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Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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**Collected orations of Pope Pius II. Edited and translated
by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

Vol. 3: Orations 6-13 (1445-1449)

Final version

2024

Abstract

Volume 3 of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* contains eight orations from 1445 to 1449. One is a sermon to his parishioners in Aspach (probably never held), two are academic lectures given at the University of Vienna in 1445, and five are ambassadorial orations on behalf of Emperor Friedrich III, of which four were addressed to Pope Eugenius IV and one to the people of Milan.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; 1445-1449; Church history; Holy Roman Empire; 15th century

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Abbreviations

Works

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

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

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

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

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

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

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

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

HA = Aeneas 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).

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).

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

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

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

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = Scriptores rerum danicarum.

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

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

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

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

Others

****** Lead manuscript.

BC = Christian Era

BCE = Before Christian Era

DV = digital version.

Oration “*Non est apud me dubium*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Aspach, 1445). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 6

Abstract

In 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini was appointed parish priest of the Marienkirche in the parish of Aspach, in the diocese of Passau. The oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" is written as if it were his first sermon to his parishioners. It may, however, never actually have been held, quite possibly because of a lack of time. The main theme is twofold: how to ensure a happy life on Earth and how to gain eternal life in Heaven. The choice of subject is indicative of the new, positive humanist focus on earthly life, in contrast to mediaeval concepts of earthly life as a valley of tears and of flight from the world (*fuga mundi*) to the sphere of the divine. In his prescriptions for a happy life on Earth, Piccolomini relies heavily on classical Stoic concepts of eliminating those emotions that disturb the soul. The way to Heaven, as described by Piccolomini, goes through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great social order of the world, as well as towards oneself. His notions of obligation and his many concrete pieces of advice to his parishioners derive to a large extent from classical authors, especially Cicero, but he also draws heavily on both the Old and New testament and the Church Fathers.

Keywords

Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Morals; Parish of Aspach; Parish of Hasbach; Religious hierarchy; Secular hierarchy; History of sexuality; Christian life; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; 1445; 15th century

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

By 1445, the life of Enea Silvio Piccolomini had taken a radical turn. From important official at the Council of Basel and later secretary to antipope Felix V, he had become a secretary in the imperial chancery of Emperor Friedrich III and a favourite of the chancellor, Kaspar Schlick. From fervent conciliarist, he had turned towards the papalist party. And from being a rather secular person, he was turning towards religion, taking religious orders, and giving up those amorous pursuits that he had celebrated in erotic poems, the comedy *Chrysis*, and the famous *De duobus amantibus* from the year before, 1444.

He probably had various reasons for taking religious orders and becoming a priest.

One was his personal spiritual development. It may not properly be called a religious conversion, for Piccolomini had always been a believer, though at some point in his life he may have had anti-clerical leanings, like so many other Italians at the time. And his piety was not of the emotional or mystical kind. But he did turn away from the, by then, schismatic Council of Basel and embraced the Roman Church.²

And he had reached a point in his life where the pleasures of youth and sex had lost their importance. Indeed, he quite honestly and openly recognised the fact that he was, by that time, losing his libido.

Secondly, there were limits to the importance of the ecclesiastical benefices he was entitled to enjoy without being a proper ecclesiastic.³ It was quite normal for secular officials in administrations like the emperor's chancery to be salaried by way of incomes from minor benefices, with incumbents appointing ecclesiastical vicars to administer the pastoral duties. Piccolomini himself had various such benefices while still a layman.

Thirdly, choosing an ecclesiastical career over a secular one was a highly sensible career move for a man who was poor and who did not have the family connections and the social standing

¹ Voigt, II, 2, pp. 293-294; Boulting, pp. 144-150; Mitchell, pp. 94-98

² See Piccolomini's letter to Jordan Mallant, Rector of the University of Cologne (his first "retraction"), of 13 August 1447, in: Wolkan, II, 54-6: *Just as Saul went to Damascus as an enemy of the Christians, so I departed from Frankfurt hostile to Eugenius*. Translation quoted after Reject, p. 277. See also his papal bull, *In minoribus agentes*, of 1463 (second retraction): *the scales which, like spider webs, had kept us from distinguishing the truth, fell from our eyes. We acknowledged our error, came to Rome, rejected the teaching of Basel, bowed our head to Eugenius, the supreme pontiff...* Translation quoted after Reject, p. 402

³ Zimolo, p. 16, n. 1: *Da una lettera a Giovanni Campisio del 21 Maggio 1445 ... si ricava che il Piccolomini fruiva allora, benchè laico, di un altro beneficio ecclesiastico (dopo quello di San Lorenzo in Milano), e sentiva la necessità di prendere gli ordini sacri*

necessary for pursuing a brilliant career. By then, Piccolomini knew that he was quite suited for such a career - and evidently, he wanted one.

Some believe that these motives are mutually exclusive and that Piccolomini's decision to become a priest was merely an opportunistic career move. This view does not do justice to Piccolomini's complex character.

R.J. Mitchell put it neatly:

It does seem that setting this matter down in writing cleared his mind and made Aeneas ready to think out his convictions with fundamental honesty. The change in his attitude to religion, the putting of first things first, had probably begun much earlier ... Henceforward not a breath of scandal is connected with his name; Aeneas had enjoyed his amours, admitted his error, and now he resolutely closed this chapter of his life. He even ceased to describe himself as a 'poet'. Gluttony and drunkenness had always been abhorrent to him, sloth was foreign to his nature.¹

As for the appointment to the parish of Aspach towards the end of 1444 / beginning of 1445, Piccolomini says in his *Commentarii*:

Aeneas soon gave up this church [the benefice of the parish of Sarntal], having secured a better one, that of St. Mary of Aspach in Bavaria, not far from the River Inn. Leonard, bishop of Passau, a man of noble birth and character, offered him this of his own accord and sent the presentation to him at Styria, free of all duties.²

On 21 May 1445, Piccolomini informed a friend in Rome, Giovanni Campisio, that the bishop of Passau, Leonhard Laiming, had granted him the benefice of parish priest to the church of Aspach in the diocese of Passau (now the diocese of Linz). This meant that he had to become ordained as a priest within a year:

I have a parish church and must become a priest. I acquired it about half a year ago, and I fear that I cannot obtain the promotion [to the priesthood] within the required year because the king³ will not give me leave [to be ordained]. I therefore want an extension for another year, and with it, the license to become ordained by any bishop ... My church is called Saint Mary in Aspach and it has been conferred on me by the authority of the local bishop.⁴

¹ Mitchell, pp. 96-97

² CO, I, 12 (Meserve, I, pp. 52-53)

³ Friedrich III

⁴ Epistolarium, 170, p. 432: *Ecclesiam habeo parochialem fierique me presbyterum oportet, iam vero medius annus est ad apte possessionis. Timeo, ne infra annum possim promoveri, quia rex non indulget mihi. Cupio ergo prorogationem ad alium annum et cum hoc facultatem, ut a quocumque episcopo possim ordinari.* See also Zimolo, p. 16, n. 5

Piccolomini was ordained deacon in March 1446,¹ in Vienna, and his priestly ordination took place a year later, on 4 March 1447, in Rome.² In the meantime, he was so occupied with the great affairs of the empire that the delay was quite excusable by any standard. Those great affairs were connected with the German nation giving up its neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius IV and the rump Council of Basel with its antipope, Felix V, and finally recognising Eugenius as the true pope. This political development is mirrored in the personal development of Piccolomini, who, as an eminently able diplomatic agent, played a decisive role in some of the major events leading the Germans back to Rome. That he made the same choices for himself is not surprising; anything else would have been quite intolerable. Indeed, he had recognised papal supremacy already in March 1444 when he wrote the oration *“Si putarem”* [5]. This oration concerned the matter of the diocese of Freising³ and was given by Kaspar Schlick, the emperor’s chancellor, in a court hearing held in Wiener Neustadt, the emperor’s residence. In this oration, Piccolomini/Schlick directly exhort the emperor to give up neutrality and to recognise the pope’s primacy. Their motives may have been mixed, but the direction was clear.

The oration *“Non est apud me dubium”* is by far the longest of Piccolomini’s orations. It is written as Piccolomini’s first sermon to his new congregation in Aspach. The text (“as your priest”, etc.) shows that he clearly intended to give it as an ordained priest, but since he was appointed bishop of Trieste in April 1447, very shortly after his priestly ordination in Rome in February 1447, he would not then have had the time to write it and go to Aspach to deliver it. So he must have written the sermon before his ordination, possibly many months before.

Georg Voigt’s position on this issue was the following:

*Wir haben eine Antrittspredigt übrig, die Enea vor seiner Gemeinde in Aspach entweder hielt oder verdeutschlicht halten liess oder, was wir auch für sehr möglich halten, als ein blosses literarisches Schaustück an den Bischof sandte.*⁴

So, whether or not he actually gave the sermon in Aspach, as an appointed but not ordained parish priest, is uncertain. For the sake of his rustic parishioners, one might hope not, since they would not have been in a position to appreciate his oratorical skills and classical learning, and the process of interpreting the sermon from Latin to German would have been quite tedious. However, the image of the four coins to be given to Saint Peter, inspired by the classical myth of Styx and Charon, might have appealed to his rustic parishioners.

¹ Mitchell p. 96

² Zimolo, p. 16, n. 5. Cf. his papal “retraction bull” *In minoribus agentes*. In: Rejact, p. 398

³ Two nominees were fighting for the appointment as Bishop of Freising: Heinrich Schlick, the brother of the imperial chancellor, appointed by the pope, and Johann Grünwalder, an illegitimate son of a Bavarian duke, appointed by the Council in Basel

⁴ Voigt, II, 2, pp. 293-294

At any rate, Piccolomini used the occasion to formulate a coherent, religious view of life, really a treatise on Christian life and morals, which in some sense represents his taking stock of the fundamentals before entering his new life. There is no documentary basis for Voigt's snide remarks.

His text is a synthesis of classical, pagan authors on the one hand and the Bible and Christian fathers on the other. As he says himself, *I have found wholesome herbs that Holy Doctors and philosophers of old have shown to me and which I can use to remedy your afflictions, if you so desire* (sect. 10). The classical authors are not used primarily as an embellishment (*ornatus*) of the text but as a source of moral teaching that may certainly not be on par with the Christian authorities, but which is nonetheless a valid source.¹

2. Themes

2.1. Main theme

The main theme is twofold: how to ensure a happy life on Earth and how to gain eternal life in Heaven.

This choice of subject is indicative of the new humanist positive focus on earthly life, in contrast to mediaeval concepts of this life as a valley of tears and of contempt of the world (*contemptus mundi*) and flight from the world (*fuga mundi*) to the divine sphere. It must also be noted that Piccolomini does not try to describe the wonders and pleasures of celestial life to his parishioners: it is all a matter of how people can get there and how they can persuade Saint Peter to admit them into Paradise.

In his prescriptions for a happy life on Earth, the norm of moral living, the *regula bene vivendi*, Piccolomini leans heavily on classical, Stoic concepts of eliminating violent emotions that disturb the soul, like anger, pride, avarice, and concupiscence. Freed of such emotions and cares, a person may focus on those things that make it possible to live a contented and peaceful life: paradise on Earth.

The way to Heaven, as described by Piccolomini, goes through fulfilling one's obligations towards one's superiors, equals, and inferiors in the great social order of the world, and also towards one

¹ See Piccolomini on the use of classical authors in oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2]

self. His notions of obligation and much of his concrete advice to his parishioners derive from Cicero's *De Officiis*. Piccolomini's choice of hierarchy as the structuring principle of his exposé is not surprising: all during his life and career he was occupied by order and structure, a personal trait that may have been reinforced by his experience of social disorder in Siena, which had led to the loss of status and economic difficulties for his own family. Moreover, the conflicts, tumults, and divisions at the Council of Basel, eventually leading to a new schism in the Church, had shocked him¹ and may be believed to have set in motion the personal development, which led him from the conciliarist party to the papal party.

2.2. Minor themes

2.2.1. Sexuality

In 1444, Piccolomini had, as mentioned, written the erotic comedy *Chrysis* and the erotic book *De duobus amantibus*. And in his letter of 20 September 1443 to his father, concerning the birth of his second son out of wedlock, he wrote:

*Since you were yourself of the flesh, you sired a son who is made neither of stone nor iron. You know what a cock you were yourself once, and I am neither a castrate nor frigid nor a hypocrite... This plague [of sexuality] is widespread, if indeed it is a plague to use the gifts of nature. I really do not understand why sexual intercourse should be so greatly condemned when nature, which does nothing wrong, has instilled this urge in all living beings so that the human race may be continued.*²

However, already by 1446, Piccolomini had not only renounced a sex-life for himself, but he had also become a fervent opponent of free sexuality, as witnessed by letters to his friends. On 8 March 1446, he wrote to his friend Johann Vrungt in Cologne:

How brief is the pleasure experienced with women! What momentary joy! Is he not fool enough who, for the sake of temporary and momentary things, squanders things eternal.

And later, in the same letter, with great honesty:

¹ Cf. letter to Piero da Noceto of 21 May 1437. Epistolarium, nr. 24; Reject, nr. 13

² Wolkan, I, I, p. 189: *Certe nec lapideum nec ferreum genuisti filium, cum esses tu carneus. Scis, qualis gallus fueris, at nec ego castratus sum neque ex frigidorum numero nec sum ypocrita ... Late patet haec pestis, si pestis est naturalibus uti, quanquam non video, cur tantopere dampnari coitus debeat, cum natura, quae nichil perperam operatur, omnibus ingenuerit animantibus hunc appetitum, ut genus continuaretur humanum*

I am full, stuffed. Venus makes me nauseous! It is also true that my powers have declined. I am sprinkled with grey hairs; the muscles are withered; the bones, rotten; and the body is shrivelled with wrinkles. Neither am I able to bring pleasure to a woman, nor is a woman able to give pleasure to me... In truth, I might declare that Venus has run away from me more than I from her.¹

In the present oration, written in the same period, Piccolomini completely adopted the official Church position on sexuality. He had to, of course, given the nature of the text, but his pastoral statements on the matter agree with his private letters to his friends.

Still, it is quite strange to hear our Piccolomini state that sex is immoderate and shameful, the foulest of all things, something that men have in common with animals (sect. 43).

Happily, Piccolomini allows his parishioners to sleep with their own wives, but only for the sake of begetting offspring and to avoid fornication and not for pleasure. Otherwise, sex is sinful.

Indeed, in this area, Piccolomini had come a very long way in a very short time.

2.2.2. Hierarchy and order

In this text, society and human life are structured on the basis of hierarchy and order. This concept reflects Piccolomini's great personal fascination or need for order, if not an inherited trait, then at least a reaction to the disorders and tumults he had experienced at very close range both in Siena, at the Council of Basel, as mentioned above, and in Germany, where the imperial authority, which he then represented, was not sufficient to quell the many disturbances and conflicts between princes and between princes and cities.

The two first levels of hierarchy are God and his saints.

The third level is the religious hierarchy on Earth. Note that this hierarchy ranks above the secular hierarchy: these two hierarchies are not equal, as the secular sphere is firmly subordinated to the religious.

¹ Wolkan, II, pp. 30-33. Rejact, pp. 236-237. Cf. also Piccolomini's letter to Hans Vront of 20. November 1445, Epistolarium, nr. 193

Concerning the religious hierarchy, it is to be noted that Piccolomini puts the ecumenical councils first, even though the Roman Church, with its bishop, the pope, is declared to be the head of all other churches. The lowest degree in that hierarchy is the parish priest, i.e., Piccolomini himself in relation to the parishioners of Aspach. Piccolomini gives some attention to the need for parishioners to support their parish priest in all ways, but especially by paying tithes!

Concerning the secular hierarchy, the fourth level of hierarchy, it is quite remarkable that Piccolomini, secretary to the emperor, completely fails to mention the emperor as the head. He does, however, state that he only instructs the parishioners in what is relevant to them, and imperial authority seemingly is not, being too far above low-life farming communities! Still, the parishioners of Aspach were subjects of the empire, and the omission of the emperor as head of the secular hierarchy is notable. Piccolomini did, after all, mention the pope as the head of the Church, and he would be even more remote from the parishioners than the emperor.

2.2.3. Miracles and religious doubts

During his lifetime and even as pope, Piccolomini was rather sceptical of miracles.¹ In this oration, he takes the proper official position (happily supported by a pagan Roman authority, Valerius Maximus):

So, we should not be sceptical when they tell us about the miracles of the saints, for God is wonderful in his saints, as the Prophet says. Therefore, we should do away with all scornful laughter and scurrilous talk when you speak about the saints. [Sect. 91]

Piccolomini's admonition of his parishioners may be indicative of a widespread - and healthy - popular disenchantment with the miracle business of the mediaeval Church.

Related to scepticism concerning miracles is the issue of religious doubts that Piccolomini introduces in section 78, having dealt with the major tenets of faith, like the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist and the Virgin Birth. Piccolomini recognises that such doubts arise quite naturally - due to our "primary impulses" - meaning thought processes that we do not control. His advice is to simply ignore them, i.e., to dash them against the rock of Christ.

Basically, he reasons, the miracles related in the Bible are not greater than the great miracle of nature, which is God's creation, too. For a woman to conceive through the Holy Spirit is no more

¹ When he became pope he did, however, and permit himself to interpret certain weather conditions and battle outcomes as interventions of the good Lord himself in favour of his Vicar on Earth

miraculous than for her to conceive with a man's sperm; it is all God's doing. The biblical miracles may be exceptions to the laws of nature, but they as well as nature itself are created by God: they are both, and equally, a manifestation of God's omnipotence.

Scepticism and doubts concerning miracles and dogmas do not appear to be extraordinary to a Renaissance person like Piccolomini. But there is a limit: in other works, he is a staunch opponent of atheism that he appears not to understand at all.

3. Date, place, format, and audience

Johannes Helmrath gives the date of the sermon as 21 May 1445,¹ but without indicating the reasons for this dating.

It is possible or likely that the sermon was in fact never held, see above.

The sermon was written – and possibly held – in the period between his being granted the benefice of Aspach towards the end of 1444 or the beginning of 1445 and his appointment as Bishop of Trieste in April 1447. As it is the result of extensive work and reflection, the year 1445 or 1446 seems to be the most probable.

The present text is clearly a sermon to be delivered to an audience of parishioners belonging to the farming community of Aspach. However, the text is rather a proper treatise on Christian life and morality written in the form of a sermon.

4. Text²

The text of the "*Non est apud me dubium*" is extant in two versions, an Early Version and a Final Version. The changes in the text from the Early to the Final Version are mostly changes of vocabulary and syntax, not of content (meaning).

¹ Helmrath, p. 141

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

4.1. Early Version¹

The Early Version is extant in the manuscript:

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 215, 329v-342r²
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 189r–212 r **(N)***

4.2. Final Version

The Final version of the text was included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled in 1462 under the pope's direct supervision.³ This collection is contained in the first seven manuscripts listed below.

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 24r-51r **(G)***
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 19v-55v **(F)***
- * **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 17r-45r **(E)***
- * **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 21r-47r **(D)***
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 13r-34r **(A)***
Chis. J.VIII.286, ff. 24r-65r **(C)***
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 17v-47r **(B)***

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

² I have not seen this manuscript, so it is possible that it does not contain an Early Version but rather a Final Version of the oration, like the manuscript from Trieste / MCS

³ See COR, 1: ch. 5.2

- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis**
II, 13, ff. 1r-43r (T)*

The manuscript from Trieste is a humanist collective manuscript, which contains the “*Non est apud me*” as an individual text (and not as part of the papal collection). It clearly derives from B and is written in the same hand as E (which also derives from B), sharing a number of its specific variants and reproducing certain features of writing and a number of margin notes.¹ Thus, it is a rare example of transmission of individual orations deriving from of the Collected orations.

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version was published by Mansi, based on the manuscript in Lucca (G), i.e. the latest of the seven manuscripts containing the collection:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755 // I, pp. 54-106

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, COR, 1: ch. 11-12.

Text:

The text of the Early Version is based on the Nürnberg manuscript.

The text of the Final Version is based on all 8 listed manuscripts, with A as the lead manuscript. The text edited by Mansi (MA) has also been collated with a view to giving the reader the possibility to assess the quality of this text as based on the Lucca ms.

¹ Certain omissions from E and from T show that they cannot have been copied one from the other. However, they do share some (max. 10) variants which are not in B

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Chis. J.VIII.284.

Textual apparatus:

Differences between the Early Version (N) and the Final Version of the oration are marked in bold.

5. Sources¹

In the “*Non est apud me dubium*”, altogether **297** direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	160
Classical	77
Patristic and medieval	56
Contemporary	4
All	297

The biblical quotations form by far the largest group, more than the other three groups taken together. However, the use of classical authors is quite extensive, as would be expected in a text endeavouring to create a synthesis between Biblical/Christian and classical secular authors.

Biblical sources

Old Testament

- Genesis: 1
- Exodus: 6
- Numbers: 3
- Deuteronomy: 9
- Ecclesiasticus: 13
- Ecclesiastes: 1

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini’s use of sources, see COR, 1: ch. 8

- Isaiah: 5
- Jeremiah: 1
- 1. Machabees: 1
- Proverbs: 8
- Psalms: 6
- Tobit: 2
- **All: 56**

New Testament

- Matthew: 22
- Mark: 1
- Luke: 5
- John: 4
- Apocalypse 2
- Colossians: 2
- 1. Corinthians: 13
- 2. Corinthians: 4
- Ephesians: 10
- Galatians: 2
- Hebrews: 4
- James: 7
- 1. John: 3
- 1. Peter: 3
- Philippians: 3
- Romans: 7
- 1. Thessalonians: 2
- 2. Thessalonians: 1
- 1. Timothy: 4
- 2. Timothy: 2
- Titus: 3
- **All: 104**

All OT/NT: 160

Classical sources

- Cicero: 39¹
- Gellius: 1
- Horatius: 1
- Juvenalis: 3
- Macrobius: 7
- Ovidius: 6²
- Plutarch: 3
- Publilius Syrus: 3
- Sallustius: 1³
- Seneca: 8⁴
- Valerius Maximus: 4
- Vergilius: 1
- **All: 77**

Patristic and medieval sources

- Ambrosius: 1
- Augustinus: 1
- Bernhard of Clairvaux: 1⁵
- Burley: 20
- Decretum Gratiani: 10
- Gregorius I: 1
- Guiges: 1⁶
- Jacobus de Voragine: 3⁷
- Jeronimus: 2⁸
- Lactantius: 6⁹

¹ De amicitia 2; De Officiis 19; De re publica 1; De senectute 3; Epistolae ad Quintum 1; Pro Ligario 1; Tusculanae disputationes 8

² Metamorphoses

³ De conjuratione Catilinae

⁴ Epistolae morales 6; De beneficiis 1; De ira 1

⁵ De laude novae militiae

⁶ Scala Paradisi

⁷ Legenda aurea

⁸ Epistolae

⁹ Divinae institutiones

- Pseudo-Clementine writings: 1¹
- Pseudo-Isidorus: 8
- Pseudo-Jeronimus: 1
- **All: 56**

Contemporary sources:

- Albertanus Brixiensis: 1
- Poggio Bracciolini: 3²
- **All: 4**

By 1445, Piccolomini's knowledge of the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, had grown quite extensive, and he was able to use it to support his argumentation in a relevant and effective manner. Indeed, he used the Bible so extensively that it is fair to assume that he did so by design and – also - in order to impress the reader with his knowledge of Holy Scripture, at the point of taking sacred orders and entering the ecclesiastical career.

He had by this time acquired his own copy of the Bible.³

Piccolomini evidently had some knowledge of the *Decretum Gratiani*, which he quotes in various places, mainly on subjects familiar to him from the great debates at the Council of Basel. Presumably, his knowledge of Canon Law at this time did not go deeper than a number of quotations relevant to the major ecclesiastical issues of the time. It is remarkable that his quotes from Gratian are mostly from the *Pseudo-Isidori Decretales*, a forgery of early ecclesiastical documents and letters, dating from the second quarter of the 9th century, that had found its way into the ecclesiastical decretals of the Middle Ages and through them into the *Decretum*. Piccolomini may actually have had access to a manuscript containing the *Decretales* of Pseudo-Isidore, for in the oration "*Si putarem*" [5] of 1444, he lets Kaspar Schlick, the imperial chancellor, say: *Thus writes Isidore the Spaniard concerning the councils. I have the text in my chamber and have read it earlier because of the present division in the Universal Church.*⁴ The texts from the

¹ Letter to the apostle James

² De avaritia: 2; Oratio ad patres reverendissimos

³ From a friend, Johann Tuschek in Bohemia, where copies of the Bible were the easiest to acquire, a remarkable by-product of the Hussite movement. See letter to Joh. Tuschek of 20 November 1445 (EPI, 4: 192). *Procopius, eques Bohemus, cui de Rabenstein cognomen est ... bibliam quam ex te concupivi, ad me tulit*

⁴ Oration "*Si putarem*" [5], sect. 40: *Sic Isidorus Hispalensis de gestis conciliorum scribit, quem cubiti apud me habeo, quem cum propter divisionem universalis ecclesiae, quae nunc viget, aliquando legissem*

Decretals used by Piccolomini, professing to be letters of the earliest popes, mainly support the claims of papal primacy. They began to be contested in the Renaissance by learned men like Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues, who – like Lorenzo Valla, and Piccolomini, too – also contested the validity of the so-called *Constantine Donation*.

Piccolomini's many references to classical Greek philosophers appear to be based on the work of the mediaeval philosopher, Walter Burley¹: *De Vita et Moribus Philosophorum*.

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7. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.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. J.VI.211

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf.

F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

N = Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent. V, App. 15

T = Trieste / Biblioteca Civica Attilio Hortis / II, 13

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Sermo¹ Aeneae Silvii Picolominei² Senensis qui³ postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius secundus appellatus est⁴ ad plebem suam Ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae in Haspach Pataviensis Diocesis⁵

[1] {13r} Non⁶ est⁷ apud me dubium, viri⁸ circumstantes, quin plerosque vestrum admiratio teneat, me vobis alienigenam et alterius linguae magis quam vestrae peritum, in animarum esse vestrarum pastorem rectoremque datum. Majorem namque fortasse vestri curam putavissetis habiturum, qui versatus inter vos diu et virtutes et vitia vestra novisset. Sicut enim medicus eorum, quibuscum vicitat, naturas melius noscit meliusque medetur aegrotantibus, sic sacerdotem arbitrantur nonnulli ex convictu mores plebeculae⁹ suae perspicere melius et animabus consulere salubrius.

[2] At sacerdos, qui sacrarum scripturarum notitiam vel mediocrem habet ac sanctos doctores perlegit, non solum civitatis suae, sed orbis totius quae sint vitia quaeque virtutes intelligit, nec ullibi non dare salubre consilium nesciet. Una est enim salutis via et apud Graecos et apud Latinos, quam dominus et salvator noster in evangelio docuit, Jesus Christus: *Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata*. Quod non solum nobis¹⁰, sed omnibus dictum est, qui sub caelo sunt. Est igitur sacerdotis praecepta, quae Deus dedit, praedicare tam veteris quam novi¹¹ Testamenti, et quid boni in observatione, et quid in transgressione mali¹² lateat edocere. Ac propterea et timeri simul et amari sacerdotem oportet. Sic enim facilius fiunt¹³, quae jubet.

¹ *omit.* D, G

² *oratio add.* D, G

³ quod T

⁴ qui ... est *omit.* D, G

⁵ Ex Lucensi codice nunc primum prodit *in marg.* MA

⁶ *ll. in marg.* B

⁷ esse F

⁸ **ac feminae add.** N

⁹ plebeculaeque E

¹⁰ vobis D, G, MA

¹¹ tam veteris quam novi : tam novis [*sic!*] quam veteris E

¹² in transgressione mali: mali in transgressione G, MA

¹³ fient G, MA

Sermon of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini of Siena, who as pope was called Pius II, to his people in the parish of Holy Mary in Aspach in the Diocese of Passau

1. Introduction: Appointment of Piccolomini as parish priest of Aspach

[1] You men present here today, no doubt many of you are wondering why I have been appointed your pastor and rector of souls, being a stranger and knowing another language better than yours.¹ You may have thought that somebody who had been living among you for a long time and knew your virtues and vices could take better [pastoral] care of you. For the physician knows better the constitution of those with whom he lives, and therefore he can better cure them when they are ill. In the same way, many believe that the priest who lives among his people knows them better and therefore can take better care of their souls.

[2] But the priest who has – even a limited - knowledge of Sacred Scripture and reads the holy Doctors [of the Church] understands the faults and virtues not only of his own community but of the whole world, and he is therefore able to give sound advice everywhere. For the Latins and the Greeks, there is only one road to salvation, which Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, taught in the Gospel: *If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.*² This has been said not only to us but to everybody who lives under the sun. Thus, it is the task of the priest to preach those commandments that God has given both in the Old and the New Testament, and to teach how good it is to observe them and how bad it is to transgress them. Therefore, the priest should both be feared and loved, for thus people will be more inclined to do as he tells them.

¹ By this time, Piccolomini may have picked up some German without being able to speak it fluently

² Matthew, 19, 17

[3] Convictus autem et *familiaritas contemptum parit*. Nam quis vestrum est, qui vereatur eum, qui secum nutritus est¹, qui convixit, combibit, collusit, et pueritiae suae rudimenta simul egit? Vera est evangelica vox, nec potest veritas nostra mentiri. *Non est propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua et in domo sua*. Hinc apud antiquos usurpatissimum fuit extraneos episcopos dare. Quod si, pontificales cathedras ac metropolitanicas, qui primi apud Italos ac vos Germanos rexerint, percontari {13v} voluerimus, alienigenas plerumque ac² per interpretem locutos³ fuisse comperiemus.

[4] Fit enim, nescio quomodo, ut extraneum quisque et peregrinum potius quam civem et proximum demiretur vereneturque⁴. Forsitan ideo est, quod omnes putamus bonos, quorum vitia ignoramus. Quos autem bonos credimus, eosdem etiam honoramus. Peregrinorum⁵ vitam non possumus non bonam existimare, qui mali nihil scimus. Veniunt enim ad nos jam aetate proveci, cum vel vitia reliquerunt vel tegere⁶ sciunt et virtutes ostentare. Hinc eos demiramur, amamus, observamus, veneramur⁷, hisque paremus et obsequentissimi sumus recta monentibus⁸.

[5] Hoc fortasse in mentem venit praestantissimo patri et domino meo colendissimo⁹, Leonardo, episcopo Pataviensi, excellentis et clari nominis¹⁰ principi, dum hanc mihi ecclesiam et vestri curam¹¹ commisit. Reri namque potuit vos mihi extraneo libentius parituros, quam si conterraneum vobis aliquem¹² praefecisset. Quod ut efficiatis¹³ eo magis vos hortor, moneo, requiro, quo vestris animabus id conducibilis et salubrius fore animadverto.

¹ **qui vereatur ... nutritus est omit. N**

² *omit.* C; et G, MA

³ *locutus corr. ex locutos* T

⁴ **quam add. suprascr. N; suum add. N**

⁵ **autem add. N**

⁶ **regere N**

⁷ *veneremur* G

⁸ *moventibus* E

⁹ **domino add. N**

¹⁰ **luminis N**

¹¹ *coram* T

¹² *vobis aliquem: aliquem vobis* D, G, MA

¹³ *faciatis* G, MA

[3] Living together and *familiarity breeds disrespect*.¹ For who among you can respect somebody with whom they have grown up, with whom they have been living, drinking, and playing, and with whom they have shared those basic things of childhood? True is the word of the Gospel – and our Truth cannot lie:² *A prophet is not without honour, but in his own country, and in his own house, and among his own kindred*.³ Therefore, in old days, it was quite common⁴ to appoint foreign bishops. And if we ask about those men who were first appointed as bishops and archbishops of the Italians and of the Germans, we find that quite often they were foreigners and had to speak through interpreters.

[4] I do not know why it is that foreigners and strangers are more highly honoured and respected than one's fellow citizens and neighbours. Maybe it is because we believe that people are good if we do not know their faults. And those whom we believe to be good, we also honour. So, as we do not know anything bad about the lives of strangers, we have to believe it to be good. For they come to us at an advanced age, when they have overcome their faults or know how to hide them and show their virtues. Therefore, we admire and love them, we follow them, we respect them, and we eagerly obey them when they bid us do what is right.

[5] That is what my eminent Father and Reverend Lord, Bishop Leonhard of Passau,⁵ a prince from an excellent and famous family, may have had in mind when he entrusted your church and your care to me. For he could think that you would rather obey me, a stranger, than one of your own countrymen. And this I exhort, admonish, and require you to do, as I think it will be good and salutary for your souls.

¹ Cf. Guiges: *Scala Paradisi*, 8: *vulgare proverbium est, quod nimia familiaritas parit contemptum* (MPL 40, 1001). Cf. also Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Heliodorum* (60) 10. MPL, XXII, 595: *Assiduitas familiaritatem, familiaritas contemptum illius fecit*.

² Cf. Hebrews, 6, 18; Titus, 1, 2

³ Mark 6, 4

⁴ "usurpatissimum"

⁵ Leonhard von Laiming (1381 -1451): Prince Bishop of Passau 1424 -1451

[6] Ceterum supra me quantum pondus acceperim, et quot me vinculis obligaverim, non ignoro, qui et vobis iter ad salutem ostendere et animas vestras curare sum astrictus. Quid enim aliud est¹ animas regere quam animarum esse iudicem? Non est haec res leviuscula, neque minima. *Noli quaerere fieri iudex*, inquit sapiens, *nisi valeas virtute² irrumpere iniquitatem*. Non sum virtutis hujusce. Nemo³ bene aliis praeest, qui seipsum regere nescit: quomodo aliorum tuebitur animas, qui negligit suam⁴? Qui alios rectificare vult, et ipsum rectum esse oportet. Nusquam enim curvarum virgarum rectae sunt umbrae. Incurvum esse me non erubesco fateri, sed doleo talem me fore.

[7] Praedicare vobis evangelium possum, hortari, ut virtutis opera faciatis, monere, ut vitia fugiatis, sed memini verborum Lactantii⁵: *Homines enim malunt exempla quam verba*, quia loqui facile est⁶, praestare difficile. Utinam quidem tam multi bene facerent⁷ quam multi bene loquuntur. Sed qui praecipunt, nec faciunt, abest ab eis fides. Amplius enim oculis quam auribus credunt homines. Turpissimum est cum dicitur: qui praedicas non furandum, furaris; qui dicis non moechandum, moecharis; qui⁸ abominaris idola, sacrilegium facis. Nec enim committendum est, ut orationi vita dissentiat. Atque idcirco, sicut ad Titum Paulus⁹ scribit: *Oportet episcopum*, idest presbyterum - teste Jeronimo – *sine crimine esse sicut Dei dispensatorem, non superbum, non iracundum, non vinolentum¹⁰, non percussorem, non turpis lucri cupidum, sed hospitem¹¹, benignum, {14r} sobrium, justum, sanctum, continentem, amplectentem eum, qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem¹², sermonem, ut potens sit exhortari in doctrina sana et eos, qui contradicunt, arguere.*

¹ aliud est: est aliud G, MA

² intente B, T; intendere E

³ non MA

⁴ qui ... suam *omit.* MA

⁵ Lactantii verba *in marg.* A; Lactantius *in marg.* D, G

⁶ et *add.* MA

⁷ ut *add.* MA

⁸ enim *add.* G, MA

⁹ Paulus ad Titum *in marg.* A; Paulus de episcopo *in marg.* D, G

¹⁰ violentum C

¹¹ hospitalitatem E

¹² fidem E

[6] I am quite aware of the great burden I have taken upon myself and the chains that will bind me, as I am now responsible for showing you the way to salvation and taking care of your souls. For what is it to govern souls other than to be their judge? This is not an easy or small matter. *Seek not to be made a judge, unless thou have strength enough to extirpate iniquities*, says the Wise One.¹ I do not myself possess this kind of virtue. And someone who does not know how to govern himself cannot govern others well, for how can he take care of other souls if he neglects his own? Anyone who wants to make others better must be good himself. For never do crooked rods have straight shadows. I am not ashamed of confessing that I am not straight, but I do regret that this is how I am.

[7] I can certainly preach the Gospel to you, exhort you to act virtuously, and admonish you to abstain from vice, but I also remember the words of Lactantius² that *men want examples rather than words*.³ For talking is easy, but doing is difficult. If only just as many would do well as speak well. Those who teach others what to do but do not do so themselves, are not trustworthy. People believe their eyes more than their ears. It is really disgraceful when those who preach about not stealing are themselves thieves; or when those who tell you not to fornicate are themselves fornicators; or when those who profess abhorrence of idols are themselves sacrilegious. It is not acceptable when somebody's deeds do not match his words. And therefore, as Paul writes to Titus: *A bishop, i.e., a priest, according to Jerome⁴, must be without crime, as the steward of God: not proud, not subject to anger, nor given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre: But given to hospitality, gentle, sober, just, holy, continent: Embracing that faithful word which is according to doctrine, that he may be able to exhort in sound doctrine and to convince the gainsayers.*⁵

¹ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 6

² Lactantius (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

³ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 4, 23

⁴ Jerome (ca. 347-420): Church father and saint. The quote is actually not from Jerome, but from Pseudo-Jerome, 6. MPL, XXX, col. 157

⁵ Titus 1, 7-9. NB: also quoted in Piccolomini's oration "*Si ea quae justa*" [4]

[8] Quae certo¹ dotes in me non sunt, et vereor ne cum vobis praedicavero, ipse reprobis inveniatur. Scio me peccatorem esse ac miseris circumdatum. *Si dixero*, inquit Johannes², *quia peccatum non habeo, mendax sum, et veritas in me non est*. Quid igitur faciam? Curamne relinquam? Non certe! *Manendum est*, ut³ inquit Paulus⁴, *in ea vocatione qua sumus vocati*⁵. Mihi necessum⁶ est, quod praesul meus Pataviensis injunxit munus obire. Quod si nequeo, ut par⁷ esset, bene absolvere, danda est opera, ut id quam minus possum inepte, curem. Est autem meum officium docere vos viam vitae. Quod ut efficiam, non solum vos reddere meliores, sed et me ipsum corripere studebo, ut eamus simul in vitam aeternam. Stultum enim esset et omnino insanum alios potius velle salvos quam se ipsum. Sed quoniam mihi lingua expedita non est idiomatis vestri, possumque cum Isaia⁸ dicere *a a a*⁹, *puer ego sum, nescio loqui*. Interdum legendo, interdum loquendo per interpretem verbum Dei vobis annuntiabo, et, quae ad salutem vestram fuerint, demonstrabo. Verum quia primus est hic sermo omnium, quos ad vos sum habiturus, audite me, obsecro¹⁰, hac vice patienter et benigne, attentasque aures adhibite, commendantes memoriae, quae dixero, et observare¹¹ curantes. Sic¹² enim bene ac quiete in hoc mundo vitam ducetis, et in alio vitam accipietis¹³ aeternam.

¹ certe B, E, T

² Joannes *in marg.* A, D, G

³ *omit.* MA

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* A, D, G

⁵ sumus vocati : vocati sumus F

⁶ **necessarium N**

⁷ pars D [NB: error in D, corrected in G]

⁸ Isaia *in marg.* A

⁹ a a a : alia, a, a A; **alia N**

¹⁰ me obsecro : obsecro me C

¹¹ observate F

¹² si MA

¹³ **recipietis N**

[8] I certainly do not have those qualities myself, and I fear that as I preach to you, I shall be found a reprobate myself. I know that I am a sinner and mired in misery. *If we say that we have no sin,* says John, *we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.*¹ So what shall I do? Quit my pastoral office? Most certainly not. *Walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called,* says Paul.² I am obliged to perform the office entrusted to me by the Bishop of Passau. If I am not able to do that as well as I ought to, then at least I shall strive to do it as well as I can. So, now it is my duty to teach you the way of living. In order to succeed, I shall endeavour not only to make you better but also to improve myself so that we can walk towards eternal life together. For it would be stupid and completely foolish to want to save others more than oneself. But as I cannot speak your language readily, I may say with Isaiah:³ *Ah, I cannot speak: for I am a child.*⁴ So, sometimes reading, sometimes speaking through an interpreter, I shall proclaim the Word of God to you and show you the way to your salvation. Indeed, since this is the first of all my sermons to you, I ask you this time to listen patiently, benignly, and attentively, to remember my words, and to observe them carefully.

Thus, living morally⁵ and tranquilly in this world, you shall have eternal life in the next.

¹ 1. John, 1, 8

² Ephesians, 4, 1

³ Not Isaiah, but Jeremiah

⁴ Jeremiah, 1, 6: *a a Domine Deus ecce nescio loqui quia puer ego sum*

⁵ "bene": well

[9] Audite, obsecro, filioli mei in Christo Jesu, estis quippe propter curam omnes filii mei, et sicut pater naturalis disciplinam hujus saeculi suos filios docet, sic ego vobis bene vivendi regulam ostendere debeo: quod ut rite possim¹ facere, Deum supplex oro et matrem ejus Mariam virginem, dominam nostram, in cujus honorem vestri majores hoc templum construxerunt; nec despero meis precibus subveniri. *Praesto est enim*² *dominus omnibus invocantibus eum*, nec beata virgo quemquam³ spernit, qui suum patrocinium imploravit. Audite ergo filii, discite⁴ normam bene vivendi, apprehendite disciplinam, quam dominus demonstravit, a quo est *omne datum optimum et omne donum perfectum*. Medicus ego animarum vestrarum ad vos venio; et quia potestis dicere: "*Medice, cura te ipsum*," studebo non me solum praeceptorem, sed etiam testem veritatis exhibere, et tam me quam vos docebo *timorem domini, in quo est initium sapientiae*. In exordio ergo sermonis mei, quae sint⁵ infirmitates animae quaeve⁶ molestiae, videndum est. Sic enim facilius remedia reperiemus.

[10] Singulos vestrum, si verum fateri vultis, duae molestiae conturbant.⁷ Una est quod {14v} inquietam in hoc mundo vitam degitis; altera est quia moriendum est, timetisque, ne perditis aeternae vitae gaudia⁸, apud inferos perpetuas poenas inextinguibilis⁹ ignis incidatis. Quas molestias, si mihi credere oboedireque¹⁰ volueritis, levare et adimere non erit arduum. Inveni namque salutiferas herbas, quas sancti doctores ac prisci philosophi mihi demonstrarunt¹¹, quibus possum¹², si modo velitis, molestiis¹³ vestris mederi. Docent enim nos¹⁴ viri sancti, qui ad nostram salutem scripserunt, quomodo et hic in terris felicem vitam et in caelo denique beatam possimus¹⁵ habere. O rem magnam, stupendam, incredibilem, inauditam! Quis est qui¹⁶ putet eum, qui laete jucundeque vixit in hoc saeculo, paradisum in alio obtenturum?

¹ **possum N**

² est enim: enim est G, MA

³ quemque MA

⁴ addiscite G, MA

⁵ sunt D, G, MA

⁶ quaeque MA

⁷ turbant MA

⁸ *em.*; gaudiis codd.

⁹ **extinguibilis N**

¹⁰ credere oboedireque: oboedire credereque G, MA

¹¹ **demonstraverunt N**

¹² possim MA

¹³ modestiis B, E, T

¹⁴ vos T

¹⁵ **possumus N**

¹⁶ *omit.* B, E, T

2. How to ensure a happy and tranquil life on earth

[9] I ask you to listen well, my children in Christ – for by virtue of my pastoral office, you are all my children. And as a natural father will teach his children how to conduct themselves in this world, I have the duty to explain the rule of living morally. To be able to do this well, I pray to God for assistance and to his mother, the Virgin Mary, our mistress, in whose honour your forefathers built this temple. I am sure that my prayers will be heard, for *the Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him*,¹ and the Holy Virgin does not deny anybody who begs for her protection. So listen, my children, and learn about the rule for living morally. Learn the lesson taught by the Lord, from whom is *every best gift and every perfect gift*.² I come to you as the doctor of your souls, and since you may say, “*Physician, heal thyself*”,³ I shall endeavour to show myself not only as a teacher but also as a witness to the truth. And I will teach both you and myself *the fear of the Lord, in which is the beginning of wisdom*.⁴

First in this sermon, we shall look at the infirmities and troubles of the soul, for thus we shall better be able to find the remedies.

2.1. Introduction

2.1.1. The troubles of the soul

[10] Truly, two afflictions beset each and every one of you: one is that you live a restless life in this world. The other is that since you shall eventually die, you fear that you will lose the joys of eternal life and fall into the eternal punishments of inextinguishable fire in hell. If you believe and obey me, it will not be arduous to put an end to these afflictions, for I have found wholesome herbs that holy doctors and philosophers of old have shown me and which I can use to remedy your afflictions, if you so desire. For the holy men who have written about our salvation teach us how to have both a happy life on Earth and afterwards a blissful life in Heaven. O, what a great, stupendous, incredible, and unheard of matter!⁵ Who would have thought that someone who has lived joyfully and happily in this world may afterwards gain access to Paradise in the next.⁶

¹ Psalms, 144, 18

² James, 1, 17

³ Luke, 4, 23

⁴ Ecclesiasticus, 1, 16

⁵ An example of a rhetorical device, the *exclamatio*, which Piccolomini used frequently

⁶ Piccolomini here addresses the difficulty of both living happily on Earth and gaining access to Paradise. In the Renaissance period, men were turning away from the concept of the world as a sinful valley of tears where good Christians could not be happy

[11] *Oportuit Christum pati et sic intrare in gloriam suam. Virtus in arduo sita est. Et arcta est via, apud Matthaeum dicit dominus, quae ducit ad vitam: et pauci sunt, qui inveniant eam. At ego dico juroque vobis paradisum quam infernum minor labos¹ acquirit: arcta est via vitæ, nec enim latam esse oportuit, per quam² non multi erant ituri: pauci eam inveniunt, quoniam pauci³ quaerunt. Nemo umquam non invenit, qui diligenter investigavit. Circa difficile virtus operatur, antequam in habitum venerit; postquam habitus factus est, et ut ita dicam callus, nihil difficultatis habet. Non propter se, sed propter nos passus est Christus. Nos autem propter vitam⁴ non cogimur magna pati, sed levia, sed suavia, sed dulcia. Testis est ipsa veritas: *Tollite jugum meum super vos*, in evangelio inquit⁵, *et discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde: et invenietis requiem animabus vestris: Jugum enim meum suave est, et onus meum leve*. Quis⁶ ad haec aliquid replicabit⁷? An non est satis efficax testimonium Christi?*

¹ labor E

² quas MA

³ prava E

⁴ **eternam add. N**

⁵ **in evangelio inquit : inquit in evangelio N**

⁶ enim *add.* G, MA

⁷ respondebit F

2.1.2. The yoke of the Lord is light

[11] *Christ had to suffer, and thus to enter into his glory.*¹ *Virtue is based on hardship.*² *Narrow is the way, says the Lord in Matthew, that leadeth to life: and few there are that may find it!*³ But I tell you and swear to you that Paradise takes a smaller effort to acquire than Hell. If the way of life is narrow, it is because it does not have to be broad since not many will walk it. Few find it because few seek it. But everybody who has ever searched diligently for it has found it. Virtue is difficult until it becomes a habit. When it has become a habit, a hardened skin, so to speak,⁴ it is no longer difficult. Christ suffered not for his own sake but for ours. We are not bound to endure great sufferings for life's sake, but to experience easy, sweet, and delightful things.⁵ He who is Truth itself⁶ bears witness himself, saying in the Gospel: *Take my yoke upon you, and learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For my yoke is easy, and my burden is light.*⁷ Who will object to this? Is the testimony of Christ not sufficient?

¹ Luke, 24, 46

² Traditional maxim

³ Matthew, 7, 14

⁴ An example of a rhetorical device, the metaphor

⁵ Note this emphatic expression of the new conception of life on Earth

⁶ Cf. John, 14, 6

⁷ Matthew, 11, 29-30

[12] *Non bonis viris, ut Lactantius¹ ait, sed vitiosis et male viventibus amara sunt praecepta justitiae.* Multi sunt, qui arduum iter in caelum ac difficilia praedicant Christi mandata, quos ipse redarguens, *Vae² vobis, inquit, scribae et pharisaei hypocritae, qui clauditis regnum caelorum ante homines.* Et³ in epistola Johannes apostolus *Mandata ejus, ait⁴, gravia non sunt.* Quid amplius indigemus testibus, nisi fortasse aliquem ex gentilibus ad ruborem nostrum volumus⁵ advocare? Seneca⁶, ex Romanis acerrimus philosophus stoicidae⁷ sectae, cum multa Lucillo suo bene vivendi praecepta dedisset, subjungit denique: *Ceterum magnae indolis est ad ista non properare tamquam meliora, sed tamquam facilia, et sunt, Lucilli, facilia: cum vero multum ante⁸ meditatus accesseris, jucunda quoque inest enim illis, sine qua nihil est jucundum, securitas.* Videtisne, viri boni honestaeque mulieres, legis mandata non esse gravia et habere {15r} jucunditatem? Dixi supra et iterum dico viam patere, si volumus, nobis, quae vitam hic jucundam praebeat et post obitum ad aeternae vitae gaudia perducatur.

¹ Lactantius *in marg.* A, D, G

² ut E

³ ut G

⁴ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁵ **nolumus N**

⁶ Seneca *in marg.* A, C, E, G

⁷ Stoicae D, G, MA

⁸ antea G, MA

[12] Lactantius says that *the precepts of righteousness are distasteful to the wicked, and to those who lead an unholy life.*¹ Many are preaching that the road to Heaven is arduous and that Christ's precepts are difficult, but Christ himself contradicts them when he says, *Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye shut up the kingdom of heaven against men.*² And in one of his epistles, the Apostle John says, *His commandments are not grievous.*³ We do not need more witnesses, unless maybe we want, blushing, to call upon one of the gentiles: Seneca,⁴ a most perspicacious Roman philosopher of the Stoic school,⁵ gave many precepts to his friend Lucilius for living morally, adding that *it is the mark, however, of a noble spirit not to precipitate oneself into such things on the ground that they are better, but to practise for them on the ground that they are thus easy to endure. And they are easy to endure, Lucilius; when, however, you come to them after long rehearsal, they are even pleasant; for they contain a sense of freedom from care, - and without this nothing is pleasant.*⁶ So, don't you see, good men and honourable women, that the precepts of the Law are light and joyful? I said it before, and I repeat: if we so wish, a road is open to us that offers a joyful life here and after our death leads us to the joys of eternal life.

¹ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 1, 4

² Matthew, 23, 13

³ 1 John, 5, 5

⁴ Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (ca. 5 BC-65): Stoic philosopher, statesman, and dramatist. Tutor and advisor to Emperor Nero

⁵ Stoic School: a school of Hellenistic philosophy founded in Athens by Zeno of Citium in the early 3rd century BC. The Stoics taught that destructive emotions resulted from errors in judgement, and that a wise man would not suffer such emotions

⁶ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 20.12

[13] Quaeritis quaenam sit ista via? In promptu¹ est, quod quaeritis. Quisquis relinquit vitia et virtutes sectatur, hic jam est in via. Scio vos non ambigere, quin² omnibus recte viventibus cum virtute *certus sit in caelo diffinitus locus, in quo beati aevo sempiterno fruantur*³. Sed vobis fortasse non videtur consentaneum jucunde vivere, qui secundum Deum⁴ vivit. Audite igitur, et agnoscetis me vera locutum. Contemplatine aliquando estis mulierculam quampiam Christi servam, nil amplius in terris quaerentem, quam quod esset ad vivendum satis? Quae oravit in templo, in domo negotiata est, in via tacita pertransivit. An non creditis hanc mulierculam feliciter vivere, cui nihil deest, nisi *mori et esse cum Christo*.

[14] Vultisne Christi servos agnoscere? Qui non sunt tristes, non quaeruli, non maledicentes, non anxii, sed laeti semper atque jucundi, quorum vultus eandem semper⁵ custodiunt⁶ serenitatem, quorum sermo modestus et vita sermoni consentiens, qui semper contenti sunt eo, quod adest, quod est sapientiae proprium. Stultitia vero, etsi adepta est, quod concupivit, numquam se tamen satis consecutam putat. At quid aliud est in terris habere paradisum quam laete jucundeque vivere?

¹ promptum T

² quoniam MA

³ perfruantur B, E, T

⁴ *omit.* F

⁵ eandem semper: semper eandem G, MA

⁶ custodit MA

2.1.3. Christian life is joyous

[13] You ask, “What road is that?”, but what you seek is right in front of you. Everyone who abandons vice and follows virtue is already on that road. You do not doubt, I know, that all those who live morally and virtuously *have a secure place assigned to them in heaven where they may happily enjoy eternity.*¹ But maybe you think that one cannot live joyfully and, at the same time, follow God. Then listen, and you will acknowledge that I have spoken truly. Have you ever seen some little woman, a servant of Christ, seeking no more on Earth than what is enough for living? What she prayed for in the temple, she had at home. She trod the silent path. Do you think that this little woman does not live happily, lacking for nothing except *dying and being with Christ?*²

[14] Do you want to be able to recognise the servants of Christ? Well, they are not sad, they do not complain, they do not curse, and they are not fearful. On the contrary, they are always happy and joyful, and their faces are serene. Their speech is modest, and their lives are in harmony with their speech. They are always content with what they have, which is the sign of wisdom. On the contrary, foolishness never thinks that it has enough, even if it has gotten everything it desires. But what else is Paradise on Earth than a happy and joyful life?

¹ Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.9.13 (Somnium Scipionis): *omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adiuverint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo definitum locum, ubi beati aevo sempiterno fruuntur*. Piccolomini applies the quotation to those who live morally, whereas Cicero speaks of those who protect the fatherland. Piccolomini would reuse the quotation in later orations, but in the proper sense

² Philippians, 1, 23: *dissolvi et esse cum Christo*

[15] Caput autem jucunditatis est securitas. Virtuosi quippe secure vivunt, quia et placere se Deo sperant, et quid eis facturi sint homines minime timent. Qui vero sequuntur vitia, servi sunt vitiorum, semper in metu sunt¹, semper inquieti, semper in cruciatu² mentis, nec bene in hoc saeculo vivunt, nec in altero spem habent. Brevis est omnis voluptas peccati, in quo semper extrema gaudii luctus occupat. Virtutis semper est jucunda possessio. Numquam poenitet, qui secundum virtutem operatur. Post delictum mox adest conscientia flagellatque delinquentem. Quo circa negat Epicurus, et bene negat, quemquam jucunde posse vivere, nisi idem honeste, sapienter justeque vivat. Vitia morbos nutriunt, virtus est mater suavitatis³. Si ergo rite consideratis, non est⁴ arduum intueri bonos viros, rectos, sanctos in⁵ jucunditate ac⁶ laetitia suam aetatem⁷ agere: quod est in in terris paradysum habere. Malos vero, iniquos, sceleratos in anxietate, maestitia doloreque semper esse: quod est viventi in terris inferni poenas tolerare. Quod si volumus evitare, necessarium est relinquere vitia, cum quibus est impossibile jucundam vitam habere, sicut jam dictum est in genere.

¹ sequuntur vitia ... sunt : se F

² in cruciatu : in cruciati T

³ **sanitatis N**

⁴ *omit.* F

⁵ *omit.* MA

⁶ *atque* MA

⁷ suam aetatem: aetatem suam G, MA

[15] The essential point about joyfulness is safety. The virtuous live safely, both because they hope to please God and because they do not fear at all what men may do to them. But those who follow the vices are their slaves, always in a state of fear, always disturbed, always suffering mental torments, and they neither live morally in this world nor have hopes for the next. Brief is all enjoyment of sin, and at the end of sinful pleasure, there is always sorrow. But the possession of virtue is always joyful. The man who acts virtuously never has regrets. After sinning, conscience arises quickly and scourges the sinner. Therefore, Epicure¹ denies, and rightly so, that anybody can live joyfully if he does not live decently, wisely, and justly.² Vice feeds illness, whereas virtue is the mother of sweet health. If you look around properly, it is not difficult to see that good, upright, and holy men live in joyfulness and happiness, which is the same as having Paradise on Earth. But bad, evil, and criminal people are always in a state of anxiety, grief, and pain, which is the same as suffering the punishments of Hell while still living on Earth. To avoid that, it is necessary to abandon vice, for it is impossible to live a joyful life with vice, as I have already stated generally.

¹ Epicurus (341-270 BC): Greek philosopher

² Burley, (Epicurus), implicitly

[16] Nunc, si placet, specialius rem attingamus, ut videatis luce clarius nullum esse peccatum sine molestia, perleuemque voluptatem, et cito casurum {15v} gaudium afferre vitia. Adhibete jam aures, animae justae¹ et cum Dei adiutorio salvandae. Attendite non mea, sed sanctorum verba doctorum, verba justitiae, verba sapientiae, verba, quae vobis auferre molestias et impartiri consolationem, laetitiam salutemque poterunt. *Omne*² *quod est in mundo*, inquit Johannes Apostolus, *concupiscentia carnis est et concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vitae*. Idem Lactantius³ ait, quamvis aliis⁴ utitur verbis: *Tres sunt affectus, qui homines in omnia facinora praecipites agunt: ira, cupiditas, libido. Ira ultionem desiderat, cupiditas opes, libido voluptates*. Ubi Johannes superbiam posuit, hic iram collocavit⁵. Sed nascitur ex superbia nimirum ira. Nos tamen non erimus nunc in verbis curiosi, qui laboramus in rebus. Sequemur autem ordinem Lactantii, qui superbiam sub cupiditate videtur voluisse comprehendere, studebimusque morbos istos depellere, ac mentes nostras aegritudine liberare. Est enim officium presbyteri *mederi animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahere, cupiditatibus liberare*⁶, *timores fugare*, quod juvante divina gratia jam in vobis incipiam facere.

[17] Principium⁷ hujus rei ira praestabit. Obsecro vos, filii fratresque mei: quid confert ira? Quid boni est in animo irato? Quid gaudii? Quid jucunditatis? Ira crudelitatem gignit, dolorem affert⁸, poenitudinem⁹, maestitiam, aufert mentem, rationem excaecat. Quis ridet iratus? Quis verba prudentiae inter irascendum profundit? Quid indicant oculi torvi, contortum os, erecta supercilia, frons crispata, nisi animum turbatum esse et in amaritudine degere? Quid sibi vult illa acidia, quam prae se ferunt irati? Numquid carere ira praestat quam illi servire?

¹ vestre T

² Joannes *in marg.* A; Joannes omne quod est *in marg.* D; Joannes apostolus omne quod est etc. *in marg.* G

³ Lactantius *in marg.* A; Lactantius, Ira, Cupiditas, Libido *in marg.* D, G

⁴ ira cupiditas ... opes *omit.* T

⁵ **collocat N**

⁶ est enim ... liberare *omit.* T

⁷ Ira *in marg.* C; De ira *in marg.* D; Ira *in marg.* G

⁸ auffert T

⁹ **plenitudinem N**

2.2. Three passions to be banished

[16] Now, if you please, let us consider the matter more specifically so that you may see clearly that there is no sin without affliction, that sensual pleasure is fleeting, and that enjoyment brought by vice will fade away quickly. Now listen, you just souls that are to be saved with the help of God: do not heed my words, but the words of the holy doctors, words of justice, words of wisdom, words that may take away your afflictions and bring consolation, joy, and salvation. For *all that is in the world*, says John the Apostle, *is the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life*.¹ Lactantius says the same, though in other words: *There are, then, three emotions that drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust... anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures*.² Where John has pride, Lactantius has anger. But anger is born from pride. However, we who are dealing with realities shall not quibble about words. So, let us follow the order of Lactantius, who seems to have wanted to include pride under desire. Let us strive to banish those illnesses and free our minds from sickness. For it is the task of the priest *to heal souls, to remove empty cares, to liberate from desire, and to chase away fears*.³ Sustained by divine grace, I shall now begin to do this for you.

2.2.1. Anger

[17] Let us begin with anger. I ask you, my sons and brothers: what does anger bring us? What good is there in an irate soul? What gladness? What joy? Anger breeds cruelty, it brings pain, regret, and grief. It closes the mind and blinds reason. Does an angry person laugh? Does one speak sensibly when angry? What is the meaning of the wild eyes, the twisted mouth, the raised eyebrows, and the wrinkled brow other than that the soul is disturbed and bitter?⁴ What good comes from the depression⁵ that angry people carry with them? Is it not better to be without anger than to serve it?

¹ 1. John, 2, 16

² Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 6, 19: There are, then, three emotions that drive men headlong to all crimes: anger, desire, and lust. On which account the poets have said that there are three furies which harass the minds of Men: anger longs for revenge, desire for riches, lust for pleasures

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 2.4.11: *for it shows the effect of philosophy: it is a physician of souls, takes away the load of empty troubles, sets us free from desires and banishes fears. (nam efficit hoc philosophia: medetur animis, inanes sollicitudines detrahit, cupiditatibus liberat, pellit timores.)* Piccolomini takes the liberty of substituting priests for philosophers!

⁴ Cf. Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.29.102

⁵ "accidia"

[18] “At injurias sum perpessus”, ais, “ulcisci volo”. Fuerunt, qui licitum esse putarunt nocere injuriantibus, inter quos etiam Cicero fuit. Non Ciceronis, sed Christi legibus vivendum est, cujus apud Matthaëum haec sunt verba: *Si quis te percusserit¹ in dexteram maxillam, praebe ei² alteram*. Quod et verbo³ docuit et confirmavit exemplo, dum captus, consputus⁴, caesus, flagellatus, confossus: *Pater, inquit, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt, quid faciunt⁵*. Dicet aliquis miranda magis quam imitanda esse Christi opera, non nego. Quid Stephanus, quid ceteri martyres? Numquid⁶ omnes pro suis persecutoribus orarunt?

[19] Transeo nostros, gentiles cito: Quid⁷ tu, obsecro, Pythagora⁸, qui Christi praecepta numquam vidisti nec evangelium audivisti? Hic unus fuit e VII sapientibus, quos numerare solebat Graecia, et cum de suo persecutore ulcisci posset: “Mihi, ait, pro vindicta et tibi pro poena sufficiat, quod nec auxilii, nec fugae praesidio te potes salvare, {16r} quin injuriarum⁹, si vellem, praemia reportares.” Dicere quoque solebat hic sapiens indulgentiam¹⁰ esse supplicio potiolem. Quid Julius Caesar, quamvis esset alias libidinosus, hoc tamen bono praeditus fuit, qui¹¹ nihil oblivisci consuevit, nisi injurias.

¹ percusserat D

² et D, G, MA

³ **verba N**

⁴ conspectus T

⁵ faciant A, B, D, E, G, T

⁶ non quid E

⁷ Pytacus *in marg.* D; Pythacus *in marg.* G

⁸ Pytace A, B, C, D, E, N; Pictace F; Pythace G, MA, T

⁹ injuriam G; injuriae MA

¹⁰ indulgentia G

¹¹ quod N, MA

[18] “But I have been grievously hurt,” you say, “I want revenge.” Some have thought that it is legitimate to seek revenge against those who hurt us. Cicero¹ was one of them,² but we should live not by the laws of Cicero but by the laws of Christ who, according to Matthew, said, *If one strikes thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.*³ And what he taught in words, he confirmed by his own example, when he was seized, spat on, beaten, scourged, and pierced: *Father, he said, forgive them, for they know not what they do.*⁴ Here, someone may say that “the acts of Christ should be admired rather than imitated”. I do not deny it. But then, what about Stephen?⁵ What about the other martyrs? Did they not all pray for their persecutors?

[19] I now leave our own⁶ and pass on to the gentile authors. What about you, Pythagoras,⁷ who never saw the commandments of Christ or heard his Gospel?⁸ Pythagoras was one of the seven wise men, as Greece used to count them.⁹ Once, when he could get revenge over someone who persecuted him, he said, “For me, it is enough revenge, and for you, it is enough punishment that you cannot save yourself neither with help from others nor by flight, if I should now want compensation for the wrong you have done me.” This wise man also used to say that forgiveness was more potent than punishment.¹⁰ And what about Julius Caesar who,¹¹ though otherwise a lustful¹² person, was said to possess this virtue that he usually forgot nothing except wrongs done to him!¹³

¹ Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman and author

² Cicero: *De Officiis*, 2.5.18: *ulciscamurque eos, qui nocere nobis conati sint*; 2.14.50: *Sin erit, cui faciendum sit saepius, rei publicae tribuat hoc muneris, cuius inimicos ulcisci saepius non est reprehendum*

³ Matthew, 5, 39

⁴ Luke, 23, 34

⁵ Stephen (died c. 35): the first martyr of the Christian church

⁶ I.e., Christian authors

⁷ Pythagoras (ca. 570-ca. 495 BC): Greek philosopher and mathematician

⁸ An example of the rhetorical device of *apostrophe*, used sometimes by Piccolomini

⁹ Seven Sages (of Greece) (620-550 BCE): title given by ancient Greek tradition to seven early 6th-century BCE philosophers, statesmen, and law-givers

¹⁰ Source not identified

¹¹ Gaius Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

¹² Meaning that as he otherwise gave free rein to his desires and passions, he could easily have given in to desire for revenge but did not

¹³ Cicero: *Pro Ligario*, 12.35

[20] Quare nescio quid¹ magis ad tranquillitatem mentis perducatur: aut enim vindicare injuriam potes, et satis supplicii habes ex inimico, cui parcis, qui eo facto continuis urgetur stimulis, iniquum se et te bonum² inspiciens. Aut non³ potes ulcisci, et unicum remedium est oblivisci, si vis quiete vivere. Ultio autem quid aliud facit⁴, nisi te similem injurianti? Deliquit in te ille, invides sibi malum, potioresque sibi nequitiae partes non vis relinquere? Audite apostolum⁵ Paulum, qui ad Romanos sic⁶ scribit: *Date locum irae⁷: scriptum est enim: mihi vindictam, et ego retribuam. Si esurierit inimicus tuus, ciba illum. Si sitit, potum da illi. Hoc⁸ enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput ejus: Noli vinci a malo, sed vince in bono malum.* O verba memoriae commendanda! O doctrinam salubrem! Nullum genus vindictae majus est quam ignoscere. Ille vincitur a malo, qui malum vult ulcisci. Ille vincit in bono malum, qui vindictam remittit Deo.

[21] Rogo vos⁹, fratres carissimi, si quis vestrum, calce vel morsu laesus¹⁰ equino aut bove cornupeta vulneratus, animal laedens ferro impeteret¹¹ atque interimeret, nonne in risum omnes prorumperetis, stultumque illum ac furiosum judicaretis? Sed aliud esse forsitan bestiarum, aliud hominum injurias perpeti creditis? Vir autem sapiens aequè unum atque alterum fert: nec enim aliud est homo injurius quam bestia: et fortasse bestia bestior, qui plus sibi nocet quam toleranti. Hinc cum Socratem quidam colapho percussisset atque abiisset, et discipuli ejus insequi vellent percussorem atque vindictam exigere, "State", inquit, "sinite illum: vosne, *si me asinus calce caederet, ipsum reputeretis?*" Existimandi sunt igitur¹² omnes bestiae, qui¹³ injuriantur, equis¹⁴, bobus et asinis deteriores. Quod si fecerimus, facillime contemnemus injurias. *Sapiens*, inquit Seneca, *numquam potest injuriam pati, qui non aestimat injurias, quas sibi homines arbitrantur irrogare.* Verum si injurias contemnemus, nec vindictam exigemus, nec irae subjacebimus, nec accidia, duobus taeterrimis morbis liberati, quamvis et accidia¹⁵ in aliis quoque delictis serpere soleat¹⁶.

¹ quod G, MA

² te bonum : bonum te G, MA

³ **ut N**

⁴ faciet G, MA

⁵ Paulus *in marg.* A, E; Apostolus *in marg.* G

⁶ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁷ date locum irae: datum irae locum C

⁸ haec F

⁹ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ *omit.* B, E, F, T

¹¹ ipse tereret MA

¹² sunt igitur : igitur sunt G, MA

¹³ que T

¹⁴ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁵ accidiam F

¹⁶ solebat T

[20] Therefore, I do not know what contributes most to your tranquillity of mind: either you are able to get revenge¹ for some wrong done to you, but punish your enemy enough by sparing him (afterwards he will be constantly annoyed, seeing that he himself is evil while you are good). Or you are unable to get revenge, and the only remedy is to forget the whole thing if you want to live in peace. What does revenge do for you other than make you similar to the one who did you wrong? Someone committed an offence against you, and you bear a grudge against him for it. Why not leave the worst part of wickedness to him? Heed what the Apostle Paul writes to the Romans, *Give place unto wrath, for it is written: Revenge is mine, I will repay. But if the enemy be hungry, give him to eat; if he thirsts, give him to drink. For doing this, thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. Be not overcome by evil: but overcome evil by good.*² Oh, words to remember! Oh, salutary doctrine!³ Forgiveness is the highest form of revenge. He who wants to avenge a wrong is overcome by evil. Whoever entrusts his revenge to God overcomes evil with goodness.

[21] I ask you, dear brethren, if one of you was hurt by the hoof or the bite of a horse or by the horns of a cow and then attacked and killed the offending animal, would you not all burst into laughter and consider him to be foolish and wild? Do you think that being hurt by an animal is so different from being hurt by a human? The wise man tolerates both with equanimity, for a harmful person is no different from a harmful animal – and maybe the person is even more of an animal than the animal, and he harms himself more than he harms the person who suffers the harm. Therefore, when someone had slapped Socrates⁴ in the face and went away, and his disciples wanted to go after him to get revenge, he said, “Let him go. *If an ass kicks me, would you then kick it in turn?*”⁵ So, all those who do harm we should consider as wild animals, lower than horses, cattle, and asses. By doing so, we shall easily be able to disregard wrongs done to us. *The wise man, says Seneca, can never suffer injury, for he does not consider anything that men can inflict upon him as an injury.*⁶ Truly, if we disregard wrongs done to us and do not demand revenge, then we shall be subject neither to anger nor depression, and we shall be free of those two terrible diseases - though depression is also lurking in other offences.

¹ Vindicare/vendicare: cf. Wagendorfer: *Zur Orthographie*, p. 435

² Romans, 12, 19-20: *Date locum irae. Scriptum est enim: mihi vindictam, ego retribuam, dicit Dominus. Sed si esurierit inimicus tuus ciba illum si sitit potum da illi hoc enim faciens carbones ignis congeres super caput eius. Noli vinci a malo sed vince in bono malum*

³ An example of the rhetorical device of *exclamatio*, which Piccolomini used frequently

⁴ Socrates (ca. 469-399 BC): Greek philosopher

⁵ Burley, (Socrates), p. 112: *Semel ictu calculus a quodam percussus est ... Si asinus calce me percussisset numquid eum in iudicium convenirem? Cur ego non sustinuerem sic equanimiter ictus hominum sicut percussuram ferrem irrationabilium bestiarum?*

⁶ Quotation not identified

[22] Nunc¹ ad cupiditatem transire oportet, ex qua multa emergunt vitia, sed duo potissime. Cupiditas namque ad honores et potentias se extendit, in quibus est superbia, et ad opes, in quibus² est avaritia, atque ex his duobus rivulis conficitur atque conflatur³ invidia, {16v} cum abundare alios⁴ his rebus cernimus, quibus ipsi caremus. Licet etiam libido sit mater invidiae. Nam et pulchram uxorem et elegantis formae concubinam et opiperas cenas et alias voluptates invidere solemus vicinis nostris. Verum circa cupiditatem tria vulnera inveniuntur, quae sanari restaurarique debent: unum superbia, alterum avaritia facit⁵, tertium ista duo, quandoque⁶ invidia ex alterius successu nascitur, superbia honores appetit⁷ atque potentiam⁸. Superbus est, qui plus sibi arrogat, quam debeatur. Idem tumens dici potest et inflatus opinione sui. Sed veriori nomine ambitiosus, cujus est majora cupere, quam mereatur, et praesertim circa honores atque potentias. Quis ergo ambitiosi sive superbi est animus quam laetus, quam quietus, quam alacer, quam jucundus licet inspicere remque omnem expendere. Potestne quisquam superbus esse tranquillae mentis, cum res fluxas⁹, caducas, fragiles, et in alterius potius quam in sua potestate constitutas sequatur¹⁰?

¹ De cupiditate *in marg.* D; Cupiditas *in marg.* C, G

² est superbia et ad opes in quibus *omit.* B, E, T

³ inflatur G, MA

⁴ *omit.* G, MA

⁵ **alterum avaritia facit : facit alterum avaritia N**

⁶ quoniam N, MA

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ honores appetit atque potentiam : ex honore atque potentia MA

⁹ *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ *corr. ex sequantur* A, B

2.2.2. Cupidity

[22] Now we must pass on to cupidity, from which many other vices arise, but two in particular. For cupidity reaches out for honour, power, in which there is pride, and wealth, in which there is greed. And from these two sources, envy arises and grows, when we see someone having in abundance what we ourselves are lacking. For desire is the mother of envy, and we usually envy our neighbour his beautiful wife, elegant mistress, sumptuous dinners, and other pleasures. In cupidity, there are three wounds that should be healed: one is caused by pride, the other by greed, and the third by both of them together since envy arises from another person's success and pride desires honour and power. The one who claims more for himself than he should is proud. You could also say that he is puffed up and has an inflated opinion of himself. But even better, he may be called overambitious, for he wants more than he merits, an especially honour and power. You can see for yourselves if the ambitious and proud man's mind is happy, tranquil lively, and joyful, and then be your own judge. Can any proud man have a tranquil mind as he pursues things that are fleeting, futile, fragile, and dependent on another man's power rather than on his own?

[23] Propter honorem¹ multi fiunt hypocritae, exterminantes *faciem suam, ut appareant hominibus jejunantes. Intus autem sunt lupi rapaces.* Ad quos dominus in evangelio² *Vae vobis, inquit, scribae et pharisaei, qui similes estis sepulchris dealbatis, quae foris apparent hominibus speciosa, intus autem plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia.* Verum quam vanum est in honore suum finem ponere honorique inservire, quem saepius mali quam boni assecuti sunt³. Numquam invenies aliquem, qui Deo simul et honori hujus saeculi servire⁴ potuerit⁵. Videamus tamen, qualis est vita illorum, qui venantur honorem. Quis umquam secutus honores menti suae satisfacit? Quis non majores optavit honores, quam consecutus esset? Quidam, postquam omnibus honoribus functi sunt, qui hominibus praestari⁶ solent, divinos honores affectaverunt, sicut de Alexandro Neroneque⁷ et multis aliis legimus⁸. Est autem insatiabilis appetitus honoris. Sed illud in hoc miserrimum est, quod ad iudicium multitudinis honores adipiscimur, quae saepius malos quam bonos viros honorare consuevit. Nemo praeterea tot tantaque fecit, quin ubi destitit, a multitudine deseratur oblivionique detur. Quo fit, ut qui cupidus est honoris, is numquam possit esse quietus. Servit enim vulgari opinioni, cui non solum in dies⁹, sed in horas¹⁰ praebendum est aliquid admiratione dignum.

¹ Honor *in marg.* D, G

² **dominus in evangelio : in evangelio dominus N**

³ assecuti sunt : sunt assecuti B, E, T

⁴ inservire D, G, MA

⁵ poterit D, G, MA

⁶ prestare T

⁷ Nerone F

⁸ *omit.* F

⁹ **in dies : dietim N**

¹⁰ **in horas : horatim N**

2.2.2.1. Honour

[23] For the sake of honour, many become hypocrites, who *disfigure their faces, that they may appear unto men to fast.*¹ ² *Inwardly they are ravening wolves.*³ To those the Lord says in the Gospel: *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees ... because you are like to whited sepulchres, which outwardly appear to men beautiful but within are full of dead men's bones and of all filthiness.*⁴ But how vain it is to make honour one's goal and to be the servant of honour that bad people pursue more often than do good people. You will never find somebody who can serve both God and worldly honour at the same time.⁵ Let us look at the lives of those who chase honour. Has anybody who pursued honour ever become satisfied? And did anybody who obtained honours not always desire even greater ones? Some who enjoyed all the honours usually given to men even aspired to divine honours, as we read about Alexander, Nero, and many others. Men's appetite for honour is insatiable. But the worst part of it is that we obtain honours at the whim⁶ of the mob, who very often honours bad men more than good men. And nobody has ever accomplished so many and so great things that, when he ceased doing so, he was not deserted and forgotten by the mob. The man who desires honour can never be tranquil, for he serves vulgar opinion that must be fed with new and wondrous things not just daily but hourly.

¹ Matthew, 6, 16: *Cum autem ieiunatis nolite fieri sicut hypocritae tristes demoliuntur enim facies suas ut pareant hominibus ieiunantes*

² Poggio Bracciolini: *Oratio ad patres revendissimos* (1417). In: Opera, II, p. 18: *Tu faciem exterminas, ut appareas hominibus jejunans*

³ Matthew, 7, 15: *Intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*

⁴ Matthew, 23, 27: *Vae vobis scribae et Pharisei hypocritae quia similes estis sepulchris dealbatis quae a foris parent hominibus speciosa intus vero plena sunt ossibus mortuorum et omni spurcitia*

⁵ Cf. Luke, 16, 13: *You cannot serve God and Mammon*. Here Piccolomini replaces Mammon with Honour

⁶ "judicium"

[24] Nos vero honorem istum spernere debemus imitarique sanctos patres, qui saeculi honores tamquam pestem aliquam saevissimam devitarunt. Johannes apostolus, cum vidisset {17r} Cratonem philosophum ex contemptu mundi coram plebe gloriam quaerere ac discipulos ejus pretiosas margaritas in publico terere, *stultus est, inquit, iste mundi contemptus, qui hominum ore¹ laudatur, condemnatur autem divino judicio.*

[25] Superbi ergo, qui venantur honores, nec Deo placent, nec sibi quiete vivunt. Quaerunt enim, quod non possunt assequi. Quidam² superbi sunt, qui se vel nobiles, vel virtuosos, vel litteratos, vel astutos gloriantes³ dedignantur ceteros, ad quos Paulus Apostolus⁴ *hoc enim, inquit, sentite in vobis, quod et in Christo Jesu, qui cum in forma Dei esset, non rapinam arbitratus est se esse aequalem⁵ Deo⁶, sed semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem⁷ factus, et habitu inventus ut homo. Humiliavit semetipsum⁸, oboediens⁹ usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis, propter quod¹⁰ Deus exaltavit illum et dedit illi¹¹ nomen, quod est super omne nomen, ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur caelestium, terrestrium, et infernorum.*

¹ hominum ore : ore hominum F

² enim *add.* C

³ gloriantur T

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* D, G; Paulus apostolus *in marg.* E

⁵ se esse aequalem : esse se aequalem B, E, V; se aequalem esse C

⁶ *omit.* G, MA

⁷ hominum *add.* Vulgata

⁸ factus *add.* N, Vulgata

⁹ obediensque G, MA

¹⁰ et *add.* F

¹¹ *omit.* D

[24] So we must spurn this honour and imitate the holy fathers, who fled secular honours like a horrible plague. When John the Apostle saw the philosopher Crato seek glory in front of the people through contempt of the world and his disciples crushing precious pearls in public, he said: *This manner of despising the world is foolish, for while it is praised by men, it is condemned by divine justice.*¹

2.2.2.2. Pride

[25] Therefore, the proud who chase honours do not please God, nor do they have peace of mind, for they are seeking what they cannot get. Some are proud because they are nobles; others are proud because they are virtuous, educated, or clever; and in their vainglory, they despise other people. To those, Paul the Apostle says: *For let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: But emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men, and in habit found as a man. He humbled himself, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross. For which cause God also hath exalted him and hath given him a name which is above all names: That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of those that are in heaven, on earth, and under the earth.*²

¹ Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. 1, ch. 9 p. 51

² Philippians, 2, 5-11

[26] Quis est, qui se velit exaltare, cum Christus, Dei filius, seipsum exinaniverit, cum superbia ruinae subjaceat, humilitas exaltationi¹? Quid est in te, homo, dignum laude? Quid fecisti cinis²? Quid superbis terra? *Quid habes*, ut Apostoli Pauli verbis utar³, *quod non accepisti*⁴? Si autem accepisti, quid gloriaris, quasi non acceperis? Abice hunc fastum⁵, hanc ventositatem. Scito te hominem esse, cogita, quia breves sunt dies tui. Superbia tibi nihil affert boni. Semper plus vult, quam habet. Non socium, non amicum patitur, et cum omnes subjicere sibi velit, omnium calcatur pedibus. Nulla pax est, nulla quies, ubi superbia dominatur. *Inter superbos*, inquit sapiens,⁶ *semper jurgia sunt*. Nos vero, si pacem volumus, si tranquille vivere cupimus, si paradisum in terris optamus, honores istos mundanos oportet fugere, quos Christus contempsit, apostoli refutarunt, discipuli spreverunt, et omnes sancti quasi perniciosissimam pestem ab sese abdicarunt.

[27] Ad potentiam transeo,⁷ quam superbia non minus quam honores exoptat. Quid boni est in potentatibus? Quid est, quod tantopere quaeritur? Estne melius principantibus quam privatis hominibus? *Regibus multo pejus est*, inquit Crispus, *quam servantibus*. At⁸ pulchrum est fieri statim, quod jusseris, splendidis uti vestibus, longum famulantium ordinem ducere, exquisitissimis frui cibariis, egregiis equis insidere⁹, uxores habere quot¹⁰ velis. Sed nescitis, inter tot voluptates quot amaritudines misceantur?

¹ exaltationem N

² eius T

³ apostoli Pauli verbis utar : Pauli apostoli utar verbis G, MA

⁴ Omnia accepimus *in marg.* D, G

⁵ festum T

⁶ Sapiens *in marg.* D, E, G

⁷ Potentia *in marg.* C; De potentia *in marg.* D, G

⁸ ac C

⁹ equis insidere : insidere equis F

¹⁰ quod T

[26] Who wants to glorify oneself when Christ, the Son of God, abased himself, and when pride leads to ruin and humility to elevation? What is praiseworthy in you, oh, man? What have you done, you who are as ashes?¹ What is Earth to the proud? *What hast thou*, to use the words of the Apostle Paul, *that thou hast not received?*² Why do you glory in what you have received as if it had not been given to you? Put away this arrogance and presumptuousness³. Know that you are a man, and consider how short your days are. Pride brings you nothing good. It always wants more than it has. It does not suffer a companion or a friend, and as it wants to make all subject to itself, it tramples all under its feet. Where pride prevails, there is no peace and no calm. *Among the proud*, says the Wise One, *there are always contentions.*⁴ But as for us, if we want peace, if we wish to live tranquilly, if we desire Paradise on earth, then we should flee those worldly honours that Christ despised, the apostles rejected, the disciples spurned, and all the saints renounced as a most terrible plague.⁵

2.2.2.3. Power

[27] I now pass on to power that pride craves just as much as honours. What good is there in power? Why do people desire it so intensely? Is it better for rulers than for private people? Crispus⁶ says that it is *much worse for those who rule than for those who serve.*⁷ But it is lovely to be obeyed immediately, to use splendid clothes, to be followed by a long row of servants, to eat exquisite foods, to ride noble horses, and to have as many wives as you want. But do you not know how many miseries may be mixed up with so many pleasures?

¹ Cf. Ecclesiasticus, 10, 9: *Quid superbit terra et cinis?*

² 1. Corinthians, 4, 7

³ “ventositas”

⁴ Proverbs, 13, 10

⁵ An example of the rhetorical device of *accumulatio*

⁶ Sallust

⁷ The quotation is not from Sallust but from Publilius Syrus Mimus: *Regibus multo pejus est quam servientibus, re vera, quia illi singulos, isti universos timent.* Publilii Syrus: *Sententiae*, Proverb. 86-87. Ed. E. Woelflin, p. 105. <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/syrus.html>

[28] Sine securitate nihil potest esse jucundum: principantes in assiduo versantur {17v} metu. Nunc venenum timent, nunc ferrum. Quod si aliunde non¹ intelligitis², aspice altos muros, profundas foveas, pontes elevatos, ferrata ostia, custodes ubique manentes. Quid haec aliud nisi metum indicant? Non fratribus, non consanguineis confidunt, nec illis ipsis, quos sui corporis custodes statuerunt. Dionysius Syracusanus³ asseveranti cuidam felicem vitam principes ducere: "Mecum," inquit, "ad cenam venito." Paritum⁴ est, cenatur. Interim super caput illius suspendi equina saeta gladium acutum e laquearibus Dionysius jussit. Quem cum aspexisset hospes, quamvis saepe⁵ invitatus cenare, non poterat, rogavitque sibi, quid hic gladius vellet. Ad quem Dionysius: "Sicut tu," inquit, "nunc vivis, sic assidue vivunt principes," et recte sane, numquam enim sine metu sunt, qui civitatibus ac⁶ provinciis dominantur. Et⁷ sicut in fabulis ad morem Sisyphi, casurum saxum semper supra se reformidant.

[29] Adde conscientiae stimulos. Sciunt⁸ principes debitum suum esse tam parvo quam magno justitiam ministrare, propterea namque creati sunt. Quod cum negligent, non sunt absque remorsu. In cenis vero et aliis voluptatibus cum assidue⁹ versentur, non sentiunt jucunditatem, quia non assiduitas, sed raritas efficit sapidas voluptates. Si quis praeterea numerare principes posset, quos vel ferrum vel venenum perdidit, in comparisonem multitudinis et paucitatis multo sunt plures quam plebei. Quocirca tutissimum est potentias non ambire, quae multo plus habent molesti quam jucundi. Nos vero, si¹⁰ potentiam contempserimus¹¹ et honores, magnam cupiditatis partem sedaverimus, tranquillamque vitam, securam et quietam, in qua est felicitas, poterimus consequi.

¹ aliunde non : non aliunde B, E, T

² **intelligitis N**

³ Dionysius Syracusanus *in marg.* D, E, G

⁴ paratum E

⁵ *omit.* C

⁶ et G, MA

⁷ *omit.* G, MA

⁸ sicut T

⁹ **dietim N**

¹⁰ *omit.* C

¹¹ potentiam contempserimus : contempserimus potentiam F

[28] Without security, there can be no happiness; rulers live in permanent fear. Now they fear poison, now the sword. If this is not otherwise evident, then look to the high walls, the deep moats, the tall bridges, the ironclad gates, and the guards everywhere. What do they show, if not fear? Rulers do not trust their brothers, their relatives, or their own bodyguards. When someone¹ told Dionysius of Syracuse² that princes lead happy lives, Dionysius said to him, “Come to dinner with me.” He obeyed, and they had dinner. In the meantime, Dionysius ordered a sharp sword to be suspended over his head, hanging from the ceiling only by the hair from a horse’s tail. When the guest saw it, he could not eat at all, though Dionysius invited him to do so several times, and he asked himself what the meaning of that sword was. Then Dionysius told him, “As you are now, so princes live always,” and rightly so, for those who rule cities and provinces are never without fear.³ Just as in the fable of Sisyphus,⁴ they always fear that the rock will fall on them.

[29] Add the pangs of conscience. Princes know it is their obligation to administer justice both to the little man and to the great, for that is why they have been created. When they fail to do so, they are not without remorse. Moreover, when they continuously indulge in banquets and other pleasures, they do not feel joy, because it is not frequent repetition but rarity that makes pleasures tasty. Finally, if you count the princes who have died either by the sword or by poison and compare how many and how few, you will find that princes are murdered much more often than common people. Therefore, the safest course is not to aspire to power, for it yields far more trouble than joy. As for us, if we spurn power and honours, we shall allay a large part of cupidity and may have that tranquil, safe, and quiet life in which happiness is found.

¹ Damocles, courtier of Dionysius II of Syracuse

² Dionysius II the Younger (ca. 397-343 BC): ruled Syracuse, Sicily, 367 – 357 and 346 – 343

³ This is the famous story of the sword of Damocles, related by Cicero in his *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 5.21.61-62

⁴ Sisyphus: (Greek Myth.) King of Corinth, punished by the gods for deceitfulness by being compelled to roll an immense boulder up a hill, only to watch it roll back down, and to repeat this action forever

[30] Sed sunt etiam alia curanda vulnera, si volumus integram sanitatem nancisci. Sicut enim, febre remota, non est sanum corpus, quod iliorum dolore laborat, sic adhuc aeger est animus, in quo sublata superbia remansit avaritia. De hoc igitur avaritiae vitio in praesentiarum dicendum est,¹ in quo plures mortales periclitantur. Vos vero², si morbum hunc curari³ vultis, attendite. Est enim admodum pestifer, nec illum cognoscunt, nisi qui recte seipsos expendunt. *Avaritiam*, dicit Cicero,⁴ *vehementem esse opinionem de pecunia, quod valde sit expetenda⁵, inhaerentem penitus et insitam*. Augustinus⁶ in eo, quem *De libero arbitrio* scripsit⁷, libro *avaritiam⁸ censet esse plus velle quam satis est.*”

[31] Alii diffiniunt avaritiam esse habendi cupiditatem immensam, vel potius famem quandam divitiarum cumulandarum. Vitium hoc et divino {18r} et humano iudicio reprobatur damnaturque. Paulus⁹ ad¹⁰ Ephesios *hoc enim scitote, inquit, quod omnis fornicator, aut immundus, aut avarus, quod est idolorum servitus, non habet haereditatem in regno Christi et Dei¹¹*. Ecclesiasticus¹² vero *nihil est, ait, avaro¹³ scelestius*. Et iterum: *Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecunias*. Hic enim animam suam venalem habet. Contrariatur autem avarus duobus maximis, quae sunt in lege, mandatis: nec¹⁴ enim Deum diligit, cum sit idololatra, nec proximum, quem¹⁵ spoliat. Sallustius¹⁶ vero *avaritia, dicit, pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit*. Jam intelligitis damnatum et grande peccatum avaritiam continere.

¹ Avaritia quid *in marg.* C, D, G

² *omit.* G, MA

³ curare F

⁴ Cicero *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁵ appetenda B, E, T

⁶ Augustinus *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁷ de libero arbitrio scripsit : scripsit de libero arbitrio D, G, MA

⁸ avaritia F

⁹ Paulus ad Ephesios *in marg.* A; Paulus *in marg.* E, G

¹⁰ **omit. N**

¹¹ **Christi et Dei : Dei et Christi N**

¹² Ecclesiasticus *in marg.* E, G

¹³ auro A, B, C, F; *corr. ex auro* D, E [avaro Vulgata]

¹⁴ **non N**

¹⁵ qui G

¹⁶ Sallustius *in marg.* A, E

2.2.2.4. Avarice

[30] But if we want to be cured completely, there are other wounds to heal. For if the body still feels back pain¹, for example, when the fever is gone, then it is not yet cured. In the same way, the soul is still sick if greed remains after pride has been removed. So, let us now talk about the vice of avarice, a danger to many men. If you want to cure this illness, then listen. For it is really a plague, and it can only truly be known by those who make the proper efforts. According to Cicero, *avarice is an intense belief, persistent and deeply rooted, which regards money as entirely desirable*.² And in his book *On Free Will*, Augustine considers that *greed is wanting more than is enough*.³

[31] Some define avarice as having immense greed or rather hunger for amassing riches. This vice is censured and condemned both by human and divine judgment. Paul said to the Ephesians: *For know you this and understand: That no fornicator or unclean or covetous person (which is a serving of idols) hath inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God*.⁴ And Ecclesiasticus says: *Nothing is more wicked than the covetous man*.⁵ And again: *There is not a more wicked thing than to love money*.⁶ The greedy man has his soul for sale, and he breaks the two greatest commandments in the Law: he does not love God but idols, and he does not love his neighbour whom he despoils. And Sallust⁷ says: *Avarice entails the pursuit of money which no wise man covets*.⁸ Now you understand that avarice contains a sin that is great and damnable.

