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Oration “De regno Siciliae” of Pope Pius II (May 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini /Pius II; 58)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini /Pius II; 58)

Oration “*De regno Siciliae*” of Pope Pius II (May 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

5th version

2019

Abstract

In 1442, the French dynasty of Anjou was expelled from the Kingdom of Naples by King Alfonso V of the Spanish House of Aragon. In 1459, King René d'Anjou sent his son, Jean d'Anjou, to the Kingdom to try to win it back and expel Alfonso's son, Ferrante I. Ferrante had been invested with the Kingdom by Pope Pius II, since the popes were the nominal suzerains of the Kingdom. In doing so, the pope simply respected decisions made by two previous popes as well as the Italian peace treaties of 1454/1455. At the Congress of Mantua, in December 1459, the French embassy had demanded that the pope revoke Ferrante's investiture and grant it instead to King René. The pope refused the demands in a great oration, "*Responsuri*". After the Congress of Mantua, the pope went to stay for some months in his native city of Siena. An embassy from René d'Anjou followed him there and again presented the demands for an investiture of King René with the Kingdom of Naples. The pope again refused, in the oration "*De regno Siciliae*".

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1460; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King René d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Congress of Mantova

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In 1442/1443 the French dynasty of Anjou was expelled from the Kingdom of Naples by King Alfonso V of the Spanish House of Aragon. In October 1459, at the height of the Congress of Mantua, King René d'Anjou sent his son, Jean d'Anjou, to the Kingdom to try to win it back and expel Alfonso's son, Ferrante I. Ferrante had been invested with the Kingdom by Pope Pius II, since the popes were the nominal suzerains of the Kingdom. In doing so the pope simply respected decisions made by the two previous popes as well as the Italian peace treaties of 1454/1455. At the Congress of Mantua, in December 1459, the French embassy – supported by an embassy from René d'Anjou - had demanded that the pope revoke Ferrante's investiture and grant it instead to King René. The pope refused the demands in a great oration, the "*Responsuri*" [51].

A new Angevin embassy, led by Gerard de Harancourt and Raymond de Puget, arrived in Mantua on 4 January 1460, but was not received by the pope before he left Mantua for Siena. The Angevins followed Pius to that city but had to wait until the month of May before they were given an audience, during the pope's stay at the Baths of Macereto. During this audience they presented the Angevin claims to which the pope responded some days afterwards, back in Siena, with the oration "*De regno Siciliae*".

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

Meanwhile ambassadors from L'Aquila reached the pope, followed soon after by envoys from Jean of Anjou,² who urged him to abandon Ferrante and either support the cause of René or withdraw from the war altogether. The ambassadors presented letters from many lords and communes of the Kingdom who were bitterly opposed to Ferrante's regime. When the pope heard them, he said that his sole object in the war was to put a stop to the violence and then settle the quarrel over the Kingdom by mediation. If René would agree to that, hostilities might cease. ... And so the envoys departed, with nothing achieved.³

The Angevin victory at the Battle of Sarno, on 7 July, however, gave Pius such a shock that - in spite of the heroic staunchness expressed in the *Commentarii* - he did for a moment consider giving in to the French, at least according to the Milanese ambassador at the papal court.

¹ Oration "*Responsuri*" [51], Introduction; CO, IV, 26; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nos. 67-68; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, VI, pp. 297-306; Pastor, II, p. 74; Voigt, IV, 2, pp. 143-144

² Son of King René d'Anjou, leader of the Angevin invasion of the Kingdom

³ CO, IV, 26 (Meserve, II, pp. 301-302)

However, the Duke of Milan and certain attractive offers of King Ferrante managed to strengthen the pope's resolve to support the Aragonese against the French.¹

2. Themes

The oration is a brief summary of the "*Responsuri*", given to the French ambassadors in December in Mantua, with updates concerning developments in the intervening five month period.

The major themes of the oration are three demands of the ambassadors of King René, all refused by the pope:

Concerning the **demand for the investiture** of King René, the pope motivated his refusal with the legal obligations of the papacy towards the Spanish House of Aragon, as contracted by previous popes:

- Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) invested King Alfonso with the Kingdom of Naples, gave him the right to name his own successor, and legitimated his son, Ferrante, recognizing him as heir to the Kingdom.
- Pope Nicolaus V (1447-1455) confirmed Pope Eugenius' decrees on the matter.
- Pope Calixtus V (1455-1458) confirmed his predecessors' actions, but when Alfonso V died, he revoked their legitimation of Ferrante and declared the Kingdom of Naples as having reverted to the Apostolic See, thus freeing his successor to invest whomever he wanted to with the Kingdom.

Legally, Pius also motivated his refusal with

- the peace treaties of 1454/1455, by which the Italian powers, including the papacy, recognized the reign of Alfonso V in the Kingdom of Naples and Ferrante as his successor.

Besides legal obligations the pope also motivated his refusal with political considerations: all the Italian powers had requested the pope to invest Ferrante with Kingdom, and the princes, nobles, and communes had unanimously recognized Ferrante as their king.

¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 144-145

And finally, he cited the military pressure exerted by Jacopo Piccinino who at the time fought for King Ferrante.

Concerning the two other Angevin requests, one for **military support to King René's cause**, and one for **withdrawal of papal auxiliary troops from King Ferrante**, the pope's main argument was his moral obligation to support the king whom he had himself invested with the Kingdom – at least as long as this investiture had not been proven unlawful.

The pope also rejected the Angevin claim that Ferrante had attacked King René's lands before the Angevins attacked the Kingdom: this claim was unproven and unsubstantiated and therefore it did not release the pope from obligations towards Ferrante incurred under the Italian peace treaties.

The pope declared the Angevin invasion of the Kingdom as illegal and in contravention of his own rights as feudal overlord of the Kingdom. He criticized the Angevin rejection of papal mediation and denounced various Angevin abuses against the papacy.

Several times he reiterated the offer to King René of a fair trial to determine the rights of the case, assuring him of his future support, should it be proven that it was René who had the right to the Kingdom.

In spite of the pope's offer to act as a fair judge in the case, it would have been clear to all that the pope's policies and his alliance with the Duke of Milan to keep the French out of Southern Italy in reality precluded a judgment in favour of King René. The offer of a fair lawsuit was, therefore, not very attractive to the Angevins who instead put their hopes on a continuation of the war.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Voigt, the oration "*De regno Siciliae*" was given in May 1460 in Siena.¹ And according to Pius himself, the ambassadors were received after his return to Siena from the Baths of Macereto, which he visited in May.

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 143

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors, and others participating in the public consistory during which the Angevin ambassadors were received.

The venue was probably the cathedral of Siena, which the pope used for high-profile public events.

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

4. Text¹

The text is extant in two versions: an Early Version and a Final Version.

4.1. Early version

The Early Version is known only from one manuscript. It is written by Pius himself, not dictated to a secretary or a scribe, and it contains many erasures and corrections made directly in the process of composition. It is possible that this text is actually an early draft that was revised before delivery into a text which was closer to or identical with the Final Version.

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana²**
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 271-277r (H)

4.2 Final version

4.2.1. Manuscripts

The Final Version exists in seven manuscripts containing the comprehensive collection of Pius' orations, prepared under his direct supervision in 1462.³

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

² On the character and contents of this manuscript, see Helmrath, p. 318

³ See *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**¹
544, ff. 131v-135r **(G)** *
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 262v-268v **(F)** *
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 182v-186v **(E)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 175r-179r **(D)** *
Chis. J.VIII 284, ff. 132v-135r **(A)** *
Chis. J. VIII 286, ff. 269r-275r **(C)** *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 186v-190v **(B)** *

Moreover it is extant in the manuscripts containing the Cardinal Nephew's Anthology of Pius II's Major Orations (1464):

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 54r-60r **(R)**
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII, 1,² ff. 18r-25r **(J)**
Borghese I, 121-122, ff. 26v-32v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**
4310, ff. 132r-138v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 78r-80r **(V)**
Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 49r-55v **(L)**
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 31r-37r
Vat. lat. 12256, ff. 40r-47r

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

² This manuscript also contains the Collection of Responses of Pius II (1460)

- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele**
Vittorio Emmanuele 492, ff. 195r-201r (T)

The text in these manuscripts is the same as the text in the seven manuscripts containing the comprehensive collection of orations, apart from common and individual variants deriving from errors of transcription. It does not appear to have been editorially revised.

