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Orations “Advenisti tandem / Si loqui possent” of Pope Pius II (12-13 April 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 4th version. (Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 67-68)

Michael Cotta-Schønberg

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(Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II; 67-68)

Orations “*Advenisti tandem / Si loqui possent*” of Pope Pius II (12-13 April 1462, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

4th version

2019

Abstract

In April 1462, Pope Pius II solemnly received a famous relic, the Head of Saint Andrew, brought to Italy the year before after Turkish conquests in Greece. The reception took the form of a series of splendid religious ceremonies in the course of which Pius gave two short orations, the “*Advenisti tandem*” and the “*Si possent loqui*”. In these orations he expressed the gratitude of Rome and the Roman Church for the visit of Saint Andrew – the pope believed that the saint spiritually accompanied his relic. He also expressed his determination to restore the relic and Saint Andrew to his See in Greece, making it quite clear that this would be one of the goals of his crusade against the Turks. Thus the event became part of papal propaganda for the crusade.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Relics; Head of Saint Andrew; Saint Andrew the Apostle; Crusades against the Turks; Veneration of saints; 1462; 15th century; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

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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

1. Advenisti tandem
2. Si loqui possent

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The month of March 1462 had been a very important time in the pontificate of Pope Pius II. In the beginning of the month he had reactivated his great crusade project. In the middle of the month, he received a French embassy announcing the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, so detrimental to the interests the Papacy. and at the end of the month, he denied the right of communion under both species to the Bohemians, a decision which was to have a profound influence on Bohemian and European affairs and the development of the Church.

By April, the time had come for a great event of a different order: the splendid reception of the Head of Saint Andrew on 12 April, which had been brought from Patras, conquered by the Turks, the year before and had been secured by the pope for the Roman Church.

The reception was marked by a series of magnificent religious ceremonies which were both a celebration of the Apostle Andrew and of the Roman Church - and indirectly of Pope Pius II himself, the pious pontiff at the centre of the jubilating masses!² Quite importantly, it also became a great propaganda event for the pope's reactivated project of a crusade against the Turks,³ who had, though indirectly, expelled Saint Andrew (or his head – the pope made no distinction) from his See in Patras. When the pope vowed to bring the apostle back to his see, everybody understood that this would be one of the happy results of the future crusade.

That message would not be lost on the Duke of Burgundy whose participation was crucial to the crusade, Saint Andrew being the patron saint of Burgundy!

During the ceremonies held on this occasion, the pope gave two short orations, one the “*Advenisti tandem*” on April 12, and the other, the “*Si loqui possent*”, on the following day at the closure of the ceremonies. Both were addressed to the saint in an unusual mixture of address and prayer.

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

The platform was approached by two flights of easy stairs, one opposite the Ponte Molle, the other toward the city. While the pope followed by the sacred college⁴ and all the clergy

¹ CO, VIII, 1-3; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1462, nos. 1-5; Ady, pp. 310-312; Bisaha, p. 51; Boulting, pp. 332-335; Gregorovius, III, 1, p. 95-97; Hack; Paparelli, pp. 324-328; Pastor, II, pp. 180-182; Voigt, IV, pp. 595-597; Zimolo, p. 57

² Hack, p. 325-327

³ Helmraath, p. 127

⁴ The College of Cardinals

ascended the latter with tears of joy and adoration, Bessarion¹ with two other cardinals mounted the former. He carried a reliquary containing the sacred head, which he deposited on the center of the altar while a chorus intoned hymns. Then amid profound silence the keys were brought and when the seals had been recognized, the casket was opened. Bessarion in tears taking the sacred head of the Apostle, offered it to the weeping Pope. But the Pope himself, before touching the holy bones, knelt at the altar and with pale and downcast face and streaming eyes said in a tremulous voice: [Here follows the text of the oration/prayer]... The pope's prayer drew tears from all eyes. There was no one on the platform, clergy or laity, who did not weep and beat his breast imploring the protection of the blessed Apostle. There were some on whom the pope's words made so profound an impression that on reaching home they wrote them down verbatim and gave them to him. Among these were Theodore, the Bishop of Feltre,² a man distinguished alike for his learning and character. When the Pope had read his copy, he marvelled at the man's memory and praised his ability. While the Pope was speaking there was profound silence except for the sobs of those who beat their breasts and could not control their tears. Torches were burning all around and the throngs in the fields waited for him to finish. When he ended, he kissed the sacred head and all on the platform weeping did likewise.³

About the second oration, the "*Si loqui possent*", given at the closure of the ceremonies in Saint Peter's, he wrote:

