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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. 7: Orations 29-42 (1458-1459)**

**4th version**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

Volume 7 of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* contains fourteen orations held by Pius II in the first year after his election. Ten of them are responses to ambassadors presenting their prince's obedience to the new pope. One is an oration to the papal court and ambassadors in Rome on summoning a Congress in Mantua to discuss a crusade against the Turks. Two orations were addressed to the government of the City of Siena, one on the occasion of the bestowal of the papal Golden Rose on Siena, and another in response to certain political concessions by the city government to the pope. And the final oration was a reply to a princess from Milan who had addressed a Latin oration to him.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 1458-1459; 15<sup>th</sup> century; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Congress of Mantua; The Golden Rose; Papal supremacy; Crusades against the Turks; Siena; Hippolyta Sforza; Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Kaiser Frederik III (Habsburg); Johann Hinderbach

## **Editor/translator**

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)

Bachelier en Philosophie (Université de Louvain)

Emeritus Deputy Director / The Royal Library, Copenhagen

Emeritus University Librarian / University of Copenhagen

ORCID identity: 000-0001-8499-4142

e-mail: typsita@gmail.com

## Foreword

In 2007, I undertook a project of publishing the Latin texts with English translations of the orations of Pope Pius II. Altogether 80<sup>1</sup> orations (including papal responses to ambassadorial addresses) are extant today, though more may still be held, unrecognized, in libraries and archives.

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

I do not, actually, plan to publish further versions of the present volume, but I do reserve the option in case I – during my future studies - come across other manuscripts containing interesting versions of the oration or if important new research data on the subject matter are published, making it appropriate to modify or expand the present text.

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

20 July 2019

MCS

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<sup>1</sup> 81 orations, if the "*Cum animadverto*" is counted is a Piccolomini-oratio, see oration "*Quam laetus*", Appendix

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**(Collected Orations Pope Pius II; 29)**



**Oration *“Ut apertum vobis”* of Pope Pius II (10 October 1458, Rome). Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. With the papal bull *“Vocavit nos Pius”***

**2019**

## **Abstract**

Immediately after his election in August 1458, Pope Pius II began to plan for a crusade against the Turks, a cause he had worked for tirelessly since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. He soon decided that the most effective way would be to summon the European kings and princes to a congress on the matter, to be held in a city in Northern Italy which would be more accessible for the participants from beyond the Alps than the City of Rome. After intense consultations with the cardinals, the pope formally submitted the matter to a conference of ambassadors and curials in the chapel of the Apostolic Palace on 10 October 1458, directly requesting their advice on whether Udine or Mantua should be selected as the venue for the conference.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; 15th century; Crusades against the Turks; Mantua; Udine; 1458; Papal bull *Vocavit nos Pius*

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

The Turkish threat against Europe had been a concern of Enea Silvio Piccolomini since his youth.<sup>2</sup>

His immediate predecessor as pope, Calixtus III, was actually quite eager to start a crusade against the Turks, but he was hampered by a war in Italy, and his energetic preparations came to an end when he died after a brief pontificate of three years.

As his successor the cardinals elected Cardinal Piccolomini who took the name of Pius II.

He now had the opportunity to implement his own proposals to his predecessors on the war against the Turks.

The importance of the crusade matter to the cardinals is shown by the fact that before the conclave began to vote on Calixtus' successor, they all agreed on and signed an electoral capitulation whose first clause obliged the new pope to mount a crusade against the Turks. The clause said:

*First, he will swear and promise to pursue, with all his might, the expedition, already begun, against the infidel enemies of the Cross, for the expansion and propagation of the Faith, until its successful conclusion, according to the means of the Roman Church and on the advice of his brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, or the majority of them.*<sup>3</sup>

Elected pope, Pius II signed the capitulation with these words:

*I, Pius II, promise and swear to keep each and all [of the above clauses], as far as I can, with God, and [safeguarding] the honour and the justice of the Apostolic See.*<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 2 (Meserve, I, pp. 213-217); Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 15; Ady, pp. 157-158; Boulting, pp. 248-250; Housley; Mitchell, pp. 138-140; Müller; Paparelli, p. 196; Pastor, II, p. 17-18; Paviot; Picotti, ch. 1; Reinhardt, pp. 232-233; Setton, II, p. 201; Strnad, pp. 77-82; Voigt, IV, pp. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup> On the development of Pius' engagement in the crusade matter before and after he became pope, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 6.1.1.

<sup>3</sup> Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 5: *Primo jurabit et promittet expeditionem incaeptam contra infideles inimicos crucis Christi pro amplicatione et dilatatione fidei totis viribus usque ad felicem exitum prosequi secundum facultatem Romanae ecclesiae juxta consilium fratrum suorum S.R.E. cardinalium vel majoris partis eorum*

<sup>4</sup> Rainaldus, ad ann. 1458, nr. 8, p. 160: *Ego Pius II praemissa omnia et singula promitto et juro servarem quantum cum Deo et honestate et justitia sedis apostolicae poterō*

So, from the beginning it was clear that Pope Pius not only personally supported the idea of a crusade against the Turks, but that he was even bound by a solemn, papal oath to do so.

There is no doubt that the pope's primary motive for a crusade was a quite realistic assessment of Mehmed II's intentions with regard to Europe<sup>1</sup> and a quite justified fear of the consequences in case the Europeans did not meet the Turkish threat militarily: the collapse of the European powers, the fall of the two international institutions, the Empire and the Papacy, and the reduction of Christianity to a religion for second or third class citizens in the Turkish Empire.

Undoubtedly, there were other motives, too. Pius' personal itinerary of faith made the crusade a worthy and logical expression of his belief in God and of his passionate need to redeem himself after a youth which he in some respects now deeply regretted.

Also, and quite importantly, he saw the crusade as the best means for the restoration of the status of Papacy, as he had openly said in his oration to Pope Calixtus, the "*Solent plerique*" [26] (1455):

*And to say openly what I think: the most certain way to have the Christian kings and all the faithful nations submit willingly to you as the Vicar of Christ is to undertake a vigorous and magnificent defense of our faith, just like you have inspired hope by making your vow, by promoting peace in Italy, and by designating wise legates, appearing completely intent on working, with all your power, to destroy the filthy and impious Turkish people. [Sect. 29]*

And, finally, there was the personal glory of being the pope who regained Constantinople. As he had also told Pope Calixtus - again in the "*Solent plerique*" [26]:

*But the most glorious title which may be written on your sarcophagus is to be called the pope who regained Constantinople, lost under your predecessor, and who avenged the shared injury. [Sect. 29]*

One motive was not there: he did not want to organize the crusade in order to improve papal finances – though this was a commonly voiced criticism, which might also have been true in other circumstances. Indeed, Pius later directly stated his acceptance of a procedure for collection crusade money which would keep it separate from the papal finances.

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<sup>1</sup> Babinger, p. 571

After his coronation, Pius soon decided that the starting point would have to be a meeting with the European princes to decide in common on such a crusade. Here, he is consistent with his own early statement on the necessity of a joint European military response to the Turks, made at the Council of Basel in 1436: *To expel them [The Turks] from Greece would not be the task of a single city or state, but of the entire Christian world.*<sup>1</sup>

The idea of European Congress on the crusade was not new. It had been proposed by the Duke of Burgundy in connection with his diplomatic offensive for a European crusade against the Turks already in 1451.<sup>2 3</sup>

And in his letter of 19 July 1453 to Pope Nicolaus, announcing the Fall of Constantinople, Piccolomini had written that it was incumbent on the pope to organize a joint military action against the Turks and that the pope should ask kings, princes, and cities to send representatives to a congress on this matter.<sup>4</sup>

A week afterwards, in a letter to Cardinal Nicholas of Cues, of 21 July, he repeated the idea, urging the pope and the cardinals to summon the princes to a meeting on a war against the Turks.<sup>5</sup>

The proposal for a congress of princes was reiterated in a letter from the emperor to the pope of 10 August 1452, written by Piccolomini:

*... We believe that Your Clemency<sup>6</sup> ... should write to the kings, send legates, admonish and exhort princes and communities to come to come personally to or to be represented at a meeting somewhere, ... to speedily take counsel for the Christian cause, to make*

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<sup>1</sup> Oration "Audivi" [1], sect. 21

<sup>2</sup> RTA, 19, 1, p. 143. See also Piccolomini: *Historia de dieta Ratisponensi* (WO, III, p. 505), and his oration "Quamvis in hoc senatu" [17] (1451)

<sup>3</sup> Housley, p. 228

<sup>4</sup> WO, III, 1, p. 201: *Quanto melius tantum armorum tantumque militiae in hostes fidei verteremus? Verum, beatissime pater, non scio, cui magis quam vestre sanctitati hec cura debeatur. Vestrum est jam assurgere, scribere regibus, mittere legatos, monere, hortari principes atque communitates in aliquem communem locum aut veniant aut mittant, nuncque dum malum est recens Christianae rei publicae consulere festinent, pacem aut inducias inter socios fidei componant atque junctis viribus adversus salutifere crucis inimicos arma moveant. Spero equidem, si vestra sanctitas suo ex more hoc negotium fervido et ardenti animo totoque corde promovendum acceperit, et deum et homines assensuros, futurumque brevi, ut insolentiae suae Turchos peniteat atque in altum Christiana fides emergat*

<sup>5</sup> WO, III, 1, p. 214: *Vocent reges et principes in certum aliquem locum, dicant conveniendi diem, mittant legatos de latere summi pontificis, exponant mala, que passa est modo Christiana res publica, dicant que futura timentur pericula, providendi modos aperiant, inter Christianos aut pacem aut inducias belli componant, crucem predicent, remissionem peccatorum polliceantur; intonet apostolica tuba, nihil negligat, nihil hoc tempore omittat. Non est michi dubium, si locus rebus accomodatus nominetur, quin reges aut veniant aut mittant bonisque animis hoc fidei negotium amplectantur.* See also Housley, p. 73-74

<sup>6</sup> A title of the pope, used by Piccolomini



*peace or truce between their fellow Christians, and with joined forces to go to war against the enemies of the Cross of Salvation.*<sup>1</sup>

Piccolomini pursued this idea in his *Dialogus*, begun in 1454 and published in 1457, where he had Constantine the Great - in Heaven - make this request of Christ after the Fall of Constantinople, which Constantine himself had established as the capital of the Roman Empire:

*Allow me to leave Heaven and go to Earth, and let those [from Heaven], who wish to, come with me to consider the affairs of mortal men and to hold a meeting of Christians to provide for your religion.*<sup>2</sup>

In April/May 1454, the emperor – with the pope’s assent and support – held a congress on the Turkish matter in Regensburg to which the European kings and princes were invited. The congress, or diet, was followed by two more diets, in Frankfurt and Wiener Neustadt in 1454 and 1455. These meetings did not lead to any mobilization of a joint European or even German military response to the Turkish war of aggression.

Unsuccessful was also a very poorly attended crusade conference of ambassadors summoned by Pope Calixtus III in Rome.<sup>3</sup> Though Housley appears to downplay Cardinal Piccolomini’s contribution to this initiative,<sup>4</sup> it would be very strange if Calixtus had not used the services of the cardinal who had the most experience and interest in this area and who might even have proposed such a conference to him, as he had done previously to his predecessor.

It is therefore not surprising, that shortly after his coronation Pius began to discuss the matter of a congress with the College of Cardinals and to submit it to a forum of curials and envoys of Italian and other European powers present in Rome, on 10 October 1459.

The conference was reported by Lodrisio Crivelli<sup>5</sup> as part of his unfinished work *De expeditione Papae Pii II adversus Turcos*. Crivelli himself participated in the meeting and gave an address

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<sup>1</sup> WO, III, 2, p. 579: ... *censemus clementiam vestram ... scribere regibus, legatos mittere, monere, hortari principes ac communitates in aliquem communem locum aut veniant aut mittant, ... Christianae rei consulere festinent, pacem aut inducias inter socios fidei componant atque junctis viribus adversus salutifere crucis inimicos arma promoveant*. According to Wolkan, this version of the text may not have been the original one

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, p. 64: *Sine me de celo in terram ire, descendere qui velint mecum, mortalium facta despicere, Christianorum habere conventum, et que sint ex re tue religioni consulere*

<sup>3</sup> Rainaldus, ad ann. 1457, nos. 36-37, pp. 112-113; ad ann. 1458, nos. 9, 35, pp. 142, 152. Housley, pp. 212, 228; Picotti, pp. 49-51. Cf. however Pastor, I, p. 682: *Der klägliche Ausgang der unter Nikolaus V. wegen der Türkenfrage abgehaltenen Reichstage bestimmte Kalixtus III., von derartigen Versammlungen ganz abzusehen und direkt mit den einzelnen Herrschern eine Verständigung zu suchen*

<sup>4</sup> Housley, p. 212

<sup>5</sup> Lodrisio Crivelli (1412-1488): Milanese jurist. Early acquaintance of Pius II. In the service of the Duke of Milan (until 1463). Member of the duke’s embassy to congratulate the new pope. See Crivelli, pp. iii-xxiv, and Smith

on behalf of his master, the Duke of Milan.<sup>1</sup> His work contains two orations by the Pope, one the “*Ut apertum vobis*” of 10 October 1459, and the other the “*Magna pars vestrum*”, given at the opening of the Congress in Mantua on 1 June 1459.

In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about the conference in Rome:

*Pope Pius feared this poison [i.e. the Turks] and determined to take action before it wormed its way in any further. But he would not rely on himself alone (that is, on the power of the Apostolic See), for he saw that the conquest of the Turks was a task not for this or that realm but for all of Christendom. He realized he would have to ask the advice of those whose aid he would soon require, and so decided to convene a congress of princes and republics to discuss the common good. First, however, he must determine where the congress should meet. Some cardinals said it should be at Rome, but other advised a location across the Alps, in Germany or in France.*

*None of these suggestions satisfied Pius: he did not think it appropriate to summon princes from the North all the way to Rome; on the other hand, holding a council in France or Germany would be pointless, since the pope’s health would prevent his attending it. He thought it best to hold the congress someplace near the Alps, halfway between the pope and the northern princes. Two places were suggested: Udine, a town in Friuli subject to Venice, and Mantua in Cisalpine Gaul. If they were denied the use of one, they could turn to the other, for the pope was worried that the Venetians, who were terrified of the Turks, would keep him from coming to Udine – and later on that is exactly what they did. ...*

*For a long time, the pope and cardinals debated the question in council. Many prelates opposed him, for they were happy enough with the present state of affairs and liked their easy life in the capital, but the pope persevered until his plan was adopted. He then invited various bishops, abbots, notaries, royal ambassadors and all the officials of the Curia to a meeting in the palace chapel so that their advice, too, could be heard. There he made public the project he had long held in his heart. He described the great disasters the Turks had inflicted on Christendom and explained how they were scheming to overthrow the Gospel law. The fall of the Christian nation was for him the bitterest blow imaginable; he was charged with the care of their sacred religion; he had decided to take the offensive against the Turks. Since this could not be done without the help of the princes of Christendom, he was determined to hold a congress either at Udine or at Mantua to hear the opinions of those whose aid he meant to enlist. It would be hard for him to leave Rome, the seat of St. Peter the Apostle and the ark of the Christian faith,*

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<sup>1</sup> Crivelli, pp. 117-120

*but it would be harder still to see the holy gospel destroyed in the course of his reign. To save it, he was resolved to stake not just the city and the patrimony of Peter, but his own health, indeed his very life. And so, though he was old and infirm, he proposed to cross the Apennines and the Po and confer with Christian princes about the rescue of the Christian faith. He went on to declaim on many such topics with great seriousness. Everyone applauded his courage and his purpose and praised him to the skies as the only man on earth who cared for the safety of the faith. Then they convened a public consistory according to established procedure. An apostolic letter was published<sup>1</sup> setting the date for the congress and summoning the princes to either of the two cities.<sup>2</sup>*

A couple of days after the meeting in Rome, on 13 October, the pope issued the bull *Vocavit nos pius* summoning the European princes and peoples to a Congress in Udine or Mantua on a crusade against the Turks, to be opened on 1 July 1460. The shortness of the time between the meeting with the ambassadors and the release of the bull makes it quite likely that the bull had been written before that meeting.

The text of the oration held on 10 October is presently only known from Lodrisio Crivelli's work *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*.

Lodrisio Crivelli was an acquaintance of Piccolomini from the days of the Council of Basel, where Crivelli was secretary to a mentor and friend of Piccolomini, Archbishop Pizzolpasso of Milan. He represented the Duke of Milan as one of the ambassadors coming to Rome in October 1458 to present the declaration of the duke's obedience to the newly elected pope, Pius II. He managed to further develop his relationship with the pope which incidentally became useful when he later fell into disgrace at the Milanese court. His decision to write a book on Pius' expedition against the Turks was undoubtedly made with the pope's approval, and the curia appears to have made documents concerning the crusade available to Crivelli who used them in his book. On Crivelli's part, the project was certainly a means to ensure the pope's patronage and friendship, so when Pius died in 1464, Crivelli understandably gave up the project, and the book remained unfinished, only covering events until the preliminary opening of the Congress of Mantua, on 1 June 1459.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The bull *Vocavit nos Pius*, also included in Crivelli's report, see Appendix

<sup>2</sup> CO, II, 2 (Meserve. I, pp. 213-217)

<sup>3</sup> Crivelli, pp. III-XXIV; Petrucci; Smith

## 2. Themes

After some formal comments on the reason and agenda for the meeting, the pope briefly described the Turkish military expansion into Europe, peppering his report with Turkish atrocities against Christians.

He then clearly stated that the overall responsibility for a war against the Turks in defense of Christendom and Europe would be the responsibility of the Papacy, and – by implication – not of the secular powers, including the Holy Roman Empire: Pius had by now given up on the emperor and the Germans taking a lead in the crusade matter.

However, a crusade against the Turks could not be fought by the Papacy alone, it would have to be a joint military venture for all of Europe, and the contributions of all the major European powers would be essential.<sup>1</sup>

The pope and the cardinals had discussed how to mobilize these powers for the common cause. Two major solutions had been considered:

- sending papal legates to kings, princes, and cities to enjoin them to join a common crusade
- holding a joint meeting on the crusade for all.

Concerning the dispatch of papal legates, this method had been tried before, but had not proven effective.

Concerning a joint meeting for all, the failure of the three imperial diets in 1454-1455 and of the conference summoned by Pope Calixtus was not mentioned, but two possibilities had been discussed with the cardinals:

- holding the meeting in Rome
- holding the meeting in some other city.

Summoning the transalpine<sup>2</sup> kings and princes to a meeting in Rome would impose so great a burden of organization and transportation on the rulers, that it would be quite impossible.

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<sup>1</sup> This theme is a red thread in Piccolomini's crusade orations, going all the way back to very first oration, the "Audi" [1] of October 1436 to the council fathers at Basel

<sup>2</sup> Transalpine: from the other side of the Alps — as seen from Rome, i.e. North of the Alps

A meeting in some other city, closer to the transalpines, was therefore to be preferred. North of the Alps would be impossible for the old and ailing pope (as well as politically dangerous as the councils in Konstanz, 1414-1418, and in Basel, 1430's, had clearly shown). A city South of the Alps, but close to them would therefore be preferable.

Two cities were considered as fulfilling the requirements: Udine and Mantua.<sup>1</sup>

Having informed the participants – and through them their political masters – of the decision to hold a conference, the pope now asked them for their advice in the matter of choosing between Udine and Mantua.

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration "*Ut apertum vobis*" was given in Rome on 10 October 1459<sup>2</sup> in the chapel of the Apostolic Palace.<sup>3</sup>

The audience consisted of the ambassadors present in Rome, together with a number of cardinals and curials.

The format was a papal oration from the throne, though the oration did not have a solemn character but was rather a businesslike and practical speech.

### 4. Text<sup>4</sup>

As mentioned, the text of the oration "*Ut apertum vobis*" is only known from Lodrisio Crivelli's unfinished work *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*. It is possibly a shortened version of the oration as actually delivered.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In this respect, too, the oration is reminiscent of Piccolomini's first speech, the "*Audivi*", on the choice of a Northern Italian city as future venue for the council

<sup>2</sup> Crivelli, p. 80, n. 4; Voigt, IV, p. 20. Pastor, I, p. 17, has the date 12 October 1458

<sup>3</sup> Crivelli, p. 80: ... *in sacellum, quod in pontificali palatio iuxta basilicam Principis situm est, convocat*

<sup>4</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>5</sup> The *De expeditione* contains another oration of the pope, the "*Magna pars vestrum*", delivered at the opening of the Congress of Mantua on 1 July 1459. Crivelli's version of that oration is very similar to the version as known from other sources. The text may have been made available to him by Pius himself or by his officials. See,

## 4.1. Manuscripts

The two manuscripts known to contain the *De expeditione* with the oration “*Ut apertum vobis*” are:<sup>1</sup>

- **Milano / Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana**  
Trivulziana 765, ff. 46v-49r **(T)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Vat. Lat. 2047, ff. 48r-49v **(V)**

## 4.2. Editions

- Leodrisii Cribelli libri duo *de expeditione Pii Papae Secundi in Turcas*. In: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. XXIII. Milano, 1733, pp. 66-68 **(MU)**

This edition was based on a manuscript made available to Muratori by Argelati. It is not known which manuscript it was, but according to Zimolo the text of the *De expeditione* in Muratori's edition is quite close to the text in the Trivulziana manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

- Leodrisii Cribelli *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*. A cura di Giulio C. Zimolo. In: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, t. XXIII, pt. V. Bologna, 1950, pp. 85-87

## 4.3. Present edition

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

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however, Voigt, IV, p. 19, for this comment: *Die Rede, die Leodrisius Crivelli ... den Papst bei dieser Gelegenheit halten lasst, ist zwar ganz in seiner Weise, aber wohl doch ein glückliches Machwerk des Autors ...*

<sup>1</sup> For a description of the mss., see Crivelli pp. xxxv-xxxviii

<sup>2</sup> Crivelli, p. XXXVIII

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the two abovementioned manuscripts containing the *De expeditione* and Muratori's edition of 1733, with the Trivulziana as the lead text.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this oration only one quotation has been identified, from Sallust's *De bello Catilinae*.

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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<sup>1</sup> [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodrisio-crivelli\\_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/lodrisio-crivelli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/)



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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**T** = Milano / Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana / Trivulziana 765

**V** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 2047

**MU** = Leodrissi Cribelli libri duo *de expeditione Pii Papae Secundi in Turcas*. (Rerum Italicarum Scriptores; 23)

## Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. 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)

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {46v} Ut<sup>1</sup> apertum vobis faciamus, viri fratres, quam ob causam convocati hunc in locum estis convenire primo loco censemus, tum deinde quantum negotii immineat, et in quo denique consilium, operam opemque vestram requirere summum rei discrimen urgeat, exponemus.

[2] Multa enim per hos dies cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris cardinalibus collocti sumus multisque cogitationibus laborantes, atque invicem disserentes quaesivimus, quonam pacto adversus saevientem in nos omnesque Christianae religionis {47r} cultores Turcorum impurissimorum hostium procellam iri possit, eorumque inflammata vehementius de pessumdanda Christi nostri lege opinio retundi.

[3] Quem enim mortalium latere potest, quorsum tendant tanti eorum conatus, insolenti etiam felicitate aucti, expugnata paulo ante Constantinopoli, tanta urbe, tutissimo hactenus per tot saecula adversus barbaricos furores receptaculo eodemque propugnaculo, Graecia omni subacta, depopulata etiam nuper ab<sup>2</sup> crudeli hoste Corintho, profanatis per summam contumeliam in singulis urbibus sacris nostris, Hungaris per tot annos tantae molis fascem vix sustinentibus et nunc etiam discordiis inter se laborantibus, et, si diligentius considerare voluerimus, Italia magna ex parte circumvallata.

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<sup>1</sup> Oratio Pii pontificis maximi *nota marg.* T

<sup>2</sup> a MU

## **0. Introduction**

[1] Men and brothers, We intend to tell you firstly the reason why you have been summoned here, and secondly how serious the matter is. Then We shall explain how urgently this great crisis requires your advice, efforts and resources.

### **1. Reason for the meeting**

[2] During these days, We have been speaking at length with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals, pondering and discussing many ideas on how to counter the savage attacks of the filthy Turkish enemies against all those who worship Christ and how to oppose their burning desire to destroy His law.

### **2. Urgency of the matter**

[3] Who does not know what aim they are pursuing so intensely? Quite recently and with insolent luck, this cruel enemy has conquered the great City of Constantinople, for centuries a safe haven and bastion against the fury of barbarian peoples. They have subjugated all of Greece. Lately they have destroyed Corinth,<sup>1</sup> and in all cities they have – oh, supreme injury – profanated our holy shrines. The Hungarians have for many years been staggering under this heavy burden and are even now plagued by internal conflicts.<sup>2</sup> And a closer look reveals that Italy has almost been encircled.

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<sup>1</sup> 6 August 1458. Cf. Crivelli, p.78, n. 4. Cf. also Setton, II, pp. 197-198, and Picotti, p. 65

<sup>2</sup> One party among the Hungarian magnates wanted Matthias Corvinus as king after the Habsburg King Ladislaus who had died prematurely on 23 November 1457, and another wanted the Habsburg Emperor, Friedrich III

[4] Intelligimus quidem ex hoc denique pontificatus onere, quod invalidis humeris nostris occulto iudicio suo Deus imposuit, expeti a nobis primas hujus rei partes. Et nos quidem id libenter ac studiose facturi sumus, sed excedit supra modum vires nostras tanta sarcina, tantoque impares oneri, ut ingruentem vim repellamus, sufficere soli nullo pacto possumus. Agitur autem non tantum de apostolicae sedis salute, quae etiam si sola pateretur, digna tamen esset, cum sit ecclesiae caput, pro qua principes populique omnes, Christi Dei cultores, decertarent. Verum blasphematur ab<sup>1</sup> nefandis hostibus omnis Christiana religio, nec blasphematur tantum, sed conculcatur, et, nisi auxilio simus, {47v} in ruinam supremumque excidium trahitur.

[5] Itaque, cum de republica Christiana agatur deque communi omnium nostrorum<sup>2</sup> parente sancta catholica ecclesia, in qua renati et in spe caelestis regni positi sumus, statuimus vos omnes hujus rei consiliique nostri participes facere, cujus tamen causa nunc in locum hunc estis convocati. Nunc inter varias cogitationes nostras, quid potissimum ex communi venerabilium horum fratrum nostrorum sententia censuerimus, animadvertite. Nos in primis in altissimi Dei clementia, cujus ovile sumus, spem nostram collocantes, exponendas in hoc facultates quantaslibet nostras<sup>3</sup>, exhauriendosque ex intimo sinu ecclesiae thesaurus omnes<sup>4</sup> caelestes terrenosque proposuimus, confisi non defutura nobis Christicolarum principum populorumque auxilia. Sed ut eos in hanc expeditionem invitantes celerius excitemus - res enim urget - tria nobis remedia<sup>5</sup> proponebantur.

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<sup>1</sup> a MU

<sup>2</sup> nostrum MU

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* T, MU

<sup>4</sup> omnis T

<sup>5</sup> *remedium interlin.* V

[4] In His inscrutable wisdom God has decided to place the burden of the Papacy on Our frail shoulders,<sup>1</sup> and as We see it, it is therefore up to Us to take the initiative in this matter. We shall do so gladly and eagerly, but this burden greatly surpasses Our own strength. We are unequal to this great task and not at all strong enough to alone repeal the advancing forces [of the Turks].<sup>2</sup> This is not just a matter of saving the Apostolic See, but if it was, it would be a worthy cause for all princes and all peoples who worship Christ to fight for her who is the head of the Church.<sup>3</sup> But, indeed, it is the whole Christian religion which is now being blasphemed by terrible enemies, nay, not just blasphemed, but crushed, and if we do not come to its assistance, it will be ruined and utterly destroyed.

### 3. Three alternatives

[5] Therefore, since the whole Christian Commonwealth is at stake, the mother of us all, the Holy Catholic Church, in which we have been reborn and expect the Heavenly Kingdom, We have decided to make all of you partners in this venture and in our consultation. It is for this purpose that you have been summoned here today.

Hear now which of the various ideas [on the matter] We have decided upon, following the common advice of these our venerable brethren.<sup>4</sup>

As, first of all, We put Our hope in the mercy of God whose flock we are, We have decided to use all available resources on this enterprise and to spend all the earthly and heavenly treasures of the Church. We trust that when We do that, the Christian princes and peoples will come to Our aid. As We now invite them to this expedition, We would incite them to join up as quickly as possible, for the matter is truly urgent. To achieve that, three ways have been proposed to Us.

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<sup>1</sup> Pius was elected pope on 19 August 1458, less than two months before the meeting where he gave the oration "*Ut apertum vobis*"

<sup>2</sup> After the Fall of Constantinople, the Turkish sultan, Mehmed II the Conqueror, had conquered Serbia and a number of Greek islands, and initiated the conquest of the Despotate of Morea, i.e. the Peloponnese

<sup>3</sup> Already in his oration "*Audivi*" [1] (1436), sect. 21, Pius had said: *For great is the realm of the Turks, immense is the power of the Asians and enormous their riches. They have extended their empire from Asia to Europe, and they have occupied the whole of Greece as if they were the avengers of the destruction of Troy. To expel them from Greece would not be the task of a single city or state, but of the entire Christian world*

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the cardinals

[6] Horum primum erat, ut missa ad singulos legatione eos adhortaremur contestaremurque et adjuraremur, ne communem fidei et religionis nostrae causam desererent, insurgerent omnes Deo auspice pro ea decertaturi, quam regnis omnibus liberisque et vitae demum propriae praeferrere decet. Sed memoria repetentes id ipsum ab antecessoribus nostris factum parum profuisse, velut inefficax in tam urgenti periculo remedium dimittendum censuimus.

[7] Videbatur secundo loco eos omnes in hanc urbem {49r} Romanamque curiam ad nos evocandos esse, ut in commune de ineunda quamprimum expeditione tam sancta, tam necessaria, posthabitis ceteris curis omnibus, consultaremur. Sed et in hoc parum spei repositum videbatur. Nam et locus est plerisque principibus, ut se huc conferant, perincommodus, et nos interea quiescentes intra sedem hanc nostram videremur expectationi nostrae minime satisfacere neque solito amplius adniti, paucisque credibile fieret eo nos<sup>1</sup> indefesso flagrantique studio in hanc expeditionem animatos esse, quo profecto sumus, et esse nos, detur modo vita, manifesto documento universus mundus intelliget<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* MU

<sup>2</sup> mundus intelligit : mundus intelliget T



### 3.1. Dispatch of legates

[6] The first one was to send legates to all to exhort, enjoin, and urge them not to fail the common cause of our Faith and religion, so that all may rise up, under God's guidance, to fight for that which must come before all kingdoms, children, and even our own life.<sup>1</sup> But considering that this method has already been tried by Our predecessors to little effect, We believe that it is not an effective means in the present, urgent danger.

### 3.2. A congress in Rome<sup>2</sup>

[7] In the second place, We considered summoning all to come to Us, in this city and the Roman Curia, so that we could consult together on how to undertake as soon as possible this holy and necessary expedition, putting all other matters aside. But this method, too, seemed to give too little hope:<sup>3</sup> for most princes it is extremely onerous to come here. And in the meantime We Ourselves would be resting peacefully in Our own residence and give the impression of not living up to Our own expectations and of doing nothing out of the ordinary. Therefore, only a few people would believe that We pursue the matter with untiring and burning zeal, and that We are really intent on this expedition. But that We certainly are, and if only We stay alive, all the world will understand it to be so when We prove it in practice.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1453, Bishop Piccolomini had urged Pope Nicolaus to send legates to the princes in the matter of a crusade, see above, and in 1455 he had complimented his direct predecessor, Pope Calixtus for having done so, cf. the oration "*Solent plerique*" [26] (1455 : *the most certain way to have the Christian kings and all the faithful nations submit willingly to you as the Vicar of Christ is to undertake a spirited and magnificent defense of our faith, just like you have inspired hope by making your vow, by promoting peace in Italy, and by designating wise legates, appearing completely intent on working, with all your power, to destroy the filthy and impious Turkish people.* [Sect. 22]

<sup>2</sup> In a letter, Pius' close collaborator and friend, later cardinal, Jacopo Ammanati, stated that the idea of a European congress on the crusade arose spontaneously in Pius' mind at the time, cf. Crivelli, p. 86, n. 4. This is apparently an error, cf. the Introduction

<sup>3</sup> Indeed it had failed miserably under Pius' immediate predecessor, Calixtus, earlier in the same year (1458), see the Introduction

<sup>4</sup> On the unsuitability of a Roman venue for the Congress, see Crivelli, p. 86, n. 2

[8] Restabat igitur, quod tertio loco propositum fuerat, ut non sermone solum, sed opera etiam ipso exemplum de nobis ceteris praeberemus, et relicta hac urbe, summorum pontificum patria, in locum ex omnibus magis idoneum commodumque, ad hostes versum, ad quem ex omni occidua ora convenire principes et magistratus quique possent, nos conferremus. In quo apparatus initiaque gerendi belli jam nunc auspicantes venientes principes praestolaremur a nobis propediem invitandos, cum quibus de ratione belli deque omnis rei administratione consultarem et, ubi consultum esset, *mature* exequeremur. Visa est haec sententia ceteris efficacior, quam nunc ideo vobis communem facimus.

[9] Congregationis locus aut in Utini civitate erit aut Mantuae, propter maximam utriusvis<sup>1</sup> in hoc opportunitatem. Horum uter praeferendus sit {48v} brevi deliberabimus. Qua in re etiam sententiam vestram, si quid visum fuerit, libenter audiemus. Vos modo, oratores, qui principum vestrorum corda nostis, liberis animis iudicium his de rebus vestrum, et quantum spei in unoquoque principum vestrorum ad hanc expeditionem adjuvandam collocare debeamus, in medium depromite, benedictionem ab omnipotenti Deo pro fide operaque hanc in rem vestra multiplicem suscepturi.

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<sup>1</sup> utriusque MU

### 3.3. A congress in a place convenient for all

[8] In the third place there remained the proposal that We should set an example for the others not only in words, but also in acts, by leaving this City, the home of the supreme pontiffs, and travel to a place more suitable and convenient for all, facing in the direction of the enemies, where all princes and leaders<sup>1</sup> from the West may assemble easily. Though We are already considering how to prepare and begin the war, We shall await, there, the arrival of the princes whom We shall be inviting shortly and with whom We may deliberate on the reason for the war and on the conduct of the whole enterprise. After the deliberations, We shall promptly carry out [the decisions].<sup>2</sup> This course seems to be the more profitable one, and We have now informed you about it.

[9] The congress will take place either in Udine or in Mantua since both of these places are highly convenient.<sup>3</sup> Which one is preferable, We shall discuss with you in a moment, and We shall gladly hear any opinions you may have. Ambassadors, you know the minds of your princes: please state your thoughts on these matters freely and let us know what contributions to the expedition We may expect from your princes. [In return] you will receive abundant blessings from omnipotent God for your faith and your efforts in this matter.

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<sup>1</sup> "magistratus"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sallustius: *De bello Catilinae*, 1, 6-7: *Nam et prius quam incipias, consulto, et ubi consulueris, mature facto opus est*

<sup>3</sup> cf. Crivelli, p. 86, n. 2



## Appendix: Papal bull *Vocavit nos pius* of 13 October 1458<sup>1 2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> After Zimolo's edition, in Crivelli: *De Expeditione*, pp. 91-96. Punctuation and orthography follows Zimolo's edition

<sup>2</sup> The text of the bull to a great extent builds on Piccolomini's earlier crusade orations

[1] {91}<sup>1</sup> Pius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, universis et singulis Christifidelibus has nostras litteras inspecturis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

[2] Vocavit nos pius et misericors Dominus ad sacram beati Petri sedem, vicesque dilectissimi Filii sui Domini nostri Iesu Christi debilibus humeris nostris commisit in terris. Pasturam gregis sui credidit, et alte fluctuantem pelago fidelis populi regere naviculam iussit. Gravis haec quidem nobis sarcina est, nec nostrae vires sunt, quae tanti regiminis ferre molem sufficiant. Procellosum est valde mare atque infestum, per quod nobis navigandum est. Nutat ac fatiscit carina, qua vehimur, trepidant ac deficient remiges, venti adversi sunt, et in horrida tempestate iactamur.

[3] Nam postquam Constantino principe pax reddita est ecclesiis, nunquam ea dominici gregis pressura fuit, quam modo cernimus. Nunquam adeo coartatos catholicae fidei limites superior aetas vidit. *Exiit olim in omnem terram sonus Apostolorum, et in fines orbis terrae verba eorum.* Subiecerunt omnes fere reges terrae, omnes tribus, omnes populi colla sua Christo Domino, et salutaris fidei sacramentis imbuti, *gloriam in excelsis Deo* per Unigenitum Filium eius *et in terris pacem hominibus bonae voluntatis* acclamavere. Surrexit deinde annos iam supra octingentos pseudopropheta Mahomet, qui, blasphemans sacratissimam Trinitatem, non solum contribules suos, sed Aegyptios atque omnem Syriam a vera et orthodoxa religione avertit. Officinam<sup>2</sup> nostrae salutis, in qua Deus noster pro nostra redemptione pretiosum Sanguinem fudit, barbarus hostis invasit. Lectum illum purpureum et suavissimis fragrantem odoribus, in quo propter nos vita nostra obdormivit in Domino, spurcissimae Sarracenorum manus obtrectavere atque obtrectant, et quaestus tamen causa Christianis ostendunt.

[4] Recuperavit ea sancta loca Christiana virtus, aliquando zelo fidei atque armis potens, mox desidia atque ignavia perdidit. Paulatim deinde omnis Asia est amissa, et Libiae populi defecerunt. Ecclesiae pulcherrimae, quae invocabant Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, illique psalmos dies noctesque decantabant, nunc horridum atque abominandum Mahomet nomen implorant, et, relicto veri Dei cultu, nefandis {92} imbutae sacris obscenis serviunt cerimoniis. Transmissum est Gaditanum fretum, et ad Hispanos usque Mahometis penetravere venena. Magna pars Baeticae a nobis aliena est, in qua regnum Sarraceni obtinent, quod Granatae vocant, nomini Cristiano apprime infensum.

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<sup>1</sup> Pagination after Zimolo's editioin

<sup>2</sup> *em. after Pius II: Constantinopolitana clades, sect. 24; officium G, H, MU*

[1] Pius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to all Christians who see and read this letter: greetings and apostolic benediction.

[2] Pious and merciful God has called Us to the Holy See of Saint Peter and laid upon Our weak shoulders the task of representing here on Earth his beloved Son, Our Lord Jesus Christ. He has entrusted to Us the pasture of his flock and ordered [Us] to steer the ship of the faithful people as it is being tossed around upon the open sea. This is a heavy load for Us, and Our strength is not sufficient to carry the burden of this great charge. The sea We have to navigate is stormy and hostile, the boat we are sailing wavers and leaks, the rowers tremble and grow tired, the winds are against Us, and we being thrown around by a terrible storm.

[3] For since at the time of Emperor Constantine peace was given to the churches, the pressure on the Lord's flock has never been so great as we see today. No former age has seen the Catholic Faith reduced to so narrow boundaries. Once *the sound of the apostles hath gone forth into all the Earth, and their words unto the ends of the whole world.*<sup>1</sup> Almost all the kings of the Earth, all tribes and all peoples bowed their necks to Christ the Lord, and provided with the sacraments of salutary Faith they praised *the glory of God in the highest* through his Only Begotten Son *and on Earth peace to men of good will.*<sup>2</sup> Then, more than 800 years ago there arose a false prophet, Muhammad, who blasphemed the Holy Trinity and turned not only his fellow tribesmen, but also the Egyptians and all of Syria away from the true and orthodox religion. A barbaric enemy has entered the workplace of our salvation, where our God shed his precious blood for our salvation. Dirty Saracen hands have defiled and still defile that purple and sweet-smelling couch where He who is our life *slept in the Lord*<sup>3</sup> and they only show it to the Christians for money.

[4] Later, when Christian power was strong in fervent faith and weapons, it regained those holy places, but soon lost them again through indolence and weakness. Afterwards, all of Asia<sup>4</sup> was gradually lost, and the peoples of Libya<sup>5</sup> defected. The beautiful churches where they prayed to Our Lord Jesus Christ and where they sang psalms day and night are now used to invoke the terrible and abominable name of Muhammad, and - rejecting the worship of the true God - people have filled them with the horrible objects of their religion and use them for disgusting ceremonies. Having crossed the Strait of Cadiz, Muhammad's poison has now reached Spain. A large part of Baetica has been taken from us: there the Saracens have a kingdom called Granada, which is completely hostile to the Christian name.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms, 18, 5; Romans, 10, 18

<sup>2</sup> Luke, 2, 14

<sup>3</sup> Acts, 7, 59

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Asia Minor and the Middle East

<sup>5</sup> I.e. Africa

[5] Ex altera parte, qua versus orientem Europa porrigitur, non potuit mare christianam religionem tueri. Barbara Turcorum gens, Deo et hominibus odiosa, ex orientali Scythia progrediens, Cappadociam, Pontum, Bithyniam, Troadam, Pisidiam, Ciliciam, et omnem, quam vocant, Minorem Asiam occupavit. Neque contenta his, impotentia et dissensionibus Graecorum freta, Hellespontum transmisit, omnesque ferme Graecanicas urbes Acticae, Boeotiae, Phocidos, Achaiae, Macedoniae et Thraciae occupavit. Restabat urbs regia Constantinopolis totius orientis columen atque caput, patriarchalis atque imperatoria sedes, unicum Graeciae sapientiae domicilium, ubi tot magnificentissima templa, tot sacraria, tot palatia principum, tot nobilissimae civium aedes olim fuere, tot publica et privata opera ingenti sumptu, singulari industria constructa, ut exteri eo venientes, admirati splendorem urbis, non tam mortalium quam coelestium eam esse patriam dixerint. Hanc quoque diebus nostris, dum Latini inter se divisi Graecos deserunt, Turcorum crudelissima natio invasit, expoliavit, deque ea urbe triumphavit, quae toti Orienti leges dedit. Peloponnesus quoque, hac urbe devicta, armis capta est, et christianus populus in servitutem ductus. Acarnania nunc vastatur et Epirus, Servia, quae quondam Superior Moesia dicta, paucis exceptis, in potestatem hostium venit. Bosnenses, sivi Illirii, Dardani et Paeones tributa Turcis pendunt.

[6] Neque hoc modo quiescit efferata Turcorum rabies. Iniustae gentis dominus, taetra potius bellua quam rex appellandus, virosissimus draco potius dicendus quam imperator, sanguine humanum sitiens, coactis ingentibus copiis Ungaros urget; hinc Epirotas Albanosque vexat; et tumens opinione sui, sacrosanctum Evangelium omnemque Christi legem eversurum se iactitat; Christianis vero, ubicumque fuerint, vincula, verbera, caedes et horribiles cruciatus minatur. Non dormit hostis humani generis, sed *circuit quaerens quem devoret*. Hinc Turci premunt, inde insultant Saraceni.



[5] Also in the other direction, where Europe meets the East, the sea could not protect the Christian religion. The barbaric Turkish people, odious to God and to men, left Eastern Scythia and seized Cappadocia, Pontus, Bithynia, Troy, Pisidia, Cilicia, and all the so-called Asia Minor.

Not content with these [areas] and relying on the impotence and dissensions of the Greeks, they crossed the Hellespont and occupied almost all the Greek cities of Attica, Boetia, Phocis, Achaia, Macedonia, and Thracia. [Only] the royal city of Constantinople remained, pillar and head of the whole East, seat of patriarchs and emperors, unique home of Greek wisdom and learning, where there were so many magnificent temples, so many chapels, so many palaces of princes and noble mansions of the citizens, so many public and private works built at such immense cost and with such great labour that foreigners coming there would admire the splendid city and said that it was the home not of mortal, but heavenly beings. Now, in our days, while the divided Latins desert the Greeks, the cruel Turkish nation has invaded, conquered, and triumphed over that city, which once gave laws to the whole East. And when the city was defeated, the Peloponnese was conquered, too, and the Christian people carried off to slavery. Now they lay waste to Acarnania, and Epirus and Serbia – once called Superior Moesia – have with a few exceptions fallen into the enemies' power. Bosnia (or Illyria), Dardania, and Paeonia now pay tribute to the Turks.

[6] But still the frenzied Turks will not rest. The lord of this lawless people, who should rather be called a sinister monster than a king, or a foul dragon rather than a ruler, thirsts for human blood: having gathered immense forces, he now threatens Hungary. In the other direction he beleaguers Epirus and Albania. Arrogantly he boasts that he will destroy the Holy Gospel and all the law of Christ. He threatens Christians everywhere with chains, whips, murder, and horrible torture. The enemy of the human race<sup>1</sup> does not sleep, but *goeth about seeking whom he may devour*.<sup>2</sup> On one side the Turks are attacking,<sup>3</sup> on the other side the Saracens.

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<sup>1</sup> The Devil

<sup>2</sup> 1. Peter, 5, 8

<sup>3</sup> I.e. in the East, the Balkans

<sup>4</sup> I.e. in the West, Spain

[7] Christiani principes, quibus Turci nulla ratione pares esse possent, inter se discordes, suas potius iniurias, quam Christi contumelias ulcisci contendunt, et privatas utilitates praeferunt publicis. Alii, marcentes otio, deliciis indulgent. Alii cumulandis opibus inhiant. Neque sacerdotes, neque populares suum satis officium faciunt. Cultus divinus ubique imminutus est. Neque superiores iustitiae semitam tenent, neque inferiores obedientiae colla submittunt. Confusa omnia et turbata sunt. Blasfematur passim divina pietas, et in mandatis suis contemnitur Deus. Nullus timor, nulla reverentia legum. Hanc ob rem nobis iratus coeleste Numen prosperari adversum nos Turcorum arma permittit, et qui reliquis gentibus imperare solebant, Christianos infidelibus barbaris tributarios vectigalesque fecit.

[8] Ad haec nos tempora vocati sumus. Ut his malis obveniemus, in Romano solio collocavit nos Deus. Difficilis sane provincia commissa {93} est nobis. Scimus imbecillitatem nostrum, et sub tanto dignitatis pondere mirum in modum trepidamus. Non tamen diffidimus animo, nec de Christi misericordia desperamus. Sed quanto inferior est minor virtus dignitate credita, tanto maius ex alto auxilium praestolamur. Etsi enim *inscrutabilia sunt magni Dei iudicia et investigabiles viae eius* (nec potest humana curiositas eius arcana pertingere), illud tamen exploratissimum est, *veritatem nostram, quae Christus est, non posse mentiri*.<sup>1</sup> Exstant eius oracula, ac in Evangelio sancto certa promissa, quibus affuturum se Dominus *usque ad consumationem seculi cum suo grege* testatus est. Confidimus in eius potentia, quia recte vadentibus non deerit. *Coelum et terra transibunt: verba eius promissaque numquam deficient, neque a lege sua praeteribit unus apex*. Fluctuat saepenumero apostolica navis, sed non demergitur; concutitur, sed non frangitur; oppugnatur, sed non expugnatur. Temptari sinit Deus electos suos, vinci non sinit.

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<sup>1</sup> 1. John, 5, 6: *Christus est veritas*; Hebrews, 6, 18: *impossibile est mentiri Deum*; Titus, 1, 18: *qui non mentitur, Deus*

[7] The Christian princes, whom the Turks can in no way equal, quarrel with each other and would rather avenge their own injuries than the offenses against Christ, preferring their own private advantage to the public. Some live in idleness, others indulge in pleasures, and others again strive to gather riches. Neither priests nor laymen fulfil their duties. The worship of God is on the decline everywhere. Superiors do not follow the path of justice, and their subjects refuse to bow their necks in obedience. All is confusion and turmoil. The Divine Piety is being blasphemed everywhere, and God's commandments are scorned. No one fears or respects the laws. Therefore the Divinity has grown angry with us and permits the Turkish arms to prevail against us, and it has made the Christians who used to rule the other peoples pay tribute and tax to infidel barbarians.

[8] To such times have We been called. God has placed Us upon the Roman throne in order to confront these evils. It is indeed a difficult task that has been laid upon Us. We know Our own weakness, and we tremble greatly under the great weight of this office. But We do not become discouraged, and We do not lose faith in Christ's mercy. The smaller Our strength is, compared to the office bestowed upon Us, the greater is the help that We may expect from on High. For though *God's judgments are inscrutable and His ways unsearchable*<sup>1</sup> - human inquisitiveness can never penetrate them – it is absolutely certain that *our truth which is Jesus Christ cannot lie*. We have his oracles and his certain promises in the Gospel where the Lord declared that He will be with his flock *even to the consummation of the world*.<sup>2</sup> We trust in His power which will not fail those who walk in justice. *Heaven and Earth shall pass, but His words and promises shall never pass*,<sup>3</sup> and *one tittle shall not pass of the law*.<sup>4</sup> The apostolic ship is often thrown about, but it does not sink. It is hit, but it does not break. It is attacked, but not conquered. God allows his chosen ones to be tried, but not to be defeated.

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<sup>1</sup> Romans, 11, 33: *quam incomprehensibilia sunt judicia ejus, et investigabiles viae ejus*

<sup>2</sup> Matthew, 28, 20: *ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus, usque ad consummationem saeculi*

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 24, 35 (synopt.)

<sup>4</sup> Matthew, 5, 18: *donec transeat caelum et terra, jota unum aut unus apex non praeteribit a lege, donec omnia fiant*

[9] Ob eam rem, quamvis tempestate nostra turbidum Ecclesiae statum invenerimus, et naufragosum nimis circa fidele navigium mare, non tamen fiducia deest, quin eo iuvante, qui de suis thesauris produxit ventos et illis imperat atque mari, salutis portum pertingere valeamus. Non possumus certa de futuris polliceri, quae Divina maiestas caeca caligine occulit. Illud nobis fas est promittere et palam praedicare, quia non derelinquit Deus sperantes in se. Extant in Sacris Literis exempla innumerabilia spem nobis optimam offerentia. Praeterimus mirabilia facta Moysi, et qui ei successit Iosue. Transimus Gedeonem, Iepthem, Sansonem et quos libri Iudicum memorant, parva saepe manu innumerabiles fudisse, cum ad divinum confugissent auxilium. Adolescentulum David adversus ferocientem Goliath manus nequaquam divina destituit. Ezechiae regi obsidionis mala ferenti non defuit angelus Domini, qui Sennacherib potentissimi regis trucidaret exercitum. In parva Bethuline civitate Iudaeos adversus Olophernem per manus pauperulae viduae tutatus est Dominus. Machabaei quamsaepe numerosas deleverunt Antiochi copias, quamvis essent ipsi paucissimi et inermes.

[9] Therefore, though We may have found the Church being buffeted by the storm and the ship of Faith close to floundering in the sea, We still trust that we shall be able to reach the harbour of salvation with the help of Him who from his repositoires brought forth those winds and who commands them as well as the sea.<sup>1</sup> We cannot make sure promises about the future, which Divine Majesty has hidden in blind darkness.<sup>2</sup> But this We may justly promise and proclaim that God does not desert those who put their hope in Him. In Holy Scripture there are countless examples which give us excellent hope. We pass over the miraculous deeds of Moyses and his successor Joshua, and pass on to Gideon, Jephta, Samson and those who are mentioned in the Books of Judges: often they took refuge in the help of God and defeated innumerable [enemies] with only a small force. God's hand did not fail young David when he fought ferocious Goliath.<sup>3</sup> The angel of the Lord did not desert King Ezechias when he fought the siege, but slew the army of mighty King Sennacherib.<sup>4</sup> And in the small city of Bethulia, the Lord protected the Jews against Holofernes by the hands of a poor little widow.<sup>5</sup> And though the Machabees were few and weaponless, they often destroyed the great armies of Antiochus.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Luke, 8, 25: *et ventis, et mari imperat*

<sup>2</sup> Horatius: *Carmina*, 3.29: *prudens futuri temporis exitum caliginosa nocte permit deus*. The pope applies Horace's dictum to the Christian God

<sup>3</sup> Samuel, 1, 27

<sup>4</sup> Kings, 19, 35

<sup>5</sup> Judith, 8 ff

<sup>6</sup> Machabees, 1, 3, 16 ff

[10] Affuerunt in Domino confidentibus divina prasidia. *Non est abbreviata manus Domini*, quamvis nostra peccata creverint, quae oculos eius a nobis averterunt. Propter peccata nostra evenerunt nobis mala. Scelera nostra nos odiosos fecere. Iniquitates nostrae pessundaverunt nos. Aggravata est manus Domini super populum peccatorem, et tradita est flagellis christiana superbia. More suo agit nobiscum Deus. Quos diligit, corrigit atque castigat. Paterna haec sunt verbera, emendationem magis quam poenam exigentia. Quod si revertamur ad clementiam eius, emendantes opera nostra, et dolentes {94} super iniquitatibus poenitentiam faciamus, mutabit et ipse Deus sententiam suam, et furorem, quo erat in nos accensus, in amorem vertet et gratiam. Nunquam sua misericordia implorantibus denegatur. Pronus est ad veniam Dominus, neque nos aequa lance cum Turcis expendit. Nos filii adoptivi, illi emancipati; nos suae civitatis cives, illi hostes; nos intra Ecclesiam, illi extra. Nos sacramenta sua recipimus, illi contemnunt. Nihil nobis obstat, nisi quod divinam legem negligentes humana vincimur fragilitate, et ad peccandum prona saepe timorem Dei postponimus, neque, ut obligati sumus, divina praecepta servamus. Quod si convertamur, et corde simplici Dei misericordiam imploremus, non est dubium quin secunda omnia nobis fiant, et reconciliatus nobis Dominus super hostes nostros furorem suum extendat.

[11] Factum est periculum superioribus diebus. Nam cum intrasset Hungariam Turcorum ductor in manu potenti et in numerosissimo peditum equitumque exercitu, et confideret in potentia sua, cunctaque prosternere non dubitaret, passim tunc Crucesignati inermes et nudi, sola fide armati et coelesti muniti praesidio, tantum exercitum delevare. Quid sperandum fuerit, si convenientes in unum Christiani principes pro defensione catholicae fidei concorditer arma capessant? Non est tanta Turcorum potentia, quanta vulgo creditur, nec pares illorum vires nostris existunt. Quippe et numero militum ac robore splendoreque armorum et rei bellica peritia Christiani semper superiores fuere quam Turci. Quod si aliquando nostri exercitus victi sunt, divina magis permissione id actum est propter delicta nostra quam virtute hostium, nec unquam illis incruenta victoria obvenit. Nec nostri totis viribus ut illi pugnarent, sed pauci ex nostris adversus omnem illam eorum potentiam commiserunt certamen. Et tamen saepe felicem exitum invenere, quemadmodum paulo ante in Hungaria contigisse rettulimus.

[10] Those who trusted in the Lord had divine help. *The hand of the Lord is not shortened*,<sup>1</sup> though our sins have grown and turned His eyes away from us. These evils have happened to us because of our sins. Our crimes have made us odious. Our iniquities have destroyed us. The hand of the Lord has grown heavy upon a sinful people,<sup>2</sup> and Christian arrogance has been handed over to be flogged. [In this] God acts as is His wont: those whom he loves, he corrects and chastises.<sup>3</sup> But this is the rod of a father, it is for improvement rather than punishment. If we turn back to His mercy, correct our ways, repent of our iniquities and make penance, then the Lord will turn his judgment and the anger he felt towards us into love and grace. Never is his mercy denied to those who pray for it. The Lord is prompt to forgive, and he does not treat us the same way as the Turks. We are the adopted sons, they are the ones who were sent away. We are citizens of His city, they are its enemies. We are inside the Church, they are outside. We receive His sacraments, they despise them. Nothing stands against us, unless we neglect divine law, are overcome by human weakness, fail to fear God being always prone to sin, and do not keep the divine commandments as we should. If we turn back and pray for God's mercy with a simple heart, there is no doubt that we shall prosper in all things, and that the Lord will be reconciled with us and turn His anger against our enemies.

