Oration “Superioribus diebus” of Pope Pius II (31 March 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 5th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 66)

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 66)
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Abstract

In March 1462, an embassy from King Georg Podiebrad of Bohemia came to Pope Pius II to present the king’s declaration of obedience and to permanently settle the issue of communion under both species, granted to the Bohemians by the Council of Basel through the so-called Bohemian Compacts. Communion under both species was, in itself, a matter of Catholic ritual and not of Catholic dogma. But the Hussite claim that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord not only for priests but also for the laity and that it was necessary for salvation went straight against the practice and teachings of the Church, as confirmed by the Councils of Konstanz and Basel, and it meant that for centuries the Church, by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, had been sending countless souls to Hell. In his final oration to the Bohemian embassy, the “Superioribus diebus” of 31 March, the pope stated that the Hussite teachings concerning communion under both species as necessary for salvation were a heresy. He denied the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts made by the Council of Basel on the grounds that the Bohemians had not fulfilled the conditions stipulated by the Compacts. And he refused to grant the right to communicate under both species because of the risks of continued doctrinal error in Bohemia, irreverence for the sacrament (spilling of Christ’s blood), civil unrest, and continued international isolation and wars with the neighbouring countries.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Bohemian Compacts; Compacts of Prague; Hussite Compacts; Hussitism; Communion under both species; Communion under both kinds; Communion of the chalice; King Georg Poediebrad of Bohemia; King George Podiebrad of Bohemia; The Council of Basel; The Council of Konstanz; Compacts of Basel; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th century; 1462

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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

\(^1\) 81 orations, if the “Cum animadverto” is counted as a Piccolomini-oration, see oration “Quam laetus” [18], Appendix
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I. INTRODUCTION
1. Context

1.1. Hussite schism

The main tenets of the Hussite schism are contained in the Four Articles of Prague. They were:

- (1) Freedom of preaching;
- (2) Communion under both species, also for the laity;
- (3) Poverty and no secular power for priests;
- (4) Punishment for mortal sins, especially public ones.

Hussitism had been condemned by the Church in 1415, at the Council of Konstanz, but militarily and politically the movement was so strong that it became necessary for the Church to find a modus vivendi. At the Council in Basel a compromise formula was reached, viz. the Bohemian Companys, which effectively granted the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

The Companys were, according to Heymann, a weakened version of the Four Articles of Prague in which

the articles about freedom of preaching and the punishment of mortal sins were accepted in a general way but with more precise definitions of those who should have the right to preach, practically excluding all those not ordained, and of the authorities who should be entitled to proceed against the sinner. The third (now the fourth) article was eventually formulated in a way which would make it impossible to use it as a basis for the further confiscation of Church property. It was the former second article [viz. communion under both species] which did, in every respect, take first place in the new charter. No other issue could, in the minds of the Czech people, compare in importance with the question of the Eucharist.

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1 CO, VII, 15; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 14-16; Boulting, pp. 312-316; Heymann: George, pp. 166-169, 177-186, 229-242, 248, 257-280, 317, 338-339; Kaminsky; Pastor, II, pp. 159-160; Voigt, IV, pp. 422-501 (building largely on earlier studies by Palacky); Oration “Res Bohemicas” [28]; Report of E.S. Piccolomini to Cardinal Juan Caravia of 21 August 1451 on his visit to Hussite Bohemia, WO, III, ep. 12, pp. 22-56
2 For a history of the Hussite schism, see – among others - the two books of George Heymann
3 Or “under both kinds”
4 Heyman: Zizka, p. 148
5 Council of Konstanz 1414-1418
6 Heymann: George, p. 7
The compromise between the Council of Basel and the Bohemians in the form of the Compacts did not solve the problems, however: the conflicts between the orthodox catholics and the Hussites in Bohemia continued, resulting both in wars and permanent political unrest and turmoil making the nation ungovernable for the catholic Habsburg monarchs, and in international isolation of the Bohemian nation.¹

Gradually it became quite clear to all parties that the Hussite issue had not been settled and that it would be necessary to achieve some permanent solution if Bohemia should become reunited with Rome and the nation come under effective royal and Habsburg rule.

1.2. Situation in 1455-1456 and the oration “Res Bohemicas”

In 1455/1456 Bishop Piccolomini - as an imperial diplomat acting on behalf of the Habsburg monarchs, Emperor Friedrich III and the very young King Ladislaus of Bohemia – in the oration/memorandum “Res Bohemicas” [28] presented his views on the solution of the Hussite schism to his own immediate predecessor as pope, Calixtus III, together with a recommendation of granting the Bohemians and the Moravians the right to communion under both species.

When 6 years afterwards, in 1462, an embassy from the Bohemian King, now Georg Podiebrad, came to Rome to present the king’s declaration of obedience and to formally petition for papal confirmation or grant of this right, Piccolomini, now Pope Pius II, took the diametrically opposite view of the matter and denied a petition that he had himself recommended 6 years before.

In view of the importance of the matter, he must have had very good reasons for doing so. To understand his change of mind, it is necessary to look at how the situation relating to the Hussite schism had changed from 1456 and 1462.

1.3. Developments since 1455

1.3.1. Under Calixtus III (1455-1458)

Pope Calixtus III desired to end the Bohemian schism, and he believed that King Ladislaus and his governor, Georg Podiebrad, would be able to contribute effectively to an agreement on this issue.

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¹ Voigt, IV, p. 423
The conditions for finding some kind of solution to the Bohemian problem were indeed favourable, as George Heymann wrote:

At no time before or after was there so much optimism for a permanent settlement on both sides, in Rome and in Prague, than in the years following the meeting at Wiener-Neustadt\(^1\) and Aeneas’ great speech to Calixtus III\(^2\), and especially in the years 1457-1458.\(^3\)

However, in November 1457 King Ladislaus of Bohemia died at the age of eighteen, possibly poisoned\(^4\) at the instigation of Georg Podiebrad or Hussite church leaders like Rokycana.

This meant that the Kingdom of Bohemia was no longer ruled by a catholic monarch, whose example would conceivably strengthen the position of the catholics in the kingdom and who might be expected to actively support a process of ending the Hussite schism.

Ladislaus was succeeded as king by the governor of the realm, Georg Podiebrad, who though a Hussite by personal conviction was well thought of in Rome - partly because of the reports of Bishop Piccolomini - as a sensible man who would need the support of the papacy and with whom reasonable deals might be struck.

So, Pope Calixtus dealt with him agreeably and trustingly, and even allowed him to be crowned by two catholic bishops from Hungary, but only after he had made an oath, in secret,

- to obey the Roman and Catholic Church and the popes,
- to conform to the true Faith as professed by the Holy Roman Church,
- to defend the Faith,
- and to make his people abandon all errors, heresies, and teachings contrary to the Catholic Faith and bring it to obedience to and conformity and union with the Holy Roman Church and to restore its rites and forms of worship.\(^5\)

Podiebrad himself may not have interpreted this oath as an abandonment of the practice of communion under both species, but he did promise to obey the popes and to restore catholic rites: there was, indeed, a good reason for him to insist that the oath should not be made public.

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\(^1\) The Imperial Diet of Wiener Neustadt, 1455, February to April  
\(^2\) The “Res Bohemicas”  
\(^3\) Heymann, p. 165; cf. Voigt, IV, p. 424  
\(^4\) As many, including Piccolomini, thought  
\(^5\) Voigt, IV, p. 425, 427 ff.; Heymann: George, p. 181
After the coronation, Georg would not or could not take effective measures in support of Catholic doctrine and ritual practice. He remained or had to remain a defender of Hussitism, and Pope Calixtus, before he died in 1458, had lost his illusions concerning the willingness or the ability of Podiebrad to contain, weaken, and end the Hussite schism.¹

1.3.2. Under Pius II (1458-1462)

In August 1458, Piccolomini became pope, under the name of Pius II.

As pope, Piccolomini was no longer a diplomat-fixer of thorny political problems like the Bohemian situation. He was the pope and primary guarantor of the purity of the Faith, a role which he took quite seriously. In the Bohemian matter, he might well accept the conditioned and limited continuance of the practice of communion under both species, which was not in itself a doctrinal matter. But in no way could he condone or appear to tolerate a heresy declaring, as Hussites did, that men could only be saved if they received communion under both species. Firstly, this went directly against established church doctrine. And secondly, it meant that the Church had for hundreds of years been sending the believers to Hell when it denied them the communion under both species, thus fundamentally failing in its primary task: to save the souls of men.

So, whereas a compromise on the ritual matter might be possible, a compromise on the doctrinal issue was absolutely impossible.

After the solution achieved by the Council of Basel, based on the Bohemian Compacts, experience had shown that the Hussites had continued with communion under both species without really accepting the conditions connected with the Compacts and without accepting the church’s doctrine in the matter.

The pope’s acceptance of a compromise on the ritual of communion would therefore be dependent on Rome’s perception of a new Bohemian willingness to accept Church doctrine concerning communion and salvation. The position of the Bohemian ruler was rightly considered by Rome to be of paramount importance in this respect.

Though he had his doubts concerning the role of Podiebrad in the death of King Ladislaus, Pius, in the beginning of his pontificate, still believed – though possibly with some misgivings² - that Podiebrad would be an able ruler and a valuable ally for the papacy in handling the Hussite schism and in organizing a crusade against the Turks.³

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 431-432
² Voigt, IV, p. 432; Heymann: George, p. 230
³ Heymann: George, p. 180-181
So when he invited Podiebrad to come to the Congress of Mantua in 1459, it was as a Catholic king – a fact which Podiebrad naturally exploited to present himself to the Bohemian catholics as a king recognized by the papacy.