The text is also contained in the following manuscripts:

- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Fonds It. 409
- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
691 (35 B 20), ff. 811-814
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm II 21, ff. 44-11v
Arm II 55, ff. 377r-380v
Fondo Pio 22, 348r-354v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 18v-27v
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 78r-80v

4.2.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi, based on the manuscript in Lucca (G):

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 158-165

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:

Early Version: the present edition is based on the Chisianus.

Final Version: The present edition is based on all the manuscripts marked with the siglum, with the Chisianus J.VIII 284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

In the Early Version pagination is from the Chisianus.

In the Final Version pagination is from the lead manuscript.

Presentation:

The Early Version and the Final Version are presented synoptically, the Early Version above, and the Final Version below. The parts of the text occurring in both versions (but with no regard to differences in grammatical form and word order) are marked in bold types.

Translation:

The translation is of the Final Version only.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, no direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified.

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

6. Bibliography

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

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt.* Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Pius II: *Commentaries.* Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003 ff.

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

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

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

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

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. J. VIII 286
D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VI. 211
E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf.
F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100
G = Lucca / Bibl. Cap. Feliniana / 544
H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VII.251
J = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1
L = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica / Vat. Lat. 5667
R = Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale / Ms. 15564-67
T = Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele / Vittorio Emmanuele 492
V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 3527

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio Pii II Pontificis Maximi¹ data oratoribus regis Renati, Senis

[1] [EV] {271r} **De² regno Siciliae, cujus proprietates ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam pertinet, quamvis duo reges armis contendunt, non est tamen propositi nostri, cui jus competat, in praesentiarum diffinire: nam id partium allegationes et altam requireret indaginem. Ad ea tantum nunc responsuri sumus, quae vos, oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Renati regis illustris, coram nobis proposuistis, cum proximis diebus valitudinis recuperandae causa apud Balneas Petriolenses ageremus.**

[1] [FV] {132v} **De regno Siciliae, cujus proprietates ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam pertinet, quamvis duo reges armis inter se contendunt³, non est tamen propositi nostri, cui jus competat, in praesentiarum diffinire: id enim partium allegationes et altam requireret⁴ indaginem. Ad ea tantum nunc responsuri sumus, quae vos, oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Renati regis illustris⁵, coram nobis proposuistis, cum superioribus diebus valitudinis recuperandae gratia apud Balneas Macereti⁶ ageremus.**

¹ Responsio ... max. : *omit.* **H, L, T, V** ; Pii II. Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus regis Renati Senis **D, G** ; Responsio Pii Papae II data oratoribus Renati regis Andegavensis super petitione ab eodem facta de regno Siciliae **J** ; Oratio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi data oratoribus regis Rhenati **R**

² m.p. [=manu propria] *nota marg.* **H** [*in later handwriting*]

³ contendant **J**

⁴ requirerent **L, R, T, V**

⁵ quae *add.* **J** ; qui *add.* **L, R, T, V**

⁶ Petrioli **J** ; Petrioleum **L, R, T, V**

Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of King René, in Siena

0. Introduction

[1] [FV] Two kings¹ are fighting about the Kingdom of Sicily which belongs to Us and the Roman Church. However, We do not intend now to determine who has the right to it, for that would require a formal presentation of the claims of the [two] parties and a comprehensive investigation. For now, We shall only reply to the speech which you, ambassadors of Our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King René, gave in Our presence some days ago while We were recovering at the Baths of Macereto.²

¹ King René d'Anjou and King Ferrante I of Naples

² NB: In the Early Version, Pius says the Baths of Petriolo. According his *Commentarii*, bk. 4, ch. 15, he first went to Macereto, then back to Siena, then he returned to Macereto and from there he went to the Baths of Petriolo five miles from Macereto. See also Raynaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 30

[2] [EV] Et primum quidem illud, quod asseruistis de nobilitate et praestanti virtute regis ipsius atque insignis familiae suae Andegavensis, nequaquam negamus. Cognita nobis est altitudo sanguinis sui, quae ab ipsa magni Caroli et Francorum nobilissima stirpe procedit. Nec probitatem ejus ignoramus, neque inficias imus Andegavensem prosapiam de Romana ecclesia optime meritam esse, siquidem Francorum beneficia Christianae religioni praestita ipsos etiam Andegavenses illustrant. Et nos quidem Renatum regem ejusque domum apprime diligimus, sibi bene cupimus.

[2] [FV] Et primum quidem illud, quod¹ asseruistis de nobilitate et² praestanti virtute regis ipsius atque insignis familiae suae Andegavensis, nequaquam negamus. Cognita nobis est altitudo sanguinis, quae ab ipsa magni Caroli et Francorum nobilissima stirpe deducitur. Nec probitatem ejus ignoramus, neque inficias imus³ Andegavensem prosapiam⁴ de Romana ecclesia optime meritam esse, siquidem Francorum beneficia Christianae religioni atque ipsi ecclesiae praestita ipsos etiam Andegavenses {133r} illustrant. Et nos quidem Renatum regem ejusque domum singulari dilectione prosequimur⁵, sibi bene cupimus.

¹ *omit.* E; J, L, R, T, V

² de E

³ inficiamus J

⁴ pro sapiem L, T; pro sapientiae V

⁵ prosequuntur B, E

[2] [FV] Firstly, We agree with what you said concerning the nobility and eminent virtue of the king himself and of the distinguished family of Anjou.¹ We know the high nobility of the family descending from the noble line of Charlemagne² and the Franks³. We know its integrity, and We do not deny the excellent merits of the Anjou family in relation to the Roman Church, since the Frankish services to the Christian religion and this Church also distinguish the Angevins. So We feel great love for King René and his House and wish him well.

¹ In 1350, the French King John II of the Valois dynasty gave the Duchy of Anjou to one of his sons, Louis, and from then on the dukes of Anjou were part of the extended French royal family.

² 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

³ The Franks (Latin: Franci or gens Francorum) are historically first known as a group of Germanic tribes that roamed the land between the Lower and Middle Rhine in the 3rd century AD, and second as the people of Gaul who merged with the Gallo-Roman populations during succeeding centuries, passing on their name to modern-day France and becoming part of the heritage of the modern day French people

[3] [EV] Gereremus omnibus in rebus **suae** voluntati **morem**, **si ea peteret, quae salva dignitate facere** possemus. **Verum quae** requisivistis ex nobis, **absque injuria tertii et sine {271v} dedecore nostro fieri non possunt, sive de investitura regi Renato tradenda, sive de auxiliis sibi praestandis aut ab altera parte revocandis loquamur**¹, quae tria vos a nobis expostulastis, oblatione de homagio exhibendo, his precedentibus, facta. **Haec cur** neganda sunt, **aperta ratione monstrabimus.**

[3] [FV] Nec recusaremus² **suae** nobilitati in quavis re **morem** gerere, **si modo ea peteret, quae salva dignitate facere** valeremus. **Verum quae**³ per vos suo nomine requisita sunt, **absque injuria tertii et sine dedecore nostro fieri non possunt, sive de investitura regi Renato tradenda, sive de auxiliis sibi praestandis aut ab altera parte revocandis loquamur.** Haec enim tria sunt⁴, quae a nobis expostulastis, offerentes homagium, quando haec concederentur. At **cur haec** negare oporteat, **aperta ratione monstrabimus.**

¹ Investitura, auxilia alteri pariter non praestanda sed revocanda *in marg.* D

² recusamus J

³ salva dignitate ... quae *omit.* E

⁴ enim tria sunt : tria sunt enim T

[3] [FV] And We would never refuse to accomodate that noble [king] in any matter if only he asked for what We can give with Our honour¹ intact. But your petitions in his name cannot be granted without injury to a third party and dishonour to Ourselves, whether we talk of bestowing the investiture upon René, or sending him auxiliary troops, or recalling auxiliary troops sent to the other party. For these are your three demands of Us, offering to do homage if they are granted. We shall now show, with clear reasons, why We must refuse.