[11] Actually, we have had a demonstration of this quite recently: a Turkish general entered Hungary with a powerful force and a very large army of infantry and horse. Trusting in his own power he was certain that could destroy all opposition. But then the crusaders, weaponless and bare, only armed with faith and Heaven's protection, destroyed his great army.<sup>4</sup> So, what may we not hope for if the Christian princes unite in the defense of the Catholic Faith and join arms? The power of the Turks is not so great as is commonly believed, and their strength is not as large as ours. Indeed, both in number and strength of soldiers, in splendour of arms, and in knowledge of war the Christians have always been superior to the Turks. If sometimes our armies have been defeated, this happened by divine permission because of our sins rather than because of the strength of the enemies, and all the victories they actually had have cost them much blood. Moreover, ours never fought with all their strength – as the Turks did – but only few of ours went to war against all their forces. Nonetheless, ours were often victorious in battle, as we just mentioned happened in Hungary.

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<sup>1</sup> Isaiah, 59,1: *Behold the hand of the Lord is not shortened that it cannot save, neither is his ear heavy that it cannot hear. (Ecce non est abbreviata manus Domini, ut salvare nequeat; neque aggravata est auris ejus, ut non exaudiat.)*

<sup>2</sup> 1. Kings, 5, 6: *Aggravata est autem manus Domini super Azotios*

<sup>3</sup> Hebrews, 12, 6: *Quem enim diligit Dominus, castigat: flagellat autem omnem filium, quem recipit*

<sup>4</sup> Zimolo: *De expeditione*, p. 94, n. 2. Cf. Picotti, p. 68

[12] Et nunc ergo, si oculos nostros dirigamus in coelum, si renuntiantes nequitiae, clipeum fidei sumentes, adversus vivificae Crucis hostes cum bona fiducia militaverimus, certabit Dominus, et vexillum suum faciet nobiscum signum in bonum, et victoriam dabit in manu nostra, nec ultra permittet Christianis imperare Turcos. Hac nos spe ducti et animati, quae praedecessores nostri pro defensione catholicae religionis adversus Turcos ceterosque barbaros, christiani nominis hostes, inchoaverunt, totis conatibus prosequi decrevimus, et adjuvante Altissimo complere et perficere confidimus. Nam etsi fuit illis prudentia maior, consilium perspicacius, experientia diuturnior, desiderio tamen ac fervore tantae rei nulli eorum cedimus. Deus, qui tribuit voluntatem bene agentibus, potestatem prosequendi pro sua benignitate non deneget. Bellum adversus Turcos terra marique nostri praedecessores indixere. Hoc nunc gerere nostrum est. Neque detrectamus laborem, neque sumptus fugere animus est. Nihil erit in potestate nostra, quod in expeditionem tam sanctam, tam utilem, tam necessariam profundere recusemus. Nec nobis expensae graves erunt, nec taediosi labores.

[13] Verum, quia rem magnam sumus aggressuri, et {95} causa communis est quam prosequimur (agitur enim de tutela christiana fidei, in qua omnes renati sumus, et sine qua salvari non possumus), necessarium nobis visum est, quod communibus opibus atque viribus est agendum, id communi consilio tractandum esse. Volventes igitur animo, et sedula meditatione pensantes, quonam pacto christiana vires ad decertandum tam utile bellum in unum coire possent, nullam expeditiorem viam reperimus, quam si christianos principes ac potentatus in unum aliquem locum convocemus, in quo, cum ipsis aut eorum oratoribus pleno mandato suffultis, per nos ipsos conveniamus, ac de tali expeditione tractemus, et tandem aliquid christiano dignum nomine concludamus.



[12] But now, if we look to Heaven, if we renounce evil and seize the shield of Faith, and if we fight the enemies of the life-giving Cross with confidence, then the Lord will fight, too, and his standard will become to us a sign for good, he will give the victory into our hands, and he will no longer allow the Turks to rule Christians. Led and inspired by this hope, We have decided to pursue with all our might what our predecessors undertook for the defense of the catholic religion against the Turks and other barbarians, enemies of the Christian name. And We trust that with the help of God on High We shall bring it to completion. For though their wisdom was greater, their intellect more acute, and their experience longer, we are at least their equal in desire and zeal for this great venture. In his kindness, God, who gives the will to men who do good, shall not deny Us the means to pursue this matter. Our predecessors declared war on land and at sea against the Turks. It is now Our [task] to direct this venture. We shall not decline this labour, nor do We intend to avoid the expenses. There is nothing in our power which We shall refuse to use on this holy, useful and necessary expedition. The expenses will not be too heavy or the labours irksome.

[13] But since We are undertaking a great venture in a common cause – for it concerns the protection of the Christian Faith in which we have all been reborn and without which we cannot be saved – We have found it necessary to deliberate in common about what must be done with joint resources and forces. Having considered and carefully reflected on how the Christian forces could be united in this useful war, We have come to the conclusion that the best way is to invite the Christian princes and powers to a place where We can meet with them or their plenipotentiary ambassadors and deliberate on the expedition and then decide on something which is worthy of the Christian name.

[14] Cogitantibus autem de conventionis loco, duo nobis occurrerunt, vix trium dierum itinere inter se distantia, quae, pensatis rerum ac temporum conditionibus, satis opportuna esse videntur, Mantua scilicet ad Mincium sita fluvium, haud procul a lacu Benaco, et Utinum in agro Foroiuliensi. Nam Mantua, vicina montibus qui Galliam ac Germaniam ab Italia disterminant, eum situm habet, ut facile transalpini principes et Italiae potentatus eo conferre se possint. Ampla insuper est urbs, et rerum abundans, quae ad usum humanum sunt necessariae. Utinum quoque insigne oppidum est et magni populi capax, fertilitate circumiacentis agri et maris vicinitate ad conventus aptissimum celebrandos, rei etiam, quae tractanda est, comodissimum. Nam qui ex Italia contra Turcos terrestri profecturi sunt itinere, his Foroiulii primum occurrit. Galliarum quoque et Hispaniarum gentes, ac Rhenani Theutones hac iter in eandem expeditionem haud inconvenienter habuerunt. Huc accredit, quia Hungari, de quorum salute potissimum est agendum (sunt enim praecipui, qui tempestate nostra Turcorum vexantur armis, et murum se pro nostra religione constituunt), ab hoc oppido non procul absunt, facileque conventui Christianorum, ibidem celebrando, suas necessitates exponere poterunt, et inde consolationem opportunius commodiusque recipere. Nec carissimo in Christo filio nostro Friederico Romanorum imperatori semper augusto difficilis in eum locum transitus fuerit, si, quemadmodum de sua in commune bonum optima voluntate confidimus, eo transferre se voluerit, cum paterna eius dominia Foroiuliensi agro contigua sint.

[15] Volentes ergo cum divina ope, sicut ex debito pastoralis officii sumus obnoxii, christianae plebis saluti consulere, ac pro tutela nostrae religionis undique auxilia praesidiaque contrahere, de consilio et assensu venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium, in altero ex locis praedictis ad Kalendas proximas Iunias, pro capienda in hac re defensione, de communi deliberatione inter nos et cunctos Christifideles, qui principatu aliquot notabili potiuntur, conveniendi diem constituimus, et harum serie constitutum decernimus. Universos et singulos carissimos ac dilectos in Christo filios nostros, Romanorum imperatorem praefatum, ceterosque reges, et principes ecclesiasticos et seculares, duces, marchiones, communitates quoque, quae suis legibus vivunt et ad defensionem fidei aliquid praesidii afferre possunt, per viscera misericordiae {96} Domini nostri Iesu Christi obnixe hortamur, requirimus et monemus, ut ad praefixum diem in altero dictorum locorum per se ipsos, si aliquomodo queant, sin autem per legatos suos, viros graves et auctoritate insignes ac plena potestate munitos, prorsus adesse curent ac festinent; nec domi remaneant, nisi necessitas inevitabilis urgeat, sed nostrum potius sequantur exemplum.

[14] When We considered the venue of the conference, two places came to mind, barely three days distant from each other, which – when one thinks about the circumstances and the times – appear to be quite suitable, viz. Mantua at the River Mincio, not far from Lake Garda, and Udine in the region of Friuli.<sup>1</sup> For Mantua is close to the mountains that separate France and Germany from Italy and has a location which makes it easily accessible both for the transalpine princes and the Italian powers. Moreover, the city is big and abundantly provided with everything needful for human consumption. Udine is also an outstanding city, capable of housing a large population and - because of the fertility of the surrounding territory and the vicinity of the sea - very suitable for holding conferences and even most convenient with regard to matter to be discussed. For those from Italy who go over land against the Turks will first pass Friuli. Also the French and the Spanish and the Germans from the Rhinish territories going on the same expedition will have an easy route there. Moreover, the Hungarians are not far from this city. Their safety is the most important item on the agenda [of the conference] - for they are the people who in our time are most threatened by the Turkish arms and they form a bulwark for our religion. Thus, they will be easily be able to explain their difficult situation at a conference held in that city and to receive timely and suitably comforting [offers of help]. And since his paternal dominions are bordering upon Friuli, it will not be difficult for our beloved son in Christ, Friedrich, Emperor of the Romans, always August, to travel there if he intends to come, as We trust he will because of his excellent disposition regarding the common good.<sup>2</sup>

[15] Desiring with the help of God to take counsel for the safety of the Christian people, as We are obliged to by virtue of Our pastoral office, and to mobilize help and protection from all sides in defense of our religion, We have, on the advice and with the assent of Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, decided and formally decree that the [opening] date of the conference to be held in one of the two aforesaid locations should be the First of next June. The purpose [of the conference is] to deliberate in common between Us and all Christians holding an important rulership concerning the defense in this matter. We urgently and by the mercy of Our Lord Jesus Christ exhort, require and admonish all and sundry of Our dear and beloved sons in Christ, the aforesaid Emperor of the Romans, the other kings, the ecclesiastical and secular princes, the dukes, the margraves and those communities, which live by their own laws and may contribute to the defense of the Faith, to take care to be present on the aforesaid date in one of the two places mentioned, either in person or - if they are unable to [come themselves] - through ambassadors, important men of high rank provided with full powers. They should not stay at home except in case of absolute necessity, but rather follow Our own example.

[16] Nos enim, ne quid ad res bene gerendas ex latere nostro desit, quamvis necessaria sit nostra praesentia in urbe Roma, nec possumus, sine magno incommodo nostro et terrarum

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<sup>1</sup> Picotti, pp. 60-65

<sup>2</sup> Picotti, p. 58

Romanae Ecclesiae subiectarum damno et periculo, in alienas migrare provincias, quia tamen pluris facimus catholicae fidei defensionem quam Ecclesiastici Patrimonii tutelam, et spiritualia praeponimus temporalibus, relinquere ad tempus almam Romam nostramque sedem, carissimam sponsam, decrevimus, atque in die designato aut Mantuae aut Utini, concedente Altissimo, constituemur. Nec recusabimus ardua quaevis onera subire supportabilia nostris humeris, quae ad prosecutionem tam sacrosancti et necessarii operis nobis et iis, qui ad constitutum diem convenerint, expedientia visa fuerint aut quomodolibet opportuna. Neque enim nos sumus, qui pro rebus Ecclesiae Catholicae bene gerendis, pro tutanda religione, pro magnificando Christi nomine aut sumptus formidemus aut labores. Faxit tantum divina pietas, ne pro desiderio nostro praestetur impedimentum, quin ea mens nostra est, id stabile propositum ac certum quaevis incommoda, quaevis pericula parvi facere, ut necessitati orthodoxae fidei, cum Dei honore et christiani populi salute quieteque, consulamus.

[17] Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, tertio Idus Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno primo, 1458.

[16] Our own presence in the city of Rome is quite important, and We cannot travel to other provinces without great inconvenience to Ourselves and harm and peril to the lands subject to Roman Church. But we deem the defense of the Catholic Faith to be even more important than the security of the Patrimony of the Church, and We value the spiritual above the temporal.

To ensure that We have, on Our part, done all We can for the good management of this whole matter, We have therefore decided to leave, when the time comes, the pleasant City of Rome, Our See, Our dear bride, and with the permission of God on High to come to Mantua or Udine on the designated day. We shall not decline to bear any, even heavy, burdens if only Our shoulders can carry them and they seem to Us and those who assemble on the fixed date to be appropriate and in any way useful for the this holy and necessary venture. For We do not fear any labour or expense necessary for the good government of the affairs of the Church, for the protection of religion, and for the glorification of the name of Christ. May Divine Piety grant that Our desire be [fulfilled] without hindrance, for it is Our intention and Our firm and certain resolve to ignore all inconveniences and dangers in order to take counsel for the needs of the orthodox Faith, the honour of God, and the security and peace of the Christian people.

[17] Given in Rome, at Saint Peter's, on the 13<sup>th</sup> of October, in the first year of Our pontificate, 1458.

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 30)**

**Oration "*Quotiens nova*" of Pope Pius II (9 February 1459, Perugia). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

After his accession to the Papacy in August 1458, Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe coming to present the declaration of their lord's obedience to the Apostolic See and the new pope. In February 1459, the pope thus received the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy. In his oration to the ambassadors, the "*Quotiens nova*", the pope asserted papal supremacy in all matters, spiritual and temporal, by virtue of the unlimited mission entrusted to the Apostle Peter by Jesus Christ. This mission and the power of the apostolic office is passed on from pope to pope, through apostolic succession, and had now reached the present pope, Pius II. He declared that he was personally unworthy of this high office and did not merit the extravagant praises of the ambassadors. But since God had chosen him for his own inscrutable purposes, he was now God's Vicar on earth. Finally, the pope praised Duke Louis of Savoy and expressed his goodwill towards him.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; Papal supremacy; Duke Louis I of Savoy; Declarations of Obedience to the Papacy; 1459; 15<sup>th</sup> century



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### **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

Soon after the coronation of Pius II on 3 September 1458, embassies began arriving in Rome to present the declaration of obedience of their masters to the Apostolic See and to the newly elected pope. The envoys of the Duke of Milan were received on 4 October, and the envoys of Florence and Avignon on 10 October.<sup>2</sup>

On 22 January 1459, the pope left Rome in order to go to Mantua for the Congress on the War against the Turks, summoned by him. The Congress was to open on 1 June, and the pope's travel there became a veritable papal progress through Italy.

Pius arrived in Perugia on 1 February and stayed in that city for almost three weeks. During his stay there, he received the declarations of obedience of Count Federigo of Urbino, who came in person, and of the Duke of Savoy. In his *Commentarii*, the pope wrote:

*Federigo of Urbino came to see the pope and received a very warm welcome. Ambassadors from Duke Ludovico of Savoy also came to make their submission to the bishop of Rome, according to ancient custom.*<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Themes

In his reply to the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, Pius spoke on three themes which would recur in all his replies to the ambassadors of the princes coming to declare their lord's obedience to the pope.

The first and most important theme was the supremacy of the papal office in all matters, spiritual and temporal, by virtue of the unlimited mission entrusted to the Apostle Peter by Jesus Christ. This mission and the power of the apostolic office is passed from pope to pope, through apostolic succession, and has now reached the present pope, Pius II, to whom all Christians owe absolute obedience. Those who disobey him, including the princes, do so at the peril of their soul:

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 19, 1 (Meserve, pp. 276-277); Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 24; Pastor, II, pp. 16-17, 36; Strnad, pp. 74-76; Voigt, III, p. 37

<sup>2</sup> The orations of the ambassador of Milan, poet Laureate Thomasus de Rheate, is still extant (Pastor, p. 17, n. 1) as are the oration of the ambassador of Florence, Archbishop Antonino (Strnad, p. 54) and others (see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 12)

<sup>3</sup> CO, II, 19 (Meserve, I, pp. 276-277)

*And since He [the Lord Jesus] had to return to Heaven and did not want his flock to be attacked by ravenous wolves, he appointed Saint Peter as His Vicar when He said: Feed my sheep, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven etc. This means that supreme power was vested in Peter. And what was granted to Peter has been passed on to Peter's successors, and now the authority of this great office has come to Us. Though We are far inferior to Peter in merit, We are nonetheless equal to him in power. We tremble with fear because of Our sinfulness, but nonetheless We have now been elevated to this lofty position. We declare that all who audaciously and obstinately oppose Our commands issued according to the sacred canons are the servants of the Devil and cannot obtain salvation. [Sect. 2-3]<sup>1</sup>*

In the present oration, Pius motivated the supremacy of the pope not on the apostolic succession, which is the “mechanism” of transmission, but on the basis principle of the unity of God and the Church which only allows for one ruler of the Church:

*The body of Jesus Christ hanging on the Cross is One, and the blood that was shed for our sake is One. The bread broken for all is One, and the chalice of whole the Church is One. There is but One bishop. For God the Father, the Unborn, is One. And God the Son, the only begotten, Word and man, is One. And the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, is One. There is only One Preaching, One Faith, and One Baptism. There is only One Church, founded by the holy apostles, from end to end, with the blood of Christ, and with sweat and toil. In that Church there is one bishop, whom all must obey, and that he is the Bishop of Rome no Christian can deny. [Sect. 4]*

The second theme was the pope's – quite traditional - declaration that he is personally unworthy of his high office and does not merit the extravagant praises of the ambassadors. But since God has chosen him for his own inscrutable purposes, he is now God's Vicar on earth<sup>2</sup>:

*In Ourselves there is nothing to praise. So, eminent ambassadors, though you have praised Us beyond measure, there is nothing to admire and honour in Us, except that We have been placed on that throne which is the first and greatest of all. We do not*

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<sup>1</sup> Pius had actually heard his predecessor, Nicolaus V, make the same assertion in his oration “*Nihil est*” to the ambassadors of King Alfonso V, presenting his obedience to the then newly elected pope, in March 1447: *Non enim pro sua sapientia ignorat neminem, qui ab hac sede alienat et deviat, in statu salutis esse posse, ita ut quemadmodum, qui in archa Noe fuerint, salvati sint; qui vero extra illam, omnes perierint. Ita qui a Petri sede alieni interire necesse sit*, see Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani

<sup>2</sup> Pius had also heard such a declaration of humility made by his predecessor in the aforementioned oration *Nihil est: Quod vero ad nos et ea, quae de nobis multa dixistis, attinet, absit omnino, ut tanto pontificatu dignos nos esse iudicemus. Sumus enim testes et conscii fragilitatis debilitatisque nostrae et quales viros, quam probatos, quam sanctos haec excelsa sedes exquirat certe non ignoramus, quorum numero nos omnino non esse cognoscimus*

*know nor do We try to understand why this has happened, for human reason is incapable of grasping the designs of God. [Sect. 1]*

The third theme was praise of the ambassador's master: the pope praised Duke Louis of Savoy and expressed his goodwill towards him, his house and his subjects. The audience would have been quite aware that the Duke was the son of the former antipope, Felix V (Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy), and personally known to Pius from the period when he served as secretary to the antipope. This may be a supplementary reason why Pius in his reply stresses the need for all Christians to be in communion with the pope in Rome.

### **3. Date, place, audience and format**

The oration was given on 9 February 1459, when Pius visited Perugia.<sup>1</sup>

The audience presumably consisted of the cardinals who were travelling with him to the Congress in Mantua, members of the Papal Court, ambassadors present in Perugia, and Perugian notabilities.

The format was a formal papal response given by the pope personally to the oration and declaration of obedience by the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, Louis I.

### **4. Text<sup>2</sup>**

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> Cronache, p. 634, quoted by Strnad, p. 96

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5.1.2

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 173r-174r **(G)** \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 50v-53r **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana**  
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 60r-63r  
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 81r-84r  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 168r-169v **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as delivered by Pius, but actually there are only small differences between the texts in the five manuscripts.

#### 4.2. Editions

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. III, pp. 234-236 **(MA)**

Mansi's edition is based on the Lucca manuscript (G).

#### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead text.

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the Lucca manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 9 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the large majority from the Bible, and none from classical sources.

Biblical: 7

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 2

Contemporary: 0

All: 9

### **Biblical sources: 7**

#### Old Testament: 1

- Wisdom: 1

#### New Testament: 6

- Matthew: 1
- Luke: 1
- John: 3
- Acts: 1

### **Classical sources: 0**

### **Patristic and medieval sources: 2**

- Decretum Gratiani: 1

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.



- Ignatius of Alexandria: 1<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary sources: 0

## 6. Bibliography

*Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit.* Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663<sup>2</sup>

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- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt.* Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- *Commentaries.* Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

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

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to the Philadelphians

<sup>2</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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

Strnad, Alfred A.: Johannes Hinderbachs Obedienz-Ansprache vor Papst Pius II – Päpstliche und kaiserliche Politik in der Mitte des Quattrocento. In: *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 10 (1966/1967) 41-183

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Ad oratores ducis Sabaudiae

[1] {173r} Quotiens nova principum affertur oboedientia, totiens nobis<sup>1</sup> de primae sedis auctoritate summaque potestate dicere aliquid necessitas ingruit. Quod nequaquam nostrae laudis causa, sed pro<sup>2</sup> divini nominis gloria facimus. Quidquid<sup>3</sup> enim<sup>4</sup> de Romana sede profertur, totum Christi est salvatoris nostri, qui eam beatorum apostolorum suorum Petri et Pauli martyrio consecravit, in nobis nihil est, quod magnificare possimus. Etsi verbis vestris, praestabiles oratores, supra modum collaudati sumus, nihil est in nobis, quod admirari quispiam aut venerari queat, nisi quod in eo solio collocati sumus, quod est omnium primum ac maximum. Quod cur factum sit, nec scimus neque investigamus quidem<sup>5</sup>, quia non est divini consilii humana ratio capax. Satis est Deum maximum atque optimum<sup>6</sup> ita constituisse, qui saepe infima hujus mundi eligit, ut fortia quaeque confundat, qui Moysen populo suo ducem dedit, qui sacerdotem summum Aaron ordinavit, qui David regem ex gregibus assumpsit.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* MA

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* MA

<sup>3</sup> quicquam J

<sup>4</sup> etiam MA

<sup>5</sup> quod J

<sup>6</sup> maximum atque optimum : optimum atque maximum G, MA

## To the ambassadors of Savoy

[1] Whenever declarations of obedience are brought [to Us] from the princes, it behooves Us to say something about the authority and supreme power of the First See. This We do not do in order to praise Ourselves, but in order to glorify the name of God. For everything that is said about the Roman See is really about Christ, Our Saviour, who consecrated that See with the martyrdom of His holy apostles Peter and Paul, In Ourselves there is nothing to praise. So, eminent ambassadors, though you have praised Us beyond measure, there is nothing to admire and honour in Us, except that We have been placed on that throne which is the first and greatest of all. We do not know nor do We try to understand why this has happened, for human reason is incapable of grasping the designs of God. It suffices that it has been so decided by the Greatest and Best God<sup>1</sup> who often chooses the weak of this world to confound the strong,<sup>2</sup> who gave Moses to his people as their leader, who ordained Aaron as High Priest, and who took David from his herds to make him king.

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<sup>1</sup> Traditional title of the Roman God Jupiter, "Jupiter Optimus Maximus", applied by Piccolomini to the Christian God

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Luke, 1, 52

[2] Ille nos Christianae praefecit ecclesiae, et beati Petri navigium gubernare mandavit, quia non est alius veteris testamenti {173v} Deus, alius novi. Qui per prophetas locutus est consolator spiritus, idem apostolorum inflammavit pectora et linguis omnium loqui dedit. In veteri lege sancta et individua trinitas<sup>1</sup> per legiferum Moysen juxta dispositionem temporum, doctrinam humano generi tribuit<sup>2</sup> salutarem. In nova vero eadem trinitas benignius egit, cujus imperio incarnatus Dei filius vitam vitae manifestius demonstravit, *et animam suam pro suis ovibus ponere* non dubitavit. Is autem rediturus in caelum, ne gregem suum invaderent lupi rapaces, vices suas commisit beato Petro<sup>3</sup>, dicens: *Pasce oves meas, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et cetera*<sup>4</sup>, per quae ei summa potestas credita designatur. Quod Petro, idem et successoribus traditum est, et ad nos usque tantae dignitatis auctoritas derivata, qui etsi meritis longe inferiores dignoscimur esse quam Petrus, potestate tamen pares sumus - et quamvis contremiscimus, peccatis obnoxii, hunc tam sublimem locum ascendisse.

[3] Fatemur tamen salvari non posse et diaboli prorsus<sup>5</sup> esse mancipium, qui jussionibus nostris secundum sacros canones emanantibus temere ac pertinaciter adversatur. Ad quam rem perpulchre<sup>6</sup> accomodari possunt verba sanctissimi viri Ignatii, qui beati Johannis evangelistae auditor fuit. Sic enim ait: *Principes subditi estote Caesari, milites principibus, diaconi presbyteris, presbyteri vero et diaconi simul cum omni populo et militibus atque principibus, sed et Caesar oboediat<sup>7</sup> episcopo; episcopus vero Christo, sicut Christus patri, et ita unitas per omnia conservetur*. Quae cum ita sint, audent tamen aliqui apostolicae sedis mandata contemnere et tamquam majus sit aliquod<sup>8</sup> tribunal ab ejus jussionibus provocare non advertentes, quia *prima sedes non judicatur a quoquam*, et quod morte dignus est, qui summi sacerdotis imperio non paret. Evangelium quippe corrumpit et inconsutilem Christi tunicam scindit<sup>9</sup> et sponsam ejus lacerat ecclesiam, qui capitis sui, hoc est Romani praesulis, decreta contemnit.

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<sup>1</sup> trinitatis J

<sup>2</sup> praebuit J

<sup>3</sup> commisit beato Petro : beato Petro commisit G, MA

<sup>4</sup> etc. G, MA

<sup>5</sup> omit. MA

<sup>6</sup> omit. G, MA

<sup>7</sup> obedient G, H

<sup>8</sup> aliquid G, MA

<sup>9</sup> omit. MA



[2] It is He who has made Us the head of the Christian Church and charged Us with steering the Bark of Saint Peter, for the God of the Old Testament is the same as the God of the New. He, the Spirit of consolation, *who has spoken through the prophets*,<sup>1</sup> is the same who enflamed the hearts of the apostles and gave them to speak in the tongues of all men.<sup>2</sup> In the Old Law the holy and undivided Trinity gave its salutary doctrine to humankind through Moses the Lawgiver according to the conditions at the time. But in the New Law, the same Trinity has acted more benignly: at its command, the incarnate Son of God has quite clearly shown [us] the way of life, and He did not hesitate *to give His life for His sheep*.<sup>3</sup> And since He had to return to Heaven and did not want his flock to be attacked by ravenous wolves, he appointed Saint Peter as His Vicar when He said: *Feed my sheep*,<sup>4</sup> and *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*<sup>5</sup> etc.<sup>6</sup> This means that supreme power was vested in Peter. And what was granted to Peter has been passed on to Peter's successors, and now the authority of this great office<sup>7</sup> has come to Us. Though We are far inferior to Peter in merit, We are nonetheless equal to him in power. We tremble with fear because of Our sinfulness, but nonetheless We have now been elevated to this lofty position.

[3] We declare that all who audaciously and obstinately oppose Our commands issued according to the sacred canons are the servants of the Devil and cannot obtain salvation. In this connection it is highly appropriate to quote the words of Saint Ignatius who in his time had heard Saint John the Evangelist. This is what he says: *Let governors be obedient to Caesar; soldiers to those that command them; deacons to the presbyters, as to high-priests; the presbyters and deacons and the rest of the clergy together with all the people, and the soldiers and the governors and even Caesar to the bishop; the bishop to Christ, even as Christ to the Father. And thus unity is preserved throughout*.<sup>8</sup> In spite of this, there are some who dare to spurn the commands of the Apostolic See and appeal its judgments to a higher tribunal, as if there was one. [Obviously,] they are not aware that *the First See may be judged by no one*,<sup>9</sup> and that he who disobeys the command of the High Priest incurs the death penalty. And anyone who ignores the decrees of the Head of Church, that is the Roman Pontiff, perverts the Gospel, tears the seamless tunic of Christ,<sup>10</sup> and distresses his bride, the Church.

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<sup>1</sup> "Qui locutus est prophetas": from the Nicene Creed

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Acts, 2, 4

<sup>3</sup> John, 10, 11

<sup>4</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>5</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>6</sup> Two of the biblical texts traditional used to prove the supremacy of the Papacy

<sup>7</sup> "dignitas"

<sup>8</sup> St. Ignace of Antioch: *Letter to the Philadelphians*, 4

<sup>9</sup> *Decretum*, C.9.3.13 (col. 610).

<sup>10</sup> John, 19, 23

[4] Una est caro domini Jesu in cruce suspensa, et unus ejus sanguis, qui pro nobis effusus. Unus etiam<sup>1</sup> panis pro omnibus confractus, et unus calix totius ecclesiae, et unus episcopus, nam et unus est ingenitus Deus pater, et unus unigenitus<sup>2</sup> filius Deus, verbum et homo, et unus paraclytus spiritus veritatis. Una etiam praedicatio, et fides una, et unum baptisma. Si una ecclesia est, quam fundaverunt sancti apostoli *a fine usque ad fines* in sanguine Christi propriis sudoribus ac<sup>3</sup> laboribus, et in ea unus episcopus, cui parere omnes oportet, atque hic Romanus, quod nemo Christianus inficiari<sup>4</sup> potest, quis non intelligit apud apostolicam sedem<sup>5</sup> salutis portam esse quaerendam et omnes ad Gehennam aedificare, qui suis utentes sensibus Romanas sanctiones evadere atque divellere nituntur?

[5] Novit haec dilectus filius noster Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, potentia clarus et genere, qui vulgatam progenitorum suorum incedens viam ac debitam nobis et apostolicae sedi oboedientiam exhibens, mandatis nostris obtemperaturum et boni filii officium repromittit. Praepotens hic princeps est et latissimis regionibus imperat. Majores ejus ex Saxonum sanguine<sup>6</sup> orti. Saxones quidam auctores ex Macedonibus originem ducere tradunt<sup>7</sup>. Francorum et Burgundiorum<sup>8</sup> nobilitas Sabaudiensi familiae mixta est; huic claritudini et mores optimi juncti sunt. Est enim Ludovicus mansuetissimus princeps, aditu facilis, religionis cultor, justitiae tenax, et servantissimus aequi. Laudamus devotionem et pietatem ejus. Quae nobis offert, et praecipue in expeditione contra Turcos, quam tantopere probat, gratissimo complectimur animo: multum enim in ea re conferre<sup>9</sup> potest, nec dubitamus quin opere compleat, quod verbis pollicetur. Nos ac venerabiles fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales cum<sup>10</sup> personam suam, tum illustrem prosapiam ejus ac praecipue nobilissimam sobolem, et omnes sibi caros singularibus favoribus atque honoribus prosequemur<sup>11</sup>. Reliqua, quae semotis arbitris relaturi estis, benigne et granter audiemus.

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<sup>1</sup> est MA

<sup>2</sup> unigenitus *corr. from* ingenitus H; ingenitus J

<sup>3</sup> et J

<sup>4</sup> inficiare J

<sup>5</sup> apostolicam sedem : sedem apostolicam G, MA

<sup>6</sup> Saxonum sanguine : sanguine Saxonum G, MA

<sup>7</sup> ducere tradunt : tradunt ducere G [NB: not MA]

<sup>8</sup> Burgundorum G, MA

<sup>9</sup> conferris MA

<sup>10</sup> tum J

<sup>11</sup> prosequimur G, MA

[4] The body of Jesus Christ hanging on the Cross is One, and the blood that was shed for our sake is One. The bread broken for all is One, and the chalice of whole the Church is One. There is but One bishop. For God the Father, the Unborn, is One; and God the Son, the Only Begotten, Word and man, is One; and the Spirit of Truth, the Paraclete, is One. There is only One Preaching, One Faith, and One Baptism. There is only One Church, founded by the holy apostles, *from end to end*,<sup>1</sup> with the blood of Christ, and with His own sweat and toil. In that Church there is one bishop, whom all must obey, and that he is the Bishop of Rome no Christian can deny. Who does not understand that the gate to salvation must be sought at the Apostolic See and that all who follow their own designs and try to avoid or nullify the Roman ordinances are in reality building up Hell.

[5] This is known to Our beloved son, Louis, Duke of Savoy,<sup>2</sup> famous for his power and family. Following the common way of his ancestors, he declares his obedience as owed to Us and to the Apostolic See. He promises to obey our commands and to behave as a good son ought to. Mighty is this prince, and vast are the lands that he rules. His forefathers were of Saxon blood, and some authors claim that the Saxons themselves descend from the Macedonians. The family of Savoy is related to the French and Burgundian nobility. It unites noble fame with noble manners. And Louis himself is a most gracious prince, easily approachable and devoted to religion. He upholds justice and serves equity. We praise his devotion and piety. We gratefully accept his offers, especially with regard to the expedition against the Turks, which he highly approves of. Indeed, he may contribute much to that cause, and We do no doubt that he will fulfil his promises. We and Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will show exceptional favour and honour to him, to his illustrious family and noble offspring, and to all who are dear to him. What else you will tell us, in private, We shall hear benignly and gladly.

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<sup>1</sup> Wisdom, 8, 1: *a fine usque ad finem*

<sup>2</sup> Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 31)**

**Oration “*Vetus majorum*” of Pope Pius II (15 March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## Abstract

On his way to the Congress of Mantua, in 1459, Pius II stayed for two months in his native city of Siena. Presenting the papal Golden Rose to the city government on *Laetare* Sunday in Lent, he took the opportunity to give an oration in praise of the city (*laudatio urbis*), commenting on its nobility, its Roman origins, its splendid buildings, and its eminent men in various fields as well as its holy men and women. Among the last were Catherine of Siena whom he would later canonize.

## Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; The Golden Rose; Siena; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

On his way to the Congress of Mantua, Pius II spent two months in his beloved city Siena, from February to April. His intention was to benefit his city in three ways: by raising the city's prestige through an extended papal presence, by creating harmony in the body politic through the restoration of the city's noble families to its government; and by providing economic stimulus through the presence of the papal court and its many visitors, ambassadors and others.

The pope resided in the city during Lent. On the third Lenten Sunday, *Laetare*, the popes traditionally bestowed a Golden Rose on the highest-ranking guest present, as a sign of great papal favour. In a probably carefully planned show of favour and gratitude towards the city, the pope this year decided to bestow the Golden Rose on the City of Siena. Undoubtedly, the pope's feelings towards Siena were quite genuine, but he also hoped that the gesture would create goodwill in the city's ruling classes which would favour his political project concerning the reintegration of the nobles into the city government.<sup>2</sup>

The city government was, of course, honoured and flattered by the pope's gesture, but on the issue of the nobility they still fiercely resisted the pope's wishes.

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

*Soon afterwards fell the Lenten Sunday known as the Sunday of the Rose. In order to honor the city, the pope himself conferred the traditional gift of a golden rose on the Prior of Priors, an office that is held for three days. Then he delivered an oration in praise of Siena and ordered the cardinals to escort the recipient of the rose to the palace. The prior, who happened to belong to a family of the Reformers<sup>3</sup> named Buoninsegni, came last in the procession flanked by two cardinals.<sup>4</sup>*

The event is not mentioned by Pius' two contemporary biographers, Campano and Platina.

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 21; Ady, pp. 256-258; Boulting, pp. 161-162; Mitchell, p. 145; Pastor, II, p. 38; Reinhardt, pp. 240-243; Stolf, pp. 345-346; Strnad, p. 99-100; Voigt, III, pp. 35-36

<sup>2</sup> See the oration "*Ingentes vobis gratia*" [41]

<sup>3</sup> The Reformers: One of the governing political parties in Siena

<sup>4</sup> CO, II, 4 (Merve, I, pp. 284-285)

## 2. Themes

First, Pius describes the papal tradition of bestowing a Golden Rose on an eminent participant in the papal *Laetare* Sunday liturgy and motivates the choice of the City of Siena as this year's recipient. This choice provides him with the opportunity to give a *laudatio urbis*, after classical models.

Secondly, he gives a characterization of Siena as belonging to the middle league of Italian powers, neither in the top like Milan or Naples or at the bottom, but in the middle – just as the rose grows neither at the top of trees or lies on the ground as some plants.

Thirdly, he mentions the history of the city, claiming Roman antecedents – mixed with Gaulish.

Fourthly, he lists and briefly describes a number of eminent citizens of Siena, within the fields of war, law, medicine and the arts. Among the city's holy men and women he mentions Catherine of Siena whom he would later himself canonize,<sup>1</sup> and Saint Bernardino of Siena whom he had met personally.

## 3. Date, place, audience and format

The date was 15 March 1459, Laetare Sunday.

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, see sect. 2 of the oration where Pius directly refers to that Church: *ornatissima temple ipsi cernitis, et hoc praesertim gloriosae virginis dedicatum* ...

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials and ambassadors present in Siena as well as the Sieneese magnates and people, including, presumably, a number of Piccolomini relatives.

The format was a papal oration from the throne.

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<sup>1</sup> See oration "*Catherinam Senensem*" [62]

## 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> extant in at least four manuscripts.

### 4.1. Manuscripts

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 176r-177r **(G)** \*<sup>3</sup>
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 56r-59r **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 67v-70v  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 171v-174r **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the four and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius, but actually there are only small differences between the texts in the four manuscripts.

### 4.2. Editions

The oration has seen at least two editions<sup>4</sup>:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. II, pp. 1-4  
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca (G)]
- Gigli, Girolamo: *Il diario Senese*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Tom. I. Siena, 1854 / pp. 436-439 (GI)<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol.1, sect. 5.1.2

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

<sup>4</sup> Strnad, p. 99, n. 153

<sup>5</sup> Not mentioned by Strnad

[According to Gigli himself this edition was based on a manuscript from the collection of Queen Christina of Sweden.]

### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus and the text published by Gigli, with the Chisianus as the lead text.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this oration, no direct and indirect quotations have been identified.

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

GI = Gigli, Girolamo: *Il diario Senese*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Tom. I. Siena: Landi & Alessandri, 1854

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## De rosa aurea pontificia<sup>1</sup>

[1] {172r} Vetus majorum nostrorum consuetudo fuit, ad haec usque tempora diligenter observata, in ea solemnitate, quam hodie repraesentamus, rosam auream inter celebrandum ei ex circumstantibus dono donare, qui cum nobilitate ac virtute praestaret<sup>2</sup>, tum fide, studio ac devotione erga Romanam ecclesiam ceteros anteiret. Nam sicut rosa ipsa ex auro purissimo, quod metallis omnibus anteponitur, composita est et pro forma ejus eximia cunctis praefertur floribus, ita et eum inter alios mortales excellere oportet, qui hoc dono dignus ducitur. Sequi nos veterum vestigia convenit, quos recte vivendi duces fuisse non est ambiguum. Parere igitur hodie inveteratis moribus placet. Sed circumspicientes<sup>3</sup> astantem coronam non sumimus hoc iudicium, ut unum aliquem ceteris praeferamus. Cernimus hinc atque inde legatos regum, et principum, et populorum de Romana ecclesia, de fide catholica, de religione Christiana optime meritorum, nec facile alterum alteri proposuerimus.

[2] Sed cum simus hodie in alma urbe Senensi, in dulcissima patria nostra, in solo natali, ex quo carnem atque ossa suscepimus, in civitate nobili et apostolicae sedis amantissima, haud ab re arbitrati sumus pium et<sup>4</sup> religiosum populum hoc munere exornare, qui etsi non excellit alios, ut aurum metalla reliqua, et rosa flores universos, in eo tamen rosae comparari potest, quod sicut rosa ex arbusto gignitur, neque humi jacet {172v} in herba, neque sublimi pendet ex arbore<sup>5</sup>, sed media inter ima sedet et alta, ita respublica Senensis inter alios Italiae potentatus mediocritatem quandam obtinet. Sunt enim qui praecedunt et sequuntur. Ceterum circa bonos mores<sup>6</sup>, fidem, religionem, pietatem ceterasque bonas artes nulli omnino cedit. Quibus<sup>7</sup> ex rebus et splendorem auri et bene olentem rosae odorem non inconcinne ei appropriare<sup>8</sup> licet.

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<sup>1</sup> *no title* H; *pontificia omit.* J, GI

<sup>2</sup> *pietate* GI

<sup>3</sup> *suspicientes* GI

<sup>4</sup> *ac* G

<sup>5</sup> *neque ... arbore omit.* G

<sup>6</sup> *bonos mores : mores bonos* J

<sup>7</sup> *et add.* J

<sup>8</sup> *appropinquare* GI

## 1. Tradition of the Golden Rose

[1] An ancient custom of our forefathers, diligently kept until our own times, is that on the solemn feast we are celebrating today a golden rose be given to the participant who is first among all in nobility and virtue as well as in faith, dedication and devotion towards the Roman Church.<sup>1</sup> For as the rose, made of the purest gold, the most precious of metals, is preferred to all other flowers because of its exquisite beauty, thus the man considered worthy of this gift must excel among men. Since the old ones are undoubtedly our guides concerning virtuous life, we should follow in their footsteps. So, today we shall observe ancient custom. But considering those who are assembled here, we do not presume to prefer one to the others. Before Us we see the legates of kings, princes and peoples, [all] with excellent merits towards the Roman Church, the Catholic Faith and Christian Religion, and it would not be easy to single out any one of them.

## 2. Motivation for bestowing the Golden Rose upon Siena

[2] But since, today, we are in the gracious city of Siena, Our own sweet fatherland, Our birth place that gave us flesh and bones, a noble city very dear to the Apostolic See, We consider it fitting to distinguish its pious and religious people with this gift. This people may not surpass others peoples as gold surpasses other metals and roses surpass other flowers. However, it is similar to the rose in that the rose grows from a bush: it does not rise from the grassy ground nor hangs from tall trees, but has a place in the middle between the lowest and the highest. In the same way, the Republic of Siena has a place in the middle of the Italian powers. Some come before it, and some come after. But with regard to virtue<sup>2</sup>, loyalty, religiosity, piety and all the other good qualities<sup>3</sup> it is second to none. It is therefore quite fitting to bestow upon it the splendour of gold and the fragrance of the rose.

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<sup>1</sup> The papal custom of presenting a golden rose, blessed on *Laetare* Sunday in Lent, to a deserving prince goes back to the early medieval papacy

<sup>2</sup> "bonos mores"

<sup>3</sup> "bonas artes": in other contexts used for the liberal arts

[3] Quae sit vero nobilitas hujus urbis, quae praestantia, quae gloria licet paucis commemorare, ut intelligant omnes donandam huic populo rosam non carnem nobis aut sanguinem revelasse, sed ipsam prorsus rationem<sup>1</sup> persuasisse: urbis splendorem, aedificiorum magnificentiam, nobilissimas aedes, ornatissima templa ipsi cernitis, et hoc praesertim gloriosae virgini dedicatum, cui non facile aliud tota Europa<sup>2</sup> praeferatur. Populi hujus origo ex Romanis ac<sup>3</sup> Gallis mixta refertur. Parentes esse Romanos lupae insigne et gemelli testantur infantes; Gallicam progeniem nomen indicat urbis. Fama<sup>4</sup> est, fugatis a Camillo Gallis Senonibus, qui Romam incenderant, hoc loco nonnullas exercitus utriusque reliquias consedissee, et ab his Senam conditam. Multae huic urbi a vicinis populis insidiae paratae, multae illatae molestiae; numquam tamen ab his subjici potuit. Defendit se modo suis armis, modo imploratis auxilia hostes repulit, nonnumquam<sup>5</sup> divino magis<sup>6</sup> auxilio quam humana ope suam libertatem tutata est<sup>7</sup>. Ob quam rem publico chirographo beatae {173r} Mariae, matri domini, sese traditit, atque hinc civitas virginis appellata.

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<sup>1</sup> rationi G

<sup>2</sup> tota Europa : per totam Europam GI

<sup>3</sup> et G

<sup>4</sup> Origo Senarum *in marg.* G

<sup>5</sup> numquam GI; tamen *add.* G

<sup>6</sup> minus GI

<sup>7</sup> ut *add.* GI

### 3. Nobility of Siena

[3] Let us dwell briefly on the nobility of this city its excellence, and glory so that all may understand that it is not personal or familial ties, but reason that has inspired Us to give the rose to this people. You can see for yourselves the splendour of the city, the magnificence of its buildings, the noble palaces and the grand temples, especially this one dedicated to the glorious Virgin<sup>1</sup>, which may not have its equal in all of Europe.

### 4. History of Siena

The people of Siena is said to be of mixed origin, going back both to the Romans and to the Gauls.<sup>2</sup> The statue of the she-wolf with the two twin boys points to the Roman parentage<sup>3</sup> whereas the name of the city points to its Gallic origins. According to local tradition, when the Senones from Gaul had set Rome on fire and were put to flight by Camillus, remnants from both armies settled in this place and founded the City of Siena. Often the neighbouring peoples<sup>4</sup> plotted against them and inflicted many injuries upon them, but they were never able to overcome them. Sometimes the people defended itself successfully with their own forces, sometimes they repelled their enemies with external aid, and sometimes they preserved their liberty more with help from God than by human endeavour. For this reason Siena has, in a public document, dedicated itself to Blessed Mary, Mother of the Lord, and since then it has been called the City of the Virgin.

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<sup>1</sup> Evidently, the ceremony took place in the cathedral of Siena, dedicated to the Holy Virgin

<sup>2</sup> Siena was first settled by an Etruscan tribe, the Saina (ca. 900-400 BC). In the time of the Emperor Augustus, a Roman town called Saena Julia was founded at the site. The connection to the Senones from Gaul is defended by some archaeologists

<sup>3</sup> *Lupa* is the quarter of the city situated to the north of the Piazza del Campo. Lupa's symbol is a female wolf nursing twins. Its colors are black and white, trimmed with orange. The she-wolf of this *contrada* may refer to the legend that Siena was founded by Senius, the son of Remus who, along with his twin Romulus, was raised by a wolf. Because of this, *Lupa*'s sister city is Rome

<sup>4</sup> And first among them Florence

[4] Fuerunt hic et hodie sunt complures<sup>1</sup> nobilium familiae, ingenuis moribus et singularibus virtutibus praepollentes, a quibus altae, quas cernitis, turres erectae et antiqua constructa palatia sunt. Claruerunt et in armis et in litteris non pauci Senenses. Duces copiarum insignes prior aetas plures novit, inter quos Salvanius<sup>2</sup> ille, qui Montis Aperti victoriam aperuit clarus est habitus. Nostra memoria Petrinus Salimbernus<sup>3</sup>, Nannes Piccolomineus<sup>4</sup>, Antonius Rufaldus illustre nomen habuere. In scientia juris clara est fama Friderici, cujus consilia multi sequuntur; Johannes Pagliarensis<sup>5</sup> omne corpus juris memoriae<sup>6</sup> condidisse creditus est. Fuit et Richardus Petronius<sup>7</sup> cardinalis magni nominis, cui curam condendi Sexti decretalium libri sancta sedes apostolica demandavit. *[cont.]*

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<sup>1</sup> quamplures GI

<sup>2</sup> Silvanus G, H; Salvanus GI

<sup>3</sup> Salimbenius GI

<sup>4</sup> Piccolominus G; Picolhominus H

<sup>5</sup> Paglarensis G, H; Pagliaresius GI

<sup>6</sup> memoria GI

<sup>7</sup> Petronus GI

## 5. Eminent citizens of Siena

### 5.1. Nobles

[4] The tall towers and the old palaces you see here were built formerly by a number of noble families which are still here today,<sup>1</sup> distinguished by their excellent character and outstanding virtues.

### 5.2. Military men

Many Sieneese are famous for their military skills or their scholarship.

Among the distinguished captains of former times was that Salvani<sup>2</sup> who is known for his victory at the Monte Aperto.<sup>3</sup> In our own time, Petrino Salimbeni,<sup>4</sup> Nanni Piccolomini, and Antonio Rufaldo<sup>5</sup> enjoyed a great reputation.

### 5.3. Law men

In the field of law, Federigo<sup>6</sup> is quite famous and has many followers. Giovanni Pagliarese<sup>7</sup> is believed to have learnt the entire *corpus juris* by heart. Cardinal Riccardo Petroni<sup>8</sup> was greatly admired and was asked by the Holy See to compile the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*.<sup>9</sup> [cont.]

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<sup>1</sup> One of the old noble families being the Piccolomini, of course

<sup>2</sup> Provenzano Salvani (ca. 1220 - ca. 1269): Italian condottiero. Head of the Ghibelline party in Siena

<sup>3</sup> Battle of Montaperto, some kilometers south of Siena, on 4 September 1259. The battle was between the Ghibelline troops of Siena and the Guelf troops of Florence. The Sieneese troops were victorious

<sup>4</sup> The Salimbeni were an old and important family in Siena

<sup>5</sup> Not identified

<sup>6</sup> Federigo Petrucci, jurist from Siena. Teacher of the eminent Italian jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi

<sup>7</sup> Giovanni Pagliarese [Jacobo Pagliaresi]: jurist from Siena. Teacher of the eminent Italian jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi

<sup>8</sup> Riccardo Petroni (ca. 1250-1314): Cardinal. Member of the commission which prepared the *Liber Sextus Decretalium*

<sup>9</sup> Title of the canonical collection of the five books of the *Decretals* of Gregory IX compiled on the order of Bonifatius VIII, approved by the pope in 1298

[4 cont.] In medicinis omnium princeps suae aetatis habitus est Ugo Bentius<sup>1</sup>. Sunt et hodie complures, qui et civilem sapientiam et arcana philosophorum et poetarum<sup>2</sup> et oratorum litteras non aliter callent, quam si conditores ipsi earum scientiarum fuissent. Nomina praetermittimus ne generemus invidiam. In arte pictoria Simonettum<sup>3</sup> Senensem Jotho Florentino non inferiorem fuisse tradunt. Sculptere atque aera ducere et in materia musaicum repraesentare Senensi industriae proprium fuit.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Bensius GI

<sup>2</sup> prophetarum G

<sup>3</sup> Simonetum G, H

<sup>4</sup> tradunt ... fuit *omit.* J, GI



## 5.4. Medical men

[4 cont.] In medicine Ugo Benci<sup>1</sup> is considered the foremost of his generation.

## 5.5. Philosophers, poets and orators

Also many Siennese, today, have so great an expertise in civil science, the arcane matters of philosophers, and the writings of poets<sup>2</sup> and orators that you would believe they had founded these disciplines themselves. We shall name no individuals so as not to cause envy.<sup>3</sup>

## 5.6. Artists

In painting, Simone from Siena<sup>4</sup> is said to equal Giotto from Florence.<sup>5</sup> And the art of sculpture in stone and bronze and the art of mosaic have been considered as Siennese specialties.

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<sup>1</sup> Ugo Benci [Benzi] (ca. 1360-1439): famous doctor of medicine from Siena. Taught at a number of Italian universities

<sup>2</sup> G has prophetarum: prophets

<sup>3</sup> Pius might be thinking of his own beloved teacher Mario Sozzini, among others

<sup>4</sup> Simone Martini or Simone Sanese (1284-1344): one of the masters of the Siennese school of painting

<sup>5</sup> Giotto di Bondone (ca. 1267-1337): Florentine painter and architect. One of the masters of medieval Italian painting

[5] Mortalia haec atque caduca. Illud vero stabile atque immortale, quod plurimi Senenses assecuti sunt cultu religionis et integritate vitae. Petrum Pectinarium insigni {173r} sanctitate cognovit antiquitas, qui cum pectines venales exponeret, uno verbo pretium dixit exin digito labra<sup>1</sup> conclusit. Catherina, excellens mulier, papae in Avenione moranti<sup>2</sup> Romam repetere suasit, et sola sanctitatis opinione pontificem movit. Bernardinum multi ex vobis novere, quem veluti Paulum apostolum aut angelum caelo missum frequentes populi praedicantem audivere. Sed omnium, qui ex hac urbe claruerunt, famam ac gloriam superavit Alexander cognomento tertius, qui quamvis in schismate Romanae sedis gubernacula<sup>3</sup> suscepisset et ab imperatore potentissimo vexaretur, e Roma ejectus, per Italiam ac Galliam mendicare auxilia cogeretur, victor tamen propositi et ecclesiam ad unitatem reduxit, et ferocientem hostem terra marique victum petere veniam compulit, et adjuutores Venetos singularibus privilegiis honestavit. Utinam parem<sup>4</sup> nobis divina pietas adversus Turcos<sup>5</sup>, pro tutela Christiani nominis felicitatem impartiat, ut et nos quoque ad laudem patriae<sup>6</sup> tandem aliquid adjiciamus.

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<sup>1</sup> labia GI

<sup>2</sup> morante G

<sup>3</sup> gubernaculum

<sup>4</sup> pacem GI

<sup>5</sup> Turcas GI

<sup>6</sup> primae GI

## 5.7. Holy men and women

[5] But such matters are human and transitory. However, many Sieneſe have alſo attained what is ſolid and eternal through their piety and moral life. In a former period, Pier Pettinaio<sup>1</sup> was known for his great holineſs. When he ſold his combs, he only mentioned the price once and then pointed to his closed mouth. Catherine,<sup>2</sup> that excellent woman, urged the pope, then reſiding in Avignon, to return to Rome, and her reputation for holineſs was enough to convince him. Many of you knew Bernardino<sup>3</sup> whoſe ſermons were heard by great crowds as if he was the Apoſtle Paul himſelf or an angel ſent from Heaven. But all the famous people of this city are ſurpaſſed in fame and glory by Alexander III<sup>4</sup>: though he took over the government of the Roman See during a ſchiſm and was hard-pretſed by the mighty emperor,<sup>5</sup> driven out of Rome, and forced to go begging all over Italy and France, he was victorious in the end, brought the Church back to unity, forced the ferocious enemy, who had been defeated both on land and at ſea, to ſue for mercy,<sup>6</sup> and rewarded his Venetian allies with exceptional privileges. If only the Divine Piety would grant Us a ſimilar ſucceſs againſt the Turks for the protection of the Chriſtian cauſe, then We too could add ſomething to the honour of Our country.

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<sup>1</sup> Pier Pettinaio [Pietro da Campi] (1180-1289): Sieneſe merchant (combs), reputed for his holineſs. The notion of only opening one’s mouth once during a ſales tranſaction had been mentioned by Piccolomini 13 years before, in the oration “*Non habet me dubium*” [6], which was really a treatiſe on Chriſtian life and morality: *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* [ſect. 131]. So, the concept of not praizing one’s wares and performing lengthy tranſactions and hagglng when ſelling may have been a medieval notion connected with the morals of commerce

<sup>2</sup> Catherine of Siena [Caterina di Siena] (1347-1380): Saint

<sup>3</sup> Bernardino da Siena [Bernardino degli Albizeſchi] (1380-1444): Franciſcan preacher from a noble family in Sieneſe territory. Saint

<sup>4</sup> Alexander III [Roland of Siena] (ca. 1100-1180): Pope from 1159 to his death

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich I Barbaroſſa (1122-1190): Holy Roman Emperor from 1155 until his death

<sup>6</sup> Peace of Venice, 1177

[6] Vestrae igitur civitati, viri Senenses, de Romana ecclesia optime merenti<sup>1</sup>, tot claris illustratae viris, tot ornamentis cumulatae, de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalium consilio et assensu, hanc rosam auream veluti pignus nostrae caritatis et probitatis vestrae testimonium condonamus. Ite ergo et progenitorum vestrorum vestigiis inhaerentes pietatem colite, religionem extollite, Romanam ecclesiam honorate, in omnes beneficentiam et justitiam exercete, ut<sup>2</sup> quemadmodum majorum vestrorum {174r} bonis artibus clara est Senensis civitas, ita ex vestris gloriosis actibus illustretur.

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<sup>1</sup> meriti GI

<sup>2</sup> et J

## 6. Conclusion

[6] Men of Siena, on the advice and with the assent of Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We bestow on your city, so well deserved of the Roman Church and so distinguished by famous men and splendid ornaments, this golden rose as a pledge of Our love and a testimony of your rectitude. Go now and follow the path of your forefathers: do works of piety, extol religion, honour the Roman Church, and show kindness and justice to all, so that as your forefathers made the City of Siena famous by their good works,<sup>1</sup> you too will distinguish it with your glorious deeds.