Throughout 1459 and 1460, Podiebrad continued to “play” the pope and received his support as ruler of Bohemia.¹

But no embassy from Bohemia to the pope was forthcoming² and no offers from Podiebrad neither in terms of the Hussite schism, nor in terms of Bohemian participation in the projected crusade against the Turks. On the contrary, the pope received continuous complaints from catholics in Bohemia, and especially from the very important catholic city of Breslau, about the papal support of a proven heretic as King of Bohemia.³

During these years it was becoming clear that Podiebrad was not actively working for a solution of the Hussite schism. Moreover, in 1459-1460 he engaged in a plot with a number of German princes to take over the imperial power by becoming elected King of the Romans, the actual emperor, Friedrich III, continuing in a nominal function. In this context, also the threat of an ecumenical council, so perilous to the papacy, was ventilated. The plot failed, but Podiebrad had now revealed himself to be an adventurous and dangerous player on the European power scene and someone in whom the papacy should not naively place its trust. Voigt wrote:

_Pius sah nun, dass der König ganz andere Entwürfe hegte als die Bekehrung der Hussiten, dass er sich verpflichtet, an die Spitze der antirömischen Partei des Reiches zu treten, dass er im Vertrage mit dem Mainzer die Hebung dieses deutschen Primates, die Basler Decrete, ein gemeines Concil in Deutschland zugesagt. Mochte er da Utraquist und Ketzer bleiben oder nicht, solche Artikel machten ihn zum gefährlichsten Ketzer, zum Feinde des römischen Supremats._⁴

The gloves came off.⁵

In January 1462, a papal envoy came to King Podiebrad to let him know that his relations with Rome had now reached a critical and very serious state.⁶

Podiebrad understood that procrastination and subterfuge would no longer serve, and he soon dispatched a Bohemian embassy to the pope. One of the members of the embassy was

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¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 451-452
² Voigt, IV, pp. 452-453
³ Heymann: George, ch. 10
⁴ Voigt, IV, p. 454; Heymann: George, ch. 10
⁵ Heymann, pp. 236 ff.
the pope’s old friend, Prokop von Rabstein, who had taken part in the earlier direct meetings
between Podiebrad as governor of Bohemia and Piccolomini as imperial and papal diplomat.

The embassy reached Rome on 10 March 1462, some days before the arrival of a splendid
embassy from the King of France coming to announce the abrogation of the Pragmatic
Sanction of Bourges of 1438.¹

In the ensuing weeks, the pope conducted two extremely important negotiations at the same
time, one with the French and one with the Bohemians. The negotiation with the French took
priority and was highlighted by the papal oration, “Per me reges regnant” [65], celebrating a
great diplomatic victory for the papacy. Although that victory proved to be rather short-lived,
it undoubtedly influenced the negotiations with the Bohemians, since for the time being it
seemed to assure the pope of peaceful relations with the French and remove the threat of an
ecumenical council.²

The Bohemian ambassadors were received in two consistories. In the first, Prokop von
Rabstein presented the king’s obedience to the pope. Afterwards another member of the
embassy, a Hussite priest, ill-advisedly argued for benefits of the communion under both
species as divinely revealed and – indirectly - as necessary for salvation, an argument which
the Holy See must consider as completely heretical.

In his Commentarii, Pius himself gives the following description of the event:

About this time ambassadors from Georg, King of Bohemia, came to Rome headed by
Prokop von Rabstein and Zdenek Kostka, distinguished barons of that Kingdom. Procop
had long ago been very well known to the Pope when he was in minor orders.³ He had
been his close friend and his colleague in many embassies when both had been imperial
counsellors. Therefore Pius eagerly embraced his old comrade and honored him with no
mean gifts. Kostka was one of the King’s few favorites and the companion of his perfidy.
Prokop had never swerved from the Catholic Faith. With them were two priests⁴ who
were glib talkers and bold champions of the Hussite madness. They were received with
the honor due to ambassadors of a Catholic king and given public audience. Procop
proffered obedience in the King’s name. One of the priests with a sonorous voice and
headlong delivery asked that the agreements of the Bohemians with the Council of Basle
(which they called compacts) be ratified by authority of the Apostolic See. He said that
the King earnestly desired this and that the kingdom expected it. Unless it were granted

¹ See oration “Per me reges regnant”
² Voigt, III, IV, 7, p. 459; Heymann: George, p. 262
³ “cum in minoribus ageret”: rather, when he had not yet attained his present high position, see Collected
Orations of Pope Pius II, vol. 1, ch. 10
⁴ Wenzel Urbensky, dean of S. Apollinar in Prague, and Wenzel Koranda the Younger
there could be no peace among the Bohemians. He discoursed at length on Communion under both kinds, calling it holy and divine as if without it there were no salvation.

The pope replied that he freely accepted the King’s obedience, confident that it was sincere and complete. He described the one-time condition of the kingdom of Bohemia, how rich, how flourishing, how pious it had been; then how it had fallen away, how the lofty palaces, its noble churches, its splendid monasteries had fallen into ruins and the kingdom had been reduced to poverty and misery. This had been the result of heresies and its withdrawal from the Church of Rome. Certain Bohemians had set themselves up more than was fitting, they had introduced foreign doctrines and had wrested from the priests their temporal goods on the ground that those who were in the service of God might not possess anything. Then they had invented an article called “concerning civil lordship,” which they say is forbidden to priests. They said also that the Word of God was not fettered but all might preach it everywhere; that verily no sins could be tolerated in public office and that no one could be allowed to hold a magistracy who was known to be in the toils of mortal sin. Then too there had come to light the article concerning Communion which they call “under both kinds” and think necessary for salvation, which was not the invention of John Huss or of Jerome, who were burned at Constance, or of some doctor or learned expounder of the law, but this heresy was originated by a school teacher named Jacobellus, when he had read in John, “Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood ye have no life in you.” “What are we doing?” he said. “The priests mock us; they close the gates of paradise when they keep the blood from us. They wish to be the only ones to enter into life.” He was listened to by the untaught; the ignorant believed that no one could be saved unless under the species of wine he drank of the cup; and under the teaching and sponsorship of Jacobellus there was composed an article which said, “Communion under both kinds is necessary for salvation,” just the opposite of what was declared to be true in the Council of Basle.

The Pope told also how the compacts had been granted by that same Council, what conditions had been laid down, and how the Bohemians has disregarded the terms imposed on them. Communion under both kinds had been allowed only to those in the kingdom of Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia who had practiced it before and still desired it. But they of their own initiative had given the cup even to infants and compelled those who were unwilling to drink. The priests who had been ordered to pronounce certain words when they administered to the people the Communion under both kinds had disobeyed outright. The agreements had been violated in a thousand ways by the Bohemians. It was idle any longer to give the name of compacts to what

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1 Pius here reused materials from his oration/memorandum to Pope Calixtus III, the “Res Bohemicas” [28] of 1455/1456
had ceased to be in force. Still the King’s request must be discussed in consultation with the brethren. Then the meeting was adjourned.¹

The following negotiations with the Bohemians did not, and probably could not establish the basis for a compromise in the matter of the Bohemian schism. The Hussite priests in the Bohemian embassy staunchly upheld Hussite teachings, and King Podiebrad could not afford, had he been willing, to alienate his Hussite subjects en bloc. On his part, the pope would not, and could not compromise on the doctrinal issue. In the Commentarii the pope wrote:

After this the envoys were often summoned to the Pope and given audience in the presence of selected cardinals to see if any way could be found by which the kingdom of Bohemia might be brought into agreement with the Church and conform to the rest of Christendom. Procop, being a catholic, never swerved from the path of honor but nothing could persuade the others into it and they insisted that unless the compacts were confirmed it was impossible that the Bohemian people should remain quiet. It was therefore necessary to make a public reply to the demands made in public.²

So, without some, even a minimal commitment from Podiebrad to uphold his coronation oath, as understood by Rome, to affirm catholic doctrine and thereby recognize that the Roman Church had not been sending generations of believers and countless souls to hell by denying them the communion under both species, Rome could not budge on the question of rite, though this was not in itself the stumbling block of the matter. There were also other considerations than the doctrinal one, especially political considerations. But the basic issue for the Catholic Church was and had to be doctrinal: it could only grant communion of the chalice to the Bohemians if the Bohemians acknowledged that this form of communion was not necessary for salvation. In the circumstances, confirming or granting the communion under both species to the Bohemians would be taken by the Hussites as an admission by the Church that the Hussite teachings on the Eucharist were right, and the Church’s teachings wrong.

The pope’s final decision was announced to the Bohemians in the very important oration, “Superioribus diebus” of 31 March.

Pius recounted the events of the day in his Commentarii:

Having called a consistory the Pope took his seat before the tribunal and delivered a speech about the compacts. He showed that in many ways they were obsolete; furthermore that the requests made could not be granted without grave danger. Finally

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 512-514). See also the report in Rainaldus, Ad ann. 1462, nr. 14 based on the following sources: Jo. Papien. in comm. l. 6. Gob. l. 7, Cocl. l. 12. See also Heymann, p. 270-275
² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, p. 514)
he said that the King at his coronation had sworn to obey the pope of Rome; if he valued his soul he must accept the mandates of the Apostolic See, viz. that he should finally abandon the communion under both kinds and together with his household and all his subjects unite with the Roman and universal Church. If he did not, his kingdom could not stand.

This speech of the Pope has been published with others. When it ended the consistory also ended.¹

In his oration, the pope refused to recognize the grant of communion under both species made by the Council of Basel (on conditions which were not fulfilled by the Bohemians), and he also refused to make this grant by virtue of his own power as pope.

