Oration “Claritudo sanguinis” of Pope Pius II (17 June 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 59)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius; 59)
Oration “Claritudo sanguinis” of Pope Pius II (17 June 1460, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Fifth version

2019
Abstract

During his protracted stay in Siena, in 1460, Pope Pius II received an embassy from King Enrique IV of Castile. In his reply to the ambassadors, the pope acknowledged that the Congress of Mantua had failed to unite the European kings and princes in a common crusade against the Turks. Undaunted, he expressed his conviction that God Himself would cause the kings and princes to later join the crusade – it was after all God’s own cause.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Congress of Mantua 1459; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors, King Enrique IV of Castile; King Henry IV of Castile; 15th century; 1460; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks

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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\(^1\) orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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\(^1\) 81 orations, if the “Cum animadverto” is counted as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration “Quam laetus” [18], Appendix
Table of volumes in *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. 12 vols. Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
I. INTRODUCTION
1. Context

After the Congress in Mantua, Pope Pius II went to Siena where he stayed most of 1460.

While there, he received ambassadors from King Enrique IV of Castile,¹ with his offers of contributing to the crusade against the Turks.

Pius gave a very short reply to their address,² the oration “Claritudo sanguinis”.

In his Commentarii, he wrote:

"... King Henry of Castile and León, who ruled a large part of Spain but had sent the Congress of Mantua an insignificant embassy unworthy of his standing, now sent the bishop of León to the pope together with one of the first nobles of his realm, as if to repair his reputation. These men entered Siena with a splendid retinue; the pope received them at a public consistory where they delivered a speech more distinguished for its lofty elegance than its sincerity. For when they were asked about the extent of their authority, it emerged that they had no power to offer the pope anything for the defense against the Turks."³

2. Themes

As Pius, possibly with some degree of exasperation, reminded the Spanish ambassadors, an embassy from the king had already the year before come before him and delivered a traditional speech with effusive and lengthy praises of both king and pope. Pius therefore felt that he could dispense with answering those parts of the ambassadors’ speech and quickly came to the issue at stake, the crusade.

By now, he was able to see clearly – and to tell the ambassadors – that the Congress of Mantua had failed to unite the European kings and princes in the common cause of a crusade against the Turks:

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¹ Enrique IV (1425-1474): King of Castile, nicknamed the Impotent. Ruled from 1454 to his death
² The ambassadorial address was delivered by Rodrigo Sanchéz de Arévalo. The text does not appear to be extant, see Lopéz Fonseca, p. 19; Trame, p. 103
³ CO, IV, 21 (Meserve, II, p. 283). Cf. Rainaldus, ad ann. 1460, nr. 44
The Christian princes prefer fighting each other to opposing the enemies of Faith. Some, in
their lust for power, drive their neighbours from their homes; others resist being driven
away, and all are more concerned about their own injuries than about Jesus Christ. All are
occupied with their private matters and neglect the public. Some are slothful and only care
for pleasure and enjoyment, totally forgetting about Christian religion. [Sect. 2]

But, unshaken in his belief that the crusade was God’s cause, the pope remained staunchly –
some would say foolishly - optimistic:

The Saviour’s Church shall not lack men who will take arms against the enemies. And though
many kings are now sluggish, the Lord will enflame their hearts when He wants to, for He
can clothe even nude bones with flesh and put the soul back [in the body] that it left. We
are sure, that, among the others, Our dear son, your king, will not desert the faith in which
he was born. [Sect. 3]

He would become sorely disappointed.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The Castilian ambassadors were received by Pope Pius during his long stay in Siena which lasted
for most of 1460. It is not known exactly when, but in the Commentarii the event is reported after
the initiation of canonical procedures, in autumn 1460, against Archduke Sigismund of Austria
and Gregor Heimburg - in connection with the archduke’s violent undertakings against the
Cardinal of Cues. However, according to Trame, the Castilian ambassadors appeared before the
pope in Siena on 17 June, and this date has been retained for the present edition.¹

The venue was, at the pope says, the Cathedral of Siena, and the occasion must have been a
public consistory in which participated the cardinals, ambassadors with their retinues, curials,
and other interested persons.

