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Oration “Munera quae attulistis” of Pope Pius II (July 1462, Abbadia). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 4th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 69)

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(Orations by Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 69)

Oration “*Munera quae attulistis*” of Pope Pius II (July 1462, Abbadia). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

4th version

2019

Abstract

Pope Pius II had planned to spend the summer of 1462 in Siena. However, his demands for readmission to the city government of two political factions, the Nobles – to whom his family belonged – and the Twelve, brought him into conflict with the majority of the city's ruling class. A visit therefore seemed inadvisable, and he did not come. The oration "*Munera quae attulistis*" was delivered in reply to the Siennese envoys when they came, rather late, to invite him to visit the city.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Siena; Leonardo Benvoglianti; Papal Curia; 15th century; 1462; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory

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Foreword

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

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

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

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

12 September 2019

MCS

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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

During a stay in his beloved home city Siena,² in the spring of 1459, Pius II had sought to reform the political system of the city, requesting the ruling coalition of parties to reintegrate among others the Nobles into the city government from which they had been excluded for more than fifty years. Among the noble families excluded from government office were the Piccolominis, but they had already been reintegrated into the government system as a special honour shown to the Sienese pope.³

In spite of the pope's multiple favours to Siena, including some early, extended summer stays in the city with the Papal Curia, he had only obtained meagre concessions from the city government.

In the summer of 1462, the Sienese ambassador Agostino Dato invited Pius to come as usual to spend the summer in the city, but later he himself and other leading citizens, Bartolomeo Assai and Leonardo Benvoglianti, an old friend of the pope, managed to stir up such opposition against the pope's plans for Siena that Pius had little inclination to go there.

Benvoglianti even gave a rousing speech to the city senate against the reintegration of the nobles into the government of the city. Among other things he said, as reported by Pius in the *Commentarii*:

"I was absent governing Tiferno when you voted at the Pope's urging to admit them [the nobles] to some of the offices. If I had been present, I should have spoken against it and it may be that many senators would have come over to my opinion. Pius, as you see, is not satisfied with what we promised. He wants more and grows more pressing every day. If you listen to me you will take back even what has been promised. For it was not, as many assert, your intention to stand by what you offered. You meant to deceive and temporize – if perhaps he might die before the time came to elect new magistrates. It is not yet the time and the elections can be postponed a year. Why should we anticipate them? We must decide according to the situation. Never shall the nobles with my consent have the keys to the city or the magistracy we call captain. For the moment I think we should vote that no further concessions beyond that already made should be given them. If anyone advises otherwise, he should be exiled." There were some who expressed milder views and made less serious charges against the nobles but it was voted to sustain Leonardo's motion whose purpose was considered to be that hereafter there should be no mention of any promise to the Pope.⁴ The Pope had come from Acquapendente and Proceno and thence to the boundary between the lands of Rome and

¹ CO, VIII, 12-13, IX, 4; Voigt, IV, 8, pp. 560-570

² On Pius' relations with Siena, see *Collected Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*, vol. 1, sect. 6.5

³ See oration *"Ingentes vobis gratias"* [41]

⁴ The motion was carried by the Senate of Siena on 26 June 1462, see Voigt, IV, p. 560

Siena. There he was sitting at lunch with four cardinals under a shelter of branches when the vote of the Sienese was brought to him. The Archbishop of Benevento received the letter and gave it to the Pope. When he had read it, he said: "How mistaken we have been in thinking that we should find here envoys from the Sienese to welcome us joyfully into their territory! No one has come to meet us. Instead of envoys an insulting decree greets us. We had resolved to spend the summer in Sienese territory in order to enrich our birthplace and we had given orders that the Curia should follow us. It might seem fitting for us to retrace our steps and transfer these emoluments to other peoples. But this is what the pernicious citizens who were responsible for the decree desire. They wish to sow discord between us and our country, for our discord is their opportunity. They shall not succeed. We will go and we will do good to the city which bore us and to the people of Siena even against their will. Then he finished his lunch and proceeded through Piano to Abbadia which he had selected as a suitable refuge from the July heat.¹

