



**Collected Orations of Pope Pius II. Edited and translated by
Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. Vol. 8: Orations 43-51
(1459-1459). Final version (2025)**

Michael Von Cotta-Schönberg

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

Vol. 8: Orations 43-51 (1459-1459)

Final Version (2025)

2024

Abstract

Volume 8 of the *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II* contains nine of the orations held by Pius II during the Congress in Mantua, summoned by the pope with the purpose of discussing a crusade against the Turks. Two of the orations are general addresses to the Congress (the two opening orations, the “*Magna pars vestrum*” and the remarkable “*Cum bellum hodie*”), the others are responses to various ambassadors.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aenas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; 1459-1460; 15th century; Papacy; Declarations of obedience to the pope; Congress of Mantua; Wars against the Turks; Crusades against the Turks; Siena; Albrecht III Achilles of Brandenburg; Gregor Heimburg; France; Charles VII; Ferrante I; René d’Anjou

Editor/translator

Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg

Mag. Art. (University of Copenhagen)
Bachelier en Philosophie (Université Catholique 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

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Abbreviations

Works

AC = Acta Cusana

APD = Acta pontificum danica

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

CB = *Concilium Basiliense*.

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

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

COR = *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

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

DBI = Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MPL = Migne. Patrologia Latina.

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

RTA = Deutsche Reichstagsakten.

SRD = Scriptores rerum danicarum.

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

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

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

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

Others

****** Lead manuscript.

CE = Common Era

BCE = Before Common Era

DV = digital version

Oration “*Magna pars vestrum*” of Pope Pius II (1 June 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 43)

Abstract

Shortly after his coronation, Pope Pius II summoned the European rulers to a Congress in Mantua to discuss a joint military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe, a “crusade”. The congress was to open on 1 June 1459. On that date, very few participants had arrived in Mantua, and it was not known how many more would come. The pope gave a short oration to the envoys who were present, expressing his disappointment that so few had arrived on time, and the hope that more would come.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Congress of Mantua; Crusades against the Turks; 1459; 15th century; Renaissance rhetoric; Renaissance oratory

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Early Version: "*Magna pars vestrum*"
2. Final Version: "*Speravimus fratres*"

Appendix: Reply of the imperial ambassador, Johann Hinderbach

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

Shortly after his coronation, Pope Pius II summoned the European rulers to a Congress in Mantua to discuss a joint military response to the Turkish invasion of Europe, a “crusade.”² The congress was to open on 1 June 1459.

But on that date, very few participants had arrived in Mantua and it was not known how many more would come.³

The pope gave a short oration to the envoys who were present. In his *Commentarii*, Pius wrote about the event:

On the first of June, the day the congress was set to begin, the pope came out of the palace and went to church together with the cardinals, bishops, and all the clergy, as well as monks from every order in the city, whom he had also invited to attend. In solemn array, they celebrated mass; everyone showed great devotion. Next, the bishop of Coron, a man of distinguished learning and character, delivered a speech setting out the pope’s objectives, the rationale for the congress, and the need for action. He urged those present to stand ready and willing to further the pope’s designs. Then, as all were on the point of rising, Pius gestured for silence and spoke from the throne. [Here follows the text of the oration in the version “Speravimus”.] The cardinals and bishops listened to the pope with extraordinary attention and showered his sentiments with praise. He then offered absolution to all who made confession and duly cleared their consciences. It was reckoned that this was a good start to the project.⁴

In his *De expeditione papae*, Crivelli noted that the pope spoke “with sad eyes”.⁵

Pius’ contemporary biographer, Campano, wrote:

He explained the reasons for going to war against the Turks, and [seeing] how few of those who had promised to come to the Congress were actually present, he expressed his grief both over religion and Italy in a very sorrowful and mournful oration.⁶

¹ CO, III, 1 (Meserve, II, pp. 2-7); Crivelli, pp. 100-107; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 42; Ady, p. 166; Boulting, p. 264; Mitchell, p. 153; Pastor, II, pp. 43-44; Picotti, pp. 135-137; Reinhardt, p. 251-252; Setton, II, p. 204; Stolf, pp. 350-351; Voigt, IV, pp. 45-46

² See oration “*Ut apertum vobis*” [29], Introduction

³ Picotti, p. 135

⁴ CO, II, 1 (Meserve, pp. 3, 6-7)

⁵ Crivelli, p. 101: *miserabilibus oculis*; Setton, II, p. 204

⁶ Zimolo, p. 36: *Exposita ratione belli suscipiendi in Turchas, paucis*

inventis eorum qui se conventuros erant polliciti, religionis simul et Italiae vicem deploravit oratione admodum mesta et plena desperationis

The event is not mentioned by Pius' other contemporary biographer, Platina, who otherwise took an unreasonably positive view of the whole congress.¹

2. Themes

In the Early Version, the "*Magna pars vestrum*", the pope simply stated his disappointment at the feeble attendance but expressed his hope that more would come:

As yet, only few of those invited have arrived. This is quite natural: people do not have the same interest in the common good as in their own private. All eagerly work for themselves, and few for Jesus Christ. But We must not give up hope: Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee. The work that We have undertaken is the work of God. Let us therefore most ardently beg for his help: merciful God will not fail those who invoke him. We are disappointed that those We have invited have not come. But there is still time: they may come, and We trust in our Lord, the pious God, that they actually will. We shall wait until We know the minds and intentions of the kings and peoples who worship Christ. [Sect. 1]

In the meantime, the pope would consult with the envoys present about the course and procedure to follow.

In the Final Version, the "*Speravimus fratres*", the main message is the same as in the Early Version, but it is coloured by the pope's deep disappointment with the results of the congress, and it squarely puts the blame for the failed congress on the princes, with dire warnings for the future:

We summoned a congress here. We invited the princes and the peoples to deliberate in common on the protection of Christianity. We came full of hope. We regret that Our hope was in vain. We are ashamed at the great indifference of the Christians: some are indulging in pleasures, others are kept back by greed. The Turks do not refuse to die for their damnable sect, while we cannot bear even the smallest expenses or labours for the sake of the Holy Gospel. If we continue like that, it is our end. Unless we are brave, we shall perish in a short while. [Sect. 2]

Shortly afterwards, the pope sent a letter, the *Jam duce altissimo*, to the princes who had not dispatched envoys to the congress, strongly urging them to do so, and warning them not to incur the eternal shame of deserting the Saviour and those who daily gave their lives for the Faith.²

¹ Zimolo, p. 106

² Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 43:
ne redemptori suo et sibi cum

*sempiterna ignominia et clade
eorum, qui quotidie dant*

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Magna pars vestrum*" was delivered on 1 June 1459, in the cathedral of Mantua.

The audience consisted of the cardinals, the papal court, the ducal court of Mantua, the ambassadors – with their retinues - who had arrived by that date, and secular and religious clergy from the city.

The format was a papal oration from the throne.

4. Text¹

The oration is extant in two versions:

The Early Version, the "*Magna pars vestrum*", was first copied and circulated individually, as testified by its presence in various humanist collective manuscripts, see below. One copy was presumably made available to Lodrisio Crivelli for inclusion in his *De Expeditione Pii Papae II* (which was never finished).² Later, it was included in the papal collection of addresses to ambassadors compiled in 1462.³ The Early Version is close to or identical to the oration as actually delivered.

The Final Version, the "*Speravimus fratres*," is the version included in the pope's autobiography, the *Commentarii*.⁴ It is much reworked and was presumably written two to three years after the Congress of Mantua, when the pope knew that the congress had been a fiasco, and before events in 1463, which made him believe that the crusade could actually be organised.

sanguinem suo pro fide defuisse appareant

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

² Picotti, p. 137, n. 2, considers that the text is so short compared to the Final Version that it must be a draft text. It is quite unlikely, however, that a draft version would have been put into circulation after the event, and also

that it would have been included in the official collection of Pius's responses, compiled in 1460. Also, the two versions have more or less the same length, and if anything the Final Version is a little shorter than the Early Version. Voigt, IV, p. 46, n. 1, believed that the version published by Crivelli is a - very emotional - version of Pius' own text that Crivelli himself had

composed for inclusion in his *De expeditione* - "nicht ohne Glück in Pius' Weise". However, the version published by Crivelli is very close to the text of the other manuscripts containing the Early Version and is certainly not a third, independent version

³ See COR, 1: sect. 5.1.2

⁴ See COR, 1: sect. 5.1.4

4.1. Early Version: “*Magna pars vestrum*”

4.1.1. Manuscripts¹

The Early Version is extant in at least ten manuscripts: three manuscripts are humanist collective manuscripts, which contain the oration as individually transmitted; five manuscripts contain the oration as included in a special collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors; and two manuscripts contain the oration as part of Lodrisio Crivelli’s *De expeditione Pii Papae II*.²

Transmitted individually

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 120r-121v
- **London / British Library**
Codex Harley, 4913, n. 2³
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Peter, Bibliothek**
b VIII 15, ff. 188r-189r (P) *

Transmitted as part of Collection of Pius II’s Responses

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 180r-181r (G) *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 65r-66r (J) *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 78v-80r
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 100r-101v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 178r-179r (H) *

¹ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in

COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

² See oration “*Ut apertum vobis*”, [29] Introduction

³ Pastor, II, p. 50

Transmitted as included in Crivelli's De Expeditione

- **Milano / Archivio Storico Civico e Biblioteca Trivulziana**
Trivulziana 765, ff. 60r-60v (T)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Vat. lat. 2047, ff. 60r-61r (V)¹

4.1.2. Editions

The *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos* containing the *Magna pars vestrum* has been published twice in the *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*:

- Leodrissi Cribelli libri duo *de expeditione Pii Papae Secundi in Turcas*. Milano, 1733, pp. 66-68. (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*; 23)

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.²

- Leodrisii Cribelli *De expeditione Pii Papae II adversus Turcos*. A cura di Giulio C. Zimolo. Bologna, 1950, pp. 101-102 (*Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*; 23)

This edition was based on the manuscripts Trivulziana 765 and Vaticanus Latinus as well as the earlier edition in RIS, by Muratori.

The Early Version was also published twice by Mansi, as based on the Lucca manuscript:

- Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. Vol. 5. Lucae : ex typographia Josephi Salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1751, coll. 299-300
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 / Vol. II, pp. 206-207

¹ Collated after Zimolo's edition.
In a later version, the text will be

collated directly from the
manuscript in BAV

² Crivelli, p. XXXVIII

4.2. Final Version: “*Speravimus fratres*”

4.2.1 Manuscripts

The text of the Final Version belongs to a group of orations and responses to ambassadors, which were included in *Pius Commentarii* but not in the official collection of his orations produced in 1462.¹ 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 the *Commentarii*, the oration is included in book 3, chapter 1, where it forms part of his description of the opening of the Congress in Mantua on 1 June 1459.

The two main manuscripts containing the *Commentarii* are:

- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei²**
Corsinianus 147, ff. 77r-77v **(S)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Reginensis Latinus 1995, ff. 116r-117r **(R)** *

4.2.2. Editions and translations³

As part of the *Commentarii*, the “*Speravimus fratres*” has been published a number of times:

- *Pii II Commentarii rerum memorabilium que suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. 2 vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313) / I, pp. 139-142
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984 / I, pp. 284-290 [*With an Italian translation*]
- Pius II: *Commentaries*. Ed. M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Vols. 1 ff. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff. / II, pp. 2-7. [*With an English translation*]

The text has also been published individually:

¹ See COR, 1: sect. 5.1.4

² The Lincei manuscript represents the final version of the text

as it represents *what Pius intended to be the final version of the Commentarii* (Meserve, I, p. 379)

³ For a more comprehensive list of editions and translations of the *Commentarii*, see COR, 1, ch. 11

- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*. T. XIII. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1672 / Coll. 1748-1749 [*Based on the Commentarii edition of 1614*]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodit auctior*. T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732 / Coll. 203-205 [*Based on the Commentarii edition of 1614*]
- Müller, Johann Joachim: *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation ReichsTags Theatrum wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. Allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno MCCCCXL bis MCCCCXCIII gestanden ...* Bd. 1-3. Jena, 1713 / p. 638 [*Based on the Commentarii edition of 1614*]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*. 1692-1769 / XXXII, coll. 203-205 [Facs. ed. Paris: Weller, 1902]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: ch. 9-10.

Text:

Early Version: based on the manuscripts G, H, J, P, T, V, X (see above) with H as the lead manuscript.

Final Version: based on the manuscripts S and R (see above) with S as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

In the Early Version pagination is from manuscript H.

In the Final Version is from manuscript S.

5 Sources¹

In this short oration, 5 direct and indirect quotations have been identified, all from the Bible.

Biblical: 5

Classical: 0

Patristic and medieval: 0

Contemporary: 0

All: 5

Biblical sources: 5

Old Testament: 1

- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 4

- Matthew: 3
- Luke: 1

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 0

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: ch. 8.

6. Bibliography

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Annales ecclesiastici ab anno MCXCVIII ubi Card. Baronius desinit. Auct. Odoricus Raynaldus. Tom. XVIII-XIX. Roma: Varesius, 1659-1663¹

Boulting, William: *Æneas Silvius (Enea Silvio de' Piccolomini – Pius II.) – Orator, Man of Letters, Statesman, and Pope*. London, 1908

Campano, Giantonio: *Vita Pii II. Pontificis Maximi*. SEE Zimolo

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Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctor*. T. XIII. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1672.

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¹ 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

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae*

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918
- Piccolomini, Aeneas Silvius: *Epistola ad Mahumetem II* (Epistle to Mehmed II). Ed. and transl. by A.R. Baca. New York, 1990
- *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Transl. by T.M. Izbicki *et al.*. Washington, D.C., 2006
- Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007
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Picotti, Giovanni Battista: *La dieta di Mantova e la politica de' Veneziani*. Venezia, 1912

Pius II SEE ALSO Piccolomini, Enea Silvio

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

- Pii secundi Pontificis Maximi Commentarii rerum memorabilium, quae temporibus suis contigerunt. A Ioanne Gobellino compositi, et a Francisco Bandino Piccolomineo ex vetusto originali recogniti. Avbram, 1614¹
- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A. van Heck. II vols. Città del Vaticano, 1984 (Studi e testi; 312-313)
- Enea Silvio Piccolomini / Papa Pio II: *I Commentari*. 2 vols. Ed. by Luigi Totaro. Milano, 1984
- *Commentaries*. Ed. by M. Meserve and M. Simonetta. Cambridge, MA, 2003 ff.

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

¹ The first edition of this work is from 1584

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. G.D. Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759
- *Collected Orations of Pope Pius II*. Edited and translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

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7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

P = Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Peter, Bibliothek / b VIII 15

R = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Reginensis Latinus 1995

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

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

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

X = Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek / 8 Philos 88

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Early Version: Magna pars vestrum

Ad conventum Mantuanum¹

[1] {178r} Magna pars vestrum, venerabiles fratres ac² dilecti filii, dum Romae adhuc ageremus, abunde³ causas intellexit, propter quas in hac {178v} urbe Mantuana⁴ Christianorum regum⁵ et⁶ populorum conventum indiximus, easdem nunc omnes a venerabili fratre nostro episcopo Coronensi⁷, qui publice peroravit, plenius intellexistis. Publica nos traxit necessitas, utinam utilitas sequatur, quam speravimus. Pauci adhuc venerunt ex his, qui vocati sunt. Ita natura comparatum⁸ est. Non est hominibus ea publici boni cura quae privati. Omnes⁹, quae sua sunt, diligenter quaerunt¹⁰, pauci, quae Jesu Christi. Non tamen abjicienda spes est. *Jactemus cogitatum nostrum in domino, et ipse nos enutriet.* Hoc opus Dei est, quod coepimus. Opem ejus devotissime imploremus: non deerit invocantibus se divina miseratio. Si non adsunt, quos vocavimus, dolemus quidem. At tempus adest, venire adhuc¹¹ possunt, et venient, ut in domino Deo nostro piissimo confidimus¹². Expectandum est donec¹³ sciamus¹⁴, quae tandem sit regum et populorum Christi cultorum cogitatio atque sententia.

¹ Oratio Pii II. Pontificis Maximi in conventu Mantuano habita P, X

² et P, X

³ aliunde G

⁴ Mantua X

⁵ principum P, X

⁶ ac T, V

⁷ Caronensi V

⁸ compertum G, J

⁹ homines P

¹⁰ curant *interlin.* T

¹¹ ad hunc V

¹² piissimo confidimus :

confidimus piissimo P, X

¹³ ut P

¹⁴ sacius P

To the Congress of Mantua

[1] Venerable brothers and beloved sons, when We were in Rome, many of you were fully informed about Our reasons for summoning a congress of Christian kings and peoples in this city of Mantua,¹ but now you have heard them even more fully from Our venerable brother, the Bishop of Coron,² in his public oration. A common need has brought us here: may we get the results we have hoped for. As of yet, only a few of those invited have arrived.³ This is quite natural: people do not have the same interest in the common good as in their own private. All eagerly work for themselves, and only a few for Jesus Christ. But we must not give up hope. *Cast thy care upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee.*⁴ The work that we have undertaken is the work of God. Let us therefore ardently beg for His help: merciful God will not fail those who invoke Him. We are disappointed that those We have invited have not come. But there is still time. They will come, as We trust in our Lord, Most Pious God. We shall wait until We know the minds and intentions of the kings and peoples who worship Christ.

¹ At a meeting in the Apostolic Palace, on 10 October 1459, see oration "*Ut apertum vobis*"

² Bartolomeo Lapacci Rimbartini (1402-1466): Bishop of Coron from 1449 to his death

³ Matthew, 20, 16

⁴ Psalms, 54, 23: *Jacta super Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet*

[2] Si venerint, qui rebus gerendis consilio et auxilio esse possunt, prosequemur alacri et magno animo coeptum negotium, nec ambigimus, quin¹ opitulante divina pietate Christianam religionem ab hostili vexatione magnifice defendamus. Si minus, quod magni Dei bonitas avertat, intelligent omnes potestatem nobis² bene gerendae rei, non³ voluntatem defuisse. Vos interea monitos atque oratos⁴ volumus, ne taedeat in hoc loco moram trahere, et si quae⁵ sunt incommoditates⁶ aequo animo perferre. Nam cum *sitis sal terrae, et lucerna supra candelabrum posita*, condimentum {179r} omnibus esse debetis ad bene agendum⁷, et cunctis lumen ad veritatem⁸ praeberere⁹, qui sunt in domo Dei, id est in ecclesia domini nostri^{10 11} Jesu Christi. Apostoli Dei sua corpora¹² tradiderunt et animas suas posuere, ut sanctum¹³ Christi evangelium salutaremque legem huic mundo praedicarent atque insererent¹⁴. Et nos pro suscepta majorum fide atque¹⁵ religione tutanda aut labores vitabimus aut sumptus? Imitemur eos, quorum tenemus locum, nec¹⁶ gravemur¹⁷ pecunias¹⁸, rem vilem, exponere, qui pro Christi nomine proprium sanguinem tenemur¹⁹ effundere.

[3] Nos certe huc venimus nullam privatam ob causam, nullum quaerimus proprium emolumentum. Ut ab initio diximus, salus reipublicae nos traxit. Venimus²⁰ non sine gravibus incommodis et periculis terrarum ecclesiae, neque sine offensione nostri corporis. Si qui adsunt legati principum aut²¹ civitatum ad res gerendas mandatum habentes, audiemus eos et cum eis conferemus. Nos nullam viam adhuc suscepimus, neque²² hunc aut illum procedendi²³ modum aggressi sumus. Libet omnium audire consilia, res diligenti examine²⁴ discutere, et, quod majori et saniori parti placuerit, id²⁵ prosequi. Si reperiemus principes ad rem hanc idest ad²⁶ defensionem Christianae religionis intentos, invenient et ipsi Romanum praesulem pro communi utilitate ardentissimum. Quidquid nostrarum virium erit²⁷ ad hoc salutare opus conferemus, neque sumptus fugiemus, neque labores. His nunc paucis contenti sumus. Alio tempore, cum plures aderunt²⁸, pluribus utemur²⁹.

¹ quod P, X

² omit. P, X

³ nec P, X

⁴ esse add. P; exoratos X

⁵ qua T, V

⁶ incommoda T, V;

commoditates X

⁷ gerendum T

⁸ virtutem P, T, V, X

⁹ praebendi J

¹⁰ omit. J

¹¹ domini nostri omit. P, T, V, X

¹² sua corpora : corpora sua T, V

¹³ secundum G

¹⁴ miscerent J

¹⁵ ac P, X

¹⁶ ne P, X

¹⁷ gravemur P, X

¹⁸ pecuniam P, X

¹⁹ sanguinem tenemur : tenemur

sanguinem G

²⁰ nos add. P, X

²¹ et corr. ex aut T

²² nec P, X

²³ omit. X

²⁴ examinatione P, X

²⁵ et saniori ... id : parti placuerit

et saniori P, X

²⁶ omit. T

²⁷ omit. P, X

²⁸ aderint G, J

²⁹ agemus T, V

[2] If those who can advise and assist Us in the matter at hand do come, We shall eagerly and resolutely pursue Our undertaking. And We do not doubt that, with the help of Pious God, We shall be able to splendidly defend the Christian religion, now being harassed by enemies. If – what the Good God forbid – those invited do not come, then all will understand that the reason for Our failure is not lack of will but of strength. In the meantime, We urge and request that you do not tire of waiting here, but do bear any discomfort with equanimity. For since *you are the salt of the Earth*¹ and *candles set on a candlestick*,² you must be a stimulus for all to do well and be a beacon of truth for all³ those who are in the House of God, that is, in the Church of Our Lord, Jesus Christ. God's apostles gave their bodies and souls to preach and bring the holy Gospel of Christ and the law of salvation to the World. Should We then avoid any labour and expense in defence of the Faith and religion of our fathers? No, let Us imitate those whose place We hold, and let Us, who are obliged to shed Our own blood for the sake of Christ, not hesitate to spend money, that base thing.

[3] We have certainly not come here for private reasons, nor are We seeking any personal gain. As We said in the beginning, it is the safety of the commonwealth that has brought Us here. We have come, with great difficulties and risk to the lands of the Church, as well as with physical problems of Our own. If the envoys of princes and cities who are present have come with proper mandates to negotiate, We shall hear them and consult with them. We have not [yet] chosen any course, nor have We decided on the procedure to follow. So We are free to hear all advice, to discuss the matter diligently, and to follow the course recommended by the major and saner part. If We see that the princes are ready to undertake the defence of the Christian religion, they will find that the Roman Pontiff most ardently desires [to work] for the common good. We shall do all We can for this salutary undertaking, and We shall shun neither expenses nor labour. These few words will suffice for now. Later, when more have arrived, We shall speak more fully.

¹ Matthew, 5, 13

² Matthew, 5, 15

³ Luke, 8, 16

Final Version: Speravimus fratres

[1] {77r} Speravimus, fratres ac filii, hanc urbem adeuntes frequentes, qui praecessissent, regum legatos invenire. Pauci adsunt, ut videmus. Decepti sumus: non est religionis cura apud Christianos quantam¹ credidimus. Conventionis diem longissimam statuimus. Nemo temporis brevitatem accuset, nemo viarum incommoda causetur. Nos aegritudine laborantes et affecti senio Appenninum et hiemem contempsimus, nec nos alma Roma remorari potuit, quamvis medios {77v} inter latrones constituta nostram praesentiam magnopere desideraret. Reliquimus ecclesiae patrimonium non sine periculo, ut fidei catholicae subveniremus, quam Turci pessumdare nituntur. Videbamus illorum opes in dies augeri et arma, quae jam Graeciam et Illyricum obtinuissent, in Pannonia crassari et Hungarorum fidelem gentem multis afflictae cladibus. Verebamus quod futurum est, nisi sapimus, devictis Hungaris et Germanos et Italos et omnem prorsus Europam subactum iri - quod absque religionis nostrae subversione fieri non posset.

[2] Cogitavimus hoc malum avertere. Indiximus hoc in loco conventum. Vocavimus principes ac populos, ut communi consilio rem Christianam tueremur. Venimus spe pleni, quam vanam fuisse dolemus. Pudet nos tantam esse Christianorum negligentiam: alii deliciis indulgent, alios avaritia retinet. Turci pro sua damnatissima secta non recusant mortem; nos pro sancto Christi evangelio nec subire sumptus nec labores perferre vel minimos possumus. Si sic pergimus, actum de nobis fuerit. Peribimus brevi, nisi alios adsumimus spiritus. Ob quas res vos hortamur, viri religiosi, ut orationibus assiduis Deum precemini Christianis regibus aliam mentem praebeat, sui populi animos excitet, corda fidelium incendat, ut jam tandem arma sumentes injurias ulciscantur, quibus religionem nostram in dies Turci afficiunt.

[3] Agite, fratres; agite, filii. Convertimini ad Deum toto corde, vigilate, orate, jejuniis et elemosynis peccata vestra redimite, facite opera digna poenitentiae. Sic enim placatus Deus nostri miserebitur et audentibus nobis hostes tradet in manus nostras. Nos hic tam diu manebimus donec animos principum exploremus. Quod si venturi fuerint, simul cum ipsis reipublicae consulemus. Si minus, necessarium erit domum repetere eamque sortem ferre, quam dominus dederit. Verum defendendae religionis propositum quoad vires vitaeque suppetant numquam deseremus, nec durum putabimus, si res petierit, *pro nostris ovibus animam ponere*.²

¹ quanta R

² verum defendendae ... ponere
written in Pius' own hand R

[1] Sons and brothers, We hoped many royal envoys would arrive before Us, but We see that only a few are present. We are disappointed: the Christians do not care as much about religion as We had thought. It has been long since we summoned this congress. No one can blame the shortness of time or the difficult roads. We Ourselves, though old and sick, have feared neither the Apennines nor winter, and even pleasant Rome could not keep Us back, though it sorely needs Our presence as it is surrounded by robbers. So, it is not without danger that We have left the patrimony of the Church in order to come to the aid of the Catholic Faith that the Turks are seeking to destroy. We saw their strength growing daily and their armies laying waste to Pannonia¹ and wreaking many calamities on the loyal people of Hungary, after they had conquered Greece and Illyria. We feared what would happen if We were foolish: the Hungarians, the Germans, the Italians, and indeed all of Europe would be defeated, something that would inevitably lead to the ruin of our religion.

[2] We considered how to avert this evil. We summoned a congress here. We invited the princes and the peoples to deliberate in common on the protection of Christianity. We came full of hope; We regret that Our hope was in vain. We are ashamed at the great indifference of the Christians: some are indulging in pleasures, others are kept back by greed. The Turks are willing to die for their damnable sect, while we cannot bear even the smallest expenses or labours for the sake of the Holy Gospel. If we continue like that, we are finished. If we do not show courage, we shall perish in a short while. Therefore, We exhort you, men of religion, to pray assiduously to God to change the minds of the Christian kings, to rouse his people, and to inflame the hearts of the believers, so that they finally take up arms to avenge the injuries that the Turks wreak daily upon our religion.

[3] So, act, brothers; act, sons! Return to the Lord with all your heart, make vigils, pray, and redeem your sins with fasting and alms, do works of penitence.² For thus God will be well pleased with us and show us mercy, and if we are brave and courageous, He will deliver our enemies into our hands. We shall remain here until We know the minds of the princes. If they come, We shall consult with them concerning the Commonwealth. If not, We must go home and bear the outcome as the Lord will give it. However, as long as We live and have any strength left, We shall not fail the cause of defending religion, and, if necessary, We shall not find it hard *to give our lives for our sheep*.³

¹ Hungary

² Joel, 2, 12

³ John 10, 11 and 15

Appendix: Reply of the Imperial ambassador

In reply to the pope's oration, the imperial ambassador, Johann Hinderbach, gave a short one on behalf of the emperor.

Manuscripts

- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Peter, Bibliothek**
b VIII 15, ff. 189r-189v (**P**)

Postquam haec pontifex peroravit, Johannes Hinderbach, praepositus Tridentinus ac orator imperialis, haec pauca beatissimo domino nostro papae respondit:

Non opus est in praesentiarum, beatissime pater, quam maxime caesarea majestas animata sit ad implectendi pro viribus easdemque necessarias, quibus sua majestas impeditur, quin huic sacro conventui ipsemet interesse possit. Haec enim satis tum publice tum privatim saepe tibi per me et meos collegas itemque epistolis imperatoriis explicata sunt, ita ut jam tibi abunde constet et suam majestatem promptissimam esse ad rem communem tuendam et causas urgentes intercessisse, quamobrem nostrae haec missa facio. Quod autem caesarea majestas hoc excepto, quod se huc personaliter non contulit, in ceteris quoad in se fuerit opportune providere studet beatitudo, optime novit.

Oration “*Fatemur insignes*” of Pope Pius II (24 September 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 44)

Abstract

After the Fall of Constantinople in May 1453, the major preoccupation of Venice was to protect its merchant empire by establishing friendly relations and even a formal peace with the Turkish Sultan, Mehmed II. The Venetians were therefore not very keen to participate in a military expedition against the Turks in the form of a crusade under the pope's aegis. However, when all the other Italian powers had sent their representatives to the Congress of Mantua, which was to discuss such a crusade, the Venetians sent their ambassadors too. In their address to the pope, the ambassadors acknowledged the necessity of a military response to Turkish expansion into Europe and pledged Venetian support for a crusade – on the important condition that all the other European powers would participate. In his reply, the pope rebuked Venice for the late arrival of the ambassadors but thanked them for their promise of support.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Responses to ambassadors; Venezia; Venice; 15th century; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Mantova; 1459; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

After the Fall of Constantinople in May 1453, the major preoccupation of Venice was to protect its merchant empire by establishing friendly relations and even a formal peace with the Turkish Sultan, Mehmed II. The Venetians were therefore not very keen, to say the least, to participate in a military expedition against the Turks in the form of a crusade under the pope's aegis: in the case of defeat, they had too much to lose. In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote:

*From all of Italy, only the Venetians were missing. Though they had sent several messengers and letters to the pope before he left Rome, assuring him that they would be among the first to send delegates, when the summons came, they failed to comply. Two factors deterred them: first, they had not secured the church of Padua as they wanted; and second, they worried that if they arrived in Mantua and found the other Christian princes unwilling to defend the faith, they would be left to fight the Turks on their own. What is more, the Venetians in the Curia kept sending messages home to their friends, which turned popular opinion against this noble endeavor. ... The Venetian state (being a republic and thus prone to suspicion) put the worst interpretation on everything. The merchants were especially sceptical, for it was in their interest to maintain peace with the Turks.*²

Thus, they were extremely slow in accepting the pope's invitation to a European Congress in Mantua to plan for a crusade against the Turks. Only when the French, the Duke of Burgundy, and - not the least - Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, announced their participation did the Venetian Senate finally decide to send their ambassadors³ to the Congress.

They arrived in Mantua on 23 September 1459 and received a correct but not cordial reception from the pope, understandably frustrated at Venice's tardy and unwilling response to his summons.

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

One of these ambassadors, Luigi, then delivered a brilliant speech at a public consistory, for he was not only an accomplished jurist but also an eloquent public speaker. The gist of the oration was this: Venice condemned the aggression of the Turks in invading foreign lands; the Christian states had acted in a cowardly fashion, for they had neither defended their property nor dared to take up arms for the defence of their faith. The pope was to be praised: out of concern for the common good, he had spared neither toil nor expense to come to Mantua. A crusade

¹ CO, III, 25; Pastor, pp. 53-55; Picotti, pp. 181-183; Reinhardt, pp. 259-260; Setton, II, p. 207; Voigt, IV, pp. 69-73

² CO, III, 25 (Meserve, II, pp. 99-101)

³ Luigi Foscarini and Orsatto Giustiniani

against the Turks was desirable, if it could be mounted by the united forces of Christendom. The Venetians promised to bend all their efforts to that end.^{1 2}

The poison was in the end: the Venetians would join a crusade only if it could be mounted by the united forces of Christendom. Given the political and military situation of Europe at that time, this condition would be impossible to meet, so the Venetian promises were completely gratuitous.³

Pius understood this very well, as he said in the *Commentarii*:

*Pius then said a few words about the origins of Venice and its glorious history. He praised the Venetians for offering to defend the faith, even though they had set a condition that would be most difficult to meet. He rebuked the ambassadors for being late: they who lived nearest the meeting had been the last to arrive. He reminded them of the great affection Pope Alexander had had for Venice and he assured them that he would hold them in no less regard as long as they played their due part in the defence of the faith.*⁴

The extant text of the oration has no mention of the origins of Venice, though it would be quite customary in such an oration, or the difficulty of meeting their demands or his benevolence, so either the text of the oration is an abbreviated version of the oration as actually held, or the pope's memory - when he dictated this passage in his *Commentarii* (1462-1463) - may reflect later developments.⁵

¹ CO, III, 31 (Meserve, II, p. 135)

² See also Picotti, p. 181-182: *E il 24 settembre, il giorno dopo l'entrata in Mantova, Lodovico Foscari tenne in quell'assemblea solenne un discorso pieno di viva e calda eloquenza: disse che i Veneziani detestavano l'audacia de' Turchi invasori, deploravano l'ignavia de' cristiani, che non sapevano difendere le cose proprie nè pigliar le armi per la fede, erano ammirati dello zelo del papa, che per la comune salvezza era venuto*

a Mantova senza curare spesa o fatica, consigliavano la guerra contro i Turchi, purché fosse possibile imprenderla con forze unite di tutti i cristiani nel qual caso Venezia prometteva, per mezzo di lui e del collega, di far cose grandi. Erano sincere queste, che agli oratori di Siena parvero grandi et larghe offerte per difesa et „stato de la sancta Romana Ecclesia”? Sincero era, non v'ha dubbio, il Foscari, che assai desiderava veder la repubblica sua cara pugnare

per la fede; ma anche il senato, alle cui istruzioni egli s'era tenuto, augurava sinceramente la guerra nelle sole condizioni in cui gli pareva possibile ch'essa fosse fatta allora con buone speranze

³ Pastor, pp. 53-55; Picotti, pp. 181-183, 203

⁴ CO, III, 31 (Meserve, II, pp. 136-137)

⁵ The oration is not mentioned by Pius' contemporary biographers, see Zimolo, nor by Rainaldus

2. Themes

The pope rebuked the ambassadors for their late arrival. He mentioned Venice's former great deeds and fight against the Turks, and their good relations with the earlier Sienese pope, Alexander III. And he quite forcefully put across the view that the Venetians would be the first to benefit from a war against the Turks:

*You are the first whom the Turks will attack after the Hungarians. When we help the Hungarians, do we not help you, too? If you do not help the Hungarians now, you will not get any help when you yourselves ask for it. [Sect. 2]*¹

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered on 24 September 1459, at the Congress in Mantua.²

It was delivered in a public consistory, presumably with a large attendance of ambassadors, curials and nobles, and court officials from Mantua and Milan.

The format was a papal oration from the throne, in response to a formal address by ambassadors.

¹ See the report in Picotti, p. 182: *Ma al papa che pure in altro tempo aveva riconosciuto necessario l'accordo di tutta la cristianità contro gl' infedeli e appunto per questo aveva convocato la dieta e di forze unite aveva discorso ancora pochi giorni innanzi, rispondendo agli oratori di Borgogna, pareva ormai tanto lontano quell' accordo comune da non potersi sperare di raggiungerlo e, mentr' egli rammentava le antiche geste gloriose de' Veneziani, gli protestava non minor benevolenza che avesse avuto per loro Alessandro III e ne accoglieva con lodi le of-*

ferte, non seppe tacere ch'essi avevano posto condizioni tali che assai difficilmente si potevano adempire, nè si tenne dal rimproverarli del ritardo nell' invio degli oratori

² Picotti, p. 181. But see also Picotti, p. 204, n. 2: *Il discorso Ad oratores Venetos (vedi Mansi, Pii II... Orationes, II, 182 sg.), nel quale il papa risponde appunto alle giustificazioni de' Veneziani per il loro ritardo, fu certo pronunziato in quest' occasione; ma quella che n' è pubblicata ne sembra solo una scarna traccia, che la facondia di Pio avrà ampliata*

largamente. Picotti appears to believe that Pius' oration to the Venetian ambassadors was delivered during a meeting on 30 September, and that the published version was heavily revised. The last claim is quite probable, since Pius customarily revised his orations before publication. But it appears less likely that Pius would not have given a response at the reception of the ambassadors on 24 September. The text of the "*Fatetur insignes*" does fit that occasion quite nicely

4. Text¹

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,² which is extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 178r-179r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 60v-62r **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. Lat. 1499, ff. 73v-74v
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 93r-94v
Chisianus J.VII.251, ff. 175v-176r **(H)**

The Chisianus is the eldest of the five and identical with or very close to the oration as actually delivered by Pius.⁴

4.2. Editions

The oration was published twice by Mansi:

- Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. 6 vols. Lucca: ex typographia Josephi salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1751. / T. 5: 1752, coll. 304-305 [*Reproduces the Luccensis*]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesisticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. // Vol. 2, pp. 182-183
[*Reproduces the Luccensis*]

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

² See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

³ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

⁴ But see Picotti, above

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 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. Sources¹

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

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

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

² References to the *Annales* are usually given in this form: (e.g.)

Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67 (without reference to a specific edition). 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

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Venetis¹

[1] {175v} Fatemur, insignes Venetorum oratores, nos superioribus diebus non parum admiratos esse, quod vos, qui primi esse debuissetis in hoc conventu, ultimi omnium de veniendo cogitaretis. Nam quid aliud hic quaeritur, quam eum perdere hostem, qui vestris cervicibus imminet, et qui rempublicam vestram in primis odit? Quippe si cuiuspiam interest Turcos exterminari² et Hungarorum et vestra interest. Dolebamus eo deductas res esse, ut rogari vellent, qui rogare³ deberent. Multa per vos in excusationem dicta sunt, et quidem prudenter atque ornatissime, quae tamen nos facile dissolveremus, ubi contendendum esset. Sed satisfactum est omnibus, postquam venistis et magnificas oblationes facitis. Magnificimus dicta vestra, neque ignari sumus senatum Venetum ad bellum contra Turcos plurimum posse, sive mari sive terra proelietur. Non latet nos, quotiens vestri progenitores magnas classes gessere, et magnas tulerunt ex hoste victorias. Legimus majorum vestrorum gesta, quae cum antiquis comparanda sunt. Nec ignoramus, quae praestitistis Alexandro III., auxilia quae aliis pontificibus, nec nos latent⁴ ornamenta, quae ipse vobis Alexander praebuit. Fuistis et vos ecclesiae faventes, {176r} et ipsa vobis benignissima extitit.

¹ Ad oratores Venetos G

² exterminare J

³ deductas res ... rogare *omit.* J

⁴ latet G, H

To the Venetians

[1] Distinguished ambassadors of Venice, We confess that recently We have greatly wondered why you, who ought to be the first to arrive at this congress, should have been the last of all to consider coming. For what other purpose do we have here than the destruction of an enemy who threatens your necks and who hates your state above all? Indeed, if anybody should have an interest in the destruction of the Turks, it is you and the Hungarians. It pained Us that things had come to the point where those who ought to ask wanted to be asked. You have said many things in your own excuse, both wisely and elegantly – but We could easily tear them apart in case of disagreement. But now that you have come and presented your magnificent offers, all are satisfied. We praise your words, knowing that the Venetian Senate can contribute much to the war against the Turks, whether it is fought on land or at sea. We also know how often your ancestors raised large fleets and inflicted great defeats on the enemy. We have read about the deeds of your forefathers – indeed, they may be compared to those of Antiquity. And We know how you helped Alexander III¹ and other pontiffs, as well as the marks of esteem that Alexander bestowed upon you. You have helped the Church, and in turn, the Church has shown you great favour.

¹ Alexander III [Roland of Siena]
(ca. 1100/1105-1181); Pope from

1159 to his death. Cf. Pius II:
Commentaries, pp. 119-121

[2] Scimus captam a vobis olim Constantinopolim esse. Scimus, quas in Asiam, quas in Syriam contra infideles misistis armatas, idemque vestra¹ res aucta². Voluit enim Deus vos magnos facere³, qui magna pro sua gloria fecistis. Sed advertere vos⁴ oportet, quod *quanto majores estis, tanto majora pro fide Christi facere oportet*, ut Gregorii sententia est. Si enim cum vestrum imperium multo minus esset quam hodie, Mahumetum longe invasistis. Quid nunc facere debetis? Et si hostes longe positos aggredi non timuistis, cur nunc non audetis, quando vicinus est et magis nocere potest? Nunc, nunc⁵ potissime cogitandum est. Vos primi estis, quos illi invadent post Hungaros. Non vestri causa haec agimus, ut occurratur et Hungarorum causae⁶? Si non juvatis modo Hungaros, quaeritis juvari et non juvabimini. Sed animadvertimus vos boni esse animi, laetamur et confidimus vestro auxilio et Dei adjutorio, quando alii multi concurrunt rempublicam non deserendam esse. De consiliis vestris postea⁷ simul conferemus, et putamus quod vestro et aliorum consilio adjuvante domino respublica Christiana magnifice defendetur.

¹ vestras J

² auctas J

³ magnos facere : magnifacere J

⁴ nos G, J

⁵ omit. G

⁶ causa G, H

⁷ post G

[2] We know that you once conquered Constantinople.¹ We know that you sent fleets against the infidels in Asia and Syria and how they contributed to your expansion. For God wanted to make you great since you had done great things for his glory. But you should know that *the greater you are, the greater things you must do for the Christian Faith*,² as Gregory³ says. When your realm was much smaller than it is today, you attacked Muhammad, who was far away. So, what should you do today? If formerly you did not fear attacking the enemies when they lived far away, why should you not dare to attack them now that they are close by and can do you greater damage? Now, now, more than ever, you must think [carefully]. You are the first whom the Turks will attack after the Hungarians. When we help the Hungarians, do we not help you, too? If you do not help the Hungarians now, you will not get any help when you yourselves ask for it. But We see your good intentions, and We rejoice and trust in your assistance and in the help of God when so many others agree that the Commonwealth should not be deserted. We shall later talk about your advice, and We believe that, with the help from you and others and the assistance of Our Lord, the Christian Commonwealth will be defended splendidly.