¹ "dignitas"

[4] [EV] Vocati enim, sicut altissimo placuit, ad summi apostolatus apicem, regnum Siciliae haudquaquam possessore vacans invenimus. Ferdinandus, Alfonsi regis filius, id obtinebat. Alfonsus ab Eugenio quarto et Nicolao quinto¹, praecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus, investituram, et regium nomen, et facultatem haeredis instituendi, et legitimationem atque habilitationem filii ad regnum obtinuerat; et antequam obiret mortem, Ferdinandum haeredem in eo regno instituerat. Adductis regni baronibus in ejus verba jurare. Et quamvis Calixtus tertius, antecessor noster proximus, per mortem Alfonsi regnum ipsum ad Romanam ecclesiam devolutum declaraverit, proceres tamen regni universi et communitates apud Capuam convenientes Ferdinandum regnare supra se voluerunt sibi que novum homagium praestitere. Neque unus in toto regno fuit, qui diversae voluntatis videretur. Ob quas res {272v} et Calixto, antequam vita excederet, et nobis, postquam illi suffecti fuimus, magnopere supplicarunt, ut quieti regni consulentes regem, quem concordii populorum voto nuncupassent atque in possessionem accepissent confirmare dignaremur.

[4] [FV] Vocati enim, sicut² altissimo placuit, ad summi apostolatus apicem, regnum Siciliae haudquaquam³ possessore vacans⁴ invenimus: Ferdinandus, Alfonsi regis filius, id possidebat. Alfonsus ab Eugenio quarto et Nicolao quinto⁵, praedecessoribus nostris Romanis pontificibus, investituram, et regium⁶ nomen, et facultatem⁷ haeredis instituendi, et legitimationem atque habilitationem filii ad ipsum regnum obtinuerat; et antequam mortem obiret, Ferdinandum haeredem in eo regno instituerat. Adductis⁸ regni baronibus atque civitatibus in ejus verba jurare⁹. Et quamvis Calixtus tertius, antecessor noster proximus¹⁰, per¹¹ mortem Alfonsi regnum ipsum ad Romanam¹² ecclesiam devolutum declaraverit¹³, proceres tamen regni universi¹⁴ ¹⁵ et communitates apud Capuam convenientes¹⁶ Ferdinandum supra¹⁷ se regnare voluerunt¹⁸ sibi que novum homagium praestitere. Neque unus in toto regno fuit, qui diversae

¹ Eugenius. Nicolaus *nota marg.* D

² sumus ut J

³ haudquamquam L, T; aut quamquam V

⁴ vocans L, T, V

⁵ *omit.* G

⁶ regnum J, L, T, V

⁷ et facultatem *omit.* J

⁸ adductis R

⁹ iuuare A, B, C, E, F; L, R, T, V

¹⁰ proxime J; proximi L, R, T, V

¹¹ post J

¹² *omit.* J

¹³ declaraverat G

¹⁴ universae J

¹⁵ regni universi : universi regni R

¹⁶ Apud Capuam juratum *nota marg.* D

¹⁷ super J

¹⁸ voluerint V

voluntatis videretur. Ob quas res et Calixto, antequam vita excederet, et nobis, postquam illi suffecti fuimus, magnopere supplicarunt, ut quieti regni consulentes regem¹, quem concordi populorum voto expeterent, eis concedere dignaremur.

2. Demand for investiture of King René

[4] [FV] When it pleased the Almighty² to call Us to the exalted Supreme Apostolate,³ We did not find the Kingdom of Sicily without a possessor for it was actually in the possession of Ferrante,⁴ son of King Alfonso.⁵ Our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs Eugenius IV⁶ and Nicolaus V,⁷ had granted Alfonso both the investiture, the name of king, the right to name an heir, and the legitimation and habilitation of his son [to inherit] this kingdom. And before he died, Alfonso did appoint Ferrante heir to the kingdom. The barons and cities of the realm were summoned and swore to him. And although Calixtus III,⁸ Our immediate predecessor, declared that at the death of Alfonso the kingdom had reverted to the Roman Church, all the nobles and the communities of the kingdom met in Capua, and desiring Ferrante to reign over them they took a new oath of homage to him. No one in the whole Kingdom dissented. Therefore they begged Calixtus, before he died, and Us when We had succeeded him, to ensure peace in the Kingdom by deigning to grant them the king whom the people desired unanimously.

¹ regi G; rege L, R, T, V

² "altissimus"

³ In August 1458

⁴ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁵ 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

⁶ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

⁷ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁸ Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

[5] [EV] **Idem petierunt ex nobis Venetorum, ducis Mediolani, Florentinorum, et Mutinae ducis legati, commemorantes foedus Nicolai quinti tempore inter potentatus Italiae ad resistendum Turcorum conatibus percussum¹, in quo etiam ipse pontifex tamquam caput et custos pro tutela religionis intervenit. Neque enim amissa recens Constantinopoli et Turcorum principe magna minante salvari posse Christiana res videbatur, nisi quocumque modo pacata Italia servaretur. In eo autem foedere expressum erat Ferdinandum, Alfonsi regis filium, ejus regni regem futurum, neque minus cum eo quam cum patre foedus initum. Hortabantur itaque legati totius ferme Italiae, et quasi ex foedere, quod nos jam de consilio fratrum ratum habuissemus, requirebant, ne regnum Ferdinando negaremus, neve illi paternam haereditatem auferendo novis Italiam litibus implicaremus, quae tum Dei munere conquiescere cernebatur. Ad haec urgebat Jacobus Piccininus, qui sub ipso Calixti transitu nonnulla {272v} Romanae ecclesiae magni momenti oppida invaserat, neque expellendus apparebat, si novus ignis in regno sic excitaretur.**

[5] [FV] **Idem petierunt ex nobis Venetorum, ducis Mediolani², Florentinorum, et Mutinae ducis legati^{3 4}, commemorantes foedus⁵ tempore Nicolai quinti inter potentatus Italiae ad resistendum Turcorum conatibus percussum, in quo etiam ipse pontifex tamquam caput et custos pro tutela religionis intervenit. Neque enim amissa recens Constantinopoli⁶ et Turcorum principe magna minante salvari posse Christiana res videbatur, nisi quocumque modo pacata Italia⁷ servaretur. In eo autem foedere expressum erat Ferdinandum, Alfonsi regis filium, ejus regni regem futurum, neque minus cum eo quam cum⁸ patre foedus initum. Hortabantur itaque^{9 10} legati totius ferme Italiae, et quasi ex foedere, quod jam nos¹¹ confirmaveramus, requirebant¹², ne regnum Ferdinando negaremus, neve paternam illi haereditatem auferendo novis Italiam litibus implicaremus¹³, quae {133v} tum¹⁴ Dei munere¹⁵ majori ex parte conquiescere cernebatur. Ad haec urgebat Jacobus Piccininus, qui sub ipsum Calixti obitum**

¹ omit. J

² Mediolanensis B, E, F

³ legatum E

⁴ Legati totius Italiae *nota marg.* D

⁵ Fedus *nota marg.* D

⁶ Constantinopolis J

⁷ pacata Italia : Italia pacata G

⁸ quam cum : et J; eo *add.* V

⁹ igitur G

¹⁰ hortabantur itaque : hortabanturque V

¹¹ jam nos : nos jam G, J

¹² requirebat A, B, E; requirebatur J, L, R, T, V

¹³ implicabimus F

¹⁴ cum J

¹⁵ minere F

nonnulla Romanae ecclesiae magni momenti oppida invaserat, neque expellendus apparebat, si novus ignis in regno excitaretur.

[5] [FV] The same was requested of Us by the envoys of the Venetians, the Duke of Milan,¹ the Florentines, and the Duke of Modena,² invoking the treaty made at the time of Nicolaus V³ between the powers of Italy concerning resistance to Turkish attacks. Since the treaty concerned the defense of religion, the pope joined it as head and guardian. For as Constantinople⁴ had recently been lost and the Prince of the Turks⁵ posed a great threat, it appeared that Christianity could only be saved if Italy somehow found peace. The same treaty acknowledged Ferrante, son of King Alfonso, as the future king of the realm, [declaring that it was] made with him as much as with his father. Thus the envoys of almost all of Italy enjoined Us and by virtue of the treaty, which We had Ourselves confirmed, even demanded of Us not to deny Ferrante the Kingdom or to deprive him of his paternal inheritance. Otherwise, We would cause new conflicts in Italy which at that time seemed, by the grace of God, to be mostly at peace. We also came under pressure from Jacopo Piccinino,⁶ who at the death of Calixtus had occupied a number of important cities⁷ belonging to the Roman Church, and who could evidently not be driven out if a new fire flamed up in the Kingdom.

