concilii generalis Basiliensis Christianissimo nostro Regi, praesentibusque quamplurimis Principibus & Proceribus Regni sui, necnon {326} etiam absentium Oratoribus : ipse habita consultatione Archiepiscoporum, & Episcoporum atque Universitatum, aliorumque peritorum & prudentium Regni, informatus est quomodo haec erant edita auctoritate praefati Concilii, quod ex institutione duorum praecedentium Conciliorum Constantiensis & Senensis, necnon etiam duorum Romanorum Pontificum Martini quinti, & Eugenii quarti, ad reformationem Ecclesiae in capite & in membris fuerat convocatum.

[10] Nec in acceptatione praedicta ullatenus praejudicium privilegiis Apostolicae sedis afferre putavit, quam semper & venerari, et honorare decrevit. Quin etiam ab illo tempore ad Summum Pontificem subditi Regni illius, sicut ad Christi Vicarium et Pastorem summum recursum semper habuerunt. Nec aliquis de scitu ipsius Christianissimi Regis in Regno suo sibi quippiam eorum usurpare praesumpsit, quae ad solum summum Pontificem pertinere noscuntur. Et ulterius, Legatis & Nuntiis per eandem sedem missis saepenumero oblationes & variae aperturae factae sunt, in quibus semper benigne et pie Regis & Praelatorum animis ad quaeque rationabilia se dedit inclinatum. Et quidquid Canonice & rationabiliter in hac parte videbitur fiendum, ad hoc christianissima Majestas paratam se exhibebit, & observabit inconcusse.

[11] Quantum vero ad ea quae adversus Curiam Parlamenti ipsius domini nostri Regis objecta sunt, omnibus intelligere placeat, quod haec venerabilis Curia ex Ecclesiasticis & saecularibus viris jurisperitiis habentibus constituta, usque ad numerum octuaginta personarum, absque duodecim Patribus Ecclesiasticis & secularibus, & octo Magistris hospitii regis, qui omnes de

corpore ipsius {327} Curiae existunt, quamplurimum necessaria est ad conservationem Ecclesiarum & jurium suorum, & de quibuscumque ad eos querimonia defertur, sive de Officiariis Regis, sive de quibuscumque aliis in ipso Regno, quantumcumque potentibus, per ipsam cuique Justitia ministratur. Quod si ita per omne regione Orbis Christiani fieret, non ita in multis patrimonia Ecclesiarum direpta et delapsa forent, sicut, proh dolor!, esse referuntur. Tantaque ab antiqua fama est illius Curiae, quod nedum subditi aliorum Regnorum Christianorum in causis privatis ad iudicium illius Curiae recurrere voluerunt, prout & adhuc multi faciunt, sed etiam infideles interdum hoc idem fecerunt. Nec est verisimile quod tam sollemnis Curia aliquid sinistrum agere vellet, quod sibi ad culpam & notam imputandum esse videretur.

[12] Super omnibus tamen praemissis Christianissimus dominus noster Rex pleniore deliberatione habita, & consultis viris peritis juris divini & humani, quorum in Regno suo copiosa est multitudo, poterit exinde quidnam agendum sit maturius & sanctius advisare. Sed haec pauca nos sui Oratores effari ad praesens duximus, ne defensionem justitiae, honoris, & famae ipsius domini nostri Regis intactam praeteriisse videamur. Et in his ad honorem Dei, universalis Ecclesiae, & sanctae Sedis Apostolicae obsequium, utilitatemque ac prosperitatem fidei Catholicae, & totius Christianitatis, & apud ipsum dominum nostrum Regem, & ubicumque poterimus pro viribus laborare curabimus.