¹ During the disreputable Fourth Crusade, in 1204, Constantinople was taken by the Christian troops

under the partial leadership of the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo

² Not identified

³ Gregorius I (ca. 540-604): Pope 590 to his death in 604

Oration “*Cum bellum hodie*” of Pope Pius II (26 September 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 45)

Abstract

Soon after his election as pope in August 1458, Pius II announced that one of his highest priorities, or indeed the highest, would be the war against the Turks, for which he had been working tirelessly since the Fall of Constantinople in 1453. His first initiative in this regard was to summon the Christian princes and peoples to a congress in Mantua to discuss and organise a crusade against the Turks. Formally, the congress opened on 1 June 1459, but at that time, very few delegates had arrived in Mantua. Over the summer, however, more and more arrived, and on 26 September, the first full meeting of the congress was held. After a mass in the cathedral, the pope delivered the oration, "*Cum bellum hodie*", one of his most famous orations, which later circulated widely in Europe. In the oration, the pope spoke on the justice, the feasibility, and the benefits of a war against the Turks. The audience was enthralled by his fervour and eloquence but remained sceptical concerning the military capacity of the Europeans vis-à-vis the Turks. After the oration and a further oration by Cardinal Bessarion, the delegates formally agreed to the pope's proposal for a crusade against the Turks, but in reality, very few believed in the venture, and later developments showed that they would not actually support it.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; 1459; 15th century; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Islam vs. Christianity; Divinity of Christ; Miracles of Christ; Life of Christ

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Turkish threat against Europe had been a concern of Enea Silvio Piccolomini since his youth, and he had eagerly endeavoured to mobilise the Empire and the Papacy for a crusade against the Turks.²

When he was elected pope, he finally had the opportunity to implement his own proposals to his predecessors on the war against the Turks, and he soon summoned the Christian princes and peoples to a Congress in Mantua to discuss and set in motion a crusade.³

Arriving in Mantua at the end of May, he found that only a few powers had sent their ambassadors in time. He put a brave face on it, however, and in the oration "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43], he expressed the conviction that many more ambassadors would be arriving during the coming months.

And they actually did – after the pope had issued a number of severe letters to the European rulers, including the emperor.

Towards the end of September, all the Italian powers were represented in Mantua and most of the European powers, with France as a notable exception.

The Congress could begin.

At a solemn meeting of the delegates, in the Cathedral of Mantua on 26 September 1459, the pope gave his opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*",⁴ one of his most famous orations, and indeed writings.

Pius himself wrote about the oration in his *Commentarii*:

The congress was now in full session. Though the French had not yet arrived, the duke of Milan could not be kept waiting long, and so the pope decided that before the duke left he would address the general assembly and urge them to join a crusade. And so, after hearing mass in the cathedral, the princes and the envoys were called to order ... Then he commanded silence and spoke for three hours amid such rapt attention that not a single word went unremarked. The pope had been suffering a severe cough for several days, but Divine Mercy came to his aid

¹ CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, pp. 136-141); Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 60-64; Ady, pp. 172-173; Baldi, pp. 147 ff; Bisaha, pp. 42-44; Boulting, pp. 268-272; Housley: *Pope*, pp. 219-220, 228-

229; Mitchell, pp. 158-159; Paparelli, pp. 217-220; Pastor, pp. 56-58; Reinhardt, pp. 260-262; Setton, II, pp. 212-213; Voigt, IV, pp. 71-73; White, pp. 144-157

² COR, 1: sect. 6.1

³ See introductions to orations "*Ut apertum vobis*" [29] and "*Magna pars vestrum*" [43]

⁴ Rainaldus, ad annum 1459, nr. 60

*and he did not cough once during his speech or betray the slightest sign of hesitation. He spoke at length about the crusade against the Turks, demonstrating not only the utility, but also the justness, ease, and necessity of the project. This oration later circulated with his collected speeches.*¹

Pius' contemporary biographer, Campano, commented:

*When Francesco Sforza arrived with 400 nobles, he [the pope] decided not to wait for more embassies from other peoples but presented his proposal to go to war. His oration was the most important of all those that circulate under his name.*²

In the oration, Pius – as his other contemporary biographer, Platina, wrote –

*spoke about the reasons why [the war] was feasible and about the danger threatening the Christians. He moved all to tears when he described the miseries of those whom the barbarians carry off to slavery daily. All minds were on fire when he showed that the Turks, having occupied Greece and Illyria, would now continue into inner Europe. He left nothing unsaid that could move Christian souls. It seemed quite remarkable that, though he spoke about the same matters on several occasions, he always seemed to say something different, so elegant and rich was his [eloquence].*³

Voigt had this to say:

*Der Papst gebot Schweigen und man hörte vom apostolischen Stuhle herab eine Rede voll Kunst und voll Feuer, voll kirchlicher und heidnischer Gelehrsamkeit, voll Türkenhass und christlichem Glaubensmut, die bald in unzähligen Abschriften durch ganz Europa verbreitet wurde.*⁴

¹ CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, pp. 136-139)

² Zimolo, p. 39: *Francisco Sfortia cum quatringentis purpuratis veniente, tum demum non expectatis caeterarum gentium legationibus rogationem tulit de bello suscipiendo, habuitque orationem omnium quae circumferuntur ipsius nomine, longe gravissimam.* In a note, Zimolo calls the oration “*quel lungo, bene composto fervoroso discorso, che rimase il più famoso fra tutti quelli da lui tenuti, quantumque non riuscisse ad accendere gli animi*

degli uditori quanto l'oratore sperava”

³ Zimolo, p. 107: *... dicte sententiae qua id ratione geri posset; propositum periculum quod cervicibus Christianorum immineret. Mote sunt omnibus lacrimae, cum eorum calamitates exponerentur, qui ab barbaris in gravissimam servitudinem quotidie adducebantur. Incensi animi cum ostenderet Thurecos, occupata Grecia et Illyrico, in interiorem Europam transituros. Nil ab eo pretermisum est quod ad movendos Christianorum animos pertineret. Mirabile quidem*

illud videbatur, quod cum saepius iisdem de rebus loqueretur, diversa semper visus est dicere, tanta erat in homine elegantia et copia. In a note, Zimolo calls it “*il discorso più importante e che ebbe poi maggior diffusione, trovandosene copie in numerosi codici*”

⁴ Voigt, IV, pp. 71-73. See also Pastor, pp. 55-58; Boulting, pp. 268-271; Ady, pp. 172-173 (“*This oration ranks among the best and most famous of Pius II's oratorical efforts*”)

And Paparelli:

Fu uno dei più fioriti ed appassionati discorsi che siano usciti dalla bocca di quest'uomo che va senza dubbio annoverato tra i più persuasivi oratori del suo tempo. Il religioso fervore del pontifice, l'esperienza e l'abilità del politico, la facondia dell'umanista erano condensate nelle sue parole.¹

Picotti shared the appreciation of the pope's oratory, but neatly defined the fatal flaw of his oration: a far too optimistic assessment of the strength of the Christian powers vis-à-vis the Turkish military force:

E parlò prima egli stesso per tre ore con quella sua arte così ricca di classici ornamenti, ma così calda di vita che agli ascoltatori sembrava più divina che umana e li teneva sospesi in ammirazione quasi estatica, quali il penello del Pinturicchio li ritrasse nell'affresco stupendo di Siena. E Ludovico Foscari, amatissimo della cultura e studioso della buona eloquenza, ne rimase colpito e commosso e fu preso da un'ammirazione intensa, da un caldo entusiasmo per la persona di Pio, per la dottrina di lui, per quell'eroico sacrificio di tutto se stesso al dover suo di pontefice, sicché non rifiniva poi de farne le lodi scrivendo agli amici. Ma il discorso del papa era opera di sacerdote, di umanista, di retore, non d'uomo di stato. ... quando il papa ... si studiava ... di attenuare la potenza dei Turchi ... temo forte che un ironico sorriso d'incredulità errasse sulle labbra di quelli che rammentavano Campomerlo e Nicopoli e Varna ... e sapevano che assalire i Turchi in campo aperto o sotto la formidabile Stambul era ben altra cosa dal tenerli lontani dalle gole boschive dell'Albania: il papa mostrava di non aver chiara coscienza di quello che potessero il selvaggio fanatismo de' credenti nell'Islam e l'organizzazione militare saldissima de' guerrieri di Mehmed II. Io non so se questi pensieri s'aggirassero nella mente di Lodovico Foscari: certo poco appresso egli scriveva che il papa si lasciava guidare più dallo zelo che dalla ragione.²

In his *Reichstagsreden* from 1994, Helmrath wrote:

Der Hauptorator war Pius II. selbst; auf ihn, den wirkungsvollsten Redner seiner Zeit, erscheint der Kongress förmlich zugeschnitten. Die Rede 'Cum bellum hodie' bedeutete Krönung und Summe seiner vielen Türkenreden. Sie wird lediglich in der Stringenz des rhetorischen Aufbaus von der älteren Rede 'Clades' übertroffen. Leidenschaftlicher, existentieller hatte Pius nie gesprochen. Wie der Papst schmerzverkrümmt und bleich auf dem Sessel Platz nimmt, zunächst kaum sprechen kann, wie ihm langsam beim Reden die Lebensgeister zurückkehren

¹ Paparelli, p. 218

² Picotti, pp. 183-185

*und sich die Worte auch physisch zu einer dreistündigen fulminanten Rede steigern, gehört zu den eindrucksvollsten Beschreibungen einer Actio.*¹

And later, in 2004, he wrote:

*Thematically and structurally, the crusading oration that Pius II gave at Mantua in September 1459, Cum bellum hodie, was based upon the Clades oration and the orations that he had delivered at Wiener Neustadt. But in quality it surpassed them, establishing a new apogee, and constituting a summa of Piccolomini's orations against the Turks.*²

One historian does not share the general admiration of Pius' rhetoric in the "*Cum bellum hodie*". Norman Housley wrote:

*As we would expect, it constituted an impressive display of learning, but the Pope's phrasing often seems shop-worn and faltering; it is almost as if the long and dispiriting wait for the delegates to arrive at Mantua had drained Pius of both energy and conviction.*³

Indeed, the descriptions in the "*Cum bellum hodie*" of the cruelty of the Turks – a favourite theme of humanist orators⁴ - are somewhat less passionate and dramatic than in previous orations.⁵ Maybe, as Housley thinks, Pius' oration was marked by growing disillusionment about the whole venture. On the other hand, the oration is somewhat different from his earlier orations, though it drew most of its material from those: for one thing, Pius was now speaking from the apostolic throne, in majesty, and the style of a very passionate orator, fulminating against the atrocities of the cruel, primitive, and illiterate Turks, may not have been what he wanted for this occasion. Secondly, the oration is much more religious than the other orations, reflecting the speaker's changed circumstances,⁶ like in the opening prayers at the beginning of the oration and in the description of life in Heaven as a reward for dying while fighting in the crusade. So, though the "*Cum bellum hodie*" resembles Pius' earlier crusade orations, it is also different from them and meant to be so.

At any rate, there was, at the time, as even Picotti said,⁷ much admiration and praise for the Pope's zeal in defending Christianity, but persisting scepticism concerning his sense of the military realities involved and of the possibilities for creating a united European military response to Turkish expansion into Europe.

¹ Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 86-87. See also Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 95-96, 119

² Helmrath: *German*, p. 63

³ Housley: *Crusading*, p. 161. In a note to this passage, Housley

makes it quite clear that he disagrees with other researchers who consider Pius to have been very eloquent and the oration to have been a highpoint. See also Bisaha, p. 44

⁴ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 104 ff.

⁵ Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 96

⁶ Meserve: *Italian*, p. 30; Bisaha, pp. 42-43

⁷ See above

After the pope, Bessarion spoke for the cardinals – at great length, too, and in the end, the assembly expressed its acceptance of the pope’s proposal for a European war against the Turks.¹ Later negotiations and events would show how little this acceptance meant in reality.²

The passivity of the European princes in the face of such a great danger is quite surprising and requires some explanation. The military historian Kelly De Vries has offered this explanation:

... why were Western powers so reluctant for such a long time to engage Turkish armies? The answer to this question can be found in part in the sermons given by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, Pope Pius II, at the conference of Mantua, held in 1459. At that conference, Pius II, in again attempting to call a crusade against the Turks – he had initially tried to do so in 1456,³ with some success, as will be seen below – surmised that there were two reasons why there had not been a western response to Turkish incursions in southeastern Europe since the battle of Nicopolis: first the western European Christian powers had been too busy fighting other Christians, either in international or civil wars; and second the western European realms were too frightened by the Turks to go against them. To these, a third reason could be added for the lack of Western military response against the Turkish invasion: the Hungarians were simply too successful in their wars against the Turks. To many in the west, there was no need for a crusade against the Ottomans, for the path to their further southeastern and central European conquests led through Hungary, and Hungary for a very long time after the battle of Nicopolis was able to defend itself.⁴

2. Themes⁵

The main theme of the oration is the threefold demonstration of the justice of the war, the feasibility of the war, and the rewards of the war.

¹ And after Bessarion, the Hungarian ambassadors spoke, like some other ambassadors, or at least Jean Jouffroy, representing the Duke of Burgundy

² See Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 120, for a balanced assessment of the results obtained by Pius at the Congress of Mantua

³ Or rather 1454-1455, at three German imperial diets (Regensburg, Frankfurt, Wiener Neustadt)

⁴ De Vries, pp. 544-545

⁵ See also Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 96-97

2.1. Justice of the war

Concerning the justice of the war, Pius argues that it is legitimate to recover conquered lands and to defend oneself against military invasion and threats. European Christians might be quite unconcerned that the East had been lost to Islam, but they really ought not to neglect the clear and present danger from the Turks, who were every year penetrating deeper into Europe through the Balkans.

... we must avoid both the imminent and future dangers to ourselves. Maybe past [injuries] might somehow be tolerated if we had now reached the end of our misfortunes and were not threatened by even greater dangers. But how can we hope for peace from a people thirsting for our blood, which has now occupied Greece and is turning its sword towards Hungary, our own entrails? Our enemy is young, of flourishing age, with a strong body and a mind that is great and swollen with the row of victories that our own negligence have given him. Only a foolish and deluded man can think that this fabulously wealthy young man, experienced in war, and driven by ambition for power, will stay tranquil. Abandon that hope! For he will not lay down his arms before he has won or lost all. Every victory of his will be a step towards the next one until he has defeated all the Western kings, destroyed the Christian gospel, and imposed the law of Muhammad on the whole world. And do not think it will take long before he comes against you, for the neighbouring peoples have been so worn down by war that they will not dare to take up arms unless you come to their assistance. Only the faithful Hungarians persevere, but they cannot hold out long unless they are given help. They have, indeed, been a bulwark for you towards the East, and if that bulwark is destroyed, neither the Germans, nor the Bohemians, nor the Poles will be safe. Neither craggy mountains nor deep rivers will be a barrier. If Hungary is defeated, nothing stands in the way of the Turks in their quest for world empire. Through Carinthia and Friuli, their troops will have easy access to Italy. Moreover, in just one night, their navy can sail from Vallana, in Turkish possession, to Brindisi, and from there, the road is open for the Turks to both Upper and Lower Italy. If only We were a false and mendacious prophet in this matter ... but trust Us: here We are reading a page out to you from the Sibyl's leaves. Unless we go against them, they will come, the Turks, they will come, and take our country and people. [Sect. 17-18]

Later developments would prove that Pius' assessment of Turkish intentions was actually quite correct.

2.2. Feasibility of the war

Pius advanced three arguments to persuade his audience of the feasibility of the war and the likelihood of a Christian victory over the Turks:

- The Turks' military strength was not as great as generally believed in the West
- The military strength of Europe was greater than that of the Turks
- God – i.e., the true Christian God – would not fail to give victory to the Christians

Concerning Turkish military strength, Piccolomini would have some difficulty persuading European princes that the long series – with some exceptions – of Turkish victories did not point to a very strong Turkish war machine, which was still quite fearsome.

Piccolomini's reference to wars in Asia Minor in Antiquity was an expression of a curiously synchronous concept of history: those wars were fought 1,500 years ago, and so much had changed in the meantime that it could only be ignored at one's peril.

Concerning European military strength, it would probably have been quite overwhelming if it could have been organised as a single, cohesive, and streamlined force, but in view of past experiences and the political realities of the day, such a development was not very likely in the foreseeable future.

And concerning the omnipotent Christian God, the princes would ask where He had been at the battles of Nicopolis (1396) and Varna (1444), and they might be quite wary of trusting their fortunes to such an elusive divinity. The pope argued that their former defeats were due to their own sins and that God would help them if they just reformed themselves and became virtuous Christians. But this condition would undoubtedly be seen as even more difficult to meet than organising a joint, well-functioning military command.

2.3. Rewards of the war

As for the rewards of the war, acquiring material wealth and territories through war might be quite appealing, but it was quite dangerous, too, and in that age, men would no longer be as focused upon rewards in Heaven as people had been in former times and as the pope would want them to be.

The audience, therefore, may have loved the pope's eloquence, but they remained quite sceptical concerning the fundamental realities of the matter. Pius correctly sensed the mood of the assembly,

when – towards the end – he exclaimed¹: *You are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations* [sect. 42], proving that if he may in some respects have been naïve, he was by no means stupid.

2.4. Other themes

Other, secondary, themes worth noting are the Western conception of Islam, miracles as proofs of divinity, and the conception of an afterlife in Heaven.

2.4.1. Western conception of Islam

Pius' conception of Islam may have been both primitive and biased, but it is remarkable that he actually made an effort to understand it – even if it was in order to better fight it. Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa had been studying Islam,² and he undoubtedly shared his insights with Pius, who had also commissioned a report on the Turks from the Venetian, Niccolò Sagundino.³ Also, Juan de Segovia had sent his book *De gladio divini spiritus in corda mittendo Saracenorum* (1457) to Piccolomini in 1458,⁴ but the book does not appear to have been used as a direct source for the account of Islamic errors given in the “*Cum bellum hodie.*” Segovia's main message, viz., to convert the Muslims not through war but through dialogue, did not affect Pius' crusade plans but may have been a source of inspiration for his *Epistula ad Mahumetem*, in which he endeavoured to persuade the Turkish sultan to convert to Christianity.

In his oration, Pius gives the following summary of Islamic teachings:

Since we must fight an enemy who is completely against our God, we may now speak, briefly, on the law of the Saracens, followed by the Turks, so that you may go to war more confidently, knowing how wretched and impious they are. The law of Muhammad is totally perverse: not only does it deny the divinity of Christ, but it is filled with countless other errors. Let us pass over such delirious foolishness that angels have perishable bodies created by fire; that – as

¹ This remark was either written into the draft of the oration to be held, or improvised during it, or written into it afterwards. At any rate, it appears in the edited version

² Cusa was at the time preparing a treatise on the Koran, *Cribratio Alkorani* (1460-1461). He had been corresponding with another

theologian who studied Islam, Juan of Segovia. Apart from Cusa, Pius also consulted Cardinal Torquemada, who had written a *Tractatus contra errores perfidi Machometi et Turcorum sive Saracenorum* (1454), as well as the historian Biondi, who accompanied him to Mantua, and the works of a former teacher, An-

drea Biglia, see Meserve: *Italian*, pp. 17-24; Pius II: *Epistola ad Mahumetem* (Duprat), p. 13; White, p. 147

³ See Sagundino. See also Helm-rath: *Pius*, p. 102

⁴ Juan de Segovia: *De gladio* (Roth, I, pp. lxx-lxxi)

Origen, too, believes – even demons will someday be saved; that Heaven is made of fume; and that in the beginning the moon shone as brightly as the sun but lost its splendour when it was touched by the wing of the angel Gabriel in flight. But who can countenance that the world obeys fortune and chance and not divine providence, as also Democritus thought? That Muhammad mocks the Holy Trinity and claims that God cannot possibly have a son? And even if he agrees that Christ was born of a virgin and was a just and holy man who healed all illnesses, he denies – together with Arius – that He was God, and he does not believe that He died for us, but madly claims that He was taken away by God and will die at the end of the world and then finally be resurrected, and that the Jews crucified and killed somebody else who looked like him. Neither does he accept the dignity and glory of the Holy Spirit, whom he falsely – like Nestorius and Macedonius – claims to be a created being. He robs Faith of all worth by saying that anyone is saved, whatever sect he belongs to, if only he leads a moral life and follows his own law. And since his lies are inconsistent with each other, in another place he claims that no one can be saved outside the law handed down by himself, in which – against Saint Paul - he bids [his followers] to practice circumcision. He forbids the use of wine only; all other pleasure he allows; and he permits debauchery and adultery with captive and bought women. He grants that men may have several wives and divorce them as they please, and he does not forbid intercourse against nature. Finally, carnal and animal man gains a future blessed life consisting purely in carnal pleasures. This is indeed a wise man who dares to call himself the prophet of God, but who dishonours the Old Law while corrupting the New, who prostitutes souls, who is truly a procurator for Orcus and the first disciple of Satan, and whose followers are the slaves of Hell – such as we do not doubt the Turks to be. [Sect. 26-28]

It has been argued that to Pius, Islam represented a heretical and schismatic sect or deviation from Christianity.¹ In his summary of Islamic teachings, he refers to Islam as a sect,² and he refers to the heretics Nestorius and Macedonius in connection with Islam's denial of the Holy Spirit.

The major doctrinal errors of Islam are, according to Pius:

- Denial of the divinity of Christ
- Denial of the Trinity
- Denial of Christ's Death on the Cross and the Resurrection

The last denial makes the Muslims the "enemies of the (lifegiving) Cross", an expression used by Peter the Venerable³ and several times by Pius.

¹ Moudarres

² Moudarres, p. 42: Pius' use of the term "sect" (secta) may re-

flect Isidore of Sevilla's juxtaposition of the Latin verb "secare" with the Greek word "haerein"

(with haeresis), both meaning to "cut off"

³ Moudarres, p. 42

In this text, there is no reference to Nicholas of Cusa's ideas on finding a common ground between Christianity and Islam,¹ but such ideas may have been behind the pope's later, quite remarkable *Epistola ad Mahumetem*, in which he made an extensive, reasoned comparison of Christianity and Islam, even offering Mehmed to become emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire if he would convert to Christianity. It might have been known in Europe that Mehmed's religious attitudes were actually rather broadminded, but sensibly, the letter was never sent, and, indeed, it may have been meant for Western consumption only, a piece of papal propaganda that actually circulated quite extensively.

2.4.2. Miracles as proofs of divinity

Earlier in his life, Piccolomini had personally been quite blasé and sceptical about miracles, but later he seemed to have considered weather phenomena (at least those that were favourable to papal ceremonies) and outcomes of war as expressions of divine intervention in the affairs of men.²

In the "*Cum bellum hodie*", however, there is no doubt in his mind that the fundamental proof of Christ's divinity was his miracles, demonstrating, as they did, his mastery over nature. Said Pius:

When He was asked by the disciples of John: Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another? did He not answer them by pointing to his miracles? The surest proof of divinity is miracles. If many philosophers think that God is nature itself, then why should we not rather believe that He is God, whom miracles show to have mastery over nature? [Sect. 29]

It must be noted, however, that the argument of miracles is only one part of a comprehensive and cogent statement of the truth – and superiority – of the Christian religion, which would not have failed to impress Pius' listeners and his broader European audience, even if it did not persuade them to go to war against the Turks.

2.4.3. Life in Heaven

And if people wondered about what life they would have in Heaven – evidently they would not be allowed the sensual pleasures of the Mohammedans – Pius gave a description of it, which would reflect what theologians thought of the matter:

Let us exchange the transitory with the eternal, and let us undertake this Turkish war, which can make us immortal and reach the heavenly City of Jerusalem, created by the supreme artisan

¹ Moudarres, p. 46

² COR, 1: 6, 3, 7, 4

with wondrous beauty and art beyond words. There we shall see God face to face and enjoy his goodness. There we shall look at the holy angels and all the orders of the blessed spirits as fellow citizens and companions. There nothing happening anywhere shall be hidden from us. For when our soul is liberated from its mortal frame, it will acquire knowledge of all things, not as imagined by Plato, but as taught by Aristotle and our own doctors. There we shall be afraid of nothing, and we shall fear neither planets nor the comets that so terrorise kings. As the prophet says, we shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence, and in wealthy rest.¹ We shall find sabbath without evening, rest without end. Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's,² and no old age nor any length of time shall weaken it. We shall be filled with the glory of Our Saviour, which we shall contemplate forever, love eternally, and praise tirelessly. [Sect. 40]

In this conception of the blessed life in Heaven there is not much focus on the Beatific Vision and the mystical experience of God, but Pius was a not man given to mysticism.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration “*Cum bellum hodie*” was given on 26 September 1459 in the Cathedral of Mantua, in the presence of the Duke of Milan, ambassadors from Italian and other European powers, cardinals, and the papal court.

The format was a solemn papal oration from the throne.

4. Text^{3 4}

There are two versions of the *Cum bellum hodie*: an Early Version and a Final Version.

¹ Isaiah 32, 18: *et sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis et in tabernaculis fiducia et in requie opulenta*

² Psalms, 102, 5

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

⁴ Helmuth: *German*, p. 203. For a comprehensive list of manu-

scripts containing the oration *Cum bellum hodie* and editions of it with bibliography, see Helmuth: *Reichstagsreden*, pp. 338-342

4.1. Early Version

4.1.1. Manuscripts¹

The Early Version of the “*Cum bellum hodie*” is one of the most widely copied texts of Piccolomini/Pius, being extant in more than 120 manuscript copies², making it a “Europaweite Bestseller”.³ Below follows a list of those manuscripts identified by the present editor in catalogue and literature searches until now⁴. The manuscripts and editions used in the present edition are marked with the siglum.

- **Berlin / Staatsbibliothek**
Lat. 402, ff. 50v-55r
Slg. Hamilton 642, ff. 12r-39v
- **Bern / Burgerbibliothek**
244, ff. 151v-156r
531, ff. 125r-144v
- **Bologna / Biblioteca Universitaria**
1525, ff. 189r-203v
- **Brescia / Biblioteca Civica Queriana**
C VII 1, no fol.
- **Brno / Moravská Zemská Knihovna**
Mk. 96, ff. 34r-46v
- **Bruxelles / Bibliothèque Royale**
Ms. 15564-67, ff. 1r-17v (R) *
- **Budapest / Országos Szechenyi Könyvtár**
Clmae 228, ff. 136v-140r
Clmae 372, ff. 2r-15v
Clmae 515, ff. 108r-131v

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

² Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 95

³ Helmrath: *Reichstagsreden*, p. 133; see also Helmrath: *Pius*, pp. 95

⁴ March 2019

- **Cuijk en S. Agata / Kruisherrenklooster**
C 19, ff. 109r-119v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Medicea-Laurentiana**
Plut. 89.16, ff. 141r-150v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale**
Magl. XXXII 39, ff. 19r-28v
- **Firenze / Biblioteca Riccardiana**
422, ff. 78v-100r
- **Genova / Biblioteca Civica Berio**
10.6.65, ff. 178r-186v
- **Genova / Biblioteca Durazzo**
299, ff. 246r-254v
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 58, ff. 24r-38r
- **Göttweig / Stiftsbibliothek**
360, ff. 134v-141v
- **Halle / Universitätsbibliothek**
Stolb-Wern. Za 74, ff. 1r-6v
Ye 2 18, 239v-344r
- **Holkham Hall / Library of the Earl of Leicester**
484, ff. 1r ff.
- **Leiden / Universiteitsbibliotheek**
BPL 211, ff. 90r-98v
- **London / British Library**
Add MS 15336, ff. 70v-78v **(M)** *
Phillipps mss., 276-8504, no fol.
4913, ff. 82r-91v
- **Lucca / Biblioteca capitolare Feliniana**
Ms. 541, ff. 158r – 167v **(N)** *

- **Madrid / Biblioteca Nacional**
4026, ff. 12r-18v
- **Mainz / Stadtbibliothek**
II 437 fasc. 5, ff. 1r-10v
- **Melk / Stiftsbibliothek**
780, ff. 132f-144v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
D 5 sup, ff. 56r-66v
L 69 sup, ff. 2r-16v
T 12 sup, ff. 2r-16v
Sussidio B 226, ff. 2r-16v
- **Milano / Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense**
AD IX 14, ff. 56r-75v
AE XII 10, ff. 88r-98v
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 519, ff. 101r-114r
- **München / Universitätsbibliothek**
667, ff. 112r-124v
- **Notre Dame / Notre Dame University Library**
30, ff. 185-193v
- **Novara / Biblioteca Capitolare**
124 mb 15, nr. 2, no fol.
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 253v-260r
Cent. V, App. 448, no fol.
- **Oxford / Bodleian Library**
Bibl. Canonice Cl. 51, no fol.
- **Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale**
Ms.lat. 4154, no fol.

Ms.lat. 4314, ff. 113f-134r **(P)** *

Ms.lat. 18130, ff. 102r-132v

- **Pavia / Biblioteca Universitaria**
164, ff. 150r-158r
- **Pommersfelden / Schönborn Schlossbibliothek**
102 VII, 38, ff. 105r-127v
- **Roma / Accademia dei Lincei**
691 (35 B 20), ff. 815-823
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 146v ff.
Borghese I, 121-122, ff. 4v-18r
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 171r-194v
Barb. lat. 1808, ff. 1r ff.
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 85r-94v (H)
Ott. lat. 905, ff. 20r-27r
Ott. lat. 1170, ff. 291r-206r
Ott. lat. 1705, ff. 134r-146r
Reg. lat. 557, ff. 98r-112v
Vat. lat. 3527, ff. 85r-91r
Vat. lat. 4037, ff. 77r-85v
Vat. lat. 5667, ff. 1r-19r **(L)** *
Vat. lat. 7239, ff. 51r-67v
Vat. lat. 12255, ff. 4v-20v
Vat. lat. 12256, ff. 8r-26v
Vat. lat. 13451, ff. 1r-16r
- **Roma / Biblioteca Casanatense**
1549, ff. 1r-16r
4310, ff. 108v-124r
- **Roma / Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele**
Vitt. Em. 492, ff. 153r-168r **(T)** *

- **Roma / Biblioteca Valicelliana**
G 47, ff. 92r-99r
- **Salamanca / Biblioteca Universitaria**
2619, ff. 105v-113v
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 120r-132v
- **Siena / Biblioteca degli Intronati**
H IX 14, ff. 1r-27v
- **Strängnäs / Domkyrkbiblioteket**
Ms. 7, ff. 174r-179r **(S)** *
- **Torino / Biblioteca Reale**
Fondo Varia 134, ff. 183v-196r
Fondo Varia 163, ff. 71v-84v
- **Trieste / Biblioteca Civica A. Hortis**
II 05, ff. 25r-34v
II 10, ff. 21r-47v
- **Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana**
Lat. XI, 80, ff. 251v-260v **(X)** *¹
Lat. XIV, 219, ff. 15r-26v **(U)** [*incomplete*] *
Lat. XIV, 246, ff. 238r-253r **(V)**
- **Wien / Österreichische Nationalbibliothek**
3449, ff. 78r-87r
Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364) /ff. 101r-106v **(W)** *
- **Wroclaw / Bibl. Uniw. (Rehdigeriana)**
376, ff. 100r-112v
I F 157 Cat (1982), ff. 43r-56v

¹ Regrettably, ff. 257v-258r turned out to be missing from a digital copy made available to me

and have therefore not been collated / MCS

4.1.2. Editions¹

According to Helmrath,² the *Cum bellum hodie* has appeared at least 16 times in print, see the editions listed below, *exempli gratia*:

- [Pius II: *Epistulae familiares*.] Cur. Nikolaus Wyle. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486, nr. CCCCXI. [Web ed., pp. 414-422] **[KO]** [cf. also other early editions of Pius' letters]
- Æneæ Sylvii Piccolominei Senensis, qui ... Pius Secundus appellatus est, *Opera quæ extant omnia*, nunc demum castigata et in unum Corpus redacta His quoque, accessit Gnomologia ex omnibus Sylvii Operibus collecta. Baesileae: 1551, pp. 905-914 = Epistola 397. **[OO]** [Web ed.] [Reproduces a version printed in one of the early collections of Pius letters, possibly the Wyle ed.]
- *Idem*, 1571
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta* : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctor. 16 vols. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1661-1672. / T. 13: 1672, Coll. 1751-1761 [after an early letter collection nr. 398, NB not the Wyle ed. where it has nr. 411]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodiit auctor*. T. XIX. Venetiis: Albrizzi & Colet, 1732, coll. 207-221 [after an early letter collection nr. 398, NB not the Wyle ed. where it has nr. 411]
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, in qua præter ea quæ P. Labbeus et G. Cossartius et novissime N. Coleti in lucem edidere, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quæ J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notæ, et dissertationes quamplurimæ, T. 1-31. Florentiæ, Venetiis: 1759-1798 / T. 32: 1798. Facs. Ed., Paris, 1902, Coll. 207-221
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // I, pp. 9-30 [Mansi reproduces the version printed in Labbé]

¹ For a more comprehensive list, see COR, 11

² Helmrath: *Pius*, p. 95

- Supplementum Hungaria Diplomatica Temporibus Mathiae de Hunyad, Regis Hungariae, Partis II. Vindobonae: Trattner, 1771. Opera Stephani Kaprinai. Doc. 6, ann. 1459, pp. 540-559 [web ed.]
- Müller, Johann Joachim: *Des Heil. Römischen Reichs Teutscher Nation ReichsTags Theatrum wie selbiges unter Keyser Friedrichs V. Allerhöchsten Regierung von Anno MCCCCXL bis MCCCCXCIII gestanden ...* Vols. 1-2. Jena, 1713 / Theil I, pp. 647-655 [based on the Opera Omnia edition]

4.2. Final Version

The Final Version of the “*Cum bellum hodie*” is included in the Collected Orations of Pius’ II, prepared under his own supervision in 1462.¹ It is not contained in the latest of the seven manuscripts containing this collection, the Lucca/Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana/544, presumably because by the time this manuscript was made, i.e., in 1493, the oration had already appeared in print as part of several early editions of Piccolomini’s letters.

An examination of the variants common to all or most manuscripts representing the Early Version shows that the changes from the Early Version to the Final Version were generally of style only, not of substance.

4.2.1. Manuscripts

- **Mantua / Biblioteca comunale**
100, 223r-238v (F) *
- **Milano / Biblioteca Ambrosiana**
I. 97 inf., ff. 131v-142v (E) *
- **Rome / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV)**
Chis. J.VI.211, ff. 149-159r (D) *
Chis. J.VIII.284, ff. 111r-119v (A) *
Chis. J. VIII.286, ff. 236v-251r (C) *
Vat. lat. 1788, ff. 158v-170v (B) *

¹ see COR, 1, 5, 1, 3

4.2.2. Editions

The Final Version has not been edited previously.

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 9-10.

Text:

The text of the Early Version is based on the twelve manuscripts marked with a siglum above and on the Koberger edition. The Opera Omnia edition has also been collated but only with a view to ascertaining its dependence on the Koberger edition on which it is based. No manuscript has been chosen as the lead text.

The text of the Final Version is based on all six manuscripts containing that version, with Chis. J.VIII 284 as the lead manuscript.

Pagination:

Pagination is from Chis. J.VIII 284.

Textual apparatus:

Variants common to all or most manuscripts representing the Early Version are given in bold.

4.4. Textual transmission

On the basis of the presently collated manuscripts, the following tentative filiation of the textual transmission of the Early Version is proposed¹:

- A* = all 12 manuscripts: H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X
 - B* = L, R, T
 - G* = H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X
 - D* = H, V, X
 - E* = M, N, P, S, U, W

5. Sources²

In this oration, 75 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, the large majority, 53, from the Bible.

Biblical: 53

Classical: 13

Patristic and medieval: 6

Contemporary: 3

All: 75

Biblical sources: 53

Old Testament: 33

- Daniel: 1
- Isaiah: 8
- Jeremiah: 1

¹ A capital letter followed by an asterisk indicates the corresponding Greek letter as symbol of a

hypothesized manuscript in chain of transmission, e.g. A* = the Greek letter Aleph

² On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

- Joel: 1
- Joshua: 1
- Judges: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 4. Kings: 1
- Lamentations: 1
- Psalms: 17

New Testament: 20

- Matthew: 4
- Luke: 2
- John: 8
- Apocalypse: 1
- 1. Corinthians: 1
- 1. Peter: 1
- Philipians: 1
- Romans: 2

Classical sources: 13

- Cicero: 2¹
- Claudianus: 1²
- Juvenalis: 3
- Martialis: 1
- Suetonius: 1³
- Valerius Maximus: 2
- Vergilius: 3⁴

Patristic and medieval sources: 6

- Augustinus: 1⁵
- Bede: 1⁶
- Otto von Freising: 4⁷

¹ De amicitia: 1; De re publica: 1

² De tertio consulatu Honorii

³ De vitis / Caesar

⁴ Aeneis

⁵ De civitate Dei

⁶ Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum

⁷ Chronica

Contemporary sources: 3

- Flavio Biondo: 2¹
- Leonardo of Chios: 1

6. Bibliography

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¹ *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*

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

edition). 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

³ <http://visualiseur.bnf.fr/Visualiser?Destination=Gallica&O=NUMM-60241>

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7. Sigla

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B = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. lat. 1788

C = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VIII.286

D = Rom, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chis. J.VI.211

E = Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana / 97 inf.

F = Mantua, Biblioteca Comunale / 100 (A-IV-6)

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

L = Roma, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Vat. Lat. 5667

M = London / British Library / Add MS 15336

N = Lucca / 541

P = Paris / Bibliothèque Nationale / Ms.lat. 4314

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

S = Strängnäs / Domkyrkobiblioteket / Ms. 7

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

U = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV, 219

V = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XIV, 246

W = Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek / Ser. Nova, 12709 (=Fidei 9364)

X = Venezia / Biblioteca Marciana / Lat. XI, 80

KO = Epistulae familiares. Cur. Nikolaus Wyle. Nürnberg: Koberger, 1486, nr. CCCCXI

OO = Opera omnia, 1551

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratio Pii Secundi, Pontificis Maximi, habita in Conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turcos^{1 2 3}

[1] {111r} Cum bellum hodie⁴ adversus impiam⁵ Turcorum gentem pro Dei honore ac⁶ salute reipublicae Christianae suasuri⁷ sumus⁸, bene⁹ est, venerabiles in Christo fratres ac filii dilectissimi, priusquam vos verbis aggrediamur¹⁰, divinitatem ipsam, cujus in primis auxilium expetendum est, paucis in hunc modum affari:

¹ Oratio ... Turcos : Pii Secundi Pontificis Maximi oratio habita in conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turcos **D**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turchos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano habita VI. Kal. Octobris **H**; Pii II. Pont. Max. pro decernendo in Turcos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano VI. Kal. Octobris feliciter habita, felicissime perorata **L, T**; Oratio sanctissimi domini Pii Papae II Mantuae habita in public universalique consistorio pro apparatu contra Turchos ordinando, Anno domini Christi Jesu MCCCCLVIX [sic!] V. Idus VNBR. Ponti. Vo. sui anno II et tota denique plaudent contione luculentissime acta **M**; Oratio Pii Papae II. habita in

conventu Mantuano sexto Kalendas Octobris. Anno Domini MCCCCLIX **N, P, KO, OO**; Oratio Pii II Pontificis Maximi habita in conventu Mantuano ad suadendum bellum contra Turchos **R**; Oratio Pii Papae secundi habita in concilio Mantuano VI. kalendas Octobris anno MCCCCLIX **U**; Oratio sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae II. habita in conventu seu congregatione Mantuana VI kalendas Octobris anno domini MCCCCLo Nono pro exhortacione ad principes facienda contra Turcos **S**; Pii II. Pont. Max. pro decernendo in Turcos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano VI. Kal. Octobris feliciter habita **V**; Incipit oratio domini Pii pape habita secundi in consilio sive

congregatione Mantuano sexto kalendas octobris anno domini MoCCCCoLIXo multum laudata et approbata in consistorio publico curie romane feliciter **W**; Pii II. Ponti. Max. pro decernendo in Turchos bello oratio in conventu Mantuano feliciter inita felicissimeque perorata habita VI. Kal. Octobris Manute Mo CCCC Lo Nono incipit **X**

² feliciter incipit *add.* **E**

³ Of the mss. containing the Early Version, R has this title

⁴ contra Turchos vel *add.* **W**

⁵ *omit.* **N**

⁶ et **M**

⁷ sumpturi **H**

⁸ **simus** C, D // **H, M, N, P, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁹ dignum *add.* **W**

¹⁰ aggredimur **S**

Oration of Pius II, Supreme Pontiff, held at the Congress of Mantua, arguing for a war against the Turks

0. Introduction

[1] Venerable brothers in Christ and beloved sons, today We shall propose a war against the impious people of the Turks, for the honour of God and the salvation of the Christian Commonwealth. And since We seek God's help above all, We should address him briefly before speaking to you.

