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Oration “Ingentes vobis quirites” of Pope Pius II (6 October 1460, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Final Version (2025). (Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 61)

Michael Cotta-Schönberg

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Oration “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” of Pope Pius II (6 October 1460, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 61)

Final Version (2025)

Abstract

After the Congress of Mantua, Pius II stayed for most of 1460 in Siena and only arrived back in Rome in the beginning of October. His return put an end to a dangerous uprising of the youth of Rome, allied with the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino fighting for the Angevins, who were trying to wrest the Kingdom of Naples from the Aragonese. He was received cordially enough by the population but still felt it necessary to summon its representatives and explain to them why he supported King Ferrante of Naples in his war against the Angevins, thus causing Piccinino and the Roman barons to devastate the region around Rome. His defence took the form of an oration, the "*Ingentes vobis gratias.*"

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; 15th century; Kingdom of Naples; Kingdom of Sicily; Il Regno; Wars; Ferrante I of Naples; Ferrante I of Aragon; Ferdinand I of Naples; King René d'Anjou; Duke Jean II d'Anjou; Jacopo Piccinino; Giacomo Piccinino; Papal States; Sicilian War of Succession 1458-1462; Jacopo Savelli; 1460

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

When, in January 1459, Pius II left Rome to go to Mantua for the European Congress on war against the invading Turks, he was planning on extended visits to Siena on the way to and from Mantua, so it was clear that he would be absent from Rome for an extended period.

He knew his absence would provide an opportunity for the barons and counts of the Papal States to plot and intrigue to obtain greater independence from their papal overlord. He made his dispositions accordingly and left Rome knowing the risk but trusting that his lieutenants would be able to control the situation.

However, two events he had not foreseen radically changed the situation.

One was a rebellion of the Roman youth who - following the pattern of former uprisings² - made yet another attempt, now under the leadership of one Tiburzio di Maso, to overthrow papal rule and establish a Roman republic.

The other was the invasion of the Kingdom of Naples by the Angevins, under the leadership of King René's son and heir, Jean II d'Anjou, to expel King Ferrante and the House of Aragon from the Kingdom and re-establish Angevin rule. Allied with the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza, Pope Pius intervened in the war on the side of King Ferrante and sent troops to his aid.³

When the Italian condottiere, Jacopo Piccinino, joined the Angevin cause and managed to create an alliance between the Angevins, several barons in the area of Rome, and the rebellious youth in the City, the situation became quite dangerous to the papacy.

A rather belated effort on Pius' part saved the day: from Siena, he summoned the papal troops from the Church State to counter Piccinino's forces.

When he finally arrived in Rome, he was greeted enthusiastically by the people, including many of the youths who had recently run riot in the City.

¹ COM, V, 1-4; Pastor, II, 88; Voigt, IV, pp. 151-152;

² The rebellions of Cola di Rienzo in 1347 and of Stefano

Porcaro in 1453, just six years before, under Pope Nicolaus V

³ On this war and the papal intervention, see the introduc-

tions to the orations "*Responsuri*" [52] and "*De regno Siciliae*" [58]

He did, however, have a problem of public relations: many Romans felt that if he had not intervened militarily in the Kingdom of Naples on the side of King Ferrante, he would not have incurred the enmity of the Angevins and created the basis for an alliance between Piccinino, the rebellious barons, and the youth in Rome. The pope, therefore, summoned representatives of the people at the Apostolic Palace, and in the oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*", he explained the facts of the matter to them, i.e., why the war in Naples and the war with the barons were unavoidable and not due to his personal bellicosity.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about the oration:

... in the City all sorts of things were said about the pope's actions. Many criticised him for the war he had undertaken in support of Ferrante, and the French cardinals¹ were spreading dark rumours. Wishing to have the people's goodwill, Pius then summoned the cardinals and the magistrates and the leading citizens of the City and held the following oration to them [here follows the text of the oration]. When he finished, the Romans were overjoyed, seeing not only the courage and determination of their lord but also the great legitimacy and justice of his actions. They thanked him profusely for explaining to them the origins, the course of the war, and its motives, which many had not known. They put their possessions, their wives, and their children at the disposal of the pope to meet any danger in the evil and unjust war started by enemies.²

2. Themes

The main themes of the oration are the war between Aragon and Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples and the rebellion of the Ghibelline Roman barons and the youth in Rome. To these are added the pope's defence against accusations of personal bellicosity and a brief reference to papal supremacy.

¹ The French cardinals naturally supported the cause of the French House of Anjou

² COM, V, 4 (Meserve, III, pp. 28, 47)

2.1. Wars

Concerning the war between Aragon and Anjou in the Kingdom of Naples, Pius repeated the arguments in defence of his actions that he had advanced in the oration “*Responsuri*” [52] to the French ambassadors in December 1459 in Mantua and in the oration “*De regno Siciliae*” [58] to the Angevin ambassadors earlier in the same year of 1460 in Siena.

Concerning the Roman rebellion, Pius described the military measures and intrigues of the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino in French service and his collusion with the Ghibelline barons of Rome, the Savelli and the Colonna, and with the rebellious youth of Rome led by Tiburzio di Maso.

His description of the rebels’ plans to attack and plunder the rich citizens of Rome would undoubtedly have made them reflect carefully on whom to support in this conflict, as would the pope’s reminder of the enormous economic and other advantages which the presence of the Church government, the Curia, brought to Rome, advantages which would no longer accrue to the City if it rejected papal government.

2.2. Defence against accusation of bellicosity

D.S. Chambers¹ has presented Pius II as an irascible and surprisingly bellicose pope² who *reveals a fascination or even positive zest for war, although he sometimes attempted to deny it.*³ He *therefore took an ambiguous but generally approving stance about papal commitment to military violence.*⁴ Pius also declared to the cardinals, says Chambers, that *he would not engage himself in combat, he was not strong enough*⁵ - making it appear that the reason he would not fight in person was lack of strength, not lack of will. Chambers also claims that Pius’ campaigns may well have reinforced the general trend in contemporary warfare of employing ever more violent firepower.

That Pius had a vivid interest in things military, the *res militaris*, is confirmed not only by the material used by Chambers but other texts in Pius’ works. For example, in his *Commentarii*, he mentions that his own father in his youth fought in the armies of the Duke of Milan.⁶ Also, in his orations at the German crusade diets in 1454-1455, he had revealed some knowledge - partly based on classical authors like Vegetius - of military matters. And Chambers

¹ Chambers, ch. 3

² Chambers, p. 53

³ Chambers, p. 55

⁴ Chambers, p. 57

⁵ Chambers, p. 56

⁶ CO, I, 1 (Meserve, I, p. 6-7)

understandably quotes the *Commentarii*, where Pius talks about the troop of soldiers accompanying him to Tivoli in the summer of 1461:

On the farther bank he was met by Federigo and the Cardinal of Teano with ten squadrons of cavalry who accompanied him as a bodyguard as far as Monte Lucano. The Pope was delighted with the brightness of their arms and the equipment of horses and men. For what fairer sight than troops in battle array? The sun flashed on their shields, and from their helmets and crests was reflected a dazzling light. Every armed company seemed a forest of lances. The youth dashed hither and thither making their horses caracole, brandishing their swords, whirling their spears, and making a show of fighting.¹

Furthermore, it is no coincidence that the three princes Pius most admired were great military leaders: Duke Philippe of Burgundy, Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan, and Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, whom he had even named the German Achilles for his personal bravery in war and his military expertise.

However, the claim that Pius was bellicose would appear to be unwarranted. The wars he fought in the Church State and in the Kingdom of Naples were vital to the survival of the papacy's temporal dominion, which it would be his primary responsibility to defend.^{2 3} And the war against the Turks he perceived as necessary to the survival of Christian Europe. So, his wars were not the outcome of a personal penchant for war but a necessary - and pugnaciously fought - defence of the essential interests of the papacy and of Europe.

¹ COM, V, 26 (Gragg, p. 393)

² Carocci, p. 82: *For almost the entire period in question, the Orsini, Colonna and other Roman families enjoyed extremely ample margins of power. From this point of view, parallels in other Italian states are very few, at least in such an accentuated form. None of the other states had such a powerful aristocracy, installed at such a short distance from the capital and capable of keeping the sovereign in a 'state of torment', as Alexander*

VI put it. In innumerable cases, throughout the entire fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, baronial families incited disorder and even all-out wars which threatened, weakened and sometimes virtually nullified papal authority. A (partial) limitation to the strength and turbulence of the barons was achieved only in the sixteenth century. In the previous century, starting from Pius II, the attacks made by popes on some of these families

produced only short-term results.

³ That defence of papal control of the Church state was considered a legitimate and necessary enterprise is witnessed by humanist funeral orations: *Italian orators applauded churchmen for defending their institution's liberty ... More frequently, the liberty of the Church was used in a reductionist sense to mean the vindication of papal control over the Papal State in Central Italy* (McManamon, p. 78)

In no way was he a bloodthirsty and bellicose personality. His personal attitude to war and enemies - partly based on Cicero - is very well summed up in his oration (or moral treatise) "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6] of 1445:

In war, you must keep your word to your enemies. Moreover, you should not treat them cruelly, for they, too, are men, and they may even think they are fighting a just war. On our part, we should take care not to engage in war without reasonable cause, and the counsels of peace should always prevail over arms. When necessary, we should not decline to fight for our faith, country, and truth, but we should show moderation so as not to be regarded as cruel, faithless, and inhuman. We should not thirst for blood: after a victory, the authors of evil should be punished, with moderation, but the many should be spared. And though civil law declares that the victor may legitimately keep the spoils of war, a Christian should not take any such; he should not destroy cities, nor plunder, nor slaughter the crowd, but consider it sufficient to get peace through war. [Sect. 129]

As for Chambers's claim that Pius told his cardinals he would have fought in person if he had been strong enough,¹ Pius, in his oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75] to a group of cardinals on 23 September 1463, actually said that *We do not, of course, go to fight in person: We are weak of body and, moreover, a priest who should not wield the sword* [Sect. 23]. In this statement, the last part of which Chambers omits, Pius does acknowledge that though he indeed does not have the physical strength to fight in person, the major reason for not doing so is another: as a priest, he should not. Actually, the primary reason for the pope going to war in person was not personal gratification but to force the Duke of Burgundy to join the crusade, too.²

And finally, Chambers' claim that Pius' campaigns may well have reinforced the general trend in contemporary warfare of employing ever more violent firepower exaggerates Pius' importance for the development of cannons in European warfare: princes and their military advisors were quite able to pursue that development on their own – without help from the pope. Indeed, the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, seven years before, had been decisively helped by German cannon specialists working for the Turkish sultan.