After the pope’s oration,² an official of the papal court, Antonio Gubbio, publicly announced that the Compacts of the Council of Basel granting communion under both species to the

¹ CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 514-515)
² Cardinal Ammanati Piccolomini, who was present, gave the following summary of the popes oration (quoted after Rainaldus, ibid.): Obedientiam recipere se quamquam commune nimis ac diminutam, credituram Apostolicam sedem tum demum illos veram absolutamque praestare, cum pulsis erroribus ad ovile Domini Rex regnum reduceret, quod ut mature faciat per professam ea hora obedientiam se arctius imperare: calicem vero, quem tantopere commendassent, illis nec necessarium esse, nec sane esse etiam utilem, definisse Synodum Constantiensem: non licere ab institutis Ecclesiae, quae spiritu Dei regeretur, abire: instituisse autem, ut qui extra sacerdotiam essent, calibe abisterent, quando de communicante turbæ effusionis, utrobiæ periculum est et ad viaticum agrorum sacerdote longius cum ferente servari difficile potest; tum autem ne indocta plebs, que sensibus ducitur, nisi sub utraque specie non sumi a se totum Christum et integrum crederet: conventorum porro, quae memoretur, modo nullam vim esse, nec licere illis, quod crederent eorum omnem rationem bipartitam videri permitti, altera, ut qui unionem Romanæ sedis servarent, ritumque in caeteris teneant ecclesiæ, sumendi quoque calicis usum haberent: altera vero permitte uti si se re inde ad concilium delata illi nihilominus desiderio calicis tenebantur, eumque legatis petierint indulgendum iri sacerdotibus suis, ut quomodo servaretur, non in pane carnem, neque in vino sanguinem, sed singulariter facienda sit, ut quidem in altare aut miniis simpliciter. Sed eam esse commodum pastori Ecclesiae, nec illis videri expediet nova ratione id ipsum permitter: sed nec commodum pastori Ecclesiae, nec illis videri expediers nova nunc ratione id ipsum permitti: negasse hoc semper priores pontifices: ab iis in tanta re dissentire non sani esse consili: laturas igninde caeteræ gentes, his datam, prohibiæm alius participationem hanc calicis: nationes quætabae opera pretium non esse nunc commovere: proclive quoque hos ad errorem videri, quod ad necessitatem salutis pertinere cum, si concedatur, rudis populus nimium sit crediturus, quam rem potissimum damnet ecclesia: porro autem dividendorum animorum et perpetuando odii eam aedem consecutio dum causam affere: esse in Bohemis parte adhuc sanam nobis traditam eam in errore, sicut et nunc quoque existimant: nimiae quoque arrogantiae Bohemicae gentem damnaturas, quæte plus contendere, plus sibi deposceret, quam Christianorum reliqua multitudine, jurgia, abstrectationes, et pugnas hinc provenientes: inconsultum videri intus atque extra perpetuos sibi hostes concire, nominisque haereticis subire infamiam: expendisse diligentem haec Romanum Pontificem, inutil quod ab illis
Bohemians had been annulled and quashed; that communion under both species was not necessary for salvation; and that the obedience declared by the King of Bohemia would only be considered as genuine when the King together with his whole Kingdom conformed to the Catholic Church.¹

Afterwards, the Bohemian ambassadors promised to relate the pope’s message to their king and quite circumspectly requested that a papal envoy be sent back with them to directly convey the papal decision – and conceivably to deflect the king’s foreseeable anger and turn it towards the papal envoy which is what actually happened.²

The momentous papal decision concerning the communion under both species was the starting point for a process leading, shortly before Pius’ death, to the summoning of King Podiebrad to Rome to defend himself against accusations of heresy, to the king’s excommunication by Pius’ successor, and to later wars so detrimental to all parties, and first of all to Bohemia itself. It may also be reasonably believed that it contributed to a weakening of Podiebrad’s position to the extent that it would become impossible for him to establish his own family as a continuing royal dynasty.

2. Themes

2.1. Doctrinal issue

The doctrinal issue tended to get mixed up with issues of Church ritual and discipline and with other, political issues, but it was clearly the most important of the issues related to the Bohemian schism.

The Bohemian heresy did not consist in its desire to have communion under both species, since that was not against dogma and not against the practice of the Early Church as Pius had poscitur credere, nescire quid petant: dispensatorem se ministeriorum Dei esse, ad pastores opus pertinere gregem dominicum pascere, illumque in viam rectam statuere; non intelligere homines aliquando, quae vera sint bona; paenituisse saepe mortales peracti voti atque impetraati; quod oratores nunc petant ad vitam aeternam non pertinere; fumum quendam atque inanis gloriae ventum quaerunt; hortari proinde eos contenti sint sub specie tantum panis corpus Domini sanguinemque assumere; ad salutem id ipsum sufficer, admonente Domino: Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendi. Qui manducat hunc panem vivet in aeternum; discipuli Emaus euntes in fractione panis Domini aegrovore: nollent pluris his esse, aut patres eorum sapientia anteire, qui sub una tantum specie Sacramentum accepto in Christo mortui sunt, ad notam illorum filiorum esse viam contrariam. Adjungant se igitur non erranti Ecclesiae, in unicaque religione uniant regnum potentissimum olim, post labefactatum, redditurum mox in antiquas opes et gloriam, si doctoribus errorum praeteritis in viam redierint primam, matremque audierint Romanam ecclesiam

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 466
² CO, VII, 15 (Gragg, pp. 515)
himself demonstrated in his oration/memorandum “Res Bohemicas” [28] of 1456. And communion under both species had not been abolished by the church for reasons of dogma, but out of reverence for the sacrament:

Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later, usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only received entirely under both species jointly. [Sect. 5]

The crucial error of the Bohemians was to maintain that this form of communion had been commanded by the Lord and that it applied to all the faithful, including the laypeople, and that it was therefore necessary for salvation:

To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. [Sect. 6]

Such a teaching went straight against the teaching of the Church, as affirmed by two recent ecumenical councils, the Council of Konstanz and the Council of Basel:

Concerning your petition for communion under both species (or of the compacts), We have pondered the words of the speaker. He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating clergy should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. [Sect. 4]

The Bohemian teaching implied that by denying the communion of the chalice to the laypeople, the Church had for centuries been depriving the laypeople of salvation and sent them to Hell. As the primary goal of the Church was to save souls and send them to Heaven, the Hussite teachings were therefore, absolutely unacceptable to the Church. The pope, therefore, could only exhort the Hussites to

not wish to know more than you should know, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ, having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an
affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory and conform to the rest of Christianity. [Sect. 18]

2.2. Bohemian Compacts

The concession to Bohemia of the communion under both species contained in the Bohemian Compacts was granted by the Council of Basel under a number of conditions. One of the most important conditions was that this form of communion could only be given to those who already had that usage. This meant that it could not be given to the children born after the concession was granted, and therefore the usage would die out in a couple of generations. Another condition was that the Bohemians should accept Church union, obedience to Rome, and conformity in all other matters to the teachings and the practice of the Church.

These essential conditions as well as others had not been fulfilled by the Bohemians, and therefore the concession as such was void:

So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no [grounds for your petition]. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether you did not actually present a request, or whether the Council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice, who accept ecclesiastical union in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity with the Church. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession. [Sect. 9]

The pope concluded:

So, having examined all the compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust in them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment. This is what We have to say concerning the compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 11]
2.3. Papal grant of communion of the chalice

Even if the pope would not confirm the Compacts made by the Council of Basel, he could himself grant the right of communion of the chalice to the Bohemians.

He chose not do so for the following reasons:

- The risk of continued doctrinal error, viz. the belief that communion under both species was necessary to salvation. [Sect. 13]

- The risk of irreverence towards the sacrament, i.e. the very reason for which the Church had abolished the communion of the chalice. [Sect. 14]

- The risk of internal conflicts in Bohemia, between the Hussites having the communion of the chalice and the orthodox catholics (like the very insistent people of Breslau) who wanted to have the same form of communion as the rest of the Church. [Sect. 15]

- The risk of external wars, i.e. with the Germans, the Poles, and the Hungarians such as there had been in former years and which had brought poverty and misery to the once flourishing Bohemian nation. [Sect. 16]

The pope concluded:

So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, or the kingdom, or the people. ... What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory. [Sect. 17]

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration “Superioribus diebus” was delivered on 31 March 1462 in the Apostolic Palace in Rome.

The audience consisted of the participants in a full public consistory: the cardinals, the Bohemian ambassadors, important curials, and envoys from other powers.

The format was a grand papal oration from the throne to royal ambassadors.
4. Text

The text of the oration “Superioribus diebus” exists in two versions, an Early Version and a Final version. The Final Version is very close to the Early Version, few – and no significant – changes having been made to the original text.

4.1. Early version

The Early Version is extant in a number of manuscripts, typically humanist Sanmmelhandschriften. The following list is not exhaustive.

4.1.1. Manuscripts

- Basel / Universitätsbibliothek
  O III 23, ff. 43r-46r

- Görlitz / Milich’sche Bibliothek
  Ch 4, 78, ff. 381v sqq.

- Lepizig / Universitätsbibliothek
  172
  183
  486, ff. 80v-82v
  1327, ff. 38r-41v

- München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
  clm 215, ff. 237r-238v
  clm 10454, ff. 169r-171v

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1 For the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, vol. 1, ch. 5
3 Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in Collected orations of Pope Pius II, vol. 11, are marked with a single asterisk
4 From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative
5 From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated
6 From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated
7 From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative
• Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek  
  Cent V App 15, 278v-280v

• Prag / Statni knihovna  
  I G 34, ff. 106r-112v

• Regensburg / Bibliothek des Kollegiatstiftes unserer Lieben Frau zur Alten Kapelle  
  1884

• Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana  
  Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 65v-67v

• Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis  
  II 5 / ff. 132r-136r

• Weimar / Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek  
  Q45, ff. 249r-250v

• Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek  
  4453  
  4704,  
  4764, ff. 181v-184v (W2) *  
  11843  
  13760  
  Ser. nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364), ff. 99v-101r (W1) *

• Wolffpenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek  
  Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332), ff. 41r-42v (X) *

• Wroclaw / Bibl. Uniwersytecka (Rehdigeriana)  
  478, ff. 381v sqq.

4.1.2. Editions

• Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: *Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici*. Hannover: Freytag, 1700 / Appendix, pp. 159-163 (LE)

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1 From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative  
2 Helmrath, p. 316  
3 From Kristeller (Digital), no foliation indicated  
4 From Kristeller (Digital), foliation approximative
4.2. Final version

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
  544, ff. 144v-147v (G) *

- **Mantova / Biblioteca Communale**
  100, ff. 282r-288r

- **Milano, Bibl. Ambrosiana**
  97 inf., ff. 186v-190r

- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
  Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 188r-192r (D) *
  Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 146v-149v (A) *
  Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 290r-295v (C) *
  Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 205v-209r (B) *

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version was published by Mansi, based on the Lucca ms.:

- **Pius II:** *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, pp. 93-101

4.3. Present edition

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

**Text:**

The edition of the Early Version is based on the two manuscripts in Vienna (**W1** and **W2**), the one in Wolffenbüttel (**X**), and the one edited by Leibniz.