[2] *Protector noster aspice¹, Deus, et respice² in faciem³ populi tui⁴. Respice⁵ super hanc familiam tuam, pro qua dominus noster Jesus Christus non dubitavit manibus tradi nocentum⁶ et crucis subire tormentum. Miserere plebis tuae, et ne des haereditatem tuam in perditionem, quam propemodum⁷ instare videmus⁸. Surrexerunt enim⁹ homines¹⁰ iniqui et impii^{11 12 13}, qui te non noverunt; venerunt gentes in haereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum¹⁴ tuum, posuerunt Jerusalem in¹⁵ pomorum custodiam. Vineam tuam exterminavit aper de silva, et singularis ferus depastus est eam. Nos quamvis in hoc loco¹⁶ tuo, ut arbitramur, consilio¹⁷ ad tuendam religionem tuam convenimus, nihil¹⁸ tamen possumus¹⁹, nisi ades²⁰ et praesidium affers²¹: nihil sine te valet²² humana fragilitas. Tua est potestas, tuum²³ imperium, tua²⁴ omnis virtus. Tu fundasti caelum et terram, mare, et omnia, quae in eis sunt. Idem est tibi velle, quod posse; nihil est {111v} quod tuae valeat²⁵ resistere voluntati. Adjuva nos in te uno sperantes, et te solum Deum pura mente colentes. Fac nobiscum signum in bonum²⁶, et mitte nobis auxilium de loco sancto²⁷ tuo. Da nobis cor, ut faciamus voluntatem tuam, et in praeceptis tuis ambulemus. Scimus, quia non dees²⁸ tu²⁹, domine Deus³⁰, opem tuam suppliciter³¹ implorantibus³²: sed nos ipsi desumus³³ nobis. Frigent pectora nostra³⁴,ingere calorem³⁵,ingere³⁶ flammam, ure corda³⁷ et renes nostros, ut tuo³⁸ tandem³⁹ igne succensi⁴⁰, quae tibi sunt placita^{41 42} meditemur et faciamus⁴³, ac foedam et⁴⁴ peccatricem⁴⁵ Turcorum gentem, si tua voluntas est, de Christianorum finibus ejiciamus⁴⁶.*

¹ omit. P

² et respice : aspice P

³ familiam H, V

⁴ et add. M

⁵ respice in ... populi tui omit. F

⁶ nocentium W

⁷ propemodo KO, OO

⁸ etenim add. W

⁹ omit. U, W

¹⁰ omit. KO, OO

¹¹ instare ... et impii omit. F

¹² imperii OO

¹³ iniqui et impii : impii et iniqui W

¹⁴ templum sanctum : sanctum

templum V

¹⁵ omit. M, S, KO, OO

¹⁶ in hoc loco : hoc in loco M, S,

KO, OO

¹⁷ omit. KO, OO

¹⁸ nil L, T

¹⁹ possumus S

²⁰ assis W; addes L, T; ades

corr. ex. addes R

²¹ nihil tamen ... affers omit. B, E

²² valeat H

²³ est add. E // W

²⁴ est add. W

²⁵ tuae valeat : valeat tuae W

²⁶ bono W

²⁷ loco sancto : sancto loco N

²⁸ desis W

²⁹ non dees tu : tu non dees H, N

³⁰ omit. W

³¹ simpliciter OO

³² implorantes H

³³ deficimus et diffidimus W

³⁴ omit. N

³⁵ colorem F

³⁶ incende W

³⁷ nostra add. N

³⁸ tua S; tu OO

³⁹ tantum S, W, KO, OO

⁴⁰ ~~ut~~ add. A; ut add. C // L, R, T

⁴¹ placida L, T

⁴² sunt placita : nunc placita sunt P

⁴³ et faciamus omit. KO, OO

⁴⁴ omit. L, R, T

⁴⁵ peccatricemque R

⁴⁶ eiciam W

[2] *Behold, O God our protector: and look on the face of thy¹ people. Look down, we beseech thee, O Lord, on this thy family, for which our Lord Jesus Christ did not hesitate to be delivered up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer the torment of the Cross.² Have mercy on Your people, and give not thy inheritance to³ the ruin that we see is imminent. For evil and wicked men, who do not know You, have risen up [against us];⁴ the heathens are come into thy inheritance, they have defiled thy holy temple: they have made Jerusalem as a place to keep fruit.⁵ The boar out of the wood hath laid the vineyard waste: and a singular wild beast hath devoured it.⁶ We have come together here to take counsel, as best we can, on protecting Your religion, but we can do nothing unless You are present and give us Your protection. Human frailty can achieve nothing without You. For Yours is the power, the kingdom, and all strength. You created Heaven and Earth and the sea and all that are in them.⁷ What You will, You can, and nothing may resist Your will. Help us whose hope is in You alone and who, with a pure heart, worship You as the only God. Shew us as a token for good,⁸ send us help from Your sanctuary,⁹ and give us the spirit¹⁰ to do Your will and to walk in Your precepts. For we know, oh Lord and God, that you do not desert those who humbly beg your aid: it is us who desert ourselves. Our hearts grow cold: give them warmth and flames, burn our hearts and reins so that, finally enflamed with Your fire, we may consider and do what is pleasing to You and cast the terrible and sinful people of the Turks from the lands of the Christians – if it be Your will.*

¹ From the Introit of the 14th Sunday after Pentecost, cf. Psalms, 83, 10

² From the oration at the office of Laudes, Maundy Thursday

³ Joel 2, 17

⁴ Psalms, 85, 14

⁵ Psalms, 78, 1: *venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam polluerunt templum sanctum tuum posuerunt Hierusalem in pomorum custodiam*

⁶ Psalms, 79, 9, 14

⁷ Psalms, 145, 6: *Qui fecit caelum et terram, mare, et omnia quae in eis sunt*

⁸ Psalms, 85, 17

⁹ Psalms, 19, 3

¹⁰ "cor"

[3] Vos autem, magnanimi et¹ generosi proceres², qui adestis, ne claudatis³, aures precamur⁴, ne⁵ divertite mentem: aperite Deo interiora vestra, qui mox volentibus vobis⁶ in animas vestras⁷ illabetur, et vos⁸ sibi templum atque⁹ habitaculum faciet¹⁰. Audite nos sua vice¹¹ loquentes: verba nostra verba Dei¹² sunt, qui filii sui¹³ Jesu Christi¹⁴ quamvis indigni vices¹⁵ in terris gerimus.¹⁶ ¹⁷ Ipse nos fari jubet. Ipse in ore nostro verba posuit¹⁸. Ipse nos bellum suadere in Turcos¹⁹ imperat.

[4] Non vos²⁰ hodie, cardinales, aut episcopos, aut minoris²¹ ordinis sacerdotes, sermone nostro compellabimus²², quos constat armis ineptos esse, et piaculum ac²³ sacrilegium²⁴ fuerit²⁵, nisi²⁶ per se ipsos in causa²⁷ fidei, quae sunt ab eis expetenda²⁸, hoc est²⁹ aurum et orationes, sua³⁰ sponte³¹ obtulerint.

[5] Vos illustres duces, vos marchiones, vos comites, vos regum et³² principum oratores³³, vos fortes³⁴ et exercitatos in bellis viros³⁵, verba nostra³⁶ commonefacient³⁷, vos tangent³⁸, vos requirent³⁹, quibus datum est arma tenere⁴⁰, non ut⁴¹ inter vos dimicetis, sed ut ecclesiam, ut⁴² religionem, ut⁴³ fidem⁴⁴ Christianam a barbarorum et infidelium incursibus defendatis. *Potestas enim*, ut inquit⁴⁵ Paulus, *gladium portat ad⁴⁶ vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*. Videtis in quo statu, in quo discrimine⁴⁷ sumus⁴⁸, et quantum a Turcis urgemur, premimur, infestamur, non ignoratis. Nisi arma sumentes eorum impetum retunditis⁴⁹, et forti animo bellum geritis⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵², haud dubium⁵³, quin ⁵⁴lex⁵⁵ evangelica et omnis nostra religio pessumdetur. Audite igitur, viri fortes, atque attentas aures adhibete⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ bellum suasuro⁵⁸, quod nobis⁵⁹ hodie munus⁶⁰ incumbit.

¹ ac W
² principes X
³ claudite H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO,
⁴ aures precamur : precamur aures H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO
⁵ non X
⁶ nobis U
⁷ nostras U
⁸ nos U
⁹ et M
¹⁰ faciat H
¹¹ voce W
¹² mei T
¹³ domini nostri add. P
¹⁴ omit. W
¹⁵ vicem H, V
¹⁶ geramus X
¹⁷ Papa tenet Ipsum Dei in terris in marg. H
¹⁸ ponit H
¹⁹ nos add. T
²⁰ nos H, N, P, V, W

²¹ officii add. X
²² compellemus S, W
²³ et H, N, P
²⁴ sacrilegere F; sacrificium L, M, N, P, S, T, U, W, X, KO, OO
²⁵ faciunt W; fiunt X
²⁶ omit. W
²⁷ causas U
²⁸ expectanda P
²⁹ omit. N
³⁰ suas H; omit. W
³¹ omit. W
³² ac S, W, KO, OO
³³ Domini minores, regum legati, principum in marg. H
³⁴ principum oratores ... fortes omit. X
³⁵ in bellis viros : viros in bellis P
³⁶ verba nostra : nostra verba H
³⁷ commonifaciant M, S, W, KO; commonefaciant U
³⁸ stringent P; tangant W, X
³⁹ requirant W, X
⁴⁰ sumere KO, OO

⁴¹ omit. OO
⁴² et W
⁴³ ac W
⁴⁴ catholicam et add. W
⁴⁵ in quid U
⁴⁶ et KO
⁴⁷ scrimine U
⁴⁸ scimus S
⁴⁹ retundatis W
⁵⁰ geratis P
⁵¹ et forti ... geritis omit. KO, OO
⁵² bellum geritis : gladium feratis, bellum geratis W
⁵³ dubito X
⁵⁴ an U
⁵⁵ haec D
⁵⁶ adhibite A, C, F // U
⁵⁷ aures adhibete : adhibete aures X
⁵⁸ suasuris P
⁵⁹ omit. X
⁶⁰ nobis ... munus : hodie nobis munus H V; hodie nobis nimis KO, OO

[3] And you, brave and well-born nobles, who are present here [today], do not close your ears, We pray, and do not be distracted: open your hearts¹ to God, and He will soon, if you wish it, penetrate your souls and make you into a temple and dwelling for Himself. Hear Us as we speak on His behalf: Our words are the words of God since We – however unworthy - are the Vicar on Earth of His son, Jesus Christ. It is He who bids us speak. It is He who puts the words into Our mouth. It is He who commands us to urge you to go to war against the Turks.

[4] Today, We shall not be admonishing you, cardinals, bishops, and priests of the lower order, who must be useless with arms, for it will indeed be a sin and a sacrilege if you do not, on your own initiative, offer what is expected from you in the cause of the Faith: money and prayers.

[5] But you, illustrious dukes, margraves, counts, orators of kings and princes, you strong men who are trained in wars, you We shall admonish, address, and entreat, for you have been given the charge to wield weapons, not in order to fight each other, but to protect the Church, our religion, and the Christian Faith from the attacks of the barbarians and the infidels. *For, as Paul says, power beareth the sword to execute wrath upon him that doth evil and to reward him that doth good.*² You know our situation and our peril and how much we are being harassed, molested, and attacked by the Turks. Unless you take up arms, resist their power, and fight valiantly, the Law of the Gospel and our whole religion will surely perish. So, listen, brave men, and lend Us your attentive ears since it has fallen to Us, today, to urge you to go to war.

¹ "interiora"

² Romans, 13, 4: *non enim sine causa gladium portat Dei enim*

minister est vindex in iram ei qui malum agit

[6] Tria¹, ut nostra fert opinio, principaliter explicanda et suadenda sunt. Primum est, ut causas justas² atque³ urgentes⁴ ostendat, propter quas pugnare oportet⁵. Secundum, ut facultates⁶ adesse doceat⁷ belligerendi⁸ et certam⁹ quodammodo¹⁰ victoriae spem^{11 12} faciat. Tertium ac^{13 14} postremum, ut magna assecuturos¹⁵ {112r} praemia victores patefaciat. In his¹⁶ hodie nobis¹⁷ elaborandum est, atque in his¹⁸ tota¹⁹ nostra²⁰ consumetur²¹ oratio.

[7] De causis belligerendi^{22 23} dicere oportet, quae duae sunt²⁴ praecipuae et²⁵ maximae. Prima est, ut susceptas injurias ulciscens res amissas recuperemus. Altera²⁶, ut futura²⁷, quae prope imminet^{28 29 30}, pericula evitemus. Ostendamus³¹ quoniam sunt illa³², quae amisimus, et³³ quas³⁴ nobis ac³⁵ Deo nostro injurias intulerint³⁶ Turci. Inflicta Christianitati vulnera³⁷, illatas³⁸ contumelias, inustam³⁹ notam facile cognoscetis⁴⁰, si quae⁴¹ fuit⁴² olim⁴³ Christiana religio, et quae nunc sit animo⁴⁴ existimabitis⁴⁵. Cognoscite hoc, rogamus, et quantum gloriari possitis⁴⁶ animo advertite⁴⁷.

¹ Divisio *in marg.* H

² causas justas : justas causas W

³ et U

⁴ ingentes D

⁵ oporteat KO, OO

⁶ facultas W

⁷ *add.* alii F; doceatur W

⁸ belli gerendi : belligerandi OO

⁹ certe W

¹⁰ quomodo W

¹¹ victoriae spem : spem victoriae L, T

¹² quodammodo victoriae spem : spem quodammodo victorie S

¹³ atque U

¹⁴ tertium ac postremum :

postremum ac tertium W

¹⁵ secuturos F // L, M, N, R, S, T, U, V, KO, OO; consecuturos P, W

¹⁶ autem *add.* X

¹⁷ hodie nobis : nobis hodie W

¹⁸ hodie nobis ... his *omit.* U

¹⁹ *omit.* M

²⁰ a nobis W

²¹ consummabitur W

²² **primum** *add.* H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²³ belli gerendi : gerendi belli C; belligerandi OO

²⁴ quae duae sunt *omit.* H [NB: V *not derived from H*]

²⁵ ac M, N, P, T, X

²⁶ est *add.* X

²⁷ res amissas ... futura *omit.* N

²⁸ imminere S

²⁹ imminere videmus KO, OO

³⁰ prope imminet : probantur

imminere W

³¹ ergo *add.* P

³² *omit.* H, P

³³ *omit.* KO, OO

³⁴ a *add.* F; que U

³⁵ et P, KO, OO; a T

³⁶ intulerunt H, P, W, KO, OO

³⁷ vulnera W

³⁸ domino nostro *add.* V

³⁹ **injustam** H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, KO, OO

⁴⁰ cognoscitis OO

⁴¹ qua H

⁴² fuerit P

⁴³ *omit.* H

⁴⁴ oratio S; omnino KO, OO

⁴⁵ estimabitis M, N, P, S, V, W, KO, OO; extimabitis U, X

⁴⁶ *omit.* F; poscitis H

⁴⁷ animo advertite :

animadvertite H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO

[6] We consider that there are mainly three things to explain and argue. Firstly, [Our oration] should show that there are just and urgent causes for fighting. Secondly, that we have the means to wage war and a certain hope for victory. And thirdly and lastly, that the victors will gain great rewards. These are the matters that We shall be speaking about today, and this is the subject of Our whole oration.

1. Justice of the war

[7] So, now We shall speak about the reasons for the war.

There are two main reasons. The first one is to avenge the wrongs we have suffered and to regain what has been lost. The second one is to escape the dangers that are threatening us.

1.1. Recovery of losses inflicted by Islamic peoples

Let Us show what we have lost as well as the wrongs inflicted upon us and upon our God by the Turks. If you consider the state of Christian religion in former times and in our own days, you will easily comprehend the wounds to Christianity caused by them, the abuse we have suffered at their hands, and how we have been branded with a mark of shame. Know this, We ask, and consider how proud we may be.

[8] Sacrosanctum evangelium, quod ablatiis idolorum spurcitiis¹ salvator noster² mundo inseruit, non unum dumtaxat terrae³ angulum aut unam provinciam, sed universum ferme⁴ orbem implevit⁵, quemadmodum regius propheta multis ante saeculis de beatis apostolis futurum⁶ praeviderat⁷, dicens: *In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum, et in⁸ fines orbis terrae⁹ verba eorum¹⁰*. Per hos¹¹ enim evangelium mundo intonuit¹², quos ex¹³ piscatoribus salvator ipse praedicatores effecerat¹⁴, dicens eis¹⁵: *Venite post me, et¹⁶ faciam vos¹⁷ piscatores hominum fieri¹⁸*. Nec¹⁹ vana promissio fuit; piscati sunt enim²⁰ apostoli non sibi ipsis, sed Christo domino universum²¹ orbem²². Omnes reges, omnes populi in eorum seu²³ retia seu sagenas²⁴ inciderunt. Impletum est²⁵ illud Danielis vaticinium²⁶ dicentis²⁷: *Omnes gentes²⁸, omnes tribus, omnes²⁹ linguae servient ei³⁰*. Verius Christo quam³¹ Augusto Virgilianum illud³² attribui³³ potest:

... super et³⁴ ³⁵ Garamantas³⁶ et Indos
proferet³⁷ imperium: jacet extra sidera tellus,
extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
axem humero³⁸ premit³⁹ stellis ardentibus aptum.

¹ spiritus U

² omit. S

³ omit. N

⁴ fere H, P

⁵ orbem implevit : implevit orbem X

⁶ futuris M, KO, OO

⁷ provideat S

⁸ omit. OO

⁹ omit. H

¹⁰ et in fines ... eorum : etc. W

¹¹ os E

¹² impregnavit W; innotuit KO, OO

¹³ e H

¹⁴ fecerat R

¹⁵ omit. KO, OO

¹⁶ omit. KO, OO

¹⁷ fieri add. B, C, E // H, M, N, P, L, R, T, U, V

¹⁸ omit. B, C, E // H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁹ hec M

²⁰ sunt enim : enim sunt H, V, X, KO, OO

²¹ ferme add. KO, OO

²² mundum S

²³ omit. P, X

²⁴ saginas N

²⁵ enim add. S, W, KO, OO

²⁶ consilium seu vaticinium S

²⁷ omit. N

²⁸ reges KO, OO

²⁹ omit. B, E

³⁰ et add. W

³¹ quoniam M

³² istud KO, OO

³³ tribui H, V, X

³⁴ omit. KO, OO

³⁵ super et : superat L, R, T

³⁶ Garamantes H, M;

Saramantas P, S; Garamantos

KO, OO; Geramantes U

³⁷ et add. C; proferre F; profert

H, L, R, T, OO

³⁸ humeris KO, OO

³⁹ torquet H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO [NB: as in Virgil];

portat L, R, T

1.1.1. In former times

[8] When Our Saviour cleansed the world of filthy idols and brought the Sacred Gospel into it, He filled not just a corner of the earth, or a single region, but almost the whole world with it, just as the royal prophet had seen, many centuries before, what would happen with the apostles: *Their sound hath gone forth into all the earth: and their words unto the ends of the world.*¹ The Saviour announced the Gospel to the world through these men whom he had himself made preachers from fishermen, saying to them, *Come ye after me, and I will make you to be fishers of men.*² It was not an empty promise, for the apostles fished the whole world, not for themselves but for Christ the Lord. All kings and all peoples fell into their nets, and the prophecy of Daniel was fulfilled: *All peoples, and all tribes, and all tongues shall serve him.*³ And this verse of Virgil may better be attributed to Christ than to Augustus:

*He will advance his empire beyond the Garamantes and Indians
to a land which lies beyond our stars,
beyond the path of year and sun,
where sky-bearing Atlas wheels on his shoulders
the blazing star-studded sphere.*⁴

¹ Psalms, 18, 5

² Matthew, 4, 19

³ Confusion between Jeremiah 27, 7 and Daniel 3, 7?

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.794-797

[9] Nam circa tempora Constantini magni natum ex Maria puerum Indi simul et Hispani colebant¹, nec Septentrio, nec Meridies Christum² ignorabant³ ⁴. Vox Romani⁵ praesulis tamquam Jesu Christi vicarii maria penetrabat et terras⁶ ⁷. Pax alta per omnes⁸ et tranquilla quies Christianos ibat⁹. Jacebat pardus cum agno, et leo cum vitulo cubabat¹⁰. Gens sancta, gens¹¹ electa¹² ¹³, populus acquisitionis Christiani habebantur¹⁴, tributa ex¹⁵ gentibus accipientes¹⁶, et in capite populorum positi. Haec¹⁷ fuit olim, o¹⁸ Christiani¹⁹, majorum nostrorum²⁰ gloria, hoc imperium, haec²¹ auctoritas.

[10] Nunc, quo vos²² Turci ac²³ Saraceni²⁴ redegerint²⁵ paucis, advertite²⁶, docebimus. Indi, quamvis Christiani ferantur²⁷, et Armeni²⁸ per Asiam dispersi²⁹, et pariter Aethiopes, in multis tamen versantur erroribus³⁰, et ignorantes, quam nosse³¹ deberent³², Christi legem, ignorantur a domino. Quod³³ {112v} reliquum est Asiae³⁴ atque³⁵ Africae³⁶, Christi nomen ac³⁷ legem inpacato³⁸ persequitur³⁹ odio.

¹ celebrant R

² non *add.* X

³ **ignorabat** D, F // H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁴ Quando natus est Christus *in marg.* H

⁵ humani H

⁶ penetrabat et terras : et terras penetrabat KO, OO

⁷ et terras *omit.* H

⁸ Pax universalis *in marg.* H

⁹ *omit.* P

¹⁰ **accubabat** H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; accubebat P

¹¹ grex H

¹² electus H

¹³ Gens sancta, gens electa : gens electa, gens sancta S

¹⁴ habentur R

¹⁵ a W

¹⁶ accipiens KO, OO

¹⁷ nec H

¹⁸ *omit.* H

¹⁹ Christianis H

²⁰ vestrorum M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²¹ et H, V, X

²² nos L, R, S, T, KO, OO

²³ et W, KO, OO

²⁴ ac Saraceni *omit.* S

²⁵ redegerunt W; redigerunt KO, OO

²⁶ animadvertent W;

animadvertite H, M, S, KO, OO

²⁷ **feruntur** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²⁸ et Armeni *omit.* U

²⁹ dispositi H, V, X

³⁰ versantur erroribus : erroribus versantur N

³¹ nosce E // H, M, P, R

³² debuerunt T, W; **debuerant** H, M, N, P, S, V, X, KO, OO

³³ quid S; quot U

³⁴ Asia H

³⁵ et N, W

³⁶ Africa H

³⁷ atque M, S, W, KO, OO

³⁸ in peccato L, R, T

³⁹ prosequitur M, S, W, X, KO, OO

[9] For at the time of Constantine the Great, both the Indians and the Spaniards worshipped the boy born of Mary, and the North and the South knew Christ. The voice of the Roman Bishop as Vicar of Christ reached over the seas and across the countries. Profound peace and quiet prevailed everywhere among the Christians, the leopard lay with the lamb, and the lion with the calf.¹ The Christians were held to be a holy people, an elected people, a chosen people; they received tributes from the gentiles and were placed above all other peoples. Such, o Christians, was once the glory, the power, and the authority of our forefathers.

[10] But hear Us now as We briefly explain to what state the Turks and the Saracens have brought you. Though the Indians and the Armenians, scattered throughout Asia, as well as the Ethiopians are called Christians, they are mired in error and do not follow the law of Christ as they should. Therefore, the Lord does not know them. The rest of Asia and Africa persecute the name and law of Christ with implacable hate.

¹ Isaiah, 11, 6: *The wolf shall dwell with the lamb: and the leopard shall lie down with the kid: the calf*

and the lion, and the sheep shall abide together, and a little child shall lead them (habitabit lupus

cum agno et pardus cum hodo accubabit vitulus, et leo et ovis simul morabuntur)

[11] Coepit haec calamitas sub Heraclio¹ Caesare². Nam cum aperta esset omnibus via salutis per Christum³ Dei filium, qui annis antea⁴ circiter sexcentis⁵ *mortem nostram moriendo destruxerat*⁶, invidens⁷ humano generi⁸ diabolus ac⁹ nimium dolens¹⁰ Christum¹¹ ubique regnare, pseudopropheta¹² excitavit in Arabia Mahumetum nomine¹³, sceleratum hominem, qui se Dei nuntium¹⁴ ementitus¹⁵, contrariam¹⁶ evangelio¹⁷ legem condidit, de qua paulo post¹⁸ suo loco dicemus. Degeneraverat jam apud Graecos imperium, et Romana virtus¹⁹ sub aliud translata caelum²⁰ elanguerat²¹, quae res paulatim Christianas opes²² evertit. Manserunt tamen in Asia quamplures²³ Christiani usque ad tempora Pipini, Francorum regis²⁴, qui anno²⁵ ab hinc circiter sexcentesimo²⁶ magno nomine et²⁷ apud Germanos et apud²⁸ Gallos regnavit. Tunc vero²⁹ digressi a Scythia Turci Cappadociam, Pontum, Bithyniam³⁰, Troadem, Ciliciam, et omnem minorem Asiam occupaverunt³¹, et nostra negligentia potentes facti non solum veros³² Christianos ex Asia pepulerunt³³, sed transmisso navibus³⁴ Hellesponto Macedoniam, Thraciam³⁵, Atticam³⁶, Boetiam, Phocidem³⁷, Achaïam³⁸, Acharnaniam³⁹, Epirum, Peoniam⁴⁰, et utramque Mysiam⁴¹ armis invasere⁴²⁴³, et in Aegaeo⁴⁴ ac⁴⁵ Jonio⁴⁶ mari Cyclades⁴⁷ et alias⁴⁸ quamplures⁴⁹ insulas sibi⁵⁰ subjicientes⁵¹, hos Christianis⁵² ad Orientem⁵³ terminos⁵⁴ ⁵⁵posuere⁵⁶.

¹ Erachio H; Heracleo KO, OO

² Tempore Erarchii Cesaris *in marg.* H

³ Christiani U

⁴ *omit.* W; ante L, R

⁵ elapsis W

⁶ destruxit L, T; dextruxit R

⁷ invidus W

⁸ humano generi : generi humano P

⁹ et KO, OO

¹⁰ *omit.* W

¹¹ Christiani U

¹² pseudoprophani U

¹³ nomen M

¹⁴ filium H, V, X

¹⁵ Mahumethus deus Turcorum *in marg.* H

¹⁶ contrarium OO

¹⁷ evangelii M, S, U, KO, OO

¹⁸ *omit.* S, KO

¹⁹ iam *add.* P

²⁰ CXLVIII H

²¹ elongaverat P

²² paulatim Christianas opes :

Christianas opes paulatim M, P, S, W, KO, OO

²³ complures H, M, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; plures N; cum plures U

²⁴ Pipini Francorum regis *in marg.* H

²⁵ *omit.* W

²⁶ VI M, P, X; sexingentesimo S; annis *add.* W; de KO, OO

²⁷ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁸ *omit.* S, KO, OO

²⁹ *omit.* S

³⁰ Vinthimiam P; *omit.* W

³¹ occuparunt KO, OO

³² viros W

³³ Christianorum ruina *in marg.* H

³⁴ manibus U

³⁵ *omit.* W

³⁶ Acticam P

³⁷ Photicem E; Phocidiam P; Phicidem W; Phoadem S, KO, OO

³⁸ Acharam W

³⁹ Acharmaniam P

⁴⁰ Phoemam M; Poeniam P, W; Pormam KO, OO

⁴¹ et utramque Mysiam *omit.* P

⁴² invaserunt H, M, V, X

⁴³ et utramque ... invasere : armis invasere et utramque Mysiam P

⁴⁴ Egro U

⁴⁵ et S, X

⁴⁶ Janio KO

⁴⁷ Cicladem X

⁴⁸ utraque *add.* F

⁴⁹ complures H, M, N, S, V, X

⁵⁰ *omit.* C // KO, OO

⁵¹ in *add.* H; subiacentes L, R, T

⁵² primos Christianos P

⁵³ Orientis S, KO, OO

⁵⁴ tinimos U

⁵⁵ ad Orientem terminos : terminos ad Orientem X

⁵⁶ posuerunt H, M, V, X

[11] This disaster began under Emperor Heraclius. About 600 years after the way to salvation had been opened to all through Christ, the Son of God, who *by dying had destroyed our death*,¹ the Devil became envious of the human race and very annoyed that Christ reigned everywhere. He therefore raised a pseudoprophet in Arabia by the name of Muhammad, a criminal who falsely claimed to be the messenger of God and who established a law contrary to the Gospel. We shall have more to say about him in a short while. At that time, the Empire had already become enfeebled in the hands of the Greeks, and Roman strength had grown weak under another sky. This gradually eroded the strong Christian position. Still, there remained many Christians in Asia until the time of King Pepin² of the Franks, who reigned famously over the Germans and the Gauls about 600³ years ago. Then the Turks left Scythia⁴ and occupied Cappadocia, Pontus, Bithynia, Troy, Cilicia, and all of Asia Minor. Having grown strong due to our passivity, they not only drove the true Christians out of Asia [Minor] but crossed the Hellespont on ships and invaded Macedonia, Thracia, Attica, Boeotia, Phocis, Achaia, Arcanania, Epirus Paeonia, and both Moesias.⁵ In the Aegaeon and Jonian Sea, they seized the Cyclades and many other islands and made them the eastern frontier of the Christians.

¹ From the Easter liturgy, the preface

² Pepin the Short (ca. 714-768): King of the Franks from 751 until his death. Father of Charlemagne

³ Since Pius was speaking in 1459, it would actually be 700 years ago

⁴ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 5, 25

⁵ Flavio Biondo: *Scritti*, p. 33

[12] Ad meridiem Barbari ex Africa non solum inferi¹ maris² insulas, sed³ ipsa quoque⁴ Italiae littora classibus⁵ infestant. In occidente⁶ magnam Baeticae partem, quam vocant Granatam⁷, Mauri occupant et Hispanos agitant reges. Ad Septentrionem gelidamque⁸ Arcton Lituani, Polonis contermini, magna ex parte ritu gentilium⁹ vivunt. Veteres Hungari ad ortum Tanais¹⁰ jacentes¹¹ et Tartari, cum quibus¹² Livonii¹³ pugnant, Christum¹⁴ prorsus ignorant, et ultimi Norvegiae¹⁵ populi cum semiferis hominibus¹⁶ bellum gerunt.

¹ inferiori H

² mari H

³ et R

⁴ *omit.* P

⁵ *omit.* N

⁶ occidentem H; occidenti N, P;
orientem W

⁷ vocant Granatam : Granatam
vocant S, KO, OO

⁸ geledamque KO; gelidumque
U

⁹ grantilium U

¹⁰ Tanavi H

¹¹ iacentis S

¹² quibusdam W

¹³ Livoni E

¹⁴ Christiani U

¹⁵ Norvegii M; Novergie P;
Novergii S; Novergi X; Norwegii
KO; Nortvegii OO

¹⁶ omnibus U

[12] In the South, Barbarians from Africa attack the islands in the Tyrrhenian Sea¹ and even the coasts of Italy. In the West, the Moors occupy a large part of Southern Spain,² called Granada, and trouble the Spanish kings. In the North and cold Arcton, the Lithuanians, who have borders in common with the Poles, mostly worship pagan gods. The old Hungarians, living in the region where the Danube has its source, and the Tartars, who fight with the Livonians, know nothing of Christ, and people in the farthest regions of Norway are at war with half-wild men.³

¹ "mare inferum", in contrast to "mare superum", the Adriatic Sea

² "Baetica"

³ This quite exaggerated description of conditions in Northern

Scandinavia, Pius actually had from King Christian I of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden himself, who, in a letter to Pope Calixtus of November 1457, explained why

he could not participate in a crusade just then, claiming that his realms were under attacks from bar-barian peoples from the North (Acta, Nr. 2101, t. III, p. 249)

[13] Hi sunt termini vestri¹, o Christiani², sic circumdati estis, sic in angulum coartati, potentissimi quondam domini et orbis possessores. En³ quantum imperium amisistis⁴, quot nobiles urbes, quot ditissimas provincias perdidistis, inter quas⁵ etiam⁶ Judaeam neglexistis, terram nobilem, terram sanctam⁷, terram lacte et melle fluentem, terram, in qua primi⁸ fidei nostrae^{9 10} flores apparuere¹¹. Heu pudor! Heu dolor! Fons et origo nostrae salutis Sion ad hostes defecit¹². Templum illud Salomonis fama clarum, in quo totiens dominus¹³ praedicavit; Bethlem, in qua¹⁴ natus¹⁵ est; Jordanem, in quo¹⁶ baptizatus¹⁷; Tabor, in quo¹⁸ transfiguratus^{19 20}; Calvariam, in qua^{21 22} crucifixus, ipsius crucis possident inimici. Sepulchrum domini gloriosum lectumque illum²³ purpureum, crocos²⁴ spirantem, et suavissimis {113r} fragrantem²⁵ odoribus, in quo²⁶ propter nos²⁷ vita nostra²⁸ obdormivit³⁰ in domino³¹, nisi hostes velint, invisere non potestis. At Saraceni Meccham³² in potestate³³ habent,³⁴ in qua, si vera est fama³⁵, falsi prophetae cadaver in arca ferrea conditum³⁶, vi³⁷ magnetis pendet in aere. Vos vero infelices ac³⁸ miserrimi Christiani, sepulchro Dei vestri et urbe clarissima Jerosolymorum³⁹ privati estis. Tacemus⁴⁰ Alexandriam, Thebas, Memphim⁴¹, et⁴² omnem Aegyptum. Tacemus⁴³ Antiochiam, in qua⁴⁴ primum Christianorum⁴⁵ nomen est auditum. Tacemus⁴⁶ Ephesum⁴⁷ et alias apostolicas sedes⁴⁸ in Asia perditas^{49 50 51}, ad quas scripsit Johannes⁵² Apocalypsim⁵³. Jerosolimam veteris ac⁵⁴ novi⁵⁵ testamenti matrem⁵⁶ in hostium esse⁵⁷ potestate satis flere ac⁵⁸ dolere⁵⁹ non possumus, pro qua recuperanda nullus labor evitari⁶⁰ deberet⁶¹, nullum declinari bellum.

¹ omit. X

² unde add. X

³ ne em H; hem V

⁴ admisistis U

⁵ omit. W

⁶ omit. N; et X

⁷ Nobilitas terre sancte *in marg.*

H

⁸ prime T, W

⁹ omit. W

¹⁰ fidei nostrae : nostrae fidei X,

KO, OO

¹¹ apparuerunt X

¹² deficit W

¹³ totiens dominus : dominus

totiens P, S

¹⁴ fama clarum ... in qua omit. E

¹⁵ sanatus E

¹⁶ qua C

¹⁷ est add. G // M, P, S, T, W, KO,

OO

¹⁸ qua OO

¹⁹ figuratus N; est add. P

²⁰ Ubi Christus fuit *in marg.* H

²¹ quo A, B, C, D, E // L, R, T

²² baptizatus ... qua omit. F

²³ Ihesu P

²⁴ croco H, X; crotos S

²⁵ flagrantem F // L, P, R, T, V

²⁶ quos M

²⁷ propter nos omit. H

²⁸ vestra H

²⁹ vita nostra : et vitam nostram

OO

³⁰ obdormit F

³¹ In quo loco sacer corpus

Maumeti et qualiter *in marg.* H

³² Marcham P; Mahometem OO;

Machometam KO

³³ potestatem A-F // L, T;

ponentem R

³⁴ in potestate habent : habent in

potestate KO, OO

³⁵ in qua ... fama omit. U

³⁶ reconditum X

³⁷ in S; virtute W

³⁸ et T, W; a R

³⁹

Hie/Hye/Hie/Ihe/Je/Ierosoli/ym

a H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X,

KO, OO

⁴⁰ taceamus S

⁴¹ Mensim L, R, T

⁴² ac KO, OO

⁴³ taceamus S

⁴⁴ omit. F, T

⁴⁵ Christianum P

⁴⁶ taceamus S

⁴⁷ Ephesim P, L, R, T; Emphesim

S

⁴⁸ apostolicas sedes : ecclesias W

⁴⁹ in Asia perditas omit. W

⁵⁰ **tacemus septem ecclesias add.**

H, L, R, M, N, P, S, T, U, V, X, KO,

OO [*The passage was included in*

the Early Version, and first

included in and then deleted from

A. Subsequently, the passage was

omitted in B, C, D, E, F]

⁵¹ Ephesum et ... perditas :

septem ecclesias U

⁵² scripsit Johannes : Johannes

scripsit S, X, KO, OO

⁵³ Johanne apocalipsis *in marg.* H

⁵⁴ et S

⁵⁵ veteris ac novi : novi ac veteris

KO, OO

⁵⁶ veteris ... matrem : novi

testamenti matrem et veteris W

⁵⁷ in add. M

⁵⁸ et M, S, KO, OO

⁵⁹ satis flere ac dolere : flemus et

sine dolore esse W

⁶⁰ evitare H

⁶¹ debet N, T, X

[13] These are your boundaries, oh Christians, this is how you are surrounded on all sides, this is how you are pressed into one corner,¹ you who were once the mighty lords and masters of the world. It is indeed a great empire that you have lost, with many noble cities and many rich provinces. Among them, you have even let go of Judea, the noble land, the holy land, the land overflowing with milk and honey, the land where the first flowers of our Faith appeared. Oh, what shame! Oh, what grief! Sion, fountain and source of our salvation, has fallen to our enemies. The famous temple of Solomon, where Our Lord preached so often, Bethlehem where he was born, Jordan where he was baptized, Tabor where he was transfigured, Calvary where he was nailed to the Cross, [all] are in the possession of the enemies of that very Cross. Only if our enemies allow it may we visit the glorious tomb of Our Lord and the purple bed with its odour of crocus² and other sweet smells, where – for our sake – He who is our life slept in the Lord. But the Saracens have Mecca, where, if rumour is true, the corpse of the false prophet lies in an iron coffin suspended in the air by magnetic force. But you, unhappy and miserable Christians, have been deprived of our God’s tomb and the noble city of Jerusalem. Let us pass over Alexandria, Thebes, Memphis, and all of Egypt. Let us be silent about Antioch, where the name “Christian” was heard for the first time. Let us not mention Ephesus and the other apostolic sees lost to us in Asia, to which John addressed his Apocalypse. But that Jerusalem, mother of the Old and New Testament, is now in the power of our enemies, we cannot lament and mourn enough: no effort must be spared to recover it, and no war must be refused.

¹ Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [lm. 75]: *per cujus [Europae] omnes provincias et regiones nomen floruit Christi-*

anum. Quod nomen nostris temporibus ad parvum orbis angulum coangustari et quotidie de excidio periclitari videmus. The passage is a revised quote from Piccolomini:

Letter to Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues of 21 July 1453 (EPI, 6: 341)

² Juvenal, 7.210

[14] Nam si pro repetendis¹ rebus justam² belli causam veteres³ putavere, quis umquam justius⁴ ⁵ induit arma quam vos Christiani, quibus tot urbes, tot provinciae sunt ereptae, tot⁶ adempta⁷ regna, tantum ablatum imperium? Judaei, cum foederis arcam⁸ amisissent, pro recuperatione⁹ nullum belli periculum vitavere¹⁰. Graeci ob raptam¹¹ Helenam decennale¹² bellum gessere¹³. Carthaginenses propter fines paulum¹⁴ ampliandos cruentissima¹⁵ proelia cum Cyrenensibus¹⁶ commiserunt¹⁷, pro quibus etiam¹⁸ Phileni fratres interierunt¹⁹. Romani saepe sociorum²⁰ causa sumptis armis in pugnam exivere²¹. Revolvite historias: nullum umquam²² bellum²³ tot causas habuit, quot²⁴ vobis²⁵ adversus Turcos occurrunt. Sed "Quid ad nos vetera," dicat aliquis²⁶? "Toleraverunt haec damna²⁷ ²⁸, hanc infamiam proavi nostri, cur nos illis meliores simus²⁹? Cur tantae³⁰ gloriae cupiditas, ut majorum injurias nostro sanguine vindicemus³¹?" Esto³², patres vestri³³ negligentes fuerint³⁴ honoremque suum parvifecerint: an propterea vestrum negligetis et³⁵ duplici notari³⁶ turpitudine, haereditaria scilicet³⁷ et³⁸ vestra, patiemini? An potius³⁹ magnificis operibus⁴⁰ deteresa progenitorum infamia gloriosum nomen⁴¹ acquirere conabimini?

¹ expetendis B, E; recuperandis W

² istam OO

³ posuere seu *add.* W

⁴ inscius KO

⁵ Justa belli causa Christianorum *in marg.* H

⁶ *omit.* S

⁷ adepta P

⁸ foederis arcam : arcam foederis L, T

⁹ recomperatione U

¹⁰ evitavere H, V, X

¹¹ ratam L

¹² decennale N, P, S, KO, OO

¹³ gesserunt M

¹⁴ paululum M, N, R, T, U, S, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁵ certissima H, V

¹⁶ Syrenensibus P; Tirhenensibus R; Cyronensibus W

¹⁷ commiserunt M

¹⁸ et L, R, T

¹⁹ interiere W, V

²⁰ furiorum U

²¹ exiere M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²² nullum umquam : et videte si umquam ullum W

²³ *omit.* F

²⁴ quod E

²⁵ nobis N, U

²⁶ quid ad ... aliquis : dicet aliquis quid ad nos. Veteres W

²⁷ haec damna *omit.* S, KO, OO

²⁸ occurrunt ... damna : in F

²⁹ sumus M, N, P, S, T, W, X, KO, OO

³⁰ **tanta H, M, N, P, S, V, W, X, KO, OO**; tanta *corr.* ex tante U

³¹ nostro sanguine vindicemus : vindicemus nostro sanguine X

³² quod *add.* W

³³ *omit.* H; nostri U, V, X

³⁴ fuerunt L, R, T

³⁵ ut U

³⁶ notarii U

³⁷ *omit.* W; stilum U

³⁸ ac H, U, V, W, X; *omit.* KO, OO

³⁹ prorsus H

⁴⁰ temporibus P

⁴¹ nomine F

[14] The ancients considered that reclaiming [lost] lands¹ was a just cause for war. In that case, who has ever gone to war more righteously than you, Christians, who have lost so many cities and provinces, so many kingdoms, and so great an empire? When the Jews had lost the Ark of the Covenant,² they did not shun any peril of war in order to recover it.³ For the sake of abducted Helen,⁴ the Greeks made war for 10 years.⁵ In order to extend their frontiers just a little, the Carthaginians fought bloody wars with the Cyrenians,⁶ where also the Philaeni brothers perished.⁷ The Romans often took up arms and went to war for the sake of their allies. Leaf through the history books: no war has ever had so many [just] causes as you have against the Turks. "But why should we care about such old matters?" someone might say. "Our forefathers bore with these losses and this dishonour; why should we be better than them? Why should we entertain this vainglorious ambition to avenge the losses of our forefathers with our blood? [To this, We answer that] even if your fathers were negligent and unconcerned about their own honour, why should you neglect it and suffer a double disgrace, the one you inherited from them as well as your own? Should you not, instead, endeavour to blot out the shame of your forefathers by magnificent deeds and acquire a glorious name [for yourselves]?"