¹ Chambers, pp. 56-57

² See oration "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64], sect. 5-6

2.3. Papal supremacy

As he had done in many responses to princely ambassadors, Pius, in this oration, too, affirmed the claim of papal supremacy:

What can be more glorious than to be subjects of the lord who has power over all men, who is the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, whose feet all kings wish to kiss, and whom God has given the right to open and close the gates to Heaven.
[Sect. 1]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

It is not clear from Pius' *Commentarii* how soon after his return, he summoned the leading citizens of Rome and gave the oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*". According to Pastor, the pope returned on 6 October and immediately ("alsbald") summoned the leading citizens to a meeting where he delivered the oration. In view of Pastor's expression "alsbald", the date is given here as the 6 October, but it may have been somewhat later.

The place was the Apostolic Palace.

The audience consisted of the cardinals and the leading citizens of Rome.

The format was a papal oration from the throne to his Roman subjects. In view of the fact that the Roman citizens addressed by Pius probably did not understand Latin at all or very well, it is quite possible that Pius delivered his oration in Italian, though it was (later?) written in Latin.¹

4. Text²

¹ On addressing non-Latin speakers in Italian, see COR, 1: 4, 3

² For the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

The text is extant in two versions, the Early Version beginning with the words “*Fatemur quirites*”, and the Final Version beginning with the words “*Ingentes vobis quirites*”.

4.1. Early Version: *Fatemur quirites*

Presently, the “*Fatemur quirites*” is only known to be extant in two manuscripts:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 183v-186v (**G1**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 278-282v (**H**)

It was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols.
Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, 128-134
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

4.2. Final Version: *Ingentes vobis quirites*

4.2.1. Manuscripts

The “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” was not included in the oldest manuscript containing the Collected Orations of Pius II compiled in 1462¹ but was added in later manuscripts:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 147v-151r (**G2**)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 295v-301r (**C**)
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 192r-195v (**D**)
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 213r-216r (**B**)

¹ See COR, 1: 5, 1, 3

In Vat. Lat. 1788, the oration is added at the end of the ms. in a much later hand.¹ In Chis. J.VIII.286 and Chis. J.VI.211 the oration is part of the integral manuscript and written in the same hand as the rest of the manuscript. This incidentally supports the notion that Vat. lat. 1788 was produced before the Chis. J.VIII.286.

The Final Version was also included in Pius' *Commentarii* from 1463² and is thus contained in the two main manuscripts containing that work:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 230v-235v (R)
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 152v-156r (S)

4.2.2. Editions and translations

The Final Version, too, was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, 119-127
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]

It has also been published as part of the *Commentarii*, e.g.

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 308-314
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano: Adelphi, 1984 / I, pp. 854-875
[with Italian translation]
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. / III, pp. 28-47
[With English translation]

¹ Without abbreviations

² See COR, 1: 5, 1, 4

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Translated by Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 358-359 [English translation]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 9-10.

Text:

The Early Version has been edited on the basis of both of the listed manuscripts. NB: due to problems of fading ink, the Chisianus is in many places rather difficult to read and collate.

The Final Version has been edited on the basis of all the manuscripts listed. Though the Reginensis and the Corsinianus have very ably edited previously, they, too, have been collated directly, as a matter of principle, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

Presentation:

The texts of the two versions are presented synoptically on the left page, with the Early Version above, and the Final Version below (sometimes continued on the right page). Bold type indicates identical text in the two versions (except for different word order, different grammatical forms, and variations between et/ac/atque).

Pagination:

Early Version: Pagination is from the the Luccensis.

Final Version: Pagination is from the Chisianus J.VIII.286.

4.4. History of the text

This oration has the most complex history of all Pius' orations:

- 1) The oldest extant copy of the Early Version (“*Fatemur quirites*”) is contained in Chisianus J.VII.251, and is written by Pius himself (*manu proprio*), probably before its delivery in October 1460 since the text bears all the signs of an original composition/draft.
- 2) No version of the oration was included in the oldest manuscript containing the Collected Orations of Pius II from 1462, the Chisianus J.VIII.284, nor was it originally included in the second oldest, the Vaticanus Latinus 1788. The Final Version (“*Ingentes vobis quirites*”), however, was included in the third manuscript containing this collection, the Chisianus J.VIII.286. Later - probably much later - it was added to the Vaticanus Latinus 1788, possibly copied after the Chisianus J.VIII.286 with which it has some variants in common.
- 3) In 1463, the “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” was also included in Pius’ *Commentarii*, the first version of which is contained in the Reginensis 1995 from 1463, and the second in the Corsinianus 147, completed in June 1464.^{1 2}
- 4) Later, the “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” was copied from the Corsinianus into Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini’s³ copy of the Collected Orations of Pius II, the Chisianus J.VI.211. Except for certain scribal errors, the text in the cardinal’s manuscript agrees with the text in the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, and when those two disagree between them, it follows the Corsinianus. So, the cardinal’s copy would have been written after the Corsinianus which was completed in June 1464. Van Heck does hypothesize, however, that there was an intermediary manuscript between the Reginensis and the Corsinianus⁴, from 1463/1464, and if that is true, the text in the Chisianus J.VI.211 may have been copied from that manuscript.
- 5) In 1493, both the “*Fatemur quirites*” and the “*Ingentes vobis quirites*” were included in Felino Sandei’s copy of the Collected Orations of Pius II, generally copied after the cardinal nephew’s exemplar. However, since the “*Fatemur quirites*” was not included in the cardinal nephew’s manuscript, Sandei had access either directly to the Chisianus J.VII.251 (possibly at that time in cardinal’s possession) containing this version or to another manuscript derived from or related to that manuscript. For the Final Version,

¹ COM (Heck, I, p. 5, 9); (Totaro, I, p. xxiv)

² It is quite possible that the Reginensis predates the Chisianus J.VIII.286, so that

the inclusion of the oration in the *Commentarii* came before the inclusion in the (later manuscripts with the) Collected Orations of Pius II

³ The cardinal was Pius II’s nephew

⁴ COM (Heck, I, p. 10); (Totaro, I, p. xxiv)

Sandei used the copy of Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini, whom he knew personally, the Chisianus J.VI.211.

When more than one version of Pius' orations is extant, the Early Version may usually be considered as the one closest to the oration as actually held. In this case, however, it is possible that the Early version ("*Fatemur quirites*") was just a draft contained in the Chis. J.VII.251, which Sandei somehow got access to and published in his collection together with the oration actually held, the Final Version ("*Ingentes vobis quirites*").

5. Sources¹

In this oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 7 from the Bible and 4 from classical sources.

Biblical: 7

Classical: 4

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 11

Biblical sources: 7

Old Testament: 4

- 1. Chronicles: 1
- Psalms: 3

New Testament: 3

- Matthew: 1
- Luke: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

Classical sources: 4

- Cicero: 1¹
- Juvenalis: 1
- Lucanus: 1²
- Vergilius: 1³

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ Philippicae

² De bello civili

³ Aeneis

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

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vaticanus latinus 1788

C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VIII.286

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus J.VI.211

G1 = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544 / ff. 183v-186v

G2 = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544 / ff. 147v-151r

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

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis latinus 1995

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

Abbreviations

Works

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

CAR = Eneas Silvius Piccolomineus (postea Pius II): *Carmina*. Edid. Adrian van Heck. 1994.

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

COD = *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decreta*, ed. G. Alberigo. 1952.

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

COR = *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edit. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020.

CRDM = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Collected Reports of Diplomatic Missions, 1447-1455*. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

DGCB = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum Libri II*. Ed. and transl. by Dennis Hay and W.K. Smith. London, 1967.

DIA = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Libellus Dialogorum*. A cura di Simona Iaria. 2015. (Edizione Nazionale dei Testi Umanistici; 12).

DLE = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Liberatorum Educatione* [1450]. In: *Humanist Educational Treatises*. Ed. and transl. by C.W. Kallendorf. 2002, pp. 126-259.

DRBG = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *De Rebus Basiliae gestis Commentarius*. [1450]

DVI = *De Viris Illustribus and other biographical Writings* of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. Edit. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2021.

EPI = Collected Letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini. 10 vols. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 2022-2026.

EUR = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Europa*. [1458].

- Enea Silvii Piccolominei postea Pii II *de Europa*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2001. (Studi e testi; 398).
- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Europe (c. 1400-1458)*. Transl. by Robert Brown. Washington, DC, 2013.

GER = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Germania*. 1458.

- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Germania*. Edit. A. Schmidt. 1962.
- Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Deutschland*. Transl. A. Schmidt. 1962.

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

HE = Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium seculare*. Complectens De duobus amantibus, De naturis equorum, De curialium miseriis. Cur. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007. (Studi e testi, 439).

KO = *Epistolae familiares. De duobus amantibus Euryalo et Lucretia. Descriptio urbis Viennensis*. Edit. Nicolaus de Wyle. Nürnberg: Antonius Koberger, 1481. [With later editions of 1486 and 1496].