The Final Version is based on the five manuscripts listed above with the siglum.
The Chis. J.VIII. 284 (A) has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from Chis. J.VIII. 284 (A).

*Textual apparatus:*

The variants common to the manuscripts W1, W2, X, and the LE, i.e. the Early Version, are given in bold types.

5. **Sources**¹

In this oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible (1 from the OT and 10 from the NT).

- **Biblical: 11**
  - Classical: 0
  - Patristic and medieval: 0
  - Contemporary: 0
  - **All: 9**

**Biblical sources: 11**

**Old Testament: 1**

- Isaiah: 1

**New Testament: 10**

- Matthew: 2

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


Boulting, William: Aeneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de’ Piccolomini – Pius II). Orator, man of letters, statesman, and pope. London, 1908

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


Kaminsky, Howard: Pius Aeneas among the Taborites. In: Church History, 28 (1959) 282-309


Piccolimini, Enea Silvio: Epistolae.

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

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

• Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)


Pius II: Orationes. [1436-1464]

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


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

7. Sigla and abbreviations

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VIII 284,
B = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 1788
C = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII 286
D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis.I.VI.211
G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544
W1 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364)
W2 = Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Cod. 4764
X = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek / Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332)
LE = Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz: Mantissa codicis juris gentium diplomatici. Hannover: Freytag, 1700

Abbreviations

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


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


RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten


II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION
Responsio Pii II Pontificis Maximi data oratoribus regis Bohemiae, Romae, in consistorio publico


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1 Responsio domini Pii papae facta oratoribus regis Bohemiae super petitionem communiois eucharistiae sub utraque specie; Pii II Pontificis Maximi responsio data oratoribus regis Bohemiae de compactatis et illorum heresi; Responsio domini nostri sanctissimi domini Pii ad oratores Bohemos; Responsio Sanctissimi domini papae Pii II ad Bohemos anno etc. 1462; Responsam papaev Pii II. datum oratoribus Regis Georgii declarans Bohemos abuti Compactati LE
2 audivissem W1
3 omit. LE
4 illustrissimi LE
5 parte LE
6 solitam W2
7 tamen solidam : solidam tamen LE
8 nostrorum W1; omit. W2
9 faciendam in aliud tempus : in aliud tempus faciendam LE
10 servavimus D, G; reservamus W2
11 igitur X
12 accipientes W1; accipietis W2, LE; accepestis X
13 omit. C
14 recipiatis W2, X, LE
15 duo add. W1; quum LE
16 omit. W1
17 omit. W1; loquimur W2; loquamur LE
18 omit. W1
19 omit. X, LE
20 regis X
21 apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae W2
22 a W1
23 marchionatu W1
Response of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, to the ambassadors of the King of Bohemia, in Rome, during a public consistory

1. Introduction

[1] Ambassadors of Our dear son, the Illustrious King of Bohemia,

when We had heard you, some days ago, We said something directly,¹ [adding that] We would defer Our proper and considered response until We had discussed it with Our brethren.² This you will hear now. We exhort you to accept it all in love since We shall be speaking, as a father, in unfeigned charity.³

Two things you set forth in this assembly: in the name of your king you declared obedience to Us and the Apostolic See, and you petitioned that the use of the eucharistic communion under both species be granted to Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia.

¹ “ex tempore”. Cf. the report in Rainaldus mentioned above, Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.
² The College of Cardinals
³ 2. Corinthians, 6, 6
[2] Circa primum dicimus\(^1\) multa\(^2\) nobis exposita esse\(^3\) in laudem regis et per imperatoris oratorem\(^4\), et per dilectum filium Procopium\(^5\) equitem\(^6\), qui\(^7\) unus\(^8\) est\(^9\) ex vobis. Nam is multis\(^10\) verbis seorsum\(^11\) nobis sincerum regis animum et optimum ejus propositum ad benemerendum de\(^12\) sancta\(^13\) sede apostolica\(^14\) commendavit\(^15\). Laudamus regem\(^16\), qui\(^17\) portam domini videtur inquirere, per quam justi intrant, et sine qua non patet iter in\(^18\) caelum. *Qui non intrat per ostium, fur est et latro.* Ostium autem in\(^19\) ovile domini\(^20\) est ipsa sedes\(^21\) apostolica, cui sunt traditae claves regni caelorum. Sapit igitur regia\(^22\) sublimitas, quae\(^23\) verum\(^24\) ostium quaerit, et vera pascua, et verum pastorem, et\(^25\) nos, licet immeritos, tamquam Jesu\(^26\) Christi vicarium sua honorat\(^27\) oboedientia, et primae sedi\(^28\) caput submittit\(^29\).

\(^1\) didicimus \ LE
\(^2\) omit. \ W1
\(^3\) exposita esse : esse exposita \ LE
\(^4\) imperatoris oratorem : oratorem imperatoris \ W1, W2, X, LE
\(^5\) N \ W1
\(^6\) de Rabstein add. \ LE
\(^7\) omit. \ W1
\(^8\) unum \ W1
\(^9\) omit. \ W1
\(^10\) multum \ W2
\(^11\) seorsim \ LE
\(^12\) die \ W2
\(^13\) omit. \ W1
\(^14\) sede apostolica : sedi apostolicae \ W2
\(^15\) commendat \ X
\(^16\) laudamus regem : laudandus \ W1
\(^17\) quia \ X
\(^18\) patet inter in : non itur ad \ LE
\(^19\) omit. \ W2
\(^20\) omit. \ W2, LE
\(^21\) fides \ W1
\(^22\) regis \ W2
\(^23\) qui \ LE
\(^24\) verum \ W1; rerum \ LE
\(^25\) ut \ W1
\(^26\) omit. \ LE
\(^27\) honore\(t\) \ W1; honoravit \ W2
\(^28\) suum add. \ W1
\(^29\) caput submittit : submittit caput \ LE
2. Declaration of obedience

[2] Concerning the first point, much was said in praise of the king both by the emperor’s ambassador¹ and by Our beloved son, the knight Prokop,² who is one of your number. Separately, he has said much to commend the king’s sincere disposition towards Us and his good intentions to be of service³ to the Apostolic See. We praise the king who seeks the gate of the Lord,⁴ which the just pass through, and without which there is no way to Heaven. He that entereth not by the door, the same is a thief and a robber.⁵ The entrance to the Lord’s flock is the Apostolic See which has been given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. His Royal Highness is wise, indeed, since he seeks the true gate, the true pasture, and the true shepherd, and since, with his [declaration of] obedience, he honours Us - though unworthy - as the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and bows to the First See.

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¹ The emperor’s ambassador is not mentioned elsewhere
² Prokop von Rabstein [Rabenstein] (ca. 1420-1472): Bohemian noble. From 1453 to 1468 Chancellor of Bohemia. In their younger years, Piccolomini and Prokop were colleagues in the Imperial Chancery and became close friends
³ Georg Podiebrad (1420-1471): Regent of Bohemia during the minority of Kings Ladislaus the Posthumous. King of Bohemia from 1458 to his death
⁴ “ad benemerendum”
⁵ Cf. Matthew, 7, 13
⁶ John, 10, 1
[3] Verum quia regnum Bohemiae olim sub Romanae ecclesiae et antecessorum nostrorum oboedientia integra fuit, et ritum eumdem tenuit circa divina sacramenta, et postea pars magna regni et marchionatus ab oboedientia recessit et ritum novum invenit, quem ignoraverunt patres eorum, et multi excessus intercesserunt, qui adhuc non parva in parte durant, non potest dici sufficiens regis oboedientia, nisi novitates tollant, et omnia reducant ad pristinam vivendi normam. Quod si vult rex suae oboedientiae et suo debito satisfacere, omnia tollat de regno suo necesse est, quae sunt innovata contra mandata nostrorum praedecessorum et contra ritum universalis ecclesiae; et ita nos sibi praecipimus in virtute oboedientiae nobis praestat. Quod si fecerit, dicemus regem ipsum veram et sufficientem oboedientiam praestitisse eumque condignis honoribus prosequemur. Alioquin cum regum proprium sit ecclesiam tueri, et Romanis pontificibus reverenter assistere, et eorum parere mandatis, non satis esset verbo ac scriptis oboedientiam praestitisse non sequentibus operibus. Haec ad oboedientiam regis.

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1 integra fuit: fuit integrum LE
2 pars magna: magna pars W1, W2, X, LE
3 Bohemiae add. W1
4 ac W1
5 ecclesia W1
6 ritum novum: novum ritum LE
7 in add. X
8 intervenerunt W2; omit. LE
9 parva in parte: in parte parva LE
10 novitatem LE
11 tollant LE
12 reducant LE
13 in W1, LE
14 igitur W1
15 ut del. A; ut add. W1, X, LE; tunc add. W2
16 tollant W1
17 necesse est omit. W2, X, LE
18 meorum W2
19 necesse est add. W2, X, LE
20 quae sunt ecclesiae omit. A, B, C, D, G, W1
21 omit. LE
22 ita nos: nos ita W1
23 omit. C; praecipite LE
24 ipsam W2
25 oboedientiam praestitisse: exhibuisse reverentiam W1
26 dignis W1
27 omit. W1, W2
28 honoribus: laudibus W1
29 prosequimur W2, X
30 regi W1; regem W2
31 est LE
32 et W1; et in W2; aut LE
[3] Formerly, the Kingdom of Bohemia was in complete obedience to the Roman Church and to Our predecessors and kept the common rituals concerning the divine sacraments. Later, a large part of the kingdom and of the margravate left the obedience and invented a new rite, unknown to their fathers. Many other transgressions occurred that are, to a great extent, still lasting. Therefore, the obedience of the king cannot be said to be complete unless these novelties are abolished and all is brought back to the former norm of life. So, if the king desires to fulfil his obedience and his obligations, he must remove all those innovations from his kingdom that are contrary to the instructions of our predecessors and the rite of the Universal Church. This is what We command by virtue of the obedience to Us declared [by the king]. If he does that, We shall acknowledge the king’s declaration of obedience as true and satisfactory, and We shall grant him honours and favours worthy of him. As it is the particular charge of kings to protect the Church, to reverently assist the Roman pontiffs, and to obey their commands, it is not enough to declare obedience in words and writings that are not followed up by actions. [We shall say] no more concerning the king’s declaration of obedience.
Ad petitionem vero communionis utriusque speciei sive compactatorum consideravimus verba proponentis, qui communionem ipsam etiam quoad laicos veritatem divinitus quodammodo revelatam visus est appellare, approbando eam per praxim ecclesiae primitivae, per auctoritatem sacrae scripturae, per testimonia sanctorum doctorum, et per concessionem sive compactata concilii Basiliensis. Circa hoc est necesse multum immorari, nam satis hic articulus in Basiliensi concilio discussus est, et tandem fuit definitum non esse communionem sub utraque specie quoad laicos et non conficiente de praecepto. Denique magna synodus Constantiensis prius definierat, quia non licet a consuetudine ecclesiae, quae regitur a spiritu sancto, recedere; et in illis conciliis abunde considerata fuit praxis ecclesiae primitivae et
sacrarum auctoritas\(^1\), litterarum\(^3\), et quid\(^4\) doctores, vel\(^5\) sancti vel\(^6\) scholastici assererent\(^7\) opportune animadversum.