Bessarion was heard with attention and favour, though the fathers, wearied with the march desired to rest and it was already the sixteenth hour. Nevertheless when he ended they did not find it burdensome to listen to the pope's reply, which was as follows [here follows the text of the oration]. After these words and the singing of the collect, he rose and put the famous relic on the altar, that it might be exhibited that day for all to see, and the auditors of the holy palace were set to guard it. Then while the cardinals and bishops sang praises to God with a loud voice, he went to a place where he could be seen by all and blessed the multitude, and the Cardinal of Siena, his nephew after the flesh, announced plenary indulgences.⁴

¹ Cardinal Bessarion

² Teodoro Lelli (1428-1466): Bishop of Feltre (1462-1464) and of Treviso (1464-1466), theologian, and diplomat

³ CO, VIII, 2 (Gragg, pp. 527-528)

⁴ CO, VIII, 3 (Gragg, pp. 540-561)

Afterwards, a report of the whole event was written – the *Andreis* - including both orations. It was written or edited by the Bishop of Chiusi, Alessio de' Cesari, and met with considerable interest, attested by the numerous copies in European libraries.¹

2. Themes

Apart from the *topoi* of joy at the arrival of the longed-for guest, the solicitation of his benevolence and help, the praise of the guest, the invitation to enter the city etc.,² the orations contain the following themes:

- Through his holy relic, the Apostle Andrew had come to Rome in person³:

We do not doubt that you are present as a companion to your head and that you will enter the City together with it. [Sect. 2]

- He had been driven from his See in Patras by the Turks, but his stay in Rome would be temporary and only last until he could return to his See with aid of his brother the Apostle Peter, i.e. the Roman pope⁴:

Mad Turks have expelled you from your own see. As an exile you have fled to your brother, Prince of the Apostles. Your brother will not fail you: when the Lord wills it, you shall be restored to your see in glory, and some day you will be able to say, "O happy exile which found such help." [Sect. 1]

Every one present would have understood the indirect reference to Peter's successor, Pius himself, and the crusade against the Turks that he was preparing, and Pius made it quite clear the day afterwards in his short oration in Saint Peter's Basilica:

We willingly and ardently promise all the resources at Our disposal to win back your sheep and your home here on Earth. For nothing means more to Us than the defence of the Christian religion and the true Faith which the Turks – your own and our enemies - are striving to destroy. If the Christian princes should hear Our voice and follow their shepherd,

¹ Hack, p. 334-335

² Hack, p. 359, n. 161

³ On the theme of Pius and saints/relics, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.7.2-6.3.7.3

⁴ The stay of the relic in Rome actually lasted until 1964 when it was returned by Pope Paul VI to Patras

the whole Church would see and rejoice that We have not neglected Our duty and that you have not come in vain to seek help from your brother. [Sect. 5]

- Until his return to Patras, Saint Andrew, beloved disciple of Christ, would act as a mighty champion of the Roman people before the throne of God:

Be our champion in Heaven; preserve this City, together with the holy apostles Peter and Paul; and do piously assist the whole Christian people that through your protection God's mercy may be upon us. And if He is angered by our many sins, may that anger be transferred to the impious Turks and the barbarous nations that scorn Christ Our Lord. Amen. [Sect. 3]

Undoubtedly, this powerful relic would attract many pilgrims to Rome. Also Saint Andrew's forming a trinity of mighty apostle saints together with Peter and Paul would deepen the Roman claim of eminent "apostolicity", otherwise based on Peter and Paul having consecrated the City with their blood, and Peter being the first Bishop of Rome.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The "*Advenisti tandem*" was given on 12 April 1462, in a meadow outside Rome, close to Ponte Molle, during the ceremonies for the reception of the Head of Saint Andrew. The "*Si loqui possent*" was given the day after, on 13 April, at the closure of the ceremonies in Saint Peter's Basilica.¹

The audience consisted of the cardinals, the papal court, ambassadors present in Rome with their retinues, and the Roman populace.

The format of the "*Advenisti tandem*" was that of an oration at the advent of a high personage, addressed to the visitor, as known from classical rhetorics,² combined with direct prayers to the apostle.³ The format of the "*Si loqui possent*" was an address first to the congregation and then

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 596, has 11-12 April

² Hack, p. 359: *Der Papst spricht unmittelbar den soeben angekommenen Christus-Jünger an und stellt sich dabei ganz in die Tradition der antiken und mittelalterlichen Begrüßungsreden*

³ This oration is an example of classical apostrophic speech, see Helmrath, p. 127: ... *Predigt des Papstes mit der er sich apostrophisch an das Apostelhaupt selbst wandte.* Hack, p. 359: *Der Papst spricht unmittelbar den soeben angekommenen Christus-Jünger an*

to Saint Andrew himself. Most of the manuscripts giving the title of the oration use the term “Oratio”, and “Oratio” is also used in the margin of the Reginensis (see below) for both the “*Advenisti*” tandem and the “*Si loqui possent*”.