ME = Enea Silvio Piccolomini: *Briefe. Dichtungen*. Übers. Max Mells. 1966.

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

RE = Reject Aeneas, Accept Pius. Selected Letters of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II). Edit. Th. M. Izbicki. Washington, 2006.

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = Scriptores rerum danicarum.

ST = Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Les misères des gens de cour. Le songe de Fortune*. Trad. Serge Stolf. 2015.

VO = Voigt, Georg: *Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini als Papst Pius der Zweite und sein Zeitalter*. 3 vols. 1856-1863.

WI = Widmer, Berthe (ed.): *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Papst Pius II. Ausgewählte Texte aus seinen Schriften*. 1960.

WO = Wolkan, Rudolf: *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918. (Fontes rerum Austriacarum, II. Abteilung, 61, 62, 67, 68).

Others

** Lead manuscript.

CE = Common Era.

BCE = Before the Common Era.

DV = digital version.

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[EV] Ad quirites Romae pro bene recta Roma Pio absente¹

**[FV] Oratio Pii II Pontificis Maximi habita Romae ad
quirites ostendit cur bellum pro regno Siciliae suscepit²**

¹ *omit. H*

² Oratio ... suscepit : Pii
Secundi oratio ad quirites de
ratione suscepti belli pro

defensione Ferdinandi regis
Siciliae **D, G2**; *no title H*;
Oratio Pii de ratione belli
suscepti *nota marg. R* [NB: the

words Oratio Pii are in Pius'
own handwriting]; Pii oratio
nota marg. S

[FV] Oration of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff on why he had undertaken the war for the Kingdom of Sicily, delivered in Rome to the citizens

[1] [EV] {183v} Fatemur, **quirites, ingentes vobis**, deberi laudes, **qui nobis** absentibus **rei publicae causa** lasciviente magna parte **juventutis** vestrae et quietem **urbis** multifariam perturbante, **baronibus** insuper undique **novas res** molientibus nec valentibus magistratibus et iudicibus nostris temerarios ausus compescere, **in officio tamen perseverastis**, et nobis **redeuntibus** integram **urbem reddidistis**. Fideles fuistis ac prudentes: fideles, **quia non audivistis eos, qui vos alienare a vero domino conati sunt**; prudentes, **quia**¹ bene ipsis² **consuluistis**. **Nam** quae utilitas vobis³ major **potest esse**⁴ **quam curiam** Romanam **alere**, quae vos **alit, et** toto ex orbe Christiano **opes**⁵ ad vos defert? Quae gloria excellentior vobis contingere⁶ potest **quam subesse domino, qui beati Petri successor est et Jesu Christi vicarius, cujus** osculari **pedes cuncti reges desiderant, cui divinitus datum est caeli portas vel aperire vel claudere**. Laudamus ergo et fidelitatem et circumspectionem vestram et in utraque re constantiam.

[1] [FV] {295v} **Ingentes vobis, quirites**, habemus gratias, **qui nobis reipublicae causa** procul agentibus, quamvis hinc **juventus** petulans crassaretur in **urbe**, illinc⁷ **baronum** rapacitas popularetur agros et **novas res** quaereret, **in officio tamen perseverastis**, et tandem **redeuntibus** salvam **urbem reddidistis**. Licet fidem et prudentiam vestram extollere: fidem, **quia non audistis eos, qui vos a vero domino alienare conati sunt**; prudentiam, **{296r} quia** rei vestrae salubriter **consuluistis**. **Nam** quid civitati Romanae utilius **esse potest quam** eam **curiam alere**, unde **alitur, et** quae⁸ **opes** undique affert? Quid gloriosius **quam** ei **subesse domino**, qui super omnes mortales habet imperium, **qui beati Petri successor est**⁹ **et Jesu Christi vicarius, cujus** exosculari **pedes cuncti reges desiderant, cui divinitus datum est caeli portas vel aperire vel claudere**. Sapitis certe, qui ei domino fidem servatis, *cui servire regnare est*.

¹ vobis *add.* G1

² bene ipsis : ipsis bene G1

³ *omit.* G1

⁴ vobis *add.* G1

⁵ *omit.* G1

⁶ vobis contingere : contingere vobis G1

⁷ aliorum *add. in marg.* S

⁸ *omit.* B, C

⁹ *omit.* S

1. Introduction: Loyalty and prudence of the Romans

[1] [FV] Citizens, while We were in foreign parts, occupied with public affairs, the unruly youth ran riot in the City,¹ and rapacious barons laid waste to the fields and plotted for a change of regime.² But you remained loyal, and when We came back, you returned the City to Us safely. For that, We owe you immense thanks. We must praise both your loyalty and your prudence: your loyalty because you did not heed those who tried to estrange you from your true lord; and your prudence because you have protected your own interests so well. For what can be more advantageous to the City of Rome than to sustain the Curia, which in turn sustains you and brings you wealth from everywhere?³ And what can be more glorious than to be subjects of the lord who has power over all men, who is the successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Jesus Christ, whose feet all kings wish to kiss, and whom God has given the right *to open and close the gates to Heaven*.⁴ You are indeed wise to keep faith with a lord *to serve whom is to rule*.⁵

¹ Urbs = Rome

² The barons in the Church State more or less permanently plotted to become more independent of their papal overlord

³ The presence of the Papal Curia was a major economic advantage to a city because of the consumption (wine, food, housing, clothing etc.) of the court and the curials, the closeness to a great power

centre, and the great number of visitors. In the classical ages, unsurprisingly, the imperial court had had the same importance to Rome and the Romans as did the Papal Court in the Middle Ages, see Gregorovius: I, I, p. 54: [in 403 AD] *Die Römer, vor den Invasionen der Sarmater und Germanen zitternd und durch die Abwesenheit des cäsarischen Hofes um die reichsten Quellen*

ihres Wohlstandes gebracht, bestürmte ihre oh-mächtigen Kaiser [Honorius] mit Bitten um die Rückkehr in die ver-ödete Stadt; so bestürmten ihren Enkel fast ein Jahrtausend später die Päpste, Avignon zu verlassen und ihren Sitz wieder in dem zerfallendem Rom einzunehmen

⁴ Matthew 16, 18-19

⁵ From the *Missa pro pace* in the Roman missal

[2] [EV] Verum quia nobis relatum est **nonnullos esse, qui vestras aures perniciosis et falsis rumoribus implere** student, **nos** auctores¹ **belli** accusantes, **quicum pacem habere possimus, arma** movere {184r} magis cupimus, **et in regno Siciliae** injustam **causam** fovemus, **unde** nunc **bellum domi et circa** moenia **urbis** excitatum est, **necessarium duximus vos in contionem** accersiri, ac de his rebus **ad verum disserere**, et ut intelligatis omnes, quoniam bellum semper **odivimus, pacis** cupidi **et otii, et justissima** nobis bellandi et **necessaria**, non voluntaria data est causa.

[2] [FV] Sed non idcirco in praesentiarum vos accersivimus, ut de vestra laude faceremus verba. Alia vocationis est ratio. **Sunt nonnulli**, ut accepimus, **qui vestras aures perniciosis et falsis rumoribus implent**, et **nos bella**² amantes incusant, **qui cum pacem habere possimus, arma** praeferimus, **et in regno Siciliae causam** tuemur iniquam, **unde bellum domi et circa** muros **urbis**³ exortum sit, et vos nostra culpa plectamini. Quibus ex rebus **necessarium duximus vobis in contionem** vocatis de rationibus⁴ hujus belli **ad verum disserere**. Sic enim et nos arma **odire**⁵ et **pacem et**⁶ **otium** cupere cognoscetis, **et** hanc belligerandi⁷ causam non modo **justam** sed **necessario** esse nobis impositam.

¹ accusatores G1

² belli D, G2, R, S

³ vobis G2

⁴ rationibus *corr. ex* causis R

⁵ odisse D, G2, S

⁶ atque D, G2, R, S

⁷ belligerendi C; bellandi S

2. Unjust criticism of the pope

[2] [FV] But We have not summoned you here today to praise you. It is for another reason that you have been invited. We hear that many are filling your ears with pernicious and false rumours and accusing Us of loving war because We prefer to have war when We could have peace. We are claimed to defend a wrong cause in the Kingdom of Sicily,¹ which has resulted in war both within and around the walls of the City, and therefore you suffer through Our fault. This is why We have found it necessary to summon you to this assembly to tell you the true reasons for this war. Thus you will understand that We hate war and desire peace and quiet, and that this war is not only just but has also been forced upon Us by necessity.

¹ In the Neapolitan War of Succession 1459-1462, the French House of Anjou fought the Spanish House of Aragon, which had ousted it from the

Kingdom in 1442/1443. Since then, the popes had favoured the House of Aragon, partly to avoid French encirclement, part-ly to minimise French

influence on the papacy - with its risk of a return to Avignon (in the case of the election of a French pope)

[3] [EV] **Nec nos somnia referemus et nugas inanes, quibus delectantur et nutriuntur aemuli nostri, sed ipsam nudam et sinceram veritatem** prosequemur, **cujus** vis¹ hespero **splendidior est et semper in fine victrix est. Deus novit corda hominum solus, et ipse renes² nostros³ scrutatur, et scit, quia non mentimur.** Nihil nobis pace carius est, **cujus nomen dulce est, et res ipsa⁴ cum jucunda, tum salutaris.** In ea bene servitur Deo, et subditorum status floret, paretur **legibus**, et nulli fas est impune peccare. **Contra bellum mala omnia nutriens, divina et humana confundit.** Non sumus nec illi, qui **sanguinem sitimus⁵ humanum⁶, nec nostrae sedis est ferrum stringere, aut discordias serere.** Quietem noster animus et subditorum concordiam **semper optavit. Sed quomodo in bellum tracti simus, audite**, breviter rem absolvemus, et an justam causam habeamus manifestissime cognoscetis.