¹ "rebus"

² A chest described in the Book of Exodus as containing, among others, the Tablets of Stone on which the Ten Commandments were inscribed

³ 1. Kings, 4-6

⁴ Helen: (Greek myth.) Queen of King Menelaos of Sparta. Her abduction by Prince Paris of Troy caused the Trojan War

⁵ The Siege of Troy

⁶ Cyrene: chief town of ancient Libya

⁷ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, 5.8., ext. 4

[15] Sed negligamus, si¹ libet, antiquam² ignominiam, vetusta damna, nec vos³ urgeat, quod⁴ non⁵ pupugit avos⁶. Transeat omnis Asia, omnis Africa⁷. Europam saltem inspiciamus, et nostri temporis rationem reddamus. An parum nostra aetate nostra culpa⁸ perditum est? Constantinopolim, Orientalis imperii caput⁹, et totius Graeciae column¹⁰, non patres nostri, sed nos ipsi amisimus, qui dum torpentes¹¹ in otio¹² domi sedemus, usque¹³ Danubium et Savum¹⁴ Turcorum arma penetrare permisimus¹⁵. Capta est culpa¹⁶ nostra nobilissima urbs¹⁷ regia¹⁸, quam Pausanias¹⁹ primus condidit, Constantinus magnus instauravit^{20 21} et in²² aemulationem {113v} antiquae Romae ampliavit²³ et magnificavit. In ea gentis²⁴ imperator et ipse²⁵ Constantinus²⁶ nomine²⁷ interemptus est, turba ingens trucidata, templa magni²⁸ Dei²⁹ polluta sunt, inter quae³⁰ nobile opus Justiniani Sanctae Sophiae vocatum, taetro³¹ Mahumeti ritu³² foedatum est. Beatae virginis, matris domini³³, et aliorum sanctorum imagines deletae sunt³⁴, altaria diruta³⁵, reliquiae martyrum³⁶ porcis³⁷ objectae, sacerdotes occisi, matronae ac³⁸ puellae ipsaeque sacrae virgines ad libidinem raptae. Nobiles urbis³⁹ inter vina et epulas ipsius⁴⁰ Turcorum ducis⁴¹ jugulati, salvatoris nostri simulachrum in cruce pendentis per⁴² derisionem atque contemptum praecedentibus qui dicerent⁴³: “Hic est Christianorum Deus” in castra delatum, sputo, luto, atque omni foeditate jactatum⁴⁴. Nova haec sunt^{45 46} sub oculis nostris⁴⁷ gesta. Haec fiunt⁴⁸, et⁴⁹ tamen excitari⁵⁰ non possumus. Cum vitulis marinis, cum Druso⁵¹ dormimus, lethargum⁵² patimur, qui tot contumeliis agitati⁵³ ex⁵⁴ somno surgere⁵⁵ non valemus⁵⁶.

¹ si *corr. ex sic* A; **sic add. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; sic L, R, T**

² *omit.* P

³ nos H, V, X, KO, OO

⁴ quot H; quos N

⁵ nostros W; nos S, KO, OO

⁶ ac vos P; anos KO, OO

⁷ et *add.* W

⁸ nostra negligentia *add.* W

⁹ Caput orientalis imperii

Constantinopolis *in marg.* H

¹⁰ cacumen W; culmen H, N, P, L, T

¹¹ torpemus W

¹² et *add.* W

¹³ ad *add.* H, M, W; ~~ad~~ V

¹⁴ Sarium W; Sanum KO, OO;

Sabum L, R, T

¹⁵ permittimus W, OO

¹⁶ capta est culpa : culpa capta est W

¹⁷ urbis F

¹⁸ culpa ... regia: nobilissima urbs regia culpa nostra KO, OO

¹⁹ Pausanias L, R, T

²⁰ magnus instauravit :

restauravit magnus W

²¹ Quis Constantinopolim construxit et a quo dicitur *in marg.* H

²² et in: ad H

²³ amplificavit M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

²⁴ Grecorum W

²⁵ *omit.* W

²⁶ Constantini M

²⁷ nomen M

²⁸ magna S

²⁹ magni Dei : Dei magni KO, OO

³⁰ inter quae : in quo W

³¹ retio N; *omit.* W

³² cultu W

³³ nostri *add.* W

³⁴ Turcorum crudelitas *in marg.* H

³⁵ dirupta M, P, S, KO, OO

³⁶ sanctorum N

³⁷ portis L, T

³⁸ et M, X, KO, OO; atque N; pupillae seu *add.* W

³⁹ vero W

⁴⁰ ipsorum W; *omit.* X

⁴¹ dure W

⁴² ad S; in KO, OO

⁴³ praecedentibus qui dicerent :

qui dicerent praecedentibus U

⁴⁴ foeditate jactatum : fedita

deturpatum est W

⁴⁵ **et add. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, W**

⁴⁶ haec sunt : sunt hec et KO, OO

⁴⁷ oculis nostris : nostris oculis W

⁴⁸ fuerunt P

⁴⁹ *omit.* X

⁵⁰ suscitari W

⁵¹ *omit.* H

⁵² litargum P; lethargiam W;

letargium L, T

⁵³ agitari OO

⁵⁴ e M, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

⁵⁵ exurgere X

⁵⁶ vellemus H, OO

1.1.2. In the present age

[15] But let us put aside, if you please, the ancient infamy and the losses of old, and let us not be concerned about things that did not bother your forefathers. Let all of Asia and Africa be lost, and let us look only to Europe and only deal with the present. Is it maybe a small loss that we have suffered in our own age and because of our own fault? [No]. It is Constantinople, the capital of the Oriental Empire and the pillar of all Greece, that has been lost, not by our forefathers but by ourselves. Staying at home in sleepy peace, we have let the Turkish armies advance as far as the Danube and Sava. It is through our fault that the noble and royal city is lost, the city founded by Pausanias,¹ restored by Constantine the Great,^{2 3} and enlarged and made great in imitation of old Rome. In that city, the emperor of the people, another Constantine, was killed, an immense number of people were slaughtered, and the temples of the Great God profaned. Among these, that noble and great building of Justinian⁴ called *Hagia Sophia* was polluted with barbarous Muhammadan rites. The icons of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, and other saints were destroyed; the altars were thrown down, the relics of martyrs were thrown to the pigs, the priests were killed, and matrons, girls, and even holy virgins⁵ were carried off to be raped. The nobles of the city were butchered at the banquets⁶ of the Turkish ruler. The crucifix of Our Saviour was carried to the army camp, preceded by men shouting, "This is the God of the Christians."^{7 8} There it was mocked, spurned, and covered in spit, dirt, and filth. These are recent events, happening before our own eyes. Still, we cannot be roused! We should be shocked by such great calamities, but instead we are sleeping drowsily with the seals and with Drusus⁹ and cannot be aroused from our sleep.

¹ Pausanias (d. 478 BC): Greek general

² Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

³ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 2, 24 (Schmidt, p. 146); 4, 5 (Schmidt, p. 310)

⁴ Justinianus I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (ca. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

⁵ I.e., nuns

⁶ "inter vina et epulas"

⁷ Allusion to Matthew, 27, 37: *And they put over his head his cause written: This is Jesus, the King of the Jews (et imposuerunt super*

caput ejus causam ipsius scriptam: Hic est Jesus rex Judaeorum)

⁸ Passages in sect. 14-15 may have been inspired, directly or indirectly, by Leonardo of Chios' eyewitness account of the Fall of Constantinople to Pope Nicolaus V of 16 August 1453, cf. Pertusi, I, p. 164-166: *Cruces ex templorum apicibus parietibusque evulsae pedibus conculcantur; violantur mulieres, virgines deflorantur, mare juvenes in turpitudine maculantur, sanctimoniales reliquae et quae apparentes fuerant luxu foedantur. ... Sacras Dei et sanctorum effigies humo prosternunt, quibus super non modo*

crapulam, sed luxuriam complent. Crucifixum posthac per castra praevis tympanis deludendo deportant: sputis, blasphemis, obprobriis iterum processionaliter crucifigunt, pileum heucrale, quod zarchula vocant, capiti superponentes deridendo clamabant: "Hic est Deus Christianorum"

⁹ Juvenal, 3.238: *eripient somnum Druso vitulisque marinis* (The continual traffic of carriages in the narrow, twisting streets and the swearing of the drover when his herd has come to a halt would deprive a Drusus or the seals of sleep)

[16] Heu furias! Heu artes daemonum! Pugnare inter se potius¹ Christiani² volunt quam Turcos adoriri³. Civilia bella magis cupiunt quam externa⁴, et saepe de parvis⁵ causis cruentissima committunt proelia. Pulsatus⁶ modo villicus, modo servus, magnos⁷ traxit⁸ in arma reges. In Turcos, qui Deum nostrum blasphemant, ecclesias nostras diruunt, et omne⁹ Christianum¹⁰ nomen perdere satagunt, nemo audet arma sumere. Omnes¹¹ in *arcum pravum* dati sumus, *declinavimus omnes simul*¹², *inutiles*¹³ *facti sumus*¹⁴, *non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*. Sed cogitabitis melius¹⁵, viri prudentes, et fortem¹⁶ induentes¹⁷ animum recuperare, quae sunt amissa, et acceptas injurias ulcisci¹⁸ conabimimini. Ac¹⁹ tantum de priori²⁰ belli gerendi causa^{21 22} sit dictum²³.

[17] Nunc²⁴ alteram²⁵ attingamus, hoc est ut futura et prope imminetia²⁶ cervicibus nostris²⁷ mala²⁸ vitemus²⁹. Possent fortasse aliquo modo³⁰ tolerari³¹ praeterita³², si finis malorum esset^{33 34}, et non majora impenderent³⁵ discrimina³⁶. Sed quo pacto quietem sperare^{37 38} ab ea gente possumus, quae sanguinem nostrum sitit³⁹, quae occupata Graecia in Hungariam, idest⁴⁰ in viscera nostra, gladium adegit⁴¹. Juvenis est adversarius noster, aetate florida, robusto corpore, animo vasto et⁴² tumido cursu⁴³ victoriarum⁴⁴, quas⁴⁵ nostra sibi^{46 47} negligentia peperit⁴⁸. Vanus est, deceptus est⁴⁹, si quis arbitratur⁵⁰ adolescentem quieturum esse auro⁵¹ abundantem, armis assuetum et dominandi⁵² cupiditate⁵³ inflammatum. Ponite hanc spem! Numquam ille⁵⁴ arma⁵⁵ deponet, nisi aut victus, aut omnium victor⁵⁶. Proxima illi quaeque⁵⁷ victoria gradus⁵⁸ erit alterius, donec⁵⁹ subactis occidentalibus regibus⁶⁰, deleto⁶¹ Christi evangelio Maumetheam legem ubique gentium inserat⁶².

¹ inter se potius : potius inter se
N, P, S, KO, OO

² potius Christiani : Christiani
potius X

³ oppugnare W

⁴ hesterna H

⁵ **de parvis : parvis de H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁶ pulsat W

⁷ magnus U

⁸ traxere N

⁹ omnem A, B, D, F

¹⁰ Christianorum R, W

¹¹ omit. P, W

¹² omit. H

¹³ simul inutiles : inutiles simul L, T

¹⁴ declinavimus ... sumus omit. N

¹⁵ omit. X

¹⁶ fortes H, U, X

¹⁷ induetis N; induentem L, R, T; intuentes U

¹⁸ vindicare P; vindicare M, N, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁹ hac H; hoc W

²⁰ priore H, V

²¹ de priori ... causa : prius de causa belli gerendi W

²² belli gerendi causa : causa belligerendi X

²³ sit dictum : dictum sit M

²⁴ ad add. N

²⁵ alterum P, W

²⁶ eminentia X

²⁷ cervicibus nostris: nostris

cervicibus KO, OO

²⁸ pericula P

²⁹ evitemus KO, OO

³⁰ omit. M

³¹ colorari W; tolerare KO, OO

³² futura H, V; aliter futura in

marg. X

³³ essent N, W

³⁴ malorum esset : esset malorum P

³⁵ impedirent KO, OO

³⁶ pericula X

³⁷ omit. X

³⁸ quietem sperare : sperare quietem M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

³⁹ et add. H, L, T, V, X

⁴⁰ et M, P

⁴¹ quae occupata Graecia ... adegit omit. M, W

⁴² omit. S, KO, OO

⁴³ cupido W

⁴⁴ victoriam P, L, T

⁴⁵ suam P

⁴⁶ omit. P

⁴⁷ nostra sibi : sibi nostra S, KO, OO

⁴⁸ De partibus adversarii et ...

[*illeg.*] cupiditate eius in *marg.* H

⁴⁹ omit. N

⁵⁰ arbitretur M

⁵¹ aura R

⁵² damnandi KO, OO

⁵³ cupiditati H; facultate X

⁵⁴ illa W

⁵⁵ omit. H

⁵⁶ exititerit add. KO, OO

⁵⁷ quoque P; que U

⁵⁸ gladius N; grandis W

⁵⁹ deinde V [NB: H not derived from V]

⁶⁰ regionibus W

⁶¹ delato M; delecto U

⁶² miserit H; inferat OO

[16] Alas, the furies! Alas, the ruses of demons! The Christians would rather fight each other than attack the Turks. They prefer civil wars to foreign wars, and they often start bloody battles for insignificant causes. The trashing of a peasant or a servant draws great kings into wars, but nobody dares to take up arms against the Turks, who blaspheme our God, who tear down our churches, and who endeavour to destroy the Christian name. We have all become *a crooked bow*,¹ We have *all turned out of the way: we are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, there is not so much as one*.² Do come to your senses, wise men, regain your courage, strive to recover what has been lost, and avenge your injuries. This is what We had to say, in the first place, concerning the cause of war.

1.2. Defence against the Turkish threat

[17] We now come to the second point: we must avoid both the imminent and future dangers.³ Maybe past [injuries] might somehow be tolerated if we had now reached the end of our misfortunes and were not threatened by even greater dangers. But how can we hope for peace from a people thirsting for our blood, which has now occupied Greece and is turning its sword towards Hungary, our own entrails?⁴ Our enemy is young, of flourishing age, with a strong body and a mind that is great and swollen with the row of victories that our own negligence has given him. Only a foolish and deluded man can think that this extremely wealthy young man, experienced in war and driven by ambition for power, will stay tranquil. Abandon that hope, for he will not lay down his arms before he has won or lost all. Every victory of his will be a stepping stone towards the next one until he has defeated all the Western kings, destroyed the Christian gospel, and imposed the law of Muhammad on the whole world.⁵

¹ Psalms, 77, 57: *and they turned away, and kept not the covenant: even like their fathers they were turned aside as a crooked bow (et aversi sunt et praevaricati sunt ut patres eorum incurvati sunt quasi arcus inutilis)*

² Romans, 3, 12: *All have turned out of the way: they are become unprofitable together: there is none that doth good, there is not so much as one (omnes declinaverunt simul inutiles facti sunt*

non est qui faciat bonum non est usque ad unum)

³ "cervicibus nostris"

⁴ "viscera": entrails

⁵ Pius' views on this matter largely depend on reports by men like the Venetian Niccolò Sagundino, who had visited the sultan's court in the early years of the reign, see Babinger, p. 450. That they actually represented a realistic assessment of Mehmed's intentions and not just a ploy to mobilise the

West under papal leadership is confirmed by modern historians, see Babinger, p. 539: *Welche Absichten der Staatenlenker Mehmed II. mit dem Abendlande hatte, steht ausser Zweifel. Wie einst Alexander der Grosse gegen Osten zog ... so plante Mehmed II den Westen als Ziel seiner Angriffe und Eroberungspläne auszuerschen*

[18] Neque arbitremini¹ longam moram, priusquam vos² adeat³. Nam vicinae⁴ illae⁵ gentes tot bellis attritae, nisi opem fertis⁶, amplius⁷ arma⁸ capere⁹ non audeant¹⁰. Soli fideles Hungari perseverant¹¹, non tamen diu stabunt, nisi adjuti. Et hi quidem muri¹² loco vobis¹³ ad orientem¹⁴ remanserunt, quo diruto¹⁵ neque Theutones, neque Bohemi¹⁶, neque¹⁷ Poloni¹⁸ satis tuti erunt. Non asperi montes, non alta flumina iter impediunt. Nihil erit victa¹⁹ Hungaria Turcis invium²⁰, nihil insuperabile orbis imperium quaerentibus. Per Carnos et Forum²¹ Iulii terrestribus copiis facilis²² in Italiam patebit transitus²³. Navalis²⁴ exercitus²⁵ ex Valona²⁶, quam Turci possident, unius noctis²⁷ navigatione Brundisium petet²⁸, et²⁹ in superiori et inferiori³⁰ parte³¹ aperta est Turcis Italia. Utinam³² mendaces et falsi prophetae simus in hac parte, sed *credite nos*³³ *folium recitare Sybillae*. Venient, venient³⁴ Turci, nisi obviam imus, et auferent nobis locum³⁵ et gentem. Non timent haec fortasse³⁶ Hispani ac³⁷ Galli, nec³⁸ Theutones³⁹, qui Rhenum accolunt, nec⁴⁰ Anglici oceano circumfusi⁴¹. At⁴² prudentes reipublicae gubernatores bellum foris⁴³ quam domi malunt et⁴⁴ remotissimam militiam laudant⁴⁵. Perniciosa⁴⁶ et funesta sunt, quae gerimus in nostris laribus⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ bella. Nulla⁴⁹ Romanis orbis⁵⁰ domitoribus⁵¹ suscepta calamitas durior quam in⁵² Italia fuit⁵³, nec illi Hannibalem felicius quam in Africa vicerunt⁵⁴.

¹ arbitramini W

² nos R

³ ederit W

⁴ vicini H

⁵ illi H, V, X

⁶ feratis W; affertis X

⁷ omit. D

⁸ omit. S, KO, OO

⁹ sumere H, V, X; carpere KO, OO

¹⁰ audent C // H, L, N, T, U, V, X; audebunt W, OO; audebant KO

¹¹ De fidelitate Hungarorum *in marg.* H

¹² mari N

¹³ nobis U

¹⁴ vobis ad orientem : vobis ad orientem X

¹⁵ dirupto E, F // P

¹⁶ Boltemi M; Exemii N

¹⁷ atque W

¹⁸ Bohemi neque Poloni : neque Poloni neque Bohemi U

¹⁹ devicta H, V, X

²⁰ invictum; aut invium *in marg.*

W

²¹ eorum OO

²² facile H, V, W, X

²³ De eaque facilitate Italiam ingrediendi *in marg.* H

²⁴ navali OO

²⁵ exercitui OO;

²⁶ Vallana H, N, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; Vallona M; Valana P

²⁷ ex Valona ... noctis *omit.* U

²⁸ petent N; patet KO, OO

²⁹ omit. H

³⁰ superiori et inferiori : inferiori et in superiori N

³¹ et inferiori parte : parte et inferiori KO, OO

³² et *add.* H

³³ vobis *add.* H, V, X

³⁴ omit. U, W

³⁵ regnum D; bovem P

³⁶ haec fortasse : fortasse haec H, W

³⁷ et H, S, V, W, X, KO, OO; atque N

³⁸ non L, R, T

³⁹ nec *add.* L, T

⁴⁰ nec ... nec : neque ... neque H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁴¹ circumfulsi S; circumfulti W

⁴² ac S, KO

⁴³ potius *add.* X

⁴⁴ et U

⁴⁵ militiam laudant : laudant militiam S, KO, OO

⁴⁶ perniciosissima V

⁴⁷ laboribus N

⁴⁸ nostris laribus : laribus nostris P

⁴⁹ omit. KO, OO

⁵⁰ urbis KO, OO

⁵¹ nulla *add.* KO, OO

⁵² omit. H

⁵³ fuerit E

⁵⁴ vicerint L, T

[18] And do not think it will take long before he comes against you, for the neighbouring peoples have been so worn down by war that they will not dare to take up arms unless you come to their assistance. Only the faithful Hungarians persevere, but they cannot hold out long unless they are given help. They have, indeed, been a bulwark for you towards the East, and if that bulwark is destroyed, neither the Germans, nor the Bohemians, nor the Poles will be safe. Neither craggy mountains nor deep rivers will be a barrier. If Hungary is defeated, nothing stands in the way of the Turks in their quest for world empire. Through Carinthia and Friuli, their troops will have easy access to Italy. Moreover, in just one night, their navy can sail from Vallana, in Turkish possession, to Brindisi, and from there, the road is open for the Turks to both Upper and Lower Italy. If only We were a false and mendacious prophet in this matter¹ ... but trust Us: here *We are reading a page to you from the Sibyl's leaves.*² Unless we go against them, they will come, the Turks, they will come and take our country and people. Maybe the Spaniards, the French, and the Germans living beyond the Rhine, and the English, surrounded by the ocean, will not fear this. But prudent rulers will rather go to war abroad than at home, and they much prefer to fight far away. Wars in our own lands are disastrous and ruinous. The most calamitous defeats of the Romans, conquerors of the Earth, happened in Italy itself, and their greatest successes against Hannibal³ happened in Africa.

¹ This is actually what happened 21 years later, in 1480, when the Turks crossed the Adriatic and held the Italian city of Otranto for a year

² Juvenalis, 8.126: *credite me vobis folium recitare Sibyllae*

³ Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Punic Carthaginian military commander

[19] Credite nobis, proceres, credite nobis. Non est cur amplius dissimuletis^{1 2}, non³ est⁴ cur⁵ amplius differatis⁶ arma sumere⁷: si agros vestros⁸, si focos, si uxores, si liberos⁹, si libertatem, si fidem ipsam¹⁰, in qua baptizati¹¹ et renati sumus¹², retinere cupitis, bellum¹³, nobis credite, bellum geratis¹⁴ oportet. Neque nos¹⁵ bellum injustum^{16 17}suademus, qui ejus locum tenemus, de quo scriptum est: *justitia et judicium praeparatio sedis tuae*. Nec plura de primo ac¹⁸ principali membro.

¹ differatis L, T

² arma sumere *add.* V

³ nec M, S

⁴ *omit.* U

⁵ quid M

⁶ dissimuletis L, T

⁷ arma sumere *omit.* V

⁸ nostros X

⁹ uxores si liberos : liberos si

uxores M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁰ De belli necessitate *in marg.* H

¹¹ estis *add.* N, X

¹² **estis H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

¹³ *omit.* H, V

¹⁴ gratis S; gerere W

¹⁵ nobis OO

¹⁶ injuste H

¹⁷ bellum injustum : injustum bellum V, X

¹⁸ et H, S, U, V, KO, OO

[19] So, do believe Us, oh nobles, do believe Us! You have no reason to feign ignorance any more or to put off going to war. If you want to keep your lands, your homes, your wives, your children, your freedom, and the Faith, in which you were baptised and reborn, then trust Us: you must go to war. It is not an unjust war We urge upon you, for We are acting on behalf of Him, about whom it is written: *Justice and judgement are the preparation of thy see.*¹

Let this suffice as the first and principal part [of our oration].

¹ Psalms, 88, 15

[20] Audistis, viri praestantissimi ac¹ nobilissimi², quas ob causas in Turcos³ pugnare oporteat⁴, nam et⁵ susceptae injuriae id⁶ exposcunt, et in futurum⁷ Christianorum indemnitati⁸ consulendum est. Nunc quod erat secundum orationis nostrae⁹ membrum, id est¹⁰ an possitis hoc¹¹ bellum gerere et¹² an victoria speranda¹³ sit, animadvertite. Cum Christianis nobis sermo¹⁴ est, qui ditem¹⁵ Italiam, nobilem Galliam, fortem Hispaniam¹⁶, bellicosam et¹⁷ populosam Germaniam¹⁸ incolunt: his arma¹⁹, his equi, his homines²⁰, his pecuniae abunde suppetunt²¹, his²² vires longe majores quam Turcis adsunt²³. Audivimus²⁴ tamen nonnullos esse, qui {114v} Turcos supra²⁵ modum extollunt²⁶, nec superabiles putant²⁷ tot proeliorum victores. Nos magnas esse Turcorum opes²⁸ fatemur, sed multo minores quam fama ferantur²⁹, neque nostris quovis modo comparandas³⁰. [20 cont.] Illi enim, etsi omnes conatus adhibeant^{31 32}, supra³³ tamen ducenta hominum milia^{34 35} non educent. Sed quos³⁶ homines? Imbelles³⁷ sane³⁸ atque³⁹ inermes, ex Asianis atque⁴⁰ Graecis⁴¹ mixtos. Nostis⁴² quanti⁴³ faciat Asianos⁴⁴ Remus⁴⁵ ille Virgilianus⁴⁶, cujus illa⁴⁷ sunt⁴⁸ verba⁴⁹:

*O verae⁵⁰ Phrygiae⁵¹, nec⁵² enim⁵³ Phryges⁵⁴, ite⁵⁵ per alta
Dindyma⁵⁶, ubi assuetis⁵⁷ biformem⁵⁸ dat tibia cantum⁵⁹.
Tympana⁶⁰ vos⁶¹ buxusque⁶² vocat⁶³ Berecynthia⁶⁴ matris
Idaeae⁶⁵: sinite arma viris et cedite⁶⁶ ferro*

¹ et M, U, W

² praestantissimi H [sic!]

³ in Turcos : inter quos U

⁴ oportet E // H, V

⁵ etsi X

⁶ hoc W

⁷ futuris M

⁸ indemnitate OO; idem tutati L, T; intempnitati U

⁹ nostrae orationis X; orationis nostrae : nostri ordinis KO, OO

¹⁰ id est omit. S

¹¹ omit. W

¹² omit. L, T

¹³ superanda N

¹⁴ nobis sermo : sermo nobis P

¹⁵ divitem corr. ex ditem E // divitem M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁶ et add. S

¹⁷ ac P, S, U, KO, OO

¹⁸ fortem Hispaniam ... Germaniam omit. W

¹⁹ his arma omit. U

²⁰ his homines omit. S

²¹ et add. P

²² De Christianorum abundantia in marg. H

²³ assint N

²⁴ audimus B, D, E // H, M, S, U, V, KO, OO; audiamus X

²⁵ ultra M

²⁶ excollunt L; excolunt T; extollant V

²⁷ putent X

²⁸ vires P; aut copias in marg. W

²⁹ feruntur H, M, V, X; ferat W

³⁰ comperandas N;

comparandae OO; comparando KO; comparandis L, T

³¹ adhibent H, V, X

³² illi enim ... adhibeant omit. N

³³ Quomodo Turcis poterint

bellum ingredi in marg. H

³⁴ milia hominum milia M;

hominum milia : milia hominum H, S, U, V, X, KO, OO

³⁵ illi enim ... adhibeant omit. N

³⁶ quod U

³⁷ imbecilles W

³⁸ tamen X; omit. KO, OO

³⁹ ac W

⁴⁰ et V, X, KO, OO

⁴¹ atque Graecis : agrestis H

⁴² nosci S; noscit W

⁴³ valeat aut quantum add. W

⁴⁴ omit. N; Asianus W

⁴⁵ aut Riginus interlin. W

⁴⁶ De utilitate Asianorum in marg. H

⁴⁷ omit. OO

⁴⁸ illa sunt : sunt illa S, V

⁴⁹ cujus illa sunt verba omit. H

⁵⁰ o vere : onere M

⁵¹ Phryge S; Phrige W; Phride

KO; Phryde OO

⁵² neque B, C, E, // H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, KO, OO

⁵³ omit. H; et enim P, U

⁵⁴ Phryges S

⁵⁵ ire M

⁵⁶ Didama N

⁵⁷ assuetus S

⁵⁸ bisformem P, U

⁵⁹ tantum B, F // U; cantum corr. ex tantum C, E

⁶⁰ nec enim Phryges ... tympana omit. W

⁶¹ nos H, KO, OO; vox L, R, T

⁶² buxisque M; unxasque W;

buxasque S, KO, OO; ususque U

⁶³ iuvant A, B, C, D, E, F // H, N, L, R, T, U, V, P, S, X, KO, OO;

vocant M; invocent W

⁶⁴ Berithintia M; Vere Thincia P;

Berecinthea KO, OO

⁶⁵ dee S, W, KO, OO

⁶⁶ credite P

2. Feasibility of the war¹

[20] Excellent and noble men, you have now heard the reasons why we must go to war against the Turks: the injuries inflicted upon us cry for revenge, and the future safety of the Christians must be ensured. Now We come to the second part of Our oration: hear whether you are able to wage this war and whether you may hope for victory.

2.1. Weakness of the Turks

We are talking about the Christians who live in rich Italy, noble France, strong Spain, and warlike and populous Germany. These peoples have weapons, horses, men, and money in abundance. Their resources are far greater than the Turks'. Still We have heard some people praise the Turks to the skies, believing that as victors in so many battles, they must be invincible. We do admit that the Turks have great resources, but they are much smaller than rumoured, and they can in no way be compared to ours. Even if they stretch themselves to the limit, they cannot mobilise more than 200,000 men. And what kind of men? Unwarlike, unarmed, and mixed with Asians and Greeks! You know what Virgil's Remus thinks of the Asians. He says:

*Phrygian women, indeed!—for Phrygian men you are not—
go over the heights of Dindymus,
where to accustomed ears the pipe utters music from double mouths!
The timbrels call you, and the Berecynthian boxwood of the mother of Ida:
leave arms to men, and quit the sword.*²

¹ Flavio Biondo had touched upon this theme in his crusade memorandum of 1 August 1453 to King Alfonso V, quoting Scipio and

Themistocles (Flavio Biondo: *Scritti*, p. 43)

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 9.618-620. Note how Pius considers conditions in Antiquity to be applicable to his own time

[21] Graeci quoque, illustres quondam animae¹, haudquaquam vigorem antiquum retinent². Degeneraverunt ferme omnes³, qui Turcis parent, neque in armis neque in litteris pristinum referunt⁴ spiritum. Ceciderunt omnia cum imperio. Non stant⁵ simul fortia pectora et servitus. Qui fortes⁶ viri ⁷in castris Turcorum⁸ militant ex Christianis sunt, ad summum⁹ quadraginta milia¹⁰, nigrae¹¹ atque¹² infelices¹³ animae¹⁴, quae¹⁵ ubi vos¹⁶ armatos viderint¹⁷, furiis agitatae¹⁸ suorum scelerum, et ultorem Deum ante ora¹⁹ cernentes, ferrum stringere²⁰ non audebunt. Reliqua turba in proelio nulli²¹ est usui, nisi ut²² caede sua²³ fatiget²⁴ hostes. Percurrite gesta majorum: Asiana²⁵ bella muliebria putaverunt. Alexander²⁶, magni Alexandri²⁷ propinquus, cum bellum gereret in Italia²⁸: “Frater meus in Asia²⁹,” inquit,³⁰ “cum feminis pugnat³¹; mihi³² cum viris certamen est.” Julius Caesar cum de Ponticis³³ gentibus³⁴ triumpharet³⁵, quae³⁶ Asiam incolunt, in curru suo³⁷ haec verba³⁸ jussit scribi³⁹ ⁴⁰: “Veni, vidi, vici,”⁴¹ ac si⁴² solo aspectu superandos diceret Asianos⁴³. Gotfridus et alii, qui secum in Asia⁴⁴ militarunt⁴⁵, parva saepe manu innumerabiles hostium⁴⁶ copias deleverunt, atque⁴⁷ ipsos⁴⁸ Turcos tamquam pecudes mactaverunt⁴⁹.

¹ animi H, P, W; animo U

² Grecorum dispositio *in marg.* H

³ ferme omnes : omnes ferme P

⁴ retinent H, L, T, V, X

⁵ *omit.* W

⁶ milites *add.* P

⁷ fortes viri : fortis viris U

⁸ *omit.* N

⁹ summum *corr.* ex summam A; summam B, E, M, // P, S, L, R, T, U, X, KO, O

¹⁰ milium W

¹¹ *omit.* U

¹² ac N, W

¹³ felices H; infideles W

¹⁴ amicitiae W

¹⁵ qui W

¹⁶ nos M

¹⁷ viderunt M, S

¹⁸ agitare U; agitati W

¹⁹ oculos W

²⁰ astringere H

²¹ nullo W

²² *omit.* KO, OO

²³ caede sua : sua caede P

²⁴ dis *add.* S

²⁵ Assiria X

²⁶ *omit.* W

²⁷ magni Alexandri : Alexandri magni W

²⁸ Asiani feminis comparantur, Itali vero viris *in marg.* H

²⁹ in Asia *omit.* U

³⁰ in Asia inquit : inquit in Asia M, N, P, S, V, W, KO, OO

³¹ in Asia *add.* U

³² autem *add.* KO, OO

³³ poticibus M, W, KO, OO;

pontibus S

³⁴ *omit.* N

³⁵ triumphavit N

³⁶ qui P

³⁷ curru suo : suo curru W

³⁸ *omit.* H

³⁹ inscribi M, N, P, L, R, W, X

⁴⁰ jussit scribi : inscribi jussit T; iussit inscribi U, V

⁴¹ Que Julius Cesar scripsit *in marg.* H

⁴² *omit.* X

⁴³ diceret Asianos : Asianos

dixerat H, V; Asianos diceret X

⁴⁴ Asiam A-F // T, W

⁴⁵ militaverunt H, U, V, X

⁴⁶ *omit.* U

⁴⁷ ac KO, OO

⁴⁸ ipsosmet P

⁴⁹ mactabant R

[21] Also the Greeks, though once courageous and brave,¹ have not kept their former strength. Almost all who are subject to the Turks have become weak and lost their former spirit in military matters and in letters². All went into decline when they lost power. Courage and servitude do not mix. All the strong men in the Turkish army come from the Christians. They amount to 40,000 men, dark and unhappy souls.³ When they see you in arms, they will be attacked by the furies of their own crimes, and seeing God the Avenger before them, they will not dare to use their weapons. The rest of the troops will only be useful in battle when they exhaust their enemies just by getting slaughtered. Look to the deeds of your forefathers. They thought that wars in Asia were for women. When Alexander, a relative of Alexander the Great,⁴ was campaigning in Italy, he said, "My brother fights with women in Asia, while I fight with men." And when Julius Caesar⁵ held his triumph over the peoples in Pontus in Asia,⁶ he had this inscription made on his chariot, "I came, I saw, I conquered,"⁷ as if saying that he could defeat the Asians just by showing himself. Godefroy⁸ and the others who fought with him in Asia often destroyed enormous hostile forces with few troops and slaughtered the Turks like cattle.

¹ "animae illustres"

² Note the conjunction of arms and letters (arma et litterae), dear to the humanists and here applied to the Greeks

³ The Janitshars

⁴ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to

Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

⁵ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁶ Pontus: A region in modern-day Northeastern Anatolia

⁷ Plutarch: *Lives / Caesar*, 50; Suetonius: *De vitis Caesarum / Divus Julius*, 37

⁸ Godefroy de Bouillon (ca. 1060-1100): one of the leaders of the First Crusade from 1096 until his death. Lord of Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine from 1087. After the successful siege of Jerusalem in 1099, Godefroy became the first ruler of the Kingdom of Jerusalem

[22] Sed arbitramini fortasse meliores hodie Turcos esse victa¹ Graecia quam² olim fuerunt³? At⁴ quales sint⁵, pugna Taurinensis⁶ ostendit anno ab hinc⁷ tertio gesta. Taurinum vocaverunt⁸ prisca oppidum ad confluentes⁹ Savum¹⁰ et¹¹ Danubium situm. Hoc aevo nostro alii Albam¹², alii Belgradum vocant,¹³ praeter¹⁴ situm¹⁵ non magni momenti¹⁶ castellum. Id cunctis viribus suis¹⁷ expugnare Turci¹⁸ adnixi¹⁹ sunt²⁰. Pugnatum est interdum²¹ noctuque summa contentione. Erant Christiani milites, qui oppidum tuebantur²², pauci²³ cruce signati, non nobiles aut divites, non bellis assueti²⁴ aut²⁵ armis tecti, sed rudes et²⁶ incompoti agrestes. Et hi tamen Turcos vicere, non tam²⁷ ferrum quam²⁸ fidem hostibus opposcentes²⁹. Ab his timidus³⁰ ille Turcorum imperator, insuperabilis antea³¹ creditus et terror gentium appellatus, in acie victus, {115r} ab obsidione dejectus, castris³² exutus³³, turpem arripere fugam compulsus est. Quid³⁴ Johannis Huniatis³⁵ ³⁶ victorias³⁷ referamus³⁸? Quid Georgii Albani³⁹ ⁴⁰ triumphos commemoremus⁴¹, cujus conspectum numquam⁴² ferre Turcorum acies⁴³ potuerunt⁴⁴. Unus⁴⁵ nobis exemplo sat est Johannes Vintimilius⁴⁶, qui cum quadringentis⁴⁷ militibus⁴⁸ in Epirum⁴⁹ profectus suppetias⁵⁰ nepoti⁵¹ ferens supra decem⁵² milia hostium⁵³ fudit, stravit⁵⁴ ⁵⁵, delevit. Hi⁵⁶ sunt hostes vestri⁵⁷, o⁵⁸ Christiani; cum his vobis⁵⁹ hominibus pugnandum⁶⁰ est, qui nec⁶¹ ferire neque feriri nisi⁶² in terga⁶³ noverunt.

¹ devicta X

² quia T

³ fuerant S; fuerint X, KO, OO

⁴ atqui P; ac S; ad KO

⁵ sunt L, T, W

⁶ Thaurmensis M

⁷ ab hinc : ad huc U

⁸ vocavere N, P, S, U, KO, OO

⁹ confluentem H

¹⁰ Sanum KO, OO; Sarium W

¹¹ de M; ad S

¹² Albani U

¹³ omit. V; appellant W

¹⁴ propter S, KO, OO

¹⁵ Hoc aevo ... situm omit. X

¹⁶ munimenti W

¹⁷ omit. W

¹⁸ expugnare Turci : Turci

expugnare KO, OO

¹⁹ adnisi S

²⁰ De obsidione Taurinensis et

Belgradi in marg. H

²¹ inter eos die W; die X

²² tenebantur S

²³ sed add. P

²⁴ assueti corr. from assuetis A, C; assuetis D // L, R, T

²⁵ vel P; non S, W, KO, OO

²⁶ omit. W, KO, OO

²⁷ tantum W

²⁸ quantum W

²⁹ apponentes U

³⁰ timidus M; timidus N, W

³¹ omnino S

³² castra W

³³ exuitus U

³⁴ quod E

³⁵ Huniatis M; Nymiatas S; Hungari W; de Himiad KO, OO

³⁶ Johannes Uniat in marg. H

³⁷ victoriam N

³⁸ referemus H, P

³⁹ victorias add. L, R, T

⁴⁰ Gregorius Albanus in marg. H

⁴¹ Quid Georgii ...

commemoremus omit. X

⁴² unquam L, T

⁴³ acie KO

⁴⁴ potuerunt H, M, P, V, X

⁴⁵ uno W

⁴⁶ Vincilmus W

⁴⁷ trecentis KO, OO; quatercentis X

⁴⁸ omit. C

⁴⁹ Eupyrum W

⁵⁰ subsidium P; auxilium add. M

⁵¹ suppetias nepoti : ne suppetias poti U

⁵² ducenta U

⁵³ hominum H

⁵⁴ et add. N, W

⁵⁵ fudit stravit : stravit fudit X

⁵⁶ omit. U

⁵⁷ nostri M, N, P, S

⁵⁸ omit. U

⁵⁹ nobis M

⁶⁰ pugnandi KO

⁶¹ neque H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁶² omit. S

⁶³ in terga : integra A, B, C, F; in terga corr. ex integra E

[22] Maybe you think that the Turks, having conquered Greece, are stronger today than they were formerly. But the Battle of Taurinum, fought only three years ago,¹ shows how they really are. In former days, the city lying at the confluence of the rivers Sava and Danube was called Taurinum. In our time, some call it Alba, and others Belgrade. Except for its location, it is not an important castle. The Turks tried to conquer it with all their might, and a ferocious battle went on day and night. The Christian soldiers defending the city were a small band of crusaders, neither noble, rich, experienced in war, nor well armed, but primitive and disorganised farmers. Still, they managed to defeat the Turks, opposing their enemies not with swords but with faith. They defeated the arrogant Turkish ruler, who had until then been considered invincible and called the terror of peoples. They forced him to lift the siege, to abandon camp, and to flee in shame.² What shall we say about the victories of Janos Huniad?³ And what of the triumphs of George of Albania,⁴ the sight of whom always struck the Turkish ranks with terror? One example suffices: with 400 soldiers, Giovanni Ventimiglia went to Epirus to bring aid to his nephew. There he slew and destroyed more than 10,000 enemies. So, these are your enemies, oh Christians. These are the people you must fight. They cannot strike at you, and they themselves can only be struck at from behind.⁵

¹ The Battle of Belgrade, 1456

² Pius does not mention the brave exertions of Giovanni da Capistrano

³ Janos Hunyadi (1406-1456): leading Hungarian military and political figure. Regent of Hungary during the minority of King Ladislaus the Posthumous

⁴ George Skanderbeg [Kastrioti] (1405-1468): 15th-century Albanian nobleman

⁵ Because they flee immediately

[23] Quamquam¹ etsi fortissimi essent et bellacissimi² hostes³, in Deo tamen sperandum erat⁴, qui causae suae nequaquam deesset. An⁵ non⁶ ⁷ scriptum est: *In Deo faciemus virtutem, et ipse ad nihilum deducet inimicos nostros?* Orabat Moyses in monte⁸, et populus⁹ vincebat in acie. Sol retinuit cursum suum¹⁰, ne victoris¹¹ Josuae retineret cursum¹² ¹³. Madianitarum plenissima et¹⁴ munitissima castra cum trecentis¹⁵ viris dissipavit Gedeon. Ammonitarum¹⁶ numerosum¹⁷ exercitum cum paucis militibus superavit Jepte¹⁸. Superbissimos¹⁹ Philistaeos solus humiliavit Sanson. Nec in manu feminae, cum Deus²⁰ voluit²¹, victoria defuit: potentes in armis Cananaeos exterminavit Debora²² Sisaram²³ interfecit Jael²⁴, et Holofernem obtruncavit Judith. Multa sunt hujusmodi²⁵ in veteri lege, nec²⁶ nova magnificis carent²⁷ exemplis. Constantino magnam²⁸ pugnam²⁹ timenti signum crucis in caelo³⁰ monstratum³¹ est, et vox divinitus audita, quae diceret³²: "In hoc, Constantine, vince³³." De Theodosio piissimo imperatore illi sunt versus:

O nimium³⁴ dilecte Deo, cui³⁵ militat aether, Et conjurati³⁶ veniunt³⁷ ad classica venti.