¹ "iliorum dolor"

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 4.11.26: *Est autem avaritia opinatio vehemens de pecunia, quasi valde expetenda sit, inhaerens et penitus insita*

³ Augustine: *De libero arbitrio*, 3, 17, 48. MPL, XXXII, col. 1294. Quoted from Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 12

⁴ Ephesians, 5, 5: *Hoc enim scitote intellegentes quod omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus quod est idolorum servitus non habet hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei*

⁵ Ecclesiasticus, 10, 9: *Avaro autem nihil est scelestius*

⁶ Ecclesiasticus, 10, 10: *Nihil est iniquius quam amare pecuniam hic enim et animam suam venalem*

⁷ Sallustius Crispus, Gaius (86-ca. 35 BC): Roman historian and politician

⁸ Sallustius: *De conjuratione Catilinae*, 11.3

[32] Nunc, qualis sit avarorum vita¹, discutiamus, et an aliquid in ea sit, quo delectemur. *Avarus*, inquit² Ecclesiastes³, *non implebitur pecunia, et qui amat divitias, fructus⁴ non capiet ex eis*. Et Satyrus⁵ poeta:

Crescit amor nummi, quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.

[33] Intueamur⁶ avari mores atque naturam. Quis est pecuniae studiosus, qui umquam⁷ quiescat, qui pacem habeat, qui noctes non ducat insomnes, qui sine pavore sit, sine anxietate, sine cura diurna atque nocturna? Semper lucrari studet aut parta⁸ tueri, estque in lucrando anxietas animi, in custodiendo timor. Per mare, per saxa, per ignes, per strictos enses lucra sectatur. Non comedunt, non bibunt avari, sed omne studium cumulandi est. Ajunt se casus vereri fortunae, et arcam potius plenam quam ventrem cupere: recte, si hoc facerent tamquam naturam sequentes, quae paucis minimisque rebus contentatur, stulte, quia pecuniam cumulando evitare *fortunae impetum* credunt. Non enim, qui amat, sed qui spernit pecunias, fortunae resistit. At avarus nihil magis timet quam pecunia carere, et ut non careat, semper caret. *Avaro namque tam deest, quod habet, quam quod non habet.*

¹ Avarorum vita *in marg.* D, G

² dixit F

³ Ecclesiastes *in marg.* A, E, G

⁴ fructum B, E, T

⁵ Satyrus *in marg.* A, G; Juvenalis *in marg.* E

⁶ Intuemur A

⁷ **numquam** N

⁸ parata E

[32] Now, let us talk about the life of greedy people and whether there is anything enjoyable in it. Ecclesiastes says: *A covetous man shall not be satisfied with money; and he that loveth riches shall reap no fruit from them.*¹ And the Satyrical Poet:²

*Your love of gain grows as much as the money itself has grown.*³

[33] Let us look at the behaviour and character of the greedy man. Does anybody whose mind is on money ever rest, have peace, sleep well, and be without fear, anxiety, and worry night and day? He is always intent on gain or keeping his gains. In amassing money, there is anxiety; in guarding it, there is fear. The greedy man pursues gains through sea, through rocks, fire, and drawn swords. Greedy men do not eat or drink; all they care for is amassing money. They say that they fear the blows of fortune and prefer a full storehouse to a full stomach, and they would be right in doing so if they were following nature, which is content with few and small things. But they are actually wrong because they think that they can avoid the assaults of fortune⁴ by accumulating money. For the one who resists fortune is not the one who loves money, but the one who despises it. The miser fears nothing more than lacking money, and in order not to lack money, he is actually always lacking it. *The miser misses what he's got no less than what he hasn't.*⁵

¹ Ecclesiastes, 5, 9

² Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (active in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries CE). Roman poet. Juvenal was one of Piccolomini's favourite classical authors

³ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 14.139

⁴ Cicero: *Epistolae ad Quintum*, 1, 5

⁵ Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, 7. Verbatim quote. The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*

[34] Timet paupertatem, et ipse semper est pauper. *Non enim qui parum habet, si modo contentus¹ est, sed qui plus cupit, quam habet, is pauper est.* Cujusmodi est omnis avarus, qui omnibus nocet, omnes laedit, omnibus est infensus, dum sibi aliquid quaerat. Avaritia omnem virtutem aufert. Sine amicitia, sine benevolentia, sine caritate vivit avarus, plenus fraude, malevolentia, impietate, *nulli bonus, sibi pessimus, qui nihil recte facit, nisi cum moritur.* Audiamus Paulum² apostolum, cujus ad Titum haec sunt verba: *Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum; haud dubium quia nec auferre quidquam possumus. Habentes autem alimenta, et quibus tegamur³, his contenti simus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri, incidunt in tentationem, et laqueum {18v} diaboli et desideria multa inutilia et nociva, quae mergunt homines in interitu et in⁴ perditione. Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas.*

¹ contemptus T

² Paulus ad Titum A; Paulus *in marg.* E

³ regamur F

⁴ omit. T

[34] The miser fears poverty, but he is always poor. For a man is *poor not because he has little*, if only he is content with little, *but because he wants more* than he has.¹ This is how every greedy man is: he harms everybody, he wounds everybody, and he is angry with everybody who asks something of him. Avarice removes all virtue. The greedy man lives without friendship, without kindness, without love; he is full of deceit, spite, and impiety; *he is good to nobody, but he is worst to himself*.² *He does nothing right except when he dies*.³ Let us hear the words of the Apostle Paul to Titus:⁴ *For we brought nothing into this world: and certainly we can carry nothing out. But having food and wherewith to be covered, with these we are content. For they that will become rich fall into temptation and into the snare of the devil and into many unprofitable and hurtful desires, which drown men into destruction and perdition. For the desire of money is the root of all evils*.⁵

¹ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 2.6

² Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 23: The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*, 233: *In nullo avarus bonus est, in se pessimus*

³ Poggio Bracciolini: *De avaritia*, p. 23. The proverb is from Publilius Syrus: *Sententiae*, 24: *Avarus nisi cum moritur nil recte facit*

⁴ Not Titus, but Timothy

⁵ 1. Timothy 6, 7-10: *Nihil enim intulimus in mundum haut dubium quia nec auferre quid possumus. Habentes autem alimenta et quibus tegamur his contenti sumus. Nam qui volunt divites fieri incidunt in temptationem et laqueum et desideria multa inutilia et nociva quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem. Radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas*

[35] Jam cernitis omnia mala ex avaritia provenire. Quid igitur in ea re potest esse bonitatis¹, ubi est omne malum? Quid jucunditatis? Quid laetitiae? Nullum potest esse verum gaudium, ubi tot scelera reperiuntur conjuncta. Nos autem si volumus pie, juste tranquilleque vivere, abjiciamus hoc vitium, quod est omnis laetitiae² omnisque jucunditatis expers, salvatorisque nostri vocem audiamus, qui non in terris, *ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur*, sed in caelo dumtaxat thesaurizandum jubet. *Nemo nascitur dives*, inquit Seneca: *quisquis exit in lucem jussus est lacte et pane esse contentus*. Si quis tamen vult dives fieri, dabo vobis certam regulam: non cumulando pecunias, sed minuendo cupiditatem divites eritis. Quisquis³ contentus est fortuna sua, is dives est. Et nos igitur per hunc modum divites esse nitamur.

[36] Sic enim et taeterrimum vitium avaritiae fugiemus, et vitae tranquillae gaudiis potiemur, non solum superbia atque avaritia, sed invidia⁴ quoque nudati. Nam qui nec potentiam appetit, nec gliscit honores, nec opes sequitur, quod cuiquam invideat, nihil habet, nisi fortasse voluptates sectetur, de quibus post dicemus. Cur enim potenti invideat, quem brevi casurum noscit? Cur honorato, qui mox carebit honore? Cur opulento, qui, quod habet, non habet? Ceterum hoc vitium, carissimi, quod invidiam appellamus, maxime fugiendum est, si non solum placere Deo, sed etiam nobis vivere volumus. Prohibuit omnem sane invidiam dominus, cum proximum diligere jussit. Quomodo enim tamquam seipsum diligit proximum, qui de proximi successu tristatur?

¹ bonitas E, T

² est omnis laetitiae : omnis laetitiae est F

³ quis G; qui MA

⁴ De invidia *in marg.* D, G

[35] You see now that all evils derive from greed. What good can there be in something that is wholly wrong? What joy? What happiness? There can be no true gladness where so many crimes are found together. But if we want to live piously, justly, and tranquilly, then let us throw off this vice that is devoid of all joy and happiness, and let us hear the voice of Our Saviour bidding us to *lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where the rust and moth consume, and where thieves break through and steal*, but gather treasures in heaven only.¹ *No man is born rich*, says Seneca. *Every man, when he first sees light, is commanded to be content with milk and bread.*² If any of you want to be rich, I shall give a sure rule: you will not become rich by accumulating more money but by becoming less greedy. The man who is content with his fortune is rich. So let us, too, strive to be rich in this way.

2.2.2.5. Envy

[36] Thus we shall flee that horrible vice of avarice and gain the joys of a tranquil life, stripped not only of pride and avarice but also of envy. For the man who does not want power, nor swells with honours, nor pursues wealth has nothing that anyone may envy him – unless he possibly pursues sensual pleasures, which we shall speak about later.³ Why should someone envy a powerful man if he knows he will fall shortly? Why envy a man for his honourable position that he will soon lose? Why envy a rich man who does not possess what he has? Moreover, dear Brethren, we have to avoid this vice called envy not only if we want to please God but also if we want to live for ourselves. For the Lord certainly forbade all envy when he commanded us to love our neighbour.⁴ For how can you love your neighbour as yourself if you are saddened by his success?

¹ Matthew, 6,19-20: *Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra ubi erugo et tinea demolitur ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo*

² Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 20.13: *Nemo nascitur dives. Quisquis exit in lucem iussus est lacte et panno esse contentus*. NB: panno = a diaper!

³ From his personal experiences as a young man, Piccolomini knew very well the combination of poverty with great needs for sexual pleasure

⁴ Matthew, 19, 19: *diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum*

[37] Hoc etiam vitium gentiles explodunt. *Cor*¹ *non commanducabis*, inquit Pythagoras, quasi non invidendum diceret. Comedit enim cor suum, quisquis invidet. Invidia, ut Cicero putat, in eo est, qui invidet, et in eo, cui invidetur. Invidentiam² autem dicunt stoici aegritudinem esse, susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti. Nos ergo invidiam invidentiae loco suscipimus, ne simus³ in verbis occupati. Sic enim communis habet usus loquendi.⁴ Vidistis, carissimi, nonnumquam vicini segetem⁵ in agro quam multam surgere, pratum herbidum, pingue pecus, lanosum gregem, et doliustis: invidia est, fugienda est⁶. Laetari, non dolere debemus, cum proximo nostro bene videmus esse. Nam si defuerit nobis victus, habemus ad {19r} quem recurramus. Invidere autem quid confert? Quid boni habet? Estne aliquis vestrum, quem oblectet⁷ invidia? An non est in poenis atque suppliciis omnis invidus?

[38] *Animus gaudens*, inquit in parabolis sapiens, *aetatem floridam facit; spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa; tristis est omnis invidus*. In omnibus vitiis videtur aliquid esse⁸ jucunditatis, quamvis non vera jucunditas⁹ est, quam vitia parant. In¹⁰ invidia nec est voluptas, nec apparet. Non¹¹ ei, cui invidet, sed sibi ipsi nocet invidus, se laedit, se macerat, se cruciat, de se ipso supplicium sumit. Bene ait ille poeta:

*Invidia*¹² *Siculi non invenere tyranni majus tormentum*.

Verum, ut videatis, quam miser sit, qui deditus est invidiae, non verebor ingeniosi vatis verba referre quamvis gentilis. Afferunt magnum lumen nonnumquam ad fulminanda vitia litterae saeculares, sicut et Basilium et divum Hieronymum novimus dicere.

¹ Pictagoras *in marg.* A; Pythagoras Cor non commanducabis *in marg.* D, G

² invidentia A, B, C, F

³ scimus T

⁴ sic enim ... loquendi *omit.* V

⁵ segentem A

⁶ *omit.* E

⁷ oblectat T

⁸ aliquid esse : esse aliquid D, G, MA

⁹ nobilitas B, E, T

¹⁰ *omit.* T

¹¹ *omit.* C

¹² invidiam E

[37] The gentiles also spurn this vice. Pythagoras says, *You shall not eat your heart*,¹ meaning that you should not be envious. For the one who is jealous eats his heart. And according to Cicero, *invidia* refers both to him who is envious and to him who is being envied.² The stoics say that envy (*invidentia*) is an illness caused by another person's success³ even if it does no harm to the one who envies. But we shall use the term *invidia* instead of *invidentia* so as not to quibble about words, for today this is the term generally used.

Dearly beloved, sometimes you have seen a bounteous crop growing in the field of a neighbour, his grassy meadow, his fat cattle, his woolly sheep, and you have felt a stab of pain: that it is envy! Cast it behind you! We should be happy, not pained, when we see our neighbour prosper. For if we should lack food, we have someone to go to for help. What does envy bring you? What good is it? Does anybody among you enjoy being envious? Is not everyone who is envious in pain and suffering?

[38] In the Parables,⁴ the Wise One says: *A joyful mind maketh age flourishing: a sorrowful spirit drieth up the bones. Sorrowful is everyone who is envious.*⁵ In all [other] vices, there seems to be some joy, though it is not true joy. But in envy, there is neither real nor illusory joy. The jealous person does not harm the person he envies; nay, it is himself that he harms, hurts, vexes, torments, and punishes.⁶ The poet said it well:

*Than envy Sicilian tyrants invented no worse torture.*⁷

Indeed, so that you may see how miserable the envious man is, I do not fear to quote the words of a talented poet though he is a gentile. For, as Basil⁸ and Saint Jerome say, secular literature is often very helpful⁹ in the branding of vices.¹⁰

¹ Burley, (Pythagoras), p. 74: *Cor non comedendum, id est: maerorem de animo expellendum*

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.9.20

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.9.20-21

⁴ I.e., Proverbs

⁵ Proverbs, 17, 22: *animus gaudens aetatem floridam facit, spiritus tristis exsiccat ossa*

⁶ Cf. Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.782: *herself [i.e.] her own punishment (supplicium suum est)*

⁷ Horatius: *Epistulae*, 1.2.58-59

⁸ Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329-379): Greek bishop of Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁹ "brings light to"

¹⁰ This theme is developed by Piccolomini in his oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2], sect. 23-24

[39] Quid igitur de invidia dicat Ovidius,¹ animadvertite. Domum primum {69r} describit, ubi manet invidia. Est operae pretium ista cognoscere:

*Protinus invidiae nigro squallentia tabo
Tecta petit, domus est imis in vallibus hujus
Abdita, sole carens, non ulli² pervia vento,
Tristis et ignavi plenissima frigoris, et quae
Igne vacet semper, caligine semper abundet.*

Talis est domus omnis invidi, squallet putrido sanguine, qui rixas videre cupit et sanguinis effusionem. Est in vallibus, quia in tenebris et mentis caecitate consistit, sine sole, sine lumine veritatis³, sine vento, sine refrigerio, plena frigoris⁴, igne carens, quia caritatis non habet ardorem, in caligine, in errore, atque ignorantia. Sic domus est invidi.

¹ Ovidius *in marg.* A, E; Ovidius de invidia *in marg.* C, D, G

² non ulli : nonnulli E

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ frigore G, MA

[39] So, hear what Ovid¹ says about Envy.² First, he describes the house where Envy lives - it is worthwhile to know:

*Straightaway Minerva sought out the cave of Envy,
filthy with black gore.
Her home was hidden away in a deep valley
where no sun shines and no breeze blows;
a gruesome place and full of numbing chill.
No cheerful fire burns there,
and the place is wrapped in thick, black fog.³*

Such is the house of an envious man, and the person who wants to see fights and bloodshed is himself filthy with rotten blood. He is said to be in the valleys because he stands in the shadows and blindness of the mind, without sun, without the light of truth, without wind, without pleasant coolness, full of chill, and lacking fire, because he does not have the warmth of love. Thus, the home of the envious man is in darkness, error, and ignorance.

¹ Ovidius Naso, Publius (43 BCE-17/18 CE): Roman poet

² I.e., the goddess Envy

³ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.760-764

[40] Sed qualis invidia?

videt intus edentem?

*Vipereas carnes, vitiorum alimenta suorum,
Invidiam.*

Et iterum:

*Surgit humo pigra, semesarumque relinquit
Corpora¹ serpentum, passuque incedit inert.*

*Pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto;
Nusquam recta acies, livent rubigine dentes,
Pectora felle virent, lingua est suffusa veneno,
Risus abest, nisi quem visi fecere dolores;
Nec fruitur somno vigilantibus excita curis;
Sed videt ingratos, intabescitque videndo
Successus hominum, carpitque, et² carpitur una.*

¹ corporea A; corr. ex corporea D

² ut N

[40] But what is Envy like?

She sees her sitting within, eating snake's flesh, the proper food of her venom.¹

And again:

*She rose heavily from the ground,
leaving the snakes' carcasses half consumed
and came forward with sluggish step.²*

*Pallor o'erspreads her face
and her whole body seems to shrivel up.
Her eyes are all awry, her teeth are foul with mould;
green, poisonous gall o'erflows her breast,
and venom drips down from her tongue.
She never smiles, save at the sight of another's troubles;
she never sleeps, disturbed with wakeful cares;
unwelcome to her is the sight of men's success,
and with the sight she pines away;
she gnaws and is gnawed.³*

¹ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.768-769. In Ovid's text, it is the goddess Minerva who sees Envy in this state

² Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.775-781

³ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.768-769

[41] Qualis invidia est, talis est invidus, iners, pallidus, macer, strabo. Comedit viperas, idest cor suum viperinum. In lingua et pectore fert venenum. Non ridet nisi ex alieno malo. Rubiginosi dentes, ut, cum mordeant, magis laedant. Ex alieno bono dolet, semper detrahit aliis, et sibi quoque detrahitur. *Estque omnis invidus sibi supplicium*, ut poeta subjungit. Habetis, quid sit invidia, quantum noceat, ut quietam¹ vitam impediatur, et ut sine molestia {19v} numquam sit, plane cernitis. Nunc officii nostri est hunc morbum relinquere et induere² caritatem sibi contrariam, si feliciter volumus vivere, et non cum accidia, quae alumna est invidiae, semper tristis, semper torpore atque inertia plena. Sic enim ex tribus affectibus, qui nostras mentes³ excaecant⁴, duos⁵ abdicaverimus, iram atque cupiditatem.

[42] Superest tertius, quem libidinem vocitamus. Libido⁶ voluptates sequitur. De qua re dicam, quid sentiant auctores sanctique viri, quod non minus praestat agnoscere, quam ea, quae supra retulimus. Sunt enim admodum pauci, qui voluptate non capiantur. Quidam vero etiam⁷ summum bonum in ea collocarunt, et animam simul perdiderunt et corpus. Expedit igitur hunc affectum depellere, nec voluptates ullas sequi, quae non sint⁸ honestae.

¹ quietem N

² inducere C

³ nostras mentes : mentes nostras G, MA

⁴ excaecans MA

⁵ duobus D, G; duo MA

⁶ Libido *in marg.* C, D, G

⁷ vero etiam : enim B, E, T

⁸ sunt B, E, T

[41] The envious man is just like Envy itself: sluggish, pale, scraggy,¹ squinting, eating snakes, i.e., his own snakelike heart. He has poison on his tongue and in his heart.² He only laughs when something bad happens to somebody else.³ His teeth are rusty⁴ so they will hurt more when they bite. He feels pain whenever something good happens to someone else. He always takes from others – and even from himself. *Every envious man is his own punishment*, as the poet adds.⁵ So now you know what envy is and how harmful it may be, and you see clearly that it prevents a quiet life and is always troubled. Now it is our duty to do away with this sickness and to embrace love, which is the opposite of envy, for then we shall live happily and without that depression, which is the companion of envy, always sad and always full of apathy and sloth.

Of the three emotions that blind our minds, we have now dealt with anger and greed.

2.2.3. Lust: sexual indulgence and gluttony

[42] A third emotion remains, the one we call lust. Lust pursues pleasure. Concerning this matter, I shall explain what the authors and holy men thought – and which is just as important to understand as the things I said above. For very few people, indeed, are unaffected by pleasure. Some even considered pleasure to be the highest good,⁶ thus losing their soul along with their body. So we should banish this emotion and only pursue pleasures that are decent.

¹ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.775 *pallor in ore sedet, macies in corpore toto*

² Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.757: *pectora felle cirent, lingua est suffusa veneno*

³ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.778: *risus abest nisi quem movere dolore*

⁴ Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.776: *livent robigine dentes*

⁵ Cf. Ovid: *Metamorphoses*, 2.782: *herself [i.e.] her own punishment (supplicium suum est)*

⁶ Like the Epicureans

[43] *Quinque igitur¹ sunt hominum sensus², per quos voluptas³ animo aut⁴ corpori quaeri videtur: tactus, gustus, odoratus, visus, auditus. Ex his omnibus, ut Aristotelem dicere Macrobius asserit, voluptas, quae immodice capitur, turpis et improba est, sed ea praesertim, quae ex gustu tactuque est. Ea igitur gemina voluptas, sicut sapientes viri censuerunt, omnium rerum foetidissima⁵ est, istasque duas voluptates, cibi et veneris⁶, solas hominibus communes esse videmus cum bestiis; atque idcirco pecudum ferarumque numero habetur quisquis⁷ est his voluptatibus occupatus. Ex aliis tribus sensibus proficiscentes voluptates hominum propriae sunt, non tamen extra modum neque⁸ in turpibus rebus sumendae⁹.*

¹ igitur sunt : sunt igitur F

² Quinque sensus *in marg.* D, G

³ in *add.* C

⁴ et F

⁵ fedissima B, E, T

⁶ ventris F

⁷ **habetur quisquis : quisquis habetur N**

⁸ nec F

⁹ **sunt del. A; sunt add. N**

[43] *Human beings have five senses, touch, taste, smell, sight, and hearing which are the pathways by which the body and mind seek pleasure. According to Macrobius¹, Aristotle² claims that pleasure derived immoderately from all these senses is base and wicked, but excessive pleasure derived from taste and touch – a compound pleasure, as wise men have judged it – is the most disgusting of all ... The two pleasures of food and sex are the only ones that human beings share with the beasts and that's why anyone wholly in the grip of these pleasures should be counted among the animals of the fields and the wilds; all other pleasures, which derive from the three remaining senses, are peculiar to human beings and should be considered as immoderate and shameful.*³

¹ Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (flourished during the early fifth century): Roman author

² Aristotle (384-322 BCE): Greek philosopher

³ Macrobius, 2. 8.10-12. Slightly reworded by Piccolomini. He also used this passage in his *De Liberorum educatione*, 18

[44] Quis igitur habens aliquid humani pudoris, voluptatibus his duabus, coeundi atque comedendi, quae homini cum sue atque asino sunt communes, gratulari potest? Socrates dicebat multos homines propterea¹ velle vivere, ut ederent et biberent, se² bibere atque esse, ut viveret³. *Hippocrates autem, divina vir scientia, existimabat coitum venereum⁴ partem esse quandam morbi taeterrimi, quem nostri comitalem dixerunt.* Pythagoras vero dicenti cuidam: *Mallet cum mulieribus quam cum philosophis conversari, Et sues, inquit, libentius⁵ in ceno quam in aqua versantur,* luxuriososque homines porcis adaequavit. Intellexistis, quid gentiles de gula atque luxuria sentiant.

[45-46] Jam nostri, quid dicant, attendite. Inter praecepta legis est illud: *Non moechaberis.* In evangelio autem inquit dominus: *Omnis, qui viderit mulierem ad concupiscendum eam, jam moechatus est⁶ in corde suo.* Ad Corinthios vero scribens Paulus: *Templum Dei {20r} nos esse, dicit, et spiritum Dei in nobis habitare⁷ et omnem, qui templum Dei violaverit, disperdendum esse a Deo.* Quibus ex verbis damnandos esse libidinosos⁸ nequaquam ambigimus tamquam templi Dei violatores. Nam et ad eosdem Corinthios idem doctor *Fugite, inquit, fornicationem: omne enim peccatum quodcumque fecerit homo extra corpus est. Qui autem fornicatur, in corpus suum peccat.* Violatur ergo per fornicationem templum animae, quod est corpus⁹, et anima illinc suscipit labem et immunditiam, quae Dei est templum. In luxuria namque est omnis immunditia, cum nupta, vidua, moniali, virgine, meretrice. Superius autem dixi vobis, ex auctoritate Pauli, nullum fornicatorem in regno Christi haereditatem habiturum. Poena ergo luxuriae privatio est haereditatis aeternae¹⁰.

¹ preterea E

² se T

³ viverent B, E, T

⁴ venerum A, C; *corr. ex. venerum* D

⁵ *omit.* F

⁶ eam *add.* A, B, C, E, F, T

⁷ in nobis habitare : habitare in nobis G, MA

⁸ luxuriosos C

⁹ est *add.* G

¹⁰ privatio ... aeternae : est haereditatis aeternae privatio MA

[44] Will anyone with a shred of human decency, then, indulge in these two pleasures of sexual intercourse and gluttony, which human beings share with swine and asses? Socrates used to say that many men wish to live so they might eat and drink, whereas he ate and drank so that he might live.¹ *Hippocrates*,² a man of godlike understanding, thought that sexual intercourse has something in common with the utterly repulsive illness we call ‘comitial disease.’³ ⁴ When someone told Pythagoras: *I would rather keep company with women than with philosophers*, he replied that swine would rather move around in filth than in water,⁵ and he considered people who indulge in sex to be like swine. Now you know what the gentile authors thought about gluttony and sexual indulgence.

[45-46] Now hear what our own⁶ say. Among the commandments of the Law is this: *Thou shalt not commit adultery.*⁷ And in the Gospel the Lord says: *Whosoever shall look on a woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.*⁸ Moreover, Paul writes to the Corinthians: *You are the temple of God and the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man violate the temple of God, him shall God destroy.*⁹ These words make it absolutely clear that libidinous people are condemned as violators of the temple of God. And to the same Corinthians, the same teacher says: *Fly fornication. Every sin that a man doth is without the body: but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body.*¹⁰ So, fornication violates the body that is the temple of the soul, and through the body it stains and fouls the soul, which is the temple of God. For in sexual indulgence is every moral foulness, whether it involves a married woman, a widow, a nun, a virgin, or a harlot. Above, I have told you, on the authority of Paul, that no fornicator will inherit the Kingdom of Christ. Thus, the punishment of sexual indulgence consists in being deprived of the inheritance of eternal life.

¹ Burley, (Socrates), p. 112: *Dicebat autem multos propterea velle vivere ut ederent et biberent, se autem edere et bibere ut viveret.* Also related by Plutarch. Also quoted in *Oration “Si quis me roget”* [2], sect. 27

² Hippocrates of Kos (ca. 460-ca. 370 BCE): ancient Greek physician, an eminent figure in the history of medicine

³ Aulus Gellius, 19.2.8. “Hippocrates believed that sexual climaxes were a form of ‘petit mal’, a small epilepsy. Moralists dwelt on that theory for nigh on two thousand years.” (M. Screech: *Montaigne and Melancholy*. 2000, p.55)

⁴ Macrobius, 2.8.15-16

⁵ Burley, (Pythagoras), p. 78: *Cum quidam ... diceret se malle cum mulieribus esse quam philosophis conversari, “Et sues,” inquit Pythagoras, “libentius in ceno quam in aquis claris versantur”*

⁶ i.e., Christian authors

⁷ Exodus, 20, 14

⁸ Matthew, 5, 28

⁹ 1. Corinthians, 3, 16-17: *templum Dei estis et Spiritus Dei habitat in vobis; si quis autem templum Dei violaverit disperdet illum*

¹⁰ 1. Corinthians, 6, 18

[47] Idem quoque de gula vobis dixerim, nam et gula mater est luxuriae. Hinc ad Ephesios Paulus *nolite*, inquit, *inebriari vino, in quo est luxuria*. Sed audite prophetam Isaiam et terreamini omnes, qui ebrietati¹ crapulaeque incumbitis, aut potius emendetis vitam: *Vae, qui surgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et ad potandum usque ad vesperam, ut vino aestuetis. Cithara, et lyra, et tympanum, et tibia, et vinum, in conviviis vestris, et opus domini non respicitis*. Et iterum: *Vae, qui potentes estis ad bibendum vinum, et viri fortes ad miscendam ebrietatem*.

[48] Audistis prophetam: non parum est, quod inquit “*Vae*”. Per hoc enim verbum aeternam mortem comminatur, sicut et Christus, dum ait: *Vae vobis, scribae et pharisaei, qui decimatis anetum*, et cetera. Verba sunt enim aeternum supplicium comminantia. Crapulosi² namque et ebriosi regnum Dei non possidebunt.

[49] Non prohibeo vobis vinum, carissimi, sed ut modice sumatis instruo, non ad extinguendam sitim, quod aqua melius faceret, sed *ad reficiendum reintegrandumque animos, ad instauranda³ sobrietatis officia*, sicut et Platonem⁴ de legibus refert voluisse Macrobius. Scitis enim ex testimonio David⁵, quia *vinum laetificat cor hominis*, quod intelligendum est, si moderate frugaliterque bibatur. Immodice vero sumptum gignit ebrietatem et in⁶ omnem turpitudinem provolvit hominem, sicut de Loth legimus, qui vino inebriatus cum propriis filiabus jacuit.

[50] Sic etiam de carne praeceperim: cum propriis uxoribus jacere non veto, sed refero vobis ad Thessalonicenses, Paulum ipsum audite atque sequimini: *Haec est enim, inquit, voluntas Dei, sanctificatio vestra, ut abstineteis vos a fornicatione, ut sciat unusquisque vestrum suum {20v} vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore, non in passione desiderii, sicut et gentes, quae ignorant Deum*.

¹ **inebriati N**

² Crapula *in marg.* D, G

³ restauranda C

⁴ Plato *in marg.* D, G

⁵ David *in marg.* D, G

⁶ **omit. N**

[47] The same I should say concerning gluttony, for gluttony is the mother of indulgence. Therefore Paul says to the Ephesians: *And be not drunk with wine, wherein is indulgence in sensual pleasure.*¹ But hear also the prophet Isaiah and tremble, all ye who are addicted to drunkenness and wine orgies, or rather: reform your life: *Woe to you that rise up early in the morning to follow drunkenness, and to drink in the evening, to be inflamed with wine. The harp, and the lyre, and, the timbrel and the pipe, and wine are in your feasts: and the work of the Lord you regard not.*² And again: *Woe to you that are mighty to drink wine, and stout men at drunkenness.*³

[48] You have heard the prophet. It is significant that he says “Woe”, for with this word he threatens eternal death, just as Christ does when he says: *Woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites; because you tithe anise, etc.*⁴ These words are a threat of eternal punishment, for drunkards and inebriates *shall not possess the kingdom of God.*⁵

[49] I do not forbid you wine, dear brethren, but I tell you to use it sparingly and not in order to quench your thirst – water is better for that – but *to refresh and restore your minds and make you able to resume the duties of sobriety,*⁶ as, according to Macrobius, Plato⁷ says in *The Laws*. From the testimony of David, you know that *wine may cheer the heart of man,*⁸ but only on the condition that you drink it moderately and sparingly. Immoderate consumption of wine leads to drunkenness and pushes men into all kinds of indecency. Thus we read that Lot laid with his own daughters once when he was drunk.

[50] Here is what I bid you concerning the flesh: I do not forbid you to lie with your own wives, but I refer you to Paul’s words to the Thessalonians; hear him and follow him: *For this is the will of God, your sanctification: That you should abstain from fornication: That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour, not in the passion of lust, like the Gentiles that know not God.*⁹

¹ Ephesians, 5, 18

² Isaiah, 5, 11-12

³ Isaiah, 5, 22

⁴ Matthew, 23, 23

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 6, 9

⁶ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 2.8.6. Also used by Piccolomini in his *De liberorum educatione*, written in 1450, and dedicated to King Ladislaus, then 10 years old

⁷ Plato (428/427 or 424/423-348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

⁸ Psalms, 103, 15

⁹ 1. Thessalonians, 4, 3-5

[51] Cum propria dormire conjuge sobolis procreandae causa ac propter evitandam fornicationem, comedere ac bibere ad sustentationem corporis permissum est. Quidquid¹ aliter sit, delictum habet. Verum quia adhuc de voluptatibus loquimur, videamus, quid mali afferat voluptas gutturis atque veneris, non dico de caelestis amissione regni, hoc enim jam est ostensum², sed quomodo etiam in terris vitam nobis felicem eripit inifinitasque infert calamitates et animorum perturbationes inquietationesque mentis, cum quibus nulla potest regnare jucunditas.

[52] De voluptatibus³ ergo sic accipite, quoniam *nulla capitalior pestis est hominibus, nulla noxior, quam voluptas corporis*, sicut⁴ Archita Tarentinus, clarus philosophus, solebat dicere. Homines namque, qui voluptatibus dediti sunt, hujusmodi patrimonium liguriunt omnesque dissipant facultates; ut tamen perseverare possint ac voluptatibus suppeditare⁵ sumptus, omnibus se⁶ periculis objectant, et omnia aggrediuntur scelera, nullumque malum facinus est, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impellat.

[53] *Nihil praeterea Deus atque natura praestabilius mente dedit hominibus*. Per hanc enim bona et mala cognoscimus, et per hanc Deo similes sumus. At huic tam⁷ divino muneri ac dono nihil est tam inimicum quam voluptas. Dominante namque libidine non habet temperantia locum, neque⁸ in regno voluptatis potest consistere virtus. Quisquis enim aut veneris⁹ aut cibi potusque voluptatibus est immersus, nihil agitare mente potest, nihil¹⁰ ratione cogitationeque consequi. Tantum pensi est in ebrio quantum in porco. Cibo plenus crapulaque distentus, iners, tardus ac somnolentus est, extra se est et alienus a mente, quisquis luxuriae succubuit. Quo major est voluptas corporea¹¹, eo magis animi lumen extinguit. Plato¹², philosophus sapientissimus, *voluptatem omnium malorum escam appellat, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces*. At non videtis ad cellas vinarias ramos frondentes poni hominesque illuc quasi pisces currere et quasi hamo capi, dum inebriantur, mentemque perdunt ac bestiis fiunt similimi?

¹ **quidquam N**

² est ostensum : ostensum est F

³ Voluptas *in marg.* C, D, G

⁴ sic MA

⁵ **suspendere N**

⁶ si T

⁷ **omit. N**

⁸ nec F

⁹ veneris E, T

¹⁰ nisi F

¹¹ *corr. ex corpora E; corpora T*

¹² Plato A; Plato *esca in marg.* D; Plato *esca omnium malorum voluptas in marg.* G

[51] It is permitted to sleep with one's own wife for the sake of begetting offspring and to avoid fornication, as well as to eat and drink in order to sustain the body. Otherwise, it is sinful. But since we are still talking about pleasures, let us look at the evil consequences of the pleasure of eating¹ and of sex – not with regard to losing the Kingdom of Heaven, for that has already been dealt with – but how it robs us of a happy life on Earth and causes an infinite number of calamities, disturbances of the mind, and unrest of the soul that make it impossible for joy to prevail.

[52] So be aware that *mankind suffers no greater or more dangerous plague than the pleasure of the body*,² as Archytas of Taranto,³ a famous philosopher, used to say. Men who are addicted to such pleasures waste their inheritance and squander all their means. And in order to be able to afterwards continue and afford their pleasures, they expose themselves to all kinds of risks, they commit all kinds of crimes, and no deed is so evil that they will not be pushed into it by lust for pleasure.

[53] Moreover, *God and Nature*⁴ *have given men nothing more precious than the mind*,⁵ for through the mind we know what is good and what is evil, and through the mind we are like God. But nothing is more harmful to this divine gift and present than bodily pleasures: when lust prevails, there is no place for moderation, and virtue cannot survive in the realm of pleasure. Whoever is immersed in the pleasures of sex, food, and drink cannot use his mind properly or achieve anything through reason and thought. There is no more thought in a drunkard than in a pig. A man full of food and bloated with wine is sluggish, slow, and sleepy. The man who gives in to sexual indulgence is out of his mind. The more bodily pleasure is enjoyed, the more the light of the mind is extinguished. Plato, the wisest of philosophers, calls *bodily pleasure the nourishment of all evils, because by pleasure men are caught like fish*.⁶ Do you not see how they put leafy branches in front of wine taverns and that men rush there like fish and get hooked, and drinking themselves into stupor, they lose their minds and become complete animals?

¹ I.e., "of the gullet"

² Burley, (Archytas), p. 92: *Nulla pestis capitalior quam voluptas corporis*. Cf. also p. 90

³ Archytas of Taranto: Greek philosopher, mathematician and statesman

⁴ Note the juxtaposition of God and Nature

⁵ Burley, (Archytas), p. 90: *Cum enim nil mente prestabilius Deus dedisset homini huic divino muneri nichil tam inimicum esse quam voluptatem*

⁶ Burley, (Plato), p. 228: *Item dixit escam malorum esse voluptatem eo quod ea capiuntur homines sicut hamo pisces*

[54] Sed non solum mentem perdimus voluptatibus delibuti corporeis, quod maximum est, sed etiam corpus ipsum, cui servimus, reddimus imbecillum, corruptum, putridum. Mater est enim omnium infirmitatum venus. Cibus autem¹ atque potus plures interficit homines quam gladius. Addite molesiam mentis cum nos absumpsisse patrimonia voluptatis causa cernimus. *Foedissimus*, inquit Seneca, *patrimoniorum* {21r} *exitus est culina*. Juvenalis autem de immoderato cibo sic ait:

Hinc subitae mortes atque intestata senectus.

[55] Nemo est, quem non tandem poeniteat immoderatae voluptatis. Cum aegrotamus in lecto, tum potum, tum cibum, tum coitum² habemus odio. Nec umquam³ in his deliquisse vellemus, et abstinere deinceps promittimus; liberati tamen nequaquam servamus. Quod si quis ita viveret, quemadmodum in adversa valetudine se victurum spondit, is proculdubio bonus, sanctus felixque vir esset, et viveret hic in terris jucunde, et post obitum vitam beatam consequeretur. Videtis, dilectissimi, quomodo in omnibus vitiis nihil est laetitiae, nihil jucunditatis, nihil verae fixaeque voluptatis. Sed contra vitiosi omnes inquieti sunt, moesti, tristes, insani, furiosi, nullam vel corporis vel animi, quae duret, consolationem sentientes.

[56] O igitur pium ac clementissimum Deum! O providentiam⁴ ineffabilem majestatis aeternae! O veram divinae pietatis caritatem! Nihil Deus nobis⁵ praecipit, nisi quod nobis est sanitati; nihil mandat, nisi quod est⁶ utilitati; nihil injungit, nisi quod est jucunditati. Recte ergo vereque⁷ dicitur: *Jugum meum suave est, et onus meum leve*. Nec enim ad aliquid nos Deus astringit, quod nobis in terra manentibus et ad suavitatem⁸ corporis et ad quietem mentis non sit necessarium. Nos ergo, si - quemadmodum ab initio promisi⁹ - paradysum in terris volumus possidere, jucundam¹⁰ tranquillitatem pacemque possidentes, abjiciamus a nobis opera tenebrarum. Sit procul ira, absit libido, facessat cupiditas.

¹ *omit.* F

² tum coitum *omit.* E [NB: not T]

³ **numquam** N

⁴ prudentiam F, G, MA

⁵ Deus nobis : nobis Deus G, MA

⁶ *omit.* C

⁷ vere quae E [NB: not T]

⁸ **sanitatem** N

⁹ promissi T

¹⁰ *omit.* G, MA

[54] When we are addicted to bodily pleasure, we not only lose our mind, which is the most important, but we also make the body, whose slaves we are, weak, spoiled, and stinking. For sex is the mother of all infirmities, and food and drink kill more people than the sword. Add the anguish of the mind when we see that we have spent all that we own on pleasures. Seneca says that *the most shameful scourge that assails fortunes is the kitchen*.¹ And Juvenal has this to say about immoderate eating:

*Hence a sudden death, and an intestate old age.*²

[55] There is nobody who does not regret immoderate pleasure. When we lie ill in bed, we cannot stand the thought of drink, food, and sex. We should like never to have transgressed in these respects, and we promise to be abstinent from now on. But when we have recovered, we never keep our promises. If every man lived as he vowed when he was ill, he would undoubtedly be a good, holy, and happy man. He would live joyfully on this Earth, and passing away, he would obtain the blessed life. You see, beloved, how there is no happiness, no joy, and no true and lasting pleasure in any vice. On the contrary, all people who are given to vice are troubled, gloomy, sad, mad, and furious, and they feel no lasting comfort, neither in the body nor of in the mind.

[56] Oh, truly pious and merciful God! Oh, ineffable wisdom of the Eternal Majesty! Oh, true love of pious God! He has not commanded us to do anything that is not conducive to our health. Everything he bids us do is for our own health, advantage, and joy. Therefore, rightly and truly it is said: *My yoke is sweet and my burden light*.³ For God does not oblige us to do anything that is not necessary for a healthy body and a tranquil mind while we live on Earth. So, as promised in the beginning, if we want to possess Paradise on Earth, with joyful peace and tranquillity, we should leave behind us the works of darkness. So, do away with anger, lust, and greed.

¹ Seneca: *De Beneficiis*, 1.10.1: *nunc conuiuiorum uigebit furor, et foedissimum patrimoniorum exitium, culina*

² Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 1.144

³ Matthew, 11, 30: *iugum enim meum suave est et onus meum leve est*

[57] Si non sunt divitiae, non appetamus, quae plus curarum quam voluptatis afferunt. Si res nostra nobis non sufficit, sufficiamus ei parce viventes, ut Socrates monuit. Si minor est noster ager quam vicini, minori opera indiget. Si non sunt pecora, non timemus raptores. Si parva est domus, minori cum damno ruet. Si pecuniam debes, creditori magis quam tibi est cura. Si ventura est paupertas, scies qui veri amici fuerint, et illi te non deserent, nec tibi victum negabit dominus, qui *dat escam omni carni*. Si deformis est uxor, non vereris moechum. Si vitiosa est et litigiosa, habes domi, unde patientiam discas. Si non sunt liberi, non times pestem, et levior est inopia rerum, quam cum paucioribus toleras. Si sunt filii, nec habes, unde nutrias, invenies, qui nutriant¹, et gratiam Deo referre debes, qui ex duobus tibi, quod magis amas, dedit: quaerebas enim liberos atque divitias, jam vero filios cum divitiis non commutares, sicut barbari faciunt et praesertim Scythae². Si nubilus est filia, nec dotis pecuniam habes, magna dos est cum virginitate probitas.

[58] Si princeps nimis emungit, {21v} nihil tuum aufert, nihil enim in hunc mundum portasti. Si mendicare cogaris, memento quia et³ ⁴ Christus et apostoli et alii multi⁵ sancti elemosynas petiverunt. Si sunt illatae injuriae, minus tibi quam injurianti nocuerunt⁶. Si mala teneris valetudine, vel morte vel sanitate liberaberis.⁷ Si non es corpore pulcher, animi pulchritudinem quaere, ex qua magis Deo placebis. Si vili te in loco pater genuit, *non quali⁸ sis natus patria, sed quali⁹ sis dignus*, considera, et fac, ut bene vivendo supernae civitatis Jerusalem civis efficiaris. Si non¹⁰ es litteratus et in saeculo sapiens, stude, ut in simplicitate cordis Deo placeas, apud quem, sicut Paulus dicit: *“tultia est hujus mundi sapientia*.

¹ nutriat MA

² Scithes F

³ *omit.* E, F, G [NB: not T]

⁴ quia et : quod MA

⁵ alii multi : multi alii C

⁶ si sunt ... nocuerunt *omit.* T

⁷ si sunt illatae injuriae, minus tibi quam injurianti nocuerunt *add.* T

⁸ quasi F

⁹ qualis E

¹⁰ *omit.* F

2.3. Be content with what you have

[57] If we do not have wealth, then we will not desire those things that bring more worry than pleasure. If our needs exceed our means, then we shall adapt the needs to our means by living frugally, as Socrates taught.¹ If our field is smaller than our neighbour's, then it needs less work. If we have no cattle, then we shall not fear thieves. If our house is small, then the damage will be smaller if it collapses. If you owe money, then your creditor will worry more than you. If poverty comes, then you will know who are your true friends: they will not fail you, and the One *who giveth food to all flesh*² will not deny you food. If your wife is ugly, then you will not fear the adulterer. If she is vicious and quarrelsome, then you may learn patience in your own home. If you do not have sons, then you will not fear the plague, and the lack of things will be easier to bear when you have to share it with fewer people. If you have sons whom you cannot feed, then you will find someone who can feed them, and you will owe thanks to the Lord who, of two things, gave you what you treasure most: you wanted both sons and wealth, but now you would not exchange your sons for wealth – unlike the barbarians, especially the Scythians.³ If your daughter is marriageable and you do not have money for the dowry, then probity, together with virginity, is a great dowry.

[58] If the prince fleeces his people, then he will really take nothing from you, for you brought nothing into this world. If you are forced to beg, then remember that Christ, the apostles, and many other saints asked for alms. If someone wounds you, then the wounds will hurt him more than you. If your health is bad, then you will be freed either by death or by recovery. If your body is ugly, then strive for a beautiful soul that will please God more. If your father sired you in a vile place, then *do not consider what place you were born to, but what place you are worthy of*,⁴ and see to it that through a good life you become a citizen of the city on high, Jerusalem. If you are not educated and world-wise, then strive to please God in simplicity of heart, for to God, says Paul, *foolishness is the wisdom of this world*.⁵

¹ E.g., Burley, (Socrates), p. 126

² Psalms, 135, 25

³ The Scythians: used as a designation for the main barbarian peoples of old, whom Piccolomini later identified as the progenitors of the Turks. His knowledge of the Scythians derived wholly from classical sources. The "classical Scythians" known to ancient Greek historians were located in the northern Black Sea and fore-Caucasus region

⁴ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240: ... *non esse considerandum ex qua patria ortus sit, sed quali sit patria dignus*

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 3, 19

[59] Si non habes dominium neque potentiam, non est cur tibi parentur insidiae. Si non honoraris, non est unde superbias. Si mortuus est filius, *mortalem* genueras. Si caecus es, non vides mala multa, quae fiunt. Si surdus es et¹ ² non audis citharoedi vocem, nec stridorem ferri, cum acuitur, nec grunitum porci, cum jugulatur, audis. Si servus es, et regina Hecuba³ et Plato et Diogenes philosophi serviverunt⁴. Si exul es patria, totum mundum esse patriam tuam cogita, sicut Socrates, et non existimabis te exulem. Si senex es, gaude, quia privatus es his⁵ voluptatibus, quae te in perditionem adducebant. Si mors appropinquat, laetare quia corporis carcerem⁶ cito exhibis, et sic vivito, ut lucis potius quam tenebrarum adire loca⁷ jubearis.

[60] Sed ne per singula discurremus, quod est non minus taediosum quam longum: si quis hujus saeculi, quae dicuntur, mala facilius vult tolerare, apud Euripidem, quod Theseus fecisse dicitur, imitari debet. Sic enim ait:

*Futuras mecum commentabar miserias,
Aut mortem acerbam, aut exilii moestam fugam,
Aut semper aliquam molem meditabar mali,
Ut si qua injecta diritas casu foret,
Ne me imparatum cura laceraret repens.*

¹ *omit.* C

² *omit.* D, G, MA

³ Hecuba A, B, C, E, F, T

⁴ servierunt T

⁵ is E

⁶ carcere MA

⁷ loca adire D, G, MA

[59] If you do not have lordship or power, then there is no reason why people should plot against you. If you are not honoured, then you will not be puffed up with pride. If your son has died, then it is simply because you *had sired a mortal being*.¹ If you are blind, then you will not see the many evil things that are being done. If you are deaf, then you do not hear the voice of the citharist, but neither will you hear the harsh sound of iron being sharpened nor the squealing of pigs being slaughtered. If you are a slave, then both Queen Hecuba² and the philosophers Plato³ and Diogenes⁴ were slaves at one time. If you are exiled from your fatherland, then you may think of the whole world as your fatherland, as Socrates did⁵, and you will not feel an exile. If you are old, then rejoice because you are freed from those pleasures that led you to perdition. If death approaches, then be happy that you will soon leave the prison of your body, and live in such a way that you will be bid to go to the place of light rather than the place of darkness.

[60] But let us not talk about each single issue – that would be just as tedious as long. If someone wants to be able to bear the evils of this world we are talking about, he should imitate what Theseus,⁶ according to Euripides,⁷ is said to have done. For he says:

*I treasured up what some learn'd sage did tell,
And on my future misery did dwell;
I thought of bitter death, of being drove
Far from my home by exile, and I strove
With every evil to possess my mind,
That, when they came, I the less care might find.*⁸

¹ Burley, (Anaxagoras), p. 82: *Ego enim illum ex me natum sciebam esse mortalem*. Cf. Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Helidorum* (60), 5. MPL, XXII, col. 592

² Queen Hecuba: (Greek Myth.): wife of King Priam of Troy. Taken as a slave by Odysseus after the fall of Troy

³ Plato initially visited Syracuse while it was under the rule of Dionysius. The tyrant himself turned against him, and he was sold into slavery and almost faced death in Cyrene, a city at war with Athens, before an admirer bought Plato's freedom and sent him home

⁴ Diogenes of Sinope (412/404 -332 BCE): Greek philosopher and one of the founders of Cynic philosophy. Once he was captured by pirates and sold into slavery

⁵ Cf. section 71. NB: Here in a positive sense

⁶ Theseus: the mythical founder-king of Athens

⁷ Euripides (ca. 480-406 BCE): ancient Greek tragedian. The tragedy itself is lost, but the above passage was quoted in Greek by Plutarch in his *Moralia*, 112D

⁸ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 3.14.29

[61] Cogitare debemus¹ et animum nostrum ad omnia parare, quae possunt accidere, ac non solum, quae ante oculos sunt, sed etiam futura de longe prospicere, ac praemeditari omnia, ne² nos improvisos tempestas submergat³. *Minus enim*⁴, inquit beatus Gregorius⁵, *jacula feriunt, quae providentur*⁶, *et nos tolerabilius mundi mala suscipimus, si contra haec per providentiae clipeum munimur*. Infirmittates namque, dilectissimi, quae nos affligunt⁷, exilia, captivitates, vulnera, mortes, inopiae, filiorum orbitates, delicta conjugum, detractiones et cetera istiusmodi, quae videntur mala mentemque vexant, communia sunt et bonis et malis viris, {22r} sed malis duriora quam bonis. Armatur se namque patientia vir bonus, redditque leviora, quaecumque eveniunt. Mali autem opprimuntur et deficiunt sub pondere.

[62] Et quamvis in Apocalypsi dicat Johannes⁸: *Ego, quos amo, arguo et castigo*; et iterum ad Titum Paulus: *Omnes, qui pie volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patiuntur*; ac rursus ad Hebraeos: *Quem enim diligit dominus, castigat, flagellat enim omnem filium, quem recipit*. Et postea: *Quis enim filius, quem non corripit*⁹ *pater?* Non sunt tamen ad mortem hujusmodi correctiones¹⁰, sed ad vitam, ad quas facilius sustinendas verborum Senecae meminisse debemus, qui sic ait: *Deus homines pro liberis habet, sed corruptos et vitiosos luxuriose ac delicate patitur vivere, quia non putat emendatione sua dignos. Bonos autem, quos diligit, castigat saepius et assiduis laboribus ad usum virtutis exercet, nec nos caducis ac*¹¹ *mortalibus bonis corrumpi ac depravari sinit*. Quae verba cum Paulo¹² conveniunt, qui ait: *Mali autem homines et seductores proficiunt in pejus errantes*.

¹ Parati semper simus *in marg.* D, G

² **et N**

³ **emergat N**

⁴ *omit.* E [NB: not T]

⁵ Beatus Gregorius *in marg.* A; Gregorius *in marg.* D, G

⁶ *praevidentur* MA

⁷ **nos affligunt : in corpore sunt N**

⁸ Johannes in apocalypsi *in marg.* A; quos amo arguo *in marg.* D; Joan. Quos amo arguo et castigo *in marg.* G

⁹ *corripit ex corripit* G; *corripit* MA

¹⁰ *correptiones* F

¹¹ *et* F

¹² Paulus *in marg.* A, G

[61] We should reflect and prepare our soul for everything that may happen, looking not only at what lies immediately ahead but also at what lies in the far future. And we should ponder everything in advance so as not to be overwhelmed by an unforeseen storm. The blessed Gregory¹ said: *Darts do less damage if we foresee them, and we bear the evils of the world more easily if we protect ourselves against them with the shield of foresight.*² Beloved, the infirmities that afflict us - exile, captivity, wounds, death, poverty, loss of children, faults of spouses, slander, and everything that seems bad to us and troubles the mind - all these things are common to good men and evil men, but they are worse for the evil than for the good. For good men arm themselves with patience and thereby make things happening to them easier to bear, whereas evil men are weakened and overcome by them.

[62] In the Apocalypse, John says, *Such as I love, I rebuke and chastise.*³ And Paul to Titus⁴: *All that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution;*⁵ and again to the Hebrews: *For whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth: and he scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.*⁶ And later: *For what son is there whom the father doth not correct?*⁷ Such corrections, however, lead not to death, but to life. To accept them more easily, we should remember the words of Seneca saying, *God regards men as His children, but He permits the corrupt and vicious to live in luxury and delicacy, because He does not think them worthy of His correction. But He often chastises the good whom He loves, and by continual labours exercises them to the practice of virtue: nor does He permit them to be corrupted and depraved by frail and perishable goods.*⁸ These words agree with those of Paul: *But evil men and seducers shall grow worse and worse.*⁹

¹ Gregorius I (ca. 540-604): Pope from 590 to his death in 604

² Gregorius I: *Homiliae in Evangelia*, 35, 1. MPL, LXXVI, col. 1259

³ Apocalypse, 3, 19

⁴ Error for Timothy

⁵ 2. Timothy, 3, 12

⁶ Hebrews, 12, 6: *quem enim diligit Dominus castigat flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit*

⁷ Hebrews, 12, 7

⁸ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 5, 23

⁹ 2. Timothy, 3, 13

[63] Quae omnia non sunt contraria his, quae praemisi, dum bonos omnes viros possidere in terris dixi paradisum. Nam etsi persecutionem¹ patiantur, non tamen minus felices sunt, quia mentis tranquillitatem et pacem non perdunt. Cogitant namque semper, quod Epictetus² philosophus ait, *non omnino Deo exosos esse, qui in hac vita cum aerumnarum varietate luctantur; sed esse arcanas causas, ad quas paucorum hominum potuit pervenire curiositas*. Verum sicut cupidis gloriae militibus leves habentur belli labores, semperque jucundi videntur et hilares, sic athletae Christi tanto magis laetantur, quanto majora patiuntur incommoda, nam et Stephano lapides et Laurentio carbones dulces fuerunt.

[64] Qui³ vero perfectionem hanc non possunt attingere doloresque sentiunt, secum ipsi Lactantii⁴ dicta revolvunt ac se consolantur, cujus haec verba sunt: *Exiguus enim momentis status rerum humanarum novantur, nec prosperitas diuturna, nec aerumna est pertinax. Itaque⁵ nec miserum esse, nec contra perpetuum est, sed alternae sequentur⁶, et in hisdem⁷ variae vices rerum*, quae omnia vir bonus considerat, et in miseria quamvis miser esse non possit, felicitatem sperat. In felicitate vero fortunae mutationem⁸ meditatur et armat se, ne prosperitate desinente in adversitate deficiat. Mali autem et in adversitate desperant, et in prosperis rebus superbiunt, nec secundae, nec adversae fortunae sciunt modum tenere, Miseri, dum fortuna arridet et dum irascitur miseriores, nec uni, nec alii statui convenientes.

¹ **justi add. N**

² Epithetus A, B, C, D, E, F, G, T

³ quo E

⁴ Lactantius *in marg.* A, C, D, G

⁵ ita G, MA

⁶ sequantur T

⁷ iisdem MA

⁸ fetationem F

[63] Nothing here contradicts what I said before, i.e., that all good men have Paradise on earth. Even if they suffer persecution, they are not less happy, for they do not lose peace and tranquillity of mind. They always ponder the saying of the philosopher Epictetus¹: *Those who in this life struggle with many different hardships are absolutely not unloveable to God; but there are hidden things that only few inquisitive people could get at.*² To soldiers thirsting for glory, the labours of war are light, and they always appear cheerful and gay. It is the same with the athletes of Christ: the more they suffer hardships, the more they rejoice. Sweet were the stones to Stephen³ and the coals to Lawrence.⁴

[64] But those who cannot attain this degree of perfection and who do feel pain may console themselves by reflecting on the words of Lactantius, who said, *In critical times, human affairs are turned upside down: prosperity does not last, nor does hardship persist. Thus, neither the state of misery nor the opposite lasts forever, but they follow each other, and the same person experiences both successively.*⁵ The good man knows this, and in bad times he hopes for happiness, though he cannot himself be truly miserable. In happy times, he contemplates the change of fortune and prepares himself so that he will not fail when prosperity ceases and adversity begins. But evil people despair in adversity, and in prosperous times they are proud. They know moderation neither in good times nor in bad. When fortune smiles, they are miserable, and when fortune gets angry, they are even more miserable, unable to adapt to either state.

¹ Epictetus (55-135): Greek sage and Stoic philosopher

² Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.11.45; Gellius, 2.18

³ Stephen: the first Christian Martyr. Killed by stoning, cf. Acts, 6

⁴ Laurentius (225-258): one of the seven deacons of ancient Rome serving under Sixtus II who were martyred during the persecution of Valerian in 258. Killed by being roasted over a fire. While he was being grilled, he is reported to have said: *I am done on this side. Turn me over and eat (Assatus sum, jam versa et manduca)*

⁵ Not Lactantius, but Saint Ambrose: *Historia de excidio urbis Hierosolymitanae*, 1, 32. MPL, XV, col. 1996C

[65] Verum {22v} ego, dilectissimi, cum hominum vitas intueor, et quid quaeque gens agat, attente considero, non video genus aliquod¹ vitae, in quo homines et jucundius et salubrius versari possint, quam vestrum est, qui colitis agros et in rure commoramini sequestrati ab omni civili ambitione atque furore; qui, si non habetis magnas divitias, cum Sapiente potestis dicere: *Melius est parum cum justitia, quam multi fructus cum iniquitate*; qui *rationem habetis cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec umquam sine usura reddit² quod accepit*; qui non pestiferas, si vultis, sed sanas atque jucundas in colendis agris potestis percipere voluptates; *qui non solum ex fructu, qui est honestissimus, sed etiam ex ipsius terrae vi atque natura delectamini*.

[66] An non est jucundum visu, *cum terra ipsa gremio suo mollito, bene culto atque subacto sparsum semen excipit, quae primo occatum cohibet? Deinde tepefactum vapore et³ compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa ac sustentata radicibus et fibris stirpium sensim adolescit, culmoque tecta geniculato vaginis jam quasi pubescens includitur, e quibus, cum emergerit, fundit⁴ frugem, ordinibus spicarum structis, et contra avium minorum morsus aristarum vallo munitur*: ex hinc metitis et in horreum defertis.

[67] Credo vos non posse satis delectationem vestram enarrare, quam percipitis, dum *vim omnium, quae generantur e terra, conspicitis, quae facit, ut ex tantulo grano, aut ex acino vinaceo, aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet*. Quanta in hortis pomariis, lucis pratisque jucunditas datur⁵, quorum cultura et natura ipsa delectat. *Sunt irrigationes, fossiones agri, repastinationes, quibus sit multo terra fecundior*. Quid cum piros⁶ malosque inseritis ac ex agresti arbore aspera et inutili domesticam, mollem⁷ et⁸ utilem redditis? Quanta in *pecudum pastu* voluptas, quanta in lactis munctura⁹, quanta in pullis novellis cornua producentibus et unguas, quanta *in apium examinibus et florum omnium varietate*? Quid de venandi piscandique oblectatione, quid de aucupiis loquar?

¹ *omit.* G, MA; **aliquid N**

² sine usura reddit : reddit sine usura F

³ in *add.* T

⁴ effundit G, MA

⁵ dat MA

⁶ pinos MA

⁷ molem F

⁸ ac G, MA

⁹ **iunctura N**

2.4. Happiness of a simple rural life¹

[65] But, beloved, when I look at the lives of men and consider closely what various kinds of people do, I see no way of life where people can live with greater joy and health than yours. You cultivate the fields and live in the countryside, far from all urban ambition and unrest. You may not have great wealth, but then you can say with the Wise One: *Better is a little with justice, than great revenues with iniquity.*² You are dealing with the earth that never resists your bidding, and it always returns what it receives with interest. If you want to, you can enjoy the happy, wholesome, and innocent pleasures of cultivating the fields, *and you may delight not only in the honest fruits of the earth, but even in its very force and nature.*³

[66] Is it not lovely to see when the earth itself, *its womb having been softened, well cultivated, and subjugated, receives the seed? When the seed has fallen, it first lies hidden, then, warmed by the vapour of the earth, it breaks out of its membrane and draws forth from itself a green sprout that spreads with the roots and filaments of a plant and slowly matures. As it ripens, it develops a knotty stem with sheaths from which, in due time,*⁴ *it brings forth its fruit in the form of ears of grain, protected against the bites of small birds by a brush*⁵; then you harvest it and bring it to the barn.

[67] I cannot justly⁶ describe the delight you feel when you see *the force of all the things that are produced by the earth. That force begets those great trunks and boughs growing out of the trifling seed, the grape pit, or the minute seeds of the other fruits and roots that give so much pleasure in gardens, orchards, and meadows. Their care and even their very nature give joy. And then there is the irrigation, the digging of ditches, and the turning of the soil that make the earth so much more fertile.* And what about the grafting of pear trees and apple trees, when you make a wild, rugged, and useless tree into a domesticated, pleasant, and useful one? How great is not the *pleasure in grazing cattle, in milking, in the new chicken growing comb and claws, in the swarms of bees and the variety of all the flowers?*⁷ And what shall I say about the joys of hunting and fishing and about bird-catching?

¹ Piccolomini had also treated this theme in a letter to Giovanni Tolomei (EP, 2: 37).

² Proverbs, 16, 8

³ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 15.53, slightly rephrased. Cf. also *De officiis*, 1.42.151

⁴ "when it emerges"

⁵ Cicero: *De senectute*, 15.51, slightly rephrased

⁶ "satis" = enough

⁷ Cicero: *De senectute*, 15.52, slightly rephrased

[68] Omnia ista licita et honesta sunt exercitia, voluptatesque permissae, quae suscipiuntur ex eis. Si modo rerum istarum studio ab aliis iustitiae et pietatis officiis non cessatis, si statis contenti fortuna vestra, si nulli infertis injuriam¹: credite mihi, facile vobis est caelum acquirere in hac vestra communi et rustica vita. Hinc est, quod inter rusticos² quam inter³ urbanos homines, qui feliciter viverent, facilius sunt reperti, sicut de Aglao⁴ Arcade ruris cultore, qui rege Persarum {23r} felicius iudicatus fuit. Solon autem, unus e VII sapientibus, interrogatus a rege Lydiae potentissimo, qui ei viderentur esse felices, non reges aut magnates urbiumque cultores, aut hos, quos dicimus nobiles, sed eos, qui sine fama forent ignorarentque vitia, respondit esse felices. Cujusmodi homines in rure saepius quam in urbibus reperiuntur.

[69] Vos tamen, si vultis esse felices - debetis autem omnes velle - non invidere divitibus debetis, sed scire, quia *magnae divitiae sunt lege naturae composita paupertas*, ut⁵ Seneca dicit⁶; ne plus cupere, quam adsit, ac laetari vos esse pauperes, quia *secura est paupertas et expedita*; nec de cibo anxios vos⁷ esse⁸ oportet, quia facile est pascere paucos ventres bene institutos et nihil aliud desiderantes quam impleri. *Parvo fames constat, magno fastidium*. Quod si haec perfectiora non potestis attingere nec paupertatem quasi divitias reputare, hoc saltem efficite, ne vel divitias in prima felicitatis parte ponatis, vel paupertatem in ultimo miseriarum statu collocetis, quia *divitiarum saepe frons hilaris, multis⁹ intus amaritudinibus est referta. Et paupertatis horridior aspectus certis bonis et solidis nonnumquam¹⁰ abundat*. Et si divitias laudatis, dicite cum Sapiente: *Quia bona est substantia, cui non est peccatum in conscientia*.

¹ injuriarum N

² felicius inter rusticos vivitur *in marg.* D, G

³ omit. G, MA

⁴ Aglaus felicius rege Persarum D; Aglaus rege Persarum felicitior *in marg.* G

⁵ et F

⁶ ait G, MA

⁷ nos B, C, E, T

⁸ vos esse anxios : anxios vos esse F

⁹ multus N

¹⁰ numquam F

[68] All these activities are legitimate and decent, and the pleasures derived from them are permissible. If only your occupation with these matters does not make you neglect your other obligations of justice and piety, if you remain content with your fortune, and if you harm nobody, then - believe me - it is easy for you to reach Heaven already in this common and rustic life. This is why it is easier to find men living happily among rural people than among city people, like the farmer Aglaus from Arcadia,¹ who was thought to be happier than the King of the Persians. And when Solon,² one of the seven wise men, was asked by the powerful King of Lydia³ who he considered to be happy, he answered: not kings, magnates, people who live in cities, or those whom we call noble; but those who are without fame and vice, they are happy.⁴ That kind of person you find more often in the countryside than in cities.

[69] If you want to be happy, as you all should, then do not envy the rich, but know that *poverty, brought into conformity with the law of nature, is great wealth*,⁵ as Seneca says. Do not desire more than you have, and be glad that you are poor, for in poverty there is safety and freedom. You should not worry about food, for it is easy to feed a few stomachs that are treated sensibly and only desire to be filled. *Hunger costs but little, squeamishness costs much*.⁶ If you are unable to reach this degree of perfection and to think of poverty as wealth, then at least endeavour not to consider wealth as the ultimate happiness and poverty as the ultimate misery. For *although the face of wealth is often cheerful, internally it contains much that is bitter. And the grim appearance of poverty is often rich on safe and solid advantages*.⁷ But if you praise wealth, then say with the Wise One that *riches are good to him that hath no sin in his conscience*.⁸

¹ Aglaus: a semi-mythological poor citizen of Psophis in Arcadia, whom the Delphic oracle pronounced to be happier than Gyges, king of Lydia, on account of his contentedness, when the king asked the oracle if any man were happier than he

² Solon (638-558 BCE): Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet

³ Croesus (595-ca. 547 BCE): King of Lydia from 560 to 547 BC until his defeat by the Persians

⁴ Cf. Burley, (Socrates), p. 14

⁵ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 4.10

⁶ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 17.4

⁷ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.4

⁸ Ecclesiasticus, 13, 30

[70] Quae, si reperiri¹ debet, facilius apud vos, ex fructu terrae viventes, quam apud cives ex pecunia mercaturisque lucra trahentes, comperietur, si modo veraces esse vultis, fideles, sinceri, recti. Vestrum namque negotium cum terra est, quae sine verbis reddit, quod accepit. Illi cum hominibus mercantur, nec lucrari multum possunt, nisi admodum mentiantur. Estote igitur contenti vestra fortuna, carissimi, et si non habetis maximas facultates, gaudete, quia non deest vobis victus. *Mihi amictui est*, dicebat Anacharsis philosophus, *Scythicum tegmen*², hirsuta scilicet aliqua pellis, sicut de Johanne Baptista legimus, praebebat hirtum tegmen camelus. *Calciamentum est solearum callus*³, *cubile terra*, *pulmentum fames*, *lacte*, *caseo*, *carne vescor*. Vobis melior est quam illi, qui et laneas vestes et calceos non ex vestro, sed ex alieno habetis corio, dormitisque mollius, si non plumis⁴ omnes, at non in terra. Merito ergo contenti esse debetis paupertatemque vestram jucunde ferre, cum ille hilariter summam gestarit inopiam, ac se sic felicem existimaret. Quod si feceritis, ut vos precor et moneo, ducetis hic in terra felicem vitam laetamque, tranquillam, hilarem nudatique⁵ passionibus singulis, quam vobis ab initio promisi, invenietis et possidebitis paradisum.

¹ repperi E [NB: not T]

² tecture N

³ callum N

⁴ pluma G, MA

⁵ nudatisque F

[70] And if real wealth should be found, it will be easier to find it with you, living of the fruits from the earth, than with city people, making a profit from money and trade – if only you will be truthful, faithful, sincere, and upright. Your occupation is with the earth, which gives back what it receives, without words, while those people trade with men and cannot gain a lot unless they lie a lot. So, be content with your fortune, beloved, and if your means are not very great, then rejoice because you do not lack food. The philosopher Anacharsis¹ said: *My clothing is a Scythian mantle* (that is a hairy pelt, just as we read about John the Baptist: *The camel gave him a hairy covering*),² *my shoes are the tough skin of the soles, my couch is the earth, and I live of milk, cheese and meat.*³ You are better off than Anacharsis, for you have woollen clothes and shoes, not of your own skin but from something else. You sleep more softly, if not all on feathers, then at least not on the earth. Rightly, you should be content and bear your poverty gladly, as Anacharsis cheerfully managed his poverty and considered himself to be happy. If you do that, as I ask and advise you to, then you will have a happy, joyful, tranquil, cheerful life here on Earth, and freed of all passion, you will find and possess Paradise, as I promised you in the beginning.

¹ Anacharsis (flourished 6th c. BCE): Scythian philosopher who travelled from his homeland on the northern shores of the Black Sea to Athens

² Cf. Matthew, 3, 4: *ipse autem Iohannes habebat vestimentum de pilis camaelorum*

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.32.90: *Mihi amictui est Scythicum tegimen, calciamentum solorum callum, cubile terra, pulpamentum fames, lacte, caseo, carne vescor*

[71] Ceterum, quia non cives in hoc mundo, sicut ait¹ Socrates, sed peregrini {23v} sumus, aliam patriam aliamque² civitatem inquirentes, cumque parum sit, quod hic vivimus, vitaeque nostra sicut fumus transit, et qui hodie adest, cras aberit. Non satis est vobis haec³ paradisi, de qua sumus locuti, quia finem habet et brevem. Inquirenda est igitur altera paradisi caelestis⁴ ⁵, ad quam adipiscendam omnes navare operas, omnes curas adhibere omniaque impartiri debemus studia⁶, ut ibi sine fine divitiis illis fruamur atque deliciis⁷, quae tot tantaeque sunt, ut nec dici possint nec cogitari. Sed quamvis omnia, quae dicta sunt, gradus quidam fuerint⁸ et scalae, per quas ire in caelum debemus, non tamen sufficiunt, nec portas illas paradisi possunt aperire⁹, nisi alia jungamus.

¹ *omit.* N

² aliam nanque F

³ **vobis haec : haec nobis N**

⁴ *omit.* T

⁵ Paradisi caelestis *in marg.* D, G

⁶ debemus studia : studia debemus B, E, T

⁷ *omit.* F

⁸ fuerit E, T

⁹ aperiri T

3. How to gain eternal life in heaven: the four coins

[71] However, we are not citizens of this world,¹ as Socrates put it, but only pilgrims seeking another fatherland and another city. Here we only live a short while, and our life passes away like smoke: one who is here today will be gone tomorrow. The [earthly] Paradise that we spoke of has an ending and is short. Therefore, we must seek that other, heavenly Paradise, and to attain it, we must use all our strength, care, and zeal so that we may without end enjoy its riches and delights, which are so many and so great that they are both ineffable and unfathomable. All the things that I have talked about until now are like steps on ladders that we must use in order to go to Heaven, but they are not enough, and they cannot open the gates to Paradise unless we add other things.

¹ "in hoc mundo" = mundanus", cf. Burley, (Socrates), p. 124: *Interrogatus ... de qua patria esset, ait: mundanus sum.* Quoted by Plutarch, *On Exile* in *Moralia*: "... the saying of Socrates is still better, that he was no Athenian or a Greek, but a "cosmian" (as one might say Rhodian or Corinthian), because he did not shut himself up with Sunium or Taenarus and the Ceraunian Mountains. Also quoted by Cicero in *Tusculanae Disputationes*, which Piccolomini knew and used. Piccolomini may have taken over the notion of world citizenship, which he also used in the oration "Audivi" [1], from Francesco Filelfo, whose lectures he heard, as a young man, in Florence: ... in his early career Filelfo imagined himself a stoic "world citizen", attached to no particular city and and detached from political concerns (Meserve: Nestor, p. 62, quoting Blanchard)

[72] Ducunt nos ista, quae praemissa sunt, usque ad caelum¹. Sed cum illuc ventum est, antiquus ille gravisque senex, prolixam² barbam demulcens, aeternae vitae claviger, beatus Petrus apostolus, nequaquam nobis aperiet, nisi³ quattuor aera sibi⁴ obtulerimus⁵. Sunt enim omnes janitores⁶ avari, nec ulli aperiunt nisi corrupti⁷ muneribus. Vos scitis⁸, qui aliquando principum atria visitatis, qui nihil magis horretis quam janitoris iratam faciem. Sic ergo et beatus Petrus terribilis est nullique exorabilis, nisi qui suum sibi tributum reddiderit. Quicumque igitur vult post obitum suum paradisi portas intrare, is quattuor aera secum deferat, non adulterinae, sed verae monetae. Antiqui gentiles stulte crediderunt apud inferos esse flumen, quod transire haberent omnes, qui ad felices campos (quos Elysios appellabant) essent ituri, ibique nautam exposcere naulum, ac propterea in ore mortuorum unum nummum ponebant. Non sic est: minime namque⁹ in Campis Elysiis, sed in caelo est vera beatitudo. Nec¹⁰ nummus unus, sed quattuor necessarii sunt intrare cupientibus. Jam scio vos¹¹ quaerere, quales esse debeant¹² isti nummi quaque signati imagine. Dicam vobis evestigio, sed vos curate, ut haec aera vobiscum deferatis, si vultis beatum Petrum invenire benignum.

[73] Primus¹³ nummus est superioribus nostris debitum impartiri; secundus est inferioribus bene praeesse; tertius est aequales bene tractare; quartus est seipsum bene regere. Haec sunt quattuor aera, quae beato Petro necessarium est offerre, quisquis regni caelestis aulam ingredi cupit. Nunc vero attendite, quomodo haec aera possitis acquirere atque illuc deferre.

¹ quae praemissa sunt usque ad caelum : usque ad caelum quae praemissa sunt B, E, T

² **promissam N**

³ Janitori quattuor era *in marg.* D, G

⁴ *omit.* G, MA

⁵ **propinaverimus N**

⁶ janitore E [not T]

⁷ corruptis G

⁸ sitis E [not T]

⁹ minime namque *omit.* B, E, T

¹⁰ que E [not T]

¹¹ scio vos : vos scio T

¹² esse debeant : debeant esse G, MA

¹³ Quattuor era *in marg.* D, G

[72] Those things we spoke of before lead us to [the gates of] Heaven. But when we arrive there, that ancient and venerable¹ man, stroking his long beard, the bearer of the keys to eternal life, Saint Peter the Apostle, will not open the gate to us unless we offer him four copper coins. For all doorkeepers are greedy, and they open to nobody without a bribe. Those among you who sometimes visit the courts of princes fear nothing more than the angry face of the doorkeeper.² Saint Peter, too, is terrible and relentless towards all who do not give him his due. So, anyone who wants to enter the gate of Paradise after death must bring four copper coins along, and not fake money, but true money. The gentiles of antiquity had this foolish notion that in the nether world there was a river³ that must be crossed by all going to the Happy Fields (called the Elysian Fields⁴). At the river was a sailor⁵ who demanded passage money, and therefore they placed a coin in the mouth of the dead. This is not really so, of course, for true beatitude is not found in the Elysian Fields but in Heaven. And those who desire to enter do not need just one coin, but four. Yes, I know that you are now asking: what kind of coins are needed, and whose picture must they carry? I shall tell you right away, but do care to bring these copper coins if you want to keep Saint Peter happy.

[73] The first coin is to give our superiors their due. The second coin is to lead our inferiors well. The third coin is to treat our equals well. And the fourth coin is to govern ourselves well. These are the four copper coins that must be given to Saint Peter by all who desire to enter the court of the Heavenly Kingdom. Now, listen carefully to how you can acquire those coins and bring them there.

¹ "gravis"

² In the *De curialium miseriis* Piccolomini wrote: *What shall I say about the janitor? How often hasn't he shut the doors in your face? How often hasn't he driven you away with blows and kicks? How often hasn't he closed the door that was standing open when he saw you coming? How often hasn't he kept you out, even after you gave him money, only to admit actors, buffoons, or even your rivals? How often hasn't he lied to you, claiming that the prince was sleeping, in council, or even sick?* (Piccolomini: *De curialium* (Mustard), p. 58. My translation/MCS). And in the *Pentalogus*, asked by Emperor Friedrich III why he comes to him so infrequently, Piccolomini answers: *It is either your own fault or that of the doorkeeper. I come daily to the gates, and in vain I knock on them, sometimes using my hands and sometimes my feet. In between, I beg to be admitted. "Good doorman," I say, "let me see the king. I am a courtier, I am a servant of the emperor." But he is deaf, he does not hear. Like Ulysses, he has put wax in his ears so as not to hear the song of the Sirens. I do not even talk to him in Latin, since I do actually know a little German - and when it is not enough, I put forward my boy. But maybe the doorman is actually following his orders. The taster enters, as does the cook, the hunter, the bailiff, the Moor, the horse groom, and the keeper of dogs. Only your poet and, as you say, secretary stays outside the door or leaves in frustration. I am only let into your presence together with the common people, and then I am not allowed to speak to you, only to see you* (Piccolomini: *Pentalogus*, p. 58. My translation / MCS)

³ The Styx: (Greek Myth.) a river that formed the boundary between Earth and the Underworld

⁴ Elysium or the Elysian Fields: a conception of the afterlife that developed over time and was maintained by certain Greek religious and philosophical sects and cults

⁵ Charon: (Greek Myth.): the ferryman who ferried the dead to the underworld over the river Styx

[74] Primus noster superior Deus est¹. *Deus* vero, ut Cicero dicit, est *mens quaedam soluta et libera, segregata ab omni concretione mortali, omnia sentiens et movens*. Hic est pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, {24r} trinus in personis et unus in substantia, omnipotens, aeternus, increatus, immensus, qui machinam istam², quam cernimus mundumque dicimus, caelum, et terram, et aquam et omnia, quae in eis sunt, creavit ex nihilo. Qui licet sit Deus et dominus noster, mitiori tamen vocabulo patrem compellari se sinit et affectu nos patrio respicit atque gubernat. Nam et³ propter nos, cum essemus mancipia diaboli ex delicto primi parentis, incarnari voluit persona filii, nasci ex virgine, inter homines conversari, sitim et famem et alia, quae fert humana conditio, pati, veritatem praedicare, capi, caedi, flagellari, conspui, contumelias audire, crucifigi, mori propter salutem nostram⁴, transire ad inferos, tertia die resurgere, apparere multis, et demum in caelum astante credentium multitudine visibiliter elevari, ac postmodum spiritum⁵ paraclitum, *qui locutus est per prophetas*, et qui docet nos omnia in sancta matre ecclesia, quique mansurus est nobiscum usque ad consummationem saeculi, pro tutela directioneque nostra transmittere, dimisso⁶ nobis eucharistiae sacramento, in quo per manus sacerdotis carnem et sanguinem ad vitam consequendam manducaremus filii Dei, Jesu Christi.

[75] Quae omnia firmiter credere nos oportet, si volumus vivere ad vitam aeternam. *Justus enim*, ut Paulus dicit, *ex fide vivit*. Nec alium⁷ quam unum Deum, unum quoque dominum credere debemus, quia praeceptum est: *Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde diliges, et non ibis post deos alienos*. *Scimus*, inquit ad Corinthios Paulus, *quoniam nihil est idolum in mundo, et quod⁸ nullus Deus nisi unus*. Nam si sunt, qui dicantur dii sive in caelo sive in terra, sive quidem sunt multi dii et multi domini, nobis tamen unus Deus pater est, ex quo omnia et nos in illo, et unus dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia et nos per ipsum.

¹ Deus est : est Deus MA

² omit. MA

³ omit. F

⁴ salutem nostram : nostram salutem B, E, T

⁵ sanctum add. G, MA

⁶ dimissio G

⁷ aliud G, MA

⁸ quoniam MA

3.1. First coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards superiors

3.1.1. God

[74] Our first superior is God. According to Cicero, *God is a mind unfettered and free, severed from all perishable matter, conscious of all, and moving.*¹ He is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, three in persons and one in substance, almighty, eternal, uncreated, and immeasurable. Out of nothing, he created the machine² that we see and call the world, heaven, earth, and water, and everything in them. Though he is our God and Lord, He allows Himself to be addressed by the gentler word of Father, and he cares for us and governs us with paternal love. For when we were still the servants of the Devil because of the sin our first forefather, he decided to become flesh for our sake in the Person of the Son; to be born from a virgin; to live among men; to suffer thirst and hunger and the other things that belong to the human condition; to preach the truth; to be arrested; to be scourged; to be spat upon; to be mocked; to be crucified; to die for our salvation; to pass to the nether world; to rise again on the third day; to appear to many people; to be visibly elevated to Heaven in the presence of a multitude of believers; to send to us, for our protection and guidance, the Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, who *has spoken through the prophets*, and who teaches us all things through Holy Mother Church, and who will stay with us to the end of the world; and to give us the sacrament of the Eucharist in which, by the hands of the priest, we eat the body and drink the blood of God's Son, Jesus Christ, in order to attain Life.

[75] All this we must believe firmly if we want to live in such a way that we attain eternal life. As Paul says, *The just man liveth by faith.*³ And we must believe that there is no other God than the One, and only one Lord, according to the command that *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart,*⁴ and *You shall not go after the strange gods.*⁵ Paul said to the Corinthians: *We know that an idol is nothing in the world and that there is no God but one.*⁶ Some may be called gods, either in Heaven or on Earth, and many may be called gods and lords, but for us there is only One God, the Father, from whom are all things and we in Him, and One Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things and we through him.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1.27.66: *Mens soluta quaedam et libera, segregata ab omni concreione mortali, omnia sentiens et mouens*

² Note the concept of the world machine

³ Romans, 1, 17: *iustus autem ex fide vivit*

⁴ Matthew, 22, 37: *diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et in tota anima tua et in tota mente tua*

⁵ E.g. Deuteronomy, 6, 14: *non ibitis post deos alienos cunctarum gentium quae in circuitu vestro*

⁶ 1. Corinthians, 8, 4: *scimus quia nihil est idolum in mundo et quod nullus Deus nisi unus*

[76] Debemus et mortuorum resurrectionem expectare¹ neque his² assentiri ullo pacto, qui hoc negaverint³. Namque⁴ ut ad eosdem Corinthios scribit Paulus, *si resurrectio mortuorum non est, neque Christus surrexit*⁵. Et iterum: *Nam si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus surrexit*⁶; *quod si Christus non surrexit*^{7 8}, *vana est fides nostra*⁹. Tu ergo, qui credis et credere debes Christum surrexisse, et mortuos quoque resurrecturos credito, quia¹⁰ qui negat unum, negat etiam aliud, et animam suam interficit. Oportet et¹¹ unam ecclesiam catholicam et apostolicam, Christi sponsam immaculatam, tenere, unum baptisma in remissionem peccatorum et vitam aeternam, quam consecuturi sunt in regno Dei et Christi, quicumque recte credentes praecepta servaverint. Pro hac autem {24v} fide neque mortem effugere¹² convenit, si necessarium fuerit, sed mori potius quam negare Christum debemus: *Corde, namque, ut inquit Paulus, creditur ad justitiam, ore autem confessio sit ad salutem.*

[77] Quod si quis metu mortis negaverit Christum, salvus esse nequaquam poterit, nec super huiusmodi fide quidquam dubitare fas est. Sed omnia inconcusse firmiterque tenere, quae tradit ecclesia. Nam *qui haesitat*, ut Iacobus ait¹³ apostolus, *similis est fluctui maris, qui a vento movetur et circumfertur.*

¹ spectare F

² iis T

³ negaverunt F

⁴ neque T

⁵ surrexit C

⁶ et iterum ... Christus surrexit *omit.* C, T

⁷ surrexit E

⁸ quod si ... surrexit *omit.* F

⁹ et iterum: Nam si mortui non resurgunt, neque Christus surrexit *add.* T

¹⁰ **omit. N**

¹¹ ut G; *omit.* MA

¹² **fugere N**

¹³ tradit B, E, T

3.1.1.1. Resurrection and the Church

[76] We must also expect the resurrection of the dead and in no way agree with those who deny it.¹ As Paul writes to those same Corinthians, *But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then Christ is not risen again.*² And again: *For if the dead rise not again, neither is Christ risen again. And if Christ be not risen again, our faith is vain.*³ Therefore, you who believe and should believe that Christ has risen again, you should also believe that the dead will rise again, for anyone who denies the first also denies the second, and thereby he kills his own soul. Also, it is necessary to believe in the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the immaculate bride of Christ, and in one baptism for the remission of sins, and the eternal life that all who have the right faith and keep the commandments will attain in the Kingdom of God and Christ. In this faith, we must be ready to die if necessary: we must rather die than deny Christ. For as Paul says, *With the heart, we believe unto justice: but, with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation.*⁴

[77] If somebody denies Christ for fear of death, he cannot be saved. It is not right to doubt these tenets of faith. All that the Church teaches, in accordance with tradition, should be believed unshakenly and firmly, as James the Apostle says, *For he that wavereth is like a wave of the sea, which is moved and carried about by the wind.*⁵

¹ 1. Corinthians, 15, 12: *some among you say that there is no resurrection of the dead (quidam dicunt in vobis quoniam resurrectio mortuorum non est)*

² 1. Corinthians, 15, 13: *si autem resurrectio mortuorum non est neque Christus surrexit*

³ 1. Corinthians, 15, 16-17: *nam si mortui non resurgunt neque Christus surrexit; quod si Christus non surrexit vana est fides vestra*

⁴ Romans, 10, 10: *corde enim creditur ad iustitiam ore autem confessio fit in salutem*

⁵ James, 1, 6: *qui enim haesitat similis est fluctui maris qui a vento movetur et circumfertur*

[78] Si quem autem vestrum mens sua nonnumquam exagitat ac dubia movet, et nunc de partu virginali, quem etiam prophetae praedixerunt ut Jeremias: *Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel*, nunc de sacramento altaris, de quo Christus ipse salvator noster testimonium perhibet¹, qui ait: *Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus*, quaestio vertitur - potest enim hoc saepe² contingere, quia non sumus³ primi motus nostri potentes – *jactate cogitatus vestros in domino, et ipse vos enutriet. Allidite pueros vestros ad petram*, hoc est primos motus ad Christum, qui petra est, *allidite et nolite plus sapere quam oporteat sapere⁴, sed sapite ad sobrietatem*. Cogitate Deum omnipotentem, nec majus opus esse credite mulierem ex viri⁵ semine quam virginem ex afflatu spiritus sancti concipere. Nec majus miraculum putate sub modica panis specie Christum contineri, quam Christum ipsum⁶ clausis januis in carne et ossibus domum intrasse, in qua erant discipuli. Scitote, quoniam manus Dei non sunt alligatae, nec aliquid ab eo non posse fieri putate, qui mundum fecit ex nihilo.

[79] Et gaudete, quia talia creditis, quae ratione humana probari non possunt. Sic enim est nobis⁷ majus meritum, et absque dubio plus meretur, qui non vidit et credit, quam⁸ Thomas, qui ideo⁹ credidit, quia vidit. Fides¹⁰ namque nostra non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio praebet experimentum. Verum¹¹ cum *fides sine operibus mortua sit¹², nam et daemones credunt, quia unus est Deus, et contremiscunt*, oportet etiam alia superaddere, quia *non omnis, qui dicit "Domine, domine," intrabit¹³ regnum caelorum, sed qui Deum ex toto corde, ex tota anima, et ex tota fortitudine sua dilexerit¹⁴*, timuerit, et ei soli serviverit, et mandata ejus impleverit¹⁵.

¹ **testimonium perhibet : perhibet testimonium N**

² saepius G

³ sunt E, T

⁴ oporteat sapere : oportet F

⁵ **virili N**

⁶ *omit.* G, MA

⁷ vobis T

⁸ quomodo MA

⁹ in deo T

¹⁰ *Fides in marg.* D, G

¹¹ **tamen N**

¹² est N, T

¹³ in *add.* B, E, F, T, MA

¹⁴ dilexit E

¹⁵ impleverit B, E, G, MA

3.1.1.2. Religious doubts

[78] Sometimes some of you may be upset and doubtful concerning the virgin birth, even though it was predicted by prophets like Jeremiah¹: *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son and his name shall be called Emmanuel.*² Or you may have doubts concerning the sacrament of the altar³ about which Christ our Lord himself gives testimony, saying: *My flesh is meat indeed: and my blood is drink indeed.*⁴ Such doubts may arise often because we are not masters of our own primary impulses. If [this happens, then] *cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.*⁵ *Dash thy little ones against the rock,*⁶ which means that you should dash your primary impulses against Christ, who is the rock, and do not wish *to be more wise than it behoveth to be wise, but to be wise unto sobriety.*⁷ Consider that God is omnipotent, and do not believe that it is more difficult for him to make women conceive from the seed of a man than to make a virgin conceive from the breath of the Holy Spirit. And do not think it is a greater miracle that Christ is present in a little piece of bread than that Christ physically and through closed doors could enter a room where the disciples were staying. Know that the hands of God are not bound, and do not believe that anything is impossible for him who created the world from nothing.

[79] And be glad that you believe in such things that cannot be proven by human reason, for thus our merit will be greater, and there is no doubt at all that one who believes what he does not see has greater merit than one who, like Thomas,⁸ only believed what he saw. For our Faith has no merit where it is verified by human reason. Moreover, *faith if it have not works, is dead in itself.*⁹ *For also the demons believe that there is one God and tremble.*¹⁰ It should be added that *not every one that saith to me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven,*¹¹ but the one who *loves God with his whole heart, and with his whole soul, and with his whole strength,*¹² and fears him, serves him alone, and observes his commandments.

¹ Not Jeremiah, but Isaiah

² Isaiah, 7, 14

³ I.e., the eucharist

⁴ John, 6, 56

⁵ Psalms, 54, 23: *iacta super Dominum curam tuam et ipse te enutriet*

⁶ Psalms, 136, 9: *adlidet parvulos tuos ad petram*

⁷ Romans, 12, 3

⁸ The Apostle Thomas refused to believe that the resurrected Jesus had appeared to the eleven other apostles until he could see and feel the wounds received by Jesus on the cross, see John, 20, 24-29

⁹ James, 2, 17: *fides si non habeat opera mortua est*

¹⁰ James, 2, 19: *tu credis quoniam unus est Deus bene facis et daemones credunt et contremiscunt*

¹¹ Matthew, 7, 21: *non omnis qui dicit mihi Domine Domine intrabit in regnum caelorum sed qui facit voluntatem Patris mei qui in caelis est ipse intrabit in regnum caelorum*

¹² Deuteronomy, 6, 5: *diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex tota fortitudine tua*

[80] Cavendum est ne deos sequamur¹ alienos², quod si nunc apud nos minus quam olim apud Hebraeos verendum sit, quia non sunt in his terris idola, quidam tamen in tantum pecunias, mulieres, cibosque diligunt, ut eos sibi deos faciant et idololatrae dicantur³, sicut supra retuli. Et de gulosis⁴ inquit apostolus, *quorum Deus venter est*. Similiter, {25r} qui veneficas mulieres et incantationes sequuntur, et in earum verbis adhibent fidem, deos alienos colunt, indignosque se reddunt caelesti regno.