[3] [FV] **Nec nos somnia referemus et inanes nugas, quibus delectantur et nutriuntur inimici nostri. Veritatem ipsam sinceram et nudam** afferemus in medium, **cujus** si videri facies possit⁷, **{296v} splendidior est** quam Lucifer aut *Hesperus* **et in fine semper victrix. Deus novit corda hominum solus, et ipse renes nostros scrutatur,** et videt, **et scit, quia non mentimur.** Nihil nobis pace carius est, nihil acceptius, **cujus nomen, ut inquit orator, dulce est, et res ipsa** tum **jucunda, tum salutaris.** In ea **legibus** oboeditur, subjectis consulitur, **Deo servitur, nulli fas est impune peccare,** sua virtuti praemia et sua redduntur stipendia vitio. **Contra bellum mala omnia nutriens, divina et humana** quaeque **confundit.** Odimus bellum, **cujus finis non est pax.** Horremus strages hominum, nec **sanguinem sitimus humanum, nec nostrae sedis est ferrum stringere, aut discordias serere.** Quietem noster animus et subditorum pacem **semper optavit. Sed quomodo in bellum tracti fuerimus, audite,** brevis narratio est.

¹ series *dub.* H; series *in marg.*
G1

² rationes G1

³ nostras G1

⁴ res ipsa : ipsa res G1

⁵ sitiamus G1

⁶ hominum G1

⁷ posset G2

[3][FV] We shall not be talking about those dreams and that empty nonsense, which delight and sustain Our enemies. No, We shall speak that pure and naked truth, which - could it be seen directly - shines brighter than Lucifer¹ and Hesperus² and always wins in the end. For *God alone knoweth the hearts of men and searcheth our reins*,³ and He sees and *knoweth that We lie not*.⁴ Nothing is more dear and pleasing to Us than *peace*, whose *name*, as the Orator⁵ says, *is sweet, the reality brings welfare*.⁶ During peace, laws are obeyed, subjects are looked after, God is served, no one may commit crimes with impunity, virtue is rewarded, and vice gets its just deserts. War, on the contrary, fosters every kind of evil and throws the divine and the human into disorder. We detest any war whose end is not peace. We abhor the slaughter of men, We do not thirst for human blood, and it is not the task of Our See to wield weapons or to sow discord. Our heart always desired quiet and peace for Our subjects. But hear now how We were drawn into this war: it will not take long to tell.

¹ Lucifer: "the morningstar, the planet Venus", or, as an adjective, "light-bringing". Later, Christian tradition came to use the Latin word for the devil as he was before his fall

² Hesperus: The evening star

³ 1 Chronicles, 28, 9; 2 *et alibi*

⁴ 2 Corinthians, 11, 31

⁵ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BC): Roman statesman and author

⁶ Cicero: *Philippica*, 2.113: *Et nomen pacis dulce est et ipsa res salutaris*

[4] [EV] **Cum occupasset Mahumetus, Turcorum princeps, regiam urbem Constantinopolim, et victoria tumens non Graecis tantum, sed Hungaris, Italis, et reliquis Christi cultoribus, extrema omnia minaretur, Italia vero gravibus** inter se odiis contenderet, et sese armis laniaret, **dedit operam Nicolaus pontifex, antecessor noster, ut convenientes in unum¹ Italici potentatus lites deponerent, et ut Turcis commodius resisti posset, non solum pacem inter se statuerent, sed foedus quoque percuterent, quo alter alteri subveniret, si quis in foedere comprehensus² a quovis offenderetur.** Hujus foederis caput et conservator institutus est Romanus praesul. Vivebat tunc Alfonsus, Aragonum et Siciliae rex, fama clarus, qui post Romanorum praesulem primus in eo foedere nominatus est, {184v} et pro se ac filio suo Ferdinando futuro rege intervenit et ita receptus est. Hoc foedus, Nicolaus ut fieret suasit, et Calixtus successor ejus approbavit, et nos quoque de consilio fratrum mox ad apicem summi apostolatus assumpti illi benediximus.

[4] [FV] **Cum occupasset superioribus annis Mahumetus, Turcorum princeps, regiam urbem, quam vocant Constantinopolim, et victoria tumens non Graecis tantum, sed Hungaris, Italis, Theutonibus, et reliquis Christi cultoribus, extrema omnia minaretur, Italia vero gravissimis** bellorum flagraret incendiis, **dedit operam Nicolaus pontifex maximus, noster antecessor, ut convenientes in unum Italici potentatus arma deponerent, et ut** hosti religionis Turco facilius obviam iretur, **non solum pacem inter se statuerent, sed foedus quoque {297r} percuterent, quo alter alteri subveniret, si cui ex foederatis injuria fieret. Foederis caput et conservator et director institutus est Romanus praesul. Vivebat tunc Alfonsus, Aragonum et Siciliae rex, fama clarus,** et opibus atque consilio potens, **qui post summum pontificem primus in** conventis appositus est suo nomine **ac filii, Ferdinandi regis, haeredis futuri,** quem extra matrimonium natum regni capacem apostolica privilegia reddiderant. **Hoc foedus Nicolaus, ut fieret,** persuasit, **Calixtus successor approbavit, et nos de consilio fratrum** confirmavimus.

¹ in unum *omit.* G1

² si cui ex foederatis *corr.* ex in foedere comprehensus R

3. War in the Kingdom of Naples

3.1 Italian League, 1455

[4] [EV] Some years ago,¹ Mehmed, Prince of the Turks,² conquered the royal City of Constantinople. This victory made him so ambitious that he now direly threatens not only the Greeks³ but also the Hungarians,⁴ the Italians, the Germans, and the other believers in Christ. As Italy was then being consumed by enmity and war, Pope Nicolaus, Our predecessor,⁵ endeavoured to make the Italian powers *meet together* and lay down their weapons, [desiring] them not only to make peace but also to enter a treaty of mutual assistance if one of the parties to the treaty was attacked.⁶ The aim of this treaty was to make it easier to oppose the Turk as the enemy of our religion. The Roman Pontiff was made head, guardian and leader of the alliance. At that time, Alfonso, famous King of Aragon and Sicily,⁷ both powerful and wise, was still alive. After the pope, he was the first signatory to the treaty, not only in his own name but also in the name of King Ferrante,⁸ his heir. Ferrante was born outside marriage but had been legitimated by apostolic privilege and declared heir to the kingdom. Nicholas persuaded all to join this treaty; his successor Calixtus⁹ approved it; and We confirmed it, on the advice of Our brethren.

¹ In 1453, seven years before

² 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

³ I.e., those parts of Greece which the Turks had not yet

conquered, especially the Peloponnese

⁴ The Christian frontline state against the Turks

⁵ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

⁶ The Italian League of 1455

⁷ 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

⁸ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁹ Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Bor-gia Pope

[5][EV] **At cum obiisset Alfonsus Calixto vivo, filiusque regnum a Calixto exposceret, non annuit pontifex sed regnum devolutum ad ecclesiam declaravit statuens illud etiam armis vindicare.** Sed obiit etiam ipse intra quadragesimum diem. **Nos suffecti ecclesiam turbatam et undique laceratam invenimus: Assisium, Galdum, Nuceriam Piccininus per prodicionem occupaverat. Arces ecclesiae munitissimas, qui pro Borgia¹, Calixti nepote, obtinuerant, restituere recusabant. Ferdinandus investituram regni petebat, nisi obtineret².** Cum Piccininus illi militaret, et nos milite careremus, videbamus non parvum discrimen impendere. **Deduximus rem ad senatum apostolicum³, et cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris negotium discussimus. Placuit omnibus, nulllo dissentiente, Ferdinandum investitum iri, quamvis et Renatus idem peteret. Misimus cardinalem Ursinum, qui eum investivit et coronavit.** Sed nihilominus jus suum, si quod haberet, Renato illaesum servavimus. Erat tunc Ferdinandus pacati⁴ regni possessor, universitas regni eum petebat, potentatus Italiae omnes pro eo supplicabant.

[5][FV] **At cum obiisset Alfonsus vivente Calixto, filiusque regnum ab eo exposceret, non annuit pontifex, sed regnum ad ecclesiam devolutum declaravit, statuens illud etiam armis vindicare** - jure an injuria non est hujus ratiocinationis. Cogitationes ejus repentinus obitus intervertit, qui quadragesimum intra diem Alfonsum est subsecutus. **Nos suffecti ecclesiam turbatam et undique laceratam invenimus: Assisium, Galdum, Nuceriam Piccininus per prodicionem invaserat. Arces ecclesiae munitissimas praefecti, quos Borgias, Calixti nepos, imposuerat, restituere abnuebant. Ferdinandus investituram regni petebat; nisi impetraret, bellum minabatur. Nos milite carebamus; illi Piccininus militabat, et dux Mediolani erat amicus. Videbamus non parvum ecclesiae discrimen impendere. {297v} Rem ad senatum deduximus. Placuit cardinalibus omnibus, etiam Gallicis, Ferdinandum investitum iri. Latinus cardinalis Ursinus in regnum missus Ferdinandum investivit coronavitque. Renato, si quid juris competiit, haud ablatum est. Ferdinando regni principes, duces, barones, comites, populares omnes oboediebant, eumque sibi constitui regem petierant, et in ejus verba juraverant.**

¹ Borsio G1

² *Textus corruptus* G1, H

³ senatum apostolicum :
apostolicum senatum G1

⁴ *omit.* G1

3.2. Accession of King Ferrante

[5][FV] When Alfonso died, Calixtus still lived. Alfonso's son now demanded the Kingdom of the pope, but he refused, declaring that the Kingdom had reverted to the Church and that he would reclaim it with arms if necessary.¹ Whether he did so justly or unjustly is not our concern here. At any rate, Calixtus' plans were soon prevented by his own death, occurring 40 days after that of Alfonso. When We succeeded him,² We found the Church in turmoil and harassed from all sides: Piccinino had occupied Assisi, Gualdo, and Nocera³ by treason. The commandants appointed by Borgia,⁴ Calixtus' nephew, refused to hand over the strongholds of the Church. Ferrante was demanding to be invested with the Kingdom and threatened war if he did not get it. We had no troops, whereas Ferrante had Piccinino fighting for him, and the Duke of Milan⁵ was his friend. Seeing what great danger threatened the Church, We brought the matter before the Senate. All the cardinals, even the French,⁶ voted that Ferrante should be invested. Cardinal Latino Orsini⁷ was sent to the Kingdom, where he invested and crowned Ferrante. This was done without prejudice to the rights of René if he had any. All the princes, dukes, barons, counts, and peoples of the Kingdom obeyed Ferrante: they petitioned for him to be made their king and swore the oath of fidelity to him.