4. Text¹

The orations “*Advenisti tandem*” and “*Si loqui possent*” have one of the most complex transmission histories of all Pius’ orations.

They have been transmitted both as individual texts and as part of the *Andreis*, a detailed description of the events connected with the reception of the head of the Apostle Andrew in Rome, April 1462.

4.1. Manuscripts^{2 3}

NB: the following lists are not exhaustive.

4.1.1. As a single text

As an individual text, the “*Advenisti*” is extant in the following manuscripts:

4.1.1.1. In collective manuscripts⁴

- **Burgo de Osma / Archivo Biblioteca de la Catedral**
37, ff. 120r-120v⁵

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

² The following list is not exhaustive. In the case of manuscripts not consulted directly in connection with the present edition, the source is indicated in a note

³ Collated manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Enea Silvio*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

⁴ For orations transmitted in collective manuscripts, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.1

⁵ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

- **Köln / Stadtarchiv**
GB quart 218, ff. 156v-157r¹
- **München / Staatsbibliothek**
clm 215, ff. 268r-268r
- **Olmütz / Wissenschaftliche Staatsbibliothek**
M I 60, ff. 55v-57r²
- **Ottobeuren / Klosterbibliothek**
O. 22, ff. 128r-128v³
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Lat. 8316, ff. 187r-188v⁴
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 17, ff. 31v-32r
Barb. lat. 2009, ff. 1r-2v
Vat. lat. 5109, ff. 33v-34v⁵
- **Roma / Biblioteca Valicelliana**
H. 28, ff. 141r-141v⁶
- **Siena / Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati**
B V 40, ff. 63v-65v⁷
- **Torino / Biblioteca Nazionale**
H III 8, ff. 201r-201v⁸
- **Uppsala / Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek**
C 687, f. 78r-78v (U)

¹ Hack, p. 336

² Hack, p. 336

³ Hack, p. 336

⁴ Hack, p. 336

⁵ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

⁶ Hack, p. 336

⁷ Hack, p. 336

⁸ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XI 83, ff. 197-198v
Lat XIV 265, ff. 60r-61r **(M)** *
Lat XIV 266, ff. 111r-112r **(N)**
- **Washington, CD /Folger Shakespeare Library**
V.a 108, ff. 2r-2v¹
- **Wolffenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek**
Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332), ff. 32r-32v **(X)** *

As an individual text, the “*Si loqui possent*” is presently only known to be extant in the manuscript:

- **Ottobeuren / Klosterbibliothek**
O. 22, ff. 128v-129r²

4.1.1.2. *In the Collected orations of Pius II (1462)*³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 151v-152r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 195v-196r **(D)** *

4.1.2. As part of the Andreis

The Andreis contains both orations.

¹ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

² Hack, p. 337

³ For orations transmitted in Collected Orations of Pius II (1462), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.3.

4.1.2.1 In collective manuscripts

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Cod. 3263 (olim 20677-81), ff. 33r-42v¹
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale**
Il. 1. 201, ff. 1r-20v²
- **Krakow / Biblioteka Jagiellonska**
682, ff. 97r-107v³
- **Manchester / John Rylands Library**
Lat. 347, ff. 1r-20r⁴
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms. lat. 13079, ff. 238r-245v⁵
- **Ravenna / Biblioteca Classense**
121, ff. 150v-167v⁶
- **Roma / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano**
Borghese, I, 121-122, ff. 53r-54r, 64v-65v
Misc. Arm. XII 3, ff. 61r-82v⁷
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 139r-141v, 157r-158v
Urb. Lat. 406 (olim 700), ff. 47r-47v, 53r-53v⁸
Vat. lat. 4034, ff. 86v-88r, 101r-102r⁹
Vat. lat. 8092, ff. 84r-98v¹⁰

¹ Hack, p. 332. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

² Hack, p. 332. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

³ Hack, p. 332. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

⁴ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

⁵ Hack, p. 332. Foliation (approximative) of the whole *Andreis*

⁶ Hack, p. 333. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

⁷ Hack, p. 333. = BAV / Vat. lat. 12255. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

⁸ Digital BAV version

⁹ Kristeller. Approximative foliation

¹⁰ Kristeller (digital). No foliation; Hack, p. 333. Foliation of the whole *Andreis*

- **Sevilla / Biblioteca Capitolar y Colombina**
5.5.19, ff. 295r-295v¹

4.1.2.2. *In the Collected Orations of Pius II*

- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I 97 inf, ff. 212r-212v, 220r-220v² (E) *

4.1.2.3. *In Pius II's Commentarii*³

The two principal manuscripts, written in Pius' own lifetime, containing the *Commentarii* are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis latinus 1995, ff. 353r-354r, 364v-365r (R)
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 245r-245v, 253r-253v (S)

4.1.2.4. *In Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini's Anthology of Pius II's orations*⁴

- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 68r-69v, 81v-83v⁵ (P) *
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms. lat. 5565A, ff. 10v-12r, 33r-34v⁶ (Q) *

¹ Kristeller (digital). Approximative foliation

² As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 208v-221v

³ For orations included in Pius II's *Commentarii* (1463-1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4.