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<sup>1</sup> "bonis artibus"

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 32)**

**Oration “*Christiani reges*” of Pope Pius II (March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

In the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II stayed in Siena for two months. During that time, he received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe, coming to declare their lord's obedience to the new pope and the Apostolic See. In his oration "*Christiani reges*" to the ambassadors of King Matthias I of Hungary, the pope accepts their declaration of obedience, speaks about the heroic resistance of the Hungarians against the Turks, and finally praises the king, assuring him of the support of the Apostolic See.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; King Matthias I Corvinus; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; Hungary; The Osman Turks; Turkish expansion in Europe; Declarations of obedience to the Papacy; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459



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### **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

On the road to the Congress in Mantua, Pope Pius II, stayed for two months in his hometown, Siena, from 24 February to 23 April.

During his stay in Siena, a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe reached the papal court to declare the obedience of their lord to new pope and the Apostolic See. In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote:

*While the pope was in Siena, ambassadors from Emperor Frederick, Kings Henry of Castile, Matthias of Hungary, Alfonso of Portugal and George of Bohemia, Dukes Philip of Burgundy and Albert of Austria, and Frederick and Albert, the margraves of Brandenburg, arrived to do reverence to the vicar of Christ according to ancient custom.*<sup>2</sup>

As seen, one of the embassies was from King Matthias I Corvinus of Hungary.

Pius felt quite strongly and positively about Hungary, as his oration makes this evident.

First of all, his fondness for the former king, Ladislaus the Posthumous, based on close personal acquaintance, and his admiration for King Matthias' father Janos Hunyad may have coloured his perception of Hungary and of its new king.

Secondly, he had a long experience with Hungarian affairs, both from his time at the Council of Basel and from his time as an imperial diplomat. Indeed, two of his orations before the pontificate directly concern Hungarian affairs. The first was the "*Quid est*" [3] from April 1438, written on behalf of the ambassador of the Duke of Milan, to persuade Emperor-elect King Albrecht II to accept the crown despite Hungarian objections – which they actually withdrew. The second was the "*Tritum est sermone*" [12] from January 1447, held before Pope Eugenius IV to defend the emperor against a number of complaints from Janos Hunyad, then governor of Hungary.

Thirdly, Pius was deeply impressed with the heroic Hungarian resistance against the Turks and their essential strategic role as a shield for Europe against the Turkish war of expansion. Indeed, this theme recurred in most of Piccolomini/Pius' orations on the Turkish matter.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, p. 299)

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect.6.1

## 2. Themes

It is remarkable that in his oration to the Hungarian ambassadors, Pius completely avoids the subject of papal supremacy both in spiritual and temporal matters which recurs in almost all his other responses to ambassadorial declarations of obedience.<sup>1</sup>

His main focus is the Hungarians' resistance against the Turks and their strategic role in the defense of Europe against Turkish aggression: *For more than 70 years, the great and noble realm of Hungary has been constantly at war with the Turkish people. Fighting for the Catholic Faith, it has offered itself as a shield for the Christian Faith against the East* [Sect. 2].

At the end of the oration, the pope alludes to the conflict between King Matthias and Emperor Friedrich who had been offered the kingship of Hungary by a part of the Hungarian magnates.<sup>2</sup> His reception of the Hungarian ambassadors and his formal recognition of Matthias of King of Hungary caused the imperial ambassadors coming to present the emperor's obedience<sup>3</sup> to delay their arrival and to make a formal protest.<sup>4</sup> Pius wrote in his *Commentaries*:

*When the imperial ambassadors arrived at Florence, however, they remained there for some time, for they were outraged that the pope had recognized Matthias as king and that the Curia had received his envoys with honors usually shown a royal embassy, even though the barons of Hungary had chosen the emperor for their king and he had accepted the title. When the pope learned of this, he declared that their complaint was unreasonable, since it was the practice of the Apostolic See to address as king the man who actually sat on the throne and Calixtus before him had so addressed Matthias.*<sup>5</sup>

Finally, the pope praises King Matthias and expresses his goodwill towards him, his house and his subjects.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1.2

<sup>2</sup> On 17 February 1459, cf. Strnad, p. 107

<sup>3</sup> Oration "*Fabricator mundi*" [40]

<sup>4</sup> Strnad, pp. 101-112, 126-130. See also *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

<sup>5</sup> CO, II, 24, 2 (Meserve, I, pp. 299-301)

<sup>6</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The date was before the imperial ambassadors arrived in Florence, where they received information about the pope's reception of the Hungarian ambassadors and his recognition of Mathias Corvinus as king. After some hesitation the ambassadors continued their voyage and arrived in Siena on 29 March 1459.<sup>1</sup> In view of the time it would have taken for news of the reception of the Hungarians ambassadors in Siena to reach Florence and for the imperial ambassadors to travel from Florence to Siena after a short stay in Florence, the reception of the Hungarian ambassadors and the papal oration "*Christiani reges*" must have been held in the beginning of the month of March and not later than the middle.

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable for papal functions, more so than the Signoria, seat of the Siennese government, would have been.

The audience presumably consisted of the cardinals, curials and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>2</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> extant in at least five manuscripts.

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>4</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 171v-172r (G) \*

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<sup>1</sup> Strnad, p. 130

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol.1, sect. 5.1.2

<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 47r-48r **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 56r-57v  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 75r-76v  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 165r-166r **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. / T. II, pp. 213-214  
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca (G)]

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead text.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, no direct and indirect quotations have been identified.

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- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2019-2020

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.



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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Ad oratores regis Hungariae

[1] {165r} Christiani reges et principes, etsi omnes a Romana ecclesia honorandi confovendique sunt, praecipuo tamen favore dignus est carissimus in Christo filius noster Matthias, Hungariae ac<sup>1</sup> {165v} Dalmatiae et Croatiae rex illustris, qui nobis et apostolicae sedi per oratores suos, ut audivistis, oboedientiam praestitit, et assumptioni nostrae magnificis verbis congratulatus est. Nam et regni ejus et patris sui et ipsius pro fide catholica ingentia extant merita.

[2] Regnum Hungariae nobilissimum ac latissimum jam annos supra LXX bellis assiduis cum gente Turcorum pro catholica religione decertans scutum fidei Christianae ad orientem se praebuit, et ut divinae pietati placuit, nunc vicit, nunc succubuit. Sigismundus, Albertus, Ladislaus<sup>2</sup> et<sup>3</sup> Matthias ipse, qui modo regnat, infensissimi<sup>4</sup> Turcis fuere. Pater regis, Johannes Huniades, rei militaris<sup>5</sup> peritissimus, saepe cum Amurathe, hujus, qui modo Turcis imperat, Mahumeti parente, pro Christi<sup>6</sup> nominis gloria, quam Turci conculcare nituntur, varia fortuna dimicavit. Et quamvis aliquando succubuerit, numquam tamen incruentam hostibus victoriam reliquit. Postremo apud Albam Graecam, paulo antequam vita excederet, ad confluentes Savum et Danubium Mahumetum ipsum, ingenti bellorum apparatu magnisque copiis confidentem et fastu barbarico Christianis omnibus minitantem proelio aggressus, fregit, vicit, fudit adeoque contrivit, ut qui paulo ante Christi legem subvertere se jactabat, vitae suae dubius in patriam festinus<sup>7</sup> aufugerit. Qua victoria non est dubium, quin pro<sup>8</sup> magno tempore clausa fuerit Turcis in Christianos porta.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>4</sup> infestissimi G

<sup>5</sup> familiaris G

<sup>6</sup> Christiani G

<sup>7</sup> festinans J

<sup>8</sup> per J

## To the ambassadors of the King of Hungary

[1] All Christian kings and princes should be honoured and favoured by the Roman Church. Special favour, however, is due to our beloved son in Christ, Matthias,<sup>1</sup> illustrious King of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia, who has now through his ambassadors declared his obedience to Us and the Apostolic See and congratulated Us on our elevation in magnificent terms, as you heard. For immense are his kingdom's, his father's and his own merits with regard to the Catholic Faith.

[2] For more than 70 years, the great and noble realm of Hungary has been constantly at war with the Turkish people. Fighting for the Catholic religion, it has offered itself as a shield for the Christian Faith against the East. Sometimes it was victorious and sometimes it was defeated, according to the will of the Divine Piety. Sigismund,<sup>2</sup> Albrecht,<sup>3</sup> Ladislaus<sup>4</sup> and Matthias himself now reigning – have been bitter foes of the Turks. The king's father, Janos Huniad,<sup>5</sup> was himself an expert on military matters. Often, but with varied success, he fought with Murad,<sup>6</sup> the father of Mehmed<sup>7</sup>, present ruler of the Turks, for the glory of the Christian name which the Turks are endeavouring to destroy. Though he was sometimes defeated, he never let the Turks have a bloodless victory. Shortly before he died, he battled with Mehmed himself at Belgrade<sup>8</sup> where the rivers Sava and Danube meet. Trusting in his enormous war machine and large forces, Mehmet threatened all Christians with barbaric arrogance. Still, he was beaten, defeated, crushed, and destroyed, and he who had shortly before boasted that he would wipe out the Law of Christ had to flee back to his country in fear for his life. This victory undoubtedly closed the gate<sup>9</sup> for the Turks to the Christian lands – and for years!

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<sup>1</sup> Matthias I Corvinus (1443-1490): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1458 to his death. After conducting several military campaigns, he was elected King of Bohemia in 1469 and adopted the title Duke of Austria in 1487

<sup>2</sup> Sigismund (Luxemburg) (1368-1437): King of Hungary and Croatia from 1387, King of Bohemia from 1419, and crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1433

<sup>3</sup> Albrecht II (Habsburg) (1397-1439): Archduke of Austria. King of Hungary and Croatia from 1437. Uncrowned King of Bohemia. Elected emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in 1438, but died the next year

<sup>4</sup> Ladislaus the Posthumous (Habsburg) (1440 -1457): Duke of Austria from 1440, King of Hungary from 1444 and King of Bohemia from 1453 to his death. Or maybe Pius is referring to Wladislaw III (Jagiellon), king of Hungary from 1440 to 1444, when he was killed by the Turyks in the Battle of Varna, clearing the way for the accession of Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>5</sup> Janos Hunyad (1406-1456): leading Hungarian military and political figure. Regent of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

<sup>6</sup> Murad II Kodja (1404-1451): Sultan of the Ottoman Empire from 1421 until his death (except for a period from 1444 to 1446 when his son Mehmed II reigned)

<sup>7</sup> Mehmed II the Conqueror (1432-1481): Ottoman sultan who ruled first for a short time from August 1444 to September 1446, and later from February 1451 to his death. In 1453 he conquered Constantinople and brought an end to the Byzantine Empire

<sup>8</sup> "Albam Graecam"

<sup>9</sup> i.e. Hungary

[3] Ipse vero Matthias adolescens ad regnum vocatus, patri similis {166r} curam tutandae religionis accepit, transeuntesque Dravum Turcos, et iterum Christianam plebem vexare audentes armis vicit ac delevit, eaque suae virtutis experimenta praebuit, ut patris aequatus gloriam proculdubio videatur, dignus profecto, quem sancta sedes apostolica benigno favore prosequatur. Quod nos quidem cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus minime negligemus. Et sane, ut regno Hungariae magnis contrito cladibus consuleremus, conventum apud Mantuam indiximus, ibi ut cum principibus Christianis consilia captantes laborantibus Hungaris subveniremus. Eo nunc pergimus. Conabimur quantum in nobis erit, ne vel Hungari vel ceteri Christiani Turcorum armis opprimantur. Circa vero intestinas divisiones, quas apud Hungaros et alios vigere intelligimus, si nobis auscultabitur, opportuna adhibere<sup>1</sup> remedia non omitteremus<sup>2</sup>. Neque enim<sup>3</sup> propositi nostri est, ut exteris gentibus obviam ituri ab his, qui intus sunt Christiani<sup>4</sup>, vulnerari pacem unionemve permittamus.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>2</sup> *omittentes* G

<sup>3</sup> *adhibere remedia ... enim omit.* J

<sup>4</sup> *christiana* H; *christianam* J

[3] Matthias himself was elected king when he was still an adolescent,<sup>1</sup> and like his father he soon accepted the charge of defending religion. As the Turks crossed the river Drava and again began to harass the Christian people, he defeated and destroyed them. Thus he gave such proofs of his courage and vigour that he must surely be considered his father's equal in glory and has truly deserved to be shown special favour by the Holy Apostolic See. This We shall most certainly do, together with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Indeed, in order to help the Kingdom of Hungary, worn down by great misfortunes, We have summoned a congress in Mantua where We shall consult with the Christian princes on how to assist the overburdened Hungarians. This is where We are going now. To the best of Our ability, We shall endeavour to prevent the Hungarians and other Christians from being overcome by the Turkish armies.

Concerning the internal conflicts which We hear that the Hungarians and others<sup>2</sup> are involved in, appropriate remedies will be found if only people will hear Us. For as We are moving against foreign peoples from outside,<sup>3</sup> We shall not allow the Christians from inside to undermine peace and unity.

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<sup>1</sup> He was elected king in January 1458, after the death of Ladislaus the Posthumous of Habsburg, some weeks before his fifteenth birthday

<sup>2</sup> An oblique reference to the emperor

<sup>3</sup> The Turks

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 33)**



**Oration “*Clarae atque illustres*” of Pope Pius II (Spring 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

In the spring of 1459, during a prolonged stay in Siena, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring their lord's obedience to the newly elected pope and the Apostolic See. One of the embassies was from the Marquess of Monferrat. In his very short reply to the ambassadors' address, the pope mentioned the high and old nobility of the ruling family of Monferrat and its contribution to former crusades. He also, briefly, spoke of obedience to Roman Church as a necessary condition for salvation.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Responses to ambassadors; House of Monferrat; Crusades; Declarations of obedience to the Papacy; Renaissance rhetorics; 1459; 15<sup>th</sup> century; Monferrato; Monteferrato

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### **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1459, during a prolonged stay in Siena, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope on behalf of their lord. One of the embassies was from the Marquess of Monferrat. It is not among the embassies mentioned explicitly in Pius' *Commentarii*.

## 2. Themes

The relatively small political significance of the Marquisate of Monferrat is reflected in the brevity of the papal reply to the ambassadors.

The oration contains two of the themes which recur in the pope's responses to the ambassadors offering the obedience of their lords<sup>2</sup>:

One theme, and the main one in this oration, is praise of the House of the prince declaring his obedience. The great and ancient nobility of the ruling house of Monferrat, at the time a branch of the Byzantine Palaeologus dynasty, was known to all. The pope said: *In Italy, there are many famous and illustrious families. But We do not know if any is older and more noble than the family of Monferrat* [Sect. 1].

In the context of the approaching Congress of Mantua, which was to deal with a European military response to the Turkish expansion into Europe, the pope also had a welcome opportunity to praise the participation of the Monferrat family in former crusades.<sup>3</sup>

The other theme is that union with and obedience to the Roman Church and its bishop, the pope, is a necessary condition of salvation: *All kings and all princes who wish to be saved must venerate the Roman Church and bow to it* [sect. 2].<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.1

<sup>4</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered in March or April 1459, in Siena.

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable for papal functions, more so than the Signoria, seat of the Siennese government, would have been.

The audience presumably consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts.

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>3</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 174r-174v (**G**) \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 53r-53v (**J**) \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 63v-64r  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 69r-70v  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 169v-170r (**H**)

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<sup>1</sup> On the textual transmission of Pius' oration, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 5.1.2

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, p. 200  
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca (G)]

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, no direct and indirect quotations have been identified.

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.



## 6. Bibliography

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austrialis*. 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)

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Ad oratores<sup>1</sup> Montisferrati

[1] {169v} Clarae atque illustres familiae in Italia non paucae sunt. An vero antiquior ac nobilior ulla sit ea, quae Montisferrati appellatur, et quae nobis hodie more majorum oboedientiam praestat, haudquaquam exploratum habemus. Pervetusta est haec domus et in historiis late vulgata. Postquam Christiani exercitus pro recuperatione terrae sanctae congregari coepere, vix aliquid sine marchionibus Montisferrati gestum est memoria dignum. In Graecia, in Asia, in Syria, in insulis interjacentibus, clarum nomen hujus prosapiae habitum est, fortes enim viros et pro {170r} Christiana religione attentissimos solita est producere.

[2] Et hic quoque,<sup>2</sup> qui modo<sup>3</sup> caput gentis est, a progenitoribus suis minime degenerat: in armis strenuus, in consilio providus, justitiae tenax, et religionis zelantissimus, cujus causa et vos praestabiles oratores suos oboedientiam praestituros<sup>4</sup> ad nos misit, haud ignarus, quia omnes reges, omnes principes terrae venerari<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup> Romanam ecclesiam eique colla submittere debent, si salvi esse volunt. Facit princeps vester, quod sui officii est, et quod suam nobilitatem decet. Commendamus fidelitatem ejus ac devotionem, dignumque ipsum esse fatemur, quem nos et nostri successores acceptissimum et commendatissimum habeant; quod nos sane vita comite minime negligemus.

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<sup>1</sup> marchionis *add.* G

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>3</sup> qui modo : modo qui G

<sup>4</sup> praestatueros G

<sup>5</sup> venerunt ad J

<sup>6</sup> sanctam *add.* G

## To the ambassadors of Monferrat

[1] In Italy there are many famous and illustrious families, but We do not know if any is older and more noble than the family of Monferrat<sup>1</sup> which in the manner of its forefathers declares its obedience to Us today. That House is ancient, indeed, and often mentioned in the history books. Ever since Christian armies first began to gather in order to reclaim the Holy Land, almost no memorable deed has been done without the margraves of Monferrat. In Greece, Asia,<sup>2</sup> Syria, and the islands in between, the name of this family is famous since it usually brings forth strong men dedicated to the Christian religion.

[2] And the man who is now the head of the family is certainly not inferior to his ancestors: he is strenuous in arms, foresighted in counsel, strict in justice, and greatly devoted to religion. And for the sake of religion he has now sent you, distinguished ambassadors, to Us to declare his obedience, well knowing that all kings and all princes who wish to be saved must venerate the Roman Church and submit to it. Thus, your prince does what he should and what befits his nobility. We recommend his fidelity and devotion, and We declare that he is worthy of being held in the highest regard and esteem by Us and Our successors, which We shall certainly do as long as We live.

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<sup>1</sup> The House of Monferrat was indeed ancient. Since its creation in 961, the Marquisate of Monferrat had been ruled by the Aleramic dynasty. In 1306 the marquisate passed, through a nephew, to the Palaeologus dynasty, still reigning at the time of Pius II. Its ruling family was related to the imperial House and the French House, and it participated in the crusades

<sup>2</sup> i.e. Asia Minor

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 34)**



**Oration “*Omnes ferme*” of Pope Pius II (Spring 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

In the spring of 1459, during a prolonged stay in Siena, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope on behalf of their lord. One of the embassies was from the King of Portugal. In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope touched upon five themes: the supremacy of the Roman Church, Pius' own unworthiness for the exalted office, the merits of the king and his House, the pope's gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks, and the benevolence of pope and cardinals towards the king.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics; Responses to ambassadors; King Afonso V of Portugal; King Alphonse V of Portugal; Declarations of obedience to the pope; 1459; 15<sup>th</sup> century

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### **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1459, during a prolonged stay in Siena, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope on behalf of their lord. One of the embassies was from the King of Portugal, Alfonso V.

## 2. Themes

The oration contains all the five themes which recur in the pope's responses to the ambassadors offering obedience on behalf of their prince<sup>2</sup>:

The first theme, and the most important, is the supremacy of the papacy. Pius says: *The Apostolic See, i.e. the Roman Church, was set above all the other sees by divine dispensation ... To that see was given the power to open and close the gate of Heaven* [sect. 1]. Indeed, this reference to Matthew 16, 18 is the central biblical argument used by the popes to support their claim to Roman supremacy.<sup>3</sup>

The second theme is the pope's declaration of his personal unworthiness for the exalted office. This sentiment was probably quite sincere, but as an expression of personal humility it was an almost ritual formula of traditional ecclesiastic and papal discourse.<sup>4</sup> Pius said:

*But We do know that the pious and best God does nothing wrongly: it pleases Him that when men see the results of His actions, they know that they are actually His actions. Therefore He elevates men from the humblest people, and He has often entrusted kingdoms to shepherds and the papacy to fishermen. On many occasions, Divine Providence hath chosen the weak things of this world that he may confound the strong. Maybe this is what it pleased Him to do in Our own case when We were called to the First See, a man of primitive intellect and humble origins, without riches. For if a famous and powerful person had succeeded to this office, it could be seen as the doings of men rather than of God. [Sect. 2]*

In March 1447, twelve years before, Pius had heard his predecessor, Nicolaus V, make the same traditional protestation of personal unworthiness for the papal office when – in reply

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

<sup>3</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

<sup>4</sup> On the theme of personal unworthiness for papal office, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.8.2

to the Neapolitan ambassadors who had presented the declaration of obedience of their master, King Alfonso V of Aragon – the pope said:

*Quod vero ad nos et ea quae de nobis multa dixistis attinet, absit omnino, ut tanto pontificatu dignos nos esse iudicemus. Sumus enim testes et conscii fragilitatis debilitatisque nostrae et quales viros, quam probatos, quam sanctos haec excelsa sedes exquirat certe non ignoramus, quorum numero nos omnino non esse cognoscimus. ... Sed elegit Dominus imperitos, ydiotas et simplices piscatores sibi que illos apostolos assumpsit, qui tamen postea spiritu sancto repleti sanctam fidem per orbem seminavere. Vult enim Dominus ut est ita se Dominum solumque videri et infirmos, debiles abiectosque in altum erigere, ne meritis hominum, sed suae voluntati sibi que tantum non hominibus omnis in altum assumptio tribuatur.<sup>1</sup>*

The third theme is the merits of the prince and the House of the prince offering his obedience, in this case Afonso V of Portugal: *The family of Afonso is of the highest nobility ... Afonso, the present king, has as much strength of soul and body as his forefathers* [Sect. 3]. Pius is careful to point out the merits of the House of Portugal with regard to the fight against the Saracens.

The fourth theme is the pope's gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks.

The fifth theme is the assurance of the goodwill of pope and cardinals towards the king and his House.

### **3. Date, place, audience and format**

The oration was delivered in March or April 1459, in Siena.

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable for papal functions, more so than the Signoria, seat of the Siennese government, would have been.

The audience presumably consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

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<sup>1</sup> Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

## 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>3</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 169r-169v (**G**) \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII.1, ff. 42v-44v (**J**) \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 50v-52v  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 69r-70v  
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 162r-163v (**H**)

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

### 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 215-216  
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca (G)]

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<sup>1</sup> On the textual transmission of Pius' oration, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk



### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this brief oration only 2 direct and indirect quotations have been identified, both from the New Testament.

## 6. Bibliography

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

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

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Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

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

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacalis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols.

Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus Portugalliae regis

[1] {162v} Omnes ferme, qui nos adeunt, oboedientiam exhibituri, illud in primis agunt, ut pro suo captu Romanam sedem et nos in ea sedentes mirificis extollant praeconiis. Exinde principem, a quo missi sunt, collaudare non negligunt. Hoc ipsum et hodie factum est per oratores carissimi in Christo filii nostri Alfonsi, Portugalliae et Algarbii regis illustris. Fatemur, quamvis magnificentissime<sup>1</sup> collaudata<sup>2</sup> est apostolica sedes, eam tamen ad verum usque celebrari<sup>3</sup> non posse. Nam quae divina dispositione super omnes cathedras erecta est, humana satis voce et humano ingenio magnificari nequit. Hoc solium salvator dominus suo sacrauit ore. In eo beatus Petrus, apostolorum princeps, primus sedit. In eo supra XXX martyres et confessores sanctissimi admodum multi claruerunt. Ab eo quidquid hodie Christianitatis est salutaris<sup>4</sup> fidei sacramenta suscepit. Huic aperiendi claudendique caeli potestas credita<sup>5</sup> est. Quapropter, etsi multa praeclare de hoc sublimi solio ab oratoribus regiis dicta sunt, superat tamen omnes laudes ipsa veritas.

[2] Quod nobis attributum est, fatemur, verum excedit, neque enim nos sumus, quibus tot praeconia adscribenda<sup>6</sup> sint. Noscimus nosipsos et juxta Graecum oraculum judicamus, et cur tantum sublimati simus, non intelligimus. Scimus tamen pium atque optimum Deum nihil perperam facere placereque suae divinitati, ut quae ab eo fiunt, sua esse opera omnes noscant, atque idcirco ex infima plebe viros in sublime tolli, et pastoribus regnum et<sup>7</sup> piscatoribus pontificium saepius committi. *Eligit<sup>8</sup>* enim divina providentia nonnumquam *infirma* {163r} *hujus mundi, ut fortia quaeque confundat*. Fortasse et hoc de nobis placuit, qui rudes ingenio, genere ignobiles, divitiis inopes ad primam sedem vocati sumus. Quod si clarus et potens quispiam in hoc suffectus fuisset, poterat humanum magis opus quam divinum videri. Utcumque sit, caelestem misericordiam imploramus, ne nobis desit. Sed ipse, qui navi suae nos praefecit, virtutem praebeat, qua clavum recte teneamus, et adversus ipsos Turcos arma ministret.

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<sup>1</sup> magnifice G

<sup>2</sup> laudata G

<sup>3</sup> laudari G; celebrare J

<sup>4</sup> salvatoris G

<sup>5</sup> data G

<sup>6</sup> ascribenda G, H

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* H, J

<sup>8</sup> elegit G

[1] Almost all who come to Us to declare obedience begin by praising, extravagantly and to their best ability, the Roman See and Us who occupy it. Afterwards they do not fail to praise the prince who sent them. This was also done today by the ambassadors of Our beloved son in Christ, Afonso, illustrious King of Portugal and Algarve.<sup>1</sup> We declare that though the Apostolic See was magnificently praised by them, no praise can really do it justice. For that See which was set above all other sees by divine dispensation cannot be praised enough by human voice and intellect. This See was consecrated by the Lord in his own words. It was first occupied by Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles. It has been ennobled by more than 30 martyrs and a great number of holy confessors. From that See the Christian community, whatever remains of it today, received the sacraments of salutary faith. To that See was given the power to open and close [the gate of] Heaven.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, though the royal ambassadors said much - and admirably so - about this exalted See, reality<sup>3</sup> surpasses all praise.

[2] But what they said about Our own person was greatly exaggerated: We certainly do not merit such eulogies. We know and judge Ourselves according to the Greek oracle<sup>4</sup>, and We do not know why We have been elevated to this exalted position. But We do know that the Pious and Best God does nothing wrongly: it pleases the Divinity that when men see the results of His actions they should know that they are actually His. Therefore He elevates men from the humblest people, and He has often entrusted kingdoms to shepherds and the Papacy to fishermen. On many occasions, indeed, Divine Providence *hath chosen the weak things of this world that he may confound the strong*.<sup>5</sup> Maybe this is what it pleased Him to do in Our own case when We were called to the First See, a man of primitive intellect and humble origins, and without riches. For if a famous and powerful person had succeeded to this office, it could be seen as the doings of men rather than of God. At any rate, We beg Heavenly Mercy not to fail Us. May He who put Us in charge of his ship give Us the strength to hold the rudder straight, and to provide armies against the Turks.

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<sup>1</sup> Afonso V the African (1432-1481): King of Portugal and Algarve. His sobriquet refers to his conquests in Northern Africa

<sup>2</sup> Matthew 16, 18

<sup>3</sup> "ipsa veritas"

<sup>4</sup> Pius refers to the saying "Know yourself"

<sup>5</sup> 1. Corinthians, 1, 27

[3] Quae vero in laudem Alfonsi perpulchre relata sunt, vera esse fatemur, quamvis longe majora dici potuissent. Nobilissima est Alfonsi familia et omnibus Christianis conjuncta regibus. Nullus in ea nascitur non valens ingenio. Multa ab his regibus gesta sunt proelia et in Europa et in Africa digna memoratu<sup>1</sup>. Cepta diebus nostris, urbs in Mauritania nobilis<sup>2</sup>, ab eis armis capta est. Multae et magnae Saracenorum copiae a Portugallensibus in<sup>3</sup> proelio deletae sunt. Qui nunc regno potitur, Alfonsus multa vi animi et corporis nulli cedit progenitorum suorum, belli domique clarus habetur. Provinciales<sup>4</sup> quasi numen aliquod<sup>5</sup> eum<sup>6</sup> habent, jus reddit omnibus aequum, sua largitur, aliena non rapit<sup>7</sup>. Illud in eo memorabile, qui etsi ultimus est Christianorum, quos Turcorum arma pertingere possunt, primus tamen omnium de retundenda illorum ferocia<sup>8</sup> cogitat, et corpus suum praecessori nostro Calixto in expeditionem ab eo meditatam obtulit, nec defuisset, uti par est credere, si reliqui principes concurrissent.

[4] Quae nunc spondeat, ipsi audivistis. Verba ejus animum nostrum mirifice {163v} confortant. Laudamus hunc regem, oboedientiam ejus laeto complectimur animo, mentem ejus haud aliam esse confidimus, quam oratores sui<sup>9</sup> affirmavere. Dignus est hic princeps, quem sancta sedes apostolica singularibus favoribus prosequatur, neque id nos cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus quoquo modo negligemus.

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<sup>1</sup> memoria G

<sup>2</sup> in Mauritania nobilis : nobilis in Mauritania G

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>4</sup> eum *add.* G

<sup>5</sup> quoddam G

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>7</sup> appetit G

<sup>8</sup> ferociam G

<sup>9</sup> eius G



[3] But what they said so elegantly in praise of Afonso We declare to be true, and they could even have said much more. Afonso's family is of the highest nobility and connected with all the kings of Christendom. Everyone born in that family is greatly capable. Many memorable wars were fought by these kings both in Europe and in Africa. In our own time, the noble City of Ceuta in Mauritania was conquered by them.<sup>1</sup> Many and large Saracen forces have been destroyed by the Portuguese in battle. Afonso, the present king, equals his forefathers in strength of soul and body, and he is famous for his deeds both in war and in peace.<sup>2</sup> The people of that land<sup>3</sup> consider him as a god. He renders fair justice to all. He gives from what belongs to himself and does not take what belongs to others. Among the Christian kings he is the one who is farthest from the Turkish armies, but still – and remarkably so – he is the first of all to consider how to check their ferocity, and he was the first to offer to take part personally in the crusade planned by Our predecessor Calixtus<sup>4</sup> – and we may reasonably believe that he would not have failed to do so, had the other princes concurred.

[4] What he now promises, you have heard yourselves. His words are a great comfort to Us. We praise this king, and we gladly receive his obedience, trusting that his intentions are as stated by his ambassadors. This prince is worthy of being shown particular favour by the Apostolic See, and neither We nor Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will in any way fail to do so.

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<sup>1</sup> Ceuta was captured by the Portuguese King, Joao I, in 1415

<sup>2</sup> "belli domique"

<sup>3</sup> "provinciales"

<sup>4</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death. The first Borgia Pope

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 35)**

**Oration “*Dominatorem caeli*” of Pope Pius II (26 February 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Enrique IV, King of Castile. In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope touched upon five themes recurring in all his responses to such embassies: supremacy of the Roman Church; his own unworthiness for the exalted papal office; merits of the king and his House; acceptance of the king's obedience; gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the projected crusade against the Turks; and benevolence of pope and cardinals towards the king.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Enrique IV rey de Castilla; King Henry IV of Castile; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Castile; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo

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**Appendix 1: Oration “*Etsi juxta sapientum*” of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo to Pope Pius II (26 February 1459, Siena)**

**Appendix 2: Letter of Pope Pius II to King Enrique IV of Castile of 27 February 1459**

# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Enrique IV, King of Castile. It arrived in Siena on 25-26 February, and consisted of Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo,<sup>2 3</sup> at the time Bishop of Oviedo, and the Minorite Alonso of Palenzuela.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Themes

The pope's lengthy response covers the five themes recurring in his responses to such embassies<sup>5</sup> and moreover has a short presentation of various views of God.

### 2.1. Papal supremacy

The first theme is the supremacy of the papal office.<sup>6</sup>

In other such orations the pope simply affirms the supremacy of the papal office, both in temporal and spiritual matters.<sup>7</sup> In the oration "*Dominatorem caeli*", however, he endeavours to give proofs of this supremacy, based on the fundamental notion of the unity of God. God is the one ruler of Heaven and Earth, though he delegates the rule of Earth to one man:

*Only the Christians respect the pristine authority of their fathers who alone knew the Way of Life and who had taken a page of the New Testament from the Old Book. Though they affirm that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three persons, they proclaim that there is only one God, one substance, and one power that rules all things, both those which are above, in Heaven, and those which are below, on Earth. And*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> His oration of obedience to the pope is extant in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 4881 / ff. 212r-216r, see Appendix 1

<sup>3</sup> *Huic pontifici, Henrici Castelle regis predicti iussu et regnorum suorum nomine, ego ipse, tunc episcopus Ouetensis, puram, debitam ac solitam reuerentiam et obedientiam prestiti.* (Cited in Alvar Nuno, p. 45)

<sup>4</sup> Trame, pp. 97-98. Apart from the oration to the ambassadors, Pius also sent a written response to the king (Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 24), see Appendix 2

<sup>5</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

<sup>6</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

<sup>7</sup> E.g. oration "*Quotiens Nova*" [30], Introduction



*Christian truth recognizes the omnipotence of God, who ordains everything according to His will, and who is content that just as the heavenly court has only one ruler, likewise the government of the world should depend on the will of one alone. Therefore, in the beginning, when rational beings were created, they had their origin in one man only, Adam, who was entrusted with the government of all. [Sect. 4]*

Based on scripture, Pius claims that God in the times of the Old Testament had given supreme power to the Israelite priesthood:

*These words clearly show that also in the Old Testament supreme power belonged to the priests, even if the kings sometimes presumed to make decisions concerning the High Priesthood. [Sect. 8]*

This claim is important because Pius - as he had explained in the oration "*Sentio*" [20] of 1452 - believed that there had been a translation of the sacerdotal office (with all its rights) from the Jewish people to the Christian Church.<sup>1</sup>

Through Jesus Christ – God delegated the rulership of Earth to the Apostle Peter:

*We read in the Gospel that all power is given to Christ the Saviour in Heaven and on Earth. If all power has been given to Him, it must include royal power which Jesus actually used when he cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple and overthrew the chairs of the money changers. This power he passed on to his disciples, that is the priests, when he said: "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you." And again: "Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them, and whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven." However, he set one man above them all when he appointed Peter as their prince saying to him, and to him only that "Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," and "Feed my sheep," and other [similar words]. These words designate the power of a vicar. And it is well-known that, at the Last Supper, the Lord Himself appointed Peter and the other apostles as priests. Thus it is clear that on Earth the supreme power belongs to one man and that he is a priest. [Sect. 9]*

From the Apostle Peter the supreme power has passed to his successors as bishops of Rome, the popes:

*But no human reasoning or authority can alter the divine will of Christ as expressed in the words to Peter, already quoted, that the primacy has been given to the Roman Church, and that it is this Church that has been entrusted with the vicarship of the Great*

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<sup>1</sup> Oration "*Sentio*" [21], sect. 21: *Legimus in Deuteronomio iudicium inter sanguinem et sanguinem, lepram et lepram, causam et causam ad summum sacerdotem esse remissum. Quis hic est, qui saecularia subtrahit apostolico culmini? Numquid translato sacerdotio legis quoque translatio facta est? Apud Isaiam inquit dominus: Ego te constitui super gentes et regna, ut dissipas, aedifices et plantes.*

*God. Whoever governs the Roman Church is the teacher of Faith, the pastor of the sheep, the interpreter of divine law, and the head of all the Christian people. All should obey him who wish to avoid the punishments of eternal fire and to reign with the holy apostles and with Christ the Saviour. [Sect. 10]*

It should be noted that Pius' conception of papal supremacy was not adopted by him after he attained the Papacy. It was already fully developed in the aforementioned oration "*Sentio*" [21], which he wrote towards the end of 1452, 6 years before he became pope. He had not invented it himself, it was a doctrine elaborated by theologian and popes of the Middle Ages, not the least among them Pope Innocent III, to whom Pius refers in the oration.

As he stated in that oration, the pope should not exercise ordinary rule of secular affairs. Only in exceptional and important cases, when secular power was failing, he should by virtue of his supreme office step in and make the necessary decisions:

*To them we reply, with Innocent III, that the Roman Pontiff does not exercise secular jurisdiction nor give judgment in secular matters indiscriminately and without good cause, but only rarely and with good cause. For whenever nobody else can or dares give judgment in a secular matter, whenever a secular matter is evidently conducted criminally and divine majesty is being offended, and no secular judges oppose it, and whenever justice is denied, the Roman Pontiff is free to intervene, for his pontifical magisterium is concerned not only with the affairs of priests, but also with secular affairs.<sup>1</sup>*

By that time Pius was far from the ideas of supreme secular power being vested in the emperor which he had defended in his youth.<sup>2</sup> An important factor in the development of his ideas in this area might have been his direct, personal experience of the weakness of the imperial institution and the fact that it could no longer function as a universal monarchy, not to speak of a European or even a German one.

It is interesting to note the congruence between the pope's conception of papal supremacy and that expressed by the Castilian ambassador in his oration to the pope. The pope and the ambassador probably knew each other from the Basel period<sup>3</sup> and other previous encounters, and they may have so to speak conferred notes before the public reception of the ambassador.

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<sup>1</sup> Oration "*Sentio*" [20], sect. 27

<sup>2</sup> See Piccolomini's works *Pentalogus* (1444) and *Epistola de ortu et auctoritate Romani imperii ... ad Friedericum Romanorum regem* (1446)

<sup>3</sup> Alvar Nuno, pp. 41-43

## 2.2. Personal unworthiness

A second theme is the pope's protestation of his personal unworthiness for his exalted office, a traditional manifestation of humility expected of high ecclesiastics<sup>1</sup>:

*That power has now been passed on to Us who hold this exalted chair, though unworthy. But the lower Our condition was before, the greater is the glory of Him who raised Us to this place. We acknowledge that if anyone looks at Us and our [actions], all he will see is sinful flesh. But if he considers what God has done with Us as well as the dignity of the office that We hold, he must admit that all power on Earth is subject to Our authority, that is the authority of Christ and Saint Peter the Apostle. [Sect. 11]*

As seen, even this declaration of personal humility serves as the basis for the claim to supreme power over all Earth.

## 2.3. Other themes

The other themes are praise of the ruler declaring his obedience, acceptance of his obedience, gratitude for his offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks, and assurance of papal benevolence.

The section on papal supremacy also contains a review of various conceptions of God. In this connection, Pius' use of the concept of the World Machine – created by God – is worth noting.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered on 26 or 27 February, in Siena. The Castilian embassy arrived in Siena on 25 or 26, and the pope wrote to King Juan II on 27, acknowledging his declaration of obedience. The date 26 is therefore retained as the most likely.

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<sup>1</sup> On the theme of personal unworthiness for papal office, see See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect.7.8.2

<sup>2</sup> The concept of the world machine was used by Johannes de Sacrobosco (ca. 1195-ca. 1256) in his astronomical treatise *De sphaera mundi*, a standard textbook on astronomy at medieval universities. Piccolomini's source for this concept merits further research

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable and appropriate for papal functions.<sup>1</sup>

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

## 4. Text<sup>2</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>4</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 161r-163r **(G)** \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 26r-30v **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 28r-34r  
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 45r-51v  
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 149r-152v **(H)** \*

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<sup>1</sup> That Pius used the cathedral of Siena as the venue for official papal functions during his stay there is shown by his own remark in a later oration to Castilian ambassadors, "*Claritudo sanguinis*" [59], sect. 1: *Claritudo sanguinis et morum elegantia singularisque virtus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici, Legionis et Castellae regis illustris, cum anno jam revoluto hoc ipso templo nobis et apostolicae sedi suo nomine praestaretur obedientia pluribus verbis recensita et explicata fuit*

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5.1.2

<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 184-189  
*[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]*

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this oration, 16 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, all from the Bible, half from the OT and half from the NT.

Biblical: 16

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

Classical: 0  
Patristic and medieval: 0  
Contemporary: 0  
**All: 16**

**Biblical sources: 16**

Old Testament: 8

- Deuteronomy: 3
- Exodus: 1
- Numbers: 1
- 4. Kings: 1
- Jeremiah: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 8

- Matthew: 5
- John: 3

**Classical sources: 0**

**Patristic and medieval sources: 0**

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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



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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Responsio facta oratoribus regis Castellae per sanctissimum Dominum nostrum papam Pium II

[1] {149r} Dominatorem caeli ac terrae eundemque creatorem mundialis machinae simulque conservatorem unum esse Deum omnipotentem<sup>1</sup> primi<sup>2</sup> omnium mortalium Hebraei confessi sunt, apud quos frequenter illa<sup>3</sup> vox audita est: *Israel Deus tuus unus est.*

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<sup>1</sup> omnium potentem J

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>3</sup> frequenter illa : illa frequenter G

# Response to the ambassadors of the King of Castile by Our Holy Lord, Pope Pius II

## 1. Papal supremacy

### 1.1. Divine monarchy

#### 1.1.1. Hebrews

[1] The Hebrews were the first men to acknowledge that there is only one, omnipotent God, ruler of Heaven and Earth, who created and preserves the world machine. Often they heard the words: *Hear, O Israel, your God is one.*<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Deuteronomy, 6, 4; Mark, 12, 29

[2] Inter gentes diversae fuerunt haereses. Alii stulto errore et caeca obducti<sup>1</sup> caligine nullum esse Deum crediderunt, et incerto casu mortalia ruere<sup>2</sup> putaverunt. Alii Deum quidem esse arbitrati sunt, sed minime solum. Multos esse et inter se quoque dissidentes stulta meditatione professi sunt. Et hi rursus in alias divisi sectas. Quidam curare mortalia superos censuere, quidam negligere. Fuerunt et gentilium nonnulli, qui veritati propius accedentes, quamvis plures deos esse<sup>3</sup> assererent, unum tamen omnium deorum Deum patrem, ducem, imperatorem ac dominum faterentur, a quo conditum orbem gubernari regique minime dubitarent asserere, quorum principem Platonem esse, perspicuum est. Nec Aristoteles, quamvis aeternitatem mundi videtur astruere, unitatem magni Dei confundit, quippe qui non solum caelestia, sed et terrena quoque ab uno regi principe optimum ducit, cujus sententiam omnis ferme philosophorum schola confirmat.

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<sup>1</sup> caeca obducti : stulti ducta G

<sup>2</sup> tueri J

<sup>3</sup> deos esse : esse deos J

### 1.1.2. Pagans

[2] Among the gentiles<sup>1</sup> various heresies prevailed.

Some, in foolish error and dark stupidity, thought that there is no God and that human affairs are directed by uncertain chance.

Others believed that God exists, but not as One. Foolish speculation made them claim that there are many gods, who even have conflicts between them.

They are subdivided into various sects, some believing that the gods care about human affairs, others that they ignore them.

Some of the pagan peoples were closer to the truth: though they claimed that there are many gods, they professed that one of the gods is the father of all the other gods, their leader, ruler, and lord, and they did not hesitate to declare that it is he who has created the world and governs and rules it. The most eminent of these people is clearly Plato.<sup>2</sup>

And though Aristotle<sup>3</sup> seems to conceive of the world as eternal, he does not doubt the unity of the Great God. Indeed, he considers it to be an excellent thing that not only the celestial [sphere], but also the earthly is governed by one lord. His views are shared by almost the whole school of philosophy.

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<sup>1</sup> "gentes"

<sup>2</sup> Plato (428/427 or 424/423-348/347 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Socrates

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle (384–322 BCE): Greek philosopher. Student of Plato

[3] Saraceni, qui Mahumetum sequuntur, quamvis decepti pseudomagistro in plurimis errant, in hoc {149v} tamen veritati consentiunt, quia plures nominare deos<sup>1</sup> abhominabile ducunt, et ab uno regenda omnia profitentur.

[4] Christiani, apud quos solos incorrupta patrum servatur auctoritas, qui soli noverunt viam vitae, et qui novi testamenti paginam ex codice veteris<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> extraxerunt, quamvis patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum tres<sup>4</sup> personas esse asserunt, unum tamen Deum esse fatentur, unam substantiam unamque potestatem, qua cuncta reguntur, et quae sunt supra in caelis, et quae sunt<sup>5</sup> infra in terris. Animadvertit quoque Christiana veritas omnipotentem Deum, qui pro sua voluntate cuncta disponit, pergratum habere, ut quemadmodum caelestis aula unum rectorem habet, a quo cuncta dependent<sup>6</sup>, ita et<sup>7</sup> terrena gubernatio ex unius voluntate disponderetur. Ob eam rem, cum primum rationalis creatura condita est, ab uno coepit Adam, cujus regimini commissa sunt universa<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> eos J

<sup>2</sup> veteri J

<sup>3</sup> codice veteris : veteris codice G

<sup>4</sup> tris H

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>6</sup> dependunt J

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>8</sup> omnia G



### **1.1.3. Islam**

[3] The Saracens, who follow Muhammad,<sup>1</sup> have been deceived by this false teacher and err in many ways. Still, they agree with truth in as far as they detest the notion of many Gods and acknowledge that all things are governed by the One.

### **1.1.4. Christianity**

[4] Only the Christians keep the authority of the fathers unblemished. These men alone knew the Way of Life and had taken a page of the New Testament from the Old Book<sup>2</sup>. Though they affirm that the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are three persons, they proclaim that there is only one God, one substance, and one power that rules all things, both those which are above in Heaven, and those which are below on Earth. And Christian truth recognizes the omnipotence of God, who ordains everything according to His will, and who is content that just as the heavenly court has only one ruler, on whom everything depends, likewise the government of the world should depend on the will of one alone. Therefore, in the beginning, when rational beings were created, they had their origin in one man only, Adam, who was entrusted with the government of all.

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<sup>1</sup> Muhammad (ca. 570-ca. 632): founder of Islam

<sup>2</sup> In this case meaning, presumably, that the monotheism of the New Testament builds on the monotheism of the Old Testament

[5] {161v} Legimus in Genesi ab Adam usque ad Noe<sup>1</sup> per annos supra duo millia patresfamilias connumerasse, quorum nomina referuntur, quos singulariter alter post alterum regnasse non est obscurum. In arca unus praefuit omnibus Noe. Cum deinde inter filios Dei et filios hominum disceptatio coepisset<sup>2</sup>, apud filios Dei unitas imperii servata est per Abraham, Isaac et Jacob. Cum vero filii Jacob in Aegypto supra modum opprimerentur, per unum, qui cunctis praefuit, liberatio parta est, Moysen, qui virtute miraculorum et populum traduxit in desertum et Pharaonem cum omni exercitu percusso mari aquis obvolvitur<sup>3</sup>. Successere deinde salvatores populi alter post alterum, quos iudices vocavere, Josue, Judas, Barach, Gedeon, Jepta, Samson et reliqui a domino instituti. Exinde reges creati sunt, Saul, David, Salomon, et in unius potestate cuncta fuerunt.

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<sup>1</sup> hoc J

<sup>2</sup> orta esset G

<sup>3</sup> aboluit J

## 1.2. Priestly monarchy

### 1.2.1 In the Old testament

[5] In Genesis we read that in the period from Adam to Noah there were more than two thousand heads of families, whose names are listed, and it is clear that they ruled individually, one after the other. And in the Ark, Noah ruled all. When later a conflict arose between the sons of God and the sons of men, the sons of God kept their unity of government through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. And when the sons of Jacob were severely oppressed in Egypt, their liberation was obtained by one man, Moses, who was the leader of all. By virtue of miracles, he led the people into the desert, and striking the sea he drowned Pharaoh with all his army.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards saviours of the people followed, one after the other, whom they called Judges: as such the Lord appointed Joshua, Judah, Barach, Gideon, Jephta, Samson and others. Later on, kings were created, Saul, David and Solomon, and one man had power over everything.

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<sup>1</sup> Here the pope's otherwise excellent memory fails him and he commits a peccadillo, confounding two episodes from Exodus: in Exodus, 7, 20, Moses strikes the waters of the Nile and changes them into blood (*et elevans virgam percussit aquam fluminis coram Pharao*), whereas in Exodus, 14, 27, he just stretches forth his hands and the waters in the Red Sea return to drown Pharaoh and his soldiers (*Cumque extendisset Moyses manum contra mare, reversum est primo diluculo ad priorem locum: fugientibusque Aegyptiis occurrerunt aquae, et involvit eos Dominus in mediis fluctibus*)

[6] Scissum est regnum sub filio Salomonis, Roboam, et duo<sup>1</sup> reges esse coeperunt, non tam dispositione divina quam permissione, sic regis et populi requirente peccato. Postquam vero regia potestas extincta est, et alienigenae dominati sunt Judaeorum, et modo Caldae, modo Syrii, modo Aegyptii imperium habuere, non defuerunt in Hebraico populo sacerdotes, qui suis alter post alterum jura redderent<sup>2</sup>, sicut in Esdra et in<sup>3</sup> Maccabaeorum libris obsignatum est, et ab unius sacerdotis imperio Judaica res pependit. Rediit et regia potestas Romanis in amicitiam accersitis. Exin<sup>4</sup> tetrarchae creati<sup>5</sup> sub magno Pompejo et usque ad salvatorem Christum pars Judaeorum regibus paruit, pars procuratoribus e Roma missis. Semper tamen, qui divinae legis curam haberet ac sacris praeesset, unus pontifex summus<sup>6</sup> ac maximus habitus est, quem nunc divinum oraculum, nunc electio Levitarum, nunc regia potestas instituit.

[7] Quibus ex rebus plane cognoscimus divinam esse voluntatem, {150v} ut quemadmodum superiora unius arbitrio reguntur, ita et inferiora disponantur, quod est profecto salubrius ac<sup>7</sup> pulcherrimum regimen, nec pacis<sup>8</sup> bonum, quod omnes appetunt, inveniri aut inventum servari potest, nisi ad unitatem suprema potestas redeat. Sed vertunt in dubium aliqui an penes sacerdotes haec potestas, an penes laicos investiganda sit. Nam veteris testamenti pagina nunc reges, nunc pontifices praefere videtur. Sed exploratissima res est, primum ac summum iudicium ad sacerdotes pertinere, postquam divino jussu sacerdotem maximum<sup>9</sup> Moyses ordinavit<sup>10</sup>. Et quamquam majus imperium fuisse Moysi quam Aaron videatur, nihil tamen sacerdotali potestati detrahitur. Nam et sacerdotem fuisse Moysen apud regium prophetam scriptura testatur, dicens: *Moyses et Aaron in sacerdotibus ejus*. Invenimus praeterea sacerdotes ac prophetas jussu domini saepe reges deposuisse, ipsis autem regibus in sacerdotes domini concessam potestatem non reperimus, quamvis creandi pontifices nonnumquam sibi licentiam usurpaverint<sup>11</sup>. Oziam vero lepra percussus legimus, qui se sacris immiscere prohibente pontifice non erubuit.

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<sup>1</sup> duos J

<sup>2</sup> reddiderunt G

<sup>3</sup> omit. G

<sup>4</sup> exinde G

<sup>5</sup> omit. G

<sup>6</sup> pontifex summus : summus pontifex G

<sup>7</sup> et G

<sup>8</sup> paucis J

<sup>9</sup> divino jussu sacerdotem maximum : sacerdotem maximum divino jussu G

<sup>10</sup> Summum sacerdotium *in marg.* G

<sup>11</sup> usurparunt G

[6] Under Roboam,<sup>1</sup> son of Solomon, the kingdom split up and there began to be two kings, not because God willed it, but because he permitted it, since the king's and the people's sin required it. Later, royal power was destroyed, and the Jews came under the rule of foreigners: now they were governed by Caldaeans, now by Syrians, and now by Egyptians. Still the Hebrew people did not lack priests who one after the other maintained the rule of law as described in the books of Esdras<sup>2</sup> and the Machabees. Thus the Jewish state obeyed the rule of one priest. Royal power was restored after a friendly alliance had been made with the Romans. Then the Tetrarchy was established under Pompey the Great,<sup>3</sup> and until the time of Christ the Saviour one part of the Jews were ruled by kings and another part by procurators sent from Rome. But always they had one supreme high priest, who was responsible for the observance of divine law and presided over the sacred ceremonies. Sometimes he was chosen by divine oracle, sometimes he was elected by the Levites, and sometimes he was appointed by the royal government.

[7] Thus we clearly see it to be God's will that the things [on Earth]<sup>4</sup> below should be governed by one alone like they are [in Heaven] above.<sup>5</sup> This is the most beneficial and excellent form of government, and the boon of peace, desired by all, can only be found and maintained if the supreme power is one. There are some who question whether this power should be in the hands of priests or in the hands of laymen, for in the Old Testament sometimes kings and sometimes priests are preferred. However, it is well-known that after Moses, at the command of God, ordained a High Priest, supreme judgment belonged to the priests. And though the power of Moses seems to have been greater than the power of Aaron, the priestly power was in no way diminished.<sup>6</sup> For in the Scriptures the royal prophet testifies that Moses, too, was a priest, saying: *Moses and Aaron among his priests.*<sup>7</sup> Moreover, we find that priests and prophets, at God's command, often deposed kings, whereas we never find that kings were given power over the priests of the Lord - though sometimes they usurped the appointment of high priests. And we read that Ozias<sup>8</sup> was struck with leprosy<sup>9</sup> because he dared to interfere in religious matters though the High Priest forbade it.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rehoboam: initially king of the all Israel, but when the ten northern tribes of Israel rebelled in 932/931 BC to form the independent Kingdom of Israel, he was king of the Kingdom of Judah, or southern kingdom. Son of Solomon and a grandson of David

<sup>2</sup> Ezra (fl. 480–440 BCE): Jewish scribe and a priest. Returned from the Babylonian exile and reintroduced the Torah in Jerusalem

<sup>3</sup> Pompey the Great [Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus] (106-48 BCE): military and political leader in the late Roman Republic

<sup>4</sup> "inferiora": the things below

<sup>5</sup> "superiora": the things above

<sup>6</sup> The priestly power of Aaron was not limited by the power of Moses since Moses himself was a priest, see the continuation

<sup>7</sup> Psalms 98, 6

<sup>8</sup> Ozias [Uzziah]: king of Judah

<sup>9</sup> Ca. 750 BCE

<sup>10</sup> 2 Kings 15, 5; 2 Chronicles, 26, 19-21

[8] Ad Jeremiam vero sacerdotem ac prophetam apertissima verba legimus summam concedentia potestatem: *Ecce enim<sup>1</sup>, inquit<sup>2</sup> dominus, constitui te hodie<sup>3</sup> super gentes et super regna, ut evellas<sup>4</sup>, destruas et disperdas et dissipas et aedificas et plantes.* In Deuteronomio quoque jubet {151r} dominus in difficilibus causis Levitici generis sacerdotes adiri et *morte mulctari, qui summi sacerdotis imperio non paruerit.* At ne quis dubitet in summo sacerdote potestatem summam<sup>5</sup> esse, vox domini ad Moysen facta est, cum sibi successorem constituerat: *Tolle, inquit, Josue, filium, Num,<sup>6</sup> virum in quo est spiritus, et pone manum tuam super eum, qui stabit coram Eleazaro sacerdote et omni multitudine, et dabis ei praecepta cunctis videntibus et potestatem gloriae tuae, ut audiat eum omnis synagoga filiorum Israel. Pro hoc, si quid agendum erit, Eleazar sacerdos consulat dominum; ad verbum ejus egredietur et ingredietur ipse, et omnes filii Israel, et cetera multitudo.* Quibus ex verbis liquido constat etiam ex veteris testamenti pagina supremam auctoritatem<sup>7</sup> penes sacerdotes fuisse, etsi temere aliquando reges<sup>8</sup> de pontificio summoque<sup>9</sup> sacerdotio judicarent.