¹ te *add.* N

² bellicosissimi P, W

³ *omit.* S, KO, OO

⁴ esset H, W

⁵ at M

⁶ modo S, KO

⁷ an non : de ipso W

⁸ De Moysis oratione *in marg.* H

⁹ populos KO, OO

¹⁰ cursum suum : suum cursum

M, N, P, S, U, W

¹¹ victorie M; victores N

¹² victoris Josuae ... cursum :

Josue victoris retineret cursum

suum L, T

¹³ Et Josue bello *in marg.* H

¹⁴ ac P

¹⁵ ecclesiasticis B, E // R, T ;

ecclesiis F; tricentis S

¹⁶ Hamnonitarum A // L, P, R, T;

Namnonitarum C

¹⁷ innumerosum P; numero

suum L, T

¹⁸ *omit.* X

¹⁹ superbos X

²⁰ cum Deus : Deus cum P

²¹ de *add.* H

²² Delbora B, D, E // P, S, T, W,

KO, OO

²³ Si Sarram H; sic Saram N;

Syrasam S

²⁴ Jachiel H; Johel X; Ihael KO,

OO

²⁵ hujusmodi E // M, P, S, W, OO

²⁶ et S

²⁷ caret H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²⁸ magno E // H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²⁹ pugnare H

³⁰ in caelo *omit.* B, E

³¹ ostensum P

³² quae diceret *omit.* B, E

³³ vina M; vinces W

³⁴ o nimium : omnium C // S, W,

KO, OO

³⁵ qui OO

³⁶ conructanti H

³⁷ venient U

2.2. Strength of God

[23] But even if our enemies were strong and warlike, we could put our hope in God, who would never fail His own cause. For is it not written: *Through God we shall do mightily: and he shall bring our enemies to nothing?*¹ Moses prayed on the mountain, and the people prevailed in the battle. The sun stayed its own course^{2 3} in order not to stay the course of Joshua's victory. With 300 men, Gideon scattered the large and well-fortified camp of the Madianites.⁴ With a few soldiers, Jephtah defeated the numerous army of the Ammonites. Alone, Samson brought down the arrogant Philistines. And when God willed it, even women were victorious: Deborah destroyed the mighty Canaanite armies, Jael killed Sisara, and Judith decapitated Holofernes. In the Old Law, there are many examples of this kind, and the New Law⁵ does not lack its own magnificent ones. When Constantine⁶ feared a great battle, the sign of the cross was shown to him in the sky, and a heavenly voice was heard saying, "*In this sign you shall conquer, Constantine.*"⁷ And we have these verses about the pious Emperor Theodosius:

*Verily God is with thee, when the very elements fight for thee and the allied winds come at the call of thy trumpets.*⁸

¹ Psalms, 59, 14: *in Deo faciemus virtutem et ipse conculcabit tribulantes nos*. Pius uses a partly different version

² By setting and thus finishing the day

³ Josua, 10, 13

⁴ Judges, 6-7

⁵ I.e., the Christian age

⁶ Constantine the Great

⁷ Otto von Freising: *Chronica*, 6, 1

⁸ Claudianus: *De tertio consulatu Honorii*, 96-98: *o nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris Aeolus armatas hiemes, cui militat aetheret coniurati veniunt ad classica venti*

[24] In Britannia¹, quae nunc Anglia² nuncupatur³, ut auctor⁴ est Beda⁵, barbarorum ingentes copias pauci admodum Christiani et inermes alta voce cantantes⁶ "Alleluja" deleverunt⁷. Non est abbreviata manus Domini, quamvis elongata⁸ est a⁹ nobis misericordia sua¹⁰ propter peccata nostra¹¹. Sed *propitiabilis est nobis*¹² *dominus* et¹³ Deus noster¹⁴, *et multus ad ignoscendum*¹⁵. Si redierimus ad eum¹⁶, et ipse ad nos redibit. Facile per oboedientiam placabimus¹⁷, quem per contumaciam¹⁸ irritavimus¹⁹, qui ut primum nos viderit humiliato corde²⁰ pro sua gloria pugnatos^{21 22}, mox²³ odium in nos conceptum vertet in hostes, et²⁴ victoriam nobis²⁵ mittet²⁶.

[25] Hanc deam veteres esse²⁷ putaverunt²⁸, quam Jupiter mitteret. Illam²⁹ vero³⁰ tamquam regi deorum obtemperantem ad eos ire, quos iusserit, et in eorum parte considerare³¹. At hoc verum est³², sicut Augustinus ait³³, non de illo³⁴ Jove, quem deorum regem pro sua opinione³⁵ finxerunt, sed de³⁶ illo vero rege saeculorum³⁷, {115v} qui³⁸ mittat³⁹ non victoriam, quae nulla est substantia⁴⁰, sed angelum suum, et⁴¹ faciat⁴² vincere, quem⁴³ voluerit⁴⁴, sicut in castris Assyriorum accidit Ezechiam regem⁴⁵ obsidentibus^{46 47}, in quibus⁴⁸ angelus domini centum et⁴⁹ octuaginta⁵⁰ quinque milia⁵¹ hominum⁵² una nocte interfecit. Haec victoria, idest hic angelus, omnibus proculdubio⁵³ de caelo mittitur, qui pro causa Dei⁵⁴ recto et magno animo^{55 56} pugnant.

¹ Bithania N

² Anglica S

³ nominatur S; appellatur U

⁴ actum W

⁵ omit. W

⁶ canentes H, L, M, N, R, S, T, U,

V, X, KO, OO; clamantes P, W;

tacentes U

⁷ vicerunt V

⁸ longata H; allongata V

⁹ omit. F

¹⁰ eius V

¹¹ propter peccata nostra : nostra

propter peccata S

¹² omit. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹³ omit. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁴ misericordia ... est nobis omit. F

¹⁵ innoscendum P; ignoscendus U

¹⁶ dominum U

¹⁷ pacabimus F

¹⁸ incontinentiam W

¹⁹ irritamus X

²⁰ humiliato corde : corde

humiliato H, V

²¹ pugnatores W

²² pro ... pugnatos omit. KO, OO

²³ ad add. S

²⁴ in add. U

²⁵ victoriam nobis : nobis

victoriam KO, OO

²⁶ et victoriam ... mittet omit. X

²⁷ veteres esse : esse veteres H, L, M, P, R, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

²⁸ putavere D, F // W, KO, OO

²⁹ illamque M

³⁰ illam vero : namque ferunt W

³¹ consideret C // H, S, V, KO, OO; considerunt M; consedere W; consedere X

³² et in eorum ... est omit. N

³³ Augustinus ait : ait Augustinus KO, OO

³⁴ omit. M, W

³⁵ ordinatione W

³⁶ omit. F

³⁷ omit. N

³⁸ quod N, S, KO, OO

³⁹ mutat R; mittet W

⁴⁰ est substantia : substantia est W

⁴¹ ut U, W

⁴² eum add. W

⁴³ que M

⁴⁴ noluerit M

⁴⁵ omit. W

⁴⁶ occidentibus P

⁴⁷ Ezechiam ... obsidentibus omit. H, V, X

⁴⁸ inquit N

⁴⁹ omit. N

⁵⁰ octoginta V, W

⁵¹ miliaria U

⁵² hostium U

⁵³ omnibus proculdubio : proculdubio omnibus N

⁵⁴ causa Dei : Dei causa P

⁵⁵ magno animo : animo magno F // magnanimo L, R, T, KO

⁵⁶ recto et magno : magno et recto W

[24] In Brittany, now called England, a very small group of unarmed Christians, according to the author Beda, destroyed a great force of barbarians by loudly singing "Alleluja".¹ *The arm of the almighty Lord has not been shortened*,² though he has stopped showing us mercy because of our sins. But the *Lord is mild: and plenteous in mercy* to all.³ If we return to him, He will return to us. Through obedience, we may easily please Him whom we have displeased through disobedience. As soon as He sees that we will fight for His glory with humble hearts, He will turn His anger at us against our enemies and send us victory.

[25] In old days, people thought that victory was a goddess sent by Jupiter: obeying the king of gods, she would go to those he bade and help them. But, as Augustine says, this applies not to that Jupiter whom they imagined to be the king of gods but to the true God of ages, who sends not victory, which has no substance as such, but his angel, to give victory to those he wants to.⁴ Thus, in the camp of the Assyrians besieging King Ezechias, the angel of the Lord killed 185,000 men in one night.⁵ This victory, that is, this angel, is undoubtedly sent from Heaven to all who fight for the cause of God with virtuous and brave hearts.

¹ Bede: *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 1, 24

² Isaiah, 50, 2

³ Psalms, 85, 5: *tu enim es Domine bonus et propitiabilis et multus misericordia omnibus qui invocant te*

⁴ Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*, 4, 17. In: MPL, XLI, col. 125. Cf. Flavio Biondo: *Historiarum ab inclinatione Romanorum Imperii decades*, II, 3 [lm.76]: *Aderit vobis omnipotens Deus angelos suos ante faciem vestram, qui gressus*

dirigant vestros, qui omni casu locoque vobis assistant, opitulentur, caelo demittet (from the oration "*Existimatis forte*", put into the mouth of Pope Urban II by Biondo)

⁵ 4 Kings, 19, 35

[26] Verum quia¹ cum² eo nobis³ ⁴ hoste⁵ pugnandum est, qui Deo nostro prorsus adversatur, libet hoc loco pauca de Saracenorum lege referre⁶, quam Turci sequuntur, ut eo⁷ confidentius pugnam⁸ ineatis, quo foediores hostes⁹ ac¹⁰ magis impios cognoveritis. Sceleratissima est Maumethea lex, quae non solum Christi divinitatem¹¹ respuit¹², sed aliis innumerabilibus¹³ scatet¹⁴ erroribus¹⁵. Namque, ut praetereamus¹⁶ deliramenta et ineptias illas, quibus angelos corporeos de flamma¹⁷ ignis creatos¹⁸, interituros¹⁹ affirmat, et Origeni consentiens²⁰ daemones aliquando salvandos scribit²¹, et coelum de fumo²² factum, et lunam ab initio²³ aeque²⁴ splendidisse²⁵ cum sole, sed²⁶ volitantis²⁷ angeli Gabrielis ala tactam²⁸ fulgorem²⁹ amisisse. Quis illud tolerare queat, quod³⁰ mundum³¹ cum Democrito³² sentiens³³ fortunae casuique³⁴ submittit et divinam³⁵ providentiam³⁶ aufert? Quid³⁷ quod³⁸ sacrosanctam respuit³⁹ trinitatem⁴⁰ et impossibile ait deum habere filium? Et quamvis Christum ex virgine natum consentit, justum et sanctum hominem, qui cunctas curaverit⁴¹ aegritudines, verum tamen Deum⁴² esse cum Ario negat, nec pro nobis obiisse censet, sed sublatum a Deo in fine saeculi moriturum⁴³ et tum⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ denique⁴⁶ surrecturum,⁴⁷ Judaeos autem alium sibi similem⁴⁸ suspendisse atque⁴⁹ interfecisse⁵⁰ ⁵¹ delirat⁵².

¹ omit. KO, OO

² in add. KO, OO

³ quidem W

⁴ hoc add. U

⁵ nobis hoste : hoste nobis H, V, KO, OO; eo nobis hoste :

nobiscum hoste X

⁶ De Turcorum lege in marg. H

⁷ omit. KO, OO

⁸ bellum M, W

⁹ omit. H, KO, OO

¹⁰ et X

¹¹ legem H, V

¹² respicit R

¹³ aliis innumerabilibus :

innumerabilibus aliis H, M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ suadet P

¹⁵ sceleratissima est ... erroribus omit. X

¹⁶ praeteream KO, OO

¹⁷ de flamma : ad flammas P

¹⁸ procreatos U

¹⁹ interitinos KO, OO

²⁰ consentientes H, X

²¹ credat W; tradit M, N, P, S, U, X, KO, OO

²² fummo A, B, D, E, F // R;

summo L, T

²³ ab initio omit. KO, OO

²⁴ omit. H; aquae T

²⁵ splenduisse M, N, P, S, W, X, KO, OO; splenduisse U

²⁶ et add. W

²⁷ voluntatis M, N; volantis W

²⁸ tactum W

²⁹ splendorem U

³⁰ qui U

³¹ mundo N

³² mathematicis W

³³ senties M

³⁴ casui M; casibus V

³⁵ ei add. B, E; diutinam X

³⁶ prudentiam L, R, T, X

³⁷ id H; quis W

³⁸ quid quod : quidque L, R, T, X

³⁹ respui H

⁴⁰ respuit trinitatem : trinitatem respuit KO, OO

⁴¹ sanavit M; curavit L, T, W

⁴² verum tamen Deum : Deum tamen verum M, N, P, S, U, W, KO, OO

⁴³ estimat add. W; moritur OO

⁴⁴ tunc N; tamen S

⁴⁵ et tum : estimat W

⁴⁶ tum denique : deinde W

⁴⁷ et omne fidei meritum

aufferens add. W

⁴⁸ omit. X

⁴⁹ et H, V, X

⁵⁰ interfecisset L

⁵¹ suspendisse et interfecisse : crucifixisse KO, OO

⁵² delirant KO, OO

2.3. Inferiority of Islam

[26] Since we must fight an enemy who is completely against our God, we will now speak briefly on the law of the Saracens, followed by the Turks, so that you may go to war more confidently, knowing how wretched and impious they are. The law of Muhammad is totally perverse: not only does it deny the divinity of Christ, but it is filled with countless other errors. Let us pass over such delirious foolishness as that angels have perishable bodies created by fire; that – as Origen¹, too, believes – even demons will someday be saved; that Heaven is made of fume; and that in the beginning the moon shone as brightly as the sun but lost its splendour when it was touched by the wing of the angel Gabriel in flight. But who can countenance that the world obeys fortune and chance and not divine providence, as also Democritus² thought? That Muhammad mocks the Holy Trinity and claims that God cannot possibly have a son? And even if he agrees that Christ was born of a virgin and was a just and holy man who healed all illnesses, he denies – together with Arius³ – that He was God, and he does not believe that He died for us, but madly claims that He was taken away by God and will die at the end of the world and then finally be resurrected, and that the Jews crucified and killed somebody else who looked like him.

¹ Origen [Origenes] (ca. 184-253): early Christian scholar and theologian. One of his reputed teachings concerns the apokatastasis, i.e., the final reconciliation of all creatures, including perhaps even the devil. It later became contro-

versial among Christian theologians

² Democritus (ca. 460-ca. 370 BCE): Greek philosopher. Formulated an atomic theory of the universe

³ Arius (250 or 256-336): Christian priest in Alexandria. His teachings

about the nature of the Godhead emphasised the Father's divinity over the Son. They were condemned by the Council of Nicea in 325

[27] Nec¹ sancti spiritus dignitati² gloriaeque consentit, quem creaturam³ esse⁴ cum Nestorio Macedonioque⁵ mentitur⁶ ⁷, et omne⁸ fidei meritum⁹ auferens¹⁰ in sua quemque secta salvari hominem¹¹ prohibet¹², alioquin recte viventem¹³, nisi a¹⁴ sua lege abierit¹⁵. Et quia non constant inter se mendacia, alio loco neminem salvari asserit extra legem a se traditam, in qua beato Paulo¹⁶ contradicens circumcisionem servari¹⁷ praecipit¹⁸. Et vini tantum¹⁹ consuetudinem prohibens²⁰, ceteras voluptates indulget, stupra et adulteria cum captivis et emptis mulieribus admittit, uxores plurimas et cum his divortia passim concedit, nec concubitus naturae adversos inhibet²¹ ²². Postremo carnalis²³ homo et²⁴ bestialis²⁵ ²⁶ futurae vitae beatitudinem sola²⁷ carnis voluptate metitur²⁸. En²⁹ sapientem hominem, qui se Dei prophetam³⁰ audet nominare, temerator {116r} antiquae legis, corruptor novae, prostitutior animarum, verus procurator Orci, et primus Sathanae satellites, cujus auditores inferni³¹ mancipia sunt, quales Turcos esse non dubitamus³², adversus quos armis contendere sacrificium³³ fuerit³⁴ et³⁵ acceptissimum Deo³⁶ spectaculum.

¹ filii *add.* P

² *omit.* P

³ tractaturam U

⁴ *omit.* KO, OO

⁵ Macedoneoque H; Machedonio W

⁶ consentit H, V, X

⁷ quem creaturam ... mentitur *omit.* V

⁸ omnem N

⁹ veritatem W

¹⁰ negat W

¹¹ *omit.* H

¹² prohibet L, T

¹³ in sua ... viventem *omit.* W

¹⁴ in C; ad L, T

¹⁵ prodierit W; abierint L, R, T

¹⁶ beato Paulo : beatus Paulus U

¹⁷ salvari C

¹⁸ praecepit E // H, S, U, W

¹⁹ tantam S; tandem U

²⁰ si *add.* H

²¹ prohibet W, X

²² Que continentur in lege

Maumetti *in marg.* H

²³ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁴ *omit.* OO

²⁵ bestiale S

²⁶ homo et bestialis : et bestialis homo W

²⁷ soli M

²⁸ mentitur P

²⁹ heni V; o W

³⁰ Dei prophetam : prophetam Dei W

³¹ inferna S

³² quales ... dubitamus *omit.* H, V, X

³³ Deo *add.* S, KO, OO

³⁴ foret W

³⁵ *omit.* N

³⁶ *omit.* KO, OO

[27] Neither does he accept the dignity and glory of the Holy Spirit, whom he falsely – like Nestorius¹ and Macedonius² – claims to be a created being. He robs Faith of all worth by saying that anyone is saved, whatever sect he belongs to, if only he leads a moral life and follows his own law. And since his lies are inconsistent with each other, in another place he claims that no one can be saved outside the law handed down by himself, in which – against Saint Paul - he bids [his followers] to practice circumcision. He forbids the use of wine only; all other pleasures he allows; and he permits debauchery and adultery with captive and bought women. He grants that men may have several wives and divorce them as they please, and he does not forbid intercourse against nature.³ Finally, carnal and animal man gains a future blessed life consisting purely in carnal pleasures. This is indeed a wise man who dares to call himself the prophet of God, but who dishonours the Old Law while corrupting the New, who prostitutes souls, who is truly a procurator for Orcus⁴ and the first disciple of Satan, and whose followers are the slaves of Hell – such as we do not doubt the Turks to be. Therefore, battling against them would be a worthy and pleasing sacrifice and a sight highly pleasing to God.

¹ Nestorius (ca. 386-450): Archbishop of Constantinople from 428 until August 431, when he was condemned by the Council of Ephesus

² Macedonius I (d. after 360) : Archbishop of Constantinople from 342 to 346, and from 351 to 360. He inspired the establishment of the Macedonians, a sect later declared heretical

³ I.e., homosexuality

⁴ Note the pope's insertion of a pagan deity, no less than the God of the Underworld in Roman and Italic mythology

[28] Ceterum, quia divinitatem Christi, ut diximus, impia¹ Saracenorum ac² Turcorum³ secta prorsus excludit⁴, non ab re fuerit hoc⁵ loco⁶ majestatem ejus et⁷ gloriam in medium afferre cunctisque palam facere Christum, quem colimus, et cujus causa bellum suademus, verum Deum esse sibi⁸ thura deberi⁹ et divinos honores¹⁰. Aggrediamur igitur¹¹ hunc¹² ¹³ articulum; semper enim conandum est, ut veritas magis atque¹⁴ magis elucescat¹⁵. Agemus autem¹⁶ pingui Minerva¹⁷, non more philosophorum, quos vix illuminatissimae¹⁸ possunt intelligere mentes.¹⁹ Ut quisque²⁰ cum proximo suo²¹, cum vicino suo²² loquitur²³, ita et nos hodie vobiscum²⁴ loquemur²⁵. Cupimus enim²⁶ etiam²⁷ ²⁸ a piscatoribus intelligi, qui fidem a piscatoribus accepimus²⁹. In primis autem illud³⁰ assumimus, quod omnes ferme concedunt Deum scilicet unum³¹ esse, a quo³² condita sunt³³ et gubernantur universa. Docent enim³⁴ viri sapientes mundi machinam³⁵ et tantum rerum ordinem, quantum in mundo cernimus³⁶, stare non posse, nisi et³⁷ unus³⁸ esset rector omnibus imperans. Recipimus³⁹ igitur⁴⁰ confessa majorum, qui⁴¹ mundialis machinae⁴² rectorem⁴³ et quidem⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ unum esse fatentur eumque Deum vocant, quo nihil majus, nihil melius aut inveniri⁴⁶ aut⁴⁷ excogitari queat. Hunc nos Christum esse⁴⁸ luce clarius⁴⁹ ostendemus, ad quod efficiendum⁵⁰ tutissima et apertissima via ex⁵¹ miraculosis⁵² ejus operibus⁵³ patet. Nam et ipse interrogatus a Judaeis⁵⁴, an Christus esset: *Loquor vobis*⁵⁵, inquit, *et non*⁵⁶ *credit*⁵⁷; *opera, quae ego facio in nomine patris mei, ipsa testimonium perhibent de me*. Facessant igitur dialecticorum syllogismi et⁵⁸ oratorum inductiones⁵⁹: ipsa nobis Christi opera Christi⁶⁰ divinitatem ostendant⁶¹, religionisque nostrae⁶² fidem confirment⁶³ facta, non verba⁶⁴.

¹ imperia OO
² et R, S, W, KO, OO
³ ac Turcorum *omit.* H, V, X
⁴ excluditur OO
⁵ ob M; in *add.* KO, OO
⁶ hoc loco : hic W
⁷ ac E // U
⁸ sibi quae E
⁹ debere R; *omit.* U
¹⁰ homines S
¹¹ *omit.* W
¹² *omit.* N
¹³ igitur hunc ; hunc igitur M
¹⁴ ac N, U, W
¹⁵ eluceat B, E; illucescat M
¹⁶ igitur M
¹⁷ pingui Minerva : pugne itinera W
¹⁸ vix illuminatissimae : illuminatissime vix W
¹⁹ sed *add.* W
²⁰ quisquis KO, OO
²¹ et W
²² cum vicino suo *omit.* P, KO, OO

²³ loquetur M
²⁴ hodie vobiscum : vobiscum hodie H, V, X
²⁵ loquimur P, U, V, W, KO
²⁶ *omit.* D
²⁷ et X
²⁸ enim etiam : autem W
²⁹ Primo ex piscatoribus fidem habuimus *in marg.* H
³⁰ unum *add.* H, V, X
³¹ verum M, W
³² omnia *add.* KO, OO
³³ omnia W
³⁴ tantum S, KO; tantam KO
³⁵ machinas KO
³⁶ terminus U
³⁷ ut M; *omit.* H, N
³⁸ et unus : deus W
³⁹ recepimus M, S
⁴⁰ ipsa B, E
⁴¹ que H
⁴² conditorem et *add.* W
⁴³ pectorem M
⁴⁴ et quidem *omit.* W

⁴⁵ quod M
⁴⁶ invenire M
⁴⁷ *omit.* H
⁴⁸ quo nihil ... Christum esse *omit.* W
⁴⁹ esse *add.* W
⁵⁰ faciendum W; perficiendum X
⁵¹ et L, M, R, T
⁵² miraculis *corr.* ex miraculosis E
⁵³ operibus *omit.* B, E
⁵⁴ interrogatus *add.* B, E [*sic!*]
⁵⁵ Loquitur Christus Judeis *in marg.* H
⁵⁶ *omit.* S
⁵⁷ mihi *add.* KO, OO
⁵⁸ ac W
⁵⁹ inductiones L, T
⁶⁰ *omit.* W
⁶¹ ostentant H; ostendunt W
⁶² *omit.* W
⁶³ confirment W
⁶⁴ facta non verba : non verba sed facta W

2.4. Superiority of Christianity

[28] Moreover, since the impious sect of the Saracens and the Turks totally denies the divinity of Christ, as we have already said, it is proper that we should proclaim, here, His majesty and glory and make it clear to all that Christ, whom We worship and on whose behalf We exhort you to go to war, is true God, to whom we owe incense and divine honours. So, let Us take up this charge since We should always strive to make the truth shine forth. But We shall do this as a fat¹ Minerva, that is, not in the way of philosophers whom even the brightest intellects barely understand. For today, We shall be talking [plainly] to you as someone speaking with his friends and neighbours. Indeed, we, who received the Faith from fishermen, wish to also be understood by fishermen. Firstly, we take as given what almost all people agree on, that God is One and that He created all and rules all. For wise men teach that the world machine and the grand order of things we see in the world cannot stand unless there is but one ruler who governs all. Thus we accept the beliefs of our forefathers, who claim that there is one – and only one - governor of the world machine and who call God that which is and which is thought to be the greatest and best. We shall show clearly that Christ is this God. There is no safer and easier way to do this than by referring to His miraculous works. For when the Jews asked him if He was Christ, he answered, *“I speak to you, and you believe not: the works that I do in the name of my Father, they give testimony of me.”*² So, away with the syllogisms of logicians and the subtleties of orators; let the very acts of Christ show His divinity, and let the Faith of our religion be proven not by words but by deeds.

¹ i.e., lazy. The expression “pingui Minerva” is from Cicero: *De Amicitia*, 19: *Let us then proceed*

“with our own dull wits,” as the saying is (Agamus igitur pingui, ut aiunt, Minerva)

² John, 10, 25

[29] Ponatur¹ igitur² ante oculos nostrae mentis homo, qui vocatus ad nuptias aquam in vinum convertat; quacumque³ iter faciat⁴ ⁵ aegrotos solo verbo sanitati⁶ restituat⁷; mutorum linguas⁸ in eloquium solvat; claudis⁹ gradiendi facultatem¹⁰ concedat¹¹; caecis lumen, surdis auditum praebeat; paralyticorum membra consolidet¹²; respersos¹³ elephantiae¹⁴ maculis repurget; ac non solum vires imbecillis¹⁵ adjiciat, sed ipsos quoque mortuos et¹⁶ in sepulchro quatrduanos¹⁷ tamquam somno solutos ad vitam revocet¹⁸; secreta et cogitationes {116v} hominum intelligat; futura praenuntiet¹⁹; daemonia ejiciat; super aquas²⁰ siccis pedibus ambulet; ventis imperet²¹ atque²² mari²³; postremo volens juxta sermonem suum prius habitum²⁴ captus a Judaeis crucifigatur, interficiatur, sepeliatur, et²⁵ tertia die resurgens tractandum palpandumque corpus suum²⁶ discipulis suis²⁷ offerat, edat, et bibat cum eis²⁸, et tandem post quadraginta dies videntibus illis ascendat²⁹ in caelum³⁰. Quid hic post tot signa dicemus³¹? An³² non³³ interrogatus ille³⁴ a discipulis Johannis³⁵: “*Tu es, qui venturus es, an alium expectamus?*”, interrogatores ipsos ad miracula³⁶ remisit? Certissima quippe³⁷ divinitatis³⁸ argumentatio est miraculorum ostensio. Quod si nonnulli philosophorum naturam ipsam deam³⁹ esse putaverunt, cur non magis Deus ille⁴⁰ credendus est, qui naturae se⁴¹ dominium⁴² ⁴³ habuisse⁴⁴ miraculis patefecit?

¹ ponantur OO

² ergo W

³ quocumque M, P, S, W, X, KO, OO

⁴ faciet U

⁵ iter facit : interficiat L, T; iter faciat R

⁶ sanati C; solo verbo sanitati : sanitati solo verbo H

⁷ Christi miracula *in marg.* H

⁸ labia W

⁹ claudicis H

¹⁰ claudis gradiendi facultatem : gradiendi facultatem claudis P

¹¹ tribuit KO; tribuat OO

¹² resolidet C

¹³ refusos M; resperso N

¹⁴ elephantis S; elephantinis W

¹⁵ imbecillibus W

¹⁶ omit. KO, OO

¹⁷ quatrduanos U, V

¹⁸ revocat KO

¹⁹ pronuntiet C; praevideat W; et *add.* X

²⁰ aquis KO, OO

²¹ imperetur OO

²² et M

²³ imperet atque mari : et mari imperet W

²⁴ habiturum N

²⁵ omit. N

²⁶ suis H, V, W, X

²⁷ omit. B // H, M, V, X, KO, OO

²⁸ illis W

²⁹ ascendit W

³⁰ ascendat in caelum : in caelum ascendat KO, OO

³¹ omit. H; videmus W

³² at ipse X

³³ nonne X

³⁴ ipse H, M, N, P, S, V, W; *omit.* U, X, KO, OO

³⁵ si *add.* W

³⁶ ad miracula : miraculo S

³⁷ omit. P

³⁸ omit. W

³⁹ deum P

⁴⁰ Deus ille : ille Deus X

⁴¹ naturae se : se naturae P

⁴² dominum M, N, S, T, X; dominium *corr.* ex dominum U

⁴³ se dominium : dominium se KO; dominum se OO

⁴⁴ fuisse X

[29] So let us place before the eyes of our minds this man who, when invited to a wedding, changes water into wine. Wherever He travels, He heals the sick - just with a word. He makes the mute speak and the lame walk. He gives sight to the blind and hearing to the deaf. He strengthens the members of the palsied. He cleanses the lepers. And not only does He restore the strength of those who have weakened, but He even calls the dead who have lain in their tomb for four days back to life as if waking them from sleep. He knows the secrets and the inner thoughts of men. He foretells the future. He drives out demons. He walks on water with dry feet. He commands the winds and the sea. And, in the end, He is - willingly and as He Himself had foretold - arrested by the Jews, crucified, killed, and buried, and on the third day, He resurrects and shows Himself to His disciples so they can feel and touch His body. He eats and drinks with them, and after 40 days, He ascends into Heaven as they are looking on. What shall we say after so many signs? When He was asked by the disciples of John, "*Art thou he that art to come, or look we for another?*",¹ did He not answer them by pointing to his miracles? The surest proof of divinity is miracles. If many philosophers think that God is nature itself, then why should we not rather believe that He is God, whom miracles show to have mastery over nature?

¹ Matthew, 11, 3

[30] Dicat¹ fortasse aliquis Moysen², Eliam³, Eliseum, ceterosque prophetas, et ipsius Christi discipulos signa et portenta⁴ fecisse ac naturae cursum retinuisse⁵, non tamen fuisse deos. Verum est id quidem, sed neque illi⁶ deos sese⁷ dixerunt⁸. Mentiri⁹ enim¹⁰ et¹¹ miracula facere supra¹² naturam¹³, quae Christus fecit, nulli est datum¹⁴, sicut apud Johannem testatur caecus a domino liberatus^{15 16}, *Scimus*, inquit, *quia peccatores*, hoc est mendaces, *Deus non audit*¹⁷. Et Nicodemus *Rabbi, scimus*, inquit¹⁸, *quia a Deo venisti*¹⁹; *nemo enim potest haec signa*²⁰ *facere, quae tu facis, nisi fuerit*²¹ *cum eo Deus*²². At haec, quae²³ retulimus, et alia quamplurima²⁴ de Christo miracula sacrosancta quattuor²⁵ evangelia tradunt, quattuor uberrimi testes affirmant. Accedunt²⁶ epistolae doctoris gentium Pauli et Actus Apostolorum²⁷, ex quibus palam fit ea signa Christum fecisse, per quae naturae dominus ostenderetur. Fuit igitur cum eo²⁸ Deus et ipse verax²⁹, neque enim mendacibus Deus conjungitur³⁰. Verax igitur Christus^{31 32} et Deus, qui³³ de seipso³⁴ dicit in evangelio: *Ego sum via, veritas, et vita*. Et: *Qui videt me, videt et patrem*. Et rursus: *Ego et pater unum sumus*. Et³⁵ alio loco: *Pater, clarifica me*³⁶ *ea claritate, quam habui apud te priusquam mundus fieret*, quibus verbis se Deum³⁷ manifestissime³⁸ testatus est^{39 40}.

¹ dicet W

² Moysen E // M, P, V; et *add.* H

³ Heliaro L, T

⁴ prodigia W

⁵ immutasse W

⁶ se *add.* H, X

⁷ esse H, X; se esse V

⁸ duxerunt L, T

⁹ multa W

¹⁰ verum N

¹¹ *omit.* W

¹² super M

¹³ facere supra naturam : supra naturam facere X

¹⁴ est datum : datum est W

¹⁵ illuminatus W

¹⁶ Johannes de ceco liberato *in marg.* H

¹⁷ Qui de miraculis Christi

locuntur *in marg.* H

¹⁸ scimus inquit : inquit scimus W

¹⁹ magister *add.* W

²⁰ haec signa : hoc S

²¹ esset KO, OO

²² cum eo deus : deus cum eo W

²³ *omit.* U

²⁴ quamplura E; complurima V; plurima W

²⁵ Christi U

²⁶ accedant U

²⁷ *omit.* P

²⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

²⁹ cum eo ... verax : verax et cum eo deus W

³⁰ *si add.* H, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; sed *add.* P, L, R, T

³¹ igitur Christus : deus ergo W; Christus igitur N, P, S, KO, OO

³² et ipse verax ... igitur Christus : igitur M

³³ quia W

³⁴ se U

³⁵ *omit.* H, L, N, P, R, S, T, V, W, X

³⁶ mea P

³⁷ esse *add.* H, M, N, U, W, X, KO, OO; meum T

³⁸ se Deum manifestissime :

manifestissime se Deum P

³⁹ se Deum ... testatus est :

testatus est se Deum esse V

⁴⁰ testatus est : testatur X

[30] Maybe someone will say that Moses, Eliah, Elisha and other prophets, and Christ's own disciples also made miracles and portents and stayed the course of nature, but that they were not gods. This is indeed true, but they did not claim to be gods. Nobody can both lie and make the supernatural miracles that Christ made. For as the blind man said in the Gospel of John when he was freed from his blindness by the Lord: *We know that God doth not hear sinners*, that is, liars.¹ And Nicodemus said: *Rabbi, we know that thou art come a teacher from God; for no man can do these signs which thou dost, unless God be with him.*² The miracles We have mentioned here and many others are related in the four gospels; they are confirmed by four trustworthy witnesses. To these should be added the letters of Paul, Teacher of Peoples, and the Acts of the Apostles, which make it clear that the miracles of Christ prove His mastery over nature. Thus, God was with him, and God is truthful and cannot consort with liars. So, Christ is truthful and God, as He himself says in the gospel: *I am the way, and the truth, and the life.*³ And: *He that seeth me seeth the Father also.*⁴ And again: *I and the Father are one.*⁵ And in another place: *And now glorify thou me, O Father, with the glory which I had, before the world was, with thee.*⁶ In these words, He clearly stated that He is God.

¹ John, 9, 31

² John, 3, 2

³ John, 14, 6

⁴ John, 14, 9

⁵ John, 10, 30

⁶ John, 17, 5: *et nunc clarifica me tu Pater apud temet ipsum*

claritatem quam habui priusquam mundus esset apud te

[31] Quod¹ si quis evangelio non² credat³, non videmus, cur Moysi credat et aliis antiquae⁴ legis scriptoribus. Credunt⁵ Graeci Herodoto⁶, Thucydidi⁷, Polybio⁸, Xenophonti, Diodoro⁹. Credunt Romani Livio, Sallustio, Trogo¹⁰, Cornelio, Suetonio. Credunt et alii suis historicis. Cur nos¹¹ non credamus¹² nostris, quamquam minime illi¹³ cum nostris comparandi sunt¹⁴. Illi enim nullius auctoritate recepti sunt^{15 16 17}, sanctum evangelium multa patrum concilia¹⁸ prius approbaverunt, quam¹⁹ legendum ecclesiis²⁰ traderetur.

¹ quid U

² minime W

³ credit KO, OO

⁴ antiquis W

⁵ Quibus alii credunt *in marg.* H

⁶ Herodoti N; Herodoto S

⁷ Thucydidi L, T; Thucydidi M;
Tucillidi N; Tutilidi U; Teodoro

X

⁸ Pollibeo KO, OO

⁹ Diodero KO

¹⁰ Trocho U; Trogo KO

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² credimus M, KO, OO

¹³ minime illi : illi minime KO, OO

¹⁴ sint KO, OO

¹⁵ *omit.* H

¹⁶ illi enim ... sunt *omit.* F

¹⁷ credunt enim ... sunt *omit.* W

¹⁸ consilia H, S, U, W, KO, OO;
concilia *corr.* ex consilia V

¹⁹ antequam W

²⁰ legendum ecclesiis : ecclesiis
legendum W

[31] But if there is someone who does not believe in the Gospel, we do not see why he should believe Moses or the other writers of the Old Law. The Greeks believe Herodotus, Thucydides, Polybius, Xenophon, and Diodorus. The Romans believe Livy, Sallust, Trogus, Cornelius, and Suetonius. And other [peoples] believe their own historians. Then why should we not believe ours? Indeed, the other historians¹ can certainly not be compared with ours, for they were accepted on nobody's authority, whereas the Holy Gospel was approved by many councils of Fathers before it was given to the churches to be read.

¹ I.e., the pagan and Jewish writers

[32] Ad cuius robur etiam martyres {117r} accedunt¹, qui pro testamento domini sua corpora tradiderunt et *laverunt stolas suas in sanguine agni*²; inter quos etiam³ virgunculae magno miraculo non expavere⁴ supplicia⁵. Accedunt⁶ et⁷ sanctissimi doctores, qui cum essent perspicacissimi⁸, nequaquam evangelio credidissent⁹, nisi veram ejus historiam cognovissent, sicut apud Graecos¹⁰ Dionysius Ariopagita¹¹, Johannes Chrysostomus¹², Gregorius Nazanzenus¹³, Cyrillus¹⁴, Athanasius, Magnus Basilius¹⁵, et alii quamplures¹⁶; apud Latinos quattuor doctores¹⁷ fama illustres: Gregorius, Ambrosius, Jeronimus, et¹⁸ Augustinus¹⁹, et ultra illos Cyprianus Carthaginensis, Isidorus Hispalensis²⁰, Hilarius Pictaviensis^{21 22}, Eusebius²³ Vercellensis²⁴, et²⁵ proximi²⁶ aevo nostro Thomas Aquinas²⁷ et Albertus Magnus, natione Suevus, et alii paene innumerabiles, qui de²⁸ Christi²⁹ divinitate non more philosophorum, qui sibi ipsis adversantur, sed omnes uno ore³⁰ loquuntur, ut sine Deo³¹ putanda non sit tanta unitas atque³² concordia. Confert et multum Romanorum auctoritas, qui, cum essent sapientissimi ac³³ potentissimi et³⁴ orbis domini³⁵ collum evangelio minime³⁶ submisissent, nisi aut rationibus victi aut miraculis tracti³⁷. Quis praeterea³⁸ viros fortes³⁹ eosdemque prudentes, Hispanos, Gallos, ac⁴⁰ Germanos evangelium suscepisse crediderit, nisi magnis rationibus⁴¹ persuasos? Sane, cum lex gentium mollis esset, Christianorum⁴² durior, nemo hanc subire voluisset, nisi auctorem ejus Deum esse didicisset.

¹ accedant U

² Testimonia Latinorum *in marg.*
H

³ *omit.* U

⁴ expaverunt P; expavescentes
W

⁵ subierunt *add.* W

⁶ accedant U

⁷ etiam N

⁸ prudentes W

⁹ nequaquam ... credidissent
omit. W

¹⁰ Testimonia Grecorum *in marg.*
H

¹¹ Arropagita P

¹² Grisostomus L, T; Grisostimus
R

¹³ Nazazenus P; Nalanzenus S

¹⁴ *omit.* X

¹⁵ Blasius H

¹⁶ complures H, V, X

¹⁷ *omit.* W

¹⁸ *omit.* H, U, V, KO, OO

¹⁹ Ambrosius Jeronimus et
Augustinus : Iheronimus,
Augustinus, Ambrosius W

²⁰ Hispanensis H; Hispolensis M

²¹ Pictavensis A, B, C, D, E, F // L,
R, T, P, W; Pithanensis H;
Pitanensis M; Pictanensis S

²² Isidorus ... Pictaviensis *omit.* N

²³ Euse W

²⁴ Versalensis KO, OO

²⁵ *omit.* OO

²⁶ proximo X

²⁷ de Aquinis P; de Aquino W

²⁸ fidem M; fide KO, OO

²⁹ de Christi : fidem Christi de W

³⁰ more F

³¹ qui sibi ipsis ... sine Deo *omit.*
M

³² et W, X

³³ et M, W, X; atque KO, OO

³⁴ *omit.* S; ac U; atque W

³⁵ ac potentissimi ... domini :
quondam domini et orbis
possessores KO, OO

³⁶ *omit.* M; nomine E; numquam
KO, OO

³⁷ Quibus miraculis tracti ad
fidem Christianam *in marg.* H

³⁸ propterea KO

³⁹ quis ... fortes *add.* *in marg.* A

⁴⁰ atque H, U; et M, W

⁴¹ orationibus E

⁴² vero *add.* U

[32] The solidity of the Gospel is confirmed by the martyrs who gave their lives for the Testament of the Lord and *washed their garments in the blood of the lamb*.¹ Among them were even very young women who, by some great miracle, did not fear torture. They are joined by the holy doctors, who, since they were extremely perspicacious, only believed in the Gospel because they acknowledged it as true history. Among the Greeks, they were Dionysius Areopagita, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianz, Cyrillus, Athanasius, Basil the Great, and many others. Among the Latins, they were the four illustrious doctors, Gregory, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, and besides them Cyprian of Carthage, Isidore of Spain, Hilaire of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercelli, and, close to our own times, Thomas Aquinas and Albert the Great from Swabia, and almost countless others. Concerning the divinity of Christ, they all unanimously declare - unlike the philosophers who disagree between themselves – that such great unity and harmony is unimaginable without God. Also, the authority of the Romans is quite important: being the wise and powerful lords of the world, they would never have submitted to the Gospel unless they had been convinced by reasons or miracles. And who can believe that those strong and wise men, the Spaniards, the Gauls, and the Germans, would have accepted the Gospel unless they had been persuaded by very strong arguments. Indeed, since the law of the pagans is lax while the law of the Christians is strict, no one would have accepted the harder law unless he had learnt that its author was God himself.