[81] Jubet etiam Moyses, *ne nomen Dei nostri usurpemus frustra, quia non erit impunitus, qui super⁵ re vana⁶ nomen ejus assumpserit*, cujus mandati violatores sunt perjuriantes, blasphemi, turpiloqui, et omnes qui Deum nominantes falsum testimonium dicunt, quique in amatoriiis carminibus Dei nomen assumunt, quod omnino⁷ vitare necesse est, nec in re quapiam⁸ non seria et honesta⁹ Deum debemus inserere.

[82] Sabbata quoque sanctificanda sunt, idest omnia festa, quae custodiri mandat ecclesia, non solum cessando ab opere, sed jejunando, ubi praeceptum est, interessendo divinis officiis, orando, non fabulando, offerendo sacerdoti. Dicit enim per Moysen dominus: *Non apparebis in conspecto meo vacuus*. Visitare autem tabernas vinarias, compotare, commessari, inebriari, rixari, ductare choreas, joculari cum feminis, taxillis {25r} atque alea ludere non sanctificare est sabbatum, sed profanare et diaboli potius quam Dei festum celebrare. Si quis ergo rite vult sabbatum sanctificare, nec¹⁰ lucri causa, neque voluptatis aliquid agat.

¹ deos *add.* F

² Ne deos alienos *in marg.* C, D, G

³ vocantur G, MA

⁴ ut *add.* B, E, T

⁵ semper D, G

⁶ nova F

⁷ domino F

⁸ re quapiam : rem quampiam E

⁹ et honesta : inhonesta MA

¹⁰ non C

3.1.1.3. Do not have other gods

[80] We should take care not to follow other gods. This is less to be feared today in our countries than in old times in the land of the Hebrews, for in our countries there are no idols. Some, though, love money, women, and food so much that these become their god, and they are said to be idolatrous, as mentioned above. Concerning the gluttonous, the Apostle said that *God is their belly*.¹ Similarly, those who follow witches using poisons and incantations and put faith in their words worship other gods and make themselves unworthy of the Kingdom of Heaven.

3.1.1.4. Taking the name of God in vain

[81] Moses commands us *not to take the name of the Lord thy God in vain: for he shall not be unpunished that taketh his name upon a vain thing*.² Those who disobey his commands are the perjurers and blasphemers, those who speak shamelessly, those who give false witness using the name of God, and those who use the name of God in love poems, something that should be avoided completely: we must simply not refer to God in any matter whatsoever that is not serious and decent.

3.1.1.5. Keeping the Sabbath

[82] The Sabbath should be kept holy. This means to observe all the feast days that the Church bids us keep not only by not working but also by fasting when it is demanded, by participating in the religious ceremonies, by praying, by not indulging in idle talk, and by giving offerings to the priest. For through Moses, the Lord says: *Thou shall not appear empty before me*.³ But visiting wine taverns, drinking together, eating together, getting drunk, brawling, dancing, flirting with women, gaming, and dicing profane the holy sabbath, you do not keep it holy but celebrate the Devil's rather than God's feast. So, if someone wants to keep the Sabbath properly, he should do nothing for the sake of gain or pleasure.

¹ Philippians, 3, 19: *quorum deus venter*

² Deuteronomy, 5, 11: *Non usurpabis nomen Domini Dei tui frustra: quia non erit impunitus qui super re vana nomen ejus assumpserit* . Cf. Exodus, 20, 7

³ Exodus, 23, 15

[83] Quod si bos vel¹ aliud animal in specum ceciderit, non vetaverim patremfamilias² adhibitis operis illud liberare, nec juvare sustentaculis domum, quae minetur ruinam, nec pecus adquare, nec rivos avertere, qui inundantes nocerent satis, et talia, quae sine magno damno praetermitti non possunt. Nec enim imitari Judaeos debemus³, qui, ut est in Machabaeorum libris, occidi se potius permittebant a militibus Antiochi quam arma sumerent in die sabbati, quod nec ipsi postea continuarunt. Apud Romanos consultus Scaevola⁴, quid feriis liceret agere, respondit: *Quod praetermissum noceret*. Pulchra ad nostrum propositum quamvis gentilis hominis auctoritas. Nos tamen nocumentum, non in lucro perdendo, sed in damno⁵ subeundo, eoque non quocumque minimo, debemus accipere.

[84] Post haec *si quis virorum*, ut ait per Moysen Dominus, *votum Domino voverit aut se⁶ constrinxerit juramento, non faciet irritum verbum suum, sed omne, quod promiserit, implebit. Uxor quoque in domo viri cum se voto constrinxerit, sponsioni, non contradicente viro, reddet quodcumque promiserit.*

¹ aut F

² patresfamilias MA

³ Judei a militibus Antiochi *in marg.* C; Judei in Sabbato *in marg.* D, G

⁴ Scevola *in marg.* D, G

⁵ dando F

⁶ omit. G, MA

[83] But if a cow or some other animal should fall into a hole, I do not forbid family fathers to labour to get them out,¹ nor to prop up a house that is threatened with collapse, nor to water the cattle, nor to change the course of overflowing rivers that would cause great damage, and other such things that cannot be left undone without serious harm. And we should not imitate the Jews, who, according to the Maccabean books,² would rather let themselves be killed by the soldiers of Antiochus than take arms on the day of the Sabbath – a practice they themselves discontinued afterwards! In Rome, the jurist Scaevola³ was asked what it was permissible to do on work-free days,⁴ and he answered, *That which would cause damage if left undone.*⁵ Though Scaevola was a gentile, his authoritative answer fits our purpose beautifully. We should, however, accept some discomfort, not in losing gain but in suffering damage – and not of the smallest kind.

3.1.1.6. Vows

[84] Moreover, *if any man, as the Lord says through Moses, make a vow to the Lord, or bind himself by an oath: he shall not make his word void but shall fulfil all that he promised.*⁶ *And if a wife, being in her husband's house, binds herself with a vow, and her husband does not gainsay it, then she shall give whatsoever she promised.*⁷

¹ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.16.11: *Quapropter si bos in specus cecidisset eumque paterfamilias adhibitis operis liberasset, non est visus ferias poluisse*

² 1. Machabees, 2, 31-41

³ Quintus Mucius Scaevola

⁴ "feriae"

⁵ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 1.16.11: *Scaeuola denique consultus, quid feriis agi liceret, respondit: quod praetermissum noceret*

⁶ Numbers, 30, 3: *si quis virorum votum Domino voverit aut se constrinxerit iuramento non faciet irritum verbum suum sed omne quod promisit implebit*

⁷ Numbers, 30, 7-9

[85] In orationibus autem, carissimi, quas in ecclesia coram Deo¹ facitis, cavete ne quid inhonesti petatis, sed sic loquamini cum Deo tamquam homines audiant. Supplicate Deo vestri, ut curam gerat, ut ignoscat, quod erratum est, et gratiam sequendi virtutes infundat. Nemo divitias, vel potentiam, vel desideria carnis exoptulet. Socrates *nihil esse a Deo petendum*² {25v} dicebat *nisi bona*. Scit enim Deus, quid unicuique sit utile. Nos autem saepe id³ votis expetimus, quod non impetrasse melius fuerat⁴. Hinc beatus apostolus Petrus⁵ impetrare sanitatem filiae suae, Petronillae, noluit, quia non expediebat ei. Juvenalis vero optandum, ut sis *mens sana in corpore sano*, nec plura, putat. Vos vero orationem dominicam habetis, illam vos scire oportet, nec plura petere quam ibi contineatur⁶. Illic enim satis est homini provisum. Cum autem oratis, cogitate, ut etiam⁷ operemini, quae Deo placent. *Sapiens enim*, ut inquit Pythagoras, *non reputat Deum honoratum suis alloquiis, sed operibus*. Propheta vero de his, qui multum orant et opera justitiae praetermittunt, *populus hic, ait, labiis me adorat, cor autem eorum longe a me est*⁸.

¹ omit. C

² a Deo petendum : petendum a Deo G, MA

³ saepe id : id sepe G, MA

⁴ foret N

⁵ apostolus Petrus : Petrus apostolus G, MA

⁶ contineantur D, G, MA

⁷ et MA

⁸ longe a ... est : longum est a me F

3.1.1.7. Praying

[85] Dear brethren, when you are praying in the church before God, take care not to ask for improper things, but talk with God as if other people were listening. Pray God to take you into his care, to forgive your errors, and to instill in you the grace of practicing the virtues. Let no one ask for wealth, power, or the pleasures of the flesh. Socrates said that *we should only ask God for good things*,¹ for God knows what is useful for each of us. Often, when making vows, we ask [God] for something that it would be better for us not to get. Therefore, Saint Peter the Apostle refused to pray for health for his daughter, Petronilla,² because it would not be good for her. Juvenal believes that we should ask for a *sound mind in a sound body* and nothing more.³ But you have the Lord's Prayer.⁴ This prayer you should know, and you should ask for nothing more than is mentioned there, for it provides sufficiently for man's needs. And when you are praying, think of what you should do to please God. For, as Pythagoras⁵ says, *the wise man considers that God is honoured not by his words but by his works*.⁶ And one of the prophets says thus about those who pray much but neglect the works of justice: *This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips glorify me, but their heart is far from me*.⁷

¹ Burley, (Socrates), p. 138: *A diis immortalibus nichil ultra petendum esse quam ut bona tribuerent, quia hii scirent quid unicuique utile esset*

² Petronilla: legendary daughter of Saint Peter who, thinking his daughter too beautiful, asked God to send her a fever, of which he refused to cure her until she began to be perfected in the love of God, cf. Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. 1, ch. 78, p. 315

³ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 10.356: *orandum est, ut sis mens sana in corpore sano*

⁴ The Our Father

⁵ Pythagoras (ca. 570 - ca. 495 BCE): Greek philosopher

⁶ Source not identified

⁷ Isaiah, 29, 13: *populus iste ore suo et labiis suis glorificat me cor autem eius longe est a me*

[86] Ad commemorationem quoque Dei et ad nostram salutem debemus communicare et corpus domini suscipere. Nos quidem clerici saepius, vos autem laici ad¹ minus semel in anno. Quod qui praetermiserit, reus est mortis, nisi² poenituerit. In sacramento³ autem recipiendo verborum apostoli meminisse debemus: *Probet autem se ipsum homo, et sic de pane illo⁴ edat et de calice bibat. Qui enim manducaverit et biberit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.* Videtis ergo, dilectissimi, quia⁵ non communicantes⁶ rei sunt mortis. Quod ut evitemus, communicandum est, et digne communicandum. Digne autem omnis communicat⁷, qui vere dolet de peccatorum suorum commissione et vere confitetur, ac, ubi est opus, satisfacit⁸.

¹ saltem *add.* in marg. C

² ni MA

³ sacro MA

⁴ ille N

⁵ quod MA

⁶ et indigne communicantes *add.* N

⁷ omnis communicat : communicat omnis G, MA

⁸ satisfaciat C, D, G

3.1.1.8. Communion

[86] We should go to communion and receive the Lord's body in remembrance of God and for our own salvation. We clerics should do so often; you laypeople should do so at least once a year. Whoever neglects this obligation commits a mortal sin unless he repents. In receiving the sacrament, we should remember the words of the Apostle: *Let a man prove himself: and so let him eat of that bread and drink of the chalice. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily eateth and drinketh judgment to himself.*¹ So you see, beloved, that not receiving communion is a mortal sin. If we want to avoid that, we should receive communion and receive it worthily. He receives communion worthily who is truly sorry for his sins, confesses them sincerely, and makes up for them when necessary.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 11, 28-29: *probet autem se ipsum homo et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat. Qui enim manducat et bibit indigne iudicium sibi manducat et bibit*

[87] Verum ad hoc, ut sciatis melius, quomodo erga Deum debetis¹ vos² gerere³, Lactantii⁴ verba vobis commemorabo, sic enim ait: *Hac conditione gignimur, ut generanti⁵ nos Deo justa et debita obsequia praebeamus. Hunc solum noverimus, hunc sequamur, quod tunc rite faciemus, cum a vitiis abstinemus. Nihil enim, ut idem Lactantius inquit, sancta et singularis illa majestas aliud ab homine desiderat quam solam innocentiam, quae omnium est vitiorum⁶ expulsio. Vitiorum autem carentia, ut prius dixi, non solum Dei gratiam nobis reconciliat, sed etiam vitam in hoc saeculo quietiorem praestat. Et ista in praesentiarum de debito Deo reddendo sufficienter dicta putentur.*

[88] Secundum superioritatis gradum⁷ obtinent sancti et in primis beatissima virgo Maria, quae absque virili semine nobis peperit salvatorem, et jam modo in caelis pro nobis assidue intercedit, suoque filio⁸ supplex iram, quam pro peccatis meremur, avertit⁹. Nulliusque, licet maximi peccatoris, preces fastidit, qui ad eam cum humilitate recurrit suorum poenitens delictorum. Hanc igitur {26r} venerari et¹⁰ verbis collaudare debemus, numquam sermonem de ipsa nisi cum reverentia facere, jejuna vigiliis festaque sua devote celebrare, ac dedicata sibi templa saepius visitare diebusque sabbatinis specialem ejus commemorationem efficere, quibus diebus, si quis ob ejus reverentiam abstinuerit devoteque habuerit se¹¹, sicut doctores quidam asseverant, sine fide et confessione non morietur. Advesperascentibus quoque diebus introduxit ecclesia pulsari campanas in memoriam annuntiationis, quod, cum fit, debetis omnes felicitis redemptionis nostrae reminisci beatamque virginem cum angelo resalutare.

¹ debeat E

² debetis vos : vos debetis G, MA

³ agere F

⁴ Lactantius *in marg.* A, D, E, G

⁵ generati F, T

⁶ est vitiorum : vitiorum est F

⁷ Secundus gradus *in marg.* D, G

⁸ suoque filio : filioque suo G, MA

⁹ advertit D

¹⁰ *interlin.* A; **omit.** N

¹¹ **habuerit se : se habuerit** N

[87] But so that you may better know how to act towards God, I remind you of the words of Lactantius, who says, *For we are created on this condition, that we pay just and due obedience to God who created us, that we should know and follow Him alone.*¹ This we shall rightly do when we keep away from vice. For as the same Lactantius says, *That sacred and surpassing majesty requires from man nothing more than innocence,*² which is the expulsion of all the vices. As I said before, being free of vice will not only restore us to the state of divine grace but also give us a tranquil life in this world. This will be enough about giving our dues to God.

3.1.2. Virgin Mary, angels, and saints

[88] The second level in the hierarchy is occupied by the saints and especially the Holy Virgin Mary, who conceived Our Saviour without the seed of a man. She now tirelessly intercedes for us in Heaven and averts from us her son's anger that we deserve because of our sins. She accepts the prayers of all, even the greatest sinners who repent of their sins and humbly ask for her help. We should venerate and praise her; we should never speak irreverently about her; we should fast on her vigils;³ we should devoutly keep her feast days, often visit the temples dedicated to her, and make special commemoration of her on Saturdays. Some learned people say that all, who, out of reverence for her, are abstinent on these days and perform the devotions to her will die in the Faith and with confession. Moreover, the Church has introduced the practice of ringing the bells in the evenings in memory of the Annunciation, and when this is being done, you should all commemorate our blessed redemption and once again salute the Holy Virgin together with the angel.⁴

¹ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 4, 28

² Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 6, 1

³ Vigil: the day before a Church Feast

⁴ Angelus: a special prayer to the Virgin Mary. Pope Gregory IX (d. 1241) decreed that a bell should be rung each evening to remind the faithful to pray for the Crusades. The Franciscans adopted the custom of saying three Hail Marys when they heard the evening bell, and in 1269, Saint Bonaventure recommended the three Hail Marys to all the faithful. By the sixteenth century, the Angelus was standardised in its present form

[89] Post hanc sunt spiritus illi caelestes, angeli et¹ archangeli, throni, dominationes², potestates, cherubin³, seraphin⁴, et omnis ille spiritualis⁵ exercitus, qui adversus draconem proeliatu est in caelis et astitit agno, de quibus nonnulli ad nostram custodiam sunt deputati, diabolicis fallaciis obviantes, ac nostra, quocumque pergimus, vestigia subsequentes et cogitationes bonas ministrantes⁶, quibus profecto magnas diebus singulis⁷ referre grates debemus, ac nos ipsos sedulo commendatos efficere devotisque mentibus ea festa celebrare, quae in honorem supernorum spirituum introduxit ecclesia.

[90] Post hos Johannem Baptistam, *quo major inter natos mulierum non surrexit* - testimonio veritatis - ac prophetas, apostolos, evangelistas, martyres, confessores, virgines, viduas et⁸ omnes, qui relicto ergastulo carnali per ecclesiam in caelis esse creduntur, pia convenit prosequi devotione, reliquias venerari, jejuna vigiliis, ubi praeceptum est, festivitates celebrare, miracula, quae ab his facta dicuntur, pie credere,

¹ **omit. N**

² *omit.* G, MA

³ Cherubim T

⁴ Seraphim G, N, T, MA

⁵ spiritualis A, B, C, D, E, G, T, MA

⁶ subministrantes G, MA; **inserantes N**

⁷ **diebus singulis : dietim N**

⁸ ac F

[89] After her come the celestial spirits, the Angels, Archangels, Thrones and Dominations, Cherubim, Seraphim, and all the spiritual army that fought against the dragon in Heaven and stood by the Lamb.¹ Some of these are sent to us for our protection, opposing the deceits of the Devil, following our footsteps wherever we go, and inspiring good thoughts in us. Certainly, we should offer them great thanks every day, eagerly entrust ourselves to them, and devoutly celebrate the feasts that the Church has instituted in the honour of the celestial spirits.

[90] After these comes John the Baptist. *There hath not risen among them that are born of women a greater than*² him, as testified by Him who is Truth itself. Then come the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the martyrs, the confessors, the virgins, the widows, and all those, who, having relinquished the prison of the flesh, are believed by the Church to be in Heaven. All these we should show pious devotion, venerate their relics, fast on their vigils when demanded by the Church, celebrate their feasts, and piously believe in their miracles.

¹ Cf. Apocalypse, ch. 12

² Matthew, 11, 11: *non surrexit inter natos mulierum maior Iohanne Baptista*

[91] nec propterea illa negare, quia videantur impossibilia. *Miracula namque*, ut inquit Valerius¹, *ideo dicuntur, quia unde manaverint² aut qua ratione constiterint, arduum est dignoscere*. Christus autem, qui *mentiri non potest*, cum caecis lumen reddidisset et claudos ambulare fecisset, aut – quod erat maximum³ – jam mortuis vitam restituisset, mirantibus discipulis, *Et vos*, inquit, *majora horum facietis*. Non ergo increduli esse debemus⁴, cum miracula referuntur, quia *mirabilis est Deus in sanctis suis*, ut propheta testatur: amovete risum et omnem sermonis turpitudinem, cum de sanctis loquimini. Non blasphemetis eos, non contemnatis, non⁵ scandalizetis, quia licet nocere eis nihil possitis, non tamen erit inultum scelus. Sed honorate omnes vestrosque intercessores semper aliquos habere curate, qui apud Deum vobis patrocinentur, et praesertim gloriosissimam⁶ virginem Mariam, sub cujus titulo haec est fundata⁷ {26v} ecclesia⁸, de qua re summam potestis consolationem recipere summeque laetari, quia patronam habetis in caelo, cui negare Deus⁹ nec¹⁰ ¹¹ vult, nec audet quidquam.

[92] In tertio¹² superminentiae gradu ecclesia est universalis,¹³ mater omnium Christianorum, quae nos per baptismum Christo¹⁴ regeneravit, extra quam non est salus, cujus voluntati¹⁵ nefas est adversari. Ait enim¹⁶ Sanctus Calixtus: *Sicut filius venit facere voluntatem patris, sic et¹⁷ vos impleatis voluntatem matris vestrae, quae est Ecclesia*.

¹ Valerius *in marg.* A; *Miracula in marg.* C; Valerius de miraculis *in marg.* D, G

² manaverunt MA

³ erat maximum : maximum erat G, MA

⁴ debetis B, T; debetis *corr. ex* debeatis E

⁵ nec MA

⁶ *omit.* F; gloriosam T

⁷ **est fundata : fundata est N**

⁸ *omit.* G, MA

⁹ negare Deus : Deus negare G, MA

¹⁰ non MA

¹¹ Deus nec : nec Deus F

¹² Tertio *in marg.* D

¹³ humilis MA

¹⁴ **omit. N**

¹⁵ **voluptate N**

¹⁶ *omit.* F

¹⁷ *omit.* D, G, MA

3.1.2.1. Miracles

[91] We should not deny those miracles because they are seemingly impossible. For, according to Valerius¹, *miracles are called miracles because it is difficult to know where they come from, and how they are made.*² When Christ, who cannot lie, gave sight to the blind, made the lame walk, and – the greatest miracle of all – gave life to the dead, the disciples were astonished, but then he told them, *and greater than these you shall do.*³ So we should not be sceptical when they tell us about miracles, for *God is wonderful in his saints,*⁴ as the Prophet⁵ says. Therefore, away with all scornful laughter and scurrilous talk when you speak about the saints. Do not blaspheme against them, do not scorn them, do not offend them, for though you cannot harm them, every offence against them will be avenged. But honour them all and take care always to have someone to plead for you with God – and especially with the glorious Virgin Mary, to whom this church is dedicated: you may be greatly comforted and happy to have a patron in Heaven whom God will refuse nothing – nor dare to!⁶

3.1.3. The Church

[92] The third level of the hierarchy is the Universal Church, the humble mother of all Christians. Through baptism, she gave us a new birth in Christ, and outside of her, there is no salvation.⁷ It is wrong to oppose her will, for, as Saint Callixtus⁸ says, *As the son comes to do the will of the father, thus you should obey the will of your mother, who is the Church.*⁹

¹ Valerius Maximus (flourished in the 1st century under Emperor Tiberius): Roman writer and author of a collection of historical anecdotes

² Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 1.8, init.: *quae, quia unde manauerint aut qua ratione constiterint dinoscere arduum est, merito miracula uocentur*

³ John, 14, 12: *Qui credit in me opera quae ego facio et ipse faciet et maiora horum faciet*

⁴ 2. Thessalonians, 1, 10: *Cum venerit glorificari in sanctis suis*

⁵ I.e., the Apostle Paul

⁶ Presumably a humorous comment

⁷ The traditional axiom: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*

⁸ Callixtus I (died 223): Pope from c. 218 to his death

⁹ Decretum, D.12.1. (col. 27). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Callixtus*, 1, 2 (To Bishop Benedict). MPL, CXXX, col. 130

[93] Hanc generalia concilia repraesentant, ac propterea, quod patres in generalibus¹ synodis congregati sanxerunt, servandum est. Verum, cum multae sint ecclesiae particulares, sciendum est² Romanam ecclesiam omnium esse caput aliarum. Hinc Calixti verba: *Nulli ergo³ dubium est, quod apostolica ecclesia mater sit omnium ecclesiarum, a cujus regulis⁴ nullatenus convenit deviare.* Clarius⁵ quoque Anacletus *Apostolica*, inquit, *sedes cardo et caput, ut factum est a domino et non ab alio, est constituta. Et sicut cardine ostium⁶ regitur, sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae, domino disponente, reguntur.*

[94] In ecclesia vero⁷ universali quidam superiores sunt, quibus oboedientiam et reverentiam impendere tenemini, quibusdam vero solam reverentiam. In priori parte sunt Romanus pontifex, legati ejus, archiepiscopus Salzburgensis, episcopus Pataviensis et plebanus vester. Possibile esset aliquem praepositum⁸ vel archidiaconum super vos habere jurisdictionem, vel aliquem ex monasticis, de quibus non dicam, quia non⁹ constat. Quidquid sit, limitatum esse oportet et, quatenus se jurisdictio extendit, parendum est. In secunda parte sunt omnes sacerdotes omnesque clerici tam saeculares quam religiosi, qui non habent in vos jurisdictionem, sive sint cardinales, sive patriarchae, sive archiepiscopi, sive episcopi¹⁰, sive alii quicumque clerici, qui propter dignitatem sunt vestri superiores, quibus transeuntibus debetis assurgere, loco cedere honorareque ipsos et operibus et sermonibus, nec injuriantes eis nec ab aliis sibi injurias¹¹ inferri permittentes.

¹ conciliis *add.* G; conciliis ac *add.* MA

² verum cum ... *est omit.* E

³ *omit.* E; **vero N**

⁴ **regalibus corr. ex regalis N**

⁵ clarus E

⁶ hostium B, E, T

⁷ *omit.* B, E, T

⁸ propositum T

⁹ dicam quia non *omit.* G, MA

¹⁰ sive episcopi *omit.* B, E, G, MA

¹¹ sibi injurias : iniurias sibi F

3.1.3.1. Ecumenical councils

[93] The Church is represented by the general councils. Therefore, the decisions of the Fathers in the general synods¹ should be obeyed. But as there are many local churches, you should know that the Roman Church is the head of all the other churches, as Callixtus says, *There is no doubt that the Apostolic Church² is the mother of all churches and that nobody should disobey her precepts.*³ And Anacletus⁴ says it even more clearly, *The Lord made the Apostolic See the hinge and head, and it is not dependent on anybody else. And just as the door is ruled by the hinge, thus, as the Lord has ordained it, all the churches are governed by the authority of this Holy See.*⁵

3.1.3.2. Religious hierarchy

[94] In the Universal Church, there are some superiors whom you should both obey and honour, and others whom you should only honour. The first ones are the Roman Pontiff and his legates, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishop of Passau, and your parish priest. Actually, some dean,⁶ archdeacon, or someone from a monastery might also have jurisdiction, but I shall not speak about that since such is not the case here. Whatever the case may be, jurisdiction should be clearly delimited and only obeyed as far as it extends.

The second ones⁷ are all priests and clerics, both secular and religious, who do not have jurisdiction over you, whether they be cardinals, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, or other clerics. They are your superiors by virtue of their office, and when they pass you, you should rise, give up your place to them, honour them in words and acts, and not offend them or allow anybody else to harm them.

¹ I.e., councils

² I.e., the Roman Church, founded by the Apostles Peter and Paul

³ Decretum, D.12.1. (col. 27). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Callixtus*, 1, 2 (To Bishop Benedict). MPL, CXXX, col. 130

⁴ Anacletus (d. ca. 92): Pope ca. 79 to his death

⁵ Decretum Gratiani, D.22.2. (col. 74). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Anacletus*, 3, 34. MPL, CXXX, col. 78. Also used in the oration "*Si putarem*" [5], sect. 41

⁶ "praepositus"

⁷ I.e., the clerics who should only be revered, and not obeyed

[95] Sed revertamur ad eos, quibus est etiam parendum¹. In tota universali ecclesia primus superior est Romanus pontifex, Petri successor ac Christi vicarius, cui datae sunt claves regni caelorum, ut *quidquid in terra ligaverit², sit etiam in caelo ligatum, et quod³ solverit, solutum* existat. In cuius oboedientia omnino manendum est, nec aliter quisquam salvari potest. Ait enim beatus Augustinus⁴: *Nec studium bonae actionis, nec opus sanctae contemplationis, nec lacrimae poenitentis extra oboedientiam Romanae ecclesiae possunt esse Deo accepta*. Huic ergo et⁵ oboedire debetis et reverentiam impartiri ac plus sibi {27r} quam ceteris hominibus credere atque parere, nihilque omnino moliri, quod sibi vel damno sit vel dedecori. *Observa*, inquit per Moysen dominus, *diligenter, ne incurras in lepram leprae⁶*, quod doctores interpretantur pro majori excommunicatione, quam fert in rebelles Romanus pontifex.

[96] Hujus quoque Romani pontificis nuntiis, sive legati⁷ de latere, sive quivis alii fuerint, eatenus parere debetis, quatenus eorum se facultates⁸ extendunt. Verum quia non potestis ista cognoscere, pontificis vestri Pataviensis jussionem expectari⁹ oportet, ne quid plus minusve faciatis, quam sit necesse, plebanique vestri super hoc captare consilium, sed honorare et humanitatem impendere absque ulla cunctatione debetis.

[97] Similiter archiepiscopo Salzburgensi, qui est hujus terrae metropolitanus, in certis casibus parendum est, quando¹⁰ ex appellationis vigore ad eum causae devolvuntur. In quibus rebus non facio multa verba, quia raro¹¹ ista contingunt, et tunc magis ex consilio quam ex vestro sensu procedendum est vobis. Ac sic¹² trium superiorum, qui sunt in ecclesia, meritum scietis.

¹ parandum T

² in terra ligaverit : ligaverit in terra C

³ **quidquid N**

⁴ Beatus Augustinus *in marg.* A; Augustinus de Romana ecclesia *in marg.* C; Augustinus *in marg.* D, E

⁵ *omit.* G, MA

⁶ In lepram lepre *in marg.* D, G

⁷ legatis G, MA

⁸ se facultates : facultates se G, MA

⁹ expectari *corr. ex.* expectare G; expectare MA

¹⁰ quin MA

¹¹ rato F

¹² si E, F

[95] But let us return to those who should not only be honoured but also obeyed. In the whole Universal Church, the first superior is the Roman Pontiff, the Successor of Peter, and the Vicar of Christ. He has been given the keys to the Kingdom of Heaven. *And whatsoever he shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever he shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.*¹ It is absolutely necessary to remain in obedience to him, for otherwise you cannot be saved. According to Saint Augustine, *neither the zeal for good deeds, nor the work of holy contemplation, nor the tears of the penitent are pleasing to God if outside the obedience to the Roman Church.*² So, you must both obey and revere the pope, and you should believe him above all other people, and obey him, and not endeavour to do anything, which may harm or shame him. Through Moses, the Lord said, *Observe diligently that thou incur not the stroke of the leprosy.*³ Some learned men interpret this as the major excommunication that the Roman Pontiff uses against rebels.

[96] You should also obey the envoys of the Roman Pontiff, be they legates *de latere* or any other, to the extent of their powers. However, as you cannot ascertain these powers on your own, you should await the command of your Bishop of Passau so that you do no more and no less than is necessary. You should also consult your parish priest on the matter. But in any case, you should, without hesitation, honour the pope's envoys and treat them politely.

[97] Similarly, you should, in certain matters, obey the Archbishop of Salzburg, the metropolitan⁴ of this area, namely when cases are referred to him by virtue of an appeal.⁵ I shall not say much about such cases since they occur so rarely. But when they occur, you should seek counsel and not just follow your own opinion.

And thus you know your obligations towards your three highest superiors in the Church.

¹ Matthew, 16, 19: *Et quodcumque ligaveris super terram erit ligatum in caelis et quodcumque solveris super terram erit solutum in caelis*

² Not found in Augustine, but see Bernard de Clairvaux: *De laude novae Militiae*, 13. MPL, CLXXXII, col. 939: *Nec studium bonae actionis, nec opus sanctae contemplationis, nec lacrymae poenitentis extra Bethaniam accepta esse poterunt illi qui tanti habuit oboedientiam ...*

³ Deuteronomy, 24, 8: *Observa diligenter ne incurras in plagam leprae*

⁴ I.e., the archbishop

⁵ I.e., appeal as a legal procedure

[98] Quartus superior est et vobis et mihi Pataviensis episcopus, cujus speciales estis oves, in quem respicere multo diligentiori oculo quam in alios¹ debetis². Hic enim ex Dei et apostolicae sedis³ ordinatione pater vester est factus, rector,⁴ pastor. Vos autem ejus⁵ estis oves. Ac propterea, cum haec vestra ecclesia vacat, ejus est vobis directorem⁶ plebanumque dare, qui suo ac Dei nomine vestras animas curet. Hunc venerari debetis, et operibus et sermonibus oboedire sibi, nullisque adversari mandatis⁷, nullam molestiam facere, numquam obloqui, numquam vel facta ejus accusare vel dicta, oves namque estis. Hinc Pius papa⁸ sanctissimus⁹ *Oves, inquit, pastorem suum non reprehendant. Plebs vero episcopum non accuset, nec vulgus eum arguat, quia non est discipulus super magistrum, neque servus super dominum suum. Episcopi autem a domino Deo sunt judicandi, qui eos sibi oculos elegit*¹⁰. Eusebius etiam papa¹¹ *Oves, inquit, quae pastori suo commissae fuerint, eum non debent reprehendere, nec*¹² *ullatenus*¹³ *accusare possunt, nisi a recta fide exorbitaverit*¹⁴.

¹ alios *corr.* ex alias A; alias C; aliis D, F

² *add. in marg.* A; **omit.** N

³ apostolicae sedis : sedis apostolicae G, MA

⁴ et *add.* G, MA

⁵ *omit.* G, MA

⁶ directionem T

⁷ adversari mandatis : mandatis adversari C

⁸ Pius papa *in marg.* A; S. Pius papa *in marg.* D; Pius papa sanctissimus *in marg.* G; Pius papa *in marg.* E

⁹ summus MA

¹⁰ eligit E, T

¹¹ Eusebius *in marg.* A; Eusebius papa *in marg.* D, G

¹² neque F

¹³ ullatenus *corr.* ex. nullatenus D; nullatenus A, G, MA

¹⁴ exorbitaverint MA

[98] The fourth superior, both for you and for me, is the Bishop of Passau. You are his particular flock, and you should follow him more diligently than others. He has been ordained by God and the Apostolic See to be your father, superintendent, and shepherd, and you are his sheep. Therefore, when this church of yours is vacant, it is his responsibility to give you a rector and parish priest to take care of your souls, in his own name and in God's. You must honour him as your bishop and obey him both in words and in acts, not oppose his decisions, not give him any trouble, never speak out against him, never criticise his words or deeds, for you are the sheep. As holy Pope Pius¹ says, *The sheep should not rebuke their shepherd. The people should not make accusations against their bishop, nor should the common people make complaints against him, for the disciple is not above the teacher, nor the servant above his lord. But bishops should be judged by God, who chose them for his eyes.*² And Pope Eusebius³ says, *The sheep who have been entrusted to the shepherd should not criticise him nor make any accusations against him, unless he has strayed from the true faith.*⁴

¹ Pius I (died ca. 154): Pope from ca. 140 to his death

² Decretum, C.6.1.9 (col. 555). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Pope Pius I*, 1, 1. MPL, CXXX, col. 112

³ Eusebius (d. 309/310): Pope for four months

⁴ Decretum, C.2.7.13 (col.485). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Eusebius*, 2. MPL, CXXX, col. 232

[99] Et iterum Evaristus papa¹: *Non est itaque aut² a plebe aut a vulgaribus hominibus arguendus vel accusandus episcopus, licet sit inordinatus, quia pro meritis subditorum disponitur a Deo vita rectorum³. Cui et Calixtus⁴ astipulatur dicens: Ex merito vero⁵ plebis nonnumquam episcopi depravantur⁶. Ex quibus sanctorum dictis potestis intelligere, dilectissimi, vestri officii non esse in⁷ aliquo episcopum reprehendere, nisi fidem Christianam abnegaret⁸. Sed oboedire incumbit vobis et facere, quae mandantur, tueri {27v} statum⁹ et honorem episcopi. Si quid¹⁰ adversus eum machinationis audiri¹¹ contingat, sibi vel suis consiliariis referre. In casibus reservatis, quos alio vobis exponam tempore, ad eum recurrere fidelitatemque sibi in omnibus tamquam patri et domino spirituali stabilem et inconcussam servare.*

¹ Evaristus *in marg.* A, C, D, G

² *omit.* B, E, T; **ut N**

³ rector E

⁴ Calixtus *in marg.* A, G; Calistus *in marg.* C

⁵ namque G, MA

⁶ Propter demerita plebis *in marg.* D

⁷ *omit.* E

⁸ abnegare E, T

⁹ statutum T

¹⁰ quod C

¹¹ audire G, MA

[99] And again Pope Evaristus¹: *Neither the people nor ordinary persons should make complaints or accusations against a bishop, even a bishop who is not yet ordained, for the life of the rulers is ordained by God according to the merits of their subjects.*² And Calixtus³ adds: *Bishops are sometimes led astray because of the people.*⁴ From the sayings of these holy men, you understand, beloved, that it is your duty not to criticise your bishop in any way unless he rejects the Christian faith, but to obey him, to carry out his decisions, and to defend his state and honour. If you happen to hear of some plot against him, you should report it to himself or to his counselors. In the reserved cases - that I shall explain to you another time - you should have recourse to him, and you should in all matters be unshakenly and constantly faithful to him as your spiritual father and lord.

¹ Evaristus (died ca. 107): Pope ca. 99 to his death

² Decretum, C.2.7.1 (col. 483). Cf. Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letters of Pope Evaristus*, 2, 9. MPL, CXXX, col. 86

³ Not Callixtus, but Anterus (Anterius)

⁴ Decretum, C.6.1.13 (col. 557). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Anterus*. MPL, CXXX, col. 148

[100] Quintus superior vester est plebanus, quem vobis dederit¹ Pataviensis antistes, qui etiam pastor est² animarum vestrarum³, dux, rector et gubernator. Quod onus in praesentiarum, sicut eidem domino Pataviensi placuit, meum est. Scio me non sufficientem tantae dignitati tantoque ponderi, sed mihi necessarium est oboedire superiori, vosque regere et in vitam aeternam dirigere. Quod tunc recte faciam, cum vos etiam debitum vestrum erga me adimplebitis. Namque si excesseritis, timeo ne me quoque praevaricari contingat. Inquit enim Isaias: *Et erit sicut populus sic et sacerdos*⁴. Si ergo me vel alium plebanum bene ac sancte vobis praeesse vultis, facite, quod vestrum est, honorate plebanum, nolite sibi esse⁵ molesti, nolite obloqui, facite quod Ecclesiasticus⁶ jubet: *Presbytero, inquit, humilia animam tuam*. Et iterum: *Honorifica sacerdotes*⁷. Quod vobis non erit grave, si sciveritis, ut in epistola beati Clementis legitur⁸, *summum pontificem locum Christi tenere, episcopos vicem apostolorum gerere, ac reliquorum discipulorum figuram gestare presbyteros*.

[101] Debetis igitur, ut Paulus jubet, *oboedire praepositis vestris et subjacere eis. Ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri. Studete igitur, ut cum gaudio haec faciant, non gementes*. Sinite plebanum vestrum ejusque vicarium et singulos, qui ab eo sunt, ecclesiastica libertate gaudere. Possessiones eorum nemo turbet, nemo agris, pecoribus aut aliis presbyterorum rebus noceat. Oblationes, quae fiunt in ecclesia, nemo⁹ vestrum attingat. Ait namque per Moysen Dominus: *Omnes quoque primitiae, quas offerunt filii Israel, ad sacerdotem pertinent*¹⁰, *et quidquid in*¹¹ *sanctuarium offertur et a singulis traditur in manus sacerdotis, ipsius*¹² *erit*.

¹ presul *add.* F

² pastor est : est pastor F

³ animarum vestrarum : vestrarum animarum F

⁴ Isaias: *Et erit sicut populus sic et sacerdos in marg.* D, G

⁵ sibi esse : esse sibi G, MA

⁶ Ecclesiasticus *in marg.* D, G

⁷ Sacerdotes honorandi *in marg.* E

⁸ Beatus Clemens *in marg.* A; Clemens papa *in marg.* G

⁹ *omit.* F

¹⁰ Primitiae ad sacerdotem *in marg.* D, G

¹¹ ad F

¹² eorum F

[100] Your fifth superior is the parish priest whom the bishop of Passau has given you and who is the shepherd, leader, guide, and governor of your souls. At present, this task is mine, as it has pleased my Lord Bishop of Passau. I know that I am not equal to this great office and burden. But I must obey my superior, govern you, and lead you to eternal life. I can only do that right if you fulfil your own obligations towards me. For if you stray away, I fear that I shall do so, too - as Isaiah says, *And it shall be as with the people, so with the priest.*¹ So, if you want me or any other parish priest to lead you well and in a holy manner, then do what you should do: honour your parish priest, do not cause him trouble, do not speak up against him, but do as Ecclesiasticus bids, *Humble thy soul to the priest.*² And again, *Honour to the priests.*³ This will not be difficult for you if you keep in mind what is said in the *Letter of Saint Clement*, that *the supreme pontiff holds the place of Christ, whereas the bishops act on behalf of the apostles and the priests represent the other disciples.*⁴

[101] As Paul bids us, you should *obey your superiors and be subject to them. For they watch as being to render an account of your souls. Endeavour that they may do this with joy and not with grief.*⁵ Allow your parish priest, his vicar, and those who depend on him to enjoy ecclesiastical freedom. Let no one disturb their possessions; let no one harm the fields, cattle, and other things belonging to the priests; and let no one touch the offerings made in the church. For the Lord says through Moses, *All the firstfruits also, which the children of Israel offer, belong to the priest: And whatsoever is offered into the sanctuary by every one, and is delivered into the hands of the priest, it shall be his.*⁶

¹ Isaiah, 24, 2: *sicut populus sic sacerdos*

² Ecclesiasticus, 4, 7

³ Ecclesiasticus, 7, 33

⁴ *The letter of Clemens to the apostle James*, 30. <http://www.pseudoisidor.magh.de/htmai/007.htma>. MPL, CXXX, col. 30. Also quoted by Piccolomini in his oration "*Si ea quae justa*" [5], sect. 6

⁵ Hebrews, 13, 17: *Oboedite praepositis vestris et subiacete eis ipsi enim pervigilant quasi rationem pro animabus vestris reddituri ut cum gaudio hoc faciant et non gementes*

⁶ Numbers, 5, 9-10: *Omnes quoque primitiae quas offerunt filii Israhel ad sacerdotem pertinent et quicquid in sanctuarium offertur a singulis et traditur manibus sacerdotis ipsius erit*

[102-103] Decimas eorum, quae singulis annis colligitis, absque cunctatione persolvite, quia non hominis, sed jussu divino debentur. Nam et Abraham, qui, teste ad Hebraeos Paulo, rex justitiae interpretatur, rediens a caede regum, decimas dedit Melchisedech sacerdoti¹, regi Salem, sibi benedicens. Deponat quilibet vestrum murmurationem, quam nonnumquam facitis, dum petuntur decimae et alia ecclesiae jura. "Cur nos," inquiunt aliqui, "res, quas nostro labore atque sudore quaerimus, sacerdotibus dividere tenemur, cum ipsi aliunde satis² habeant?" Damnata est enim haec consideratio murmurationeque, quia non sacerdotibus, sed Deo dividitis, nec de vestro datis, sed ex {28r} eo, quod Deus largitus est, *cujus est terra et plenitudo ejus*, sicut ait psalmigraphus. Sed audite, obsecro, in hac re Paulum ad Corinthios scribentem, qui et ipsi non libenter victum et alias oblationes praebebant sacerdotibus: *Quis pascit gregem, inquit, et de lacte gregis non manducat? Et iterum scriptum est in lege Moysi: Non alligabis os bovi trituranti. Numquid de bobus Deo cura est, an utique non propter nos haec dicit? Nec his contentus subjicit: Si vobis spiritualia seminamus, magnum³ est, si nos carnalia vestra metamus? Et rursus: Nescitis, quoniam⁴ qui in sacrario operantur, que de sacrario sunt, edunt? Qui altario serviunt, cum⁵ altario participantur? Ita et dominus ordinavit his, qui evangelium annuntiant, de evangelio vivere⁶.*

¹ omit. G, MA

² aliunde satis : satis aliunde F

³ non add. F

⁴ quia hi B, E, T

⁵ de MA

⁶ debent add. T

[102-103] Pay tithes unhesitatingly of all that you gather every year, for they have been instituted not by man but by God. According to Paul in his letter to the Hebrews, Abraham, which means the King of Justice, gave tenths to Melchisedech, the priest-king of Salem, who blessed him as he was on his way back from the slaughter of kings. So, stop the murmuring that is sometimes heard when tenths and other dues to the Church are requested. "Why," some say, "must we share with the priests those things that we gather with our own labour and sweat when they themselves have enough otherwise?" This opinion and murmuring is wretched, for it is not the priests you are sharing with but God, and you do not give from your own possessions but from what has been given to you by God whose *is the Earth and the fulness thereof*,¹ as the Psalmist says. But hear - I ask - what Paul writes to the Corinthians, who also did not gladly give food and other offerings to the priests: *Who feedeth the flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock? And again it is written in the law of Moses: Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn. Doth God take care for oxen? Or doth he say this indeed for our sakes?* And not content with these words, he² adds *If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things?* And again, *Know you not that they who work in the holy place eat the things that are of the holy place; and they that serve the altar partake with the altar? So also the Lord ordained that they who preach the gospel should live by the gospel.*³

¹ Psalms, 23, 1: *Domini est terra et plenitudo eius*

² I.e., Paul the Apostle

³ 1. Corinthians, 9, 7-14: *quis pascit gregem, et de lacte gregis non manducat? Numquid secundum hominem haec dico? an et lex haec non dicit? Scriptum est enim in lege Moysi : Non alligabis os bovi trituranti. Numquid de bobus cura est Deo? an propter nos utique hoc dicit? Nam propter nos scripta sunt : quoniam debet in spe qui arat, arare : et qui triturat, in spe fructus percipiendi. Si nos vobis spiritualia seminavimus, magnum est si nos carnalia vestra metamus? Si alii potestatis vestrae participes sunt, quare non potius nos? Sed non usi sumus hac potestate : sed omnia sustinemus, ne quod offendiculum demus Evangelio Christi. Nescitis quoniam qui in sacrario operantur quae de sacrario sunt, edunt : et qui altari deserviunt, cum altari participant? Ita et Dominus ordinavit iis qui Evangelium annuntiant, de Evangelio vivere*

[104] Reddite igitur sponte jus suum sacerdotibus, non¹ contradicentes, non murmurantes. De sacerdotibus inquit enim² idem Paulus, *quia Dei sunt adiutores; vos autem Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis*. Sicut igitur terra sine contradictione ac sine querela cultori suo multiplicatum semen³ reddit, ita et vos libenti animo puraque⁴ mente decimas reddite sacerdotibus. Nec miremini, si absque tributo sint, quia et semper⁵ magna libertas sacerdotum fuit. Nam cum tota olim Aegyptus⁶ ex ordinatione Joseph quintae partis frugum tributaria redderetur, sola terra sacerdotum libera mansit, quia non hominibus, sed Deo subsunt sacerdotes, ac propterea *de sorte domini* esse dicuntur. Neque suorum superiorum, qui vel apostolorum vel Christi vicem tenent, injussu gravandi sunt.

[105] Et sane cavendum est diligenter, si quid adversus⁷ plebanum vel ejus ministros habetis, ne coram alio quam spirituali iudice vestrum jus prosequamini⁸, quod et vocanti et cognoscenti perniciosum esset. Ait enim beatissimus papa Clemens⁹: *Et qui¹⁰ est, qui alterius judicet servum?* Nam si¹¹ ista non patiuntur homines, nec *Deus deorum et dominus dominantium* haec ullatenus¹² patietur. Cavete igitur, ne plebanum vestrum contristemini, ne sibi vel suis ministris injuriemini, ne quid in eum mali machinemini, quia pater est, et non sibi, sed Deo molesti estis, cum praepositis vestris spiritualibus¹³ estis injuriosi. "

¹ et N

² inquit enim : enim inquit N, MA

³ omit. G, MA

⁴ pura F

⁵ et semper : semper et T

⁶ Egyptus tributaria *in marg.* D, G

⁷ adversum T

⁸ prosequamini G, MA

⁹ Clemens papa *in marg.* A; Clemens papa *in marg.* D; Clemens papa beatissimus *in marg.* G

¹⁰ quis MA

¹¹ omit. D, G, MA

¹² ullatenus *corr. ex.* nullatenus A; nullatenus D, G, MA

¹³ specialibus MA

[104] Therefore, give the priests their due willingly, without contradiction or murmuring. For the same Paul says about the priests that they are *God's coadjutors*, while *you are God's husbandry: you are God's building*.¹ The earth gives multiplied seed back to its cultivator without objections or complaints. In the same way, you should pay tenths to the priests with a willing mind and a pure heart. And do not wonder why the priests themselves do not pay tax, for they have always had great freedom. When, once upon a time, Joseph ordered that the whole of Egypt should pay a fifth of the crop as tribute, only the lands of the priests remained exempt, for priests are under God, not under men, and therefore they are said to be *of the lot of the Lord*.² Nor should their superiors, who hold the place of the Apostles or of Christ,³ be burdened without just cause⁴.

[105] And if you have a complaint against your parish priest or his assistants, you should definitely pursue your cause with an ecclesiastical⁵ judge,⁶ for choosing any other judge⁷ would be extremely bad both for the one who puts the matter before him and for the one who deals with it, as holy Pope Clemens⁸ says, *And who will judge the servant of another man?*⁹ For if men do not allow this, then neither will *the God of Gods and the Lord of Lords*¹⁰ allow it in any way. So endeavour not to afflict your parish priest nor to harm his assistants, and do not devise evil schemes against him,¹¹ for he is your father, and when you abuse your spiritual superiors, you annoy God.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 3, 9: *Dei enim sumus adiutores, Dei agricultura estis, Dei aedificatio estis*

² Decretum, C.12.1.5 (col. 677): *Clerici ... de sorte sunt Domini*. The Greek word kleros (Latin: sors) means lot or part. The clergy are of the part or lot of the Lord

³ *Pseudo-Clementine Writings. The letter of Clement to the apostle James*, 30

⁴ "injussu"

⁵ "spiritualis"

⁶ I.e., in an ecclesiastical court

⁷ I.e., a secular court

⁸ Not Pope Clement, but Pope Evaristus.

⁹ Romans, 14, 4. Quoted in Decretum, C.30.5.10 (col. 1107). Pseudo-Isidorus: *Decretales / Letter of Pope Evaristus*. MPL, CXXX, col. 87

¹⁰ Deuteronomy, 10, 17: *Deus deorum et dominus dominantium*

¹¹ Genesis, 42, 11: *nec quicquam famuli tui machinantur mali*

[106] Videat unusquisque vestrum, ne cui confiteatur nisi plebano suo vel ejus vicario. Statuit enim Urbanus papa II.¹, ne quis *alteri* quam suo *sacerdoti* confiteatur absque licentia. Cum vero confitemini, filii fratresque dilectissimi, denudate conscientias vestras, nihil retinete, quia sicut non sanatur aegrotus, nisi ex toto putredinem² foras miserit, sic non mundatur peccator, nisi universam labem eructaverit³. Sit confessio vestra verecunda, integra, simplex, devota, oboediens, pura, {28v} humilis. Nemo propterea confiteri desistat, quia magnus peccator sit, sed eo celerius sacerdotem adeat. Paulus apostolus, ut ipse idem⁴ fatetur, blasphemus, persecutor contumeliosusque fuit, et misericordiam Dei consecutus est. Nullius sane tam magna iniquitas est, quin major sit omnipotentis⁵ misericordia, quae Judae non minus quam latroni pepercisset, si veniam petere voluisset. Sacramentum confessionis, carissimi, necessarium est ad vitam aeternam, quia nemo est sine peccato. Confiteamini⁶ ergo, sumite poenitentiam et adimplete illam.

[107] Recipite corpus dominicum. Pueros vestros baptismatis unda mundate. Confirmationem chrismatis petite. Matrimonia absque ritu ecclesiae non celebretis. Cum aegrotatis instareque periculum vitae cernitis, unctionem extremam requirite, et, ut Christianos decet, vitam bonam curate, ut bonus sequatur finis⁷, ut mereamini inter fideles sepeliri et introire caelestem aulam. Talibusque modis erga superiores vestros ecclesiasticos vitam vestram dirigite.⁸

¹ Urbanus *in marg.* A, C; Urbanus secundus *in marg.* D; Urbanus papa II. *in marg.* G

² putre MA

³ **eruptaverit N**

⁴ ipse idem : idem ipse G, MA

⁵ omnipotens D, G, MA

⁶ confiteamini *corr. ex* confitemini G; confitemini N, MA

⁷ sequatur finis : finis sequatur F

⁸ talibusque ... dirigite *omit.* B, E, T

[106] Let each one of you take care not to make confession to somebody else than your parish priest or his vicar. For Pope Urban II¹ resolved that *everybody should have his own priest as his confessor unless a license has been obtained.*² When you confess, beloved sons and brothers, you should bare your conscience completely, keeping nothing back, for as the sick do not recover unless the whole rottenness has been driven out, the sinner is not cleansed unless he has purged all his guilt.³ Let your confession be truthful, complete, simple, devoted, obedient, pure, and humble. Let nobody refrain from confessing because he is a great sinner, for then he should go more quickly to the priest. Paul the Apostle says about himself that he was a blasphemer, a persecutor, and an offender, but still he obtained God's mercy. Nobody's wickedness is so great that the mercy of omnipotent God is not even greater. Had Judas asked for mercy, God would have forgiven him just as he forgave the robber.⁴ Dear brethren, the sacrament of confession is necessary to eternal life, for nobody is without sin. Therefore, go to confession, accept your penitence, and fulfil it.

[107] Receive the Lord's body. Cleanse your children with the water of baptism. Ask for confirmation by chrism. Do not celebrate a wedding without the rites of the Church. When you are ill and feel in danger of your life, demand extreme unction. Generally, you should endeavour, as good Christians, to lead a good life so that a good end will follow, and you will merit to be buried among the faithful and enter the Heavenly Court.

These are the ways in which you should behave towards your ecclesiastical superiors.

¹ Urban II (ca. 1042 – 1099): Pope from 1088 to his death. Started the First Crusade. Saint

² I.e., to have another confessor. Decretum, *De Poenitentia*, 6.3. (col. 1244)

³ "labes"

⁴ As Jesus did on the Cross

[108] Superest nunc, ut de quarto¹ superioritatis gradu nonnihil dicamus. In temporalitate, qui multiplex est, in quo primum locum principes obtinent, de quibus multa referre oporteret, si vellemus singula examinare, quod mihi non videtur necessarium. Non enim modo generalem doctrinam tradimus, sed eam solum, quae vobis est necessaria. Inter principes igitur superior vester est praecipuus illustrissimus princeps Henricus, dux² Baioariae, hujus terrae dominus. Huic oboedite, hunc honorate³, hujus statum defendite, nec fraudem sibi facite nec ab aliis fieri, quantum in vobis est, permittite. Nam qui principem suum a fraude non eripit, se ipsum interficit.

[109] Nemo vestrum sui principis mandata contemnat, quia, ut inquit Seneca⁴, *contendere cum superiore furiosum atque periculosum est*. Et iterum: *Sapiens numquam potentum iras provocabit, sed declinabit*. Dies namque suos morte praevenit, qui principi repugnat⁵. Ecclesiasticus audiendus est, qui *neque contra faciem potentis, neque contra impetum fluvii conandum dicit*.

¹ Quarto *in marg.* D, G

² Henricus dux *omit.* B, E, T

³ onerate G

⁴ Seneca contendere cum superiore furiosum *in marg.* D; Seneca *in marg.* G

⁵ et *add.* G, MA

3.1.4. Secular superiors

3.1.4.1. Princes

[108] It now remains for us to say something about the fourth level of hierarchy.¹ In the secular sphere², which is actually rather complex, the princes hold the first place. We should have much to say about these if we wanted to consider everything in detail. However, that does not seem necessary here, as we are not giving you complete instructions in these matters but only what is relevant to you.

Among the princes, your own particular superior is the Illustrious Prince Heinrich,³ Duke of Bavaria and lord of this area. You should obey him, honour him, defend his state, and never trespass against him, nor - to the best of your ability - let others trespass against him. For a man who does not free his prince from wrongdoing kills himself.

[109] None of you should spurn the commands of his prince, for – as Seneca says, *A contest with one's superior is folly.*⁴ And again, *The wise man will never provoke the anger of those in power; nay, he will even turn his course.*⁵ Anyone who fights his prince will die before his time. And we should heed Ecclesiasticus saying, *Resist not against the face of the mighty, and do not strive against the stream of the river.*⁶

¹ I.e., the secular, temporal hierarchy as opposed to the religious hierarchy

² "temporalitate"

³ Heinrich XVI of Bavaria (1386-1450): Duke of Bavaria-Landshut from 1393 to his death

⁴ Seneca: *De ira*, 4.2.34: *Cum pare contendere anceps est, cum superiore furiosum, cum inferiore sordidum*; as quoted by Albertanus Brixiensis: *Liber consolationis et consilii*, 41, 395: *Contendere cum superiori furiosum est vel, cum pari dubium, cum minore verecundum*

⁵ Seneca: *Epistulae Morales*, 2.14.7-8

⁶ Ecclesiasticus, 4, 32: *Noli resistere contra faciem potentis nec coneris contra ictum fluvii*

[110] Sed ne ista fortasse peregrina videantur et non ex lege Christiana, Paulum apostolum audite: *Omnis anima, inquit ille, potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a Deo; quae sunt autem, a Deo ordinata sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati¹, Dei ordinationi² resistit; qui autem restiterint, sibi ipsi damnationem acquirunt. Nam principes non sunt timori boni operis, sed mali. Vis autem non timere potestatem³? Bonum fac, et habebis laudem ex illa; Dei enim minister est tibi in bonum. Si autem malum feceris, time, non enim sine causa gladium portat; Dei enim minister est, vindex in iram ei, qui malum agit. Ideoque necessitate subditi estote non solum propter iram, sed {29r} propter conscientiam. Ideo enim tributa praestatis; ministri enim Dei sunt in hoc ipsum servientes. Reddite ergo omnibus debita, cui tributum tributum, cui vectigal vectigal, cui timorem timorem, cui honorem honorem.*

[111] Audistis verba Pauli, quam praegnantia sunt, quam clara, quam limitata. Quid amplius est? Quid⁴ huic auctoritati possit adjungi? Satis haec verba vos monent⁵, quo pacto principibus vestris parere debetis. Nec hoc uno in loco Paulus dicit, sed⁶ ad Titum quoque sic ait: *Admone illos principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto oboedire, ad omne opus bonum paratos esse.* Cui et apostolus Petrus astipulatur *subditi*, dicens, *estote omni creaturae propter Deum, sive regi tamquam praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis.* Quibus fretus auctoritatibus hortor vos, dilectissimi, ut principi vestro non solum mandanti⁷, sed etiam roganti praesto sitis oboedire. *Potestas* enim, ut ait Laberius⁸, eques romanus, apud Macrobius *non solum si invitet, sed etiam si⁹ supplicet, cogit.* Cogitate¹⁰, quod¹¹ in Parabolis scriptum est: *Sicut fremitus leonis ita et ira regis, et sicut ros super herbam ita et hilaritas ejus.*

¹ potestate E

² ordinationem T

³ **omit. N**

⁴ quod D, G, MA

⁵ haec verba vos monent : vos monent haec verba G, MA

⁶ **omit. T**

⁷ mandati E, T

⁸ Laberius, Macrobius *in marg. A*; Laberius *in marg. C*

⁹ **omit. B, E, T**

¹⁰ cogitare E

¹¹ quid E

[110] But, if these things seem strange¹ and not based on Christian law, then hear the Apostle Paul who says, *Let every soul be subject to higher powers. For there is no power but from God: and those that are ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God. And they that resist purchase to themselves damnation. For princes are not a terror to the good work, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good: and thou shalt have praise from the same. For he is God's minister to thee, for good. But if thou do that which is evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword in vain. For he is God's minister: an avenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil. Wherefore be subject of necessity: not only for wrath, but also for conscience' sake. For therefore also you pay tribute. For they are the ministers of God, serving unto this purpose. Render therefore to all men their dues. Tribute, to whom tribute is due: custom, to whom custom: fear, to whom fear: honour, to whom honour.*²

[111] You have heard the words of Paul: how pregnant they are, how clear, how precise! What more is needed? What can possibly be added to this authority? These words are enough to instruct you on how to obey your princes. But Paul speaks about this matter not only here but also in [his letter to] Titus, *Admonish them to be subject to princes and powers, to obey at a word, to be ready to every good work.*³ And the Apostle Peter joins him: *Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling, Or to governors as sent by him.*⁴ Relying on these authorities, I urge you, beloved, to be ready to obey your prince not only when he commands but also when he asks. For according to Laberius,⁵ a Roman knight quoted by Macrobius, *power should it invite, should it even supplicate, compels.*⁶ Consider what is written in the Parables, *As the roaring of a lion, so also is the anger of a king: and his cheerfulness as the dew upon the grass.*⁷

¹ I.e., based on classical, pagan authorities (Seneca)

² Romans, 13, 1-7

³ Titus, 3, 1

⁴ 1. Peter 2, 13-14: *subiecti estote omni humanae creaturae propter Dominum sive regi quasi praecellenti sive ducibus tamquam ab eo missis*

⁵ Decimus Laberius (ca. 105-43 BC): a Roman knight and writer of mimes

⁶ Macrobius, 2.7.2

⁷ Proverbs, 19, 12

[112] Cujus proculdubio participes¹ eritis, si vestro principi et ejus officialibus obsequentes vos exhibebitis. Nam quod de rege dicitur, idem quoque ducibus et aliis principibus congruit, quibus in tantum estis obnoxii, ut nec fratribus, nec² filiis, nec parentibus assistere debeatis contra principes conspirantibus, quos nolentes vestris monitis desistere accusare potius decet quam pati, ut admittant³ facinus. Sunt item superiores⁴ vestri singuli, quorum colitis agros, quibusque⁵ servitia nonnulla⁶ tenemini, erga quos servare fidem oportet, nihil eos celare, nihil eorum rapere, nihil negligere, nec⁷ committere quidquam ex studio, quod rem illorum reddat deteriore: sed arbores, terram, et pecus non aliter curare⁸ quam si vestra essent omnia.

[113] De parentibus nunc dicendum est, qui et ipsi superiores existunt, erga quos magna est obligatio et forsitan nullatenus adimplenda. Quo enim pacto satis grati parentibus esse possumus⁹, qui nos genuerunt, paverunt, eduxerunt? Verum mira est clementia Dei, qui etsi nos obligatos lege naturae sciat honorare parentes, praemia tamen honorantibus pollicetur non solum in caelo, sed etiam hic in terris. Duo praecipue consequuntur in hoc mundo, qui parentes honorant: *Fiunt enim longaevi super terram*, ut ait per Moysen dominus, et *jucundantur in filiis*, ut Ecclesiasticus inquit. Diligite igitur, carissimi, parentes vestros et honorate ipsos. Mandata eorum custodite. Si sunt indigentes, nutrite¹⁰. Subvenite in omnibus adversitatibus. Bene inquit Socrates: *Filio modesto numquam {29v} grave est, quod pater jubet*. Tales ergo vestris parentibus estote, quales erga¹¹ vos fieri natos optatis. Ac¹² ne multa in hac parte dicam, quae notissima est, solum Paulum recensebo, qui sic ad Ephesios scribit: *Filii, oboedite parentibus vestris in domino; hoc enim justum est. Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam, quod est*¹³ *mandatum primum in promissione, ut bene sit tibi, et sis longaevus super terram*.

¹ particeps E

² neque F

³ amittant B, E, T

⁴ superioribus E

⁵ quibus F

⁶ servitia nonnulla : servitio nonnullo MA

⁷ neque G, MA

⁸ curate F

⁹ possumus G, MA

¹⁰ et *add.* C

¹¹ ergo G

¹² at F

¹³ honora patrem ... quod est *omit.* E [NB: not T]

[112] You will no doubt share this cheerfulness if you show yourselves obedient to your prince and his officials. What is said about the king also applies to dukes and other princes. Your obligations towards them are so great that you should not assist your brothers, sons, or relatives if they plot against their princes. And if they will not listen when you advise them to stop, you should rather denounce them than allow them to commit¹ the deed.

Your superiors are also those individuals whose fields you cultivate and to whom you owe several kinds of service. You should keep faith with them, conceal nothing from them, steal nothing from them, neglect nothing in their service, or do anything that may harm their property, but care for their trees, land, and cattle as if they were your own.

3.1.4.2. Parents

[113] Now we shall talk about parents, for they too are superiors. Our obligation towards parents is great, and maybe it cannot be fulfilled completely. For how can we be grateful enough to our parents, who gave birth to us, who fed us, and who brought us up? Wonderful indeed is the mercy of God: knowing that we are obliged by the law of nature to honour our parents, He still promises us rewards if we honour them, and not only in Heaven but also here on Earth. They who honour their parents will chiefly obtain two things in this world: they *shall be longlived upon the land*,² as the Lord says through Moses, and *have joy of their children*,³ as Ecclesiasticus says. Therefore, beloved, love your parents and honour them. Do as they tell you. If they are poor, feed them. Help them in adversity. Well did Socrates say, *To a modest son, no command of his father is burdensome*.⁴ Be towards your parents as you wish your own children to be towards you. I will not say much about this, since it is well-known, but only refer to Paul, who writes thus to the Ephesians, *Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is just. Honour thy father and thy mother, which is the first commandment with a promise: That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest be long lived upon earth*.⁵

¹ "admittant"

² Exodus, 20, 12: *honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam ut sis longevus super terram*

³ Ecclesiasticus, 3, 6: *qui honorat patrem iucundabitur in filiis*

⁴ Burley, (Socrates), p. 132: *Filio modesto numquam grave est quod jubet pater nisi impossibile*

⁵ Ephesians, 6, 1

[114] Nonnulli superiores sunt, quos dominos appellamus, qui jus habent vendendi servum. Quod licet his in terris raro contingat¹, referam tamen vobis Pauli verba, ut, si qui sint, qui dominos tales habeant, quo pacto se regere² debeant non ignorent. In hunc enim modum³ Ephesios alloquitur: *Servi, oboedite dominis carnalibus cum timore et tremore in simplicitate cordis vestri sicut in Christo, non ad oculum servientes quasi hominibus placentes, sed ut servi Christi facientes voluntatem Dei.*

[115] Superiores insuper sunt, qui vos ad cultioris vitae doctrinam instituerunt, quos tamquam parentes venerari debemus. Meminisse namque verborum convenit⁴ Aristotelis, qui *ex parentibus honorabiliores* asserit *esse, qui instruunt⁵, quam qui solum generant, quoniam hi quidem dant vivere, illi vero bene vivere.*

[116] Superiorum quoque loco recipere oportet, qui sunt litteratiores ac prudentiores quam nos. Et item⁶ omnes, qui meliores esse videntur et in⁷ quolibet exercitio peritiores. Hisque reverentiam et honorem⁸ convenit impartiri.

[117] Potentiores etiam atque nobiliores honorandi sunt, fugiendaeque cum his contentiones, quamvis jurisdictionem non habeant.

¹ contigat G

² se regere : regere se G, MA

³ ad *interlin.* T

⁴ verborum convenit : convenit verborum G, MA

⁵ ex parentibus qui instruunt *in marg.* D, G

⁶ iterum F

⁷ *omit.* E

⁸ et honorem *omit.* B, E, T

3.1.4.3. Masters¹

[114] Some superiors, whom we call masters, have the right to sell somebody as a slave. Though it happens rarely in these lands, I will quote the words of Paul so that if there are any who have such masters, they will know how to conduct themselves. This is what he says to the Ephesians: *Servants, be obedient to them that are your lords according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in the simplicity of your heart, as to Christ, not serving to the eye, as it were pleasing men: but, as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart.*²

3.1.4.4. Teachers

[115] Those who taught us a more cultured life are also our superiors, and we should revere them as parents. Remember the words of Aristotle, who claims that *teachers who educate children deserve more honour than parents who merely gave birth; for bare life is furnished by the one, the other ensures a good life.*³

3.1.4.5. Learned people

[116] As superiors, we should also accept those who are more educated and wise than us. The same applies to all who are better than us and more proficient in any area.⁴ These, too, we should revere and honour.

3.1.4.6. Powerful people and nobles

[117] And all who are more powerful and noble than us should be honoured, and we should avoid any strife with them even though they may not have jurisdiction over us.

¹ I.e., masters of slaves

² Ephesians, 6, 5-6

³ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240

⁴ "exercitio"

[118] Quibus addimus et senes, qui vos aevo praecedunt, quibus et assurgendum est et¹ honor impendendus, ut praecedant, prius loquantur, prius bibant, prius sedeant². Ad quod propositum audiendus est Paulus, qui Titum his verbis admonitum reddit: *Seniorem ne increpaveris, sed obsecra ut patrem, juvenes ut fratres, anus ut³ matres, juvenculas ut sorores, in omni castitate viduas honora*. Petrus quoque Apostolus: *Similiter adolescentes, inquit, subditi estote senioribus*.

[119] Superest modo de mulieribus aliquid attingere, quae et ipsae viros suos tamquam superiores habent⁴. Audite igitur, optimae mulieres, nam haec pars vos potissimum respicit. Estote viris vestris obsequentes. Nolite adversari praeceptis eorum. Contentiones, rixas, et oblocutiones abjicite. Sic enim Paulus ad Colossenses⁵ scribit: *Mulieres subditae estote viris, sicut oportet in domino*. Dum ait “*in domino*”, turpitudinem universam secludit. Et iterum ad Corinthios: *Mulier alligata est legi, quanto tempore vir ejus vivit; quod si {30r} vir ejus dormierit, liberata est a lege viri*. Et rursus ad Timotheum: *Docere mulieri non permitto, neque⁶ dominari in virum, sed esse⁷ silentio*.

[120] Nec in praesentiarum plura de superioribus disseram. Satis enim⁸, ut opinor, ostensum est, quae reverentia quaeve oboedientia nostris superioribus sit exhibenda. In qua re⁹ si diligenter intenti fuerimus, habebimus illud primum aes, quod est ad vitam aeternam necessarium. Recondamus ergo hoc in pera nostra, et attente custodiamus usque in¹⁰ finem¹¹ vitae praesentis. Quod postmodum beato Petro, caelestis aulae clavigero, porrigentes intromitti facilius mereamur.

¹ omit. MA

² prius sedeant omit. MA

³ et E

⁴ habeant G, MA

⁵ Colocenses et passim T

⁶ nec F

⁷ in add. MA

⁸ etiam MA

⁹ omit. F

¹⁰ ad F

¹¹ hujus add. F

3.1.4.7. Old people

[118] To these we add the old people who precede you in age: you should rise before them and show them the honour of letting them walk, talk, drink, and sit before you do. On this issue, we should hear Paul admonishing Titus¹, *An ancient man rebuke not, but entreat him as a father: young men, as brethren: old women, as mothers: young women, as sisters, in all chastity. Honour widows.*² And the Apostle Peter says, *In like manner, ye young men, be subject to the ancients.*³

3.1.4.8. Women

[119] It only remains to say something about women: they have their husbands as superiors. Therefore, listen, good women, for this part concerns you closely: be submissive to your husbands; do not oppose their demands; avoid disagreements, quarrels, and disputes. For thus writes Paul to the Colossians, *Wives, be subject to your husbands, as it behooveth in the Lord.*⁴ When he says 'in the Lord', he banishes all that is shameful. And again he says to the Corinthians, *A woman is bound by the law as long as her husband liveth: but if her husband die, she is at liberty from the law of the husband.*⁵ And again to Timothy, *But I suffer not a woman to teach nor to use authority over the man: but to be in silence.*⁶

[120] I shall say no more about superiors now, since I believe that I have sufficiently explained the reverence and obedience due to our superiors. If we are diligent in this matter, we shall have the first copper coin necessary for eternal life. Let us put it in our purse and keep it carefully until the end of our present life. When, afterwards, we give it to Saint Peter, the Keybearer of the Eternal Court, we shall gain entrance more easily.

¹ Not Titus, but Timothy

² 1. Timothy, 5, 1-3

³ 1. Peter, 5, 5

⁴ Colossians, 3, 18

⁵ 1. Corinthians, 7, 39: *Mulier alligata est quanto tempore vir eius vivit quod si dormierit vir eius liberata est.* Piccolomini quotes from a version of the Vulgate containing the words *legi* and *lege*

⁶ 1. Timothy, 2, 12: *docere autem mulieri non permitto neque dominari in virum sed esse in silentio*

[121] Modo ad secundum nummum transeundum est, qui¹ in omnes aequales respicit, erga quos, nisi bene nos gesserimus, non inveniemus benevolum janitorem. Expendamus igitur hanc pecuniam, et cujus signi esse oporteat videamus. Aequales nostri sunt fratres, propinqui, amici, vicini, conterranei, peregrini, inimici², hostes, quos omnes uno verbo sacra scriptura proximos appellat, ut est illud Pauli ad Galatas: *Omnis lex in uno sermone impletur: diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum*. Debemus igitur hujusmodi homines ut nos ipsos diligere, non mentiri eis, nihil auferre, nusquam³ injuriari. Et ut salvator apud Matthaeum dicit: *Omnia, quae vultis, ut faciant vobis homines, et vos facite illis; hoc est enim⁴ vobis lex et prophetarum*. Sunt tamen quaedam praecepta seorsum danda.

[122] Nec enim ab re est germano melius velle quam peregrino. Nam etsi pater omnium unus fuit Adam, sanguis tamen ille per infinitas divisus generationes, cum fratre meo junctus est, estque suavissima recordatio in eodem domicilio ante nativitatem habitasse, in hisdem⁵ cunabulis infantiae tempora peregisse, eosdem appellasse parentes, eadem suxisse ubera, eadem arma ferre, eandem haereditatem expectare. Quibus ex rebus datur proculdubio venia, si fratres prae ceteris aequalibus diligimus. Juvet igitur frater fratrem, quia ut est in Parabolis: *Frater, qui adjuvatur a fratre⁶, quasi civitas firma*. Nulla interveniat in haereditatis divisione fraus, nullus audiatur, qui discidium seminet. Adsit correptio⁷, ubi criminis est commissio.

[123] Cum fratribus sunt sorores, quas sua portione fraudare non decet⁸. Custodiatur earum⁹ pudicitia, jungantur viris probis, si velint nubere. Cum viduae fuerint, recipiantur benigne¹⁰, defendanturque ab injuriis.

¹ quod MA

² amici G, MA

³ numquam F

⁴ est enim : enim est G, MA

⁵ eisdem C; iisdem MA

⁶ Frater qui juvatur a fratre *in marg.* D, G

⁷ correctio E, MA

⁸ licet B, E, T

⁹ eorum B, E, T

¹⁰ recipiantur benigne : benigne recipiantur G, MA

3.2. Second coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards equals

[121] We must now pass to the second coin, the one that concerns all our equals. If we do not treat our equals well, we will not find a benevolent gatekeeper.¹ So let us take this coin and see whose image it should carry. Our equals are brothers, relatives, friends, neighbours, compatriots, travellers, enemies, foreigners, in one word, all those whom Sacred Scripture calls our 'neighbours'. Paul says to the Galatians, *All the law is fulfilled in one word: Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.*² So we owe it to these people to love them as ourselves, not to lie to them, not to take anything from them, and never to harm them. As Our Lord says in Matthew, *All things therefore whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them. For this is the law and the prophets.*³ To this, however, certain precepts should be added.⁴

3.2.1. Brothers

[122] It is quite appropriate to like a brother better than a stranger. Though Adam was the common father of all men, his blood has been divided over an infinite number of generations, but with one's brother it is fully shared. It is truly delightful to share the memory of having had the same 'home' before birth, of having spent your infancy in the same cradle, of calling the same people parents, of sucking the same breasts, of carrying the same weapons, and of awaiting the same inheritance. For these reasons, anyone is undoubtedly forgiven if he loves his brothers more than other equals.⁵ Thus, a brother should help a brother, as is written in the Parables, *A brother that is helped by his brother is like a strong city.*⁶ Let there be no deceit in dividing the inheritance. Let no one be heard who sows dissension. And let there be rebuke where a crime is being committed.

3.2.2. Sisters

[123] With the brothers are the sisters. They should not be cheated of their part.⁷ Their chastity should be protected, and if they wish to marry, they should be given to decent men. When they become widows, they should be received kindly, and they should be defended from harm.

¹ I.e., Saint Peter, who guards the gate to the Heavenly Kingdom

² Galatians, 5, 14

³ Matthew, 7, 12: *omnia ergo quaecumque vultis ut faciant vobis homines et vos facite eis haec est enim lex et prophetae*

⁴ "danda"

⁵ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.17.55

⁶ Proverbs, 18, 19

⁷ I.e., of the common inheritance

[124] Propinquis consulendum est in eorum necessitatibus, subveniendum inopibus¹, propulsandaeque ab his² injuriae sunt. In lite propinquum potius quam alium defende, sed cave, ut justum sit, quod tueris, ne cui adversus veritatem {30v} patrocineris.

[125] Verum cum *amicitiae quoque vinculum praevalidum*³ sit neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius, videndum est cum amicis quomodo sit vivendum. In qua re meminisse Biantis debemus, qui *diu deliberandum* dixit, *antequam amicus reciperetur*, sed postquam receptus esset⁴, *amici vitam nostram esse putandam*^{5 6}, recte namque⁷ apprehensum amicum spernere non convenit. Quia, ut inquit Valerius, *celerius est sine reprehensione propinquum quam amicum avertere*. Si tamen deferendus⁸ amicus sit, quia fortasse vitiosus est, nec vult corripi, amicitiam non praecidas repente, sed sensim dilue. Cum amico sic vivito, ne timeas inimicum fieri. Communica tamen omnia, quae te urgent, amico, quia seipsum jugulat, qui celat⁹ amicum. Inter amicos eam servato legem, ut nec roges turpia, nec rogatus facias. Loquar apertius: interfuistis caedibus, rapinis, adulteriis, combibistis, concenastis ultra quam satis est amici causa: sed *nulla est excusatio*, sicut¹⁰ Cicero tradit, *si propter amicum pecces*. Quod ne tibi accidat, *illos amicos*, ut Pythagoras jubet, *assumito, qui sequantur veritatem et fugiant multiloquium*.

¹ in opibus MA

² eis D, G, MA

³ pervalidum B, E, MA

⁴ est G, MA

⁵ putandum E

⁶ putandam esse C, G, MA

⁷ enim MA

⁸ differendus F

⁹ celat *corr.* ex cedit A; **cedat N**

¹⁰ ut D, G, MA

3.2.3. Relatives

[124] Relatives should be assisted when they face problems; they should be helped when they are poor; and all harm should be deflected from them. In lawsuits, you should defend them rather than anybody else. But take care only to support a just cause, so that you do not sponsor someone against the truth.

3.2.4. Friends

[125] However, also *the bond of friendship is exceedingly strong and certainly not weaker than the bond of blood.*¹ Therefore, we must consider how to live with one's friends. In this connection, we should remember Bias,² who said that *one should think for a long time before accepting someone as a friend*, but after he has been accepted, *his life should be considered one's own.*³ A friend who has been genuinely accepted should not be rejected. For, as Valerius says, *it is easier*⁴ *to turn away a relative than a friend.*⁵ But if a friend has to be given up, maybe because he is immoral and will not mend his ways, you should not cut off the friendship suddenly but dissolve it gradually. Live with your friend in such a manner that you will not have to fear him becoming an enemy.⁶ Tell your friend everything that bothers you, for a person who keeps secrets from his friend kills himself. Between friends, you should observe the rule not to ask him to do anything shameful, and you should not do anything shameful if he asks you to. To put it more clearly: you may have participated in murder, plunder, adultery, and been drinking and eating together excessively because of a friend, but, as Cicero says, *it is no justification whatever of your sin to have sinned on behalf of a friend.*⁷ To avoid this, do as Pythagoras says, *Take people as friends who follow truth and avoid loquaciousness.*⁸

¹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.7: *Contemplemur nunc amicitiae vinculum, potens et praevalidum, neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius*

² Bias: One of the seven sages of antiquity

³ Burley, (Bias), p. 38: *Diu deliberatos amicos elige ... amici vitam tuam reputa gloriam*

⁴ "celerius": faster

⁵ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 4.7: *Itaque celerius sine reprehensione propinquum aversere quam amicum*

⁶ Cf. Cicero: *De amicitia*, 59, where Cicero discusses a supposed saying by Bias that *We should love as if at some time we were going to hate. (Ita amare oportere ut si aliquando esset osurus)*

⁷ Cicero: *De amicitia*, 37: *Nulla est igitur excusatio peccati, si amici causa peccaveris*

⁸ Source not identified

[126] Inter conterraneos tuos aequo et pari jure vivito, neque te nimis submittas, neque abjicias, neque efferas¹. In patria semper tranquilla et honesta velis omnesque novitates detesteris.

[127] Peregrino non eris molestus, non infitiaberis debitum nullumque jus negabis. Ait namque per Moysen dominus: *Advenam non contristabis neque effugies eum*. Et iterum: *Peregrino molestus non eris*. Quidquid denique in aliena tibi vis fieri terra, idem in tua patria concedito peregrinis. Quod si te peregrinum esse contingat, *nihil praeter negotium tuum cures, nihil de alieno inquiras, nec de aliena republica curiosum te praebeas*.

¹ offeras E

3.2.5. Compatriots

[126] Live among your compatriots with equal and similar rights. You should neither defer too much to others, nor should you slight or exasperate them. In your own country, you should only wish for tranquility and decency and abhor all political unrest.¹

3.2.6. Strangers

[127] Do not harm strangers, do not default on debt, and do not deny anyone his rights. For through Moses the Lord says, *Thou shalt not molest a stranger, nor avoid him.*² And again, *Thou shalt not molest a stranger.*³ In sum, you should treat strangers in your own country just as you wish to be treated yourself in another country. And if you happen to be abroad, then *care for nothing but your own business, do not make enquiries about local matters, and do not interfere in the affairs of another country.*⁴

¹ "novitates"

² Exodus, 22, 21: *advenam non contristabis neque adfliges eum*. Piccolomini uses a version of the Vulgate having "effugies" in stead of "adfliges"

³ Exodus, 23, 9

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.125: *Peregrini ... officium est nihil praeter suum negotium agere, nihil de alio inquirere minimaeque esse in aliena re publica curiosum*

[128] Cum vicinis¹ custodiendi sunt termini, quia *maledictus est qui transfert terminos proximi² sui*, sicut in Deuteronomio legimus. Communicare, quae habemus bona, instrumenta commodare, servare pudicitiam domus suae, prohibere ab eorum bonis fures atque latrones, communique consilio tueri agros, focosque, liberos, conjuges, ecclesiam, ut si fieri possit, una fiat ex omnibus societas. *Inimicos amare debemus*, sic enim in evangelio jubet dominus³. Nam cum sint creaturae Dei sicut et nos, quod Deus creavit, nefas est odisse. Quod si vitiosi sunt, non vitia sunt amanda, sed anima illa diligenda est, quam inspiravit Deus supplicandumque⁴ est divinae pietati, ut illi gratiam praebeat, qua se a vitiis redimat virtutisque serviat.

[129] Cum hostibus servanda est fides, nec crudeliter convenit cum eis agere, quia et homines sunt, et fortasse juste se bellum existimant gerere. Nos tamen cavere oportet, {31r} ne bellum absque rationabili causa suscipiamus, semperque pacis consilia praeponenda sunt armis. Ubi tamen necessitas cogit, pro fide, pro patria, pro veritate tuenda non est detractandum⁵ certamen, sed adhibenda est moderatio, ne crudeles, infidi atque inhumani et immanes reputemur. Neque enim sitire sanguinem decet, sed parta victoria puniendi sunt auctores mali cum moderamine, multitudini vero parcendum est. Et quamvis jura civilia, quae bello quaeruntur, juste retineri⁶ posse⁷ diffiniant, Christianus tamen belli spolia fugiet, non subvertet urbes, non exercebit rapinas, non trucidabit multitudinem, sed⁸ satis existimabit se pacem ex bello consequi.

¹ vicini E

² Terminos proximi *in marg.* D, G

³ jubet dominus : dominus jubet *corr. ex.* jubet dominus G; dominus jubet MA

⁴ supplicandum F

⁵ detractandum D, G

⁶ retinere G, MA

⁷ possent F

⁸ *omit.* B, E, T

3.2.7. Neighbours

[128] We should respect the boundaries with our neighbours, for *cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmarks*,¹ as we read in Deuteronomy. Also, we should share the good things we have, lend our tools to others, respect the chastity of their home, and keep thieves and robbers away from their property. And finally, we should provide in common for the fields, the households, the children, the wives, and the Church, so that, if possible, we may unite all the people into one community.

3.2.8. Enemies

Our enemies we should love,² as the Lord commands in the Gospel. For they are God's creatures just like we are, and it is not right to hate what God has created. If they are immoral, then we should not love their vices but their soul, into which God breathed life, and we should beg merciful God to bestow on them the grace to free themselves from vice and serve virtue.

3.2.8.1. War

[129] In war, you must keep your word to your enemies. Moreover, you should not treat them cruelly, for they, too, are human beings, and they may even think that they are fighting a just war. On our part, we should take care not to engage in war without reasonable cause, and the counsels of peace should always prevail over arms. But when necessary, we should not decline to fight for our faith, country, and truth, but we should show moderation, lest we be regarded as cruel, faithless, and inhuman. We should not thirst for blood: after a victory, the authors of evil should be punished, but with moderation, and the many should be spared.³ And though civil law declares that [the victor] may legitimately keep the spoils of war, a Christian should not take any such; he should not destroy cities, or plunder, or slaughter the crowd, but consider it sufficient to get peace through war.⁴

¹ Deuteronomy, 27, 17

² Matthew, 5, 44: *diligite inimicos vestros*

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.11.34-35; 1.23.81

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.80: *Bellum autem ita suscipiatur, ut nihil aliud nisi pax quaesita videatur*

[130] Verum cum adhuc inter aequales versemur, adjicienda sunt aliqua, quae ad omnes pertinent, ut est illud Pauli ad Colossenses, *quod non debemus alter alterum irritare aut graviter quidquam ferre, sed tolerare, supportantes invicem, donantes¹ nobismet² ipsis, si quis adversus³ nos aliquam habet querelam, sicut et dominus donavit nobis*. Et iterum: *Alter alterius onera portate, et sic adimplebitis legem Christi*. Et ad Ephesios: *Loquimini veritatem unusquisquam⁴ cum proximo suo*. Non debet alter alterum carpere, non diffamare, non spernere, non mentiri invicem, non furari, sed oportet servare promissa.

[131] In vendendo apertum esse, ingenuum⁵, justum et bonum virum, nihil celare sui emolumentum causa, quod emptoris intersit scire, nihil insidiose, nihil simulate, nihil fallaciter facere. In vendendo emendoque quam minime loqui, et si possibile sit, tantum semel. Et ut omnia perstringam: in tutelis, societatibus, fideicommissis, mandatis, rebus emptis, venditis, conductis, locatis, singulisque contractibus et actibus, quibus vitae societas continetur, bonam fidem adhibe, fraudem et astutiam tolle atque malitiam. Prodesse omnibus stude, et nulli nocere. Quibus diligenter curatis, invenies nummum secundum, quem divo Petro, janitori regni caelestis, pro introitu praebeas.

¹ dominantes F

² uobismet T

³ adversum MA

⁴ unusquisque MA

⁵ ingenium B, E, F, G, T

[130] As we are still dealing with equals, let us add something that applies to them all in general. Paul wrote to the Colossians that *we should not irritate each other or take things badly, but be tolerant, bearing with one another, and forgiving one another if any have a complaint against another. Even as the Lord hath forgiven you.*¹ And again, *Bear ye one another's burdens: and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ.*² And to the Ephesians, *Speak ye the truth, every man with his neighbour.*³ We should not slander, mock, lie, bicker, or steal, but keep our promises.

3.2.9. Commercial partners

[131] When selling, one should be open, sincere, just, and good; conceal nothing for the sake of personal gain that the buyer should know; and avoid deceit, dissimulation and deception. In selling and buying, you should speak very little and, if possible, only once.⁴ And to wrap it all up: in wardships, partnerships, entrusted affairs,⁵ bequests,⁶ in things bought, sold, hired, and rented, and in all the various contracts and formal acts on which life in a society depends, show good faith and avoid deceit, cunning, and malice. Take care to benefit all and not harm anybody. Having done this diligently, you will earn the second coin to show to Saint Peter, Gatekeeper of the Kingdom of Heaven, to gain entry.

¹ Colossians, 3, 13: *subportantes invicem et donantes vobis ipsis si quis adversus aliquem habet querellam sicut et Dominus donavit vobis ita et vos*

² Galatians, 6, 2

³ Ephesians, 4, 25

⁴ 14 years later, in an oration to the Sieneese, the "*Vetus Majorum*" [31], bestowing the Golden Rose on the city, Pius II would mention a Sieneese saint who sold combs and only opened his mouth once during the sales transaction: *However, many Sieneese have also attained what is solid and eternal through their piety and moral life. In a former period, Pier Pettinaio was known for his great holiness; when he sold his combs, he only mentioned the price once and then pointed to his closed mouth* [sect. 5]. Pier Pettinaio [Pietro da Campi] (1180-1289) was a Sieneese merchant (combs), reputed for his holiness. The concept of not praising one's wares, performing lengthy transactions, and haggling when selling, may have been a medieval notion connected with the morals of commerce

⁵ "fideicommissis"

⁶ "mandatis"

[132] Superest tertium nummum inquirere, qui mox praesto erit, si circa inferiores officii nostri, quid sit, noverimus et¹ adimpleverimus. De quo jam dicere aggrediar². Inferiores tot numero sunt, quot superiores, quia non est alius sine alio. Sed in hoc loco non expedit de omni genere inferiorum dicere, quia non estis principes neque³ praelati ecclesiae, ut scire vos oporteat, quo pacto subditos regere debeatis⁴. Sed dicam vobis de illis inferioribus, quibus vos plerumque superiores estis. Inter quos primum locum tenent liberi, post conjuges, exinde pupilli, viduae, indocti, inexperti, debiles, servi, juniores, captivi⁵, pauperes, ignobiliores⁶, stulti, {31v} mercenarii.

[133] De liberis primum loquamur. His danda est nutrix bona, quia nonnihil ex lacte trahitur de natura nutricis. Sunt instituendi ad virtutes, edocendi ad sobrietatem, nutriendi ad laborem et ad patientiam animi et corporis indurandi. Tradantur his aliqui senes optimi *et probatissimi, quorum consilio atque*⁷ *auctoritate* utantur. *Ineuntis enim*^{8 9} *aetatis inscitia senum prudentia regi debet.* Cavendum est, ne coram filiis aliquid turpitudinis admittatur, ne sermo inhonestus habeatur¹⁰. Qui potest, litteris¹¹ tradat filios¹². De fide religioneque¹³ nostra nullus non instruatur. Quidquid tibi parentes boni fecerunt, idem tu filiis exhibebis. Timorem domini¹⁴ eos doce et justitiae cultum.

¹ *omit.* T

² *aggredior* C; *egredior* N

³ *nec* MA

⁴ **regere debeatis : debeatis regere** N

⁵ **capti** N

⁶ *ignobiles* C

⁷ *et* F

⁸ *etiam* MA

⁹ *optimi ... enim omit* B, E, T

¹⁰ *ne sermo ... habeatur omit.* B, E, T

¹¹ *litteras* MA

¹² *suos add.* F; *filiis* MA

¹³ *religione* B, E, T

¹⁴ *omit.* G, MA

3.3. Third coin: Fulfilling our obligations towards inferiors

[132] We now move on to the third coin. It will soon be ready if we know and fulfil our obligations towards our inferiors. About this matter, I shall speak now. There are as many inferiors as there are superiors, for there is not one without the other. But here it is not relevant to speak about all kinds of inferiors, as you are not princes or prelates of the Church and need to know how to rule subjects. But I shall speak to you about those inferiors to whom, mostly, you are superiors. Among these, children hold the primary place, then come wives, then orphans, widows, the uneducated, the unskilled, invalids, slaves, juniors, prisoners, the poor, those of very low birth, halfwits, and hired workers.