3. Bohemian petition for either a papal confirmation of the Bohemian Compacts or a papal grant of communion under both species

3.1. Teaching of the Church

[4] Concerning your petition for communion under both species or for [confirmation of] the compacts, We have pondered the words of the speaker.\(^8\) He seemed to be saying that it is a truth somehow revealed by God that also laypeople should have this form of communion, and that it had been approved by the praxis of the early Church, by the authority of Holy Scripture, by the testimonies of the holy doctors, and by the concession or the compacts of the Council of Basel. It is unnecessary to dwell at length on this point since it was sufficiently discussed in the Council of Basel which finally declared that it is not a [divine] precept that laymen and non-officiating [clergy] should receive communion under both species. Before that, the great Synod of Konstanz\(^9\) had declared it to be unlawful to withdraw from the custom of the Church which is ruled by the Holy Spirit. Both these councils amply considered the practice of the primitive church and the authority of Holy Scripture, and they took due note of the statements of doctors, saints, and scholars.

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\(^1\) *omit. B, C; auctoritates W1
\(^2\) sacrarum auctoritas : auctoritas sacrarum W2
\(^3\) auctoritas litterarum : litterarum auctoritas LE
\(^4\) quod W2, LE
\(^5\) et W1, W2
\(^6\) et W1; *omit. X
\(^7\) asseverunt W2
\(^8\) One of the Hussite priests being part of the embassy
\(^9\) Council of Konstanz (1414-1418): ended the Great Western Schism and elected a new Roman pope, Martin V
[5] Nam omnes fere uno ore loquuntur, quod non est populus sub utraque specie communicandus, quamvis aliquando id factum fuerit. Nam postea utiliter et salubriter sublata est laicis communio calicis ob reverentiam sacramenti, propter periculum effusionis in multitudine communicantium, et propter difficultatem conservationis, si pro viatico infirmorum reservaretur, nec non etiam effusionis, si ut saepius oportet, ad non parum etiam distantes deferetur. Tum vero ne rudis populus existimaret Christi corpus non integre recipi, nisi sub utraque specie. Quod vero de compactatis adducitur paulo post absolvemus. Manifestum autem est, quia post generalem ecclesiae consuetudinem substrahebatur communio calicis, nulli fas est populum sub utraque specie communicare, nisi vel generale concilium vel Romanus pontifex indulserit. Ac propterea nec veritas appellanda est talis consuetudo neque utilis neque salubris judicanda, quae absque sufficienti auctoritate introducta est.

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1 vero W2
2 et W2
3 omit. LE
4 omit. W2
5 aliquando id : id aliquando LE
6 fuit LE
7 omit. LE
8 communere X
9 communio calicis : communicatio predicta W1
10 ad W1
11 omit. LE
12 effusionem W1, LE
13 omit. W1, W2, X, LE
14 omit. C
15 distans LE
16 referetur W1; differetur W2, X
17 estimaret W1
18 Christi corpus : corpus Christi W1
19 nisi sub ... specie omit. W1
20 enim W2
21 autem est : est autem W1
22 quod W1, W2
23 subtrahendum LE
24 communicationem W1
25 omit. LE
26 at B
27 praeterea LE
28 ne X
29 omit. W1
30 appellanda est : est appellanda W2
31 communionis add. W1
32 nec W2
33 est add. LE
34 aut W1, W2, X, LE
35 salubriter X
36 sufficiente LE
[5] Almost all of them declare, as with one voice, that the people should not have communion under both species. Though the communion of the chalice was the practice at one time, it was later usefully and appropriately taken away from laymen. This happened out of reverence for the sacrament, because of the risk of spills when many received communion, as well as the difficulty of keeping it when destined for anointing the sick, and the risk of spilling when it must be carried a long distance – something which happens often. And also because the uneducated people should not believe that the body of Christ was only fully received under both species jointly. As for the claims concerning the compacts, We shall be dealing with them shortly. But it is clear that since it became the general custom of the Church to omit the communion of the chalice for laymen, it is unlawful for the people to receive communion under both species unless a General Council or a Roman Pontiff grants it. Therefore, the custom [of communication under both species] must not be considered [a matter of revealed] truth, nor useful, nor beneficial, since it has been introduced without sufficient authority.
[6] Illud autem damnabile est\(^1\) et\(^2\) prorsus\(^3\) haereticum appellandum\(^4\), si quis asserat\(^5\) tales\(^6\) communionem\(^7\) ad salutem esse necessarium, sicut Jacobellus putavit, et qui eum secuti sunt. Magna hominis illius praesumptio vel potius temeritas\(^8\), qui solis\(^9\) imbutus\(^10\) grammatica\(^11\) disciplinis\(^12\), quibus\(^13\) pueros instituebat\(^14\), ausus est sacros et\(^15\) abstrusos\(^16\) evangelii sensus attingere et\(^17\) ad suum ingenium arcana filii Dei verba interpretari. Non est grammaticorum aut dialecticorum secreta divini codicis reserare, theologorum est\(^18\) et sacrae paginae professorum ista cognitio, et\(^19\) eorum quibus\(^20\) data est scientiae\(^21\) clavis\(^22\), quae aperit et\(^23\) nemo claudit, claudit et\(^24\) nemo aperit. Eunuchus ille in Actibus Apostolorum, qui ex Aethiopia venerat in Jerusalem, cum legeret Isaiam, interrogatus ab apostolo Philippo \{148r\} an intelligeret, quae legeret: \textit{et quomodo, inquit}\(^{25}\), \textit{possum intelligere, nisi exponatur}\(^{26}\)? [cont.]

\(^{1}\) damnabile est : est dampbale W1
\(^{2}\) ac W1
\(^{3}\) omit. W1
\(^{4}\) judicandum et appelandum W1; judicandum W2, X, LE
\(^{5}\) asserit G, W1, LE
\(^{6}\) talium LE
\(^{7}\) communicationem W1
\(^{8}\) magna hominis ... vel potius temeritas omit. LE
\(^{9}\) solum LE
\(^{10}\) est add. LE
\(^{11}\) grammaticis W1; grammatica LE
\(^{12}\) disciplina LE
\(^{13}\) qui LE
\(^{14}\) instruebat W2, LE
\(^{15}\) omit. W1, W2
\(^{16}\) add. in marg. A; omit. W1, W2, X, LE
\(^{17}\) omit. LE
\(^{18}\) omit. B, W1
\(^{19}\) culilibet add. W1
\(^{20}\) omit. W1
\(^{21}\) scientia LE
\(^{22}\) scientiae clavis : clavis scientiae W1
\(^{23}\) omit. X
\(^{24}\) a te add. LE
To claim that the communion of the chalice is necessary for salvation, as did Jacobellus and his followers, is damnable and completely heretical. Great is the presumption or rather the audacity of this man. Though he had only studied the disciplines of grammar, which he taught to boys, he dared to dabble in the holy and difficult senses of the Gospel, and to interpret the arcane words of the Son of God according to his own mind. But it is not the task of grammarians or dialecticians to expound the divine secrets of Scripture. That knowledge is reserved for theologians, biblical scholars, and those who have been given the key to the knowledge that opens, and none shall shut: and shuts, and none shall open. When, in the Acts of the Apostles, the eunuch who had come from Ethiopia to Jerusalem was reading Isaiah, he was asked by the Apostle Philip if he understood what he was reading. He answered: And how can I, unless some man shew me?

1 Jacob of Mies
2 Isaiah, 22, 22: And I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder: and he shall open, and none shall shut: and he shall shut, and none shall open (Et dabo clavem domus David super humerum ejus; et aperiet, et non erit qui claudat; et claudet, et non erit qui aperiat)
3 Acts, 8, 31: Et quomodo possum, si non aliquis ostenderit mihi?
At Jacobellus absque expositore, absque doctore ausus est docere, quae non didicit, et absque calicis bibitione salvari neminem asseverare propter verba salvatoris apud Johannem dicentis: Nisi manducaveritis carnem filii hominis et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis, verborum tantum et litterarum adnotans sonum, mentem praeteriens haud gnarus, quod spiritus est, qui vivificat, caro autem non prodest quidquam, neque advertens quod in eodem loco paulo post, cum scandalizati essent de tali sermone aliqui: Verba mea, inquit dominus, spiritus et vita sunt: propter quod manifeste declarat, quia de spirituali manducatione ac bibitione locutus fuerat, potius quam de sacramentali, cum nondum institutum eucharistiae sacramentum.
But without any instructor and teacher, Jacobellus dared to teach what he had not learnt, and to claim that nobody may be saved without drinking from the chalice, because of the Saviour’s words to John: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you. But Jacobellus only took note of the sound of the words and letters, but not of their meaning. He did not know that it is the spirit which gives life, whereas the flesh as such benefits nobody. And he failed to note what follows shortly afterwards, when some were scandalized at such talk: my words are spirit and life, says the Lord. Thus the Lord clearly states that he had been talking about eating and drinking in the spiritual sense rather than the sacramental, since the sacrament of the Eucharist had not yet been instituted.