The format was a papal response from the throne to an ambassadorial address.

¹ Trame, p. 103. Cf. also Rainaldus, ibid.
4. Text\textsuperscript{1}

4.1. Manuscripts\textsuperscript{2}

The oration is included in a collection of Responses of Pope Pius II (1460),\textsuperscript{3} largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in a number of manuscripts:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
  544, ff. 177r-178r (\textit{G}) *

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
  Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 59r-60r (\textit{J}) *

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 71r-72v
  Barn. lat. 1692, ff. 90r-92v
  Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 174r-175r (\textit{H}) *

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

4.2 Editions

The oration was published by Mansi, based on the Lucca manuscript:


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\textsuperscript{1} For the textual transmission of Pius II’s, see \textit{Collected Orations of Pope Pius II}, vol. 1, ch. 5

\textsuperscript{2} Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in \textit{Collected orations of Pope Pius II}, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

\textsuperscript{3} See \textit{Collected Orations of Pope Pius II}, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2.
4.2. Present edition

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

Text:

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

Pagination:

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources

In this oration, 7 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 6 from the Bible one one from Seneca.

Biblical: 6  
Classical: 1  
Patristic and medieval: 0  
Contemporary: 0  
All: 7

Biblical sources: 6

Old Testament: 3

- Job: 1
- Psalms: 2

1 On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.
New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 2
- 1. Peter: 1

Classical sources: 1

- Seneca: 1

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography


Helmrath, Johannes: *Die Reichstagsreden des Enea Silvio Piccolomini 1454/55 – Studien zur Reichstag und Rhetorik.* Universität Köln, 1994


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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que svis temporibus contigervnt.* Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984. (Studi e testi; 312-313)


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1 Epistolae ad Lucilium
2 References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) *Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67* (without reference to a specific edition)
Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

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


7. Sigla and abbreviations

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544
H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VII.251
J = Roma / Achivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

Abbreviations

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


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


II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
Ad oratores regis Castellae

[1] {174r} Claritudo sanguinis et morum elegantia singularisque virtus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici, Legionis et Castellae regis illustris, cum anno jam revoluto hoc ipso templo nobis et apostolicae sedi oboedientia\(^1\) suo nomine praestaretur, pluribus verbis recensita et explicata fuit. Et nunc vos, praestabiles oratores ejus, hisdem\(^2\) de rebus verba fecistis abunde. Non est cur immoremur, nec de nostris meritis loquemur, quae scimus quam tenuia sunt, quamvis sermone vestro supra modum magnificata.

[2] Ad id transeundum est, quod vestrum ad nos adventum coegit, hoc est defensio catholicae et apostolicae fidei. Haec, quanto in periculo sit, et a vobis plane dictum est et omnes intelligunt. Sed possimus illud Sallustianum subjungere: *Omnes agnoscunt*, et\(^4\) nemo succurrit, rursusque cum propheta conqueri: *Quoniam tribulatio proxima\(^5\) est, et non est, qui adjuvet*. Hinc Turci occupata Graecia, Rascia subacta, Valachis magna ex parte oppressis, infesta in Hungariam signa inferunt. Inde Saraceni Baeticae promontoriis et nobilibus agris petiti\(^6\) vicinas circum\(^7\) Hispanias\(^8\) vexant. Christiani principes inter se potius armis contendunt quam hostibus fidei resistere velint. Alii cupidine dominandi vicinos\(^9\) domo pellunt; alii, ne pellantur, obsistunt, et omnes pluris suas faciunt injurias quam Jesu Christi. Omnes privatis rebus intenti sunt, publica negliguntur. Quidam vero desides solis incumbunt aut deliciis, aut voluptatibus, Dei nostri et religionis Christianae prorsus obli. Propter quod licet cum psalmista dicere: *Omnes declinaverunt, simul inutiles facti sunt, non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum.*