⁴ For orations included in Cardinal nephew's anthology of Pius II's major orations (1464), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.6.

⁵ As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 63r-84

⁶ As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 1r-36v

- **Roma / Archivio Apostolico Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 118r-119v, 133v-134v (**O**)¹ *
Borghese 1, 121-122²
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 24v-25v, 37r-38r (**V**)³ *
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 66v-67r, 80r-81r
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 79v-80r, 94v-95v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**
4310, ff. 163r-163v, 172v-173r⁴
- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele**
Vitt. Em. 492, ff. 172v-173v, 184r-184v (**T**) *

4.2. Editions

As a single oration the “*Advenisti tandem*” was published in:

- *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663 / Ad ann. 1462, nr. 3
[And later editions]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae.* Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / II, 145-147
[On the basis of the Lucca ms.]
- Holstein, H.: Die Begrüßungsrede des Papstes Pius II. Bei der Ankunft des Hauptes des h. Andreas in Rom am 12. April 1462. In: *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte u. Renaissance-Literatur*, 2 (1888-1889) 364-365
[On the basis of the Uppsala ms.]

¹ As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 112r-137v. NB: The manuscript contains the anthology (with the *Andreis*), ff. 1r-25r, 118r sqq. (containing the *Per me reges*, *De regno Siciliae*, *Andreis*, *Catherinam Senensem*, *Cum bellum hodie*), and Collected Responses of Pius II to Ambassadors, ff. 26r-71r

² As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 51v-70r

³ As part of the *Andreis*, ff. 19r-40r

⁴ Kristeller (digital). No foliation

The “*Advenisti tandem*” and the “*Si loqui possent*” have also been published as part of Pius II’s *Commentarii*, e.g.

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 472-473, 487-488
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano: Adelphi, 1984 / II, pp. 1510-1515, 1554-1557
[With an Italian translation]
- *The Commentaries of Pius II*. Tr. By Florence Alden Gragg. Northhampton, Mass.: 1937 - 1957 (Smith College Studies in History; 22, 25, 30, 35, 43) / pp. 527-528
[English translation of the *Commentarii*]

4.3. Present edition

Text:

The text is based on the manuscripts marked with the siglum in the list above. The Corsinianus (S), representing the final edition of the text, supervised by Pius himself, has been chosen as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

The pagination is from the lead manuscript.

4.4. History of the text

On the basis of the presently collated manuscripts, the following – tentative - sketch is offered:

- Due to the high propaganda value of the whole event, the individual copying and dissemination of the text of the “*Advenisti*” began immediately after the event, as is attested by the presence of the text in a number of collective manuscripts, cf. sect. 4.1.1.1 above.

- Very soon, however, the “*Advenisti tandem*” was integrated, together with the “*Si loqui possent*”, into the *Andreis*, a report on the whole event of the reception of Saint Andrew’s head in Rome. The complete *Andreis*, too, was independently disseminated, as is attested by other humanist collective manuscripts, cf. section 4.1.2.1 above.¹
- The whole *Andreis* was then included in the original version of Pius II’s *Commentarii*, cf. the manuscript Reginensis latinus 1995, followed later by a now lost intermediate version and by a final version, the Corsinianus 147. The Corsinianus “*dokumentiert ... den letzten Willen des literarisch ambitionierten Verfassers*”.²
- Later, the “*Advenisti tandem*” (alone, without the “*Si loqui possent*”) was included) in the 2nd version of the Collected Orations of Pius II, represented by Chisianus J.VI.211 (from which the Lucca manuscript was copied in 1493), the text being probably based on an intermediate version of the *Commentarii*, since it shares variants with both the Reginensis and the Corsinianus.³
- And finally, the whole *Andreis* was included in Cardinal Todeschini Piccolomini’s Anthology of Pius II’s Orations finished in March 1464.

5. Sources⁴

In this oration, 8 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, seven from the Bible and one from classical sources.

Biblical: 7

Classical: 1

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 8

¹ See also Hack, p. 336

² Hack, p. 331

³ CO (Heck, I, p. 10); (Totaro, I, p. xxiv). The “*Advenisti tandem*” in the Chisianus J.VI.211, sharing variants with both the Reginensis and the Corsinianus, thus supports the theory of an intermediate manuscript

⁴ On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8.