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1 John, 6, 54
2 i.e. the litteral sense
3 i.e. in the biblical text
4 John, 6, 64: verba quae ego locutus sum vobis, spiritus et vita sunt
[7] Et ita beatus Augustinus et alii quamplures sancti doctores ejus evangeli lectionem exponunt, qui revelatis oculis mirabilia consideraverunt de lege domini et sua doctrina sanctam ecclesiam illuminarunt. Et licet dominus in ultima cena sub specie panis et vini communicaverit, quando id sacramentum instituit, et similiter apostolos in suam commemorationem facere jusserit, non tamen idcirco populis communio calicis mandata est. Apostolis tantum id dictum fuit, qui tum sacerdotes constituti fuerunt, et ad conficientes pertinet sub utraque specie Christum assumere, et ejus mortem repraesentare, non ad laicos. Et haec veritas est in duobus conciliis generalibus declarata.

1 complures X
2 ejusdem W1, W2
3 considerarent X; considerarunt LE
4 illuminaverunt W1, W2; illuminarent X
5 illud W2
6 omit. X
7 omit. W1
8 communicatio W1
9 tamen W1, X
10 omit. LE
11 id dictum : indicta W1
12 tunc W1, LE; cum W2, X
13 instituti W1
14 fuerant W2
15 constituti fuerunt : fuerunt instituti LE
16 sub utraque specie Christum : Christum sub utraque specie W1
17 sumere W1
18 est W1
19 omit. LE
20 veritas est : est veritas W2
21 illa LE
22 omit. W2, LE
23 conciliis generalibus : generalibus conciliis A, D
This is how that Gospel text was interpreted by Saint Augustine and many other holy doctors who pondered the wonders of divine law in the light of revelation\(^1\) and illumined the Holy Church with their teaching. It is true that when, during the Last Supper, the Lord instituted the Sacrament of the Eucharist, He gave communion under the species of bread and wine and told his apostles to do likewise, in commemoration of Him: still He did not command that the [common] people [should receive] the communion of the chalice. This He said only to the apostles, whom He had then made priests, and His words only concern those priests who perform [the transubstantiation\(^2\)]\(^3\) and re-enact His death, not laypeople. This truth has now been declared by two general councils.

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\(^1\) "revelatis oculis"

\(^2\) i.e. the transformation of bread and wine into Christ's flesh and blood

\(^3\) "conficientes"
[8] Restat nunc ut petitioni vestrae respondeamus de communione\textsuperscript{1}, quam cupitis. Nos\textsuperscript{2} sane regem vestrum, barones vestros, et\textsuperscript{3} populares omnes\textsuperscript{4} regni Bohemiae\textsuperscript{5} in domino diligimus et\textsuperscript{6} pro filiis habemus, dum Romanam ecclesiam loco matris habuerint et ei tamquam magistrae\textsuperscript{7} obtemperaverint. Magnus et misericors deus, cujus vices indigni gerimus in terra, homines pro liberis habet, eisque non omnia, quae petunt, sed utilia pro jucundis concedit. Ita et nos facere oportet erga\textsuperscript{8} vos Bohemos, qui pro\textsuperscript{9} laicis communionem\textsuperscript{10} calicis\textsuperscript{11} desideratis et compactata concilii Basiliensis adducitis, quibus\textsuperscript{12} id\textsuperscript{13} vobis concessum existimatis. Satisfaciendum est\textsuperscript{14} huic parti ne decipiamini et falsa pro veris capiatis\textsuperscript{15}. Vidimus transsumpta compactatorum, quae nobis obtulistis, quibus diligenter inspectis non invenimus, quod illorum vigore communicare possitis\textsuperscript{16} laicos\textsuperscript{17} sub utraque specie.

\textsuperscript{1} communio W1, LE
\textsuperscript{2} nunc W1
\textsuperscript{3} omit. X
\textsuperscript{4} omit. W1
\textsuperscript{5} regni Bohemiae omit. W2
\textsuperscript{6} omit. LE
\textsuperscript{7} integrae LE
\textsuperscript{8} ergo W2
\textsuperscript{9} omit. X
\textsuperscript{10} communicatione W1
\textsuperscript{11} omit. LE
\textsuperscript{12} quod W1
\textsuperscript{13} est LE
\textsuperscript{14} esse LE
\textsuperscript{15} accipiat LE, W2, X; recipiat LE
\textsuperscript{16} possit LE
\textsuperscript{17} laicus LE
3.2. Pope’s denial of the petition for papal confirmation of the Bohemian compacts

[8] It now remains to answer your petition concerning the communion you desire. We do love your king, your barons, and all the people of the Kingdom of Bohemia in the Lord, and We do consider them as Our sons as long as they consider the Roman Church as their mother and obey her as their teacher. The great and merciful God, whose Vicar on Earth We are, though unworthy, treats men as his children, and he does not give them all they wish, but only what benefits them, not that what pleases them. We must do the same towards you Bohemians when you request the communion of the chalice for laymen and appeal to the Compacts of the Council of Basel which you believe has given you this right. We must now address this issue so that you may not deceive yourselves and hold false things as true.

We have seen the transcripts of the Compacts which you have brought to Us, and having studied them carefully We do not find that they authorize you to give communion under both species to laymen.
Compactatorum enim bipartita ratio est\(^1\). Altera permittit et indulget, ut qui unionem recipiunt\(^2\) ecclesiasticam\(^3\) et pacem\(^4\) realiter et cum effectu, et\(^5\) in omnibus alis quam\(^6\) in usu communio\(n\)is\(^7\) utriusque speciei fidei et ritui universalis ecclesiae conformes essent, et usum talis\(^8\) haberent, possint\(^9\) communicare sub utraque specie in regno Bohemiae et marchionatu Moraviae\(^10\). Altera promissionis\(^11\) est, dicens quod facta in\(^12\) concilio discussione super articulo communio\(n\)is\(^13\), nihilominus si perseveraverint in desiderio habendi talem communio\(n\)em\(^14\) et id\(^15\) per legatos indicaverint\(^16\)\(^17\), concilium facultatem\(^18\) largietur sacerdotibus communicandi eas personas, quae in annis\(^19\) discretionis constituta\(e\)s reverenter et devote postulaverint\(^20\), cum ad\(d\)\(i\)ctione\(^21\), quod sacerdotes sic communicantes semper dicerent\(^22\), quod ipsi debent\(^23\) firmiter\(^24\) credere, quod non sub\(^25\) specie panis caro tantum\(^26\), nec sub specie vini sanguis tantum\(^27\), sed sub qualibet specie est integer totus Christus. Neque tamen\(^28\) reperitur, quod concilium postea\(^29\) hujusmodi facultatem\(^30\) dederit\(^31\). \(cont.\)

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\(^1\) ratio est : est ratio \(W_1, W_2, X, LE\)
\(^2\) recipiunt \(LE\)
\(^3\) ecclesi\(a\)e \(LE\)
\(^4\) pater \(W_1\)
\(^5\) ut \(G\)
\(^6\) preterquam \(W_1; omit. X\)
\(^7\) communio\(n\)is \(W_1\)
\(^8\) tales \(W_1; hujusmodi \(W_2; \) talem \(LE\)
\(^9\) posse \(W_1\)
\(^10\) et \(add. W_1\)
\(^11\) permissionis \(W_1\)
\(^12\) ex \(W_1\)
\(^13\) discussionis \(W_1\)
\(^14\) communicationem \(W_1\)
\(^15\) non \(X\)
\(^16\) indicaverint \(LE\)
\(^17\) in desiderio ... indicaverint \(omit. W_1\)
\(^18\) facultatis \(W_2\)
\(^19\) in annis : inaniis \(A; inanis B, C\)
\(^20\) postulaverunt \(X\)
\(^21\) additione \(LE\)
\(^22\) semper dicerent : dicerent semper \(LE\)
\(^23\) deberent \(LE\)
\(^24\) similiter \(LE\)
\(^25\) solum \(W_2\)
\(^26\) caro tantum : tantum caro \(W_1\)
\(^27\) sanguis tantum : tantum sanguis \(W_1\)
\(^28\) enim \(W_1\)
\(^29\) omit. \(W_1\)
\(^30\) facultati \(W_1\)
\(^31\) deerit \(W_1\)
3.2.1. Sense of the Compacts

[9] The text of the compacts has two parts.

In the first, it allows and grants that all those [persons] in the Kingdom of Bohemia and the Margravate of Moravia who sincerely and effectively embrace ecclesiastical union and peace and who already follow this practice may receive communion under both species. The condition is that in all other matters than the communion under both species they conform to the Faith and rites of the Church.

In the second, it says that if, after a discussion in the council\(^1\) concerning the issue of communion, the Bohemians still want to have such communion and formally state this through their legates, then the council will grant their priests the right to give [this form of] communion to those persons who have reached the age of reason and who ask for it with reverence and devotion. It adds the following: the priests who give communion must always firmly believe and tell [the communicants] that it is not just the flesh which is present in the species of bread, and the blood which is present in the species of the blood, but that the whole Christ is present in each species. However, it is not documented that the council afterwards actually granted this right. [cont.]