¹ Pope Calixtus III wished to give the Kingdom to one of his Borgia nephews

² In August 1458

³ Three cities in papal territories

⁴ Don Pedro Luis Borgia

⁵ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiere, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁶ Pius is careful to point out that also the French cardinals

had supported the continuation of the Spanish dynasty of Aragon in the Kingdom

⁷ Latino Orsini (1411-1477): Italian Cardinal. Of the Roman Orsini family

[6] [EV] Pater eum instituerat haeredem¹ in eo regno, Eugenius et Nicolaus, nostri antecessores², Alfonsum de regno illo investierant, et Ferdinandum legitimaverant, et ut a patre rex institui posset indulserant. Si vero devolutum ad ecclesiam³ erat regnum, ut Calixtus censuerat, sive ad filium **pertinebat ex testamento** paterno et aliorum decreto pontificum, **licuit** nobis facere, quod fecimus, non est cur aliquis querimoniam juste faciat, et maxime cum juris viam Renato apertam reliquimus⁴. Nam et **Romae, et Senis et Mantuae semper oratoribus** ejus justitiam **obtulimus**. Sed **ipse plus in armis quam in jure confidens**, cum essemus **Mantuae** et operam daremus, ut Christiani principes expeditionem **contra Turcos** pararent et Christianam fidem ac religionem defenderent, **classem {185r} validam in regnum misit cum filio** suo duce Johanne. Principes et **barones regni ad res novas concitavit, pacem illarum partium turbavit, rapinis, incendiis, caedibus, omnia foedavit**, et nobis in conventu Mantuano publicam Christianorum salutem quaerentibus maxima praestitit impedimenta. Nam inde factum est, ut res fidei pro dato ordine expediri nequierit, **quamvis adhuc speramus** in domino, quia non peribunt **labores nostri pro communi salute suscepti**.

[6] [FV] Aut⁵ regnum **ex testamento** patris ad Ferdinandum **pertinuit**, et jure illi concessum est; aut ad Renatum, et nihil ei ablatum, cum salvum esse⁶ velint apostolicae litterae jus alienum. At cum de jure dubium esset et uterque coloratum prae se titulum ferret, **licuit** possessorem praeferre. Si neutri jus competiit, non tulit injuriam, qui jure caruit. Si devolutioni fuit locus, et Calixti declaratio vim habuit, quae superest Renato vel alteri querela, si cum fratribus nostris regnum ad ecclesiam devolutum Ferdinando concessimus? Nos hic **Romae**, priusquam discederemus, **et Mantuae** in conventu **et Senis** quotiens de regno ab **oratoribus** Renati fuimus interpellati, **semper** juris viam **obtulimus**. **Ipse vero plus in armis quam in jure confidens, dum nos Mantuae contra Turcos** intenti sumus, **classem validam cum filio in regnum misit** ex⁷ pecuniis comparatam, quas cardinalis Avinionensis ex decimis cleri Gallici contra Turcos promissis triennio ante congregaverat. **{298r} Barones regni ad res novas concitavit, pacem illarum partium turbavit, rapinis, caedibus, incendiis omnia foedavit**, expeditionem contra Turcos impedit, et quantum in se fuit, Christianam religionem pessumdedit, **quamvis speramus adhuc labores nostros pro communi utilitate susceptos** haud omnino perituros.

¹ *omit.* G1

² nostri antecessores *omit.* G1

³ devolutum ad ecclesiam : ad ecclesiam devolutum G1

⁴ reliquerimus G1

⁵ at G2

⁶ *omit.* D, G2

⁷ his *add.* R, S; et his D, G2

3.3. Legal situation

[6] [FV] So, either the Kingdom belonged to Ferrante by his father's testament and was lawfully granted to him,¹ or it belonged to René, in which case nothing had been taken from him since the apostolic letter preserved the rights of all other parties. But since there was doubt about the legal issue, and both Ferrante and René advanced a specious title to the Kingdom, it was legitimate to prefer the one who had actual possession of it.² If none of them had the right, none of them suffered any damage. But if the Kingdom had indeed reverted [to the Papacy] and Calixtus' declaration was valid, then why could René or anybody else complain that We, together with Our brethren, granted Ferrante the Kingdom, which had reverted to the Church? Each time René's ambassadors brought up this matter - both here in Rome, before We left, at the Congress of Mantua,³ and [afterwards] in Siena⁴ - We offered him the course of law.

3.4. War in the Kingdom started by King René

But while We were occupied in Mantua with [the crusade] against the Turks, René - trusting more in arms than in justice - sent his son with a strong fleet to the Kingdom, a fleet raised with funds gathered three years before by the Cardinal of Avignon⁵ from tithes on the French clergy and destined for use against the Turks. He incited the barons of the Kingdom to rebellion, disturbed the peace of those regions, polluted all with robbery, killing and fire, impeded the expedition against the Turks, and - as far as he could - endeavoured to destroy Christian religion, though We still hope that Our own efforts for the common good will not have been entirely in vain.

¹ By the pope, as feudal overlord of the kingdom

² According to the well-known maxim of Roman law: *Melior conditio possidentis* (Better is the condition of the one who has possession)

³ Congress of Mantua (June 1459-January 1460): summoned by Pius II to organise a European military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe

⁴ Pius stayed in Siena from February to September 1460

⁵ Alain (II) de Coëtivy (1407-1474): French prelate. Bishop of Avignon, Uzès, Nîmes and of Dol, titular cardinal of Santa Prassede, later cardinal-bishop of Palestrina and cardinal-bishop of Sabina. Called the Cardinal of Avignon

[7] [EV] **Ferdinandus, cum se in periculo cerneret, deficientibus a fide subditis, et armis hostium** dietim invalescentibus, **auxilium a nobis petiit, penes quos est directum regni dominium, commemoravitque foedus, de quo supra diximus. Rogavit, ne sibi pereunti deficeremus, ne promissam posthaberemus fidem.** Nos **bono animo esse jussimus,** quia non deficeremus ei. Sed **priusquam copias** nostras **in regnum mitteremus,** venerabilem fratrem nostrum **archiepiscopum Ravennatem eo direximus, qui utramque partem¹ juberet arma** deponere, **et viam pacis aut** amicabili tractu **aut juris ordine quaereret.** Is cum transeundi **publicam fidem** a duce Johanne **peteret,** non obtinuit. **Respondit etiam ille se** non habere **mandatum a patre** tractandae **pacis.** [cont.]

[7] [FV] **Ferdinandus, cum se in periculo cerneret, deficientibus a fide subjectis, et armis hostium** in dies magis ac magis praevaletibus, suam ruinam cognosceret, **auxilium a nobis petiit, penes quos esset directum² dominium. Commemoravit foedus, de quo supra diximus. Rogavit, ne sibi pereunti deficeremus, ne promissam postergaremus fidem.** Promisimus auxilia, **jussimus bono animo esset³.** Verum **priusquam copias in regnum⁴ mitteremus, archiepiscopum Ravennatem eo direximus,** gravem et justum virum, **qui partem utramque juberet ab armis discedere, et viam pacis aut** tractantibus amicis **aut juris ordine quaerere.** Iter erat per terras jam Renato parentes faciendum. **Petitur a filio publica fides; ille se a patre** missum, ut bellum gerat, non ut quaerat **pacem, respondet.** [cont.]

¹ utramque partem : utrimque
G1

² esset directum : directum
esset D, G2

³ esse B
⁴ regno B

3.5. Ferrante's demand for aid

[7] [FV] Seeing that his subjects were deserting him and that the enemy's forces grew stronger daily, Ferrante realised his extreme danger and requested help from Us as the direct overlord of the Kingdom. He also invoked the treaty mentioned above, asking Us not to abandon him in his critical situation nor to set aside Our promise. So We promised him help, asking him not to despair. But before sending troops into the Kingdom, We dispatched the Archbishop of Ravenna, a serious and just man,¹ to invite both parties to desist from war and seek the *path of peace*² either through the mediation of friends or through the course of law. As he was to travel through territories now loyal to René, the archbishop requested a safe-conduct from René's son, who answered that he had not been sent by his father to seek peace but to wage war. [cont.]

¹ Bartolomeo Roverella (1406-1476): Archbishop of Ravenna

(1445). Appointed cardinal by Pius II in 1461

² Luke, 1, 79; Romans, 3, 17

[7 cont.] [EV] **Interea Ferdinandum armis** premebat¹, **et prope erat, ut** expelleret², tanta erat baronum nonnullorum **perfidia** atque iniquitas. **Nobis**, qui Ferdinandum **regem** constitueramus, haud decorum erat illum **vi atque armis sine legibus, sine iudiciis, sine** ulla juris via **paterno regno deturbari**. **Misimus** itaque **auxilia, non quae Renatum regno privarent, sed quae Ferdinandum in sua possessione** tenerent; et hoc quidem **nobis non solum ex foedere incumbebat, verum etiam ex** eo quia **regni** domini et directores sumus, et ad nos pertinet, quantum ex alto datur, violentiam omnem a nostris subditis prohibere. **Quod si** nostris auxiliis **non bene successit, nihil tamen** magis **de justitia nostra** dubitamus, neque **semper justa** secundum homines **causa superior** est, unde illud Lucani: **Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni**.