3.3.1. Children

[133] Let us speak first about the children. They should be given a nurse who is good-natured, for through the milk some of the character of the nurse passes on to the child. They must be instructed in the virtues, taught sobriety, brought up to work and to have mental and physical endurance. Around them should be some *old people, good and esteemed, from whose counsel and authority*¹ they may benefit. *For the inexperience of the young should be ruled by the wisdom of the old.*² You must take care not to let anything shameful happen in front of children and not to use indecent language. Those who can should teach their children the letters. Every child should receive instruction in our faith and religion. Whatever good your parents did to you, you should also do to your children. Teach them the fear of the Lord and the practice of justice.

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.122

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.122

[134] Si quae sunt feminae, ad pudicitiam instruantur et parviloquium. Vinum fugiant, parum comedant, suo tempore nubant. Ait enim ad Titum Paulus: *Volo ergo juvenes nubere, filios procreare, matres familias¹ esse.* Quod tam de virginibus quam de viduis potest intelligi, si ulterius continere² non valent. Filii, dum pueri sunt, sub virga teneantur³. Inquit enim in Parabolis Sapiens: *Qui parcit virgae, odit filium suum.* Cum vero adulti sunt, mitius haberi debent. *Et vos patres,* inquit apostolus Paulus⁴, *nolite ad iracundiam provocare filios, sed educate illos in disciplina et correptione domini.* Apud Romanos *moris fuit, ut cum parentibus filii non lavarent, nec cum soceris generi.* Quod etiam inter vos servari vellem, quia nimia familiaritas reverentiam perimit, quam parentibus filii debent. Quod autem de filiis dico, id etiam de nepotibus ceterisque propinquis⁵ dico, qui vestrae curationi subjacent.

[135] De uxoribus praecipio vobis cum Paulo ad Ephesios: *Viri, diligite uxores vestras, sicut et Christus dilexit ecclesiam, et semetipsum tradidit pro ea.* Magnum verbum est, dilectissimi, nam etsi vobis uxores subjectas⁶ esse convenit, non tamen vos insanire ac saevire in eas decet, sed, ut jubet Paulus, *diligere uti corpora vestra, quia qui suam uxorem diligit, se ipsum diligit.* Quod si molesta est uxor, garrula, contentiosa, non tamen propterea repellenda est, sed imitari Socratem potius decet, qui cum rogaretur a suis uxorem Xantippem⁷ jurgiosam domo abigere, “Nolo,” inquit, “quia disco in domo, qualis esse in foro⁸ debeam; cum enim talem domi patior, assuesco et exercitor, quo pacto foris ceterorum petulantiam et injuriam facilius geram”⁹.

¹ filias F

² contineri B, E, T

³ Filii sub virga *in marg.* D, G

⁴ Paulus *in marg.* A, D, G

⁵ ceterisque propinquis *omit.* C

⁶ *omit.* F

⁷ Xantippam C

⁸ esse in foro : in foro esse F, G, MA

⁹ feram MA

[134] Females should be taught to be chaste¹ and to speak in few words. Let them abstain from wine, eat moderately, and marry when their time comes. For Paul says to Titus *I will, therefore, that the younger should marry, bear children, be mistresses of families.*² This applies not only to maids but also to widows if they cannot be continent in widowhood.

While the sons are still boys, they should be kept in line by the rod. For in the Parables, the Wise One says, *He that spareth the rod, hateth his son.*³ But when they have grown up, they should be treated more leniently, as the Apostle Paul says: *And you, fathers, provoke not your children to anger: but bring them up in the discipline and correction of the Lord.*⁴

In ancient Rome, it was *the custom that sons should not bathe together with parents, nor sons-in-law with their fathers-in-law.*⁵ I desire that you observe the same rule, for too much intimacy destroys the respect that sons should have for their parents.

What I say about sons also applies to grandchildren and other relatives who might be in your care.

3.3.2. Wives

[135] Concerning wives, my command to you is the same as Paul's to the Ephesians: *Husbands, love your wives, as Christ also loved the church and delivered himself up for it.*⁶ This is a very important saying, beloved, for although it is proper that your wives be subject to you, it is not right for you to rage and be violent against them, but, as Paul commands, *you ought to love them as your own bodies. He that loveth his wife loveth himself.*⁷

And if your wife is shrewish, garrulous, and headstrong, you should not drive her away but rather imitate Socrates. When asked by his friends to drive his quarrelsome wife, Xantippe⁸, from his home, he replied, "No, at home I learn how to behave in public. For as I suffer and learn to tolerate such a woman at home, I practice how better to bear up with other people's boisterous aggressiveness and abuse in public."⁹

¹ This rule does not seem to apply to the boys

² 1. Timothy, 5, 14 (not Titus)

³ Proverbs, 13, 24

⁴ Ephesians, 6, 4

⁵ Cicero: De officiis, 1.35.127: *Nostrum quidem more cum parentibus puberes filii, cum soceris generi non lavantur*

⁶ Ephesians, 5, 25

⁷ Ephesians, 5, 28

⁸ Xantippe: Socrates' wife, who has had a – possibly undeserved – reputation for shrewishness

⁹ Cf. Burley, (Socrates), pp. 116-117

[136] Uxorem¹ praeterea, ut ait apud Matthaeum dominus, *non licet dimittere excepta causa fornicationis, et qui duxerit dimissam, adulterat.* {32r} Quod praeceptum etiam uxorem ligat. *His autem, inquit Paulus, qui juncti sunt, praecipio, non ego, sed Dominus, uxorem a viro non discedere, quod si discesserit², manere innuptam aut viro suo reconciliari.* Et iterum: *Alligatus es uxori, noli quaerere solutionem.*

[137] Ceterum, carissimi, *propter fornicationem, inquit ad Corinthios Paulus, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat, et unaquaeque suum virum. Uxori vir debitum reddat; similiter autem uxor viro. Mulier sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed vir; similiter autem et vir sui corporis potestatem non habet, sed mulier.* Ex quo fit, ut certis³ in casibus viro mulier sit superior. Verum, cum ait⁴ apostolus “propter fornicationem”, intelligendum est: “evitandam”. Namque, cum non potest conjunx continere, tunc reddendum est debitum. Non enim sine causa inquit “debitum”, quod tunc est, cum evitari non potest. Quod si quis ad voluptatem et non ad necessitatem matrimonio utatur, is proculdubio non evitat, sed committit fornicationem. Debet enim, ut supra est dictum, unusquisque vas suum in sanctificatione possidere.

¹ De uxore *in marg.* D, G

² discesseris T

³ ceteris E

⁴ fit ut certis ... ait *omit.* T

3.3.2.1. Divorce

[136] Moreover, as the Lord says in Matthew, a man may not *put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery.*¹ This command applies to the wife as well. And Paul says, *But to them that are married, not I, but the Lord, commandeth that the wife depart not from her husband. And if she depart, that she remain unmarried or be reconciled to her husband.*² And again, *Art thou bound to a wife? Seek not to be loosed.*³

3.3.2.2. Sex in marriage

[137] Moreover, beloved, Paul says to the Corinthians, *Because of fornication, let every man have his own wife: and let every woman have her own husband. Let the husband render the debt to his wife: and the wife also in like manner to the husband. The wife hath not power of her own body: but the husband. And in like manner the husband also hath not power of his own body: but the wife.*⁴ Therefore, in certain cases, the wife is superior to the husband. But when the apostle says 'because of fornication', it means 'in order to avoid fornication'. For when the spouse cannot be continent, then the debt must be rendered. Not without reason does he say 'debt', which means that it cannot be avoided. But if anybody uses marriage for pleasure and not for necessity, then he certainly does not avoid fornication but actually commits it. For, as said above, *every one of you should possess his vessel in sanctification.*⁵

¹ Matthew, 5, 32: *But I say to you, that whosoever shall put away his wife, excepting the cause of fornication, maketh her to commit adultery: and he that shall marry her that is put away, committeth adultery (ego autem dico vobis quia omnis qui dimiserit uxorem suam excepta fornicationis causa facit eam moechari et qui dimissam duxerit adulterat)*

² 1. Corinthians, 7, 10-11: *his autem qui matrimonio iuncti sunt ...*

³ 1. Corinthians, 7, 27

⁴ 1. Corinthians, 7, 2-4: *propter fornicationes autem unusquisque suam uxorem habeat et unaquaeque suum virum habeat*

⁵ 1. Thessalonians, 4, 4: *That you should abstain from fornication that every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in sanctification and honour (ut abstinatis vos a fornicatione ut sciat unusquisque vestrum suum vas possidere in sanctificatione et honore)*

[138] Pupilli et viduae ex inferiorum sunt numero, quorum causas tueri debemus, et maxime si ad nostram pertinent curam. Et viduis quidem, si continere possunt, suadendum est cum apostolo, ut sic maneant. Illis¹ - inquam - quae ad sobolem procreandam non sunt idoneae, quod si non se continent, nubant. *Melius est enim nubere quam uri*. Ceterum scire² vos³ convenit, *quod omnis qui pervertit iudicium advenae, pupilli et viduae, maledictus est a domino per Moysen*. Audite – obsecro - verba, et timete violare sententiam: *Viduae et pupillo^{4 5}, inquit dominus, non nocebitis; si laeseritis eos, vociferabunt ad me, et ego audiam clamorem eorum⁶, et indignabitur furor meus, percutiamque vos gladio, et erunt uxores vestrae⁷ viduae, et filii vestri pupilli*. Quod iudicium formidare omnes debent, qui ex bonis pupillorum et viduarum sese faciunt ditiores. Quod peccatum, carissimi, a vobis procul absit.

[139] De indoctis, inexpertis, atque debilibus admonet nos Paulus ad Romanos, sic inquam: *Debemus autem nos⁸ firmiores infirmitates imbecillorum sustinere et non nobis placere. Unusquisque nostrum proximo suo placeat in bonum ad aedificationem*. Si quis errat, labitur, decipitur, non irridendus est, sed instruendus.

¹ *del.* B; *omit.* E, T

² *omit.* B, E, T

³ nos C, D, G, MA

⁴ **pupille N**

⁵ De vidua et pupillo *in marg.* D, G

⁶ Nota horribile iudicium domini *in marg.* A

⁷ *omit.* G, MA

⁸ non E

3.3.3. Orphans, widows, and strangers

[138] Orphans and widows belong to the category of inferiors. We should protect them, especially if they are in our own care. Concerning *the widows, I urge them, together with the Apostle, to continue so if they can contain themselves. But let those who are not fit to have children marry if they cannot contain themselves. For it is better to marry than to be burned.*¹

Otherwise, we should know, from the Lord through Moses, that *cursed be he that perverteth the judgment of the stranger, of the fatherless and the widow.*² Hear these words, I beg you, and fear to violate this command: *You shall not hurt a widow or an orphan, says the Lord. If you hurt them, they will cry out to me, and I will hear their cry: And my rage shall be enkindled, and I will strike you with the sword, and your wives shall be widows, and your children fatherless.*³ All who enrich themselves from the property of orphans and widows should fear this judgement.⁴ Beloved, may this sin be far from you.

3.3.4. Uneducated and invalids

[139] Concerning the uneducated, unskilled, and invalids, Paul admonishes us in Romans in these words: *Now, we that are stronger ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves. Let every one of you please his neighbour unto good, to edification.*⁵ If somebody makes a mistake or is misled, he should not be laughed at but given guidance.

¹ 1. Corinthians 7, 8-9

² Deuteronomy, 27, 19: *Maledictus qui pervertit iudicium advenae pupilli et viduae*

³ Exodus, 22, 22-24

⁴ The fortune and status of Piccolomini's own family had been seriously affected when his grandfather, also called Enea Silvio, was orphaned and had relatives as his guardians. He wrote in his *Commentarii: As a boy, his property was squandered by his guardians and agents.* CO, I, 2 (Meserve, I, p. 7)

⁵ Romans, 15, 1-2: *debemus autem nos firmiores inbecillitates infirmorum sustinere et non nobis placere; unusquisque vestrum proximo suo placeat in bonum ad aedificationem*

[140] Cum servis clementer vivendum est, comiter, dulciter. Admittendi sunt in sermonem et nonnumquam in consilium necessarium, si sunt industrii. Nec enim fortuna aestimare¹ homines debemus, {32v} sed moribus, quia sibi quisque dat morem, conditionem vero casus assignat. *Remittendae sunt erga eos minae*, ut² jubet³ Paulus. Scire namque oportet, quia dominus, qui est in caelo, tam servorum quam noster est dominus, et *personarum acceptio non est apud Deum*.

[141] Sed quia usus servorum hic non est, transeo ad mercenarios, quos fraudare stipe sua non convenit: *Dignus est enim*, ut ait in evangelio salvator, *mercede sua mercenarius*. Si quis conducit operarios, reddat eis, quod suum est. Non sint cum famulis⁴ rixae, non jurgia, non deceptiones. Juniores⁵ instruite, bonum exemplum date⁶, revocate a libidine, laudate bene agentes, corripite delinquentes, capitivis commiserescite, nolite contemnere ignobiliores, quia unus est pater omnium Deus, qui bene agunt.

[142] Inter pauperes aliqui sani sunt, aliqui aegrotantes⁷, quibus omnibus convenit subvenire. Caeco ducatum praebete; nemo errorem sibi statuatur in via, quia *maledictus est a domino per Moysen, qui errare facit caecum in via*.

¹ extimare A, B, E; estimare corr. ex. extimare C; extimare corr. ex aestimare D

² et E

³ jubet corr. ex. inquit G; inquit MA

⁴ cum famulis : confabulis E

⁵ in mores D, G; in moribus MA; [A begins a new line after iu-: D is probably copied directly from A, the copyist reading in for ju, and mores for niores]

⁶ datae MA

⁷ sani sunt ... aegrotantes : egrotantes aliqui sani sunt E

3.3.5. Slaves

[140] With slaves, you should live kindly, agreeably, and pleasantly. If they are industrious, they should be allowed to speak and sometimes, when necessary, participate in discussions. We should not value people according to their fortune but according to their character, for people themselves decide how to behave, but it is chance that gives them their status in life. *You should forbear threatenings, Saint Paul bids, for it is necessary to be aware that the Lord both of them and you is in heaven. And there is no respect of persons with him.*¹

3.3.6. Workers

[141] But since we do not use slaves here, I continue with the hired workers. They should not be cheated of their salary, *for the labourer is worthy of his hire,*² as the Saviour says in the Gospel. If anyone hires labourers, he should give them their dues.

With regard to servants, let there be no quarrels, abuse, or deception. Instruct the young, give a good example, keep them away from sensual pleasures, praise those who do well, correct those who err, show compassion to prisoners, and do not despise the lowborn, for God is the father of all who do good.

3.3.7. Poor

[142] Among the poor, some are in good health and some are ill; help them all! Guide the blind, and let nobody misdirect them, for through Moses the Lord says, *Cursed be he that maketh the blind to wander out of his way.*³

¹ Ephesians, 6, 9: *et domini eadem facite illis remittentes minas scientes quia et illorum et vester Dominus est in caelis et personarum acceptio non est apud eum*

² Luke, 10, 7: *dignus enim est operarius mercede sua*

³ Deuteronomy, 27, 18: *Maledictus qui errare facit caecum in itinere*

[143] Date omnibus elemosinam¹, quia, ut inquit Ecclesiasticus, *ignem ardentem extinguit aqua², et elemosina³ resistit peccatis*. Praebete igitur affluenter elemosinas, ne *parce seminantes, parce metatis*, ut Paulus dicit. Nec propterea manum restringite, quia malus fuerit, qui elemosinam petit. Non⁴ enim illi, sed Deo datis. Aristoteles⁵, cum iniquo cuidam dedisset elemosinam, *naturae*, inquit, *non malitiae sum misertus*.

[144] Sed audite sacram scripturam. Apud Tobiam sic scriptum est: *Ex substantia tua fac elemosinam, et noli avertere faciem tuam ab ullo paupere; ita enim fiet, ut nec a te avertatur facies domini*. Sed dicitis fortasse: "Nos etiam parum habemus". Attendite, quod sequitur: *Si multum tibi fuerit, abundanter tribue: si exiguum fuerit tibi, etiam exiguum⁶ libenter impartiri stude; quoniam elemosina ab omni peccato et a morte liberat, et non patietur animam ire in tenebras. Fiducia magna erit coram summo Deo omnibus elemosinam facientibus*. Quis igitur elemosinam facere negligat, in qua tantus invenitur fructus? Habetis divi Martini exemplum, qui cum aliter nudo subvenire non posset, pallium suum partitus est⁷ textitque nudum. Nolite contemnere pauperes, dilectissimi, quia et *Deus*, ut ait apostolus Jacobus⁸, *pauperes in hoc mundo⁹ elegit¹⁰; divites autem fide et haeredes regni, quod repromisit Deus diligentibus se*.

¹ Elemosina *in marg.* C; De eleemosyna *in marg.* D, G

² ita *add.* G, MA

³ *omit.* G

⁴ nec MA

⁵ Aristoteles *in marg.* A, G

⁶ etiam exiguum : exiguum etiam F

⁷ **et add. N**

⁸ apostolus Jacobus : Jacobus apostolus G, MA

⁹ *omit.* C

¹⁰ eligit E, T

3.3.7.1. Alms

[143] Give alms to all the poor, for as is said in Ecclesiasticus, *Water quencheth a flaming fire, and alms resisteth sins.*¹ Give alms freely, *so that you shall not, sowing sparingly, also reap sparingly,*² as Paul says. And do not keep back your hand if the one who asks for alms has been wicked, for you are not giving to him but to God. When *Aristotle gave alms to a bad person, he said, I take pity on nature, not on wickedness.*³

[144] But listen to Holy Scripture! In Tobit's book, it is written, *Give alms out of thy substance, and turn not away thy face from any poor person: for so it shall come to pass that the face of the Lord shall not be turned from thee.*⁴ But maybe you say, "We have little enough for ourselves." Then hear what follows: *If thou have much, give abundantly: if thou have little, take care even so to bestow willingly a little. For alms deliver from all sin, and from death, and will not suffer the soul to go into darkness. Alms shall be a great confidence before the most high God, to all them that give it.*⁵ Why would anybody fail to give alms when the rewards are so great? You have the example of Saint Martin: when he could not help a naked man in other ways, he cut his mantle in two pieces and covered him.⁶ Do not despise the poor, beloved, for as the Apostle James says, *Hath not God chosen the poor in this world, rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom which God hath promised to them that love him.*⁷

¹ Ecclesiasticus, 3, 33

² 2. Corinthians, 9, 6

³ Burley, (Aristotle), p. 240

⁴ Tobit, 4,7

⁵ Tobit, 4, 9, 11-12

⁶ Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea*, vol. II, ch. 166, p. 292

⁷ James, 2, 5

[145] In Parabolis quoque dicit Sapiens: *Feneratur¹ domino, qui miseretur pauperum*. Nec existimet quispiam voluntatis esse et non praecepti elemosinas² dare. Dicit enim per Moysen Dominus in Deuteronomio: *Idcirco ego³ praecipio tibi, ut aperias manum fratri tuo, et egeno, et pauperi, qui tecum versatur⁴ in terra*. Vos autem ditiores, qui aliquando {33r} pecunias mutuo datis pauperioribus, cavete ne urgeatis eos quasi exactores neve usuris opprimatis, quia Deus id fieri vetat. Sed subvenite misericorditer inopibus⁵, pascite famelicos, date potum sitibundis, cooperite nudos, visitate infirmos et incarceratos, peregrinos in domum suscipite, mortuos sepelite, et omnes auxilio⁶ juvate, stultos declinate facultatemque nocendi ipsis eripite. *Cum fatuis*, inquit Ecclesiasticus, *non habeas consilium; non enim possunt diligere, nisi quae ipsis placent*. Atque ista de tertio nummo libasse sufficiat.

[146] Jam quartum atque ultimum attingamus⁷, qui nos⁸ ipsos respicit. Ad quem parandum sic vos meque instituam. Justitia opus est nobis non solum erga alios - de qua jam dictum est - sed etiam erga nos, quae consistit in voluntate et animo nostro, ut scilicet nihil cupiamus, quod sit⁹ injustum. In qua re unum est praecipuum consilium, ne quid faciamus aut facere velimus, quod dubitemus aequum an iniquum sit. Licet juvare nos lege consuetudineque possimus, si id conscientia non dictat, nullatenus nos defendamus. Adsit voluntas referendi gratias proficiendique omnibus, etiam si facultas absit, quomodo liberales erimus, ut simus fortes, non frangamur metu neque cupiditate, neque voluptate. Pecuniam, si abest, contemnamus; si adest, ad beneficentiam liberalitatemque conferamus.

¹ **veneratur N**

² eleemosynam G, MA

³ *omit.* D, G, MA

⁴ versantur F

⁵ in opibus MA

⁶ **indigentes N**

⁷ **attingens N**

⁸ vos B, E, T

⁹ *omit.* T

[145] In the Parables the Wise One says, *He that hath mercy on the poor, lendeth to the Lord*¹. Therefore, let nobody believe that almsgiving is one's own concern and not a matter of God's command, for through Moses the Lord says in Deuteronomy, *Therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother, that liveth in the land.*² Those among you who are affluent and sometimes lend money to the poor, take care that you do not press them as collectors nor burden them with interests, for this God forbids. But help the poor out of compassion, feed the starving, give drink to the thirsty, cover the naked, visit the sick and the prisoners, receive travellers into your home, bury the dead, and give assistance to all. But fools you should keep away and remove their capacity to do harm, as Ecclesiasticus says, *Advise not with fools, for they cannot love but such things as please them.*³

And this is enough concerning the third coin.

3.4. Fourth coin: Fulfilling our duties towards oneself

[146] We now come to the fourth and last coin, the one that concerns ourselves. To gain it, I would prepare you and myself in this way:

We need to be just not only towards others - as we have already said - but also towards ourselves. This justice depends on our own will and mind, so that we do not wish for anything that is unjust. In this matter, there is one especially important piece of advice: not to do or want to do anything if we are uncertain whether it is just or evil. We may, of course, rely on law or custom, but if our own conscience does not tell us to do it, neither law nor custom is an excuse. We should also have the will to show gratitude and to be of assistance to all, even if we cannot actually afford to be generous. We should be strong and not be broken by fear, greed, or lust. If we do not have money, let us despise it. And if we have it, then let us spend it with kindness and generosity.

¹ Proverbs, 19, 17

² Deuteronomy, 15, 11

³ Ecclesiasticus, 8, 20

[147] *Exerceamus corpus nostrum, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit, in exercendis negotiis et in labore tolerando, si simus juvenes. Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi, exercitationes animi augendae sunt. Caveant senes, ne se languori¹ ² desidiaeque dedant. Ne objectemus nos³ periculis sine causa: nemo plus famam quam salutem curet. Quanto superior quisquis⁴ est, tanto se gerat submissius. In rebus secundis potissime consiliis utamur. Nec assentemur ipsi, nec aures assentatoribus praebeamus. Quid de nobis alii sentiant dicantque, minime negligamus. Nihil agamus, cujus causam probabilem reddere non possimus⁵. Ludo vel joco, qui sit profusus aut inhonestus,⁶ non utamur: sic enim temperati erimus.*

[148] *Prudentia vero tunc augetur, cum mens hominis alitur discendo, cogitando, inquirendo, agendo, videndo, audiendo. Victus cultusque corporis ad valetudinem referatur⁷ et ad vires, non ad voluptatem. Ad quas res apti natura⁸ sumus, in his elaboremus, si modo honestae sunt. Si mutandum⁹ est genus vitae, bono consilio fiat. Non imitemur quemquam¹⁰ in vitium. In omni re agenda et consilio capiando servemus constantiam. Quae natura in nostro corpore occultavit, ea ab oculis hominum removeamus. Quidquid naturaliter ab oculorum auriumque approbatione {33v} abhorret, fugiamus. Status, incessus, sessus, accubatio, vultus, oculi, manuumque motus decore se habeant. In vestitu nec odiosa munditia nec inhumana negligentia videatur. In gressu neque tarditas sit neque celeritas, nisi¹¹ coacta.*

¹ *em. after* MA; languori A, B, C, D, E, F, G, T

² se languori : lang(u)ori se G, MA

³ non G

⁴ quisque D, F, G; quisquam MA

⁵ possumus B, E, T

⁶ aut inhonestus *omit.* B, E, T

⁷ referat F

⁸ nam F

⁹ **imitandum N**

¹⁰ quemque G, MA

¹¹ sit *add.* E; neque F

3.4.1. Care of the body

[147] *Let us train our body so that it will obey good sense and reason. That we should do by physical exercise and labour¹ when we are young. Old people, however, should do less physical labour and instead devote themselves more to mental activities.² But old people must also take care not to fall into apathy and idleness.³*

Let us not throw ourselves into unnecessary danger; nobody should care more for fame than for safety. The higher you stand, the more you should lower yourself. You should seek advice, especially when you have success. Let us not be yeasayers, and let us not lend ears to such. Let us pay attention to what others think and say about us. Let us do nothing for which we do not have a reasonable cause. Let us not engage in costly or indecent games and plays.⁴ Thus we will show moderation.

3.4.2. Care of the mind

[148] Intelligence grows when the mind is engaged in learning, thinking, enquiring, acting, seeing, and hearing. Nourishment and care of the body should aim at health and strength, not pleasure. Let us engage in such things for which we are suited by nature, if only they are honourable. If we have to change our way of life, let it be done on good advice. Let us not imitate anybody's vices. Let us show constancy whenever we have to act or deliberate. *That which nature hid in our body, we should remove from the eyes of men.⁵ Let us avoid all that from which the eyes and the ears naturally shy away. Let our way of standing, walking, sitting down, lying down, our facial expression, eyes and gestures be decorous.⁶ In our dress, there should neither be excessive refinement nor uncultured negligence.⁷ And when walking, we should be neither slow nor quick, except in cases of urgency.⁸*

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.23.79: *Exercendum tamen corpus et ita afficiendum est, ut oboedire consilio rationique possit in exsequendis negotiis et in labore tolerando*

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.123: *Senibus autem labores corporis minuendi, exercitationes animi etiam augendae videntur*

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.34.123: *Nihil autem magis cavendum est senectui quam ne languori se desidiaeque dedat*

⁴ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.29.103: *Ipsaque genus jocandi non profusum neque immodestum*

⁵ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.35.127: *Quae enim natura occultavit, eadem omnes ... remonent ab oculis*

⁶ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.35.128: *Nos autem naturam sequamur et ab omni quod abhorret ab oculorum auriumque approbatione, fugiamus; status, incessus, sessio, accubitus, vultus, oculi, manuum motus fugiamus*

⁷ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.36.130

⁸ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.36.130

[149] Motus animorum duo sunt, alteri cogitationis, appetitus alteri¹. Cogitatio in exquirendo vero versatur, appetitus ad agendum impellit. Cogitatione igitur ad res quam² optimas utamur, rationi appetitum subjiciamus. Facessat a³ splene nimia laetitia⁴, ira ex felle, libido ex jecore, timor ex corde. Avertamus *faciem nostram* ab omni turpitudine et praesertim *a muliere corrupta*,⁵ ut inquit Ecclesiasticus, quia *eruedus est oculus, qui scandalizat*, ut jubet salvator. *Sex sunt*, inquit in Parabolis sapiens⁶, *quae odit dominus*⁷, *et septimum odit anima ejus*, quae diligenter vitanda sunt: *oculos sublimes, linguam mendacem, manus effundentes innoxium sanguinem, cor machinans cogitationes pessimas, pedes veloces ad currendum in*⁸ *malum, testem fallacem, et eum, qui seminat inter fratres discordias.*

¹ *omit.* E

² *omit.* MA

³ e MA

⁴ Unde affectus *in marg.* C

⁵ *compta* MA

⁶ Salomon in Parabolis *in marg.* A

⁷ Sex odit C; Sex odit dominus in Parabolis *in marg.* D; Sex odit dominus ut in Parabolis et septimum anima eius *in marg.* G

⁸ *omit.* F

[149] There are two kinds of activity of the mind;: one is thought, and the other is appetite. Thought has to do with establishing truth, whereas appetite moves us to act.¹ So let us use thought on the best things and let us subject action to reason. Let us remove excessive joy from the spleen, anger from the gall, lust from the liver, and fear from the heart. Let us *turn our face away* from everything that is indecent and especially *from depraved women*,² as it is said in Ecclesiasticus, for *if thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out*,³ the Lord commands. In the Parables, the Wise One talks about the things that should be carefully avoided: *Six things there are, which the Lord hateth, and the seventh his soul detesteth: Haughty eyes, a lying tongue, hands that shed innocent blood, a heart that deviseth wicked plots, feet that are swift to run into mischief, a deceitful witness that uttereth lies, and him that soweth discord among brethren.*⁴

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.28.100. *Ibid.* 1.4.12-13; 1.6.19

² Ecclesiasticus, 9, 8: *averte faciem tuam a muliere compta*. The version of the Vulgate used by Piccolomini has "corrupta" instead of "compta"

³ Matthew, 18, 9: *And if thy eye scandalize thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee (et si oculus tuus scandalizat te erue eum)*

⁴ Proverbs, 6, 16-19

[150] *Lingua modicum membrum est*¹, ut ait apostolus Jacobus, *et magna excitat incendia*². Plurimum erramus, carissimi³, in multiloquio. Ob quam rem *duo*⁴ *nobis praecepta sunt*⁵ *necessaria*, ut inquit Socrates, *unum ut tacere, aliud ut loqui discamus*. Tacenda sunt omnia turpia, honesta vero non⁶ semper dicenda. De loquendo autem haec sit regula: *sermo lenis* instituat, non *pertinax*, non contentiosus⁷; *insit in eo lepos* atque jucunditas. Nemo sic loquatur, ut *alios excludat*, nec semper de una re sit, sed varietur; non detrahat absentibus⁸, non irrideat, non sit maledicus, non contumeliosus. Si ad inhonestas res ventum fuerit, mox *revocetur* ad honestas. Ut *ratio est incipiendi*, sic et *finiendi sit modus*⁹. Nihil de nobis ipsis praedicemus falsa, praesertim cum inimicos alloquimur. Si quid audimus molesti, gravitatem tamen teneamus, et pellamus iracundiam. Nam *quae cum perturbatione fiunt, ea nec constanter fieri possunt, neque ab his, qui adsunt, probari*. Verum, cum¹⁰ os unum sit nobis, aures duae, audiamus multa, loquamur pauca. Sic ergo¹¹ et aures et linguam instruamus.

¹ *omit.* MA

² *add. in marg.* A; *omit.* N

³ *omit.* G, MA

⁴ duobus F

⁵ nobis praecepta sunt : nobis sunt praecepta G; sunt nobis praecepta MA

⁶ *omit.* MA

⁷ contemptiosus F

⁸ *omit.* G, MA

⁹ sit modus : modus sit G, MA

¹⁰ *omit.* C

¹¹ **erga** N

3.4.2.1. Conversation

[150] The Apostle James says, *The tongue is a little member and kindleth great fires.*¹ Beloved, we often go astray when we talk excessively. Therefore, as Socrates says, we should follow two rules: *one is to learn to be silent, and the other is to learn to speak.*² We should remain silent about all indecent things, and we should not always say those that are decent. Concerning speaking, let this be our rule: our conversation should be *kind* and neither *obstinate* nor quarrelsome. It should have charm and joyfulness. Let nobody speak in such a *way as to exclude others*, and do not talk about one subject only, but about various subjects. Do not slander or ridicule those who are absent; do not speak maliciously or insultingly. If conversation turns to indecent subjects, then quickly *return* to those that are decent. *Just as there is a way to begin the conversation, let there also be a way to end it.* Let us say nothing untrue about ourselves, especially not when we are talking to enemies. If we hear something annoying, then let us keep calm and drive anger away. *For whatever is done with a disturbed mind, cannot be upheld, nor approved by those who are present.*³ But as we have only one mouth but two ears, let us speak little and hear much. Thus let us instruct our ears and tongue.

¹ James, 3, 5: *Even so the tongue is indeed a little member and boasteth great things. Behold how small a fire kindleth a great wood (ita et lingua modicum quidem membrum est et magna exultat ecce quantus ignis quam magnam silvam incendit)*

² Burley, (Socrates), p. 122: *Duo, inquit, precepta sapientie tibi necessaria sunt, unum ut taceas, aliud ut loqui discas*

³ This whole section is based on Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.38.134-137

[151] Nares ab odoratu turpi custodiamus, neque oblectemur odoribus. Guttur atque palatum contentum sit esca communi¹, nec² vina pretiosa³, nec cibaria deliciora quaeramus, et quantum satis est ad sustentandam⁴ naturam suscipiamus. Castigetur venter et in servitum redigatur, ut obsequatur et obtemperet rationi. Somnus is⁵ recipiatur, qui foveat et nutriat spiritum, non hebetet. Nullum {34r} membrum in corpore nostro turpitudini serviat. Unam, ad quam vivamus, regulam praetendamus, et ad hanc omnem vitam nostram⁶ cum honestate timoreque domini exequemus.⁷

[152] Ac sic quartum illum et ultimum nummum inveniemus⁸, quem beatissimo Petro praebentes ingredi januam caelestis regni merebimur, et nihilominus, *dum spiritus hos reget artus*, vitam hic in terris tranquillam felicemque obtinebimus. Si tamen super his *modicum nunc contristari oporteat in tentationibus⁹ variis*, sustinete patienter et facite, *ut probatio vestrae fidei pretiosior sit auro, quod per ignem probatur in laudem, gloriam, honorem et revelationem Jesu Christi, quem, cum non videritis, diligitis, et in quem nunc quoque non videntes creditis; credentes autem*, ut inquit ille janitor, cui nummos afferre debetis, *exultabitis laetitia inerrabili et glorificata, reportantes finem fidei vestrae, salutem animarum vestrarum*. Et, ut apostolus Jacobus affirmat, *coronam accipietis, quam promisit dominus diligentibus se* in regno caelesti, ad quod vos meque¹⁰ perducatur Christus Jesus, quem cum patre et spiritu sancto regnantem per omnia saecula profitemur. Amen.^{11 12}

¹ *omit.* N

² *neque* F

³ *spetiosa* F

⁴ *sustentandum* G, MA

⁵ *his* T

⁶ **nostramque** N

⁷ *equemus* B, E, T; *exequamur* C; [blank space] ... *quemus* F; *exequemur* G, MA

⁸ *invenietur* T

⁹ *temptationibus* F

¹⁰ *omit.* G, MA

¹¹ *omit.* B, E, T

¹² **sit laus deo add.** N; *finis add.* T

[151] Let us guard our nostrils from bad smells, and let us not enjoy odours at all. Let the gullet and the palate be content with ordinary food, and let us not demand precious wines or refined foods, but let us take only whatever is necessary to sustain our natural body. Let the stomach be chastised and reduced to service, so that it will be obedient and yield to reason. Let us only sleep as much as fosters and nourishes the spirit and does not weaken it. None of our members should serve indecency. Let us endeavour to follow one rule of life and to live all our life with integrity and fear of the Lord.

4. Conclusion

[152] Thus we shall acquire the fourth and last coin, and giving it to Saint Peter, we shall merit to enter the gate of the Kingdom of Heaven. However, we shall also obtain a tranquil and happy life on earth, *while breath governs these limbs*.¹ But *if now you must be for a little time made sorrowful in diverse temptations*, bear with them patiently and *take care that the trial of your faith (much more precious than gold which is tried by the fire) may be found unto praise and glory and honour at the appearing of Jesus Christ. Whom having not seen, you love: in whom also now though you see him not, you believe and, believing – as says the doorkeeper to whom you bring the coins - shall rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorified, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls*.² Then, as the Apostle James says, *you shall receive the crown of life which God hath promised to them that love him*,³ in the Kingdom of Heaven, where we, you and I, shall be brought by Jesus Christ, whom we profess to reign with the Father and the Holy Spirit through all ages. Amen.

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 4.336

² 1. Peter, 1, 6-9

³ James, 1, 12

Oration "*Prius sanctissime praesul*" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (February 1445, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 7)

Abstract

In the beginning of 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the Roman Chancery of Emperor Friedrich III, arrived at the papal court in Rome on a mission from the emperor. The mission was part of ongoing negotiations between the imperial court and the papal court aimed at ending the German state of Neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Basel, and at Germany returning to the obedience of the Roman pope. Formerly in his career, Piccolomini had been a fervent conciliarist and had written and spoken much against the pope. During his years in Austria/Germany from 1442 and onwards, however, he had slowly migrated to a papalist position, and he was now able to use the imperial mission to submit to the pope and seek his forgiveness. This he did in an oration "*Prius sanctissime praesul*", delivered before the pope and some trusted cardinals, before he took up the emperor's matter.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Conciliarism; Council of Basel; Council of Basle; Renaissance Orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; 1445; 15th century

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

When, in 1442, Enea Silvio Piccolomini left the service of antipope Felix V to become a secretary in the Imperial Chancery of Friedrich III, he was still a fervent conciliarist, believing in the supremacy of the council over the pope and supporting the, by now, schismatic Council of Basel and its antipope against Pope Eugenius IV,² deposed by the Council of Basel in 1439. Over the next two years, however, a number of events made him abandon the conciliarist cause and join the cause of Pope Eugenius.

An important factor in this development was the position of his mentor and superior, Chancellor Heinrich Schlick, who, for various reasons – some quite opportunistic, sponsored the papal cause and the cessation of the German Neutrality³ between the Council of Basel⁴ and Pope Eugenius IV. This development is documented in the oration “*Si putarem*” [5], held by the chancellor at the imperial court on 4 April 1444, and mostly written by Piccolomini.

In the beginning of 1445, Piccolomini was sent by the emperor to Pope Eugenius to present an imperial proposal for a new council with the object of restoring church unity. It had not been planned that way: the emperor had wanted his Chancellor Schlick to undertake this mission, but shortly before the chancellor’s projected departure, court affairs prevented him from travelling to Rome. In his stead, the emperor sent one of his secretaries, the chancellor’s close collaborator and protégé, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, thus providing Piccolomini with an unexpected opportunity for reconciliation with the pope and a boost to his career in the clerical direction.⁵

The mission was not without some risk to Piccolomini himself, since his conversion to the papal cause was not yet public,⁶ and since he had, in 1435, been personally involved in a Milanese plot

¹ CO, I, 13 (Meserve, I, pp. 52-59); Ady, pp. 87-89; Boulting, pp. 154-160; Koller, p. 105; Mitchell, pp. 98-100; O’Brien, p. 113; Pastor, II, pp. 258-259; Pückert, p. 237; Stiebert, pp. 272-275 and especially pp. 271-273;; Voigt, II, 1-6, pp. 247-344 and esp. pp. 340-344;

² Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

³ Established by the German princes in 1438 and accepted by emperors Albrecht II and Friedrich III

⁴ Council of Basel: Recognised by the Catholic Church from its beginning in 1431 until 1437, when it was transferred by the pope to Ferrara, continuing in Basel, however, as a schismatic council

⁵ Baldi, p.103

⁶ On Piccolomini’s vulnerability in this specific context, O’Brien writes: *Over the course of his professional career, Aeneas had significantly aggravated the conciliar threat facing the papacy – or at least, so the papacy had perceived. He did so first very consciously and deliberately as a prominent member of the council of Basel, and, in particular as a publicist who introduced powerful new weapons into the assembly’s anti-papal assaults. As imperial secretary, legate, and adviser, he continued to take positions on conciliar authority and on the role of general councils that were perceived in the curia as hostile to papal sovereignty* (O’Brien, p. 113). Piccolomini’s importance to the conciliar movement and the papacy’s perception of it, however, appear not to be well documented. Moreover, his change to

to seize the pope's person.¹ It was therefore necessary for him to formally submit to the pope and obtain forgiveness for his former conciliarist activities at the Council of Basel.

When he was received by Eugenius, he therefore first asked for the pope's forgiveness, which he received, and only afterwards did he undertake his negotiations on behalf of the emperor.

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

After this, the Council of Basel rejected the proposed terms of peace, and Aeneas was sent to confer with Eugenius. When he reached Siena, however his relations all tried to deter him from going to Rome because he had been opposed to Eugenius at Basel. Eugenius, they said, remembered nothing so long as an injury and was both vindictive and cruel. Aeneas replied that he could not imagine the emperor's ambassador would be in danger in Rome and that he must either perform the duty he had undertaken or die in the attempt. And so, ignoring the protests of his weeping family, he continued on his way. An old intimate of his, Gerardo Landriani, cardinal of Como, an honest priest and faithful friend, introduced him to the presence of Eugenius. I should like to quote here the words Aeneas addressed to the pope, for they are brief and worth recording. Two cardinals, Como and Amiens, were standing by the pope. First, they invoked apostolic authority to absolve Aeneas of all the blame he had incurred by taking the side of the Council of Basel. Then Aeneas came before Eugenius. He was given permission to kiss his foot, hand and cheek; he presented his credentials and was asked to speak. [Here follows the text of the oration.] Eugenius replied: "We know that you have sinned grievously against us, but since you confess your error we must pardon you. The Church is a loving mother, who never remits the due penalty if a son denies his sin, nor insists on it when he confesses. Now you know the truth. See that you do not let it go. Strive by good works to regain the divine grace which you lost by wicked acts. You are now in a position to defend the truth and be of service to the Church. Hereafter we shall forget past wrongs and, so long as you do well, we shall love you well." After this they proceeded to speak of ecclesiastical matters, about which Eugenius wished time to meditate.When he heard from Eugenius that he would send an ambassador to the emperor, he went back to Siena.^{2 3}

Pius' contemporary biographer, Gianantonio Campano wrote:

the papalist cause actually occurred only a couple of years after his joining the imperial court – and had been privately communicated to Piccolomini's connections at the papal court

¹ Voigt, I, p. 80

² 1 April 1445

³ CO, I, 13 (Meserve, I, pp. 52-59)

*His second mission was to Eugenius. His friends advised against it since he had offended Eugenius gravely, when his dignity was under continuous attack in Basel. But he became reconciled with Eugenius and when his mission was accomplished he returned ...*¹

His second contemporary biographer, Bartolomeo Platina, wrote:

When Eugenius and the emperor began to negotiate on ending the schism, Enea was sent to Rome in this matter. When he came to Siena, his friends urged him not to go to Eugenius, fearing that he would detest Enea because he had often attacked his authority, in epistles and orations, at the Council of Basel. But being courageous and confident in his own innocence, he disregarded the pleas of his relations, and continued to Rome. First he excused himself in an elegant oration before Eugenius for having followed the authority of the men who had secured the approval of the Council of Basel.² Then he began to negotiate with him on the matters concerning which he had been sent by the emperor, though many were against it.³

And his friend, Lodrisio Crivelli, wrote in his *De expeditione Pii II*:

Though many learned men had assembled there [in Basel], he was the only one⁴ to praise the majesty and the acts of the council in his writings. For that reason, he knew Eugenius to be his enemy. But after the dissolution of the council⁵ he came to the pope and presented a splendid apology, which is now read by many, showing so great virtue and uncommon gracefulness that the past was forgotten and he rose greatly in the estimation of the pope and the other fathers.⁶

¹ Zimolo, p. 14: *Altera [legatione] ad Eugenium, adversantibus amicis, quod offendisse illum graviter videbatur, oppugnata totiens ad Basileam eius dignitate. Eo reconciliato et rebus ex sententia confectis, divertit ...*

² Primarily Cardinal Cesarini

³ Zimolo, p. 100: *Agi de abolendo scismate ab Eugenio et Caesare interim est coeptum. Eius rei causa Aeneas Romam missus, cum Saenis iter faceret, a suis vehementer rogatur ne ad Eugenium proficisceretur: veriti enim sunt ne in eum pontifex graviter animadverteret, quod eius auctoritas in concilio basiliensi ab Aenea epistolis et orationibus persaepe impugnata fuerat. At homo fortissimus sua innocentia fretus, spretis cognatorum precibus, Romam contendit, seque primum ad Eugenium eleganti oratione purgat, quod eorum auctoritatem secutus esset, quorum sententia basileense concilium fuerat approbatum. Deinde de his rebus cum eo agere coepit, quarum gratia ab imperatore venerat, cui certe studio partium multi sunt adversati*

⁴ Piccolomini was certainly not the only one to have praised the council in words and writings

⁵ If Crivelli refers to the pope's translation of the Council of Basel to Ferrara in 1438, eight years actually passed before Piccolomini was reconciled with the pope

⁶ Crivelli, p. 38: *...cum multi doctissimi viri eo convenissent, solus tamen illius synodi majestatem et res gestas scriptis suis illustravit. Quorum gratia cum se Eugenio infensum sciret, post concilii tamen dissolutionem ad Pontificem veniens et luculentissimo, qui nunc a multis legitur, usus apologetico vis tantae virtutis et non vulgaris gratiae dignitatisque locum, oblitterata praeteritorum memoria, apud eum ceterosque patres invenit*

Of course, the pope forgave the man kneeling before him,¹ the emperor's personal envoy, and though it was delicately put, he now expected Piccolomini to act in the interests of the Papacy at the imperial court:

*You are now in a position to defend the truth and be of service to the Church. Hereafter we shall forget past wrongs, and as long as you do well, we shall love you well.*²

Having become reconciled with the pope and concluded his mission to the papal court, Piccolomini returned to the emperor. The imperial mission actually failed, since the pope – well-advisedly – later rejected the emperor's proposal for another council, but his personal mission, the reconciliation with the pope, was a success: it marked the end of his conversion from the conciliarist to the papalist cause and gave the first serious impetus to his future ecclesiastic career.³

2. Themes

The theme of the oration was Piccolomini's confession of his conciliarist errors:

While in Basel, I said, and wrote, and did much against you: I do not deny it. But my intention was not to harm you, but to benefit the Church of God. Working against you, I thought that I was serving God. I erred: who will deny it? [Sect. 1]

Piccolomini's errors were not in themselves terrible, since so many others had held them, too, and had afterwards been happily reconciled with the pope. Piccolomini carefully mentions some of them, among whom was an outstanding member of the College of Cardinals, a luminary of the papal court, Cardinal Cesarini, who as papal legate had represented the pope in the crusade ending disastrously at Varna the year before, and where Cesarini himself was killed, a martyr for the Faith. Cesarini had been a friend and mentor of Piccolomini's at the Council of Basel, before

¹ Frizzi, p. 72: *la propria difesa, che ad Eugenio recitò il Piccolomini, ne desarmò l'ira per quanto aveva detto e scritto contro di lui nel Concilio di Basilea*

² CO, I, 13 (Meserve, I, p. 56-57)

³ Baldi, pp. 102-103: *L'immagine, tramandata dai Commentarii, del Piccolomini che, inginocchiato ai piedi di Eugenio IV, chiede al pontifice il perdono per il suo passato conciliare, ha in effetti assunto un'importanza centrale nella ricostruzione dello svolgimento della vicenda piccolominiana e proprio la decisione di prestare obbedienza ad Eugenio IV è stata anzi considerata spesso come il punto di arrivo di un processo di maturazione, di "svolta", che si afferma progressivamente e che lo porta a riavvicinarsi al papato romano. L'episodio, in particolare, aprirebbe al Piccolomini nuove, importante possibilità di carriera, di azione; contribuirebbe alla sua ascesa, non solo nella cancelleria, ma anche, entro il volgere di breve tempo, nella gerarchia ecclesiastica*

he returned to the pope in 1438,¹ and Piccolomini was indeed well-advised to mention him in his apology:

But I did so together with many and great men. I followed Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo, Archbishop Niccolò of Palermo, and Ludovico Pontano, a notary of your own See, men who were considered the eyes of the law and teachers of truth. And what should I say about the University of Paris and the other universities in the world, many of which opposed you? Who might not have erred together with so great men? [Sect. 2]

Piccolomini might also have mentioned Cardinal Cusa, another luminary of the papal court, who, after an early conciliarist phase, left the Council of Basel in 1436, to be appointed cardinal by Eugenius in 1446.

Aggravating circumstances, however, would have been Piccolomini's fervent writings and orations in the conciliarist cause, his contributions to the election of the antipope and his administration, and the time it had taken for him to reach his present papalist convictions.

He defended himself quite reasonably, however:

I admit that when I perceived the error of the Basileans, I did not immediately hasten to your side, as many did. Fearing to abandon one error just to fall into another – as often happens when those who wish to avoid Charybdis fall into Scylla – I went to those who were considered neutral, so as not to pass from one extreme to another without a pause for reflexion. So I have stayed with the emperor for three years,² where I have heard more and more about the conflicts between the Basileans and your legates. I no longer have any doubts that the truth is with you. [Sect. 2]

3. Date, place, format, and audience

The exact date of Piccolomini's audience with the pope, where the oration was delivered, is not known, but it was sometime in February or March 1445. According to Pückert, Piccolomini was already in Rome before 16 January.³

¹ Becker, pp. 17-57

² Since 1442

³ Pückert, p. 238. Baldi, p. 102, gives the time of Piccolomini's arrival in Rome as March. Voigt, II, p. 340, only says that Piccolomini began his travel to Rome in the beginning of the year

The place was the Apostolic Palace in Rome, and the oration was delivered before Pope Eugenius and cardinals Landriano and Le Jeune.

The format is that of an oration, though a very short one. In his *Commentarii*, Pius does not use the term “oration”, but says: “*jussus fuisset dicere ... inquit ...*”. However, a margin note in the Reginensis Latinus 1995 (see below) says: “*Oratio Enee ad pontificem*”. And Platina calls it an oration.¹ Though the context of the speech was semiprivate and the audience was very small (but august), the occasion was a formal one, and for Piccolomini personally of the utmost importance. So, he had undoubtedly prepared his text very, very carefully.

4. Text²

Though the oration had circulated individually and was much read,³ it was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled under his direct supervision in 1462.

It was, however, included in his *Commentarii*, together with a number of orations given by the pope during the last years of his pontificate (1462-1464).⁴ It is not known if or to what extent it was revised in this connection.

4.1. Manuscripts

Manuscripts containing the individually circulated oration are not presently known.

The oration is only extant in the manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, of which the two primary ones are:

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 15r-15v
- **Roma / Biblioteca dell'Accademia dei Lincei**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 11v

¹ Zimolo, p. 101: *se ... eleganti oratione purgat*

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

³ See Crivelli above

⁴ See COR, 1: sect. 5.1.4

4.2. Editions

The oration has been published in the editions of the *Commentarii*, e.g.

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984, (Studi e testi; 312-313) / Lib. I, cap. 13, p. 58
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. Ed. Luigi Totaro. 2 vols. Milano, 1984 / Lib. I, cap. 13, pp. 58-60
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. / Bk. I, ch. 13, 52-57

The edition by Meserve is with an English translation. An older English translation was published by Florence A. Gragg:

- *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. 33-34

4.3. Present edition

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

The place was the Apostolic Palace in Rome, and the oration was delivered before Pope Eugenius and cardinals Landriano and Le Jeune.

The format is that of an oration, though a very short one. In his *Commentarii*, Pius does not use the term “oration”, but says: “*jussus fuisset dicere ... inquit ...*”. However, a margin note in the Reginensis Latinus 1995 (see below) says: “*Oratio Enee ad pontificem*”. And Platina calls it an oration.¹ Though the context of the speech was semiprivate and the audience very small (but august), the occasion was a formal one and for Piccolomini personally of the greatest importance. So, he had undoubtedly prepared his text very, very carefully.

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Text:

The edition is based on the Reginensis and the Corsinianus.⁴

The lead text is from the Corsinianus, with variants from the Reginensis in the critical apparatus.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Reginensis.

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

² See Crivelli above

³ See COR, 1: sect. 5.1.4

⁴ Though the two manuscripts have been very ably edited by van Heck, Totaro and others, they have - as a matter of principle - been collated directly for the present edition

5. Sources¹

Only three quotations have been identified in the text, one from Virgil's *Aeneid*, the other a quotation from the Gospel of John, and the third a Latin topos.

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¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 8

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

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¹ http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10016831_00005.html

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7. Sigla

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {15r} Prius¹, sanctissime praesul, quam Caesaris mandata refero, de me ipso pauca dicam. Scio multa de me tuis auribus inculcata esse neque bona neque digna relatu, sed neque mentiti sunt, qui² me tibi detulerunt. Plurima ego, dum Basileae fui, adversus te dixi, scripsi, et³ feci: nihil inficior. At non tam tibi nocere quam Dei ecclesiae prodesse mens mea fuit. Nam cum te persequer, *obsequium me Deo praestare* putabam. Erravi, quis neget? Sed neque cum paucis neque cum parvis hominibus. Julianum, sancti Angeli cardinalem, Nicolaum, archiepiscopum Panormitanum, Ludovicum Pontanum, tuae sedis notarium, sum secutus, qui juris oculi et veritatis magistri credebantur. Quid scholam Parisiensem {15v} et alia orbis gymnasia referam, quorum pleraque adversum te sentiebant? Quis cum tantis nominibus non erraverit?

[2] Verum ego ubi errorem deprehendi Basiliensium, fateor, non statim ad te convolavi, quod plerique fecerunt. Sed veritus ne ab errore in errorem prolaberer, ut saepe *in Scyllam incidunt cupientes vitare Charybdim*, ad eos me contuli, qui neutrales habebantur, ut ab altero duorum extremorum ad alterum non sine consultatione ac mora transirem. Mansi ergo apud Caesarem tribus annis, ubi dum magis ac magis contentiones audio, quae inter Basilienses et tuos legatos fiunt, nihil mihi dubii relictum est, quin te penes sit veritas. Atque hinc factum est, ut cupienti Caesari ad tuam me clementiam viam facere non invitus paruerim, sic enim me tuam in gratiam redire posse sum ratus. Nunc apud te sum, et quia ignorans peccavi, mihi ut ignoscas oro. Deinde causam Caesaris explicabo.

¹ Oratio Enee ad pontificem *in marg.* R

² de *add.* R

³ *omit.* R

[1] Holy Bishop, before I deliver the message¹ from the emperor, I shall say a little about myself. I know that you have been told many things about me that are neither good nor worthy of mention, and those who denounced me to you did not lie. While in Basel,² I said, and wrote, and did much against you: I do not deny it. But my intention was not to harm you but to benefit the Church of God. Working against you, *I thought that I was serving God*.³ I erred: who will deny it? But I did so together with many and great men. I followed Giuliano, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo,⁴ Archbishop Niccolò of Palermo,⁵ and Ludovico Pontano,⁶ a notary of your own See, men who were considered the eyes of the law and teachers of truth. And what should I say about the University of Paris⁷ and the other universities⁸ in the world, many of which opposed you? Who might not have erred together with such great men?

¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 7.267; 11.176

² Piccolomini arrived in Basel in 1432 as secretary to Cardinal Capranica. He was often absent from Basel, however, on extended missions to Milan and Scotland. Returning to Basel, he became a functionary of the council in 1436 and remained so even after the council suspended the pope in 1438, at which point the remaining papalists left the council and returned to the papal court. The rump council went on to elect a new pope, Felix V, in 1439, whose secretary Piccolomini became. In 1442, he joined the imperial court of Friedrich III, which still officially favoured the neutrality between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council in Basel declared by the German princes in 1438

³ John, 16, 2

⁴ Cesarini, Giuliano (1398-1444): created cardinal by Martinus V in 1426. Died at the Battle of Varna, 1444. Mentor and friend of Piccolomini. When he arrived, as papal legate, to take up the presidency of the Council of Basel in 1431, Cardinal Cesarini was a firm conciliarist, and he actively and successfully resisted the pope's attempt to speedily dissolve the council. As the council's opposition to the pope became more and more pronounced, not to say rabid, Cesarini gradually lost faith in it and finally left in January 1438, in order to rejoin the pope and become one of his most trusted advisors

⁵ Niccolò Tedeschi (1386-1445): canon lawyer and abbot of a Benedictine monastery in Catania; Archbishop of Palermo from 1435; created cardinal by the antipope, Felix V, in 1440. Called "lucerna juris". Taught civil law at the University of Siena from 1418-1430, including during the period (1423-1429) when Piccolomini studied at the same university

⁶ Ludovico Pontano (1409-1439): Italian lawman. Pronotary of the papal Curia. One of the representatives of Alfonso V at the Council of Basel. Friend of Piccolomini, who admired him greatly

⁷ During that period, the University of Paris was staunchly conciliarist

⁸ "gymnasia"

[2] Verum ego ubi errorem deprehendi Basiliensium, fateor, non statim ad te convolavi, quod plerique fecerunt; sed veritus ne ab errore in errorem prolaberer, ut saepe *in Scyllam incidunt cupientes vitare Charybdim*, ad eos me contuli, qui neutrales habebantur, ut ab altero duorum extremorum ad alterum non sine consultatione ac mora transirem. Mansi ergo apud Caesarem tribus annis, ubi dum magis ac magis contentiones audio, quae inter Basilienses et tuos legatos fiunt, nihil mihi dubii relictum est, quin te penes sit veritas. Atque hinc factum est, ut cupienti Caesari ad tuam me clementiam viam facere non invitus paruerim, sic enim me tuam in gratiam redire posse sum ratus. Nunc apud te sum, et, quia ignorans peccavi, mihi ut ignoscas oro. Deinde causam Caesaris explicabo.

[2] I admit that when I perceived the error of the Basileans, I did not immediately hasten to your side, as many did. Fearing to abandon one error just to fall into another – as often happens when those who wish to avoid Charybdis fall into Scylla¹ – I went to those who were considered neutral, so as not to pass from one extreme to another without a pause for reflexion. So I have stayed with the emperor for three years,² where I have heard more and more about the conflicts between the Basileans and your legates. I no longer have any doubts that the truth is with you. Therefore, when the emperor³ wished to send me to Your Clemency, I was very happy to obey, believing that in this way I could gain your favour. Now I stand before you, and having sinned out of ignorance, I beg you to forgive me.

Afterwards, I shall set forth the emperor's matter.

¹ Otto, p. 82. The Latin proverb was coined by Gualtier de Lille: *Alexandreis*, 5, 301

² Since 1442

³ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned emperor in Rome in 1452

**Oration "*Nisi satis exploratum*" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini
(13 October 1445, Vienna). Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 8)

Abstract

In autumn 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the imperial chancery of Emperor Friedrich III and poet laureate, was invited to give two academic lectures at the University of Vienna. The first one, the "*Nisi satis exploratum*", was most probably delivered at the beginning of the winter semester at the Faculty of Law, in October. It is an oration in praise of all the arts and sciences taught at a contemporary university, belonging to a well-established rhetorical genre developed at Italian universities. It has two main sections: in the first, Piccolomini outlines the benefits (*utilitas*) of each art and science; in the second, he speaks of their enjoyments and distinctions (*voluptates et ornamentum*). Noteworthy in the oration are Piccolomini's treatment of history as a distinct art, his description of the pleasure of scholarship, and his insistence on the interrelationship between research and teaching.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Vienna University; Wien Universität; University of Vienna; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Liberal arts; Praise of liberal arts; 1445; 15th century; History of universities; History as an academic subject; Pleasure of research; Interrelationship of research and teaching; Academic curricula; Inaugural lectures

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

On 27 July 1442, Emperor² Friedrich III crowned Enea Silvio Piccolomini as poet.³ The emperor had not known Piccolomini before, and he was little interested in poetry, but he was solicitous to perform the traditional ceremonials of emperorship, and the coronation of poets was one such. Piccolomini, at the time secretary of antipope Felix V, had been recommended to the emperor by influential courtiers like Bishop Silvester of Chiemsee, and some months later, Piccolomini joined the imperial chancery as a secretary. He was to have a meteoric career as counsellor and diplomat at the imperial court,⁴ and later a career in the Church, leading him to the papal throne in 1458.

By autumn 1445, Piccolomini had been a member of the imperial chancery for almost three years, and he had already been on his first, very important, mission on behalf of the emperor to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome, from where he returned to the imperial court in early summer 1445.⁵

In the autumn of 1445, Piccolomini was twice invited to give a lecture at the University of Vienna.

Apparently, he had not finished his university studies in Siena (1423-1430) with an academic degree,⁶ but his diploma of poet laureate conferred on him the right of "*legendi, disputandi, interpretandi et componendi poemata liberam ubique locorum facultatem.*"⁷ The circumstances of the university's invitation are somewhat obscure, and various interpretations have been given.⁸ The university may have been interested in a fresh humanist input from Italy, but at any rate, the invitation to a member of the imperial chancery would have been a gesture of politeness to the court, and it was appreciated to the extent that the emperor was personally present when Piccolomini was presented with the topics for his second lecture.⁹

The first lecture was probably given at the beginning of the winter semester of the university, see below.

¹ Kisch, pp. 41-65; Lhotsky: *Aeneas*, pp. 32-33; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad, pp. 80-81; Wagendorfer, pp. 22-23, 51

² Or more precisely, King of the Romans and Emperor-elect until his imperial coronation, which took place in Rome in 1452

³ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138

⁴ Helmraath, p. 108

⁵ Voigt, II, p. 343

⁶ Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 33; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁷ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad, p. 80; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁸ Kisch, p. 57-58

⁹ Participation in solemn academic functions might already at that time have been part of the extended ceremonial "system" of royalty. During his coronation travel in 1452, Emperor Friedrich III also attended the doctoral promotion at the University of Padua of another of his officials, Johannes Hinderbach, see Strnad, p. 134

The lecture consisted of a praise (*laudatio*) of all the arts and sciences practiced at a contemporary university.

This type of oration was well-known from Italy,¹ where laudatory lectures initiated both academic years, semesters, and even individual courses.² Indeed, they had become so common and well-rehearsed that the great Argyropoulos³ dismissed them scornfully.⁴

Piccolomini himself would presumably have heard a number of such lectures, and maybe not only at the University of Siena but also at other universities in Italian cities visited by him during his *Wanderjahren* in the late 1420s. He may even have heard the lecture given by the Milanese scholar and historian, Andrea Biglia, whom he greatly respected,⁵ at the University of Siena in 1430.

The reactions of the professors and masters to Piccolomini's lecture are not known, but they were sufficiently favourable for him to have been invited back to the university the following month to give a *quod-libet*⁶ lecture at the annual celebration of the Feast of Saint Catherine of Alexandria.⁷

¹ Müllner, pp. iv ff.; also Kisch, p. 54

² Four examples of lectures *in initio studiorum* may be mentioned: (1) Andrea Biglia's *Oratio de laudibus disciplinarum*, delivered at the University of Siena in 1430 and possibly heard by Piccolomini. Printed in Müllner, pp. 64-70; (2) Ugo Benzi's *Oratio quam recitavit in principio studii Florentiae*, delivered at the University of Florence in 1421. Printed in Müllner, pp. 107-115; (3) Giulelmus Fichet: *[Oratio] in laudem artium liberalium*. In: Basel UB, F IX 5, ff. 252r-54r; (4) Gianantonio Campano's *Oratio de scientiarum laudibus Perusiæ initio studii habita anno MCCCCLV*. A lecture "in initio studiorum" at the University of Ferrara is also mentioned by the Dutch humanist, Rudolph Agricola: *Necque quicquam est, quod de Ferraria aptius uerisque dici potest quam quod in initio studiorum in oratione mea posui*. (Agricola: *Epistolae* (Laan/Akkerman), ep. 13, p. 94)

³ Johannes Argyropoulos (1415 – 1487): Greek humanist. Taught at the universities of Florence, Padua, and Rome

⁴ Müllner, pp. 4, 32-33

⁵ See oration "Audivi" [1], Introduction, sect. 4.1

⁶ Interestingly, some years before, in 1438?, Piccolomini had, in his description of Vienna, written about its university that it spent too much time on dialectical exercises: *Maximum autem huius gygnasii vitium est, quod nimis diutinam operam in dialectica nimiumque temporis in re non magni fructus terunt* (Epistolarium, p. 79)

⁷ The oration "Nuper aderat" [9]. For literature on Piccolomini's importance for the development of the humanities in Austria, Germany, and Central Europe, and especially his relations with the University of Vienna, see the bibliography

2. Themes

2.1. Liberal arts

It is sometimes said - and stated even in the colophon to the text of the oration in ms. Basel Univ.bibl. F IV 14 - that the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” is an oration in praise of the liberal arts.

The liberal arts (the *artes liberales*) comprise the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric¹) and the *quadrivium* (astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music), and these are included in Piccolomini’s oration. However, they only take up a third of the section on the benefits of the arts and sciences, whereas two thirds deal with the other arts and sciences, i.e., philosophy, medicine, law, and theology. Indeed, Piccolomini barely mentions the four arts in the quadrivium; he gives only scant attention to grammar² and logic; and the starting point of the oration is not the liberal arts at all, but law:

This is the time that our forefathers decided upon for the beginning of studies, and they also established [the custom] that even the smallest course of lectures should begin with a praise of the subject matter. ... Not [wishing] to be considered the only one to have neglected this ancient custom, I have decided to perform the task as appropriate to the venue³ chosen [for the occasion], and thus to praise the science of law. But, so as not to appear to enter [this subject]⁴ with completely dry feet (as they say), I have decided to add and append something in praise of the other arts. [Sect. 2-3]

So, it is not correct to consider the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” as belonging to the rhetorical genre of an oration in praise of the liberal arts.

Rather, the oration is in praise of all the arts and sciences taught at a complete university in the middle of the 15th century, even including a discipline not taught in Vienna at that time, i.e., civil law, since the Faculty of Law at that time only taught Canon Law.⁵

¹ Lhotsky: Wiener, p. 143: *Die ars artium war für ihn [Piccolomini] die "Rhetorik" – sein lebhaft leichter lateinischer Stil, den er sich ohne Zweifel schon durch seine ersten Übungen in Studentenzeiten angeeignet hatte, um ihn allmählich zum schmiegsamen Instrument seiner individuellen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten zu machen, und eben dieser war unlernbar, wenn er nicht zur Selbstentäußerung führen sollte*

² Lhotsky: Wiener, p. 143: *So kommt es dass er die Grammatik meist nur kurz, in jener Rede vor der Universität gar nur mit einem Satze von kaum zwei Zeilen abtat. Sie war nicht seine Stärke: das wusste er selbst und die anderen merkten es*

³ i.e., the building housing the faculty of law

⁴ i.e., the praise of law

⁵ Kisch, p. 57

As mentioned, Piccolomini may have heard just such an inaugural lecture by one of his teachers at the University of Siena in 1430. In the lecture, Biglia said: *De disciplinarum atque artium laudibus sermo expetitur*, and the text of the lecture makes it evident that it was not only about the liberal arts but about the whole spectrum of arts and sciences known at that time,¹ corresponding closely to those arts and sciences that Piccolomini covered in his lecture in Vienna, 15 years later.

It may be noted that in this oration, Piccolomini does not speak about poetry as one of the arts, though other humanists were by now including it among the liberal arts. Some months later, he would be speaking extensively on poetry in his second lecture at the University of Vienna, the "*Nuper aderat*" [9].

2.2. History

Piccolomini's treatment of history in the oration merits special attention.

Firstly, he considers it an art growing out of the liberal art of rhetoric but having a separate status vis-à-vis that discipline:

And under the guidance of rhetoric, we are led to the knowledge of history, which our forefathers – excellently - called the mother of virtue and teacher of life. These arts concern morals and excellent precepts, and they have been handed down in order to make the lives and deeds of noble men better known. [Sect. 7]

This concept of history as growing out of or especially related to rhetoric Piccolomini may have had from Cicero, e.g., the *Orator*, where Cicero says that the orator *should also be acquainted with the history of the events of past ages, particularly, of course, of our state, but also of imperial nations and famous kings.*²

Secondly, it is remarkable that in this early period of Piccolomini's literary activity, before he had begun to write his historical works, he seems to have considered history as a pedagogical instrument, a device for inspiring people with examples from the lives of great men from old days.

Who doubts that the deeds of other men, which we have learnt to be admirable, are easier for us to imitate and more readily stimulate us to be honourable than such things, which are taught in cumbersome lectures? I declare that knowledge of history makes us want to eagerly imitate the best of men, whom we greatly admire and esteem. [Sect. 7]

¹ Müllner, p. 65

² Cicero: *Orator*, 120

Piccolomini would eventually develop a much richer concept of history, but in the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” from 1445, he apparently considered it mainly as a discipline closely related to rhetoric, aiming at inspiration and edification – and rhetorical embellishment.¹

In 1445, history was not yet established as a proper scholarly discipline, and it is tempting to see the passages on history in Piccolomini’s oration as a testimony to its gradual emergence as an academic discipline.

2.3. Law²

During his studies at the University of Siena, Piccolomini had acquired some grounding in law, among others from the law professor, Antonio Rosselli, whose teachings influenced Piccolomini’s view of imperial power. Seven years later, in the – probably never held - oration “*Sentio*” [20], he developed a comprehensive legal argumentation concerning the papal monitorium to the Austrian rebels against the emperor and concerning inappropriate use of appeals in the legal system.

Nonetheless, in the scholarly literature, Piccolomini has some reputation for having a strong prejudice against law and lawmen. This view is gainsaid by Kisch, partly on the basis of Piccolomini’s statements on law in the “*Nisi satis exploratum*.”³

And indeed, these statements on the two branches of law, civil law and canon law, are very positive:

I should have to say more about this, but since I have not yet turned to praising civil and pontifical law, I have been called to order by the task I have undertaken. To praise them adequately is so difficult that it surpasses and excels the eloquence of even the most learned of men. ... For who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines as they merit? Through them, the life of all men is constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them, cities, peoples, and nations are ruled, protected, and multiplied, united by law. ... Lactantius Firmianus, that most learned man, is author [of the statement that] even primitive and uncultured men desire wisdom, since – by

¹ Lhotsky: Wiener, pp. 144-145: Für ihn [Piccolomini] waren alle die alten Autoren im Grunde nur da, um eine unerschöpfliche Quelle interessanter, literarisch vielseitig verwendbarer dicta et facta zu bilden – und nebenher Vorbilder eleganter aber – dies muss betont werden – keineswegs sklavisch imitierter Latinität zu sein. ... die Dinge der Vergangenheit hatten für diesen Sohn des Augenblicks wenigstens damals noch kaum mehr Wert als Dekorationen oder Kulissen für seine hübschen Briefessays und Novellen

² Kisch, pp. 60-66

³ Kisch, p. 65-66

immortal God – our nature wants and craves nothing more than wisdom and religion. We are brought to the first of these [two] by civil law, and we are taught the second by pontifical or canon law. In this human life, no other discipline may be considered more noble, eminent, and admirable than these two disciplines, and no other discipline should be better able to attract young men and enflame the souls of men than this discipline [whose subject] is the government of cities and the rule and government of the clergy. [Sect. 12 and 14]

However, given the circumstances in which Piccolomini delivered his academic lecture, it is uncertain to what extent these positive statements really reflect a personal, positive view of law as an academic discipline and of the law profession.

2.4. Enjoyment of scholarship

The arts and sciences are not only useful; they are also enjoyable, highly enjoyable:

By immortal God, what pleasure or delight can be greater than to ponder the reason for something ... ? No food is sweeter to the mind, which nature has given us, and no fare is more pleasant than acquiring knowledge of things, and the more often we have this food, the greater the pleasure. Therefore, all of us who associate with the Muses¹ lead a life of pleasure. [Sect. 17]

Piccolomini's statements on the joy of the arts and sciences do not appear to be part of the standard praise of the arts.² They reveal, in a glimpse, a character that is open to life's joys and enjoyments and a view of life and the world that is far removed from the view of the Middle Ages with its fear of the world and its flight from the world. It was the same positive attitude that formed the oration, or rather the sermon, "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6], to the parishioners of Aspach, from the same period. That oration is really a moral treatise, and one of its main teachings is that men must not only seek paradise in Haven and in the afterlife but create a paradise on Earth and in their present lives.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.66: *Who in all the world enjoys merely some degree of communion with the Muses (Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium)*

² Cf. Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 144: *Aeneas Sylvius ist vielleicht nicht der erste Entdecker, aber doch der erste folgerichtige Vertreter der ... Genusskomponente in der geistigen Arbeit*

2.5. Teaching as sharing

Inaugural academic lectures then, as now, are replete with exhortations to students to study hard. However, Piccolomini also had words for the teachers: it is not enough for oneself to acquire knowledge; it must also be shared. Here, he was directly addressing the doctors and masters seated in front of him:

What is more delightful than transmitting and communicating to others what you have found through your own studies? It was nature herself who taught and formed us for this, so that we should, with the greatest eagerness and alacrity, share with others what is fruitful to all. [Sect. 17]

Piccolomini's writings reveal a clear pedagogical interest that already came to the fore in his academic lecture of 1445, and his insistence on the close interrelationship between academic research and academic teaching prefigures public policy of much later ages with its insistence that academic teaching should be based on research.

Further studies are necessary to assess to what degree Piccolomini, in the present oration, expresses original viewpoints on enjoyment of scholarship and the interrelationship between research and teaching, but at any rate, they are remarkable - and remarkably modern - elements of a 1445 view of the arts and sciences.

3. Date, place, format, and audience

As an inaugural (*initium studiorum*) lecture at the University of Vienna in 1445¹, the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" was held either at the opening of the summer semester on 14 April or the winter semester on 13 October.²

Piccolomini was in Rome from January to March, on an important diplomatic mission for Emperor Friedrich III, and according to Voigt, he left Rome on 1 April.¹ He could not possibly have returned to Vienna, agreed to address the university, and prepared an inaugural lecture before 13 April.

¹ Lhotsky, Kisch, Wagendorfer

² "From 1384 until 1629, there was no academic year in a strict sense, since all holders of academic offices (rectors, deans, heads of the four academic nations) were elected at the beginning of each semester. Thus, their respective terms lasted for only one semester. Summer semester started on April 14th (the day of the saints Tiburtius and Valerianus), and the winter semester on October 13th (the day of St. Coloman)." Personal communication of 24 May 2016 from Mag. Thomas Maisel, University of Vienna

According to Heinig's itinerary of Friedrich III, the emperor, whose court Piccolomini followed as an increasingly important imperial secretary, was in Wiener Neustadt on 1 March and 8 May, with no recorded stay in Vienna in between. On the other hand, the emperor was present in Vienna on 11 August and 13 December, with no recorded stay in any other place between those two dates.²

In conclusion, Piccolomini most likely delivered the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" in connection with the opening of the Winter Semester of the University of Vienna on 13 October 1445, and this is the date retained in the present edition.

Since it took place in the building of the Faculty of Law, as Piccolomini himself states,³ and not in the aula of the university,⁴ some have assumed that the lecture was given to teachers and students at that faculty.⁵ On the other hand, the colophon only states that the oration was delivered to the doctors and magisters of the University of Vienna without special mention of the Faculty of Law,⁶ and Piccolomini speaks not just about law, but about all the disciplines of the university though he does this as if taking a liberty.

The statutes of the Faculty of Law of 1389 stated as follows: "*De modis, locis et horis legendi, statuimus, ut in crastino sancti Colomanni⁷ legens Decretum principium facere tenetatur, ad quod omnes doctores, nobiles, licentiati, baccalarii et scolares convenire tenetur. Die vero sequenti incipient omnes alii legentes seu regentes.*"⁸ This confirms that the winter semester at the Faculty of Law began on 14 October, with a lecture by the professor who taught the Decree (of Gratian, presumably), whereas the other teachers began their lectures on the following day. It does not say anything about a general academic lecture that might even be given by an outsider, but such a practice could have developed in the period since 1389.

On the basis of the present evidence, it may be concluded that: a) either the university had decided that the inaugural lecture for the whole university should – for some reason or other – be held in the building of the Faculty of Law, with an audience consisting of doctors and magisters from the whole university⁹ b) or the event at which Piccolomini spoke was not the opening of the

¹ Voigt, II, p. 343

² Heinig: *Chronologisches*, p. 1357

³ See the passage in which Piccolomini says: *A quo pro vetusto more ne unicus descivisse puter, faciendum mihi esse sum ratus, ut illius muneris perfungar, quod susceptus hic locus jure suo videtur postulare, hoc est sapientiae juris commendationem.* [Sect. 2]. Cf. Kisch, p. 57

⁴ In the Nova Structura built 1423-1425

⁵ Strnad, p. 80-81; Wagendorfer, p. 23

⁶ The text of the colophon is: *Explicit recommendatio artium liberalium Enee Silvii facta Wienne coram doctoribus et magistris feliciter*

⁷ 14th October, the Feast of Saint Coloman being the 13th

⁸ Kink, II, p. 141

⁹ As Kisch appears to believe, p. 55. See also Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 143

university semester but the opening of the Faculty of Law semester, the audience consisting of doctors and magisters of that faculty.

The format was an academic lecture at the inauguration of an academic semester.

4. Text¹

For unknown reasons, the “*Nisi satis exploratum*” is not mentioned in Pius’ *Commentarii*, and it was not included in the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, compiled under his direct supervision in 1462. Possibly, the text had disappeared from his personal files at some point during his many travels as imperial secretary and diplomat.

It is only known to be extant in two manuscripts, both from Basel Universitätsbibliothek. The two manuscripts are rather difficult to read, and the text is corrupt in several places.²

4.1 Manuscripts

Basel / Universitätsbibliothek

F IV 14, ff. 312r-313r (dig. pp. 269-271) (L)^{3 4}

F IX 5, ff. 238r-242r (dig. pp. 472-481) (K)⁵

¹ For the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

² Kisch, p. 49, 51: *Trotzdem diese Rede [the “Aderat nuper”] somit seit Jahrhunderten der Eneaforschung leicht zugänglich war, ist sie niemals gründlich untersucht worden. ... Dass dasselbe Schicksal der ersten Rede [the “Nisi satis exploratum”] zuteil wurde, ist eher entschuldbar, da sie nie im Drucke erschien und bisher nur in einer ausserordentlich schwer lesbaren, abkürzungsreichen Handschrift [the Basel F IV 14, ff. 312r-313r] des 15. Jahrhunderts bekannt war, an die siech niemand von denen, die sie kannten, je herangewagt hat.* In a note Kisch adds: *Herr Dr. Gabathuler hat mich auf die Existenz einer zweiten Handschrift dieser Rede in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel, Mscr. F IX 5, fol. 238r-242v, vermutlich ebenfalls noch dem 15. Jahrhundert entstammend aufmerksam gemacht. Diese kann für einige schwer entzifferbare Stellen der ersten zur Klärung herangezogen werden, obwohl sie selbst keineswegs leicht leserlich ist und durchaus keinen unverderbten Text aufweist*

³ Kisch, p. 55

⁴ http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV05&con_lng=GER&func=find-b&find_code=SYS&request=000117230

⁵ http://aleph.unibas.ch/F/?local_base=DSV05&con_lng=GER&func=find-b&find_code=SYS&request=000117387

4.2. Editions^{1 2}

Probably due to the difficulties of the extant texts, the oration has not yet been published in its entirety,³ though excerpts, particularly the sections on law, were published by Kisch:

- Kisch, Guido: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini und die Jurisprudenz*. Basel, 1967 / pp. 55, 61-63

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition is based on both the Basel manuscripts.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the digitised version of the F IX 5. Line numbers (5, 10, 15 ...) are given in italics.

¹ Pius II: *Epistolae de laude poetica, de differentia inter scientiam et prudentiam et de poetis, de laude litterarum, cur libri cumulentur*. Köln, Dictys / Arnold ter Hoernen, 1470-1471: the *de laude poetica* is Piccolomini's letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444, and the *de laude litterarum* is his letter to his nephew Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini of November 1442

² Johannes Presbyter: *De ritu et moribus Indorum*. Add.: Pius II: *Commendatio Ladislai Regis Hungariae; De laude litterarum*. Deventer: Richardus Pafraet, between 29 June 1490 and 25 Jan. 1492. The *de laude litterarum* is his letter to his nephew Antonio Piccolomini Todeschini of November 1442

³ Helmraath, p. 110; Kisch, p. 49; Wagendorfer, p. 23

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 30 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	1
Classical	23
Patristic and medieval	5
Contemporary	1
All	30

The classical quotations dominate heavily, and there is only one quotation from the bible. This distribution is probably due to the character of the oration as an academic lecture.

Biblical sources: 1

Old Testament: 0

New Testament: 1

- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 23

- Cicero: 14²
- Ovidius: 2³
- Plutarch: 2⁴
- Terentius: 1⁵
- Valerius Maximus: 2
- Vergilius: 2⁶

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see COR, 1: 8

² De finibus bonorum et malorum 1; De inventione 1; De officiis 1; De oratore 3; De senectute 2; Pro Archia 1; Tusculanae disputationes 5

³ Metamorphoses

⁴ Parallel lives

⁵ Adelphoe

⁶ Aeneid 1; Georgica 1

Patristic and medieval sources: 5

- Burley: 1
- Lactantius: 4¹

Contemporary sources: 1

- Francesco Barbaro: 1²

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¹ Divinae institutiones

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7. Sigla

K = Basel / Universitätsbibliothek / F IX 5

L = Basel / Universitätsbibliothek / F IV 14

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Eneae Silvii poetae ad universitatem Wiennensem de commendatione artium oratio incipit¹

[1] {238r / dig. p. 472} Nisi satis exploratum haberem, patres amplissimi, ea, quae a me dici oportere video, non modo patienter sed benigne (5) vos audituros, suscepti profecto muneris magnitudo me prorsus attonitum efficeret stupentemque² exaninaret. Ea enim mihi dicenda forent, quae eloquentissimo cuique³ haud parvam, sed uberem dicendi materiam suppeditarent. Humanitate tamen vestra fretus in bonam spem venio facillime a vobis me veniam posse (10) impetrare, si minus accurate quam rei dignitas postulet a me fuerit peroratum, cum non sim unus ex his, qui⁴ vitam in eloquentiae⁵ exercitatione continent⁶.

[2] Et quoniam hoc est tempus, quo majores⁷ nostri instituerunt esse studiorum initium, ita eorum institutis introductum est, ut non ante vel ad minimum quodque⁸ legendum (15) descendatur quam in ipsius rei, de qua fuerit agendum, laudatio anteiret. Praeclare profecto haec⁹, ut omnia, statuerunt¹⁰. Futurum enim esse putabant¹¹ eo ardentius studiis nostris intentos¹² [nos]¹³ esse, quo¹⁴ majorem laudem ex ipsis nos consequi speramus. A quo pervetusto more ne unicus deseruisse¹⁵ puter, faciendum mihi esse sum ratus, ut illius muneris perfungar, quod (20) susceptus hic locus jure suo videtur postulare, hoc est sapientiae juris commendationem.

¹ Eneae ... incipit *omit.* L

² stupentem L

³ *illeg. add.* K

⁴ per L

⁵ admodum *add. in marg.* K

⁶ *em.*; continere K, L

⁷ quo majores *omit.* L

⁸ quodcumque Kisch

⁹ *omit.* K

¹⁰ fuerunt *add.* L

¹¹ ut *add.* L

¹² mutemur L

¹³ intentos nos *em.*; *illeg.* L

¹⁴ putabant ... quo *omit.* K

¹⁵ descivisse K

Here begins an oration in praise of the arts by Enea Silvio, Poet, to the University of Vienna

1. Introduction

1.1. Captatio benevolentiae

[1] Honourable Fathers, I know quite well that you will listen not only patiently but even kindly to what I have to say. If I did not already know it, the immensity of the task I have undertaken would completely overwhelm and baffle me. For I shall be talking on a subject that gives even the most eloquent [speaker] not little but abundant matter for speech. But trusting in your kindness, I have good hope that I shall easily obtain your forgiveness if I speak less stringently than the importance of the matter requires, as I am not one of those who spend their life in the exercise of eloquence.

1.2. Subject of oration

[2] This is the time that our forefathers decided upon for the beginning of studies,¹ and they also established [the custom] that even the smallest course of lectures should begin with a praise of the subject matter. This was excellently done - as everything [they did] - for they believed that the more we hope to gain praise from our studies, the more fervently we shall apply ourselves to them. Not [wishing] to be considered the only one to have neglected this ancient custom, I have decided to perform the task as appropriate² to the present venue, chosen [for the occasion], and thus to praise the science³ of law.⁴

¹ In this instance, 13 October 1445

² "iure suo"

³ "sapientia"

⁴ The lecture took place in the building housing the Faculty of Law

[3] Sed ne omnino sicco - ut ajunt - pede videar incessisse, statui adjicere¹ atque appendicere quandam aliorum quoque artium laudationem. Qua in re ita diverso orationis genere mihi video esse utendum², ut ferme a quo potissimum (25) incipiam prorsus ignorem. In hoc vero convenire videntur, quod non voluptatem³, sed immensam etiam utilitatem parturiunt. Quare si placet, ipsarum artium simul et⁴ juris⁵ utilitatem conspiciamus. Deinde quanta ex ipsis voluptas et ornamentum percipi possit, considerabimus.

[4] Grammaticam ergo primum qui parum bene calleat, ea se moderatrice carere sciat, ut sibi ad ceteras disciplinas aditus sit clausus, quod enim in coeptis⁶ fundamento et regula claudices.

[5] Logicae vero sive dialecticae si non fueris⁷ nescius, quod verum in primis, quod falsum, quod antecedens, quod⁸ consequens, quod⁹ syllogismus, quod enthymema ubi libet facile cognosces, ut¹⁰ nullo fallaciarum laqueo implicari, {238v} nullo¹¹ errore labi, nulla falsitate arripi possis, quae usque adeo necessaria est, ut omnium paene scientiarum sit adminiculum et multorum iudicio scientia scientiarum iudicatur¹².

¹ statui adjicere *omit.* L

² utandum K

³ volioptatem K

⁴ a K

⁵ jurum L

⁶ *em.*; *add.* si K, L

⁷ *em.*; fuerit K, L

⁸ quid K

⁹ quid K

¹⁰ *omit.* L

¹¹ nulle L

¹² iudicetur L

[3] But, lest I appear to enter [this subject] matter¹ with completely dry feet² - as they say - I have decided to add and append something in praise of the other arts. As here I must use a different oratorical genre, I almost do not know where to begin at all. However, they [all] have this in common that they do not only give pleasure but also immense benefit. Therefore, we shall - with your permission - [first] look at the benefit of the [liberal] arts and law together, and thereafter we shall consider the great pleasure and ornament to be gained from them.

2. Benefits of the arts and sciences

2.1. Trivium

2.1.1. Grammar

[4] Firstly, anyone who is not sufficiently grounded in grammar should know that he lacks the guidance necessary for access to the other disciplines³ because he stumbles [already in the beginning of] his undertaking, both with regard to the basics and with regard to the rules to follow.

2.1.2. Logic

[5] And if you know logic (or dialectic), you will easily recognise first of all what is true and what is false, and what is an antecedent⁴, a consequent⁵, a syllogism, and an enthymeme, whenever they occur, so that you will not be ensnared by fallacies, misled by error, and caught by false statements. Logic is so necessary that it is the support of almost all sciences, and many consider it the science of sciences.⁶

¹ I.e., the praise of law

² I.e., abruptly and without any lead-up

³ Note Piccolomini's use of the terms arts, disciplines, and sciences

⁴ I.e., a premise

⁵ I.e., a conclusion

⁶ The notion of logic as the science of sciences derives from Petrus Hispanus (fl. 13th c.), author of a treaty on logic, later called *Summulae Logicales*, cf. Rijk, p. 1

[6] Jam rhetorica¹ subsequitur², id est tam verborum, tam sententiarum et nitor et ornatus (5) cum gravitate commixtus. Cur haec vero sit appetenda, ut³ nihil ineptum ex se proferat⁴, scribat, aut enuntiat, vel ut eloquentissimos quaeque⁵ artium scriptores⁶ ipsa eloquentia⁷ discat, cognoscat, intelligatque quanti sit facienda, ex hoc intelligi potest: nam si *idcirco homines a bestiis differamus*, (10) ut ait Tullius, *quod loqui possumus, qua laude dignus est, qui⁸ in ea re ceteros superat, in qua nos⁹ homines bestias antecellunt¹⁰*.

(7) Qua etiam duce ad historiae cognitionem perducimur, quae optimo jure a majoribus nostris virtutis parens vitaeque *magistra*¹¹ est vocitata. Quaevis¹² enim artes, (15) *quae de moribus¹³ et prestantissimis institutis traditae sunt, quo plus vita et facta¹⁴ clarissimorum virorum illustrantur. Quis¹⁵ enim ambigat ea, quae ab aliis gesta didicimus (30) quam¹⁶ admirabilia sunt, faciliora nobis imitatu videri¹⁷ et promptius ad honestatem incitare quam si praeceptione (20) solum lentius disputentur*. Hoc, inquam, historiae notitia facit, ut summos homines, quos tantopere et admiramur et probamus magno studio imitari velimus. Sic Alexandrum Caesar, sic Marcus Brutus Junium illum, gentilem suum, sic Tullius Demosthenem, sic denique multi incredibili (25) ardore admirandos praestantissimos viros historiae veritate¹⁸ incensi magnas et honestissimas res gesserunt.

¹ rethorica K, L

² subsequetur L

³ vel *add.* K

⁴ profereat L

⁵ quosque K

⁶ scripturos K

⁷ cernite *add.* K; carnute *add.* L

⁸ *em.*; quod K; que L

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ antecellant L

¹¹ moram K

¹² *illeg.* L

¹³ de moribus *omit.* L

¹⁴ *em.*; factis K, L

¹⁵ quomodo K

¹⁶ quamquam K

¹⁷ *omit.* L

¹⁸ vitatu K

2.1.3. Rhetoric

[6] Now follows rhetoric, which is the splendour and elegance combined with gravity of both single words and sentences. Why rhetoric should be sought – so that [someone] will not express himself or write or speak ineptly (like eloquence itself teaches even the most eloquent writers of the arts), but know and understand how much it should be treasured – may be understood from [the fact] that, as Tullius¹ says, *men differ from animals in that they are able to speak.*² *So, how greatly should we not praise him who excels others in that very area where we men excel animals.*³

2.1.3.1. History

[7] And under the guidance of rhetoric, we are led to the knowledge of history, which our forefathers – excellently - called the mother of virtue and *teacher of life.*⁴ *These arts concern morals and excellent precepts, and they have been handed down in order to make the lives and deeds of noble men better known. Who doubts that the deeds of other men that we have learnt to be admirable are easier for us to imitate and more readily stimulate us to be honourable than such things that are taught in cumbersome lectures?*⁵ I declare that knowledge of history makes us want to eagerly imitate the best of men whom we greatly admire and esteem. Thus Caesar⁶ [imitated] Alexander,⁷⁸ thus Marcus Brutus⁹ [imitated] his [distant] relative Junius,¹⁰ thus Tullius¹¹

¹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman and author

² Cicero: *De inventione*, 1.4.5: *Ac mihi quidem videntur homines, cum multis rebus humiliores et infirmiores sint, hac re maxime bestiis praestare, quod loqui possunt.*

³ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.8.32-33: *Hoc enim uno praestamus vel maxime feris, quod colloquimur inter nos, et quod exprimere dicendo sensa possumus. Quam ob rem quis hoc non iure miretur, summeque in eo elaborandum esse arbitretur, ut, quo uno homines maxime bestiis praestent, in hoc hominibus ipsis antecellat?*

⁴ Cicero: *De oratore*, 2.9.36

⁵ Francesco Barbaro: Introduction to Plutarch's *Life of Aristides*, (Pade, II, pp. 81-85): *Artes enim optimaе, quae de moribus et praestantissimis institutis traditae sunt, apud omnes longe plus possunt, si vita ac factis clarissimorum hominum illustrantur. Quis enim dubitat ea, quae ab aliis gesta didicimus, quamquam admirabilia sint, faciliora nobis videri et promptius ad honestatem incitare, quam si praeceptione solum lentius disputentur?*

⁶ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman. Imitated Alexander in endeavouring to create a world empire

⁷ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

⁸ Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Julius Caesar*, 5

⁹ Marcus Junius Brutus the Younger (85-42 BCE): politician of the late Roman Republic. One of Caesar's assassins

¹⁰ Lucius Junius Brutus: founder of the Roman Republic and one of the first consuls in 509 BCE. He was claimed as an ancestor of the Roman gens Junia, including the most famous of Julius Caesar's assassins. He overthrew the Tarquinian monarchy, as his descendant overthrew the monarchy of Julius Caesar

¹¹ Cicero

[imitated] Demosthenes,¹ and thus many others, inspired by true history, enthusiastically performed great and honourable deeds in imitation of admirable and eminent men.