¹ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, the founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

² Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and the first Duke of Modena, from 1450 to his death

³ In 1454

⁴ In 1453

⁵ Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481): Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446, and later from February 1451 to his death. In 1453 he conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

⁶ Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

⁷ Assisi, Gualdo, Noceria

[6] [EV] **Retulimus de ea re in sacro fratrum collegio, et simul postulata Renati regis, cujus oratores pari modo investituram petebant, in medium adduximus. Fratres ipsi, adversante nullo, Ferdinando investituram tradendam censuerunt, Renato juris viam offerendam. Secuti sumus consilia fratrum, investiri que Ferdinandum et coronari jussimus nullius juri derogando. Sic res gesta est. Nulli fecimus injuriam. Eugenii et Nicolai, sanctorum praesulum, iter perreximus; Italiae preces audivimus, paci consulimus; foedus servavimus. Et si declaratio Calixti valida fuit, ut est pro sententia maximi pontificis praesumendum, regnum ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam reversum, Ferdinando concessurum licuit nobis regnum, quod tum directo et utili dominio ad nos pertinebat, cui vellemus - absque ejus pia et justa reclamazione - committere. Placuit, et non sine causa placuit, Ferdinando, qui possessor esset, committere. Nostro itaque decreto Ferdinando rex appellatus est.**

[6] [FV] **Retulimus de ea re in sacro fratrum nostrorum collegio, et simul postulata Renati regis, qui pari modo regnum petebat, in medium adduximus. Fratres ipsi, adversante¹ nullo, Ferdinando investituram tradendam censuerunt, Renato juris viam offerendam. Secuti² sumus consilia fratrum³, investiri que Ferdinandum et coronari jussimus nullius juri derogando. Sic res⁴ gesta est. Eugenii et⁵ Nicolai, sanctorum praesulum, iter perreximus⁶; Italiae preces audivimus; foedus servavimus; paci et quieti subditorum consulimus. Nulli injuriam fecimus. Et si⁷ declaratio Calixti, cujus supra meminimus, valida fuit, ut est pro⁸ sententia⁹ summi pontificis praesumendum, regnum ad nos et Romanam ecclesiam jam redierat, licebatque nobis regnum, quod tum¹⁰ directo et utili dominio ad nos pertinebat, cui¹¹ vellemus¹² concedere. Placuit, et non sine causa placuit, Ferdinando, qui possessor esset, illud committere. Nostro itaque¹³ decreto Ferdinandus rex appellatus est.**

¹ aversante A, B, C, L, R, T,

² sicuti V

³ fratruum L

⁴ omit. V

⁵ omit. J, L, T, V

⁶ perressimus L, R, V

⁷ omit. J, L, T, V

⁸ omit. J

⁹ pro sententia : presentia L, T, V

¹⁰ tunc J

¹¹ iam add. J, V

¹² velimus V

¹³ nostroque itaque : nostroque G

[6] [FV] We referred the matter to the Sacred College of Our brethren¹ and at the same time We related the demands of King René who also requested the Kingdom. Our brethren unanimously recommended that the investiture be given to Ferrante, and that René should be offered a law suit. Following the advice of Our brethren, We ordered that Ferrante be invested and crowned, while [declaring that] nobody's rights were set aside. This is what happened: We followed the path of the holy pontiffs, Eugenius and Nicolaus; We heeded the requests of Italy; We respected the treaty; We provided for the peace and quiet of the subjects; We injured nobody. And if the abovementioned declaration of Calixtus was valid, as must be presumed in the case of a judgement by a Supreme Pontiff, then the Kingdom had already reverted to the Roman Church and Us. Thus We had the right to grant the Kingdom, belonging to Us by direct and effective lordship², to whomever We wanted. We then decided, and not without good reason, to grant it to Ferrante who already had factual possession of it. Thus, by Our decree, Ferrante was named king.

¹ The College of Cardinals

² "directum et utile dominium"

[7] [EV] **Nec regnum duos capit. Si nunc Renatum investiremus, duos reges fecisse videremur. Indignum esset unius pontificis decreto unius regni duos reges creari. Neque tolerabile quoquam pacto videretur {273r} uno investito rege alterum investiri, nisi prior aut male investitus reperiatur aut indignus regno judicetur, nos autem hoc de Ferdinando indiscusso negotio haudquaquam dicere possimus. Atque idcirco investituram Renato impartiri non valemus, nisi prius aut investituram Ferdinandi reprobam, aut ipsum regno indignum ostendatis. Ad quas res, si juris via Renatus procedere voluerit, rectum apud nos iudicium inveniet, et nos aequi iudicis locum tenentes, quamvis nos suis litteris saepe suspectos allegaverit, quod quantum in Romano pontifice liceat juris interpretes norunt. Homagium vero, quod pro investitura ipsa praestaturum regem offertis, ex ipsa investitura dependet. Nec nos illud accipere recusabimus, postquam constiterit Renatum investiendum esse. Ad quam rem, si vobis, quae dicta sunt, non sufficiunt, rursus viam juris offerimus. Nam causa cognita nihil prorsus regi Renato negabimus, quod jure sibi concedendum sit.**

[7] [FV] **Nec regnum duos capit. Quod si modo nos Renatum investiremus, duos reges fecisse videremur, neque quisquam laudaret¹ unius pontificis decreto unius regni² duos reges creari, neque tolerabile duceret uno investito rege alterum investiri, nisi prior aut male investitus aut regno indignus reperiatur, quod nos de Ferdinando indiscusso negotio nequaquam dicere possumus. Atque idcirco investituram, quam petitis, concedere nullo pacto valemus, nisi prius aut³ investituram ipsam Ferdinandi invalidam ostendatis⁴, aut ipsum indignum regno. Ad quas res, si juris tramite Renatus procedere voluerit, rectum apud nos iudicium inveniet, et nos aequi iudicis locum tenentes, quamvis suis litteris saepe nos⁵ sibi suspectos insinuaverit⁶, quod quantum de Romano pontifice liceat⁷ juris interpretes norunt⁸. Atque haec⁹ ad investituram¹⁰ ¹¹. Homagium vero, quod pro ipsa investitura facturum¹² regem offertis, ex eadem investitura dependet. Neque nos illud accipere recusabimus, postquam constiterit¹³ Renatum investiendum esse. Ad quam rem, si vobis¹⁴, quae dicta sunt, non satisfaciunt, rursus viam juris**

¹ laudare F

² unius regni *omit.* G

³ ut J

⁴ ostendamus R

⁵ nobis V

⁶ sibi suspectos insinuaverit : iudicium inveniet B, E

⁷ *omit.* R

⁸ norant J

⁹ quo *add.* J

¹⁰ insinuavimus *add.* J; insinuaverit *add.* V

¹¹ ipsam Ferdinandi invalidam *add.* B

¹² factarum L, T, V

¹³ constituerit V

¹⁴ nobis A

offerimus. Nam causa cognita nihil regi vestro negabimus, quod jure sibi concedendum appareat.

[7] [FV] A kingdom cannot have two [kings].¹ If We invest René now, We would then make two kings. Nobody would approve of one kingdom getting two kings by decree of the same pope. Nor would anyone accept that a new king was invested when another one had already been invested unless it was shown that the first one had not been rightly invested or that he was unworthy to be king. This We cannot say about Ferrante in the absence of a proper discussion of the matter. Thus, We can in no way grant the investiture you request unless you first show that the investiture of Ferrante was invalid or that he himself is unworthy to rule. If René wants to follow the path of law, he will get a correct judgment from Us and find that We hold the place of a just judge – though in his letters he has often declared Us to be suspect in this regard. The law people know the rights of the Roman Pontiff in such matters. This is enough concerning the investiture.

You offer that your king² will make homage [to Us] if he receives the investiture, but that depends on the investiture itself. We shall not refuse his homage if and when it is determined that it is René who ought to be invested. If you are not satisfied with this, We once again offer you the path of law. For when the matter has been properly investigated, We will not deny your king anything that he should rightfully be granted.