Biblical sources: 7

Old Testament: 3

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 4

- Luke: 1
- Acts: 3

Classical sources: 1

- Vergilius: 1¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

6. Bibliography

Ady, Cecilia M.: *Pius II (Æneas Silvius Piccolomini) – the Humanist Pope*. London, 1913

Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663²

¹ Aeneis

² References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition)

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7. Sigla and abbreviations

D = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. I.VI. 211

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I 97 inf,

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

M = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 265

N = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat XIV 266

O = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

P = Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale / Ms. 15564-67

Q = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms. lat. 5565A

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

T = Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele / Vitt. Em. 492

U = Uppsala / Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek / C 687

V = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vaticanus Latinus 5667

X = Wolfenbüttel / Herzog August Bibliothek / Cod. Guelf. 299.1 Helmst. (Heinemann-Nr. 332)

Abbreviations

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

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

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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

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Advenisti tandem

Pii II¹ oratio ad venerandum caput divi Andreae apostoli²

[1] {245r} *Advenisti tandem*, o sacratissimum et³ odoratissimum⁴ sancti apostoli caput. Turcorum te tua⁵ sede⁶ furor expulit⁷. Ad fratrem tuum⁸, apostolorum principem, confugisti exulans. Non deerit germanus tuus tibi: restitueris in solio tuo⁹ cum gloria¹⁰ volente¹¹ domino¹², licebitque¹³ aliquando dicere: "O felix exilium, quod tale repperit auxilium." Interea temporis cum tuo germano aliquandiu¹⁴ moraberis, et honore pari cum eo potieris¹⁵. Haec est alma Roma¹⁶, quam prope cernis, pretioso tui germani sanguine dedicata. Hanc¹⁷ plebem, quae¹⁸ circumstat¹⁹, beatus Petrus apostolus²⁰, frater tuus pientissimus²¹, et cum eo *vas electionis* sanctus Paulus²² Christo domino regeneravit. Nepotes tui ex fratre Romani²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ omnes te veluti patrum

¹ Pont. Max. *add.* G

² *Title from D*; Verba Pii papae II que habuit in pratis ad Pontem Milinum in occurso capitis beati Andree apostoli in sugestu ad id preparato die 12 Aprilis anno 62 astante senatu cardinalium et magna populi corona N; Oratio Pii papae II facta in prato extra urbem in sugistro [*sic!*] ad hoc preparato ad suscipiendum caput sancti Andree apostoli 12 Aprilis anno 62 astante senatu cardinalium prelatorumque magna corona X; Verba pape Pii secundi in occurso capitis beati Andræ apostoli die XII. Aprilis MCCCCLXII: astante senatu cardinalium et magna populi catherva U; *no title* E, O, P, Q, V; Oratio ... *in marg.* R

³ atque U; *omit.* G, X

⁴ odoratissimum M, O, U; odorantissimum Q; et odoratissimum *omit.* X

⁵ te tua : tua te D, G, M, N, O, Q, R, V, U, X; tuta *corr.* ex tute E

⁶ saede U

⁷ furor expulit : expulit furor Q

⁸ et *add.* N

⁹ solio tuo : tuo solio E, M, N, O, Q, R, V, D, G, U, X

¹⁰ gracia U, X

¹¹ gloria volente : voluntate M, N

¹² domini M

¹³ licebit U, X

¹⁴ cum tuo germano aliquandiu : aliquandiu cum tuo germano X

¹⁵ patieris G

¹⁶ alma Roma : Roma alma U

¹⁷ hac G

¹⁸ *omit.* U

¹⁹ circumstat O, U

²⁰ Petrus apostolus *omit.* M

²¹ *omit.* N; piissimus U

²² quam in *add.* U

²³ germani N

²⁴ ex fratre Romani : Romani ex fratre P

²⁵ sunt *add.* E, M, N, O, R, V, U, X

patremque suum¹ venerantur², colunt³, observant, et⁴ tuo se⁵ uti patrocínio *in conspectu* magni *Dei* non dubitant.

Oration of Pius II to the venerable head of the Holy Apostle Andrew

[1] Oh sacred and fragrant head of the holy apostle, *finally you have arrived*.⁶ Mad Turks have driven you from your own see. As an exile you have fled to your brother, Prince of the Apostles. And your brother will not fail you: when the Lord wills it, you shall be restored to your see in glory, and some day you will be able to say: “O happy exile which found such help.” In the meantime, you shall be staying for some time with your brother, enjoying the same honour as him. Close by you see kind Rome, consecrated with the precious blood of your brother. The people surrounding you was given rebirth in Christ Our lord by Saint Peter, the Apostle, your pious brother, and with him Saint Paul, *the vessel of election*.⁷ Your Romans nephews through your brother venerate, worship, and respect you as their uncle and father, and they do not hesitate to ask for your protection in the sight of great God.