¹ From a liturgical chant at the Feast of the Holy Innocents. From Apocalypse, 22, 14

[33] Sed illud omnem ambiguitatem excludit, omnem titubationem avertit¹, omnem credendi moram² expellit³, quod multis saeculis priusquam Christus carnem⁴ indueret⁵, nativitas ejus ex virgine, sanctimonia⁶ vitae, miraculorum patratio⁷, praedicatio⁸, legis edictio⁹, captivitas¹⁰, tormentorum¹¹ perpressio¹², crucifixio¹³, mors, resurrectio, in caelum ascensio, et reliqua, quae¹⁴ de ipso¹⁵ legimus, ita in prophetis¹⁶ scripta¹⁷ reperiuntur, sicut postea gesta sunt. Legite¹⁸ Isaiam¹⁹, Jeremiam, Danielelem, Ezechielem²⁰, David, Salomonem, et alios²¹ prophetas, quaecumque de Christo jam²² facta commemorant²³ evangelistae eadem prophetae divino afflati²⁴ spiritu²⁵ futura²⁶ praedixerunt, Deum et hominem in Christo recognoscentes. Nec Sibyllarum contemnenda est auctoritas²⁷, quae longo tempore ante nativitatem dominicam²⁸ vaticinatae^{29 30 31}, ut Firmianus³² et Augustinus affirmant, praeclara³³ de Christi deitate cecinerunt³⁴.

¹ avertat M; avertet S

² morem H

³ quo *add.* U

⁴ Christus carnem : carnem
Christus H, V

⁵ induet S

⁶ ejus *add.* X

⁷ patrato L, T

⁸ *omit.* KO, OO

⁹ editio N, P, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁰ captivitatis W

¹¹ tormentum KO, OO

¹² *omit.* C

¹³ triduana W

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ quae de ipso : de Christo quae
W

¹⁶ **prophetis H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T,
U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

¹⁷ supra scripta P

¹⁸ Qui de adventu Christi dixerunt
in marg. H

¹⁹ Esaiam OO

²⁰ *omit.* B, E // W; Ezechiam U

²¹ alio U

²² *omit.* U, W

²³ facta commemorant :
commemorant facta U

²⁴ affati N

²⁵ prophetae ... spiritu : divino
afflati spiritu prophetae KO, OO

²⁶ *omit.* H, V

²⁷ Et Sibille de Christo dixerunt *in
marg.* H

²⁸ Christi W; *omit.* U

²⁹ *omit.* V; vaticinantes X

³⁰ commatice W; *omit.* U

³¹ dominicam vaticinate : *omit.* H,
V; vaticinate dominicam P

³² Firmanus P, T

³³ praeclare N, U; plura KO, OO

³⁴ cecinerint L, M, R, T

[33] But all doubt, dithering, and hesitancy to believe are removed by the fact that many centuries before the incarnation of Christ, His birth from a virgin, His holiness of life, His performance of miracles, His preaching, His issuing a law, His arrest, His torments, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection, His ascension into Heaven, and all else that we read about Him were foretold by the prophets. Read Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Ezekiel, David, Solomon, and the other prophets: all the events in the life of Christ related by the evangelists were foretold by the prophets under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, recognising Christ as both God and man. Nor should we belittle the authority of the Sibyls,¹ who, according to Firmianus² and Augustine,³ foretold the birth of the Lord long before it happened and gloriously proclaimed the divinity of Christ.

¹ Sibyls: The word sibyl comes (via Latin) from the ancient Greek word sibylla, meaning prophetess. There were many sibyls in different locations throughout the ancient world. The Cumaean Sibyl was the priestess presiding

over the Apollonian oracle at Cumae, a Greek colony located near Naples, Italy. Because of the importance of the Cumaean Sibyl in the legends of early Rome and because of her proximity to Rome, the Cumaean Sibyl became

the most famous among the Romans

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

³ Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

[34] His conjungitur honestissima lex ejus¹ omni² ex parte venerabilis³ ac⁴ modesta⁵. Nam quid aliud⁶ Christus⁷ docet⁸ quam caelestem agere mortales⁹ in terris¹⁰ vitam¹¹? Jubet¹² enim nos¹³ Deum colere, festos dies¹⁴ sanctificare, proximos quasi nos¹⁵ ipsos¹⁶ ¹⁷ diligere, {117v} pauperum misereri¹⁸, viduas¹⁹, pupillos atque omnes²⁰ imbecilles²¹ protegere, infirmos et in carcere clausos²² visitare, mortuos sepelire, castis²³ nedum manibus, sed²⁴ etiam²⁵ oculis esse; adulteria, stupra, fornicationes, jurgia, lites, ebrietates fugere; primos in cenis²⁶ ²⁷ accubitus et omnes mundi pompas, omnes²⁸ blanditias²⁹ devitare³⁰, reges ac³¹ parentes honorare, magistratibus et³² sacerdotibus oboedire, postremo³³ thesauros veros³⁴ ipsamque felicitatem non in terra, sed in caelo quaerere. Haec lex Christi est³⁵, hoc praeceptum, hoc testamentum ejus³⁶.

¹ Christi KO, OO

² omnium M

³ honorabilis W

⁴ et W

⁵ honesta X

⁶ alius L, T

⁷ Christum M; episcopus KO, OO

⁸ Christus docet : iubet Christus P

⁹ agere mortales : mortales agere P

¹⁰ terra S

¹¹ in terris vitam : vitam in terris P

¹² Hec est lex Christi *in marg.* H

¹³ unum *add.* H, V, X

¹⁴ festos dies : dies festos W

¹⁵ non L

¹⁶ *omit.* M

¹⁷ quasi nos ipsos : nostros quasi nosmetipsos W

¹⁸ miseras T

¹⁹ et *add.* KO, OO

²⁰ *omit.* P

²¹ imbecillos H, N, U, V, KO, OO

²² positos V

²³ captos P; castos S, W, X

²⁴ verum P

²⁵ *omit.* H

²⁶ celis L, M, R, T; cena X

²⁷ in cenis : moeni F

²⁸ omnesque W

²⁹ delicias H, V, X

³⁰ evitare W

³¹ et W

³² ac P, S, KO, OO

³³ *omit.* P

³⁴ nostros W

³⁵ lex Christi est : est lex Christi P

³⁶ Hoc testamentum Christi *in marg.* H

[34] To this should be added His excellent law, completely venerable and modest. For what else does Christ teach other than that men should live a heavenly life on Earth?¹ He bids us to worship God, keep the feast days as holy days, love one's neighbour as oneself, take pity on the poor, protect the widows, the orphans, and all those who are weak, visit the sick and the prisoners, bury the dead, have chaste hands and eyes, abstain from adultery, debauchery, fornication, swearing, brawls, and drunkenness, avoid the first places at banquets and all worldly pomp and flattery, honour kings and parents, obey magistrates and priests, and finally to seek true treasures and happiness not on Earth but in Heaven. This is the Law of Christ; this is His command; this is His testament.

¹ This theme had been developed by Piccolomini in his oration/sermon to the parishioners of As-pach in 1446, the "*Non est apud me*" [6], a text that is really a treaty on Christian life and mo-

als. In sect. 15, Piccolomini said: *If you look about you properly, it is not difficult to see that good, upright, and holy people live their lives in joyfulness and happiness, which is the same as having Para-*

dise on Earth (Si ergo rite consideratis, non est arduum intueri bonos viros, rectos, sanctos in jucunditate ac laetitia suam aetatem agere: quod est in in terris paradisum habere)

[35] Conjungite nunc¹ omnia simul: Christus ex virgine natus castissimam vitam ducit, signa et mirabilia² facit, naturae imperat³, legem perfectissimam edit, quae⁴ orbis consensu recipitur⁵, Deum se dicit et hominem, prophetae⁶, martyres, ac⁷ doctores sibi astipulantur⁸. Quid haec⁹ inferunt¹⁰ simul juncta, nisi¹¹ verum esse testimonium¹² Christi de seipso, et ipsum verum atque¹³ indubitatum¹⁴ esse Deum, Mahumetum vero¹⁵ Arabicum¹⁶ falsum, mendacem, perditum, et¹⁷ omnino respuendum, qui haec¹⁸ negavit¹⁹. Verus igitur²⁰ Christus²¹ Deus, verus dominus²² ²³ ²⁴ et homo Christus²⁵ Jesus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto²⁶ in personarum trinitate²⁷ colendus²⁸. Misertus²⁹ humani generis³⁰, primi parentis culpa³¹ jam pridem³² damnati, ut nos redimeret, ex arce caelesti et³³ altissimo Dei³⁴ throno, splendor paternae³⁵ gloriae³⁶, figura substantiae Dei, moderator orbis, iudex futuri saeculi, ad nos descendit, *neque rapinam³⁷ arbitratus est³⁸ se esse³⁹ aequalem Deo, sed formam servi⁴⁰ accipiens⁴¹, exinanivit semetipsum⁴², factus⁴³ oboediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis*. Neque ista sine suppliciis atque tormentis, sed dorsum suum, ut inquit Isaias⁴⁴ ⁴⁵, posuit ad flagella⁴⁶, maxillas⁴⁷ suas ad palmas. Genas suas non avertit a foeditate⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ sputorum⁵⁰. *Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum speciem atque decorem amisit*. Ductus est⁵¹ *tamquam ovis ad victimam*, et inter latrones deputatus est. *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta sua⁵², et super vestem suam miserunt sortem*. In siti sua potatus est aceto⁵³, et *spineam coronam posuerunt super caput ejus*. *Non fuit dolor sicut dolor suus⁵⁴; a planta pedis⁵⁵ usque ad verticem⁵⁶ non erat⁵⁷ in eo sanitas, nec tamen ejulatus⁵⁸ emisit⁵⁹. Sicut agnus coram tondente siluit⁶⁰*.

¹ omit. H

² miracula H, N, P, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

³ impetrat U

⁴ qui U

⁵ recipere M, W

⁶ quoque add. W

⁷ omit. H; et M, S, W, KO, OO

⁸ astipulant H

⁹ omit. B, E; hoc F

¹⁰ ingerunt W; referunt X

¹¹ omit. S

¹² esse testimonium :

testimonium esse X

¹³ et P

¹⁴ immortalem N; dubitatum U

¹⁵ omit. S, KO, OO

¹⁶ Arabarcem A, C, D, F // L, N, R, S, T, U, V; Arabaocem B, E; Arabarchiam H; Arabacten M; Arabem P, W; Arabarchem X

¹⁷ ac KO, OO

¹⁸ hoc U

¹⁹ negat W

²⁰ verus igitur omit. P

²¹ verus igitur Christus : igitur Christus verus W

²² omit. P

²³ verus igitur ... dominus : verus igitur Christus, Deus verus, verus Deus H, M, N, S, U, V, X, KO, OO [Christi N]

²⁴ verus dominus omit. W

²⁵ est add. W

²⁶ spiritu sancto : sancto spiritu M, W

²⁷ personarum trinitate : trinitate personarum W

²⁸ est add. V, X; misertus [sic!] W

²⁹ est add. H, W

³⁰ humani generis : generis humani H

³¹ ut add. KO, OO

³² primi KO, OO

³³ ex P

³⁴ omit. W

³⁵ aeternae KO, OO

³⁶ sub add. P

³⁷ se add. S

³⁸ esse U

³⁹ se esse : esse se V

⁴⁰ omit. H

⁴¹ sed add. U

⁴² omit. H; seipsum KO, OO

⁴³ est add. H, M

⁴⁴ ut inquit Isaias omit. B, E

⁴⁵ Ysaïas de Christo in marg. H

⁴⁶ posuit ad flagella : ad flagella posuit V

⁴⁷ massillas L, R

⁴⁸ felicitate U

⁴⁹ non avertit ... foeditate : feditate sputorum non avertit KO, OO

⁵⁰ neque ista ... sputorum omit. W

⁵¹ omit. H

⁵² ejus S, W, KO, OO

⁵³ acete U

⁵⁴ ejus W

⁵⁵ omit. P

⁵⁶ eius add. X

⁵⁷ fuit W; erit L, R, T

⁵⁸ eiugulatus H

⁵⁹ sed add. W

⁶⁰ soluit T

[35] To sum up: Christ is born of a virgin; He leads a supremely chaste life; He performs signs and miracles; He commands nature; He issues a most perfect law that is accepted by the whole world; He declares that he is both God and man; and martyrs and doctors acknowledge Him. What all this together means is that Christ's testimony concerning Himself is true and that He Himself is the true and undoubted God. But the Arab Muhammad is false, mendacious, completely wrong, and despicable because he denied these things. So, Christ is truly God. Jesus Christ is truly the Lord and man who must be worshipped together with the Father and the Holy Spirit in a trinity of persons. Taking pity on the human race, condemned by the fault of the first parent, He - the splendour of the Father's glory, the image of the substance of God, the ruler of the world, the judge of the future age - came down to us from the heavenly citadel and the high throne of God in order to save us. *And he thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but emptied himself, taking the form of a servant, becoming obedient unto death, even to the death of the cross.*¹ Doing so, He suffered pain and torture, and - as Isaiah says² - offered His back to be scourged and his jaws to be hit. He did not turn His cheek away from foul spit. The one who was beautiful before all men,³ lost both *beauty and comeliness*.⁴ He was *led as a sheep to the slaughter*⁵ and was placed among thieves.⁶ *They parted His garments amongst them, and upon his vesture they cast lots.*⁷ When He thirsted, He had vinegar to drink,⁸ and *they put a crown of thorns on His head.*⁹ There has been *no sorrow like to his sorrow*.¹⁰ *From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there was no soundness therein.*¹¹ *But He did not utter a groan; He was dumb as a lamb before his shearer.*¹²

¹ Philippians, 2, 6-8: *qui cum in forma Dei esset non rapinam arbitratus est esse se aequalem Deo, sed semet ipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens in similitudinem hominum factus et habitu inventus ut homo, humiliavit semet ipsum factus oboediens us-*

que ad mortem, mortem autem crucis

² Isaiah, 53

³ Psalms, 43,3 (with a different Latin wording)

⁴ Isaiah, 53, 2

⁵ Isaiah, 53, 7

⁶ Luke, 23, 29

⁷ Psalms, 21, 19

⁸ Luke, 23, 36

⁹ Matthew, 27, 29

¹⁰ Lamentations, 1, 12

¹¹ Isaiah, 1, 6

¹² Isaiah, 53, 7

[36] O¹ homo, o Christiane, o qui fidelis videri vis², et cur³ ista⁴ tulisse Christum⁵ existimas? Justus erat, et *dolus non est inventus*^{6 7} *in ore ejus*. Cur tot suppliciis subicitur innocens? Pro te *doluit*, homo; *peccata tua ipse portavit*, homo⁸; et tu *suo livore sanatus es*⁹, homo^{10 11}. *Bonus pastor animam suam posuit*¹² *pro suis ovibus*^{13 14}, et *mortem tuam morte sua*¹⁵ *redemit*¹⁶. Et¹⁷ quas tu illi {118r} gratias pro tot beneficiis¹⁸ reddis¹⁹? Quid facis²⁰? Quid cogitas, ut²¹ gratus inveniariis? Turci nomen suum²² blasphemant, altaria sua²³ diruunt, legem suam²⁴, haereditatem suam²⁵ perdere conantur²⁶, et tu domi jaces²⁷ in otio? O reges, o duces, o viri potentes²⁸, surgite jam tandem, et Christi Dei vestri²⁹ religionem atque³⁰ honorem³¹ defendite, quando³² nec opes nec vires vobis³³ quam³⁴ Turcis minores sunt³⁵, et certissimi estis pugnaturis^{36 37} vobis³⁸ pro testamento³⁹ domini divinum auxilium⁴⁰ minime^{41 42} defuturum⁴³. Nec plura de secundo⁴⁴ et⁴⁵ principali membro^{46 47}.

¹ *omit.* H

² fidelis videri vis : videri vis

fidelis P

³ *omit.* P

⁴ ipsa H

⁵ tulisse Christum : Christum
pertulisse W; Christum tulisse
N, P, KO, OO

⁶ non est inventus : inventus non
est M, KO, OO

⁷ dolus non est inventus : non est
inventus dolus P

⁸ peccata tua ... homo *omit.* W

⁹ Pro quo passus est Christus *in
marg.* H

¹⁰ *omit.* W

¹¹ et tu ... homo *omit.* B, E

¹² livore sanatus ... posuit *omit.* U

¹³ *omit.* OO

¹⁴ suis ovibus : ovibus suis H, P, S,
U, V, W, X, KO; viribus suis T

¹⁵ **morte sua : sua morte H, L, M,
N, P, R, S, T, U, V, X, W**

¹⁶ redimit U

¹⁷ *omit.* U

¹⁸ pro ... beneficiis *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁹ rependis W

²⁰ quid facis *omit.* S

²¹ *omit.* F

²² ejus W

²³ ejus W

²⁴ ipsius et W

²⁵ ejus W

²⁶ conatur S

²⁷ iacens S

²⁸ prudentes W

²⁹ nostri U

³⁰ et X; ac KO, OO

³¹ atque honorem *omit.* W

³² quoniam W, T

³³ nobis U

³⁴ quid N

³⁵ sint X

³⁶ pugnaturi P

³⁷ vobis quam Turcis ... pugnaturis
: nec auxilium divinum erunt W

³⁸ *omit.* N; nobis U

³⁹ te sancto U; verbo V; lege
KO, OO

⁴⁰ implorantes *add.* KO, OO

⁴¹ *omit.* P

⁴² divinum auxilium minime :
certantibus W

⁴³ affuturum P

⁴⁴ de secundo : descendo N

⁴⁵ ac X

⁴⁶ articulo KO, OO

⁴⁷ nec plura ... membro *omit.* P

[36] Oh man, oh Christian, oh you who want to be a believer, why do you think that Christ bore all this? He was just, and *no guile was found in his mouth*.¹ Why was this innocent subjected to such tortures? It is for you, oh man, that He *suffered*; it is your sins, oh man, that He bore; and it is by the wounds He received that *you were healed*, oh man.² *The good shepherd gave his life for his sheep*³ and *bought your death with his own*.⁴ How do you thank Him for all the good things He has done for you? What do you do? How do you intend to please Him? The Turks blaspheme His name, tear down His altars, and endeavour to destroy His law and His inheritance, and you stay peacefully at home? Oh kings, oh dukes, oh mighty men, rise up now and defend the religion and honour of Christ, your God, since neither your resources nor your strength are smaller than the Turks', and you may be quite sure that God's help will certainly not be denied you when you fight for the testament of the Lord.

I shall say no more on this, the second principal issue.

¹ 1 Peter, 2, 22

² 1 Peter, 2, 22-24

³ John, 10, 11

⁴ From the Easter liturgy

[37] Tertium et ultimum modo¹, si placet, quam brevissime² absolvamus, hoc est, quae praemia consecuturi³ sint⁴ adversus hostes fidei pugnaturi. Audite⁵, adhibete⁶ aures, fortissimi milites. Magna sunt et inextimabilia⁷ bona, quae hujus honestissimi⁸ belli victores adipiscemini⁹ ¹⁰. In primis enim¹¹ quaecumque¹² in hoc bello¹³ acquiretis, arma, equos, vestes, argentum, aurum, gemmas¹⁴, servos, ancillas¹⁵, agros¹⁶, urbes, provincias, regna juste et licite¹⁷ pro nostra¹⁸ distributione¹⁹ possidebitis. Et ultra hoc²⁰ clarissimum nomen et famam aeternam²¹ cum viris²² illustribus consequemini²³. Sunt haec²⁴ ²⁵ quidem²⁶ more gentium appetenda²⁷, nec majora quaesivere²⁸ Romani²⁹, Graeci, barbari³⁰ belligerantes³¹.

[38] At³² vobis, o procures³³, praemia longe³⁴ majora³⁵ promittuntur. Nam³⁶ regni caelestis possessio et Christi³⁷ cohaereditas³⁸ vobis³⁹ offertur⁴⁰, et haec quidem⁴¹ non solum vincentibus, verum⁴² etiam⁴³ fortiter⁴⁴ occumbentibus. Nam quod⁴⁵ praedecessores nostros Urbanos, Eugenios, Innocentios, Alexandros atque alios fecisse constat, Christianos omnes cruce signabimus in hac⁴⁶ expeditione⁴⁷ ituros, et pugnaturis⁴⁸ pro lege domini plenissimam⁴⁹ omnium peccatorum suorum⁵⁰ veniam⁵¹ largiemur et apostolicis clavibus paradisi portas aperiemus⁵². *Omnibus*, inquit orator, *qui patriam juverint, auxerint⁵³, defenderint, certum est esse in caelo diffinitum locum*, in quo⁵⁴ beati aevo sempiterno⁵⁵ fruuntur⁵⁶. Verius et certius hoc illis promittitur⁵⁷, qui religionem Christianam et orthodoxam⁵⁸ fidem tuebuntur et adversus impios Turcos invictis⁵⁹ animis⁶⁰ bellum gerent⁶¹.

¹ nunc U; *omit.* W

² quam brevissime *omit.* P

³ assecuturi X

⁴ sunt P, W, T

⁵ attendite V; accedite W

⁶ adhibete B, E // M, N, P, OO, X;

adhibete *corr.* ex adhibite V;

adhibe W

⁷ inexistimabilia H;

inaestimabilia M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁸ honestissimum KO, OO

⁹ adipiscimini M

¹⁰ Que possunt acquiri bello *in marg.* H

¹¹ *omit.* M, KO, OO

¹² quae W

¹³ in hoc bello *omit.* W

¹⁴ *omit.* KO, OO

¹⁵ et *add.* L, T

¹⁶ et *add.* L, T

¹⁷ et licite : liciteque V

¹⁸ vestra S, U, W, X

¹⁹ pro ... distributione : pro distributione nostra F

²⁰ hec W

²¹ extremam P

²² veris OO

²³ consequimini M, S, KO, OO;

consequimur U

²⁴ *omit.* H

²⁵ sunt haec : hec sunt W

²⁶ *omit.* N, W

²⁷ expetenda KO, OO

²⁸ quesiverunt M; quesivere R

²⁹ Romam KO

³⁰ arbani U

³¹ bella gerentes W;

belligerentes N, P, U, KO

³² ac S

³³ patres S

³⁴ *omit.* X

³⁵ meliora P

³⁶ et *add.* N

³⁷ ipsi M

³⁸ haereditas P, KO, OO

³⁹ *omit.* P; nobis S

⁴⁰ Promittitur vita eterna *in marg.*

H

⁴¹ et haec quidem : equidem W

⁴² sed H, V, X

⁴³ et R; et *add.* W

⁴⁴ *omit.* P

⁴⁵ quid L, R, T, KO

⁴⁶ **hanc H, M, N, P, R, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO L, T**

⁴⁷ **expeditionem H, M, L, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO**

⁴⁸ pugnatueros M, S, W

⁴⁹ *omit.* P; plenariam W

⁵⁰ *omit.* N, W

⁵¹ eis *add.* W

⁵² aperimus U

⁵³ et *add.* W

⁵⁴ *omit.* U

⁵⁵ aevo sempiterno : sempiterno evo U

⁵⁶ fruuntur B, E // fruuntur P

⁵⁷ *omit.* X

⁵⁸ harthodosam U

⁵⁹ iniunctis D

⁶⁰ annis M

⁶¹ gerentur U

3. Rewards of the war

3.1. Rewards on Earth

[37] The third and last issue We shall briefly deal with now, if you please: what will be your reward when you fight the enemies of the Faith. Listen and hear, oh mighty soldiers. Great and inestimable are the benefits that you shall obtain as victors in this very just war. Firstly, you will legitimately possess whatever weapons, horses, garments, silver, gold, gems, servants, slave girls, territories, cities, provinces, and kingdoms that you acquire in this war – to be distributed by Ourselves. Moreover, you will acquire a most noble name and eternal fame together with illustrious men. These are what also pagan peoples¹ desire, and neither the Romans, the Greeks, nor the Barbarians sought more than that when they went to war.

3.2. Rewards in Heaven

[38] But far greater rewards are promised to you, oh, nobles. For the possession of the Heavenly Kingdom and the coinheritance of Christ are offered to you, and not just if you are victorious, but even if you fall, fighting vigorously. For as Our predecessors, Urban, Eugenius, Innocent, and Alexander are known to have done, We too shall designate as crusaders all those who go on this expedition. We shall give plenary remission of all sins to those who fight for the law of the Lord, and with the apostolic keys, We shall throw open the gates to Paradise. As the orator says, *all those who have preserved, aided, or enlarged their fatherland have a special place prepared for them in the heavens*, where they may enjoy an eternal life of happiness.² This is promised even more truly and surely to those who protect the Christian and orthodox Faith and make war against the Turks with indomitable courage.

¹ "gentes"

² Cicero: *De re publica*, 6.9.13
(Somnium Scipionis): *omnibus,*

*qui patriam conservaverint, adiu-
verint, auxerint, certum esse in*

*caelo definitum locum, ubi beati
aeterno sempiterno fruuntur*

[39] Festinemus igitur ad hoc¹ bellum, in quo morientes veram inveniēmus² vitam³. Nam⁴ haec, quam⁵ modo⁶ vivimus⁷ vitam⁸, nequaquam re⁹ ipsa^{10 11} vita est¹², sed potius mors¹³, quae fugit velut umbra et numquam in eodem statu permanet. Sicut lilia et flores¹⁴ cito¹⁵ deficiamus¹⁶. Levissima¹⁷ res est, quae hominem extinguit: bestiolae minimae nobis insidiantur¹⁸, et parvulae¹⁹ serpentis²⁰ morsu et²¹ araneae²² nonnumquam ictu^{23 24} perimus. Anacreon²⁵ poeta acino²⁶ uvae²⁷ passae, et²⁸ Fabius senator in haustu lactis uno²⁹ pilo strangulatus est. Nihil fragilius humana³⁰ vita, quae cum³¹ incerta est³², tum³³ brevissima³⁴. Aevum nostrum {118v} ut³⁵ quam longissimum³⁶ sit, teste³⁷ David, in ipsis³⁸ septuaginta aut³⁹ octuaginta⁴⁰ finitur annis. Quod⁴¹ amplius est^{42 43}, labor⁴⁴ et dolor. At⁴⁵ Nestoreos vivas⁴⁶ annos, et Methusalem impleas aetatem: quid tibi postquam cursus peractus⁴⁷ est? Breve est quidquid finitur, et stultitia est in his⁴⁸ spem ponere⁴⁹, quae praetereunt⁵⁰. O homo, moriendum⁵¹ est, quisquis es, et haec⁵² relinquenda, quae sunt in terris carissima. Nemo natus⁵³ non moritur; a morte mortales appellantur^{54 55}. Nemo nostrum novit, an horam victurus sit⁵⁶, et tamen haec terrena diligimus⁵⁷, quae mox relicturi sumus.

¹ omit. C

² inveniamus H

³ omit. H; viam T

⁴ non KO, OO

⁵ qua H, P

⁶ omit. S, KO, OO

⁷ modo vivimus : vivimus modo W

⁸ vita H, M, N, P, U, V, W, X

⁹ omit. W

¹⁰ vitam ... ipsa omit. KO, OO

¹¹ re ipsa : ipsa re P

¹² re ipsa vita est : vita est re ipsa V

¹³ Vita mors dicitur in marg. H

¹⁴ flos U

¹⁵ omit. KO, OO

¹⁶ defecimus L, T

¹⁷ tenuissima N

¹⁸ insidiant L, T

¹⁹ parvuli U, W, OO

²⁰ serpentes M, W

²¹ omit. OO

²² aranei OO

²³ ritu P

²⁴ nonnumquam ictu : ictu nonnumquam S

²⁵ Anacreus H; Anacres KO, OO;

Anacrom U

²⁶ racemo P; acine S

²⁷ rue S

²⁸ Anacreon ... et omit. W

²⁹ omit. P

³⁰ incerta R

³¹ tam P, X; tamen W; tum KO, OO

³² omit. H, P, S, W, KO, OO

³³ tam P, X; tamen F, S, W

³⁴ est add. P

³⁵ omit. W

³⁶ longum W

³⁷ testante W

³⁸ teste David in ipsis omit. S

³⁹ vel U

⁴⁰ octoginta L, R, T, W

⁴¹ quid KO, OO

⁴² omit. KO; nisi OO

⁴³ amplius est : est amplius X

⁴⁴ est add. W

⁴⁵ esto add. H, M, N, P, S, U, V, X, W, KO, OO

⁴⁶ binos S; impleas W

⁴⁷ perfectus W

⁴⁸ in his omit. W

⁴⁹ in his W

⁵⁰ pereunt W

⁵¹ mirandum U

⁵² omit. H

⁵³ omit. M

⁵⁴ appellamur H, M, N, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁵⁵ A morte mortales appellamur in marg. H

⁵⁶ horam victurus sit : victurus sit horam P

⁵⁷ diligemus F

[39] So, let us hasten to this war in which we shall find true life if we die. For the life that we are living now is not real life but rather death, fleeting as a shadow and never stable. Like lilies and flowers, we wither soon. Insignificant things destroy a man. Little insects plague us, and sometimes we die of the bite of a small snake or scorpion. The poet Anacreon was choked by a single seed of grape,¹ as was Fabius the Senator by a hair in his milk. Nothing is more fragile than human life, which is uncertain and short. According to David, even a very long lifespan is not more than 70 or 80 years.² And beyond that, there is drudgery and pain. And even if you *live as long as Nestor*³ and reach the age of Methusalem, what is left for you afterwards? All that ends is short, and it is foolish to put your hope in things that will pass away. Oh man, whoever you are, you will die and leave what you hold most dear on Earth. All who are born will die. The mortals are named after death (a morte). None of us knows if he will survive another hour, but nonetheless, we love those earthly things that we shall soon leave behind us.

¹ Valerius Maximus: *Facta et dicta memorabilium*, 9.8. ext. 8: *So too with Anacreon, who was carried off after he had passed the usual measure of human life by the*

moisture of a single seed sticking in his dry throat, as he pampered the thin and scanty remnants of his strength with the juice of dried grapes

² Psalms, 89, 10

³ Nestoris or Nestoreos annos: expression of Martial, e.g., *Epigrams*, 5.58

[40] Quin potius transitoria¹ pro² perpetuis commutamus, et³ hoc Turcense bellum aggredimur, per quod⁴ possumus⁵ immortales fieri, et ad illam caelestem⁶ civitatem⁷ Jerusalem pervenire⁸, quam⁹ summus rerum opifex mira pulchritudine¹⁰ et artificio inenarrabili^{11 12} molitus est¹³, in qua¹⁴ Deum ipsum¹⁵ facie ad faciem videbimus, et ipsius bonitate¹⁶ fruemur, in qua¹⁷ sanctos intuebimur angelos, et omnium beatorum spirituum¹⁸ ordines quasi concives, quasi¹⁹ contubernales habebimus²⁰, in qua nihil nos latebit eorum, quae ubique²¹ fiunt. Liberatus²² enim²³ hac terrena²⁴ compage²⁵ animus²⁶ omnium rerum²⁷ scientiam²⁸, non ut sentit²⁹ Plato, recuperabit³⁰, sed ut³¹ Aristoteli et nostris placet doctoribus³², consequetur³³. Illic nihil timebimus³⁴, nec planetae, nec^{35 36} cometae³⁷ nobis formidabiles³⁸ erunt, quos perhorrescunt³⁹ reges. *Sedebimus*, ut propheta testatur⁴⁰, *in pulchritudine pacis*⁴¹, *in tabernaculis fiduciae*, *in requie opulenta*. Inveniemus sabbatum sine vespero⁴², id est requiem sine fine. *Renovabitur ut aquilae*⁴³ *juventus nostra*, quae nullo senio, nulla temporis⁴⁴ longitudine corrumpetur. Satiabimur⁴⁵ apparente gloria salvatoris nostri⁴⁶, quam⁴⁷ sine fine videbimus⁴⁸, sine⁴⁹ fine⁵⁰ amabimus^{51 52}, sine⁵³ fatigatione laudabimus. O igitur⁵⁴ nobile bellum! O⁵⁵ felix praemium! O expetibilem⁵⁶ pugnam, ex⁵⁷ qua⁵⁸ sive vincimus, sive vincimur⁵⁹ reges evadimus, et cum Deo⁶⁰ nostro triumphantes lucidas paradisi sedes quaerimus, pro quibus consequendis Stephanus protomartyr lapidibus caesus⁶¹ est⁶², Petrus et Andreas in cruce⁶³ suspensus⁶⁴, Paulus⁶⁵ securi percussus, Bartholomaeus vivens cute nudatus, Sebastianus sagittis⁶⁶ confossus⁶⁷, Laurentius flammis exustus.

¹ terrena W

² cum H, V, X

³ si P; ad *add.* S

⁴ quos A, B, C, E, F

⁵ possumus E, F // P, S, T, U, W, KO, OO

⁶ *omit.* KO, OO

⁷ *omit.* W

⁸ *omit.* S

⁹ ille *add.* W

¹⁰ plenitudine P

¹¹ mirabili N

¹² artificio inenarrabili : immirabili artificio U

¹³ molitus est : decoravit W

¹⁴ dominum *add.* B, E

¹⁵ de *add.* X

¹⁶ est in qua Deo S

¹⁷ Deum ipsum ... in qua *omit.* P

¹⁸ beatorum spirituum : spirituum beatorum KO, OO

¹⁹ et KO, OO

²⁰ habuimus U

²¹ ibique C

²² libertas C

²³ ab *add.* P

²⁴ eterna M, X

²⁵ terrena compage : compage

terrena W

²⁶ animis L, T

²⁷ *omit.* V

²⁸ omnium rerum scientiam *omit.* W

²⁹ sensit M, N, P, S, V, X, KO, OO

³⁰ omnium rerum scientiam W

³¹ *omit.* S

³² placet doctoribus : doctoribus placet X

³³ consequitur W

³⁴ tenebimus C

³⁵ neque M, KO, OO

³⁶ neque ... neque U

³⁷ camete KO

³⁸ foruti clabiles U

³⁹ perhorrent W; perhorrescant KO

⁴⁰ propheta testatur : testatur propheta X

⁴¹ et *add.* M

⁴² vespere H, W

⁴³ aquila X, U, KO, OO

⁴⁴ *omit.* S

⁴⁵ satiabitur F // L, R, T

⁴⁶ *omit.* W

⁴⁷ **quem** C // H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁴⁸ sine fine videbimus *omit.* B, E

⁴⁹ *omit.* S

⁵⁰ meta W

⁵¹ ornabimus U

⁵² sine fine amabimus *omit.* X

⁵³ amabimus sine *omit.* S

⁵⁴ quam W

⁵⁵ *omit.* M; quam W

⁵⁶ expectabilem M, W, KO, OO; expetibile L, T

⁵⁷ in W

⁵⁸ ex qua : et que H

⁵⁹ semper *add.* KO, OO

⁶⁰ rege H

⁶¹ cessus M

⁶² caesus est : est caesus W

⁶³ in cruce : cruci X

⁶⁴ suspensi H, M, U

⁶⁵ et Matheus gladius Mathias *add.* W

⁶⁶ *omit.* U

⁶⁷ Bartholomaeus ... confossus : et W

[40] Let us exchange the transitory with the eternal, and let us undertake this Turkish war that can make us immortal and reach the heavenly City of Jerusalem, created by the supreme artisan with wondrous beauty and art beyond words. There we shall see God face to face and enjoy his goodness. There we shall look at the holy angels and all the orders of the blessed spirits as fellow citizens and companions. There, nothing that happens anywhere shall be hidden from us. For when our soul is liberated from its mortal frame, it will acquire knowledge of all things, not as imagined by Plato but as taught by Aristotle and our own doctors. There we shall be afraid of nothing, and we shall fear neither planets nor the comets that so scare kings. As the prophet says, *we shall sit in the beauty of peace, and in the tabernacles of confidence, and in wealthy rest.*¹ We shall find sabbath without evening, rest without end. *Thy youth shall be renewed like the eagle's,*² and neither old age nor any length of time shall weaken it. We shall be filled with the glory of Our Saviour, which we shall contemplate forever, love eternally, and praise tirelessly. Oh, noble war indeed! Oh, happy reward! Oh, desirable battle, where we shall become kings both if we are victorious and if we are defeated, and from where we shall reach the splendid seats in Paradise and triumph with our God. For this, Stephen the Protomartyr was stoned to death, Peter and Andrew were hanged on the cross, Paul was executed, Bartholomew was skinned alive, Sebastian was pierced by arrows, and Laurentius was consumed by flames.

¹ Isaiah 32, 18: *et sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis et in*

tabernaculis fiducia et in requie opulenta

² Psalms, 102, 5

[41] Sed non haec ex¹ nobis², viri fortes, supplicia requiruntur. Minori pretio caelum³ promittitur. Pugnat⁴ tantum fortibus animis⁵ pro lege⁶ domini, et omnino⁷ ea⁸ consequimini⁹, de quibus scribit¹⁰ Paulus¹¹, *quia¹² nec¹³ oculus vidit, nec auris audivit¹⁴, nec in cor hominis ascendit, quae¹⁵ promisit Deus¹⁶ diligentibus se¹⁷*. O stulti et¹⁸ tardi¹⁹ ad credendum in his, quae sacrae promittunt litterae, digito Dei revelatae²⁰ atque conscriptae²¹! O si adessent²² nunc²³ ²⁴ Gotfridus, Balduinus, {119r] Eustachius²⁵, Hugo magnus²⁶, Bohemundus²⁷ ²⁸, Tancredus, et alii viri fortes, qui quondam Jerosolymam per²⁹ medias Turcorum acies penetrantes, armis recuperarunt³⁰! Non sinerent tot nos verba profecto³¹ facere, sed assurgentes, ut olim coram Urbano secundo, praedecessore nostro, "Deus vult, Deus vult" alacri et³² alta³³ voce clamarent.

¹ a W

² **vobis** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO; o *add.* W

³ caelo L, T

⁴ pugnare T

⁵ fortibus animis *omit.* H

⁶ legibus C

⁷ **omnia** H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁸ *omit.* H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

⁹ consequimini N, T, X; consequentium U

¹⁰ scripsit X

¹¹ id est *add.* W

¹² *omit.* N

¹³ non L, T

¹⁴ nec auris audivit *omit.* S

¹⁵ preparavit et *add.* W

¹⁶ **dominus** H, L, M, N, R, S, T, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

¹⁷ eum T

¹⁸ o M, N

¹⁹ cordi *add.* U

²⁰ exaratae W

²¹ sunt *add.* X

²² adesset X

²³ adessent nunc : nunc adessent S, U

²⁴ noster *add.* H

²⁵ *omit.* U

²⁶ Eustachius *add.* U

²⁷ Bemundus S

²⁸ Balduinus ... Bohemundus

omit. W

²⁹ per U

³⁰ recuperaverunt X, KO, OO

³¹ **tot ... profecto : profecto tot nos verba** H, L, M, N, P, R, S, T, U, V, W, KO, OO; profecto nos tot verba X

³² alacri et *omit.* B, E

³³ et alta *omit.* KO, OO

4. Conclusion

[41] But such sufferings are not demanded of us, mighty men. Heaven is promised to us at a smaller price. If you just fight courageously for the law of the Lord, you shall receive all those things *that* – according to Paul - *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard: neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love him.*¹ Only foolish men will hesitate to believe what has been promised by Holy Scripture, revealed and written by the hand of God. Oh, if only Godefroy were here now, and Baudouin,² and Eustace,³ and Hugues the Great,⁴ Bohemund,⁵ Tancred,⁶ and the other mighty men who in former times passed through the armies of the Turks and regained Jerusalem with arms. They would not let Us speak so many words, but rising up, they would shout, loudly and enthusiastically: "God wills it! God wills it," as they did once before our predecessor, Urban II.⁷

¹ 1 Corinthians, 2, 9

² Baudouin I [Baudouin de Boulogne] (1058?-1118): one of the leaders of the First Crusade, who became the first Count of Edessa and then the second ruler and first titled King of Jerusalem. Brother of Godefroy de Bouillon

³ Eustace III (-1125): Count of Boulogne. Brother of Godefroy de

Bouillon and Baudouin de Boulogne. Went on the First Crusade

⁴ Hugues VI de Lusignan (ca. 1039-1102). Lord of Lusignan. Took part in the First Crusade

⁵ Bohemond I of Antioch [de Hauteville] (ca. 1058-1111): Prince of Taranto and Prince of Antioch. One of the leaders of the First Crusade

⁶ Tancred de Hauteville (1075-1112): one of the leaders of the First Crusade who later became Prince of Galilee and regent of the Principality of Antioch

⁷ Urbanus II [Otho de Lagery] (ca. 1042-1099): Pope from 1088 to his death. He is best known for initiating the First Crusade (1096–1099)

[42] Vos taciti finem orationis expectatis, nec hortamentis nostris moveri videmini. Et fortasse sunt inter vos, qui ajunt: "Multa hic pontifex loquitur, ut nos mittat in aciem et corpora nostra¹ hostilibus² objiciat gladiis. Sacerdotum hic mos est³: alligant⁴ aliis onera gravissima, quae ipsi digito nolunt attingere." Nolite ita putare, filii! Nemo patrum vestrorum⁵ memoria in⁶ hac sede⁷ sedit⁸, qui pro fide Christi⁹ majora fecerit quam nos juvantibus vobis¹⁰ et favente domino¹¹ facturi sumus. Venimus huc, ut¹² videtis, non parum debiles, nec¹³ sine periculo nostri corporis, neque sine damno terrarum ecclesiae. Pluris¹⁴ defensionem fidei quam patrimonium beati Petri fecimus¹⁵ quam valitudinem aut¹⁶ quietem nostram. Accreverunt expensae mirum in modum^{17 18}, redditus autem¹⁹ apprime²⁰ imminuti²¹. Neque ista gloriabundi²² referimus²³: taedet pudetque nos plura facere non potuisse. O si quae fuerant²⁴ juvenili in corpore vires, hae²⁵ nunc adessent, non iretis sine nobis ad bellum, neque periculum sine nobis subiretis. Ipsi ante signa procederemus²⁶, ipsi crucem domini portaremus. ipsi vexillum Christi²⁷ perfidis hostibus²⁸ objiceremus, beatosque nos ipsos²⁹ arbitraremur, quibus datum esset³⁰ pro Jesu mori.