¹ This maxim, Piccolomini had used already in March 1435, in a letter to the government of Siena: *Neque enim ut aiunt duos regnum capit* (Epistolarium, p. 46)

² King René

[8] [EV] **Quod autem secundo loco petivistis de auxiliis regi Renato praestandis ad regni recuperationem ex supradictis juste fieri non posse colligitur, nam quae honestas fert, ut adversus eum copias mittamus regnoque illum deturbemus, quem ipsi regem constituimus? {273v} Liceret id facere postquam discussa causa jus ei non competere manifestum esset, at prius non licet. Nec nos hi sumus, qui res a nobis cum consilio et matura deliberatione gestas inconsulte ac temere revocemus. Feret itaque si justus est rex Renatus uti confidimus aequo animo, ea sibi negamus, que juste concedi non possunt.**

[8] [FV] **Quod autem secundo loco petivistis de auxiliis Renato regi ad recuperationem regni praestandis ex supradictis juste fieri non posse {134r} colligitur, nam quae honestas fert, ut adversus eum copias¹ mittamus, quem ipsi regem constituimus? Liceret id facere postquam discussa causa jus ei non competere manifestum esset, at prius non licet. Nec nos ii sumus, qui res a nobis cum consilio et matura deliberatione gestas inconsulte ac temere revocemus. Feret² itaque pro sua justitia aequo animo rex³ Renatus, si ea sibi negamus, que juste concedi non possunt.**

¹ copiam L, T, V

² fert E, R

³ res R

2. Demand for papal aid against King Ferrante

[8] [FV] In the second place you requested that King René be given aid to recover the Kingdom. From what was said above, it is clear that it is not possible to do so with justice. Decency forbids Us to send troops against the one whom We Ourselves have made king. We would be free to do so after an examination of the case had proven that Ferrante did not have the right [to the Kingdom], but not before. Nor would We rashly and blindly revoke a decision made after consultation and mature deliberation. In his justice, King René should bear with equanimity that We deny him what We cannot justly give him.

[9] [EV] Sed adjecistis tertiam petitionem supplicantes, ut si Renato auxilia praestare nollemus, saltem eas copias ex regno Siciliae revocarem, quas Ferdinando suppetias misimus, atque hoc unum negari non posse arbitrati estis, tamquam in eo summa aequitas contineatur. Vellemus sane ita esset; neque enim libenter aliquid agimus, quod regi Renato suaeque domui molestum sit, neque ex animo nostro est subditos nostros armis operam dare percupideque his sumptibus levarem. Sed nil tam decet principem quam fidem servare. Meminimus supra ejus foederis, quod apostolicae sedis nomine inter potentatus Italiae Nicolaus percussit, Calixtus et nos comprobavimus, ne quies Italica turbaretur, et ingens in Christianos Turcis aperiretur porta. In eo cautum est, si quis ex nominatis in foedere turbetur bello impetatur, alios opem ferre debere. {274r} Non licuit nobis pacta refringere et ei auxilium negare, qui ex foedere illud peteret.

[9] [FV] Sed adjecistis¹ tertiam petitionem supplicantes, ut si Renato auxilia praestare nollemus, saltem eas copias ex regno Siciliae revocarem, quas Ferdinando suppetias² misimus, atque hoc unum negari non posse arbitrati estis, tamquam in eo summa aequitas contineatur. Vellemus sane ita esset; neque enim libenter aliquid agimus, quod regi Renato suaeque domui molestum sit, neque ex animo nostro est subditos nostros armis inter se decertare³. Et quantum ad auxilia missa pertinet, percupide his sumptibus levarem. Sed nil⁴ tam decet principem quam fidem servare. Meminimus supra ejus foederis, quod apostolicae sedis nomine inter potentatus Italiae Nicolaus percussit⁵, Calixtus⁶ postea et nos comprobavimus, ne pax Italica turbaretur, et ingens Turcis aperiretur in Christianos porta. In eo cautum est⁷, si quis ex nominatis in foedere molestetur bello⁸ impetatur⁹, alios opem ferre¹⁰ debere. Non licuit nobis pacta refringere¹¹ et ei auxilium negare, qui ex foedere illud peteret.

¹ aduersus B, E

² suppeti V

³ certare C

⁴ nihil J

⁵ perexit J

⁶ autem *add.* J

⁷ ut *add.* J

⁸ bello ut L, T, V

⁹ impetiatur R; impetratur L, T, V

¹⁰ ex nominatis ... ferre : confederatorum bello molestaretur, idem ab aliis opem ferri J

¹¹ restringere J, L, R, T, V

3. Demand for recall of papal troops aiding King Ferrante

[9] [FV] But you added a third petition: if We will not send aid to René, then at least We should recall the troops from the Kingdom of Sicily¹ which We have sent as aid to Ferrante. And you considered that this one thing could not be refused, as it would be the only fair and just thing to do. We would wish that this were true. Indeed, We really do not like to do anything contrary to the interests of King René and his House, and We do not approve of Our subjects fighting between them. And concerning the troops sent in aid, We should happily be relieved of those costs. But the highest obligation of a prince is to keep faith. We referred, above, to the treaty between the powers of Italy made by Nicolaus in the name of the Apostolic See, and later confirmed by Calixtus and by Ourselves so that the peace of Italy be not disturbed and an immense gate to the Christians be not opened to the Turks. In that treaty it is stipulated that if any party named in the treaty be molested or attacked, the others should come to their aid. We were not at liberty to break this agreement and refuse to help him who sought help by virtue of the treaty.

¹ I.e. the Kingdom of Naples, the Island of Sicily belonging to King Juan II of Aragon

[10] [EV] Sed affirmastis unam in foedere clausulam esse, quae nos a ferenda ope liberabat, quia ei tantum auxilia praestanda sunt, qui a non lacessito invaditur hoste, subdidistisque provocatum a Ferdinando Renatum, cujus provincia a triremibus ejus prius vexata sit, quam classis Gallica in regnum mitteretur, ac propterea non posse Ferdinandum ex foedere agere, qui sibi ipsi provocaverit hostem. Atque hanc esse rationem, propter quam viri graves, Veneti et Florentini, Ferdinando auxilia negaverint. Nobis non constat nisi ex relatu vestro Ferdinandum quidquam novitatis in ditione Renati fecisse, propter quod merito provocator appellari queat, neque Venetorum aut Florentinorum consilia nobis aperta sunt. Verum illi de sua fide, nos de nostra respondere habemus. Credimus quidem viros prudentes et modestos nihil sine ratione agere. Sed diversi principatus diversos habent intuitus. Nobis illud exploratum est in pactis ac foederibus bonam fidem ante omnia spectandam esse. Nec {274v} morosum esse debere aut causas negandi nectere, qui ex foedere requiritur. Nec tam tolerandus est, qui contra pactum excipit, quam laudandus qui exceptioni renuntiat. Quod si quem servare promissa oportet, profecto id summo pontifici necessarium est, cujus dignitas quanto est major ceteris, tanto fides debet esse sincerior atque illustrior.

[10] [FV] Sed affirmastis unam in foedere clausulam contineri, quae nos a ferenda ope liberaret, nam ei tantum auxilia ex conventis praestanda sunt, qui a¹ non lacessito invaditur hoste, subdidistisque provocatum a Ferdinando² Renatum fuisse, cujus provincia a triremibus ejus prius vexata sit, quam classis Gallica mitteretur in regnum, ac propterea non posse Ferdinandum ex foederibus agere, qui sibi ipsi provocaverit ac lacessiverit hostem. Atque hanc esse rationem, propter quam viri graves, Veneti et Florentini, Ferdinando auxilia negaverint. At nobis non constat nisi ex relatu vestro³ Ferdinandum quidquam novitatis in ditione Renati fecisse, propter quod merito provocator⁴ appellari queat, neque Venetorum aut Florentinorum consilia nobis⁵ aperta sunt. Illi de sua fide, nos de nostra respondere habemus. Credimus quidem viros prudentes et justis amatores nihil sine ratione agere. Sed diversi⁶ principatus diversos habent⁷ intuitus. Nobis illud exploratum est in pactis ac⁸ foederibus bonam fidem ante omnia *expectandam* esse. Nec⁹ morosum esse¹⁰ debere aut causas negandi nectere, qui ex foedere requiritur. Et sane non tam tolerandus {134v} est, qui contra pactum excipit, quam laudandus qui exceptioni renuntiat. Quod si quem servare promissa et cavillationes refugere

¹ qui a : quia J, L, T, V

² provocatum a Ferdinando : a Ferdinando provocatum J

³ nostro E

⁴ provocatus J; provocato L, T, V

⁵ vobis J

⁶ diversos J

⁷ habere J

⁸ aut E

⁹ haec J

¹⁰ est J

oportet, id profecto summo pontifici convenit, cujus dignitas quanto est major ceteris ac celsior, tanto fides debet esse sincerior atque illustrior.