¹ *omit.* X

² *omnes add.* X

³ *et add.* U

⁴ *omit.* U; *esse* X

⁵ *denique add.* U

⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.687

⁷ Acts, 9, 15

[2] O¹ beatissime apostole Andrea, praedicator veritatis, et assertor trinitatis² eximiae, quanto nos hodie gaudio³ reple, dum verticem hunc tuum⁴ sacrum et⁵ venerandum coram⁶ aspiciamus, qui dignus fuit, in quo visibiliter sub specie ignis in die⁷ Pentecostes sanctus resideret⁸ Paraclitus. O vos, qui Jerosolymam petitis ob reverentiam salvatoris⁹ visuri locum, ubi steterunt pedes ejus: ecce sedem¹⁰ spiritus sancti, ecce divinitatis¹¹ solium; hic, hic¹² consedit spiritus domini; hic tertia in trinitate persona visa est; hic oculi fuerunt¹³, qui saepe dominum in carne¹⁴ viderunt. Hoc os saepe Christum est^{15 16} allocutum; has genas non est dubium, quin¹⁷ saepe Jesus fuerit osculatus. En magnum sacrarium¹⁸! En caritas! En pietas. En *animae dulcedo!* En *consolatio spiritus!* Et quis est, cujus viscera non commoveantur, cujus non ardeant intima cordis, cui non excidant prae laetitia lacrimae^{19 20} in conspectu tam²¹ pretiosarum apostoli²² reliquiarum? Gaudemus²³, exultamus²⁴, jubilamus²⁵ adventu²⁶ tuo, divinissime apostole Andrea²⁷. Neque enim²⁸ dubitamus, quin tui^{29 30} capitis comes adsis, et³¹ cum eo ingrediaris³² urbem³³.

¹ *omit.* M

² et assertor trinitatis *omit.* O

³ hodie gaudio : gaudio hodie N

⁴ hunc tuum : tuum hunc X

⁵ esse X

⁶ *omit.* U, X

⁷ dio M

⁸ residet N

⁹ reverentiam salvatoris : salvatoris reverentiam E, M, N, O, Q, R, V, U, X

¹⁰ saedem U

¹¹ divinitatis *corr. ex.* divinitas E; divinitas V, T

¹² *omit.* E, U

¹³ feruntur E, O, T, V

¹⁴ dominum in carne : in carne dominum G

¹⁵ *omit.* M, N

¹⁶ Christum est : est Christum X

¹⁷ qui G

¹⁸ sacramentum U

¹⁹ prae laetitia lacrimae : lacrimae prae laetitia U

²⁰ et *add.* P

²¹ venerabilium N; venerabilium et *add.* E, O, Q, R, U, V; venerabilium esse X

²² Christi *add.* E, M, N, O, Q, R, V; Jesu Christi *add.* U, X

²³ gaudeamus M, N, U

²⁴ exultemus E, M, N, U, X

²⁵ jubilemus E, M, N, U; jubilamus *corr. ex.* jubilemus G

²⁶ adventui U

²⁷ Andreas O

²⁸ *omit.* E

²⁹ tu E

³⁰ carnalis *add.* E, N, O, Q, R, V, U, X; cardinalis *add.* M

³¹ esse X

³² ingrederis M; grediaris X

³³ ingrediaris urbem : urbem ingrediaris N

[2] Oh blessed apostle Andrew, preacher of truth, champion of the exalted Trinity, today you fill us with great joy as we see before us your holy and venerable head. On the day of Pentecost, you merited having the Holy Spirit visibly rest on your head in the form of fire.¹ Oh, you who go to Jerusalem to revere the Saviour and see the place trodden by his feet: here is the seat of the Holy Spirit.² Here is God's throne. Here, here the Spirit of the Lord rested. Here the third person of the Trinity was seen. These eyes often saw the Lord in the flesh. This mouth often spoke with Christ. These cheeks were undoubtedly often kissed by Jesus. Oh, what holy shrine! What love! What piety! *What sweetness to the soul!*³ *What consolation of the spirit!*⁴ Whose soul⁵ is not moved, whose heart⁶ is not on fire, who does not weep for joy at the sight of these precious relics of the apostle. We are glad, we rejoice, we exult at your coming, oh, holy Apostle Andrew. We do not doubt that you are present as a companion to your head and that you will enter the City together with it.

¹ Acts, 2, 3-4: *And there appeared to them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them: And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost*

² Is the pope here promoting Rome as a goal for pilgrims?