Pius stayed in Abbadia during the month of July 1462. While he was there, envoys from Siena came to him to invite him, once again, to Siena for the rest of the summer. In his *Commentarii* the pope wrote:

In Abbadia four envoys from the Sienese waited on the Pope, bringing presents of precious wines, white bread, fat lambs and calves, and the fruits of the season. Their spokesman was Francesco Aringheri, who did his best to excuse the lateness of the embassy. After he had spoken for a long time about the affection of the Sienese for Pius and had commended to him the city and the people, he finally begged humbly that he would come to Siena and comfort his dearest sons with his presence. Leonardo Benvogliente, whose speech in the senate we have reported above, was also present and tried to cajole the Pope as if Pius were ignorant of his actions. Pius listened graciously to everything they said and then replied: [here follows the text of the oration "Munera quae attulistis"]. When they heard this, the envoys tried to do away with the Pope's objections and appease him, but they said nothing which he did not instantly reject and most of all he confuted the words of Leonardo, which were full of guile and vanity. When the discussion had been bandied back and forth for two hours, the envoys took their leave saying that they would report to the senate what they had heard.²

Eventually, Pius chose not to go to Siena that summer. And he was to be unsuccessful in his efforts to restore the Nobles and the Twelve to power.

¹ CO, VIII, 13 (Gragg, p. 565)

² CO, IX, 4 (Gragg, pp. 574-575)

2. Themes

- **Siena's insulting behaviour towards the pope**

Siena had committed the gross error of not meeting the pope and bidding him welcome when he entered Siennese territory. But worse was the hypocrisy of the Siennese representatives when they finally arrived, their humble words to the pope about the affection the Siennese towards him, the invitation to comfort them with his presence, and the cajolements of Leonardo Benvoglianti, former friend who had now become his political enemy and leader of the opposition against his wishes for political harmony in the Siennese state.

- **The threat from Florence**

Siena's alienating the Siennese pope was self-destructive given the permanent threat against its independence from its closest neighbour, rich and powerful Florence.

- **The two means of strengthening the state**

A small state like Siena could only survive if it had two things: wealth and harmony.

As for wealth, the pope had offered the city wealth through the stay of the Roman Curia in the summer periods, but the city government's rejection of the pope's proposals now made that impossible.

As for harmony, the disunity of the body politic and the regime's refusal to integrate all the major political factions in the city's governmental structure was a major flaw and weakness in its political structure, which would threaten its survival as an independent state.

Past events had already proven that the pope was right. Exploiting internal dissensions, the condottiere Jacopo Piccinino had, only some years before, come close to conquering the State of Siena and transform it into a personal dukedom. Piccolomini himself had been a key diplomatic agent in the crucial negotiations leading to an acceptable, but costly peace for Siena.¹ And history would ultimately prove him right when enfeebled Siena was defeated by Spain and its Florentine ally in 1555. Afterwards it was ceded to its Florentine enemy, and the Siennese republic ended, for ever.

¹ See oration "*Modestius*" [27], held at the conclusion of these negotiations in Naples, December 1456

- **The pope's visit**

No wonder, the pope would not visit a city, however much he loved it, which under the cover of humble compliments insulted and defied him. He never saw it again.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Munera quae attulistis*" was given in July 1462, in Abbadia.

The audience consisted of the Sienese ambassadors, those cardinals who were with the pope, and members of the papal court.

The format was a short, direct papal reply to the ambassadors, in a rural setting, without any pontifical pomp whatsoever.

In a margin note in the *Reginensis*, the first edition of the pope's *Commentarii*, the address is termed an oration (*pontificis oratio*) as it is in the Table of Contents (*Commentariorum Rubricae*) at the beginning of the work (*Pii oratio acris et vehemens*).

4. Text¹

This oration was not included in the *Collected Orations of Pius II*, which may have been completed by July 1462, but only in his *Commentarii*, book 9, chapter 4.²

4.1. Manuscripts

The two principal manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, with the oration, are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 274v-274r bis (S)

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

² For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reg. lat. 1995, ff. 394v-395r **(R)**

Of these, the Reginensis represents the first version and the Corsinianus the final version, probably with a now lost intermediate version, all produced under the supervision of the pope himself.