[7 cont.] [FV] **Interea Ferdinandum** acrius urgebat **armis, et prope jam erat, ut** regno dejiceret, adeo regnicolarum inconstantia ac **perfidia** res immutaverat. **Nobis** turpissimum videbatur eum, quem **regem** appellavisset, **vi atque armis sine iudicio, sine** legibus, sine causae cognitione **paterno regno {298v} deturbari**. **Misimus** **auxilia, non quae Renatum regno privarent, sed quae Ferdinandum in sua possessione** tuerentur; quod **non solum ex foedere nobis incumbebat, verum etiam ex** dominio **regni** directo, quod penes Romanam ecclesiam consistit. **Quod si non bene successit** - nam copiae nostrae debellatae fuerunt, et jam hostes ad nos arma verterunt, et nostros populantur agros - **nihil tamen** minus **de justitia nostra** confidimus. Non **semper justa superior** invenitur **causa: Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni**, apud poetam legitis.

¹premebatur G1

²expelleretur G1

[7 cont.][FV] In the meantime, he pressed Ferrante more and more with his troops and was almost at the point of driving him from the Kingdom - so much had the inconstancy and perfidy of the subjects of the Kingdom changed the situation. We considered it utterly unacceptable if he whom We Ourselves had appointed king should be expelled from his father's Kingdom with arms, without a judgement, without a trial, and without a proper investigation of the matter. So We sent troops, not to deprive René of the Kingdom but to protect Ferrante in his possession of it. We were obliged to do so not only by the treaty but also as direct overlord of the Kingdom, which belongs to the Roman Church. Though We were not successful - for Our troops were defeated, and the enemies have now turned their weapons against Us and lay waste to Our lands - We still trust in the justice of Our cause. It is not always the just cause that wins: *if the victor had the gods on his side, the vanquished had Cato*,¹ as the Poet² says.

¹ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1.126: *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*. Cato's moral au-thority was

superior to that of the (pagan) Gods. Which means that a defeated cause may be morally superior and that the

justice of a war is not decided by victory

² Lucanus, Marcus Annaeus (39-65): Roman poet

[8] [EV] **Christianorum et saepe Judaeorum** victae sunt acies **pro religione pugnantes**. **Fatemur omnem a Deo victoriam esse; sed aliam** dispositione {185v} concedi, permissione **aliam**¹. **Nec nos arcana Dei attingimus, cujus *judicia abyssus multa***, sed **secundum quod homines judicant**, iudicium facimus. Certe **nemo est, qui** secundum leges **injustam**² causam nostram iudicare **possit**. Quod **si** aliquando **partes nostrae** victae sunt, **ita placuit pio Deo, non propter justitiam hostium, quae summa est injustitia**, sed propter peccata nostra. **Castigavit nos Deus noster**³, inquit propheta, **sed morti non tradidit nos; multae tribulationes justorum, sed de omnibus his liberabit eos dominus**. Quomodo justus potest esse dux Johannes, qui habita justitiae oblatione ab eo, qui est iudex et dominus regni, inconsulto ipso **domino** et contradicente **ad arma prorumpit**⁴ **et violentiae viam** aggreditur? **Intelligitis plane** omnes, arbitramur, quoniam juvantes Ferdinandum, ne via facti opprimatur, **justam** favemus⁵ causam, nec duci Johanni ulla de nobis **querela** esse potest.

[8] [FV] **Saepe Christiani ac Judaei** in bello cecidere **pro religione pugnantes**. **Fatemur omnem a Deo victoriam esse, sed** disponi **aliam**, permitti **aliam**. **Nec nos arcana Dei attingimus, cujus *judicia abyssus multa***. At **secundum quod homines judicant, nemo est, qui** bellum nostrum **possit injustum** dicere. **Si partes nostrae** semel succubuere, **ita Deo** placitum fuit, **non propter justitiam hostis, quae summa est injustitia**. **Castigavit nos Deus noster**, ut inquit propheta, **sed morti non tradidit nos; multae tribulationes justorum, sed de his omnibus liberabit eos dominus**. De justitia partis adversae quid attinet disputare, quae oblatam a vero iudice justitiam respuit, **et violentiae viam** elegit, at⁶ vetante **domino prorumpit ad arma**? Quo facto, etiam si jus ei competiisset⁷, ab eo cecidit. Et praesertim quod, ut ante diximus, conatus nostros pro {299r} defensione fidei contra Turcos perturbavit. **Intelligitis jam plane**, quirites, nostrae causae honestatem, et quod nullam contra nos **justam querelam** reliquimus⁸ adversariis.

¹ permissione aliam : aliam
permissione G1

² et justitiam G1

³ Deus noster *omit.* G1

⁴ ad arma prorumpit :
prorumpit ad arma G1

⁵ fovemus G1

⁶ ac D, G2, R, S

⁷ competiisset B

⁸ relinquimus S

3.6. Legitimacy of the pope's actions

[8][FV] Often, Christians and Jews have fallen in war, fighting for religion. We declare that all victories come from God, but some are ordained by Him, whereas others are only allowed. We cannot penetrate the secrets of God, *whose judgements are a great deep*.¹ But as men must judge, nobody can say that Our war is unjust. It is true that Our side was defeated once², but this happened because it was God's will, not because the enemy[']s cause] was just - nay, it is rather the height of injustice. As the prophet says, *The Lord hath chastised me: but he hath not delivered me over to death*; ³ *Many are the afflictions of the just; but out of them all will the Lord deliver them*.⁴ There is no reason to discuss the justice of the adversary's cause since he has rejected the justice offered by the true judge, chosen the course of violence, and taken arms despite the prohibition of the overlord. That action has deprived our adversary of any rights he may have had, especially since it interfered with Our own efforts for the defence of the Faith against the Turks, as We have said. Thus, citizens, you clearly see the justice of Our cause and that We leave our adversaries no grounds for legitimate complaints.

¹ Psalms, 35, 7

² Battle of Sarno, 7 July 1460

³ Psalms, 117, 18: *Castigans castigavit me Dominus, et morti non tradidit me*

⁴ Psalms, 33, 20

[9] [EV] Sed **audite** ulterius, si nos de ipso justam habemus querelam vel de suo genitore. **Praeterimus** quod **scripta multa** contra nos **et legationes miserit** ad reges¹ et populos nostram innocentiam accusans. **Tacemus** illud quod paulo ante attigimus, quod conventui Mantuano et **fidei** defension² plurima³ **impedimenta** praestititerit. Tacemus, quod **Jacobum Piccininum** ad sua stipendia conduxerit, qui **vexilla** ecclesiae sine **nostro** jussu deferre ausus est. Tacemus **alia multa, ut breviores simus.**

[9] [FV] Nunc quas ipsi nobis injurias intulerint, **audite. Praeterimus scripta multa**, quibus nomen nostrum dehonore conati sunt, **et legationes ad** concitandos contra nos principes **missas. Tacemus impedimenta**⁴ expeditioni contra Turcos apparandae, quae possunt trahi ad causam **fidei**. Omittimus **Jacobum Piccininum** eis militantem **vexilla** nostra injussu nostro detulisse Aesculanamque urbem nobis furto surripere temptavisse. Silemus **alia multa, ut breves simus.**

¹ nationes G1

² dissension² G1

³ multa G1

⁴ praestita *add.* D, G2, R, S

4. Rebellion of the Roman barons and the youth in Rome

4.1. Actions of Jacopo Piccinino

[9] [FV] Hear now what injuries they have inflicted upon Us. We pass over the many writings wherein they endeavoured to blacken Our name, as well as the embassies sent to other princes to stir up opposition against Us. We remain silent on the obstacles to Our preparations for the expedition against the Turks and what they could contribute to the cause of Faith if they wished. We pass over how Jacopo Piccinino, while fighting for them,¹ hoisted Our standards without Our command and tried to steal the City of Ascoli from Us. And for the sake of brevity, we remain silent on many other things as well.

¹ "eis militantem"

[10] [EV] **Illud silere non possumus: significavit nobis** nuper Jacobus **Piccininus, se** hominem¹ **esse ducis Johannis**, et ab eo in mandatis habere **non Ursinos** solum, sed omnes ecclesiae subditos et **nos** et **urbem invadere**, seque hactenus multo **minora fecisse quam jussus esset**²; obtemperareque sibi necessum esse. **Nos vero compertum habemus, non solum ex his, qui deprehensi**³ **sunt, verum ex** litteris et sigillis illorum, qui conspiracybus interfuerunt, comitem **Jacobum convenisse cum** aliquibus subditis nostris et cum **juventute** illa, cujus supra meminimus, territorium urbis invadere, **Tibur diripere**, Romam **ingredi, aperientibus portas** his, qui socii vocantur ex **juventute** praedicta; **domos curialium**, mercatorum **et opulentorum civium praedae exponere, et alia multa nefanda** committere, **quae omnia proculdubio patrata fuissent, nisi noster exercitus ex Aprutio festinasset** {186r} obviamque currenti Jacobo advolasset, **nos celeri passu repetissemus urbem.**