4. Angevin claim of prior provocation by King Ferrante

[10] [FV] But you claimed that the treaty contains a clause which would free Us from sending aid. For according to the agreement, assistance should only be given to a party which is attacked by an enemy without prior provocation. You added that René had indeed been provoked by Ferrante attacking his province with galleys before the French fleet was sent to the Kingdom. Thus, Ferrante cannot invoke the treaty since he was the first to provoke and attack his enemy. And this is the reason why the Venetians and the Florentines, serious men, refused to help Ferrante. But Our only information about Ferrante having caused trouble in René's dominion is your own report which is not sufficient evidence to consider him as the provocateur. Moreover, the deliberations of the Venetians and the Florentines are not open to Us. They are responsible for how they keep their engagements, as We are responsible for how We keep ours. We certainly believe them to be prudent men who love justice and do nothing without reason. But different governments have different perspectives. For Our own part, it is quite clear that pacts and treaties require good faith more than anything else. And a party whose help is being requested by virtue of a treaty should not be capricious or invent reasons to refuse. Indeed, it is less acceptable to make exceptions to a treaty than to avoid making such exceptions. And if anybody should keep promises and avoid quibbling, it is indeed the Supreme Pontiff: the greater and higher his dignity is, compared to the others', the more his word should be sincere and clear.

[11] [EV] **Servavimus igitur Ferdinando, quod nostri praecessores promiserunt, et nos ipsi per foederis ratihabitionem polliciti eramus. Misimus auxilia in regnum, non contra Renatum, sed pro Ferdinando, ne ille expelleretur e regno, quem constitueramus regnare donec aliud in re faciendum intelligeremus. Renatus in regnum classem validam misit Ferdinandumque velut hostem suum regno ejicere conatus est. Neque consiliorum suorum nos participem fecit, neque voluntatem nostram percontatus est. Eoque tempore novis Italiam bellis atque motibus conquassandam duxit, cum nos de tutanda adversus Turcos religione apud Mantuam in conventu principum ageremus. Et quis arguere nos audeat, etiam si foedera nulla extent, si de regno ecclesiae Romanae subjecto eum expelli vetamus sine juris cognitione, quem praedecessorum secuti viam fecimus regem?**

[11] [FV] **Servavimus igitur Ferdinando, quod nostri praedecessores per foedera promiserunt, et ad¹ quae nos ipsi per ratihabitionem et confirmationem eramus obnoxii. Misimus auxilia in regnum, non contra Renatum, neque enim ejus inimici sumus, sed pro Ferdinando, ne regno dejiceretur, priusquam regni causa decideretur. Renatus classem validam in regnum misit² Ferdinandumque velut hostem suum regno ejicere conatus est. Neque consiliorum suorum nos participes³ fecit, neque voluntatem nostram percunctatus est⁴. Eoque tempore novis Italiam bellis atque motibus conquassandam duxit, cum nos de tutanda adversus Turcos religione apud Mantuam in conventu principum ageremus. Et quis arguere nos audeat, etiamsi foedera nulla extent, si de regno ecclesiae Romanae subjecto eum sine juris cognitione⁵ expelli vetamus⁶, quem praedecessorum nostrorum viam secuti regem fecimus?**

¹ ea *add.* V

² in regnum misit : admisit J

³ particeps E

⁴ neque consiliorum ... est *omit.* J, L, R, T, V

⁵ contagione G

⁶ petamus F

5. Angevin invasion of the Kingdom of Naples

[11] [FV] In relation to Ferrante, We have only done what Our predecessors promised by treaty, and what We Ourselves were obliged to do by virtue of Our own ratification and confirmation of [this treaty]. We sent auxiliary troops to the Kingdom, not against René, for We are not his enemy, but to aid Ferrante so that he would not be driven out of the Kingdom¹ before the case of that Kingdom had been settled. René sent a strong fleet to the Kingdom² and endeavoured to expel Ferrante from it as his enemy. He did not share his plans with Us, nor did he ask for Our wishes in the matter. He decided to inflict new wars and troubles on Italy at the very moment when We were occupied with the defense of religion against the Turks, at the congress of princes in Mantua.³ And even if there were no treaties, who would presume to criticize Us if We forbid the expulsion of Ferrante from a kingdom subject to the Roman Church without a proper legal investigation? It is, after all, We Ourselves who – following the path of our predecessors - made him king.

¹ Or: robbed of his kingship

² The Angevin fleet sailed from Genoa on 3 October 1459, cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 80

³ Congress of Mantua, which lasted from June 1459 to January 1460. It had been summoned by Pius II as a meeting of European princes to discuss and plan against the Turkish invasion of Europe

[12] [EV] {275r} **Dixistis licuisse Renato inconsulta sede apostolica, cujus regni directum dominium est, armis eum expellere, qui se¹ armis expulisset. At hoc minime concedendum est, neque reges inter suos vasallos talia ferunt. Forsitan tolerabilis esset, qui recens regno ejectus, nulla novitate a domino feudi facta, in ejectorem arma moveret. At in regno Siciliae neque adversus ejectorem arma movit ejectus, neque res integra est. Nam Ferdinandus haudquaquam Renatum ejecit, quamvis ejectoris haeres est. Neque res regni in eo statu perseverarunt, in quo erant ejectionis tempore. Nam Eugenius Alfonsum postea de regno investivit. Et, ut ante diximus, haeredis instituendi facultatem ei concessit, legitimo filio, quae omnia Nicolaus confirmavit; et nostra postmodum secuta investitura est. Quod si, ut tenetur, Renatus Romano praesuli dignam reverentiam praestitisset, profecto regnum nullo modo nobis inconsultis bello temptasset, sed eam viam aggressus fuisset, quam sibi obtulimus, justitiae atque iudicii. {275v} In qua, si victor evassisset, tum demum juste ad arma prosilire potuisset nec nostra tunc sibi auxilia defuissent prout numquam deerunt cum per iustitiae tramite incesserit. Sed sibi visum est, licitum esse, post duodeviginti annos, regnum armis repetere injussu directi domini, quod armis amisit, et eum bello lacescere, quem directus dominus summus pontifex investivit. Nos hoc prorsus alienum a jure censemus, atque idcirco ferendam opem possessori decrevimus, misimusque copias nostras, quae non sinerent indiscussa causa constitutum auctoritate nostra regem regno privari.**

[12] [FV] **Dixistis licuisse Renato inconsulta sede apostolica, penes quam directum regni dominium est, armis eum expellere, qui se armis expulisset. Quod nos minime concedendum² putamus, neque reges inter suos vassallos talia ferunt. Forsitan³ tolerabilis esset, qui recens regno ejectus⁴, nulla novitate a domino feudi facta, in ejectorem mox arma moveret⁵. At in regno Siciliae neque adversus ejectorem arma⁶ movit⁷ ejectus, neque statim post ejectionem, neque re integra. Nam Ferdinandus haudquaquam Renatum ejecit, quamvis ejectoris haeres est, et inter ejectionem et postea⁸ motum bellum duodeviginti intercesserunt anni. Neque res regni in eo statu perseverarunt, in quo erant ejectionis tempore. Nam Eugenius pontifex maximus ipsiusque regni dominus Alfonsum postea de regno investivit. Et, ut ante diximus, haeredis instituendi⁹ facultatem ei concessit, legitimo filio, quae omnia Nicolaus confirmavit; et nostra postmodum secuta¹⁰ investitura est. Quod si, ut tenetur, Renatus Romano praesuli**

¹ si J

² *omit.* T

³ forsitan J

⁴ neque statim post eiectionem *add.* B, E

⁵ movit *corr. ex* moveret B

⁶ moveret at ... arma *omit.* E

⁷ neque adversus ... movit *omit.* B

⁸ post B, E

⁹ haeredis instituendi : de haerede instituendo J

¹⁰ *insecuta* G

suam reverentiam praestitisset¹, profecto inconsultis nobis nullo pacto regnum bello temptasset, sed eam viam fuisset aggressus, quam sibi obtuleramus, justitiae atque iudicii. In qua, si victor evassisset, tum demum juste et nostro cum auxilio prosilire² potuisset ad arma. Sed sibi visum est, ut {135r} asseruistis, licitum, etiam post longum tempus, impermissu directi domini regnum armis repetere, quod armis amisit. Nec veritus est eum bello lacessere, quem superior dominus summus pontifex investivit. Nos haec a jure prorsus aliena censemus, atque idcirco ferendam opem possessori decrevimus, misimusque copias nostras, quae non sinerent constitutum auctoritate nostra regem indiscussa causa regno privari.