4.2. Editions

Like Pius' other orations only published in the *Commentarii*, this oration was not included in Mansi's edition of Pius II's orations.

Some important editions and translations of the *Commentarii* are¹:

- *Pius II: Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 523-524
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / II, pp. 1664-1668
[With an Italian translation]

An English translation of the *Commentarii* was published by Florence Gragg:

- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northampton, Mass.: 1937-1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 574-575

4.3. Present edition

Text:

Though the *Commentarii* have already been edited a number of times, the text of the oration has – as a matter of principle – been collated directly from the two principal manuscripts, with the Corsinianus as the lead manuscript.

¹ For other editions, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11: General bibliography

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

5. Sources

In this oration no direct or indirect quotations have been identified.

6. Bibliography

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

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

7. Sigla and abbreviations

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reg. lat. 1995

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

Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

OO = Pius II: *Opera quae extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 [2nd ed., 1571; Anastatic reprod. Frankfurt: Minerva 1967]

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {274r} Munera¹, quae attulistis ex patria, grato recipimus animo. Si nobis fines vestros² intransibilibus urgente causa non occuristis, ipsi videritis. Pontifici maximo haud multum honoris affert Senensis populi legatio, in cujus comitatu numquam desunt et cardinales et {274v} maximorum regum ac principum oratores. E re vestra fuerat adventanti pontifici in finibus quam primum occurrere, ne quod inter vos nosque discidium ortum inimici³ vestri existimarent, quibus nihil molestius est quam vestrum civem in apostolico throno sedentem cernere, rebus vestris amicum. Vobis fortasse non ita videtur, qui decretis insolitis et inhonestis nostrum abalienare animum conati estis. Patriam nobis commendatis, et vos ipsi patriam persequimini et hostium agitis causam. Quis vestrae urbi quam Florentinus infensor est? Aemula civitas, dominandi avida, auro dives, late imperans vestris cervicibus imminet. Ad quartum lapidem inimicus adest vestrae ruinae semper invigilans. Hunc timetis nec remedium quaeritis adversus instantem procellam.

[2] Duo sunt quae rem vestram salvare possunt: divitiae atque concordia. Illas nos parare potuimus singulis annis per aestatem cum Romana curia apud vos commorantes: sicut grex ovium impinguat agros, ita et curia urbes. Quattuor jam perdidistis annos dum pauca, quae ordinis gentilhominum⁴ causa petimus, per invidiam contumaciter denegatis. Et nunc pertinaciae vestrae superbissimum edidistis decretum, adversus quod dicere aliquid aut hiscere capitale sit. Pluris vestra edicta quam evangelia facitis, neque ab re. Major est enim Leonardi et qui eum sequuntur quam Christi auctoritas. Forsitan et temporis brevitatis dignitatis aliquid addit. Lex vestra paucos dies permanet. Evangelia usque ad finem saeculi perdurabunt. Non vultis Romanam curiam. Opes contemnitis et quibus adversus insidias hostis defendi possitis arma respuitis nec concordiam, alterum adversus inimicos remedium, quaeritis. Suadere hanc possumus, praestare non possumus.

¹ Pontificis oratio *in marg.* R; Legatio Senensium et Pii oratio acris et vehemens adversus seditiosos *in marg.* S

² fines vestros : territorium vestrum R; agrum *add. in marg.* R

³ vicini R; inimici *corr. in marg. ex vicini* S

⁴ nobilium R; ordinis gentilhominum *corr. in marg. ex nobilium* S

[1] The gifts you have brought from Our country We accept with gratitude. You yourselves know your urgent reasons for not meeting Us as We entered your territory. But an embassy from the Sienese people is really not a great honour to the Supreme Pontiff who is always accompanied by cardinals and ambassadors from the greatest kings and princes.¹ It would have been in your own interest to meet the pope as soon as he arrived at your borders so that your neighbours would not think that a conflict had arisen between you and Us. For nothing annoys them more than to see one of your citizens sitting on the apostolic throne, kindly disposed towards you. But this may not seem so to you since you have been endeavouring to alienate Us by unprecedented and scandalous decrees. You recommend our country to Us, but at the same time you persecute it and advance the cause of your enemies. Who is more hostile to your city than Florence? A rival city, hungry for power, rich in gold, and with far-reaching power threatens you. Your enemy stands at the fourth milestone, and it is always plotting to destroy you.² You fear it, but you do not seek protection against the threatening storm.