³ Proverbs, 16, 24

⁴ Acts, 9, 31

⁵ "viscera"

⁶ "intima cordis"

[3] Odimus Turcos, Christianae religionis¹ hostes; in hoc non odimus, quod tui adventus causa fuerunt². Nam³ quid nobis optatius contingere potuit⁴, {245v} quam tuum hoc honoratissimum⁵ intueri⁶ caput,⁷ ejus fragrantissimo⁸ perfundi⁹ odore¹⁰? Id¹¹ molestum¹² est, quod adventanti¹³ tibi non¹⁴ eos honores impendimus, quos mereris¹⁵, nec te possumus pro tua excellenti sanctimonia digne suscipere. Sed accipe voluntatem nostram, et¹⁶ mentem metire, non factum; atque aequo animo pati¹⁷, quod pollutis manibus¹⁸ tua contrectamus¹⁹ ossa; et²⁰ te peccatores intra moenia²¹ comitamur urbis. *Ingrederere*²² *sanctam*²³ *civitatem et*²⁴ *esto propitius* Romano *populo*²⁵. Sit omnibus Christianis²⁶ salutaris tuus adventus. Sit pacificus ingressus tuus²⁷. Sit *felix fausta*que tua nobiscum mora. Esto noster advocatus²⁸ in caelo, et²⁹ una cum beatis apostolis Petro et Paulo conserva hanc urbem et universo populo Christiano pie³⁰ consule, ut³¹ vestris patrociniis fiat *miseriordia* Dei *super nos*. Et si qua³² est³³ ejus³⁴ indignatio propter peccata

¹ religiosus G

² causa fuerunt : fuerunt causa T

³ namque X

⁴ poterit U

⁵ honoratissimum Q

⁶ omit. P

⁷ et add. E, M, N, O, Q, R, U, D, G, V; esse add. X

⁸ sacratissimo E; flagrantissimo M, U, X

⁹ profundi O

¹⁰ ore M

¹¹ quod X

¹² moestum N

¹³ advectanti N

¹⁴ nos M, X

¹⁵ mereris N

¹⁶ ac O; esse X

¹⁷ em.; patire corr. ex patere A; patere D, E, G, M, N, O, P, Q, S, U, X; patere corr. ex petere V; parcere T

¹⁸ omit. M

¹⁹ contrectemus U

²⁰ esse X

²¹ incenia Q

²² in add. M, N

²³ omit. U

²⁴ esse X

²⁵ et esto ... populo omit. U

²⁶ omit. N

²⁷ ingressus tuus : tuus ingressus U

²⁸ noster advocatus : advocatus noster N

²⁹ esse X

³⁰ omit. X

³¹ et M, N

³² in eos add. M

³³ inest N

³⁴ omit. M, N

nostra, quae multa sunt¹, transeat ad impios Turcos et ad nationes barbaras, quae Christum dominum contemnunt^{2 3}.

[3] We hate the Turks as enemies of the Christian religion, but in this we do not hate them that they were the cause of your coming here. For what more could we hope for than to see your honoured head and smell its exquisite fragrance? We regret that when you arrived we were not able to show you the honours you deserve and that even now we cannot give you a reception worthy of your eminent holiness. But accept our good will and consider our intentions, not our acts. Graciously allow us to touch your bones with unclean hands and to accompany you, though sinners, inside the walls of the City. *Enter the Holy City*⁴ and *be merciful to the Roman people*.⁵ May your coming here benefit all Christians. May your entry bring peace. May your stay with us be *happy and auspicious*.⁶ Be our champion in Heaven; preserve this City, together with the holy apostles Peter and Paul. And do piously assist the whole Christian people that through your protection *God's mercy may be upon us*.⁷ And if He is angered by our many sins, may that anger be transferred to the impious Turks and the barbarous nations that scorn Christ Our Lord.

¹ multa sunt : sunt multa E, O, V

² inhonorant E, M, N, O, Q, R, V, U, X

³ Amen *add.* E, O, Q, R, V, U, X; acta fuere suprascripta die XII. Aprilis 1462 astante senatu cardinalium et magna populi corona *add.* N

⁴ Liturgical text from Palm Sunday

⁵ Deuteronomy, 21, 8

⁶ "felix faustaque"