\(^1\) The Council of Basel
[9 cont.] So, whether you refer to the first or the second part of the Compacts, you have no grounds for your petition. For the second part containing the promise was never fulfilled, whether you did not actually present a request, or whether the council – for reasonable cause – [ultimately] refused to grant what it deemed would be harmful since your priests did not keep [their part of] the agreement. Neither does the first part help you since it only grants the communion of the blood to those who already follow that practice and who accept ecclesiastical union and conformity in all other matters than communion. But you never accepted ecclesiastical union and conformity [with the Church]. Therefore, you could not legitimately receive the concession.
[10] Quod autem\(^1\) unionem et conformitatem non fueritis amplexi\(^2\) liquet ex\(^3\) moribus vestris\(^4\). Nam sacerdotes vestri non instituuntur ad\(^5\) titulum beneficii, ut moris est in alis regnis, per episcopos\(^6\) et habentes\(^7\) potestatem, nec\(^8\) servaverunt umquam mandata concilii, quibus praecipitum\(^9\) erat, ut \textit{tantum habentes}\(^{10}\) \textit{usum}\(^{11,12}\) \textit{communicarent}, sed pueros et dementes communicaverunt\(^{13}\), et nolentes\(^{14}\) communicare sub utraque specie, noluerunt\(^{15}\) sepelire, et alii modis coegerunt, et multis\(^{16}\) in rebus\(^{17}\) ritum universalis ecclesiae abjecerunt, et major pars vestrum usum communionis\(^{18,19}\) calicis accepit post compactata, quod minime licuit. Non est igitur, quod\(^{20}\) de\(^{21}\) compactatis\(^{22}\) gloriemini. Nec illud vos\(^{23}\) juvat, quod oratores concilii mandaverunt archiepiscopo Pragensi, Olumicensi, et Latolimbensi\(^{24}\) pro tempore existentibus, ac presbyteris, ad quos pertineret\(^{25}\), \{149r\} ut populum sub utraque specie requisiti communicarent juxta\(^{26}\) conventa. Nam id\(^{27}\) factum est vigore concessionis, cujus fecistis vos indignos, ut ante diximus.

\(^{1}\) quod autem : cum W2
\(^{2}\) complexi W1; complexi sive complexati LE
\(^{3}\) in W1
\(^{4}\) moribus vestris : vestris moribus W1
\(^{5}\) in LE
\(^{6}\) per episcopos : et episcopatibus LE
\(^{7}\) habentibus X
\(^{8}\) non LE
\(^{9}\) praecautum LE
\(^{10}\) rationis add. LE
\(^{11}\) add. discretionis W1
\(^{12}\) habentes usum : usum habentibus rationis W2
\(^{13}\) communicarent X
\(^{14}\) volentes X
\(^{15}\) noluestis X
\(^{16}\) multum X
\(^{17}\) modis W1
\(^{18}\) omit. W1
\(^{19}\) et major ... communionis : majorem usum vestra communio LE
\(^{20}\) omit. W2
\(^{21}\) omit. C
\(^{22}\) quod add. W2
\(^{23}\) illud vos : vos id X
\(^{24}\) Lutholivisbensi W1; Leitomisbensi X; Lytomericensi episcopis LE
\(^{25}\) pertinet C, W1, LE
\(^{26}\) capta W1
\(^{27}\) illud W1, W2, X
3.2.2. Bohemian non-compliance with the Compacts

[10] That you have not accepted union and conformity is evident from your actual practice. Your priests are not appointed to the title of the benefice\(^1\) by bishops or others who have that power, as is the custom in other kingdoms. And you have never kept the commands of the council which ordered you to give the communion [of the chalice] only to those who already followed that practice. Instead you have given this communion both to children and to the insane. And those who did not want communion under both species were refused burial and coerced in other ways, and in many areas you have rejected the rite of the Universal Church. And after the Compacts [were issued], the majority of your people received the communion of the chalice which was certainly not allowed. [In conclusion,] you have no reason to pride yourselves in the Compacts. It does not help you[r cause] that the orators of the council mandated the bishops of Prague, Olmütz, and Leitomischl at the time as well as the priests concerned to give people communion under both species, when required to, according to the agreement. For this was done by virtue of the concession which, because of your own actions, you could not legitimately receive, as already explained.

\(^{1}\) E.g. parish churches
Inspectis\textsuperscript{1} igitur compactatis omnibus\textsuperscript{2} et bullis concessis, judicamus de consilio\textsuperscript{3} fratrums nostrorum cardinalium sacerdotes vestros absque ulla potestate\textsuperscript{4} laicalem populum ad communionem calicis admittere\textsuperscript{5}, decipere plebes\textsuperscript{6}, et graviter peccare, dignosque gravi animadversione, et nisi resipuerint, se ac\textsuperscript{7} populum sibi credentem\textsuperscript{8} perditum ire\textsuperscript{9}; quos admonemus, ut se corrigant, et nostra potius\textsuperscript{10} clementia quam ultione uti velint. Haec ad compactata, quae calicis communionem\textsuperscript{11} minime vobis permittunt\textsuperscript{12}.

Sed cupitis, ut apostolica sedes\textsuperscript{13} eam\textsuperscript{14} vobis\textsuperscript{15} indulgeat. Faceremus\textsuperscript{16} id libenti\textsuperscript{17} animo, si et vobis utile et nobis decorum\textsuperscript{18} esset, at\textsuperscript{19} neutrum hic est. Nam quomodo id nos\textsuperscript{20} 21 concedamus, quod nostri praedecessores semper\textsuperscript{22} concedendum esse\textsuperscript{23} negaverunt\textsuperscript{24}? Indigne id\textsuperscript{25} ferrent aliae nationes et adversus nos murmurarent\textsuperscript{26}, quas\textsuperscript{27} non expedit scandalizare. Vobis autem concessio\textsuperscript{28} ipsa\textsuperscript{29} et regno vestro multis de causis damnosa\textsuperscript{30} esset\textsuperscript{31}, sicut noxius est ipse usus\textsuperscript{32}, quem servatis.

\textsuperscript{1} perfectis W1
\textsuperscript{2} omit. W1, LE
\textsuperscript{3} concilio X
\textsuperscript{4} ulla potestate : potestate ulla W1
\textsuperscript{5} admittentes W1
\textsuperscript{6} plebem LE
\textsuperscript{7} et W1
\textsuperscript{8} concreditum LE
\textsuperscript{9} iri X
\textsuperscript{10} omit. LE
\textsuperscript{11} calicis communionem : communicationem calicis W1
\textsuperscript{12} permittit X
\textsuperscript{13} apostolica sedes : sedes apostolica W2, X, LE
\textsuperscript{14} id W1
\textsuperscript{15} eam vobis : vobis eam X
\textsuperscript{16} facerem W2
\textsuperscript{17} lubenti LE
\textsuperscript{18} decor W2
\textsuperscript{19} ut W2
\textsuperscript{20} omit. W2
\textsuperscript{21} id nos : hic W1; nos id LE
\textsuperscript{22} omit. W1
\textsuperscript{23} omit. W1
\textsuperscript{24} negarunt LE
\textsuperscript{25} omit. LE
\textsuperscript{26} reservarent X
\textsuperscript{27} quos W1, LE
\textsuperscript{28} concessa LE
\textsuperscript{29} illa W2
\textsuperscript{30} damnosum LE
\textsuperscript{31} multis de .. esset : damnosa esset multis de causis W1
\textsuperscript{32} ipse usus : usus ipse LE
3.2.3. Pope’s judgment

[11] So, having examined all the Compacts and bulls of concession and on the advice of Our brethren, the cardinals, We judge that your priests give the communion of the chalice to laymen without having the right to do so, that they deceive the people, that they sin gravely, and that they deserve serious admonishment: unless they repent, they and the people who trust them will perish. Therefore, We admonish them to correct themselves and to prefer Our clemency rather than Our punishment.

This is [what We have to say] concerning the Compacts: in no way do they permit you the communion of the chalice.

3.3. Pope’s denial of the petition for papal grant of communion under both species

[12] But now you desire that the Apostolic See should grant you this communion. We should do so willingly if it would be to your benefit and Our honour, but it is neither. How can We grant what Our predecessors always refused? The other nations, which ought not be given cause for scandal, would not accept it and they would blame Us. For many reasons such a grant would be harmful to you and to your kingdom, just like the practice you follow is damaging.
[13] Nam cum fuerit\(^1\) olim communis\(^2\) opinio vestra, quod assumptio calicis esset\(^3\) de necessitate salutis, facile in eundem errorem populus\(^4\) prolaberetur, si ei permitteretur ex apostolico indulto; et\(^5\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^8\), quae\(^9\) jussi\(^10\) fuerunt\(^11\). Et vos etiam\(^12\) maxime cum vestri sa
cer
do\(^13\) noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facere\(^9\), quae\(^10\) jussi\(^11\) fuerunt\(^12\). Et vos etiam\(^13\) maxime cum vestri sacerdotes noluerunt\(^6\) in communicando ea\(^7\) facer
3.3.1. Risk of doctrinal error

[13] For just as you once commonly believed that the communion of the chalice was necessary for salvation, the people would easily fall into the same error if it was now allowed by apostolic concession, and especially so if your priests did not act as bidden when they gave communion. Even now you claim that communion under both species is useful and beneficial and that it has been revealed by God.¹ This claim would easily lead to belief in its necessity, so to avoid that error it is necessary to forbid the people to drink from the chalice.

¹ Pius here refers to the assertions made by a Hussite delegate during the first reception of the ambassadors, see Introduction, sect. 1.3.2.
[14] Ad id urget\(^1\) debita sacramento\(^2\) reverentia, ne in populi frequentia calix domini\(^3\) male tractetur\(^4\), et pretiosissimus Christi sanguis\(^5\) (quod saepe factum est\(^6\)) effundatur\(^7\) in terram\(^8\).

[15] Huc\(^9\) accedit quod maxima\(^9\) pars Bohemorum et Moravorum\(^11\) ritum vestrum abhorret, et numquam ad illum posset\(^12\)\(^13\) inclinari. Quod\(^14\) si vobis indulgeretur\(^15\), quod petitis, numquam\(^16\) inter vos esset\(^17\) unio\(^18\). Semper durarent inter vos\(^19\) schismata essetque vobis omni tempore timendum domini verbum quia omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur. Aequius\(^20\) igitur est et facilius, ut vos novum ritum et\(^21\) minime approbatum relinquatis, et illis conformemini\(^22\), quam illi vobis cedentes\(^23\)\(^24\) antiquum et laudabilem usum rejiciant\(^25\), ut sit pax inter vos, et id\(^26\) ipsum sapiatis\(^27\) omnes, et\(^28\) vivatis tamquam fratres.