[12] [FV] You said that René had the right to expel him who had earlier expelled him, without consulting the Apostolic See which has direct lordship over the Kingdom. We do absolutely not agree with this, and kings do not act thus towards their own vassals. Maybe it could be tolerated that someone who had recently been expelled from a kingdom – without any changes having afterwards been made by the feudal lord – should quickly attack the one who expelled him. But in the case of the Kingdom of Sicily, the one who had been expelled did not make war on the one who expelled him neither directly after the expulsion, nor at all³. For it was hardly Ferrante who expelled René: he is the heir of the man who expelled him. And between that expulsion and the beginning of the present war 18 years have passed. Moreover, the status of the Kingdom is no longer the same as at the time of the expulsion for afterwards Eugenius, Supreme Pontiff and overlord of the Kingdom, invested Alfonso with it, legitimating his son and giving him – as We have already said - the right to appoint an heir. All this was confirmed by Nicolaus, and Our own investiture of Ferrante took place only afterwards. If René had shown proper respect for the Bishop of Rome, as he was bound to, then he would certainly not have gone to war in the Kingdom without Our knowledge, but he would have followed the course of law and trial We offered to him. If he had won, he could then have proceed to make war, justly and with Our help. But as you said, he considered that he had the right – even after the long time passed and without the permission of the direct lord – to reclaim with arms the Kingdom which he lost to arms. And he did not fear to war against him whom his overlord, the Supreme Pontiff, had invested. This we consider to be completely illegal. And therefore We decided to come to the assistance of the one who had actual possession [of the Kingdom] and sent Our troops in order to prevent that the one who had been made king by Our authority be deprived of the Kingdom without a proper legal investigation of the matter.

¹ et R

² prosilire L, T, V

³ “re integra”

[13] [EV] **Prius tamen quam auxilia mitteremus, viam concordiae temptandam duximus, misso in regnum venerabili fratre nostro, Bartholomeo Archiepiscopo Ravennate, qui et arma utrimque ponenda et pacem recipiendam partibus suaderet, quem rex ipse Ferdinandus benigne excepit, pars adversa adeo aspernata est, ut nec securitatem transitus ei praebere voluerit. Quibus ex rebus non licuit nobis petenti auxilia molestato regi non concedere, quando nec concordiae tractatus nec juris via per partem vestram reciperetur. {275v} Non est igitur, cur queramini de missione auxiliorum, quoniam ad eum tutandum missa sunt, qui nec iudicium nec concordiam refugit.**

[13] [FV] **Prius tamen quam auxilia decerneremus, viam concordiae temptandam duximus, misso in regnum venerabili fratre nostro, Bartholomeo¹ archiepiscopo Ravennate, qui et arma utrimque ponenda et pacem recipiendam partibus suaderet. Hunc rex Ferdinandus benigne excepit, pars adversa adeo aspernata est, ut nec securitatem transitus ei praebere voluerit. Quibus ex rebus non licuit² nobis petenti auxilia molestato regi non concedere, quando nec concordiae tractatus nec juris via per partem vestram reciperetur. Auxilia vero, quae missa sunt³, durantibus missionis causis, nemo revocanda esse affirmaverit. Non est igitur, cur de missione illorum conqueramini, nec revocare nos illa⁴ convenit, quae ad tutandum⁵ eum missa sunt, qui nec iudicium neque concordiam refugit.**

¹ Roverella *add.* J, L; Rov. *add.* T

² ex *add.* J, L, T, V

³ *omit.* J

⁴ revocare nos illa : nos illa revocare J

⁵ curandum F

6. Angevin rejection of papal mediation

[13] [FV] But before deciding to send help, We wished to try the path of mediation. Therefore We sent Our brother, Archbishop Bartolomeo of Ravenna,¹ to the Kingdom to persuade both parties to lay down weapons and accept a peace.² He was well received by King Ferrante, but treated so contemptuously by the opposite party that they would not even grant him safe passage. Therefore, We could not say no, when the injured king asked for help, since your party would accept neither mediation nor the course of law. As long as the causes for sending auxiliary troops persist, nobody may claim that the troops should be recalled. Thus, you have no reason to complain of Our sending these troops, nor is it not proper for Us to recall them, for they were sent to protect the one who refused neither judgment nor mediation.

¹ Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna (1445). Appointed cardinal by Pius II in 1461

² Cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 30 and ad ann. 1461, nr. 4: papal letters concerning Roverella's mission to Naples

[14] [EV] Sed magna et multa sunt quae **homines vestrae partis in nos et apostolicam sedem peccaverunt. Nam comes Jacobus Piccininus, dum vestro stipendio militat, Ascolum, non ignobilem Piceni civitatem auferre conatus, haud dubie Romanae abstulisset ecclesiae, nisi qui ejus jussu parabant insidias, capti et supplico affecti fuissent. Idem per agrum ecclesiae injussu nostro transiens minime veritus est in contemptum apostolicae sedis arma ecclesiae in vexillis deferre, tamquam ejus dux esset, cujus vocem audire noluerat. Compertum quoque habemus Johannem Coxam pluribus modis enixum esse, ut civitatem Beneventanam nobis eriperet, sicut palam suo tempore monstrari poterit. Dux autem Sorae, qui et ipse vestrarum partium est, excaecatus auri cupiditate, familiari nostro, quem a praefectura arcis Beneventanae ad nos accersiveramus, publicam fidem dederat, ut per suam terram tuto iter faceret, moxque post eum satellites misit, qui veluti latrones {276v} crudelissimi excussum omni auro ceterisque rebus hominem immanissime obruncarunt. Haec licet nullatenus regi Renato placere credamus, per homines tamen vestrarum partium facta sunt, et in apostolicae sedis ignominiam tendunt.**

[14] [FV] Quod si stantibus rebus prout stant, rex vester de nobis querelam¹ facit, injurius est, nec res suas ex aequo² metitur³. Nobis autem multa⁴ occurrunt super quibus justam possemus⁵ querelam facere, siquidem **partis vestrae homines in nos et apostolicam sedem plurima peccaverunt⁶. Nam comes Jacobus Piccininus, dum vestro stipendio militat, Ascolum⁷, non ignobilem Piceni civitatem, haud dubie Romanae abstulisset ecclesiae⁸, nisi qui ejus jussu prodicionem parabant, capti et ultimo supplico affecti fuissent. Idem per agrum ecclesiae absque nostra licentia transiens⁹ nequaquam veritus est in contemptum apostolicae sedis insigne¹⁰ ecclesiae in vexillis deferre, tamquam ejus dux esset, cujus audire vocem noluerat. Compertum quoque habemus Johannem Coxam pluribus modis enixum esse, ut civitatem Beneventanam nobis eriperet, sicut palam suo tempore monstrari poterit¹¹. Dux autem Sorae, qui et ipse vestrarum partium¹² est, excaecatus auri cupiditate, familiari nostro, quem a praefectura arcis Beneventanae ad nos accersiveramus, publicam fidem dederat, ut¹³ per suam**

¹ de nobis querelam : querelam de nobis G

² quo L, T, V

³ suas ex aequo metitur *omit.* R [*blank space in text*]

⁴ *omit.* J, L, R, T, V

⁵ justam possemus : possemus justam G

⁶ patrauerunt J; pacaverunt L, T, V

⁷ Ascolum A, B, C, E, F; J, L, R, T, V

⁸ ecclesia L, T

⁹ transitus B, E

¹⁰ insignia J, L, T, V

¹¹ poterat R

¹² vestrarum partium : partium vestrarum G

¹³ iterque J; et L, R, T, V

terram iter tuto^{1 2} faceret, moxque³ post eum satellites misit, qui veluti latrones crudelissimi excussum omni auro ceterisque rebus hominem immanissime obtruncarunt. Haec licet nullatenus regi Renato aut ejus filio placere credamus, per homines tamen vestrarum partium facta sunt, et in apostolicae sedis ignominiam tendunt.