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<sup>1</sup> omit. J

<sup>2</sup> dicit G

<sup>3</sup> constitui te hodie : ego hodie constituam te G

<sup>4</sup> ut add. G

<sup>5</sup> maximam G

<sup>6</sup> nondum G

<sup>7</sup> potestatem G

<sup>8</sup> temere aliquando reges : aliquando reges temere G

<sup>9</sup> et summo G

[8] But we read how supreme power was clearly granted to Jeremiah, priest and prophet, with these words: *For, lo, the Lord saith: I have set thee this day over the nations, and over kingdoms, to root up, and to pull down, and to waste, and to destroy, and to build, and to plant.*<sup>1</sup> And in Deuteronomy, the Lord commands that in difficult cases they should have recourse to priests of the Levite caste<sup>2</sup> and that *those who disobey the command of the High Priest should be punished by death.*<sup>3</sup> And so that nobody should doubt that supreme power is vested in the High Priest, the Lord said to Moses when he appointed a successor: *Take Josue the son of Nun, a man in whom is the Spirit, and put thy hand upon him. And he shall stand before Eleazar the priest and all the multitude: And thou shalt give him precepts in the sight of all, and part of thy glory, that all the congregation of the children of Israel may hear him. If any thing be to be done, Eleazar the priest shall consult the Lord for him. He and all the children of Israel with him, and the rest of the multitude shall go out and go in at his word.*<sup>4</sup> These words clearly show that also in the Old Testament supreme power belonged to the priests, even if the kings sometimes presumed to make decisions concerning the High Priesthood.

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<sup>1</sup> Jeremiah, 1, 9-10: *dixit Dominus ad me ecce dedi verba mea in ore tuo: ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et super regna ut evellas et destruas et disperdas et dissipas et aedifices et plantes.* This biblical passage was frequently used by Pope Innocent III to legitimize papal authority in secular affairs

<sup>2</sup> Deuteronomy, 17, 8-9

<sup>3</sup> Deuteronomy, 17, 12: *But he that will be proud, and refuse to obey the commandment of the priest, who ministereth at that time to the Lord thy God, and the decree of the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away the evil from Israel (Qui autem superbierit, nolens obedire sacerdotis imperio, qui eo tempore ministrat Domino Deo tuo, et decreto judicis, morietur homo ille, et auferes malum de Israel)*

<sup>4</sup> Numbers, 27, 18-21

[9] Quae res apud Christianos longe clarior est, quibus sacrosanctum evangelium certa norma est<sup>1</sup> et infallibilis regula<sup>2</sup>. Legimus autem<sup>3</sup> in evangelio salvatori<sup>4</sup> Christo *omnem potestatem datam esse in caelo et in terra*. Si ei<sup>5</sup> omnis potestas tributa est, igitur et regia, qua etiam usus est, cum *vendentes et ementes*<sup>6</sup> *ejecit de templo et cathedras nummulariorum evertit*. Hanc autem potestatem discipulis suis, idest sacerdotibus, communicavit, dicens: *Quemadmodum misit me pater, ita*<sup>7</sup> *et ego mitto vos*. Et iterum: {151v} *Accipite spiritum sanctum*<sup>8</sup>; *quorum remiseritis peccata, remittentur eis, et quaecumque ligaveritis super terram, ligata erunt et in caelis*. Quae cum ita sint, unum tamen omnibus praefecit, et principem aliorum constituit Petrum, ei tantummodo dicens: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam; et Tibi dabo claves regni caelorum; et Pasce*<sup>9</sup> *oves meas*, et reliqua propter quae vicaria potestas designatur. Petrum autem et alios apostolos sacerdotes<sup>10</sup> fuisse ab ipso domino in ultima cena<sup>11</sup> constitutos exploratum est. Ob quas res manifestum est supremam in terris potestatem apud unum<sup>12</sup> esse debere, eundemque sacerdotem.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>2</sup> *est add.* G

<sup>3</sup> *enim* G; *aut* J

<sup>4</sup> *Jesu add.* G

<sup>5</sup> *enim* G

<sup>6</sup> *vendentes et ementes : ementes et vendentes* G

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* H, J

<sup>8</sup> *et add.* G

<sup>9</sup> *pasces* J

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>11</sup> *ab ipso domino in ultima cena : in ultima cena ab ipso domino* G

<sup>12</sup> *in terris potestatem apud unum : potestatem apud unum in terris* G



### 1.2.2. In the Christian age

[9] All this is much clearer in the Christian age where the Holy Gospel is the certain norm and the infallible rule. For we read in the Gospel that *all power is given to Christ the Saviour in Heaven and on Earth*.<sup>1</sup> If all power has been given to Him, it must include royal power<sup>2</sup> which Jesus actually used when he *cast out all them that sold and bought in the temple and overthrew the chairs of the money changers*.<sup>3</sup> This power<sup>4</sup> he passed on to his disciples, that is the priests, when he said: *As the Father hath sent me, I also send you*.<sup>5</sup> And again: *Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them*,<sup>6</sup> and *whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound also in heaven*.<sup>7</sup> However, he set one man above them all when he appointed Peter as their prince saying to him, and to him only, that *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church*,<sup>8</sup> and *I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*,<sup>9</sup> and *Feed my sheep*,<sup>10</sup> and other [similar words].<sup>11</sup> These words designate the power of a vicar. And it is well-known that at the Last Supper the Lord Himself appointed Peter and the other apostles as priests.

Thus it is clear that on Earth the supreme power belongs to one man and that he is a priest.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 28, 18: *et accedens Iesus locutus est eis dicens data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra*

<sup>2</sup> i.e. secular power

<sup>3</sup> Matthew, 21, 12: *et intravit Iesus in templum Dei et eiciebat omnes vendentes et ementes in templo et mensas nummulariorum et cathedras vendentium columbas evertit*

<sup>4</sup> The total power, including the royal power

<sup>5</sup> John, 20, 21

<sup>6</sup> John, 20, 22-23

<sup>7</sup> Matthew, 18, 18

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

<sup>9</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

<sup>10</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>11</sup> Pius is referring to the whole set of pronouncements made by Jesus which were traditionally used by the Papacy to prove its supremacy

[10] Sed rursus hesitatum est, cuius ecclesiae pontifex hac dignitate fruatur, quod apud occidentales in dubium verti non potest. Nam sive Italos, sive Gallos, sive Hispanos, sive Germanos atque Britannos animo volvimus, omnes se Christum colere, et sacramenta fidei recipere, et portam caeli noscere a Romana ecclesia didicerunt. Quocirca superioritatem ejus et magisterium negare non possunt. Graeci, quoniam doctore Paulo et Andrea magistro fidem susceperunt, propter imperium Constantinopolitanum aucti potentia, adversus Romanam ecclesiam insolescere coeperunt. Asiani quoque ab apostolis evangelium edocti<sup>1</sup> Romam aliquandiu contempserunt. Sed non est aliqua humana ratio vel auctoritas, quae divinam possit infringere voluntatem ab ipso Christo per {152r} verba, quae retulimus Petro dicta, Romanae primatus ecclesiae datus est, et ipsius magni Dei vicaria potestas<sup>2</sup> credita. Quicumque igitur Romanae praesidet ecclesiae, hic magister est fidei, hic pastor ovium, divinae legis interpres, et totius Christiani populi caput. Huic parere omnes oportet, qui aeterni poenas incendii fugere et cum beatis apostolis ipsoque salvatore Christo regnare cupiunt.

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<sup>1</sup> docti G

<sup>2</sup> est *add.* G

### **1.3. Papal monarchy**

[10] But, here again, there is some doubt, for which bishop has this office [of supreme power]? In the West there can be no doubt, for whether we consider the Italians, the French, the Spaniards, the Germans or the British, they all learnt to worship Christ, to receive the sacraments of Faith, and to know the Gate of Heaven from the Roman Church. Therefore they cannot deny its supremacy and magisterium. Since the Greeks received the Faith from Paul as Doctor and Andrew as Teacher, and since they grew in power through the Empire of Constantinople, they began to show disrespect towards the Roman Church. And the Asians, too, having been taught the Gospel by apostles, sometimes looked down on Rome. But no human reasoning or authority can alter the divine will of Christ as expressed in the words to Peter, already quoted, that the primacy has been given to the Roman Church, and that it is this Church which has been entrusted with the vicarship of the Great God. Therefore, whoever governs the Roman Church is the teacher of Faith, the pastor of the sheep, the interpreter of divine law, and the head of all the Christian people. He must be obeyed by all who want to avoid the punishments of eternal fire and to reign with the holy apostles and with Christ the Saviour himself.

[11] Haec nunc potestas ad nos delata est, indignos quidem, qui tam sublime solium teneremus. Sed quanto<sup>1</sup> est nostra humilitas inferior, tanto est ejus gloria sublimior, qui nos huc evexit. Fatemur, si quis nos nostraque respiciat, nihil esse in nobis praeter carnem peccatis plenam, si quis vero ea<sup>2</sup> pensitet, quae in nobis operatus est Deus, et hujus loci, quem tenemus, dignitatem animo volvat, concedendum est nullam esse in terris potestatem, quae nostrae, idest Christi et beati Petri apostoli, non subjiciatur auctoritati.

[12] Ob quam rem dignum laude censemus carissimum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum, Castellae et Legionis regem illustrem, qui ad nos hodie per suos<sup>3</sup> oratores recurrens in persona nostra Christi vicarium veneratur, et Romanae primaeque sedi suum impendit honorem, neque ille illos audire voluit, qui eum in diversa trahere conati sunt. Novit sapiens princeps extra viam salutis incedere, quisquis apostolicae sedis mandata contemnit. Voluit {152v} majorum suorum vulgatum iter tenere, et a matris uberibus noluit separari.

[13] Studuit, sicut amplissimo dominio potens est<sup>4</sup>, ita et fide clarus haberi. Non est parva gloria Romanae sedis<sup>5</sup> tanti regis oboedientia, qui latissimis et<sup>6</sup> potentissimis regnis imperat, ac ditissimas regiones et feroces in armis gentes potestate coercescit. Magna ejus nobilitas est, qui ex Gothorum sanguine cretus, qui octoginta circiter successiones rex ex regibus ducit originem. Praestat et ipse virtute belli domique clarus et in commune bonum affectus,

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; quanta G, H, J

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>3</sup> vos G

<sup>4</sup> potens est : est potens G

<sup>5</sup> sedi J

<sup>6</sup> ac G

[11] That power has now been passed on to Us who hold this exalted chair, though unworthy. But the lower Our condition was before, the greater is the glory of Him who raised Us to this place. We acknowledge that if anyone looks at Us and our [actions], all he will see is sinful flesh. But if he considers what God has done with Us as well as the dignity of the office We hold, he must admit that all power on Earth is subject to Our authority, which is the authority of Christ and Saint Peter the Apostle.

## **2. Obedience of the King of Castile**

[12] Therefore, We praise Our beloved son in Christ Enrique, illustrious King of Castile and Leon, for coming to Us today through you, his ambassadors, for showing reverence to the Vicar of Christ in Our person, and for honouring the Roman and First See. He has not listened to those who tried to pull him in another direction, for this wise prince knows that those who spurn the commands of the Apostolic See do not walk on the road to salvation.<sup>1</sup> Instead he has wished to follow the same course as his forefathers and never be separated from the bosom of his Mother.

## **3. Praise of the King of Castile**

[13] He has desired to be renowned because of his faith just as he is mighty because of his large realm. It is a great honour for the Roman See to have the obedience of this great king, ruling over large and mighty realms, and having power over rich territories and peoples who are ferocious fighters. Great is his nobility since he descends from the blood of the Goths and a royal line of about 80 kings. He himself excels in courage and strength, he is famous in war and peace,<sup>2</sup> and he cares for the common good.

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<sup>1</sup> In 1447, Piccolomini had heard his predecessor, Pope Nicolaus V, tell the ambassadors of Alfonso V, coming to present the king's declaration of obedience: *Non enim pro sua sapientia ignorant neminem, qui ab hac sede alienat et deviat in statu salutis esse posse, ita ut quemadmodum qui in archa Noe fuerint salvati sint, qui vero extra illam omnes perierint, ita qui a Petri sede alieni interire necesse est*, cf. Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

<sup>2</sup> "domi": at home

[14] qui non solum Saracenis, vivificae crucis hostibus, sollicito studio bellum infert, sed Turcis quoque long positis quo pacto resistatur<sup>1</sup> anxius est. Nos hujus regis<sup>2</sup> devotionem admodum commendamus, oboedientiam ejus laeto complectimur animo, et, quae pro defensione fidei offert, non recusamus. Precamur pium Deum, hanc ejus mentem custodiat et ipsum<sup>3</sup> benignis semper oculis<sup>4</sup> intueatur.

[15] Nos quidem cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sacrosanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus sibi et suis semper<sup>5</sup> faventes erimus ac benigni.

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<sup>1</sup> resistat G

<sup>2</sup> hujus regis : regis hujus G

<sup>3</sup> illum G

<sup>4</sup> semper oculis : oculis semper G

<sup>5</sup> et suis semper : semper et suis G

#### **4. King's offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks**

[14] For not only does he energetically fight the Saracens,<sup>1</sup> enemies of the life-giving Cross, but he is also eager to fight the Turks though they are far away [from his own lands]. We greatly commend the dedication of this king, We gladly receive his obedience, and We accept his offers concerning the defence of the Faith. We pray that pious God will make him keep these intentions and look on him with benign eyes.

#### **5. Assurance of papal goodwill**

[15] Indeed We ourselves, with Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will always show him and his both favour and kindness.

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<sup>1</sup> The Moors in Spain. Pius refers to the two Castilian campaigns against the Moorish Emirate of Granada in 1455 and 1458 which developed into a war of attrition

# Appendix 1: Oration “*Etsi juxta sapientum*” of Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo to Pope Pius II (26 February 1459, Siena)

## Manuscript

- Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 4881, ff. 212r-216r **(H)**

The manuscript is from 15<sup>th</sup> century, written beautifully, in one continuous hand. The text of the oration, however, is corrupt in several places and has a considerable number of errors, incl. of spelling.<sup>1</sup> The corrupt passages have been emendated or underlined. Insignificant errors have been corrected without indication in apparatus.<sup>2</sup>

NB: the text is digitally and freely available in the DVL (Digital Vatican Library).

Abbreviations in textual apparatus:

- Conj. = conjicit
- Leg. = legit
- Omit. = omittit

## Editions

- López Fonseca, A. & Ruiz Vila, J. M.: *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Discursos al servicio de la Corona de Castilla*. Madrid, 2013, pp. 194-219 **(LO)**  
[With Spanish translation]

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<sup>1</sup> LO, p. 31: *Su importancia reside más en el número de obras que conserva que en la calidad de sus lecturas*

<sup>2</sup> For principles of edition (incl. orthography), see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 9.



## Pagination

Pagination follows the Vaticanus latinus - and also the digital version (marked with an \*).

## Literature

- Alvar Nuno, Guillermo: *Estudio, edición crítica y traducción de la "Compendiosa historia Hispánica" de Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo*. Madrid, 2017
- Benziger, Wolfram: *Zur Theorie von Krieg und Frieden in der Italienischen Renaissance. Die Disputatio De pace et bello zwischen Platina und Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo und andere anlässlich der Pax Paolina (Rom 1468) entstandene Schriften*. Mit Edition und Übersetzung. Frankfurt, 1995. (Europäische Hochschulschriften. Reihe III. Série III; 702), p. 153
- López Fonseca, A. & Ruiz Vila, J. M.: *Rodrigo Sánchez de Arévalo. Discursos al servicio de la Corona de Castilla*. Madrid, 2013
- Trame, Richard H.: *Rodrigo Sanchez de Arévalo, 1404-1470, Spanish diplomat and Champion of the Papacy*. Washington, DC, 1958, pp. 97-99

## Oratio ad beatissimum patrem dominum Pium Papam Secundum facta per eundem dominum reverendissimum episcopum Ovetensem in praestatione oboedientiae pro parte serenissimi domini regis Hispaniae

[1] {212r, col. 1} {424\*} Etsi juxta sapientum sententias, beatissime ac clementissime pater, illud exploratissimum habeamus, quia sicut inexperti inexpertas sic triti tritas saepe ferant sententias et juxta Aristotelem veluti trepidantes invisa temptamus, sic mira fiducia consueta aggredimur, nunc vero longe differentius mecum agitur, nec experiri cogor, quod et Cicero in ea re dixerat, dicendi videlicet *assiduitatem partim alere audaciam*<sup>1</sup> ipsamque nutrire per orandi vim. Sed certe - ut ego arbitror - id Ciceroni facile fuit quippe, qui facilem dicendo princeps evaserat. Adde quia doctiori vel dissertiori se nusquam disserebat. Quare necesse erat omnem in dicendo timorem defuturum. Ego vero, etsi in hoc summo omnium tribunali {212r, col. 2} aliquid verbum habuerim, in hoc tamen formali loco tanta majestate splendenti nequaquam me fateor deseruisse. Idem consistorium videor intueri, sed novum inusitatumque minime suspicio, in quo uti quia non Cicero loquitur, sed Ciceronis ignorator balbutit, et quod impudentius temptatur coram Cicerone loqui gestio, dicam verius coram Ciceronis totiusque facundiae et sapientiae principe ac emendatore. Qua de re pro tantae lucis et claritatis splendore bene atque abunde satis mihi elargitur, mihi item similibus si ipsa quoque naturalis in nobis<sup>2</sup> intelligentia non decidat, atque spirituali conspecto fulgore humanus non desit intellectus, quia juxta<sup>3</sup> sapientem *scrutator majestatis opprimetur a gloria*.<sup>4</sup> Quid ergo rectum a tremebundo futurum est? Scio equidem laetum jucundumque oratorem exigit oratio, timidumque prosternit, sed certe sanctitatis tuae innata humanitas timorem evacuat. Demum si ipsae quoque ineptiae meae non merentur mittentis causam, dignitas atque rei - de qua agendus est sermo - eximia venustas dicendi additum facile - ut spero - conciliabunt.

[2] Sapientia increata, beatissime ac clementissime pater, ineffabili miroque ordine cuncta dispositiones<sup>5</sup> entitati rerum omnium, {212v, col. 1} {425\*} ne sub vago incertoque casu fluctuaret, vim quandam insitam esse voluit<sup>6</sup>, qua duratione simul et sui conservatione appeteret. Ex eo itaque famoso principio illa philosophophantum prima emanavit sententia,

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<sup>1</sup> Cicero: *De inventione*, 1.3.4.: *constant practice in speaking led them to assume a bold front (dicendi assiduitas induit audaciam)*

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* LO

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; *justa* H

<sup>4</sup> Proverbs, 25, 27: *he that is a searcher of majesty shall be overwhelmed by glory (qui scrutator est majestatis opprimetur a gloria)*

<sup>5</sup> *disponens conj.* LO

<sup>6</sup> *em.*; *volunt* H

ut unumquodque quantalibet sit natura - momentaneum suae tantum entitatis ratione durationi suae intendat. Id rursus peripateticorum schola perdocuit, quia – ut inquirunt - *entia ipsa nolunt male disponi*.<sup>1</sup> Quo fit, ut necessario fatendum sit in quolibet essendi genere dari oportere primum et quidem unum ens a quo et alia entia dirigantur atque regulentur. Idque nedum insensibilibus rebus, sed et in ipso insensibili regimine universi considerare libet, quia quae ejusdem rationis existunt, idem principium habere videntur. Omnis igitur sapientiae schola unum profitetur esse oportere monarcham, a quo omnes principatus derivarentur atque illius nutu moveantur. Plato denique de re publica cum Trasymacho disputans eam ipsam complexus est sententiam, et veluti omnia entia ab uno ente omnesque substantiae ab una substantia derivari perspicuum esse, ita omnem principandi rationem effective quidem causari ab uno luculenter edocet. Hic autem dominus et summus est, per quem omnia, in quo omnia, *in cujus femore scriptum* {212v, col. 2} *est: Rex regum et dominus dominantium*.<sup>2</sup> Atque<sup>3</sup> secundum sapientem *quae a Deo sunt, ordinata sunt*,<sup>4</sup> decuit ut<sup>5</sup> in mundiali gubernatione aliquem et quidem unum vice sui principem non aliter quam summum constitueret. Idque rectus ratione ordo erit<sup>6</sup>. Unde in Canticis, inquit sapiens, *terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata*.<sup>7</sup> Ordo enim principatus praecipue secundum praelationem atque subjectionem, ascensum<sup>8</sup> denique et descensum<sup>9</sup> attenditur. Ascendendo<sup>10</sup> igitur, si improbe non erratur, ad unumlibet usque conscendemus, in quo vice Christi sit omnis potestas et principandi summitas tamquam in primo supplicissimo<sup>11</sup>, ultra quem gradus non sit, ut in illo decor, universi concordia, ordo ipsa quoque virtus unita consistat.

[3] Hunc igitur principatum Christus ascensurus in caelum beatissimo Petro<sup>12</sup> suisque commisit successoribus, ut potestas sive<sup>13</sup> et unitas successiva semper in uno, non quidem in multitudine servaretur. Verum, sanctissime pater, his nostris in faustis atque<sup>14</sup> felicissimis diebus divino munere summus ipse principatus ad te unum digne quidem et<sup>15</sup> juste delatus

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<sup>1</sup> Dante: *Monarchia*, 1, 10, 6: *And Aristotle saw the force of this argument when he said: "Things do not wish to be badly ordered; a plurality of reigns is bad; therefore let there be one ruler."* (Et hanc rationem videbat Philosophus cum dicebat: "Entia nolunt male disponi; malum autem pluralitas principatuum: unus ergo princeps.")

<sup>2</sup> Apocalypse, 19, 16: *And he hath on his garment, and on his thigh written: King of kings, and lord of lords*

<sup>3</sup> itaque *leg.* LO

<sup>4</sup> Not located in OT. But Romans, 13, 1 has: *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit: non est enim potestas nisi a Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt*

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* LO

<sup>6</sup> *exit leg.* LO

<sup>7</sup> Canticles, 6, 9

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; *accensum* H

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; *decensum* H

<sup>10</sup> *em.*; *accedendo* H

<sup>11</sup> *successorum conj.* LO

<sup>12</sup> *pater leg.* LO

<sup>13</sup> *sicut leg.* LO

<sup>14</sup> *omit.* LO

<sup>15</sup> *a leg.* LO

est, et per successum personarum ordinem te usque perductus est. Qua de re eadem in te virtus, eadem auctoritas, eadem fidei puritas consistit, quinimmo in te solo eam excellentiam profiteamur, quae in Petro fuit, et quidquid ipse ex Petra Christo quasi ex ipso summo originalique fonte suscepit, ea omnia per quandam – ut ita {213r, col. 1} {426\*} dixerim – divini alvei<sup>1</sup> emanationem ad te gloriose decurrit. Eapropter res publica Christiana per totum orbem diffusa magno cum applausu summoque mentis jubilo te gregis dominici pastorem, te dominum urbis et orbis veneratur, te patrem patriae, te omnium protectorem<sup>2</sup>, te fidei defensorem congratulatur. O igitur et perbeatam rem publicam Christianam, cui tantum e caelo munus concessum est! O tempora felicia! O dies gloriosos! O denique fortunam optimam, quae nobis divinitus reservata est<sup>3</sup>! Sed o felicem et fortunatam Italiam, quae talem genuisti filium, qui et pater esse meretur! Sed tu, o inclita Senarum urbs, perbeata tamquam singularis parens, exulta felix, quia jam reverens<sup>4</sup> recepisti, cujus clarissimam stirpem adulta habuisse laetaris ex tuis enim visceribus tam pretiosum monile, tam insigne tutamen<sup>5</sup> habere meruisti, cujus vetusta nobilitas quondam decoris tibi ornamenta praestabit. Non ergo mireris, quod<sup>6</sup> natus est ex te, qui longe est supra te, sed age gratias, quod talem habere merueris.

[4] Cum igitur, beatissime pater, hujus assumptionis tuae tam felicissimum atque gloriosissimum novum litteris tuae sanctitatis<sup>7</sup> serenissimus atque potentissimus princeps, dominus Henricus, rex noster Hispaniae invictissimus, laetissimo animo cognovisset, crebrescente illo ingenti suavissimi odoris praeconio sapientiae, honestatis virtutumque ac meritorum {213r, col. 2} tuae sanctitatis non potuit non maxime gaudere. Nam, ut inquit Aristoteles, gaudent maxime felices existentes, cum studiosos vident ad magnos honores assumptos, veluti cum recordantur qualia egerunt. Demum sua regia serenitas corde simul et opere hymnis et processionum laudibus immensas egit altissimo gratias, quia talem nobis ejus loco in terris vicarium instituere dignatus est, qualem pro sua ineffabili sapientia ecclesiae suae profuturum providit, essetque uncae sponsae suae unicus sponsus, indubitatus pastor, pietate et sanctis desideriis plenus. Sed et habet innumeras gratias vobis reverendissimis in Christo patribus et vestro sacratissimo senatui, qui veluti sanctae matris ecclesiae veri cardines et columnae fortissimae attendentes, quod unitati congruit, quod virtuti expedit, quod fidei et ecclesiae utilitati convenit in talem patrem beata vestra vota fixistis, qualem cum Augustino legistis, *qui omnem in dominicis castris aetatem peregisset*<sup>8</sup> ac sua valeret honestate et sanctitate peccata populi exterminare, sciretque et vellet fidem augere et mores

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<sup>1</sup> a luci *leg.* LO

<sup>2</sup> pretorem *leg.* LO

<sup>3</sup> esset *leg.* LO

<sup>4</sup> *em.*; severens H; senescens *conj.* LO

<sup>5</sup> tu tamen *leg.* LO

<sup>6</sup> quia *leg.* LO

<sup>7</sup> sanctitati *leg.* LO

<sup>8</sup> Decretum, D.61.7 (col. 229). Not Augustine, but Celestine

corrige. Eapropter felicem hunc pontificatum serenissimus rex tamquam caelitus nobis missum extollit, commendat, laudat. Quare illud Ciceronis tamquam a catholico dictum verissimum esse putat, quia<sup>1</sup> summis viris admirabilis felicitas {213v, col. 1} {427\*} et fortuna in rebus a se gerendis e caelo semper tributa fuit a Deo, ut - sicut ipse Cicero ait Fabro Marco Marcello et Scipionibus provinciarum administrationes fore creditas, imperia collata non ob eorum modo virtutem, sed ex diis immortalibus idque - si humanis potentatibus asseverare libet - quanto amplius in eis, qui Dei penitus esse noscuntur.

[5] Ceterum, beatissime pater, quia vera tua congratulatio est, quando cum dignitate virtus extollitur et commendatur, ea de re idem invictissimus princeps, cum singula mirifica gesta, studia, res praeclarissimas tua sanctitatis apertissima fide cognovit, ingentes laudes tuas efferre non desistit, quod utique genus laudis quippe regale et praeexcellens veluti omne assentatione prorsus alienum<sup>2</sup> dignissimum<sup>3</sup> judicandum est, quia ut ille famosus panegyricus ad Theodosium Caesarem pulchre dicebat, quod et tua sanctitas pulchrius audire potest, recte ab his laudaris, quos ipse laudare potes.<sup>4</sup> Debita enim videtur esse laus, quae a digno laude procedit.

[6] Pro officii igitur necessitudine esset a nobis mos gerendus et huius loci majestati et tuae dignitatis divinae amplitudini. Sed - ut ajunt - aliena nos faciunt pericula cautum<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>. Vidimus enim plurimos hoc in loco, qui sanctitatem tuam mirificis atque {213v, col. 2} verissimis laudibus extulerunt, et quae sapientia, quae consiliis et prudentia egerunt<sup>7</sup> suis ipsi orationibus graviter ornateque narrarunt. Verum paulo post non sine omnium admiratione conspeximus illos a tua sanctitate reprehensos iri. Mirabamur quidem tam severa sanctitatis tuae censura damnatam tantopere fuisse eam partem<sup>8</sup>, quae apud antiquos maximosque oratores praecipue in laude versatur. Augebat admirationem illud Ciceronis praeceptum, qui cum de publica scriberet, in eo praecipue loco, ubi de instituendo praecipue agit, *alendum docet<sup>9</sup> principem* atque nutriendum laude et *gloria<sup>10</sup>*. Accedit, quod per sapientem laudare jubemur viros gloriosos et parentes nostros, eodem sapiente alibi dicente: *qui graditur sapienter, ipse laudabitur<sup>11</sup>*. Sed et<sup>12</sup> in sacris litteris regina illa Saba plurimum laudata

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; quem H

<sup>2</sup> alienus *leg.* LO

<sup>3</sup> dignissimus *leg.* LO

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Seneca: *Ad Lucilium epistulae*, 52, 11: *Why do you take pleasure in being praised by men whom you yourself cannot praise? (Quid laetaris, quod ab hominibus his laudatus es, quos non potes ipse laudare?)*

<sup>5</sup> *cautos leg.* LO

<sup>6</sup> Proverbial advice: *Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum*

<sup>7</sup> *em.*; egerit H

<sup>8</sup> *propter leg.* LO

<sup>9</sup> *dicet leg.* LO

<sup>10</sup> Cicero: *De re publica*, 5.7.9

<sup>11</sup> Proverbs, 28, 26: *but he that walketh wisely, he shall be saved (qui autem graditur sapienter, ipse salvabitur)*

<sup>12</sup> *omit.* LO

reperitur pro eo, quod Salomonis extulit sapientiam, inquit: *Vicisti famam virtutibus tuis*<sup>1</sup>. His igitur allectus testimoniis laudarem utique, si auderem. In hoc tamen ceteros laudatores vincam, si plurima ingenti gloria et virtute digna omittam, quamquam mihi sint perquam notissima, nedum enim - me teste - viriles annos<sup>2</sup> attigeras, in quibus solet illa aetas res ipsas seriosas senioribus remittere. Nihilominus tamen inter multos unus ipse sapientia doctus, consilio gravis et prudentia {214r, col. 1} {428\*} plenus mirifice evasisti nobis coetaneis admirantibus, item cedentibus. Taceo, quibus laboribus, quibus artibus, quibus sapientia et industria hanc sanctam sedem ejusque auctoritatem a tuis primis cunabulis defenderis<sup>3</sup>, quot pro ea re principes adieris, quot denique provincias peragraveris. Verum, quia teste sapiente *magnorum laborum gloriosus est fructus*<sup>4</sup>, decebat, ut ab ea lustrareris, quam ipse lustrasti, atque eam sedem, quam juvenis defendisti, vir factus consedeas, et quam exaltasti in adolescentia, possideas in senio, eodem dicente sapiente, quia qui seminat in juventute, colliget in senectute<sup>5</sup>. Demum, si cetera taceam, quis mansuetudinem humanitatemque<sup>6</sup> tuam non maxime mirabitur? Equidem cum omnium fere principantium domestica sit atque familiaris arrogantia, ita ut vix conspiciamus, quem et abundare fortuna<sup>7</sup> et carere superbia, in te tamen nihil praeteritae mansuetudinis tuae summus pontificatus ademit, sed id solum novum efficit, ut ea ipsa praeclara et indigentia, quae animus tuus ante conceperat, jam explere incipiam<sup>8</sup> prodigere<sup>9</sup> longius, nisi sanctitas tua me uti ceteros damnaret veluti ad aurium gratiam<sup>10</sup> locuturum. Taceo et de tuis laudatissimis studiis et divinis et humanis litteris. Italia certe augusta est tua dicendi gravitate, quam ceterae quoque nationes imitari coguntur. {214r, col. 2} Sed jam ponam custodiam ori meo, quia ut cum nostro Quintiliano loquar, narrandarum rerum affluentia vires orationis extinguit. Illud tamen Suetonicum dignius tuae sanctitati quam ethnico Caesari dicatum est, quia tanto principatu dignus princeps existis, sed et tanto principe dignus est tantus principatus<sup>11</sup>, quo fit, ut princeps et principatus claritudine uniti splendorem<sup>12</sup> communicent. Sed et ipse Romanus Cicero praestantius quam Caesari, si vixisset, tuae sanctitati dicere debuisset, quia auget in te virtus dignitatem, quae tamen ex magnitudine incrementum non habet.

[7] Merito igitur serenissimus ac gloriosissimus rex noster, tuae sanctitatis devotissimus atque obsequentissimus filius, de tam felici assumptione nedum gavisus est gaudio magno valde, sed quod interno mentis conceptu exhilaratus est. Sperat enim te duce, te pastore,

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<sup>1</sup> 2. Paralipomenon, 9, 6

<sup>2</sup> animos *leg.* LO

<sup>3</sup> descenderis LO

<sup>4</sup> Wisdom, 3, 15: *For the fruit of good labours is glorious*

<sup>5</sup> *Quotation not identified*

<sup>6</sup> inmanitatemque *leg.* LO

<sup>7</sup> fortunam *leg.* LO

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; incipias H

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; prodeger H; prodige *em.* LO

<sup>10</sup> gratias *leg.* LO

<sup>11</sup> *Quotation not identified*

<sup>12</sup> *em.*; splendorum H

Christianum populum inter mundanas varietates fluctuantem pacem domesticam atque contra hostes fidei victoriam habiturum, quod siquidem congratulationis officium regia serenitas propter varia in sua re publica occurrentia impedimenta et praesertim ob continuationem pessimae guerraee contra Saracenos regni Granatae aliquantisper differre visa est, nihilominus integerrimam suam fidem devotionem atque reverentiam {215r, col. 1} {429\*} ab ipsa die, qua felicissimum tuae sanctitatis pontificatum cognovit, semper animo et opere gessit.

[8] Superest, beatissime pater, ut post suspectam a tua sanctitate principis et regis nostri gloriosissimi de tua assumptione congratulationem, tandem sua erga tuam sanctitatem merita, suam fidem, voluntatem, mentem<sup>1</sup> denique et affectum cognoscas. Esset quidem perlonga habenda oratio, si particulari sermone disserere me oporteret ingentem regis nostri ac progenitorum suorum zelum atque fervorem indefessum<sup>2</sup> ad amplificationem fidei et nominis Christiani necnon amplissima merita erga Dei ecclesiam et apostolicam sedem ac in ea sedentes. Nam - ut cetera taceam - per gloriosos suos progenitores saepe damnatas haereses, extirpata schismata, summosque pontifices sedi restitutos utique comparatum est. Sed et de incrementis fidei, quid a me dici potest, quo longe majora non conspiciamus? Etenim gloriosis Hispaniae regibus hoc sibi unum singulare praeconium per saecula dedicatum erit, idque non aliter quam suo et suorum sanguine comparatum, qui e faucibus hostium infidelium regna eripuerunt. Horum igitur beata vestigia noster serenissimus rex Henricus nedum imitatur, sed superat. Postquam enim regni gubernacula suscepit, non quidem deliciis vacat, ut aetas illa consuevit, sed per annos quattuor bellum {215v, col. 2} continuum magnaue strages infidelibus pro letor!, ingesta est, tantusque illorum sanguis ad Dei gloriam effusus est, ut ad id unum praesidium recurrere cogentur<sup>3</sup>, nam quem superare ferro non poterant, auro temptarent evincere. Conati<sup>4</sup> enim sunt pacem auri copia comparare, offerentes denique omnes Catholicos ab eis captivos, cujus rei legatione exposita gloriosus atque catholicus rex, "Dicite", inquit, "principi vestro verius crucis Christi perfidissimo hosti, quia captivos Christicolae Christi brachio ego redimam, quippe et sanguine vestro, non quidem turpi pace. Reliquum vero, quod de auro offertis, renuntiate illud Macedonis imperatoris semper mihi animo haesisse, quia *non aurum, sed aurum habentibus imperare volo*."<sup>5</sup> O gloriosum verbum! O animum aeterna laude dignum! Laudamus David regem pro eo, quod eam aquam concupitam effudit, quam de cisterna Bethlehemitica inter hostes cuneos advectam, sacra tradit historia. Quia igitur oblatam virtuose contempsit, dicens: "*Absit a me, ut sanguinem hominum bibam*," scriptum est de illo sancte egisse, quia *libavit eam*

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; affectum *add.* H

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; indefessum H

<sup>3</sup> cogentur *leg.* LO

<sup>4</sup> *em.*; cognati H; cogniti *em.* LO

<sup>5</sup> Petrarca: *Epistolae ad familiares*, 12, 2: *nolle aurum sed aurum habentibus imperare*

*domino*.<sup>1</sup> Si igitur, beatissime pater, sempiterna laude David commendatur, quia aquam spreuit, quanto abundantiore laude praedicandus est princeps, qui non aquam aliquid concupitam, sed *aurum*, quod teste sapiente *ad cor regum*<sup>2</sup> ingredi solet, pro Christi gloria contempsit. Rursus quanta regum Hispaniae {216r, col. 1} {430\*} ad sedem apostolicam reverentia atque devotio fuerit, nedum in codicibus legimus, sed re ipsa experimur, nec tuae tamen sanctitati id est ignotum, quippe qui majora, quam dicere gestio, occulta fide conspexit. Nam cum hac nostra aetate nonnulli perditissimi homines auctoritatem apostolicae sedis suppressere et ad manus tumultuosae multitudinis deducere atque – ut ita dixerim – novam fidem afferre niterentur,<sup>3</sup> nedum impietati eorum rex noster non assensit, quinimmo pro tuenda conservandaque hujus sedis auctoritate et praeeminentia ad omnes fere Catholicos principes me licet indignum non semel, sed saepe transmisit, a qua siquidem devotione et reverentia celsitudinem regiam numquam persecutio, numquam turbatio, numquam quorundam suasiones et studia quovis modo retrahere potuerit. Si igitur tantus fidei et devotionis cultus, tanta reverentia et oboedientia calamitatis ecclesiae<sup>4</sup> temporibus inviolata atque indubitata permansit, quomodo nunc in felicitate et unitate titillabitur, aut quomodo silebit in prosperis, quae in adversis tonabatur, tuae<sup>5</sup> maximae sanctitati<sup>6</sup>, cathedram Petri tenenti, unico atque indubitato vicario, cujus pontificatus post illa turbationis tempora nonnisi auctore Deo nobis reservatus est?

[9] Itaque, beatissime pater, ea fidei et devotionis vestigia, quae – proh dolor! – ex oriente non respicis, nunc ex occidente uberius collige illisque abundantius frui<sup>7</sup> adeo, ut ea {216r, col. 2} ipsa verba, quae ad beatum Damasum praedecessorem Jeronimum dixisse ferunt, cum ad eum de novo nomine trium Ypostaseon scriberet, non aliter quam profetando sanctitati tuae atque de tuis temporibus ea dixisse videatur<sup>8</sup>: *“In oriente,”* inquit, *“sulcis obruta frumenta in lolium avenasque degenerant, et Lucifer ille, qui ceciderat, iterum super sidera posuit thronum suum. In occidente vero cespite<sup>9</sup> fecundo terra ipsa dominici seminis puritate<sup>10</sup> centenos fructus multiplicat, ubique jam sol justitiae oritur et incorrupta patrum servatur*

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<sup>1</sup> 2. Kings, 23, 15-17: *Desideravit ergo David, et ait : O si quis mihi daret potum aquae de cisterna quae est in Bethlehem juxta portam! Irruperunt ergo tres fortes castra Philistinorum, et hauserunt aquam de cisterna Bethlehem, quae erat juxta portam, et attulerunt ad David : at ille noluit bibere, sed libavit eam Domino, dicens : Propitius sit mihi Dominus, ne faciam hoc : num sanguinem hominum istorum, qui profecti sunt, et animarum periculum bibam? Noluit ergo bibere. Haec fecerunt tres robustissimi*

<sup>2</sup> Ecclesiasticus, 8, 3: *For gold and silver hath destroyed many, and hath reached even to the heart of kings, and perverted them (multos enim perdidit aurum et argentum, et usque ad cor regum extendit et convertit)*

<sup>3</sup> The author is referring to the conciliarists (including Piccolomini!) at the Council of Basel where he stayed for some years as part of the Castilian embassy

<sup>4</sup> ecce *leg.* LO

<sup>5</sup> *em.*; tua H

<sup>6</sup> *em.*; sanctitas H

<sup>7</sup> fuere *leg.* LO

<sup>8</sup> videat *leg.* LO

<sup>9</sup> *em.*; conspice LO

<sup>10</sup> puritatem *leg.* LO



*auctoritas.*"<sup>1</sup> Quare idem dominus rex noster, occidentalium populorum praecipuus atque excellentissimus princeps, quod pro more et debito huic sanctae sedi agere consuevit, tuae nunc beatitudini gratantius atque libentius persolvere cupiens ac piissimorum principum, quorum gesta ecclesia<sup>2</sup> veneratur, vestigia sequens, congrue sanctitati tuae offert illud pretiosissimum oboedientiae et humilitatis monile, quod piissimus Constantinus, ut sacra tradunt annalia<sup>3</sup>, beatissimo papae<sup>4</sup> Silvestro obtulit, cum homo, inquit, summus aetate temporali ac caduca conditione mortalis, juste quidem ac sancte te patrem, locum Dei<sup>5</sup> in orbe terrarum tenentem, toto animo reveremur teque debita religione percolimus. Quis enim se tuae sanctitatis pietati negabit, qui ejus nomine cuncta agis, qui sine ullius potestatis<sup>6</sup> {216v, col. 1} {431\*} consortio totius mundi gubernat imperium? Quae quidem verba ore proprio et corde gratissimo idem dominus meus sanctitati tuae respondit. Offert denique illud gloriosissimum Valentiniani ad beatum Ambrosium, quem cum Arianus Valens persecueretur, ad illum gloriosus imperator edixit: "*Confortare,*" inquit, "*pater, quia Deus, qui te elegit, semper adjuvabit, et ego filius et adjutor, ut meum decet ordinem, semper existam.*"<sup>7</sup> Sed et illud Christianissimi Justiniani: "*Reddimus,*" inquit, "*honorem et reverentiam apostolicae sedi et vestrae sanctitati, quam decet nos semper venerari.*"

[10] Idcirco hic devotissimus princeps paratus semper cum apostolo ad oboediendum fidei in omnibus, sanctiori, potiori ac legitimiori modo, quibus potest et debet, matura cum praelatis, principibus<sup>8</sup> ac cunctis statibus regnorum suorum deliberatione suscepta pro se et cuncta ejus stirpe regia et ecclesia regnorum et dominiorum suorum sanctissimae personae vestrae tamquam vero, unico et indubitato pastori ac legitimo Petri successori et summo pontifici ac vicario Jesu Christi in terris veram, rectam, gratam, sinceram et indubitatum, puram et simplicem reverentiam et oboedientiam promittit, pollicetur et praestat illamque pure et simpliciter ac efficaciter per nos humillimos ejus oratores eidem vestrae sanctitati dat et exhibet {216v, col. 2} et legitime praestat, quam et nos illius nomine pure et humiliter<sup>9</sup> praestamus atque devote exhibemus, et nihilominus idem devotissimus dominus rex eidem sanctitati vestrae reverenter et humiliter, ut catholicum decet principem, caput inclinat omnesque cogitationes, sua cuncta studia sanctitati tuae libenter devovet easque omni fide, benevolentia, honore et reverentia complectitur, subdens insuper arbitrio sanctitatis vestrae non solum regna, dominia et potentatus, sed quidquid in eo est et voluntatis et arbitrii.

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<sup>1</sup> Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Damasum* (15), 1. MPL, XXII, col. 355. Piccolomini had used this quotation in his oration "*Sentio*" [21] (1452), sect. 132

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; ecclesiae H

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; ancilia H

<sup>4</sup> principe *leg.* LO

<sup>5</sup> ei *leg.* LO

<sup>6</sup> pietatis *leg.* LO

<sup>7</sup> Cassiodorus: *Historia tripartita*, VII, 8. Decretum, D.63.3 (col. 236)

<sup>8</sup> *em.*; principiis H

<sup>9</sup> simpliciter *leg.* LO

[11] Postremo solent hoc in loco nonnulli sanctitatem tuam suasionibus permultis hortari ad rem utique perbeatam omnique attentione dignam resistantiam videlicet contra immanentissimum fidei hostem, Turcorum perfidum canem, quod utique exhortationis genus a nobis recte omittetur, quippe qui argumentis pluris experimus<sup>1</sup> adeo eam rem infixam esse tuae sanctitatis visceribus, ut nil carius habeat, nil jucundius praestoletur. Monemur enim, ut inquit philosophus, ad ea, in quibus pigritamur, non quidem ad ea, quae festinamus, veluti si quis currentem ad cursum aut agonizantem ad bellum moneat. Itaque arbitratur<sup>2</sup> serenitas regia rem ipsam in eo statu esse, ut longe magis remedio quam hujusmodi monitionibus indigere videatur. Verumtamen regia celsitudo tanto rem ipsam libentius commemoratur, quanto ardentius illius exitum felicem desiderat. Inter has tamen sanctitatis tuae vehementes curas guerram {217r, col. 1} {432\*} justissimam contra perfidos regni Granatae Saracenos cordialissime recommittit. Hi enim tanto crudeliores tantoque fidei Catholicae pestilentiores habentur, quanto viciniore qui veluti serpentes in sinu nostro degentes nos dictum corrodunt, cogimurque, *ut fabulae fingunt, inclusum hostem Argi<sup>3</sup> centum oculis observare.*<sup>4</sup> Adeo enim in Granatam guerra justa, adeo sancta et pernecessaria est, ut in quodam generali vetustissimoque concilio veterum decreta patrum sanxerunt Hispanicum<sup>5</sup> bellum Jerosolimitano per omnia adaequandum. Qua de re sanctitati tuae regia devotio plurimum supplicare decrevit, ut sic illud negotium peragat, quod<sup>6</sup> istud minime omittat memorque semper existat illius famosae atque tuae sanctitati notissimae Tullii Ciceronis sententiae, qui cum de re publica ageret, sic inquit: *Decet rem publicam gubernantem curam gerere, ne, dum universam rem publicam tueri intendit, partem aliquam deserat*<sup>7</sup>. Nec enim huic Christianissimo principi solum contra infideles Granatae regnum utique potentissimum bellum instat, verum etiam contra universam Africam, tertiam orbis plagam, qui, ut Afrorum semper mos fuit, fraudibus et dolis cunctas teste Vegetio superat nationes<sup>8</sup>, in qua bellicossissimi reges sub perfido Mahumeto regnantes novas nuper inhiere conjurationes in filium tuae sanctitatis obsequentissimum regem nostrum. Nam veluti olim iidem ipsi Carthaginenses Hannibalis viribus freti {217r, col. 2} moliebantur senatum Romanum ad Carthaginem transferre et, juxta Livium, sicut Hannibal ipse in Italia militans pollicitus fuit Romanum imperium tradere Capuanis, non aliter hi astutissimi Poenorum reges ac fidei catholicae crudelissimi hostes Hispanias sub Christo militantes ad Africam sub Mahumeto transferre totis viribus moliuntur.

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<sup>1</sup> experiremur *leg.* LO

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; arbitramur H

<sup>3</sup> *em.*; argum H

<sup>4</sup> Jeronimus: *Epistola ad Furiam* (54), 9. MPL, XXII, col. 554

<sup>5</sup> Hispani cum *leg.* LO

<sup>6</sup> quia *leg.* LO

<sup>7</sup> *Quotation not identified*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Vegetius: *De re militari*, 1, 1: *We were always inferior to the Africans in wealth and unequal to them in deception and stratagem (Afrorum dolis atque divitiis semper impares fuimus)*

[12] Quorum vires regia animi magnitudo divino<sup>1</sup> brachio assistente et tuae sanctitatis<sup>2</sup> favoribus et ad Deum precibus<sup>3</sup> minime pertimescit<sup>4</sup>, quinimmo si, ut sunt polliciti, nos perfundabunt, speramus gratanter audiet brevia tua sanctitas. Nihilominus tamen pro hac sanctissima et pernecessaria contra Teucros resistentia regia serenitas omnes cogitationes, omnia consilia cunctasque ejus copias et potentiam sanctitati vestrae offert, et, quidquid ejus virium est, in manibus sanctitatis<sup>5</sup> vestrae reponit, ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, cujus res agitur, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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<sup>1</sup> dominico *leg.* LO

<sup>2</sup> sanctitati *leg.* LO

<sup>3</sup> principibus *leg.* LO

<sup>4</sup> pertimescat *leg.* LO

<sup>5</sup> sanctitati *leg.* LO

## Appendix 2: Letter of Pope Pius II to King Enrique IV of Castile of 27 February 1459

[From: *Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit*. Cur. O: Raynaldus. Ad annum 1459, nr. 24]

Pius Papa II charissimo in Christo filio Henrico Castellae et Legionis regi illustri, salutem etc.

Venerabilis frater noster Rodericus episcopus Ovetensis, et dilectus filius frater Alfonsus de Palencuela consilarii et oratores tui litteras tuae serenitatis ingenti fide et devotione plenas nobis humliter praesentarunt, et procuratorium tuum regio sigillo munitum facunde ac graviter nobis in generali consistorio permanentibus perorarunt, tuam integerrimam fidem et devotionem erga nos et Apostolicam Sedem ac ardentissimum animum circa exaltationem fidei Catholicae cum praecipua virtutum et meritorum tuorum commendatione expresserunt. Verum licet per nos viva voce satis copiose responsum fuerit, tamen quia maxime delectamur per nostras litteras cum tua serenitate proloqui, tanquam nostro et Ecclesiae peculiari filio, utique respondere instituimus. Putamus, fili charissime, bonum esse divinae voluntatis auspiciis, quod tua sublimitas ingens gaudium ex nostra ad summi apostolatus apicem assumptione susceperit, et quod bene concipiat et speret de nobis; quamvis enim imbecillitatem nostram ad tantam sarcinam sentimus, confidimus tamen in domino, qui debiles fortes facit, quod superatis horum temporum difficultatibus, in quibus fides Christi maximis periculis conflictatur, tandem divina suffragante clementia perditissimi hostes fidei sectae Mahometicae cultores, a quibuscumque plagis, tam Orientalibus quam Occidentalibus partibus, per Christianos exterminabuntur, tuque Catholicus et gloriosissimus princeps spurcissimos Sarracenos, cum quibus bella assidua non sine celsitudinis tuae maxima laude geris, vi et potentia tua repelles, et interim exercitus Catholicus tam terrestris quam maritimus, ad cuius praeparationem festinamus, procedet adversus imanissimos Turcas victoriam reportaturus, quod ut fiat temporibus Dominum orare non cessabimus, et nostras operas et conatus nostros exponere decernimus, prout alias tuae serenitati per nostras litteras significavimus, pro quarum rerum complemento iter nostrum, Deo concedente, ad dietam Mantuae indictam properamus. Caeterum, charissime fili, devotas commendationes, et oblationes tuas paterna charitate recepimus et habemus acceptas, nec deficiemus in omnibus, quae concernant honorem tuae coronae, et regnorum et subditorum tuorum teque uti charissimum peculiarem nostrum et Romanae Ecclesiae filium habemus, et in charitatis nostrae visceribus conservare intendimus, tuamque regiam personam clarissimis virtutibus eminentem, ac omnes, quos nobis commendatis, et pro quibus supplicatis, gratiis et favoribus Apostolicis fovere curabimus. etc. Dat. Senis MCDLIX, XXVII Februarii, anno I.



**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 36)**

**Oration “*Pius et misericors*” of Pope Pius II (20 July 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## Abstract

Some time during the summer of 1459, when Pope Pius had arrived in Mantua for his crusade conference, an embassy from King Juan II of Aragon reached Mantua to present the king's obedience to the pope and to participate in the conference on the king's behalf. The Aragonese ambassador gave the oration "*Conditio omnium*", to which the pope replied with the oration "*Pius et misericors*", speaking on five themes: supremacy of the Roman Church; his own unworthiness for the exalted office; merits of the king and his House; gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the projected crusade against the Turks; and benevolence of pope and cardinals towards the king.

## Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; King Juan II of Aragon and Sicily; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Aragon; Sicily; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory



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### II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

**Appendix: Oration "*Conditor omnium*" of Juan Margarit to Pope Pius II (Summer 1459, Mantua)**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

Some time during the summer of 1459, when Pope Pius had arrived in Mantua for his crusade conference, an embassy from King Juan II of Aragon reached Mantua to present the king's obedience to the pope and to participate in the conference on the king's behalf. The Aragonese ambassador gave the oration "*Conditor omnium*", to which the pope replied with the oration "*Pius er misericors*".

In his *Análes de Aragón*, Jerónimo Zurita wrote about the embassy:

*Los embajadores que el rey [de Aragón] envió al papa y al concilio de Mántua; y lo que llevaron a cabo. Para una cosa tan señalada y grande como ésta, nombró el rey estando en la ciudad de Valencia a 5 del mes de abril por sus embajadores, para que diesen la obediencia al papa y asistiesen a la celebración del concilio, a don Juan Margarit obispo de Elna que después lo fue de Girona, un notable perlado y de muchas letras, y a Pierres de Peralta su mayordomo y a Juan Gallac su vicecancellor y a Francisco Ferrer su procurador en corte romana. ... Tuvo el obispo de Elna a 20 del mes de julio en consistorio general una muy elegante plática. Al papa se le prestó la obediencia por los embajadores del rey [de Aragón]. Y en aquel consistorio se prestó al papa la obediencia por sus reinos y señoríos y por los de Sicilia y Cerdeña y sus islas adyacentes. Ofrecieron estos embajadores el socorro y ayuda como los otros príncipes para la guerra contra el turco con voto público; y asistió a lo mismo don Francisco obispo de Segorbe con el vicecancellor por el reino de Sicilia; y el mismo vicecancellor por sí y en nombre de Francisco de Baucio duque de Andria como embajador del rey de Nápoles hizo el mismo voto y juramento y asistió a la celebración del concilio de Mántua.<sup>2</sup>*

## 2. Themes

The oration contains all the five themes which recur in the pope's responses to the ambassadors offering obedience on behalf of their prince<sup>3</sup>:

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, pp. 110-112; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> Zurita, lib. XVI, ch. 58

<sup>3</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

The first theme is the pope's declaration of his personal unworthiness for the exalted office.<sup>1</sup> This sentiment was probably quite sincere, but as an expression of personal humility it was also quite in keeping with traditional ecclesiastic discourse in general and papal discourse in particular.<sup>2</sup> Pius says:

*Pious and merciful God governs all according to His own inscrutable design. He has now called Us to the Chair of Saint Peter, the teacher of all believers, but not for Our own merits which are small and insignificant. Indeed, We are not proud, but fearful to have been called to this [office] for We know that We are not equal to the charge entrusted to Us. [Sect. 1]*

The second theme is the preeminence of the papal office which all secular princes are bound to assist<sup>3</sup>:

*Kings and princes are obliged to assist Us and to obey Us readily, though not because of Our own person, but out of respect for Him whose Vicar We are. [Sect. 1]*

The third theme is the merits of the prince and the House of the prince offering his obedience, in this case Juan II of Aragon and Sicily:

*The surviving member of that noble family, Juan himself, has participated in many wars. He has performed wonderful deeds both on land and at sea, and in Italy as well as in Spain. Both in times of peace and of war, he has shown himself to be a magnanimous and just prince. [Sect. 3]*

The fourth theme is the pope's gratitude for the king's offer of aid to the crusade against the Turks:

*We have heard and with pleasure accept his offers with respect to the crusade against the Turks. We trust that he will not do less than he promises ... [Sect. 4]*

The fifth theme is the assurance of the goodwill of pope and cardinals towards the king and his House:

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<sup>1</sup> On the theme of personal unworthiness for papal office, see See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect.7.8.2

<sup>2</sup> Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

<sup>3</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

... together with Our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church We shall always and to our greatest ability show this excellent and pious king particular favour and grace. [Sect 4].

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

In his oration, the Aragonese ambassador clearly refers to the conference in Mantua as having already begun. Therefore the *terminus post quem* of the oration is 1 June 1459 when the conference officially opened, though actual proceedings only began in September. In the beginning of that month, the pope referred to the documents of the Aragonese embassy in his oration "*Mirabitur fortassis*" [79].<sup>1</sup> The *terminus ante quem* is therefore considered to be 1 September 1459.

In his *Análes de Aragón*, Jerónimo Zurita directly stated that the consistory in which the Aragonese ambassadors presented their declaration of obedience was held on 20 July.

The venue is not known, though it was probably either the cathedral of Mantua or the marquis's palace.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Mantua.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>2</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> and is extant in at least four manuscripts.

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<sup>1</sup> "*Mirabitur fortassis*" [79]: *Proximum dehinc est Aragoniae regnum, quod latum et magnum est. Par est et regni magnitudini regiae voluntatis amplitudo, quod liberalissima suorum oratorum sponsio modo in scriptis exhibita abunde testatur*

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2

## 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 163v-164r (**G**) \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 30v-32r (**J**) \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 34r-36r  
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 153r-153 (**H**)

The Chisianus is the eldest of the four and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 217-218  
*[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]*

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

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<sup>1</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration no direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified.