\(^{1}\) ad id urget : additurque W1  
\(^{2}\) sacramenti W1, W2, X  
\(^{3}\) alioquin LE  
\(^{4}\) tractatur X; tractaretur LE  
\(^{5}\) Christi sanguis : sanguis Christi LE  
\(^{6}\) quod saepe factum est omit. B  
\(^{7}\) effunderetur LE  
\(^{8}\) terra W1  
\(^{9}\) hinc W1  
\(^{10}\) magna W1  
\(^{11}\) Moraviansorum LE  
\(^{12}\) poscit W2, X; poscit LE  
\(^{13}\) ad illum posset : posset ad illum C, W1  
\(^{14}\) omit. W2  
\(^{15}\) indulgetur W1  
\(^{16}\) minime W1  
\(^{17}\) erit W1; omit. LE  
\(^{18}\) sed add. W1  
\(^{19}\) durarent inter vos : inter vos durarent W1, LE  
\(^{20}\) conveniens W1  
\(^{21}\) etiam W1  
\(^{22}\) conformemini W1  
\(^{23}\) quam ... cedentes : qui vobis accedentes LE  
\(^{24}\) credentes W2, X  
\(^{25}\) omit. W2; recitant LE  
\(^{26}\) omit. G  
\(^{27}\) sapietis X; sapiant LE  
\(^{28}\) sic add. LE
3.3.2. Risk of irreverence towards the sacrament

[14] Also the reverence due to the sacrament must be considered: the chalice of the Lord must not be handled irreverently in the thronging of people, and the precious Blood of Christ must not be spilt on the ground, has happened so often.

3.3.3. Risk of civil war

[15] To this should be added that a very large part of the Bohemians and the Moravians abhors your rite and can never be moved to [adopt] it. If We granted your petition, there would never be unity among you: the divisions among you would continue, and you would always have to fear the word of the Lord saying: *Every kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate.* Therefore it is both more just and more easy that you abandon the new rite that has in no way been approved, and conform to the other [Christians] rather than that they should yield to you and abandon their old and praiseworthy practice: thus, there may be peace among you, you will share the common beliefs, and you will live like brothers.

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1 Matthew, 12, 25
Postremo, si hoc\textsuperscript{1} indulgeremus\textsuperscript{2}, quod quaeritis, offenderemus\textsuperscript{3} omnes vicinos (149v) vestros\textsuperscript{4}, Theutones, Hungaros, Polonos\textsuperscript{5}, eosque perpetuo vobis\textsuperscript{6} infensos\textsuperscript{7} redderemus\textsuperscript{8}.  

Nam videntes vos\textsuperscript{9} alium ritum habere, sicut hodie faciunt\textsuperscript{10}, semper reputarent vos errare. Et quamvis mille extarent indulta nostra, tamen appellarent vos\textsuperscript{11} parum fideles et\textsuperscript{12} nimis arrogantes, qui\textsuperscript{13} plus velletis sapere quam ceteri Christiani. Nec possent vobiscum\textsuperscript{14} pacifice loqui, et nunc ab istis\textsuperscript{15}, nunc ab illis molestaremini\textsuperscript{16}, habentes et\textsuperscript{17} in regno infensos et extra regnum\textsuperscript{18}.

\textsuperscript{1} si hoc : quod si  LE  
\textsuperscript{2} indulgeremus W1, LE  
\textsuperscript{3} offendemus LE  
\textsuperscript{4} nostros LE  
\textsuperscript{5} Bohemos C  
\textsuperscript{6} omit. W2  
\textsuperscript{7} offensos W1, X  
\textsuperscript{8} omit. W2  
\textsuperscript{9} perpetuo ... redderemus : infensos perpetuo redderemus nobis LE  
\textsuperscript{10} omit. LE  
\textsuperscript{11} omit. LE  
\textsuperscript{12} omit. LE  
\textsuperscript{13} vos add. LE  
\textsuperscript{14} quia W1  
\textsuperscript{15} vobis X  
\textsuperscript{16} et add. X  
\textsuperscript{17} vilescerent nostri LE  
\textsuperscript{18} omit. C; eos LE  
\textsuperscript{19} infensos et extra regnum : et extra regnum infensos W1
3.3.4. **Risk of external wars**

[16] Finally, if We granted your request, We would offend all your neighbours, the Germans, the Hungarians, and the Poles and make them your permanent enemies. For, seeing you having another rite, as they do today, they would always believe you to be in error. And even if there were a thousand letters of permission from Us, they would still say that you have too little faith and too much arrogance, and that you believe to know better than the other Christians. They would not be able to speak peacefully with you, and you would be molested sometimes by one party and sometimes by another, having enemies both inside and outside the kingdom.
[17] Diligenter igitur\(^1\) pensatis omnibus, quae pensanda in his rebus\(^2\) fuerunt\(^3\), non videtur nobis\(^4\) quod\(^5\) vel\(^6\) regi vestro vel regno et\(^7\) populo conducat\(^8\) id\(^9\), quod petitis, et quod illud vobis\(^10\) competit, quod ait dominus\(^11\) filii Zebedaei: Nescitis\(^12\) enim, quid\(^13\) petatis\(^14\). Nos\(^15\) dispensatores sumus ministeriorum Dei. Ad nos pertinet pascere oves et gregem dominicum\(^16\) in viam\(^17\) salutis dirigere. Imitari nos convenit summum patremfamilias, qui noxia petentes nequaquam exaudit, et omnia dirigit in melius. Non\(^18\) intelligunt omnes, quae sunt vera bona, atque idcirco saepe homines poenituit\(^19\) voti sui fuisse compotes. Hoc, quod\(^20\) petitis\(^21\), non est ad vitam aeternam, fumum quemdam et inanis gloriae ventum\(^22\) quaeritis\(^23\).

\(^{1}\) omit. LE

\(^{2}\) in his rebus omit. X, LE

\(^{3}\) in his rebus fuerunt : fuerunt in his rebus W1

\(^{4}\) vobis X

\(^{5}\) ve W1; quid W2

\(^{6}\) omit. W1

\(^{7}\) vel W1

\(^{8}\) condece W1

\(^{9}\) omit. W1

\(^{10}\) illud vobis : vobis illud W1

\(^{11}\) ait dominus : dominus ait W1

\(^{12}\) omit. W1, LE

\(^{13}\) quod W2, LE

\(^{14}\) petitis LE

\(^{15}\) vos LE

\(^{16}\) domini tum LE

\(^{17}\) via W1

\(^{18}\) nos W1

\(^{19}\) homines poenituit : paenituit homines LE

\(^{20}\) vos add. X, LE

\(^{21}\) petiistiis LE

\(^{22}\) inanis gloriae ventum : ventum inanis gloriae W2

\(^{23}\) quaerentes LE
3.3.5. Pope's judgment

[17] So, having carefully considered all that must be considered in this matter, We do not see that granting your petition would benefit your king, the kingdom, or the people. The words of the Lord to the sons of Zebedaeus apply to you, too: You know not what you ask.¹ It is Us who are the dispensers of the ministries of God.² Ours is the charge to guard the sheep and to lead the flock of the Lord to the road of salvation. We must imitate the supreme family father who never heeds those who ask for harmful things, but directs everything for the best. Not all understand what is truly good, and therefore many people have regretted it when their wishes were fulfilled. What you request now does not lead to eternal life; what you seek is smoke and the breeze of vainglory.

¹ Matthew, 20, 22
² 1. Corinthians, 4, 1: Sic nos existimet homo ut ministros Christi, et dispensatores mysteriorum Dei. NB: the NT has “mysteriorum”, but the text used by Pius has “ministeriorum” (or there has been an error in the transmission of the text of the oration)
[18] Nos\textsuperscript{1} vestrarum animarum\textsuperscript{2} salutem optamus, atque\textsuperscript{3} idcirco negamus ea, quae sunt illi contraria, hortamurque\textsuperscript{4} sub specie panis corpus et sanguinem domini accipere\textsuperscript{5} contenti sitis, quod satis est ad salutem,\textsuperscript{6} dicente domino in eodem qui supra allegatus est loco: \textit{Ego sum panis vivus, qui de caelo descendii. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum.} Nec velitis pluris\textsuperscript{7} esse quam illi discipuli, qui euntes in Emmaus cognoverunt dominum in fractione panis. Nolite\textsuperscript{8} plus sapere quam oporteat\textsuperscript{9, 10} sapere\textsuperscript{11} et pluris\textsuperscript{12} esse, quam fuerunt patres vestri, qui communicantes sub una specie in Christo\textsuperscript{13} mortui sunt. Et non bene congruit\textsuperscript{14} eorum nomini et famae hic\textsuperscript{15} novus ritus. Consolemini eorum memoriam et\textsuperscript{16} conformemini\textsuperscript{17} reliquae Christianitati, quia\textsuperscript{18} turpis est pars, quae suo non convenit universo. Quippe si relicko ritu novo ad pristinam consuetudinem redieritis, unietur,\textsuperscript{19} et\textsuperscript{20} in seipso et cum vicinis regnum vestrum et pristinae opes cum pristina pace glorifique redibunt, eritisque in hoc saeculo felices, et\textsuperscript{21} in alio beati praestante domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui est honor et imperium\textsuperscript{22} per infinita saeculorum saecula.\textsuperscript{23, 24}
[18] We desire the salvation of your souls, and therefore We refuse to grant that which prevents it. We exhort you to be satisfied with receiving the Lord’s body and blood under the species of bread [alone]. It is sufficient for salvation, as says the Lord in the same text quoted above: *I am the living bread which came down from heaven.*\(^1\) *He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever.*\(^2\) Do not wish to be greater than those disciples who, going to Emmaus, recognized the Lord in the breaking of the bread. Do not wish to know more than you should, and to be more than your fathers who died in Christ having received communion under one species only. This new rite is an affront to their name and fame: comfort their memory, and conform to the rest of Christianity: it is shameful for a part to be in disharmony with the whole. If you abandon your new rite and return to the old custom, your kingdom will be united both internally and with its neighbours, and your former wealth will return together with your former peace and glory. You will be happy in this world, and you will be blessed in the next, as granted by Our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom is the honour and the power through the infinite ages of ages.

\[\begin{align*}
^1&\text{John, 6, 41 and 6, 51} \\
^2&\text{John, 6, 59: This is the bread that came down from heaven. Not as your fathers did eat manna, and are dead. He that eateth this bread, shall live for ever. (Hic est panis qui de caelo descendit. Non sicut manducaverunt patres vestri manna, et mortui sunt. Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in aeternum)}
\end{align*}\]