[8] Sed ad rhetoricam² revertamur, quae si ita frivola res esset, ut eam multi aestimant, non usque usque adeo apud veteres culta et celebrata et in summo honore habita esset, (30) nec eloquentissimis³ solum ferme viris regendarum urbium et moderandarum rerum publicarum cura fuisset demandata.

[9] {239r} Verum ut etiam de astrarum, numerorum⁴, et mensurarum ac etiam melodiae⁵ scientia⁶ scientia⁶ a⁷ proportione dicam, reliquum⁸ est quae sane omnia ex quattuor aliis⁹ artibus habentur: habentur: astronomia verum, arithmetica¹⁰, geometria, et musica. Ea profecto (5) in his sit artibus utilitas, (ut sine his ducibus atque magistris nihil divinum sive humanum, nullus¹¹ perfectus nec imperfectus, nihil superius, nihil inferius, nihil rectum nec obliquum, nihil denique¹² suave¹³ nec¹⁴ absonum¹⁵ perfici aut cognosci paene queat, quo fit, ut optimo sane jure majoribus (10) nostris liberales appellatae sunt artes, sive quod ab omni ignorantiae nubilo studiosorum mentes immersas¹⁶ liberare consueverunt, sive quod eas utpote¹⁷ dignissimas ac nil¹⁸ servile redolentes nulli nisi libero liberaliterque¹⁹ enutrito homini ediscere²⁰ licebat.

¹ Demosthenes (384-322 BCE): Greek statesman and orator of ancient Athens. Fought for the Greek republics against King Philip of Macedonia, as Cicero fought for the Roman republic, opposing Julius Caesar and Octavian Augustus

² rethoricam K, L

³ eloquentissimos K

⁴ numerarum K

⁵ etiam melodiae : geometriae L

⁶ scientie L

⁷ et K

⁸ antequam K

⁹ em.; aliquis K, L

¹⁰ arismetica K, L

¹¹ minus *add.* K; numquam L

¹² omit. L

¹³ mane L

¹⁴ neque L

¹⁵ obscenum L

¹⁶ immensas L

¹⁷ utpute K

¹⁸ omit. L

¹⁹ liberaliter esset L

²⁰ adiscere K

[8] But let us return to rhetoric. If it were as frivolous as many believe, it would not have been as greatly cultivated, celebrated, and honoured as it was in Antiquity, and the charge of governing cities and ruling states would not have been entrusted almost exclusively to very eloquent men.

2.2. Quadrivium: Astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music

[9] But to also speak fittingly¹ suitably about the science of stars, numbers, measures, and melody, almost all the rest comes from the four other arts: astronomy, arithmetic, geometry, and music.² Indeed, the benefit of these arts is so great that without them as guides and teachers, almost nothing can be done or known that is divine or human, perfect or imperfect, above or below, straight or crooked, pleasant or unpleasant. Therefore, it was completely justified when our forefathers called these arts the liberal arts,³ whether it was because they used to liberate the minds of students from the whole cloud of ignorance in which they were immersed or because it was only allowed to teach these noble arts, having nothing servile about them, to someone who was a free man and raised as such.

¹ "a proportione"

² I.e., the four arts of the quadrivium

³ Artes liberales: the common of studies in Antiquity. The classification of the liberal arts has varied over the centuries. The one established by Martianus Capella (5th c. AD), comprising the three "human" arts of the trivium and the four "natural arts" of the quadrivium, lasted until the Renaissance, when the humanists began to use the term "studia humanitatis" about the disciplines of the trivium, adding history, Greek, ethics, and poetry

[10] Jam vero harum omnium (15) artium matrem et procreatorem quandam et omnium reginam philosophiam quis satis pro dignitate laudare valeat, quando ipsam Cicero, oratorum¹ princeps, in *Tusculanis virtutis ducem et indagatorem, donum deorum, morum magistram* appellavit²; quando denique ipsa³ causarum omnium ratio et explicatio unaque (20) omnium voce atque sententia praedicetur, asseratur atque comprobetur⁴. Et non immerito⁵ in ejus laudem poeta protulerit in secundo *Georgicarum*⁶:

*Felix qui⁷ potuit rerum cognoscere causas
atque metus omnis et⁸ inexorabile fatum subiecit⁹ pedibus
strepitumque¹⁰ Acherontis avari.*

Per ipsam (25) namque omnium generabilium et¹¹ corruptibilium, vegetalium, sensibilibium, rationabilium superrationaliumque corporum, nobis¹², ut dici solet, ad unguem causae, rationes et effectus exprimuntur atque distribuuntur.

¹ aratorum L

² appellaret L

³ ipsarum L

⁴ comprobatur K

⁵ in merito K, L

⁶ Georgicorum K

⁷ que K

⁸ omit. K, L

⁹ subiecerit L

¹⁰ strepitum *illeg.* L

¹¹ omit. L

¹² ubi L

2.3. Philosophy

[10] And now, who can adequately praise philosophy, mother,¹ creator, and queen of all the arts? In the *Tusculanae*, Cicero, prince of orators, named her *the guide to virtue*² *as well as its explorer, gift of the gods,*³ *and teacher of morals.*⁴ All agree to proclaim and accept her as the reason and explanation of all causes. And in the second book of the *Georgica*, the poet⁵ justly said in her praise:

*Blessed is he who has succeeded in learning the laws of nature's working,
has cast beneath his feet all fear and fate's implacable decree,
and the howl of insatiable Death.*⁶

Through her, the causes, reasons, and effects of all created and corruptible, vegetal, sensible, rational, and superrational bodies are expressed and distributed to us – to the fingernail, as they say.⁷

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.26.64

² Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.2.5

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.26.64

⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.2.6

⁵ Vergilius Maro, Publius (70-19 BCE): Roman poet

⁶ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 2.490-492

⁷ I.e., exactly

[11] Deinde¹ philosophiae effectum², medicinam ipsam, mirae utilitatis esse quis³ dubitet, quandoquidem (30) ea est ars, qua nobis⁴ corpus humanum bene affectum reddatur⁵, sanetur⁶ et incolume praeservetur? Quemadmodum enim philosophia animorum, {239v} quos sanat, morbos tollat, ita et ea corporibus ipsis, quorum servationem⁷ proficit,⁸ medeatur quadruplici utilitate. Nihil⁹ sane ad vitam salutemque¹⁰ homini praestantius inveniri possit et profecto nullo¹¹ dubio aliquo affici puto medicum (5) ipsum Dei ministrum esse, ut, quos omnium conditor Deus creavit hac arte divina divinitusque exhibita¹² conservet incolumes, lapsus curet, et paene a mortuis mortales¹³ saepe ad vitam reducat¹⁴, ut verum comprobetur, quod Aesculapio ipsi prognosticatum¹⁵:

*Tibi se mortalia (10) saepe corpora debebunt
animas tibi reddere ademptas fas erit.*

Quo ex merito¹⁶ et prisci illi medici ob suam admirandam utilitatem in deorum numerum sunt¹⁷ collocati. Sic Apollinem¹⁸, sic Aesculapium vetustas divinis honoribus est prosecuta.

¹ demum K

² et *add.* K

³ quod L

⁴ nos K

⁵ reddant L

⁶ sanent L

⁷ *em.*; surationem K, L

⁸ profitetur K; proficere L

⁹ nil K

¹⁰ salutem esset L

¹¹ nullum K

¹² exhabita K

¹³ mortale K

¹⁴ inducat L

¹⁵ pronosticatum K

¹⁶ meriti K, L

¹⁷ *omit.* K

¹⁸ Apolline L

2.4. Medicine

[11] Next, who doubts the marvellous benefits of medicine, an outcome of philosophy? She is the art through which our human body is cared for, healed, and preserved undamaged. For just as philosophy removes and heals illnesses of the soul, medicine heals the body, whose care it assures, with quadruple benefit. Indeed, nothing can be found that is more beneficial to a man's life and health, and I believe that there can be no doubt whatsoever that the physician is God's servant since, with his divine and divinely revealed art, he preserves those whom God, the creator of all, has created; he cures illnesses and often restores people who are almost dead to life. Thus, it may be seen to be true what was foretold about Aesculapius¹:

*Often shall mortal bodies owe their lives to thee,
and to thee shall it be counted right to restore the spirits of the departed.*²

Therefore, it was quite justified that the physicians of old were counted among the gods because of their admirable usefulness. And thus Antiquity gave Apollo³ and Aesculapius divine honours.

¹ Hero and god of medicine, representing the healing aspect of the medical arts

² Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 2.644

³ Apollo (Gk. Myth.): and one of the deities of the Greek and Roman pantheon, recognised as a god of healing but also as god of music, truth prophecy, the sun and light, plague, poetry, and more

[12] Plura de hac re mihi (15) superessent dicenda, nisi me suscepti muneris officium ad civilis pontificiique juris commendationem non omnino convertentem¹ provocaret. Quorum utrumque tam² explicandum difficile est, ut disertissimi cujusque hominis facundiam exuperet atque excellat³. Quare illud Virgilianum cogor erumpere:

Major rerum mihi nascitur ordo, majus opus moneo.

Quis enim tam insignite eloquens, ut harum disciplinarum debitas laudes efferre possit, quippe per eas omnium mortalium vita salutiferis ac divinis praeceptis (25) excolitur, per eas civitates, populi, nationes sanctissimo inter se jure sociati reguntur, proteguntur⁴, amplificantur⁵.

[13] Soleo equidem, viri ornatissimi, saepenumero mecum⁶ cogitare⁷ atque animo mecum repetere, quibus rebus civitates ab initio constitutae sint⁸ aut postea (30) conservatae et in hanc ipsam, quam videmus⁹, fabricam erectae. {240r} Nulla mihi alia videtur ratio hoc effecisse quam ipsa vis justitiae aut nostri juris timor quidam vel reverentia. Quae enim alia virtus vel quae artes quivissent homines locis silvestribus dissipatos vitamque ferarum agentes conducere (5) unum in locum et eos imbuere, ut¹⁰ his, qui^{11 12} virtute et sapientia praestarent¹³, oboedire atque temperare mallent¹⁴ quam passim ferarum et ita vitam trahere, ni ratio ipsa et sapientia juri consentanea eos¹⁵ a consuetudine sua revocasset et ad cultum quendam normamque vivendi incendere potuisset.

¹ convertentem K

² *em.*; tamquam K, L

³ excellat L

⁴ protegunt L

⁵ amplificant L

⁶ *illeg.* K

⁷ cogitariam K

⁸ sunt K

⁹ vidimus L

¹⁰ et L

¹¹ que K, L

¹² in *add.* L

¹³ prestarunt K

¹⁴ *em.*; mallant K, L

¹⁵ *em.*; *omit.* K; eo L

2.5. Law

[12] I should have to say more about this, but since I have not yet turned to praising civil and pontifical law, I have been called to order by the task I have undertaken. To praise them adequately is so difficult that it surpasses and excels the eloquence of even the most learned men. Therefore, I am forced to say, with Virgil¹:

*Greater is the story that opens before me; greater is the task that I attempt.*²

For who is so eminently eloquent that he can praise these disciplines as they merit? Through them, indeed, the life of all men is being constantly developed and improved through salutary and divine precepts, and through them, cities, peoples, and nations are being ruled, protected, and multiplied, united by law.

[13] Indeed, distinguished men, I often consider and ponder how cities were formed in the beginning, how they were preserved afterwards, and how they developed the structure³ we see today. I can see no other reason why this happened than the force of justice itself, or fear of justice, or respect for it. For what other virtues or what other arts could make men scattered in forests and living like wild animals come together in one place and make them prefer to obey and submit to those who excelled in virtue and wisdom rather than to live like animals?⁴ Indeed, this could only happen because reason itself and wisdom consistent with justice could bring them away from their customs and incite them to live a cultured life based on rules.⁵

¹ Vergilius, Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BCE): Roman poet

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 7.44-45

³ "fabrica"

⁴ Cicero: *De oratore*, 1.8.33-34: *To come, however, at length to the highest achievements of eloquence, what other power could have been strong enough either to gather scattered humanity into one place, or to lead it out of its brutish existence in the wilderness up to our present condition of civilization as men and as citizens, or, after the establishment of social communities, to give shape to laws, tribunals, and civic rights? (Ut vero iam ad illa summa veniamus; quae vis alia potuit aut dispersos homines unum in locum congregare, aut a fera agrestique vita ad hunc humanum cultum civilemque deducere, aut, iam constitutis civitatibus, leges, iudicia, iura describere?).* Note that Cicero is here speaking about the power of eloquence, not about justice!

⁵ Piccolomini also treated this theme in his treaty *De ortu et auctoritate imperii Romani*, finished half a year later on 1 March 1446, where he wrote i.a.: *Cum ergo premeretur ab initio multitudo ab his, qui viribus erant editiores, ad unum aliquem confugere placuit, virtute praestantem, qui et injurias prohiberet inferri tenuioribus, et aequitater constituta summos cum infimis pari jure teneret* (Wolkan, II, p. 8)

[14] (10) Agrestes autem et incultos homines sapientiam quoque desiderare Lactantius Firmianus, vir doctissimus, auctor est, qui¹ - [per²] immortalem Deum - nullius rei naturam nostram tam cupidam esse et³ appetentem voluisse affirmavit quam sapientiae et religionis, ad quorum primum jus civile (15) nos perducit, secundum vero jus pontificium sive canonicum affatim docet, quibus duabus disciplinis nulla certe dignior, praestabilior aut admirabilior hac in vita humana censi debet, nec est ulla, quae magis juventutem ad se allicere atque animos hominum flammare debeat (20) quam haec de gubernandis urbibus deque clero coercendo gubernandoque⁴ est⁵. Haec enim civitates in perpetua pace continet. Illa⁶, quo pacto ecclesia ceremonias suas instituere debet⁷, edocet. Haec homines inter se mutuo societatis et amicitiae vinculo conciliat. Illa sacerdotes (25) praesulibus subjicit et observantia vult esse prosequendos⁸. Haec homicidia⁹, furta, adulteria et omne aliud genus scelerum prohibet. [Illa¹⁰] simoniam, usuram voracem, clandestina matrimonia vetat. Haec denique aut metu poenae homines ab iniquitate deterret aut praemio (30) ad honorem virtutis et gloriae allicit. Illa demum {240v} aut anathemate in contumaces saevit aut suis professoribus uberem spem et aditum ad dignitates spondet, qua utilitate quid¹¹ sit praestabilius aut optatius nullus vel ingenio hebes ignorat. Longe plura quam attigi (5) de duabus his disciplinis dicenda mihi video superesse.

¹ quod K

² *em.* Kisch

³ ad *add.* K

⁴ gubernando L

⁵ *omit.* K

⁶ ille K

⁷ debeat Kisch

⁸ prosequendas K

⁹ homicida L

¹⁰ *em.* Kisch

¹¹ *em.* Kisch; quod K, L

[14] Lactantius Firmianus,¹ that most learned man and author, stated that even primitive and uncultured men desire wisdom, since – by immortal God – our nature wants and craves nothing more than wisdom and religion.² To the first of these [two] we are brought by civil law. The second we are taught by pontifical or canon law.³ In this human life, no other discipline may be considered more noble⁴, eminent, and admirable than these two disciplines, and no other discipline should be more able to attract young men and enflame the souls of men than this discipline [whose subject] is the government of cities and the rule and government of the clergy. Civil law keeps cities in permanent peace. Pontifical law teaches how the church should perform its ceremonies. Civil law unites men with the bonds of society and friendship. Pontifical law subjects the priests to their bishops and prompts them to live according to [its rules]. Civil law forbids murder, theft, adultery, and all other kinds of crimes. Pontifical law forbids simony, voracious usury, and clandestine marriages. And finally, civil law deters men from evil by fear of punishment and inspires them to the honour of virtue and glory by rewards, and pontifical law either severely punishes insubordinate men with excommunication or gives its adherents abundant hope and promises access to important offices. All, even the weakminded, know that nothing is more excellent and desirable than this benefit.

I still have much more to say [today] about these two disciplines than I have managed to [so far].

¹ Lactantius Firmianus (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 3, 11, 2

³ At the time, law. was divided into civil law, deriving from Roman law, and pontifical or canon law, consisting of the laws passed by the Church

⁴ "dignior"

[15] Verum omnium scientiarum regina theologia me currentem subsistere cogit nec vult silentio praeteriri. Qua in re in quo animo fero mihi eam¹ vim dicendi deesse, ut eam pro ejus splendore et majestate dignis (10) praeconiis posse commendare. Quis autem est ita optimarum artium studio praeditus, ut hanc omnium scientiarum facile principem non modo meritis laudibus prosequi nequeat, sed ne minimum quidem ejus decorem attingere posse confidat, quae eo illustrior et² praestantior habeatur, quo magis (15) ad veram et³ ingenuam naturam hominis⁴ accedat.⁵ Nam, ut ait Ovidius,

*pronaque cum spectent animalia cetera terram,
os homini sublime dedit caelumque videre iussit
et erectos ad sidera tollere vultus.*

[16] Nempe quis⁶ ambigat nos natura ad hoc⁷ institutos esse, ut ait Lactantius, *ut eo (20) mentem dirigamus, quo vultus est erectus et quo corporis natura nos provocat*. Haec autem sola, de qua agimus, nos ad caelestem regnum⁸ perducit⁹. Haec enim summum thronum omnipotentis dei et omnem ordinem¹⁰ caelestis hierarchiae¹¹ docet intueri. Haec enim eo usque nos rapit, ut ea contemplemus¹², *quae non (25) licet homini*, ut ait Paulus, *loqui*. Haec suis professoribus et sequentibus¹³ immortalitatem promittit. Hos autem, [qui¹⁴] a suis¹⁵ institutis aberrant, ad¹⁶ poenas et tartari voragine¹⁷ horrenda tortos¹⁸ iri planum facit.¹⁹

¹ *omit.* K

² *omit.* L

³ *omit.* K

⁴ horum L

⁵ attendat K

⁶ que L

⁷ huc L

⁸ cognitionem L

⁹ producit L

¹⁰ *omit.* K

¹¹ gerarchiae K, L

¹² *em.*; contempleremus K; contemplens L

¹³ sequacibus K

¹⁴ *em.*

¹⁵ *em.*; suisque K, L

¹⁶ *illeg.* K, L

¹⁷ *illeg. add. in marg.* K

¹⁸ tartaros L

¹⁹ *Textus corruptus?*

2.6. Theology

[15] But as I am rushing forward, theology, queen of all sciences, forces me to stop and will no longer be ignored. However, I am aware that in this matter I am lacking the power to speak adequately in praise of its splendour and majesty. Indeed, no one is so gifted with the best of arts that he may adequately praise theology, by far the most important of all sciences, or even its smallest ornament. It is considered to be so illustrious and eminent because it reaches the true and authentic nature of man. As Ovid says:

*And, though all other animals are prone, and fix their gaze upon the earth,
he gave to man an uplifted face and bade him stand erect and turn his eyes to heaven.¹*

[16] No one may doubt that, as Lactantius says, we were taught by nature *to turn the mind in the same direction to which the countenance is raised,² and to which the nature of the body calls us.³* The science we are talking about now is the only one that leads us to the Heavenly Kingdom. It teaches us to view the high throne of omnipotent God and all the ranks of the celestial hierarchy. It propels us to contemplate that which, as Paul⁴ says, *is not granted to man to utter.⁵* It promises immortality to its adherents and followers. But those who stray from her commandments, she makes go straight to punishment and torture in Hell's horrible abyss.

¹ Ovidius: *Metamorphoses*, 1.84

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 3, 10. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

³ Lactantius: *Divinae Institutiones*, 3, 10. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

⁴ The Apostle Paul

⁵ 2. Corinthians, 12, 4: *Quoniam raptus est in paradisum: et audivit arcana verba, quae non licet homini loqui*

[17] Nunc postquam artium (29) liberalium, philosophiae, medicinae et una¹ cum theologia singulares {241r} praedixerimus utilitates, jam celeri passu properat oratio, ut earum voluptatem et ornamentum non silentio praetereamus. *Officium animi esse*, ait² Lactantius, *ea subtilius cernere, quae acies corporalis nequit intueri*. Afferenda³ ergo⁴ modo⁵ (5) est mens⁷ et ad cognitionem rerum occultarum⁸ sublimanda. Quae autem - per deum immortalem - major voluptas aut delectatio esse potest, quam dum cuiusque rei rationem⁹ nobiscum consideremus aut cum aliis communicamus¹⁰? Nam cum animo, quam¹¹ nobis¹² dedit natura, nullus sit cibus dulcior, nulla esca (10) jucundior, nullum suavius pabulum quam rerum cognitio, et quo frequentius eo utatur cibo, eo majore fruatur voluptate¹³, quo fit, ut omnes *cum musis commercium habentes*¹⁴ voluptuariam vitam ducamus. Et existimemus, quod non¹⁵ voluptuosius fieri possit¹⁶ quam ex ipsa¹⁷ sapientiae fonte (15) vel nos ipsos¹⁸ potare¹⁹ vel alios potare²⁰. Quid²¹ dulcius quam, quod studio ipse tuo inveneris, id alteri impertire²² atque communicare. Ad quam quidem²³ rem natura ipsa nos instituit et formavit, ut quod omnibus fructuosum²⁴ esset, id in medium summa cum ardore [et²⁵] alacritate profunderemus²⁶.

¹ una cum *em.*; virium K, L

² ut L

³ offerenda L

⁴ ab *add.* K

⁵ est L

⁶ *illeg. add.* L

⁷ meus L

⁸ perocultarum L

⁹ *em.*; et nationem *add.* K, L

¹⁰ commitamus K

¹¹ *illeg. add.* K

¹² ubi K

¹³ *illeg. ubi add.* K; nostre est *add.* L

¹⁴ *em.*; habentibus K, L

¹⁵ enim L

¹⁶ posset L

¹⁷ *em.*; ipso K, L

¹⁸ nos ipsos *em.*; opere K, L

¹⁹ *em.*; portare K, L

²⁰ *em.*; portare K, L

²¹ *em.*; quod K, L

²² *omit.* L

²³ quedam K

²⁴ fructuosissimum L

²⁵ *em.*

²⁶ esset id ... profunderemus *omit.* K

3. Enjoyment and distinction¹ of arts and sciences

[17] Now that we have spoken of the individual benefits of the liberal arts, philosophy, medicine, and theology, our oration must move along with all speed so that we do not pass over, in silence, their enjoyment and distinction. According to Lactantius, "it is the office of the soul to perceive those things more clearly which the eye of the body cannot behold."² So now the mind must be brought forward and raised to the knowledge of those things that are hidden.

By immortal God, what pleasure or delight can be greater than to ponder the reason for something or share it with others? No food is sweeter to the mind, which nature has given us, and no fare is more pleasant than acquiring knowledge of things, and the more often we have this food, the greater the pleasure is. Therefore, all of us who *associate with the Muses*³ lead a life of pleasure. And let us consider that nothing can be more pleasant than that we and others drink from the fountain of wisdom itself. What is more delightful than transmitting and communicating to others what you have found through your own studies? It was nature herself who taught and formed us for this, so that we should, with great eagerness and alacrity, share with others what is fruitful to all.

¹ "ornamentum"

² Lactantius: *Divinae institutiones*, 2, 3. Translation quoted after the Advent edition

³ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 5.23.66: *Who in all the world, who enjoys merely some degree of communion with the Muses (Quis est omnium, qui modo cum Musis, id est cum humanitate et cum doctrina, habeat aliquod commercium)*

[18] Inde est Homerus ille, primus et summus poetarum, non prius se ad scribendum (20) contulit, quam ad majorem orbis partem¹ videndam ivisset, quod plus se voluptatis inde capturum putavit, si haec oculis vidisset, de quibus sibi² scribendum constituit. Hinc etiam est, quod Gallus ille, Scipionis familiaris, *tanta geometricarum ac astronomicarum descriptionum voluptate tenebatur*, (25) *ut cum noctu ad aliquid scribendum ingressum lux saepe deprehendetur³, vel cum mane coepisset nox eum (27) opprimet⁴ potissimum cum mirum⁵ in modum eum delectaret {241v} solis et lunae defectiones aequalibus suis multo ante praedicere.*

¹ orbis partem : partem orbis L

² *omit.* K

³ deprehendentur K

⁴ opprimeret K

⁵ miris K

[18] This is why Homer,¹ the first and greatest among poets, did not begin to write before he had gone to visit most of the world, for he thought that he would gain more pleasure [from writing] if he had seen with his own eyes what he had decided to write about.

And this is why *Gallus*,² an intimate friend of *Scipio*,³ took such pleasure in describing geometrical [issues] and astronomical [phenomena] that often the morning sun surprised him working on some chart which he had begun at night, and often night surprised him at a task begun at the break of day, taking much joy in telling his companions, long in advance, of eclipses of the sun and moon!⁴

¹ Homer: In the Western classical tradition, Homer is the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Most modern researchers place Homer in the 7th or 8th centuries BCE

² Gallus, Gaius Sulpicius: general, statesman, and orator of the Roman Republic. Studied astronomy and gained a great reputation for having predicted a lunar eclipse on the night before the Battle of Pydna (168 BCE)

³ Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus, Publius Cornelius [Scipio Africanus the Younger] (185–129 BCE): politician of the Roman Republic, twice consul. As general, he destroyed Carthage in 146 BCE

⁴ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 14.49: *Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere*

[19] Hinc est quod Archimedes, summus ille mathematicus, captis a Claudio Marcello Syracusis ac¹ hostili concessis, tanta cupiditate formis in pulvere (5) scriptis intentus quod supervenientis militis, a quo interfectus est, impetum et diruptionem non senserit. Inde est, quod Solon, unus ex Graeciae septem sapientibus, gloriari solebat se addiscendo senem² fieri. Hinc etiam factum fuit, quod Carneades tantam voluptatem ex crebra lectione aucupabatur, ut etiam inter (10) comedendum, quemadmodum ait Valerius Maximus³, se comedere debere fuisset oblitus. Quae haec, patres amplissimi, existimanda est voluptas, ut⁴ etiam nos illius muneris immemores⁵ facit, quod natura potissimum in nobis produxit?

¹ hostili directe in *add.* K

² senam K

³ *omit.* K

⁴ voluptas ut : ut voluptas K

⁵ in memores K

[19] And this is why Archimedes,¹ the greatest of mathematicians, [died]. For when Claudius Marcellus² conquered Syracuse³ and treated it as a hostile city, Archimedes was so occupied studying the figures he had written in the sand that he did not notice the enemy soldier who approached and killed him, after having tried [in vain] to interrupt and warn him.⁴

This is why Solon,⁵ one of the seven wise men of Greece, used to *boast that he grew old learning*.⁶

And this is why Carneades⁷ took such delight in frequent reading that when eating, as Valerius Maximus⁸ tells, he forgot that he had to eat.⁹ Honourable fathers, how greatly should we not estimate a pleasure that makes us forget even the greatest gift that nature has bestowed on us?¹⁰

¹ Archimedes of Syracuse (ca. 287-ca. 212 BCE): Greek mathematician, physicist, engineer, inventor, and astronomer
Generally considered the greatest mathematician of Antiquity

² Claudius Marcellus, Marcus (ca. 268-208 BCE): Roman statesman and general. Conquered the fortified city of Syracuse in a protracted siege during which Archimedes was killed

³ 212 BC

⁴ Plutarch: *Parallel lives / Marcellus*, 19.4: *But what most of all afflicted Marcellus was the death of Archimedes. For it chanced that he was by himself, working out some problem with the aid of a diagram, and having fixed his thoughts and his eyes as well upon the matter of his study, he was not aware of the incursion of the Romans or of the capture of the city. Suddenly a soldier came upon him and ordered him to go with him to Marcellus. This Archimedes refused to do until he had worked out his problem and established his demonstration, whereupon the soldier flew into a passion, drew his sword, and dispatched him. Others, however, say that the Roman came upon him with drawn sword threatening to kill him at once, and that Archimedes, when he saw him, earnestly besought him to wait a little while, that he might not leave the result that he was seeking incomplete and without demonstration; but the soldier paid no heed to him and made an end of him*

Cicero: *De finibus bonorum et malorum*, 5.19.50: *What an ardour for study, think you, possessed Archimedes, who was so absorbed in a diagram he was drawing in the dust that he was unaware even of the capture of his native city! (Quem enim ardorem studii censetis fuisse in Archimede, qui dum in pulvere quaedam describit attentius, ne patriam quidem captam esse senserit!)*

⁵ Solon (638-558 BCE): Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet

⁶ Cicero: *De Senectute*, 8.26: *Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid, ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri*

⁷ Carneades (214/3-128/9 BCE): Greek philosopher belonging to the Academic Sceptic school

⁸ Valerius Maximus (flourished in the 1st c. under Emperor Tiberius): Roman writer and author of a collection of historical anecdotes

⁹ Valerius Maximus: *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium libri*, 8.7.ext. 5: *So marvellously had he devoted himself to the operations of learning that when he had lain down to take a meal, wrapped in thought he would forget to stretch out his hand to the table. (Idem illi vivendi ac philosophandi finis fuit, ita se mirificum doctrinae operibus addixerat, ut cum cibi capiendi causa recubisset, cogitationibus inhaerens manum ad mensam porrigere oblivisceretur)*

NB: Also Burley, (Carneades), p. 212

¹⁰ In his oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6] to the parishioners of Aspach, written in 1445-1446, Piccolomini said: *Moreover, God and Nature have given men nothing more precious than the mind, for through the mind we know what is good and what is evil, and through the mind we are like God. But nothing is more harmful to this divine gift and present than bodily pleasures: when lust prevails there is no place for moderation, and virtue cannot survive in the realm of pleasure. Whoever is immersed in the pleasures of sex, food and drink cannot use his mind properly nor achieve anything through reason and thought. [Sect. 53]*

[20] Quantum vero ornamenti afferant haec artes se colentibus¹ nobis² huic plus quam³ (15) omnes sui studiosos aut ex ignobilibus claros aut ex claris clarissimos et celebratissimos viros reddant, ...⁴ ut ignores plusne ornamenti possessoribus suis addiderint⁵, aut plus ipsae a suis possessoribus accipiant. Ex quo innumerabiles⁶ artium scriptores recenseri possunt, (20) quorum nomina una cum corporibus delesset vetustas, nisi illos⁷ artes ipsae immortalitati dicassent⁸. Quod intelligens Alexander ille magnus momenti non minus ponebat in bonarum⁹ artium cognitione quam¹⁰ in tanto suo imperio, quo maximam orbis partem occupavit. Verum etiam suarum (25) expeditionum comites et commilitones semper habuit cum praeclaros philosophos tum¹¹ et praeclarissimorum¹² auctorum¹³ (242r) codices, quibus omne ab armis otiosum tempus

[21] Qua re illud Demetrii¹⁴ Phalerii praeceptum semper magnificum¹⁵ ac¹⁶ praeclarum putavi, quo vir sapientissimus Ptolomaeum, regem Aegyptiarum, admonuit, ut quam creberrime¹⁷ (5) libros legeret et nunquam, quoad posset¹⁸, ex manibus dimitteret¹⁹. Laudatus etiam semper est²⁰ ab optione quoque Alexandriae Caesar, quod historicis obeundis²¹ viris²² tamquam sapientissimos²³ consiliarios consulebat, ut si quid²⁴ hujuscemodi superiori²⁵ aetate bene factum esse²⁶ id vel usu probatum²⁷ vel (10) melius ac prudentius decerneret.

¹ nolentibus L

² vel K

³ quod L

⁴ *text missing* K, L

⁵ addiderunt K

⁶ in naturalibus K

⁷ illas K, L

⁸ ditassent L

⁹ bonorum K

¹⁰ quod L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² *em.*; preclarissimum K, L

¹³ auctorem L

¹⁴ Themetrii L

¹⁵ *omit.* K

¹⁶ atque K

¹⁷ ut quam crebre : creberiore L

¹⁸ passim L

¹⁹ dimittet K

²⁰ esset L

²¹ abeundis K

²² viribus L

²³ sapientissimas K

²⁴ quam L

²⁵ *omit.* L

²⁶ vel *add.* K

²⁷ probans K

[20] How excellent these arts are to us who cultivate them and how much they transform their students from lowly men to noble men, or from noble men to very noble and famous ... that you do not know whether the arts adorn their possessors more than they are adorned by them. Thus, very many writers of the arts may be listed whose names would have been destroyed by age along with their bodies unless these arts had granted them immortality.¹ This was understood by Alexander the Great,² who valued the knowledge of the good arts as highly as his great empire, which occupied most of the world. For on his expeditions he always had as his companions and comrades in war famous philosophers as well as books of the most eminent writers³ on whom he spent all the time he was not fighting.

[21] This is why I have always considered the precept of Demetrius of Phalerum⁴ as magnificent and noble. That wise man admonished King Ptolemy⁵ of Egypt to read books as often as possible and never to leave them out of his hands. In Alexandria, Caesar⁶ was praised by a certain officer for treating historians he met as learned counsellors, so that if something had been well done in a former age, he would consider it either to be proven by use or to be [otherwise] better and wiser.

¹ A favourite theme of the humanists, for whom an important source of patronage was the praise of princes

² Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

³ Possibly a garbled version of this passage from Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10.24: *Quam multos scriptores rerum suarum magnus ille Alexander secum habuisse dicitur*

⁴ Demetrius of Phalerum (ca. 350-ca. 280 BCE): Athenian orator originally from Phalerum, one of the first Peripatetics. Ruled Athens for ten years. Exiled by his enemies in 307 BCE, he stayed, after 297 BCE, at the court of Alexandria. Wrote on the subjects of history, rhetoric, and literary criticism.

⁵ Ptolemy I Soter (ca. 367-283 BCE): Macedonian general of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy became ruler of Egypt (323–323–283/2 BCE) and founded a dynasty

⁶ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

[22] Dies me profecto deficiet, si hanc ipsam rem exemplis afferre conabor. Verum cum jure minime dubia testibus, id est exemplis, non egeamus, cumque jam ad exitum festinat oratio, illud pro confessis¹ relinquimus, quod jam² vel tritum (15) sit sermone proverbium, nihil esse³ inter mortales, quod adeo⁴ repente⁵ exornet et nobilitet et demum viros claros et immortales reddat quam haec opera disciplinarum⁶, de quibus jam longiorem sermonem habuimus.

¹ confesso K; eius *add.* L

² *omit.* L

³ est L

⁴ eo K

⁵ *inpente* L

⁶ *em.*; discipline K, L

[22] A whole day, however, would not be long enough to attempt [to document] this matter with examples. So, though we are certainly not lacking testimonies, that is, examples, and our oration is hastening towards its end, we shall leave this matter, taking it for granted - as if it were a well-known proverb¹ - that nothing so quickly adorns and ennobles men and makes them famous and immortal as the exercise of these disciplines about which we have now spoken extensively.

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.10.33: ... est ... tritum sermone proverbium

[23] Qua re, amplissimi¹ viri, cum tantam utilitatem, voluptatem, ornamentum (20) his praedictis² artibus inesse intelligatis, quis non³ animari⁴, quis non mirari⁵, quis non⁶ inflammari ad illas pro sua virili capescendas⁷ debeat, quibus assiduis comitibus et tamquam ducibus nobis honores, emolumenta, gratiam et observantiam vindicare possumus? (25) Omnia vere haec pulchre assequamur, si omnia studio, cura, diligentia et⁸ vigilantia atque {242v} omne⁹ conatu, quae in has optimas artes et disciplinas incumbemus, talesque esse studebimus quales et haberi velimus et desideremus, nobisque¹⁰ ante oculos doctissimos viros proponamus et *in vitas* (5) aliorum tamquam in speculum, quod vel ex usu fiet¹¹ inspiramus, ut idem Terentianus ille senex in *Adelphis* jussit filium facere, imitandumque¹² nobis esse putemus tum Pythagoram tum Platonem, qui cognoscendae veritatis gratiam (10) non solum Graeciam, sed Aegyptum et Asiae (10) magnam partem lustrare et summis laboribus atque sudoribus praeexcellentes evasere¹³, compluresque alios priscos philosophos, praesertim Cleanthem¹⁴ illum, qui cum mirandae¹⁵ philosophie sibi¹⁶ ardet nec quemquam unum, [qui¹⁷] sibi¹⁸ victum suppeditaret, haberet, noctu, ut ait Valerius (15) Maximus, ad exhauriendam aquam operam locabat suam, ut diurno¹⁹ Chrysippi, summi per id tempus philosophorum²⁰, praeceptis capescendis vacaret²¹.

¹ ornatissimi L

² peditum K

³ *omit.* L

⁴ amari L

⁵ mirendi K, L

⁶ quis non *omit.* L

⁷ capessandas K

⁸ studio cura ... et : cura studio et diligentia K

⁹ nisi *add.* K

¹⁰ *illeg.* nobisque *add.* L

¹¹ sciet K

¹² imitandosque K, L

¹³ et vases L

¹⁴ *em.*; clamitum K, L

¹⁵ iubilende K

¹⁶ sui K

¹⁷ *em.*

¹⁸ unicum *add.* L

¹⁹ *em.*; interdiu K, L

²⁰ philosophie L

²¹ vacare K

4. Conclusion

[23] Therefore, distinguished men, as you see the great benefit, pleasure, and distinction deriving from these arts that we have spoken of, who ought not to be impressed and enflamed by them and inspired to pursue them with all their might? With them as constant companions and guides, we shall be able to claim honourable offices, emoluments, favour, and respect. For we shall acquire all these successfully if we pursue these excellent arts and disciplines with energy, dedication, diligence, and zeal. So let us endeavour to be such as we wish and desire to be perceived, and let us put before our eyes the most learned of men and look at their lives as in a mirror in order to be inspired by them, just as the old man from Terence's¹ *The Brothers*² bade his son to do.³ And let us imitate both Pythagoras⁴ and Plato⁵ who, in order to acquire knowledge of the beauty⁶ of truth, not only visited Greece, Egypt, and most of Asia and reached eminence through much labour and sweat. And let us also imitate many other of the old philosophers, and especially Cleanthes,⁷ who so burned for admirable philosophy that he, not having anybody who would provide him with food, earned money by working at night drawing water, as Valerius Maximus tells, so that during the day he might be free to study the teachings of Chrysippus, the greatest philosopher at that time.^{8 9}

¹ Terentius Afer, Publius (195/185-159 BCE): Roman playwright

² *Adelphoe*, written 60 BCE

³ Terentius: *Adelphoe*, 415: *inspicere tamquam in speculum in vitas omnium iubeo atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi.*

⁴ Pythagoras (ca. 570-ca. 495 BCE): Greek philosopher and mathematician

⁵ Plato (428/427 or 424/423 BCE - 348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

⁶ "gratia"

⁷ Cleanthes (ca. 330-ca. 230 BCE): Greek Stoic philosopher. Originally a boxer, he came to Athens, where he took up philosophy, following Zeno's lectures. He supported himself by working as a water-carrier at night. After the death of Zeno, c. 262 BC, he became head of the Stoic school

⁸ Error for Zeno, derived from Valerius Maximus. Chrysippus was a pupil of Cleanthes, whom he succeeded as head of the Stoic school in Athens

⁹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 8, ext. 11: *You too, Cleanthes, so laboriously taking in wisdom and so perseveringly handing it on, did the divine power of Diligence herself admire. She saw you as a young man sustaining your poverty at night by drawing water for money, leaving time to study the teachings of Chrysippus by day, and instructing your pupils with the closest care until your ninety-ninth year (Te quoque, Cleanthe, tam laboriose haurientem et tam pertinaciter tradentem sapientiam numen ipsius Industriae suspexit, cum adulescentem quaestu extrahendae aquae nocturno tempore inopiam tuam sustentantem, diurno Chrysippi praeceptis percipiendis vacantem, eundemque ad undecentesimum annum attenta cura erudientem auditores tuos videret)*

[24] Prius quos quidem si diligenti imitatione sequemur ...^{1 2}. Est enim hoc³ certamine minime deliciarum, sed sudoris eas profecto nanciscendas⁴ facultates, (20) quae nos facile humo tollent, quae nobis commendatisque⁵ nostris laetitiam, quam⁶ prius nosces⁷, gloriam, et ornamentum afferere⁸ possint, quod, ut faciatis, vos ita rogo, ut nil majori studio a vobis oratum vellem.

(25) Explicit recommendatio artium liberalium Enee Silvii⁹ facta Wienne¹⁰ coram (27) doctoribus et magistris¹¹ feliciter.

¹ sequimur L

² *text missing* K, L

³ ac K

⁴ nanciscandas K

⁵ *em.*; commendaque K, L

⁶ *em.*; que K, L

⁷ nostre L

⁸ afferi K

⁹ artium ... Silvii with *Greek letters* L

¹⁰ Vienne L

¹¹ *illeg. add.* K

[24] So let us begin by carefully imitating these men. The acquisition of these abilities is indeed a fight, not of pleasure but of sweat. They will easily lift us up from the earth, and they may bring us and ours¹ joy, glory, and distinction before you know it. To make this happen, I ask you to care for nothing more than this.

Here ends, felicitously, the praise of the liberal arts by Enea Silvio, made in Vienna before the doctors and masters.

¹ "commendatisque nostris"

Oration "*Aderat nuper*" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (25 November 1445, Vienna). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 9)

Abstract

In autumn 1445, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the Imperial Chancery of Emperor Friedrich III and poet laureate, was invited to give two academic lectures at the University of Vienna. The first one, the "*Nisi satis exploratum*" [8], was most probably delivered at the beginning of the winter semester at the Faculty of Law in October. The second one was given as a quodlibetal disputation in connection with the yearly academic celebration at the Faculty of Liberal Arts on the Feast of Saint Catherine, 25 November. In this lecture, Piccolomini defended the position that wisdom is not the same as knowledge, since knowledge is a purely cognitive function, whereas wisdom is a virtue based on love of the good. Secondly, he gave an apology and praise of poetry. And thirdly, he made a facetious answer to a facetious question about why chanceries sell animal skins and old shirts with wax (meaning sealed documents on parchment or paper) so expensively.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Vienna University; Wien Universität; University of Vienna; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1445; 15th century; History of universities; Quodlibet disputations; Quodlibetal disputations; Poetry; Science vs. Virtue; Wisdom vs. Knowledge; Chanceries; Chancelleries

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

On 27 July 1442, Emperor² Friedrich III crowned Enea Silvio Piccolomini as poet.³ The emperor had not known Piccolomini before, and he was little interested in poetry, but he was solicitous to perform the traditional ceremonials of emperorship, and the coronation of poets was one such. Piccolomini, at the time secretary of antipope Felix V, had been recommended to the emperor by influential courtiers like Bishop Silvester of Chiemsee, and some months later, Piccolomini joined the imperial chancery as a secretary. He was to have a meteoric career as a counsellor and diplomat at the imperial court⁴ and later a career in the Church, leading him to the papal throne in 1458.

By autumn 1445, Piccolomini had been a member of the imperial chancery for almost three years, and he had already been on his first, very important, mission on behalf of the emperor to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome, from where he returned to the imperial court in early summer 1445.⁵

In the autumn of 1445, Piccolomini was invited twice to give a lecture at the University of Vienna. Apparently, he had not finished his university studies in Siena (1423-1430) with an academic degree,⁶ but his diploma of poet laureate conferred on him the right of "*legendi, disputandi, interpretandi et componendi poemata liberam ubique locorum facultatem.*"⁷ The circumstances of the university's invitation are somewhat obscure, and various interpretations have been given.⁸ The university may have been interested in fresh humanist input from Italy, but at any rate, the invitation to a member of the imperial chancery would have been a gesture of politeness to the court, and it was appreciated to the extent that the emperor was personally present when Piccolomini was presented with the topics for his second lecture.⁹

¹ Kisch, pp. 41-65; Lhotsky: *Aeneas*, pp. 32-33; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad: *Rezeption*, pp. 80-81; Wagendorfer, pp. 22-23, 51

² Or more precisely, King of the Romans and Emperor-elect until his imperial coronation, which took place in Rome in 1452

³ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138

⁴ Helmrath, p. 108

⁵ Voigt, II, p. 343

⁶ Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 33; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁷ Kisch, p. 41; Lhotsky: *Wiener*, p. 138; Strnad: *Rezeption*, p. 80; Wagendorfer, p. 22

⁸ E.g., Kisch, p. 57-58

⁹ Participation in solemn academic functions might already in that age have been part of the extended ceremonial "system" of royalty. During his coronation travel in 1452, Emperor Friedrich III also assisted at the doctoral promotion at the University of Padua of another of his officials, Johannes Hinderbach, cf. Strnad: *Johannes*, p. 134

The first lecture was probably given on 13 October 1445, at the beginning of the winter semester of the university.¹

The second lecture, the "*Aderat nuper*", was given in connection with the yearly academic celebration at the Faculty of the Liberal Arts on the Feastday of Saint Catherine of Alexandria, 25 November 1454.

It was a quodlibetal disputation based on three of the theses presented by professor Johann [Widmann] of Dinkelsbühl² and two other members of the academic staff. From the text of Piccolomini's oration, it appears that these theses were presented during the solemn academic act on the feastday itself, in the presence of the emperor and his noble companions. As a disputant, he was then given a period, probably some days, to prepare his lecture, whereupon an academic assembly gathered – without the emperor and the noble guests – to hear his disputation, followed by some kind of conclusion (*judicium*) by Johann Dinkelsbühl.

It is not known what kind of relationship Piccolomini might have had with Dinkelsbühl,³ who presided over the disputation,⁴ but it is remarkable that one of the themes chosen for his lecture was directly related to his first lecture at the university. During that lecture, he had praised each of the liberal arts and the other disciplines taught at the university, including the sciences of law, philosophy, and theology. Philosophy he had called *mother, creator, and queen of all the arts*, and quoted Cicero naming *her the guide to virtue as well as its explorer, gift of the gods, and teacher of morals*. And theology he had called *the only science ... which leads us to the Heavenly Kingdom. It teaches us to see the high throne of omnipotent God and all the ranks of the celestial hierarchy. It propels us to contemplate that which, as Paul says, it is not granted to man to utter. It promises immortality to its adherents and followers*. And now, at the second lecture, he was given the task of defending the opposite position, i.e., that science and knowledge are different from morals and religiosity, knowledge being a purely cognitive function, whereas morals and religiosity are virtues based on the supreme emotion of love of the good. For Piccolomini, it would not have been awkward or difficult to defend the opposite thesis of what he himself had said earlier: his training made it quite possible – and even interesting – for him to engage in such dialectical activities, a pleasant form of mental exercise.

Secondly, in the first lecture, he had, remarkably, not mentioned poetry,⁵ even though Italian humanists had begun to include it in the broad concept of the liberal arts and humanities. Possibly

¹ *Oration "Nisi satis exploratum" [8] of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*

² Strnad: *Rezeption*, p. 81

³ Kisch, p. 47

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Except for calling Homer the first of poets

the university climate in Vienna was, at the time, too traditional for such innovative ideas to be floated in the first lecture. But now, at the second lecture, he was directly offered the opportunity to present his ideas on poetry as an important discipline, including a defence of the use of classical pagan authors.

And thirdly, the facetious question about why chanceries sell animal skins and old shirts with wax (code for sealed documents on parchment and paper) so expensively was an excellent opportunity for Piccolomini, a member of the imperial chancery, to shine, exercising his prodigious wits and humour.¹

All in all, these three questions may be considered as reflecting an interested, polite and friendly, possibly even cordial, attitude on the part of Dinkelsbühl towards Piccolomini, and the two men may even have met and discussed the themes before the event.

Piccolomini's performance on this occasion may barely be criticised: his reply to the question on science versus wisdom was excellent, well-argued, and supported by great authorities. His apology and praise of poetry were lively and interesting (though not all may have been convinced that poetry was useful and necessary to a society), and it is, indeed, difficult to see how God may be praised if there are no poets to compose hymns in his honour! And Piccolomini's facetious answer to Dinkelsbühl's facetious question must surely have delighted the audience at a university where posing a facetious, tongue-in-the-cheek question was part of the standing procedure for quodlibetal disputations.

2. Themes

The three major themes of the oration are evidently the three questions or problems chosen by Piccolomini in reply to the theses presented by Johann of Dinkelsbühl. They are:

- Wisdom versus knowledge
- Apology and praise of poetry
- Price of skins sold by chanceries

¹ Lhotsky, p. 140, believed that the choice of question may have shown some malicious intent but this cannot be documented. Against Lhotsky, see Kisch, p. 49, n. 8, and pp. 48-49

2.1. Wisdom versus knowledge

Piccolomini sets out by defining the terms wisdom (*prudentia*) and knowledge (*scientia*) [sect. 3].

Concerning knowledge, he uses a definition by Isidore of Seville: *Knowledge is the perception of something with certain reason.*¹ The main concept here is the cognitive faculty of perception.

Concerning wisdom, he rejects two definitions by Isidore and Cicero, which appear to identify wisdom with knowledge (of good and bad). In their place he prefers two definitions, one by Augustine and the other by the mediaeval author, Jean de la Rochelle²:

Augustine's definition is: *Wisdom is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it to God.*³

Jean de la Rochelle's definition is: *Wisdom is the knowledge of good and evil things with love of the first and hate of the second.*⁴

Discussing these definitions, Piccolomini shows that people may perfectly well have moral knowledge – derived from books, e.g., Aristotle's *Ethica* - without transforming that knowledge into moral behaviour.

And concerning wisdom, he defines it as coming from God (the true sun) and comprising not only cognition but also emotion, i.e., the love of good:

*Knowledge is a passive cognition of things, which cannot change your will, so that you embrace what you know as good and avoid what you know as bad, whereas wisdom is a living ray of light, coming from the true sun, and it not only illumines the intellect but also heatens the emotions.*⁵

Furthermore, he shows that though the two (knowledge and wisdom) may have the same object, they treat it so differently that they are not identical. Here he gives the very appropriate example

¹ *Scientia est, cum res aliqua certa ratione percipitur*

² Piccolomini does not refer to Jean de la Rochelle by name, and he may not have known the source of this quotation

³ *Prudentia est amor eorum, quibus adjuvatur in Deum, ab his, quibus impeditur, sagaciter eligens*

⁴ *Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum cum alterarum dilectione et aliquarum detestatione scientia*

⁵ *Est enim scientia cognitio rerum mortua, quae voluntatem mutare non potest, ut vel bonum cognitum amplectatur vel malum fugiat, at prudentia radius vivus est a vero sole procedens, qui non solum illuminat intellectum, sed etiam calefacit affectum*

of astronomy and astrology, astronomy being a science of natural phenomena, and astrology being a superstition predicting the course of human affairs on the basis of such phenomena:

Astronomy gives knowledge about the changes [observed] in the sky and the course of the stars. Astrology does the same. But astrology is a superstition since it tries to predict the necessary course and the character of people on the basis of the course of the stars, and therefore we claim that astronomy and astrology are not the same. [Sect. 6]¹

He concludes by rejecting the thesis presented by Dinkelsbühl that wisdom and knowledge are the same:

For even though wisdom deals with such things that are good for human life and moral knowledge deals with the same things, it does not follow that they are identical, for they have different properties: knowledge only understands what is good, whereas wisdom first understands what is good and then does it, as I said before. [Sect. 6]²

2.2. Apology and praise of poetry³

Dinkelsbühl had asked why there were so few poets when they were apparently both useful and necessary. Piccolomini uses this question to present a proper apology and praise of poetry, such as he had wanted to do for a long time and begun to do in his *Pentalogus* of 1443 and in a letter to his friend Wilhelm von Stein of 1 June 1444. He would take it up again later in his treatise *De liberorum educatione* of 1450⁴ and again in his letter to Cardinal Olesnicki of 27 October 1453.⁵

By way of introduction to this theme, Piccolomini first shows, through a series of examples, how poets were highly honoured in antiquity.

He then goes on to speak on four subthemes:

¹ *Astronomia de caeli conversione stellarumque cursibus notitiam praebet; idem facit astrologia. Quia haec tamen superstitiosum quid habet, dum siderum cursu necessitates hominum et mores praedicare conatur, aliud astronomiam dicimus esse et aliud astrologiam*

² *Quamvis enim prudentia circa ea versetur, quae sunt ad vitam humanam bona, ac circa eadem scientia moralis consistat, non tamen identitas sequitur, nam modis invicem diversis se habent. Scientia enim solum intelligit, quid est bonum, prudentia vero, postquam novit, etiam operatur*

³ Piccolomini had already used a number of the examples from antiquity in remarks on poetry in his *Pentalogus* of March 1443, cf. pp. 62-67, and in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444, (EPI, 3: 145), and he would reuse them in a further development of the theme in his *De liberorum educatione* from 1450

⁴ In the notes to the translation, some of the recurrent quotations in these texts are indicated *exempli gratia*

⁵ EPI, 6: 406

- Usefulness of poetry
- Necessity of poetry
- Use of classical pagan literature
- Rarity of poets

2.2.1. Usefulness of poetry

Poetry is useful for two reasons: firstly, it fulfils a useful moral purpose by praising virtue and blaming vice, and secondly, it fulfils a useful religious purpose by praising God. Piccolomini proves his point by referring to a number of classical examples, derived mostly from the Bible, Basil's *Ad adolescentes*, Cicero's *Pro Archia* and *Tusculanae Disputationes*, and Solinus.

2.2.2. Necessity of poetry

For any society to thrive, it is necessary that citizens live morally and abandon vice: *cities do not live well without men who are able to convince citizens to live morally and to abandon vice.* [Sect. 16]

Piccolomini identifies three kinds of men, or three professions, who perform this function: orators, theologians, and poets.

Like poets, orators have an important function in persuading of men to live morally. Some may think that they do it better than poets because they have a much broader store of words and concepts to use.

Related to orators are the theologians, who have a professional duty to convince people to live morally and do so primarily through sermons, a form of oratory.

And then there are poets who persuade people to live morally through verses, i.e., short and cogent verbal messages.

Piccolomini observes that orators use long and disconnected concepts that are not easy to remember, whereas theologians are not trained as orators and therefore do not speak well. Therefore, both orators and theologians fall short in their function of persuading people to live well.

Poets, however, have a privileged language in which to foster morals since they are able to coin striking phrases and concepts in a linguistic form (the meter) which makes it easy for people to

remember. Thus poets are far superior as promoters of morals, and therefore they are necessary to society.

2.2.2.1. Use of classical pagan authors

The use of classical pagan authors was, for centuries,¹ a problem as well as a bone of contention between a large segment of the clergy² on the one side and classically formed churchmen of the early Church and the new humanists of the Renaissance on the other.³

The opponents pointed to the plurality of false gods and the blatant immorality of these gods and to erotic themes unacceptable to Christians.

In his defence against these objections, Piccolomini uses the well-known arguments, concepts, and images developed by church fathers like Basil the Great, Jerome, and Augustine, indeed a worthy company. Even his reference to Plato's exclusion of poets from his ideal city is standard fare in this context.⁴

More original are his arguments concerning the faults of poets versus the faults of theologians. Poets and poetry as a whole should not be blamed just because a few poets err, for in that case also philosophers and philosophy, and theologians and theology as a whole must be rejected. Piccolomini supports this argument with a reference to the many philosophical theories unacceptable to Christianity and to the plethora of heresies produced by theologians:

What is said in the poems about gods is not the fault of the poets but of the times since [at that time] people worshipped idols. And it is not just poets who speak about gods: the philosophers and all the writers of that age (except the Jews) talk about [gods] and claim to worship them. That they tell of crimes is not objectionable, for they do so in order to deter men from such crimes, just like theologians do. Those who approve of vice are actually very few, and all should not be blamed for what only two and three do. We should not condemn poetry because a few poets are in error, for if we go that way, we would follow no teaching at all; we should despise even philosophy, the mother of all sciences, for it is a fact that there are philosophers who have erred. What can be said to be more soft or languorous than the view of Epicure, who based all happiness on pleasure and denied that souls are immortal?

¹ Indeed, classical authors had themselves discussed the appropriateness of using myths and stories of the immoral acts of gods in their writings

² Including a pope, Martinus V, see below

³ Cf., e.g., Schucan, pp. 38-41

⁴ However, his use of a quite explicit homosexual poem by Plato, reported by Macrobius, is quite astonishing and might seem somewhat counterproductive in the context of argumentation

Pythagoras denies the existence of Hell and believes that after death, the souls of men transmigrate to other living beings. And Averroës thought that all bodies share one soul. [Sect. 18]

What about the theologians whom we today honour most of all? Did they never err? What about Arius, what about Eutyches, what about Nestorius, what about those almost countless others who caused division in the Church? And in our own time, what about Jan Hus and Jeronimus, who were burned in Konstanz? So many heresies could not have flourished if these men had not flaunted their title of theologian. But just as theology is not at fault because many theologians err, poetry too is not harmed because many poets nourish errors. And that may not be called evil, which we may use for the good, for otherwise neither the liberal nor the mechanical arts would be acceptable since we can use them for the bad. [Sect. 19]

2.2.3. Rarity of poets

The four reasons for the rarity of poets are:

- Only a few people have the great knowledge and many and varied skills needed in poets
- God only gives the gift of poetry to a few men
- Like human virtues decrease with time, so does poetry
- Poets are not honoured as they deserve

2.3. Price of skins sold by chanceries

The background to this question may have been a rise in the charges for chancery documents, as noted by Heinrich Kollar:

Den Zeitgenossen dürfte eher aufgefallen sein, dass die Privilegien wegen ihres eindrucksvolles Aussehens ... vom Empfänger teuer bezahlt wurden, wie es für die päpstliche Schriftstücken ... längst üblich geworden war. Diese Beweggründe wurden erst vor wenigen Jahren von Isenmann hervorgehoben, der betonte, dass für das Urkundenwesen des Spätmittelalters finanzielle Überlegungen und die Höhe der notwendigen Zahlungen wichtiger als die Dokumentation rechtlicher Normen waren.¹

¹ Koller, pp. 67-68

Dinkelsbühl's facetious, but pointed question is answered by Piccolomini quite elegantly, and with a delightful, irreverent, and somewhat risqué riposte against theologians, many of whom would be present in the audience:

When the heads of the chancery heard this and understood that there was great power in skins,¹ they considered that they ought not be given out cheaply but began - as was reasonable - to sell them and shirts² with wax³ at a great price. In this, they imitated the priests, who reap great profits from dispensing the sound of bells, smoke, and water and making words, and who would not dream of giving them away for free. [Sect. 26]

The chancery had its playful revenge!

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered some days after 25 November 1445, the Feastday of Catherine of Alexandria, patron saint of the Faculty of Liberal Arts at the University of Vienna. That feast was the yearly occasion of an academic celebration accompanied by a quodlibetal disputation, initiated during the feast itself and held by the disputant after some days of preparation.⁴

The place was the aula of the University of Vienna, probably the one in the *Nova Structura*.⁵

The audience at the presentation of the theses was Emperor Friederich III, Archduke Sigismund of Austria, many nobles accompanying the emperor, and presumably the high-ranking university officials and senior academic staff, as well as junior academic staff and students. The audience at the lecture itself consisted of doctors and students from the university.⁶

The format was an academic quodlibetal lecture in reply to theses presented by Johann of Dinkelsbühl on the feastday itself, and it was immediately followed by Dinkelsbühl's conclusions (*judicium*).

¹ i.e., parchment

² i.e., paper

³ i.e., wax seals

⁴ Kisch, p. 42

⁵ The Nova Structura was built 1423-1425

⁶ Kisch, p. 42

4. Text¹

4.1 Manuscripts²

For unknown reasons, the *“Aderat nuper”* is not mentioned in Pius’ *Commentarii*, and it was not included in the Collected Orations of Pope Pius II, compiled under his direct supervision in 1462. Possibly, the text had disappeared from his personal files at some point during his many travels as an imperial secretary and diplomat.

The oration is extant in a number of manuscripts:³

- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 215, ff. 62r-66r **(M)***
Clm 5311, ff. 157v-165v **(H)**
Clm 18802, ff. 138r-142v **(I)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ross. lat. 786, 52r-57r **(R) ***
- **Szombathely / Egyházmegyei Könyvtár**
8
- **Uppsala / Universitetsbibliotek**
C 916, ff. 151r-155v **(U)***

4.2. Editions

The oration has been published a number of times, among them:

- Pius II: *Epistolae de laude poetica, de differentia inter scientiam et prudentiam et de poetis, de laude litterarum, cur libri cumulentur*. Köln, Dictys / Arnold ter Hoernen, 1470-1471

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II’s orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

³ Cf. Wagendorfer, p. 23, n. 7

- Pius II: *Epistolae familiares*. Ed. Nikolaus Wyle. Norimbergae: Anton Koberger, 1481, 1486, 1496¹ / Ep. CIIII (**WY**)
[In the present ed., the digitized version of 1486 ed. has been used (dig.pag. 109 ff.)]
- Pius II: *Opera que extant omnia*. Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1551 & 1571 / ep. CIIII, pp. 594-599
[On the basis of the letter ed. by Wyle]
- Lhotsky, Alpons: *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365-1497*. Wien, 1965. (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse; 247), pp. 263-273
[On the basis of the clm 5311. Variations in Lhotsky's edition from clm 5311 (H), are indicated in the critical apparatus]

4.3 Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition is based on clm 5311, clm 18802, the Vatican manuscript, the manuscript from Uppsala, and the Koberger edition of 1486, with clm 18802 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the clm 18802.

¹ Cf. Hain, pp. 19-22. The other incunabula editions of Piccolomini's *epistolae familiares*, cf. Häbler, have not been checked. Presumably the "*Aderat nuper*" is also printed in (some of) these

5. Sources

In this oration, altogether 46 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	1
Classical	34
Patristic and medieval	10
Contemporary	1
All	46

The classical quotations dominate heavily, and there is only one quotation from the bible. This distribution may be due to the character of the oration as an academic lecture.

Biblical sources: 1

Old Testament: 0

New Testament: 1

- 2. Corinthians: 1

Classical sources: 34

- Aristotle: 1¹
- Arrianus: 1
- Cicero: 11²
- Homer: 1
- Horatius: 2³
- Juvenalis: 2
- Macrobius: 1
- Plato: 1¹

¹ Politica

² De inventione 2; De officiis 1; Pro Archia 4; Tusculanae disputationes 4

³ Ars poetica 1; Epistolae, 1

- Plutarch: 2²
- Seneca: 2³
- Solinus: 6⁴
- Valerius Maximus: 2
- Vergilius: 2⁵

Patristic and medieval sources: 10

- Augustinus: 2⁶
- Basil of Caesarea: 5⁷
- Isidore: 2⁸
- Jean de la Rochelle: 1

Contemporary sources: 1

- Bruni, L.: 1⁹

6. Bibliography

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¹ Republic

² Lives

³ Epistulae ad Lucilium

⁴ Collectanea mirabilium mundi

⁵ Aeneis

⁶ De moribus ecclesiae catholicae 1; De quantitate animae 1

⁷ Adolescentes

⁸ Etymologiae

⁹ De studiis

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7. Sigla

H = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Clm 5311

I = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Clm 18802

M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Clm 215

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Ross. 786

U = Uppsala / Universitetsbibliotek / C 916

LH = Lhotsky, Alpons: *Die Wiener Artistenfakultät 1365-1497*. Wien, 1965. (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse; 247), pp. 263-273

WY = Pius II: *Epistolae familiares*. Ed. Nikolaus Wyle. Norimbergae: Anton Koberger, 1486 / Ep. CIIII

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Anno domini 1445.o in aula universitatis Wiennensis studii¹ Aeneae Silvii² poetae propositae fuerunt³ hae infrascriptae quaestiones in quodlibeto, quod disputatum⁴ fuerat per eximium magistrum Johannem de Dinkelspuehl⁵, artium et theologiae doctorem pro tunc licentiatum, praesente⁶ rege divo Romanorum⁷ Friderico^{8 9}, Austriae, Stiriae duce¹⁰, ac Sigismundo Austriae¹¹ duce praesente¹², dum modo¹³ proponebantur^{14 15 16}.

¹ Wiennensis studii : studii Wiennensis R

² *omit.* H, R

³ fuere R

⁴ quod disputatum fuerat : disputato R

⁵ de Dinkelspuehl *omit.* H, R

⁶ *omit.* H, R

⁷ divo Romanorum *omit.* H, R

⁸ Friderico H

⁹ Rege divo Romanorum Friderico : divo Romanorum rege Friderico I

¹⁰ Austriae Stiriae duce *omit.* H, R

¹¹ *omit.* H, R

¹² presentibus H, R

¹³ *omit.* R

¹⁴ proponebantur H, R

¹⁵ Anno ... proponebantur : Eneas Silvius In quodlibeto Wynensi M; *omit.* U; Triplicis probleumatis resolutio. Epistola CIIII. WY

¹⁶ dum revertentes deliberatione ut moris est accepta ut subsequitur inceptit: Responsio Enee facta in aula Wiennense *add.* R

In the year of the Lord 1445, the following questions were put to the poet Enea Silvio, in a quodlibet disputation in the aula of the University of Vienna, by magister Johann of Dinkelsbühl,¹ then licensed doctor of arts and theology. Friedrich,² Holy King of the Romans and Duke of Styria, and Duke Sigismund³ of Austria were present when these questions were presented.

¹ Johann of Dinkelsbühl

² Frederick III [Habsburg] (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Frederick V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452. Piccolomini's employer from 1442 to 1455

³ Sigismund [Habsburg] (1427-1496): Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Tirol from 1446 to 1490. Cousin of Emperor Friedrich III and his ward until 1446

[1] {138r} Aderat nuper Caesarea majestas, multorum baronum ac¹ nobilium stipata catenis, dum mihi hoc in loco, vir praestantissime, disputator vehemens ac² subtilis, inter alia³ tria, si rite⁴ memini, obtulistis problemata⁵, fuitque tunc auditorium istud tam doctoribus quam discipulis frequentissimum. Ex illis primum fuit, utrum prudentia sit idem habitus cum scientia morali tradita in libro Ethicorum⁶, Politicorum⁷, Iconomicorum et in⁸ libris canonum et legum. Secundum, cur poetae nostris temporibus sint adeo pauci, cum videantur multum utiles et necessarii. Tertium⁹ (quod in cancellarie¹⁰ notam fortasse¹¹ excogitatum est aut risus causa propositum est¹²): Cur viles cutes cadaverum et antiquae camisiae cum cera in cancellariis venduntur pro optima minera¹³. Haec sunt¹⁴, nisi fallor¹⁵, quae vestra singularis prudentia, magister et disputator insignis, ex me percontata est.

¹ *omit.* I

² *atque* M, U, WY

³ *alios* M, U, WY; *alia corr. ex alias* H; *alias* R

⁴ *alias rite add. in marg.* U; *recte* WY

⁵ *propleromata* I; *propleumata* M; *probleumata* R, U, WY

⁶ *omit.* M

⁷ *et add.* WY

⁸ *omit.* I, R

⁹ *fuit add.* I

¹⁰ *cancellaria* WY

¹¹ *notam fortasse : fortasse notam* U, WY

¹² *omit.* M, U, WY

¹³ *optima munera : optimis muneribus* WY

¹⁴ *fuit* LH

¹⁵ *sunt nisi fallor : nisi fallor sunt* R

0. Introduction

[1] When some days ago His Imperial Majesty was here, accompanied by many barons and nobles, and the auditorium was filled with teachers and students, you, distinguished doctor,¹ and forceful and subtle debater, presented to me a number of problems. Among these problems were, if I remember correctly, the following three:

- The first was: is wisdom (*prudentia*) the same as the moral knowledge (*scientia*) set forth in [Aristotle's] books on Ethics, Politics, and Economics and in the books of canons and laws?
- The second was: why are there so few poets in our time when apparently they are both very useful and necessary?
- The third was a question that may have been thought up either to embarrass the Chancery or humourously: why are cheap skins of dead animals and old shirts with wax on them sold in the chanceries at the price of precious metals?

These were – if I am not mistaken - the questions put to me by your eminently learned self², distinguished magister and debater.

¹ "vir"

² "singularis prudentia"

[2] Quaesierunt¹ et alii duo, qui illic assident, quaedam alia, ut moris est in disputatione, quae de re qualibet habetur. Illa² ego memoriae non habeo³. Neque enim Cineas⁴ sum, ille *Pyrrhi legatus, qui altera die, qua⁵ Romam intraverat, {138v} universum senatum et equestrem ordinem propriis nominibus salutavit*, tanta⁶ eum⁷ fuisse memoria⁸ tradunt historiae. Respondebo igitur his⁹ tantum tribus, quae retuli, problematibus¹⁰. Nec verebor¹¹ me dicere imparatum fuisse¹², cum illa quaerentur, nam et Demosthenes, qui omnium Graecorum praecipuus orator fuit, interrogatus jussusque¹³ sententiam in senatu dicere¹⁴ non erubuit imparatum¹⁵ se¹⁶ venisse respondere. Quidam adeo cupidi gloriae sunt, ut ex tempore¹⁷ velint cuilibet interrogatiunculae satisfacere, sed his saepe, dum gloria quaeritur, ingens ignominia crescit. Nec enim humanum est cuilibet interroganti bene respondere, sed est hujus auditorii tanta modestia, ut data sit unicuique ad cogitandum mora. Qua nunc ipse usus paratus adveni vestris petitionibus, magister ornatissime ac hujus¹⁸ universitatis clarissimum jubar¹⁹, non solum respondere, sed etiam, ut²⁰ opinor, satisfacere. Nihil tamen dicam quasi vestram doctrinam instruens²¹, sed tamquam meam ignorantiam erudiens verbum habeo²² daboque locum responsis vestris, quibus me melius et rectius admonueritis.

¹ quesiverunt H, M, R

² omit. R

³ teneo M, U, WY

⁴ Cineus vel Cineas I

⁵ cum M

⁶ tante M

⁷ tanta eum : eum tanta R

⁸ memorie M

⁹ omit. R

¹⁰ problematibus H, I, R, U, WY; propleumatibus M

¹¹ vereor H, R; verebor *corr. ex* vereor I

¹² dicere imparatum fuisse : imparatum fuisse dicere R

¹³ visusque H; visusque *corr. ex* jussusque I

¹⁴ omit. I

¹⁵ imperatum WY

¹⁶ omit. WY

¹⁷ parte I

¹⁸ omit. R

¹⁹ ac hujus ... jubar *omit.* I, M

²⁰ omit. H, R

²¹ instruendus U

²² habebo M, U

[2] Two others, who are sitting over there, also formulated some questions, as is the custom in quodlibetal disputations, but these questions I do not remember. Indeed, I am not like *Cineas*,¹ the legate of Pyrrhus,² who, according to the history books, had such extensive memory that he was able to greet each member of the Senate and the Equestrian Order by name already the day after coming to Rome.³ So, now I shall only make a reply concerning those three problems that I was able to recall. And I am not ashamed to admit that I was unprepared when these problems were presented, for also Demosthenes,⁴ the most outstanding orator of all the Greeks, once - when asked a question in the Senate and required to give his considered opinion⁵ - was not ashamed to answer that he had come unprepared.⁶

Some men are so eager for glory that they want to reply immediately to any question whatsoever, but such men often find great shame in stead of the glory they seek. For it is not human to be able to answer all questioners well. But the moderation of the present audience is so great that all are given time⁷ to reflect. Having used this time, I have now come, ready to answer your questions, excellent magister and shining light of this university, and not just to make a reply, but a satisfactory one – I believe. As I speak, I shall not be trying to lecture your learned selves, but laying bare my ignorance, I shall heed the answers⁸ with which you will instruct me properly.

¹ Cineas: (fl. 3rd ca. BCE): minister of Thessaly and friend of King Pyrrhus, who, after the Battle of Heraclea in 280 BCE, sent him to negotiate peace with the Roman Senate. In antiquity, he was famed for his memory

² Pyrrhus (ca. 319-272 BCE): Greek general and statesman. King of Epirus and Macedon. Fought Rome. After the Battle of Heraclea in 280 BCE, he sent Cineas to Rome to negotiate a peace. Defeated a Roman army at the Battle of Asculum in 279 BCE, but lost so many men that he could not afford more victories! (Pyrrhic victory)

³ Solinus: *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 1, 109 (p. 27): *Cineas Pyrrhi legatus postero die, quam ingressus Romam fuerat, et equestrem ordinem et senatum propriis nominibus salutavit*

⁴ Demosthenes (384-322 BCE): Athenian statesman. Considered one of the best Greek orators

⁵ "sententia"

⁶ Plutarch: *Lives / Demosthenes*, 8: *Demosthenes was rarely heard to speak on the spur of the moment, but though the people often called upon him by name as he sat in the assembly, he would not come forward unless he had given thought to the question and was prepared to speak upon it. For this, many of the popular leaders used to rail at him, and Pytheas, in particular, once told him scoffingly that his arguments smelt of lamp-wicks. To him, then, Demosthenes made a sharp answer. "Indeed," said he, "thy lamp and mine, O Pytheas, are not privy to the same pursuits." To the rest, however, he made no denial at all, but confessed that his speeches were neither altogether unwritten, nor yet fully written out. Moreover, he used to declare that he who rehearsed his speeches was a true man of the people: for such preparation was a mark of deference to the people, whereas heedlessness of what the multitude will think of his speech marks a man of oligarchical spirit, and one who relies on force rather than on persuasion. Another circumstance, too, is made a proof of his lack of courage for an emergency, namely, that when he was interrupted by the clamours of the people, Demades often rose and spoke off-hand in his support, but he never rendered such a service to Demades*

⁷ "mora"

⁸ The "judicium" or reply of Dinkelsbühl, which would follow Piccolomini's oration

[3] Cum¹ igitur quaeritis, utrum prudentia sit idem habitus, sicut² ante dixi, negativam partem amplector³ quam et vestrum argumentum tuetur, quod secundo loco posuistis. Prudentia namque viros bonos facit, scientia⁴ vero illorum librorum⁵ etiam malis⁶ committatur⁷: ergo non est habitus idem.⁸ ⁹ Aggrediamur tamen¹⁰ hoc¹¹ altius diffiniamusque¹² scientiam atque prudentiam. *Omnis enim*, ut Cicero in libris officiorum dicit, *quae a¹³ ratione suscipitur de aliqua re institutio, debet a diffinitione proficisci, ut intelligatur, quid sit id¹⁴, de quo¹⁵ disputetur. Scientia¹⁶*, ut Isidorus tradit, *est, cum res aliqua certa ratione percipitur; prudentia est¹⁷ cum¹⁸ discernuntur a bonis mala.* Id si¹⁹ sic se habet, laudabilior est scientia quam prudentia: plura enim complectitur. Nec Cicero ab hoc dissentit, dum in rhetoricis²⁰ ait *prudentiam esse rerum bonarum et²¹ malarum ac²² utrarumque²³ scientiam.* Sed aliter Augustinus in libro *De moribus ecclesiae* diffinit. Sic enim ait: *Prudentia est amor eorum²⁴, quibus adjuvatur in Deum, ab his, quibus impeditur, sagaciter²⁵ eligens.* Et alibi sic diffinitur: *Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum²⁶ cum²⁷ alterarum dilectione et reliquarum²⁸ detestatione scientia.*

¹ De prima questione *in marg.* M

² ut H, R

³ amplecto WY

⁴ enim *add.* I

⁵ illorum librorum : librorum illorum I

⁶ *em.*; malos codd.

⁷ comitatur I, M, R; comitatus WY

⁸ habitus idem : idem habitus WY

⁹ est habitus idem : idem habitus est R

¹⁰ *omit.* R, U

¹¹ haec H, R

¹² diffiniamus R

¹³ *omit.* WY

¹⁴ illud M; *omit.* R

¹⁵ de quo : quod H, R

¹⁶ enim *add.* U; igitur *add.* I, M, WY

¹⁷ *omit.* R

¹⁸ qua U

¹⁹ *omit.* H, R

²⁰ rethoricis H, I, M, R, U

²¹ atque I; ac M

²² et I

²³ utraque WY

²⁴ ea H, R, U

²⁵ sagacior U

²⁶ et malarum: malarumque WY

²⁷ *omit.* I, M

²⁸ aliquarum LH

1. First question: is wisdom (prudentia) the same as moral knowledge (scientia)?

[3] When you ask whether wisdom (prudentia) is the same [as moral knowledge], I take the opposite view to the one defended by you in the second place. For wisdom makes men good, whereas the knowledge set forth in those books is also given to wicked men. Therefore, they cannot be the same. However, let us now go deeper into this matter and define knowledge and wisdom, for in his books *De Officiis*, Cicero¹ says that *every systematic development of any subject ought to begin with a definition, so that everyone may understand what the discussion is about.*²

Isidore³ says that *knowledge is the perception of something with certain reason,*⁴ and *wisdom is the distinction between good and bad.*⁵ If this is so, knowledge is more praiseworthy than wisdom, for it is more comprehensive. And Cicero agrees when, in his rhetorical books, he says that *wisdom is the knowledge of what is good, what is bad, and what is neither good nor bad.*⁶

However, in his book on *De moribus ecclesiae*, Augustine⁷ defines it differently when he says that *wisdom is love distinguishing with sagacity between what hinders it and what helps it to God.*⁸ And elsewhere, this definition is used: *Wisdom is the knowledge of good and evil things with love of the first and hate of the second.*⁹

¹ Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106-43 BCE): Roman statesman and author

² Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.2.7: *Omnis enim, quae [a] ratione suscipitur de aliqua re institutio, debet a definitione proficisci, ut intellegatur, quid sit id, de quo disputetur*

³ Isidore of Seville (ca. 550-636): Archbishop of Seville. Author of *Etymologiae*, an encyclopedia based on classical works, which served as a storehouse of knowledge for later centuries

⁴ Isidore: *Etymologiae*, 2, 24, 2: *Scientia est cum res aliqua certa ratione percipitur*

⁵ Isidore: *Etymologiae*, 2, 24, 6: *Prudentia est cum discernuntur a bonis mala*

⁶ Cicero: *De inventione*, 2.53.160: *Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum neutrarumque scientia*

⁷ Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁸ Augustine: *De moribus ecclesiae catholicae*, 1, 15, 25. MPL, XXXII, col. 1322

⁹ Cf. Jean de la Rochelle: *Tractatus de divisione multiplici potentiarum animae*, p. 166: *Similiter Aerialdus in libro de requie mentis: Prudentia est rerum bonarum et malarum cum alterarum delectatione et reliquarum detestatione scientia.* With note by editor: *Auctor et locus non inveni.* Jean de la Rochelle was a French Franciscan monk, philosopher and theologian, who lived from 1200 to 1245. It is not known where Piccolomini picked up the quotation from his book

[4] Secundum has diffinitiones, qui¹ prudens est, idem quoque vir bonus est, cum bona diligat malaque detestetur². At scientia librorum Aristotelis et juris, quamvis bona malaque noscat, non tamen haec odire et³ illa diligere cogit. Plures enim peritiam illius⁴ habent, qui sunt et⁵ avaritiae et aliorum vitiorum servi, quia non mutat affectum⁶ cognitio semper, quamvis instruat intellectum. Nam et Salomon, qui scientissimus⁷ fuit ac bonum et malum novit, tamquam vilissimum⁸ pecus luxuriae sese tradidit inter uxores trecentas⁹ concubinasque septuaginta¹⁰ marcescens. Est enim scientia cognitio rerum {139r} mortua, quae voluntatem mutare non potest, ut¹¹ vel bonum cognitum¹² amplectatur vel¹³ malum fugiat. At prudentia radius vivus¹⁴ est¹⁵ a vero sole¹⁶ procedens, qui¹⁷ non solum¹⁸ illuminat intellectum, sed etiam calefacit affectum. [cont.]

¹ vir *add.* M

² detestatur H

³ *omit.* H, R

⁴ huius R

⁵ *omit.* U

⁶ effectum H, R

⁷ sapientissimus WY

⁸ tamen *add.* U

⁹ tricentas I, M, U

¹⁰ septingentas I; septuagintaque M; septuagintas H, R, U; septuaginta LH

¹¹ *omit.* I

¹² *omit.* U

¹³ et R

¹⁴ virescens alias vivus I; unus WY

¹⁵ *omit.* U

¹⁶ solo I

¹⁷ que H, M, R, WY

¹⁸ *omit.* WY

[4] According to these definitions, the wise man is also a good man, since he loves what is good and hates what is bad. But though the knowledge [written about] in the books of Aristotle¹ and in the books of law knows what is good and bad, does not make us hate what is bad and love what is good. Many experts on this matter are slaves to greed and other vices, for knowledge does not always change one's feelings about things, though it forms the understanding. Solomon² was the most knowledgeable of men and knew what was good and what was bad, but he still, like the lowest beast, gave himself over to sensual pleasure, languishing between 300 wives and 70 concubines.³ For knowledge is a passive⁴ cognition of things, which cannot change your will so that you embrace what you know as good and avoid what you know as bad, whereas wisdom is a living ray of light, coming from the true sun⁵, and it not only illuminates the intellect but also quickens the emotions. *[cont.]*

¹ Aristotle (384-322 BCE): Greek philosopher

² Solomon (reigned ca. 970-931 BCE): 3rd King of Israel. Son of David. Reputed to be fabulously rich and wise, though given to sensual pleasures

³ In the Old Testament, various numbers of Solomon's wives and concubines are given

⁴ "mortua"

⁵ I.e., God

[4 cont.] Quod si quis neget, probari potest¹. Certum est enim Aristotelem, Tullium, Senecam² ceterosque philosophos inter virtutes numerare³ prudentiam. Si virtus est, quae sunt virtutis, facit. Virtus autem⁴ virum bonum⁵ reddit; ergo et prudentia virum bonum reddit^{6 7}. Quod autem virtus hominem⁸ bonum⁹ efficiat¹⁰, ex diffinitione liquet. Sic enim Augustinus eam in libro¹¹ *De quantitate*¹² *animae*¹³ diffinit¹⁴: *Virtus est aequalitas*¹⁵ *quaedam vitæ undique consonans rationi*. Senecae quoque sententia est *beatos fieri virtute homines*¹⁶. Quod si virtus beatos efficit homines, et prudentiam, quae virtus est, idem facere necesse¹⁷ est. Scientia vero juris et totius¹⁸ moralis philosophiae minime hoc¹⁹ operatur; ergo virtus non est. Si non est virtus, nec²⁰ prudentia est, quam constat esse virtutem.

¹ posset H, R

² Senecamque WY

³ numerari WY

⁴ enim U

⁵ virum bonum : bonum virum U

⁶ facit I, M

⁷ ergo et ... reddit *omit.* U

⁸ *omit.* R

⁹ hominem bonum : virum bonum U

¹⁰ efficiat U

¹¹ eam in libro *omit.* H, R

¹² qualitate U

¹³ animi I

¹⁴ diffinivit U

¹⁵ qualitas U

¹⁶ fieri virtute homines : fieri homines virtute; virtute fieri homines WY

¹⁷ necessum H, R; necessarium WY

¹⁸ et totius : totiusque H, R, U, WY

¹⁹ *omit.* WY

²⁰ neque H, R

[4 cont.] If anybody should deny this, it can be proven. It is certain that Aristotle, Tullius,¹ Seneca,² and the other philosophers counted wisdom among the virtues. If it is virtue, it does what virtues do. But virtue makes a man good. Therefore, wisdom makes a man good.³ But that virtue makes a man good is proven by definition. This is how Augustine defines it in his book *De quantitate animae*: *Virtue is the evenness of a life in complete agreement with reason.*⁴ Seneca also says that *virtue makes men happy.*⁵ If virtue makes men happy⁶, and wisdom is a virtue, then it must do the same.⁷ But the knowledge of law and all moral philosophy cannot do not this at all, and therefore it is not a virtue. And if it is not a virtue, then it is not wisdom, which is clearly a virtue.⁸

¹ Cicero

² Seneca the Younger [Lucius Annaeus Seneca] (ca. 4 BC - 65 BCE): Roman Stoic philosopher, statesman, and writer. Tutor of Emperor Nero

³ A syllogism, where the Major is: Virtue makes a man good. The Minor: Wisdom is a virtue. The Conclusion: Ergo, wisdom makes a man good.

⁴ Augustinus: *De quantitate animae*, 16. MPL, XXXII, col. 1052: *Virtus est aequalitas vitae rationi undique consentientis.* See also Seneca: *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 31.8: *Perfecta virtus est aequalitas et tenor vitae per omnia consonans sibi.* See also Cicero: *De inventione*, 2, 54.159: *Nam virtus est animi habitus, naturae modo, rationi consentaneus*

⁵ Seneca: *Epistulae ad Lucilium*, 81.21: *Nam si malitia miseros facit, virtus beatos*

⁶ "beati": happy, with the contextual overtone of blessed in the religious sense

⁷ Another syllogism, where the Major is: Virtue makes a man happy. The Minor: Wisdom is a virtue. The Conclusion: Ergo, wisdom makes a man happy

⁸ A double implicit syllogism: A) Virtue makes men happy; Knowledge of law/Moral philosophy does not make men happy; Knowledge of law/Moral philosophy is not a virtue. B) Wisdom is a virtue; Knowledge of law/Moral philosophy is not a virtue; Knowledge of law/Moral philosophy is not wisdom

[5] Quaerit fortasse aliquis¹, quomodo² fieri potest, ut sciens bonum³ non operetur⁴. Facilis⁵ responsio est. Plurimi sunt, qui in gymnasiis⁶ musicam docent, qui cantare vel minimum versiculum in ecclesiis⁷ ignorant⁸, sicut apud Athenienses *Themistocles*⁹, qui *cum*¹⁰ in convivio *recusasset lyram, habitus est indoctior*. Nec omnes medici, qui practicam legunt, mederi sciunt. At *usus communis - apud quem*, ut¹¹ Flaccus ait, *arbitrium est*¹² *et*¹³ *vis*¹⁴ *et norma loquendi* - prudentes vero non qui bonum a malo¹⁵ discernunt, sed qui bonum operantur¹⁶, appellat. Erit igitur prudens, qui scit, vult et agit, quae bona sunt. Scioli autem moralis philosophiae jurisque periti, cum aliquando sceleratissimi sint, non possunt appellari prudentes. Plus – inquam - nam etsi operentur¹⁷, quae in eorum libris didicere, nihil ultra quaerentes, extra tamen prudentum¹⁸ numerum remanebunt. Prudentes namque numquam errant, semper enim, quae bona¹⁹ sunt, operantur. Qui vero per omnia sequitur Aristotelem, cum is²⁰ semper deos nominet, in errore manebit.

¹ quis I

² qui H, R; quomodo *corr.* ex qui I

³ sciens bonum : bonum sciens H, R

⁴ paretur WY

⁵ infacilis I

⁶ gignasiis H, R

⁷ ecclesia R

⁸ ignorent H, M; ignorarent U, WY

⁹ Themistodos R; Hiemistocles U

¹⁰ *omit.* H, I, M, WY

¹¹ *omit.* M

¹² *omit.* H

¹³ ut I

¹⁴ jus I, M

¹⁵ bonum a malo : malum a bono U

¹⁶ operant I

¹⁷ operantur R

¹⁸ prudentium WY

¹⁹ bono H

²⁰ iste *corr.* ex hic I; hic M; hiis R

[5] Maybe someone will ask why a person who knows what is good does not do it? The answer is easy: In the universities, many of those who teach music cannot sing even the shortest verse in the church, just like *Themistocles*¹ in Athens, who *was considered to be less educated because he had refused to play the lyre at a party.*² And not all doctors who teach the practice of medicine are able to heal. But according to common *usage in whose hands*, as Flaccus³ says, *lie the judgement, the right and the rule of speech,*⁴ the wise are not those who can distinguish between good and evil, but those who do good. So, that man is wise who knows, wants, and does what is good. The “experts” on moral philosophy and the jurists are sometimes very wicked men, and therefore they may not be called wise. And moreover - I declare - even if they do all that they learn from their books and seek nothing more, they may still not be counted among the wise. For wise men never err, and they always do what is good. But any man who follows Aristotle completely remains in error, for Aristotle often mentions the gods.⁵

¹ Themistocles (ca. 524-459 BCE): Athenian politician and general.

² Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*, 1.2.5. Quintilianus, 1.10.19. McManamon, p. 89: *Cicero and Quintilian had both cited Themistocles’ refusing to play the lyre at banquets as evidence of insufficient training: he was less than learned (indoctor)*

³ Flaccus = Horace [Quintus Horatius Flaccus] (65-8 BC): Roman poet

⁴ Horatius: *Ars poetica*, 70: *usus, quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi*

⁵ The Greek gods, who – as Christians know – do not exist. To speak of them as existing would, therefore, be a serious error

[6] In iure civili¹ non desunt ineptiae, nam et eorum libri² ajunt legem quamquam duram esse servandam. In iure³ pontificio⁴ diem mutationes fiunt, ut saepe, quod justum est hodie, cras fiat injustum. Nec possibile est⁵, ut⁶ jura et Aristotelis scripta praecipiant⁷, simul vivere, quae sunt invicem saepe⁸ contraria. Si quis igitur⁹ prudenter vivere vult, eum¹⁰ plura oportet scire¹¹, quam¹² libris hujusmodi contineatur¹³. Ex quo liquet peritiam illorum¹⁴, quos dixi, librorum nedum prudentem hominem minime facere, sed nec omnia docere, quae sunt prudentiae necessaria. Aliud igitur est prudentia et¹⁵ aliud rursus moralis scientia. Nec obstat argumentum vestrum loco priori positum. Quamvis enim prudentia¹⁶ circa ea versetur¹⁷, quae sunt ad vitam humanam bona, ac¹⁸ circa eadem scientia moralis consistat, non tamen identitas sequitur, nam modis invicem diversis¹⁹ se habent. Scientia enim solum intelligit, quod²⁰ est bonum, prudentia vero, postquam novit²¹, etiam²² operatur, ut ante dixi. Astronomia de caeli conversione stellarumque cursibus notitiam praebet; idem facit astrologia. Quia haec²³ tamen²⁴ ²⁵ superstitiosum quid habet, dum siderum cursu necessitates hominum²⁶ et mores praedicare conatur, aliud astronomiam²⁷ dicimus²⁸ esse²⁹ et aliud astrologiam³⁰ ¹. Et haec² ad primam petitionem respondisse sufficiat³.