[10][FV] **Illud silere non possumus**, quod idem **Piccininus nobis** novissime **significavit se** scilicet **Johanni duci** Calabriae militare jussumque **esse non Ursinos**⁴ modo, **sed nos**, subjectos nostros Romanos, **urbem**, et omne patrimonium beati Petri armis **invadere: minora fecisse quam juberetur**, posthac imperata facturum, cuncta igni ac ferro vastaturum. **Nos vero compertum habemus, non solum ex his, qui deprehensi sunt, verum** etiam **ex** chirographis conspiratorum, qui miro modo et divina quadam ope in manus nostras pervenere, **Jacobum** Piccininum **convenisse cum** Tiburtio et nonnullis baronibus per circuitum urbis morantibus, Romanum populari agrum, **Tibur diripere, juventute portas aperiente** urbem **ingredi**⁵, **domos curialium**, {299v} negotiatorum **et opulentorum civium praedae exponere**, camerarium capere ac pecunias ejus inter se partiri, nepotem nostrum obtruncare, filiabus et uxoribus vestris vim inferre, pueros ad militiam rapere, **et alia** admodum **multa** aggredi **nefanda. Quae proculdubio patrata fuissent, nisi noster exercitus ex Aprutio festinans currenti** occurrisset **Jacobo**, et **nos urbem celeri passu repetissemus.**

¹ omnino G1

² erat G1

³ deprensi G1

⁴ Urbinos B, C

⁵ urbem ingredi: ingredi urbem

G2

[10][FV] But this We cannot pass over: the same Piccinino has just informed Us that he now fights for Duke Jean of Calabria¹ and that he has received orders to attack not just the Orsini,² but Us and Our subjects, the Romans, the City, and the whole Patrimony of Saint Peter.³ Until now he has done less than ordered to, but now he will do as ordered and lay waste to all with fire and sword. Indeed, from prisoners taken and from letters of the conspirators having fallen by divine intervention into Our hands, We now know that Jacopo Piccinino had agreed with Tiburzio⁴ and several barons from around the City to devastate the Roman territory, to pillage Tivoli,⁵ to enter the City through gates opened by the youth, to plunder the homes of the officials of the Curia, the merchants, and the wealthy citizens, to take the Camerlengo⁶ prisoner and divide his fortune between them, to kill Our nephew,⁷ to rape your daughters and wives, to carry off your sons to military service, and to do many other horrible things. And they would undoubtedly have done so if Our army had not hastened back from Abruzzo to face the rapidly approaching Piccinino, and We Ourselves had not returned quickly to the City.

¹ Jean II d Anjou (1424-1470): Son of King René d'Anjou. As heir-apparent, he was styled the Duke of Calabria

² Orsini, noble Roman family with extensive holdings of land around Rome

³ Loose designation of the Papal States

⁴ Tiburzio di Maso (executed 31 October 1460) was a leader of an anarchic faction in Rome that briefly attempted to

restore the medieval commune of the city, the last attempt at populist government in the States of the Church. Conspired with Jacopo Piccinino

⁵ Tivoli: the classical Tibur, is an ancient Italian town in Lazio, about 30 kilometres east-north-east of Rome

⁶ Ludovico Trevisan (1401-1465): Italian prelate, who was the Chamberlain of the Apostolic Camera, Patriarch of

Aquileia and Captain General of the Church. Known as the Cardinal of Aquileia and the Cardinal Camerlengo

⁷ Antonio Piccolomini (d. 1493): Nephew of Pius II who appointed him Commandant of Castel Sant' Angelo. In 1461, he was created Duke of Amalfi, after his marriage to Maria of Aragon, an illegitimate daughter of King Ferrante, on 23 May 1461

[11][EV] **Deo** referimus **gratias, quod tam nefarii ausus praeventi sunt et** quod vos nosque **tanto** discrimine liberati sumus. **Quomodo igitur justus** dux **Johannes, qui talia contra nos molitur? Si** rex regni est aut **haeres futurus regis, subditus noster est. Et quid** magis impium est, **quam dominorum fallere dexteras? Si** non est illi **de regno** expectatio, **Christianus** tamen est, ut credimus: et¹ quomodo **Christi vicarium persequi** audet, et **ministro utitur Piccinino, qui omnes subditos** nostros **pertentat? Si quis** sit in urbibus ecclesiae, **qui vel prece vel pretio fidem venalem habeat**²? De Jacobo nihil satis dici potest. Decebat Perusii natum ecclesiae subditum nulli se obligare contra ecclesiam. Sed quae **fides jam in armis est? Ipse** sua facta **viderit**. De duce **non possumus satis**³ mirari, **qui regio sanguine natus** ea moliatur, quae diximus.

[11][FV] Immortali **Deo gratias** agimus, **quod tam nefarios praevenimus ausus et tantum** avertimus malum. **Quomodo igitur justus** adversarii? Quo pacto **Johannes** excusatum se reddet, **qui talia contra nos molitur** et ducem Calabriae se vocitat? **Si** dux est Calabriae et **regis futurus haeres, et noster subditus est. Et quid** scelestius **quam dominorum fallere dexteras? Si** nihil ad eum **de regno**, at Christianum se dicit. **Si Christianus**, quo ausu **Christi vicarium persequitur? Aut** qua conscientia **ministro utitur Piccinino, qui omnes** per circuitum ecclesiae **subditos pertentat? Si quis** adsit, **qui vel**⁴ **prece vel pretio** suo de more **fidem venalem habeat**, quid Piccininum nominamus? Quasi **fides sit** ulla **in armis**, et non omnes militiae astricti perjurio infames, sceleribus nobilitati, tamquam ministri diaboli urbes ac regna perturbent? Piccininus ex Perusinis ortus **ipse** sibi **viderit**, quem domestica trahunt exempla. Johannem **non satis possumus** admirari, **quem regio sanguine** natum abhorrere⁵ {300r} scelera putabamus.

¹ *omit.* G1

² venalem habet : habeat
venalem G1

³ *omit.* G1

⁴ *omit.* G2

⁵ horrere D, G2, S

4.2 Conspiracy against the papacy

[11] [FV] We give thanks to immortal God for having been able to prevent these criminal ventures and avert such great evil. So, how can the adversaries be in the right? What excuse has Jean for plotting against Us and calling himself Duke of Calabria?¹ If he is Duke of Calabria and the heir to the Kingdom, then he is Our own subject. What is more heinous than *to break allegiance with one's lord*?² And even if he should have no claims to the Kingdom, he does call himself a Christian. But if he is a Christian, how can he dare to persecute the Vicar of Christ? Or how can he, in conscience, use the services of Piccinino, who is testing all the subjects of the Church in that region to see if there is anyone whose loyalty - like his own - may be bought with entreaties or money! But why mention only him? Can there be any faith in arms at all? Are not all military men infamous perjurers? Are they not notorious for the crimes? Do they not, like servants of the Devil, bring disturbance to cities and kingdoms? Piccinino comes from Perugia: let him beware of the examples from his home city. As for Jean, We cannot wonder enough since We really thought that someone of royal blood would abhor such crimes.

¹ Traditional title of the crown prince of the Kingdom of Naples

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.613:
domi-norum dextras fallere

[12] [EV] Sed ajunt quidam et in **vulgo** haec verba disseminant **nec** duce**m Johanne**m **nec Piccininum contra nos** venisse: **Ursinis tantum** inimicari nocereque. **Nos quae comperimus, exposuimus. Illa verissima sunt**¹; **haec falsa**, nec umquam auditum est, quod nobis promissa securitas sit², ut plerique garriunt. **Sed esto, Ursinos tantum invadere** voluit: **an non Ursini subditi ecclesiae sunt?** **An qui eos laedit, nos laedit?** Nobis **et de Columnensibus, et**³ **Comitum, et**⁴ **Sabellis, et**⁵ **Ursinis cura** esse debet, **dum** fideliter agunt⁶, **et qui contra eos militat, contra nos militat: justissimaque sunt arma nostra in illos. Sed quoniam de Sabellis fecimus mentionem**⁷, **scitote Jacobum Sabellum unum esse ex his, qui cum Piccinino** convenerant ad ea, quae supra diximus, et qui illum in terras nostras vocavere. **Rogavimus, ut** desisteret, **daturi veniam de praeterito. Noluit** et⁸ copias Piccinini hostis nostri in oppidis suis retinet. Justissime ergo eum corrigimus, **parsuri**⁹ semper et **boni patris officio** usuri, ubi ad oboedientiam redierit.

[12] [FV] Quidam **vulgo** dicunt, **nec Johannem nec Piccininum contra nos** arma movisse: **Ursinis tantum** intulisse bellum. **Nos, quae certa comperimus, exposuimus. Illa verissima sunt, haec falsa. Sed esto: Ursinos dumtaxat invaserint. An non Ursini ecclesiae subditi sunt? An qui eos laedit, nos non**¹⁰ **laedit?** Nos **et**¹¹ **Ursinorum, et Columnensium, et Comitum, et Sabellorum, dum** in officio perseverant, **curam** gerimus, **et qui contra eos militat, contra nos militat**¹². **Justissima** ergo **in eos**¹³ **sunt arma nostra**, et honestum bellum pro subditorum salute susceptum. **Sed quoniam de Sabellis fecimus mentionem, scitote Jacobum Sabellum unum esse ex his, qui cum Piccinino** conspiravere. Quod si negaverit, praesidium testimonium affert, quod in Palumbaria ab illo recepit. **Rogavimus, ut** resiperet¹⁴ ejiceretque Braccianos milites, **daturi praeteritae culpa**e **veniam**¹⁵. **Noluit** audire. Damnavit eum in Capitolio senator. Juste in eum animadvertimus, **parsuri** si se correxerit, nec **boni patris officium** redituro negabimus umquam.

¹ verissima sunt : sunt

verissima G1

² *omit.* G1

³ de G1

⁴ de G1

⁵ de *add.* G1

⁶ agent G1

⁷ fecimus mentionem :

mentionem fecimus G1

⁸ *omit.* G1

⁹ passuri G1

¹⁰ *omit.* B

¹¹ ut B

¹² contra nos militat *omit.* B, C

¹³ in eos *omit.* D, G2, S

¹⁴ resipisceret G2

¹⁵ daturi ... veniam : veniam

daturi praeteritae culpa

D, G2; veniam praeteritae culpa

daturi S

4.3. Pope as lord of the Roman barons

[12][FV] Some gossip that neither Jean nor Piccinino has attacked Us: they have only made war on the Orsini. But all We have said We know to be certain. What We say is true, and what they say is false. Let Us assume, however, that they have only attacked the Orsini. But are the Orsini not the subjects of the Church? And those who harm them, do they not harm Us, too? We care for both the Orsini, the Colonna, the Conti, and the Savelli:¹ as long as they remain loyal, those who fight them fight Us. Therefore, Our fight against the enemy is entirely just, and the war We have undertaken against them for the safety of Our subjects is legitimate.