¹ corpora nostra : nostra corpora
P

² hostilibus *corr. ex* hostibus A // L; hostibus B, C, E, F // N, R, KO; hostium OO

³ esse U

⁴ alligare W

⁵ nostrorum U

⁶ *Here ends the text in ms.* U

⁷ *omit.* C

⁸ resedit W

⁹ fide Christi : Christi fide H, V, W

¹⁰ nobis M

¹¹ favente domino *omit.* W;
domino favente KO, OO

¹² et M; *omit.* P

¹³ neque M, N, P, U, V, W, KO,
OO

¹⁴ plus KO, OO

¹⁵ et *add.* KO, OO

¹⁶ et KO, OO

¹⁷ mirum in modum : nimirum
immodici W

¹⁸ expensae mirum in modum :
mirum in modum expensae V

¹⁹ aut S; haut W

²⁰ ad prime M

²¹ imminuti sunt P; diminuti sunt
M, S, W, X, KO, OO

²² impatienter W

²³ ferimus W

²⁴ fuerunt P

²⁵ hec L, R, T

²⁶ praecederemus V, W

²⁷ crucis W

²⁸ *omit.* S

²⁹ nos ipsos : nosmetipsos W

³⁰ est N

[42] [But] you are waiting silently for the end of this oration, and you do not seem to be moved by our exhortations.¹ And maybe someone among you says, "This pope speaks much to send us into battle and expose our bodies to hostile swords. This is the way of priests: they put heavy burdens on others that they would not themselves touch with a finger." Do not think thus, my sons! No one in the memory of your fathers occupied this See who would do more for the Faith of Christ than We shall be doing, with your help and the assistance of God. You see how We have come here, feeble as We are, with physical danger to Ourselves as well as risk to the lands of the Church. But We put the defence of the Faith above the patrimony of Saint Peter and Our own health and peace. Expenses have increased exorbitantly, while incomes have diminished greatly. We do not say this in order to boast - on the contrary, We are distressed and ashamed that We could not do more. Oh, if We now had the strength of a younger man,² then you would not go to war and meet this danger without Us; We would personally walk before your standards; We would carry the cross of Our Lord Ourselves; We would bring the banner of Christ forward against the infidel enemies; and We would consider Ourselves blessed if it were given Us to die for Jesus.

¹ Probably, this whole passage was not in Pius' original draft of the text, written before delivery.

He possibly improvised it during the delivery, but at any rate, it

was inserted into the final version of the text

² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 5.475

[43] Et nunc, si¹ censetis², non³ recusabimus aegrotum corpus fessamque animam in hanc felicem expeditionem Christo devovere. Per castra, per acies, per medios hostes, si suadetis, lectica⁴ vehi gloriosum⁵ putabimus⁶, nec magnifica verba ignavo prosequemur⁷ animo⁸. Consulite quid magis Christianae rei⁹ conducat¹⁰. Nihil adversabimur de corpore nostro, de persona¹¹, de pecunia nostra¹²: vestrum iudicium amplectemur¹³. Metimini¹⁴ vires apostolicas; aestimate¹⁵ quid temporalia¹⁶, quid spiritualia simul conferant¹⁷, et quod¹⁸ vobis videtur¹⁹ nostris humeris²⁰ onus imponite²¹, nihil recusabimus. Duos habet²² ecclesia²³ thesauros, spiritualementer alterum, materiale alterum²⁴: utrumque libenter²⁵ erogabimus²⁶, et illum, qui numquam exauriri, et hunc, qui numquam²⁷ impleri potest.

[44] In praesentiarum tamen nihil aliud²⁸ ex²⁹ vobis petimus, nisi ut bellum contra Turcos gerendum decernatis. De pecuniis conquirendis³⁰, de ducibus eligendis, de classibus instruendis³¹, de sede belli, de tempore expeditionis postea disseremus, neque difficilis consultatio erit, quando nec arma, nec equi, nec naves, nec pecuniae³², nec fortissimi milites, nec peritissimi³³ duces Christianis desunt³⁴. Adsit tantum³⁵ voluntas hujus honestissimi {119v} belli gerendi, quam ut³⁷ mentibus vestris³⁸ inserat ille, rogamus, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto³⁹ sine fine regnat Christus⁴⁰ Jesus⁴¹ 42.

¹ *omit.* S

² censebitis H; recensetis M

³ cessabimus nec *add.* W

⁴ utile W

⁵ generosum KO, OO

⁶ putavimus M

⁷ prosequimur V, W

⁸ ignavo prosequemur animo : prosequimur ignavo animo S

⁹ publicae *add.* N, W

¹⁰ condeceat W

¹¹ de persona *omit.* N

¹² persona de pecunia : pecunia de persona V

¹³ amplectimur S, W, KO, OO

¹⁴ metiamini W

¹⁵ extimate H

¹⁶ et *add.* S

¹⁷ aestimate qui .. conferant *omit.* V

¹⁸ quid P; quidquid W; quid L, R, T

¹⁹ videbitur H

²⁰ nostris humeris : humeris nostris KO, OO

²¹ onus imponite : imponite oneris W

²² autem W

²³ ecclesie W

²⁴ spiritualementer alterum materiale alterum : unum spiritualementer alterum materiale W

²⁵ liberaliter H, M, N, S, W, X, KO, OO

²⁶ erogabimus H

²⁷ exauriri et ... numquam *omit.* M

²⁸ *omit.* H, R, V

²⁹ a S

³⁰ conquerendis M; requirendis W

³¹ construendis R

³² nec pecuniae *omit.* R

³³ fortissimi H, V, X; potentissimi T

³⁴ absunt V

³⁵ tamen N, X

³⁶ **communis** *add.* H, M, N, P, S, U, V, W, X, KO, OO

³⁷ in W

³⁸ *omit.* H; nostris P, X

³⁹ spiritu sancto : sancto spiritu M

⁴⁰ Christe L, T

⁴¹ Christus Jesus : Jesus Christus W, KO, OO

⁴² Amen finis *add.* H, N; telos *add.* R; Amen *add.* M, N, S, V, W, X, KO, OO

[43] Even now, we shall not refuse to dedicate this ailing body and tired spirit to the blessed crusade for Christ, if you so choose. If you ask Us, We shall consider it an honour to be carried through the camps, right through the ranks of the enemies - and We shall not be matching magnificent words with cowardice. So, consider what is best for the Christian cause. We shall make no objections because of Our health, Our person, or Our funds, but accept your judgement. Assess the means of the Apostolic See. Estimate what the temporal and the spiritual [domains] bring in, and charge Us with the burden that seems reasonable to you: We shall refuse nothing. The Church has two treasures: one is the spiritual and the other the material. We shall be spending them freely, both the one that can never be exhausted and the one that can never be filled.

[44] For now, We only ask you to decide to go to war against the Turks. Later, we shall speak about the collection of funds, the election of leaders, the preparation of fleets, the theatre of war, and the timing of the expedition. It will not be a difficult discussion since the Christians lack neither weapons, horses, ships, funds, strong soldiers, nor experienced generals. May you only have the will to wage this just war, which We pray will be granted to you by Jesus Christ, who reigns together with the Father and the Holy Spirit without end.

Oration “*Quamvis non sine magna*” of Pope Pius II (19 October 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius; 46)

Abstract

In the summer of 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers arrived in Mantua, where Pope Pius II's congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after that event. They were received by the pope with a correct, but rather brief and cool oration.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; Responses to ambassadors; Savoy; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua 1459; Louis I, Duke of Savoy; Louis I Duc de Savoie

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Quamvis non sine magna
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Appendix: Oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*" of Guglielmo de Sandiliano (19 October 1459, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context

In the summer of 1459, delegations from all Italian and many other European powers assembled in Mantua, where Pope Pius II's congress on a crusade against the Turks was to be held. The congress began its work on 26 September. One of the few princes not represented in Mantua then, Duke Louis I of Savoy, dispatched his ambassadors after that event, quite insultingly late.¹ They were received by the pope on 19 October with a correct but rather cool oration.

The oration exists in two versions: a rather severe one, the "*Quamvis non sine magna*", and a shorter, formal one without any recriminations, the "*Satisfacit abunde*". Both versions have survived and document, firstly, that the pope's orations, even the responses to ambassadors, were written beforehand, and secondly, that in the present case, circumstances had rapidly altered so as to make the pope change his discourse.

The question is, of course, which text was the one prepared before the reception of the ambassadors, and which was the one actually delivered.

According to Voigt, the version "*Satisfacit abunde*" was written in case the duke would send his son, Count of Geneve, to the congress, but the count did not appear, though he was quite near.²

So, the pope had to abandon this text and instead held the oration "*Quamvis non sine magna*", giving free rein to his irritation at the princes', in casu the Duke of Savoy's, belated compliance with his summons to the Congress in Mantua.³

¹ Voigt, IV, p. 67: *Kränkend war in jenen Tagen die Nichtachtung, die Herzog Ludwig von Savoyen dem Papste erwies. Trotz seiner Nähe schickte er nur Gesandte, unbedeutende Männer und auch disse so spät ...*

² Voigt, IV, p. 67. Picotti, p. 190, confirms that towards the end of

August, the papal court still expected the count to come to Mantua. In his later oration to the Duke of Savoy's daughter-in-law, Queen Carlotta of Cyprus, Pius had the opportunity to bitterly complain of the fact that the duke's son did not bother to come to Mantua while he was in fact

quite near, going to Cyprus to marry Carlotta, see oration "*Pone lacrimas*" [63]

³ Pastor, II, p. 61: *Als die Gesandten nun endlich am 19. Oktober in einem öffentlichen Consistorium erschienen, mussten sie von Pius II eine ernste, fast strafende Anrede vernehmen*

2. Themes

The basic theme of the “*Quamvis non sine magna*” is the pope’s frustration at the princes’ reluctance to embrace his crusade against the Turks:

We must say, however, that We have several times had to rebuke your prince¹ and others for not yet dispatching their envoys in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see, and feel the terrible threat to the Gospel of Christ, but they still give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. [Sect. 1]

Moreover, he reiterates the wish that the princes fulfil the splendid promises of contribution to the crusade, which they made but probably had not the slightest intention to keep, as the pope might well fear:

But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, the Christian religion will not lack excellent helpers. ... Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words come from a pure heart and that your prince’s intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed, the nobility, piety, and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope for that. [Sect. 2]

The fact that, towards the middle of the 15th century, the European princes were not keen to join a papal crusade against the Turks was actually not surprising. The surprise is really that Pius, who, better than anyone, knew the political situation in Europe, could believe otherwise. But he was now looking at the world through the prism of his new, exalted office, believing the princes to be subject to the Apostolic See and assessing more clearly than many the very real danger to Europe that the Turks represented.

¹ Louis I (1413-1465): Duke of Savoy from 1440 until his death.

Son of Duke Amédée VIII, AKA antipope Felix V, whose secretary

Piccolomini had been from 1440-1442

3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Pastor, the Savoyard ambassadors arrived in Mantua after 9 October 1459, and they were received by the pope on 19 October during a public consistory. The date of their audience with the pope is documented in a report from the Sienese ambassadors.¹ There is, however, the problem that Pius, in the description of the first session of the Congress on 29 September 1459, given in his own *Commentarii*, writes as follows:

*... after hearing mass in the cathedral, the princes and envoys were called to order. At this point, a number of disputes broke out over the order of seating; worst of all was the quarrel between Venice and Savoy. ... Since there seemed to be no way to settle the question, the pope seated the Venetians behind the ambassadors from Burgundy and told the Savoyards to sit on a stool by his throne.*²

An explanation of the apparently contradictory information might be that the ambassadors arrived before 26 September but were only officially received by the pope on 19 October. Such a lengthy period between the arrival and reception of princely ambassadors would be rather unusual, especially as the pope had written several times to the Duke of Savoy requesting him to send his ambassadors speedily. So, on the basis of the present evidence, it is not clear how these informations can be reconciled, but for the purpose of the present edition, the date given by Pastor (based in the Sienese reports) has been retained.

The audience was composed of cardinals and ambassadors present in Mantua, other participants in the congress, and members of the papal court.

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

4. Text³

As mentioned above, the oration is extant in two versions, one with the incipit "*Quamvis non sine magna*" and another with the incipit "*Satisfacit abunde*". Both versions are included in the Collection of Responses of Pope Pius II, 1459-1460,⁴ largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

¹ Pastor, II, p. 61, n. 4-5

² CO, III, 32 (Meserve, II, p. 137)

³ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

⁴ See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

4.1. Manuscripts¹

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 169v, 178r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 42r-42v, 60r-60v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 49v-50v, ff. 72v-73r
Barb. Lat. 1692, ff. 67r-68r
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 161v-162r, 175-175v **(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 text was published by Mansi²:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // T. II, pp. 204-205
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca]

The “*Quamvis non sine magna*” was also published in:

- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *[Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum.] Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum ... supplementum*. Tom. V. Luca, 1751, p. 300
- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXXV. Paris, 1902, p. 108

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

² See COR, 1: 5, 2, 6

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 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. Sources¹

In this short oration, only one quotation, from 1. Corinthians, has been identified.

6. Bibliography

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *[Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum.] Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum ... supplementum*. Tom. V. Luca, 1751

Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXXV. Paris, 1902,

Pastor, Ludwig: *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der Renaissance*. 16 vols. Freiburg i.B., 1886-1933

Picotti, Giovanni Battista: *La dieta di Mantova e la politica de' Veneziani*. Venezia, 1912

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae*

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918
- *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Transl. by T.M. Izbicki et al.. Washington, D.C., 2006
- *Enee Silvii Piccolominei Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007
- *Collected letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 10 vols. 2022-2026. [Available in HAL Archives].

Pius II SEE ALSO Piccolomini, Enea Silvio

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

- *Commentarii rerum memorabilium quae suis temporibus contigerunt*. Ed. A van Heck. II 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*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

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

7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

J = Roma / Achivio Segreto Vaticano / Arm. XXXII 1

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Quamvis non sine magna

Oratoribus ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {161v} Quamvis non sine magna causa, insignes¹ oratores Sabaudienses, adventum vestrum² in hanc usque diem fuisse dilatum³ arbitramur, fatemur tamen, incusavimus saepenumero principem vestrum et alios, qui nondum misere legatos suos in tanta necessitate reipublicae Christianae. Audiunt omnes, vident, palpant evangelium Christi pessum ire, nec tamen de remedio cogitant. Omnes ignoscunt⁴, et nemo succurrit. Expectare periculum quam vitare, malunt. Pudet dicere, dicendum est tamen: longe major est Turcis Saracenisque suae superstitionis propagandae quam nobis sacratissimae religionis nostrae tuendae diligentia. Illi, si usquam vexantur socii, praesto adsunt et turmatim occurrentes hostes expellunt. Nos Graecos, Albanos, Rascianos, {162r} Valachos, Hungaros in mediis discriminibus sine ullo subsidio relinquimus.

[2] Sed hic sumus, ut de communi tandem salute cogitemus. Venistis vos Sabaudienses, venerunt et alii complures. Quisque pro sua virili magnifice sese⁵ offert: si respondebunt verbis facta, non carebit magnificis adjutoribus Christiana religio. Hoc opus, hic labor est. Stat Deus contra quemque vocitans: "Si ego pater, ubi amor? Si⁶ dominus, ubi timor." Sunt plurimi, qui Deum labiis honorant, corde autem longe ab eo⁷ discesserunt. Sed nihil fictum stabile, nihil simulatum potest esse diuturnum⁸. Quae fiunt in veritate et veniunt ex corde, profecto non timent casum; fundata sunt enim⁹ supra firmam petram, idest supra¹⁰ veritatem, quae Christus est. *Petra autem erat Christus*, inquit apostolus. Verba vestra, oratores¹¹ Sabaudienses, arbitramur ex puro corde deprompta esse, et talem esse principis vestri animum, qualem expressistis. Expectamus nunc, ut magnificis sponsonibus vestris magnifica facta respondeant, cujus rei¹² nobilitas et religio et pietas vestri principis spem nobis quodammodo certam praebent. Ad reliqua per vos dicta alia hora et alio loco respondebimus.

¹ omit. G

² nostrum G

³ dilatatum G

⁴ agnoscunt J

⁵ se G

⁶ ego add. G

⁷ longe ab eo : ab eo longe G

⁸ diuturnum G

⁹ sunt enim : enim sunt G

¹⁰ super G

¹¹ auditores G

¹² et add. G

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Distinguished ambassadors of Savoy. We do not doubt that your arrival here was delayed until now for urgent reasons. We must say, however, that We have several times had to rebuke your prince and others for not yet dispatching their envoys in this great need of the Christian Commonwealth. All can hear, see, and feel the dire circumstances of the Gospel of Christ, but they still give no thought to the remedies. All acknowledge [the seriousness of the situation], but nobody comes forward to help. They would rather await the peril than avoid it. We are ashamed to say it, but still it must be said: The Turks and the Saracens care far more for the propagation of their superstitious faith than we do for the protection of our holy religion. Whenever their allies are in trouble, they come quickly and in great swarms to expel the enemy. We, [on our side,] have left the Greeks, the Albanians, the Serbians, the Wallachians, and the Hungarians in the midst of their perils without any help.

[2] But now we are [finally] here to deliberate on our common safety. You Savoyards have come, too, as have many others. All magnificently offer as much as they can. If their acts match their words, the Christian religion will not lack excellent helpers. This is our task; this is our labour. God stands forth and says to all, "If I am the Father, where is love? If I am the Lord, where is fear?" Many honour God with their lips, but in their hearts, they have gone far away from him. But no pretence and no charade can last long. What is true and comes from a pure heart need not fear fortune, for it is founded on a firm rock, the truth, which is Christ. *And the rock was Christ*,¹ says the apostle. Ambassadors of Savoy, We believe that your words² come from a pure heart and that your prince's intentions are as you have said. We now expect him to match his magnificent promises with magnificent actions. Indeed, the nobility, piety, and religious devotion of your prince give certain hope for that. Concerning the other things said by you, We shall reply at another time and in another place.

¹ 1 Corinthians, 10, 4

² The oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*", see Appendix

2. Satisfacit abunde

Ad oratores ducis Sabaudiae in conventu Mantuano

[1] {175r} Satisfacit abunde nobis hodie¹ dilectus filius nobilis vir Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, qui cum per valitudinem huc accedere non posset, carissimum filium suum, nobile pignus, egregium adolescentem, et vos praestantes oratores ad consulendum reipublicae Christianae transmisit. Videmus vos² laeto vultu et alacri animo. Idem faciunt venerabiles etc. Idem tota contio³. Verba vestra doctrinae et sapientiae plena fuerunt: videmini a sapiente principe missi. Magna ex dictis vestris documenta recepimus⁴, que vobiscum et cum ceteris, qui ad rem hanc⁵ vocati sunt, conabimur prosequi. Magnificas oblationes vestras laudamus et amplectemur: dignae sunt, quas Sabaudiensis domus efficiat, quae regium et imperatorium sanguinem prae se ferens, non potest non⁶ magna et regia polliceri. Dignus est princeps {175v} Sabaudiensis, quem cuncti ament, maxime vero apostolica sedes, quod quidem, vita comite, a nobis non negligetur.

¹ *omit.* G

² *omit.* G

³ contione J

⁴ recipimus J

⁵ rem hanc : hanc rem G

⁶ nisi G, J

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Savoy, at the Congress of Mantua

[1] Since the health of Our beloved son, Louis, the noble Duke of Savoy, does not allow him to come here in person, it is completely satisfactory that he has sent his dear son, an excellent youth and a noble pledge, and you, distinguished ambassadors, to consult with us on the Christian Commonwealth: gladly and eagerly We see you before Us. The same do the venerable etc.¹ and indeed the whole assembly. Your speech was full of learning and wisdom. You have been sent by a wise prince, and you have given Us important advice that We shall endeavour to discuss further with you and the others who have been summoned here. We praise and accept your magnificent offers. They are indeed worthy of being implemented by the House of Savoy, which carries the blood of emperors and kings and can only make great and regal promises. The Prince of Savoy merits to be loved by all, and especially by the Apostolic See, which We shall not fail to do as long as We live.

¹ I.e., the venerable brothers, cardinals of the Holy Roman Church

Appendix: Oration "*Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis*" of Guglielmo da Sandiliano¹ (19 October 1459, Mantua)

Manuscripts

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 71v-78v (T)
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Petri, Bibliothek**
b VIII 15, ff. 182v-187v (S)
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ottobon. Lat. 905, ff. 36v-39r (V)
[lead ms.; pagin.]

¹ Guglielmo da Sandigliano, from Vercelli: Count. Doctor utriusque juris. 1450 professor at the University of Torino (see Tommaso Vallauri: *Storie delle università degli studie di Piemonte*. Tom. I.

Torino, 1845, p. 90). In 1458 appointed *magnus subcancellarius* (regente la cancelleria do stato) by Count Louis I of Savoy, whom he also served as *consiliarius et praeses audientiarum* (see Gaspa-

re de Gregori: *Istoria Della Vercellese Letteratura Ed Arti*. Tom. I. Torino, 1819, p. 487). He was, in other words, a high official at the Court of Savoy

Oratio oratorum ducis Sabaudiae¹

[1] {36v} Sacrosanctae Romanae sedis auctoritas, quam Deus cunctis praefert ecclesiis, et tua², pater sancte³, sublimis et admiranda praesentia⁴, quem unigenitus Dei filius pastorem super gregem suum universum constituit, oratorem exigebat, qui mandata huic ducali legationi commissa, gravi et accurata oratione ad aures sanctitatis tuae deferret. Id⁵ ipsum praecogitasse praevidisseque⁶ in primis conveniebat his viris clarissimis et⁷ sapientissimis, quos devotus filius tuus Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, illustrissimus princeps meus, ad tuae sanctitatis pedes transmisit. Ego vero, beatissime pater, cui haec non levis provincia commissa est, cum me ipsum⁸ intus et in cute noverim, vix tamen⁹ tantum¹⁰ licentiae arrogare mihi praesumo, quantum auctoritatis mihi illustrissimus et nobilissimus princeps meus et hi legati sui tribuere voluerunt. Et cum me oneri injuncto imparem esse intelligam, totus expaveo.

[2] Turbat autem me tum magna praesentia sanctitatis tui, tum insignis haec reverendissimorum et illustrium virorum corona, qualem¹¹ numquam¹² vidisse me memini¹³ atque ita mihi mentem¹⁴ concutit, ut nisi tuam, pater sancte¹⁵, in omnibus rebus clementiam et erga¹⁶ devotissimum filium tuum ducem meum humanitatem paternam non ignorassem, dubitarem, ne quod¹⁷ sanctitas tua de me hodierno die aliquod¹⁸ sinistrum iudicium assumeret, neque enim¹⁹ ita a meipso alienus sim, quin intelligam nihil esse, quod minus decet²⁰, quam imperitum loqui²¹ sapientiam inter perfectos. Loquor indoctus apud Dei mei vicarium, ex cujus ore sermo melle dulcior profluere solet, dicere cogor, exanimis²² apud te, omnis sapientiae et eloquentiae patrem, quem cum in²³ excelso²⁴ throno loquentem audio, non tantum vetustos²⁵ illos heroes²⁶ Ulixem²⁷ vel Nestorem aut Romanos Crassos, Catones vel Tullium audire audire mihi²⁸ videor, sed etiam²⁹ simul divos ecclesiae doctores, Aurelium Augustinum, Ambrosium et³⁰ Jeronimum, qui sanctam Dei ecclesiam suis sanctis eloquiis illustrarunt. Loqui etiam me intelligo in sancto cardinalium Romanae sedis collegio, qui sanctorum apostolorum personas et numerum repraesentant, in conventu praetera virorum, apud quos universae philosophiae monarchia constituta est.

¹ From **S** – in much later hand; Oratio pro Ludovico Sabaudiae illustrissimo duce habita Mantuae coram Pio papa secundo **T**; Oratio habita per magnificum comitem et eximium juris utriusque doctorem dominum Gulielmum de Sandiliano Vercellensem, illustrissimi ducis Sabaudie oratorem, in aula maiori palatii residentiae summi pontificis in consistorio publico die 19a Octobri 1459 **V**

² beatissime *add.* **T**

³ *omit.* **T**

⁴ Presidentia **S, T**

⁵ ad **S**

⁶ providisseque **T**

⁷ *omit.* **V**

⁸ *omit.* **S, T**

⁹ *omit.* **V**

¹⁰ tantae **S, T**

¹¹ quod licet **S, T**

¹² nusquam **V**

¹³ me memini : memini me **V**

¹⁴ mihi mentem : mentem mihi **T**

¹⁵ beatissime **T**

¹⁶ ergo **T**

¹⁷ *omit.* **S, T**

¹⁸ *omit.* **V**

¹⁹ *omit.* **S, T**

²⁰ deceat **V**

²¹ *omit.* **S**; *interlin.* **T**

²² exanimus **S, T**

²³ *omit.* **V**

²⁴ illo *add.* **V**

²⁵ vetustes **V**

²⁶ heroes **V**

²⁷ Ulixem **T**

²⁸ audire mihi : michi audire **V**

²⁹ et **S, T**

³⁰ *omit.* **S, T**

[3] Video omnium mentes atque oculos in me unum conversos, expectantium expositionem ducalis mandati rebus et loco conformem. Erat profecto¹ justa et honesta haec expectatio, {37r} sed quaeso per Deum immortalem, pater sancte² vosque omnes, qui hic adestis, eam expectationem deponite, et id aequis animis in praesentiarum accipiatis, quod ab homine expectari³ licet, qui continuo⁴ in⁵ inculto et materno sermone versatus sit, hanc meam⁶ magis necessariam quam honestam excusationem. Cum acceptum a vobis cognovero bona cum venia, minus verebor injunctum mihi⁷ onus explicare, si quoque alterius muneris a sanctitate tua vacationem⁸ accepero. Non sum nescius, pater sancte⁹, legatos, qui a principibus et populis ad hanc sanctam sedem mittuntur, praecipuam curam et primum studium impendere consuevisse circa ea recensenda, quae ad laudem universalis ecclesiae pastoris pertinent et¹⁰ eorum principum, a quibus cum mandatis explicandis ad apostolicam sedem delegantur.

[4] Ego vero velim, pater sancte¹¹, locum hunc non tam a me neglectum quam de industria praetermissum sanctitas tua existimet: primum - quod arbitror - eam rem loco minime¹² convenire vel tempori¹³, cui in primis inserviri oportere sapientes dixerunt; dehinc quia¹⁴ vereor, ne - si rem praeter vires et professionem meam aggressus fuero, cum illi nec ingenio nec arte sufficere me posse intelligam - oratio mea potius fastidium audientibus quam sanctitati¹⁵ tuae laudem ullam paritura sit,¹⁶ et tamquam Phormio apud Hannibalem de re militari disserens illusum atque¹⁷ subsannatus recedam. Accidit, quod ita te ab ineunte¹⁸ adolescentia vitam instituisse scio, ut summam¹⁹ potius laudis ex te et²⁰ factis ipsis²¹ quam ex aura vulgari vel ex aliena praedicatione pendere²² prae te semper²³ duxeris.

[5] De illustrissimo vero²⁴ nobilissimoque²⁵ principe meo, Sabaudiae duce²⁶, quamquam nihil tam altum dici²⁷, tam egregium decantari possit, quin id et nobilitas et clementia exsuperet sua. Tamen non²⁸ ignoro nihil a me de illo dici posse, quod²⁹ propter debitum³⁰ fidelitatis³¹, quo illi astringor, suspicione quadam cariturum sit. Quod itaque praeclare fieri nequit³², id vero attingere praeclarius et honestius esse censui.

¹ perfecta S
² beatissime T
³ quod ab ... expectari *omit.* S, T
⁴ continue V
⁵ *omit.* V
⁶ et *add.* S, T
⁷ iniunctum mihi : michi
 iniunctum V
⁸ vacationem S, T
⁹ sanctissime S
¹⁰ *omit.* S, T
¹¹ beatissime V

¹² nomine S
¹³ tempore S
¹⁴ qua S
¹⁵ sanctitati S, T
¹⁶ sed S, T
¹⁷ et V
¹⁸ ab ineunte : abeunte S
¹⁹ summarum S, T
²⁰ *omit.* S, T
²¹ *omit.* S, T
²² impendere S, T

²³ prae te semper : semper prece
 S, T
²⁴ viro S, T
²⁵ nobilissimo S, T
²⁶ duci S
²⁷ *omit.* S, T
²⁸ vero S, T
²⁹ quo S, T
³⁰ dubitem S; dubium T
³¹ felicitatis S, T
³² inquit S

[6] Quamobrem utriusque virtutes his, quorum cura et professio¹ circa huiusmodi res versantur recensendas decantandasque relinquo, et me ad ea converto, quorum gratia illustrissimus princeps meus, Sabaudiae dux, reverendum Georgium de Salutiis, Lausanensem episcopum et principem, reverendum Ludovicum ex marchionibus Romagnae², Taurinensem episcopum, illustrem Ludovicum de Sabaudia, ipsius ducis agnatum³ et marescallum, et me virum exiguum ad pedes sanctitatis tuae direxit.

[7] Principio pontificatus tui, pater sancte⁴, *exivit edictum*⁵ ad universos principes et populos Romano subjectos imperio⁶, in cujus exordio scripta erat deploratio casuum, quos Dei ecclesia nostris et majorum temporibus⁷ passa fuit⁸. Dehinc tamquam praesagus malorum futurorum significabas periculum imminens universo populo Christiano a communi hoste fidelium et catholicae fidei infesto persecutore, quem quotidianis victoriis ovantem stupebas, victa una parte Europae, reliquis partibus infestis signis incumbere.

[8] {37v} Demum concludebas te⁹ hanc urbem Mantuam¹⁰ ad¹¹ conventum habendum¹² elegisse, in quam¹³ Christianos principes invitasti de summa rerum consultaturos et periclitanti ecclesiae auxilium allaturos. De ea re quoque ad illustrem¹⁴ ducem meum¹⁵, speciales litteras sanctitas tua scribere dignatus est, illum ut huic sanctae consultationi per se vel honestam legationem interesset exhortans. In primis igitur, pater sancte¹⁶, illustrissimus princeps meus ob tam insigne facinus pro Christi fide a te inchoatum et ob tam familiariter scriptas ad sese litteras sanctitatis tuae immortales gratias agit dicitque te non tantum laudandum, sed etiam ab omnibus in coelum¹⁷ usque¹⁸ extollendum, qui publica¹⁹ commoda propriae saluti antepone de creveris, tibi que ipsi non peperceris²⁰, qui²¹ in hac tua adversa corporis valetudine non dubitaveris longo emenso itinere voluntarios et paene intolerabiles labores suscipere, ut²² infestissimo inimico viam in nos desaeviendi²³ praeccluderes et populum Dei aditum perpetuae libertatis patefaceres.

[9] Rogat vero idem dux meus, ipsius probabilem et veram excusationem accipias, si quod²⁴ petebas²⁵ ²⁶ - quod item ille optabat vehementer - ad ejusdem sanctitatis tuae pedes personaliter aut per unum ex liberis non²⁷ venit, aut si tardius, quam casus postulabat, legationem suam remisit. Optat autem hanc suam tarditatem vel absentiam non voluntati vel negligentiae imputari, sed

¹ et professio *omit.* T

² *em.*; Romagnam codd.

³ cognatum S, T

⁴ beatissime T

⁵ Luke, 2, 1

⁶ The speaker refers to the papal bull *Vocavit nos Pius*, issued on October 1458

⁷ presentibus S

⁸ sit T

⁹ ad S, T

¹⁰ Mantuanam S; Mantuam *corr.*

ex Mantuanam T

¹¹ *omit.* V

¹² conventum habendum : conventus habendos codd.

¹³ qua V

¹⁴ Ludovicum S, T

¹⁵ ducem meum : meum ducem S

¹⁶ pater sancte : beatissime pater

V

¹⁷ in coelum *omit.* S

¹⁸ ad *add.* S

¹⁹ publice S

²⁰ tibi que ipsi ... peperceris *omit.*

S, T

²¹ que S, T

²² et S, T

²³ destruendi S, T

²⁴ que S, T

²⁵ patebat S, T

²⁶ *textus corruptus?*

²⁷ vero S

rerum agendarum¹ necessitati ac populorum suorum conservandorum curae, a qua sine scandalo vacare non potest, et diversis aegritudinibus, quas continuus quinque mensibus passus est. Quod vero filium non miserit², causam praebuit aeris intemperies et contagio quaedam, quas in hac civitate invalescere continuis internuntiis et suorum³ frequentibus litteris admonebatur. Nihil est, si licuisset, quod magis optasset quam tantae rei per se potuisse interesse, nihil quod plus cuperet quam amplecti pedes sanctitatis tuae, quam multis rationibus amare et observare compellitur, et praesertim quia se suos nunc et cum in minoribus esset mirum in modum ab ea⁴ amatos esse non ambigit. Quod autem ab illo per se vel per⁵ filium proficere⁶ necessitas impedit, implebunt hi praestantissimi viri, qui cum mandato venerunt nunc tuis auribus publicato.

[10] Sed jam tempestivum est, ut ad praecipuam⁷ partem litterarum tuarum et ad locum, qui concernit partes consultationis descendam. Optaret princeps meus res ecclesiae Romanae eo in⁸ loco constitutas esse, ut id solum in⁹ deliberationem veniret, utrum hostibus fidei bellum indicendum esset. Verum id¹⁰ consilium nec liberum neque integrum tibi rex Teucrorum¹¹ reliquit, qui direpta Graecia denuo ingens bellum terra marique molitur. Id itaque in consilium adhiberi¹² oportet¹³, utrum hostis a nobis in Italia vel Germania sit expectandus, an vero in Graecia exercitus trajiciendus sit¹⁴. Inter¹⁵ haec duo quantum intersit, si numquam aetas nostra experta est, veterum saeculorum exempla nos admonent.

[11] Si enim Leo Marcianus Anastasius, secordissimi imperatores, ceterique eorum successores Constantinopoli imperantes Romano populo requirenti et ecclesiae eorum fidem imploranti opem tulissent {37r} et Vandalis Gothis¹⁶ Attilae extra Italiam occurrissent - quemadmodum a Romano populo contra¹⁷ Persam Antiochum et Philippum factum est, qui illis regionibus et provinciis imperabant, quas nunc rex Turcorum occupavit¹⁸ paene universas - adhuc Roma orbis imperio potiretur, cujus vanum nomen atque umbram a Latinis vix retineri conspiciamus, quamquam, pater sancte, hanc truculentam et potentissimam beluam Attilae vel Vandalis non facile comparavero. Illi enim direptis quibusdam Italiae atque Galliae urbibus praeter temporalia aliud paene abstulerunt nihil. Hic vero rex inhumanus et catholicae veraeque religionis persecutor, si eam vel segnitiam vel discordiam vel simultatem in principibus Latinis experietur, quam in Graecis reperitur ...¹⁹

[12] Non audeo quidquam²⁰ gravius dicere, sed vereor, ne propediem ille sit nobis expectandus eventus, quem Lactantius Firmianus, vir mea²¹ sententia Christianissimus, ultimo libro *Divinarum*²² *Institutionum* populo, qui nascetur, futurum denuntiat, vel quem vetera saecula viderunt post

¹ gerendarum S

² miserat S, T

³ suo S

⁴ ab ea omit. S

⁵ omit. S, T

⁶ profecto S

⁷ Papiam codd.

⁸ eo in : in hoc S, T

⁹ ad T

¹⁰ ad S, T

¹¹ conciorum S

¹² haberi S, T

¹³ optaret S

¹⁴ exercitus trajiciendus sit :

exeratus S; bachari ferendus T

¹⁵ te S; omit. V

¹⁶ Belhiis S

¹⁷ qui S; contra corr. ex qui T

¹⁸ occupat S, T

¹⁹ *textus corruptus?*

²⁰ quidquid S

²¹ in ea S, T

²² Smarum aut sanctissimarum? S

victorias ejus impurissimi regis Cretensium, qui secunda fortuna elatus non fuit arbitratus rapina¹ se similem Deo existimare. Ille quidem devicta Europa et parte Asiae, exactis regibus et principibus bonisque omnibus exterminatis, omnia jura divina et humana polluit, lucem in tenebras commutavit, et veram religionem, quae² sine intermissione ab exordio³ mundi aureis illis saeculis observata erat⁴, ad superstitionem idolatriamque convertit, quae orbem terrarum annis ferme mille et quingentis excaecatum obtenebratumque tenuit.

[13] Hos eventus, haec pericula tamquam de specula quadam universo populo Dei imminere⁵ prospiciens, catholicus et sapientissimus princeps meus sanctitatis tuae propositum non potest non⁶ probare, et tam⁷ pro⁸ incredibili devotione, quam habet ad ecclesiam Dei, quam⁹ pro singulari benevolentia, qua¹⁰ privatim sanctitatem tuam¹¹ prosequitur, congratulatur tibi. Laetatur optimam spem¹², quam ab exordio sancti¹³ pontificatus tui eum de¹⁴ te suscepisse (alias commemoravi¹⁵) nulla ex parte vanam fuisse. Hortatur, ut in rebus bene et sancte inchoatis tua beatitudo perseveret. Etsi enim omnia assecutus fuisse videaris, quae viro aut fortunato aut sapienti virtus vel fortuna potest afferre, nihil tamen est, quod rebus tuis majorem splendorem tribuere possit, nihil quod magis illustrare valeat pontificatum tuum aut nomen tuum quam¹⁶ quae virtus et maximarum rerum perpetua conservatrix est immortalitati consecrare¹⁷ ¹⁸. Nam Gaio Mario¹⁹ Arpinati²⁰ non plus gloriae attulit septies feliciter delatus consulatus²¹, nec Furio²² Camillo dictatura aut praeda Veietana²³, quam alteri Italia a Cimbrorum furore conservata alteri a Senonibus direpta urbs in statum veterem restituta.

[14] Magnum²⁴ quippe fuit, pater sancte, te - ex patricio genere in amplissima civitate Senensi natum et²⁵ post multos graves labores pro Dei ecclesia²⁶ a te sponte susceptos - ad²⁷ cardinalatum tibi aditum patuisse. Maximum autem et paene omnibus incredibile²⁸ te ex numero tot excellentissimorum virorum unum inventum esse, cui²⁹ ab³⁰ apostolico hoc senatu navicula Petri regenda comitteretur. Sed haec omnia hujusmodi esse plerique {38v} autumant, ut vel fato vel casu quodam pervenire credantur. Et qui³¹ altius intuentur, existiment haec ipsa sola, quantumque maxima sint, praestare non posse eam³² felicitatem, quam vel philosophi vel theologi diffinierunt³³.

¹ *omit.* S, T

² quam S, T

³ exidio S

⁴ observata erat : conservata S, T

⁵ in numine S; munere T

⁶ *omit.* S

⁷ tamen S; *omit.* T

⁸ *omit.* S; cum T

⁹ et S, T

¹⁰ quam S

¹¹ sanctitatem tuam : sanctitas tua S

¹² partem S

¹³ *omit.* S

¹⁴ ad S

¹⁵ If the speaker was the same ambassador who delivered the oration of obedience of the Duke of Savoy to Pius II in Perugia on 9 February 1459, he may here be referring to that oration

¹⁶ et S, T

¹⁷ consecrati S

¹⁸ *textus corruptus?*

¹⁹ Gajo Mario : Baiio Mariis S

²⁰ Alpmati S, T

²¹ consultatus S

²² furis S

²³ velacana S; velatana T

²⁴ a Senonibus ... magnum *omit.* S, T

²⁵ *omit.* S, T

²⁶ pro Dei ecclesiam : etiam S, T

²⁷ in S, T

²⁸ incredibili S

²⁹ in S

³⁰ *omit.* S, T

³¹ que S, T

³² tam S, T

³³ diffiniverunt T

Sive¹ autem tuis auspiciis tuaque sapientia singulari, sive² hujus tui sancti senatus salubri consilio factum erit, ut Latini principes, nationes et populi Christiani in te³ diffidentes ad defensionem ecclesiae Romanae conveniant et contra⁴ pestem hanc armentur, provisumque fuerit, ut ecclesia Romana et Christiana respublica restaurentur et antiquam suam dignitatem⁵ recipiant⁶, et⁷ hostis Latini nominis⁸ late longeque vagatus spoliis privaretur⁹, Roma¹⁰ nonne ab eo triumphante superbus adhuc sanguinem Christianum sitiens a furore suo comprimatur.

[15] Haec erit tua propria laus! Haec hujus sancti apostolici collegii gloria sempiterna! In hoc uno reposita erit vera illa et summa felicitas, non ea quidem¹¹ tantummodo, quam¹² Aristoteles et plerique philosophi his inferioribus repositam esse voluerunt, sed qualem Plato et in libris *De republica* Cicero pollicentur omnibusque, qui *patriam defenderint, servaverint*¹³, *auxerint*, et quam Deus praeparavit diligentibus se. Nulla est via, per quam facilius aditus ad caelum vel ad superos praebeatur vel pateat.

[16] Nollem, pater sancte vosque sapientissimi viri¹⁴, quidquam in hoc sacro conventu temere proferre¹⁵. Non verebor tamen aperire, quid sentiam. Existimo¹⁶ Silvestrum papam et alios plerosque praedecessores¹⁷ tuos nulla alia ferme¹⁸ ratione in catalogo sanctorum continuatos¹⁹ esse, nisi quod alii ecclesiam dotari a laicis principibus et eam locupletari obtinuerunt, nonnulli pro ecclesia et ejus privilegiis defendendis contra²⁰ tyrannos extraneorum principum suffragium imploraverunt²¹. Tibi vero et huic tuo senatui non credemus inter hos locum defuturum²² et eo forte majorem, quo difficilius erit tibi conquassatam et paene eversam ecclesiam reintegrare quam²³ his - quos²⁴ supra commemoravi - confirmatam atque²⁵ unitam²⁶ in suo²⁷ veteri²⁸ statu conservasse. Hanc palmam, hunc honorem si tibi Deus et fata servaverint²⁹, laetabitur et exultabit dux meus pontificatum tuum ad salutem Romanae ecclesiae fatalem extitisse.

[17] Ut igitur hanc partem consultationis absolvam, consulit illustrissimus Sabaudiae dux, ut in hoc tuo sancto³⁰ proposito perseveres nec ullo modo praeter morem tuum committas posse sanctitati tuae impingi, quod tantam rem inconsulte vel temere attemptaveris vel sapienter inchoatam timide vel inconstanter deserueris.