¹ *omit.* R

² eorum libri : libri eorum R

³ *pre add.* I

⁴ pontificio H, I, R, WY; pontificio LH

⁵ *omit.* U

⁶ quod I

⁷ praecipiant WY

⁸ *omit.* U

⁹ enim *dub.* I

¹⁰ *omit.* R

¹¹ oportet scire : scire oportet WY

¹² in *add.* U

¹³ continentur U

¹⁴ eorum R

¹⁵ *omit.* U

¹⁶ *omit.* I

¹⁷ circa ea versetur : versatur circa ea R

¹⁸ at R; et U

¹⁹ divisus U

²⁰ quid H, R

²¹ venit I

²² *omit.* U

²³ *omit.* R

²⁴ *omit.* I

²⁵ haec tamen : tamen haec U

²⁶ *omit.* U; homini WY

²⁷ astrologiam R

²⁸ *omit.* WY

²⁹ dicimus esse *omit.* H, R, WY

³⁰ astronomiam R

[6] In civil law, there is no lack of nonsensical rules, for in its books it is said that even a cruel⁴ law should be followed. And pontifical law⁵ is changed so often that what was legal one day is illegal the next. And it is not possible to live according to rules, which are often in conflict with one another, though the laws and Aristotle's writings demand it. So, if one wishes to live wisely, he must know more than those books. From this, it follows, as I have said, that even deep knowledge of such books does not in itself make a man wise, and it does not teach all that is necessary for wisdom. So, wisdom is not the same as knowledge of morals.

And the first argument presented by you is not an obstacle.⁶ For even though wisdom deals with such things that are good for human life and moral knowledge deals with the same things, it does not follow that they are identical, for they have different properties: knowledge only understands what is good, whereas wisdom first understands what is good and then does it - as I said before. [For example,] astronomy gives knowledge about the changes in the sky and the course of the stars. Astrology does the same. But astrology is a superstition since it tries to predict the necessary course and the character of people on the basis of the course of the stars, and therefore we claim that astronomy and astrology are not the same.⁷

This suffices to answer the first question.

¹ *dicimus esse add.* H, R; *dicimus add.* WY

² *omit.* R

³ *respondisse sufficiat omit.* WY

⁴ "dura"

⁵ Canon law

⁶ In his presentation, Piccolomini's opponent, Johann Dinkelsbühl had apparently argued that moral science (*scientia*) and moral wisdom (*sapientia*) were the same since they had the same object (how to do what is good). Piccolomini replies that though science and virtue may have the same object, they are different since science does not in itself result in good behaviour, whereas wisdom does (by definition)

⁷ Piccolomini argues that two "disciplines" may have the same object but still be different because of their different treatment of the object

[7] Transeo¹ nunc² ad interrogationem secundam: cur tam pauci sunt nostris temporibus poetae, cum³ videantur multum utiles et necessarii? In qua re⁴, vir doctissime, ago vestrae prudentiae ingentes gratias, quae mihi de poesi dedit occasionem⁵ publice loqui. Sunt enim plerique homines⁶, qui poeticam ignorantes invidiorum⁷ more poetas contemnunt atque, ut soli omnium⁸ litteratissimi⁹ reputentur, ea solum probant, quae ipsi sciunt. Quod vitium late patet ubique terrarum. Istorum ergo¹⁰ inscitiam atque impudentiam contundere menti erat meae, sed non ingerebat se tempus commodum. Quod nunc mihi¹¹ datum esse admodum laetor.

[8] Verum ego, magister clarissime, paucos esse nostris temporibus poetas non miror. Semper enim pauci rarissimique fuerunt, quia non datur passim cuilibet divina poesis, sed eos despici atque¹² contemni nedum miror, sed indignor, stomachor¹³, turbor aetatique nostrae condoleo, quae tam splendidum jubar tantumque decus humanae ac¹⁴ divinae scientiae, tam necessarium munus a Deo datum¹⁵ nihili faciat.

¹ Decisio secunde questionis *in marg.* M

² autem quantum WY

³ tamen *add.* I, M

⁴ *omit.* I, M

⁵ de poesi dedit occasionem: occasionem de poesi dedit H; occasionem dedit de poesi H, U, WY

⁶ *omit.* I, M

⁷ invidiorum I

⁸ doctissimi *add.* R

⁹ litteratissimique R

¹⁰ vero LH

¹¹ nunc mihi : michi nunc U

¹² et U

¹³ stimulator WY

¹⁴ atque U, WY

¹⁵ a Deo datum *omit.* I, M

2. Second question: Why are there so few poets in our time when apparently they are both very useful and necessary?

2.1 Introduction

[7] I now pass on to the second question: why are there so few poets today when they are apparently both very useful and necessary? I am greatly indebted to your wisdom,¹ eminent scholar, for having given me an occasion to speak in public on the matter of poetry. For many men who are ignorant of poetry jealously condemn poets, and in order to be considered the most literate of all, they only favour what they themselves have knowledge of. This vice has spread far and wide. Though I have been intending to demolish their injustice and impudence before, I have not had the time, and therefore I am delighted to have been given it now.

[8] Excellent magister, I do not wonder that there are only a few poets today: poets have, indeed, always been few and far between, for [the gift of] divine poetry is not given to everyone. And I do not wonder that they are despised and mocked; no, I am upset, indignant, and angry, and I pity our own age for not appreciating this splendid light, this great ornament of human and divine knowledge, and this necessary gift from God.²

¹ “prudentia”

² Piccolomini had already touched upon this subject the year before, in his letter to Wilhelm von Stein of 1 June 1444, with a reference to Cicero: *Cicero, qui fuit lingue latine princeps, semper poetas fuisse raros testator, quoniam hec facultas donum dei est, quod non omnibus datur. Artes cetera studio, diligentia preceptionibusque possunt apprehendi, hanc nemo assequitur nisi diuino munere peditus* (EPI, 3: 145). Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 8, 19: *Qua re suo iure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur*

[9] Nam priscis temporibus, cum sapientia virtusque¹ viguit, tantus honor huic doctrinae impendebatur, ut sicut² post victoriam imperator, sic³ et post consummatum studium poeta laureatus per urbem⁴ triumphali curru sequentibus civibus⁵ ac festum agentibus duceretur. Hinc et Julius Caesar, Romani fundator imperii, et Augustus, successor ejus, ad magnam sibi laudem reputarunt in collegio recipi poetarum, nec aegre tulit Julius, cum sibi collegium intranti non assurgeret Accius, quem poetam norat se⁶ esse praestantiolem. Scipio Africanus Major⁷ poetam Ennium⁸ adeo dilexit, ut eum viarum suarum omnium comitem habere voluit⁹ ejusque statuam in suo sepulchro collocari mandavit. [*cont.*]

¹ utriusque M

² sibi R

³ ita H, R; *omit.* WY

⁴ orbem H

⁵ civilibus WY

⁶ norat se : se norat U

⁷ *omit.* I

⁸ Eneam U

⁹ voluerit H, M, R

[9] In the old days when wisdom (*sapientia*) and virtue flourished, the honour shown to this discipline¹ was so great that when a poet finished his work,² he was - like a general after a victory - crowned with a laurel wreath and carried through the city on a triumphal chariot, followed by jubilating citizens.

Thus, Julius Caesar,³ founder of the Roman Empire, and Augustus,⁴ his successor, considered it a great honour to be received into the College of Poets, and Julius was not angered that Accius did not rise when he entered the college, for he knew that Accius was the better poet.⁵

And Scipio Africanus⁶ loved Ennius⁷ so much that he wanted him as a companion on all his travels and ordered a statue of him placed in his own tomb.⁸ [cont.]

¹ "doctrina"

² "studium"

³ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁴ Augustus, Gajus Octavius (63 BC-14 CE): Adoptive son of Julius Caesar. Founder of the Roman Empire and its first emperor, ruling from 27 BC to his death

⁵ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 3.7.11. It is not clear which poet Accius Valerius speaks of since the famous Lucius Accius died c. 86 BC when Julius Caesar was only 14 years old. Piccolomini had already alluded to this theme the year before in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444 (EPI, 3: 145).

⁶ Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus [Scipio Africanus the Younger] (185-129 BC): politician of the Roman Republic, twice consul. As general he destroyed Carthage in 146 BC

⁷ Ennius, Quintus (ca. 239-ca. 169 BCE): Roman poet

⁸ Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 9.22: *Carus fuit Africano superiori noster Ennius, itaque etiam in sepulcro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore*. Cf. also Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 8.14.1. See also Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 1.122, p. 29. Piccolomini had already used this example the year before in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444.

[9 cont.] Lysander, Lacedaemoniorum imperator, dum obsideret Athenas, quia comperit¹ poetam Sophoclem² interisse³ corpusque suum adhuc *inhumatum* esse, indutias dedit, ut poetae magno *congruae* fierent *exequiae*. Alexander, Amyntae⁴ filius, rex Macedonum, Pindarum poetam apprime dilexit. Archelaus⁵, qui ei successit⁶, Euripidi tragico consiliorum summam credidit⁷. Alexander Magnus, cum transisset in Asiam vidissetque tumulum Hectoris: *O⁸ fortunate*, inquit, *adolescens⁹, quem talis tuba decantavit!* Voluisset nempe et ipse Homerum alterum habuisse¹⁰, qui suas laudes cecinisset, sed non fuit adeo felix. Choerilum tamen poetam multis donavit muneribus, etsi fuit ineptus, ut Flaccus inquit.

¹ comperiit WY

² Sophodem M

³ interiisse M, U

⁴ Amitae H, I, M, U; amice WY

⁵ Archillas R; Archilaus U, WY

⁶ successerat M

⁷ credidit *corr. ex tradidit* H; tradidit U

⁸ *omit.* R

⁹ *omit.* I

¹⁰ habuisset I

[9 cont.] When the Spartan general, Lysander,¹ besieged Athens and learnt that the poet Sophocles² had died and *not yet been buried*, he made a truce so the poet could be given a *fitting burial*.³

Alexander, the son of Amyntas, King of the Macedonians,⁴ greatly loved Pindar the poet.⁵

His successor, Archelaus,⁶ followed the counsels of Euripides, the writer of tragedies.⁷

And when Alexander the Great⁸ had crossed over to Asia and seen Hector's⁹ tomb, he said: *O fortunate adolescent who was sung by such a tuba!*^{10 11} Indeed, he would have liked to have another Homer sing his own praises, but he was not that fortunate. As Flaccus¹² says, he instead gave the poet Choerilus¹³ many gifts, though he was quite inept.¹⁴

¹ Lysander (d. 395 BCE): Spartan admiral. Defeated Athens. Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 29, 3

² Sophocles (ca. 497-ca. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies

³ Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 1.118, p. 99

⁴ Alexander I (d. 454 BCE): Ruler of the Kingdom of Macedon from 498 to his death

⁵ Pindar (ca. 522-ca. 443 BCE): Greek poet from Thebes. Verbatim quote from Piccolomini's own letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444 (EPI, 3: 145.) Source not identified

⁶ Error for Alcetas II (313-306 BCE): King of Epirus

⁷ Euripides (ca. 480-ca. 406 BCE): Athenian writer of tragedies. Solinus: *Collectanea mirabilium mundi*, 9.14, p. 65

⁸ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

⁹ Hector (Greek myth.): Son of King Priam of Troy. Killed by Achilles

¹⁰ Piccolomini had already used this quote the year before in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444. He had it from Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 10.24, but here the text is: *Atque is tamen, quum in Sigeo ad Achillis tumulum astitisset: "O fortunate, inquit, adolescens, qui tuae virtutis Homerum praeconem inveneris!"* Note that Piccolomini misquotes Cicero, either through a lapsus of memory or because he reproduced an error in his source. Piccolomini would also – later – be able to read Arrian's passage on Alexander's visit to Achilles' tomb in Sigeum: *Some say that Alexander crowned the tomb of Achilles, while Hephaestion, others say, placed a wreath on Patroclus' tomb; and Alexander, so the story goes, blessed Achilles for having Homer to proclaim his fame to posterity.*³ *Alexander might well have counted Achilles happy on this score, since, fortunate as Alexander was in other ways, there was a great gap left here, and Alexander's exploits were never celebrated as they deserved, either in prose or verse; there were not even choral lyrics for Alexander as for Hiero, Gelo, Thero and many others not to be compared with him, so that Alexander's exploits are far less known than very minor deeds of old times.* (Arrian: *Anabasis of Alexander*, 1.12). Piccolomini knew the text of Arrian in the Latin translation by Pier Paolo Vergerio, which he had somehow gotten hold of, see Tournoy. It is not known when he acquired that manuscript, and it might have been after his composition of the oration "*Aderat nuper*". See letter to Johann Hinderbach of 1 June 1445 (EPI, 5:251).

¹¹ I.e., Homer. In the Western classical tradition, Homer is the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey. Most modern researchers place Homer in the 7th or 8th centuries BC

¹² Horace

¹³ Choerilus of Iasus (4th c. BCE): Poet from Iasus. Accompanied Alexander the Great on his expeditions and functioned as his court-poet

¹⁴ Horatius: *Epistolae*, 2.1.232: *gratus Alexandro regi magno fuit ille Choerilus, incultis qui versibus et male natis rettulit acceptos, regale nomisma, Philippos*

[10] Cum ergo tales tantique {140r} viri poetas amarint et honori habuerint¹, eosdem nostris temporibus contemni, non indigne miror. Verum quia dicitis in quaestione vestra, magister gravissime, poetas videri utiles et necessarios, constat ex hoc vestram prudentiam nonnihil detraxisse dignitati poeticae². Non enim, ut sunt, poetas utiles esse³ dicitis, sed videri utiles. Plura namque videntur utilia, quae non sunt. Est igitur huic parti obviandum monstrandumque poetas et utiles et necessarios fore, quod paucis agam.

¹ habuerunt I, U

² non nihil detraxisse ... poeticae : dignitati poetice non nichil detraxisse U

³ *omit.* H, I, R, WY

[10] When such great men loved and honoured the poets, I may justly wonder why they are despised in our own times. In your question, you yourself state, most worthy magister, that poets "appear" to be useful and necessary, so you too, though a wise man, clearly do not have a high regard for poets. For you do not say that poets "are" useful, but that they "appear" to be useful. But since many things appear to be useful that are not so, I must counter this statement and show that poets are both useful and necessary, which I shall do briefly.

[11] Nempe omnis doctrina, quae vitam erudit humanam, utilis est. Hujusmodi est¹ poetica ergo utilis. Dubitatis² fortasse quaeritisque, quonam pacto erudiat homines poesis. Sed audite, obsecro, patrem sanctissimum et omni reverentia dignum Basilium. *Ego*, inquit ille, *e*³ *quodam viro, qui ad vestigandas*⁴ *poetarum mentes acutissimus habebatur, audivi, cum diceret totam Homeri poesim laudem esse*⁵ *virtutis et eo potissimum loco, dum naufragum et nudum Ulixem refert, quandoquidem pro vestibus virtute illum dixit esse ornatum.* Quid enim aliud tunc⁶ ⁷ clamat Homerus quam: *O homines, sit vobis cura virtutis, quae etiam cum naufrago*⁸ *simul enatat!* Quid sibi vult aliud⁹ Vergilius¹⁰, dum ait Ascanio¹¹ Aeneas¹²: *Disce, puer, virtutem ex me, fortunam ex aliis!* Et iterum: *Macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad*¹³ *astra!* Est igitur utilis poetica, quae laudando virtutes in earum amorem allicit homines. Hinc illud Juvenalis: *Nobilitas sola est atque*¹⁴ *unica virtus.* Est et iterum utilis, quia vitia detestatur arcetque ab his homines, quod tribus verbis Juvenalis pulcherrime¹⁵ facit, dum ait: *Nemo malus felix.*

¹ poesis seu *add.* H, R

² dubitabatis H, R; dubitabitis M, U, WY

³ a R, WY

⁴ investigandas I, M

⁵ *omit.* I

⁶ *omit.* U

⁷ aliud tunc : tunc aliud WY

⁸ naufragio WY

⁹ alius WY

¹⁰ Virgilius I, M, U

¹¹ Escanio U

¹² Enee I, M

¹³ *omit.* I

¹⁴ ac U

¹⁵ Juvenalis pulcherrime : pulcherrime Juvenalis U

2.2. Usefulness of poetry

2.2.1. Poetry praises virtue and blames vice

[11] Every discipline¹ that forms and improves human life is useful. Therefore, poetry is useful. You may not believe this, but ask in what way poetry forms and improves men. So hear, pray, Basil,² a Father most holy and greatly to be revered. He said: *I have heard a certain man, skilled to understand a poet's mind, say all the poetry of Homer is praise of virtue, and especially so when talking about the naked Ulysses³ ⁴ he said that 'he was arrayed with virtue instead of a cloak.'*⁵ What else does Homer say when he practically shouts, *Pay attention to virtue, O men, who swims even with a shipwrecked man.*⁶ And this is also the meaning of Virgil⁷ when he lets Aeneas⁸ say to Ascanius⁹: *Learn valour from me, my son, and true toil; fortune from others!*¹⁰ And again: *A blessing on your young valour! So man scales the stars!*¹¹ Poetry is useful because it praises the virtues and thus incites men to love them.¹² As Juvenal¹³ said, *Virtue is the one and only true nobility.*¹⁴ Again you see that poetry is useful because it hates the vices and draws men away from them. Juvenal says it beautifully in just three¹⁵ words when he states that *no bad man can be happy.*¹⁶

¹ "doctrina". Note Piccolomini's use of this term for poetry

² Basil of Caesarea (ca. 329-379): Greek bishop of Caesarea Mazaca in Cappadocia, Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey). Doctor of the Church. Saint

³ Ulysses [Odysseus]: Greek myth. King of Ithaca. Hero of Homeric poem *Odyssey*

⁴ Homer: *Odyssey*, 6.127-130

⁵ Basil of Caesarea: *Ad adolescentes*, 5, 6, in Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation: *Ego autem e quodam viro qui ad vestigandas poetarum mentes acutissimus habebatur audivi cum diceret totam Homeri poesim laudem esse virtutis omniaque illius poetae huc tendere nisi interdum incidens sit. Verum in eo loco vel maxime id patere cum finxit cephalenorum ducem naufragio eiectum tantum abfuisse, ut illos quibus et solus et nudus apparuit verecundia aliqua averteret: quandoquidem pro vestibus virtute illum dixit ornatum.* English translation quoted after Schucan, p. 121

⁶ Basil of Caesarea: *Ad adolescentes*, 5.8, in Leonardo Bruni's Latin translation: *O homines, sit vobis cura virtutis quae et cum naufragio simul enat et in littore nudum eiectum teacibus venerabilior ostendit*

⁷ Vergilius Maro, Publius (70-19 BCE): Roman poet

⁸ Aeneas: Greek-Roman myth. Related to King Priam of Troy. In Virgil's *Aeneid* he brought a group of escapees from to Latium and as ancestor of Romulus and Remus he became the ancestral founder of Rome

⁹ Ascanius: Roman myth. Son of Aeneas. King of Alba Longa, ancestor of Romulus and Remus

¹⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 12.435

¹¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis* 9.641

¹² Here Piccolomini voices a common Renaissance notion that Virgil described Aeneas as the virtuous man par excellence (Petrarca, Vegio), and that the function of poetry was to praise virtue and rebuke vice (Boccaccio), see Kallendorf, p. 581

¹³ Juvenalis, Decimus Junius (active in the late 1st and early 2nd century): Roman poet. Juvenal was one of Piccolomini's favourite classical authors

¹⁴ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 8.20: *nobilitas sola est atque unica virtus*

¹⁵ The Latin text has just three words: *Nemo malus felix*

¹⁶ Juvenalis: *Satirae*, 4.8

[12] Est et aliter utilis poetica, nam Dei nostri¹ laudes nullo pacto suavius aut melius² decantari possunt quam versibus poetarum. Hinc omnes apud Hebraeos psalmi, ut inquit Isidorus, metrico carmine constant, atque in morem Flacci³ Romani et Graeci Pindari nunc jambici sunt⁴ versus, nunc⁵ Alchaici⁶, nunc Saphici⁷. Ob quam causam et⁸ ⁹ David regem sacrum poetam appellamus. Salomon quoque, cujus sapientiam tam nostri quam Judaei magnopere¹⁰ demirantur¹¹, in numero poetarum fuit. Tres enim, quos lingua¹² sua composuit libros, Parabolas, Ecclesiasten et Cantica canticorum, hexametris et¹³ pentametris versibus currere voluit, sicut Josephus Jeronimusque testantur. Isaias quoque canticum suum eadem metrorum quantitate conscripsit, nec Jeremias poetae nomen¹⁴ abhorruit, qui, sicut Isidorus ait, pleraque ex suis operibus¹⁵ diverso metro¹⁶ composuit. Quae idcirco retuli, ut videatis etiam *domesticos*¹⁷ *fidei*¹⁸ poeticae navasse operas. Quos et Christiani secuti sunt uti¹⁹ Damasus, Ambrosius, Gregorius et alii, qui postea diversis poetarum mensuris hymnos scripsere²⁰. Nam qui²¹ de Johanne Baptista canitur²² hymnus, Saphicum carmen habet: {140v} Ut *queant laxis resonare fibris*. Transeo Boethium Severinum, qui, licet philosophus²³ sanctus²⁴ fuerit,²⁵ nullum²⁶ tamen genus carminis neglexit.

¹ omit. I

² omit. M

³ Falerii I

⁴ omit. I, M

⁵ vel R

⁶ Aloyci I; Altaici M, U

⁷ versus add. I, M

⁸ omit. R

⁹ causam et : et causam H

¹⁰ magno tempore R

¹¹ dimirantur I, WY

¹² lingua I, M, U

¹³ atque H, R, U, WY

¹⁴ poetae nomen : nomen poetae H, R

¹⁵ opibus WY

¹⁶ diverso metro : diversa metra I

¹⁷ domesticas I

¹⁸ omit. I

¹⁹ et I; ut M

²⁰ scripsisse I; scripserunt R

²¹ quid H; qui LH

²² cantatur U

²³ omit. I, M

²⁴ factus LH

²⁵ fuit I

²⁶ malum R

2.2.2. Poetry praises God

[12] Poetry is useful in another way, too, for the praises of our God are not sung better or more sweetly than in the verses of poets. Thus, according to Isidore, all the psalms of the Hebrews are composed as metric verses, and - like in the Roman Flaccus and the Greek Pindar - their verses are now in iambic, now in Alchaic, and now in Sapphic meter. Therefore, we call King David¹ the Holy Poet. And Solomon, too, whose wisdom both we and the Jews admire greatly, was among the poets, for, according to Josephus² and Jerome,³ the three books he composed in his own language,⁴ the Parables, the Ecclesiastes, and the Canticle of Canticles, he wrote in hexameters and pentameters. Isaiah,⁵ too, wrote his song in the same meters. And Jeremiah⁶ was not ashamed to be called a poet, for, as Isidore says, he also composed many of his works in diverse meters. This I have related so that you may see that also those *of the household of the faith*⁷ made poetry. They were followed by Christian [authors] like Damasus,⁸ Ambrose,⁹ Gregory¹⁰ and others who wrote hymns in various meters. For the hymn that is sung in praise of John the Baptist,¹¹ the *Ut queant laxis resonare fibris*,¹² is in Sapphic meter.¹³ I pass over Boethius Severus,¹⁴ who, though a holy philosopher, used all forms of poetry.

¹ David (ca. 1010 – 970 BCE): Second King of Israel. Father of King Solomon

² Josephus, Titus Flavius (37- c. 100): Roman-Jewish historian

³ Jeronimus, Eusebius Sophronius (ca. 347-420): Cardinal. Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁴ Hebrew

⁵ Isaiah (8th c. BCE): Jewish prophet

⁶ Jeremiah (6th c. BCE): Jewish prophet

⁷ Here used with reference to the Jews

⁸ Damasus I (ca. 305-384): Pope from 366 to his death

⁹ Ambrosius, Aurelius (ca. 340-397). Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church. Saint

¹⁰ Gregorius I (c. 540 – 604): Pope 590 to his death in 604

¹¹ John the Baptist (2nd c. BCE): Jewish itinerant preacher and prophet. Major religious figure in Christianity and Islam

¹² Cf. Bruni: *De studiis* (Kallendorf), p. 117: *when Mass is being said in church, we sometimes yawn and fall asleep even when it is done very beautifully, but when once that poetical refrain breaks our, the Primo dierum or the Iste confessor, or the Ut queant laxis resonare fibris, which one of us is so earthbound as not to feel some lifting up of the soul, some inspired feeling?*

¹³ *Ut queant laxis*: Latin hymn in honour of John the Baptist written in Horatian Sapphics and traditionally attributed to Paulus Diaconus. Famous for its part in the history of musical notation, in particular solmisation

¹⁴ Boëthius, Anicius Manlius Severinus (ca. 480-524): Roman senator, consul, philosopher

[13] Duoque tantummodo referam exempla, quibus utilem constat esse poeticam. Inter Athenienses et Megarenses de proprietate Salaminae¹ insulae prope usque interitum armis dimicatum fuerat. Post multas clades capitalis² ³ esse apud Athenienses⁴ cepit⁵, si quis de vindicanda⁶ insula legem tulisset. Quam rem Solon, cum aliter non posset, insuetis sibi versibus perturbavit atque animos civium arte⁷ poetica sic cepit, ut extemplo bellum adversus Megarenses decerneretur insulaque devictis hostibus Atheniensium fieret. Refero⁸ aliud: Inter Messenios atque⁹ Lacedaemonios bellum erat. Dux Lacedaemoniorum Thirtheus poeta Atheniensis¹⁰ claudus fuit. Cumque¹¹ multa sinistre perpassi essent¹² Lacedaemonii, ne contra fortunam pugnando majora detrimenta civitati inferrent, reducere¹³ exercitum voluerunt. Sed intervenit Thirtheus, qui¹⁴ composita carmina exercitui pro contione recitavit, in quibus hortamenta virtutis, damnorum solatia, belli consilia scripsit. Itaque tantum ardorem militibus iniecit, ut commisso proelio mox victoriam obtinuerunt¹⁵. Sic duo clarissimae civitates, Sparta et Athenae, quae duo totius Graeciae oculi putabantur, consilio et ingenio poetarum relevatae sunt.

¹ Salmaniae H

² capitale U; capitales LH

³ cepit *add.* M

⁴ esse apud Athenienses : apud Athenienses esse R

⁵ *omit.* M

⁶ iudicanda U, WY

⁷ *omit.* H, R

⁸ referam U

⁹ et M, U

¹⁰ *omit.* I

¹¹ cum itaque U

¹² erant H; que R

¹³ ad *add.* H, R

¹⁴ et R

¹⁵ obtinuerint WY

[13] Now I shall just mention two examples proving the usefulness of poetry.

The Athenians and the Megarans fought a ruinous war over possession of the island of Salamis. After many grievous battles, the Athenians made it a capital offence to propose any law concerning the claim on Salamis. Since no other option was left to him, Solon¹ changed the situation by composing verses (which he did not usually do) and thus - through the art of poetry - inspired the citizens to such courage that they quickly decided on war against the Megarans: the enemies were defeated, and the island fell to the Athenians.²

And another [example]: there was war between the Messenians and the Spartans.³ The Spartan general was the lame poet Tyrtaeus from Athens⁴. When the Spartans had suffered many dire defeats, they wanted to bring the army back [to Sparta] lest their city suffer even greater calamities by fighting against Fortune. But then Tyrtaeus intervened: he composed some poems and recited them to the assembled army. In these poems, he incited [the soldiers] to courageous action, consoled them for their losses, and gave advice about the war. In doing so, he stirred up the soldiers so much that they went to battle and soon gained victory.

Thus, two famous cities, Sparta and Athens, held to be the two eyes of Greece, were raised up again by the advice and genius of poets.

¹ Solon (638-558 BCE): Athenian statesman, lawmaker, and poet

² Plutarch: *Parallel Lives / Solon*, 8

³ Second Messenian war (743-724 BCE)

⁴ Tyrtaeus (7th c. BCE): Greek poet from Sparta. Known especially for the poems in which he exhorted the Spartans to fight the Messenians. Some classical sources mention that he at some point commanded the Spartan army, that he came from Athens, and that he was lame. Piccolomini's source not identified

[14] Nunc an sint poetae necessarii videamus. Nempe dici necessarium¹ debet illud², sine quo bene non possumus³ vivere. Sed absque poetica nulla res publica bene vivit; ergo necessaria est. Dicent⁴ aliqui et sine poetica plures bene vixisse⁵ fuisseque⁶ sanctos. Sed⁷ ego non unicuique necessariam dico⁸ poesim⁹, sed in communi rei publicae¹⁰, quia non bene vivunt civitates, nisi sint, qui bene mores suadeant¹¹ et vitia confutent, quod proprie¹² poetarum est, qui mille modis milleque artibus sciunt hoc probare et illud redarguere. Instabitur rursus diceturque melius hoc oratorem facere, cui verborum millia suppeditabunt. Non nego, nam qui sermones habent ad populum, quamvis theologi sint, in ea¹³ tamen parte oratoris¹⁴ funguntur officio et, nisi praeceptis utantur oratoriis, quae quibusdam vel sine arte natura ministrat, parum proficiunt¹⁵. Sed oratorum dicta non haerent menti et, quia soluta sunt, facile dilabuntur. Poeticae sententiae breves sunt, ligataeque pedibus absque negotio retinentur. Hinc est, quod in omni gente quantumcumque barbara, inhumana, fera¹⁶ poetae reperiuntur, si non Latini, saltem vulgares, qui versibus sententiosis graves materias sub brevitate concludunt, qui, etsi nomen poetarum illustre tantamque¹⁷ dignitatem ferre non valeant, poetica tamen utuntur.

¹ dici necessarium : necessarium dici I

² id U

³ non possumus : possumus non H, R

⁴ dicerent I; dicunt WY

⁵ bene vixisse : vixisse bene R

⁶ vixisse fuisseque : vixisseque M

⁷ sine poetica ... sed *omit.* I

⁸ esse *add.* M

⁹ necessariam dico poesim : poesim necessariam dico H, R; necessariam poesim dico U, WY

¹⁰ re publica R

¹¹ suadent U

¹² proprium WY

¹³ in ea *omit.* H, R

¹⁴ oratorum I, M

¹⁵ proficiant I; perficiunt M

¹⁶ vera U

¹⁷ tamquam I

2.3. Necessity of poetry

[14] We shall now consider whether poets are necessary. That without which we cannot live well must, of course, be called necessary. But without poetry, no society¹ lives well. Therefore, poetry is necessary.² Some may object that many, even saints, have actually lived well without poetry. However, I am not saying that poetry is necessary for every individual, but that it is necessary for society as a whole. Indeed, cities do not live well without men who urge citizens to live morally³ and who restrain them from vice. This is the proper function of poets who know how to promote morals and condemn vice in a thousand ways and with great art. But someone may object to this and claim that the orator does this so much better since he has thousands of words available. I do not deny this since those who make sermons to the people function, in this respect, as orators, though they are actually theologians. However, unless they use the rules of oratory, they will not have great success (though there are some who speak well by nature).

But the statements of orators do not stick in the mind, and since they are unconnected, they are easily forgotten. The sentences of poets are short and connected metrically, and therefore they are easily remembered. Thus, in every people however barbarous, primitive, and crude, there are poets. Even though they are not Latin but common poets, they do manage to express important things briefly in meaningful verses. They may not live up to the illustrious name and grand dignity of poets, but they do use poetry.

¹ "res publica"

² A classical syllogism. Major: That without which we cannot live is necessary. Minor: We cannot live without poetry. Conclusion: Therefore, poetry is necessary

³ "bene"

[15] Addite, quod eloquentia, sermonis lux, expolitio¹, brevitatis, gravitas haberi² non potest, nisi ex poetarum fontibus hauriatur. Hinc Jeronimus, Lactantius, Augustinus, Ambrosius³, Cyprianus, Leo et ceteri, qui litteras⁴ sacras ornatissime commentati⁵ sunt, studiosi fuerunt {141r} poeticae, sicut eorum scripta demonstrant poetarum dictis ubique referta. In Aristotelis voluminibus omnes scitis, quam crebra et inculcata sint testimonia poetarum, quamvis moderni doctores non sine gravi damno catholicae fidei poeticam spernant⁶, quae procul dubio necessaria est⁷. Sed⁸ referre⁹ gratias Deo suasque laudes pulchre cantare debemus, nec enim alii sunt, qui psalmodiam dulcesque hymnos ac¹⁰ suavissima de Deo suisque sanctis carmina recte componere norint nisi poetae, quos tam¹¹ utiles¹² et¹³, ut monstratum est, necessarios mirandum¹⁴ est dignis honoribus non efferri¹⁵ et maxime¹⁶, cum eorum doctrina, sicut Cicero tradit, et philosophiam et alias scientias vetustate¹⁷ praecedat¹⁸, cujus repertores Museus atque Orpheus reputantur, qui vicini erant¹⁹ Saturnis²⁰ temporibus²¹.

¹ exposicio R

² habere WY

³ *omit.* I, M

⁴ *omit.* I

⁵ communicati I

⁶ spernunt I

⁷ necessaria est : est necessaria M

⁸ si M, U; tibi *add.* WY

⁹ ferre WY

¹⁰ *omit.* U

¹¹ tamen H, I, R

¹² viles M

¹³ *omit.* H, I, R

¹⁴ morandum I

¹⁵ afferri R

¹⁶ maxima R

¹⁷ vetuste H, R

¹⁸ procedat R

¹⁹ fuerunt M, U, WY

²⁰ Saturni M, U, WY

²¹ partibus I

[15] Add to this that eloquence, the light of speech, polish, brevity, and gravity can only be had if you draw from the fountains of the poets. Therefore, Jerome, Lactantius,¹ Augustine, Ambrose, Cyprian,² Leo³ and others who wrote commentaries on Holy Scripture studied the poets, as shown by their writings, replete with sayings from the poets. And you all know how frequently and appropriately Aristotle cites the poets in his books. Still, learned men of the present age⁴ spurn poetry – to the great detriment of the Catholic faith - though it is undoubtedly necessary. But we should thank God and praise him in beautiful chants, and only poets know how to write psalms, beautiful hymns, and lovely songs about God and his saints.

Since, as shown, poets are useful and necessary, one may justly wonder why they are not given the honour they merit, especially since their discipline, as Cicero says, is older than philosophy and other branches of knowledge, for poetry is said to have been invented by Museus⁵ and Orpheus,⁶ who lived close to the times of Saturn.⁷

¹ Lactantius Firmianus (ca. 240-ca. 320): early Christian author

² Cyprianus, Thascius Caecilius (ca. 200-258): Bishop of Carthage and an important Early Christian writer

³ Leo I (ca. 400-461). Pope from 440 to his death. Saint. Strong proponent of supreme papal authority

⁴ Including pope Martin V. At the occasion of the translation of the relics of Saint Monica, Augustine's mother, to Rome in 1430, he said: *Having Augustine, why do we need the cleverness of Aristotle, the eloquence of Plato, the brightness of Varro, the dignified gravity of Socrates, the reputation of Pythagoras, and the skilfulness of Empedocles? We do not need these men; Augustine is enough.* Pastor, I, p. 178

⁵ Musaeus: (Greek myth.) Athenian polymath, philosopher, historian, prophet, seer, priest, poet, and musician

⁶ Orpheus: (Greek myth.) legendary musician, poet, and prophet

⁷ Roman god

[16] Nunc tempus est, ut eorum argumenta dissolvam, qui poeticae solent detrahere poetasque carpere.

[17] Sic enim¹ ajunt: “Poetarum libri deos esse plures² affirmant eosque discordes, plura quoque³ in his adulteria et nefanda crimina continentur ac nunc amorem suadent illicitum, nunc alia vitia probant⁴. Quod si idcirco beatus Jeronimus⁵ se caesum ab angelo narrat, quia⁶ Ciceronianus⁷ esset⁸, cum tamen Cicero totus moralis existat, quibus⁹ tandem¹⁰ verberibus afficiendus erit, qui poetarum lenociniis oblectatur? Platoque¹¹ in his, quos edidit de re publica, libris¹² poetas censuit ex sua, quam ordinavit¹³, civitate pellendos, ne¹⁴ blandis orationibus¹⁵ viriles¹⁶ animos demollirent, sicut Cicero in *Tusculanis*¹⁷ refert et probat. Haec sunt, quae adversus poesim communiter dici solent.”

¹ sic enim: sicut I

² plurimos I

³ plura quoque : pluraque M

⁴ vitia probant : probant vitia R

⁵ idcirco beatus Jeronimus : beatus Jeronimus idcirco H, R, U, WY

⁶ qui H, I

⁷ Ciceranus WY

⁸ fuit M

⁹ qui H, I, R

¹⁰ tum U

¹¹ Plato quoque M, U, WY

¹² libros H, I, R, U; libris LH

¹³ ordivit WY

¹⁴ ut H, I, R; et WY; ne LH

¹⁵ sermonibus U

¹⁶ viribus WY

¹⁷ Tusculis I, WY

2.3.1. Christians' use of pagan authors

[16] It is now time for me to demolish the arguments of those who are wont to belittle poetry and criticise poets.

2.3.1.1. Objections

[17] They say that “the books of the poets claim there are many gods and that these gods have conflicts between them. Moreover, the books contain many cases of adultery and unspeakable crime. Sometimes they promote illicit love, and sometimes they approve of other vices. If Saint Jerome says he was beaten by an angel because he was a Ciceronian¹ (even if Cicero was completely moral), then should those who enjoy the alluring [verses] of the poets not also be whipped? In the books he wrote on *The State*, Plato² considered that poets should be expelled from the city he was planning so that they would not weaken manly characters with smooth speech,³ as Cicero mentions and approves in his *Tusculanae*.”⁴

These are the usual objections against poetry.

¹ Piccolomini also spoke on the use of classical authors and the angel beating Saint Jerome in the oration “*Si quis me roget*” [2], sect. 23

² Plato (428/427 or 424/423 BCE - 348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

³ Plato: *Republic*, 3, 398a ff; 10, 595 ff, 605b, 607a

⁴ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 2.11.27: *Sic ad malam domesticam disciplinam vitamque umbratilem et delicatam cum accesserunt etiam poëtae, nervos omnes virtutis elidunt. Recte igitur a Platone eiiciuntur ex ea civitate, quam finxit ille cum optimos mores et optimum rei publicae statum exquireret*

[18] Quibus non erit mihi arduum respondere, si vobis facile fuerit¹ audire. Nam quod in² poematibus de diis mentio fiat³, non poetarum culpa⁴, sed temporum⁵ fuit, quibus colebantur idola⁶. Nec enim⁷ soli poetae de diis loquuntur, sed philosophi et omnes scriptores illius⁸ saeculi praeter judaeos⁹ deos¹⁰ nuncupant et illos se¹¹ venerari fatentur¹². Quod autem¹³ crimina referunt¹⁴, non est reprehensibile, quando id¹⁵ agunt, ut homines ab his deterreant, nam et theologi idem factitant. Qui vero vitia probant, rarissimi sunt, nec, quod duo tresve faciunt, in commune¹⁶ trahendum est. Nec¹⁷ idcirco vituperanda est poesis, quia quidam poetarum errores tuentur, nam, si sic pergimus¹⁸, nullam doctrinam sequemur¹⁹, sed ipsam scientiarum matrem philosophiam contemnemus, nam et ipsos constat errasse philosophos. Quid enim mollius aut languidius dici potest Epicuri sententia, qui omnem felicitatem in voluptatibus collocavit²⁰ et animas²¹ negavit immortales existere? Pythagoras inferos esse negat²² ²³ et animas²⁴ hominum post mortem in alia putat animantia pertransire²⁵. Averroes unam in omnibus corporibus²⁶ animam esse²⁷ rebatur.

¹ vobis facile fuerit : fuerit vobis facile R

² *omit.* I

³ fit U

⁴ culpe M

⁵ *em.*; tempore H, I, M, R, WY; temporum LH

⁶ colebantur idola : idola colebantur M, U, WY

⁷ *omit.* U

⁸ *omit.* I; hujus R; illi WY

⁹ *omit.* I

¹⁰ *omit.* H, R

¹¹ *omit.* H, R

¹² venerari fatentur : fatentur venerari I

¹³ *omit.* I

¹⁴ referant H, R, U, WY

¹⁵ illud I

¹⁶ communi WY

¹⁷ neque H, R

¹⁸ peregrinus I

¹⁹ sequamur I; sequimur R, U

²⁰ posuit I, M

²¹ *omit.* I; animos H, R, U

²² negavit U, WY

²³ et animas ... negat *omit.* R

²⁴ animos H, R, U

²⁵ transire I, M

²⁶ viventibus R

²⁷ *omit.* H, R

2.3.1.2. Refutation

[18] It will not be difficult for me to answer [these objections], and it will be easy for you to hear. For what is said in the poems about gods is not the fault of the poets but of the times, since [at that time people] worshipped idols. And it is not just poets who speak about gods: philosophers and all the writers of that age (except the Jews) talk about gods and claim to worship them. That they tell of crimes is not objectionable, for they do so in order to deter men from such crimes, just like theologians do. Those who approve of vice are actually very few, and all should not be blamed for what only two and three do. We should not condemn poetry because a few poets are in error, for if we pursue that course, we should follow no teaching¹ at all, but despise even philosophy, the mother of all sciences, for it is a fact that there are also philosophers who have erred. What can be said to be more soft or languorous than the view of Epicure,² who based all happiness on pleasure and denied that souls are immortal? Pythagoras³ denies the existence of Hell and believes that after death, the souls of men transmigrate to other living beings. And Averroës⁴ thought that all bodies share one soul.

¹ "doctrina"

² Epicure (341–270 BCE): Greek philosopher

³ Pythagoras (c. 570-c. 495 BCE): Greek philosopher and mathematician

⁴ Averroes [Ibn Rushd] (1126-1198): Andalusian scholar, philosopher and polymath

[19] Quid theologi, quos hodie prae ceteris veneramus? Numquid¹ plures erravere? Quid Arius, quid Eutices², quid Nestorius, quid alii paene infiniti unitatis ecclesiae divisores? Quid aevo nostro Johannes Hus³ atque Jeronimus, qui Constantiae cremati sunt? Nec⁴ enim umquam⁵ tot haereses seminare potuissent, nisi theologorum se titulis ornavissent. Verum sicut irreprehensibilis {141v} est theologia, quamvis multi theologorum aberrent⁶, sic incorrupta est poesis, licet poetae nonnulli vitia tueantur. Nec enim malum dici potest⁷, quo possumus⁸ uti bene, alioquin⁹ nec¹⁰ liberales artes nec mechanicae probandae viderentur¹¹, cum his¹² uti male¹³ possumus¹⁴. Quod autem de Jeronimi percussione obicitur, si quis Jeronimum attente pervolverit, non¹⁵ propter Ciceronis lectionem accidisse comperiet, sed quia Jeronimus sic eum¹⁶ legebat, ut sacras litteras fastidiret. Quod ego nec laudo nec probo, sed ita legendos poetas dico, ut eorum¹⁷ imbuti coloribus scripturam sacram ornatissime sciamus proferre. Nec enim sequendi sunt aliqui, *qui ex floribus nihil sumunt praeter odorem atque colorem, sed imitandae sunt apes, quae¹⁸ mel¹⁹ etiam²⁰ exinde norunt excerpere.*

¹ numquam H

² Eutices H; Eutite I; Eutides WY; Eutices LH

³ Huss I, M, U

⁴ sic M

⁵ *omit.* I, M

⁶ oberrent WY

⁷ dici potest : potest dici M

⁸ possemus WY

⁹ *omit.* I

¹⁰ et M

¹¹ artes *add.* R

¹² iis U

¹³ uti male : male uti U

¹⁴ possumus M, U, WY

¹⁵ nec I, M

¹⁶ Jeronimus sic eum : sic eum Jeronimus H, R, U; sic Hieronymus eum M, WY

¹⁷ *omit.* R

¹⁸ qui [*sic!*] LH

¹⁹ *omit.* I

²⁰ mel etiam : eciam mel U

[19] What about the theologians whom we today honour most of all? Did they never err? What about Arius,¹ what about Eutyches,² what about Nestorius,³ what about those almost countless others who caused division in the Church?⁴ And in our own times, what about Jan Hus⁵ and Jeronimus,⁶ who were burnt in Konstanz?⁷ So many heresies could never have flourished if these men had not prided themselves on their title of theologian. But just as theology is not at fault because many theologians err, poetry is not at fault because some poets favour vice. And something may not be called evil when we can also use it for good, for otherwise neither the liberal nor the mechanical arts would be acceptable since we can use them for evil.

And concerning the beating of Jerome: if you study Jerome carefully, [you will see that] he was not punished for reading Cicero, but for reading him so [intensely] that he neglected Holy Scripture. This I neither praise nor condone, but I say that poets should be read in such a way that, under their inspiration,⁸ we are able to marvellously propound Holy Scripture. But we should not follow those who only *take odour and colour⁹ from flowers, nay, we should imitate the bees who also know how extraxt their honey.*¹⁰

¹ Arius [Arrius] (250 or 256-336): Christian and priest in Alexandria. His teachings about the nature of the Godhead emphasised the Father's divinity over the Son. They were condemned by the Council of Nicea in 325

² Eutyches (ca. 380-ca. 456): archimandrite at Constantinople. Opposed the Nestorian heresy, but instead developed teachings concerning the nature of Christ, which led to his own condemnation as a heretic

³ Nestorius (ca. 386-450): Archbishop of Constantinople. His teachings on the nature of Christ were condemned as heretical

⁴ Half a year later, Piccolomini would return to the theme of ecclesiastics causing the divisions in the Church in his oration "*Breviter me hodie*" [10], sect. 2

⁵ Jan Hus (ca. 1369-1415): Czech priest, philosopher, early Christian reformer and master at Charles University in Prague. Inspired by the teachings of John Wycliffe

⁶ Jeronimus of Prague [Jeroným Pražský] (1379-1416): Bohemian church reformer and one of the chief followers of Jan Hus. Burned for heresy at the Council of Constance

⁷ In 1415 and 1416, respectively, at the Council of Konstanz

⁸ "eorum imbuti coloribus"

⁹ I.e., perfume and cosmetics

¹⁰ Basil: *Ad adolescentes*, 4, 7-8. The translation by Leonardo Bruni has: *Ut enim ex floribus ceteri quidem nichil sumunt preter odorem atque colorem. Apes vero etiam mella inde sciunt excerptere*

[20] Ad Ciceronem venio, qui sententiam¹ Platonis de poetarum exclusione commendat. Quid hic dicemus quibusve armis tuebimur? Magnus est testis Cicero, sed is non ex proposito locutus est, sed quasi per transitum irritatus. Nam mox poetas excusavit² dicens idipsum³ philosophos facere, de quo fuerat poetas⁴ insimulatus. Is alibi extensius loquitur multisque verbis suadere Romanis^{5 6} nititur, ut Archiam⁷ poetam civitate donent, magnam eos propterea⁸ et⁹ laudem¹⁰ et utilitatem consecuturos affirmans, ut extat¹¹ ejus oratio pulcherrima. Plato vero, cum poetas exclusit, etiam se ipsum excludendum asseruit, nam et ipse inter poetas locum habuit, cujus apud Macrobius versus extant:

*Dum¹² semiulco¹³ savio¹⁴
meum puellum savior*

et alii plures. Atque - ut dicam, quod sentio - poetarum maxima laus est¹⁵ ex civitate Platonis excludi! ¹⁶ Quis enim vir bonus in civitate Platonis domicilium habere¹⁷ velit¹⁸, ubi, sicut¹⁹ Aristoteles in *Politicis* tradit²⁰, omnes feminae in communi²¹ habentur, promiscui more bestiarum concubitus, incerti filii, ignorati parentes? Atque ista Platoni sufficiat²² respondisse²³.

¹ scienciam U, WY

² excusat R

³ ad ipsum WY

⁴ omit. I, M

⁵ Romanus U

⁶ suadere Romanis omit. WY

⁷ em.; Architam codd.

⁸ eos propterea : propterea eos R

⁹ omit. M

¹⁰ propterea et laudem : laudem propterea I

¹¹ estat H; existit U; alias extat *in marg.* U; escat LH

¹² in *add.* U

¹³ semihulco H, R, U, WY

¹⁴ sanio H; save *aut* sane I

¹⁵ maxima laus est : laus est maxima R

¹⁶ enim vir omit. R

¹⁷ del. H; omit. R, U, WY

¹⁸ habere velit : velit habere I, M

¹⁹ omit. R

²⁰ in *Politicis* tradit : tradit in *Politicis* I

²¹ in communi omit. I; commune R

²² sufficiant WY

²³ sufficiat respondisse : respondisse sufficiat I

[20] I now come to Cicero applauding Plato's view on the exclusion of poets. What shall we say to this, and which weapons shall we use in our defence? Cicero is indeed an important witness. Here, however, he did not express his considered opinion but spoke in a fit of irritation, for right afterwards he excused the poets, saying that the philosophers were doing the same thing for which he had blamed the poets.¹ Elsewhere he speaks more fully on the matter, endeavouring in so many words to persuade the Romans to give citizenship to the poet Archias, and claiming that thus they would gain great praise and benefit, as he says in an admirable oration that is still extant.

As for Plato, when he excluded the poets, he also said that he himself would have to be excluded since he too was a poet. Macrobius² quotes a verse of his:³

*When I kiss my boy
With half-parted lips ...*⁴

and others, too.

And to say plainly what I think, it is actually to the very great honour of poets that they are excluded from Plato's city! For what good man would want to live in Plato's city where, as Aristotle says in the *Politica*,⁵ all women are held in common, sexual intercourse being promiscuous like that of animals, sons uncertain, and parents unknown? This will be enough concerning Plato.

¹ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 2.12.28: *Sed quid poëtis irascimur? Virtutis magistri, philosophi, inventi sunt qui summum malum dolorem dicerent*

² Macrobius Ambrosius Theodosius (flourished during the early 5th cent.): Roman author

³ Poem by Plato, quoted by Macrobius

⁴ Macrobius: *Saturnalia*, 2.2.17. One wonders if Piccolomini was aware of the homosexual meaning of this verse, which in the context would be rather risqué. That the subject of "savio" is a male, not a female, is shown by a later passage in in the same poem: "ut ad me fierem mortuus"

⁵ Aristotle: *Politica*, 2.1 (1261a): *For example, it is possible for the citizens in Plato's communistic Republic to have children, wives and possessions in common with each other, as in Plato's Republic, in which Socrates says that there must be community of children, women and possessions.* See also Plato: *Republic*, 5, 449c ff., 457d ff., 461e ff., 464b ff.

[21] Verum ut de poetarum lectione in communi aliquid dicatur, beati Jeronimi in epistola ad oratorem urbis¹ instructio servanda est, qui de litteris saecularibus figuram esse in Deuteronomio dicit, dum captivae duci in matrimonium per Hebraeos prohibentur nisi capite raso et unguibus amputatis, quod in veteribus poematibus faciendum est, ut amputatis², quae de diis verba fiunt, et ab rasis amatoriiis blandimentis³, *ubi laudantur virtutes fulmanturque*⁴ *vitia sine scrupulo recipiantur*. Cui et magnus Basilius astipulatur, qui similitudine de apibus⁵ posita⁶, *Nec enim, inquit, illae*⁷ *pariter*⁸ *omnes flores*⁹ *adeunt, nec*¹⁰, *si quos adeunt, eos totos absumunt, sed eo ablato, quod operi suo sit aptum*¹¹, *reliquum omne valere sinunt*^{12 13}. Et nos quoque, si sapimus, in poetarum libris, cum excerptimus¹⁴, quod veritati amicum consentaneumque sit, cetera omnia transgrediamur¹⁵.

[22] Cum igitur ex testimonio magni Basillii sanctissimique Jeronimi¹⁶ etiam veteres gentilesque poetae recipiendi {142r} sint, cum antiquissima disciplinarum sit¹⁷ poetica, cum magni ex ea et necessarii fructus resultent, cum philosophi sanctique doctores pleni sint¹⁸ auctoritatibus poetarum, cum Caesares atque reges omnesque maximi viri poetas suis temporibus honorifice susceperunt¹⁹, cum divinae laudes a nullis melius queant^{20 21} quam a poetis decantari, non immerito - sicut ab initio dixi - mirandum est nostro tempore²² vilipendi poetas, quamvis jam in Italia²³ resurgere coeperint et²⁴ pariter cum theologis honorari.

¹ verbis WY

² quod in ... amputatis *omit.* WY

³ blanditoriiis U

⁴ sublimanturque WY

⁵ cepibus U

⁶ ponit I, M

⁷ *omit.* I

⁸ *omit.* R

⁹ *omit.* I

¹⁰ ut I

¹¹ ceptus U; alias ceptum *add. in marg.* U

¹² omne valere sinunt *omit.* I

¹³ omne valere sinunt : dimittunt M

¹⁴ exceperimus H; receperimus WY

¹⁵ transgrediamur U, WY

¹⁶ sanctissimique Jeronimi : Jeronimique sanctissimi I

¹⁷ disciplinarum sit : sit disciplinarum R

¹⁸ sunt R

¹⁹ susceperint M

²⁰ *omit.* WY

²¹ melius queant : queant melius I

²² nostro tempore : nostris temporibus I, M

²³ jam in Italia : in Italia iam WY

²⁴ ac H, R

[21] Concerning what is commonly said about the reading of poets, we may use Jerome's guidance in a letter to an orator in Rome where he states that in Deuteronomy we find a symbol of secular literature: the Hebrews are forbidden to marry female captives unless their head has been shaven and their nails cut. This means that the poems of old should be shorn of the passages concerning the gods and the erotic blandishments *and be accepted* without hesitation *where they praise virtue and castigate vice*.¹ Basil the Great supports this position, using the similitude of the bees: *For they do not approach all flowers equally, nor do they attempt to carry away the whole of those to which they fly, but taking whatever is profitable for their work, they go away leaving the rest*.² And we, too, if we are wise, should excerpt³ from the poets' books only what is in accordance with truth and pass over everything else.⁴

[22] So, Basil the Great and Saint Jerome attest that even the old and pagan poets should be accepted. Poetry is a very old discipline that has great and important effects. [The writings of] the philosophers and the holy doctors are full of authoritative [quotations] from the poets. Emperors and kings and all great men revered contemporary poets. And poets are the best to sing the praises of God. For all these reasons, it is perfectly justified to wonder – as I said in the beginning – why poets are looked down upon in our time (though they have begun to rise again in Italy and be honoured on the same level as theologians).

¹ Basil the Great: *Ad adolescentes*, 4, 8. In Leonardo Bruni's translation: *sed tunc maxime oratores amplectemur, cum autem virtutem extollunt aut vitia fulminant*

² Basil the Great: *Ad adolescentes*, 4, 8. In Leonardo Bruni's translation: *Ille enim nec omnes partier flores adeunt, eos totos assumunt. Sed eo solo ablato quod operi suo aptum sit, reliquum esse et valere sinunt*

³ "excerpimus": this verb also carries the sense of taking notes from a literary work for inclusion in the student's personal collection of *sententiae* and *exempla* and information for future use. On Piccolomini's practice on this regard, see COR, 8: sect. 1.

⁴ In his oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2], sect. 24, Piccolomini speaks more fully on this subject

[23] Nunc absolvenda est quaestiuncula, cur tam pauci sint nostris temporibus¹ poetae. Quod non solum aetate nostra, sed omnibus² priscis temporibus contigit, plus tamen hodie quam umquam, idque³, cur sit, nunc⁴ absolvam. Quattuor mihi hujus⁵ rei videntur⁶ causae⁷ – si plures sint⁸, nihil est, cur movear. Prima causa⁹ est, quia multa¹⁰ scire oportet eum, qui sit poeta, namque cum bella gesta suum sit scribere, cum tempestates, cum tempora, cum *locorum situs*, cum personarum condiciones, cum *maris stratus*^{11 12} ante oculos hominum ponere¹³ habeat, cum virtutes laudare vitiaque reprehendere debeat¹⁴, quis non videt¹⁵ ad haec bene tractanda multis artibus opus esse? Multas autem artes pauci sunt, qui assequantur; idcirco et¹⁶ pauci sunt poetae.

¹ sint nostris temporibus : nostris temporibus sint I

² etiam U

³ id U

⁴ *omit.* H, R

⁵ mihi hujus : hujus mihi R

⁶ hujus rei videntur : videntur hujus rei U

⁷ causae videntur : videntur causae R

⁸ sunt WY

⁹ *omit.* U

¹⁰ et varia *add.* WY

¹¹ maris stratus : maris tratus H; magistratus M; *omit.* R

¹² *omit.* I [blank space]

¹³ hominum ponere : ponere hominum I

¹⁴ cum virtutes ... debeat *omit.* I

¹⁵ videtur WY

¹⁶ *omit.* U

2.3. Rarity of poets

[23] Now we must deal with the problem of why there are so few poets in our own time. In all ages and not just in ours, there have been few poets, but today there are indeed fewer than ever, and the reason for this I shall deal with now. It seems to me that there are four reasons (if there are more, it will not bother me). The first is that the poet must know many and different things, for it is the task of the poet to write about wars and to place seasons, times, *places*,¹ the conditions of individuals, *and the extent of the sea*² before the eyes of men. And he must praise virtue and castigate vice. So, who does not understand that he needs many skills, great knowledge and many arts,³ to deal well with such themes? But only a few men obtain so many skills, and therefore there are few poets.

¹ Cf. Solinus: *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, proem., 3: *locorum locorum commemoratio .. terrarum situs*

² Cf. Solinus: *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, 3: *tractus maris*. Cf also Valerius, 3, 3, ext.

³ "ars": skill, knowledge, and art

[24] Secunda causa est, quia nemo poeta est, nisi¹ cui hoc singulare munus ex alto traditum est, ut cautis² ac³ ⁴ sententiosis versibus humanos actus conscribat. Singularia autem munera excellentia⁵ paucis dantur. Ideo⁶ pauci sunt poetae. Poesis namque, ut Cicero in oratione pro Archia poeta⁷ dicit, munus est Dei nec arte vel⁸ imitatione potest haberi⁹, nisi virtus¹⁰ vera dicendi¹¹ ¹² ¹³ detur ex alto. Ex quo fit, sicut idem¹⁴ Cicero asserit¹⁵, ut non solum nostris, sed omnibus temporibus rarissimi poetae fuerunt. Tertia rarietatis causa est, quia successu temporis crescentibus hominum vitiis virtutibusque pereuntibus sicut¹⁶ aliae disciplinae diminutae sunt¹⁷, sic et poesis ad nihilum videtur redacta. Nam sicut nemo mihi vel Augustinum vel Jeronimum¹⁸ hodie dabit, sic vel Vergilium vel Ovidium¹⁹ dabit nemo²⁰. Quarta causa est et in hoc ultimo loco, quia non redditur poesi suus honor. Ideo pauci sunt poetae. Namque, ut Cicero dicit: *Honor alit artes omnesque incendimur ad studia gloriae*²¹. Ubi vero deest honor, ibi et studium deficit. Ac²² sic²³ fit, ut pauci nostris temporibus poeticam assequantur, quia non putant homines honorari ex ea, atque idcirco negligunt²⁴ illam.

¹ *omit.* H, I, M, R, U

² *cautus* H, R; *omit.* I; *canoris* U; *cautis* LH

³ *et* M, R, WY

⁴ *cautis ac omit.* I

⁵ *excellenciaque* U

⁶ *igitur* I, M

⁷ *Archia poeta* : *Archita* H, I, M, R, WY

⁸ *nec* U

⁹ *haberi potest* : *potest haberi* M

¹⁰ *omit.* H, R, U, WY

¹¹ *regula add.* WY

¹² *vera add.* H [sic!]; *venia add.* U

¹³ *virtus vera dicendi* : *vera dicendi virtus* LH

¹⁴ *omit.* I

¹⁵ *asseruit* U

¹⁶ *sic* R

¹⁷ *diminutae sunt* : *diminute sunt* R

¹⁸ *vel Augustinum vel Jeronimum* : *Jeronimum vel Augustinum* R

¹⁹ *Vergilium vel Ovidium* : *Ovidium vel Vergilium* I, M

²⁰ *dabit nemo* : *nemo dabit* U

²¹ *gloria* H, M, R, U

²² *sit add.* WY

²³ *ac sic* : *ita* U

²⁴ *negligent* LH

[24] The second reason is that all poets have received from on high the outstanding gift of describing human acts in polished¹ and sententious verses. But such outstanding and excellent gifts are only given to a few men. Therefore, there are only few poets. For as Cicero says in his oration for Archias, poetry is a gift from God, which can only be had by skill or imitation if the virtue of speaking true is granted from on high.² Thus, poets have been very few, not only in our own times but at all times, as the same Cicero declares.³

The third reason for the rarity [of poets] is that just as, in the course of time, human vices grow and virtues perish, poetry appears to be reduced to nothing, as also happens with other disciplines. For nobody will give me an Augustine and a Jerome today, and likewise, nobody will give me a Virgil or an Ovid.⁴

The fourth and last reason is that poets are not honoured as they deserve. Therefore, there are few poets, for as Cicero says, *Public esteem is the nurse of the arts, and all men are fired to application by fame.*⁵ Where there is no honour, there is no real effort. Thus, only a few in our own time pursue poetry, for they believe that poetry does not bring men honour, and therefore they neglect it.

¹ "cautus"

² Cicero: *Pro Archia*, 8.18: *Atqui sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus, ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et praeceptis et arte constare, poëtam natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitari et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari. Qua re suo iure noster ille Ennius sanctos appellat poëtas, quod quasi deorum aliquo dono atque munere commendati nobis esse videantur.* Piccolomini had already used this theme the year before in his letter to Wilhelm Stein of 1 June 1444

³ Quotation not identified

⁴ Ovidius Naso, Publius (43 BCE-17/18 CE): Roman poet

⁵ Cicero: *Tusculanae disputationes*, 1.2.4: *Honos alit artes omnesque incenduntur ad studia gloria*

[25] Absolutis duabus¹ prioribus² quaestionibus instat ridicula³ tertia⁴ inquisitio: cur viles cutes cadaverum atque antiquae camisiae cum cera in cancellariis venduntur pro optima minera⁵. Tangit me, Hercle⁶, ista quaestio, qui unus sum ex cancellaria, postquam divus Fridericus Caesar in secretarium suum me recepit. Solvam igitur quaestionem ex meo ingeniolo⁷.

[26] Quo in loco unum dicendum est jocosum. Viam solus asinus ibat suasque secum miserias quaerebatur, qui vinum portans aquam biberet frumentumque in horreis ponens fenum manderet. Sed haec levia reputasset, nisi quod etiam⁸ post mortem ex ejus corio cribri⁹ fierent atque¹⁰ tympana. {142v} Quem sic quaerulosum audiens varius¹¹, parvum¹² animal¹³, “Tace,” inquit, “asine! Meus¹⁴ est post mortem labor¹⁵. Nam isti¹⁶, qui dicuntur homines, cum aliquem volunt sapientem facere, corium meum adhuc pilosum recipiunt frontemque illius adornant, quem volunt esse sapientem. Doctores enim creantes¹⁷, meis eos¹⁸ pellibus vestiunt meque, quod est rerum omnium difficillimum, ex magnis bestiis viros oportet sapientes efficere¹⁹. Sic enim corium meum fata disposuerunt, quod est mihi²⁰ gravissimum et²¹ molestissimum.” Audiverunt haec rectores cancellariae videntesque²² in coriis cadaverum magnas esse²³ virtutes, non censuerunt illa parvo pretio danda, sed ea atque camisas cum cera, sicut aequum erat, magno pretio coeperunt vendere imitatieque sacerdotes, qui sonum campanarum et fumum et aquam et verba dantes magnis utuntur emolumentis, coria sua non putaverunt gratis danda.²⁴

¹ duobus U

² tribus H; *omit.* R; [de] tribus LH

³ ridiculosa H

⁴ ridicula tertia : tertia ridiculosa R

⁵ optima minera : optimis muneribus WY

⁶ Hercule H

⁷ ingenio WY

⁸ quod etiam : etiam quod H, R

⁹ cribi H; cribra U

¹⁰ et I

¹¹ varius (?) LH

¹² parium WY

¹³ parvum animal : animal parvum U

¹⁴ opus WY

¹⁵ labori WY

¹⁶ hii R

¹⁷ *omit.* I

¹⁸ meis eos : eos meis I

¹⁹ sapientes efficere : efficere sapientes I, M

²⁰ et *add.* I, M

²¹ ac H, R

²² magnas esse *add.* U

²³ magnas esse *omit.* U

²⁴ dandis WY

3. Third question: Why are cheap skins of dead animals and old shirts with wax on them sold by the chanceries at the price of precious metals

[25] Now that two of the three questions have been dealt with, the third, humorous, question remains: Why are cheap skins of dead animals and old shirts with wax on them sold in the chanceries at the price of precious metals?

This question, by Hercules, touches me personally, as I belong to the Chancery since Emperor Friedrich engaged me as a secretary. So I shall answer the question as my own puny intellect dictates.

3.1. Facetious answer

[26] First, we shall answer with a joke.

An ass was walking along the road alone, complaining about how miserable he was since he who carried wine had himself to drink water, and while he was bringing grain to the trashing halls, he himself had to be content with hay. But he would take that lightly if, after his death, his skin would not be used for sieves and drums. Hearing him gripe, a sheep¹, a small animal, said, "Shut up, ass! My labour comes after death! For when those who are called men want to make someone wise,² they take my hairy skin and decorate the exterior of the person whom they want to make wise. Thus, when they create doctors, they clothe them with my skin,³ and thus it is I – and that is the worst of all – who must transform great beasts into wise men!⁴ This is how fate treats my skin: it is extremely irritating and annoying." When the heads of the chancery heard this and understood that there was great power in skins, they considered that they ought not be given out cheaply but began - as was reasonable – to sell them and shirts with wax at a great price. In this they imitated the priests who reap great profits from dispensing the sound of bells, smoke,⁵ and water,⁶ and making words, and would not dream of giving them away for free.⁷

¹ Varius?

² "sapiens": this choice of words may not quite agree with Piccolomini's previous distinction between wisdom as a virtue and moral knowledge

³ Piccolomini may be speaking of the doctoral robes

⁴ The university had made a joke of the chancery, and here Piccolomini neatly returns the joke on the university

⁵ Incense

⁶ Blessed water - Piccolomini does not dare or wish to mention the sacraments - that would be carrying the joke too far

⁷ Here the joke is turned specifically against the theological faculty, the most important faculty at the Vienna University

[27] At¹ ut omissis² joci ad seria redeamus³, ante cartae et membranarum usum in dolatis ex ligno⁴ codicillis epistolarum alloquia⁵ scribebantur⁶, sicut⁷ et Cicero et Damasus et Isidorus attestantur. Exinde tam Graeci quam Tusci superinducere ceras incoeperunt illasque graphio ferreo inscripserunt. Post haec cartarum usus apud Aegyptum coepit⁸, quae ex decerpto papyri tegmine conficiebantur, ac postmodum ex lineis pannis jam ineptis aliis⁹ usibus. Exinde reges Pergami membranarum usum excogitarunt¹⁰, quae ex membris¹¹ pecudum detrahuntur¹² et adhuc propter memoriam loci pergamena dicuntur. Quia igitur in cartis, quae ex vetustis fiunt¹³ camisiis, et in cutibus pecorum ad usum scribendi paratis res magnae maximaeque notantur, non est injuria, si hoc^{14 15} magno pretio¹⁶ venduntur¹⁷. Non enim res, quae continet, sed quae¹⁸ contenta est, in extimationem venit. Ac¹⁹ sic tribus quaestionibus vestris, excellentissime magister²⁰, respondisse sufficiat²¹, vestro gravi et optimo iudicio nihilominus salvo.^{22 23}

¹ ac M, WY

² emissis I

³ transeamus I, M

⁴ lingno H; tab vel (tabulis?) I

⁵ eloquia U

⁶ et *add.* I

⁷ sic M

⁸ *omit.* I

⁹ *omit.* U

¹⁰ excogitaverunt I, R

¹¹ membro R

¹² detrahentur I; detrahantur WY

¹³ fiebant WY

¹⁴ hec I, R, U

¹⁵ si hoc : hoc si WY

¹⁶ *omit.* H, M, U

¹⁷ pretio venduntur : venduntur pretio R

¹⁸ *omit.* R

¹⁹ at WY

²⁰ haec *add.* WY

²¹ sufficiant WY

²² Laus Deo *add.* M

²³ Hanc praescriptam responsionem pronuntiavit Hermannus Edlawer praesente domino Aenea ac legente in latere *add.* H; Hanc praescriptam responsionem pronuntiavit Hermannus Edlawer praesente domino Aenea ac legente in latere *illeg.* quo supra *add.* R [This addition has somewhat baffled researchers, but Kisch, p. 48, n. 6, noted as follows: *Dieser Schlussbemerck ... muss vorläufig als apokryph betrachtet werden*]. Cf. also Wagendorfer, pp. 47-49

3.2. Serious answer

[27] But let us leave the jokes and return to the serious: before paper and skins [were introduced], letters were written on wooden tablets, as Cicero, Damasus, and Isidore attest. Then both the Greeks and the Etruscans began to put a layer of wax on the wooden tablets and wrote on them with an iron stylus. Later, the Egyptians began to use paper sheets, which they made from the pith of papyrus plants, and still later, paper was made of linen cloths, which could no longer be used otherwise. Then the kings of Pergamum invented the use of membranes made of the skin of cattle, still called *pergamena* (parchment), in memory of that place. And since both paper sheets made of old linen and skins from cattle prepared for writing are used to document great and important matters, it is quite fair that they are sold at a great price, for the value is not put on the container but on the content.

And thus, excellent magister, I have sufficiently answered your three questions, reserving, of course, your own serious and excellent judgement.

**Oration "*Et breviter me hodie*" of Enea Silvio Piccolomini
(6 July 1446, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von
Cotta-Schönberg**

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 10)

Abstract

In summer 1446, two German missions were dispatched to Pope Eugenius IV in order to obtain the reinstatement of two prince electors, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, deposed by the pope, as well as other concessions. The missions were part of an ongoing diplomatic process aiming at ending German neutrality between the pope and the rump council in Basel with its antipope, Felix V. One mission was from the emperor, Friedrich III, represented by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the imperial chancery. The other embassy was from the German prince electors, represented by Gregor Heimburg, an influential German opponent of the papacy. Heimburg's mission was to present the princes' demands of the pope, and his personality ensured that it would be conducted in an arrogant and haughty manner. Piccolomini's mission was to facilitate negotiations between the papal curia and the princes' embassy and to soften the presumed ill effects of their demands – and of Heimburg's insolence. The two embassies were received by the pope in a consistory on 6 July 1446. As the emperor's representative Piccolomini spoke first, delivering the oration "*Et breviter me hodie*", in which he, on the emperor's behalf, recommended the petitions of the princes. Afterwards Heimburg presented these petitions.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; German neutrality; Prince electors; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1446; 15th century

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In 1445, Emperor Friedrich III² sent Enea Silvio Piccolomini, secretary in the imperial chancery, on a mission to Pope Eugenius IV³ to pursue negotiations aimed at ending German neutrality⁴ between the pope and the rump Council of Basel⁵ with its antipope Felix IV.^{6 7} The negotiations developed positively, but then the pope rather inadvisedly decided to remove two German prince electors, the archbishops of Trier and Cologne,⁸ from their offices. This naturally caused an uproar in Germany, and in March 1446, the German princes met in Frankfurt to formulate their demands of the pope.⁹ Among them were:

- Reinstatement of the two archbishops
- Acceptance of the supreme authority of ecumenical councils
- Promise to summon a new council in May 1447 in a German city
- Alleviation of the papal “taxation” of Germany in the form of annates etc.
- Confirmation of those decrees of the Council of Basel, which the German princes had accepted on 26 March 1439

The princes sent their demands to the emperor – in secrecy - requesting his adhesion. The emperor temporised, and then two embassies were sent to the pope, one from the emperor, represented by Piccolomini, and the other from the princes, led by Gregor Heimburg.¹⁰

¹ CO, I, 14-15 (Meserve, I, pp. 60-70); Piccolomini: *De rebus gestis* (WO, II, pp. 210-213); Ady, pp. 91-93; Boulting, pp. 160-166; Du Fresne de Beaucourt: *Histoire*, IV, 255-261; Helmrath: *Empire*, pp. 433-437; Koller, pp. 105-107; Mitchell, pp. 99-101; Pastor, I, pp. 260; Pückert, p. 234-280; Stiebert, pp. 276-290 and especially pp. 286-287; Voigt, II, pp. 345-368

² Friederich III Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria (as Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

³ Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer] (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

⁴ At a meeting in Frankfurt in 1438, the German nation declared its neutrality between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel, which would later depose the pope and elect an antipope, Felix V. In 1443-44, the imperial court began to move towards ending the state of neutrality, which was finally achieved with the Concordat of Vienna in 1447

⁵ The Council of Basel was opened in 1431 and finally dissolved by Pope Eugenius in 1438. The remaining council fathers in Basel refused to accept the pope’s decision and continued as a rump council finally (1449) dissolved itself and recognised the Roman pope, now Nicholas V

⁶ Felix V = Amedée VIII (1383-1451) : Count, later Duke of Savoy. In 1439, elected antipope under the name of Felix V by the Council of Basel, after its dissolution by Pope Eugene IV

⁷ Cf. Oration “*Prius sanctissime praesul*” [7]

⁸ Dietrich II von Moers (1385-1463): Archbishop of Cologne from 1414 to his death. Jakob von Sierck (1398-1456) Archbishop of Trier from 1439 to his death

⁹ Stiebert, pp. 277-281

¹⁰ Heimburg, Gregor (beg. of 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist, and statesman. Bitter enemy of Pius II, who eventually excommunicated him

Piccolomini joined up with the papal envoy to the emperor, Bishop Parentucelli of Bologna, returning to Rome, whom he let know the demands of the princes so that he could inform the pope about them.

The princes' embassy reached Rome in the beginning of July, one day before the imperial embassy, but Bishop Parentucelli managed to get access to the pope before his audience with the embassy and explained to him the extreme importance of the princes' demands, as recommended by the emperor. Since the pope was easily moved to anger when his dignity was slighted, it was in the present situation highly important that he did not let himself be provoked by the - calculated - arrogance and haughtiness of the spokesman of the princely embassy, Gregor Heimburg. The pope understood the message and agreed to receive the recommendation of the emperor benevolently.

In his *De rebus Basiliae gestis* from 1450, Piccolomini wrote about the mission:¹

Having heard these thing the king [Friedrich III] said he wished to send envoys to Rome with them [the ambassadors of the German princes] and exhort the pope that he grant their prayers. If he refused these requests, the king still did not intend to go over to the other party, for it would not be fitting to separate from the pope unless he denied those things which pertained to the faith. He ordered Aeneas to follow them to Rome and expound the matter to Eugenius and exhort that, if he acted as a storm requires, furling his sails a little, he would see in what danger affairs stood. The legates of the pope also decided to return to Rome by themselves. When Juan de Carvajal fell ill, Tommaso accepted his mission, and Aeneas was his companion on the whole journey. Gregor [Heimburg] and his companions [envoys of the princes], who had preceded them by four days, arrived only one day ahead, but they had not yet been heard. Tommaso was heard first. Taught by Aeneas, at Caesar's command, what things they should ask, he informed the pope and persuaded him to hear the envoys benignly. But Eugenius doubted whether those who bore letters from the deposed electors should be heard. Above all, he wished to know what the electors had written and in what terms they had expressed themselves. The electors foresaw this, and, having addressed the pope by his title, they subscribed at the end of the letter the word for the dignity shared by all electors. Then Aeneas, heard first of that party, declared that Eugenius should grant what the electors asked because it would be most pleasing to Caesar and useful to the apostolic see in the future. ... Gregor had been commissioned to give the weighty oration. ... Eugenius replied little at the time. ... After this Aeneas approached Eugenius separately and in the presence of the bishop of Bologna. He opened the mind of the king and obtained a pleasing response. ... In the negotiations held with the other envoys, however, since they had

¹ Quoted after the translation in RE, p. 368-370

no role except presenting petitions, a reply was given that Eugenius would send envoys to the meeting at Frankfurt, and there he would answer the princes about their petitions.

In his *Historia Austriacalis* from 1453-1458, Piccolomini wrote about these events:

Cesar vocato Aenea Senensi secretario suo secreta principum ei aperuit iussitque papam accedere ac viam pacis eum suadere, pericula exponere et mentem principum, orare ut electores suos restitueret, Caesarem sibi in omni re auxilio futurum. Is itineri se commisit atque Bononiensi antistiti, qui et ipse Romam ibat, comitem se dedit. Legati principum aliquibus diebus precessere, sed Romam non ante se per diem ingressi sunt. Bononiensis, etsi non poterat omnia scire, que legati principum afferebant, tamen imaginabatur et opinabatur multa. Is Eugenium instruxit, ne legatos ante se audiret, quod factum est.¹

In his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Pius wrote:

At this time² the imperial electors met at Frankfurt. Roused by the news that Eugenius had dismissed³ the archbishop of Cologne and Jacob, archbishop of Trier, they made a secret compact: unless Eugenius annulled the dismissals, relieved the nation of its burdens, and recognised the authority granted to their councils at Constance, they would recognise the decrees deposing Eugenius which had been voted at Basel. They sent ambassadors to the emperor to explain these matters privately to him and to six of his sworn counsellors, and to beg him to join their compact and send his representative with them to Rome. When the emperor heard of the elector's plan, he said he would send an ambassador to Eugenius and would ask him to grant their petitions; but he would have nothing to do with the compact. It would be an impious outrage, he said, to desert the pope simply because he did not grant what they asked.

Therefore he sent Aeneas to Eugenius to persuade him not to defy the electors, and to beg him instead to restore the deposed archbishops to their former positions, as this would inspire the Germans to abandon their neutrality and return to his side. But if he persisted in his harsh attitude, he risked the scandal of a permanent schism. The emperor, who was not under oath, revealed all the electors' secret decisions to Aeneas and ordered him to communicate them to the pope.....

Meanwhile the apostolic legates, who had been trying for some time, without success, to learn what the electors had decided at Frankfurt, what they wanted of the emperor and what

¹ HA / 2. version (Wagendorfer), I, 23-24

² March 1446

³ By a papal bull of 9 February 1446

message they were sending to Rome, decided that one of them should go to Rome as soon as possible. ... this duty fell to Bishop Tommaso of Bologna, who accompanied Aeneas on the journey. ...

When they reached Rome, Eugenius, at Tommaso's suggestion, heard Aeneas before he heard the delegates of the electors; he promised to do everything that the emperor urged.^{1 2}

In that consistory, Piccolomini spoke first on behalf of the emperor, politely but firmly recommending benevolent acceptance of the princes' demands. Afterwards, Gregor Heimburg spoke, with his usual insolence and arrogance,³ but, forewarned, the pope kept his temper and answered graciously.⁴

When the ambassadors returned to Germany, Heimburg made a very negative report of the visit to Rome and the papal reception of the requirements of the princes.⁵ But the tide was turning, and the imperial and papal negotiators, not the least Piccolomini, managed to create a diplomatic compromise, which would lead, in February 1447, to the ending of German Neutrality and the declaration of German obedience to Eugenius IV the following year.⁶

2. Themes

2.1. Dangers threatening Christianity

The primary danger to Christianity was the prevailing division in the Latin Church, with the Roman pope, Eugenius IV, and his very large obedience on one side, and the rump Council of Basel with its antipope Felix V and his very limited obedience on the other. Indeed, so few princes and peoples now recognised the council and the antipope that the return of the German nation to the Roman obedience would surely mean an end to the council and the restoration of church unity. The

¹ CO, I, 14-15 (Meserve, I, pp. 60-63)

² In his biography of Pius, Campano only wrote: *Tertiam [sic!] inde obivit legationem ad eundem Eugenium de duobus electoribus Caesarum restituendis, quos ille Faelici assensos et gravia in ipsius dignitatem molitos exautoraverat* (Zimolo, p. 15). In Platina's biography, the description of the chain of events is somewhat confused (Zimolo, p. 101)

³ Pückert, p. 270

⁴ HA / 2. version (Wagendorfer), I, 23-24: *Cum admissi ad conspectum essent, prior Eneas locutus est rogans papam, ut principum legatos et audiret benigne et his sese tractabilem preberet, que res cesari esset future gratissima et Romanae sedi utilis, ex qua pax ecclesie oriretur.* See also Voigt, I, II, 7, p. 365

⁵ CO, I, 15 (Meserve, I, p. 67)

⁶ See oration "*Non habet me dubium*" [11]

papacy's relations to Germany and the German embassies to the pope were therefore of critical importance.

In the oration, Piccolomini said:

You see before your eyes, Holy Father, the many evils caused by the division prevailing in the Church. Your Holiness knows how charity grows cold, how faith disappears, how divine worship is destroyed, and that there is no obedience among subjects, no justice among leaders, no kindness among citizens, no peace between neighbours, and no piety among Christians. Many souls have been lost since the Catholic faith began to falter. [Sect. 2]

Interestingly, Piccolomini puts the blame for the division squarely on the churchmen:

All this is caused by the divisions among churchmen, who seek what is their own and not what is Jesus Christ's. Many would rather deny God than fail in their own endeavours. [Sect. 2]¹

The second danger mentioned is the Turkish expansion into Europe through Greece and the Balkans, following centuries of Arabic Islamic (Saracen) conquests in the Middle East, Africa and Spain:

But today, oh misery, the whole East is separated from us. Libya² has nothing in common with us. In Europe, there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians³, another by the Saracens ... [Sect. 2]

In this context, Piccolomini, for the first time in an oration, used the image of Christianity being pressed together in a corner of Europe:

Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner of Europe. [Sect. 2]

¹ Piccolomini had already touched upon the theme of churchmen causing divisions in the Church half a year before, in his quodlibet disputation at the University of Vienna, the "Aderat nuper" [9] of 25 November 1445

² I.e., Africa

³ Note that here Piccolomini uses the term Teucri (Teucrians) for the Turks, whereas elsewhere in the oration he uses the term Turci. Teucri was used by Virgil to designate the Trojans, and a number of early Renaissance humanists used the term to designate the Turks, in the mistaken belief that the Turks were the descendants of the Trojans themselves or some neighbouring people. Piccolomini himself used the term Teucrians as late as 1447, in the *Oration "Tritum est sermone"* (January 1447, Rome), but by then he began to reject this usage, his historical studies – correctly – showing him that the Turks had migrated to Asia Minor from somewhere in Asia, though he mistakenly identified them as descendants of the Scythians

This image, Piccolomini borrowed from Flavio Biondo's version of Pope Urban II's oration at the Council in Clermont 1095, included in Biondo's *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*.¹

2.2. Papal response to the dangers

On behalf of his imperial master, Piccolomini praises the initiatives of the pope to counter the threats to Christian Europe.

Firstly, the pope had successfully held a reunion council with the Greek Church in Ferrara-Florence.

For through your diligent endeavours, the Greeks, who had been separated from the Latin Church for several centuries, as well as other Easterners, have rejoined Church unity. [Sect. 3]

Though the reunion with the Greeks met with serious opposition from the Greek clergy, the results of the council were a major triumph for the papacy:

As a condition for the reunion with the Latin Church, the Greek emperor, Constantine VIII Palaeologus, and his government posed the condition that the papacy (and the West) should send military and financial aid to his regime in Constantinople, under ever greater military pressure from the Turks. After the reunion, Pope Eugenius actually did his best to organise a European military response to the Turkish war of aggression, but his means were rather limited.²

Piccolomini tactfully omits to mention the disastrous military campaign against the Turks in 1444, led by King Wladyslaw III of Poland and Hungary and a papal legate, Cardinal Giuliano Cesarini,³ which ended in a terrible defeat of the Christians at Varna and the deaths of both king and cardinal. But he does mention the pope's military aid, including a fleet, as well as financial subsidies to the frontier state, Hungary, directed against the "Sultan". The sultan was presumably the ruler of the Turks, though Piccolomini sometimes uses this term to designate the Mamluk ruler in Cairo⁴:

¹ The oration is published in the Appendix to Oration "*Quamvis omnibus qui adestis*" [21]

² On Eugenius' mobilisation against the Turks, see Setton, II, pp. 66-107

³ Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): created cardinal by Pope Martin V in 1426. Papal president of the Council of Basel until 1437. Died at the Battle of Varna, 1444. Mentor and friend of Piccolomini

⁴ See the Oration *Quamvis in hoc senatu of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* [17], where Piccolomini speaks of the "Sultan and the Turk" just as he speaks of the "Saracens and the Turks"

Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums in order to protect the Hungarians, who are like a wall protecting the Christian faith, and to expel the Turks from Europe and free the pitiable Greeks from their hands, those who were once the masters of the East but now appear to be slaves.

[Sect. 3]

It should be noted that Piccolomini only speaks about the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, not about reconquering Constantinople (or the Holy Land, for that matter), since such endeavours were judged to completely exceed papal resources and would be a matter for the secular rulers of Europe, including the emperor.

2.3. Restoration of German obedience to the pope

Referring indirectly to the German state of neutrality between pope and council, Piccolomini pledges the emperor's support to end this division:

He [the emperor] now intends to work together with Your Holiness and others to end the schism, and he will not cease until he sees that this has been achieved. For as a Christian, as duke, as king, as defender and champion of the Church, he will, as much as possible, use his office to restore peace in the Church. [Sect. 4]

As the emperor's ambassador, Piccolomini carefully refrains from speaking about the demands of the German princes, which would be presented by their own ambassador, Gregor Heimburg. But he emphatically states that the emperor agrees with the proposals of the princes and highly recommends them to the pope:

Since they are decent and appropriate and at this time necessary for the restoration of ecclesiastical peace, His Highness begs that you will receive them kindly and require their implementation, and that you will not show yourself to be severe and difficult, who in other important matters have shown yourself to be flexible and lenient. [Sect. 7]

Actually, there were important differences between the emperor and the prince electors concerning German policies towards the papacy, but though the pope would have been informed about these in private by the Bishop of Bologna, they could and should not be stated in public. At any rate, the reinstatement of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier was non-negotiable, also for the emperor. If the emperor did not actively and publicly support these two prince electors, it would place him in an extremely difficult, not to say dangerous, political position vis-à-vis the German princes.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered on 6 July 1446. The place was probably the apostolic palace in Rome, and the audience was the pope in a papal consistory and the members of the embassies. The format was a diplomatic address to the pope on behalf of the emperor.

4. Text¹

It has long been known that Piccolomini delivered an oration at the pope's audience for the German embassies – indeed, he himself mentioned it in his works (see above) - but apparently the text of the oration was not known. It has recently been discovered to be extant in

Wroclaw / Zaklad Narodowy im. Ossolinskich

Cod. 601, ff. 24v-26r²

It has not been edited or translated before.

Passages where the Latin text appears to be corrupt or very difficult to read are underlined.

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

5. Sources³

Only one quotation has been identified in the text of the oration, pointing to its being a businesslike diplomatic address with no room for oratorical exertions. Indeed, Piccolomini was under strong pressure to keep it extremely simple and, in no way whatsoever, to outshine or take the wind out of the address of Gregor Heimburg, the ambassador of the prince electors.

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

² Helmraath, p. 301, listed it (with a question mark) as: "*Rede 'Non Habet me dubium' (?) vor Eugen IV 1447 (f. 24v-26r)*"

³ For an analysis of Piccolomini's use of sources, see COR, 1: ch. 8

The one quotation is from Flavio Biondo's *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus.*

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Aeneae facta coram Eugenio papa

[1] {24v} Et breviter me hodie, beatissime pater, et longius orare¹ oportet. Breviter quia coram tua sanctitate verba sum facturus, qui me prius intelliget quam verba [faciam²] quamque os aperiam, et qui pro sua perlonga experientia, ingenti prudentia summaque sapientia nec persuasionibus rhetoricis³ nec syllogismis indiget dialecticis. Longius⁴ videlicet quia ex parte serenissimi domini Caesaris Friderici, Romanorum regis, filii tui devotissimi, verba facturus sum de re maxima et admodum necessaria: de sublacione videlicet divisionis, quae nunc est in clero atque propterea viget, et immo {25r} de unione ecclesiae, de pace fidelium, de augmento nominis Christiani, de quibus rebus nescio, quae oratio longa possit censi. Nescio igitur, quid agam, ne vestrae beatitudini an rei me cooptem. Inter dubitandum autem potior sententia visa est tuis auribus morem gerere prolixitatisque⁵ fastidium evitare. Referam igitur, pater beatissime, regium desiderium. Postea⁶ hi clari viri et doctissimi serius rem aggredientur, et quod erit necessarium convenientibus rationibus explicabunt.

¹ *em.*; *illeg.* Cod

² *em.*

³ *rethoricis* Cod.

⁴ *em.*; *longum* Cod.

⁵ *em.*; *Simonis matrem add.* Cod.

⁶ *em.*; *post* Cod.

1. Introduction

[1] Holy Father, today I am obliged on the one hand to speak briefly and on the other hand to speak at length. Briefly, because I am speaking before Your Holiness, who understands my words before I speak them and open my mouth, and who – because of your very long experience, immense prudence, and great wisdom - needs neither rhetorical persuasions nor dialectical syllogisms. At length, because I shall be speaking on behalf of His Most Serene Lord and Emperor, Friedrich, King of the Romans, your most devoted son, about a matter which is very great and very urgent: the ending of the prevailing division in the clergy, the unity of Church, the peace of the faithful, the propagation of the Christian cause, matters about which I do not think that any oration could be [too] long. I really do not know whether to adapt [my oration] to Your Holiness or to the matter at hand. But having been much in doubt, I have now decided [to shape my oration] to suit your ears and to avoid tedious prolixity. So now, Holy Father, I shall put forward the king's wishes, and afterwards, these excellent and learned men will go deeper into the matter and explain what is necessary with suitable reasons.

[2] Posita sunt ante oculos tuos, beatissime pater, quot mala ex hac divisione oriuntur, quae nunc¹ ecclesiae² comminantur³. Scit tua beatitudo, quomodo frigescit caritas, quomodo fides deperit, quomodo cultus divinus annihilatur, ut non est obedientia in subditis, non justitia in praepositis, non benevolentia inter cives, non pax inter finitimos, non religio inter Christianos. Multi sunt animi [perditi⁴], postquam fides catholica in subjectis deficere cepit. Asia quondam Christum credebat crucifixum et una cum occidentalibus in arca fidei morabatur. Id quoque⁵ Africa fecit. At hodie, proh dolor, totus Oriens a nobis divisus est. Nihil Libya nobiscum habet commune. In Europa quoque multa dissidia sunt: partem [habent⁶] gentiles Teucrici, partem Saraceni, partem schismatici diversis haeresibus infecti. Reducta autem et coarctata⁷ in angulum quendam est nostra Christianitas. Has divisiones clerici⁸ fecerunt, dum quae sua sunt, non quae Jesu Christi, quaerentes. Plurimi Deum potius negare quam suo in proposito succumbere volunt.

[3] Quod malum et olim in sacerdotibus viguit et hodie quoque late patet, ex quo maxime verendum est, ne fides nostra, quae angusta est et admodum parva, et angustissima fiat et minima. Ad quod impediendum non dubitat Caesarea majestas tuam beatitudinem summas operas, summa studia impartiri. Namque enim per tuam diligentiam Graeci, qui jam pluribus saeculis a Latina ecclesia dissidebant, ac nonnulli alii Orientales uniti sunt. Cum⁹ saepe auxilia contra Soldanum missa fuerunt, cum adversus Turcos praeparis classem magnosque sumptus feceris, ut et Hungaros, qui murum tenent catholicae fidei, tueris, et Turcos ipsos ab Europa expelleris, et de unguibus eorum infelices Grecos, qui quondam Orientis domini, nunc verum servi videntur, erumperes, quis non videt te multo et ardentius ac efficacius laborare, ut non sit schisma in corpore [Christi¹⁰]. Etenim frustra his, quae foris sunt, resistimus frustra que alienigenas ejiciamus¹¹, cum¹² ab his, qui intus sunt, resistimur¹³. Omnem equidem civitatem, quae hostes vel vincere vult vel evadere, eam prius inter se consonantem {25v} esse oportet. Sed scit serenitas regia tuae beatitudinis curam tuumque studium ad unionem ecclesiae. Scit quot expensas habueris, quot labores, quot legatos miseris. In qua re magnas tuae sanctitati gratias agit noster Caesar, quia gregem tuum non deseris neque omittis, quae ad salutem sunt populo procurare.