## 6. Bibliography

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Cerasoli, Francesco: *Il viaggio di Pio II da Roma a Mantova*. In: *Il Buonarrotti*, serie iii, vol. iv, quaderno 6. Roma: 1891

Cotta-Schönberg, Michael & Anna Modigliani: Nicholas V's only surviving oration, the Nihil est of 24 March 1447. In: *Roma nel Rinascimento*, 2016, pp. 271-288

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web



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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

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

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

Zurita, Jerónimo: *Análes de Aragón*. [1512-1580]

- Zurita, Jerónimo: *Análes de Aragón*. Edición de Ángel Canellas López. Edición electrónica de José Javier Iso (coord.), María Isabel Yagüe y Pilar Rivero. Institución Fernando el Católico, 2003<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> [https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/24/48/ebook2473\\_7.pdf](https://ifc.dpz.es/recursos/publicaciones/24/48/ebook2473_7.pdf)

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus Aragonum et Siciliae regis

[1] {153r} Pius et misericors Deus inscrutabili consilio suo, quo cuncta gubernat, non nostris meritis, quae sunt tenuissima et perexigua<sup>1</sup>, ad beati Petri cathedram, fidelium omnium magistram, nos elegit. Non tumescimus, sed magis contremiscimus huc evocati. Scimus enim quam impares sumus commisso muneri, et ne nostro sub regimine cymba procellis quassata gravibus pereat admodum timemus. Scimus tamen obnoxios esse reges et principes nobis assistere et pronis animis oboedire non personam nostram, sed eum animo volventes, cujus gerimus vices. Quod cum abunde faciat carissimus in Christo filius noster Johannes Aragonum, Siciliae, ac Navarrae<sup>2</sup> rex<sup>3</sup> illustris, non possumus excellentem ejus virtutem non laudare, quae profecto nobilitati et claritudini sui sanguinis quadrat.

[2] Genus ejus<sup>4</sup> ex domo Castellae ductum ab ipsis Gothorum regibus ortum est. Huic pater Ferdinandus fuit, cujus memoriam cuncti Aragonenses illustrem habent. Frater ejus germanus Alfonsus, qui superiori anno mortem obiit, regnum Siciliae citra Farum armis acquisivit<sup>5</sup> eaque belli ac domi facinora edidit, ut apud historicos nomen indelebile<sup>6</sup> sit adeptus. Petrus et Henricus reliqui fratres, alter apud Neapolim, dum praeclaram expugnat urbem, ictu lapidis, alter in Hispania fortissime pugnans occubere: digni ambo quorum {153v} nomina celebrentur. Ipse quoque Johannes ex tam nobili familia superstes quamplurimis interfuit bellis: terra marique et in Italia et in<sup>7</sup> Hispania res clarissimas gessit, sive pacis, sive belli tempora fuerint, principem et magnanimum et justissimum se<sup>8</sup> exhibuit. Ob quas res, ut primum Alfonsi mors audita est, provinciales et in Sicilia, et in Aragonia, et in Valentia, et in Sardinia, et in Catalonia<sup>9</sup>, et in reliquis dominiis summo omnium consensu sese ei subjecere atque ab eo, ut fama est, moderatissime reguntur.

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<sup>1</sup> exigua G

<sup>2</sup> Novariae G

<sup>3</sup> regis J

<sup>4</sup> suum G

<sup>5</sup> quaesivit G

<sup>6</sup> indelibile G

<sup>7</sup> et in : atque G

<sup>8</sup> omit. H, J

<sup>9</sup> Cathilonia G

## To the ambassadors of the King of Aragon and Sicily

[1] Pious and merciful God governs all according to His own inscrutable design. He has now called Us to the Chair of Saint Peter, the teacher of all believers, but not for Our own merits which are small and insignificant. Indeed, We are not proud, but fearful to have been called to this [office] for We know that We are not equal to the charge entrusted to Us and greatly fear that under Our government the ship will be wrecked by storms. But We also know that kings and princes are obliged to assist Us and readily obey Us - not because of Our own person, but out of respect for Him whose Vicar We are. Since this is what Our beloved son in Christ, the illustrious King Juan<sup>1</sup> of Aragon, Sicily, and Navarra, is doing so generously, We cannot but praise his excellent virtues which certainly match the nobility and fame of his blood.

[2] His family comes from the House of Castile and descends from the kings of the Goths. His father was Fernando, whose memory all Aragonese revere.<sup>2</sup> His brother was Alfonso<sup>3</sup> who died last year: he fought and conquered the Kingdom of Sicily on this side of Faro<sup>4</sup>, and his deeds in war and peace have given him an indelible name in the history books. The other brothers were Pedro<sup>5</sup> and Enrique.<sup>6</sup> One died at Naples, hit by a projectile while attacking that noble city. The other died fighting valiantly in Spain. Both are worthy of having their names honoured.

The surviving member of that noble family, Juan himself, has participated in many wars. He has performed wonderful deeds both on land and at sea, and in Italy as well as in Spain. Both in times of peace and of war, he has shown himself to be a magnanimous and just prince. Therefore, when the death of Alfonso became known, people in the provinces of Sicily, Aragon, Valencia, Sardinia, Catalonia and his other territories immediately and unanimously made their submission to him and are reported to be ruled by him with great moderation.

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<sup>1</sup> Juan II (1398-1479): King of Navarra from 1425 and of Aragon from 1458 to his death. Brother of Alfonso V of Aragon

<sup>2</sup> Fernando I d'Antequera (1380-1416)

<sup>3</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

<sup>4</sup> I.e. on the Italian mainland, the Kingdom of Naples

<sup>5</sup> Pedro of Aragon (1406-1438): Viceroy of Sicily, 1424–1425, Duke of Noto

<sup>6</sup> Enrique of Aragon (1400-1445): 1st Duke of Villena, Count of Alburquerque, Count of Ampurias. Grand Master of the Order of Santiago

[3] Is nunc per oratores suos insignes et graves viros oboedientiam more majorum nobis et apostolicae sedi liberam et omnimodam exhibet. Facit quod suum est, et nihilominus ecclesiam Romanam grandi honore cumulat, cui tanti principis oboedientia decori est. Nam si reges orbis metiamur, et subditorum vires, urbium splendorem, provinciarum latitudinem, opes, animos virtutesque<sup>1 2</sup> pensitemus, hunc proculdubio regem inter primores collocare non dubitabimus. Acceptissima est igitur nobis hujus principis reverentia ac<sup>3</sup> devotio.

[4] Quae nobis offert in expeditionem contra Turcos, non sine voluptate animi audimus<sup>4</sup> atque complectimur. Confidimus non minora faciet, quam promittit. Arma, equi, naves, homines, pecuniae ei abunde suppetunt: haec illi Deus dedit. Nisi pro Dei honore<sup>5</sup> utatur, {154r} divinam voluntatem contra se provocaverit. Sed non est hic rex, qui aliud in ore, aliud in corde gerat. Spem nobis ingentem promissa ejus praebent. Oramus caeleste numen incolumen eum nobis conservet<sup>6</sup>, et animum ejus in hoc proposito corroboret. Nos cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, hunc excellentem et pium regem favore singulari et gratis quoad possumus prosequi non postponemus.

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<sup>1</sup> virtutes quae J

<sup>2</sup> animos virtutesque : animosque G

<sup>3</sup> et G

<sup>4</sup> audivimus G

<sup>5</sup> his *add.* J

<sup>6</sup> servet G



[3] And now he has through his distinguished and worthy ambassadors, after the custom of his forefathers, freely declared his complete obedience to Us and the Apostolic See. Though he simply does his duty, the declaration of obedience of so great a prince is a signal honour to the Roman Church. For if we compare the kings of the world with respect to the strength of their subjects, the splendour of their cities, the vastness of their territories, their resources and spirit we must no doubt place this king among the foremost. Thus, his deference and his devotion is most welcome to Us.

[4] Moreover, We have heard and with pleasure accept his offers with respect to the crusade against the Turks. We trust that he will do no less than he promises for he has an abundance of arms, horses, ships, men and money. They were given to him by God, and if he does not use them for the honour of God, he will provoke the divine will against himself. But this is not a king who says one thing and thinks another. His promises give Us great hope. We pray God in Heaven to keep him safe and to strengthen his resolve in this matter. And together with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall always and to our greatest ability show this excellent and pious king particular favour and grace.

## **Appendix: Oration "*Conditor omnium*" of Juan Margarit to Pope Pius II (20 July 1459, Mantua)**

### ***Preliminary edition***

Presently, this text is only known to be extant in the manuscript

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Ottob. lat. 905, ff. 8v-12r

The text is not good, either because the author's Latin was rather deficient, or because the text as transmitted is in many places corrupt and erroneous, or both. The present edition is therefore only preliminary. Hopefully, other versions will come to light, making it possible to provide a proper edition.

# 1. Praise of the pope

## 1.1. Mercy shown by God to his people

### 1.1.1. The Old Testament

[1] {8v} Conditor omnium, Deus immortalis aeternus, pie ac beatissime pater, misericordiam et iudicium ex sua natura gestans, post hominis opificium ejusque ruinam, sciens humanae, conditae et creatae, naturae pietate atque misericordia opus esse, hanc pietatem eidem primum adhibuit iudicio reservato.

Sic in ipso orbis primordio per primum in orbe prophetam, ut quidam referunt, sed alteris ex protoparentis filiis poenitentia praedicata.

At secundo per Enoch, Dei servum<sup>1</sup>.

Tertio Noae, finis universae carnis, paucis ex sola pietate exceptis personis, longissimis expectatis temporibus subsecutus est per inundationes aquarum. In cujus etiam postea pacis, pietatis et misericordiae signum columbam vidimus in arcae fenestra olivae ramum bajulantem et ...<sup>2</sup> pacem ac foedus nuntiantem.

Denuo cum malitia plurimum pullulasset crevissentque homines super terram et poenituisset fecisse hominem super eam, mundum etiam iudicio usus est, sed incredibili pietate primum quidem genera linguarum dividens patriarchas elegit, idem prophetas, quibus iustitia eo inspirante in saeculo servaretur.

[2] Sic postquam populum per ejus misericordiam a pharaonis et Egyptiorum miserabili servitute per Moysem, exsiccato mari Egyptiisque demersis, liberasset, et per deserta vagaret dietimque experiretur iudicia sua, et per inoboedientiam ac murmurationem iram Dei semel et pluries provocasset, tandem nunc operante fine, nunc agente Josua<sup>3</sup>, servo Dei, populus ipsius pietate meruit in terram promissionis intrare.

Deinde ipso populo ex vicinis hostibus ad internicionem plurimum saepissime agitato per diversos iudices, prophetas ac reges ejusdem liberatio est secuta.

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<sup>1</sup> Genesis, 5, 22-23

<sup>2</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>3</sup> Josue cod.

### 1.1.2. Christ

[3] Quique volens etiam post plurimas captivitates et hostiles incursus, in quae propter offensas in Deum inciderat hoc humanum genus, quo astrictius posset ad ipsius observantiam limitare, ea pietate illud vocare dignatus est, qua nihil supra eo testante *majorem caritatem nemo habet, ut animam suam ponat pro amicis suis*. Immortalis itaque natura, voluntate mortalitatem assumpsit, impassibilis passibilem corpus, ut nos de servitute diaboli liberaret.

### 1.2. Biblical and classical models of Pius II

[4] Novissime vero ecclesiam suam in ara crucis {9r} copulatam, jamjam inter tempestates et procellas varietatesque hujus saeculi naufragantem, finalem ejus ruinam et interitus comminantem - cum inter ceteras ecclesiae turbationes et naufragia, quae hactenus passa est, quartam bestiam Danielis ipsam ecclesiam radicitus devastantem oculis propriis cerneremus, ipsaque Petri navicula prope quodammodo ingeretur - per tuae sanctitatis caelitus inspiratam promotionem, ut creditur, sua pietate liberandam intelligimus. Cum inter ipsas undas audiverimus aliquas justorum voces clamitantes ad Jesum et jam paene raucas: "Domine, salva nos, perimus." Et iterum audivimus ipsum Jesum pium super undas maris ambulantem ac dicentem: "*Modicae fidei, quare dubitasti*", et imperavit mari et ventis, et facta est tranquillitas.<sup>1</sup> "Dabo igitur pastorem novum pium, qui pascet populum meum." Tuam igitur assumptionem intelligentes catholici, beatissime pater, tuae sanctitatis pietatis nomen acclamantes, sperant, ut te gubernante, te duce, Petri cumba salva fiat. Arbitrantur enim, quod Deus per te cum eis pie ac clementer egerit.

[5] Abigail, inter mulieres clarissima, cum peccaretur adversus David pro Nabal, viro suo, arguebat ex nomine, quod stultus esset. Sic fideles, tui ac ecclesiae filii, adversus hostes fidei catholicae arguunt de tui nominis dignitate, nedum pontificii quid pietatis est, verum etiam originari et nativitatis. Tu in pontificio pius, tu Aeneas a cunabilis nominaris. Quid enim pietate melius in sanctitate perfectius et religione dignius, qua Christus se pro hominum salute passibilem et mortalem praebens de summa patris arce ad imma descendens hominum miserias est expertus. Sic tu ejusdem dive ordinatus vicarius a tua pontificatus urbis sede dignatus es ad has Longobardorum tibi alienas gentes descendere, imbres, rores, aestus et discrimina passus passurusque, ut eadem pietate, qua cujus vicem geris populum suum, de manu bestiae ferientis ac saevientis liberares, ne in te nominis frustetur intentio.

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<sup>1</sup> Matthew, 14, 21-31

[6] Quid insuper de originario referam, quod etiam caelitus impositum censeo in quendam prophetiae praesagium: Aeneas, Iliacae prostratae gentis praesidium salvatioque, propagator Latinae ex Lavinia prolis, urbis tuae principium, indomitae ferocisque gentis edomitor, victor Turni Lavinii filii, Tuscorum regis, cujus ferocitatem gigas ille maximus Pallas, Evandri filius, non potuit sustinere. Non dubium est, beatissime pater, arbitretur ecclesia tibi haec nomina sine causa nullatenus<sup>1</sup> caelitus indita. Te siquidem expectant, cum primo Aeneas, cujus typum figuramque illum portasse creditur tui futuri instauratoris ecclesiae. Quod sicut idem Aeneas oras intrans Italiae Turno devicto interfectoque Latinis, quibus matrimonio copulatus est, et urbi pacem reddidit, sic sanctitas tua oras intrans pontificii Latinos, quibus sponsalio copularis, hoste Turco devicto in pace ...<sup>2</sup>, custodiasque urbem insuper sedem tuam, ac sponsam ecclesiam multiples. Ascanium denuo ex Creusa, orientali conjugem, ac Silvium postumum, Orientalem videlicet et Latinam ecclesiam postea {9v} educandam amplendamque relinquant, indomitam gentem ecclesiae moribus instruas et emendes.

[7] Sic enim nomen Jesus, quod ab angelo nuntiatum est, in Josuae nomine<sup>3</sup>, qui populum per deserta vagantem in promissionis patriam introduxit, praesignatum est, cum ipse Jesus, cujus figura portabat populum Christianum in tenebris ambulans, deberet [eum] a servitute diaboli liberare et in gaudia paradisi intrmittere. Sic de te creditur, et in tuam laudem haec videmus tuo pietatis nomini adaptari, Deique veri, cujus locum tenes, te credimus gestare vestigia. Igitur, beatissime pater, pie, ut coepisti, dignitatem, gradum et Petri sedem vicemque Dei populis administra, nec in te nominis dignitas irritetur. Multi te enim arbitrantur illum Samuelem prophetam novum electum a domino propter peccata antiqui sacerdotis Elii habitantis in Silo, cujus oculi caligaverant, et reprobatum est a domino ejus sacerdotium ob delicta sanguinis et filiorum, qui prophanaverant sanctuarium Dei ac templum et sacrificia ejus, cujus tempore arca domini a Philisteis in captivitatem adducta est. Teque alterum David unctum a domino, cujus pietas, justitia et misericordia in aeternum cantabitur. Te alterum Jonam, in cujus praedicatione Ninive civitas conversa est, et ambulasti ultra itinere dierum trium, ut convertatur a via sua mala. Tu enim alter es Jeremias pro salute et populi liberatione proclamans, qui nec dubium est mereberis exaudiri, ut populus in servitutem deductus in libertatem reducat. Tu etiam alter Moyses, cui data est lex, et ora supra montem ... pugnantes<sup>4</sup>, cumque si manus remiseris orare et providere, vincetur ecclesia, si vero extuleris, fugabuntur inimici.

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<sup>1</sup> ullatenus cod.

<sup>2</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>3</sup> Josuae nomine *em.*; Jesu nave cod.

<sup>4</sup> *illeg.*

## 2. Praise of the king

### 2.1. Juan II

#### 2.1.1. King's merits

[8] Hac itaque expectatione, etsi catholici omnes de tua divinitus inspirata promotione laetati sunt, inter omnes tamen non mediocriter tuae sanctitatis devotissimus ac observantissimus filius Johannes, Aragonum, Navarrae ac ulterioris Siciliae rex, exultavit, cujus fides et devotio ad ecclesiam inter omnes mundi principes antecessorum suorum vestigio<sup>1</sup> maxima est, quod a sanctitate tua non parvum existimandum censetur. Constat namque ecclesiam Dei ex maximorum fidelium principum statu consistere, qui possint sacerdotum orationibus et armis assistere. Non enim satis profuisset Moysi in monte oratio, nisi fuisset, qui hostes etiam armis propulsasset in castris. Minusque Samueli et Nathan prophetiae et vaticinia orationesque [profuissent<sup>2</sup>], nisi David hostiliter pugnasset contra ecclesiae inimicos. Grandia quidem sunt ejusdem regis in orbe merita tam ex ipsius sublimitate generis, tam ex praestantia sapientiaque personae, regnorum insuper potentia et subditorum etiam fides<sup>3</sup> immaculatissima, tumque ex antecessorum suorum meritis erga ecclesiam.

#### 2.1.2. King's illustrious family

[9] Habes enim, beatissime pater, genus suum procedens ex Alarico,<sup>4</sup> maximo rege Gothorum, qui circa annos mille urbem et orbem jure et armis subjugavit. Scribit hoc Boccacius libro nono *De casibus virorum*<sup>5</sup>, illius capitulo primo, cujus Alarici principia, si transcurrere voluerimus, distinctiones generum attingemus. Ex hujus etiam regis genere tres cernuntur hodie reges in orbe nepotes, citerioris quidem Siciliae, {10r} Castellae et Portugalliae, ac Romanorum imperator ex uxore quaesitus, quorum omnes et reliqui Christianorum reges vix uno plures inveniuntur.

#### 2.1.3. King's virtues

[10] Habes etiam praefatum regem aetate ac sapientia praestantissimum, intrepidum, inter omnes mundi principes animoque informidabilem, quod ad maximas res gerendas summo

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<sup>1</sup> vestio cod.

<sup>2</sup> em.

<sup>3</sup> fide cod.

<sup>4</sup> Alaricus I: first king of the Visigoths (395-410)

<sup>5</sup> Boccaccio: *De casibus virorum illustrium*

opere necessarium est. Sic enim Scipio<sup>1</sup> maximus, aetate maturus et sapientia, Hannibalis juvenilem ardorem sua patientia ac providentia etiam dispari potentia - ut legimus - superavit. Sic etiam Roboam, qui spreto senum consilio juvenis juvenes est secutus, majorem regni partem amisit.

#### 2.1.4. King's power

##### Naval power

[11] De regnorum vero potentia, supplex oro, consideres te multis catholicis potentissimis regibus praesidere, quorum aliis multis terrestribus, equitibus pedestribusque, ad ecclesiae ac Dei defensionem uti valeres terra tantum, aliis vero paucis et mari similiter. Qui vero terrae marique praesideat, pari fortiterque valeat utroque terrestri navalique proelio decertare, neminem invenies, dubito. Suam itaque terrestrem potentiam testantur occidua regna, quae ex parvo ejus antecessores magna fecerunt. Navalem insuper [potentiam testantur] insulae omnes a Cycladibus insulis usque ad Oceanum mare, quae paene omnes sub ejus ditone consistunt, in quibus tota vis ...<sup>2</sup> etsi Punici belli recedit,<sup>3</sup> ut antiquae fatentur historiae, quae omnes ...<sup>4</sup> terrae marisque potentias<sup>5</sup> ad orbem<sup>6</sup> ipsum obtinendum maxime necessarias esse veterum gesta commemorant, quoniam nisi navali proelio victus Pompejus, Caesar imperium nullatenus vindicasset, minusque fuisset deleta Carthago, Laumedonta insuper et Priamus propriae magnae urbis incendium et ruinam nullatenus degustassent, nec dubium est hoc litus Europae mediterranei maris a barbaris Africanis fuisse crebro devastatum, nisi praefati regis maritima et navalis potentia comprehendissent.

##### Faithful subjects

[12] Neque enim praetereundum censeo, quod subditis fidelissimis inter omnes mundi principes terras et regna praesideat, sicut enim Catonis fuit illa sententia: *Jus bonum et aequum Romanis non tantum lege quaenam valere*. Ita ejusdem regis subditi, alio utentes eloquio, dicimus fidem in principes non tantum lege nobis quaenam valere, neque enim eisdem evenire consueverunt, quae et nonnullis orbis provinciis testantur Tarquinii regis ab urbe pulsio, Caesaris et Pompeji proelium, ac certamen Syllanum et Marianum, ac seditio Catilinae, qui omnes de usurpatione domini certaverunt. Multa audivimus regna debellata

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; quintus *dub.* cod.

<sup>2</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>3</sup> *textus corruptus?*

<sup>4</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>5</sup> potentie L

<sup>6</sup> orbis cod.

armis paruisse, proprios deseruisse reges, tyrannis obtemperasse, populos in dominum insultasse, quod a regnicolis hujus prorsus extitit alienum. Quinimmo solum pro jure ac ratione paruerint, et ne ex aliorum injuria laudem quaeramus, dicat provincia, dicat regnum hos nullatenus nisi pro jure paruisse, quorum civitates etiam foribus caruerint, castra sine custodia sicut populis indistincte armis quibuscumque utentibus.

[13] Quod etiam ulterius inauditum est: vacavit regnum, triennio successore caruit. Etenim de jure certatum est, non civitas, non villa vel castrum rebellavit, sed integre de certo jure paruit. Ipsum quoque regnum rege abeunte annis fere triginta unius mulierculae quamvis praeclarissimae gubernatione paruit non vi, non metu, sed sola immaculata intactaque fide. Quae insuper aliquando fuit provinciae<sup>1</sup> subjectio<sup>2</sup>, quae in insultantes in eorum regem et dominum ferocius insaevierunt, testantur exempla multa, quae - ne prolixius inveniar - omittuntur. Nulla equidem potentia fidei huic anteposenda est. Xerxes enim, Persarum rex, potentissimus erat, et innumerabili exercitu terra marique Athenienses superare non potuit, sed ab eis paucissimis duce Themistocle fide subditorum superatus est. Stat enim illa praeclara sententia Catonis: *Veteres Romanorum nullatenus armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse, sed virtute ac unione et fide civium id evenisse.*

### 2.1.5. King's piety

[14] Si vero religionem et fidem erga Deum et ecclesiam referre voluerimus, cujusque maximi oratoris lingua non sufficeret, ad quod eas non ex tempore, sed aeterno insitum ostendemus. Refert enim Augustinus in libro, quem ob Alarici, Gothorum regis, urbis Romae victoriam *De civitate Dei* composuit - ex quo<sup>3</sup> praefatum regem monstravimus descendisse - ipsum Alaricum ante receptionem fidei catholicae et in ipsa gentilitate templa et ecclesias ad illaque confugientes populos Christianos in ipsa urbis hostili incursione sola religione et principis pietate illaesos servari voluisse, quod quantum religioni ascribendum sit, aliorum gesta commonent: Joab primum a Salomone<sup>4</sup> cornu altaris apprehenso<sup>5</sup> trucidatus est.<sup>6</sup> Zacharias insuper, filius Barachiae<sup>7</sup>, inter templum et altare occisus.<sup>8</sup> Priamus inter Jovis aras igne sacratus. Mucius Scaevola,<sup>9</sup> pontifex sacerdotii, aram amplexus interfectus est. Diomedes insuper et Ulixes, qui cruentis manibus Iliacos deos non dubitarent hostiliter captivare.

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<sup>1</sup> provincia cod.

<sup>2</sup> subjectione cod.

<sup>3</sup> cuius quem cod.

<sup>4</sup> salone cod.

<sup>5</sup> aprenso cod.

<sup>6</sup> 1. Kings 2, 29 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Jehaiaida

<sup>8</sup> 2. Chronicles, 24, 22

<sup>9</sup> Quintus Mucius Scaevola Pontifex (d. 82 BC)



[15] Insuper quod post receptam fidem meruerunt antecessores praefati regis, fatentur occidua regna, quae valido ense ab infidelium manibus abstraxerunt. Ob cuius rei merita, etsi alia omnium regna de jure imperatori subjiciantur, Hispaniae vero regna id sibi jure et ratione vendicarunt, ut imperatori nullatenus astringantur. Sua etiam praedecessorum merita, beatissime pater, designat umbraculum crocum et rubeum, quod ante tuae sanctitatis praesentiam bajulatur, usus praeterea bullarum, quem hactenus Romana ecclesia illiusque pontifices observarunt. Concessio insuper apostolicae sedis, ut quibuscumque rebus utendum sit coloribus ipsius regis. Crocis rubeisque utetur vexillum etiam, quod in signum strenuitatis et gloriae dari victoribus consuevit.

[16] Quid ulterius de modernis - ut vetustissima omittamus - Jacobus<sup>1</sup> profertur in medium, qui Valentiae, Murciae, Majoricarum regna, Baleares insuper insulas veri Dei culturae dicavit, penatibus diis ense fugatis pluribus ac pluribus miraculis subsecutis. Dotes quas tam ipse quam antecessores sui ecclesiis tradiderunt, quae adeo grandes sunt, ut inter orbis ecclesias cum opimis contendant de earum uberrima dote. Decimas etiam, quas apostolica illis concessit auctoritas ecclesiis, remittendo religionum ...<sup>2</sup> et ...<sup>3</sup> instructio. Monasteriorum ac templorum in ...<sup>4</sup> constructio, quae {11r} omnia fuerunt religiosissime per successores suos hactenus nedum conservata, sed etiam maxime dilatata. Haec praemittendum existimavi, beatissime pater, citra aliorum injuriam. Ubi Deus officiosius ac venerabilius colatur, divina officia decantentur, ornentur et illuminentur ecclesiae, ac pietatis opera uberius exercentur, religionem<sup>5</sup> principum invenias, non dubito.

## 2.2. Fernando I de Antequera

[17] Quid denuo - ut prolixitas vitetur - de Ferdinando<sup>6</sup>, patre moderni regis, in medium producam, quae contra Machometenses exercuit magnam<sup>7</sup> eorum civitatem<sup>8</sup> et oppida expugnando et ad observantiam fidei catholicae reducendo, quae insuper pro unione ecclesiae tempore Benedicti de Luna<sup>9</sup> in sedando schismate operatus sit, quod ea tempestate maxime invaluerat, ita ut nec consanguinitatis vinculum [nec<sup>10</sup>] amor patriae animantia<sup>11</sup> etiam inter eos eximia nullatenus eum a debito fidei ecclesiaeque fidelitate separare potuerit.

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<sup>1</sup> Jame I el Conqueridor (Aragon) (1208-1276): King of Aragon

<sup>2</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>3</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>4</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>5</sup> religione cod.

<sup>6</sup> Fernando I de Antequera

<sup>7</sup> magna cod.

<sup>8</sup> civitas cod.

<sup>9</sup> Pedro de Luna (1328-1423): Antipope Benedict XIII, from a noble Aragonese family related to the royal family

<sup>10</sup> *em.*

<sup>11</sup> *dub.*

### 2.3. Alfonso V the Magnanimous

[18] Quid etiam de Alfonso<sup>1</sup> fratre in eadem ecclesiae unione quantumcumque ecclesiam suo tempore servaverit, quid profuerit in pontificum electionibus ut sine timore ac oppressione fierent, quantum etiam curaverit ne a tyrannis et latrunculis, quibus jam diu Romana ecclesia vexari consueverat premeret, quid egerit ut patrimonia perditia Romana ecclesia vindicaret testatur nova Marchiae Anconitanae reductio ad oboedientiam subjectionemque praedecessorum tuorum, in cuius opere etiam personam adhibuit. Multaque alia circa haec dicenda<sup>2</sup> essent, nisi ex prolixitate tuae sanctitatis aures offendere dubitarem.

### 3. Request for papal favour

[19] Ex quibus tam suis quam antecessorum suorum meritis arbitratur jure debito vindicare, ut suis petitionibus annuas sibi ac suis personaliter afficiaris. Nec hoc a te irreligiose fiet, si Christi – ut tenemus – sequaris vestigia. Sic<sup>3</sup> enim Abraham propter ejus fidem meruit audire, quod multiplicaretur in gentem magnam, et ex femore ejus producerentur reges. Sic Salomonis regnum non propter propria, sed paterna merita non solum sustentatum est, sed etiam ampliatum. Qui cum arcam in domum domini intromitteret, cum sacerdotis<sup>4</sup> et levitis portae<sup>5</sup> clauderentur, eidem cum proclamatum est *propter David servum tuum non avertas faciem Christi tui*,<sup>6</sup> exauditus est, et fores templi patuerunt. Sic etiam *mulier ...<sup>7</sup> ac quae fluxum sanguinis patiebatur*,<sup>8</sup> ac reguli<sup>9</sup> et centurionis<sup>10</sup> filii propter petentium devotionem ac fidem curari et liberari a domino meruerunt. Nec minus Ezechiae regi per os Isaiae prophetae propter antiqua suorum merita concessit et dispensavit decretam sententiam commutare.

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<sup>1</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous

<sup>2</sup> dicendi cod.

<sup>3</sup> si cod.

<sup>4</sup> sacerdotum L

<sup>5</sup> porteque L

<sup>6</sup> 2. Chronicles, 6, 42

<sup>7</sup> *illeg.*

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, 9, 20

<sup>9</sup> Matthew, 9, 18, 23-25

<sup>10</sup> Matthew, 8, 5-9

## 4. King's obedience to the pope

[20] Sic etiam a sanctitate tua, cum in minoribus volitares, imperiali legatione ac electorum suorum<sup>1</sup> sancte petitem et obtentum habemus ob fidem imperii et germanica merita. Et quamquam, beatissime pater, nonnulli *labiis iniquis et lingua dolosa*<sup>2</sup> retulerunt majestatem regiam oboedientiam nullatenus praestituram, nisi quadam stipulatione praevia quorundam more, ut intelligas devotionem et fidem regis ejusdem mendacissimaque tuae sanctitatis suggesta, oboedientiam tibi suo jussu deferimus ea fide, ea liberalitate, ea devotione et amplitudine, qua uberius quibuscumque Christianissimus rex ab ineunte aetate ad Petri sedem detulerit.

### 4.1. King's excuse for not coming to Mantua in person

[21] Et licet, sanctissime pater, post mortem immortalis memoriae divi Alfonsi, quondam fratris ejusdem regis, ac novam ejus successionem in regnum multa grandia - maxime tuae sanctitatis nova divinitus inspirata promotio - occurrissent, propter quae cupiebat tuae sanctitatis pedes celerius visitare, occurrat tamen, tarditati locum {11v} praestans, fraternum funus luctusque regnorum, insuper visitatio tam terrestriorum quam maritimarum illorumque recepta fidelitas, in quibus maxima expectatione post maiorem amissi fratris receptus et in suum regem fidelissime proclamatus est ac observantissime adoratus, quod tuae sanctitati acceptissimum arbitratur. In quorum regnorum discursione maxime hiemali turbine superveniente geluque insolito tempore opus fuit.

### 4.2. Declaration of obedience

[22] Ac cum denuo intellexisset tuae sanctitatis propositum et assignationem ad diem statutam hujus sacri Mantuani conventus, maximeque urgeret Christianae fidei necessitas et tuae beatitudinis jussio, accuratius atque strictius legationem hanc acceleravit, et licet ob praenarratas causas tarditatem receperit, advenissemus tamen in tempore ac decreto die, nisi collegae nostri in via occurrisset notissimum detentionis impedimentum ob praenarratam causam. Post solium<sup>3</sup> itaque regni sui tuae sanctitati praesentiam cum beatorum pedum osculo visitat, teque Christi vicarium ac pastorem ecclesiae confitetur, offerens sanctitati tuae reverentiam et oboedientiam Petro et successoribus suis debitam offert personam et regna pro ecclesiae defensione ac etiam tuae sanctitatis incolumitate et statu, sperans, ut cum tuae beatitudinis benedictione ac sanctificatione in suo regimine dirigatur, gratiasque agit

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<sup>1</sup> tuorum cod.

<sup>2</sup> Psalms, 119, 2

<sup>3</sup> *Textus corruptus?*

sanctitatis tuae pro honoribus impensis in personam serenissimi Ferdinandi, ceterioris Siciliae regis, nepotis sui et filii dilectissimi, quos sibi tributos considerat<sup>1</sup>.

## 5. Support of crusade

[23] Praeterea ut intelligas, beatissime pater, praefatum regem ab antecessorum suorum vestigiis nullatenus declinare, sed zelo fidei inter omnes maximos cujusque temporis reges accendi in causa hujus sacri conventus, significat multipliciter manum in caelum extulisse, quod in tanta orbis calamitate et miseria instantis periculi Christianae plebis ipse Deus omnipotens providerit ecclesiae suae sanctae de persona tua, qui vales et - ut cernimus - optas eandem de interitu liberare, sanctum tuum piisque commendat propositum, ac tuae sanctitati et plurimum et maxime persuadet, ne desistas ab incepto, sed, quo coepisti, properes et conforteris. Ipse enim, cum sanctitatis tuae mentem deprehendit, ac vocationem ad diem statutam in urbe, qua degis, voluisset grandi desiderio eidem conventui sacro personaliter interesse, nisi praedicta maximo sibi fuissent impedimento. Nihilominus cum res hujusmodi adeo sibi cordi sit, ut nihil supra ob urgentem fidei necessitatem statuisset devotissime debitum persolvere regium, eamque inde portionem suscipere, quam quicumque regum aut principum Christianorum assumpserit summa cum animi et corporis promptitudine, religione, caritate, devotione et fide, ita ut divinae majestati laus et gloria tribuatur et piissimis sanctitatis tuae votis decenter satisfieri censeatur. Et licet ipsi regi inter orbis finitimos constitutus de Turcorum potentia sit minime formidandum, id dumtaxat agendum decrevit ob fidei debitum et Christianae religionis utilitatem {12r} defensionemque ac tuae sanctitatis oboedientiam. Haec enim causa adeo communis est, quod omnes aequaliter obligat, nec arbitratur praefatus rex quempiam ab hujus debito<sup>2</sup> honeste posse legitime excusari.

[24] Hujus itaque rei gratia decrevit hos, quos cernis oratores, ad comparendum in praesentia sanctitatis tuae pro conventu sacro hic celebrando cum sufficienti potestate, intelligetque sanctitas tua ex progressu rei hujusmodi fidem et devotionem praefati regis circa fidei Christianae exaltationem ac dilatationem. Et si necessarius fuerit, praefatus rex persollemnem legationem vel alias occurrentia sibi, ut tantae rei qualitas exegerit, sanctitati tuae summo studio nuntiare curabit: Perge igitur, piissime pater, quod coepisti et gregem tuum, pro quo Christi sanguis effusus est, non deseras canibus lacerandum. Tibi enim non deerunt divina subsidia. Pro humanis vero subsidiis tuae sanctitati devotissimus Aragonum

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<sup>1</sup> *em.*; veniat *dub.* cod

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; di cod.

rex etc. rex serenissimus muro se exhibet ad laudem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, cui sit laus et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 37)**

**Oration “*Conversa in nos*” of Pope Pius II (15 March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Phillippe III the Good, Duke of Burgundy. In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope mostly spoke in praise of the duke, and only briefly touched upon the other themes recurring in his responses to such embassies: his own unworthiness for the exalted papal office, acceptance of the duke's declaration of obedience, gratitude for the duke's offer of aid to the projected crusade against the Turks, and benevolence of pope and cardinals.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Philippe III le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne; Duke Philip III the Good of Burgundy; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Bourgogne; Burgundy; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory; Crusades against the Turks; Jean Jouffroy



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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Philippe III, Duke of Burgundy.

In 1451, at the Imperial Court, Pius had met an embassy from the duke to the emperor,<sup>2</sup> and at the Imperial Diet in Regensburg in 1454 he had met the duke personally.

He must have been much gratified and pleased to receive the embassy and the obedience of this great prince whom he much admired.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Themes

The oration mainly focuses on the merits of the duke: *this magnificent prince, surpassing all others, deserves praises that are magnificent and surpass all others* [Sect. 1]. In his praise of the duke, Pius uses a division of such laudations mentioned by Saint Ambrose and comprising: family, character, office, actions and judgment.

Otherwise, the oration contains short references to the other themes spoken on by the pope in similar responses: his own unworthiness for the papal office, the crusade against the Turks, the duke's declaration of obedience, and the papal goodwill.

Significantly, there are no statements of papal supremacy in this oration – in contrast to most of the pope's responses to other princely embassies.

An interesting minor theme is his reference to the indirect depiction of great emotions (*in casu* sorrow) in classical painting:<sup>4</sup>

*We should rather imitate that painter who painted the terribly sad Andromache at Hector's funeral. It now remained for him to paint Hector's mother, the unhappy Hecuba, but with an even more sorrowful face. But since he was unable to add more*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40. On the Duke of Burgundy and the crusade, see also Pius II's orations "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17], "*Existimatis fortasse*" [64], "*Expectatis*" [73], "*Sextus igitur annis*" [75], and "*Suscepturi*" [76]

<sup>2</sup> Oration "*Quamvis in hoc senatu*" [17]

<sup>3</sup> Besides his direct response to the ambassadors, Pius also sent a written response to the duke, encouraging him to pursue his efforts against the Turks and to join the papal crusade, see Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 26

<sup>4</sup> The rhetorical device of *ekphrasis*, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.9.2

[sadness to his portrayal], he painted the mother with her head veiled, so that the imagination of the onlookers would provide what his art could not. [Sect. 1]

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The Burgundian ambassadors<sup>1</sup> arrived in Siena on 13 March 1459. There they were met by Jean Jouffroy, Bishop of Arras, who would be their spokesman before the pope. Very soon afterwards, the embassy was received officially by Pius – for the purpose of the present edition the date of 15 March has been retained. At the reception, which probably took place during a public consistory, Jouffroy delivered an ornate humanist oration to the pope, during which he presented the duke's declaration of obedience.<sup>2</sup>

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable and appropriate for papal functions.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>3</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>4</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>5</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 170r-171v (G) \*

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<sup>1</sup> The ducal counsellors Simon de Lalaing, Antoine de Rochebaron and his son Claude

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>4</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2

<sup>5</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 44-47r **(J)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 52v-55v  
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 71r-74v  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 163v-165r **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 228-230  
[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 4 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified.

Biblical: 1

Classical: 2

Patristic and medieval: 1

Contemporary: 0

**All: 4**

### **Biblical sources: 1**

#### Old Testament: 1

- Psalms: 1

#### New Testament: 0

### **Classical sources: 2**

- Cicero: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Homer: 1<sup>3</sup>

### **Patristic and medieval sources: 1**

- Ambrosius: 1<sup>4</sup>

### **Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> De legibus

<sup>3</sup> Iliad

<sup>4</sup> Expositio in Lucam

## 6. Bibliography

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

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web



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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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

## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus ducis Burgundiae

[1] {163v} Conversa in nos hodie circumstantium ora plus solito cernimus: majora, ut arbitramur, audire sperant, quam dicere consuevimus. Exposcunt idipsum merita dilecti filii nostri Philippi, Burgundiae ducis, qui nobis hodie<sup>1</sup> oboedientiam praestitit. Nam cum principes alios superioribus diebus non mediocriter laudaverimus, quis non intelligit admirabilem et superexcellentem principem admirabili quodam et superexcellenti genere laudum dignum esse? Sed non sunt vires nostrae, quae vel expectationi vestrae satisfacere, vel praeconia tanti ducis explicare queant. Imitandus est nobis pictor ille, qui cum in Hectoris<sup>2</sup> funere supra modum tristem<sup>3</sup> figurasset Andromachen, restaretque mater infelix Hecuba<sup>4</sup> vultu pingenda maestiori, nec haberet, quod adderet, obvoluto capite parentem<sup>5</sup> efinxit, ut quod artificio deerat inspicientium suppleret cogitatio. Et nos igitur pari modo sub involucro quodam Philippi laudes ante ora {164r} vestra<sup>6</sup> ponemus, longe plus cogitationi vestrae quam nostro confidentes ingenio.

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<sup>1</sup> nobis hodie : hodie nobis G

<sup>2</sup> Iphigeniae J

<sup>3</sup> supra modum tristem : tristem supra modum G

<sup>4</sup> infelix Hecuba : Hecuba infelix G

<sup>5</sup> matrem G

<sup>6</sup> vestrum H

# To the ambassadors of the Duke of Burgundy

## 1. Praise of the duke

[1] We see that the audience today is more attentive than is customary. The reason is, presumably, that they expect to hear Us say more<sup>1</sup> than We usually do, as it is well-deserved by Our beloved son, Philippe, Duke of Burgundy,<sup>2</sup> who today has declared his obedience to Us. During the preceding days, we have greatly praised other princes, but everyone will understand that this magnificent prince, surpassing all others, deserves praises that are magnificent and surpass all others. But Our abilities cannot satisfy your expectations nor can Our eulogies do justice so great a great prince. We should rather imitate that painter<sup>3</sup> who painted the terribly sad Andromache<sup>4</sup> at Hector's<sup>5</sup> funeral.<sup>6</sup> It now remained for him to paint Hector's mother, the unhappy Hecuba,<sup>7</sup> but with an even more sorrowful face. But since he was unable to add more [sadness to his portrayal], he painted the mother with her head veiled, so that the imagination of the onlookers would provide what his art could not.<sup>8</sup> We shall imitate this painter and in like manner veil Our praises of Philippe before you, trusting your intellect much more than Our own.

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<sup>1</sup> "majora"

<sup>2</sup> Philippe III le Bon (1396-1467): Duke of Burgundy 1419 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Not identified

<sup>4</sup> Andromache: (Gk. myth.) Wife of prince Hector of Troy

<sup>5</sup> Hector: (Gk. myth.) prince of Troy, son of King Priamus

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Homer: *Iliad*, ch. 24

<sup>7</sup> Hecuba: (Gk. myth.) queen of Troy, wife of King Priamus

<sup>8</sup> Not identified. A margin note in H refers to a similar example in Pliny: *Natural History*, 35.73: *Nam Timanthis vel plurimum adfuit ingenii. eius enim est Iphigenia oratorum laudibus celebrata, qua stante ad aras peritura cum maestos pinxisset omnes praecipueque patruum et tristitiae omnem imaginem consumpsisset, patris ipsius voltum velavit, quem digne non poterat ostendere (To return to Timanthes—he had a very high degree of genius. Orators have sung the praises of his Iphigenia, who stands at the altar awaiting her doom; the artist has shown all present full of sorrow, and especially her uncle, and has exhausted all the indications of grief, yet has veiled the countenance of her father himself, whom he was unable adequately to portray)*

[2] Super Lucam inquit Ambrosius, *plenam laudationem esse, quae genus, mores, officium, factum, iudiciumque comprehendit*. Sequamur et nos hanc sententiam, ac de genere primum dicamus. Docet enim scriptura divina non solum mores, sed parentes quoque oportere laudari eorum, qui praedicabiles sunt.<sup>1</sup> Sed quis Philippi genus satis explicet? Si Galliam inspicimus, nulla est illustris familia, quae sanguinem ejus non recognoscat. Ipsa Francorum prosapia, toto memorabilis orbe, Philippum ex se natum fatetur. Si percurrimus Germaniam, in Bavaria, in Austria, in Saxonia sanguinem ejus reperiemus. Hispaniae reges et Angli<sup>2</sup> se sibi conjunctos esse gloriantur; progenitores ejus clara nitent fama, nec nostris egent praeconiis. Apud historicos late celebres fragrantia<sup>3</sup> suorum morum Europam omnem perfundit<sup>4</sup>.

[3] Laudant<sup>5</sup> omnes ejus in adeundo facilitatem, liberalitatem, clementiam; nullam ei virtutem deesse referunt ex his, quae regiae nuncupantur.

[4] Sed<sup>6</sup> neque officium ejus sua<sup>7</sup> laude caret. Ducale hoc<sup>8</sup> ei in plures provincias populosas et opulentas divinitus traditum est<sup>9</sup> imperium<sup>10</sup>. Nemo mediocre aliquem principem animo volvat, cum Burgundiae ducem nominari audit. Princeps hic potentissimus est, et magnis regibus par. Burgundia per se lata et dives provincia est, et olim regnum fuit. Huic accedit<sup>11</sup> Brabantia, Picardia, Campania, Flandria, Hollandia, Selandia, Frisia<sup>12</sup>, et aliae terrae nobiles. Verum bona haec fortunae gentiles {164v} dixere. Nos fortunam<sup>13</sup> nihil esse censem<sup>14</sup>, sed cuncta Dei nutu geri et in caelo et in terra profitemur.

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<sup>1</sup> genus *in marg.* H

<sup>2</sup> Angliae G

<sup>3</sup> fragrantia G; fragrantia *in marg. corr. ex flagrantia* H; fragrantia *corr. ex flagrantia* H

<sup>4</sup> perfudit G

<sup>5</sup> Mores *nota marg.* H

<sup>6</sup> Officium *nota marg.* H

<sup>7</sup> summa G

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>9</sup> divinitus traditum est : traditum est divinitus G

<sup>10</sup> *omit.* H, J

<sup>11</sup> accidit provincia G

<sup>12</sup> Frixia G

<sup>13</sup> fortunae G

<sup>14</sup> Fortunam nihil esse censem *nota marg.* H

## 1.1. Family

[2] In his *Comments on Luke*, Ambrose says that *a complete laudation comprises family, character, office, actions and judgment*.<sup>1</sup>

We shall follow this statement and first talk about the family, for Holy Scripture teaches us that in the case of people who merit praise it is not only their own character, but also their parents who should be praised. But who can do justice to Philippe's family? Looking at France, every illustrious family is related to him by blood. Even the Family of France, famous all over the world, recognizes Philippe as one of its sons. Looking at Germany, we find his blood in Bavaria, Austria, and Saxony. The kings of Spain and England<sup>2</sup> are proud to be related to him. His ancestors shine with noble deeds, and they do not need our praises. In the works of famous historians the fragrance of their character pervades all of Europe.

## 1.2. Character

[3] All praise his approachability, his liberality, his clemency, and they maintain that he possesses all those virtues that are called royal.

## 1.3. Office

[4] He is also highly praised for the performance of his office. God has given him ducal power over many populous and rich provinces. When the Duke of Burgundy is mentioned, nobody thinks of some small prince. Indeed, this is a mighty prince, the equal of great kings. In itself Burgundy is a large and rich province, and once it was a kingdom. To this come the provinces of Brabant, Picardy, Champagne, Flanders, Holland, Seeland, Frisia and other noble lands. The gentiles would call these things a boon of Fortune, but we believe that that there is no such being as Fortune, and we hold that all things on Earth and in Heaven happen at the nod of God.

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<sup>1</sup> Ambrosius: *Expositio in Lucam* 1, 21

<sup>2</sup> Philippe III was related to the Iberian and English royal families through his third wife, Isabella of Portugal

[5] Parum tamen laudis in gloria regnorum<sup>1</sup> ponimus, nisi regna ipsa recte gubernentur<sup>2</sup>. Quae res ad factum et iudicium pertinent<sup>3</sup>, quae duo restant absolvenda. Ducitur Philippi laus ex<sup>4</sup> facto pluribus modis. Coactus est pro tutela subditorum saepius arma sumere<sup>5</sup>. Bella memorabilia gessit, stravit hostes, oppida rebellantia vicit, victis veniam praebuit, regnum suum egregie defendit, adversus impios Turcos saepe auxilia<sup>6</sup> nostris praedecessoribus transmisit, validas classes armavit, copias instruxit, pecunias suppeditavit, laborantes per orientem Christianos magnis aluit sumptibus. In divisionibus, quae catholicam plebem nostro tempore vexaverunt, a Romana ecclesia numquam recessit. Facta ejus et homines probant omnes, et in conspectu Dei digna sunt laude.

[6] Iudicium<sup>7</sup> ejus aequum esse ipsa subditorum pax ac tranquillitas ostendit, neque enim sine recto iudicio diuturna gaudere pace datur populis<sup>8</sup>. *Justitia et pax*<sup>9</sup>, inquit propheta, *osculatae sunt*, tamquam altera sine altera esse non possit. Et si magno credimus oratori, *sine justitia nulla potest respublica stare*<sup>10 11</sup>. Cum ergo tot provincias sub Philippo quam diutissime pacatas viderimus, fatendum est rectum et sanctum ejus<sup>12</sup> fuisse iudicium. Atque ita per omnia principem esse, cui beatus Ambrosius absolutam laudem concedere posset. Haec nos breviter et involute de tanti principis praestantia diximus. Vos etsi longe majore putabitis, non tamen ad verum usque pertinetis. Superat enim virtus ejus {165r} non solum verba, sed etiam cogitatus.

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<sup>1</sup> regnorum gloria G

<sup>2</sup> nisi regna recte gubernentur *nota marg.* H

<sup>3</sup> Factum, Iudicium *nota marg.* H

<sup>4</sup> et G

<sup>5</sup> capere G

<sup>6</sup> saepe auxilia : auxilium saepe G

<sup>7</sup> Iudicium *nota marg.* H

<sup>8</sup> datur populis : populis ~~dicitur~~ datur G

<sup>9</sup> Justitia et pax *nota marg.* H

<sup>10</sup> potest respublica stare : respublica stare potest G

<sup>11</sup> sine justitia nulla res publica stare potest *nota marg.* H

<sup>12</sup> esse ac J



## 1.4. Actions

[5] However, realms only merit praise if they are governed rightly which leads Us to the two remaining issues of actions and judgment.

As far as his actions are concerned, Philip may be praised for many reasons. He has often been forced to take up arms in defence of his subjects. He has conducted memorable wars, defeated his enemies, conquered rebellious cities, shown mercy to the vanquished, defended his realm excellently, often offered help to Our predecessors against the infidel Turks, armed strong fleets, mobilized troops, provided money, and assisted the poor Christians in the East at great expense. During the divisions that beset the Catholic people in our own time, he never deserted the Roman Church. His deeds are approved by all men, and they are indeed worthy of praise before God.

## 1.5. Judgment

[6] As for his judgments, the very peace and tranquillity of his subjects show that they are just, for without right judgment peoples cannot enjoy lasting peace. As the prophet says, *justice and peace have kissed*:<sup>1</sup> there cannot be the one without the other. And if we believe the great orator,<sup>2</sup> *no state can endure without peace*.<sup>3</sup> Seeing so many provinces at peace for a long time under Philippe, we must say that his judgment is right and holy.

Thus, he is a prince in all those things that according to Holy Ambrose belong to a complete laudation. This is what We had to say - in a brief outline<sup>4</sup> - concerning the eminence of this great prince. Though you may have even higher thoughts [about this prince], you will not grasp the whole reality for his virtue surpasses not only words, but also thoughts.

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<sup>1</sup> Psalms 84, 11

<sup>2</sup> Cicero

<sup>3</sup> Exact quote not identified. See, however, Cicero: *De legibus*, 3, 1, 3

<sup>4</sup> "involute": like the painter painted Hecuba "obvoluto capite", with veiled head

[7] Praeterimus, quae a legatis ejus in nostram relata sunt laudem, imperfectionis et ignorantiae nostrae conscii.

[8] Quae circa rem Turcorum ab his dicta sunt, probamus omnia. Faciemus quantum promissum<sup>1</sup> a nobis est<sup>2</sup>, idque facturum ducem confidimus. Numquam tamen aut nos aut ipse tantum<sup>3</sup> conabimur quantum par fuerit. Vellemus tamen, qui nobis et eidem duci<sup>4</sup> est, eundem ceteris animum<sup>5</sup> esse. Sentiret hostis Christi non esse contemnendum<sup>6</sup> evangelium. Deus pro sua misericordia Christiano populo propitius adsit.

[9] Nos ducis oboedientiam ac devotionem dignam laude censemus,

[10] nec vel sibi umquam<sup>7</sup> vel suis<sup>8</sup> pro suo aut honore aut commodo<sup>9</sup> deerimus, idemque facturos venerabiles fratres nostros sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales non dubitamus.

[11] Orationem coram nos habitam a venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Atrebatensi non extollimus sermone nostro: sua luce suisque viribus, supra quam dicere possimus, illustrem se praebuit et verborum ornatu, et gravitate sententiarum, et suavitate pronuntiationis.

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<sup>1</sup> permissum G

<sup>2</sup> a nobis est : est nobis G

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>4</sup> animus *add.* G

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>6</sup> esse contemnendum : contemnendum esse G

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>8</sup> numquam *add.* G

<sup>9</sup> honore aut commodo : commodo aut honore G

## **2. Protestation of humility**

[7] We shall pass over what his legates had to say in praise of Ourselves, since We are quite aware of Our own imperfections and ignorance.

## **3. Crusade against the Turks**

[8] But We approve of all they said concerning the Turkish matter. We Ourselves shall do all We have promised in this matter, and We trust that he duke will do the same. Though neither He nor We shall ever be able to do all that is required, We should wish that everybody had the same attitude as We and the duke. Then the enemy would feel that the Gospel of Christ is not to be despised. May God in his mercy help the Christian people.

## **4. Acceptance of duke's obedience**

[9] We consider that the duke's obedience and devotion are praiseworthy,

## **5. Papal goodwill**

[10] and We shall always support him and his, granting them benefits and honour. We do not doubt that our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, will do the same.

## **6. Compliment to the ducal spokesman**

[11] The oration delivered before Us by Our venerable brother, the Bishop of Arras,<sup>1</sup> We do praise here. Indeed, We cannot adequately describe how he excelled through the light, the force, the elegant style, the gravity of speech, and the pleasant delivery [of his oration].

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<sup>1</sup> Jouffroy, Jean (ca. 1412 – 1473): Bishop of Arras 1453, 1461, Bishop of Albi 1462

## Appendix: Oration “*Quae pulchri decoris*” of Jean Jouffroy (15 March 1459, Siena)

### Manuscripts

- Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Petri / b VIII 15, ff. 151r-157r
- Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek / 8 Philos 88, ff. 193-201v

### Editions and translations

None.

### Present edition

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

Pagination after the Göttingen manuscript.

### Literature

Märtl, pp. 101-106.

## Oratio Johannis Goffridi, Episcopi Atrebatensis, Illustrissimi Philippi Burgundiorum ducis oratoris, pro praestanda oboedientia ad Pium II., Pontificem Maximum<sup>1</sup>

[1] {193r} Quae pulchri decoris comites pontificis maximi et administrae desiderantur, et quae velut lumina fusa divinitus te, beatissime pater, collustrant, sapientia tua et obvallata religio<sup>2</sup>, majestas<sup>3</sup> nobis profecto facultatem dicendi porrigunt<sup>4</sup> et detrahunt. Plena nempe quivis earum atque in te redundans sicut orationis ubertatem extollit, sic quasi radiis et obfuso nitore animum comprimit. Si enim apud Homerum is, cui Pallas, familiare numen, vires aspirabat, Telemachus, expavit, cum eminentem prudentiae gratia fulgentemque dicendi luminibus Nestorem alloqueretur, quonam ambire<sup>5</sup> affatu te intelligendi et dicendi gravissimum auctorem ausim.