7. Angevin abuses against the pope

[14] [FV] As matters stand, if your king makes complaints against Us, he is being obnoxious and does not assess his own cause reasonably. But We, on Our part, have many things that We could justly complain. Indeed, men of your party have greatly abused Us and the Apostolic See: while being hired to fight for you, Jacopo Piccinino would undoubtedly have taken Ascoli, a major city in Piceno, from the Roman Church unless those who, at his command, were preparing treason had been caught and executed. He also passed through the Church territories without Our permission, daring to mock the Apostolic See by carrying standards with the arms of the Church - as if he was the general of the very one whom he disobeyed. We have also heard that Giovanni Cossa⁴ tried to rob Us of the City of Benevento in many ways, as can be proven clearly at the proper time. [Another example is provided by] a member of Our household whom We had summoned from the prefecture of the Fortress of Benevento. The Duke of Sora,⁵ who belongs to your party, gave him a safeconduct so that he might travel safely through his territory. But then the duke, blinded by greed for gold, quickly sent some of his attendants after him: as if they were savage robbers, they killed him cruelly and robbed him of his money and all his belongings. Though We cannot believe that King René and his son would condone such a deed, it was done by men of your party, greatly damaging the reputation of the Apostolic See.

¹ tutum R; quod L, T; quid V

² iter tuto *omit.* J

³ mox G

⁴ Giovanni Cossa: Neapolitan noble, Count of Troia, fighting on the side of Anjou

⁵ Duke of Sora: Piergiampaolo Cantelmi

[15] [EV] **Illud autem nescimus quo pacto Renatus ipse facere adductus sit, qui novissime suos nuntios in civitatem nostram Avinionensem et comitatum Venaysinum transmisit, jubens appellationem quandam legato et ceteris officialibus nostris exhiberi in qua de missione archiepiscopi Ravennatis conqueritur, et quem nos ad pacem perquirendam in regnum misimus, adversus se suosque sequaces missum affirmat, nosque suspectos sibi et graves asserens provocatque minus juste et verbis utens minus convenientibus. Quae nisi revocentur, in poenas illius bullae proculdubio incidet, quam Mantuae adversus provocantes ad futurum concilium de consilio conventus edidimus. Credimus ...¹ regem ipsum a ...² deceptum tamen hortamur, ut ab his desistat, caveatque sedem apostolicam offendere quae sibi benigna est: nec miretur, si suis votis non satisfacimus, cum honestas et justitia repugnet. Hoc nos facimus quod facimus, {277r} persuadeatque sibi nos sui honoris cupidos esse suaeque domui esse affectuosissimos. ...³ quod si petet ex nobis consentanea numquam frustrabitur.**

[15] [FV] **Illud autem nescimus qua ratione Renatus ipse {135v} facere adductus sit, qui novissime suos nuntios in civitatem nostram Avinionensem⁴ et comitatum Venaysinum⁵ transmisit, jubens schedulam⁶ quandam legato et ceteris officialibus nostris coram legi, in qua de missione archiepiscopi Ravennatis conqueritur, et quem nos ad pacem perquirendam et arma submovenda in regnum⁷ misimus, ipse adversus se suosque sequaces missum affirmat, nosque suspectos sibi et graves asserens verbisque parum suae dignitati convenientibus utens, ad futurum concilium provocat⁸, nesciens quantis se laqueis ac periculis involvat. Nisi enim provocationem ipsam quantocius⁹ revocaverit, in poenas ac censuras illius decreti proculdubio incidet, quod Mantuae adversus provocantes ad futurum concilium de consilio conventus editum est. Nos eum¹⁰ pro¹¹ paterna¹² caritate, qua sibi afficimur¹³, ut ab his desistat, hortamur, caveatque matrem suam, quae sibi benigna est, apostolicam sedem, offendere: nec miretur, si suis votis non satisfacimus¹⁴, cum honestas et justitia repugnet, persuadeatque sibi nos sui honoris¹⁵ cupidos esse, qui si petierit ex nobis consentanea numquam frustrabitur¹⁶.**

¹ *Illegible*

² *Illegible*

³ *Illegible*

⁴ Avinionem L, T, V

⁵ Vanaysinum E; Venai/ysim L, R, T, V

⁶ cedulam C

⁷ regna G

⁸ Renatus appellavit ad futurum concilium *nota marg.* D; Renatus ad concilium futurum appellavit *nota marg.* G

⁹ quam totius J, V

¹⁰ quod *add.* L, T, V

¹¹ quem R

¹² fraterna G

¹³ afficiamur L, T, V

¹⁴ satisfecimus E

¹⁵ honores E

¹⁶ frustrabimur R

[15] [FV] Further, We do not know what caused René to recently send his envoys to Our City of Avignon and the County of Venaissin¹, with orders to read a note to Our legate and other officials wherein he complained of the mission of the Archbishop of Ravenna, declaring that the man We sent to the Kingdom in order to arrange peace and a cessation of hostilities had in reality been sent to act against himself and his followers. He also stated that We Overselves were suspect to him and greatly vexatious. And, using words that do not befit his dignity, he appealed to a future council, ignoring the perils and noose he is moving into. For unless he quickly revokes that appeal, he will undoubtedly incur the punishments and censures stipulated by the decree which, on the advice of the congress, was issued in Mantua against those who appeal to a future council. Out of paternal love, We exhort him to abandon this course and take care not to offend his benevolent mother, the Apostolic See. So, he should not wonder that We do not agree to his wishes since decency and justice prevent it. But he should know that We greatly care for his honour, and that We shall never deny him such petitions as We may honourably grant.

¹ City and territory in Southern France, owned by the popes from 1348 until the French Revolution

[16] [EV] **De regno autem Siciliae, quia res ita se habent, sicut relatum, quae non possunt aliter esse quam respondimus, ...¹ Verum cum hoc tempore maxime necessarium sit Christianos reges inter se concordēs esse et arma in hostes fidei vertent, hortamur regem ipsum ut vel concordiae vel iustitiae viam aggrediatur nec velit armis quaerere, quod legibus consequi potest, si iustitiam fovet. Nos ei ad hoc favores quoslibet possibiles offerimus revocaturi omnia, quae Ferdinando praestamus auxilia, si adversari eum viae juris concordiae quovis modo intellexerimus.**

[16] [FV] **De regno autem Siciliae, quia ita se res² habent, ut ante relatum est, ferat aequo animo responsiones nostras, et cogitans³ quae pacis sunt ad concordiam sese inclinet, maxime hoc tempore quando pernecessarium est Christianos reges de tutanda religione adversus hostes fidei sollicitos esse. Velit igitur aut concordiae aut iustitiae⁴ viam amplecti, neque studeat armis quaerere, quod legibus consequi potest, si iustitiam foverit. Ad quam rem, sicut prius saepe oblatum est, aequos iudices nos offerimus revocaturi omnia, quae Ferdinando praestamus auxilia, si adversari eum viae juris concordiae quovis modo intellexerimus.**

¹ *Illegible*

² se res : res se G

³ et cogitans : excogitans B, E

⁴ concordiae aut iustitiae : iustitiae aut concordiae J

8. Conclusion

[16] [FV] In the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily, the situation is as We have explained. Therefore, let René accept Our response with an even mind and move towards concord, considering how peace [can be made]. Especially at this time it is very important that the Christian kings be concerned about protecting religion against the enemies of Faith. May he accept either the course of mediation or the course of justice and not strive to take by arms what he can get by law if he should favour [the course of] justice. As We have done so often before, We offer Ourselves as fair judge, and if We learn that the course of law or mediation goes against Ferrante in any way, We shall recall all the auxiliary troops that We are now providing to him.