But since We have mentioned the Savelli, you should know that Jacopo Savelli is one of those who conspired with Piccinino. If he denies it, it is proven by his accepting a garrison from Piccinino in Palombara.² We have asked him to come to his senses and expel the Braccian³ soldiers, and We have promised to forgive his error, but he would not heed Us. The senator⁴ has condemned him at the Capitol.⁵ We have admonished him justly, and We shall forgive him if he repents, and We shall not refuse to become his good father again if he returns to Us.

¹ Noble families of Rome with extensive holdings around Rome. Their rise was due to a member of the family having become pope

² Palombara Sabina is a town and *comune* in the province of Rome

³ Piccinino's troops in former times belonged to the great Perugian condottiere, Braccio da Montone (Andrea Forte-

braccio, 1368-1424) and were still called the *Bracceschi*

⁴ Head of the civil government of Rome

⁵ In the Renaissance: Seat of the Senator of Rome

[13] [EV] **Non sumus ergo belli amantes, nec** voluntarie **arma tractamus**, sed coacti. Sed pro pace habenda, **pro focus, pro aris, pro uxoribus, pro liberis vestris, bellum** gerimus. **Nec nos primi sumus, qui pro regno Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae**, decertamus. Scitis **Martini et Eugenii {186v}** et ante illos **Clementes, Bonifacii, et Nicolai**, et multi priores ante illos quid egerint et, quanta exposuerint, ut hi obtinerent, **quos** illi¹ investiverant. **Facessant** hi **rumores** contra nos; **sileant qui nobis** detrahunt²; **nolite** vos aures adhibere his³, qui nos carpunt. Namque **si umquam pontifex** fuit, qui **otia diligeret et hujus urbis quietem, nos illi sumus, qui Romam⁴ tamquam patriam** amamus **et vos omnes** non solum uti **filios pro dignitate sedis**, sed ut **fratres** habemus quod generis nostri⁵ origine⁶, nam **Piccolominea domus**, unde **nobis origo** est, **ex hac urbe Senas** venit, quod **Aeneae nomen in familia nostra** usurpatissimum indicat.

[13] [FV] **Non sumus ergo belli amantes, nec** sponte **tractamus arma**, nec pro re⁷ levi certamus: pro fide retinenda, pro auctoritate ecclesiae conservanda, pro subjectorum⁸ quiete, pro salute civium, **pro focus, pro aris, pro uxoribus, pro liberis vestris**, quiritis, **bellum** suscepimus. **Nec nos primi sumus, qui pro regno Siciliae, quod est ecclesiae**, sumpserimus arma. **Eugenii IV. et Martini V.** meministis ferme omnes; {300v} patres vestri **Clementes, Bonifacios, Nicolaos** viderunt. Quis illorum non bello se immiscuit, ut reges, **quos** instituerant, pro gloria Romanae sedis in regni possessione servarent? **Facessant** igitur vani **rumores, sileant qui nos** sine causa bellare contendunt. Et vos, filii amantissimi, **nolite** his vocibus auscultare; compescite maledicos, veris tantum sermonibus aures adhibete. **Si quis umquam pontifex dilexit otium et hujus urbis** amavit **quietem, nos illi sumus, qui Romam tamquam patriam** diligentes **et vos omnes pro sedis dignitate filios**, pro⁹ patriae caritate **fratres**, pro majorum gloria veluti¹⁰ parentes habemus et colimus. **Nam** et **nos** ab **origine** Romani sumus: **Piccolominea domus**, quae nos genuit, **Senas ex hac urbe** migravit, sicut **Aeneadum** Silviorumque **nomen in familia nostra** frequentissimum indicat.

¹ ipsi G1

² detrahant G1

³ adhibere his : his adhibere

G1

⁴ urbem G1

⁵ generis nostri : nostri generi

G1

⁶ *Textus corruptus*

⁷ *omit.* B

⁸ subditorum S

⁹ *omit.* B, C

¹⁰ *omit.* D, G2

5. Conclusion

[13][FV] So, We do not love battles; We do not willingly make war; and it is not a trifling cause that We are fighting for. No, We have gone to war to protect the Faith and to preserve the authority of the Church. Citizens, We have gone to war for the peace of Our subjects, for the safety of Our citizens, for your hearths, your altars, your wives, and your children. And We are not the first to have taken up arms for the Kingdom of Sicily, which belongs to the Church. Almost all of you will remember Eugenius IV¹ and Martin V,² as your fathers would remember popes like Clemens, Bonifacius and Nicolaus.³ Which of them did not go to war to keep the kings appointed by them in possession of the Kingdom - to the honour of the Apostolic See? So, away with false rumours, and let those be silent who accuse Us of fighting without good cause. And you, beloved sons, do not hear such voices. Restrain the evil-speakers. Only lend your ears to those who speak the truth. If any pope ever loved tranquillity and cherished this city's peace, it is We, who love Rome as Our own fatherland. The dignity of Our See makes Us consider and respect you as sons, the love of Our fatherland as brothers, and the glory of Our ancestors as parents. For We, too, are of Roman origin: the House of Piccolomini, from which We descend, migrated to Siena from this City, as witnessed by the very frequent occurrence of the names of Aeneas and Silvius in Our family.

¹ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

² Martinus V [Oddone Colonna] (1369-1431): Pope from 1417 to his death. His election at the

Council of Konstanz effectively ended the Great Western Schism (1378–1417)

³ Presumably Clemens V, Clemens VI, Bonifacius IX and Nicolaus IV, mediaeval popes

who fought for the Anjou possession of the Kingdom of Sicily/Naples, see oration "*Responsuri*" [52], sect. 13 ff.

[14][EV] **Amamus** ergo hanc civitatem, in qua summum apostolatum¹ consecuti sumus², et unde **ortum habemus**, et inter vos tamquam³ filios, parentes⁴ fratresque cupide versamur, nec vellemus vos implicare bellis, sed potius quiete donare et **opibus** cumulare. **Verum ubi justitia et necessitas urget, non solum bellare, sed vitam ponere parati sumus, ne vel dignitas sedis, vel hujus urbis gloria pereat.**

[14] [FV] Dicunt adversarii nos hanc urbem habere odio. Et quo vultu haec ajunt? Qua ratione? Quo colore? Hinc **ortum habet** prosapia nostra, Romani ac Senenses semper amici fuere. Hic nos sacri presbyteratus accepimus ordinem, hinc episcopatum, hinc cardinalatum et summi apostolatus apicem sumus adepti. Et quis eam civitatem odio habeat, in qua summis honoribus cumulatus fuerit, semper amatus, numquam laesus? **Amamus** vos, quirites, et super omnes homines magnificamus⁵; nec nobis major cura est, quam ut Romanum populum honoribus atque **opibus** cumulemus, {301r} quod sine pace fieri non potest. Atque idcirco pacem semper⁶ quaesivimus. **Verum ubi justitia et necessitas urget, non solum bellare, sed vitam ponere sumus parati, ne vel dignitas nostrae sedis, vel hujus urbis gloria pereat.** Pacem, quae nihil insidiarum habeat, nihil⁷ turpitudinis secum ferat, nec recusavimus umquam, nec recusaturi sumus. Haec fuere, quirites, quae vobis nota esse voluimus. *Sibyllae folium recitavimus.* Mendax et vanus est, qui alia vobis suggerit. Nolite audire mendaces, neque frangamini paucis incommodis agitati. Post tempestatem aderit serenitas. *Sustinete modicum*, cito finietur hoc bellum, et pax pulcherrima cum vestra et nostra gloria reformabitur.⁸

¹ summum apostolatum :
summi apostolatus apicem
G1

² consecuti sumus : sumus
adepti G1

³ inter *add.* G1

⁴ *suprascr.* H; *omit.* G

⁵ magnificamus D, G2, S

⁶ pacem semper : semper
pacem B

⁷ nil G

⁸ Finis orationis pontificis et
Ro-manorum ingens letitia
nota marg. R

[14][FV] Our adversaries claim We hate this City.¹ On what grounds do they say that? Here, in this City, is the origin of Our family; the Romans and the Sienese were always friends. Here We were ordained priest,² here We were appointed bishop,³ here We became a cardinal,⁴ and here We were elevated to the Supreme Apostolate.⁵ Who could hate a city where he had received such great honours, where he was always loved, and never harmed? We love you, citizens, and We esteem you above all other men. Our greatest desire is to heap honours and wealth on the Roman people. But this is not possible without peace, and that is why We have always sought peace. But when justice and necessity require it, We are ready not only to fight but to give Our life to preserve the dignity and honour of Our See and the glory of this City. However, We have never refused and shall never refuse an honest and honourable peace.

This, citizens, is what We wanted you to know. *We have recited a leaf of the Sibyl.*⁶ Anyone who claims the opposite is a liar and false. Do not listen to liars, and do not let a few setbacks discourage you. After the storm comes peace. *Bear up a little more*⁷: this war will soon be over, and sweet peace will be restored - to your honour and Ours.

¹ With some reason, seeing that Pius actually preferred to stay away from Rome for much of his reign

² 1446

³ 1447. He was appointed bishop by Pope Nicolaus V in Rome but consecrated later in Vienna

⁴ 1456

⁵ 1458

⁶ Juvenalis, 8.16: *credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae*

⁷ 2 Corinthians, 11, 1