⁷ Psalms, 32, 22

2. Si loqui possent

[4] {253r} Si¹ loqui possent beatorum apostolorum² sacratissima corpora, quae sub³ altari jacent, adventu⁴ profecto tui venerandissimi capitis, dive Andrea, magnopere congratularentur, et verbis amplissimis suam laetitiam explicarent, et quae per te petita sunt auxilia ultro promitterent. Sed requiescunt illa sine voce usque in diem resurrectionis. Sentiunt tamen hodie, sicut arbitramur ob praesentiam tam cari et tam cognati capitis miram suavitatem et internam⁵ quandam dulcedinem: maxime beati Petri germani tui ossa⁶, quibus fraterna caritas plus aliquid {253v} affert⁷. Spiritus autem eorum in caelo sunt⁸, in regno Christi, nec dubium est, quin de te cogitent et opem divinam implorent, qua tuus hic vertex in suum solium restituatur. Agit Petrus, agit Paulus tuam causam, et digni sunt ambo, qui exaudiantur a domino. Ne dubita: exaudiet Jesus Christus vocem fratris tui, cujus est non fratrem tantum, sed fratres omnes confirmare, dicente domino ad eum: *Et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos*, quod non inepte ad confirmationem sedium trahi potest. Restitueris, volente altissimo, fratris auxilio et⁹ beati Pauli precibus¹⁰ et confirmaberis in eo, ut speramus, usque in¹¹ finem saeculi.

¹ Pii oratio *add. in marg.* R

² inclita *add.* O

³ hoc *add.* E, P, Q, R, T, V

⁴ adventui *corr. ex adventu* R; adventui E, O, P, Q, T, V

⁵ in eternam E, O, V

⁶ tui ossa : ossa tui P

⁷ afferret E, O, T, V

⁸ in regno Dei *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

⁹ ac O

¹⁰ in tuo solio *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

¹¹ ad E, O, Q, R, V

[4] Holy Andrew, if the holy bodies of the blessed apostles lying under this altar could speak, they would congratulate us effusively on the arrival of your most venerable head and express their joy in magnificent words, and they would promise you the help you seek. But they are resting without voice until the day of Resurrection. We believe, however, that they somehow feel sweet pleasure and joy at the presence of your dear and familiar head, and especially so the bones of Saint Peter, your brother, moved by a brother's love. But their souls are in Heaven, in the Kingdom of Christ, and they are undoubtedly thinking about you and begging God for help to restore your head to its own throne. Both the Apostle Peter and the Apostle Paul are pleading your cause, and both are worthy to be heard by the Lord. Do not doubt it: Jesus Christ will heed the voice of your brother,¹ whose duty it is to support not only his own brother but all his brothers, since it was to him that the Lord said: *And thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren,*² which may quite fittingly also be applied to the support of their sees.³ With the help of your brother and the prayers of Saint Paul, you shall, God willing, be restored to your throne and you will, we trust, be confirmed in it until the end of time.

¹ The Apostle Peter

² Luke, 22, 32

³ I.e. their episcopal Sees

[5] Quantum vero ad nos attinet, quia nostri quoque facta est mentio, qui locum germani tui tenemus indigni, ne multis moremur, tibi, Andrea, dignissime Christi¹ apostole², quem ab ineunte aetate usque in hoc aevi³ praecipuo⁴ cultu venerati sumus et intra caeli cultores cum plerisque aliis nobis advocatum et protectorem elegimus, omnes suppetias, quae sunt in nostra potestate, ad recuperandas tuas oves tuamque domum hic in terra volenti et cupido animo pollicemur. Nihil est enim, quod nobis magis⁵ cordi sit quam Christianae religionis et orthodoxae fidei defensio, quam tui nostrique hostes Turci conculcare nituntur. Quod si Christiani principes⁶ nostram vocem audire voluerint et suum pastorem sequi, videbit et laetabitur omnis ecclesia nec nos, quae sunt officii nostri, neglexisse, nec te frustra huc impetratum fratris⁷ auxilia venisse.

¹ dignissime Christi : Christi dignissime Q

² Christi apostole : apostole Christi O, T, V

³ cui E, O, Q, T, V

⁴ praecipue O

⁵ nobis magis : magis nobis O

⁶ ac populi *add.* E, O, Q, R, V

⁷ tui *add.* T

[5] About Ourselves - since We have been mentioned, too,¹ who though unworthy hold your brother's² office,³ We shall not say much. Since Our early youth We have always had special veneration for you, Andrew, most worthy apostle of Christ. Among the inhabitants of Heaven it is you whom We - and many others - have chosen as Our advocate and protector. We willingly and ardently promise all the resources at Our disposal to win back your sheep and your home here on Earth. For nothing means more to Us than the defence of the Christian religion and the true Faith which the Turks – your own and our enemies - are striving to destroy. If the Christian princes and peoples should hear Our voice and follow their shepherd, the whole Church would see and rejoice that We have not neglected Our duty and that you have not come in vain to seek help from your brother.⁴

¹ By Cardinal Bessarion in his oration which preceded the pope's

² "tenemus locum"

³ Saint Peter whose successor Pius is

⁴ From Saint Peter, viz. his successor, Pius II