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\(^1\) omit. G
\(^2\) jisdem J
\(^3\) ignoscunt G, H
\(^4\) sed J
\(^5\) omit. G
\(^6\) potiti J
\(^7\) circa G
\(^8\) Hispaniam G
\(^9\) vicinum J
To the ambassadors of the King of Castile

[1] A year ago in this very temple\(^1\) obedience to Us and to the Apostolic See was declared in the name of Our beloved son in Christ, Enrique, illustrious King of Leon and Castile, [by you,] distinguished ambassadors, speaking at length about his noble blood, exquisite manners, and exceptional virtue. And now again, you have spoken abundantly on these matters. Therefore, We have no reason to dwell on them, nor shall We speak about Our own merits: We know them to be insignificant, though you made much of them in your speech.

[2] We now move on to the reason for your visit, the defense of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith. You have clearly stated - and all know - the danger that threatens them. We may add, with Sallust: *Everyone acknowledges it, but nobody comes to their rescue.*\(^2\) And We may lament with the prophet: *For tribulation is very near: for there is none to help me.*\(^3\) In one direction, the Turks have occupied Greece, subjugated Serbia, and laid waste to most of Wallachia, and now they are marching against Hungary. In the other direction, the Saracens have moved towards the promontories and noble lands of Baetica\(^4\) and are laying waste to the areas neighbouring Spain. The Christian princes prefer fighting each other to opposing the enemies of the Faith. Some lusting for power drive their neighbours from their homes; others resist being driven away; and all are more concerned about their own injuries than about Jesus Christ’s. All are occupied with their private matters and neglect the public. Some are slothful and only care for pleasure and enjoyment, totally forgetting about our God and Christian religion. Therefore we may say with the psalmist: *They are all gone aside, they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, no not one.*\(^5\)

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1 The Cathedral of Siena  
2 Not Sallust, but Seneca the Younger: *Letters to Lucilius*, 1.4: *every one forgives them, but no one comes to their rescue*  
3 Psalms, 21, 12  
4 Andalusia  
5 Psalms, 13, 3

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1 petivimus G, H
2 omit. G
3 suo G
4 enim J
5 Mantuam J
When We saw the peril threatening the Faith and the calamity hanging over the Commonwealth, We left Our own see and went to Mantua, not without great physical discomfort. What happened there, all Christians knows. There was great hope that Christendom would be brought into safe harbour. But the son of iniquity\(^1\) does not sleep, but *goeth about seeking whom he may devour.*\(^2\) The old serpent helps his followers. The old one of evil days strives to overthrow all that is done in God’s honour. But We trust that Christ will be victorious and that Muhammad’s horns will gradually be broken. Christ’s *Church is built upon solid rock.*\(^3\) The winds blow, but they do not destroy the building. The waves overflow Peter’s Bark, but they do not sink it. *Wild beasts of the wood have invaded the Lord’s vineyard, but they shall not gather the vintage,*\(^4\) for the Lord has promised that He *will be with us even to the consummation of the world.*\(^5\) The Saviour’s Church shall not lack men who will take arms against the enemies. And though many kings are now sluggish, the Lord will enflame their hearts when He wants to, for He can clothe even nude bones with flesh and put the soul back [in the body] that it had left. We are sure, that, among the others, Our dear son, your king, will not desert the Faith in which he was born. In Mantua, he made magnificent offers, and so he does now. We shall listen, separately, to what else you have to say in his name, and hear, clearly and in detail, his desires, advice, and requests, and We shall in no way fail to grant his just wishes.

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\(^1\) The devil
\(^2\) 1. Peter, 5, 8: *circuit, quaerens que devoret*
\(^3\) Matthew, 16, 18
\(^4\) Cf. Job, 24, 6 and Psalms, 79, 14
\(^5\) Matthew, 28, 20