[2] Quippe qui tintinabulis aureis<sup>6</sup> plenus ut Aron per prima tui pontificatus exordia insonuisti ut signaculo litterae Tau Christianorum frontes armares, qui Gedeonis exemplo altera manu fers lampadem sapientiae luce accensam, dextera vero totius eloquentiae tubam dstringis. Si rursum divinae illius, quam exerces, auctoritatis fulgor<sup>7</sup> apud Ezechielem tenebras timoris abducit<sup>8</sup>, quid non formidem {193v} respiciens te. Neque enim solum - quod Alexandro Magno maximum fuit - iidem termini sunt imperii tui et mundi, sed in quo nemo mortalium tibi miscetur alius cernere, licet cecidisse in tuo sinu et nodum et vinculum ipsius orbi et caeli custodiam. Denique, si princeps ille philosophorum, Plato, in suis legibus scripsit fieri appetitione doloris et voluptatis, ut semper novum carmen optemus, si Quintiliano auctore senatus se contemni putabat, nisi novella et accurata prodiret oratio, quid est quod novum auribus tuis aut dignum isto patrum consensu<sup>9</sup> possum afferre?

[3] Dicendum nempe est, quod eversos et afflictos Christianorum animos erigat de tuis virtutibus procreatricibus laetitiae publicae, ad quod jam omnes omnis Italiae doctorum hominum vires, ingenia, facundia, lepos advolaverunt. Dicendum item de firma et illustri observantia et ad tuam sedem insigni fide Philippi, ducis Burgundiorum, quos ideo influit lenis

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<sup>1</sup> Alia oratio oratorum illustrissimi ducis Burgundiae, habita Mantuae iterum in consistorio publico S

<sup>2</sup> *em.*; religione codd.

<sup>3</sup> maiestatis S

<sup>4</sup> porrigant S

<sup>5</sup> abire S

<sup>6</sup> an reis S

<sup>7</sup> fulgo S

<sup>8</sup> obducit S

<sup>9</sup> consensu S

- ut Julius Caesar decripsit – et semper in se quietus fluvius Arar. Ideo montis Jura vertices asperi dictant. Ideo – auctore Diodoro Siculo – Hercules Alesiam oppidum condidit in mediis Burgundiae {194r} finibus et Galetem filium genuit, ut princeps noster spectans a stirpe fortitudinis et constantiae impressa sibi vestigia numquam novitatem religioni susceptae inferat neque ab aliis illatam ferat. Sed, o dulce principis ingenium!

[4] Tuum certe<sup>1</sup> acumen, tua dignitas, tua majestas summa conditur, et tum ex perenni fonte manantes tuae gratissimae virtutes semper novitatem dicentibus excitant copia, non satiant. Tum assidue principis nostri devotioni et observantiae ligna mense Thimatis<sup>2</sup> quadrant, quae consumi non possunt igne adjuncto. Etenim, beatissime pater, fides ipsius nescit eorum, quos coluit atque dilexit, pontificum morte restingui, sed sine senectute diebus omnibus inflorescit, flagrat, augescit. Nempe, ut gratulationem tui pontificatus adoriamur illudque explicemus, quod mos et ratio naturae consensione astricta<sup>3</sup> et divina lex induxerunt, quamquam magnanimis moribus moratus ipse antecessoribus tuis, animi studia semper integra detulit.

[5] Cum tamen praesul renuntiatus es, ad laetitiam effudit propensiores affectus. Nam – ut omittam illum, qui diis et heroibus adhibeatur honorem: ornata floribus templa<sup>4</sup> et incrustatos ditissimis {194v} tapetibus sacros parietes – conventus principum domesticorum et contionis incredibilis ad gratias Deo agendas frontem laetissimam<sup>5</sup> et trium, qui<sup>6</sup> regum omnium demulcent aures, quos aula principis nostri<sup>7</sup> nutrit cantorum suavitatem, quos Hercule<sup>8</sup> superiores<sup>9</sup> Marsiae Olympo et Amfioni sive Apollo suae puella Jonis admirarent<sup>10</sup>. Triplex ex te ratio, pater beatissime<sup>11</sup>, eidem principi praebuit<sup>12</sup> exercitissimam alacritatem: una, quod in civitate Atrabatensi cum tu et omnium saeculorum memoria dignissimus antistes, Nicolaus V., funestissimum Franciae bellum sedasti, cum apostolico legato assideretis, sicut Ulixes et Nestor Agamemnoni, dulcissima tua familiaritas<sup>13</sup> et suavissima mansuetudo totas benevolentiae fores apperuerint.

[6] Quanto autem in ipsum amore per Ratisponensem fueris<sup>14</sup>, meminit. Quantopere te tua virtus istic non solum te honestaret, sed illustraret, advertit. Quid enim magnificentius, quid

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<sup>1</sup> certum S

<sup>2</sup> Thumatis S

<sup>3</sup> adstricta S

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>5</sup> delectissimam S

<sup>6</sup> esui S

<sup>7</sup> principis nostri : nostri principis S

<sup>8</sup> Hacule S

<sup>9</sup> suppare S

<sup>10</sup> admiraretur T

<sup>11</sup> pater beatissime : beatissime pater S

<sup>12</sup> provexit S

<sup>13</sup> familitas S

<sup>14</sup> fuerit T

tibi praeclarius quam te fuisse quasi Joseph inter externos contionum praesidem, florem consilii, ornamentum aulae imperialis, et aurum circumfusum argento quasi insudo splendorem solis? Nonne ambrosiae sucro certe perfusi Germaniae principes te sicut {195r} Jonialem Minoea vel Solonem<sup>1</sup> vel Lycurgum, latores legum, admirabantur?

[7] Nonne in te viderunt per contionem Francfordensem, quid flexamina *et rerum omnium* – ut Cicero loquitur – *domina* possit oratio? Nonne meliorem – ut ait Salomon – sapientiam existimaverunt quam arma bellica, quandoquidem dissidentes a principibus Alamaniae populos et<sup>2</sup> principes inter se dissentientes uno foedere contra Turcos illaqueasti? Viderunt certe tunc oratores principis nostri verba ut tua, instar Eliae, quasi facula ignis arderent. Viderunt, quod tamquam turris David cervix tua, quae aedificata est cum propugnaculis; mille clipei pendent in ea et omnia jacula et arma fortium. Cum uno impetu et instinctu et ore uno doctores sacros et musas ipsas ex te fluere arbitrarentur.

[8] Secundam vero laetitiae causam principi nostro maximam ratio illa conflavit, quae tibi et vim et nomen Pii, beatissime pater, dedit divinitus. Nempe hoc nomen ad omnem proventum Christianae felicitatis existimavit auspiciatissimum. Quid ita, quia profecto – ut Cicero saepe attestatur – fundamentum virtutis omnis est pietas. Socrates vero asserit virtutem esse, quae res impossibiles ad possibilem facultatem traducit. Vis tibi species omnes pietatis adducam, {195v} vis in patriam aut parentes aut vinctam<sup>3</sup> religioni. Equidem arbitror Platonem bene sensisse, qui scripsit ad ferendos meliores peioresque viros regiones ita differre, ut quibusdam locis inspiratio divina insit plus quam patria, quam mater afferat.

[9] Quid enim patriae tuae Senensi gloriosius cedit illo naturali pietatis instinctu, qui feram et lupam intulit<sup>4</sup>, ut progeniem Aeneae Pii nutriret et conditorem urbis et imperii morem<sup>5</sup> se gereret. Stupent veteres Cyrum cane et Abidem cerva esse nutritos. Haec innata Senensi solo pietas est mirabilior. Fertur Camillus, pietate insignis, Senas instauravisse procuratrices illorum<sup>6</sup> pontificum, qui cum<sup>7</sup> tyrannos, tum ipsum mundi terrorem Fridericum ferocientem sola pietate armati profligaverunt. Atqui haud scio, beatissime pater, patriane<sup>8</sup> pietatem in te transfudit, aut pietatem majorem patriae revehis. Cur enim vigiliis, curas, labores, peregrinationes juvenis arripuisti, nisi ut eam reveheres gloriam patriae, quam Smyrneis<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Salomonem S

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>3</sup> iunctam S

<sup>4</sup> impulit S

<sup>5</sup> matrem T

<sup>6</sup> eorum S

<sup>7</sup> tum S

<sup>8</sup> patriamve S

<sup>9</sup> Sirinueis S

Homerus, Virgilius Mantuae, aut Boethius Hesioch, Stadius Tolosae<sup>1 2</sup>, atque – ut praeteream historiae propinquiorem – Lucanum et Ovidium – ut ait Quintilianus – {196r} lascivientem quam Mitilensibus Sappho et Venesinis affert Horatius. Tu nuper illatum patriae tuae ferrum et imminentem cladem et belli extremas flammam in pacem, otium, incolumitatem vertisti.

[10] Et quando – quaeso – pietati quam in matrem omnium, sedem Romanam, edidisti gratiae relatae, nisi laboribus Jacob eadem sedem sponsam tibi<sup>3</sup> acquisisses<sup>4</sup>. Laudatur M. Nemiis Agrippa<sup>5</sup>, seditionis<sup>6</sup> sedator. Sephirum<sup>7</sup> miratur antiquitas omnis<sup>8</sup> passim et molientem quatenus Babylonios regi suo subditos faceret. Pulchrum fuisse - Cicero dicit - Ajacem aut Achillem, sed Ulixem ab Agamemnone appellatum fuisse finitorem<sup>9</sup> discordiarum. Quis igitur non admiretur te pietate insigni fortissimas Alamanorum gentes et tantum gregem, qui neutralitatis<sup>10</sup> obtentu sine pastore vagabatur deformis, in ditionem Romanae sedis potestatemque redegit. Erat certe periculosissimum te Italum hominem ad concitatas contra caput Italiae gentesve ivisse<sup>11</sup>: inisti! Erat divini hominis aut Dei opus cum ea gente, quae – ut Cornelius Tacitus asserit - alienigenas minime patitur honoribus florere: floruisti! In tanto fremitu persuadere: persuasisti! Ferreas {196v} mentes ad votum flectere: flexisti!

[11] Verum – obsecro – quem non accendat illa tua pietatis et<sup>12</sup> religionis imago, qua velut Moises contra Pharaonem liberaturus populum Dei primus atque solus exurgis? Quem non acuat altitudo animi, qui<sup>13</sup> velut Josuae sexcenta millia peditum non times<sup>14</sup>? Tu dominantem Asiae et Xerxe majorem Turcum<sup>15</sup> non times, et curas, ne quis timeat illum. Quem denique non trahat in spem audendi omnia tua Phinees<sup>16</sup> alacritas et promptitudo laboris? Et illa etiam David in perficiendo deliberata celeritas, illa Adoniae filii prudentia, qua Turco bellum necessario inferendum praevides. Sunt certe quidam, qui etsi plurimum facultatis habent, inermes<sup>17</sup> tamen non tantum virium tenent, ut evitantur<sup>18</sup>. At quod fecit bello piratico victor

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<sup>1</sup> Tholosie T

<sup>2</sup> *textus corruptus?*

<sup>3</sup> omit. T

<sup>4</sup> acquisivisset T

<sup>5</sup> Probably Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa

<sup>6</sup> seditioni S

<sup>7</sup> Topirum S

<sup>8</sup> omnia S

<sup>9</sup> servirem T

<sup>10</sup> neutrabilitatis S

<sup>11</sup> ve S

<sup>12</sup> ac S

<sup>13</sup> quia S

<sup>14</sup> timuit S

<sup>15</sup> Turca.. *et passim* T

<sup>16</sup> Phinies S

<sup>17</sup> emerme S

<sup>18</sup> evitantur S



Pompejus, tu extrema hieme tuae profectionis<sup>1</sup> iter aperuisti. Surgit igitur in laetiam maximam animus principis nostri et<sup>2</sup> ex praesentibus spem futurorum metitur. Sed sibi ob tui nominis famam specialissime gaudet. Nam cum laus principis bonum, divinum sit, et famam ferunt a Jove esse, fama tua populos proximos Turcis ab {197r} interitu ad vitam, a desperatione ad spem, ab exitio ad vitam revocabit.

[12] Quid ita quia certe in oratione de lege agraria saepe legisti *homines, ut metuant, contemnant, ament, oderint, opinione non minus quam certa ratione aliqua commoveri*.<sup>3</sup> Quo pacto quia subditorum animos illabatur opinio principem clavo laudis infixum quasi nervis et argenteis funibus detineri<sup>4</sup>, ne peccet nec detineri<sup>5</sup> modo, sed influere subditis facilitatem virtutis, nec solum facilitatem, sed spei praesidium vincendi durissima. Verum ista relinquo, beatissime pater, quoniam quae constituit principis praecipua<sup>6</sup> gloria respuere gloriam, tu quasi Cato sequentem te laudem refugis. Nam sicut in Alcmoi florifera mensa prudens Ulixes obvolvebat caput et velabat faciem, quoties<sup>7</sup> a Dimeto<sup>8</sup> cantore collaudabatur, sic<sup>9</sup> divino pudore modestus quamquam omni laude sublimis laudari te graviter sustines.

[13] Ergo, patres reverendissimi, si duo sunt, quae solent parere<sup>10</sup> victoriam – ut scripsit Plato – confidentia scilicet ducis in hostes et vigor famae, ne turpitudine sequatur, si in libris Josuae cernimus, quoties pontifex excessit e vita propter {197v} novi praesulis laetiam dissolvi carceres et civitates amissas recuperari, princeps noster et sibi gaudet, et ecclesiae congratulatur, et Christianorum salutem refert acceptam, vestrae prudentiae vobisque gratias maximas agit propter pontificem nobis exhibitum, habentem - quod Salomon efflagitat<sup>11</sup> - *manus tornatiles*, ut non secretis solum disputationibus, sed rerum experimentis vere civilis *manus plenas hyacinthis*, qui *aurea*<sup>12</sup> prudentia - ut Quintus Fabius - periculosissimum bellum sine periculo a patrimonio beati Petri discussit manus distinctas<sup>13</sup> saphiris caelesti celeritate consulte<sup>14</sup> conficiendi, et qui nitore sermonis argentea propugnacula sciat super montem Sion aedificare, ut omnes in ipso sapientiae partes experiamur.

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<sup>1</sup> perfectionis S

<sup>2</sup> omit. T

<sup>3</sup> Cicero: *De lege Manilia*, 15, 43: *cum sciamus homines in tantis rebus, ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri*

<sup>4</sup> distineri S

<sup>5</sup> destineri S

<sup>6</sup> em.; praecipua S; principia T

<sup>7</sup> quotiens et passim S

<sup>8</sup> Dimodeto S

<sup>9</sup> ac S

<sup>10</sup> parere T

<sup>11</sup> flagitat S

<sup>12</sup> Canticle, 11, 14: *Manus illius tornatiles, aureae, plene hyacinthis* (His hands are turned and as of gold, full of hyacinths)

<sup>13</sup> districtas S

<sup>14</sup> em.; consulta codd.

[14] Nunc, beatissime pater, appendicem tuae pietatis oboedientiam absolvemus tanto facilius, quanto puderet nos umquam aberravisse a tuo solio. Tacita namque verecundia prohibemur oboedientiam novam afferre, quam quidem integram semper praestitimus, integram ferimus. Divinis nempe illis instauratur decretis, quibus, si quis ecclesiam non audierit<sup>1</sup>, est sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Cum igitur fulmen, idest<sup>2</sup> caelestis ingenii Augustinus, in LXX. quaestione<sup>3</sup> scripserit beatum Petrum totam ecclesiam {198r} potestate complecti: *Quoniam – inquit - sicut omnes apostoli et ecclesia tota erant in Christo, ita et ecclesia tota et apostoli omnes erant in Petro*. Nos Isaia concrepante fatemur regna gentesque perituras, quae non servient tibi. Nos elogia scimus Ezechielis, qui laedentibus tuum sacrum tribunal imprecatur dispersionem in omnes ventos, famem, et gladium, et exempla stuporem. Nos naturam sequimur omnia reducentem ad unum et aevum ordinem, quo inferiora superioribus, potentiora potentioribus<sup>4</sup> semper obtemperant. Siquidem tua haec virtus, divitiae, dignitas cuncta subjiciunt, quis virtuti a Deo tibi collatae non pareat, cui procellae obsecundarent?

[15] Tu quidem humanis oculis, quod<sup>5</sup> natura subduxit peccatum, aufers et transfers. Tu extremas extremitates Olympi cuspide linguae<sup>6</sup> irrumpis. Tu telum, quod Eliae {135r} temporibus aeneum fuisse legimus, extendere potes ut pellem. Huic igitur sacro vestibulo tuae auctoritatis oboedientiam tantam princeps noster effundit, ut ab apostolorum temporibus infusa nostrae Burgundiae Christi religio et per Dotildem, filiam regis Burgundiae, in reges Francorum transfusa radices egit<sup>7</sup> ininvertibiles. Esto enim ut Menias {198v} loquitur: “Surrexit populus tuus in adversarium tibi.” Tunicam et pallium sustulit et tuae sedis cauponatus est auctoritatem. Esto Philistini terra impleverunt puteos Isaac: nos certe statuta quaelibet, quae tuam dignitatem auctionantur, sprevimus, quasi cassiculos araneorum aspernantur. Ut furtum Achor<sup>8</sup> fugimus, ut Chorae<sup>9</sup> superbiam, ut ambitiones Dathan et Abiron respuimus et horrescimus.

[16] Dominus etiam tuam potestatem decrevit, et quis mortalium poterit infirmare? Numquid collectitius hominum numerus, seditio principum, externa vis, praelatorum quorundam factis firmatam verbo Dei tuam potestatem refringent, quando caelum et terram transibunt, et illa Christi verba: “*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam,*”<sup>10</sup> numquam

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<sup>1</sup> audiverit S

<sup>2</sup> adest T

<sup>3</sup> questionibus T

<sup>4</sup> *em.*; impotentioribus codd.

<sup>5</sup> *omit.* S

<sup>6</sup> ligue S

<sup>7</sup> erigit S

<sup>8</sup> Athor T

<sup>9</sup> Thore S

<sup>10</sup> Matthew, 16, 18

transibunt? Quod autem secundum est quamvis Midam<sup>1</sup> aut Croesum<sup>2</sup> aut clarum opibus quisquam<sup>3</sup> vincat reconditos in Ananiam Sophiram. Beatissimi Petri aculeos credimus nondum excussos, nosque monet mos ille, quo pedibus apostolorum omnes se ut suas projiciebant. Quamvis enim ex praesepio surrexit ecclesia, nos assentimur splendori, quo tua sedes, victrix Neronis, {199r} Galbae<sup>4</sup> Domitiani cum suis laureis caput coronatum attollit, purpuras quasi opima spolia referens, jure gentium irrumpit imperatorum sedes et opes.

[17] Quid enim de sublimi tuae sedis vertice aliud Isaias ostendit *pro eo* – inquit – *quod fuisti derelictus, ponam te in superbiam saeculorum, gaudium in generatione et generationem, suges lac gentium et mamilla regum lactaberis. Pro aere afferam tibi aurum et pro ferro argentum.*<sup>5</sup> Hoccine altare Dei primo ligneum, inde lapideum, tum argenteum docet verticem divitiarum tibi deberi. Non luxum quidem, ut haeretici blacterant, sed praesidium salutare, quo septa religio majestatem inferat, majestas reverentiam creet, reverentia parturiat oboedientiam. Equidem, beatissime pater, huic tuae pietatis gradui polliceor observantiam talem, qualem Christianissimi Franciae reges, a quibus princeps noster directo manat, Carolus magnanimus et Pipinus, qui regibus longobardis tui patrimonii praedam eripuerunt, qualem reges Burgundiae et, qui loco regum fuerunt, duces contra Gothos et Hunnos pro tuis opibus et dignitate tuenda, qualem praeterea Hugo, dux Burgundiae, qui rex Italiae accersitus<sup>6</sup> Berengarium diripientem patrimonium {199v} Petri proelio vicit. Et quid – obsecro – ab aliis duobus ducibus Burgundiae, et item regibus Italiae, Rudolfo et Lothario, actum est proeliis, nisi ut Petri dignitas<sup>7</sup> et opes perseverarent. Declarant ad id observantiam nostram<sup>8</sup> vicesies et quattuor Romanae sedis impulsu instructae Burgundiae acies, quas partim Nicolao, partim Calixto, partim alias tibi enumeravi<sup>9</sup>.

[18] Pignora hujus sunt fundatae a<sup>10</sup> majoribus principis nostri per Burgundiam, Belgas, Lotharingiam, Frisiam, metropolitanam et cathedrales ecclesiae, quas etiam offensus non violat. Si quis inde auferre quidpiam nititur, defendere properat: Constantini exemplo in nullo sibi subijci patitur. Pignora item istius rei sunt trium religionum capita, tria ornatissima totius orbis et supra octingenta monasteria auctissima<sup>11</sup> opibus, quae in suis patriis eminentissima

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<sup>1</sup> Nudam S

<sup>2</sup> clarum S

<sup>3</sup> quisquam S

<sup>4</sup> Galle S

<sup>5</sup> Isaiah, 60, 16-17

<sup>6</sup> accersitos S

<sup>7</sup> dignitatem S

<sup>8</sup> *omit.* T

<sup>9</sup> Here, Jouffroy seems to imply that had had delivered an oration to Pope Calixtus III and an earlier one to Pius II himself. Such orations are otherwise unknown, and they are not listed in Märtil's *Werkverzeichnis*, cf. Märtil, pp. 340-343. Also, Jouffroy did not address an oration directly to Nicolaus V, but he did deliver an oration at the occasion of his funeral, cf. Märtil, pp. 341-342

<sup>10</sup> a a J. S

<sup>11</sup> aucta T

fulgent. Ultimo, beatissime pater, ne quis mortalium oboedire tibi detractet dignitatis obtentu, nos profitemur tibi delatum sceptrum, non quod fabricavisse fertur Vulcanus artifex, sed sceptrum intuentis<sup>1</sup>, quod principes te genu supplices<sup>2</sup> adorant inclinatos - quod Baruch propheta loquitur - humero<sup>3</sup> et cervice in terram.

[19] Etenim, beatissime pater, ut nobiles solutus<sup>4</sup> legibus super gentes et regna cum summo imperio, cum iudicio infinito, cum potestate non {200r} coartata, cepisti ferream virgam, quae tamquam vas figuli obnitentes quosque constringat. Adstrictum tenes manibus gladium ancipitem ad faciendum vindictam in nationibus, ad alligandos reges eorum in compedibus et nobiles eorum in manicis<sup>5</sup> ferreis. Cepisti custodientem paradisum rumpheam<sup>6</sup> igneam, quae montium fundamenta comburens humiliat montes excelsos, rupesque perennes excitatius frangat<sup>7</sup>, quam fertur dux ille Poenorum Taurinos saltus igne et aceto fregisse. Quapropter sive quod in Paralipomenon legitur veros duces esse cepisse pro regibus, et plurima ducis nostri dominia regna fuerunt, sive quod Isaias pronuntiavit: *qui tenuerit foedus, meum dabo illi locum in domo mea et nomen melius*<sup>8</sup>, et pectus ejus nullis ventis vibrat, quamquam praestantissimus princeps omnibus conciliis sortitus est, delatum sibi primum locum post reges, ipse tibi sese prosternens tanto parere tibi studet ardentius, quanto scit omnem potestatem a Deo esse, et quanto didicit, quotiens tibi paretur, totiens prosperitatem augeri.

[20] Ergo - ut omnia in summa concludam – tu pater, historiae et omnis doctrinae antistes, scis Annianum Marcellinum scripsisse Burgundos, veterum Romanorum sobolem florentissimum {200v} regum<sup>9</sup>, quod Eutropius scribit obtinuisse legistis, quod in Commentariis Caesaris constat communi<sup>10</sup> regem Atrebatem Belgarum etiam Lotharingiae regum tute scis. Et ne praeteream Cimbros Flandriae et Brabantiae partem, quos emigrasse ab extremis Galliae finibus Oceano nudante ipsorum, Annaeus Florus affirmat. Profecto, quamquam illos Marius fudit, non impune segregatos, quid tamen virium roborisque habentur, ostendunt Sillanus<sup>11</sup> et Cassianus<sup>12</sup> et Scipionis exercitus a Cimbris fusi, obtriti,

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<sup>1</sup> aut ventes S

<sup>2</sup> supplices S [blank space]

<sup>3</sup> homero S

<sup>4</sup> soluti S

<sup>5</sup> manibus S

<sup>6</sup> rumpheam S

<sup>7</sup> frangit T

<sup>8</sup> Isaiah, 56, 4-5: *Qui custodierint sabbata mea, et elegerint quae ego volui, et tenuerint foedus meum, dabo eis in domo mea et in muris meis locum, et nomen melius a filiis et filiabus (They that shall keep my sabbaths, and shall choose the things that please me, and shall hold fast my covenant: I will give to them in my house, and within my walls, a place, and a name better than sons and daughters)*

<sup>9</sup> regnum T

<sup>10</sup> omit. T [blank space]

<sup>11</sup> Sillanis T

<sup>12</sup> Cassianis T

castris exuti, et LXXX millia Romanorum militum caesa, calonum XL millia, et Aurelii Servulii mors et Carbonis e proelio fuga, morte deterior, et legiones tres cum suis aquilis ablatae Caesari. Tu idem nosti Frisiae regnum, quod vix Drusus Germanicus ausus est penetrare. Scis Arduennae regnum Valentiniani temporibus excellens usque Nammetes<sup>1</sup> atque Leucros, quae invictissimi Philippi, maximi ducis, parent imperio.

[21] Quare cum in suis legibus scripserit Plato, ut unusquisque in ara Dei apud antistitem nomen suum et gentis suae et tribus deferat, cum vetus consuetudo flagitet oboedientiae professionem, ut quod quisque verbo concessit, re non imminuat, cumque innumeris {201r} princeps tribuum Moysi sese describunt et orbis ipse Christo nascente describitur, nos tibi vicario Dei viventis deferimus pro tuo nutu atque renutu specie, frequentia, numero, celebritate, potentia orbis praestantissimas urbes, viros fulgentes nobilitate, cor perseverans atque legitimum.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Mammetes T

<sup>2</sup> Dixi *add.* T

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 38)**

**Oration “*Si sacrosancto*” of Pope Pius II (March 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from four German princes: Friedrich I, Count Palatine; Friedrich II, Margrave and Elector of Brandenburg; Albrecht VI, Archduke of Austria; and Albrecht Achilles, Margrave (Brandenburg). In his short reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope mostly spoke about papal supremacy and the legitimacy of papal elections, and afterwards he accepted the dukes' obedience, praised them, expressed his gratitude for their offers of aid to the crusade against the Turks, and assured them of his goodwill.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Count Palatine Frederick the Victorious; Pfalzgraf Friedrich I der Siegriche; Margrave Friedrich II of Brandenburg; Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg; Papal supremacy; Crusades against the Turks; Archduke Albrecht VI of Austria; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory



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### **II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION**

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3. Obedience of the German princes [3]
4. Praise of the German princes [4]
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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

In the spring of 1459, during a prolonged stay in Siena, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope on behalf of their lord. One of the embassies was a joint embassy from the Friedrich I, Count Palatine Duke of Bavaria, the two Margraves of Brandenburg, Friedrich II and Albrecht III Achilles, and Albrecht VI, Archduke of Austria.

One of the ambassadors was Hertnidt vom Stein, court official of Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg. According to Thumser, Hertnidt vom Stein arrived at the Papal Court, then residing in Siena, probably in the beginning of March 1459, to present Margrave Albrecht Achilles' declaration of obedience to the new pope. Afterwards, he stayed with the court and followed the pope to Mantua. He left Mantua before September 1459, only to return in December together with the margrave.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Themes

The oration contains five themes which recur in the pope's responses to the ambassadors offering obedience on behalf of their princes.<sup>3</sup> To these comes the theme of the legitimacy of papal elections including Pius' own which mostly replaces the recurrent, traditional theme of personal unworthiness for papal office.<sup>4</sup>

The first theme is papal supremacy. In the oration "*Si Sacrosancto*", Pius gives a somewhat more extensive argumentation for this supremacy than in most other orations to the ambassadors.

The chain of arguments runs like this [Sect. 1]:

- a) the Holy Gospel and the Doctors of the Church teach and *Christians must of necessity recognize that on Earth there is one power, granted by God, from whom all other powers derive.*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Voigt, III, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> See Thumser, p. 36, and personal communication of 2 July 2019. See also oration "*Advenisse te citius*" [53]

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, sect. 7.7.3.

<sup>4</sup> Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287, sect. 12

- b) This power Christ gave to the Apostle *Peter*, first Bishop of Rome, when he made him the *Prince of the Apostles* and his own *Vicar* on Earth.
- c) It was transmitted to Peter's successors as Bishops of Rome who inherited it successively.<sup>1</sup>

So, the primacy and supreme authority of the Roman See derive from Christ's appointment of the Apostle Peter as his Vicar and the transmission of Peter's office to the Bishops of Rome through Apostolic Succession. Pius added a restriction on this authority, that it applies to matters concerning the edification of the Church. This expression refers to religious matters as such, but from other such orations it is known that it also may cover certain secular matters in which the final judgment is the pope's.<sup>2</sup>

The second theme is the legitimacy of an elected pope. This theme replaces the usual – and customary – declaration of the pope's personal unworthiness for the exalted papal office. The reason for the substitution may have been some unfortunate remarks by one of the ambassadors concerning Pius' antecedents. The pope declares that under the present system of electing the popes, the election by cardinals make the chosen cardinal a legitimate pope notwithstanding humble origins, ignorance of canon law, affiliation to any religious order, married state, or immorality in former life. The only thing which prevents a man from being legitimately elected pope is his being a heretic or an unbeliever. As Pius II fulfills the criteria for election, he is now the rightful and undoubted pope, having the rights and supreme power as pope and God's Vicar on Earth [Sect. 2].

The third theme is praise of the princes presenting their obedience. In the case of Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg, Pius mentions that when as a younger man he served at the Imperial Court, he heard Albrecht being called Achilles. Actually, it was Pius himself who gave him this sobriquet [Sect. 3].

The fourth theme is the needful contribution of the princes to the projected crusade against the Turks: *Now ... great dukes offer their assistance, help, and advice. This gives Us comfort and hope* [Sect. 4].

The fifth theme is an assurance of the benevolence of the pope towards the princes declaring their obedience.

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<sup>1</sup> This expression was not directly used by Pius

<sup>2</sup> Oration "*Dominatorem caeli*" [35]

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was delivered in March 1459, in Siena.

The venue was the cathedral of Siena, which was suitable and appropriate for papal functions.<sup>1</sup>

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>2</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>3</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>4</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 174v-175v (G) \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 53v-56r (J) \*

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<sup>1</sup> That Pius used the cathedral of Siena as the venue for official papal functions during his stay there is shown by his own remark in a later oration to Castilian ambassadors, the "*Claritudo sanguinis*", from the autumn 1460, sect. 1: *Claritudo sanguinis et morum elegantia singularisque virtus carissimi in Christo filii nostri Henrici, Legionis et Castellae regis illustris, cum anno jam revoluto hoc ipso templo nobis et apostolicae sedi suo nomine praestaretur obedientia pluribus verbis recensita et explicata fuit*

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>3</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.2

<sup>4</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**

Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 64v-67v

Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 86r-89r

Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 170r-171v **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 221-203  
*[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]*

## 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 5 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 4 from the Bible and 1 from medieval sources.

Biblical: 4

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 1

Contemporary: 0

**All: 5**

**Biblical sources: 4**

Old Testament: 0

New Testament: 4

- Matthew: 1
- John: 1
- Acts: 1
- 2. Corinthians: 1
- 

**Classical sources: 0**

**Patristic and medieval sources: 1**

- Jacobus de Voragine: 1

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol.1, ch. 8.



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- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2019-2020

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<sup>1</sup> References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.) **Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67** (without reference to a specific edition). In the bibliographies of the individual orations, the first edition is usually listed, but the Theiner edition is actually the preferred one since it is the easiest available on the web

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus Bavariae ducis, marchionis Brandenburgensis, et Austriae ducis

[1] {170r} Si sacrosancto credimus evangelio, quod divinum esse oraculum<sup>1</sup> constat, si sanctis doctoribus fidem habemus, qui tamquam sol et luna ecclesiam illustrarunt, si denique Christiani sumus, quo nomine gloriamur ac salvamur, necesse est unam in terris potestatem fateamur a summo Deo concessam, a qua reliquae omnes dependeant, hanc vero {170v} apud Romanum praesulem inveniri ex<sup>2</sup> ordinatione salvatoris Christi, qui Petrum apostolorum principem et vicarium suum<sup>3</sup> divina voce constituit, cui et<sup>4</sup> pascendi suas oves et aperiendi claudendique<sup>5</sup> caeli portas<sup>6</sup> curam et potestatem commisit. Hic post domini ascensionem<sup>7</sup> prius in Antiochia septem annis plebem docuit, ubi primum Christiani nominis appellatio audita est. Exin<sup>8</sup> Romam se contulit; sed persectionem<sup>9</sup> infidelium veritus fugam arripiens, non procul ab Appia porta salvatorem obvium habuit, quem cum interrogasset: “*Domine, quo vadis?*” et ille respondisset: “*Vado Romam iterum crucifigi*”, intellexit sanctus apostolus voluntatem esse divinam, ut Romae moreretur. Reversus<sup>10</sup> igitur in<sup>11</sup> urbem sub Nerone, saevissimo imperatore, passus est, atque una et eadem die cum beato Paulo, ejusdem fidei professore, martyrio coronatus est, et suo sanguine Romanam consecravit ecclesiam. Hinc primatus et auctoritas summa Romani solii. Nam quod Petrus hoc et successores fuere<sup>12</sup>, impares aliquando meritis, potestate semper pares.

---

<sup>1</sup> esse oraculum : oraculum esse G

<sup>2</sup> et J

<sup>3</sup> omit. G

<sup>4</sup> omit. G

<sup>5</sup> claudendi J

<sup>6</sup> caeli portas : portas caeli G

<sup>7</sup> domini ascensionem : ascensionem domini G

<sup>8</sup> exinde G

<sup>9</sup> persecutione H

<sup>10</sup> reverso G

<sup>11</sup> ad G

<sup>12</sup> facere J

# To the ambassadors of the Duke of Bavaria<sup>1</sup>, the Margrave of Brandenburg<sup>2</sup>, and the Duke of Austria<sup>3</sup>

## 1. Papal supremacy

[1] If We believe the Holy Gospel which is in fact the word of God, if We have faith in the holy doctors who illumined the Church like the sun and the moon, and if, finally, We are Christians, in which name We are given glory and salvation, then we must of necessity recognize that on Earth there is One power, which is granted by supreme God and from which all the other powers derive. And this power is invested in the Roman Pontiff, by the ordination of Christ the Saviour, who by his divine word made Peter the Prince of the Apostles and His own Vicar, giving him power and charge to guard his sheep<sup>4</sup> and to open and close the gates of Heaven.<sup>5</sup> After the Ascension of the Lord, Peter first [stayed] for seven years in Antioch, teaching the people. Here, the name of “Christian” was heard for the first time.<sup>6</sup> Then he went to Rome. [Later,] he fled [that City], fearing persecution from the unbelievers. Not far from Porta Appia he met the Saviour. He asked him: “*Where are you going, Lord.*” Jesus replied: “*I am going to Rome to be crucified once again.*” Then the holy apostle understood that it was the will of God that he should die in Rome. He returned to the City, and suffered under savage Emperor Nero. Together with and on the same day as Saint Paul, a believer in the same Faith, he was crowned with martyrdom and consecrated the Roman Church with his blood.<sup>7</sup> From this derives the primacy and supreme authority of the Roman See. For what Peter was, his successors were too: sometimes of unequal merit, but always of equal power.

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<sup>1</sup> Friedrich I. der Siegriche (Wittelsbach) (1425-1476): Count Palatine and Prince Elector

<sup>2</sup> Actually, the ambassadors represented two Margraves of Brandenburg: Friedrich II der Eiserne (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471: Margrave and Prince Elector; Albrecht *Achilles* von Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) (1414-1486): Margrave and later Prince Elector

<sup>3</sup> Albrecht VI of Austria (Habsburg) (1418-1463): Duke of Inner Austria from 1424 and of Austria from 1457 to his death

<sup>4</sup> John, 21, 15-17

<sup>5</sup> Matthew, 6, 19

<sup>6</sup> Acts, 11, 26

<sup>7</sup> Jacobus de Voragine: *Legenda aurea* / S. Petrus

[2] Successio vero etsi multifarie<sup>1</sup> multisque modis apud veteres concessa est, ad extremum tamen in melius reformato reipublicae statu ex<sup>2</sup> cardinalium arbitrio pendere coepit, qui postquam vacante sede in unum aliquem duarum consensu partium consensere Romanum praesulem et indubitatum Christi vicarium efficiunt. Non hic<sup>3</sup> generis obscuritas objici potest, non ignorantia canonum, non religionis nexus, non conjugii ligamentum, non prioris vitae lubricitas: papa est quemcumque cardinales elegerunt<sup>4</sup>, si modo fidelis est. Haereticus autem et infidelis, {171r} cum sit extra ecclesiam, caput ecclesiae esse non potest. Cum igitur venerabiles fratres nostri unanimi consensu nos in summum pontificem elegerunt, qui divinis<sup>5</sup> Christi sacramentis sumus imbuti et evangelium sacrosque canones et generalium conciliorum decreta veneramur, et catholicam fidem usque ad sanguinem et animam tueri proponimus, non est dubium quin nostris jussionibus in aedificationem ecclesiae manantibus parere omnis oporteat, etsi sumus aliquin indigni hoc tam sublimi honore.

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<sup>1</sup> multifariam J

<sup>2</sup> et J

<sup>3</sup> huic J

<sup>4</sup> elegerint J

<sup>5</sup> divini J



## 2. Legitimacy of papal elections

[2] In the old days, the succession [to the Roman See] was conferred in many different ways. In the end, the government of the Church was reformed – for the better - and the succession began to depend on the choice of the cardinals:<sup>1</sup> when the [Holy] See becomes vacant, the cardinals agree – [often] by consensus between two factions - on who should become the Bishop of Rome and the undoubted Vicar of Christ. There may be no objection to his [election] on the basis of humble origins, ignorance of the canons, affiliation to a religious order, bond of marriage, or immorality in his former life: he is pope whom the cardinals elect, if only he is a believer. Heretics and unbelievers are outside the Church and therefore cannot be its head. Since Our venerable brethren have unanimously elected Us Supreme Pontiff - a man who is imbued with the divine sacraments of Christ, who reveres the Gospel, the holy canons, and the decrees of the general councils, and who intends to defend the Catholic Faith with his life and soul – there is no doubt that all must obey the decrees issued by Us for the edification of the Church, though, on occasion, We may not be worthy of this exalted honourable office.

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<sup>1</sup> Since 1059

[3] Persuasa sunt haec jampridem dilectis filiis nostris, quorum nomine nobis et apostolicae sedi hodierna die oboedientia praestita est.

[4] Clari et potentes hi principes sunt. Fridericus, comes Palatinus, dux Bavariae, princeps elector, in armis exercitatus, animi et corporis dotibus<sup>1</sup> excellens, non eget laude nostra, quippe qui generis claritudine et propria virtute apud omnes ubique gentes late cognitus est. Alter Fridericus, marchio Brandenburgensis, et ipse quoque imperii elector, optimis praeditus moribus, clarum tota Germania nomen habet, cujus in primis illud moderationis suae illustre praeconium fertur, quod vocatus in regem a Polonis regnum recusavit, quod jure gentium per successionem alteri deberetur. Albertus, Austriaci natus prosapia, ex qua quinque imperaverunt, Friderici Caesaris germanus est, magnanimitate ac liberalitate insignis, et ad grandia quaeque negotia cupidus atque aptus. Secundus Albertus, Friderici marchionis germanus est, de cujus praestantia tacere consultius ducimus, ne modum responsionis excedamus. Illud tamen referre non piget, plura hunc gessisse proelia, plures ex hoste victorias reportasse, quam credibile cuiquam videatur, ob quam rem cum inter Germanos ageremus, in minoribus constituti, Teuthonicum eum appellari Achillem a nonnullis rei militaris peritissimis audivimus.

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<sup>1</sup> corporis dotibus : dotibus corporis G

### 3. Obedience of the German princes

[3] This belief is shared by Our beloved sons in whose name, today, you have declared obedience to Us and the Apostolic See.

### 4. Praise of the German princes

[4] Famous and mighty are these princes.

Friedrich, Count Palatine, Duke of Bavaria, and Prince Elector, trained in weapons and with excellent qualities of soul and body, does not need Our praise: indeed he is known among all peoples for the nobility of his family and for his own courage and fortitude.

The other Friedrich, Margrave of Brandenburg, is an Imperial Elector, too, with an excellent character and famous in all of Germany. Above all, his moderation is praised for the reason that having been named King of Poland he refused the kingdom because by the law of the peoples another man had the right of succession.

Albrecht is of the exalted line of Austria, from which five men have held the empire. He is brother of Emperor Friedrich, distinguished by his magnanimity and liberality, and both desiring and able to do great things.

The second Albrecht is the brother of Margrave Friedrich. We better remain silent on his outstanding excellence so as to not to exceed the limits of a response. But this We shall not omit: he has fought more wars and obtained more victories over his enemies than anyone would believe credible. Therefore, when We had not yet attained high rank and lived in Germany, We heard him being called Achilles by men who were specialists in military matters.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Indeed, Pius himself was the first to call Albrecht Achilles, and he had done so publicly at the imperial diet of Wiener Neustadt in 1455, in the oration *"In hoc florentissimo"* [23]: *Quid de Theutonico Achille dicam? Quam volens, quam promptus, quam fervens ad tuendam ecclesiam nunc Ratisponae, nunc Frankfordiae visus est? Quaeritis, quis sit hic Achilles? Albertum ego marchionem Brandeburgensem, Germanicae nationis singulare lumen, Achillis nomine designo*

[5] *Benedictus Deus et pater<sup>1</sup> domini nostri Jesu Christi, pater misericordiarum et deus totius consolationis, qui consolatur nos in omni tribulatione nostra.* Tribulat et angit nos Turcorum feritas, qui dies noctesque Christianos per Graeciam, Illyrium et Hungariam constitutos durissimis affligunt cladibus<sup>2</sup>. Sed ecce parte altera magnanimos duces sua opera, sua auxilia, sua consilia offerentes. Hinc nobis solamen oritur, et spes datur, qua tandem aliquid efficere possimus ad tutelam Christianae plebis et divini nominis laudem. Nam hi principes potentissimi sunt Bavariae, Austriae, Sueviae, Franconiae, ac Saxoniae magna ex parte imperantes. Faxit<sup>3</sup> divina pietas, ut propositum teneant, et in tam necessario negotio non desint.

[6] Nos et ipsis et eorum liberis, amicis, propinquis, et omnibus subditis semper favorabiles inveniemur et ad gratiam proni.

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<sup>1</sup> patris J

<sup>2</sup> clades J

<sup>3</sup> faciat G

## 5. Crusade against the Turks

[5] *Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort: Who comforteth us in all our tribulation.*<sup>1</sup> We are worried and burdened by the ferocity of the Turks who day and night wreak grave damage on the Christians living in Greece, Illyria and Hungary. But now, from the other side, brave and strong dukes offer their assistance, help and advice. This gives Us comfort and hope that We shall be able to achieve something for the protection of the Christian people and the praise of the divine name, for these powerful princes rule a large part of Bavaria, Austria, Swabia, Franconia and Saxony. May the Divine Piety grant that they fulfil their purpose and do not fail in this necessary enterprise.

## 6. Papal goodwill

[6] We shall always show favour and grace to them, their children, friends and relatives, and all their subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> 2 Corinthians 1, 3-4

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 39)**

**Oration "*Subjectam esse*" of Pope Pius II (Autumn 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During the Congress of Mantua in Autumn 1459, Pope Pius II received some embassies from German and French rulers coming to declare obedience to the new pope and the Apostolic See. One of the embassies was from Archbishop Elect and Prince Elector of Trier, Johann von Baden. In his response to the ambassadors, the pope mainly spoke on the supremacy of the papacy, using arguments from natural history and from Scripture. Afterwards he briefly touched upon the other themes recurring in all his responses to such embassies: his own unworthiness for the exalted papal office, acceptance of the declaration of obedience, praise of the archbishop, and assurance of papal benevolence.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Responses to ambassadors; Papal supremacy; Johann of Baden, Archbishop of Trier; Declarations of obedience to the pope; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetorics



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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

In the autumn of 1459, during the Congress in Mantua, Pope Pius II received embassies from the German and French rulers coming – somewhat late – to declare their obedience to the new pope and the Apostolic See. One of the embassies was from the Archbishop Elect of Trier, Johann von Baden, and his brother, Coadjutor Bishop of Metz.<sup>2 3</sup>

## 2. Themes

In his reply to the ambassadors, Pius spoke on five themes which would recur in all his replies to ambassadors of the princes coming to declare their lord's obedience.<sup>4</sup>

The first and most important theme was the supremacy of the papal office in all matters, by virtue of the unlimited mission entrusted to the Apostle Peter by Jesus Christ.<sup>5</sup> This mission and the power of the apostolic office is passed from pope to pope, through apostolic succession, and has now reached the present pope, Pius II, to whom all Christians owe absolute obedience. Those who disobey him, including the princes, do so at the peril of their soul.

In this oration, the pope bolsters his claim to papal supremacy and the monarchic vision of the Church with an argument based on natural order, i.e. that bees and cranes (from *Decretum Gratiani*), and elephants follow one leader:

*If animals without reason know how to observe order, why should man be governed by disorder?* [Sect. 1]

The second theme is the pope's declaration that he is personally unworthy of his high office and does not merit the extravagant praises of the ambassadors. But since God has chosen him for his own inscrutable purposes, he is now God's Vicar on earth. This protestation of humility was quite traditional.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Voigt, IV, pp. 92-93

<sup>2</sup> Georg von Baden (1433-1484)

<sup>3</sup> The embassy is not directly mentioned in Pius' *Commentarii*

<sup>4</sup> On the format of Pius' responses to ambassadors' declarations of obedience, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 7.7.3

<sup>5</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

<sup>6</sup> On the theme of personal unworthiness for papal office, see *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect.7.8.2

Finally, the pope accepts the archbishop's and the bishop's obedience, praises them, and expresses his goodwill towards them, their house and their subjects.

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Voigt, the embassy of the Archbishop Elect of Trier and his brother, Coadjutor Bishop of Metz, arrived during the Congress of Mantua, possibly in October, at the same time as the ambassadors of other German princes.

The ambassadors were received in a public consistory, and the audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and the ambassadors with their retinues present in Mantua.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.

### 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>3</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 172r-173r **(G)** \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 48r-50v **(J)** \*

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 5.1.2

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 57r-60r  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 77r-80r  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 165r-167v **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

## 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 231-233  
*[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]*

## 4.3. Editions

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 11 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, most from the Bible.

Biblical: 8

Classical: 1

Patristic and medieval: 2

Contemporary: 0

**All: 11**

### **Biblical sources: 8**

#### Old Testament: 3

- Canticle of canticles: 1
- Job: 1
- 1. Kings: 1

#### New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 1
- Luke: 1
- John: 1
- Ephesians: 1
- Romans: 1

### **Classical sources: 1**

Tacitus: 1<sup>2</sup>

### **Patristic and medieval sources: 2**

- Cyprianus: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Decretum Gratiani: 1

### **Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Germania

<sup>3</sup> De unitate ecclesiae

## 6. Bibliography

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

- Pius II: *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

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

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

**HA** = Eneas Silvius Piccolomini: *Historia Austriacalis*. Teil 1: Einleitung von Martin Wagendorfer. 1. Redaktion ed. von Julia Knödler. Teil 2: 2./3, ed. Martin Wagendorfer. 2 vols.



Hannover, 2009. (Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum. Nova Series; 24)

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus domini archiepiscopi Treverensis

[1] {166r} *Subjectam esse omnem animam sublimioribus potestatibus* apostoli Pauli auctoritas est. Digna vox, quae divinis concluderetur eloquiis, et quae damnatam illorum exterminaret insaniam, {166v} qui Romanae sedis eminentiam primatumque negant. Ordinata sunt, quae Deum auctorem habent; ubi ordo, ibi ad unum omnia referuntur. *In apibus unus est rex; grues unam sequuntur;* elephantibus suo parenti duci: animalia rationis expertia servare ordinem norunt, et homo confusio subiacebit? Gentes hic error occupet, quae Deum ignorant. In ecclesia, quae Dei opus est, et una est sponsa domini, columba candida, incorrupta, sine macula, unus est princeps et unum caput, a quo cuncta derivantur.

[2] Cumque *militia sit vita hominis super terram*, teste Job, nihil aliud ecclesia nostra est quam Christi exercitus. Militant omnes homines, sed non omnes Deo. In ecclesia tantum catholica militia salutaris invenitur. In hac pro suis militibus Christus dominus et imperator mortem obiit, Codrus melior Atheniensi, quem tantopere Graeci laudant, melior Decius, quos Romani miris efferunt laudibus. Reliquit tamen Christus vicarius suum Petrum, cui collatis clavibus regni caelestis<sup>1</sup> exercitus sui curam commisit; et *quamvis ceteri apostoli pari consortio praediti essent honoris et potestatis*, ut Cypriani verbis utamur, *principatus tamen et dignitatis altitudo et auctoritatis plenitudo penes Petrum inventa est*, dicente domino: *Pasce oves meas, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum* etc., propter quae discipuli eum veluti ducem magistrumque habuere.

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<sup>1</sup> caelorum J

# To the ambassadors of the Lord Archbishop of Trier

## 1. Papal supremacy

[1] According to the authority of the Apostle Paul *every soul is subject to higher powers*.<sup>1</sup> This statement is worthy of divine praise, and it destroys the damnable folly of those who deny the eminence and primacy of the Roman See. All that originates in God is orderly, and where there is order, all things lead back to one. *Among the bees there is one king. The cranes follow one*.<sup>2</sup> The elephants obey their leader. If animals without reason know how to observe order, then why should man be governed by disorder? The gentiles,<sup>3</sup> who do not know God, may live in this error. But in the Church, the work of God and his one spouse, his white dove, uncorrupted and unblemished, there is only one prince and one head from whom everything else flows.

[2] And if, as Job says, *the life of man upon earth is a warfare*,<sup>4</sup> then our Church is nothing but the army of Christ. All men fight, but not all for God. Only the Catholic Church is an army that brings salvation. In that army, Christ, the lord and general, died for his soldiers. He was better than Codrus of Athens whom the Greeks revere, and better than the Decii whom the Romans extol. But Christ left Peter as his Vicar and, giving him the keys to the Heavenly Kingdom, he entrusted his army to him. And, to quote Cyprian, though *the rest of the apostles were also the same as was Peter, endowed with a like partnership both of honour and power*<sup>5</sup> *the primacy and the exalted dignity and the plenitude of authority belonged to Peter*.<sup>6</sup> The Lord himself said: *Feed my sheep*,<sup>7</sup> *And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven*<sup>8</sup> etc., and this is how his disciples got Peter as their leader and teacher.

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<sup>1</sup> Romans, 13, 1: *omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit*

<sup>2</sup> Decretum, C.7.1.41. (Col. 582): *In apibus princeps unus est; grues unam secuntur ordine litterato* (Gregorius I ad Rusticum Monachum, ep. 4)

<sup>3</sup> "gentes"

<sup>4</sup> Job, 7, 1: *militia est vita hominis super terram*

<sup>5</sup> Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 4: *Hoc erant utique et ceteri apostoli quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio praediti et honoris et potestatis, sed exordium ab unitate proficiscitur (et primatus Petro datur), ut Ecclesia Christi una (et cathedra una) monstretur*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 4

<sup>7</sup> John, 21, 17

<sup>8</sup> Matthew, 16, 19

[3] Ab hoc Petro per varios multiplicesque successiones<sup>1</sup> ad nos usque tanti muneris auctoritas ac majestas derivata<sup>2</sup> est. Scimus quanto inferiores sumus honore nobis credito, et imperfectum nostrum non ignoramus, nec sine {167r} tremore in tam sublimes sedem solio. Verum ita placuit ei, qui *de stercore erigit pauperem, ut sedeat cum principibus et solium gloriae teneat*. Qualescumque sumus, etsi Petri meritum non habemus, locum tamen ejus<sup>3</sup> tenemus, et in ea cathedra collocati sumus<sup>4</sup>, cum<sup>5</sup> qua<sup>6</sup> *omnis, qui non colligit, dispergit*. Hic incorrupta patrum servatur auctoritas. Hic indiscissa<sup>7</sup> domini tunica custoditur. Hic fons vivus emanat. Hic hortus conclusus habetur. Hic est arca Noe, extra quam salvari nemo<sup>8</sup> potest. Caveant alii principes<sup>9</sup> qui suo sensu leges condunt, et apostolicae sedi innectere nituntur habenas: leges aliis princeps<sup>10</sup> dare, non accipere consuevit. Quicumque principi se opponit, altare adversus altare erigit, exercitum exercitui, et castra castris opponit.

[4] Sed una tantum, ut diximus, ecclesia, et<sup>11</sup> unus princeps, unum corpus: *unus spiritus*, inquit apostolus, *et una spes vocationis nostrae, unus dominus<sup>12</sup>, una fides, unum baptisma*. Vae homini, per quem haec unitas violatur. Observatissima<sup>13</sup> in castris veterum disciplina fuit, ne quis tentorium figeret a praetorio tam remote, ut exaudire sonum tubae non posset; contra facere capitale habebatur<sup>14</sup>. Idem et noster salvator in evangelio praecepit, inter ethnicos et publicanos collocans, qui vocem ecclesiae non audirent. Quales omnes sunt, qui Romani pontificis jussionibus adversantur.

[5] Haec dilectus filius noster Johannes, electus Treverensis et Romani elector imperii evitare cupiens, per vos hodie, praestabiles oratores suos, una cum germano suo, Metensis episcopi coadjutore, debitam {167v} nobis et apostolicae sedi oboedientiam praestat. Carissima est nobis hujus praelati fidelitas ac devotio, qui quanto nobilior est et<sup>15</sup> dignior, tanto submissius sese gerit.

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<sup>1</sup> successores G

<sup>2</sup> derivata G

<sup>3</sup> tamen ejus : ejus tamen G

<sup>4</sup> etsi Petri ... sumus *omit.* J

<sup>5</sup> tum J

<sup>6</sup> quia J

<sup>7</sup> [*sic!*] [*error for indivisa or indiscissa?*]

<sup>8</sup> salvari nemo : nemo salvari J

<sup>9</sup> alii principes *omit.* J

<sup>10</sup> princeps *corr. ex principibus* G, H

<sup>11</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>12</sup> inquit apostolus ... dominus *omit.* J

<sup>13</sup> observatissima J

<sup>14</sup> habeatur J

<sup>15</sup> ac G

[3] Through many different successions the authority and majesty of this great office has devolved upon Us. We know how unworthy We are of the honour bestowed upon Us. We are quite aware of our imperfections, and We do not occupy this exalted throne without fear and trembling. But that is what has pleased Him who *lifteth up the poor from the dunghill: that he may sit with princes, and hold the throne of glory*.<sup>1</sup> We do not have Peter's merits, but whatever be Our personal qualities, We have been put in his place and are occupying his See. *Whoever does not gather* together with that See *scatters*.<sup>2</sup> Here the unblemished authority of the fathers is maintained; here the undivided tunic of the Lord is kept; here springs the fountain of life; here is the garden enclosed<sup>3</sup>; here is Noah's Ark outside which no one can be saved. Let other princes beware who make laws to their own advantage and endeavour to put bridles on the Apostolic See: this prince gives laws to others, he does not accept them from others. All who oppose this prince puts up an altar against an altar,<sup>4</sup> an army against an army, and a camp against a camp.

[4] But, as We have said, according to the Apostle there is only one Church, one prince,<sup>5</sup> *one body and one Spirit, one hope of your calling One Lord, one faith, one baptism*.<sup>6</sup> Woe the man who breaks that unity. In the army camps of old it was a strict rule that no soldier could set up his tent so far from the *praetorium* that he could not hear the sound of the trumpet. If he disobeyed that rule, he was punishable by death.<sup>7</sup> The same thing Our Saviour ordained in the Gospel when he ranked those who do not hear the voice of the Church among the publicans and the heathens. Such are all who oppose the commands of the Roman Pontiff.

## 2. Archbishop's obedience

[5] Wishing to avoid this, Our beloved son, Johann, [Archbishop] Elect of Trier and [Prince] Elector of the Roman Empire,<sup>8</sup> together with his brother, Coadjutor Bishop of Metz<sup>9</sup>, has today and through you, his distinguished ambassadors, duly declared his obedience to Us and to the Apostolic See. We greatly appreciate this prelate's fidelity and devotion. His nobility and worthiness match his humility.