[13] Quia tamen in articulis praecedentibus de facto Regis Siciliae mentionem facientibus verbis generalia sunt, & absque specificatione, ut de intentione dictorum Oratorum in materia praedicta sanctissimus dominus noster plenius valeat certiorari, supplicant Oratores praefati eidem sanctissimo domino nostro, quatenus supplicationes hac in re suae Sanctitati ex parte dictorum Oratorum porrectas admittere dignetur. Ad quae vestra Sanctitas, ultra rationes alias in parte hac allegatas, inclinari debere videtur zelo defensionis {328} fidei, ut votivus inde sequitur effectus cauis & rationibus sequentibus.

[14] Nam praedictus Rex Renatus consanguineus est in linea masculina Chrristianissimo Regi, & fere omnibus majoribus Principibus Regni in tertio gradu. Christianissima Regina Maria Renati soror in secundo gradu. Regina autem Angliae filia est legitima praedicti Regis Renati, Rexque Angliae ipsius Regis filius in affinitate. Dominus Dux Calabriae praedictorum Regis & Reginae frater est, Principisque Walliae eorum heredis avunculus, & in parentela proximior ... consanguinei sunt germani idem Princeps, & filius praelocuti domini Ducis Calabriae. Dominus etiam Comes Cenomaniae, qui a juventute continuam traxit moram cum Christianissimo Rege, in cujus domo alitus ac suus praecarus & dilectissimus, germanus est ipsius Regis Siciliae.

[15] Et ultra haec, inter ceteras provincias, nationes, & territoria Regni nostri, citra praejudicium quorumcumque aliorum, nobiles & Proceres Andegaviae & Cenomaniae praefati Regis Renati

subditi, Regi nostro supremo & coronae servierunt prudenter, efficaciter & indefesse, unde vocem, famam, & nomen in Franciae Regno non modicum & merito meruerunt. Et cum de tanta materia, prout est fidei defensio, locus erit sermonem facere, eorum vox & opinio non mediocriter erunt importantiae.

[16] Et sit tanti Principes & nobiles quilibet suo respectu effectualiter cognoscant, vestram Sanctitatem erga dictum Regem Renatum in suis supplicationibus aures benignas inclinare, sibique in suis jure & ratione legitime favere, eorum ex parte nulli dubium est in materia praedicta fidei ferventiores & animosiores se praebere, ac exhortationibus & desideriis sedis Apostolicae promotiores & inclinatiores. ....”

[17] Similiter ut jura & praerogativae Christianissimae Majestatis {329} illibatae remaneant, placeat Sanctissimo domino nostro mandare sententias contra Perrinum de Campefrigoze latas per judices competentes, occasione maleficiorum & delictorum per dictum Perrinum perpetratorum in & adversus Regiam Majestatem : de quibus sententiis, necnon & de processu in hac materia agitato, iidem Oratores promptam offerunt facere fidem executioni debitae demandari, silentiumque imponi praetendentibus se illius Perrini heredes, aut ab eo causam habere super censuris & sententiis excommunicationis per eos, ut fertur, obtentis adversus mercatores Avenionenses, eosdemque mercatores absolve, quietos vero & pacificos erga praedictos, se, ut praemittitur, jus habere dicentes, teneri.

## **Appendix 4: Letters of Pius II to King Charles VII of 12 December 1459 and 10 January 1460**

## Letter of Pius II to King Charles VII of 12 December 1459

*After Rainaldus, ad annum 1459, nr. 69*

Pius Papa II Regi Franciae.

Charissime in Christo fili, salutem, etc.