¹ *em.*; in *add.* Cod.

² *em.*; ecclesia Cod.

³ *em.*; comminitur Cod.

⁴ *em.*

⁵ et *add.* Cod.

⁶ *em.*

⁷ est *add.* Cod.

⁸ cleri Cod.

⁹ parte *add.* Cod.

¹⁰ *em.*

¹¹ *aut* evacuamus Cod.

¹² sed Cod.

¹³ *em.*; *illeg.* Cod.

2. Nefarious consequences of division in the Church

[2] You see before your eyes, Holy Father, the many evils caused by the division that is now threatening the Church. Your Holiness knows how charity grows cold, how faith disappears, how divine worship is destroyed, and how there is no obedience among subjects, no justice among leaders, no kindness among citizens, no peace between neighbours, and no piety among Christians. Many souls have been lost since the Catholic Faith began to weaken. Formerly, Asia believed in the crucified Christ and stayed, together with the western peoples, in the Ark of Faith. And so did Africa. But today, oh misery, the whole East is separated from us. Libya¹ has nothing in common with us. In Europe, too, there are many conflicts: one region is occupied by the gentile Teucrians, another by the Saracens, and yet another by schismatics infected with various heresies. Our Christianity has been reduced and pressed into a corner.² All this is caused by the divisions among churchmen, who seek what is their own and not what is Jesus Christ's. Many would rather deny God than fail in their own endeavours.

3. Papal initiatives to counter threats to the Church

[3] The evil [of disunity] reigned among priests formerly, and it also prevails today and has spread far and wide. Therefore, it is greatly to be feared that our Faith, already confined and reduced, will become even more so. His Imperial Majesty does not doubt that Your Holiness is doing all in your power to prevent this from happening. For through your diligent endeavours, the Greeks, who had been separated from the Latin Church for several centuries, as well as many other Easterners, have rejoined Church unity. Often help has been sent against the Sultan; you are preparing a fleet against the Turks; and you are spending great sums in order to support the Hungarians, a wall protecting the Christian faith, to expel the Turks from Europe, and to free the pitiable Greeks from their claws, those who were once the masters of the East but now appear to be slaves. Therefore, who does not see that you are working intensely and efficaciously to end the schism in the body [of Christ]. However, in vain do we fight external [enemies] and repel foreigners if we are opposed by those who are inside. Any city wanting to conquer or escape enemies must first have internal concord. But His Serene Highness knows your Holiness' care and labours for church union. He knows the great sums you have spent, the intensive efforts you have made, and the many legates you have sent. In this whole matter, our emperor profusely thanks Your Holiness for not deserting your flock and for not failing to do what you can for the salvation of the people.

¹ I.e., Africa

² Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [Im. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christianum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus*

[4] Verum cum hactenus pax optata reperiri non potuerit, cum adhuc remaneat schisma, cum laborandum est usque ad finem (nullius rei principium tam repperitur quam exitus), nunc Caesarea majestas, quae ab initio sui imperii cum reverendissimis ac illustrissimis principibus suis electoribus de hac re sollicita fuit, propterea quam pax optata reperiri possit, cogitavit, et nunc cum tua sanctitate, communiter cum aliis scilicet ad sublationem schismatis modo intendit, etiam ad id operam dat nec cessare vult, nisi perfectum intueatur. Nam cum sit Christianus, cum sit dux, cum sit rex, cum sit protector et advocatus ecclesiae, ad hoc maxime suum officium interponere vult, ut pacem in ecclesia resarciat.

[5] Idcirco cum principes sui praefati, reverendissimi et illustrissimi electores, ad pacem et unionem habendam certa et capitula et media [repperunt¹] eaque suae serenitati communicarunt, visum [est²] ipsi Caesari super illis ad tuam sanctitatem me destinare et supplicare, ut ea recipias et amplectaris. Nam quae principibus illis placent et sibi etiam placent illa, quae digna censet, plurimumque suos principes commendavit, qui ad pacem et unionem ecclesiae tam sollertes essent tamque affecti: cunctorum studium in primis universalis ecclesiae statui respicit.

[6] Secundario inclytæ nationis Germanicae provisiones, ad quas saepe Caesarea majestas affecta fuerat multumque pro illis intercesserat, ut tuae beatitudini constat.³ Nam de universalis ecclesiae pace cogitare cogitur ipse Christianissimus rex et unione religionis, quoniam in principe esse oportet cura⁴ vestri officij, quod cum imperio suscepit, advocacionis. De natione vero agit afficiens consequentia quomodolibet vero ad patriam, pro qua et optimus quisque vitam ponere non dubitat⁵. Agit et regalis dignitas, quam super Germanicos cum imperio suscepit. Agit etiam et justitia, quia dignum aestimat super pluribus suae nationi subvenire. Itemque gratias agit principibus electoribus rex ipse, qui suae sententiae se coaptaverunt et media ad eam reperierunt convenientia.

¹ *em.*

² *em.*

³ *Text may be missing*

⁴ *em.*; et Cod.

⁵ *subitat* Cod.

4. Imperial initiative to restore church unity

[4] But it has not yet been possible to restore peace as desired; the schism still prevails, and the labour must be pursued until the end, which must be pursued by all means. ... Therefore, his Imperial Majesty - who, together with his most reverend and illustrious princes, has been occupied with this whole matter from the very beginning of his rule – has been considering how the desired peace may be gained. He now intends to work together with Your Holiness and others to end the schism, and he will not cease before he sees that this has been achieved. For as a Christian, as duke, as king, as defender and champion of the Church,¹ he will - as much as possible - use his office to restore peace in the Church.

5. Petition of German prince electors

[5] Therefore, as his aforesaid princes, the most reverend and illustrious electors, have formulated certain articles and means to [restore] peace and union and have communicated them to His Serene Highness, the emperor has decided to send me to Your Holiness in the matter of these articles and to beg you to receive and accept them. What pleases these princes also pleases him. He considers their articles to have great merit, and he highly commends his princes for being so solicitous for peace and union in the Church; they are all primarily concerned about the state of Universal Church.

[6] Secondly, there are the provisions for the German nation. As Your Holiness knows, His Imperial Majesty has often shown concern and made requests about such.

As a Most Christian King, he must consider the peace of the Universal Church and religious unity, for this prince must have care for your office, whose protection he undertook together with imperial rule.

Concerning his nation, he is moved by affection for the fatherland, for which the best men do not hesitate to give [even] their life. He is also moved by the kingship over the Germans, which he took over together with imperial rule. And finally, he is moved by justice, for he considers that you should assist his nation most of all.

Again the king thanks his prince electors, who adopted his views and found means to further them.

¹ Piccolomini would reuse this formula in his crusade orations to the German diets following the Fall of Constantinople in 1453

[7] Illa audiat tua beatitudo per organum ipsorum auditorum hic praesentium, et serius, quae sunt, intelliget. Quae cum sint honesta et servabilia et hoc tempore ad integrandam pacem ecclesiasticam necessaria, supplicat regia celsitudo, ut ea tua clementia benigne suscipiat et executionem demandet, nec se gravem difficilemque in his praebat, qui aliquando in majoribus facilem et exorabilem [se¹] praebuit. Sed sicut ab initio tui pontificatus usque in haec tempora de unione cogitasti, pacem promovisti, nomen Christianum providus juvasti, commune bonum amasti, nationi Germanicae complacuisti, sic et modo facias, petitionem principum et electorum, quae {26r} et petitio regis est, exaudias, et hos oratores votive expeditos remittas, per quem enim potissimum modum nationem illam Germanicam, quae tibi devota est, devotissimam reddas, schisma, quod nunc viget, extirpabis, pacem in Christiano populo informabis, sedis apostolicae splendorem augebis, et principes ac populum tuum ...² tuamque bonitatem immensam venerabuntur. Propter hoc claritatem haurebis, ...³ honorem apud primores, in conspectu potentium admirabilis eris, et facies principum admirabuntur te et tuae sanctitati oboedient faciliter, quam Deus feliciter et longaeve tueatur ad salutem⁴ ecclesiae sanctae. Amen.

¹ *em.*

² *illeg.* Cod.

³ *illeg.* Cod.

⁴ *em.*; statum Cod.

6. Emperor's recommendation

[7] What they are, Your Holiness will hear (and thoroughly understand) through the voice of those present here. Their petitions are honourable, suitable, and, at this time, necessary for the restoration of ecclesiastical peace. Therefore, His Royal Highness begs that Your Clemency will receive them kindly and require their implementation, and that you will not show yourself to be severe and difficult when in other important matters you have shown yourself to be mild and lenient. From the beginning of your pontificate and until now, you have been concerned about [ecclesiastical] unity, you have worked for peace, you have diligently promoted the Christian cause, you have loved the common good, and you have been kindly disposed towards the German nation. Act likewise now, and heed the petition of the princes and electors, which is also the petition of the king, and send these ambassadors back with their requirements satisfied. That way is the best one to make the German nation, which is already devoted to you, even more devoted, to uproot the present schism, to restore peace to the Christian people, and to increase the splendour of the Apostolic See. Then the princes and the people will honour your [fairness] and your goodness. You will gain a great reputation among the nobles, you will be admired by those in power, and the princes will honour you and easily obey Your Holiness. May God let you live happily and long for the salvation of Holy Church. Amen.

Oration “*Non habet me dubium*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (9 January 1447, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 11)

Abstract

In January 1447, Enea Silvio Piccolomini arrived in Rome on a mission from Emperor Friedrich III to the ailing Pope Eugenius IV. The mission was to declare the obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the pope, thus ending the state of German neutrality between the pope and the Council of Basel. This council had been dissolved by the pope in 1438, but it continued to function and even elected an antipope, Felix V. Piccolomini was accompanied by other ambassadors from German princes and prelates with the same purpose. The Germans posed a number of conditions to be met by the Apostolic See before obedience could be declared: holding a new general council, recognising the authority of the general councils, removing the financial and legal burdens on the German Nation, and lifting the excommunication of the archbishops of Cologne and Trier. The mission was successful, but the pope did not himself enjoy the fruits of this victory for the papacy since he died some weeks later. As a reward for his diplomatic success, Piccolomini was, soon after, appointed Bishop of Trieste.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius; Aeneas Sylvius; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Pope Eugenius IV; Pope Eugene IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Council of Basel; Council of Basle; Holy Roman Empire; Apostolic See; Papacy; German neutrality; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15th Century; 1447

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The final break between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council in Basel occurred in January 1438, when the pope translated the Council to Ferrara, thereby effectively dissolving it. In Ferrara, he opened his “own” council, which he later transferred to Florence.

In this council participated the pope himself, the Byzantine Emperor, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the cardinals, and a number of Greek and Latin prelates and theologians. It succeeded in effecting a reunion between the Latin and Greek Churches, and though that reunion turned out to be shortlived, it greatly improved the status of the papacy and of the pope himself.

The council in Basel went on to suspend and later to depose the pope, and in 1439 it elected an antipope, Felix V, thus creating a new schism in the Church only two decades after the preceding council² had ended the Great Western Schism, with three popes.³

When Emperor Sigismund⁴ died in December 1437, the German prince electors assembled in Frankfurt to elect the new emperor.⁵ In this context, they also dealt with the situation in the Church, and on 17 March 1438 they declared their official neutrality in the church conflict.⁶ This state of neutrality received the adhesion of the other German princes and bishops as well as the new emperor, Albrecht II, and it lasted until it was finally brought to an end in 1447, partly through the agency of our Piccolomini.

In March 1439, a congress of representatives of the German princes and archbishops as well as of some foreign kings gathered in Mainz. There the Germans princes issued a solemn Acceptation of 26 decrees of the Council of Basel, although with some modifications.⁷ In doing so, they followed the example of France, where King Charles VII had decreed the so-called Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.⁸ Emperor Albrecht adhered to the Acceptation but without confirming it explicitly. It, therefore, did not have the full power of law and *remained little more than a statement of*

¹ Piccolomini: *Report on an embassy to Pope Eugenius IV, 1447* (CRDM, 1). Rainaldus, ad ann. 1447; Ady, 95-97; Boulting, pp. 169-170; Du Fresne de Beaucourt, IV, 255-261; Gill, pp. 162-164; Koller, pp. 106-110; Mitchell, pp. 101-102; O’Brien, pp. 63 ff; Paparelli, pp. 118-119; Pastor, pp. 260-262; Stolff, p. 204; Voigt, II, pp. 381-399;

² The Council of Konstanz, 1414-1418

³ Gregory XII, Benedict XIII, John XXIII,

⁴ Sigismund of Luxembourg (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Bohemia and Roman Emperor

⁵ Albrecht V Habsburg (1397-1439): Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, Roman Emperor as Albrecht II (uncrowned)

⁶ Stieber, p. 137

⁷ Stieber, p. 161

⁸ 1438

*expectations.*¹ Among the Basilean decrees not recognised by the Germans was the deposition of Pope Eugenius.

After 1439, the European powers and national churches gradually came to recognise Pope Eugenius as the legitimate pope and no longer recognised the Council of Basel. In this context, German neutrality became less and less tenable. It did, however, entail considerable advantages for the German princes and prelates who did not strictly observe neutrality but ably played the papal or conciliar card to their own advantage.

After the death of Emperor Albrecht in 1439, Friederich III,² the new emperor, initially adhered to the German neutrality. However, in 1443 the imperial court gradually began to favour the papal cause, and through a rather convoluted course of negotiations and diets, a basis was created for German recognition of the pope. The pope himself was not very helpful; at one point³ he even excommunicated two imperial electors, the archbishops of Cologne and Trier, causing absolute fury in Germany.

As a secretary in the imperial chancery and a protégé and friend of Kaspar Schlick, the powerful imperial chancellor, Piccolomini came to be used in the process of negotiations, both at the papal court in Rome⁴ and at various German diets, and eventually he became the principal imperial negotiator in this whole matter.

Thus, he played a crucial role at the Diet of Frankfurt, which began on 14 September 1446. On behalf of the emperor, he managed to formulate a compromise formula that did not completely satisfy the conditions either of the electors or of the pope. Nonetheless, it was accepted by the various parties at the diet albeit not without some acerbity on the part of the two deposed electors and their supporters. Thus, the road was opened to German recognition of the pope if he would agree to the conditions contained in the compromise formula.⁵

Afterwards, it was decided to send an embassy from the emperor and the electors of Mainz and Brandenburg, as well as from other German princes and prelates, to Rome to negotiate the matter and, in the case of success, to declare the obedience of the German nation to Pope Eugenius.⁶

¹ Stieber, p. 169

² Friederich III Habsburg (1415-1493): Duke of Austria, elected Emperor in 1440. Officially King of the Romans until his imperial coronation in Rome in 1452

³ 21 January 1446

⁴ Where he became reconciled with Pope Eugenius on the first of his three imperial missions to that pope, in March 1445

⁵ Stieber, pp. 292-293

⁶ Stieber, p. 297

The German envoys arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447.¹ The imperial embassy was headed by Piccolomini, from whose subsequent report to the emperor the following description is taken:

We gathered the next day at San Lorenzo in Damaso. Three things were discussed there. The oration that Aeneas had drafted was reviewed. It pleased all. Nothing in it was changed, except that "suspension of allegiance"² should be used whenever "neutrality" was mentioned. It was decided to seek an audience with the supreme pontiff through the efforts of the treasurer who had been sent to us, lest, by begging the goodwill of one cardinal, we should incur the indignation of another, since courts are full of envy and where one finds talents, one finds more jealousy ...

When the day of the audience had been set,³ we were commanded to meet at San Pietro and attend the solemnities of the mass. There, the archbishop of Benevento, the bishop of Ferrara, and several others were sent to lead us to the secret consistory. Eugene sat on the throne, a grave father and one most worthy of veneration. About fifteen cardinals sat around him. There, after we had been received to kiss the pope's foot and all the intermediaries had departed, Aeneas delivered the oration, as had been decided beforehand. In it, it was said that the pope should embrace the desires of the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, and it offended neither the people nor the cardinals but was heard with pleasure by all. Many sought copies of his oration afterward, not so much for its ornament as for its content, which all said they knew. When Aeneas had finished speaking, Eugene praised his work, condemned neutrality, and commended the king and the electors. He complained somewhat about the archbishops of Trier and Cologne, and he defended his action in deposing them. He concluded that he had to deliberate with his brothers, the cardinals, about the principal matter.⁴

Some years later, in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* of 1450, Piccolomini wrote about the events:

They [the German ambassadors] met in Siena to enter Rome together and were received with great honour. All the prelates turned out. They were ushered to the pope and received a hearing. Aeneas gave an oration on behalf of all. He exhorted that there should be peace. He told the pope the mind of the nation. He asked for restitution of the deposed prelates. He offered obedience. The pope was benign. He offered thanks to the king of the Romans, who

¹ Pastor, I, p. 261

² "suspensio animorum"

³ 11 January 1447

⁴ WO, II, pp. 237- 263; translation quoted from Reject, pp. 247-248.

*had handled ecclesiastical affairs faithfully, and commended the prelates and princes who had sent envoys. He said he wanted to deliberate with his brothers and respond later.*¹

And in 1453, he wrote, in his *Historia Austriasis* (1. Version):

*Non tamen inter hec Federicus res ecclesie neglexit, sed Eneam atque Procopium equitem Bohemum ad Eugenium misit hisque facultatem dedit, si Eugenius notulas Francfordie conclusas acceptaret, ut nomine suo obedientiam ei restituerent. Qui cum Senas venissent in festo nativitatis, Maguntini et aliorum principum legatos ex conducto illic offenderunt atque cum his Romam profecti sunt, ubi maximo cum honore recepti fuerunt Eugenio obviam mittente omnes curiae prelatos preter cardinales. Iohannes de Lysura iam mutatus erat et in legationem Maguntini venit. Cum venissent in conspectum Eugenii, Eneas orationem habuit nomine omnium, que et pape et cardinalibus gratissima fuit.*²

In his *De Europa* from 1458, he had this comment on the events:

*Before he [Eugenius IV] passed away, however, the Germans, who, after observing the rivalry of the two popes, had maintained a kind of neutrality and refused to obey either of them, dispatched envoys to Rome – including me, as an emissary of Emperor Frederick – and restored their allegiance to Eugenius when he was close to death.*³

Even later, in his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, Pius wrote:

The emperor's envoys found him [Johann Lysura] at Siena with the representatives of many other princes, and they all proceeded together to Rome. They were met at the first milestone by retainers of the pope and the cardinals and all the prelates of the Curia, who escorted them into the city like conquering heroes returning home. Two days later they were summoned to a secret consistory before Eugenius where Aeneas acted as the spokesman for the group; pope and cardinals alike greeted his speech with remarkable applause.^{4 5}

¹ Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentaries*. Translation quoted from Rejct, pp. 378-379

² Piccolomini: *Historia Austriasis*, 1. Version (Knödler, pp. 34-35)

³ Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 58, 231 (Bisaha/Brown, p. 261)

⁴ CO, I, 16 (Meserve, I, pp. 70-71)

⁵ Campano and Platina, Pius' contemporary biographers, barely mention the matter. Campano wrote: *Reliquis contentionum Germanicarum tertia demum legatione sublatis, exceptus est Romae ob operam prospere navatam omnium ordinum supplicationibus* (Zimolo, p. 15). And Platina: *Quo facto ab imperatore ad Eugenium tertio missus, Germaniam Ecclesie Romane obtemperaturam sacramento ostendit* (Zimolo, p. 101)

The content of Piccolomini's oration was the firm conditions of the German princes for giving up their neutrality, but they were presented with all his consummate oratorical and diplomatic skills.¹ Reinhardt has this comment: *Nur zwei Jahre nach seiner Abschwörung hielt der Meisterrhetoriker Piccolomini am selben Ort und vor demselben Publikum erneut eine zutiefst doppeldeutige Rede. Im Namen der deutschen Gesandtschaft musste er Anliegen rechtfertigen, denen er bei seiner Versöhnung mit Eugen IV. eine Absage erteilt hatte.*² This criticism of duplicity appears to be misplaced: even if Piccolomini presented the German message most diplomatically, he kept strictly to the compromise that he had himself formulated at the preceding Diet in Frankfurt,³ and moreover, his draft of the oration had been carefully reviewed beforehand with all the members of the embassy. Piccolomini's mission was evidently not to serve the particular interests of the German prince electors but to further the ecclesiastical policies of the emperor. These included the alliance between empire and papacy, which was also the goal of his two masters, the emperor, whose secretary he was, and the pope, whose secretary he was, too, and quite officially so.⁴

The oration initiated a month of tough negotiations and bargaining while the pope took to his bed with an illness that turned out to be terminal. The Germans discussed whether they should suspend negotiations, awaiting the accession of the new pope, but Piccolomini persuaded them to proceed, supported by the representative of the Archbishop of Mainz, who said that the declaration of obedience should be made *even if Eugene could only move one finger.*⁵

Having settled the remaining issues as far as possible, the German delegates

were taken to the pope, who was lying in an inner chamber. We admired him like one of the holy fathers. We venerated him and kissed his hand. The gravity of the man was great, and

¹ In a letter to Siena of 23 January 1497, the abbot of San Galgano wrote about the oration: *Li ambasciatori de Re de Romani e degli electori ed altri principi oltramontani sono qua come per altra rendi avisate le M.S.V. Espose la ambasciata in nome di tucti gli alteri in concistorio segreto lo eloquentissimo huomo poeta misser Enea Picogliuomini ciptadino vestro; espone in tal modo et con tanto ornate la ambasciata in se odiosa et dispiacevole che da ongni S. e stato sommamente commendato lo ingegno e la prudentia sua et non dubito che in breve saranno in qualche parte remunerate le virtu sue mediante le quali honore e gloria ne conseguita la cipta vestra. Etsi in somma adimando quarto cose ciascuna piu exorbitante e odiosa alla S.ta di N.S. e generalmente a tucto collegio de cardenali e per la mala conditione del tempo sara necessario che nella maggior parte sieno exalditi per schifare maggiori pericoli e scandali che advenerebbono se cosi non si facesse.* (Pastor, I, pp. 652-653). Translation in Ady, pp. 95-96. The abbot could not know that his predictions about the future career of Piccolomini were so true that three years later he would himself be passed over as the new bishop of Siena in favour of ... Piccolomini!. See CO, I, 20 (Meserve, I, pp. 96-97); Paparelli, p. 132

² Reinhardt, p. 136

³ See Voigt, II, p. 382

⁴ Piccolomini's double function as imperial and papal official would be reinforced during the following years, when he was at the same time an official counsellor and diplomat of the emperor and papal nuncio to Central Europe. Such double functions were not unheard of at that time

⁵ Reject, p. 253

his face was full of majesty. That face made the pontiff known. When he saw us, he spoke benignly and ordered a few words to be said. We offered obedience to his holiness, and, having received from his hand the letter already drafted, we dispatched it to those at Mainz. ... The pope gave thanks to God and sent us away, weeping, with his blessing.¹

Afterwards, the results of the negotiation were confirmed by the cardinals in a public consistory, and great festivities were held in Rome. The pope died some weeks later, and it fell to the new pope, Nicolaus V, to bring the whole matter to a happy conclusion through the Concordat of Vienna of 1447, which settled German church affairs and relations between Rome and Germany. However, succeeding popes and the papal curia tended to undermine the terms of the concordat, and the whole issue of the “burdens on the German nation” would continue to poison relations between Germany and the papacy until it found its final solution about 70 years later, at the Reformation. In a historical perspective, this issue was really the most critical in 1447, and the failure of the papacy (and Piccolomini) to understand its importance then and later and to initiate much-needed reforms would prove to be a fatal mistake.

2. Themes

As custom at the papal court favoured,² Piccolomini took as his point of departure an appropriate biblical quote,³ indeed a very apt one. He then outlined the advantages of the settlement for the Apostolic See, and afterwards he announced the German conditions for the settlement.

These conditions were not an expression of Piccolomini’s personal convictions, but the compromise terms hammered out between the imperial diplomats and the German princes at the fateful Diet of Frankfurt some months before. As a spokesman for the emperor and the German princes, Piccolomini’s first task in Rome was to faithfully communicate the terms of this compromise to the pope and the papal court, notwithstanding his own personal opinions, and the text of the oration was indeed very carefully crafted and negotiated in the German delegation as late as a couple of days before its delivery. However, Piccolomini well knew that the presentation of the German requirements would be followed by negotiations with the papal court, and during that phase there would be scope for his diplomatic abilities to shape an agreement acceptable both to Germany and to the papacy.⁴

¹ Reject, p. 254

² Continuing a tradition deriving from the the mediaeval *ars praedicandi*

³ This is the only oration in which Piccolomini did so, probably as a rhetorical gesture aimed at Pope Eugenius

⁴ O’Brien mentions that “as imperial ambassador, Aeneas’ primary responsibility was to serve the interests of the emperor”. Hower, later she writes that “Aeneas was asking for concessions that effectively hindered the [protection of

The four conditions that the pope should agree to were

- to hold a new general council to settle church affairs and carry out much-needed reforms,
- to recognise the authority of the general councils,
- to remove the financial and other burdens on the German nation, and
- to lift the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne.

Concerning the convocation of a new council, Piccolomini said:

A council is requested because there are many things in urgent need of reform, both in the laity and in the clergy, and action must be taken to remove any cause for conflict in the Church. [Sect. 18]

Church reform had been somewhat neglected by the Council of Basel, too busy fighting the pope, and there was general agreement on the need for such reform. However, everybody knew that another council would certainly not be palatable to the Apostolic See. After all, the annoying habit of 15th-century councils to depose the pope and deprive him of his incomes was not a greatly motivating factor for the popes. The imperial court might no longer be very interested, either, and it was probably felt that if this whole matter was dealt with tactfully, it was not really a key issue. The pope would issue a general acceptance of the idea, hedging it, however, with conditions that could not be fulfilled, for example the unanimous acceptance of the date and location of the council by the European princes. As for the princes, they had seen how the Council of Basel slipped out of their own control and even became the breeding place for certain democratic ideas and practices, which they would not like much. So, though they maintained the idea of a council, as a permanent threat against the papacy brandished by individual kings in their conflicts with a reigning pope, they actually tolerated that it took two generations more before a pope summoned a new council¹ – in Rome and firmly under papal control.²

Concerning papal recognition of the authority of the general councils, Piccolomini said:

papal sovereignty]", and the "content [of the oration] pitted Aeneas not simply against the conciliar policies of Eugenius ..." (O'Brien, p. 66). Such formulations appear to exaggerate Aeneas' personal role in the presentation of the German demands: on that occasion, he was simply – as a good diplomat – stating the demands formulated at the preceding Diet in Frankfurt

¹ In clear defiance of the decree *Frequens* of the Council of Basel on the holding of general councils every ten years

² The Fifth Council of the Lateran (1512–1517) with church reform as its main agenda

... in Frankfurt, your orators hinted at an ominous concept of the authority of the councils that was very painful to the people. This should now be completely eradicated by a letter from you. Your predecessors, whom you not only follow but whom you equal and even surpass in good deeds, used to silence the audacity of evil people by making a public statement concerning their faith. It is not a new or unusual thing for the Roman popes to send a declaration of the purity of their faith to the Roman kings. Blessed Gregory, whose holy life matched his great authority, declares that like the four gospels, he accepts and reveres four councils. We do not ask for such far-reaching and grand statements from you, but only what we mentioned before and do not doubt that we shall receive from the Holy See. [Sect. 19]

The papacy would simply have to issue some satisfactory recognition of the authority of the general councils. How it would be expressed was left to skilful negotiators on both sides, but there would be no compromise on the basic principle. It must be kept in mind, however, that the popes were not against general councils but against conciliarism, which would extend the powers of the council in church government to a degree unacceptable to the popes, including appeals from a reigning pope to the next council. Even Piccolomini himself, as pope, would recognise that under certain conditions, e.g., a heretical pope, the general council was above the pope, and the line of popes to which Eugenius V and Pius II himself and all later popes belonged was established by the Council of Konstanz in 1417, deposing three concurrent popes and electing a new one in their place, Martin V.

Concerning the burdens on the German nation, Piccolomini said:

We now have to speak about the burdens. May your Holiness listen benevolently and note the nation's moderation. The burdens in question are of two kinds: some have been removed by decrees of the Council of Basel; others require the intervention of Your Holiness. What has been abolished by the conciliar decrees are: the excessive [use of] reservations, the heavy annates, the frequent appeal of legal cases to the Roman Curia, and other procedures of this kind that had completely voided the ordinary jurisdiction. Though these matters had seemed very grave to the nation long before you were called to the height of the Supreme Apostolate, the nation did not, on its own authority, throw off the yoke - like the ten tribes did to Roboam, son of Solomon. Rather, it awaited the decisions of the Council of Basel, whose decrees it accepted, though with a number of modifications, and [only afterwards], it used these decrees. So that the nation may be free of this burden hereafter, it asks for your permission to apply these decrees in the future. You will observe the moderation in this request. [Sect. 20]

The issue of leaving the actual possessors of ecclesiastical offices and benefices in place, however, would be dealt with smoothly.

Concerning the reinstatement of the two archbishops and imperial electors of Cologne and Trier, the German position was not negotiable, and Eugenius' pragmatic successor, Nicolaus V, had no difficulty in settling the matter gracefully.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Pastor,¹ the German ambassadors arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447, and according to Piccolomini himself, the oration was given on the third day after the arrival in Rome, i.e., two days afterwards, on 9 January 1447.^{2 3}

The place was the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican.

The audience consisted of the pope and cardinals assembled in a secret consistory, and probably a few curials.

The format was that of a proper oration, written in advance, as witnessed by Pius himself in his report to the emperor: *The oration which Aeneas had drafted was reviewed.*⁴

4. Text⁵

The oration was not included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, compiled (1462-1464) under his personal supervision. The reason for the non-inclusion may have been political: it might after all have been awkward for Pope Pius to publish, as pope, an oration addressed to a predecessor wherein he himself demanded a new general council, so – understandably - abhorrent to the

¹ Pastor, I, p. 260

² CO, I, 16 (Heck, I, p. 64): *Tertia die ad Eugenium vocati in consistorio secreto auditi sunt, quo in loco nomine omnium Eneas oravit*

³ Ady and Mitchell give the date 12 January

⁴ Reject, pp. 247-248

⁵ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

Renaissance popes.¹ If this is so, it would be an example of how Piccolomini's changed circumstances and papal policies determined the selection of texts for the compilation of his orations.

4.1 Manuscripts²

The oration is extant in the following manuscripts:

- **London / British Library**
Arundel MS 138, ff. 4r-6v **(L)**
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 70, ff. 365r-368v **(M)***
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms. lat. 4314, ff. 183r-194r **(P)***

4.2 Editions

- Martene, Edmond & Ursin Durand: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*. Vol. 8. Paris: Montalant, 1733, coll. 980-988³
- Gaertner, C.: *Corporis juris ecclesiastici catholicorum novioris quod per Germaniam obtinet*. T. I. Salzburg, 1797, pp. 94-105
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759 // Tom. I, pp. 108-120
[Reproduced the edition of Martène/Durand]

¹ Cf. O'Brien, p. 62-64. O'Brien does not mention the omission of the oration from the official papal compilation of orations, but quite plausibly surmises *that when Pius II wished in his 1463 bull In Minoribus that some of his earlier writings had "languished into obscurity," he counted this oration among such texts*

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

³ Martène and Durand do not indicate which ms. was used as the basis for their edition, but it cannot have been one of the manuscripts used for the present edition

4.3 Present edition

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

Text:

The edition is based on all three manuscripts listed above and the edition by Martène and Durand. The lead text is the BNB 4314.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Paris 4314.

5. Sources¹

In this oration, altogether 30 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified:

Biblical	20
Classical	3
Patristic and medieval	7
Contemporary	0
All	30

The biblical quotations dominate heavily, and there is only one quotation from the classics, a “safe” quotation from Cicero. Piccolomini had probably adapted his oratory style to the pope, who might not have appreciated usage of gentile classical authors.

¹ For an analysis of Piccolomini’s use of sources, see COR, 1 : ch. 8

Biblical sources: 20Old Testament: 11

- Genesis: 1
- Exodus: 2
- Deuteronomy: 1
- 1. Chronicles: 2
- 3. Kings: 1
- Proverbs: 3
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 9

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

Classical sources: 3

- Cicero: 3¹

Patristic and medieval sources: 7

- Decretum Gratiani: 3
- Hilaire of Poitiers: 1
- Jeronimus: 1²
- John Chrysostom: 1
- Ps. Isidore: 1

¹ De officiis, 1; Philippicae, 1; Pro lege Manilia 1

² Epistolae

Contemporary sources: 0

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¹ Abbreviations used in the notes are given in bold types

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae*

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

L = London / British Library / Arundel MS 138

M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / clm 70

P = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms. lat. 4314

MA = Martene, Edmond & Ursin Durand: *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum historicorum, dogmaticorum, moralium amplissima collectio*. Vol. 8. Paris: Montalant, 1733

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio quam habuit dominus Eneas Silvius Episcopus Tergestinus pro fideli Alamanorum obedientia reconsiliationeque scismatis ac celebrando concilio coram Eugenio papa quarto ¹

[1] {183r} Non habet me dubium, pater sanctissime, quin apud te sit illa domus, quam dominus in evangelio supra firmam petram laudat aedificatam, ad quam recurrendum est regnante diluvio. Nam extra eam non est salus, et ejus decorem diligere se propheta testatur, persuasumque² mihi jam^{3 4} dudum fuerat in hoc⁵ amplissimo loco neminem loqui decere⁶, nisi vel summa doctrina⁷ vel auctoritate⁸ vel vitae⁹ sanctimonia¹⁰ praestantem. Rursus quoque¹¹ nihil huc afferri rebar oportere, nisi *perfectum*¹² *ingenio, elaboratum*¹³ *industria*, rebusque ipsis illustratum esset, nec immerito, nisi¹⁴ fallor. Quis enim aliter¹⁵ vel coram te, summo pontifice, aeterni regni clavigero ac Jesu Christi vicario, vel coram his gravissimis ac¹⁶ sapientissimis patribus verba faciens commendatur^{17 18}?

¹ Oratio ... quarto : Oratio domini Aeneae oratoris illustrissimi Romanorum regis Friderici super scismate recitata coram Eugenio [*sic!*] papa L; Oratio facta per reverendissimum patrem ac dominum Tergestine ecclesiae episcopum in facto declarationis coram Eugenio Papam III M; Oratio, quam habuit dominus Aeneas Sylvius, episcopus Tergestinus, pro fideli Alamannorum oboedientia, reconciliationeque schismatis, ac celebrando concilio coram Eugenio papa IV MA

² persuasum M

³ *omit.* L

⁴ mihi jam : iam mihi L, M

⁵ *omit.* P, MA

⁶ debere L, M

⁷ summa doctrina : doctrina summa M

⁸ vel auctoritate *omit.* L

⁹ vita M

¹⁰ sanctitate L, M

¹¹ quin M

¹² perfecto M

¹³ et laboratum L

¹⁴ ni L, M

¹⁵ velit L

¹⁶ *hac et passim* L

¹⁷ commandetur M, P

¹⁸ verba faciens commendatur : commendatus verba facere L

Oration delivered by Enea Silvio, Bishop of Trieste,¹ on the loyal obedience of the Germans, the healing of the schism, and the celebration of a council, before Pope Eugene IV

1. Introduction

[1] Holy Father, I do not doubt that yours is that house which the Lord praises in the Gospel as built on solid rock, and where people may seek refuge in times of deluge. For outside that house there is no salvation,² and the prophet declares to love its beauty.³ For a long time, I have been convinced that in this exalted⁴ place only those should speak who are distinguished through profound learning, authority, and holiness of life. Moreover, I thought - and justly so, I believe - that only such things should be brought forth here that have been *refined by the intellect, elaborated with care*,⁵ and which are highly important⁶. For, otherwise, how could anybody be charged with speaking before you, Supreme Pontiff, Keybearer of the Eternal Kingdom and Vicar of Jesus Christ, and before these serious and wise Fathers.⁷

¹ Piccolomini had not yet been appointed Bishop of Trieste when he delivered this oration

² The traditional axiom: *Extra ecclesiam nulla salus*. This theme, in the sense of communion with the Apostolic See, was also used three months later by the new pope, Nicolaus V, when he gave the oration "*Nihil est*" to the ambassadors of Aragon, coming to declare the obedience to the Apostolic See of their master, King Alfonso V the Magnanimous. See Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani

³ Psalms, 25, 8

⁴ "amplissimo"

⁵ Cicero: *Pro lege Manilia*, 1.1

⁶ "rebus ipsis illustratum"

⁷ The 15 cardinals present at the secret consistory

[2] Haec ego, cum¹ alias ad te missus {183v} mecum tacitus² expendissem³, in tuae sanctitatis conspectu tacere potius quam⁴ loqui voluissem. Sed⁵ quoniam solus eram, qui legationis regiae munus⁶ obibam⁷, quod voluntas repulit⁸, necessitas impulit. Nunc vero secundo ad te remissus⁹, sperabam¹⁰ nobilis equitis ac clarissimi collegae mei beneficio et eloquentia hoc fasce¹¹ levare, qui et¹² prudentius, et gravius et ornatius¹³ multo¹⁴ quam ego desiderium regium electorumque principum complevisset¹⁵. Sed nescio quid factum sit, ut mihi potissime nihil apto et multum repugnanti sit onus dicendi mandatum¹⁶. Forsitan quia tecum alias fui¹⁷, vel quia sum Italus, *habere* nonnihil¹⁸ *energiae*¹⁹ vel notitia vel communis patria creditur. In me aliud nihil est, quod mihi prae ceteris facit dicendi²⁰ necessitatem. At ego, etsi magnum est iubentis imperium, etsi²¹ parere majoribus cupio, neutiquam²² tamen in praesentiarum tuam alloqui sanctitatem²³ fuissem ausus, nisi²⁴ me res ipsae, de quibus est agendum²⁵ ²⁶, maximae²⁷ reipublicae Christianae²⁸ plurimum {184r} necessariae commovissent, nisi et animum illi darent, quorum nomine verba fient, sublimes atque principes, quos intueberis, dum me audies, et quod tuae mihi negassent

¹ tum MA

² tacite L; taciturnum M

³ perpendissem L

⁴ priusquam P, MA

⁵ *omit.* L

⁶ regiae munus : regimen L

⁷ habebam L

⁸ refugit L

⁹ missus M

¹⁰ asperabam L

¹¹ face P

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ oracius M

¹⁴ multa L

¹⁵ explevisset L, M

¹⁶ argumentum M

¹⁷ *omit.* P, MA

¹⁸ latentis *add.* M

¹⁹ latentis *add.* L

²⁰ facit dicendi : dicendi faciat L, M

²¹ et M

²² rectumque sit L

²³ non *add.* L

²⁴ in *add.* L

²⁵ *omit.* P

²⁶ est agendum : agendum est L, M

²⁷ et *add.* L

²⁸ et *add.* L.

atures, praestabunt illis. Nec enim vel pauca sunt vel ab ingratis¹ missa principibus, quae mihi oranda incumbunt.

[2] When I was sent to you on another occasion,² I pondered this, and I would rather have stayed silent before you than speak. But since, [on that occasion,] I was the only one charged with the royal mission,³ necessity obliged me to do what I personally wished to avoid. Now, having been sent back to you a second time, I was really hoping that I would be relieved of this burden through the kindness and eloquence of the noble knight, my esteemed colleague,⁴ who could fulfil the wish of the king⁵ and the prince electors much more intelligently, seriously, and elegantly than I. But the burden of speaking has now somehow fallen on me, who is quite unqualified and very reluctant to do so. The reason may have been that I was with you before⁶ or that, being Italian, I am considered to *have some vigour*,⁷ or some knowledge of things, or maybe it is because of our common fatherland. Otherwise, I have nothing that points to me rather than others as the speaker. But though the power of the one who ordered me to speak⁸ is great, and though I desire to obey my superiors, I should never have dared to address your Holiness now, unless I had been forced to do so by those very matters we are dealing with and which are extremely important to the Christian commonwealth, and if I had not been given courage by those high and exalted princes in whose name I shall be speaking and whom you will see before you as you are listening to me⁹: what your ears would have denied to me personally, they will grant to them, for the things which we have been charged with saying are neither unimportant¹⁰ nor set forth by unwelcome princes.

¹ insciis L

² The German mission to Eugenius IV in April 1446 when Piccolomini delivered the oration "*Et breviter me hodie*" [10] to the pope. He had actually been on a previous mission to Eugenius, in the beginning of 1445, but this mission was confidential and not referred to here

³ Piccolomini represented Friedrich III, whereas the other ambassadors represented the prince electors and other German princes

⁴ Prokop von Rabstein

⁵ Friedrich III, formally referred to as king since he had not yet been crowned emperor. Later in the oration, Piccolomini uses the title of emperor for the as yet uncrowned Friedrich III

⁶ I.e., on earlier mission/s to the pope

⁷ Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Paulinum* (53), 2. MPL, XXII, col. 541

⁸ Friedrich III

⁹ The princes are, of course, in Germany, but they are present in the person of their representative, Piccolomini

¹⁰ "pauca": few

[3] Ceterum, quia moris est coram te loquentibus breviusculam sibi aliquam, unde exordiantur, ex sacris litteris sententiam¹ assumere, non adversabor ipse² consuetudini³, quam⁴ discere magis⁵ quam docere oporteret. Inter auctoritates autem⁶, quas sacrosanctis possum ex codicibus mutuari⁷, nulla mihi aptior⁸ nullaque nostro convenientior proposito visa est illa, quam nobis Paralipomenon affert: morabatur in praesidiis inclytus David; *accesserunt ad⁹ eum viri de¹⁰ Benjamin et Juda, quibus obviam David egressus: "Si pacifici venitis," inquit, "ad me, ut auxiliemini mihi, cor meum jungatur vobis. Si autem insidiamini¹¹ mihi¹² pro adversariis meis, cum ego¹³ iniquitatem in manibus non habeam¹⁴, {184r} videat Deus patrum nostrorum et iudicet."* Ad quem illi: *"Tui sumus, o David, et tecum, fili Isai¹⁵, manebimus. Pax, pax tibi, pax adiutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat¹⁶ Deus tuus."*

¹ sententiam MA

² omit. L

³ omit. M

⁴ quia M

⁵ quam discere magis omit. MA

⁶ auctoritates autem : autem auctoritates M

⁷ imitari L

⁸ altior L

⁹ omit. M, P

¹⁰ omit. MA

¹¹ insidiari P

¹² omit. L

¹³ virga P

¹⁴ non habeam omit. P

¹⁵ Ysaac P

¹⁶ adjuvet L

[3] It is customary for people speaking before you to begin with a short sentence chosen from Holy Scripture, and I shall not go against this custom, which one should follow rather than teach.¹ Among the authoritative statements that I can borrow from the Holy Books, none seems more appropriate for our purpose than one found² in the Paralipomenon³: Glorious David was staying with his guards. *And there came also of the men of Benjamin, and of Juda to the hold, in which David abode. And David went out to meet them, and said: If you are come peaceably to me to help me, let my heart be joined to you: but if you plot against me for my enemies whereas I have no iniquity in my hands, let the God of our fathers see, and judge.*⁴ But they said to him: *“We are thine, O David, and for thee, O son of Isai: peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.”*⁵

¹ “discere magis quam docere”: *locus communis*

² “affert nobis”

³ Paralipomenon = Book of Chronicles

⁴ 1. Chronicles (Paralipomenon), 12, 16-17

⁵ 1. Chronicles, 12, 18

[4] Aptissima, sicut mihi videtur, ad propositum nostrum¹ verba sunt. Quaeris enim forsitan ex nobis, pater sanctissime, an amici venimus, quid quaerimus, quid afferimus, dum nos nomino - non nosipsos, qui adsumus nuntios², sed dominum Caesarem Fridericum, tuae sanctitatis³ devotissimum filium, ac praeclarissimos principes et reverendissimos patres sacri imperii electores, tum⁴ proceres et⁵ praelatos tibi deditissimos, quorum hic oratores vides, intelligi volo. Sumus igitur non solum amici, sed etiam adiutores. Pacem afferimus, pacem quaerimus, atque idcirco cum filiis Benjamin et Judae dicimus: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat⁶ Deus tuus.*

[5] Plena pacis petitio est, plena pacis oblatio. *Pacis nomen⁷*, ut inquit orator, *dulce est, et res ipsa tum⁸ jucunda, tum⁹ salutaris¹⁰*. *Qui ineunt pacis consilia*, teste {185r} Sapiente, *sequitur¹¹ eos gaudium*. Dominus vero in evangelio *beatos esse pacificos* tradit. Ideoque jubet in epistolis doctor gentium, ut, quae sunt pacis, sectemur, mercedemque¹² repromittens: *Pacem, inquit, habete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum*. Hujus igitur tam sanctae rei, tam utilis, tam necessariae, tam¹³ commendatae¹⁴ et nuntii et¹⁵ petitores sumus, ac propterea repetimus: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat¹⁶ Deus tuus.*

¹ propositum nostrum : nostrum propositum L, M

² *omit.* P, MA

³ tuae sanctitatis *omit.* M

⁴ tibi L

⁵ ac L

⁶ adjuvet L

⁷ morem L

⁸ *omit.* L

⁹ *etiam add.* L

¹⁰ salutariam L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² mercedem MA

¹³ *omit.* L

¹⁴ commendato M

¹⁵ ac L

¹⁶ adjuvet L

[4] These words seem to me to be highly appropriate to our purpose. Maybe you ask us, Holy Father, if we come as friends, what we ask for, and what we bring you? And when I say “we” I do not mean the envoys present here, but the Lord Emperor, Friedrich,¹ devoted son of Your Holiness, and the glorious princes and reverend fathers, electors of the Holy Empire, and nobles and prelates, who are greatly devoted to you, whose ambassadors you see before you. We come not just as friends but as helpers. Peace is what we bring you. Peace is what we ask for, and therefore we say with the sons of Benjamin and Judah: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

[5] Our petition is one of peace, and so is our offering. For as the Orator² says, *the name of peace is sweet; and the thing itself not only pleasant but salutary.*³ And the Wise One says: *Joy followeth them that take counsels of peace.*⁴ And in the Gospel, the Lord says that *blessed are the peacemakers.*⁵ Therefore, in his epistles, the Doctor of the Gentiles⁶ bids us to follow peace, and he promises us a reward, saying: *Have peace. And the God of grace and of love shall be with you.*⁷ We are here both as messengers and petitioners of such peace, so holy, so advantageous, so necessary, and so commendable. And therefore we say again: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

¹ Emperor Friedrich III, King of the Romans, styled Emperor though not yet crowned as such

² Marcus Tullius Cicero (106-43 BCE): Roman philosopher, politician, lawyer, orator

³ Cicero: *Philippics*, 13.1

⁴ Proverbs, 12, 20

⁵ Matthew, 5, 9

⁶ A traditional title of Paul the Apostle

⁷ 2. Corinthians, 13, 11

[6] Super his verbis tria jacimus nostrae orationis fundamenta, et, quae ultima sunt verba thematis, prius recipimus. Ostendendum est enim, quomodo te Deus tuus adjuvet,¹ dum Germaniae principes in tuum dirigit² auxilium. Monstrandum est, quam ferimus pacem. Dicendum est, quam cupimus³. Sic enim⁴ pacificum esse⁵ nostrum adventum intelliges, et cor tuum, sicut speramus⁶, nostris jungetur principibus eruntque illi tui et manebunt tecum in perpetuum⁷. *Adjuvat igitur te Deus tuus, sanctissime⁸ pater, adjutores namque tui⁹ Germanos {185v} principes dedit.* Altius sunt aliqua repetenda, si quo pacto nostri te adjuvent¹⁰ principes referimus¹¹, quod brevissime faciam.

¹ adjuvat M, MA

² origunt L; erigit M

³ petimus MA

⁴ et *add.* L

⁵ *omit.* M, P, MA

⁶ aspiramus L

⁷ in principium MA

⁸ beatissime L

⁹ tibi L, M

¹⁰ *illeg.* L; juuent M

¹¹ referendum est L

[6] These three words form the basis of our oration, and first we deal with the last words of the theme. For we have to show how it is God himself who helps you when the German princes send help to you. Secondly, we should explain the kind of peace we bring you. And [thirdly,] we should state what kind of peace we ask for. Thus you will understand how we come in peace, and – as we hope – your heart will be united with our princes, they shall be yours, and they shall remain with you forever. *Thy God helpeth thee*, Holy Father, for He has given you the German princes as helpers. In the following, I shall, very briefly, explain how the princes will help you.

[7] Exorto pridem apud Basileam dissidio, quod omnibus notum¹ est, doluerunt imperii sacri principes, dum vulnerari ecclesiam et inconsutilem Christi tunicam scindi videbant², moxque ad componendam in ecclesia pacem navare³ operas statuerunt. Quod ut commodius facerent, utque nationis seditiones facilius⁴ evitarent, et ne processibus contrariis involverentur, quibusdam protestationibus⁵ usi sunt, devotionem tamen suam, quam erga te sanctamque⁶ sedem apostolicam gerebant, nihil propterea imminuentes: sic animorum suspensio orta est. Hanc Albertus, indelebilis⁷ memoriae Romanorum rex, amplexus est. Huic et invictissimus noster Fridericus Caesar⁸ assensum praebeuit, tum⁹ ne a suis electoribus id exigentibus dissentiret, tum ne plus sapere velle videretur¹⁰, quam suus sapuerat antecessor, {186r} speravitque¹¹ regia serenitas vel pacem extemplo reperire vel melius rem cognoscere.

[8] Elaboratum est saepe et multum pro concordia, sed quamvis tua sanctitas semper bonum¹² consuluerit, nonnullorum tamen culpa factum est, ut omnes incassum hactenus conatus abierint¹³, ut frustra principes saepe¹⁴ convenerint¹⁵, frustra nunc huc, nunc illuc transmissae fuerint legationes. Ea de re statuit regia majestas, statuerunt et sui principes modum suspensionis animorum ponere, convenientesque nuper Franckfordiae partim personaliter, partim per¹⁶ legatos, ac scientes te illi succedere, cui dictum est: *Rogavi pro te, ut non deficiat fides tua; et dabo tibi¹⁷ claves regni caelorum; et pasce oves meas*, et plurima his sororia, recta vulgataque via oboedientiam tibi praebere decreverunt.

¹ omnibus notum : notum omnibus L

² scindi videbant : videbant scindi L

³ omit. L

⁴ facinus M

⁵ protestibus M

⁶ sanctam L

⁷ indelibilis M

⁸ Fridericus Caesar : Caesar Fridericus M

⁹ dum M

¹⁰ saperetur M

¹¹ speramus L

¹² bene L; boni M

¹³ abierunt M

¹⁴ principes saepe : sepe principes L

¹⁵ convenirent L

¹⁶ omit. M

¹⁷ dabo tibi : tibi dabo L, M

2. God helps the pope by sending the German Princes to offer peace

[7] When some time ago, there arose in Basel the conflict known to all, the princes of the Holy Empire grieved to see how the Church was being hurt and how the seamless¹ tunic of Christ was being torn apart. Very soon, they decided to endeavour to restore peace in the Church. To better do this and to more easily avoid dividing the German nation and becoming involved in legal disputes, they issued a certain declaration,² but they never, [for that reason,] lost any of their devotion to you and to the Holy Apostolic See. Thus arose the “suspension of the minds”.³ Albrecht, King of the Romans, of imperishable memory, accepted this declaration, and Friederich, our Unconquered Emperor, also gave his assent. This he did so as not to enter into disagreement with his electors, who demanded his adherence, and also because he did not wish to appear to be claiming to understand more about the matter than his predecessor. At any rate, His Serene Highness hoped to achieve peace soon and to become better informed about the matter.

[8] Much has been done, and often, in the cause of union, but although Your Holiness was always acting in the interest of the common good,⁴ it so happened that, through the fault of a number of people, the efforts were unsuccessful, the princes often met in vain, and embassies were sent hither and thither in vain. Therefore, His Royal Majesty and his princes have decided to put an end to the “suspension of minds”. They recently met in Frankfurt, either in person or through legates, and, knowing you to be the successor of the one to whom it is said: *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not,*⁵ and *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven,*⁶ and *Feed my sheep,*⁷ and other similar things, they decided to offer obedience to you in the proper and ordinary way.

¹ “inconsutilis”

² i.e., the declaration of German neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel of 1438

³ “animorum suspensio”

⁴ “bonum”

⁵ Luke, 22, 32

⁶ Matthew, 16, 19

⁷ John, 21, 17

[9] Sed quia nonnulli aderant tam ex Basilea quam ex aliis locis, qui longe aliter sentiebant aliterque¹ suadebant, magna contentio fuit, et anceps proelium² nunc huc, nunc illuc acies³ inclinata. Cum levasti manus⁴, {186v} hoc est cum oratores tui⁵ benigne responderunt, ex parte tui⁶ nostrorumque principum validius pugnabatur. Cum vero brachia remisisti, hoc est⁷ cum oratores tui duriores fuerunt, languidior erat cuneus tuorum vincebantque⁸ adversarii. Similis pugnae faciem⁹ habemus in Exodo: fervente namque¹⁰ inter populum Dei et Amalech proelio, ascenderunt Moyses et¹¹ Aaron¹² in verticem collis, Josue vero cum electis viris pugnabat, cumque levaret Moyses manus¹³, vincebat Israel. Sin autem paululum remisisset, superabat Amalech. Et¹⁴ ut sim brevis, non coaptabo singula, ut possem, singulis.

[10] Sed vera est Chrysostomi sententia: *Non cessat impugnari ecclesia, non cessat insidias pati, sed in Christi nomine semper superat¹⁵, semper vincit. Et quamvis alii insidientur, quamvis alii repercutiant eam fluctus, fundamentum tamen, quod supra petram est, non quassatur¹⁶.* Exploratum est, quod inquit Hilarius: *Proprium esse ecclesiae solet, ut tunc {187r} vincat, cum laeditur, tunc¹⁷ intelligat, cum arguitur, tunc¹⁸ segura sit, cum destruitur^{19 20}, tunc obtineat, cum superata videtur.* Nam etsi multotiens²¹ desperatae res viderentur, ad extremum tamen, cum ante oculos hominum²² tuae sanctimonia vitae, tua clementia, tua liberalitas²³, tua benignitas posita²⁴ est, impletum est, quod inquit Sapiens: *Cum placuerint Domino viae hominis, et¹ inimicos ejus vertet² ad pacem.*

¹ et aliter L

² sentiebant aliterque ... proelium *omit.* M

³ acie P, MA

⁴ munus L

⁵ tam L

⁶ tua L, M

⁷ *omit.* L

⁸ vincebant L

⁹ faciam M

¹⁰ fervente namque : ferventeque L

¹¹ *omit.* L

¹² et Hur *add.* L; orare *add.* M

¹³ manum L

¹⁴ *omit.* L

¹⁵ superabat M

¹⁶ cassatur L

¹⁷ tum L

¹⁸ cum M

¹⁹ deseritur M

²⁰ tunc segura sit, cum destruitur *omit.* P, MA

²¹ multoties MA

²² omnium L, M

²³ libertas L

²⁴ imposita M

[9] But, as many from Basel³ and other places were present at the meeting having very different opinions and arguing for a different course, there was much disagreement, and the battle moved now in this direction, now in that. When you raised your hand, that is when your orators replied obligingly, the fight was strong on yours and our princes' part. But when you lowered your arms, that is when your orators were harsh, your troops grew sluggish, and our opponents prevailed. We have a similar kind of war in Exodus: when the battle raged between the people of God and Amalec, Moses and Aaron went up to the summit of the mountain while Joshua fought together with chosen men. When Moses raised his hands, Israel won,⁴ but when he lowered them, even for a short while, then Amalec prevailed.⁵ But for the sake of brevity, I shall not go into the details of this matter, though I could.

[10] But Chrysostom⁶ is right when he says: *The Church is always under attack, she is always being plotted against, but in the name of Christ she always conquers, and though she is sometimes threatened by traps and hit by floods, she has a foundation that is based on a rock and that cannot be destroyed.*⁷ We have learnt from Hilary⁸ that *it is characteristic of the Church that she usually wins when she is being wounded, she gains in understanding when people argue against her, and she prevails when she seems to be conquered.*^{9 10} For although many times the situation seemed desperate, in the end, when your holiness of life, your mercy, your generosity, and your kindness had become obvious to all, the saying of the Wise One was fulfilled: *When the ways of man shall please the Lord, he will convert even his enemies to peace.*¹¹

¹ eos *aut* eorum L; eciam M

² vertit L, M

³ i.e., representatives of the Council of Basel, opposing the pope

⁴ 16 years later, Piccolomini, as Pope Pius, would use this image again in the oration "*Sextus agitur annus*" [75] when speaking of his crusade against the Turks: during the battle, he would, like Moses, stand on a mountain or in the high poop of a ship holding up his arms and praying for the success of his warriors. The identification of the pope with Moses is significant

⁵ Exodus, 17, 8-13

⁶ John Chrysostom (ca. 347–407): Archbishop of Constantinople, an important Early Church Father

⁷ John Chrysostom: *De conversione Matthaei*, hom. 14. Chrysostom has a number of similar quotes, e.g., Migne: *Patrologia Graeca*, LI, cols. 77-79

⁸ Hilare of Poitiers (ca. 300-ca. 368): Bishop of Poitiers and a Doctor of the Church

⁹ Hilare of Poitiers: *De trinitate*, 7, 4. MPL, X, col. 202

¹⁰ These two quotations in combination, from John Chrysostom and Hilare of Poitiers, Piccolomini had already used in his *De Gestis Concilii Basiliensis Commentariorum libri II* from 1440, Chrysostom even twice, cf. Hays' ed., pp. 44 and 188. Piccolomini did not know Greek, so he must have had the knowledge of this *sententia* from a Latin source, possibly a treatise by some conciliarist author, or some collection of *sententiae* used in ecclesiological debates

¹¹ Proverbs, 16, 7: *cum placuerint Domino viae hominis inimicos quoque eius convertet ad pacem*

[11] Namque non solum regia majestas¹, quae semper tibi² deditissima fuit et quasi alter Josue pro te pugnavit, non solum principes sui electores atque alii³ viri electi tuum statum tuumque decus tuebantur, sed quamplures⁴ alii, qui malignandi causa confluerant⁵ ⁶, permoti sunt et in tuum versi favorem. Quibus ex rebus manifestum est, quia *te adjuvat Deus tuus*⁷, Germanosque principes tibi efficit adjuutores, quod fuit orationis nostrae membrum⁸ primum, propter quod dicimus⁹: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis; te enim adjuvat Deus tuus.*

[12] Sed non monstravimus adhuc¹⁰ beatitudini {187v} tuae¹¹ ¹² qualis et quanta pax est, quam sanctitati tuae¹³ afferimus. Membri namque secundi destinata¹⁴ materia fuit, quam nunc breviter absolvimus¹⁵. Nihil erraverim, clementissime pater, si maximum¹⁶ esse atque amplissimum dixerim munus, quod apostolicae sedi jam sumus exhibituri. Non¹⁷ enim unius urbis uniusve¹⁸ provinciae sive¹⁹ regni, sed maximi et²⁰ inclyti nominis Theutonici, nobilissimae atque latissimae²¹ nationis Germanicae declarationem et oboedientiam sumus exhibituri²². Quod si gloriabundus de populo suo dicebat Moyses: *Non est alia natio tam grandis*²³, *quae habeat deos appropinquantes sibi, sicut dominus Deus noster adest cunctis obsecrationibus nostris.*

¹ magiestas L

² semper tibi : tibi semper L, M, MA

³ quasi *add.* L; qui quasi *add.* M

⁴ plures P, MA

⁵ confluerint M

⁶ quoque *add.* L

⁷ te ... tuus : deus tuus te adjuvat L; te deus tuus adjuvat M

⁸ membrorum L

⁹ diximus L, M

¹⁰ ad hoc M

¹¹ quaenam L

¹² beatitudini tuae : beatissime pater L; sancte pater M

¹³ sanctitati tuae : tuae sanctitati L

¹⁴ distinctam L

¹⁵ absolvemus L, M

¹⁶ magnum L, M

¹⁷ nam L

¹⁸ unius L, M

¹⁹ unius vel L; unius ve M

²⁰ *omit.* M

²¹ aptissimae M

²² prebituri L, M

²³ natio tam grandis : tam grandis natio L

[11] For not only His Royal Majesty, who was always greatly devoted to you and fought for you like another Joshua, and not only his prince electors and other excellent men who were upholding your position and your dignity, but also many others who had actually gathered with the purpose of maligning you, were deeply moved and turned in your favour. Therefore, it is evident that *thy God helpeth thee* and has made the German princes your helpers. This was the first part of our oration, and therefore we say *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

3. The peace brought to the pope by the German nation

[12] We have not yet shown Your Beatitude the nature and extent of the peace that we are offering Your Holiness, for this was to be the subject of the second part of our oration that we shall now briefly set forth. I shall not be mistaken, Most Merciful Father, if I say that it is a very great and generous offering that we make to the Apostolic See. For we shall be presenting the declaration and the obedience not just of one city, or of one province, or of one kingdom, but of the great and illustrious Teutonic name, the most noble and great German nation. It is like Moses said triumphantly about his own people: *Neither is there any other nation so great that hath gods so nigh them, as our God is present to all our petitions.*¹

¹ Deuteronomy, 4, 7

[13] Quae est enim alia¹ gens tam inclyta et cetera hujusmodi²? Quanto³ magis de natione Germanica licet nostris principibus gloriari, quae ab Alpibus Italiae usque in Oceanum, et a Rheni fluente usque in Tartarorum barbariem protensa⁴, tot splendoras urbes in se continet, tot latissimas provincias, {188r} tot amplissima regna, tot venerandas ecclesias, tot potentes⁵ principes, tot populos, tot linguas diversas? Nempe si, teste Sapiente, *in multitudine populi dignitas regis et in paucitate plebis ignominia principis*⁶, ingens gloria est nostris principibus, ingens dignitas, sed major tuae sanctitati modum in mirum⁷ ⁸, quae declarationem et oboedientiam receptura est hujus nationis⁹, in qua non solum principes ac reges potentissimi sunt, sed ipsum regnorum omnium caput, Romanum imperium, est constitutum. Vetus dictum¹⁰ est, sanctissime¹¹ pater, per duo luminaria magna, quae Deus in firmamento posuit¹², sanctam apostolicam sedem et sacrum imperium¹³ significari. Duo sunt, inquit unus ex tuis antecessoribus, *quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur, regalis potestas et auctoritas sacra pontificum*.

¹ enim alia : alia enim M

² istiusmodi L, M

³ quanta L

⁴ pro censu M

⁵ potencias M

⁶ regis MA

⁷ imminet L

⁸ modum in mirum : iam imminet M

⁹ hujus nationis : nationis hujus L, M

¹⁰ et *add.* L

¹¹ beatissime L

¹² fecit L; facit M

¹³ sacrum imperium : imperium sacrum L

[13] For what other people is so illustrious, etc.? Greatly may our princes glory in the German nation that extends from the Alps of Italy to the Ocean and from the river Rhine to the barbaric region of the Tartars, and that contains so many splendid cities, so many great provinces, so many large kingdoms, so many venerable churches, so many mighty princes, so many peoples, so many different languages. If, as the Wise One witnesses, *in the multitude of people is the dignity of the king: and in the small number of the people the dishonour of the prince*,¹ then the glory and dignity of our princes are truly immense.² But, remarkably, even greater glory accrues to Your Holiness, who is to receive the declaration and obedience of this nation, where not only the princes and kings are very powerful, but where even the head of all kingdoms, the Roman Empire, is based. There is an old saying, Holy Father, that the two *lights that God placed on the firmament*³ signify the Holy Apostolic See and the Holy Empire. And one of your predecessors said that *this world is primarily governed by these two: the power of kings and the holy authority of the popes*.⁴

¹ Proverbs, 14, 28

² This praise of Germany prefigures Piccolomini's treatment of Germany in his *De Germania* of 1458

³ Genesis, 1, 14: *Let there be lights made in the firmament of heaven*

⁴ Decretum Gratiani, D.96.10 (col. 340): Pope Gelasius to Emperor Anastasius: *Duo sunt quippe, imperator Auguste, quibus principaliter hic mundus regitur: auctoritas sacra Pontificum et regalis potestas*. See also Azzaro, p. 17

[14] Praetereo nunc apostolicam sedem, quae nihil aliud est quam refugium ac patrocinium orbis terrae. Taceo de sacro reverendissimorum¹ collegio coetuque cardinalium, qui recte {188v} mundi consilium totiusque militantis ecclesiae senatus appellari potest. Quis satis imperii sacri privilegia possit exprimere? Quis satis Augustalis² culminis perorare valeat dignitatem? Sub Augusto nasci salvator et censum ferre dignatus est, didragma³ pro se Petroque solvi, et reddi, quae Caesaris essent Caesari, divinum jussit oraculum. Tantum quoque ex alto suscepisse⁴ privilegium Caesaream sublimitatem quidam⁵ asserunt⁶, ut imperio stante nihil⁷ sit, cur Antichristi formidemus adventum. Sic enim⁸ apostoli Pauli verba commentantur: *Qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat*. At hujus amplissimae dignitatis⁹ potestas et auctoritas¹⁰ in divinum¹¹ Caesarem Fridericum modernum rite¹² translata est. Hujus igitur maximi principis, mundi domini, inter omnes, qui regnant, altioris, suorumque principum ac nationis Germanicae debitam ex nobis recipies¹³ oboedientiam.

¹ romanorum L, M

² magiestralis L; augusti alis M

³ dedragma M, P

⁴ *omit.* L

⁵ quandam L

⁶ assonuit L

⁷ nil M

⁸ *omit.* M

⁹ dignitas M

¹⁰ et auctoritas *omit.* P, MA

¹¹ dominum L; diurnum M

¹² modernum rite: legitima quae L

¹³ et acipies L

[14] I pass over the Apostolic See which is none other than the refuge and protection of the whole world. And I shall say nothing about that Holy College, assembly of the most reverend cardinals, which may rightly be called the council of the world and the senate of the whole Church Militant.¹

As for the Holy Empire, who can adequately describe its exalted status?² Who can, with words, do justice to the dignity of His August Highness? The Saviour deigned to be born under Augustus, to be enrolled,³ and to have a didragma be paid for himself and for Peter. And the divine oracle bids to *render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*.⁴ Some claim that the Imperial Highness has received such a great privilege from Heaven that as long as the Empire stands, we shall not have to fear the coming of Antichrist. As the Apostle Paul states: *He who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way*.⁵ The power and authority of this great office have passed to the present Holy Emperor, Friedrich. You shall receive from us the obedience owed to you by this great prince, the lord of the world, the most exalted of all rulers, and by his princes and by the German nation.

¹ The classical rhetorical device of stating a "praetermissio" is, of course, as here, a way to mention precisely what is omitted

² "privilegia"

³ Luke, 2, 1: *And it came to pass that in those days there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled*

⁴ Matthew, 22, 21: *reddite ergo quae sunt Caesaris Caesari*

⁵ 2. Thessalonians, 2, 7: *For the mystery of iniquity already worketh: only that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way (nam mysterium iam operatur iniquitatis tantum ut qui tenet nunc donec de medio fiat)*

[15] Sed quoniam de natione loquimur, haec est¹ illa natio, pater sanctissime², quae viros habet {189r} industrios, litterarum capaces, rei militaris peritos, pacis cupidos³, fidei zelatores et ad omnia gnaros⁴, quaecumque agant. Haec est illa natio, quae non modo hoc, modo illud, sed semper idem vult, quando rectum est, quod semel voluit.⁵ Haec est illa natio, quae non⁶ leviter recipit aliquid⁷, nec facile deserit. Quod⁸ si post dissidium⁹ ortum animorum suspensionem tardius¹⁰ videtur relinquere, confidit¹¹, quia utilius¹² tecum¹³ manebit, nec¹⁴ divelli¹⁵ umquam a tua devotione poterit. Atque ista pax est, quam tuae sanctitati offerimus¹⁶, propter quam dicimus¹⁷: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adiutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat Deus tuus.*

¹ *omit.* L

² pater sanctissime : sancte pater M

³ cupidus M

⁴ natos L, M

⁵ haec est illa natio ... voluit *omit.* L

⁶ nec L, M

⁷ aliquod M

⁸ et L

⁹ fastidium M

¹⁰ serius L

¹¹ confide L, M

¹² *omit.* L, M

¹³ diutius *add.* L, M

¹⁴ ne L

¹⁵ duelli M

¹⁶ offerimus M

¹⁷ diximus L, M

[15] But, since we are mentioning that nation, this is a nation, Holy Father, that has industrious and literate men who are experts on war but desirous of peace, zealous in matters of faith, and good at all they do. This is not a nation that wants now this, now that. No, it always wants the same thing that it once wanted, if only it is the right thing. This is a nation that does not accept anything lightly and does not give it up easily. After the conflict¹ arose, it may have seemed slow in ending its "suspension of the minds", but now it is convinced that it is better to stay with you, and it could never stray from its devotion to you. So, this is the peace that we are offering to Your Holiness, and because of that, we say: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.*

¹ I.e., the conflict between Pope Eugenius and the Council of Basel

[16] At si pacem cupis hujusmodi, pater sanctissime¹, quemadmodum cupere te confidimus, opus est, ut nationem² Germanicam beneficio pacis quoque³ impartiaris, ut sit quoque⁴ pax⁵ adjutoribus tuis. Quis enim sic pacem⁶ aliis largiatur, quod⁷ pacis ipse remaneat⁸ expers? *Quis pascit gregem⁹, et de lacte gregis non manducet¹⁰?* *Quis os tritulantis¹¹ alliget bovis?* Afferunt pacem {189r} Germani principes, sed pacem etiam expetunt. Cupiunt enim¹² aliqua, quae nisi obtineant, nec curari vulnera possunt, nec pax nationis haberi.

[17] Ea¹³ quattuor principalia sunt: primum est, ut generale concilium in tempore¹⁴ locoque¹⁵ designando convocetur. Alterum est, ut professio potestatis, auctoritatis et praeeminentiae generalium conciliorum catholicam militantem ecclesiam repraesentantium per tuos oratores Franckfordiae¹⁶ facta, tuis litteris approbetur. Tertium est, ut nationi Germanicae super gravaminibus opportune provideatur. Quarto et ultimo loco¹⁷, ut quae in praejudicium duorum principum electorum vel suarum ecclesiarum acta sunt, ex tuae¹⁸ sanctitatis clementia revocentur et in pristinum singula statum redigantur. Quibus per tuam¹⁹ sanctitatem concessis, pax firma tibi erit, pax apostolicae sedi, pax nationi Germanicae, pax toti ecclesiae. Deorsum²⁰ ista breviter et succincte libabimus²¹.

¹ sancte M

² quoque *add.* L, M

³ *omit.* L, M

⁴ etiam M

⁵ etiam *add.* L

⁶ sic pacem : pacem sic L

⁷ ut L, M

⁸ remanet P

⁹ greges L

¹⁰ manducat L, M

¹¹ turturantis M

¹² namque L

¹³ et M

¹⁴ parta L

¹⁵ *omit.* L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ petimus *add.* L, M

¹⁸ tua L

¹⁹ *omit.* M

²⁰ seorsum hec L

²¹ libavimus L; libamus M

4. Conditions for German obedience to the pope

[16] But if you desire this peace, Holy Father, as we are confident you do, then it is necessary that you also give the German nation the benefit of the peace so that your helpers, too, may have peace. For who gives peace to others if he himself cannot have it? Who *feedeth the flock and eateth not of the milk of the flock*?¹ Who *shalt muzzle the mouth of the ox that treadeth out the corn*?² The German princes bring peace, but they also ask for peace. They require something, and if they do not obtain it, the wounds cannot be healed, nor can the nation have peace.³

[17] Their four major requirements are these: firstly, that a general council be convoked, at a time and in a place to be determined. Secondly, that you should approve in writing the declaration on the power, authority, and preeminence of general councils representing the Catholic Church Militant, made by your orators in Frankfurt. Thirdly, that the burdens on the German nation be dealt with in a suitable manner. And fourthly and lastly, that what has been enacted with prejudice against two prince electors and their churches should be revoked by the mercy of Your Holiness, and they themselves restored to their former state. If these requests are granted by Your Holiness, there shall be a firm peace for you, for the Apostolic See, for the German nation, and for the whole Church.

On this matter, we shall now speak briefly and concisely.

¹ 1. Corinthians, 9, 7

² 1. Corinthians, 9, 9. Both quotes were used by Piccolomini in his oration "*Non est apud me dubium*" [6], but in another context, showing that Piccolomini had the quote from Decretum Gratiani, C.13.1.1 (col. 718)

³ The silken glove comes off!

[18] Concilium sane propterea petitur, quia plurima necessario sunt¹ reformanda, nedum in {190r} populo, sed etiam in clero, et providendum est^{2 3}, ut omnis⁴ dissidii⁵ fomes⁶ in ecclesia sopiatur⁷. Et habet haec petitio plurimum honestatis⁸, nec quisquam est, qui non putet honestum generale concilium convocari. Venerabile est et⁹ in omnium populorum, gentium nationumque reverentia generalis concilii nomen. Tanta quoque¹⁰ conciliorum dignitas est, ut ex his non solum Romani pontifices, sed etiam ipsi^{11 12} Caesares ingentem gloriam sint¹³ assecuti. Praetereo¹⁴, quae multis in locis synodaliter et utiliter gesta sunt. In Constantiensi concilio schisma, quod circiter annis¹⁵ quadraginta vexarat¹⁶ ecclesiam, abolitum¹⁷ est. Ex quo fit, ut¹⁸ honesta sit et sancta concilii postulatio. Super qua re plurima diceremus, nisi quia te numquam invenimus¹⁹ convocati²⁰ concilii repugnantem, si²¹ quae vel olim Alberto regi oblata fuerunt²², vel quae²³ nuper Franckfordiae tui polliciti sunt oratores memoriae repetamus²⁴.

¹ necessario sunt : sunt in ecclesia L

² *omit.* P

³ providendum est : est providendum M

⁴ omnes L

⁵ discidii M

⁶ sordes L

⁷ sopiantur L

⁸ honestatem L

⁹ *omit.* L

¹⁰ tanta quoque : tantaque L

¹¹ etiam ipsi : ipsi etiam L

¹² *omit.* M; episcopi P, MA

¹³ sunt M

¹⁴ pretereoque L

¹⁵ circiter annis : annis circiter L

¹⁶ vexavit L; vexerat M

¹⁷ aboletum M

¹⁸ quod M

¹⁹ convenimus in L; in conuocatione M

²⁰ invocationi P

²¹ sed M

²² fuere L

²³ *omit.* L

²⁴ reputamus M

4.1. Holding a new general council

[18] A council is requested because there are many things in urgent need of reform, both in the laity and in the clergy, and action must be taken to remove any cause for conflict in the Church. This request is highly meritorious, and everybody considers it appropriate to convoke a general council. The name of "General Council" is greatly revered and honoured by all peoples and nations. So great is the dignity of general councils that, through them, immense glory has accrued not only to the Roman pontiffs but also to the emperors. I pass over what has so usefully been done in local synods. In the Council of Konstanz, the schism that had plagued the Church for almost 40 years was brought to an end. Therefore, the demand for a council is honest and holy. I should say more about this matter if we did not know that you have never opposed convoking a council¹ and if we keep in mind what was offered to King Albrecht and what your orators recently promised in Frankfurt.²

¹ Actually, Pope Eugenius and the Roman Curia had systematically opposed all proposals for a council over which the pope would not have complete and certain control

² In his edition of the oration, Mansi made this note: *Vix in animum inducere potuissem, Eugenium jam inde a tempore Alberti Caesaris spem fecisse Germanis de Concilio tertio quodam in loco habendo*, MA, p. 119, n. 4

[19] Sed migramus jam ad petitionem secundam, cujus tenorem superius recensuimus. Scimus, pater beatissime¹, {190v} in ea te sede sedere, quae *cardo et caput ecclesiae*², *ut factum est a domino et non ab alio constituta est*^{3 4}. *Et sicut cardine ostium regitur, sic hujus sanctae sedis auctoritate omnes ecclesiae, domino disponente, reguntur*. Nihil est quod aut regia majestas⁵ aut principes sui⁶ de tua vel fide vel sinceritate vel doctrina mussent⁷. Sed innuerunt⁸ apud Franckfordiam conceptum⁹ quemdam mentis^{10 11} sinistrum de auctoritate conciliorum oratores tui, qui plebi gravior videbatur. Is¹² nunc penitus tuis litteris extinguendus est. Consueverunt antecessores tui¹³, quos tu non solum sequeris¹⁴, sed aequas, ac praecedis benefaciendo, obmutescere facere malorum hominum audaciam, dum rationem omnibus de sua fide reddebant. Nec novum est nec¹⁵ inusitatum¹⁶ Romanos pontifices¹⁷ Romanis regibus suae fidei puritatem rescribere. Beatus Gregorius, cujus vita sanctior an auctoritas major fuerit incertum putes¹⁸, sicut quattuor evangelii libros, sic quattuor concilia se suscipere ac venerari fatetur. {191r} Non tam lata nec tam magnifica de te verba petuntur, sed solum quoddam, ut¹⁹ supra diximus, quod ab hac sanctissima sede non haesitamus adsequi, cujus sublimitas in humilitate fundatur, cujus auctoritas in honestate stabilitur, cujus est omnia facere, quibus salus quaeritur animarum, et omnia fugere, quibus scandalizari fratres queant. Duas jam²⁰ petitiones absolvimus.

¹ pater beatissime : beatissime pater L

² *omit.* L, M

³ *omit.* M

⁴ constituta est : est constituta L

⁵ magiestas L

⁶ tui MA

⁷ inissent M

⁸ invenerunt L; imminuerunt M

⁹ *omit.* M

¹⁰ rumorem M

¹¹ apud Francfordiam ... mentis : quemdam rumorem L

¹² *omit.* L

¹³ clementissime pater *add.* L

¹⁴ sequaris L

¹⁵ neque L, M

¹⁶ inusurpatum L, M

¹⁷ Romanos pontifices : Romanis pontificibus M, P

¹⁸ putans M

¹⁹ quoddam ut : quod L, M

²⁰ igitur M

4.2. Recognising the authority of the general councils

[19] Now we pass on to the second petition we mentioned earlier. We know, Holy Father, that you are occupying the see that is *the hinge and the head of the Church, as was done by the Lord himself and not instituted by anybody else. And just as the gate is governed by the hinge, thus God ordered it so that all the churches are ruled by the authority of the Holy See.*¹ Neither His Royal Majesty nor his princes have any objection against your faith, your sincerity, or your teaching. But in Frankfurt, your orators hinted at an ominous concept of the authority of the councils that was very painful to the people.² This should now be completely eradicated by a letter from you. Your predecessors, whom you not only follow but equal and even surpass in good deeds, used to silence the audacity of evil men by making a public statement concerning their faith. It is not a new or unusual thing for the Roman pontiffs to send a declaration of the purity of their faith to the Roman kings. Blessed Gregory³ whose holy life matched his great authority, declares that like the four gospels, he accepts and reveres four councils. We do not ask for such far-reaching and grand statements from you, but only what we mentioned before and do not doubt that we shall receive from that Holy See, whose greatness is founded on humility, whose authority is balanced by honesty, and whose task it is to do all that leads to the salvation of souls and to avoid all that may cause scandal among the brethren.

We have now presented two of the petitions.

¹ Decretum Gratiani, D.22.2 (col. 74): Epistola Pseudo-Isidori Anacleti Ep. III, 3: *Haec vero apostolica sedes caput et cardo, ut praefatum est, a domino ...* Used by Piccolomini in several orations

² In this case, the concept of people includes also the ruling class

³ Gregorius I (ca. 540 – 604): Pope from 590 to his death

[20] Modo quod¹ supersit² de³ gravaminibus⁴ dicendum est. Audiatur⁵ benigne sanctitas tua, modestiamque nationis⁶ attendat. Gravamina⁷, de quibus agitur, bifariam dividuntur: alia per decreta tolluntur⁸ concilii Basiliensis⁹, alia tuae sanctitatis indigent auxilio. Quae decretis abolentur, sunt reservationes nimiae¹⁰, annatae¹¹ graves, causarum ad Romanam curiam frequentes advocaciones, et cetera istius modi, quibus ordinaria jurisdictio erat penitus¹² evacuata. Quae licet dudum ante tuam ad summi apostolatus apicem vocationem nationi gravia viderentur, non tamen ut decem illae tribus apud¹³ Roboam, filium Salomonis, auctoritate propria jugum excussit, {191v} sed Basiliensis concilii provisionem expectavit, cujus decreta cum nonnullis modificationibus acceptavit¹⁴, hisque¹⁵ est usa. Ergo ut¹⁶ posthac¹⁷ sine¹⁸ gravamine natio sit, quod his¹⁹ decretis in futurum uti possit²⁰, per te liceat, petitur. Habes hujus partis modestiam.

¹ quo P, MA

² supra M, P, MA

³ *omit.* L, M

⁴ nominibus L

⁵ audeat et oro L

⁶ orationis L

⁷ gravamenta M

⁸ colluntur M

⁹ *omit.* M

¹⁰ minute L

¹¹ amare L

¹² erat penitus : penitus erat L, M

¹³ ad L

¹⁴ expectavit cujus ... modificationibus *omit.* L

¹⁵ iis MA

¹⁶ ergo ut : ut ergo L, M

¹⁷ post hoc M

¹⁸ *omit.* L

¹⁹ iis MA

²⁰ in futurum uti possit : uti possit in futurum L

4.3. Removing the burdens on the German nation

[20] We now have to speak about the burdens. May your Holiness listen benevolently and note the nation's moderation. The burdens in question are of two kinds: some have been removed by decrees of the Council of Basel; others require the intervention of Your Holiness.

What has been abolished by the conciliar decrees¹ are: the excessive [use of] reservations,² the heavy annates,³ the frequent appeal of legal cases to the Roman Curia and other procedures of this kind that had completely voided the ordinary⁴ jurisdiction. Though these matters had seemed very grave to the nation long before you were called to the height of the Supreme Apostolate, the nation did not,⁵ on its own authority, throw off the yoke - like the ten tribes⁶ did to Roboam, son of Solomon.⁷ Rather, it awaited the decisions of the Council of Basel, whose decrees it accepted⁸ though with a number of modifications, and [only afterwards] it used these decrees. So that the nation may be free of this burden hereafter, it asks for your permission to apply these decrees in the future. You will observe the moderation in this request.

¹ I.e., decrees of the Council of Basel during the period when it was still recognised by Pope Eugenius

² I.e., the reservation of ecclesiastical benefices for expectant candidates

³ I.e., a form of tax to the Roman Curia in connection with the bestowal of high ecclesiastical offices

⁴ I.e., local

⁵ At the accession of Pope Eugenius

⁶ Of Israel

⁷ 3. Kings, 12, 16

⁸ Some decrees were not accepted by the Germans, notably the decrees suspending and deposing Pope Eugenius

[21] Nunc honestatem sequentis¹ agnosce². Dum locus neutralitati fuit, quamplures viri praestantes ecclesiarum metropolitanarum, cathedralium, monasteriorum diversarumque dignitatum et beneficiorum, vel integram vel majorem partem³ bonorum possessionem sunt assecuti, quidam tua, quidam aliorum auctoritatibus⁴. Horum pax securitasque deponitur. Quod⁵ si in magna multitudine⁶ possessorum⁷ nonnulli comperiuntur injustis ditati titulis, tolerabilius est tamen⁸ paucos injuste possidere cum pace, quam multos juste⁹ possidentes pace¹⁰ turbari. Sunt enim quaedam¹¹ sui natura injusta, quae communis boni causa et publicae pacis intuitu sororia justis fiunt. Laudatur apud veteres magnusque habetur Sicinius {192r} ille, qui restitutis in urbe sua sexcentis exulibus¹², non quae prius habuerant bona reddidit, sed accepta mutuo pecunia, quanti res eorum fuerant, accipere jussit. Indignum namque vir¹³ bonus putavit longi temporis praescriptionem¹⁴ possessionem¹⁵ movere. Similiter et in omni unione vel nostra vel majorum nostrorum tempestate celebrata possessorum conditio semper melior fuit¹⁶. Nec ab re, nam si secus fiat, pax omnibus¹⁷ abrumpitur.

¹ sequentem P, MA

² cognosce P, MA

³ majorem partem : majoris partis L

⁴ auctoritate M

⁵ at L

⁶ in magna multitudine : magna in multitudine L, M

⁷ possessores MA

⁸ est tamen : tamen est M

⁹ multos juste : juste multos L

¹⁰ omit. L, M

¹¹ quidam M

¹² exulibus MA

¹³ ubi M

¹⁴ omit. L, M

¹⁵ possessione L, MA

¹⁶ melior fuit : fuit melior L

¹⁷ omnis L, M

[21] Now, recognise the decency of the following [petition]. During the period of Neutrality, many excellent men acquired complete or extensive possession of the properties of metropolitan churches,¹ cathedral churches, monasteries, and various ecclesiastical offices and benefices, some by your authority, others by other authorities.² We ask for peace and security for these persons. Among so many, there are, of course, some who do not have legitimate title to the properties in their possession. However, it is more acceptable that a few hold possession unjustly than that many who hold possession justly should be troubled. For certain things are unjust by nature but are treated as if they were just for the sake of the common good and with a view to public peace. The old ones had great respect for that man from Sicyon who, after 600 exiles had been received back in his city, did not restore their property to them but took out a public loan and bade them receive an amount equivalent to their former property.³ For this good man considered that the [reinstatement] of the long-time [exiles] ought not end other people's possession [of their former properties]. Similarly, in every reunification effected in our own time and in the time of our forefathers, the condition of actual possession has always been the preferred one.⁴ And quite reasonably so, for otherwise everybody would suffer from the ensuing loss of peace.

¹ If a German bishop had had his election to his episcopal see confirmed by the Council in Basel, his appointment was not legal in the eyes of the pope, and oppositely, and neither was his possession of the properties of his church. As many German prelates were in this irregular situation, it was very important for the Germans that their recognition of the pope would not have the consequence that the appointments of these prelates and their possession of church properties would now be invalidated

² Mainly the Council of Basel

³ Cicero: *De officiis*, 2.23.81-82: *At vero Aratus Sicyonius iure laudatur, qui, cum eius civitas quinquaginta annos a tyrannis teneretur, profectus Argis Sicyonem clandestino introitu urbe est potitus, cumque tyrannum Nicoclem improviso oppressisset, sescentos exules, qui locupletissimi fuerant eius civitatis, restituit remque publicam adventu suo liberavit. Sed cum magnam animadverteret in bonis et possessionibus difficultatem, quod et eos, quos ipse restituerat, quorum bona alii possederant, egere iniquissimum esse arbitratur et quinquaginta annorum possessiones moveri³ non nimis aequum putabat, propterea quod tam longo spatio multa hereditatibus, multa emptionibus, multa dotibus tenebantur sine iniuria, iudicavit neque illis adimi nec iis non satis fieri, quorum illa fuerant, oportere ...*

⁴ *Beata conditio possidentis*: principle of Roman law

[22] Cetera, quae petemus¹ in scriptis, leviora sunt. Annates² enim remitti vel jus decretorum, vel tuae liberalitatis est munus, et³ relaxari censuras^{4 5}, quae contra foedus neutralitatis actae⁶ sunt, pium⁷ aequumque⁸. Si tamen inter haec aliquid est, quod apostolicae sedi grave videatur⁹, supplicant principes, ut tua sanctitas, quae patienter jam annis¹⁰ quindecim omnia¹¹, quae acta sunt, toleravit, nunc etiam pro parvo tempore patientiam habeat, et oboedientiam nationis, ut offertur, recipiat. Quo facto, omnia in¹² melius redigentur¹³. {192v} Est enim intentio regiae majestatis¹⁴ et suorum¹⁵ principum hanc sanctissimam sedem, quae per Dei ordinationem ex munificentia Caesaris¹⁶ mirifice sublimata fuit, omnem dignitatem suam¹⁷ retinere, omne jus, omnem splendorem, omnem potestatem, ad quas res suis temporibus enixe laborare intendunt¹⁸. In Franckfordiensi dieta non fuit otium¹⁹, ut erat voluntas, de provisione tuae sanctitati²⁰ tuaeque sedi facienda transigere.

¹ petimus L, M

² dampnatos L; annatarum M

³ *omit.* M, P, MA

⁴ censuris M

⁵ pium *add.* P; prium et rasande *add.* L; vium [?] rescindi *add.* M

⁶ acta L, M

⁷ *omit.* P

⁸ pium equumque : equum L, M

⁹ videtur L

¹⁰ jam annis : annis jam L

¹¹ quindecim omnia : ante decimam horam L

¹² *omit.* M

¹³ dirigentur L

¹⁴ magiestatis L

¹⁵ et suorum : suorumque L

¹⁶ Caesarum M

¹⁷ dignitatem suam : suam dignitatem L

¹⁸ laborare intendunt : laborem tendunt L

¹⁹ actum L

²⁰ sanctitati M

[22] The rest that we shall ask for in our written petitions is less difficult, for the remission of annates is a matter either of the conciliar decrees or of your own generosity. And to annul the ecclesiastical censures enacted against [the participants in] the pact of neutrality is pious and fair. However, if there should be anything in this that seems difficult to the Apostolic See, the princes beg Your Holiness to patiently accept what was done 15 years ago and that you will have patience for a short time and accept the obedience of the nation as offered. When that has been done, everything may be arranged in a better way. For it is the intention of His Royal Majesty and his princes that this Most Holy See, raised up wonderfully by God's command, through the munificence of emperors, should retain all its dignity, all its rights, all its splendour, and all its power. In time, they will direct all their efforts towards this goal. At the Diet of Frankfurt,¹ they did not have the time, even though they had the will, to settle the matter of providing for Your Holiness and your See.