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<sup>1</sup> 1. Kings, 2, 8: *et de stercore elevat pauperem ut sedeat cum principibus et solium gloriae teneat*

<sup>2</sup> Luke, 11, 23

<sup>3</sup> Canticle, 4, 12

<sup>4</sup> Expression of St. Augustine, used against Donatism

<sup>5</sup> Note how Pius combines a prince with the passage from the Gospel

<sup>6</sup> Ephesians, 4, 4-5

<sup>7</sup> Source not identified. Possibly Vegetius

<sup>8</sup> John II von Baden (1434-1503): titular Margrave of Baden and Archbishop and Elector of Trier from 1456 to his death

<sup>9</sup> Georg von Baden (1433-1484): Coadjutor Bishop of Metz in 1456, and Bishop from 1459 to his death

[6] Novimus genitorem ejus, insignem pietate virum Jacobum nomine. Novimus et Carolum germanum, cui soror imperatoris nupta est, incorruptae fidei principem. Bernhardi quoque alterius germani suavissima conversatione usi sumus<sup>1</sup>, qui nuper Genua domum repetens, morbo tactus in via non sine opinione sanctitatis excessit e vita. Nobilissima est haec Badensium marchionum familia, in qua et Germanorum imperatorius et Gallorum regius sanguis invenitur.

[7] Johannis quoque claritatem auget Treverensis ecclesia, cui praeest, vetusta atque insignis. Sunt qui arbitrantur ab Atreba, quodam<sup>2</sup> Nini filio, Treverim conditam esse mille trecentis annis ante Romam. Apud Cornelium Tacitum invenimus *circa affectionem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosos fuisse, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine Gallorum separarentur*. Sed nulla major gloria Treverorum est<sup>3</sup>, quam quod primi Galliarum ad cognitionem veri Dei et Christianae fidei sacramenta per Rusticum et Eleutherium, beati Petri discipulos, baptizati pervenerunt. Ab his nos hodie oboedientiam recipimus<sup>4</sup>.

[8] Aequa res est, ut oboedientibus filiis benigni simus, quod erga ecclesiam ipsam Johannemque ac fratres, amicos, et subditos suos haudquaquam negligere animus est.

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<sup>1</sup> fuimus G

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>3</sup> Treverorum est : est Treverorum G

<sup>4</sup> recepimus G



### 3. Praise of the archbishop

[6] We know his father, Jakob, a man of outstanding piety.<sup>1</sup> We also know his brother, Karl,<sup>2</sup> a prince of unswerving loyalty, who is married to the emperor's sister.<sup>3</sup> We also knew his other brother, Bernhard,<sup>4</sup> whose pleasant company We have much enjoyed, but who died recently<sup>5</sup> from an illness, in Genoa on his way back to Germany, in the odour of sanctity. The family of the Margraves of Baden is of the highest nobility, and both the German imperial blood and the French royal blood runs in that family.

[7] Johann's nobility is enhanced by the old and distinguished Church of Trier which he governs. Some believe that Trier was founded by Atreba, son of Ninus, 1.300 years before Rome.<sup>6</sup> In [the work of] Cornelius Tacitus we find that these people *go out of their way in their ambition to claim a German origin, as though this illustrious ancestry delivers them from any affinity with the indolent Gaul.*<sup>7</sup> But the greatest glory of the people of Trier is that they were the first among the Gauls to come to know the true God and the sacraments of the Christian Faith when they were baptized by Rusticus and Eleutherius, disciples of Saint Peter. It is from these people that We have received, today, the declaration of obedience.

### 4. Papal benevolence

[8] It is only fair that We should, in return, be gracious towards Our obedient sons, and We shall certainly not neglect the Church of Trier, nor Johann, nor his brothers, friends, and subjects.

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<sup>1</sup> Jakob I of Baden (1407-1453): Margrave of Baden-Baden from 1431 to his death

<sup>2</sup> Karl I of Baden (1427-1475): Margrave of Baden-Baden from 1454 to his death

<sup>3</sup> Katherina (Habsburg) (1420-1493): married in 1447 to Karl I, Margrave of Baden-Baden

<sup>4</sup> Bernhard II of Baden (1428/1429-15.7.1458): Titular Margrave of Baden-Baden. Beatified by the Roman Catholic Church in 1769

<sup>5</sup> 15 July 1458

<sup>6</sup> There are various theories of how and when Trier was founded, but the claim that it was founded before Rome is probably not true

<sup>7</sup> Tacitus: *Germania*, 28: *Treveri et Nervii circa adfectionem Germanicae originis ultro ambitiosi sunt, tamquam per hanc gloriam sanguinis a similitudine et inertia Gallorum separentur*

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 40)**

**Oration “*Fabricator mundi*” of Pope Pius II (14 April 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Emperor Friederich III. In his reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope spoke about papal supremacy and the doctrine of the swords, giving them a biblical and patristic basis, about the eminence of the Roman empire, the merits of the emperor, his personal indebtedness to the emperor, his acceptance of the emperor's obedience, the emperor's acceptance of an election to the Kingdom of Hungary, and the pope's commitment to the emperor's interests.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Declarations of obedience to the pope; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459; Papal supremacy; Doctrine of the two swords; Kingdom of Hungary; Renaissance rhetorics; Renaissance oratory

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**Appendix: Johann Hinderbach's oration "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*"**



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

During a prolonged stay in Siena in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II received a number of embassies from the rulers of Europe declaring obedience to the Apostolic See and to the new pope. One of the embassies was from Emperor Friederich III.

The embassy had been sent rather late from the imperial court.<sup>2</sup> It had also paused in Florence before continuing to Siena, having been informed that the pope had formally received an embassy from King Matthias of Hungary, thus implicitly recognizing his kingship - in a situation where a faction of Hungarian nobles had offered the Hungarian Crown to the emperor.

The emperor's embassy was received with the full honours accorded by the Papal Court to imperial embassies.<sup>3</sup>

The embassy consisted<sup>4</sup> of Burkhard von Weissbriach, Andreas I. von Weissbriach, Johann Hinderbach and Hartung Kapell. Johann Hinderbach<sup>5</sup> was to present the declaration of obedience in the emperor's name. He had tried it before when together with Bishop Piccolomini he had represented the emperor during the imperial embassy of obedience to Pius' own predecessor, Pope Calixtus III, in 1455. On that occasion, Piccolomini held the famous oration "*Solent Plerique*" [26], which in several ways served as model for Hinderbach's own oration to Pius.

According to Paris de Grassis, papal master of ceremonies of Julius IV and Leo X, Hinderbach nonetheless completely botched the job, probably overwhelmed by the solemnity of the occasion, creating the highly awkward precedent of an ambassador who was not able to deliver the prepared oration,<sup>6 7</sup> which he was supposed to know by heart, or even the most important part of it, the declaration of obedience itself. Hinderbach became so confused that he could not come to the end, and appeared "*not to know where he was and who he was*". Seeing it, Pius asked him – three times - to read the rest of the oration of which a secretary

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 24 (Meserve, I, pp. 298-303); Ady, p. 162; Boulting, pp. 256-258; Mitchell, p. 146; Pastor, II, p. 38; Strnad, p. 109-110; Toews, pp. 292-293; Voigt, IV, pp. 37-40

<sup>2</sup> Strnad, p. 126

<sup>3</sup> This ceremonial is described in the book of papal ceremonies written by Agostino Patrizi Piccolomini, who had functioned as Pius II's master of Ceremonies, see Dykmans, I, pp. 147-150, 204-210. The ceremonial prescribed that behind the ambassador should be placed one of his attendants holding the written text of the ambassador's oration so that he could help him as a souffleur if the ambassador forgot his lines – "*et dicenda modeste et morose ac secreta commemorare*", p. 207

<sup>4</sup> Strnad, pp. 112-126

<sup>5</sup> Rogger

<sup>6</sup> Such an omission actually became the subject of a chapter in de Grassis' ceremonial, see Stenzig, I, p. 255: *Quid agendum si orator obedientiam prestans inter orandum ante obedientiam praestationis clausulam deficiat*

<sup>7</sup> On Hinderbach as speaker, see Helmrath, p. 81



standing behind Hinderbach was holding a copy, but the ambassador was by then so thoroughly flummoxed that he was not even able to do that:

*... legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Interbach obedientiam nomine imperatoris eidem Pio prestare vellet, inter orandum sic defecisse dicitur, ut nunquam potuerit ad ulteriora progredi, etiam quod ipsius oratoris scriba post tergum esset habens cedulam orationis recitande, quod videns pontifex maxime quantum sibi periculi imineret responsuro ad non proposita, instanter bis ac tertio ipsum oratorem monuit, ut saltem pro honore communi legeret ipsam orationem sic scriptam, non potuit obtinere. In tantum enim ille infelix orator a memoria et a se ipso exciderat, ut ubi et quis esset nesciret.<sup>1</sup>*

Hinderbach's failure to properly present the formal declaration of obedience to the pope created two problems: could the imperial obedience be considered as properly declared if it had not been pronounced by the ambassador? And should the pope give his response, written beforehand, to an oration which had not been finished and even lacked the most essential element?

The first problem Pius solved by considering that the emperor's letters of instruction to his ambassadors<sup>2</sup> was sufficient, and he very soon formally acknowledged the imperial obedience in a letter to the emperor himself.<sup>3</sup>

As for the second problem it is not known how it was solved. De Grassis considered that in such cases the pope should not respond in person, and it seems that Pius had later reached the same conclusion. On the other hand, his oration of response is included in the official collection of Pius' responses without any mention that it was not actually held.<sup>4</sup> Most probably it was held, since not holding it would further dramatize the very embarrassing situation created by the ambassador.<sup>5</sup> But if he held the oration as planned, he might charitably have excluded the compliment to the ambassador for his excellent speech which was included in the prepared draft [Sect. 9].

Still, the fiasco<sup>6</sup> of the ceremonial declaration of obedience would have highly – and justifiably – embarrassed and irritated the pope. The emperor was after all the highest-ranking prince

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<sup>1</sup> Stenzig, I, p. 256. See also II, 654-656

<sup>2</sup> "instrumentum"

<sup>3</sup> Stenzig, I, p.255; II, p. 655

<sup>4</sup> But this also applies to some of his other orations which he most likely had not actually held

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Stenzig, I, p. 255: *sed tamen papa aliquid loquatur habito respectu ad mandatum et litteras iam ibidem publice lectas ... prout factum fuisse legimus tempore Pii II, nam cum imperialis orator dictus Joannes Hinderbach*

...

<sup>6</sup> Stenzig, II, p. 654: "Ein Desaster!"

in Christianity and his declaration of obedience to the pope was a public event of great symbolic importance and political significance. It appears that the personal relationship and even collegial friendship between Pius and Hinderbach<sup>1</sup> did not survive the botched affair. At least, later in life Hinderbach, who eventually became Prince Bishop of Trieste, sourly complained that Pius had done nothing to favour his ecclesiastical career and shown no gratitude for his previous services to him.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Themes

In his reply to the oration of the ambassadors, the pope spoke about papal supremacy and the doctrine of the two swords, giving them a biblical and patristic basis; about the eminence of the Roman Empire; the merits of Emperor Friedrich; his personal indebtedness to the emperor; and his commitment to the emperor's interests.

### 2.1. Papal supremacy<sup>3</sup>

There are two "universal" offices in the world, the secular office of the emperor and the religious office of the pope. These two offices are not equal, the office of the emperor being subject to the office of the pope, for God gave all power on Earth, without restrictions or limits, to Jesus Christ, and Jesus in turn gave it to the Apostle Peter<sup>4</sup>:

*When God, the maker of the world and the father of nature, first created the sky, he placed two great lights in it, the sun and the moon. The sun He put in charge of the day, and the moon in charge of the night. Ancient writers thought that the sun signified the Roman Pontiff, whereas the moon signified the Empire, and they taught that the souls*

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Piero da Noceto of 18 September 1453 Piccolomini had said that Hinderbach was *singulari benivolentia mihi conjunctus*. (WO, III, I, p. 257), and in a letter to Hinderbach himself of 26 September 1453 he addressed him with the words: *Amice singularis et optime*. (WO, III, I, p. 287)

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that the episode of Hinderbach's black-out is only known from the report of de Grassis, who had not personally witnessed it. The story must have been remembered and retold by the curials from whom de Grassis heard it. The episode is not confirmed by other sources, see Stenzig, II, p. 655, or related in Pius' *Commentarii*. This, however, is quite understandable since the *Commentarii* were intended to celebrate Pius' activities, not to dwell on his embarrassments

<sup>3</sup> On Pius and papal supremacy, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.3.1

<sup>4</sup> The development of the doctrine of papal supremacy began with Pope Gelasius I and was continued especially by popes Gregory I, Gregory VII (*Dictatus Papae*), Innocent III, and Bonifacius VIII (*Unam Sanctam*) – and a number of papalist theologians and canonists, of course

*of men are subject to the pontifical office, whereas their bodies are subject to the imperial. Comparing these two offices, people have debated how much they differ in importance. There has also been some uncertainty whether the priesthood has the power of both swords. But all such uncertainty disappears if one reads the Holy Gospel which confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ the Lord. Furthermore there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place. [Sect. 1-2]*

Pius does not mention, here, that Saint Peter's office as God's Vicar on Earth has been passed on to his successors as bishops of Rome. He had already spoken amply on this theme in his responses to other ambassadors.

Pius does, however, mention the doctrine of the two swords, the secular sword of the empire, and the religious sword of the papacy, the secular sword being subordinated to the religious sword. The theory of the two swords was famously stated by Saint Bernhard, whom Pius directly refers to [Sect. 2]. In his *De consideratione* from ca. 1150, addressed to Pope Eugenius III, Bernhard had written:

*Why should you try again to draw the sword, which you were once ordered to back into its sheath? And yet anyone who denies that the sword is yours seems to me not sufficiently to consider the word of the Lord when He said, "Put back thy sword into its sheath." Therefore the sword is yours, to be unsheathed, perhaps, when you so indicate (tuo nutu), although not by your hand. For if it did not belong to you in any way, the Lord, when the apostles said, "Behold, here are two swords," would have answered not "It is enough," but "It is too much." Therefore both swords, the spiritual and material, belong to the church, but the former is to be drawn by the church, the latter on behalf of the church; the former by the hand of the priest, the latter by the hand of the warrior, though, indeed, at the indication of the priest and the order of the emperor.<sup>1</sup>*

Pius simply reiterated this doctrine, as elaborated by his medieval predecessors;

*... the Holy Gospel ... confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ Our Lord. Furthermore there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, the Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place, and it is evident that two swords were kept among the companions of Christ, that is the priesthood. This means that supreme authority is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. [Sect. 1]*

For the Renaissance popes, including Pius II, to reaffirm medieval papal claims to supremacy - also in secular affairs - was a brave, but desperate fight against the course of history, and European rulers no longer accepted such claims, if they ever had - nor did they any longer

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<sup>1</sup> Bernhard of Clairvaux: *De consideratione*, 4, 3, 7. In: MPL, CLXXXII, col. 776. Translation by Lewis, p. 104

fear the ecclesiastical censures like excommunication which had been so effective some centuries before.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.2. Eminence of the Roman Empire<sup>2</sup>

Quoting his admired model historian (“non futilis auctor”) from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Otto of Freising<sup>3</sup>, Pius presents the thesis of four empires of which the final one and strongest, the Roman, was eventually translated to the Germans when Charlemagne was crowned emperor by the pope in the year 800. According to Pius, Christ himself, his apostles, and the Church fathers, recognized the secular pre-eminence of the imperial institution, and so does the Roman Church. One passage from the oration will suffice:

*The evangelist says that there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled. According to jurists, this passage shows that the emperor was the lord of the world. [Sect. 3]*

## 2.3. The emperor’s merits

In his list of the emperor’s merits in relation to the Apostolic See, Pius mentions the following:

- The abolition of German neutrality in the conflict between Pope Eugenius IV and the Council of Konstanz, and the restoration of German obedience to the Papacy. In 1447.
- The ending of the schism with two popes, the Roman Pope Nicolaus V, and the antipope, Felix III, elected by the rump council in Basel. In 1448.
- The suppression of a German anti-papal movement at the accession of Pope Calixtus III. In 1455.

Pius would be quite familiar with these three events since he had been one of the emperor’s main agents in each of them.

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<sup>1</sup> See orations “*Res bohemicas*” [28] sect. 31-32; Oration “*Existimatis fortasse*” [64], sect. 16; Oration “*Sextus agitur annus*” [75], sect. 16

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 6.2: The Empire

<sup>3</sup> Otto von Freising (ca. 1114-1158): German churchman and chronicler. Bishop of Freising from 1138

## 2.4. Pius' indebtedness to the emperor

Without any embarrassment whatsoever, Pius states clearly that it was the emperor who had made his ecclesiastical career possible – with the exclusion of the papacy which came solely from God:

*... if ever somebody sat on this throne who ought to praise and extol the name of the emperor, it must be Us who have had, both privately and publicly, many more favours from Emperor Friedrich than We can possibly relate. Before we took holy orders, We lived at his Court for a long time. We were his secretary. And having become a member of his council, We were his ambassador on many occasions. The emperor could have used other, more qualified and learned men for these tasks, but he wanted to use Us, and this is why We were appointed bishop and later promoted to the eminent position of cardinal... the honourable offices entrusted to Us by the emperor have provided us with a great stairway to this throne. [Sect. 4-5]*

The pope's commitment to the emperor is expressed at the end of the oration in the standard form he used in all his replies to the princely ambassadors.

## 3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Picotti, the imperial embassy was received by the pope on 13-14 April 1459,<sup>1</sup> and on the 15th he addressed the city government of Siena. For the purpose of the present edition, 14 April has been retained as the date of delivery of the oration.

The venue was the Cathedral of Siena.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, curials, and ambassadors with their retinues present in Siena as well as Siennese magnates.

The format was a papal reply from the throne to an address by princely ambassadors.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Picotti, p. 97. Stenzig gives two different dates for the oration: 29.5., in Siena (II, 782), and 29.10., also in Siena (p. 655). As Pius left Siena in 23. April and arrived in Mantua on 27 May, these dates are obviously wrong. Strnad, p. 130, gives 29 March as the date of arrival of the imperial embassy in Siena

<sup>2</sup> Whether it was actually delivered, in view of Hinderbach's black-out, see above

## 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

The oration is included in a special Collection of Pius II's Responses from 1459 and 1460), largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors,<sup>2</sup> which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

### 4.1 . Manuscripts<sup>3</sup>

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**  
544, ff. 164r-165v (**G**) \*
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**  
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 32r-35v (**J**) \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 36v-40v  
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 54r-57v  
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 154r-156v (**H**)

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.

### 4.2. Editions

The oration was edited by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / T. II, pp. 195-198  
*[Edition based on the manuscript in Lucca]*

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> See *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*, ch. 5.1.2

<sup>3</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on the manuscripts from Lucca, the Archivio Segreto Vaticano and the Chisianus, with the Chisianus as the lead manuscript.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from the lead manuscript.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 12 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 8 from the Bible and 4 from patristic and medieval sources, none from classical sources.

Biblical: 8

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 4

Contemporary: 0

**All: 12**

**Biblical sources: 8**

Old Testament: 3

- Genesis: 1
- Daniel: 1
- Psalms: 1

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

### New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 1
- Luke: 2
- John: 1
- Thessalonians: 1

### **Classical sources: 0**

### **Patristic and medieval sources: 4**

- Bernard de Clairvaux: 1<sup>1</sup>
- Innocentius III: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Otto von Freising: 1<sup>3</sup>
- Tertullianus: 1<sup>4</sup>

### **Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> De consideratione

<sup>2</sup> Ep. Praefectum Acerbium

<sup>3</sup> Chronica

<sup>4</sup> Liber apologeticus



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<sup>1</sup> <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/iniiii-policies.asp>.

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**G** = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

**H** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolic Vaticana / Chisianus J.VII.251

**J** = Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## Oratoribus imperatoriae majestatis

[1] {154r} Fabricator mundi naturaeque parens, Deus, cum caelum primo<sup>1</sup> conderet, luminaria duo<sup>2</sup> magna in eo constituit, solem ac lunam, et alterum diei praefecit, alterum nocti. Per solem prisci auctores Romanum pontificium<sup>3</sup>, per lunam imperium designari putaverunt, et pontificio quidem animas hominum<sup>4</sup>, imperio subjici corpora tradiderunt. Hinc dignitates inter se comparatae, et quantum altera praestaret<sup>5</sup> alteri, quaesitum. Illud quoque in dubium versum, an penes sacerdotium utriusque gladii potestas inveniretur. Sed aufert omnem ambiguitatem sacra evangelii lectio, quae Christo domino omnem traditam esse potestatem in caelo et in terra confirmat.

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<sup>1</sup> caelum primo : primum caelum G

<sup>2</sup> luminaria duo : duo luminaria G

<sup>3</sup> pontificem G

<sup>4</sup> animas hominum : hominum animas J

<sup>5</sup> praestat J

# To the ambassadors of His Imperial Majesty

## 1. Papal supremacy

[1] When God, maker of the world and father of nature, first created the sky, he placed two great lights in it, the sun and the moon.<sup>1</sup> The sun He put in charge of the day, and the moon in charge of the night.<sup>2</sup> Ancient writers thought that the sun signified the Roman Papacy, whereas the moon signified the Empire, and they taught that the souls of men are subject to the pontifical office, whereas their bodies are subject to the imperial.<sup>3</sup> Comparing these two offices<sup>4</sup>, people have debated how much they differ in importance. There has also been some uncertainty whether the priesthood has the power of both swords.<sup>5</sup> But all such uncertainty disappears if one reads the Holy Gospel which confirms that all power in Heaven and on Earth has been given to Christ the Lord.

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<sup>1</sup> The Sun and Moon Allegory is an allegory illustrating the medieval papalist doctrine of the primacy of the religious sphere over the secular sphere, and the primacy of the Papacy over the secular powers. It is related to the general theory of Papal Supremacy and "plenitudo potestatis" as articulated by the Roman Catholic Church. This allegory was developed by Pope Innocent III and later taken up by Pope Bonifatius VIII in the bull *Unam Sanctam*

<sup>2</sup> Genesis, 3-4

<sup>3</sup> Pope Innocent III: *Letter to the prefect Acerbius and the nobles of Tuscany*, 1198: *Just as the Founder of the universe established two great lights in the firmament of heaven, the greater light to rule the day and the lesser light to rule the night, so too He set two great dignities in the firmament of the universal Church ... the greater on[e] to rule the day, that is, souls, and the lesser to rule the night, that is, bodies. These dignities are the papal authority and the royal power. Now just as the Moon derives its light from the Sun and is indeed lower than it in quantity and quality, in position and in power, so too the royal power derives the splendor of its dignity from the pontifical authority.* (Medieval Sourcebook: Innocent III, r. 1198-1216). Letters on Papal Policies. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/source/inniii-policies.asp>.) See also Hageneder

<sup>4</sup> "dignitates"

<sup>5</sup> See oration "*Dominatorem caeli*" [35], sect. 7-10

[2] Christum vero suas vices beato Petro, aeternae vitae clavigero, commississe, non {154v} est ambiguum, duos quoque gladios in comitatu salvatoris, idest in sacerdotio, fuisse<sup>1</sup> palam est, per quos summam auctoritatem apud summum esse pontificem designatur. Nec contrarium est, quod nonnulli adducunt<sup>2</sup> de Jesu, qui beatum Petrum in periculosa nocte gladium suum materiale in vaginam recondere jussit. Non enim suum esse negavit, sed suum dixit, ac si non sua manu, sed suo jussu exercendum ostenderet, quemadmodum devotissimi doctoris Bernhardi sententia est. Sed plura in hunc modum superioribus diebus praefati sumus: non est cur hodie circumstantium aures de summi praesulis auctoritate fatigemus.

[3] De Romano imperio, cujus nunc oratores auditi sunt<sup>3</sup>, subnectere aliqua non fuerit alienum. Historici quattuor orbis imperia magnificiunt, Assyriorum, Graecorum, Carthaginensium, et Romanorum. In ultimo potestas major et altior gloria fuit. Et sicut primum ex Assyriis ad Medos, ex Medis ad Persas migravit, ita et ultimum ex Romanis ad Graecos, ex Graecis ad Germanos translatum est. Qui alias translationes ponunt, in errore sunt. Bis Graeci imperium habuere, semel suo nomine, semel Romano titulo. Quod vero Graecorum fuit, numquam Romae imperavit. Romani vero et Graecis, et Assyriis, et Carthaginensibus jugum imposuere. Ob quam rem non immerito a Daniele propheta ferro comparatum est. {155r} Nam sicut metalla reliqua ferro atteruntur, ita<sup>4</sup> et imperia quaeque Romanae virtuti concesserunt.

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<sup>1</sup> Idest in sacerdotio fuisse : fuisse id est in sacerdotio G

<sup>2</sup> adhuc J

<sup>3</sup> audivimus G

<sup>4</sup> sic G



[2] Furthermore, there is no doubt that Christ appointed Saint Peter, Keybearer of Eternal Life, to act in his place, and it is evident that two swords were kept among the companions of Christ,<sup>1</sup> that is the priesthood. This means that supreme authority is vested in the Supreme Pontiff. Some object that in that dreadful night Jesus ordered Saint Peter to put his physical sword back in its sheath, but this objection is not valid since Jesus did not deny that it was indeed his sword. On the contrary, he claimed it as his own, showing that it should be wielded at his command – though not by his own hand. This is the interpretation of the pious doctor, Bernhard.<sup>2 3</sup> But since We have been saying much about this matter during the previous days, there is no reason to tire the ears of the audience today with [the matter of] the authority of the Supreme Pontiff.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Roman Empire

[3] It is appropriate to add something concerning the Roman Empire whose ambassadors we have now heard. Historians<sup>5</sup> extol four world empires: the Assyrian Empire, the Greek Empire, the Carthaginian Empire, and the Roman Empire. The last one had the greatest power and glory. Just as the first imperial power passed from the Assyrians to the Medes, and then from the Medes to the Persians, the last imperial power was transferred from the Romans to the Greeks, and then from the Greeks to the Germans.<sup>6</sup> Those who speak of other translations of imperial power are in error. The Greeks had the imperial power twice, once in their own name and once under the Roman title. But the empire that was properly Greek never ruled Rome, whereas the Romans imposed their yoke on the Greeks, the Assyrians, and the Carthaginians. Therefore, Daniel rightly likens it to iron.<sup>7</sup> For just as the other metals are softer than iron, thus the other empires had to submit to Roman strength.

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<sup>1</sup> Luke, 22, 38

<sup>2</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153): French abbot of the reforming Cistercian order. Saint

<sup>3</sup> Bernard de Clairvaux: *De consideratione*, 4, 3, 7

<sup>4</sup> Pius refers to the reception of other ambassadors, during the previous weeks where he also spoke on this issue

<sup>5</sup> Otto von Freising: *Chronica* 2, 13

<sup>6</sup> Pius is referring to the various dynasties of the two empires

<sup>7</sup> Daniel, 2, 40

[4] Hoc imperium multifariam multisque modis in evangelio et approbatum et honoratum legimus. *Exiit edictum*, inquit evangelista, *a Caesare Augusto, ut describeretur universus orbis*. Quae vox palam<sup>1</sup> ostendit imperatorem orbis fuisse dominum, sicut jureconsultorum<sup>2</sup> sententia est. Sub Augusto quoque salvator nasci et censi voluit, nec recusavit tributum, quamvis non teneretur, solvere. Approbavit et jura imperii dicens: *Reddite quae sunt Caesaris Caesari, et quae sunt Dei Deo*. Et ad Pilatum, sub quo passus est: *Non haberes adversum<sup>3</sup> me potestatem ullam, nisi tibi datum esset desuper*.

[5] Apostoli ejus, Petrus et Paulus, qui regem honorandum affirmarunt, de Romano imperatore locuti sunt, quem tunc pro rege habuerunt<sup>4</sup>. Et quamvis essent nonnulli Caesares Christianae fidei persecutores, pro incolumitate nihilominus Romani imperii sancti patres assiduas Deo preces obtulerunt, non dubitantes, eo stante, praecusum esse Antichristi adventum. In qua sententia Tertullianus fuit et Cyprianus et Aurelius<sup>5</sup> Augustinus. Sic enim verba doctoris gentium interpretantur: *Qui tenet, teneat, donec de medio fiat, et tunc revelabitur ille filius iniquitatis, quem dominus spiritu oris sui<sup>6</sup> interficiet*. Huc et prophetae regii verba trahuntur: *Et erit abundantia pacis<sup>7</sup>, donec auferatur luna*. {155v} Neque enim secundum illos prius incipient Antichristi pernicioosa tempora, quam luna, idest Romanum imperium, annihilaretur.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>2</sup> jureconsultorum G

<sup>3</sup> super G

<sup>4</sup> habebant J

<sup>5</sup> Cyprianus et Aurelius : Aurelianus, Cyprianus et G

<sup>6</sup> *omit.* J

<sup>7</sup> *omit.* J

[4] In the Gospel we read how this empire was endorsed and honoured in many different ways. The evangelist says that *there went out a decree from Caesar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled.*<sup>1</sup> According to jurists, this passage clearly shows that the emperor was the lord of the world. The Saviour desired to be born under Augustus and counted in his census, and he did not refuse to pay taxes though he was not bound to do so.<sup>2</sup> And he endorsed the rights of the empire when he said: *Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's,*<sup>3</sup> and when he said to Pilate under whom he suffered: *Thou shouldst not have any power against me, unless it were given thee from above.*<sup>4</sup>

[5] When his apostles, Peter and Paul, stated that the king must be honoured, they were, in fact, talking about the Roman Emperor who was their king then. And though many emperors persecuted the Christian Faith, nonetheless the holy fathers continuously prayed to God for the safety of the Roman Empire,<sup>5</sup> being sure that Antichrist will not come as long as that empire stands. This was the position of Tertullian<sup>6</sup> as well as of Cyprian,<sup>7</sup> and Aurelius Augustine.<sup>8</sup> And this is how those words of the Doctor of the Gentiles should be interpreted: *that he who now holdeth do hold, until he be taken out of the way. And then that wicked one shall be revealed: whom the Lord Jesus shall kill with the spirit of his mouth.*<sup>9</sup> Also the words of the royal prophet<sup>10</sup> may be quoted in this context: *And there will be abundance of peace, till the moon be taken away.*<sup>11</sup> Thus, according to these men, the evil times of Antichrist will not begin before the destruction of the moon, that is the Roman Empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Luke 2, 1

<sup>2</sup> Since, as God, he was above the emperor

<sup>3</sup> Matthew 22, 21

<sup>4</sup> John 19, 11

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Tertullianus: *Liber apologeticus*, 30. *Denique, inquit ille, sine monitore pro omnibus semper<sup>5</sup> imperatoribus Deum precantes sumus. Vitam illis prolixam, imperium securum, domum tutam, exercitus fortes, senatum fidelem, populum probum orbem quietum optamus*

<sup>6</sup> Tertullian [Tertullianus, Quintus Septimius Florens] (ca. 160-ca. 225): early Christian author from Carthage

<sup>7</sup> Cyprian [Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus] (ca. 200 -258): Bishop of Carthage and an important Early Christian writer

<sup>8</sup> Augustine [Augustinus, Aurelius] (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

<sup>9</sup> 2. Thessalonians 2, 7-8: *qui tenet nunc donec de medio fiat, et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui*

<sup>10</sup> King David

<sup>11</sup> Psalms 71, 7: *germinabit in diebus eius iustitia et multitudo pacis donec non sit luna*

[6] Latissimus ad dicendum campus si quis imperii laudes celebrare voluerit. Nos haec praeclaris et otiosis ingeniis relinquenda putamus. Illud fatendum est antecessores nostros, Romanae urbis antistites, Romanos imperatores summis honoribus prosequi consuevisse<sup>1</sup>. Verum si quis in hoc solio umquam<sup>2</sup> sedit, quem Caesareum nomen extollere et<sup>3</sup> magnificare deceat, nos illi sumus, qui ab imperatore Friderico et<sup>4</sup> privatim et publice plura consecuti sumus beneficia quam referre possimus. Fuimus<sup>5</sup> longo tempore in ejus aula priusquam sacris initiaremur. Secretariatus officium apud eum gessimus. In consilio ejus conscripti plurimas<sup>6</sup> legationes obivimus. Potuisset imperator aliis hominibus uti et prudentioribus<sup>7</sup> et doctioribus, nobis tamen uti maluit<sup>8</sup>. Hinc nos aucti et<sup>9</sup> ad episcopalem dignitatem ac cardinalatus eminentiam provecti fuimus.

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<sup>1</sup> consuesse H, J

<sup>2</sup> numquam J

<sup>3</sup> atque G

<sup>4</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>5</sup> enim *add.* G

<sup>6</sup> plures G

<sup>7</sup> uti et prudentioribus : et prudentioribus uti G

<sup>8</sup> voluit G

<sup>9</sup> *omit.* G

### 3. Praise of the emperor

[6] So, the field is wide open to those who want to praise the empire. This We shall leave to such distinguished minds who have the time. But this We must say, however, that it has been the custom of Our predecessors as Bishops of Rome to show great honour to the Roman emperors. And if ever somebody sat on this throne who ought to praise and extol the name of the emperor, it must be Us who have had, both privately and publicly, many more favours from Emperor Friedrich<sup>1</sup> than We can possibly relate. Before we took holy orders, We lived at his Court for a long time.<sup>2</sup> We were his secretary. And having become a member of his council, We were his ambassador on many occasions. The emperor could have used other, wiser and more learned men for these tasks, but he wanted to use Us, and this is why We attained higher status and were appointed bishop<sup>3</sup> and later promoted to the eminent position of cardinal.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Friedrich 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

<sup>2</sup> Piccolomini became attached to the Imperial Court in 1442 and took Holy Orders in 1446

<sup>3</sup> 1447

<sup>4</sup> 1456

[7] Nihil de summo pontificatu dicimus; illum enim pius et prudens Deus suo tantum<sup>1</sup> reservavit arbitrio, et suum iudicium nobis incognitum cui vult, credit. Scalam tamen ad hoc solium ascendendum honores ab imperatore recepti nobis non parvam praestiterunt. Atque haec inter alia multa private, publice vero ab eo consecuti sumus, quaecumque Romanae sedi suo tempore suoque studio bene atque utiliter obvenerunt<sup>2</sup>. Atque in primis ecclesiasticam pacem ab eo recognoscamus oportet. Nam si Germania, {156r} provinciarum latissima et optimis referta viris, sub Eugenio IV., praedecessore nostro, deposita neutralitate ad hujus sanctae sedis plenissimam oboedientiam rediit, non est quod alteri acceptum feratur<sup>3</sup> quam Friderico, qui subditorum suorum emollivit animos. Si schisma taeterrimum sub Nicolao V. extirpatum est, Friderici magna ex parte opera fuit, qui congregationem Basiliensem dissipavit. Si praeventa et impedita sunt nonnullorum principum consilia apostolicae sedi<sup>4</sup> perniciose sub Calixto III. non alium laudare quam Fridericum oportet<sup>5</sup>, qui non modo illis assistere noluit<sup>6</sup>, sed eorum conatus summo studio pertubavit. Nobilissimus certe ac<sup>7</sup> piissimus imperator, cujus religionem, justitiam, mansuetudinem, clementiam reliquasque virtutes nulla nostra satis<sup>8</sup> oratio explicaverit.

[8] Audivimus vos oratores suae mansuetudinis admodum libenter, quamvis de laudibus nostris nimis profuse locuti estis. Novimus ipsi nostram imbecillitatem, et cum aliorum verbis extollimur, in animo nostro dejicimur, haud ignorantes tacite reprehendi, qui pro dotibus sibi debitis, quas non habet, celebratur.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit.* G

<sup>2</sup> *evenerunt* G

<sup>3</sup> *referatur* G

<sup>4</sup> *Apostolicae sedi : sedi apostolicae* G

<sup>5</sup> *debemus* G

<sup>6</sup> *uoluit* J

<sup>7</sup> *et* G

<sup>8</sup> *nostra satis : satis nostra* G

[7] We say nothing of the supreme pontificate, for that [office] was reserved by the pious and wise God himself: indeed, he entrusts it to whom He wills, and his reasons are hidden to us. But the honourable offices entrusted to Us by the emperor have provided us with a great stairway to this throne. But these and many other things belong to the private sphere. In the public sphere, it is from him that We have obtained all those things that have benefited and advantaged the Roman See in his time. First of all We must acknowledge that the peace of the Church was due to him. For when Germany, the largest of the provinces<sup>1</sup> and full of excellent men, ended its state of neutrality and returned to full obedience towards this See<sup>2</sup> under Our predecessor, Eugenius IV,<sup>3</sup> it was due to Friedrich alone who softened the minds of his subjects. And when the terrible schism was ended under Nicolaus V,<sup>4</sup> it was largely due to Friedrich who ousted the assembly of Basel.<sup>5</sup> And if, under Calixtus III,<sup>6</sup> the plots of many princes detrimental to the Apostolic See were obstructed and prevented,<sup>7</sup> we must thank and praise none other than Friedrich who would not help them, but opposed their endeavours with all his might. Certainly, the emperor is most noble and pious, and our oration cannot do justice to his piety, his justice, his mildness, his clemency, and his other virtues.

#### 4. Protestation of humility

[8] We have heard you with pleasure, ambassadors of His Grace<sup>8</sup>, though you have said too much in our Own praise. We know Our weakness, and when We are being praised by others, We grow sad, knowing that praise of qualities that one ought to have, but does not, is tantamount to tacit rebuke.

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<sup>1</sup> The European territories

<sup>2</sup> 1447

<sup>3</sup> Eugenius IV [Gabriele Condulmer]: (1383-1447): Pope from 1431 to his death

<sup>4</sup> Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 to his death

<sup>5</sup> The Catholic Church considers that the Council of Basel ended in 1438/1439. Thereafter it was not a council, but an unauthorized, schismatical assembly. The rump council in Basel moved to Lausanne in 1448

<sup>6</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

<sup>7</sup> At the accession of Calixtus III, many in Germany wanted to reduce papal power in Germany, among them the Archbishop of Trier. Piccolomini fought against them and won over the emperor, arguing that pope and emperor needed each other. Afterwards he was sent to the new pope to present the emperor's declaration of obedience, at which occasion he gave the oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

<sup>8</sup> "mansuetudinis"

[9] Oblectavit nos verborum ornatus et sententiarum gravitas.

[10] Devotionem et oboedientiam carissimi filii nostri Romanorum imperatoris ac regis,

[11] et quae nobis offert in expeditionem contra Turcos obeundam et consilia ejus {156v} grato complectimur animo.

[12] Quod citius legationem non miserit haud sine causa factum arbitramur. Quod<sup>1</sup> inclytum Hungariae regnum<sup>2</sup> per electionem procerum ac baronum, quemadmodum<sup>3</sup> retulistis sibi delatum acceptaverit, confidimus non sine urgentibus rationibus factum esse, nec majestatem ejus quidquam temere fecisse putamus. Precamur pium et optimum ac maximum Deum, ut hoc novum suae serenitati, apostolicae sedi et universae reipublicae Christianae felix et faustum sit.

[13] Nos suae mansuetudini suisque commodis et honoribus cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, quantum cum Deo poterimus, semper faventes erimus ac propitii.

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<sup>1</sup> qui J

<sup>2</sup> regem G

<sup>3</sup> quem G



## **5. Compliment to the ambassador**

[9] But We were pleased by the elegance and of gravity of your speech.<sup>1</sup>

## **6. Emperor's obedience**

[10] And We gratefully accept the devotion and the obedience of Our beloved son, the Emperor and King of the Romans,

## **7. Crusade against the Turks**

[11] and his offers and counsels in the matter of the crusade against the Turks.

## **8. Kingdom of Hungary**

[12] We consider that there was a good reason for his not sending this embassy sooner. We trust that it is for cogent reasons that he has accepted his election by nobles and barons to the illustrious Kingdom of Hungary, as you informed Us, and we think that His Majesty has not acted rashly in this matter. We pray to Pious God, Best and Greatest, that this new [charge] will be happy and auspicious for His Serenity, for the Apostolic See, and for the whole Christian Commonwealth.

## **9. Papal benevolence**

[13] And together with Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, We shall always, as far as We can with God, advance and favour the interests and the honour of His Grace.

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<sup>1</sup> In view of Hinderbach's black-out, it is difficult to imagine that Pius would actually have kept this compliment in his oration – if he delivered it

# Appendix: Johann Hinderbach's oration "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*" to the pope on behalf of the emperor

As edited by Alfred Strnad<sup>1</sup> on the basis of BSB / Clm 3786, ff. 168r-173r. (Pagination from Strnad)

## 1. Introduction

[1] {166} Maximum et amplissimum munus, beatissime summe pontifex, hodierno die ad me delatum video ingenio ac viribus meis penitus impar, quod coram Sanctitate tua, summo omnium mortalium capite ac domini Salvatoris nostri in terris vicario, divi Friderici cesaris augusti parte verba facturus sim, presertim cum me nulla dicendi facultate peditum agnoscam et de his rebus dicendum sit, que tamen pro dignitate Beatitudinis tue quam eius, qui nos misit, disertissimum aliquem et eloquentissimum oratorem expeterent; qua de re vehementer vereor, ne muneris huius officio mea ineptia ne dum non satisfacere, sed nec minimo quidem, ut aiunt, digito possum attingere. Verum ad hoc me compulit reverendi in Christo patris domini Burckhardi sancte Salzeburgensis ecclesie prepositi dignissimi mandatum et auctoritas magnificique baroni et strenui militis, domini Andree de Weyspriach, et celeberrimi iuris utriusque consulti, domini Hartungi de Cappell, dominorum et collegarum meorum instancia, que me omnino se indoctiorem minusque facundum hoc munus subire coegerunt.

[2] Eorum itaque auctoritati ac iussioni parens hoc onus subii tua, beatissime pater, solita in omnes humanitate ac veteri erga me benivolentia et consuetudine potissimum fretus, qua me semper peculiarissime es prosequutus et divina quadam animi tui bonitate. Dum in cesarea versareris curia, familiaritate prope continua et domestica complexus es, quem denique doctrine consiliorumque tuorum crebro participem ac in novissima ad predecessorem tuum Calistum legacione caeserea collegam esse voluisti. Ea quidem ratio maior est hiis patribus et dominis meis demandandi, michi vero id munus subeundi, [que] prestitit occasionem.

[3] Dabit veniam igitur immensa pietas tua, clementissime pontifex, si tue in primis atque huius alme sedis dignitati auribusque tuis pientissimis equam et condignam orationem non

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<sup>1</sup> Alfred A. Strnad: *Johannes Hinderbachs Obedienz-Ansprache vor Papst Pius II – Päpstliche und kaiserliche Politik in der Mitte des Quattrocento*. In: *Römische historische Mitteilungen*, 10 (1966/67) 41-183 / pp. 165-177

attulero, si denique invictissimi cesaris nostri desideriis et dulcissimis quos ad tuam gerit clementiam affectibus non respondebo. Supplebit enim tua pietas quicquid enim minus ornate minusve decenter quam apostolici culminis aut cesarei numinis dignitati conveniunt exposuero, cum et cesaris optimum erga tuam Sanctitatem animum et hanc summam sedem fidem, devocionem, amorem et observanciam ad unguem, ut aiunt, iam dudum sis expertus et cognoveris.

[4] At non me preterit huius aule apostolice vetus consuetudo ab his qui pontifici obedientiam prestituri veniunt observata: Solent enim primum in throno sedentis novi pontificis genus, mores et vitam, electionem sanctam atque eligencium vota meritis ac dignis efferre laudibus, eius vero qui se mittit dignitatem, amplitudinem et in hanc sedem sua maiorumque suorum merita ac demum debitis reverentie devotionibus eam recognoscentes obdientiam profiteri, quod et nobis profitendum censuimus. Et quamquam non dubitemus omnes ante nos multorum principum et communitatum legatos plenitudini in exponendis tue Beatitudinis laudibus et summo pontificatu tuo adornando insudasse, dicemus tamen et nos pro modulo ingenii nostri nonnulla, que ad eximiam tue Beatitudinis laudem credimus pertinere.

## 2. Praise of the pope

[5] Fuerunt in primis, ut arbitror, apud {167} Sanctitatem tuam huius<sup>1</sup> preclarissime imperialis Senarum litterarum cultricis et ocii patrie tue legati, qui nimirum summo apostolatui tuo congaudentes ac letabundi ita genus illustremque vetuste domus ac Picolhomini familie prosapiam, maiorumque tuorum, probissima gesta veluti veri huius rei testes ac magis conscii in lucem deduxere, ut modo sit opus nostrum circa id sermonem protendere verbis. Retulerunt eciam haud dubium quique studiis infantiam adolescentiamque tuam pro transgressoris ambobusve virtutibus et artibus illam tam domi quam fori exornaveris, qualemque divinitus indolem et summum ingenium sortitus fueris, ut nec in orando Cicerone neque carminibus quopiam poetarum, ne Marone quidem inferior videreris, unde magnam cum summis et ea tempestate celebratissimis viris amicitiam ac familiaritatem tibi comparasti ac potissimum cum Nicolao quondam sancte Crucis in Hierusalem cardinali religiosissimo viro tum Galliarum legato, apud quem secretariatus officio fungebaris – ex cuius domo secundo iam post Nicolaum quintum Romanae ac universalis ecclesie pontifex datus es, – ac deinde cum Iuliano Cesarino, qui apud Hungariam pro fide Christi occubuit, ac Dominico Firmano, cum quo primum Basileam adiisti ceterisque in omni genere virtutis ac doctrine excellentibus viris, qui tum ex diversis mundi partibus eo loco multorum regum et principum legati et

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<sup>1</sup> The oration was given in Siena

quidem frequentissimi aderant, ubi tantum fidei tantumque auctoritatis nactus es, ut in maximis et arduissimis rebus ad plerasque mundi partes te oratore uterentur et nuntio.

[6] Unde tibi omnium occidentalium insularum Britanie, Scoccie et Hibernie peragrandi necessitas primum accessit et ultra montanas ac maritimas regiones perlustrandi facultas tributa fuit. Ex qua non minorem hauriende sapientie situmque terrarum agnoscendi ac mores earum gentium explorandi occasionem es consequutus quam Pitagoras ille Samius, qui se primum philosophum id est sapientie amatorem appellari voluit et apud Persas et Egiptos ac tandem magnam Greciam divinam habuisse fertur sapientiam, aut Ulixes, Troyane expeditionis superstes omnium mortalium sollertissimus, [qui] orbem terrarum circumeundo et ultimas Hispaniarum oras perlustrando humanarum rerum prudentiam creditur assequutus.

[7] Succrevit deinde celeberrimi tui nominis ac virtutis fama ac tota Germania procrepuit adeo, ut ad divum Fridericum cesarem tum in expeditionem pro prima imperii corona in civitate Aquensi, Caroli magni sede, summenda agentem et apud Franckfordiam dilectum principum habentem, ubi tunc forsitan aderas, pertingeret. Qui cum te primum {168} videret audiretque perorantem et de eximiis tui ingenii dotibus multa intelligeret, captus eloquentie tue dulcedine multisque egregiis tuis precibus te primum omnium mortalium omnium applausu principum summo poetarum honore laurea decorandum censuit et ornavit, atque opera et annis tum primorum curie cesaree, Silvestri Chimensis episcopo etiam Casparis Slick imperialis aule cancellarii, qui te genusque tuum et familiam prius in hac urbe<sup>1</sup> divo Sigismundo cesare in ea commorante cognoverat ac tuis eximiis virtutibus miro modo efficiebatur, ad ipsius divi cesaris familiaritatem et consilia fuisti accersitus, ubi simul et virtus et integritas tua in dies magis magisque elucebat et cognoscebatur.

[8] Brevi temporis intervallo summam in primis apud cesarem gratiam et apud omnes fidem et auctoritatem fuisti assequutus, tum precipue apud Casperem Slick cancellarium, qui te, ut par dignum tanta virtute erat, mirum in modum coluit et venerabatur. Quo factum, ut quocumque negotio impeditus aut a cesaris curia discedens summam imperialis cancellarie tue fidei tueque prudentie committeret. Quo in tempore preter occupationes publicas nullum umquam tempus pretermisisti, vel quo non egregium et singulare quoddam tuo ingenio tuisque studiis dignum opus edideris aut in scribendis ad quam plurimos illius temporis doctos et singulares homines epistulis aut historiis non vacaveris. Extant pleraque epistularum tuarum familiarum volumina, que nec Tulliane cedunt eloquentie nec virtute et doctrina Senece aut apostolicis sunt inferiores, plene sententiarum, plene facetiarum, plene et historiarum et hec quidem comice optimis iocis salibusque referte, alie vero tragediarum instar omni gravitate ac rerum humanarum varietate condite, quibus omnium arcium

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<sup>1</sup> NB: the oration is held in Siena

omniumque morum precepta, omniumque denique personarum et dignitatum genera es complexus.

[9] Inter quas plereque ad diversos principes inscripte sunt ac precipue ad inclite memorie Ladislaum Ungarie ac Boemie regem adhuc adolescentem tam alto ac longo regum et cesarum sanguine cretum tot tantorumque regnorum ac diversarum regionum et nationum principem; item ad Sigismundum illustrissimum Austrie ducem tum eciam in etate tenera constitutum. Quibus de illorum egregia et morum et litterarum institutione ita exacte egit Beatitudo tua, ut divina illis et platonica omniumque philosophorum precepta redolerent et Aristotelis, Plutarchi et Alexandri magni ac Troyani preceptoris, (Aristotelis et Plutarchi) ceterorumque maximorum principum preceptoribus libris et doctrinis non inferiores habeantur. {169} Quorum ibi operibus plena tuis sunt omnium tam Latinorum quam Germanorum gymnasia. Qua ex re te auctore ita humanitatis studia ubivis locorum gentis nostrae pullularet, ut iam omnes Sanctitatem tuam veluti parentem et magistram omnium virtutum et studiorum, quin ymmo et instauratorem priscarum Latinarum quemadmodum Itali Crisaloram apud se Greearum litterarum profiteantur. Idcirco multum Sanctitati tue debet Germanica natio, que tuis institutis et exemplis ad veterem illum Romane facundie decorum et humanitatis studia est revocata et in dies magis magisque adaugetur ac recepit incrementa.

[10] Quid dicam de preclaris et luculentissimis orationibus tuis, quas Beatitudo tua diversis in rebus, diversis in locis et conventionibus prestantissimorum hominum habuit, que adeo efficaces, adeo dulces et ad persuadendum apposite semper fuerunt, ut auditorium animos non humanos tantum verum eciam barbaros et Latine lingue inscios sua virtute potentes fuerint communire, quod in dietis tam Ratisponensi quam Franckfordensi apertissime extat comprobatum, quibus omnium animi, qui tum aderant in rebus adversus Turchos agitandis, adeo alieni primum fuere, ut nichil aut parum eis cordi esse viderentur, at ubi Beatitudinis tue oratione perfusi sunt, ita illius ubertate eorum corda et animi permoti fuerunt, ut iam omnes uno ore unaque sententia huic sancto proposito pioque operi paribus votis inhiarent. Qua in re Sanctitatem tuam Orpheo similimam iudicare possumus, qui saxa et volucres in humanam speciem suo cantu convertisse perhibetur.

[11] Atque utinam conclusa ibidem execucionis demandata fuissent, sicuti prudenter ac maturo consilio et opera tue Sanctitatis fuerunt instituta, non iam opus esset tue Beatitudini tot laboribus, neque Christianitas tantam exinde cladem perniciemque in multis suis finibus accepisset, sed adaucta pocius et Turchorum gens fedissima ex Europe finibus depulsa, ac urbs regia Constantinopolis usui foret restituta.

[12] Non dicam de crebris et innumeris legationibus, quas cum olim sancte memorie Nicolao papa quinto tunc Bononiensi episcopo ac reliquis oratoribus et legatis apostolicis cesareo nomine pro huius summe sedis auctoritate, honore ac viribus conservandis atque republica

defensanda subiisti. Dies enim michi cederet, si vel minimam legacionum tuam partem commemorari velim, quibus in diversis mundi partibus functus es; neque ullam earum umquam frustra absolvisti.

[13] Pretereo denique coniugium illud omni evo celeberrimum atque sanctissimum, quod te legato et auctore inter divum Augustum et Leonoram eius consortem, tue quidem Sanctitatis iudicio omnium feminarum {169} nostri seculi serenissimam atque prudentissimam, apud Neapolim Alfonso Aragonum et Sicilie rege eius avunculo intermediente tuaque solertia ac diligentia confectum fuit.

[14] Omitto etiam illum singularem tue laudis tueque virtutis trompheum, quem ex memorati regis curia retulisti, a quo tum maxime huic civitati<sup>1</sup> irato atque infestissimo cum nemo quicquam, quod ad pacem tranquillitatemque huius urbis<sup>2</sup> pertineret, posset reportare multumque ac diu Calistus Romanus pontifex pro conservacione communis pacis apud eum frustra temptavisset. Tu solus cesarea legacionis nomine suffultus curam liberande patrie assumebas et gratissima tanti regis consuetudine fretus gratiam illius et pacem oratione tua huic urbi reddidisti. In quo tuam pietatem Demade illo Atheniensi non inferiorem iure possumus arbitrari, qui sua oratione Alexandrum magnum illius urbis hostem acerrimum conciliavit ipsamque ab imminente excidio eripuit. Qua de re multum tibi debet hec insignis civitas patria tua Sena<sup>3</sup> tuoque nomini merito eternam indelibilemque memoriam et gratitudinem consecrabit.

[15] Reticendum quoque sentio quanta cum moderacione, gravitate et prudentia huius sancte sedis auctoritatem officumque legacionis a latere legatorum non inferius a Nicolao quinto tibi creditum in illis nostris partibus exegeris quantaque constantia atque diligentia clerum et ecclesiasticam libertatem defenderis atque temeritatem nonnullorum ordinem ecclesiasticum pro sua cupiditate opprimere conancium represseris.

[16] Nequeo tamen silere de tue Sanctitatis post longos annorum decursus in Ytaliam reditu, quam sub imperialis legacionis onere et afferendo Romano pontifici obedientie debitum non cuiusque amplioris ecclesiastice dignitatis ambitu repetisti, qui me teste semper animum, uti sapientem decuit, ad utrumque paratum habebas, sed potius ut reliquum vite in tranquillitate et ocio in ipso patrio solo ac propriis laribus apud hanc<sup>4</sup> ecclesiam transigere, ut cum dies extrema tibi advenisset necessariorum saltem manibus posses tumulari. Sed Deus, qui firmata frequenter hominum consilia alternat et pro sua divina voluntate disponit in melius, non sinebat tantum virtutis lumen iuxta euvangelicam doctrinam abscondi sub modio. Sed hoc

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<sup>1</sup> NB: again a reference to Siena as the city where the oration was held

<sup>2</sup> We are in Siena

<sup>3</sup> We are in Siena

<sup>4</sup> Again: we are in Siena

ipsum apud tue Sanctitatis predecesores instante ac promovente cesare provexit in lucem, ut luceret omnibus, qui in domo Dei sunt, utque tanta virtute tantaque et divinarum et humanarum rerum cognitio non torpesceret ocio, sed haberet materiam sese in rebus maximis et publicis, nunc potissimum universali ecclesie necessariis exercendi et cuncta meliorem in modum et ordinem disponendi.

[17] Quod cum intelligeret ac divino quodam presagio dudum presensisset cesar maximo semper fervore ac diligentia id promovit et requisivit, sed nec privatam comoditatem {171} suam utilitati publice preferre aut impedire illam quoquo modo cogitabat, ut is, cuius summam prudentiam ipse suis consiliis probaverat et quem divina providentia maioribus rebus aptum et predestinatum animadvertibat, neque suo ammodo lateri adesse posse sentiebat saltem Romane ac universalis ecclesie reipublice commodis in medio Laci minime deesset, neque enim fuit, quin te invitus dimiserat cesar atque tuum sepius a se discessum magno opere et ipse et omnes sui questi sint.