Cum audivimus oratores tuae sublimitatis ad dietam hanc Mantuanam venire, vehementer Deo teste sumus laetati. Postquam etiam Mantuam attigerunt, in eorum ingressu et cum publice sunt auditi tot eos honoribus accumulavimus, quot potuerunt a nobis excogitari: nihil protinus omittentes, quod ad honorandum tuum regium nomen ac ad declarandam nostram in te charitatem spectaret. Sequentibus vero diebus, cum iidem oratores commendatum venissent charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Renatum regem illustrem et dilectos filios communitatem tuae civitatis Januensis, praeter expectationem nostram nonnullos principes et oratores ex iis, qui dietae causa hic sunt, vel testes vel spectatores expositionis suae secum duxerunt; auditi nihilominus a nobis patienter benigneque sunt. Verum quia omnis eorum oratio non tam praedictorum commendationem, quam accusationem nostram et Apostolicae Sedis continere est visa, ob id praecipue, quod charissimo in Christo filio nostro Ferdinando de Aragonia Neapolitanum regnum et regni coronam concessimus, non iudicavimus maculam hanc per eos impositam eidem Sedi, cujus defensores sumus, tacendo relinquere, praesertim cum nos tibi, et clarissimae domui tuae graviter injuriatos assererent. Exemplum itaque ipsorum secuti, die responsionis nostrae convocari et nos aliquos fecimus, qui defensae innocentiae nostrae auditores adessent: purgavimus in respondendo, quantum Deus largitus est nobis, objecta : ostendimus quae tuo nomine nobis imputabantur non tibi nos imputare, sed detractoribus nostris qui tuae pietati non vera inculcassent : aperuimus quoque praesentem necessitatem, quae petitionibus eorum non assentiri nos pateretur : denique nullum verbum fuit, nulla particula nostrae responsionis, quae non summam gloriam progenitorum tuorum et tuam, atque adeo totius gentis Gallicae resonaret. Factum semper nostrum, in quo notati maxime eramus, ea modestia excusantes, ut apud justos iudices solam innocentiam ejusdem Sedis nisi fuerimus velle probare. Quod si secus tuae celsitudini relatum jam esset vel forsitan referetur, sciat longe a vero esse quidquid aliter dicitur, nec nos, qui nomen tuum privatim et publice dignis continue laudibus celebravimus, potuisse in hoc conventu Christiano, ubi de tota religione nostra tractatur, in diversum sentire et loqui. Affuerunt principes nonnulli et principum oratores, affuerunt praelati quamplures hujus nostrae excusationis locupletissimi testes, ex quibus bonitas tua integram veritatem poterit, cum volet, cognoscere. Haec duplici ex causa ad te scribenda putavimus,



primum quia malignantium et detractorum plena omnia etiam noveramus, quibus more Sathanae omnis conjunctio molesta est, et charitas odiosa; deinde quia serenitatem tuam magni facimus plurimumque sicut debemus, et tormenti instar nobis esset, si causam alienori animo a Sede praedicta malorum artificiis esse intelligeremus etc.

Dat. Mantuae XII Decembris anno II.

## Letter of Pius II to King Charles VII of 10 January 1460

*After Rainaldus, ad annum 1460, nr. 17*

Pius Papa II Regi Franciae.

Charissime in Christo fili, etc.