¹ September 1446

[23] Quarta nunc et ultima petitio superest. Coloniensem et Treverensem ecclesias earumque praelatos res ista concernit, cujus honestas eo major est, quo tuae naturae, humanitati¹, dignitati sedique apostolicae convenientior est. Nihil ad nos attinet, beatissime pater, de tuarum sententiarum viribus disputare, cum primae² sedis³ facta⁴ solius Dei iudicio⁵ reserventur. Sed formidamus scandalum, nisi tua clementia in hac ultima petitione preces nostras⁶ exaudiat. Namque praelati magno conatu⁷ ⁸ magnoque potentatu⁹, amicis et clientelis fulti¹⁰, in opibus¹¹ amicisque¹² fidentes¹³ sine spoliis, sine incendiis, sine magno ecclesiarum {293r} damno amoveri facile nequiverunt¹⁴. In veteri testamento cautum est, ne quis haedum in lacte¹⁵ matris suae¹⁶ coquat, quod minime absurdum fuerit interpretatum, si quis praelatum in ecclesiae suae¹⁷ sanguine mulctandum esse negaverit¹⁸. Scis, beatissime pater, quam sancta est Coloniensis ecclesia, quam vetus Treverensis, quam venerabiles ambae, quam toto memorabiles orbe¹⁹. Scis quantum cleri, quantum populi sub se habeant. Nolit tua beatitudo duas illas ecclesias, quae duo magna nationis Germanicae luminaria sunt²⁰, nostris²¹ periclitari²² temporibus.²³

¹ *omit.* M

² *quidem add.* L

³ *sedi* L

⁴ *facto* M

⁵ *iuris* L

⁶ *preces nostras : nostras preces* L

⁷ *cognatu* P, MA

⁸ *magni conatu : magni natu* M

⁹ *clari add.* L

¹⁰ *circumfulti* L

¹¹ *illeg.* L

¹² *artibus* L; *actibusque* M

¹³ *fidentibus* L

¹⁴ *nequeunt* L

¹⁵ *ventre* P, MA

¹⁶ *matris suae : suae matris* L

¹⁷ *omit.* MA

¹⁸ *negavit* L; *negaveris* M

¹⁹ *orbi* L

²⁰ *omit.* M

²¹ *nostrisque* L

²² *periclitare* M

²³ *et add.* L

4.4. Lifting the sanctions against the archbishops of Trier and Cologne

[23] Our fourth petition remains [to be presented]. It concerns the churches of Cologne and Trier and their prelates.¹ This is a matter of honour well suited to your character and humanity and to the Apostolic See. It is not our task, Holy Father, to dispute the legality² of your judgements, as the acts of the First See are reserved for the judgement of God alone.³ But we fear a scandal unless Your Clemency hears our prayers in this last petition. For prelates who have great influence and great power, who are supported by friends and clients, and who may rely on wealth and friends, cannot easily be removed without plunder, conflagration, and great damage to the churches. In the Old Testament, there is a warning not to *boil a kid in the milk of his dam*.⁴ This verse may reasonably be interpreted as meaning that a prelate should not be punished with the blood of his church.⁵ You know, Holy Father, how holy the Church of Cologne is, how old the Church of Trier is, how venerable they both are, and how renowned they are in the whole world. You know how numerous their clergy and their populations are. Your Holiness, please do not endanger these two churches, the two great lights of the German nation.

¹ I.e., their archbishops

² "de viribus"

³ According to the principle maintained by the mediaeval popes: *Nobody may judge the pope* (since the pope is God's vicar on Earth, and nobody may judge God)

⁴ Exodus, 23, 19: *nec coques hedum in lacte matris suae*

⁵ An interesting use of allegory, typical of the time!

[24] Multis rationibus hunc locum consolari possemus, sed scimus tuam consuetudinem, clementiam, pietatem, generositatem¹. Scimus cardinales, episcopos² aliosque praelatos, quos ad te redeuntes non extulisti solum³ jacentes, sed amplificasti⁴ etiam eorum pristinas dignitates⁵. Scimus, quia nulla res⁶ ⁷ magis Deo proxima est⁸ quam salutem hominibus⁹ dare¹⁰. Ideo parcimus verbis, teque solum¹¹ oratum facimus, ut tua beatitudo¹², quae in alios¹³ saepe multos benignissima¹⁴ reperta est, nunc etiam erga {293v} praelatos et principes, de quibus agimus, et ipsorum ecclesias, sui sit memor ipsius, innataque¹⁵ sibi¹⁶ clementia et humanitate utatur. Quod si feceris, ut speramus¹⁷, et nationem integram habebis oboedientem, et nulla¹⁸ umquam aetas de¹⁹ tuis laudibus conticescet.

¹ humanitatem L, M; *omit.* P, MA

² obtimos L

³ extulisti solum : solum extulisti L, M

⁴ ampliasti L

⁵ pristinas dignitates : pristinam dignitatem L

⁶ re M

⁷ nulla res : te nulla te L

⁸ proxima est : proximas L, M

⁹ omnibus L

¹⁰ dando L, M

¹¹ soluimus L

¹² benignitas M

¹³ aliis L

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ innata L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ spe ducimur L

¹⁸ nullum M

¹⁹ a L

[24] We can support this claim with many arguments, but we know about your custom, your clemency, your piety, and your generosity. We know that cardinals, bishops, and other prelates who turned back to you were not only raised up again, but that you even increased their former state.¹ And we know that nothing is dearer to God than to give salvation to men. Therefore, we shall be sparing with words and simply ask that Your Holiness, who has shown great kindness to many others, should now remember himself and show his innate mercy and humanity to the prelates and princes concerned and their churches. If you do as we hope, you shall have a whole nation obedient to you, and all future ages shall extol your praises.

¹ Generosity, especially of princes, is a theme dear to Piccolomini

[25] Haec sunt, sanctissime¹ pater, quae nostri principes ex te petunt, magna sane², sed rationi³ et honestate⁴ consona. In prima petitione communis versatur⁵ utilitas, in secunda⁶ humilitas, in tertia aequitas, in quarta benignitas et tua⁷ desideratur humanitas. Tuum est, quod juste petitur libenter annuere. In tua manu nunc est radicem omnem schismatis⁸ evellere, pacem orbi concedere, consolari⁹ nationem et ejus oboedientiam suscipere¹⁰. Cumque, ut vides, nostri principes in amicitia ad te miserint¹¹, ut auxilientur tibi, tempus est, ut cor tuum¹² jungatur eis, sintque illi tui, et maneant tecum in perpetuum¹³. Et tempestive et¹⁴ convenienter a nobis dictum repetatur¹⁵, quod ab initio ex sacris accepimus¹⁶ litteris: *Pax, pax tibi, pax adjutoribus tuis, te enim adjuvat Deus tuus*, qui tuam beatitudinem prosperioribus¹⁷ dietim successibus augeat. Amen¹⁸

¹ beatissime L

² sana haec L

³ rationem L

⁴ *illeg.* M; honestati MA

⁵ versatur L

⁶ tua *add.* L, M

⁷ tuae sanctitatis L

⁸ omnem schismatis : scismatis omnem L, M

⁹ consolare M

¹⁰ recipere L, M

¹¹ miserant L

¹² *omit.* M

¹³ *illeg.* eternum L

¹⁴ ac L, M

¹⁵ reperitur L; reperiatur M

¹⁶ recepimus L, M

¹⁷ prosperibus L; *omit.* M

¹⁸ Finis P

5. Conclusion

[25] These are, Holy Father, the requests of our princes to you. They are indeed great, but they are also reasonable and decent. In the first request, the common good is concerned; in the second, humility; in the third, reason; and in the fourth, your kindness and humanity are being called upon. Now it is up to you to willingly grant our just petitions. Now it is in your hands to uproot all schism, to grant peace to the world, to comfort the [German] nation, and to receive its obedience. And as you see that our princes have sent messengers to you in friendship and in order to help you, it is time that your heart be joined with them, that they be thine, and that they be with you in eternity. Thus we may, quite appropriately, repeat what we took in the beginning from Holy Scripture: *Peace, peace be to thee, and peace to thy helpers. For thy God helpeth thee.* May He daily increase your happiness through prosperous success. Amen.

**Oration “*Tritum est sermone*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini
(January 1437, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael
von Cotta-Schönberg.**

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 12)

Abstract

In January 1447, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, on a mission from Emperor Friedrich III to Pope Eugenius IV, requested a papal audience in which he would, on behalf of the emperor, respond to a number of complaints against the emperor sent to the pope by the Regent of Hungary, Janos Hunyadi. The Hungarians demanded the return to Hungary of the Boy King Ladislaus, Saint Stephen's Crown, and a number of cities and castles on Hungarian territory occupied by the emperor's troops. In his response, Piccolomini provided a well-reasoned defence of the emperor's position.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Pope Eugene IV; Pope Eugenius IV; Papa Eugenio IV; Jan Huniad; Janos Hunyadi; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); King Ladislaus Postumus; The Holy Roman Empire; Austria; Hungary; The 15th century; 1447; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

After the death of the Habsburg King Albrecht II of the Romans² in 1439, his son Ladislaus, born posthumously on 22 February 1440, was recognised as his successor to the Duchy of Austria and (later) the Kingdom of Bohemia. In view of the very serious military threat from the Turks, the majority of the Hungarian nobles did not want a child king but voted for Wladislav III of Poland as the next King of Hungary. On 15 May 1440, Ladislaus' mother, Queen Elizabeth of Luxembourg, had the infant crowned King of Hungary, and on 17 July, Wladislav, too, was crowned King of Hungary. Elizabeth then appointed Friedrich III, Ladislaus' uncle and new Habsburg King of the Romans, as Ladislaus' guardian and sent the child to him together with the Hungarian crown, Saint Stephen's Crown.³

In 1444, King Wladislav died in a battle against the Turks⁴. Despite some opposition, the Hungarian estates then elected Ladislaus the Posthumous King of Hungary.

In the early summer of 1445, the emperor reacted to the activities of a number of robber bands based in Hungary by invading the frontier territory and capturing some castles and cities, including Güns. Piccolomini comments on this in a letter to his friend, Giovanni Campisio: *This year the king of the Romans, partly acting through his captains, has taken seventeen castles in Hungary and Moravia, having driven out robbers.*⁵

In August 1445, a splendid Hungarian embassy came to King Friederich in Vienna to announce the election of Ladislaus as King of Hungary and to request his person and the Crown of Saint Stephen. The negotiations failed, as did later diplomatic efforts.

Then, in June 1446, the Hungarians elected Janos Hunyadi as Regent of Hungary. On 16 October 1446, he sent letters to Venice and to Pope Eugenius IV in Rome complaining about the refusal of Friederich III to meet the Hungarian demands.⁶

¹ Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 1, 8 (Brown, p. 59); HA / 1. Version (Knödler, I, pp. 19, 33); See also a number of letters of Piccolomini: *Epistolarium*, p. 299, 429, 472, 487; WO, II, pp. 76 ff, 238, 251. Voigt, II, p. 383; Zanetti, pp. 60-85

² I.e., uncrowned Holy Emperor

³ Cf. Haller

⁴ The Battle of Varna, 10 November 1444

⁵ *Epistolarium*, 185, p. 469: *XII castella hoc anno adeptus est rex Romanorum in Hungaria atque Moravia expulsis latronibus partim per se, partim per suos duces. Incepimus iam esse in castris.* Translation quoted after Rejct, p. 227-228, and other letters, cf. HA / 1. Version (Knödler, I, pp. 19, n. 104)

⁶ Published in the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, II, p. 38. See Appendix

On 16 November 1446, Piccolomini left the imperial court to go to Rome, as the emperor's ambassador, to declare the obedience of the Holy Roman Empire to the pope, ending 8 years of German neutrality between the pope and the rump Council in Basel.¹

While on the road, he visited Venice to deal with certain outstanding matters between the emperor and Venice. In his ambassadorial report to the emperor, after the completion of the mission to Rome, he wrote as follows about the visit to Venice:

When we left you, most unconquered prince, it was the sixteenth day of November in the year of the Lord 1446. It was a harsh winter; snow covered everything. The Hungarians raged all over Austria, for, having broken faith against law and justice, they invaded Austria in arms. We could not use the direct route. We crossed trackless mountains and inhospitable peoples and came to Bruck. After that, we went to Venice by the usual route. Vincent, a Hungarian and envoy of John the Voivode,² who had come to Venice, was there. He accused your majesty and commended his lord to the Venetians. We visited the Venetian senate. We expounded on the status of the case that was pending between you and the Hungarians, and strove to make apparent your innocence and the injuries done to you by the Hungarians. To those whom we knew not to be friends or whom we held suspect, we should not show ourselves to be poor, lest they rejoice in our misfortunes and insult us, but it was necessary for us to show confidence and to have a clear mind. This we did abundantly. For that reason, the doge of Venice,³ who was accustomed to speak for all, said he condemned the deeds of the Hungarians and that he did not doubt that your royal majesty would end these reversals with your honor intact.⁴

This passage seems to indicate that Piccolomini had not left the emperor with specific instructions to deal with the Hungarian matter neither in Venice nor in Rome, but that he took it upon himself, as ambassador, to do so when the situation required it, as was the case in Venice. Moreover, though the title of the oration states that the oration in Rome was held “ex inopinato et improvise”, he had, in fact, already in Venice some weeks previously had the opportunity to reason and talk about the matter. As a member of the imperial chancery, he had not only closely followed the development of the Hungarian matter, as witnessed by several of his private letters,⁵ but he had also been directly involved in imperial diplomacy concerning this matter, to the point

¹ See Piccolomini's oration “*Non habet me dubium*” [11]

² Janos Hunyad

³ Francesco Foscari

⁴ Letter report of Piccolomini to the Emperor of 1447 (Reject, pp. 243-244)

⁵ E.g., three long letters, one to Dénes Szécsi, Cardinal archbishop of Esztergom (Budapest) of October 1445 (EPI, 4: 187); one to Leonhard Laiming, Bishop of Passau, of 28 October 1445 (EPI, 4: 190); and one to his friend, Giovanni Campisio, of 4 January 1446 (EPI, 4: 206).

of having written two letters from the emperor to the pope¹ and also the imperial edict of 21 May 1444, declaring a two-year truce between the emperor and King Wladislaw of Hungary.²

Piccolomini arrived in Rome on 7 January 1447. On the 9th, the German delegations were received by the Pope in a secret consistory, and Piccolomini gave his oration on German obedience, the “*Non habet me dubium*” [11].

*After this, he writes in the ambassadorial report, when Aeneas begged another audience about the affairs of Hungary, he [the Pope] granted it with a willing soul, and he ordered the letters of the voivode John, which had already arrived and which blamed your imperial majesty, given to Aeneas so that they could be answered better.*³

And later in the same report:

*Also there was no little rumor that the Hungarians had insulted Austria and detracted very much from your fame, outstanding king. We, however, already in a secret consistory with the envoys of the princes, the electors, and others present, had expounded your justice and the perfidy of the Hungarians. We left all the cardinals sufficiently informed of the truth. What we said has been written down;⁴ there is no need to repeat it. We obviated the rumours as far as we could, but we did not admit that you fear the Hungarians. The cardinal of Bologna⁵ and the cardinal of Sant’ Angelo,⁶ the best of fathers, not just like common men but like Austrians, defended your honor and your dignity and dismissed these empty rumours.*⁷

The initiatives of Piccolomini in this matter, both in Venice and in Rome, may be seen as diplomatic manoeuvres aimed at damage control. Hungary was perceived by the European powers, including the papacy, as the bulwark against Turkish expansion. It would therefore not be expedient for the emperor to be seen as threatening Hungary from the rear. Nor was it expedient that the unchecked Hungarian depredations in Austria should make the emperor look weak. Europe would eventually learn, however, that this emperor was not a warrior king – his qualities were of a different kind.

¹ Letters of 1 April 1444 and of February 1445 (Wolkan, I, II, pp. 24-28 and pp. 157-159)

² Wolkan, I, II, pp. 141-144

³ Reject, p. 248

⁴ I.e., the oration “*Tritum est sermone*”, the text of which had already been or would be communicated to the emperor

⁵ Tommaso Parentucelli, who had been a papal envoy to the emperor and was shortly afterwards elected pope, taking the name of Nicholas V

⁶ Juan Carvajal, who had direct knowledge of German and Hungarians affairs. Both Parentucelli and Carvajal were friends of Piccolomini

⁷ Reject, p. 259

The oration "*Tritum est sermone*" may not have been quite as improvised as it appears from its title. Indeed, it is a succinct, precise, and rather effective statement of the facts of the matter, as seen by the imperial side, completely without the "humanist" embellishments, which in other contexts characterised Piccolomini's orations.

It was effective in the sense that the Apostolic See did not attempt¹ to intervene in Hungary's favour in the conflict, which was eventually settled peacefully later in 1447.²

2. Themes

The Hungarians demanded the return to Hungary of the boy king, Ladislaus, Saint Stephen's Crown, and a number of cities and castles on Hungarian territory occupied by the emperor's troops. The emperor could not grant the demands for Ladislaus and the crown for reasons explained by Piccolomini, and the demand for the return of cities could only be granted in part and on certain conditions.

Concerning the first demand, Piccolomini gives five reasons for the emperor's refusal:

- The emperor is the most appropriate guardian of Ladislaus
- The boy king cannot possibly govern Hungary
- The boy king has other realms with equal rights
- The emperor cannot accept the Hungarian claim that Hungary is an electoral kingdom and that Ladislaus is an elected king
- It would be unsafe for Ladislaus to return to the Hungarians, who are a rebellious people³

Concerning the demand for the crown, Piccolomini replied that naturally the crown should be with the king and that returning it without the king might tempt the Hungarians to use it to elect another king. Since Saint Stephen's crown was a powerful symbol of the ruler's legitimacy, actual

¹ Even had it wished to do so, it could not - in view of the much more important pending imperial and German recognition of the pope

² Zanetti, p. 84: ... *dass im Jahre 1447 ein endgültiger Friede zwischen den beiden Kontrahenten* [Hunyadi and the emperor] *zustande kam, dessen Abschluss sicherlich auch dadurch begünstigt wurde, dass das Auslieferungsansuchen betrifft Ladislaus sicherlich nicht ganz so ernst gemeint war.* Indeed, it might be easier for Hunyad to consolidate his power in the absence of the boy king from Hungary

³ Zanetti, p. 79: an undeclared motive for the emperor's refusal to send Ladislaus to Hungary might have been his fear that Austria, ruled from Hungary, might eventually cease to be a Habsburg dominion

possession of the crown was a very important political issue, and for years it would influence Friedrich's Hungarian policies.¹

Concerning the demand for the restitution of cities and castles, the emperor was willing to return some of them on condition of certain guarantees and the payment of damages and war reparations. Others, he wanted to keep to ensure Ladislaus' rights.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

Piccolomini nowhere states exactly when the oration was delivered, but it was after the reception of the German ambassadors on 9 January, and probably shortly afterwards, so that it would have been in January. Voigt believed that the oration was delivered in a private audience immediately after the consistory where he held the "*Non habet me dubium*" [11],² but this is probably not correct since Piccolomini shortly afterwards, in his report to the emperor, explicitly states that he was given time to study the letter sent by Hunyad to the pope in order to be able to answer it better, and moreover that the oration was delivered in another consistory (see above).

The place was presumably the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican.

The audience was the pope, and it may have otherwise been quite restricted.

The format was that of a diplomatic oration.

4. Text³

The oration was not included in the *Collected Orations of Pius II*, compiled under his personal supervision in 1462. It was therefore not revised in that context.

¹ Haller, p. 94

² Voigt, II, p. 383

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

4.1. Manuscripts¹

The oration is extant in three manuscripts:

- **Brno / Moravská Zemská Knihovna / Bibliothek Dietrichstein²**
Cod. II, 122, fol. 126-129 (**N**)³
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 519, fol. 80r-83r (**M**)^{4 5}
- **Vorau / Augustiner Chorherrenstift Archiv**
Cod. 35, fol. 175r-178r (**V**)

4.2. Editions

The oration has been published once (on the basis of all three manuscripts listed above):

- Wolkan, R. (ed.): Eine ungedruckte Rede des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 34 (1913) 522-526

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition is based on all three extant manuscripts. The lead text is the clm 519.

¹ Though very ably edited by Wolkan, the three manuscripts have, as a matter of principle, been collated on the basis of digital versions for the present edition

² Formerly in the Dietrichstein Palace in Nikolsburg, now in the Moravian Library in Brno

³ <http://kramerius.mzk.cz/search/handle/uuid:045a7557-3acd-457e-9258-466398259703>

⁴ The manuscript was written by the humanist Hartmann Schedel and finished on 20 May 1468, cf. Wolkan, I, p. 526]

⁵ <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/0001/bsb00018792/images/index.html?fip=193.174.98.30&id=00018792&seite=1>

Pagination:

Pagination is from the München manuscript clm 519.

5. Sources¹

In this short and very business-like diplomatic address, there is only quotation, the expression “tritum est sermone” from Cicero’s *De officiis*.

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7. Sigla

M = München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Clm 519

N = Brno / Moravská Zemská Knihovna / Bibliothek Dietrichstein / Cod. II, 122

V = Voralpe / Augustiner Chorherrenstift Archiv / Cod. 35

WO = Wolkan, R. (ed.): Eine ungedruckte Rede des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini. In: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 34 (1913) 522-526

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Responsio domini Aeneae¹ poetae² super querelis Johannis Huniat³ quam personaliter coram sanctissimo patre Eugenio ex inopinato et improvise dixit⁴ et⁵ super praescriptis respondit⁶

[1] {80r} Tritum est sermone proverbium, pater sanctissime, priores qui faciunt, quam qui patiuntur injurias conqueri, quod Johannes de Huniat, qui se gubernatorem Hungariae vocitat⁷, falsum esse non sinit. Is namque, licet nulla injuria lacessitus nullisque⁸ provocatus offensionibus, contra scripta sua, contra fidem publicam, contra jus fasque ingressus Austriam cum exercitu quamplures villas ferro et igne vastaverit, vim tamen se pati dicere, contumeliosis lacessere verbis Caesaream majestatem et, quod sibi culpa est, alteri vitio vertere non veretur. Sed respondebimus breviter dictis suis et insolentis hominis vanas refellemus accusationes. Nec nobis menti est regni totius praelatos proceresque reprehendere, inter quos multi sunt recti atque constantes, qui Johannis facta detestantur; sed ipsum dumtaxat et qui sibi alludunt et mendaces et culpabiles et poena dignos asserimus.

[2] Tria, si recte accepi, Johannis litterae regi nostro obiciunt, quibus⁹ inferri regno violentiam asseruntur: ajunt sibi regem negari, coronam auferri, castella occupari, et, quia verbis haec nequeunt obtinere, vindicare armis intendunt. Nil miri est, pater sanctissime, si, qui habent manus¹⁰ nocentes, os¹¹ quoque injustum ferunt; nam cordi malo facta simul et verba facile consonant.

¹ Silvii *add.* N

² laureati *add.* N

³ Huniad *et passim* N, V

⁴ duxit N, V

⁵ *omit.* N

⁶ *omit.* N

⁷ facitat V

⁸ ullisque M

⁹ quidam M, N; quibus *corr.* ex quidam V

¹⁰ habent manus : manus habent N, V

¹¹ eis M

Response of Enea Silvio, poet, to the complaints of Janos Hunyad, delivered directly to the Holy Father, Eugenius, as an unplanned and improvised oration

0. Introduction

[1] Holy Father, a well-known proverb¹ says that those who cause injuries complain even before those who suffer them. This is also true of Janos Hunyad, who calls himself the Regent of Hungary.² For though he had suffered no injury and been provoked by no offences, he has – against his written words, against his public promise, against law and justice – invaded Austria³ with an army and devastated many villages with fire and sword. And now he claims to suffer violence, attacks His Imperial Majesty with outrageous words, and culpably turns his own crime into somebody else's. We shall briefly answer his claims and refute the groundless accusations of this insolent person. It is not our intention to blame the prelates and the nobles of the whole realm, for there are many upright and steadfast people who reject Janos' actions. But we claim that he himself and those who play his game are both liars and deserve punishment.

[2] If I understand correctly, Janos' letter⁴ raises three accusations against our king, claiming that the realm is being molested: their king is being denied them, the crown has been removed, and castles have been occupied. And since they cannot recover them with words, they will reclaim them with arms. Holy Father, it is not surprising that those who have harm in their hands also have injustice in their mouths, for to a wicked mind, it is easy to shape words to fit actions.

¹ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.10.33: ... est ... tritum sermone proverbium

² Hunyadi had been elected Regent (gubernator) of Hungary by the Hungarian estates in June 1446

³ In autumn 1446

⁴ See Appendix, the passage in bold

[3] Sed audiamus, quam juste sibi regem dari Hungari {80v} postulent. Haec¹ petitio ex quinque causis - nisi fallor - honestissime refutari potest. Nam cum puer sit annos natus septem, quis potius eum teneat nutriatque quam rex Romanorum, cui per matrem commendatus est infantulus? Qui proximior consanguineus est quam patruelis? Qui suae domus Australis major? Qui eum hucusque regio cultu asservari et nutriri curavit? Quid praeterea puer in regno faciat², ubi non regere, sed regi debeat? Habetque³ is puer alia et⁴ regna et dominia. Quod, si detur⁵ Hungaris, merito Bohemi⁶ conqueri queant, et Australes, et Moravi, et alii, qui eum petentes non obtinuerint⁷, ac si melior Hungarorum fides quam horum sit⁸.

[4] Petunt igitur Hungari Ladislaum non ut heredem, sed ut electum regem. At Caesarea majestas scit puero absque omni electione maternum, paternum et avitum deberi regnum. Nam et apostolicis declaratum esse decretis constat Hungariae regnum⁹ hereditarium esse et non electum. Nec inficiantur Hungari, Albertum sibi et¹⁰ regem fuisse, cujus filium esse Ladislaum fatentur. Quod si regem illis ut electum Caesarea sublimitas daret, magnum puero et suis successoribus praepudicium faceret. Exinde, cum jam¹¹ puer legitime coronatus fuerit, homagia susceperit regni, pleno jure potitus extiterit, absurdum Caesareae majestati videtur ad novam, ut illi petunt, eum coronationem transmittere.

¹ nec N

² faciet M; faciat *corr.* ex faciet N

³ habet quoque N, V

⁴ et alia N

⁵ datur N; datur *aut* detur V

⁶ *omit.* M; Hungari V

⁷ obtinuerunt M, N

⁸ sit quam horum N

⁹ regem N

¹⁰ sed M, V

¹¹ *omit.* N

1. The Hungarian demand for the extradition of King Ladislaus

[3] But let us hear how justified the Hungarian demand that the King be given to them is. If I am not mistaken, this petition can be entirely refuted on five grounds.

1.1. The emperor is the most appropriate guardian for Ladislaus

As the boy is only seven years old, who can better take care of him and foster him than the King of the Romans, to whom he was entrusted as a baby by his own mother? Who is more closely related to him than his uncle? Who is greater in the House of Austria? Who has protected and fostered him until now with royal care?

1.2. The boy king cannot govern Hungary

And what would the boy do in a kingdom where he cannot govern but only be governed?

1.3. The boy king has other realms with equal rights

Moreover, the boy also has other kingdoms and dominions. If he is given to the Hungarians, the Bohemians can rightly complain, as can the Austrians, the Moravians, and others, who have asked for him (but did not get him) – as if the loyalty of the Hungarians is greater than theirs!

1.4. The emperor cannot accept the Hungarian claim that Hungary is an electoral kingdom

[4] Moreover, the Hungarians demand Ladislaus as an elected king, not as the heir. But His Royal Majesty well knows that the realm comes to the boy [as an inheritance] from his mother, his father, and his grandfather and not by virtue of an election. For apostolic decrees confirm that the Kingdom of Hungary is hereditary, not electoral. And the Hungarians do not deny that Albrecht, too, was king, he who – as they themselves say - was the father of Ladislaus. But if His Imperial Highness gave them the boy as an elected king, he would create serious prejudice to the boy and his successors. Indeed, as the boy has already been crowned legitimately and received the homage of the realm, he has acquired it in full right. Therefore, His Imperial Majesty considers it absurd to send him back for a new coronation, as requested by the Hungarians.

[5] Accedit istis, quia non taliter se hactenus habuerunt Hungari, ut tradendus¹ sit eis puer. Nam et avo saepe rebellarunt, et patri multivariam² insidiati sunt et matrem persecuti et contra se ipsum, novellum regem verum {81r} et indubitatum, infantem tamen et orphanum, adulterum regem introducere, paternam³ sibi maternam et avitam haereditatem⁴ auferentes. Ob quas res injusta petitio visa⁵ est, dum puerum sibi tradi⁶ cupiunt Hungari, apud quos, ut de malis loquor, qui non sunt pauci, fidem frangere quam servare reputatur honestius.

[6] Sed postulant Hungari coronam. Negato equidem rege et coronam negare⁷ consentaneum est. Quis enim non apud regem servandam esse coronam dicat? Ubi rex, ibi et diadema sit oportet. Nec aliter moris in Hungaria fuit. Sed vellent forsitan Hungari (neque hoc insuasum est) diadema, quod sanctum vocitant, apud se retinere, ut suo ex arbitrio novum, quando vellent, regem constituerent, ut sicut homines rerum novarum cupidi, quod licet nullo jure facere queant, regnum tamen turbarent, cum habere jus eligendi regem se dicant. Atque idcirco nec regem permitti Hungaris puerum neque coronam persuasum est.

¹ credendus *interlin.* V

² multifarie N; multifariam V

³ patriam M, V

⁴ *em.*; hereditariam M, N, V

⁵ petitio visa : visa petitio N

⁶ sibi tradi : tradi sibi V

⁷ negari N, V

1.4. The Hungarians are a rebellious people

[5] Moreover, until now, the Hungarians have not acted in such a fashion that the boy can be handed over to them. They often rebelled against his grandfather; they plotted against his father in many ways, and persecuted his mother. And against Ladislaus himself, the new, true, and undisputed king, but an infant and orphan, they set up a false king,¹ thus robbing him of his own country, inherited from father, mother, and grandfather. Therefore, the Hungarian demand for the boy to be handed over to them is unreasonable, especially as there are many men among them - I am speaking of the wicked ones - who consider it quite permissible to break faith rather than to keep it.

2. The Hungarian demand for the return of Saint Stephen's Crown

[6] The Hungarians also demand the crown. However, if the king is denied them, it is only consistent to deny them the crown as well. For who would claim that the crown should not be with the king? Where the king is, there the crown should be, too, and this has always been the custom in Hungary. But the Hungarians may well want to keep the crown, which they believe to be holy, with themselves so that they can appoint a new king at will. For they are a people who like political upheavals, and though justice is not on their side, they would definitely bring disturbance to the realm since they claim that they are entitled to elect their own king. Therefore, it is inadvisable to allow the Hungarians to have the king or the crown.

¹ Wladislaw III of Poland, crowned King of Hungary on 17 July 1440, 2 months after the coronation of the infant Ladislaus the Posthumous

[7] Nec de castellis ac civitatibus separatio ratio est. Sunt in manu Caesareae majestatis ex Hungariae oppidis atque castellis Jaurinum et¹ Supronium, Guns, et alia plerumque. Jaurinum et Supronium² annis jam pluribus Caesar in potestatem accepit, ut patruelis sui jura tueri posset. Nam³ nisi haec oppida tenuisset, actum erat de jure pueri. Guns et alia quaedam cum exercitu de manibus praedonum recepit, treugarum⁴ vigore, quas cum Hungaris habebat. Cum tamen tua sanctitas, beatissime pater, adversus Teucros⁵ Hungariam excitasset, placuit Hungaris biennales indutias ex Caesarea majestate deposcere, ne, dum in fronte cum Teucris pugnarent, in tergo ab Australibus {81v} caederentur. Quas rex noster intuitu fidei et tuae beatitudinis id exigentibus libenter concessit. Sed cavere voluit, ut qui treugas non servarent, liberum sibi esset⁶ compescere. Erant enim praedones quidam Austriae Stiriaeque finitimi, qui nec Hungaros ut⁷ impotentes, nec regem nostrum quasi non suum dominum metuebant, et sic undique praedabantur. Similiter et Hungaris permissum est, si qui ex nostris non servarent indutias, ut eos frenarent. Litterae utrimque sigillis munitae sunt et utrimque traditae.

[8] Servatae sunt treugae per Caesaream majestatem suosque subditos; praedones vero⁸, quorum feci mentionem, ut qui nullis se legibus teneri⁹ arbitrantur, majora dietim spolia majoraque praedia¹⁰ factitabant. Scripsit regia serenitas saepe Hungaris, ut providerent, illisque¹¹ se¹² aliis occupatos negotiis asserentibus post mortem regis Poloniae, juxta tenorem treugarum, quae adhuc durabant, exercitum movit, praedones supplicio affecit, provinciam expurgavit, castella in potestatem redegit, de qua re etiam Hungari majestati regiae per suas litteras egerunt gratias.

¹ *omit.* N, V

² Guns et ... Supronium *omit.* M

³ non N, V

⁴ *trew- et passim* N

⁵ *Thew- et passim* N

⁶ esse M

⁷ *omit.* N, V

⁸ non M

⁹ tueri N

¹⁰ majoraque praedia : majoresque predes V

¹¹ illi qui N*

¹² *omit.* M

3. The Hungarian demand for the return of castles and cities

[7] The same reasoning applies to the castles and cities. Of the Hungarian cities and castles, His Majesty controls Jaurinum¹, Sopron², Güns,³ and several others. The emperor took over Jaurinum and Sopron several years ago in order to protect the rights of his nephew. If he had not held these cities, the boy would no longer have any rights at all. Güns and some other cities he took by arms from the hands of robbers by virtue of his truce with Hungary. For when Your Holiness roused Hungary to fight the Teucrians,⁴ the Hungarians decided to ask His Imperial Majesty for a two-year truce so they would not have to fight the Teucrians in front while being attacked by the Austrians from the rear. Out of respect for the Faith and the demands of Your Holiness, our king granted this gladly, stipulating that he would be free to restrain those who did not keep the truce. For there were robbers close to Austria and Styria who feared neither the Hungarians, whom they considered to be powerless, nor our king, as if they did not owe him any allegiance, and therefore plundered everywhere. The same was allowed to the Hungarians, so that they - on their part - might restrain those from our side who did not keep the truce. Letters were sealed by both parties and transmitted to both.

[8] The truce was kept by His Imperial Majesty and his subjects. But [on the opposite side], the abovementioned robbers, believing that they did not have to observe any laws, looted on a daily basis and took much booty. Often, His Serene Highness wrote to the Hungarians that they should take this matter in hand, but they claimed that they were otherwise occupied. So after the death of the King of Poland, his Majesty, in accordance with the provisions of the truce that were still in force, sent in his army, punished the robbers, cleansed the province, and took over the castles. For this, even the Hungarians thanked His Royal Majesty in a letter sent to him.

¹ Raab, Győr

² Ödenburg

³ Köszeg in Hungary

⁴ Note that Piccolomini used the term Teucri for the Turks as late as 1447

[9] Cum ergo haec vel oppida vel castella repetunt Hungari, et contra Ladislai regis foedus¹ et contra foedus induciarum [bellum]² faciunt nec inhoneste possunt repelli, quis enim, ut alia omittamus, haec oppida sive arces, quae juris Ladislai regis munimenta sunt, justius teneat et melius regat quam Caesarea sublimitas, quo tamquam proximior, convenientior et fidelior regem nutrit? Quae cum ita sint, nullam facit injuriam Hungaris regia serenitas, si, quae petunt injuste, negantur juste. Sed non³ egit hoc modo noster Caesar cum Hungaris, {82r} qui immo motus eorum precibus, motus oratorum, qui saepe ad se missi sunt, rogatibus, de puero responsum dedit, quamvis coronatus esset, non abnueret tamen novam coronationem, curarent dumtaxat Hungari fieri, ut tute possit post coronationem conservare regem in Posonio, quod est Hungariae oppidum regno Bohemiae et Austriae vicinum. Consensit sicut et genitor ejus divae memoriae Albertus in testamento [quod]⁴ reliquerat, et illic assignare coronam obtulit. Sed quoniam⁵ arx in potestate alterius jam⁶ erat, illam⁷ in manu eorum, qui nutrent regem, restitui postulabat.

[10] Nec minus modeste de castellis et oppidis respondit. Nam Jaurinum, quod est ecclesia cathedralis, quodque rex non ex manibus ecclesiae, sed occupatorum recepit ac pro ejus tutione aureorum circiter 20 milia exposuit, quam primum illic episcopus daretur⁸, juxta cor suum, qui sibi et⁹ patrueli suo fidelis esset, satisfacto sibi restituere non negaret¹⁰, nec Supronium, quod sub pignore tenet, recepta pecunia amplius retineret. Ad restitutionem vero reliquorum castrorum, resarciri damna, quae praedones fecerant¹¹, impensas belli reddi, et ut sibi ac¹² patrueli suo ex illis posthac¹³ nulla¹⁴ fierent detrimenta provideri postulabat. In hac sententia saepe responsum est Hungaris, quibus ex rebus facile videre potest tua beatitudo, an regia serenitas vim faciat Hungaris aut injurias inferat.

¹ *omit.* N, V

² *em.*; *omit.* M, N, V

³ sed non : si vero M

⁴ *em.* Wolkan; *omit.* M, N, V

⁵ quia N, V

⁶ *omit.* N, V

⁷ *omit.* M

⁸ episcopus daretur : emptus daret M; episcopi darent N

⁹ ac N

¹⁰ negans N

¹¹ faciant N

¹² et N

¹³ post hoc N

¹⁴ ulla N

[9] Now the Hungarians persist in demanding these cities and castles, which is contrary to [the rights] of King Ladislaus and they are making [war] in contravention of the truce treaty. It is quite legitimate to expel them, for who - not to mention other things - can more justly hold and better rule these towns and fortresses that guarantee the rights of King Ladislaus than His Imperial Highness, who fosters the king as his closest relative and the most appropriate and faithful guardian.

In this situation, His Serene Highness would do no injury to the Hungarians if he justly denied their unjust demands. But this is not how our emperor dealt with the Hungarians. On the contrary, moved by their prayers and the requests of the ambassadors often sent to him concerning the boy, he answered that although Ladislaus had already been crowned once¹, he would not reject a new coronation if only the Hungarians would arrange that, after the coronation, he could keep the king safely in Posonium², a Hungarian town close to the Kingdom of Bohemia and Austria. This assent was in accordance with the testament left by the boy's father, Albrecht of holy memory, and the emperor even offered to have the royal crown kept in that city, but as its castle was held by somebody else, the emperor demanded that it be transferred to those who fostered the king.

[10] Concerning the castles and towns, he replied just as moderately. Jaurinum is an episcopal city that the king received not from the Church but from those who had occupied it, for a sum of 20.000 ducats. The king offered to give back the city as soon as a bishop acceptable to him had been appointed there, one who would be loyal to himself and to his nephew. Nor would he keep Sopron, held by him as surety, if a sum was paid over to him. Concerning the restitution of the other castles, he demanded compensation for the losses caused by the robbers, payment of war expenses, and measures against future injury to himself and to his nephew. An answer in this vein was given to the Hungarians on several occasions. Thus, Your Holiness can easily see whether His Serene Highness uses violent measures against the Hungarians or molests them in any way.

¹ As an infant

² Pressburg = Bratislava

[11] Sed illi, cupiditati magis quam justitiae suas petitiones aptantes, tamquam solum et unicum justum sit, quod ipsi volunt, convenientes Budae exercitum coegerunt, quem, dum parari regia majestas sentiret, praemissis oratoribus sciscitata est, quo suas copias essent ducturi, et an sibi cavendum esset. {82v} Nam et pacem cum eis, si vellent, libenti servaret animo, et bellum, si necessitas affuerit,¹ non detractaret, sed pacem se magis cupere dicebat. At illi, quibus nihil est quam mentiri facilius, fideles se regiae serenitatis² servitores esse respondent³, bonos vicinos pacem tenere, discordiam abhorrere⁴ vitandosque fore tamquam dissidii et zaniarum satores, qui copias Hungarorum adversus dominia Caesarae⁵ majestatis⁶ quovis pacto venturas dicerent. Sed ecce constantiam, ecce justitiam, aequitatem, nobilitatem, fidem: venit ex improvise Johannes armatasque⁷ copias in Austriae limitibus exponit, et, nisi⁸ quae petit obtineat, ingressurum se Austriam et omnia ferro et incendio vastaturum minatur. Regia sublimitas missis legatis, ut supra dixi, et justius etiam respondet.

[12] Sed quae justitiae apud Hungaros, ut de malis loquar, reverentia⁹, quae fidei custodia¹⁰, quae promissorum memoria? Introivit exercitus Austriam, nobilissimas villas cremavit, aedes sacras incendit, virgines nuptasque violavit, non sexui, non aetati ferrum pepercit. Sed non tantum crassari barbari potuerunt, quantum voluissent. Nam populi plerique ad munitissima se loca receperant, et expugnandarum arcium impotes sunt Hungari. At quod¹¹ liberum eis fuit¹², nullam mali faciem omiserunt.

¹ afferret N, V

² majestatis N

³ responderunt N, V

⁴ *interlin.* V; *omit.* M, N

⁵ dignitatis vel *add.* M

⁶ serenitatis N

⁷ armatus qui N

⁸ non M

⁹ reverentiae N; reverenter N

¹⁰ custodiende N

¹¹ at quod : atque M

¹² eis fuit : fuit eis N

[11] But the Hungarians, suiting their demands to their greed rather than to justice - as if the only just cause is that which they themselves want - gathered an army at Buda. When His Royal Majesty was informed about these preparations, he sent orators to ask where these troops were to be sent and whether or not he had to take precautions. For he would willingly keep the peace with them if they so desired, but he would not avoid a war if necessary. However, he would rather have peace, he said. But the Hungarians, who lie easily, answered that they were the loyal servants of His Serene Highness and that, as good neighbours, they would keep the peace and avoid conflict. They also said that those who claimed that Hungarian troops would be coming against the territories of His Imperial Majesty should be ignored as sowers of discord and strife. But see what Hungarian steadfastness, justice, equity, nobility, and faithfulness are like: suddenly Janos¹ arrived in force and deployed troops at the Austrian borders, threatening to invade Austria and devastate all by sword and fire if he did not get what he wanted. His Royal Highness sent legates - as I said before - with an answer that was more than fair.

[12] But what respect for justice do the Hungarians have (I speak only of the evil ones)? What care for faithfulness? What memory of promises? Their army invaded Austria, burned noble cities, set fire to holy buildings, raped virgins and matrons, and their swords spared neither sex nor age. But the barbarians could not rampage as much as they wanted to, for most people fled to the fortified places, and the Hungarians were unable to conquer the fortresses. But otherwise, they committed every evil they could.

¹ Janos Hunyad

[13] Audisti, beatissime pater, et Hungarorum, qui cum Johanne¹ sunt, perfidiam, et modestiam Caesareae majestatis, quae licet gravia damna passa sit in suis subditis, non tamen animo² deficit. Assunt sibi subditorum vires, sunt amici, sunt affines, adest justitia, et recti custos Deus, ex cujus auxilio vindictam sumere nihil dubitat. Audies, ut speramus, in³ brevi magnam aliquam novitatem. {83r} Nam regem nostrum, cum recessimus, jam intraturum castra dimisimus. Quod tuae sanctitati excusatum esse non⁴ dubitamus, cum arma non voluntate, sed necessitate induerit, cum bellum non inferat, sed repellat. Illi faveat optimus Deus et dominus exercituum ac tuam⁵ simul beatitudinem⁶ feliciter tueatur⁷ ad prosperum et tranquillum regimen ecclesiae suae sanctae. Amen. Laus Deo.^{8 9 10}

¹ *omit.* M

² omnino N

³ *omit.* N, V

⁴ esse non : non esse N

⁵ tua M

⁶ beatitudo M

⁷ teneatur M; *interlin. add.* teneatur V

⁸ laus Deo : deo gratias N, V

⁹ cum laude omnipotentis Jesu Christi *add.* V

¹⁰ Finit anno etc. LXVIIIo die vigesima mensis Maji in Nuremberga, laudes Deo infinitae *add.* M

5. Conclusion

[13] Holy Father, you have now heard both about the perfidy of those Hungarians who support Janos and the moderation of His Imperial Majesty, who is not discouraged though he has suffered grave losses among his subjects. For he has the strength of his subjects, his friends and relatives. He has justice on his side, and God, who protects the just, and who - as he does not doubt - will help him get just retribution. In a short time - we hope - you will hear important news [on this matter], for when we left our king¹, he was on the verge of going to war. We are certain that Your Holiness will forgive him since he has not taken up arms willingly, but only out of necessity and to end war, not to make it. May he enjoy the favour of the Best God and the Lord of Armies, and may God also protect Your Holiness and give you a prosperous and tranquil rule of his Holy Church. Amen. Thanks be to God.

¹ 16 November 1446

Appendix¹: Letter from Janos Hunyadi, Regent of Hungary, to Pope Eugenius IV of 18 October 1446²

{125Ar} Beatissime pater, vim patimur expertes culpa, gravisque rebus nostris et inopinata³ violentia ingeritur⁴. Terra nostra intestine hactenus⁵ bello tumida⁶, jam⁷ divino munere parabat conquiescere, solum⁸, aduersus⁹ infideles Europa pellendos, sollicitudinem reliquens¹⁰ erectam¹¹: verum princeps ille, qui Christiani populi¹² Augustus reputatur et caput¹³, turbatis addit vulnera, et quaesitae paci¹⁴ nova jurgia pronus ministrat¹⁵, quamuis non dubitet, nullum jus sibi ex¹⁶ regno nostro, nullumque commune deberi¹⁷,

{125Av} praesertim, cum submotam noverit causam illam, qua eidem terrae nostrae et patriae manum contendebat violentiam immittere. Cum autem¹⁸ et¹⁹ beatitudini vestrae²⁰ non lateat²¹, quia²² totalis dissensio illa tam aspera²³ ex duorum regum contraria electione viguerit, jam

¹ Edition based on texts edited in the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*. Ed. J.G. v. Schwandtner. 3 vols. 1766. / II, p. 38 (HU), and the mss. collated aboce, i.e. the M (ff. 79r-), the N and the V. Lead ms. is M. Pagination from N

² Epistola querimonialis a gubernatore et proceribus regni Hungariae ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam contra Caesaream majestatem et in qua excusationem petunt si propterea invaderet armis Austriam ex eo quod petita non habere queant M; Epistola querimonialis a gubernatore proceribusque regni Hungariae ad sanctissimum dominum nostrum papam contra Caesaream majestatem in qua excusationem petunt si propterea invaderent armis Austriam eo quod petita non queant N

³ et inopinata *omit.* HU

⁴ ingratur N

⁵ intestino hactenus : hactenus intestino HU

⁶ tumida *corr. ex tumefacta* M

⁷ jamjam N, HU

⁸ solam HU

⁹ adversos N

¹⁰ *omit.* HU

¹¹ relinquebat *add.* HU

¹² Regni HU

¹³ reputatur et caput : appellatur HU

¹⁴ *omit.* N

¹⁵ intorquet HU

¹⁶ in HU

¹⁷ debere N

¹⁸ enim HU

¹⁹ uti HU

²⁰ beatitudini vestrae : beatitudinem quoque vestram HU

²¹ latet HU

²² *omit.* HU

²³ illa tam aspera : prior in hoc regno HU

²⁴ amplior HU

non videtur locus dissidio, dum unum iudicio divino sublatum agnovimus et alterum votis nostris concorditer electum¹. Huius² equeidem³ electi regis nostri⁴, ut pueri⁵ illustrissimi Ladislai nati quondam serenissimi domini⁶ Alberti regis cuius partem huc usque praenotatus princeps, rex Romanorum⁷, fuit pro quo instetit et contendit pro quo demum laborem cohibuit⁸ qui⁹ proni subditi sumus, cuique sine labore oblatum unanimiter regnum seruamus, multis modis¹⁰ multaque instantia, apud eundem operas dedimus et¹¹ laborauimus, **ut electum ipsum regem¹², cum corona sublata¹³, regno suo et solio¹⁴ restitueret¹⁵, finesque regni ejus¹⁶ et ciuitates, ceteraque quae amplius, sublata dissidiorum causa¹⁷, tenere non licuit, suadente¹⁸ iustitia resignarit¹⁹**. At ipse, ut praemisimus, quaesitam pacem non ferens aequo animo, multis dilationibus multisque verbis, hactenus nos²⁰ tenuit, festinans hoc²¹ dilationum²² medio innovare gravamina, occupatis²³ addere, regalia quoque et ecclesiarum proventus usurpare, immo, quod molestius referimus, nova imponi onera novaque fortalitia erigi, apud ecclesiarum et praecipue cathedralis lauriensis latera, equis et iumentis stabula, curiasque²⁴ et detestanda commercia institui patitur et fovere²⁵, utque brevius²⁶ concludamus plura, non infidelium, non denique paganorum insultus, tantum patriae nostrae nunc afficit, quantum turbatio, et insperata²⁷ arma, principis supradicti in notabilem et

¹ unum iudicio ... electum : alter iudicio divino sublatus est et alter per concordem electionem susceptus HU

² huius HU

³ quidem HU

⁴ utpote illustrissimi ... *omit.* HU

⁵ ut puta N

⁶ domini *add.* N

⁷ rex Romanorum *omit.* HU

⁸ fuit quo ... cohibuit : fovit pro quo denique laboris adhibuit N

⁹ quia HU

¹⁰ mediis HU

¹¹ dominum Romanorum regem HU

¹² *omit.* M, N

¹³ *omit.* M, N

¹⁴ suo et solio : et solio suo N

¹⁵ restitueret HU

¹⁶ *omit.* HU

¹⁷ sublata dissidiorum causa : post sublatam dissidiorum causam HU

¹⁸ ua dum M

¹⁹ resignaret HU

²⁰ non M

²¹ hac N

²² dilationis M; dilatione N

²³ occupanda *add.* HU

²⁴ choreasque HU

²⁵ patitur et fovere : et fovere patitur HU

²⁶ brevibus N

²⁷ inspirata M, N

etiam¹ regni nostri immo totius Christianae religionis dedecus et jacturam². Quia igitur, beatissime beatissime pater³, rebus his acerbis non injuste⁴ moveri nos oportuit, juste incitati⁵, justissima iterato⁶ arma decrevimus, ad defensionem reintegrationemque⁷ patriae nostrae, quae, ut praemisimus⁸, oppressione turbatur, supplicantes devotius, ut, si post hos⁹ dies, beatitudo vestra, vestra, apud fines¹⁰ praetactos copias armorum nostrorum¹¹ acturas forte aut passuras aliquid audiverit, non ob aliam rem id obtingere putet¹², nisi eam, quam superius, eidem beatitudini vestrae, dolorosis satis verbis deteximus, et pro qua quidem re¹³, in hoc iustissimo certantes¹⁴ bello, et vinci pium et vincere¹⁵ reputamus¹⁶ gloriosum¹⁷. Recommittimus devotionem nostram beatitudini vestrae, quam altissimus conservare dignetur feliciter¹⁸ longe feliciter conservet regimini¹⁹ ecclesiae suae sanctae. Datum in opido Feuldwar²⁰ ²¹ die decimo septimo²² octobris anno domini²³ MCCCCXLVI.

¹ in *add.* HU

² In notabile ... jacturam *omit.* HU

³ beatitudo vestra M, N

⁴ indigni N; indigne HU

⁵ juste incitati : injuste provocati N

⁶ contra eum HU

⁷ reintegrationem M, M

⁸ illicita *add.* HU

⁹ has N

¹⁰ hostes HU

¹¹ copias armorum nostrorum : armorum nostrorum copias HU

¹² *omit.* M, N

¹³ *omit.* HU

¹⁴ *omit.* HU

¹⁵ pium et vincere : et vincere pium HU

¹⁶ putamus N; reputavimus HU

¹⁷ *omit.* HU

¹⁸ conservare dignetur feliciter : longe feliciter conservet HU

¹⁹ regno N

²⁰ *Illeg.* M

²¹ Datum ... Feuldwar: data HU

²² die decimo septimo : XVIII. [*sic!*] Octobris HU

²³ *omit.* HU

Oration “*Est mihi non parum*” of Enea Silvio Piccolomini (21 October 1447, Milan). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg.

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 13)

Abstract

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan in 1447, the House of Visconti became extinct. Among the pretendants to the Visconti heritage was Emperor Friedrich III, who, with some justice, claimed that Milan was an imperial feud that had now reverted to the Empire. The emperor sent three successive embassies to Milan to persuade the city to accept his direct lordship, and Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first (1447) and the last (1449). One of the speeches he delivered in this context is the "*Est mihi non parum*" of 21 October 1447, in which he presented the emperor's claim to the duchy and the advantages to the Milanese of direct imperial rule, i.e., freedom, peace, glory, and wealth.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius; Aeneas Sylvius; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); The Holy Roman Empire; Milan; Duke Filippo Maria Visconti; Milano; History of diplomacy; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoris; 15th century; 1447

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

At the death of Duke Filippo Maria Visconti of Milan on 13 August 1447, the House of Visconti became extinct. A number of pretendants to the rich Visconti heritage soon presented themselves: King Alfonso V of Aragon (by virtue of testament), the condottiero Francesco Sforza (by virtue of marriage), and the Duke of Orleans (by virtue of heritage). And Venice, of course, was quite ready to conquer some of the neighbouring territories in Lombardy belonging to the Milanese state.

Also, Holy Roman Emperor, Friedrich III, presented his claim to Milan. This claim was based on feudal law, Milan being in principle a feudal grant by earlier emperors to the Viscontis, which had now reverted to the Empire (by devolution).

The Milanese themselves would rather be an independent commune, like Venice and Florence. An agent of Sforza reported to him: *Sento da alcuni boni et notabili cittadini che la dispositione di questa citade è, dopo la morte de costui, fare consiglio generale fra loro et de proponere et invocare la libertade.*²

The cautious emperor, for his part, was not willing to commit himself to a military adventure in Italy. He limited himself to diplomatic action and sent three embassies to Milan in the years 1447-1449.³ These missions were not hopeless, as the Milanese might possibly prefer a practically autonomous regime under the nominal direct overlordship of the emperor, but when it became apparent that the emperor was not willing to use military power to protect the Milanese (or against the Milanese themselves), the field was left open to those who would.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was a member of the first and third imperial embassy.⁴ The first embassy was headed by the imperial chancellor, Kaspar Schlick, and the other members were high-ranking

¹ CO, I, 18-19 (Meserve, I, pp. 80-93); HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80); Piccolomini: *De Europa*, bk. 49 (Brown, pp. 222-231); see also letters of Piccolomini, in WO, II, pp. 225-226, 265, 271; Ady, pp. 104-105; Boulting, 182-184; Cellerino, ch. II, 3; Hufnagel, pp. 405-419; Paparelli, pp. 217-128; Reinhardt, pp. 147-149. Voigt, II, pp. 431-435

² Cellerino, p. 605

³ Piccolomini: *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* (Reject, p. 384): *The king of the Romans sent envoys among whom was Aeneas, and asked that rule devolve to him on the death of the duke of Milan. ... They [the Milanese] declared themselves subjects of the king of the Romans, but they thought nothing was due him beyond reverence and honor. ... Caesar sent twice to them afterwards. The last time, Aeneas arrived. ... But Aeneas, who had been commissioned to receive all, could not conclude these things without some compromise.* This indicates that there were actually three embassies to Milan from the emperor, and that Aeneas only participated in the first (1447) and the last (1449). See also HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80)

⁴ He may not have participated in the second because, at that time, he lived in Trieste, his new bishopric, in royal disfavour connected with the chancellor's fall

court officials.¹ Piccolomini had been appointed Bishop of Trieste six months previously, so he was now bishop-elect, to be consecrated only after his return to Vienna from the first of the missions.

His advice to the emperor in the matter had already been prepared in his *Pentalogus* of 1443, i.e., four years before, where he directly says that when the Duke of Milan dies, his duchy will revert to the empire.²

The first imperial embassy arrived in Milan on 19 October 1447 and departed again on 10 November.

The mission report to the emperor was written up by Piccolomini, presumably in close collaboration with the chancellor and in his name.³ The report states that the royal ambassadors were received honourably by the Milanese:

On the next day⁴ we rested so that we could organise our arguments and be better prepared to speak. As a sign of respect towards the Lord whom we represented, the conservators offered to come to our lodgings and hear us there, but we absolutely preferred to go to their place, firstly because it was us who had been sent to them, and secondly because that big place could hold a greater number of people. So, on the third day,⁵ the conservators (or governors) came to us accompanied by a great number of magnates and led us to their residence. There, a great assembly of nobles and doctors had assembled, so that the auditorium was full of eminent men.

When all were seated and silence was made, the royal letters were presented, and after an appropriate introduction, we presented our embassy and its proposals.

As leader of the embassy, the chancellor spoke first, and afterwards the Bishop-Elect of Trieste gave a polished but direct oration, the "*Etsi mihi non parum.*"⁶

After the oration, the ambassadors returned to their lodgings, and later, the Milanese representatives came to them and gave their answer in the form of a speech by Niccolò Arcimboldi:

¹ Hufnagel, p. 408

² *Pentalogus* (Schingnitz, p. 180): *Nec dubium est quin eo mortuo, quantum jus est, ducatus ad imperium revertatur*

³ CRDM, 2.

⁴ 20 October 1447

⁵ 21 October 1447, cf. Hufnagel, p. 409

⁶ Hufnagel, p. 409, quoting Schlick's own embassy report: *Ego incepti, Tergestinus prosecutus est*

When these matters had been set forth and explained at length (the text of the oration is available), the Milanese decided to discuss the matter. Later, they came to our lodgings and made Niccolò Arcimboldi reply on their behalf.¹

In his *Commentarii* from 1462-1464, he wrote about the events:

The people of Milan ... rejected the claims of the king and the duke² but, after hearing Aeneas speak for the emperor, they acknowledged Frederick as their lord, though they still claimed the right to their own city. As the negotiations concluded, they were on the point of accepting Frederick's rule provided certain conditions were met; and this, though less than he deserved to accomplish, seemed to Aeneas reasonably satisfactory under the circumstances. But his German colleagues, by demanding too much, lost everything.³

It would appear that Piccolomini also had the opportunity to address the people during the subsequent negotiations on 6 November when he spoke for an hour, as reported to the emperor.⁴ His address seems to not have survived, neither in full nor in summary.

During the third and last imperial embassy to Milan, Piccolomini again spoke to the Milanese. The content of the oration is only known from a summary given by himself in the *Commentarii*:

After displaying the emperor's letter and reading it aloud, Aeneas made a speech along these lines: he said that at Filippo's death, the emperor had sent ambassadors to take control of the city⁵ but, though his demands were just, he had not been heeded. Instead, the Milanese let their new liberty go to their heads; they had elected their own magistrates to run the government, an act of rebellion that persisted down to the present day. But the emperor, mild as ever, refused to be provoked, despite the injustice of his rejection. In the meantime, Francesco Sforza had appeared on the scene. Once their friend, now their enemy, he had reduced the surrounding towns to his control. Milan was under siege and enduring

¹ WO, I, II, pp. 267-268: *Supersedimus sequenti die, ut recolligeremus dicenda et melius deliberati ad proponendum veniremus. Offerebant se conservatores ad hospitium nostrum venturos ibique nos audituros, quia loco domini sui nos venerarentur. Nobis autem placuit omnino eos accedere, tum quia missi ad eos eramus, tum quia in loco amplo major haberetur populi multitudo. Accesserunt igitur die tertia nos ipsi conservatores sive gubernatores cum plurimis magnatibus nosque ad locum residentiae suae conduxerunt. Ibi magna nobilium et doctorum copia fuit, plenum erat auditorium notabilibus viris. Postquam omnes consederunt, facto silentio praesentatis litteris regis et condigna salutatione praemissa, propositionem et expositionem ambassiatiae in hunc fecimus effectum. ... His dictis et ad longum expositis, ut exstat oratio ad verbum scripta, Mediolanenses deliberationem receperunt et venientes postea ad hospitium nostrum per dominum Nicolaum de Arziboldis responderi fecerunt.*

² King Alfonso V and Duke Charles of Orléans

³ CO, I, 18 (Meserve, I, p. 81)

⁴ WO, I, II, p. 271: *Die igitur lunae, in festo sancti Leonardi, de sero habuimus audientiam ac per horam locuti sumus .* Possibly, "locuti sumus" does not indicate a formal speech but an exchange of views

⁵ The first imperial embassy to Milan, during which Piccolomini delivered the "Est mihi non parum"

great hardships; the troops had deserted to Francesco; food was scarce; none of the neighbouring princes would bring them aid. The emperor alone, heedless of every insult, took pity on their plight. If they would now, at last, submit to the Holy Empire and acknowledge the emperor as their lord, he was ready to help them. They should keep in mind that agreements had already been made with the emperor's cousin, Duke Sigismund, a neighbour of the Lombards; in a short time, a large force would cross the Alps and descend into their territory. They could not rely on themselves alone, for that would be hopeless, but neither should they imagine that acknowledging the emperor as their sovereign would mean the loss of their freedom. To serve a legitimate and natural lord was the only true liberty; in cities ruled in the name of the people, some groups of men always emerged to subject the people to their will. Indeed, the choice lay between the imperial rule and that of Sforza¹, for it had got to point where, unless they submitted to the emperor, they would never escape the lordship² of Francesco. If they would only acknowledge the emperor, he would shower his citizens with extraordinary favors and important privileges: they would trade freely throughout Germany and make Milan a magnificent city, the capital of Italy.³

The imperial intervention in this whole matter was unsuccessful, and the diplomatic missions are barely mentioned in the Italian chronicles of the time.⁴ Piccolomini himself wrote on the affair of the Milanese succession in his *De rebus Basiliae gestis commentarius* from 1450,⁵ in his *Historia Austriacalis* / 1. Version from 1453,⁶ and in his *De Europa* 1458,⁷ but without mentioning his own orations.

The whole issue was settled by military power when Francesco Sforza, after a lengthy siege, entered Milan with his troops on 26 February 1450.⁸

¹ Francesco Sforza

² "dominatum": Meserve translates as "tyranny"

³ CO, I, 19 (Meserve, pp. 86-89)

⁴ Voigt, II, p. 433

⁵ WO, II, pp. 164-228; Reject, pp. 321-387, and especially pp. 383-385

⁶ HA / 1. version (Knödler, I, pp. 48-80)

⁷ Piccolomini: *De Europa*, 187-189 (Brown, pp. 222-231)

⁸ Gamberini, p. 158: *Following the death of Filippo Maria (1447) the major change was, clearly, that of the ruling dynasty. The main line of the Visconti dynasty had no male heirs, and from the competition for the succession the victor who emerged was the condottiero Francesco Sforza, husband of the only descendant of the late duke, Bianca Maria. With difficulty, Francesco established his control over a state that was once more fragmenting, and on 26 February 1450 he entered the capital: a Milan that, following the death of Filippo Maria, had experienced a republican government. However, Francesco Sforza could not obtain acknowledgement by the emperor. As the investiture of 1395 excluded the possibility of succession through the female line, Frederick III claimed the duchy to be devolved to the empire. By appealing to the right of Milan to choose its own rulers, the new prince was content with legitimation 'from below'. He obtained the title of duke by a general assembly of the people and received the symbols of the office during a public ceremony in the presence of the highest ranks of Milanese aristocracy*

2. Themes

The mission report to the emperor of the first embassy to Milan in 1447 gave this summary of the oration:

Firstly, we related that Your Imperial Majesty had heard about the death of the Duke of Milan and how grieved you were, for various reasons.

Secondly we announced that at his death, the Duchy of Milan and the other lands of the late duke had by law devolved on the Holy Empire, and we formally presented your claim to them, showing that for the Milanese, there was no other secure and honourable issue than that offered by the king. We also praised the way the Milanese had, in the meantime, defended their country, and we expressed the hope that they had done so for the honour of the Empire.

Thirdly, we related how greatly the situation of the City of Milan had changed over the centuries, sometimes being joyous and sometimes sad, adding that it would now regain its former glory if they would live under direct imperial rule, as they ought to. We also stated the four main benefits the Milanese would gain if they obeyed the emperor duly: honourable freedom, lasting peace, immense glory, and increasing wealth. Finally, we offered needful assistance against those who would molest the Milanese.

Fourthly we gave a brief conclusion, repeating the rights of the empire, which Your Royal Majesty would in no way neglect.¹

The summary does not mention the dynastic connection that Piccolomini refers to several times in the oration. Friederich III was the great-grandson of Bernabò Visconti, sole lord of Milan from 1379-1385. Bernabò's daughter, Viridis, married Leopold III, Duke of Austria and Friedrich's grandfather. This relationship did not give the emperor a strong dynastic claim on Milan, but it did provide his ambassador with the flattering argument that the emperor was of Milanese blood.

¹ WO, I, II, pp. 267-268: *Primo exposuimus, quomodo regia majestas audiverat mortem ducis Mediolani, de qua doluerat pluribus respectibus. Secundo diximus, per mortem ejus ducatum Mediolanensem ceteraque dominia quondam Filippi ad imperium sacrum pleno jure devoluta fore eaque debitis modis petivimus, monstrantes nullam aliam viam tenere Mediolanenses posse securam et honestam, quam viam regis, laudantes, quae medio tempore Mediolanenses fecerant defendendo patriam, sperantes, quod omnia pro honore imperii fecissent. Tertio narravimus statum urbis Mediolanensis, quam varius fuerit superioribus temporibus, nunc laetus, nunc tristis, adjicientes, quod nunc ad pristinam gloriam reverterentur, si sub imperio vellent degere, uti deberent, exponentes quatuor principalia bona, quas ipsi Mediolanenses assequerentur, si regiae majestati debite parerent, libertatem honestam, pacem longam, gloriam ingentem et divitiarum incrementa, offerentes subsidia oportuna adversus eos, qui turbare Mediolanenses niterentur. Quarto fecimus de omnibus dictis brevem epilogum cum repetitione juris imperii, quod regia majestas nullatenus esset neglectura*

Neither does the summary mention the promise to the Milanese that the emperor would make Milan his imperial residence. This promise might have had certain advantages for the Milanese, but it might not have reassured them that they would retain a high degree of autonomy under imperial rule. Anyway, the emperor could not possibly have committed himself to such a course, and to promise it in an oration was really quite preposterous.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered on 21 October 1447.¹

The place was the town hall of Milan.²

The audience was an assembly of prominent men in Milan.

The format was that of a diplomatic oration on behalf of the emperor. The speech is called an *oratio* both in the title and in the report to the emperor.

It is possible that the oration was delivered in Italian, out of consideration for the members of the audience, many of whom might not have Latin, and afterwards edited in a Latin version.

4. Text³

The text of the oration was undoubtedly drafted by Piccolomini and discussed between the members of the embassy, or at least between Schlick and Piccolomini - as would have been the case with the mission report itself, which explicitly mentions the *textus orationis*.⁴

The oration was included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, a compilation of Pius' orations compiled 1462-1464. To what extent the text was revised in this context is not known.

¹ Voigt, I, p. 432

² Hufnagel, p. 409

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: ch. 5

⁴ WO, II, p. 268

It is not known why the oration Piccolomini held during the third imperial mission to Milan in 1449 was not included in the Collected Orations, but the reason may have been that in that oration Piccolomini had explicitly argued against Francesco Sforza as ruler of the city. He had not done so in a personal capacity but as an imperial diplomat. Still, during Pius' papacy, Sforza, now Duke of Milan, was his main Italian ally, and it might therefore have been found awkward to include the oration in the official papal collection of orations.

4.1. Manuscripts

The oration is included in all seven manuscripts containing the Collected Orations of Pius II^{1 2}:

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 51v-53v **(G)***
- **Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale**
100, ff. 71r-74r **(F)***
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
l. 97 inf., ff. 45r-47v **(E)***
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 47r-50r **(D)***
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 34r-36r **(A)***
Chis. J.VIII.286, 65r-69r **(C)***
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 47r-50r **(B)***

4.2. Editions

The "*Est mihi non parum*" was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca, 1755-1759 / Vol. 2, 1755, pp. 122-128.

¹ Cf. COR, 1: sect. 5, 2

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

4.3. Present edition

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

Text:

The present edition is based on all the seven extant manuscripts. The lead manuscript is the Chis. J.VIII.284.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the Chis. J.VIII.284.

5. Sources

This oration is completely, and uncharacteristically, without oratorical embellishments (*ornatus*) and quotes from classical, biblical, patristic or other sources.

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7. Sigla

A = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.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. J.VI.211

E = Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana / I. 97 inf.

F = Mantova / Biblioteca Comunale / 100

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Aeneae Silvii Piccolominei Senensis qui postea pontificatum maximum adeptus Pius II. appellatus est ad populum Mediolanensem post obitum Philippi Mariae¹ ducis, cum esset legatus Friderici Caesaris²

[1] {34r} Est mihi non parum oneris, reverendi patres, magnifici et spectabiles domini, ceterique viri praestantes, in hoc amplissimo loco gloriosissimi domini³ nostri, domini Friderici, Romanorum regis, semper Augusti, quae suscepimus, mandata referre, quamvis justissima sunt, et vobis erunt, sicut⁴ arbitror, omnibus gratissima et perjocunda. Scio namque, quia nec rerum magnitudini, nec auditorum dignitati, nec mittentis⁵ auctoritati parem orationem habebo. Solatur me tamen unum, postquam parere collegis⁶ oportet, in auditorio namque sapientum virorum loquar, apud quos potentior est nuda veritas quam vestita, qui nec verborum⁷ lenocinia diligunt, nec artificiosis orationibus delectantur. Parebo igitur superioribus meis, et aperto sermone, quae nobis commissa sunt, absolvam paucis. Vos non tantum aures, obsecro, sed etiam animos adhibete⁸. Res enim maximas et huic utiles populo totique patriae gloriosas exponam.

¹ Mediolansis B; Mariae Mediolansis E

² Oratio ... Caesaris : Oratio Enee Silvii Piccolominei Senensis, legati Friderici Caesaris, ad populum Mediolanensem D, G

³ domini *add.* F

⁴ ut G

⁵ mittenti C

⁶ parere collegis : collegis parere G

⁷ *omit.* G

⁸ adhibere F

Oration of Enea Silvio Piccolomini from Siena who, after he became pope was called Pius II, to the people of Milan after the death of Duke Filippo Maria, as legate of the Emperor

0. Introduction

[1] Reverend fathers, great and revered lords, and you others, eminent men, it is no small task for me to relate, in this grand place, the mandate given to us by our glorious Lord Friedrich,¹ King of the Romans, always Augustus, though it is absolutely legitimate and will be, I think, most welcome and joyful to you all. For I know that my oration cannot do proper justice to the importance of the matter, to the dignity of the audience, or to the authority of the sender. But as I must obey the wishes of my colleagues, one thing comforts me: I shall be speaking to an audience of wise men to whom the naked truth counts for more than truth "done up", and who do not like flattering words, nor delight in artful orations. So, I shall obey my superiors and, speaking frankly and succinctly, perform the task entrusted to us. And you, do not open your ears alone, but also your minds, for I shall be speaking about highly important matters that are to the advantage and honour² of this people and the whole country.

¹ Friedrich III (1415-1493): Duke of the House of Austria, elected emperor 1440 (King of the Romans), crowned emperor in Rome 1452

² "gloria"

[2] Accepit sane regia sublimitas, non multi sunt dies, clausisse oculos naturaeque debitum {34v} persolvere indelebilis clarissimaeque¹ memoriae dominum quondam Philippum Mariam, ducem et principem vestrum. Indoluit ejus obitum regia majestas, nam et consanguineum amisit carissimum, qui multis victoriis magnisque rebus gestis claruerat, et imperium sacrum fideli ac memorabili principe destitutum videbat, ferventeque bello timebat, ne mors tanti domini magnam aliquam mutationem clademque pareret. Et quoniam de Mediolanensi sanguine origo est illi, quanto magis afficitur huic urbi, tanto de vobis statuque vestro sollicitiorem curam gerebat.

[3] Intellexistis jam vos suis ex litteris, quomodo Venetis et aliis per circuitum existentibus mandatum est, ne quam vobis molestiam inferant, sed urbem istam totumque dominium sub imperii sacri devotione ac sub aliis² regiae majestatis tamquam veri naturalis et ordinarii³ domini honesta libertate paceque frui permittant. Intellexistis etiam decrevisse regiam majestatem oratores suos huc transmittere mentem suam significare plenius, totisque conatibus suis ad tuitionem vestram navare operas. Medio tempore vos, uti fortes viros decebat, patriam tutati estis, libertatem defendistis, nec alienari dominium permisistis. Commendat hoc regia majestas, confidens vos, uti fideles⁴ praestantesque viros ad honorem et commodum imperii, cujus estis peculiare, omnia direxisse.

¹ clarissime F

² aliis E

³ ordinari E

⁴ fortes B, E

1. Emperor's sorrow at the death of the duke

[2] A short time ago, His Royal Highness heard that your duke and prince, Lord Filippo Maria,¹ of indelible and noble memory, had closed his eyes and paid his due to nature. His death was a great sorrow to His Royal Majesty, knowing that he personally had lost a very dear relative, famous for many victories and great deeds, and that the Holy Empire had been deprived of a faithful and outstanding² prince. As war was raging, he feared that the death of this great lord would cause upheaval and devastation. And as he is of Milanese blood, he is greatly concerned about this city and therefore concerned about you and about your state.

2. Milan's devolution to the Empire

[3] You already know from his letter³ how he has ordered the Venetians and others around you not to molest you in any way, but to let this city and this whole state enjoy honest freedom and peace, as belonging to the Holy Empire and being under the wings of His Royal Majesty, its true, natural, and ordinary lord. You have also heard that His Royal Majesty decided to send his ambassadors here to explain more fully his intentions⁴ and to support your cause by all means. In the meantime, you yourselves, as befits strong men, have protected your country, defended your freedom, and not allowed the lordship to pass on to others. His Royal Majesty commends this course of action in the firm belief that, as the loyal and outstanding men you are, you have done everything in order to uphold the honour and advantage of the empire whose subjects⁵ you are.

¹ Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke of Milan from 1412 to his death

² "memorabilis"

³ On 1 September 1445, the emperor sent letters to Milan, declaring it to have devolved to the empire, and to Venice, ordering it to leave Milan in peace, see Hufnagel, p. 406

⁴ "mentem"

⁵ "peculiares"

[4] Nec enim vos latet hanc urbem ceteraque dominia istius patriae, quae fuerunt ducis praefati, ad imperium sacrum serenissimumque dominum nostrum, Romanorum regem, tamquam feudi dominum, pleno jure per mortem ejus esse devoluta, solamque regiam majestatem de jure in his habere jurisdictionem. Adsumus jam igitur nos oratores regii, quos cernitis, plenaque potestate fulciti: rogamus dignitates vestras et requirimus magnificentias, ut postpositis aliis tractatibus, si qui sunt obliqui, regio culmini, vero et naturali domino vestro, dumtaxat auscultetis. Namque cum sacro imperio, cui juridice subestis, honorem suum et debitum vestrum praestabitis, gloriosam pacem adipiscemini, nulli de vobis querela supererit, et firmus erit status vester.

[5] Accepimus aliquos¹ esse, qui vobis multa repromittunt. Neminem nominamus, vos illos melius nobis² nostis. Videant amicitiae vestrae, ne sub blandis verbis deceptiones lateant, ne plus quaeratur, quam offeratur. Fugiendi sunt adulterini domini. Qui verus est haeres, cui jus competit, illi dandus est honor. Justa imperia firma sunt, stabilia, perpetua. Cum tyrannis abortivisque³ dominis nulla potest esse firma tranquillitas, nulla pax, nulla quies. Saepius experta est hoc Lombardica terra. Quidquid violentum est, caducum est. Infirmus est {35r} principatus, quem gladius non fides tuetur. Justum imperium non indiget ferro. Melius ista cognoscitis, quam nos fari possimus. Et quoniam imperiales estis, nullam viam intelligitis esse securam, nullum stabile foedus, nullum solidum regimen, cui non faverit culmen imperiale. Exhortatur itaque populum istum regia majestas, ut secum de hac florenti republica conveniatis, sibi que tamquam justo principi vestro, de⁴ vestro sanguine originem habenti, condignum praebentes honorem. Ad cujus praesignis domini gubernationem suis auxiliis et consiliis⁵ auscultare velitis, quia non solum protegere et conservare, sed etiam augere totis viribus pristinam vestram dignitatem intendit.

¹ forsitan [crossed out] *add.* A, C

² *del.* D ; *omit.* G

³ abortivis B, E

⁴ *omit.* E

⁵ auxiliis et consiliis : consiliis et auxiliis G

[4] For you know, of course, that this city and the other regions of the country¹ belonging to the aforesaid duke have, by his death, rightfully² reverted to the Holy Empire and to our Most Serene Lord, the King of the Romans, as the feudal lord, and that, now, only His Royal Majesty has legitimate jurisdiction over them. Therefore, we, the ambassadors of the king, whom you see before you, have come, invested with full powers. We ask and require that Your Excellencies³ set aside any treaties that may contravene our purpose⁴ and that you only follow His Royal Highness, your true and natural lord. For as you honour and give your due to the Holy Empire, whose rightful subjects you are, you will gain a glorious peace, you will suffer no more conflict, and your state will stand firm.

[5] We are informed that other people⁵ may be making great promises to you. We name nobody; you know them better than we do. Friends, look carefully for the deceptions hidden behind the flattering words, asking for more than they give. False lords should be avoided. Honour should be given to the true heir, who has right on his side. Just reigns are firm, stable, and enduring. With tyrants and ephemeral lords, there can be no firm tranquility, no peace, no calm. This has often been felt by the Lombard land. All that is based on violence is fragile. Weak is the lordship that is protected by the sword and not by loyalty. Legitimate lordship does not need the sword. You know this better than we can express it. And since you belong to the Empire, you understand that no way is safe, no treaty is lasting, and no regime is solid if it is not protected by His Imperial Highness. Therefore, His Royal Majesty invites your people to come to an agreement with him concerning this flourishing state and to give due honour to himself as your legitimate prince, descending from your own blood.⁶ Accept his assistance and heed his advice concerning the government of this excellent realm, for he intends not only to protect and preserve it but even, with all his might, raise it above its former high status⁷.

¹ "patria"

² "pleno jure"

³ "dignitates et magnificentias vestras"

⁴ "obloqui"

⁵ I.e., the other pretendants to the Duchy of Milan

⁶ One of the great-grandfathers of the emperor was Bernabò Visconti, see Introduction

⁷ "dignitatem"

[6] Novit serenitas imperatoria urbem istam splendidam ac magnificentissimam, quae caeli clementia, soli ubertate, ac industria civium non solum Galliae Cisalpinae, sed Italiae totius praecellit urbes, ut tradunt historici, duobus millibus annorum et amplius semper Insubrium caput fuisse, et nunc magnorum ducum, nunc regum, nunc Caesarum sedem exitisse. Nam et Theodosium et Valentinianum Romanosque¹ plures imperatores hoc loci² sedisse, jura reddidisse³, concilia celebrasse constat. Semper autem magnum et clarum Mediolanensis populi nomen erat. Multae subinde varietates fuerunt, utque nutant semper mortalia, nunc floridus, nunc obscurus hujus urbis status fuit.

[7] Ad manus demum nobilissimae domus Vicecomitum venistis, qui primo munere divi Henrici Caesaris septimi⁴ imperiales⁵ vicarii⁶ et tandem gratia gloriosissimi regis Wenceslai⁷ ⁸ creati duces, annis centum et ultra principatum in hac urbe tenuerunt. Multa superioribus temporibus perpressus est hic populus dura, dum fortunarum potius quam fidei jacturam vult⁹ pati. Modo, quia¹⁰ rursus ad imperium reversi estis, non ambigit regia sublimitas, quin vos imperio fideles sitis, qui fuistis ducibus fidelissimi. Quod si feceritis, uti¹¹ spes est indubia, post maximam tempestatem felici serenitate fruimini, redibunt tempora prisca, rursusque triumphabit.

[8] Quattuor autem potissime bona sub devotione et oboedientia sacri imperii consequemini¹²: libertatem honestam, pacem longam, gloriam ingentem, et divitiarum¹³ incrementa.

¹ Theodosius et Valentinianus apud Mediolanum *in marg.* D, G

² imperatores hoc loci : hoc loci imperatores G

³ redisse A, B, C, E, F; reddidisse *corr. ex* redisse D; reddidisse G

⁴ Henricus septimus vicarios *in marg.* C; Henricus Septimus *in marg.* D, G

⁵ imperialis G

⁶ vicarium E

⁷ Wenceslai B, D, E, F, G

⁸ Wenceslaus duces *in marg.* C; Wenceslaus rex *in marg.* D, G

⁹ jacturam vult : vult iacturam G

¹⁰ qui G

¹¹ ut D, G

¹² consequimini F

¹³ libertatem honestam ... divitiarum *omit.* F

3. History of Milan

[6] His Serene Highness knows this splendid and magnificent city that surpasses all other cities not only in Cisalpine Gaul¹ but in all of Italy, with regard to the mild climate, the fertile soil, and the citizens' industry. According to the historians, it has been the capital of Lombardy² for more than 2,000 years and the seat sometimes of grand dukes, sometimes of kings, and sometimes of emperors. For it is a fact that both Theodosius³ and Valentinianus⁴ and several other Roman emperors had their residence here, gave laws, and held meetings. All that time, the name of the Milanese people was great and famous. Later, many changes occurred, as human affairs are always unstable: at times the city flourished, and at other times it fell into obscurity.

[7] Finally, it came into the hands of the noble house of the Viscontis. First,⁵ they were granted status as imperial vicars by Heinrich VII, Holy Emperor,⁶ and later,⁷ they were created dukes by the grace of King Wenceslas.⁸ In all, they have ruled this city for more than a hundred years.⁹ Previously, this people endured many hardships when it had to suffer the consequences of fortune rather than loyalty. But now that you have reverted to the Empire, His Royal Highness does not doubt that you will be faithful to it, just as you were very faithful to your dukes. If you do so, as it is firmly hoped, then you will, after this great upheaval, enjoy serene happiness, the former times will return, and you shall be triumphant once again.

4. Advantages of direct imperial rule

[8] Through devotion and obedience to the Empire, you will gain four advantages: honourable freedom, enduring peace, immense glory, and increasing wealth.

¹ I.e., Northern Italy

² "Insubrium"

³ Theodosius I (347-395): Roman Emperor from 379 to his death

⁴ Valentinianus (321-375): Roman emperor from 364 to his death

⁵ 1311

⁶ Heinrich VII (1274-1313): elected emperor 1308 and crowned as such in 1308

⁷ 1395

⁸ Wenceslaus (1361-1419): King of Bohemia. Elected King of the Romans 1376 and deposed as such in 1400 in favour of his brother, Sigismund

⁹ The Viscontis ruled Milan from 1277 to 1447

[9] Quae sunt enim privilegia vestra ex¹ indulgentia Caesarum vobis concessa et rite confirmata, rata vult manere regia benignitas, novas et inordinatas exactiones, gabellas insolitas gravesque tollere, jura et libertates vestras, uti rationabiliter processerunt, sine violatione consistere, utque libertas sit omnibus bene vivendi, novis et decentibus honoribus hunc populum sublimare.

[10] Vicinos vestros ad pacem vel inducet vel {35v} compellet regalis providentia. Non est parva, ut omnes sciunt, potentia serenissimi domini² regis nostri, qui patrualem suum gubernat, Hungariae Bohemiaeque regem. Incluta domus Austriae, cui praesidet regalis sublimitas, longe lateque dominatur: Italiam ab Adriatico sinu secus Forum Julii per Athesinos pluresque montes usque³ in Sabaudiam cingit. Consanguinitate et affinitate conjuncta est omnibus Germaniae Galliaeque principibus. His accedunt vires imperii incomparabiles, maximi domini potentesque civitates⁴ Alamaniae ad imperii gloriam decusque voluntariae. Nec in Italia desunt, uti Deo dante videbitis, qui favent imperio, principes populique. His adjumentis vobis debite juvantibus, beato Ambrosio, protectore vestro, opem ferente, et justitia suffragante, non erit difficile sublimitati regiae, quod proposuit: hostes propulsare, agros tueri vestros, vindicare, quae sunt erepta, pacemque perpetuam constituere.

[11] Ex his nascetur ingens gloria populo Mediolanensi, qui ex ducali factus imperialis⁵ libertatem defenderit, hostes terruerit, amissa recuperaverit, pacem obtinuerit: qui nulli subest, nisi cui subsunt omnes, qui regem habet de sanguine suo cretum, affectum sibi prae omnibus et gratiosum, qui solo paret imperatori, cujus officium, dignitas, et auctoritas⁶ omnibus⁷ praestat saecularibus potestatibus, cui subesse libertas est, et regnare potius quam servire.

¹ *omit.* F

² *omit.* F

³ *omit.* G

⁴ potentesque civitates : civitatesque potentes G

⁵ factus imperialis : imperialis factus G

⁶ omnibus et gratiosum ... auctoritas *omit.* B, E

⁷ et gratiosum *add.* A [*by erroneous repetition of et gratiosum from previous line*]; se gratiosum *add.* D, G [*trying to correct the error in A*]. [C omits the erroneous repetition]

4.1. Freedom

[9] All privileges granted to you and duly confirmed by the emperors, your benevolent king will ratify. Moreover, he intends to abolish all new and extraordinary exactions as well as unusual and heavy taxes, and to keep your rights and freedoms inviolate insofar as they have developed reasonably. And so that all may be free to live well, he desires to raise this people to new and well-deserved honours.

4.2. Peace

[10] Through the king's providence, your neighbours will be brought to or forced to peace. For as everyone knows, the power of our Most Serene Lord and King is not small; he governs his nephew, the King of Hungary and Bohemia.¹ The illustrious House of Austria, over which he presides, rules far and wide, spanning Italy from the Adriatic Gulf as far as Friuli over the Etsch and many mountains to Savoy. It is related by blood and marriage to all the princes of Germany and France. Moreover, the strength of the empire is incomparable, and great lords and powerful cities in Germany willingly support its glory and splendour. Also in Italy, there are, as you will see - God willing - princes and peoples who support the empire. With such help to support you, with the assistance of Saint Ambrose, your protector,² and with the aid of justice, it will not be difficult for His Royal Highness to do as he intends: to drive out your enemies, to protect your lands, to reclaim what has been taken away, and to establish a permanent peace.

4.3. Glory

[11] From these, immense glory will accrue to the people of Milan when, having been raised from ducal to imperial status, it has defended its liberty, scared the enemies away, recovered what was lost, and gained peace. It will be directly under a ruler who rules all. It will have a king born of its own blood who loves and treasures it more than all others. It will only obey the emperor whose office, dignity, and authority surpass all other secular powers, and to obey whom is to be free and *to rule rather than to serve*.³

¹ The boy king, Ladislaus Posthumous (1440-1457): born Duke of Austria, King of Hungary from 1444, and King of Bohemia from 1453. Nephew and ward of Friederich III

² Ambrosius, Aurelius (ca. 340-397). Archbishop of Milan. Doctor of the Church. Saint. Piccolomini also mentions his protectorship of Milan in the oration "*Si quis me roget*" [2] (sect. 31), delivered on his feastday in 1438

³ From the *Missa pro pace* in the Roman missal. Also used in Pius' oration "*Ingentes vobis quirites*" [61] of 6 October 1460, but there it is applied to the pope and the Romans

[12] Ex his etiam pace parta, ampliabuntur divitiae vestrae. Folia bellorum paupertas est, pax est mater opum. Uberes sunt agri tempore pacis, utilia flumina, feraces etiam silvae, omnia in pace fructificant. Multa ex pace vobis succrescent¹ commoda. Ex praesentia quoque regiae majestatis non parvam sugetis utilitatem. Venire namque ad vos decrevit personaliter, morari inter vos, suamque sedem more majorum, ut opus esse cognoverit, hic locare. Sequentur multi ex Alania principes, clarisque semper ejus² curia florebit plena magnatibus. Habebitis hic principem humanissimum, nulli gravem, omnibus mitem, pium, religiosum, justitiae cultorem, quem semper³ affari poteritis, ac ejus aspectu benignissimo jocundoque perfrui. Clerus vester sub religioso principe religiosam observabit⁴ vitam gaudebitque libere suis bonis. Nobilitas in curia regia splendidior fiet. Litterati industriosique omnes viri tribunal imperatorium circumdabunt. Mercatoribus terra mariaque patebunt. Quotidianum lucrum artifices duplicabunt. Conditionem suam singuli meliorem efficient auctaque civitas haec divitiis, potentatu, honore, gloria⁵ ad pristinam {36r} dignitatem splendoremque revertetur, cum sedentibus hic Caesaribus Romam alteram appellabunt Mediolanum.

¹ excrescent F

² omit. F

³ saepe B, E

⁴ servabit E

⁵ gloriam E

4.4. Wealth

[12] When peace comes, your wealth will grow. Poverty is the daughter of war, and peace is the mother of wealth. In times of peace, fields are bountiful, rivers are useful, and even forests are prolific. During peace, everything bears fruit. Peace will bring you many and great benefits, and the presence of His Royal Majesty will be highly advantageous. For he has decided to come to you in person, to stay with you, and to establish his residence here after the custom of the forefathers – for he knows this to be necessary. Many princes will follow him from Germany, and his court will flourish and always be full of illustrious magnates. Here you will have a gentle prince, harsh against nobody, kind towards everybody, pious, religious, and just. You will always be able to talk to him and enjoy his kind and happy demeanour. Your clergy will lead a religious life under a religious prince, and it will enjoy its possessions freely. The nobility at the royal court will be more splendid. Learned and industrious men will surround the imperial tribunal. All lands and seas will be open to your merchants. The artisans will double their profits. All individuals will have better conditions of life, and when the city has grown in prosperity, power, honour, and glory, it will return to its former dignity and splendour. With the emperors residing here, Milan will be called the Second Rome.

[13] Quae cum ista sint futura verisimiliter, cum vera intelligatis esse, quae dixerim, omnia - nec¹ aliquis ea justa saltim² ratione refellere possit - cumque hoc dominium ad imperium sacrum jure pertineat, cum velit possitque regia majestas vos tueri, cum libertatis honestae pacisque bonum vobis repromittatur, cum gloria et utilitas hinc maxima redundet, cum proculdubio status nullus in hac patria sine justitia et imperiali³ beneplacito stabilis esse queat, cum dominus noster, divus Caesar Fridericus ex sanguine Mediolanensi natus huic civitati affectissimus tamquam Romanorum rex vester sit naturalis, ordinarius, verus et supremus dominus, velint magnificentiae vestrae suam majestatem uti dominum vestrum debite venerari sibi, sicut par est, circa regimen hujus urbis directionemque vestri status et aliarum terrarum⁴ in his, quae justa et rationabilia sunt, acquiescere et una secum nobis mediantibus pertractare ac concludere, ut descendat super vos benedictio domini, qui vos totamque vestram communitatem sub devotione, oboedientia atque obsequio regiae majestatis ad laudem et gloriam superni numinis et imperii sacri decus felicioribus in dies efferat incrementis. Amen⁵.

¹ ne F

² saltem C

³ et imperiali : imperialique B, E

⁴ ceterarum B, E

⁵ omit. B, E

5. Conclusion

[13] This is what will most likely happen, and you will understand that all the things I say are true and cannot be refuted by anybody on any grounds. This realm legitimately belongs to the empire. His Royal Majesty will and can protect you.¹ You have been given the promise of honourable freedom and the benefit of peace. Glory and great advantage will accrue to you. Undoubtedly, no state in this country can be stable without justice and imperial favour. Our Lord and Holy Emperor Friedrich, born of Milanese blood, is greatly devoted to this city, and as King of the Romans, he is your natural, ordinary, true, and supreme lord. For all these reasons, I ask your Magnificent Lordships to give due honour to His Majesty as your lord and to accede to his wishes concerning the rule of this city and the government of your state and other territories, since they are just and reasonable. I also ask you to negotiate and conclude an agreement with him, with us as mediators. Then may the blessing of the Lord descend upon you. And as you and your whole community live in devotion, obedience, and respect towards His Royal Majesty, to the praise and glory of the supreme Divinity and the honour of the Holy Empire, then may the Lord daily bring you happy growth. Amen.

¹ Well-informed Milanese might have doubted the emperor's interest in and ability to undertake a serious military intervention in Italy. It was well-known that the emperor was involved in a number of conflicts in Austria, Germany, and Central Europe, and the threat of a Turkish invasion was growing all the time, especially after the decisive Turkish victory at Varna, three years before. By then, it was known that the emperor himself was quite unwarlike and cautious.