[2] The two things which may save your state are wealth and harmony. We could have given you both if We and the Roman Curia had stayed with you every summer, for just like a flock of sheep fertilizes a field, the Curia enriches a city. You have now wasted four years while you stubbornly and jealously refuse Our few requests in the matter of the Nobles. And now you have defiantly issued a most arrogant decree and made it a capital offence to criticize or speak against it. You hold your own decrees higher than the gospels. Indeed, it is quite obvious that Leonardo and his followers have greater authority with you than Christ. Is it their shortlivedness that gives them greater worth? Your law lasts only a few days, but the gospels will endure until the end of time. You do not desire to have the Roman Curia with you, disdain the wealth [it would bring you], and you do not seek [civic] concord, the other remedy against your enemies. Thus you scorn the arms with which you may defend yourselves against the attacks of your enemy. But We can only try to persuade you [to have harmony] - We cannot give to you.

¹ During the fifteenth century, the Papal Court gradually became “the centre of European diplomacy”, see Fletcher, p. 28

² As Pius had warned, Siena eventually succumbed to Florence: after centuries of rivalry and conflict, Siena was finally defeated by the Duchy of Florence in alliance with the Spanish crown during the Italian War of 1551-1459. Siena surrendered to Spain in 1555 and afterwards Spain ceded it the Florentine Grand Dukes of Tuscany

[3] Arbitrii vestri est unioni studere. Saepe de hac re verba fecimus, cum Senis ageremus. Diximus difficile munimentum civitatis esse amorem civium. Rogavimus, ut divisionis semina tolleretur, id est nomina ipsa factionum. Unum reipublicae corpus faciendum fore docuimus, cujus neque gentilhomines¹ {274r bis} neque duodecim expertes essent. Noluitis audire consilium, secuti estis desideria vestra. Frustra nobis civitatem commendatis, quam privatis affectibus itis pessum. Patriam, ut nostro consolemur adventu, efflagitatis et horrendis deterretis edictis. Repellitis et invitatis, vultis et non vultis. Nescitis, quid eligatis. Si voluissetis Romanam curiam ad vos proficisci, jam pridem de petitionibus nostris aliquid mitius decrevissetis. Cum dubitetis, nos quoque in dubio sumus, an veniendum sit. Pientiam ibimus templumque consecrabimus. Tempus interea et opera vestra nos admonebunt, quid sit faciendum.

¹ nobiles R; gentilhomines *corr. in marg. ex nobiles S*

[3] It must be your own decision to work for unity. We have often spoken about it when We stayed in Siena.¹ We told you that the love of the citizens is a strong bulwark for a city. We asked you to remove the seed of dissension, that is the names of your [political] factions. We showed you that you must create one body politic from which neither the Nobles nor the Twelve would be excluded. You have not wanted to heed Our advice, but have followed your own wishes. In vain do you commend your city to Us when you let it perish because of private passions. You beg Us to comfort our country with Our presence,² and [at the same time] you keep Us away with disastrous decrees. You invite and you push away. You will and you will not. You do not know what you want. If you had wanted the Roman Curia to come to you, you would now have issued decrees that were more favourable to Our requests. You are in doubt whether We should come, and so are We. We shall now go to Pienza to consecrate the temple³ there.⁴ Time and your conduct will then show Us what to do.

¹ See oration "*Ingentes vobis gratias*" [41]

² "adventus": arrival

³ The cathedral of the very small town of Pienza, named after Pius II, formerly Corsignano, and Pius' birthplace

⁴ Pope Pius consecrated the Cathedral of Pienza on 29 August 1462