[18] Quod et Calistus summus pontifex, tue Sanctitatis predecessor, spiritu quodam prophetico visus est presensisse. Qui dum cesareo nomine apud illum instarem pro tue Sanctitatis ad cardinalatus sancte Romane ecclesie promotione quemadmodum per Nicolaum antea sue celsitudini fuerat repromissum, respondit iam hoc se dudum secum animo constituisse idque dignissimum fore sibique tuam promocionem fato reservatam esse iudicavit ac Sanctitatem tuam non solum ut cardinem in ecclesia Dei, set ut columnam fixam immobilem constituere velle, super qua tocius ecclesiastice religionis fundamenta niti possent et que ecclesiam Dei suis aliquando humeris esset sustentura, quod iam divina et quadam inperscrutabili supernorum dispositione factum esse videmus. Ex quo tantum exultacionis, quantum leticie et gaudii accepit cesar divaque eius consors Leonora augusta suique omnes, qui Sanctitatem tuam apud se minoribus constitutam cognoverant, et omni amore obsequio et reverentia fuerunt prosequuti, non facile hac mea tenui oratione complecti possum.

[19] Neque cesar antea de tui predecessoris obitu quicquam certi habuit quam nuntius tue Sanctitatis electionem de se concorditer factam tuamque Beatitudinem in illius locum et vicem surrogatam novum illud sue maiestati optatissimum attulisset, quod certe sue celsitudini fuit singulare sublevamen. Nam si eius serenitas prius Calisti mortem prescivisset nimirum multam de statu rerum ecclesie sollicitudinem et curam habuisset. Sed ubi pietatem tuam in sede beati Petri substitutam intellexit omnis hesitatio ab eo discessit, quod sciebat tuam tanta prudentia tantaque rerum experientia peditum, ut nullum Romane ecclesie periculum imminare formidaret. Id profecto verissime dixerim, nec Constantinum primum catholici nominis Christianum principem ac fautorem de beato Silvestro suo tempore Romano pontifice, neque de Iohanne ac Gregorio Christianissimum Iustinianum, neque Valentinianum et Theodosium de beati Ambrosii {172} ad Mediolanensem ecclesiam promotione, quem seculari illius urbis magistratui prefeceant aut de Steffano et Adriano Romanis pontificibus

Carolus magnum omnium Christianorum victoriosissimum, neque Henricum illum primum imperatorem et re et cognomento pium de Benedicto et Suidgero postea Clemente primum Bambergensis ecclesie episcopo et ad cathedram sancti Petri sua opera suaque voluntate translato, neque Ottones, Ludovicos, Henricos ac alios priscos Germanos cesares de quibus Romanis pontificibus ex arbitrio cum auctoritate ecclesie eis concessa electis et sublimatis maiorem umquam consolacionem et leticiam habuisse.

[20] Neque si ex omnibus ecclesiastici ordinis prelatibus sibi et ecclesie gratum et utile pontificem eligere debuisset, alium quempiam delegisset: quemadmodum in primis ac propriis suis ad tuam Sanctitatem recenter assumptam apicibus dilucide et apertissime declaravit. Neque id ab re nempe tanta semper [in] pietatem tuam benivolentia, amore, fide et caritate complexa fuit imperatoria celsitudo, ut ex suis peculiaribus fidelibus et conterraneis tam ecclesiastici quam secularis ordinis haberet neminem, cui in rebus gravissimis tantum auctoritatis, tantum fidei tantumque moment tribueret.

[21] Quod sane hec alma sedes suis in rebus plerumque compertum multis habuit experimentis in suarum sepius rerum ac negotiorum apud cesarem expeditione, ita ut verissime neque id temere affirmare neminem tantum huic sedi profuisse in ipsius auctoritate, iure et prerogativa tum apud cesarem tum apud omnes Germanie principes tuendum atque conservandum ut tuam Sanctitatem dum adhuc in minoribus in cesarea curia constitutam atque, ut hoc unum silentio non preteream, quod ex supramemoratis Silvestro quondam Chimensi antistite, quem sancte memorie Nicolaus papa quintus pro senii reverentia canisque consiliis patrem semper appellare consuevit, et Caspares Slick homine nostri seculi prospicacissimo crebro commemoratum ac pietati tue tributum audivi, qui dum in Aschaffenburgensi dieta, ubi res ecclesie in ancipiti posita erat et nonnulli Germanie principes in adversam partem magis erant inclinati, tua Beatitudo singulari sua prudentia et eximio spiritu mox consilium interrumpendi conatus adverse factionis adinvenit et sumpta unius noctis lucubratione omnes, quod ex adverso pretendebatur virus ademit et principum ac populorum auribus tua oratione persuasis, adversariorum vim et molimenta ita prevenit, ut omnis eorum conatus et machinatio elideretur et gloriosum pro voto apostolice sedis ac cesaree maiestatis triumphum {173} in rebus ecclesie apostolice et cesarei legati inde reportarent ac neutralitas ipsa sive animorum suspension ecclesie Romane nocentissima, que multis annis duraverat, tuo consilio tuaque opera de medio sublata fuerit.

[22] Ex quo non immerito summus omnium creator ac dispositor Deus ex alto prospiciens, qui nichil boni operis irremuneratum relinquit, pietatem tuam ad huius supreme dignitatis fastigium sublimavit, ut hoc saltem tue virtutis ac laboris dignum premium hoc in tempore vite summo cum honore et post hanc mortalem vitam tua Sanctitate in hoc culmine maiora promerente eternam felicitatem consequatur. Indignum profecto et divine iusticie indecens erat, ut qui universam hanc rempublicam augentibus conservandam et defendentibus magna



et hic et in celestibus premia constituerit, neque ex omni numero preterierit, quem non amplissimo honore auxerit ex maxima in ecclesie dignitate sublimavit, quod in multis et vivis et iam defunctis licet intueri.

[23] Si modo te unum tot meritis et virtutibus reflorentem et pro huius auctoritate sedis adeo decertantem non eque summo et maximo honore in Dei ecclesia sublimasset, sane – id non iniuria preteritorum pontificum dixerim – ullum umquam tam universalem et omnibus in ecclesia catholica gratissimum antistitem prefectum, qui ita omnium gentium et nationum orthodoxarum fidem, mores, devocionem et vivendi ritus noverit et habuerit exprobatos, quantum tua Beatitudo, que omnes ultra montanas gentes et naciones ita peragravit et excellentis et illustrissimi ingenii tui acumine singula pro summa prudentia cognovit et emensa est, ut nichil sit, quod tua Sanctitas ad summum usque non noverit, non expertus sit atque perlustraverit; omnium enim regum, omnium principum, omnium denique potenciarum et comitatum vires et potenciam preclarissimi nostri illorumque diversa studia et emulaciones et quicquid ad Christiane religionis cultum et augmentum pertinet.

[24] Quapropter iure merito huius<sup>1</sup> sacri senatus patres reverendissimi cardinales te in huius alme sedis pontificem et patrem omnium gentium et nacionum catholicarum prefecerunt; quibus et cesarea sublimitas simulque tota Germanica nacio gratias habemus amplissimas, quod pontificem ne dum Latinis nacionibus, sed et exteris optime gratum et recognitum atque universalem elegerint et his quidem tempestatibus ecclesie necessarium et ydoneum, qui rei Christiane tam attrite tamque collapse consulere et sciat et possit, quemadmodum de tua Sanctitate omnes, beatissime pater, certissime sperant et confidunt. Qua quidem ratione, si Romana ecclesia populique et naciones singule maxime ultramontane de Nicolai quinti assumptione summo opere exultabant et gratulabantur, quod illum ad horam, ut ita dixerim, in terre ultramontanis partibus fuisse et mores ac ritus gentis conprobatas habuisse diceretur, nimirum si et nunc Germanica nacio et cetera illi adiacentes regiones et populi de tue Beatitudinis assumptione supra modum letate sint et in dies magis gratulentur, que illam multis apud se annis habuerunt et virtute, doctrina, scientia, consiliis clarissimisque moribus atque institutis tuis profecerunt et edocte sunt. Neque solum de tue Sanctitatis sublimacione {174} iocundantur, verum etiam de pietatis nomine tibi rectissime assumpto utrumque et re et professione et moribus tibi omnium iudicio convenientissimo, quod cum presagio quodam prioris nominis, in ipso sacri baptismatis fonte tibi impositi, melioribus auspiciis tue Sanctitati reservatum poterat autumari, quemadmodum et Enee illi Troyanorum superstiti et Romani nominis et imperii propagatori virtutis sue merito et poetarum omnium et potissimum Homeri et Maronis assensu ex tempore repetitur.

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<sup>11</sup> The reference to "this senate" shows that the oration was delivered during a papal consistory, as would be expected

[25] Ex cuiusquidem nominis coniectura et augurio quantum ex anteacta tua Sanctitatis vita et moribus connyci liceat, non nisi optima quedam huius alme sedis et orthodoxe fidei futurarum rerum auspicia et sperare et certissime expectare possumus, quod in nullo umquam retro pontificum sive principum Romanorum eciam adhuc infidelium et Christiana fide nostra minime illustratorum fefellerit, quemadmodum ex divo Pio Anthonio et Ludovico Caroli magni filio, Ottone tercio ac Henrico illo sancto et piissimo imperatore Germano ceterisque quibuslibet pietatis nomine insignitis extat comprobatum, tantumque amplius de republica sit sperandum, quod et pium pontificem et cesarem et re et animo piissimum et inter se animorum conformitate coniunctissimos hoc in tempore sue afflictionis Christiana religio principes et capita habere meruerint. Quamobrem magnam omnes Christicole altissimo gratiam conditori habere debent, quod ecclesie sue catholice de talibus et tanta caritate invicem coniunctis principibus hoc tempore dignata fuerit providere, ex quo non parum spei et fiducie pro sui tutela ac defensione Christiana religio esset habitura.

[26] Sed ne hac mea oratione tue pietati magis assentari quam laudes tuas predicare videar reticebo pleraque, que ad cumulum tue laudis omnium ex parte merito essent referenda, neque ego is sum a quo universe laudes tue et preclara tue Sanctitatis facinora, si michi ora centum totidem lingue forent, nedum recenseri, sed nec a quoquam disertissimo rerum scriptore volumine maximo complecti possent. Quapropter hanc partem non tam deserens quam in ea prope modum deficiens aliis maiori facundia preditis et post nos oraturis amplius relinquo prosequendam.

### **3. Praise of the emperor**

[27] Nunc vero de laudibus invictissimi cesaris nostri eiusque illustrissime familie dicendum foret quasque Beatitudo tua superioribus annis, dum apud felicis memorie Calistum papam tercium cesareo nomine legatum ageret, in prestacione obedientie ita exacte disseruit et prosequuta est, ut adhuc omnibus recenti memoria insideat, quibus tum partibus cesareas laudes quatuor ex fontibus deduxerit ex imperio sacro, cui preest, ex Germanica natione, que illi pre ceteris paret et obesequitur, ex inclita Austrie domo, que illum genuit, ex propriis suis virtutibus ac dotibus, ut non sit opus mea agressa illas extendere {175} oratione presertim cum tua Beatitudo cesarem in omnibus factis, dictis, operibus et scriptis tuis mirum in modum semper extulerit et veluti sidereo quodam fulgore illustraverit. Unde sua maiestas merito beatam se ac fortunatissimam dicere potest et estimare, quemadmodum Alexander ille Macedo Achillem felicissimum est arbitratus, qui talem ac tantum laudum suarum preconem Homerum sortitus fuerit. Pleni sunt enim omnes Sanctitatis tue codices disertissimis cesareis laudibus, historiis ac rebus gestis, que a primordio sue ad imperium assumptionis acta sunt et variis in rebus suo tempore occurrentibus cum pace tum bello sunt subequuta, ex quo non

immerito cesar magnam tue Sanctitati gratitudinem et affectum debet tueque Beatitudini preter Romani pontificatus prerogativam privato eciam quodam amore atque gratitudine multum est obnoxius.

#### **4. Declaration of obedience**

[28] Pro cuiusquidem exhibicione devocionis, amoris et reverentie iuxta morem antiquitus observatam tue Sanctitati prestanda sua serenitas hos patres et dominos meos sue celsitudinis legatos me quoque designavit, ut ad huius exhibicionem muneris veniremus; quod quantum nobis permissum sit presentis mandati pagina dilucide demonstrabitur. Huius igitur mandati vigore cesareum munus exequi volentes Sanctitatem tuam uti verum et legitimum Romane ac universalis ecclesie summum pontificem et indubitatum Domini ac Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi in terris vicarium et celi clavigeri beatique Petri principis apostolorum successorem ac locumtenentem et canonice electum invictissimi principis, domini nostri, domini Friderici Romanorum imperatoris ac Hungarie, Dalmatie regis Austrieque ducis etc. nomine recognoscimus ac profiteamur eidemque omnem reverenciam, devocionem pariter et obedientiam exhibemus, prestamus et facimus quam sua celsitudo imperatoria suique predecessores aliis antea summis pontificibus huic sacrosancte apostolice sedi suo tempore presidentibus prestare et exhibere consueverunt, prout alii similiter reges et principes catholici Romanis pontificibus canonice electis exhibent et faciunt et ius vetus ac inconcussa hactenus consuetudo legitima introduxit.

#### **5. Defense of religion**

[29] Superest nunc ut qualis divo cesari nostro in Christiana fide defensanda animus sit explicemus, qui profecto talis ac tantus est qualis semper fuit, quemadmodum tua optime novit Beatitudo, que cum adhuc in minoribus constituta hunc tamen in Ratisponensi quam Franckfordensi et ceteris huiusmodi rei gratia dietis institutis et apud hanc almam sedem sepe exposuit et optulit, quem et nunc quidem habet multo ampliorem ferventioemque cum illi regni Hungarie dyadema simulque eiusdem defensio ac tutela superioribus diebus accesserit atque ab eiusdem regni primoribus ac prestancioribus cum principibus tum prelatis ac baronibus delata sit, qui suam cesaream maiestatem unanimo voto ac crebris et amplissimis eorum legacionibus adhuc diu invitarunt et summa cum instantia ac humillimis precibus deprecati sunt, ut ipsius regni coronam et gubernacula suscipere dignaretur, que sua imperialis celsitudo pro innata sibi animi modestia, non quidem privata sue utilitatis causa

motus, que numquam hoc regnum sui gratia concupivit, cum iam dudum {176} hac et alia quondam laudande memorie Ladislai regis patruelis sui regna per eius mortem vacancia, que tamen ultro illi a plerisque offerebantur, acceptare recusarit neque id modo ad cuiusque iniuriam, sed dumtaxat pro republica illius regni tociusque Christianitatis terrarum et principatuum suorum hereditariorum, que illi omni ex parte confines sunt, pace et tranquillitate conservanda proque evitandis innumeris et maximis scandalis et inconvenientiis, quibus nisi sua serenitas annuisset, nedum sue maiestati et terris suis, verum etiam regno ipsi ac Christiane universitati imminere ac irremedialiter suboriri poterant, post longam et maturam ymmo iam quoddammodo dicti regni primores fastidientem deliberacionem in Dei omnipotentis nomine publice ac solemniter coram legatis et proceribus regni acceptavit et onus ac honorem pariter et tutelam ac gubernacula regni in se susceptum presertim, que in tuenda fide catholica et eius finibus maiorem ex huius accessionem regni sibi causam et potenciam dari animadvertibat.

[30] Quemadmodum et nobis nuper a curia sue celsitudinis discendentibus ad coronam dicti regni debitis cum cerimonia ac solemnitatibus ex more vetusto fieri et observari solitis suscipiendam ceteraque negocia regni iam prope collapsa ac undique turbata adiutorio Altissimi ordinanda hoc nunc in tempore ire constituebat. Quibus de rebus tuam Beatitudinem sacrumque senatum ad partem laicius avisandos a cesarea maiestate in mandatis accepimus. Tue igitur Beatitudinis officum erit, que disponente Christo summo ecclesie sue sponso ad huius apostolici culminis arcem conscendit et tam cesareo nomine quam privato etiam suo pro causa defensionis fidei fervore, cum adhuc in minoribus versaretur, hanc summo studio summaque diligentia et labore prosequuta est et priores ante se pontifices et quoslibet alios principes suis divinis et monitis et consiliis semper stimulavit et hortata est, ut ea idemipse prosequeris et regia quadam manu sine cunctacione aliqua executioni des, quemadmodum tue Beatitudo egregie pre se ferre et iam in huius dietis<sup>1</sup> Mantuanis atque legatorum concepisse videtur transmissioni.

[31] Memini quondam tuam Sanctitatem beate memorie Calisto papa, predecessore tuo, hoc unum dumtaxat ordinem rebus agendis deesse summopere questum, quem ut tua pietas una cum cesare nostro et aliis catholicis principibus ac potentatibus modo pro sua et huius sacri senatus summa providentia det, cogitet et decernat opus est, id ominum divina quadam fatali dispositione tue pietati et industrie est reservatum, ut qui quondam huius rei consultor, excitator et monitor fueris, fias iam idem ipse et factor et executor, in quo et boni et summi pontificis officium exerces et rem tua virtute ac magnitudine animi dignissimam efficies et altissimo Deo, cuius vicariatum in terris geris, sacrificium et munus acceptabile prestabis, unde et perpetuam inter mortales gloriam et laudem consequeris et eternum et indelibile nomen comparabis.

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<sup>1</sup> This reference is curious: the obedience was declared not at the Congress of Mantua, in Autumn 1459, but in April, while the pope resided in Siena

[32] Cesar vero quecumque ut catholicus et Christianissimus imperator iamque Hungarorum ceterarumque gentium rex accitus pro sua magnanimitate facere poterit et debet tue pietatis voto ac communi Christianitatis saluti non deerit, dummodo et aliorum catholicorum regum et principum potentie et auxilia concurrant. Scit {177} tua Sanctitas, quibus ex rebus huius rei defectus fuerit et quamobrem apud Franckfordiam deliberata intercepta neglectave sint, que omnia Beatitudo tua secum metiri et rebus istis congruum ordinem dare atque providere dignetur, quo Christiane religioni succuratur et sevissimorum hostium conatibus obsisti possit. In quo et cesaris nostri opem et consilium numquam tue pietati ac communi Christianitati scito defuturum cetera pleraque circa hanc rem necessaria semotis arbitris cum tue clemencie placuerit laus exponemus.

Scriptum et finitum Mantuae XXVIIa Octobris anno etc. LIXo<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> According to this colophon, the oration was held in Mantua, which it was not. It does, however, together with the previous reference to the diet of Mantua, raise some doubt about the status of the text

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 41)**

**Oration “*Ingentes vobis gratias*” of Pope Pius II (15 April, 1459, Siena). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

During his prolonged stay in Siena, in the spring of 1459, Pope Pius II endeavoured to reform the political system of the city republic. In his oration, "*Ingentes vobis gratias*", to the ruling parties, he requested the reintegration of the noble families into the government of city-state, but with little success.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Siena; City government; The nobles; 15th century; 1459; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance orations; Renaissance rhetorics



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## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION



# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

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

Pius probably had at least three motives for this initiative: firstly he may have desired to favour a political class to which his own family had belonged for generations and whose exclusion from the city government had hurt it badly. Secondly, he wished to make the Republic of Siena an important part of his political power base as pontiff.<sup>3</sup> And thirdly, there is no reason to doubt that the pope had a genuine concern for his home city and clearly saw that its political divisions threatened its peace and development.

After a series of preliminary negotiations - and even public relations exercises like bestowing the papal Golden Rose on the city government - the pope, towards the end of his stay, directly addressed the city government on this thorny issue.

The oration is mentioned by Bernardo Malavolti in his history of Siena:

*Come il dì 15. d'Aprile 1459 havendolo il Papa con lunga oratione domandato, mostrando quanto fusse per esser profitevole a quella Republica, si come comporta la Giustitia, se contribuissono gli honori secondi i meriti cosi à Nobili, dalli Antichi de' quali fù edificata da principio quella Città , come à Popolari, riempiendo i luoghi di quelli, che ultimamente havevan confinati, morti, e fatti ribelli, con acquistar tanti amici, che superassono il numero di quei, che per le dette cagioni, cercando di tornare in casa loro,*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 21-22; Boulting, pp. 256-259; Cerasoli; Mitchell, p. 145; Pastor, II, p. 38; Reinhardt, pp. 240-242; Stolf, pp. 345-349; Voigt, IV, p. 36

<sup>2</sup> Malavolti, f. 60v; Voigt, IV, pp. 32-37

<sup>3</sup> Baldi: *Pio*, p. 93-94: *La nomina del nipote Antonio Piccolomini a castellano di Castel San'Angelo...; il favore accordato a parenti e amici; la stessa politica papale nei confronti della propria città Siena, a favore della reintegrazione dei nobili alla vita politica cittadina; la graduale creazione di una "consorteria familiare", e il tanto lungo condannato nepotismo di Pio II, corrispondono chiaramente all'esigenza, avvertita con forza dal pontifice, di trovare dei punti di sostegno fidati e sicuri su cui fare affidamento nella concreta gestione del governo papale. La città di Siena, in particolare, sembra destinata a poter diventare la base della forza politica di Pio II: e, da questo punto di vista, la partecipazione dei nobili alla vita politica – da tempo auspicata dal Piccolomini – avrebbe, secondo il pontifice, non solo garantito alla città maggiore stabilità politica interna, ma avrebbe anche portato al rafforzamento delle famiglie più vicine allo stesso pontifice*

*operarono in danno publico la rovina della Città, che non essendo unita dovrebbe ragionevolmente haverne timore.*<sup>1</sup>

The pope's intervention met with obstinate opposition from the ruling class of Siena, as is evident from his own description of the event in the *Commentarii*.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Themes

The main theme of the oration is that the government of Siena suffers from a basic imbalance due to the exclusion of some of the essential parties and stakeholders in the republic, i.e. the Nobles and the Twelve. This is the cause of permanent political disunity, threatening the state both with civil disorder and with foreign intervention and domination<sup>3</sup>:

*... having been called to the Supreme Pontificate by divine counsel, We have preserved your freedom, your cause, and your dignity that were direly threatened. For nothing is more important to Us than the safety and liberty of Our fatherland which are now yours by the divine gift of Our elevation ... But this happy state will not last long unless you change your ways and reform your [system of] government. For the One who is our Truth itself cannot lie, and He says in the Gospel that Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation. And what city was ever more divided than yours? In other cities there have often been two parties which, fighting each other, brought ruin. But in your [city], a part of the people has lost all hope of [sharing] government. [Sect. 1-2]*

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<sup>1</sup> Malavolti, f. 62r

<sup>2</sup> The oration is not specifically mentioned by Pius' two contemporary biographers, Campano and Platano, see Zimolo

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gamberini & Lazzarini, p. 103: *Nove constituted the council that governed the city; turnover of its members was frequent, but it was socially quite homogeneous, being constituted of the mezzana gente, that is the large elite of a merchant city. Meanwhile, the Parte Guelfa opted for an alliance with Florence and ensured a long period of external stability. The Mercanzia consolidated the hegemony of trade in the urban economic system. Under the close direction of the Nove, the Consiglio Generale continued to ensure wide participation in public discussions, even if the most important functions were frequently assigned to special short-term commissions, the balie. Despite the proud representation of the Buon governo, Siena's political system was in many ways vulnerable. The Nove were at the middle of a social chain whose ends were on one side the lower classes, and on the other the ancient nobility of the Gentiluomini, the great clans who were excluded from public offices, but who were still powerful thanks to their financial wealth and political networks (the Piccolomini, Salimbeni and Tolomei). Maintaining the internal balance between the different social actors was not an easy task for the Nove regime, not least because outside the city walls conflicts over territorial hegemony were worsening*

The solution is to integrate the Nobility – and the Twelwe – into the government of the city.

### 3. Date, place, audience and format

The oration was held on 15. April 1459<sup>1</sup> at the pope's residence<sup>2</sup> in Siena.

The audience was the members of the city's ruling class.

The format was mixed: partly a papal, partly a fatherly address to the government of a city with whom the papacy was closely allied - and whose devoted son he was.

### 4. Text<sup>3</sup>

The oration "*Ingentes vobis gratias*" belongs to a group of orations and responses to ambassadors – mostly from after 1462 - which were included directly in *Pius Commentarii* and not in the official collection of his orations produced in 1462.<sup>4</sup> Since the *Commentarii* were intended to present a positive image of Pius' pontificate, the orations and responses included in them were probably heavily edited in this sense.

In the *Commentarii*, the oration forms part of Book 2, Chapter 21, which relates the pope's visit to Siena in Spring 1459 and his political negotiations with the city government.

#### 4.1. Manuscripts<sup>5</sup>

The text of the oration is only extant in the manuscripts containing the *Commentarii*, the two most important being:

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<sup>1</sup> According to Malavolti, see above

<sup>2</sup> "accersito ad se urbis senatu"

<sup>3</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>4</sup> See *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, sect. 5.1.4

<sup>5</sup> Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 11, are marked with an asterisk

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**  
Corsinianus 147, ff. 58r-59r **(C)** \*
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 88v-90r **(R)** \*

#### 4.2. Editions and translations<sup>1</sup>

- Pii II *Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / Vol. I, pp. 139-142
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / Vol. I, pp. 284-290  
*[With an Italian translation]*
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff., vol. I, pp. 284-295. [The I Tatti Renaissance Library]  
*[With an English translation]*

#### 4.3. Present edition

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

*Text:*

The present edition is based on both manuscripts, with the Lincei manuscript as the lead text.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup>

*Pagination:*

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<sup>1</sup> For a more comprehensive list of editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 11

<sup>2</sup> The Lincei manuscript represents the final version of the text: *what Pius intended to be the final version of the Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)

<sup>3</sup> Though the text has already been admirably edited, it has – as a matter of principle – been collated directly from the principal manuscripts

Pagination is from the Chisianus.

## 5. Sources<sup>1</sup>

In this short oration, 3 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified.

Biblical: 1

Classical: 2

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

**All: 3**

**Biblical sources: 1**

Old Testament: 0

New Testament: 1

- Luke: 1

**Classical sources: 2**

- Sallustius: 1<sup>2</sup>
- Vergilius: 1<sup>3</sup>

**Patristic and medieval sources: 0**

**Contemporary sources: 0**

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<sup>1</sup> On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius II*, vol. 1, ch. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Bellum Jugurthinum*

<sup>3</sup> *Aeneis*



## 6. Bibliography

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## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

**C** = Roma / Accademia dei Lincei / Corsinianus 147

**R** = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten

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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

[1] {88v} Ingentes vobis gratias habemus, viri Senenses, qui gentiles nostros Piccolomineos in partem regiminis admisistis. Nobis quoque, cum in minoribus ageremus, saepe adiumento praesidioque fuistis. Verum nec nos ingrati aut onerosi patriae fuimus, qui diu procul a domo et inter exterarum nationum vitam agentes – in Mediolano apud Philippum Mariam, in Basilea apud generale concilium, in Sabaudia apud Amedeum, quem pars orbis pro Christi vicario coluit, Felicem appellatum, in Austria apud Federicum imperatorem, in<sup>1</sup> Neapoli apud Alfonsum regem, et in urbe Roma apud Calistum pontificem maximum – et ante cardinalatum et in cardinalatu res vestras summo studio et adjuvimus et defendimus. Nunc quoque ad summum praesulatum divino vocati consilio {89r} libertatem vestram prorsus labentem<sup>2</sup> remque simul et dignitatem conservavimus. Nihil enim tam nobis cordi est quam patriae incolumitas atque libertas, quas res per nostram assumptionem divino munere assecuti estis.

[2] Sed non erit haec felicitas diuturna, nisi alium sumitis vivendi modum, nisi vestrum regimen in melius reformatis. Non potest veritas nostra mentiri, quae ruiturum *omne regnum in se divisum* in evangelio tradit. Et quae umquam civitas tam divisa fuit quam vestra? In aliis urbibus saepe duas fuisse partes constat, quae inter se dissidentes ruinam fecere. Apud vos pars populi spem omnem regiminis amisit. Nobilitas, etsi honorum aliquorum est particeps, ex palatio tamen rejicitur. Rursus qui rempublicam tenent, alii Novem, alii Reformatores, alii Populares appellantur, neque absque invidia et simultatibus inter se vivunt, et superare alios alii ac videri meliores volunt. Nutrit proculdubio factiones in populo et animos in diversa trahit ipsa nominum diversitas.

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<sup>1</sup> *omit. C*

<sup>2</sup> *labantem C*

[1] Men of Siena, We thank you from Our heart for admitting our family, the Piccolomini, to share in the government [of the city]. Before attaining Our present high office,<sup>1</sup> We Ourselves often received your help and support, but We have neither been ungrateful nor burdensome to our country. For a long time We lived far from home and among foreign nations: in Milan with Filippo Maria<sup>2</sup>, in Basel at the General Council;<sup>3</sup> in Savoy with Amedeo whom part of the world revered as Vicar of Christ under the name of Felix,<sup>4</sup> in Austria with Emperor Friedrich,<sup>5</sup> in Naples with King Alfonso,<sup>6</sup> and in the City of Rome with Pope Calixtus.<sup>7</sup> Both before<sup>8</sup> and during our cardinalate, We took great pains to help and defend your cause. And now, too, having been called to the Supreme Pontificate by divine counsel, We have preserved your freedom, your cause, and your dignity that were direly threatened. For nothing is more important to Us than the safety and liberty of Our fatherland which are now yours by the divine gift of Our elevation<sup>9</sup>.

[2] But this happy state will not last long unless you change your ways and reform your [system of] government. For the One who is our Truth itself cannot lie, and He says in the Gospel that *every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation*.<sup>10</sup> And what city was ever more divided than yours? In other cities there have often been two parties<sup>11</sup> which fighting each other brought them to ruin. But in your [city], a part of the people has lost all hope of [sharing] government. For though the nobles have been given share in some offices, they are excluded from the palace [of government]. And those [parties] that are in power, called the Nine, the Reformers, and the People<sup>12</sup>, live in mutual jealousy and conflict. Each wants to surpass the others and be seen as the better one. This diversity of names in itself undoubtedly creates factions<sup>13</sup> in the people and pushes it in various directions.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "cum in minoribus ageremus": not "minor orders" as one translation has it

<sup>2</sup> Filippo Maria Visconti (1392-1447): Duke and ruler of Milan from 1412 until his death

<sup>3</sup> Council of Basel, 1430-1439

<sup>4</sup> 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 Eugenius IV

<sup>5</sup> Friedrich 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

<sup>6</sup> Alfonso V the Magnanimous (1396-1458): King of Aragon, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia and Corsica, Sicily and Count of Barcelona from 1416, and King of Naples (as Alfonso I) from 1442 to his death

<sup>7</sup> Calixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

<sup>8</sup> E.g. at the peace negotiations in Naples in 1456 ending the condottiero Jacopo Piccinino's attempt to conquer the State of Siena and make it his own duchy, as the condottiero Francesco Sforza had done with Milan

<sup>9</sup> I.e. to the Papacy

<sup>10</sup> Luke, 11, 17

<sup>11</sup> Often the Guelphs and the Ghibellines

<sup>12</sup> The Popolari

<sup>13</sup> Piccolomini had also touched on the theme of diversity of names leading to conflict in his oration "Audivi"[1] (1436), sect. 13: *So, Fathers, let us put aside the names of nations, let everyone free himself of local patriotism*, and in his oration "Si mihi" [24] (1455), sect. 10: *So, away with all divisions and conflicts between us. Do not use names that may cause any kind of division*

<sup>14</sup> Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2.39

[3] Et paulo ante nostrum pontificatum – quod gravius est – novum discidium emersit. Cives aliquot ex his, qui vobiscum urbi praesidebant, aut securi percussistis aut in exilium misistis aut pecunia mulctatos relegastis. Fortasse digna expenderunt supplicia, at non sine jactura civitatis: morte affecti e numero vestro periere. Qui exulant et qui relegati sunt, reditum in patriam meditantur vobisque dies atque noctes insidias parant, neque desunt in civitate, qui eis student vel sanguine vel caritate<sup>1</sup> illis adjuncti. Nam quanto plures ex<sup>2</sup> civitate dejecistis, tanto major est numerus eorum, qui vobis infensi sunt et res novas in civitate moliuntur.

[4] Haec et alia pleraque in corpore vestro insunt<sup>3</sup> mala. Extra vero, quibus inimicitii implicitis, vos ipsi nostis. Vicina in vos odia sunt, amicitiae procul absunt. Quis ei civitati bene speret, quae nec foris nec intus tuta est? At salutem aperuit vobis Deus ab externa vi, qui nos in cathedra beati Petri collocavit. In qua dum sedemus, nemo aperto Marte invadere vos audet. Norunt inimici vestri apostolicae sedis vires, et scientes nos hujus urbis cives esse, tam vobis quam nobis ipsis inferre bellum verentur. Sub umbra nostra ab his, qui foris sunt, satis tuti estis; ab his, qui sunt intus, non est opis nostrae vos tueri. Consulere tantum possumus et id suadere, quod unicum est civitatum omnium tutamentum<sup>4</sup>, id est, ut invicem ametis et concordibus animis rempublicam gubernetis; nam difficile monimentum et insuperabile est amor civium. Nostis illud Sallustianum: *concordia res parvas crescere, discordia magnas dilabi*. Concordia est, quae servat civitates. Haec perpetuo vos conjunget et hanc civitatem tuebitur, si justitia inter vos dominabitur, quae una est mater atque regina virtutum. Justitia aequitatis quaedam ratio est, que pro meritis inter homines poenas ac praemia distribuit. Beata civitas, quae justitiae utitur moderamine.

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<sup>1</sup> benivolentia R

<sup>2</sup> e R

<sup>3</sup> sunt R

<sup>4</sup> firmissimum *add.* R



[3] And, what is more serious, short time before We became pope a new conflict arose.<sup>1</sup> Some citizens who governed the city together with you were executed, or exiled, or fined and banished.<sup>2</sup> Maybe their punishments were just, but they were a loss to the city: a number of your own people died, and those who were exiled or banished are planning to return and are plotting against you day and night, and there is no lack of people in the city who favour them because of ties of family or friendship. Indeed, the more people you have driven out of the city, the greater is the number of those who oppose you and plot political change.

[4] Internally, Your body politic is suffering from these and many other evils. Externally, you yourselves know how many conflicts you are involved in. Your neighbours hate you, your friends are far away. Who can have good hopes for a city that has security neither within nor without? But God gave you safety from external forces when He placed Us upon the Chair of Saint Peter: as long as We are occupying it, nobody will dare to wage open war against you. Your enemies are aware of the strength of the Apostolic See, and knowing that We are a citizen of this city, they fear to go to war against you just as much as against Us. Under Our shadow, you are safe enough from those outside. But we cannot defend you against those who are inside. We can only advise you and urge you to love each other and to govern your state in harmony since that is the only sure protection of all cities. For the love of the citizens is a strong and invincible defense. You know the words of Sallust: *Harmony makes small states great, while the mightiest are undone by discord.*<sup>3</sup> It is concord that preserves cities. If justice, mother and queen of virtues, reigns among you, you will always be united and this city secure. Justice is the essence of equity which distributes punishments and rewards among men according to their deserts. Blessed is the city that is governed by justice.

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<sup>1</sup> The ruling parties accused a number of citizens of collusion with the condottiero Jacopo Piccinino to overthrow the governing class. see Banchi

<sup>2</sup> Among them Pius' own cousin, Goro Lolli

<sup>3</sup> Sallustius: *Bellum Jugurthinum*, 10

[5] Et vos, Senenses, beati eritis, si honores publicos inter merentes partiemini. Quod jam diu a vobis neglectum est, qui civibus nobilitate praestantibus, quorum majores hanc urbem condidere, et qui non coacti, sed sponte sua civitatis regimen in vos transtulere annos supra quinquaginta tamquam mancipiis usi estis. Redeundum est jam denique ad justitiam, et honorandi sunt {90r} nobiles et eorum loco suffiendi, quos ejecistis necastisque. Implendus est, qui vacat locus, et tot amici assumendi, quot<sup>1</sup> inimicos fecistis. Aut enim cavendum est, ne quis nos oderit, aut, si hoc non possumus assequi, parandae sunt amicitiae, quae odia superent. Hoc abunde praestabunt nobiles, si damnatorum loca conscenderint. Utilitas hoc et honestas suadet. Nam quomodo grati eritis, nisi hos honoratis, quorum parentes vobis rempublicam commiserere et patriam hanc fundavere, et qui licet contumeliis a vobis affecti quampluribus<sup>2</sup> fuerint, numquam tamen rebellarunt, aequo animo cuncta tulerunt, et ad omne imperium vestrum praesto fuere? Potuissent aliquando per divisiones vestras cornua erigere: maluerunt in civitate per quietem servire quam per seditionem dominari.

[6] Et quis non ejusmodi cives dignos regimine arbitretur? Bene instituta civitas et quae radices vult altius figere malos cives poena, bonos praemio afficit. Nemo, qui sapiat, ea in urbe manendum duxerit, in qua virtuti non adsint praemia. Vos, si sapietis, nobiles – jam enim tumore divitiarum deposito vestri similes et aliquanto humiliores effectos – in societatem gubernandae {90v} civitatis amplectemini nec vobis ipsis minores<sup>3</sup> esse patiemini. Atque hoc summum est retinendae libertatis et urbis conservandae remedium.

[7] Hoc est consilium nostrum, quod amantissime damus patriae. Si spernitis hortamenta nostra, non possumus de hac republica bene sperare. Imminet enim divisae civitati ruina, nec pax illic habitat, unde justitia exulat. Vos, si nobilitati, quod sibi debetur, attribuetis, si qua ingruerit adversitas, nedum auxilia nostra praesto erunt, sed ipsius Dei, qui justis partibus semper adest, omnipotenti manu adjuti et protecti eritis.

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<sup>1</sup> quos C

<sup>2</sup> quamplurimis C

<sup>3</sup> minoris C

[5] And you, Sieneſe, will be happy if you ſhare the public offices<sup>1</sup> with thoſe who merit it. This you have failed to do for a long time. Inſtead you have been treating the eminent nobles of the city as ſlaves even though it was their forefathers who founded this city and who more than fifty years ago on their own initiative transferred the government of the city to you, without having been forced to do ſo. Now you muſt turn back to the path of juſtice: you ſhould honour the nobles and put them in the place of thoſe you have driven out or killed. The empty places ſhould be refilled, and you ſhould make as many new friends as you have made enemies. For we ſhould all ſee to it that nobody hates us, and if that is not poſſible, then to forge friendships that are ſtronger than the enmities. Such friendship you will have abundantly from the nobles if they ſtep into the places of the condemned. This is advantageous as well as honourable. For how can you ſhow gratefulneſs if you do not honour thoſe whoſe fathers entrusted the ſtate to you and founded this city<sup>2</sup>. They never rebelled even though you treated them outrageouſly. Indeed, they bore all with equanimity and were ever ready to obey your orders. Becauſe of your internal diviſions there were times when they could have raiſed their horns, but they would rather ſerve the city in peace than maſter it by ſedition.

[6] Who would not conſider ſuch citizens as worthy of governing? The well-ordered city deſiring to grow deeper roots puniſhes the bad citizens and rewards the good. No wiſe man will want to ſtay in a city where virtue is not rewarded. So, if you are wiſe, you will accept the nobles as partners in governing the city and not let them be inferior to yourſelves, ſince by now the tumour of wealth has been removed and they have become like yourſelves – and ſomewhat more humble! This is the beſt means to preſerve your liberty and to preſerve your city.

[7] This is the advice that We lovingly give to Our country. If you reject Our exhortations, We cannot have good hopes for this republic. Ruin threatens a divided city, and peace cannot dwell where juſtice is in exile. If you give the nobles their due, you will not only get ready help from Us, ſhould miſfortune ariſe, but you will alſo be aſſiſted and protected by the omnipotent hand of God, who always favours the juſt party.

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<sup>1</sup> "honores"

<sup>2</sup> "patria"

**(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 42)**

**Oration "*Habuisti dilecta filia*" of Pope Pius II (28 May 1459, Mantua). Translated by Michael von. Cotta-Schönberg.**

**2019**

## **Abstract**

On 27 May 1459, Pope Pius II arrived in Mantua where he was to consult with representatives of the European princes on a crusade against the Turks. The pope was met among others by representatives of the family of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan whose daughter, the 13 year old Ippolita, gave a charming speech to the pope, to which the pope responded kindly – and very briefly – with the *“Habuisti dilecta filia”*.

## **Keywords**

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance rhetorics; Ippolita Sforza; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan; 15<sup>th</sup> century; 1459

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# I. INTRODUCTION

## 1. Context<sup>1</sup>

On 27 May 1459, Pope Pius II arrived in Mantua where he was to meet with representatives of the European princes. The purpose of the Congress was to deliberate on a crusade against the Turks. The pope was met among others by representatives of the family of Duke Francesco Sforza of Milan including the duchess, Bianca, whose daughter the 14 year old Ippolita<sup>2</sup> gave a charming speech to the pope. The pope responded kindly – and very briefly – with the “*Habuisti dilecta filia*”. Earlier the eldest son of the Duke of Milan had accompanied the pope from Bologna to Mantova. The meeting with the ducal family was not an anodine court episode. On the contrary it was charged with political significance as it clearly demonstrated the close ties developing between the pope and the Duke of Milan as a basis for their alliance in favour of King Ferrante and against French domination in Italy.<sup>3</sup>

Though Mansi included Pius’ response in his edition of Pius’ orations and responses, the oration as such has no great significance. More interesting is Ippolita’s speech as an early manifestation of an education<sup>4</sup> which would later mark her as one of the great classically formed Italian Renaissance princesses.

In his *Commentarii*, the pope wrote about the episode:

*Pius entered Mantua on May 27, five days before the appointed date. The city was filled with foreigners and crowds of people had come in from the neighbouring towns. Among them was Bianca, duchess of Milan, the daughter of the late Duke Filippo Maria and the wife of Francesco Sforza, a woman of high spirit and extraordinary wisdom. She had with her a noble brood of sons and daughters, four boys as beautiful as angels from heaven and a girl, called Ippolita, lovely of face and character, who was betrothed to the son of the king of Sicily. ... The next day, the pope gave an audience to Bianca and Barbara, who kissed his holy feet and obtained the sacred blessings they had come to seek. Bianca’s daughter Ippolita delivered a Latin oration before the pope, her style was so elegant that all who heard her were lost in wonder and admiration.<sup>56</sup>*

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<sup>1</sup> CO, II, 44; Ady, p. 165; Boulting, pp. 262-263; Cerasoli; Fletcher, p. 98; Paparelli, p. 209; Pastor, II, pp. 42-43; Reinhardt, pp. 250-251; Voigt, IV, pp. 44-45

<sup>2</sup> Ippolita Maria Sforza (1446-1484): Eldest daughter of Francesco I Sforza, Duke of Milan. Married, in 1465, to Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, eldest son of King Ferrante I of Naples who would later reign briefly as King Alfonso II of Naples

<sup>3</sup> Baldi: *Pio*, pp. 139-140

<sup>4</sup> Voigt, IV, 1, pp. 44-45

<sup>5</sup> CO, II, 44 (Meserve, I, p. 377)

<sup>6</sup> On the admiration caused by Ippolita’s speech, see Pastor, II, p. 43, n. 2. It was shared by Cardinal Scarampo who wrote to F. Strozzi that a goddess could not have spoken better

Ippolita Sforza's oration to the pope is only one of several instances in the Italian Renaissance when a child delivered a Latin oration at a solemn occasion, demonstrating, as D'Elia writes *a fondness for child prodigies and a belief in the difficulty and importance of a classical education in Italian society*.<sup>1</sup> Another example is the oration Francesco Filelfo wrote for Galeazzo Maria Sforza, eldest son of the Duke of Milan, to deliver before the emperor at his arrival in Ferrara.<sup>2</sup> And a third example is an oration that Poggio Bracciolini wrote for one of his sons to deliver before Emperor Friedrich III, though in the end nothing came of it.<sup>3</sup>

As witnessed by the relatively great number of manuscripts with Ippolita Sforza's oration and Pius' response, these orations gained some popularity, not of because of their content but because of the illustrious persons involved and because of Ippolita's reputation as one of the grand learned ladies of the Italian Renaissance.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Themes

The theme was a well-turned compliment to the young, cultured princess and her parents.

## 3. Date, place, audience and format

According to Pius' own *Commentarii*, the entry into Mantua took place on 27 May, and the audience for the Sforzas and the Margravess of Mantua, where Ippolita Sforza gave her speech and the pope replied, was held the day afterwards, that is 28 May 1459.<sup>5</sup>

The venue was the pope's residence in the Gonzaga palace.

The audience consisted of cardinals and members of the courts of Milan and Mantua, and possibly others, though the audience appears not to have had public, formal character.

The format was a fatherly papal response to a young princess.

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<sup>1</sup> D'Elia: Renaissance, p. 48

<sup>2</sup> Lazzeroni

<sup>3</sup> Poggio Bracciolini, II

<sup>4</sup> Bryce, p. 60; D'Elia: *Mariage*; King & Rabil, pp. 46-47

<sup>5</sup> Gigli, I, p. 527, gives the date as 2 June

## 4. Text<sup>1</sup>

### 4.1. Manuscripts

According to Kristeller (Digital Version), the oration is extant in the following manuscripts<sup>2</sup>:

- **Berlin / Staatsbibliothek**  
Lat. 200
- **Bologna / Biblioteca Universitaria**  
138
- **Bologna / Collegio d'Espagna**  
138
- **Budapest / Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár**  
Clmae 210
- **Granada / Biblioteca Universitaria**  
B 93
- **Heidelberg / Universitätsbibliothek**  
Pal. Lat. 454
- **London / British Library**  
Harley 5255
- **Padova / Biblioteca Universitaria**  
2161
- **Padova / Museo Civico**  
B.P. 1223, ff. 57r-58r
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**  
Nouv. Acquisitions 1703, ff. 195r-197v

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<sup>1</sup> Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see *Collected orations of Pope Pius*, vol. 1, ch. 5

<sup>2</sup> The oration appears also to be extant in a number of other manuscripts

- **Parma / Biblioteca Palatina**  
Parm. 1526, ff. 047v
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**  
Barb. Lat. 1813, f. 2r  
Boncomp. F 7, f. 004v
- **Trier / Bibliothek des Priesterseminars**  
44, ff. 133r-133v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica**  
II 05
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**  
Lat. XIV 128 (4333), ff. 154r-154v  
Lat. XIV 228 (4498)
- **Zaragosa / Biblioteca Capitolar de la Seo**  
15-85, ff. 104r-104v

## 4.2. Editions

The text has been published (at least) three times<sup>1</sup>:

- Gigli, Girolamo: *Il diario Senese*  
  
[1 ed.] Lucca, Quinza, 1722 / Pt. 1, p. 70.<sup>2</sup>  
  
[2<sup>nd</sup> ed.] Siena: Landi & Alessandri, 1854 / Pt. 1, pp. 527-529 [GI]<sup>3</sup>
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols.  
Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759, p. 194  
*[Reproduces, with some emendations, Gigli's 1<sup>st</sup> edition]* [MA]

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<sup>1</sup> For other editions, see Corvisieri, p. xii

<sup>2</sup> It has not been possible to verify this reference which is from Mansi's edition, p. 192

<sup>3</sup> Gigli does not indicate precisely which manuscript he used, but has this information, I, p. 527: *Il Sig. Abbate Domenico Giorgi letterato amico nostro ... avendoci vedute tra le mani queste memorie di Pio II ... ha voluto arricchire tale relazione con un raro monumento inedito, qual'è un elegante latino ragionare, che fece nel Concilio de Mantova avanti quell gran Pontefice Donna Ippolita figliuola di Bianca Maria, e di Francesco Sforza Duca di Milano*

### 4.3. Present edition

*Text:*

The present edition is based on Gigli's text, with collation of the text published by Mansi.

*Pagination:*

Pagination is from Gigli.

## 5. Sources

In this very short oration, no quotations have been identified.

## 6. Bibliography

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Paparelli, Gioacchino: *Enea Silvio Piccolomini (Pio II)*. Bari, 1950. (Biblioteca de cultura moderna; 481)

Pastor, Ludwig: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*. 16 vols. Freiburg i.B., 1886-1933

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

Pius II: *Orationes*. [1436-1464]

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

- *Orations of Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. Copenhagen, 2015-2019. [Available via the Internet in HAL Archives]

Reinhardt, Volker: *Pius II. Piccolomini – Der Papst, mit dem die Renaissance begann*. München, 2013

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

## 7. Sigla and abbreviations

GI = Gigli, Girolamo: *Il diario Senese*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed, Siena: Landi & Alessandri, 1854

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

### Abbreviations

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

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

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

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

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

**RTA** = Deutsche Reichstagsakten



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

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

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

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

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



## II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

## **Responsum sanctissimi domini nostri papae Pii**

{528} Habuisti, dilecta filia, coram nobis orationem elegantem, tersam et jucundissimam. Admiramur te, ingenium et virtutem tuam. Gaudeat mater tua praesens et pater tuus absens, qui te talem genuerunt, parentes. Quod nos tantopere super veritatem {529} laudas, tuae benevolentiae adscribimus. Quod parentes parce laudasti, tuae modestiae attribuimus. Quod autem nobis devoti sint, devotioni eorum nos et hi reverendissimi fratres nostri, Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinales abunde respondemus. Tibi vero Deus benedicat et nos benedicimus. Amen.

Beloved daughter, the oration you gave in Our presence was elegant, polished, and wholly enjoyable. We admire you, your intellect, and your virtue. Your mother,<sup>1</sup> who is present, and your father,<sup>2</sup> who is absent, may rejoice to be parents to such a daughter. Your excessive praise of Us We ascribe to your kindness. Your sparing praise of your parents We attribute to your modesty. We shall respond generously to their devotion towards Us, together with these Our Most Reverend Brothers, the Cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. May God bless you, as We do. Amen.

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<sup>1</sup> Bianca Maria Visconti (1425-1468): legitimized daughter and only heir of Filippo Maria Visconti, Duke of Milan, and wife of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan

<sup>2</sup> Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

## Appendix: Oratio Devotissima Hippolytae Francisci Sfortiae filiae Ducis Mediolani ad Sanctissimum Papam Pium<sup>1 2</sup>

{527} Tantam<sup>3</sup> esse hujus sanctissimae sedis auctoritatem, Beatissime Pater, saepius audivi, ut nemo unquam, quantivis ingenii, {528} eloquentiae, dignitatis, illam oraturus<sup>4</sup> selegerit<sup>5</sup>, quin trepidus Oratoris officio functus sit. Nil mirum<sup>6</sup> igitur, si cui aetas, sexus, imbecillitasque ingenii pudorem, pariterque verecundiam afferunt, apud te praesertim, qui gravissimorum omnium consensus doctissimus, atque sapientissimus judicaris, rubore suffusa, non modo te alloqui<sup>7</sup>, sed nec firma quidem oculorum acie, tuam audeam suspicere Sanctitatem. Vere quidem, et accepi pariter te facilitate<sup>8</sup>, summa humanitate, benignitate<sup>9</sup>, et clementia praeditum, verecunde, ac trepide injungat; et quod parentum exequi jussa sanctissimum arbitror, etsi verecunde, ac trepide injunctum mihi dicendi munus aggrediar, adventus nostri causam premunt. Dehinc devotionem, tandem desiderium, vel brevissima oratione explicatura<sup>10</sup>. Ubi enim accepimus Beatitudinem tuam in hoc amplissimum solium sublimatam, tanta repente inclitos parentes meos, universamque familiam voluptas invasit, ut nusquam posse nobis quisquam<sup>11</sup> propius ad felicitatem accedere existimaremus, tum ad ingentem familiae nostrae spem, tum vel maxime ob publicam Christianae religionis utilitatem, quippe qui ... quodam ad regendum periclitatentem, ac pene submersam Petri naviculam coelo demissum esse arbitramur. Te enim non favoribus, aut gratia, sed virtute summa, atque sanctimonia in tanto christianae rei discrimine optimum gregi dominico Pastorem datum esse non ab re judicat.

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<sup>1</sup> As edited by Mansi, II, pp. 192-193. For other editions, see Corvisieri, p. xii

<sup>2</sup> In the manuscripts, Ippolita's speech usually directly preceeds Pius response, see Introduction, sect. 4.1. According to Pastor, p. 43, it is also in the mss. Roma / Biblioteca Barberini / XXIX, 157, and München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek / Cod. Lat. 522 and 650

<sup>3</sup> Vulgavit Hieronymus Gigli in suo Diario Senens. par. 1. pag. 70 *nota marg.* Mansi

<sup>4</sup> oratenus MA

<sup>5</sup> se legerit MA

<sup>6</sup> nimirum GI

<sup>7</sup> alioqui GI

<sup>8</sup> felicitate MA

<sup>9</sup> Sensus turbatus *nota marg.* Mansi

<sup>10</sup> explicatum MA

<sup>11</sup> quidquam MA

## Translation - After King & Rabil, pp. 48-49

So great, I have often heard, is the authority and majesty of this holiest See, blessed [father], that no one, however intelligent, eloquent [or] worthy, has ever petitioned it who did not perform this task with trepidation. Certainly, then, I, who suffer shyness and timidity because of my age, sex and frailty of mind, am struck with fear, especially in the presence of such a judge as you, who are, by the consensus of all the worthiest men, most learned and wise. [Thus], blushing I am silent not merely because of that blush, but because, indeed, I have not the courage to look upon your Holiness with unwavering eyes. But since I am also aware that you are good-natured, extraordinarily humane, benevolent, and merciful, and because I know it is holy to obey one's parents' commands, I shall undertake, bashfully and fearfully, the duty of speaking imposed on me. In a brief oration, I shall first explain the cause for our presence here, and then our petition.

When we learned that your Holiness had been exalted to this splendid throne, my illustrious parents and our whole family were suddenly overcome by such deep pleasure that nothing, I thought, could ever occur more contributory to our happiness, partly because of our family's great hopes, and partly, or rather particularly, for the sake of the general well-being of the Christian religion. For indeed, we believe you are a star sent down from heaven to govern the bark of St. Peter [which is today] imperiled and nearly submerged. It augurs well, they feel, that [in these times when] Christendom is so endangered, you were chosen as the supreme pastor of the Lord's flock, not because of favor or privilege, but because of your lofty virtue and saintliness.

Sed quid<sup>1</sup> ego laudes tuas attingere audeo, ut scilicet cui res illas, ac pene divinas, et aereas, aut<sup>2</sup> luteas verbis inconditis meis, ac puellaribus reddam? Cum igitur audivimus in hanc urbem tuam proficisci Sanctitatem, instituerant quoque et ipsi parentes mei te coram venerari, colere, et adorare; et ipsa quoque, quod mihi facultas data fuerit hos beatissimos pedes osculari felicitatem mihi natam puto. Et quoniam Salvatoris nostri vicem geris in terris, multam tibi mortales reverentiam debent, multamque obedientiam exhibent; id tibi persuadeas oro, neminem pro tua ac<sup>3</sup> Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae dignitate, aut bono vehementiori studio, ardentiorique desiderio, obsequentiore<sup>4</sup> parentibus ipsis, promptioremque fore. Ego vero cum fortunarum nihil habeam proprium, voluntatem, quae libera est, tuae devoceo, et dedico Sanctitati. Reliquum est, ut illustrissimos genitores meos, germanos, me remque omnium nostrorum faciam his tuis sanctissimis<sup>5</sup> pedibus commendatos.

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<sup>1</sup> quidem GI

<sup>2</sup> ut MA

<sup>3</sup> *omit.* GI

<sup>4</sup> observantiorem MA

<sup>5</sup> sanctissimus GI



But to what end do I dare to praise you? Is it in order to use my crude and childish words to make filthy your golden and nearly divine virtues? When we heard, then, that your Holiness had decided to set out for this city, my parents decided likewise to come too, to revere, worship [and] adore you; and since, consequently, I, too, am able to kiss your blessed feet, I feel I have experienced not a small, but a tremendous happiness. For since you are on earth the vicar of our Savior, we earthly mortals owe you much reverence and show you much obedience. I pray that you believe this: no one more zealously obeys or more ardently desires your prosperity and welfare, or the prosperity and welfare of the holy Roman Church, than my parents. And I, indeed, though I have no fortune of my own, both devote and dedicate my will, which is free, to your sanctity. It remains to be said only that my illustrious parents, my brothers, myself, our whole condition, I commend to your Holiness.