Venerunt ad nos oratores celsitudinis tuae, viri praestabiles et digni, qui a tanto rege ad Apostolicam Sedem, et in negotium fidei mitterentur. Gesserunt se omnibus in rebus diligenter ac studiose, nihil iudicio nostro praetermittentes, quod ad officium fidelium oratorum pertineat. Si petitiones tuas omnes illis instantibus non adimplevimus, Deo teste, non minor est nobis, quam tuae majestati anxietas : honor Apostolicae Sedis quam tueri toto posse debemus, et iustitiae debitum, in qua obligati omnibus sumus, facere hoc nos compulerunt : quod est necessitas pro Deo, tua bonitas imputare voluntati non velit. Amamus et in cordis visceribus gerimus tuum Christianissimum nomen, cujus veri praedicatores, quantum in nobis fuit, semper sumus inventi, et auctore Deo inveniemur in posterum. Negationes nostrae singulares tibi non sunt : facimus hoc idem cum reliquis Christianis regibus ac potentatibus, quibus frequenter non damus quod concedere cum Deo non possumus : hanc nostram institutionem. Tibi, qui veri ac iusti es cultor, non dubitamus pro tua bonitate probatissimum esse. Quae autem ad negotium regni Siciliae pro officio nostro respondimus : oratores tui praedicti, et noster quem ad te destinabimus, eadem plenius referent. si fideliter omnia exponent : non dubitamus, quin necessitatem nostram habeas excusatam. Unum hoc vere affirmamus : intentionem nostram erga charissimum in Christo filium Renatum regem illustrem optimam esse, et nec alienam ab officio indulgentissimi patris : cum quaecumque facultas se offeret contemplatione Christianissimae tuae domus, et sua, reipsa probabimus quod nunc verbis testamur. Et quoniam non dubitamus serenitatem tuam more progenitorum suorum negotium religionis Christianae, cujus causa conventum hunc Christianorum tanto labore peregrimus gloriose esse amplexuram, nos, ne quid ad hoc exequendum piaae voluntati tuae obstaret, dietam unam indiximus et ad eam legatum nostrum obtulimus, qui inter inclytum regnum tuum, et charissimum in Christo filium nostrum Anglorum regem illustrem et alios, quos negotium huiusmodi tangit, pacem seu treugas componat : tempus conveniendi proximum Joannis Baptistae festum duximus opportunum : loca quoque ea delegimus, in quorum aliquo partes ipsas consensuras facile putaremus. etc.

Dat. Mantuae, X Januarii, Anno II.

## Appendix 5: Letter of King Ferrante I to Pope Pius II [undated]

From: *Regis Ferdinandi et aliorum epistolae ac orationes utriusque militiae*. [Vico Equense, 1586], pp. 304-305

This letter was probably written by Antonio Beccadelli (see Abulafia: *Ferrante*, p. 239)

{304} Pio Papae,

Clarissima multorum voce ac litteris nobis renuntiatum est, Pie pater beatissime, quam magnifice et tuae auctoritati convenienter insolentiae Gallorum responderis. Nam cum me illi minus legitime regno investitum ac recte creatum regem, mirabili copia et eloquentia declarasti. Attulisti in medium concessionem superiorum pontificum, fratrum cardinalium consensum, populorum ac procerum meorum atque adeo totius Italiae voluntatem propitium, optimi patris Alfonsi in catholicam ecclesiam benemerita, contra Gallorum regem male merita, quique ex rege Christiano nihil hodie praeter nomen obtineant: omnia officia, omnia beneficia, quae papae propria sunt, usurpasse ac profanasse; contumacias eorum prope innumerabiles, dominandi libidinem, in Italicos perpetua odia, conversationes intolerabiles.

Sed et illud jucundissimum auditu fuit, quod cum me propter natales meos regno indignum esse exclamarent, te palam fecisse nonnullos ex Hispanorum regibus, nonnullos ex Gallorum natu similes extitisse. Herculem {305} praeterea, Romulum, Alexandrum, Salomonem et alios plures reges, quos mortales universi divinis laudibus ferunt, illegitimo matrimonio ortos. Quippe neque ortum aut originem verum regem statuere, sed animi excellentiam morum sobrietatem, humanitatem, clementiam, liberalitatem, religionem, sapientiam et denique pontificum, quique Christi domini vicarii gerunt, oboedientiam atque observantiam.

Haec atque talia cum copiosissime ac constantissime disseruisses, omnibus quidem, qui aderant, tui animi generositatem, tuae amplissimae sedis dignitatem ac dignitatis majestatem exhibuisti, mihi etiam pietatem atque iustitiam.

Quibus ex rebus tantas sanctitatis tuae laudes et gratias habeo, quantas nec verbis enarrare nec opera aut rebus satisfacere umquam possem. Obligasti me, obligasti progeniem meam in perpetuum. Continue te benefactorem, te dominum, te patronum decantabimus, nec minus semper et ubique gentium nos sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae observantissimos filios,

beneficiarios clientes esse profitebimur. Ita te justissimus Deus justitiae assertorem in pace et tranquillitate incolumen invictumque conservet.