¹ sine T; sin V
² si S, V
³ in te : integre *dub.* S
⁴ que S, T
⁵ suam dignitatem *omit.* S
⁶ recipiat S, T
⁷ *omit.* S, T
⁸ qui *add.* V
⁹ *omit.* S, T
¹⁰ Rome S, V
¹¹ quedam S

¹² que S
¹³ *omit.* S, T
¹⁴ sapientissimi viri : viri sapientissimi S, T
¹⁵ proficere S
¹⁶ estimo S, T
¹⁷ praecessores T
¹⁸ sermo S; *omit.* T
¹⁹ comme[mo]ratos T
²⁰ que S
²¹ imploravit S; implorarunt V

²² diffuturum S
²³ quas T
²⁴ his quos *interlin.* T
²⁵ ac S, T
²⁶ unicam S
²⁷ sua S
²⁸ vera S; vero T
²⁹ servarint S
³⁰ tuo sancto : sancto tuo S, T

[18] Converto me nunc ad postremam partem edicti tui, quae suffragii invocationem¹ respicit. Haec ducalis legatio sanctitati tuae respondet ducem meum progenitorum suorum imitaturum² esse vestigia³ et ab eorum tuto consuetoque calle nulla ex parte esse⁴ deviaturum. Fuit, beatissime pater vosque omnes reverendissimi et illustres viri, qui hic adestis, fuit quoddam haereditarium munus, quod duces comitesque Sabaudiae a suis progenitoribus acceperunt sursum Christum⁵ per spatium quingentorum annorum et in eorum posteros transmiserunt, ut ecclesiam Dei singulis paene saeculis a paganorum furore defenderent.

[19] Nec umquam illustrissimae religiosissimaeque⁶ familiae in gravibus periculis Romana ecclesia frustra auxilium imploravit. Testis est insula Rhodiorum⁷ potenti manu Amedei Sabaudiae comitis a⁸ Saracenorum {39r} obsidione liberata et Romanae ecclesiae restituta. Testes sunt⁹ Peloponnesus et Achaia, quas ab incursu Turcorum protexit vir illustris et strenuus Ludovicus secundogenitus Sabaudiae comitis, Helvetiorum princeps tritavusque hujus illustris Ludovici, quem oratorem ducalem ante pedes sanctitatis tuae astare conspicias. Testis est etiam delectus¹⁰ ab altero Ludovico Sabaudiae comite habitus in populis Helvetiorum Allobrogum sub Coelestino III., praedicante divino Bernhardo, quem natum esse ex Johanne domino Methonis, nobilissimo vassallo ejusdem¹¹ Sabaudiae comitis, memoria¹² proditum est.

[20] Praetereo ingentem exercitum ad protectionem fidei et recuperationem terrae sanctae traductum ab Amedeo viridi^{13,14} proavo illustrissimi principis mei sapientissimo atque in primis fortissimo viro, cujus propositum mors intempesta apud Siciliam interruptit. Praeterire etiam libet infinitas alias expeditiones militares et innumerabiles labores, quos hi catholici principes pro ecclesia Dei et fide Christiana sponte assumpserunt, ne nimis longa sumatur oratio. Absit ergo, ut¹⁵ tam insignem laudem et¹⁶ gloriam haereditariam a majoribus acceptam¹⁷ dux meus de familia sua auferri patiatur. Absit, ut in gravibus periculis ecclesiam Romanam a se desertam esse velit vel se inter postremos defensores Christiani nominis connumerari. Est diis gratia, unde hic¹⁸ et velit et possit et cumulate et sponte proficere.

[21] Sunt fidelissimi potentesque vassalli, devoti populi, amplum imperium, clara indoles, et copiosus numerus liberorum. Et - quod cunctis praeeminet - est animus, est erga¹⁹ Deum, religio et in ecclesiam Romanam innata devotio. Summa est itaque ducalis mandati: exhibet atque offert illustrissimus princeps²⁰ et excellentissimus Ludovicus, Sabaudiae dux, se, suos, et sua ad²¹ omnia,

¹ revocationem S

² omit. S, T

³ secuturum add. T

⁴ omit. V

⁵ versus S, T

⁶ -que S

⁷ que add. S, T

⁸ omit. S, T

⁹ omit. S

¹⁰ em.; deletus codd.

¹¹ omit. T

¹² memorie S, T

¹³ viride S, T

¹⁴ Amédée VII the Green of Savoy (1334-1383)

¹⁵ omit. S, T

¹⁶ eandem S, T

¹⁷ inceptam S, T

¹⁸ hec V

¹⁹ apud S, T

²⁰ omit. S, T

²¹ et S, T

ad quae sedes apostolica¹, sacrum Romanum imperium, cuius se esse membrum palam² profitetur, et Christiani principes uniti, eum³ duxerint⁴ advocandum pro defensione fidei Christianae ac⁵ universalis ecclesiae et Romani imperii protectione. Nec se vel suos in hoc ipso officio exhibendo ab aliquo aequali principe superari patietur.

[22] Tu vero, beatissime pater, sanctam Romanam ecclesiam unicam atque individuum sponsam tuam pretioso unigeniti filii Dei sanguine consecratam, sanctorum apostolorum praedicatione fundatam, beatorum martyrum passione⁶ et confessione constructam, quattuor conciliorum⁷, quae sacri evangelii vicem obtinent, stabilimentis⁸ olim roboratam, nunc vero furore impiorum paene disiectam et labefactam, quam Deus⁹ fidei tuae et protectioni credere¹⁰ dignatus est, protege¹¹ atque defende¹². Et ne quid respublica Christiana detrimenti patiatur, providere pro tua mirifica et incredibili sapientia procurabis¹³. Et quando quidem¹⁴ optimam rei bene gerendae occasionem nactus¹⁵ es¹⁶, nullus te terror vincat, nullus casus, nulla res quantumcumque¹⁷ gravis ab hoc tuo sancto proposito te retrahat.

[23] Credendum enim est¹⁸ Deum ipsum immortalem, cuius¹⁹ auspiciis tam salubre opus inchoatum est, ad singula recte et prospere agenda tibi futurum propitium et pro tuis benemeritis gratiam redditurum. Vos vero, reverendissimi patres, qui in partes sollicitudinis vocati estis, consulite in medium et rebus succurrite fessis²⁰. Hoc pro executione ducalis mandati habui, quae dicerem. Quae autem a vobis consultata, deliberata, conclusa²¹ fuerunt, Deus optimus maximus et caelites omnes probent. Amen.²²

¹ fides catholica S, T

² *omit.* S, T

³ cum S, T

⁴ dixerint S

⁵ et S, T

⁶ beatorum martyrum passione
omit. S, T

⁷ consiliorum S

⁸ stabili mente V

⁹ Dei T

¹⁰ tradere S, T

¹¹ protegere S, T

¹² defendere S, T

¹³ procuras S, T

¹⁴ quod S; *omit.* T

¹⁵ noctis S

¹⁶ est V

¹⁷ quamcumque S

¹⁸ enim est : est enim S

¹⁹ tuis S, T

²⁰ fixis S

²¹ conclusa *omit.* V

²² dixi T

**Orations “*Eruditissime*” and “*Dilectissime*” of Pope Pius II
(29 October and 12 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and
translated by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg**

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 47-48)

Abstract

At the Congress of Mantua in 1459, three German princes were represented, individually, by the German jurist Gregor Heimburg. They were Archduke Albrecht of Austria, the emperor's brother; Duke Wilhelm of Sachsen; and Duke Sigismund of Austria, the emperor's cousin. On behalf of each prince, Heimburg gave an ambassadorial address to the pope on 29 October, 12 November, and 21 November, respectively. These addresses were delivered with studied insolence towards the pope. The pope kept his temper, however, and gave brief and courteous replies, the "*Eruditissime*" and the "*Dilectissime*", to the addresses on behalf of Archduke Albrecht and Duke Wilhelm. The pope's response to the speech on behalf of Duke Sigismund may not have survived, if indeed it was ever given as an individual oration.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; Gregor Heimburg; Archduke Albrecht VI of Austria; Duke Wilhelm III of Sachsen; Duke Sigismund of Austria; Crusades against the Turks; 1459; 15th century; Responses to ambassadors

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Appendix C: Oration “*In refulgenti*” of Gregor Heimburg to Pope Pius II (21 November 1459, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

For the German princes, the Congress of Mantua and the pope's project of a crusade against the Turks were not important issues.² Three of them were represented at the congress by the German lawyer, Gregor Heimbürg³ 4: Archduke Albrecht of Austria, brother of Emperor Friedrich III; Duke Wilhelm III of Sacshen; and Duke Sigismund of Austria, who actually came to the congress in person.⁵ Heimbürg addressed the pope formally on behalf of each of these three princes, and the pope replied directly to at least two of the addresses and indirectly – probably - to the third:

- 1) On 29 October 1459, Heimbürg, in an open consistory, delivered the oration "*Non est propositi mei*" on behalf of Archduke Albrecht of Austria,
- 2) to which the pope answered directly with the oration "*Eruditissime*".
- 3) On 12 November, Heimbürg, in a closed meeting, delivered the oration "*Ne cui mirum*" on behalf of Duke Wilhelm of Sachsen,
- 4) to which the pope answered directly with the oration "*Dilectissime*". Apparently, Heimbürg had not informed the papal court in advance that he would be addressing the pope formally on the duke's behalf.
- 5) And, finally, on 21 November, Heimbürg delivered the oration "*In refulgenti*" on behalf of Duke Sigismund of Austria, see below.

Heimbürg's addresses may not have been as respectful as might be expected of envoys addressing His Holiness, but Voigt's claims of gross insolence may be exaggerated.⁶ But Heimbürg did deliver the oration for Duke Albrecht without removing his hat, pretending to fear a cold as he told the

¹ CO, III, 44; Joachimsohn, ch. 5; Langmeier, pp. 520-512; Pastor, II, pp. 62; Picotti, pp. 236-237, 259-260; Voigt, IV, pp. 77-79, 99-101

² See Langmeier, p. 520, on Archduke Albrecht's embassy to the Congress: *Wie für die anderen Fürsten nahm die Türkenfrage dabei für ihn nur eine sehr nebensächliche Rolle ein*

³ Gregor Heimbürg (beg. 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist, and statesman. Enemy of the papacy generally and of Pius II,

who eventually excommunicated him. In earlier days, the two men actually had quite friendly relations, see Joachimsohn, p. 150. See also Piccolomini's letter of 3 January 1449 to Heimbürg (EPI, 5: 230). Gregor Heimbürg entered the service of Archduke Albrecht in January 1458 and the service of Duke Sigismund in May 1458 (Joachimsohn, p. 158). For a biography of Heimbürg, see Joachimsohn

⁴ Heimbürg arrived in Mantua in October 1459 (Joachimsohn, p. 162)

⁵ The personal presence of Sigismund of Austria at the Congress of Mantua was not motivated by his crusading zeal but by his conflict with Cardinal Nikolaus of Kues, whose bishopric (Brixen) was situated in the duke's territories

⁶ Voigt, IV, p. 77-78; Pastor, II, 62; Picotti, p. 237, 259-260; and especially Joachimsohn, p. 164

pope, at the end of the oration: *Steti quanquam textus capite, pater beatissime, ne catharus impediret me pronunciantem. Quod contra morem feci, necessitas excuset et indulgeat clementia pietatis vestrae.*¹ He also dared to interrupt the pope's oration "*Dilectissime*", on a point of history but was brought to silence by Cardinal Nikolaus von Kues. And finally, in his oration for Duke Sigismund, he spoke on Piccolomini's well-known writings as a young man, some erotical, including the draft of a love letter to be used by the young Sigismund, causing murmurings in the audience and possibly also some degree of glee! In his *Commentarii*, the pope, however, wrote quite calmly about that episode.²

Heimburg's address on behalf of Archduke Sigismund³ was delivered on 21 November during the papal consistory, at which also the French embassy was received. The orations of the French royal ambassadors and Pius' reply⁴ took up much time, and - as Pius himself said - the audience became rather exhausted.

Though the text itself seems not to have survived,⁵ Pius may have given a very short, formal, individual response to Heimburg's address. In his *Commentarii*, after commenting on Heimburg's oration, he did write:

*The pope, who had known Sigismund from a boy, declared that he had had a most laudable childhood and youth; he passed over his later years in silence. He confirmed and even added to the praise that Gregor had bestowed on his family. He accepted his aid against the Turks.*⁶

But Pius also mentioned Heimburg's speech in his oration to the French ambassadors on the same occasion, when he said:

Today, many and great things worthy of hearing have been said: we have heard four orations, three on behalf of our beloved son Charles, the Most Christian and Illustrious King of France, on behalf of our beloved son René, also an Illustrious King, and on behalf of the mighty people of Genua. In the fourth, the perspicacious and learned ambassador, Gregory, showed, with

¹ Langmeier, p. 521, n. 205, has this comment: *Zwar gilt eine persönliche Abneigung zwischen Gregor und Piccolomini als ausgemacht, doch scheint es undenkbar, das sein Gesandter ohne das Wissen seines Herrn ein derartiges despektierliches Verhalten an den Tag legen konnte, noch dazu, wenn der Adressat der Papst war*
² CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, p. 189): *Among other things, Gregor had said that when Pius was in minor*

orders [in minoribus ageret: should have been translated differently, e.g. "when he had not yet attained high office"], Sigismund had been his pupil and had eagerly read his letters, a copy of which he still kept with him. Some of these letters were in fact written to [or "for"] Sigismund himself. This can be verified by anyone who examines Pius' collection of secular correspondence written before he took holy orders. Pius

was actually quite proud of his youthful writings, even the erotic ones, though he endeavoured to suppress some salacious poems from his student days in Siena

³ Published by Joachimsohn in appendix

⁴ Oration "*Multa hic hodie / Placuit audivisse*" [49]

⁵ Cf. Joachimsohn, p. 164

⁶ CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, p. 189)

splendid eloquence, the great religious devotion, dignity, and nobility of the House of Austria.
[Sect. 1]

During the pope's negotiations with the German envoys concerning the German contribution to the crusade, Gregor Heimburg acted as a staunch opponent of both the papacy and the emperor, organising and becoming a spokesman for German resistance to the crusade, which he considered nothing more than a papal ploy to raise funds for the papal court and for the emperor.

2. Themes

The pope's responses are formal replies to Gregor Heimburg as a representative of princes.

They contain the obligatory complimentary remarks about the excellence of the prince and his house.

The "*Dilectissime*" also contains references to a classical genealogy of the Saxons, which Pius had from the historian Godfrey of Viterbo.

The excuse for Duke Albrecht's absence was a rather delicate matter for the pope: he was occupied with the inheritance after King Ladislaus, Heimburg had said, and indeed he was. The inheritance caused a severe conflict between Albrecht and his brother, Emperor Friedrich, a conflict that would really only end with Albrecht's premature death in 1463.

3. Dates, place, audience, and format

All authors agree that the "*Eruditissime*" was given on 29 October 1459 and the "*Dilectissime*" on 12 November.

The "*Eruditissime*" was probably delivered during a public consistory, but the "*Dilectissime*" was apparently given under more private forms, cf. the introduction to that oration, which may not have been quite sincere: for various reasons, the pope may not have wanted to give Heimburg a greater audience for his speech and – possibly – his insolent behaviour.

The audience on the first occasion would be cardinals, ambassadors, and curials, and possibly other participants in the Congress. The audience on the second occasion would, by papal design, have been rather limited.

The format was a papal speech from the throne in reply to an ambassadorial address.

4. Text¹

4.1. Manuscripts²

The text of the two orations – together with the orations of Heimbürg - is extant in at least six manuscripts³, which all appear to derive from a report written by Heimbürg himself, including his notes on his own audacious behaviour and the reaction of the audience (see above). No manuscript containing the orations has been found in Italy and the Vatican, possibly reflecting the pope's distaste at having had to make formal and kindly replies to an inimical and insolent Heimbürg, who was even later excommunicated:

- **Budapest / Országos Széchényi Könyvtár**
Miscellanea 1560,⁴ ff. 173r-201r
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos. 88, ff. 78v-101r⁵ **(T)** *
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
Clm 522, ff. 140r-153v⁶ **(P)** *
Clm 4016, ff. 13r-18r⁷ **(M)**

¹ See COR, 1: 5, 1

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11 are marked with an asterisk

³ Joachimson, p. 104, mentions the München (clm 4016) and the Nürnberg mss.: "Beides ziemlich schlechte Abschriften"

⁴ I.e., including the former Museum Ungaricum. See Joachimson, p. 162, n. 6t

⁵ All five orations, in two sections: ff. 78v-84v ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 84v-86v ("*Dilectissimi*") // 92v-98r ("*Non est propositi*"), 98r-99r ("*Eruditissime*"), 99r-101 ("*In refulgenti*")

⁶ All five orations, together: ff. 140r-145r ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 145r-146r ("*Dilectissimi*"), 146r-150v ("*Non est propositi*"), 151r-151v ("*Eruditissime*"), 151v-153v ("*In refulgenti*")

⁷ Only Heimbürg's three orations, together: ff. 13r-15v ("*Ne cui mirum*"), 15v-17r ("*Non est propositi*"), 17r-18r ("*Eruditissime*")

- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 247r-253v¹ **(N)** *
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 144v-146, 179v-180v² **(S)** *

The “*Eruditissime*” and the “*Dilectissime*” have not been published previously, but the “*In refulgenti*” was published by Joachimsohn in 1891.

4.2. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 9-10.

Text:

The edition of the two orations of Pius II is based on the manuscripts listed above, except the Budapest manuscript. For the orations of Heimbürg, see each oration in the appendix.

Pagination:

Pagination is from the München / clm 522.

5. Sources³

In these orations, no direct or indirect quotations have been identified.

¹ All five orations, together: ff. 247r-249r (“*Ne cui mirum*”), 249v-250r (“*Dilectissimi*”), 250r-252v (“*Non est propositi*”), 252v-253r

(“*Eruditissime*”), 253r-253v (“*In refulgenti*”)

² All five orations, in two sections: ff. 139r-144r (“*Ne cui mirum*”), 144r-146r (“*Dilectissimi*”) // 174v-

179v (“*Non est propositi*”), 179v-180v (“*Eruditissime*”), 180v-182v (“*In refulgenti*”)

³ On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see COR, 1: ch. 8.

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JO = Joachimsohn, Paul: *Gregor Heimburg*. Bamberg, 1891 (Historische Abhandlungen aus dem Münchener Seminar; 1)

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Oration “*Eruditissime*” of Pope Pius II (29 October 1459, Mantua)¹

Responsio papae Pii² ad doctorem Gregorium³

[1] {151r} Eruditissime et doctissime Gregori⁴, orationem tuam pro parte⁵ dilectissimi filii nostri archiducis Austriae coram nobis habitam tres partes habere perpendimus. In prima parte⁶ attestaris te non advenisse ad laudes illius inclytae stirpis Austriae declamandas⁷. Secundo filium nostrum de non comparitione personali, quam ipse promisit, excusas. Tertio loco mandatum ejusdem archiducis produciens eundem filium nostrum ad omnia, quae pro salutari expeditione contra Turcman rabiem expedire videbuntur, liberaliter obtulisti.

[2] Quantum ad primam partem, certum est virtutes illius domus Austriae tanta⁸ famae gloria⁹ celebrari, ut nemo sit in orbe Christiano, cujus notitiam aufugerint¹⁰. Quod autem in illa parte subjunxisti, quod nosmet illos¹¹ ipsas virtutes excellentissimae domus Austriae in conspectu Romani pontificis peroravimus¹², verum est, nam bis coram papa Nicolao, praedecessore¹³ nostro, pro imperatore Romano¹⁴ ambasiatam¹⁵ egimus, et semel apud Calixtum et gloriam illius domus praecipuis laudum praeconiis prosecuti sumus, ita ut laudes ipsius jam non est opus repetere, apud quam domum jam summa dignitas temporalis, scilicet Romanum imperium, fulget.

¹ München / clm 4016, ff. 17v-18r (**M**) ; München / clm 522, ff. 151r-151v (**P**) ; Nürnberg / Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 252v-253r (**N**) ; Salzburg / b VIII 15, ff. 179v-180v (**S**) ; Gottingen/ 8 Philos 88, ff. 98r-99r (**T**)

² *omit.* N

³ Pius Papa Secundi **M**; Responsio papae ad verba Gregorii orantis **S**; Pii II Pontificis Maximi responsio extemporalis **T**

⁴ Georgi **T**

⁵ pro parte : per te **S, T**

⁶ *omit.* **S, T**

⁷ declarandas **S, T**

⁸ tantae **N, P**

⁹ gloriae **N, P**

¹⁰ effugerint **S, T**

¹¹ illas **S, T**

¹² exoravimus **S, T**

¹³ praecessore **T**

¹⁴ *omit.* **S, T**

¹⁵ ambaxiatam **M**

Response of Pope Pius to doctor Gregor

[1] Most learned and erudite Gregor, We noted that your oration to Us on behalf of Our beloved son, the Archduke of Austria,^{1 2} had three parts: in the first, you said that you had not come in order to declaim the praises of the illustrious House of Austria. In the second, you excused that Our son has not come in person as promised. And in the third, you presented the Archduke's mandate and Our son's generous offer of assistance to the salutary expedition against the rabid Turks.

[2] Concerning the first part, the virtues of the famous and glorious House of Austria are praised so far and wide that everyone in the Christian world knows them. You added that We Ourselves have spoken about the virtues of the excellent House of Austria before a Roman Pontiff, and that is indeed true. For twice the Roman Emperor³ sent Us on an embassy to Pope Nicolaus,⁴ Our predecessor,⁵ and once We declaimed the praises of this house before Callixtus.^{6 7} So there is really no reason to repeat today the praise of that house, which holds the glorious supreme temporal office, the Roman Empire.

¹ Albrecht VI of Habsburg (1418-1463): Archduke of Inner Austria (i.e., the duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola) from 1424 and of Upper Austria from 1457 to his death

² On the relationship between Pius II and Albrecht VI, see Langmeier, pp. 122-125

³ Friedrich III (Habsburg) (1415-1493): Archduke of Austria (as

Friedrich V) from 1424. Elected King of Germany and Holy Roman Emperor in 1440, crowned in Rome in 1452

⁴ Nicolaus V [Tommaso Parentucelli] (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 until his death

⁵ In 1450, to prepare the imperial coronation, on which occasion Piccolomini delivered the oration "*Fateor*" [19] and in 1452, after the imperial coronation, to exhort the pope to summon a crusade a-

gainst the Turks, on which occasion he delivered the oration "*Moses vir Dei*" [19]

⁶ Callixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

⁷ In 1455, to present the emperor's declaration of obedience to the pope, on which occasion he delivered the oration "*Solent plerique*" [26]

[3] Deinde ad causas excusationis descendendo¹ hoc dicimus in primis, quod maxime nos delectaret praesentia et personalis conspectus illius² dilectissimi filii nostri archiducis, sed quia haereditati illi, quae sibi obtigit in sortem, quae Marchia supra Anasum³ vocatur, habuit incumbere, ut bene dixisti (ut fluvius ille Noricos distinguit a Pannoniis - olim illa fuit Pannonia⁴, nunc vero Austria nuncupatur), et quia negotia illa, in quibus {151v} ille filius noster tam prudenter et utiliter versatus est, adeo necessaria sunt et etiam illi expeditioni contra Turcmam perfidiam plurimum accomoda, non solum habemus nobilitatem suam excusatam, quin etiam gratias referimus⁵ sibi, quod tam salubre opus operatus est, ex quo plus commoditatis obvenisse non ambigimus⁶, quam si personaliter apud nos fuisset constitutus.

[4] In tertia parte orationis tuae mandatum ostendisti plenissimum, in quo tres personas dicis esse nominatas. Et in primis alterius absentiam excusas, quae non fuit excusatio necessaria, quia in vobis duobus omnis potestas plenarie transfusa conspicitur. Oblationem⁷ vero tuam et collegae tui gratissimo animo suscipimus⁸, laudantes ipsius filii nostri sinceritatem et devotionem. Similiter⁹ reverentiam¹⁰ vestram recipimus¹¹ nobis in domino commendatam¹². Quae vero privatim sive ad partem nobis reserare¹³ habetis, id in penetralibus, ut prudenter, tute¹⁴ modo¹⁵ consuluisti, ac prompto et libenti animo audiemus.

¹ descendo T

² *omit.* S, T

³ Anasus *in marg.* P; Anosum S

⁴ Pannonia *in marg.* P

⁵ referemus P

⁶ ambigimus S

⁷ obligationem S, T

⁸ suscepimus N, P

⁹ simul S, T

¹⁰ prudentiam M, S, T

¹¹ recepimus N, P

¹² commendativam S, T

¹³ deserare N, P

¹⁴ in te S, T

¹⁵ *omit.* S, T

[3] Next, coming to the reasons mentioned in the apology¹, We shall say first of all that the personal presence of Our beloved son, the archduke, would have pleased Us greatly. But presently he is occupied with the inheritance of the March above the Enns, which has fallen to him² (as you stated correctly because that river³ separates [the region of] the Norici from [the region of] the Pannonians, once Pannonia, now called Austria). And since the affairs in which Our beloved son is presently engaged so wisely and usefully are both very urgent and highly important for the expedition against the Turkish infidels, We not only excuse His Highness,⁴ but We even thank him for undertaking this beneficial enterprise: We do not doubt that in this way he will further [the cause of the expedition] even more than if he had come here in person.

[4] In the third part of your oration, you presented your letters of credence,⁵ in which, as you say, three persons are named.⁶ You made excuses for the absence of the third, but that was unnecessary since plenary power was manifestly given to you two who are present. We gratefully accept yours and your colleague's offers, and We commend Our son's sincerity and devotion. We also accept and commend in the Lord your [declaration of] reverence towards Us. The matters that you would discuss with Us privately or separately, We shall hear with a ready and open mind and in private, as you have prudently advised.

¹ For the archduke's absence

² His inheritance after King Ladislaus as Archduke of Austria, i.e., Upper Austria, the part of Austria "above the river Enns". Ladislaus

had died two years before, in 1457

³ The Enns

⁴ "nobilitas"

⁵ "mandatum plenissimum"

⁶ Gregor Heimburg, Count Rudolf of Sulz and a third person who was not present (Voigt, IV, 1, p. 77)

2. Oration “*Dilectissime*” of Pope Pius II (12 November 1459, Mantua)¹

Responsio papae Pii Secundi²

[1] {145r} Dilectissime Gregori, orationem tuam coram nobis habitam maxime³ cuperemus in publico factam⁴ et propter ornatum verborum, quo tu⁵ more solito usus es, tum⁶ pro⁷ gravitate⁸ sententiarum, quas protulisti. Et profecto, si scivissemus, quod tu pro illo illustri principe causam orare voluisses et tam graves sententias pro nobis et ecclesia Romana disserere⁹, publicam audientiam fieri procurassemus, quatenus illius inclytae stirpis et illa vetustissima Saxonum in Romanam ecclesiam liberalitas et illius principis erga nos et sedem apostolicam devotio omnibus nota facta fuisset.

[2] Quam orationem tuam duas partes habuisse, prospeximus¹⁰, in quarum prima Saxonum originem et eorum erga Romanam ecclesiam merita commemorasti. In secunda parte excusationem¹¹ domini ducis Wilhelmi¹² cum ejus oblatione more eloquentiae tuae diserte et facundissime enarrasti.

¹ München / clm 4016 does not contain the text; München / clm 522, ff. 145r-146r (**P**) ; Nürnberg / Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 249v-250r (**N**) ; Salzburg / b VIII 15, ff. 144v-146r (**S**); Göttingen / 8 Philos 88, ff. 84v-86v (**T**)

² Pii Secundi *omit.* **N**; Responsio papae ad verba oratoris Gregorii

nuncupati qui non ad hoc missus sed ob defectum seu absentiam priorum oratorum ducis Saxoniae Wilhelmi illorum vicem supplevit **S**; Responsio extemporalis Pii pape II ad praeviam orationem **T**

³ maximam **N**

⁴ esse *add.* **S, T**

⁵ tuo **S, T**

⁶ et *add.* **S, T**

⁷ propter **S**

⁸ gravitatem **S**

⁹ differre **S**

¹⁰ perspeximus **T**

¹¹ excusationi **N**

¹² Guilhelm- et *passim* **N, P**

Response of pope Pius II

1. Introduction

[1] Beloved Gregor, the oration you held before Us We should very much have liked to be given in public, because of your customary rhetorical elegance and because of the importance of your declarations. Indeed, had We known that you would be speaking on behalf of that illustrious prince¹ and on matters so important to Us and the Roman Church, We would have arranged a public audience so that the age-old generosity of that illustrious family² and the Saxons towards the Roman Church and the devotion of this prince to Us and the Apostolic See would be made known to all.

[2] We noted that your oration had two parts: in the first, you commemorated the origin of the Saxons and their merits towards the Roman Church, and in the second, you presented, with your customary eloquence and learning, the excuses of Duke Wilhelm together with his offer of assistance [to the crusade].

¹ Wilhelm III of Saxony (1425-1482): Duke of Saxony, brother of Prince Elector Friedrich II of Saxo-

ny, Landgrave of Thuringia and claimant Duke of Luxembourg

² The ducal House of Saxony

[3] In prima parte persuasionem tuam non arguimus. Sed pro nobilitate Saxonum cum historico Viterbiensi sentimus¹, qui Saxones ex Macedonibus et de stirpe Achillis processisse refert², ex qua et Alexander Magnus descendit, quo³ nemo major⁴ umquam vix neque Caesar neque⁵ Pompejus nec quisquam Romanorum imperatorum vel ducum fuisse reperitur, qui totum fere orbem terrae praedomuit. Et idem Viterbiensis ait illa lingua⁶ Saxonem virum fortem appellari. Dicit insuper Macedones ipsi⁷ navigio⁸ paludes Maeotides⁹ ¹⁰ omnemque Italiam et Galliam circuisse, tandem in Scithiam¹¹ eo loco, ubi Bistola¹² illabitur, sedes collocasse, quod flumen alii Bistolam¹³, alii Instolam¹⁴, {145v} alii Vistolam vocant, ubi - ut ait Viterbiensis - aliquando Ulmerici¹⁵ habitabant, nunc vos Pruteni¹⁶.

¹ Origo Saxonum *nota marg.* P

² Papa dicit originem Saxonum ex stirpe Achillis processisse *in marg.* S [*in another hand*]

³ quia S, T

⁴ nemo major : maior nemo P

⁵ nec S, T

⁶ lingua N, P

⁷ ipso S, T

⁸ Manicheo S, T

⁹ *em.*; Motides N, P; Meoticas T

¹⁰ navigio ... Maeotides :

Manichio pallides motitas S

¹¹ Scithia *nota marg.* P

¹² Bistoria S, T

¹³ Bistoriam S, T

¹⁴ Vistalam S, T

¹⁵ Oliverius S, T

¹⁶ Bruteni N, P, S

2. Origin of the Saxons and their generosity towards the Roman Church

2.1. Origin of the Saxons

[3] We do not argue with the views presented in the first part of your oration. But concerning the nobility of the Saxons,¹ We rather agree with the historian from Viterbo,² according to whom the Saxons descended both from the Macedonians and the line of Achilles.³ From this line, Alexander the Great⁴ also descended. Neither Caesar⁵ nor Pompey⁶ nor any of the Roman emperors or generals appear to have been greater than him, who conquered almost all the world. And the same historian from Viterbo claims that in that language, "Saxon" means "a strong man". He also states that the Macedonians, having sailed past the Maeotian Swamp⁷ and around all of Italy and Gaul, finally settled in Scythia, in the region where Vistula⁸ empties [into the Ocean] (some call this river Bistola, others Instola, and others again Vistula).⁹ That region, says the historian from Viterbo, was formerly inhabited by the Ulmerigi,¹⁰ but now you Bruteni¹¹ are living there.

¹ The construction of noble genealogies reaching back to Antiquity and preferably to Troy went back to the Early Middle Ages and had the purpose of bolstering the legitimacies of the rising noble houses of Europe

² Godfrey of Viterbo (ca. 1120-ca. 1196): chronicler, either Italian or German. From an early age he displayed great activity as one of the clergy at the court of Konrad III and later Friedrich I

³ Achilles: (Greek myth.) a Greek hero of the Trojan War and the central character and greatest warrior of Homer's Iliad. His mother was the nymph Thetis, and his father, Peleus, was the king of the Myrmidons

⁴ Alexander III the Great (356-323 BCE): King of the Greek kingdom

of Macedon. Created one of the largest empires of the ancient world, stretching from Greece to Egypt and into present-day Pakistan

⁵ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁶ Pompeius Magnus, Gnaeus (106 - 48 BCE): military and political leader of the late Roman Republic

⁷ The present-day Sea of Azov. See Plinius: *Historia Naturalis*, 4.78: *The actual Sea of Azov, which receives the Don flowing down from the Ripaeian Mountains (Lacus ipse Maeotis Tanain amnem ex Ripaeis montibus defluentem accipiens)*

⁸ German name: Weichsel. The Vistula River arises in Barania Góra in the South of Poland, pas-

ses through Poland and empties into the Vistula Lagoon or directly into the Gdansk Bay of the Baltic Sea

⁹ Piccolomini: *De Europa* (Brown), ch. 29, p. 149: ... *the Vistula River, which forms the boundary between Sarmatia and Germany ... Some, as I have done, have called this river Vistula, which agrees with modern parlance, others the Iustula and some the Istula*

¹⁰ Ulmerigi: a people that, according to Jordanes in his *Historia Gothorum*, lived at the mouth of the Vistula

¹¹ = Pruteni, i.e., Old Prussians or Baltic Prussians

[4] Haec omnia dixisse volumus, ut nobilitatem¹ Saxonum² majoribus laudibus extolleremus³ quam illam Gothicam, qui, quamdiu imperium apud Romanos fuit, incogniti erant. Sed imperio ad Graecos translato tunc demum sese extulerunt⁴ per Moesiam⁵, quae nunc Rascia est⁶ et Servia vocatur, Pannoniam et Thraciam dominantes, quae omnia post tempora Constantini facta leguntur.

[Interruption by Gregor Heimburg:]

Gregorius Heimburg: Beatissime pater, Constantinus auctor est illius legis de officiis p.p. Africae, quae incipit "Quas laudes et gratias domino nostro Jesu Christo referamus nec mente concipere nec lingua⁷ explicare valet etc⁸. Et Vandalorum⁹ crudelissimam gentem devicimus¹⁰." Cardinalis Brutenus ita scribit, auctor meus. Cusa silentium indicat. Papa prosequitur.¹¹

Constat quidem Theodoricum¹², regem Gothorum ultimum, xiiii annis Italiam occupasse et per Justinianum imperatorem expulsum.

[5] Nunc de virtutibus Saxonum hoc scimus, quod illi Ottones tantae gloriae fuerunt, quod nemo sufficit explicare, et multas dotes contulerunt in ecclesiam Romanam¹³ et pontifices Romanos summo honore, summa reverencia coluerunt, quibus et eorum successoribus ecclesia plurimum debet.

[6] Deinde obtulisti operas et obsequia domini ducis ad beneplacita nostra¹⁴, quae sunt nobis gratissima. Nec dubitamus, quin¹⁵ 16 fratribus nostris, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus, id¹⁷ gratissimum sit, et quemadmodum nos illum ex toto corde diligimus, ita et fratres nostri sibi afficiantur¹⁸ integerrime.

¹ nobilitatum N

² Saxonibus S, T

³ extollemus S, T

⁴ extollerunt T

⁵ Mesia *in marg.* P

⁶ *omit.* N, P, S

⁷ ligna N, P

⁸ et ita N, P

⁹ Wandalarum N

¹⁰ defecimus S

¹¹ G. Heimburg: Beatissime pater

... prosequitur *omit.* T

¹² theologum S, T

¹³ ecclesiam Romanam :

Romanam ecclesiam P

¹⁴ nostra *omit.* S, T

¹⁵ quam S

¹⁶ et *add.* S, T

¹⁷ illud S, T

¹⁸ afficiuntur T

[4] All this We have mentioned in order to extol the nobility of the Saxons more greatly than that of the Goths,¹ unknown when the imperial government was in Roman hands. Only after it was transferred to the Greeks, did the Goths pass through Moesia, now called Rascia and Serbia, to rule Pannonia and Thracia, all of which happened - as we read - after the times of Constantine.²

[Interruption by Gregor Heimburg]³

Indeed, it is well known that Theoderic,⁴ the last King of the Goths, governed Italy for 14 years and was expelled by Justinian.⁵

2.2. Saxon generosity towards the papacy

[5] Concerning the virtues of the Saxons, we know that the Ottonians⁶ were glorious beyond description, that they bestowed many gifts upon the Roman Church, and that they showed great veneration and supreme honour to the Roman pontiffs. Therefore, the Church holds them and their successors in the highest regard.

[6] Afterwards, you offered the contribution and the Lord Duke's commitment to Our enterprise, for which We are most grateful. We do not doubt that it is also most welcome to Our brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and just as We love him with Our whole heart, they too are completely devoted to him.

¹ The Goths: an East Germanic people, two of whose branches, the Visigoths and the Ostrogoths, played an important role in the fall of the Western Roman Empire and the emergence of Mediaeval Europe.

² Constantinus I [Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantinus Augustus] (ca. 272-337): Roman Emperor from 306 to his death

³ Disagreeing with the pope's view, Heimburg – completely a-

gainst protocol – dared to interrupt him, saying: *Beatissime pater, Constantinus auctor est illius legis de officiis p.p. Affrice que incipit: Quas laudes et gratias domino nostro Jesu Christo referamus nec mentem concipere nec laudes ligna [lingua] explicare valet. Et in: Et Wandalorum crudelissimam gentem devicimus. Cardinalis Brutenus ita scribit, auctor meus.* Cusa silentium indicat. Papa prosequitur

⁴ Theoderic the Great (454-526): king of the Ostrogoths (475–526), ruler of Italy (493–526), regent of the Visigoths (511–526), and a *patricius* of the Roman Empire

⁵ Justinianus I [Flavius Petrus Sabbatius Justinianus Augustus] (ca. 482-565): Byzantine Emperor from 527 to his death

⁶ Holy Roman Emperors Otto I, Otto II, and Otto III

[7] Quod autem narrasti nobis de bellis et differentiis principum illarum partium de {146r} hoc ex corde dolemus, et nihil nobis esset optabilius¹ quam Alamaniam videre pacatam. {250r} Nulla est natio in orbe terrarum adeo abundans nobilissimis principibus sicut illa, et de illis principibus loquor, quorum quilibet posset esse dux exercitus contra Turcos. Est frater² imperatoris; est comes palatinus Rheni Fridericus; est Ludovicus dux Bavariae; est iste dux Wilhelmus exercitatus in rebus militaribus, qui esset omnibus acceptus; est Fridericus marchio Brandenburgensis ille, princeps elector; est Albertus frater ejus. Nulla est provincia³ tot principibus bello aptissimis copiosior.

[8] Et profecto, quamquam aspectus illius nobilissimi ducis Wilhelmi nobis esset multo jucundissimus, tamen auditis illis causis absentiae suae⁴ tam urgentissimis ipsum⁵ excusatum habemus. Cetera, quae privatim nobis dicenda⁶ erunt, libenter audiemus et horam deputabimus, qua illud opportune fieri possit. Et gratias reddimus illi domino duci tam propter sua benemerita quam etiam majorum suorum, et vobis etiam pro⁷ personis vestris, qui estis nobis gratissimi.⁸

¹ optatius T

² domini *add.* S, T

³ est provincia : puericia S, T

⁴ tuae N, P

⁵ *omit.* S, T

⁶ dicendi N, P

⁷ *omit.* S; et T

⁸ per saecula saeculorum. Amen
add. N, P; Diximus *add.* T

3. War in Germany

[7] But what you told about the wars and the conflicts between the princes in those regions We deeply regret: We wish for nothing more than to see Germany at peace.

No other nation on Earth is so rich in noble princes - and I¹ am talking about princes, each of whom could be general of the army against the Turks. There is the brother of the emperor;² there is Count Palatine Friedrich of the Rhine;³ there is Duke Ludwig of Bavaria;⁴ there is your own Duke Wilhelm, highly experienced in military matters and a leader who would be acceptable to all; there is Margrave Friedrich of Brandenburg,⁵ the Prince Elector; and there is his brother, Albrecht.⁶ No other region has so many princes skilled in war.

4. Absence of Duke Wilhelm - and his contribution to the crusade

[8] Though We would have been overjoyed at seeing the noble Duke Wilhelm here with Us, We consider him excused now that We have heard the cogent reasons for his absence. The other matters that you will tell Us about in private, We shall gladly hear, and We shall make an appointment as soon as possible. And We thank the Lord Duke both for his own merits and for those of his ancestors. We also thank you for being here in person since you are most dear to Us.

¹ The papal plural of majesty is omitted, which is extremely rare in the orations of Pius II (as pope)

² Archduke Albrecht of Austria

³ Friedrich I. der Siegreiche (1425-1476): Count Palatine and Imperial Elector

⁴ Ludwig IX. der Reiche (1417-1479): Duke of Bayern-Landshut from 1450 to his death

⁵ Friedrich II of Brandenburg (Hohenzollern) (1413-1471): Margrave and Prince Elector of Brandenburg from 1440 to his death

⁶ Albrecht III Achilles (1414-1486): Margrave of Brandenburg. Prince elector from 1470

Appendix A: Oration “*Non est propositi*” of Gregor Heimbürg (29 October 1459, Mantua)

The date of the oration is 29 October 1459.

The text appears not to have been edited previously. In his work on Gregor Heimbürg of 1891, Joachimsohn only published his third oration at Mantua, the “*In refulgenti*”, held on behalf of Archduke Sigismund of Austria, but not the “*Ne cui mirum*” and the “*Non est propositi nostri*” (possibly because of the bad quality of the two manuscripts, he had access to, see above).

Manuscripts

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 92v-98r **(T)**
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
clm 522, ff. 146r-150v **(P)**
clm 3786, ff. 173r-175r [*NB: Incomplete*]¹
clm 4016, ff. 15v-17v **(M)**
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 250r-252v **(N)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ottob. lat. 905, ff. 39v-41v **(V)**
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 174v-179v **(S)**

The edition is based on the manuscripts listed above except the incomplete clm 3786.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see COR, I: ch. 9.

Pagination: after the Salzburg manuscript.

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

¹ The text in this manuscript appears to be closely related to the text in M and V.

Oratio oratoris serenissimi archiducis Austriae, Alberti, ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem, dominum, dominum nostrum Pium divina providentia papam II^{1 2 3}

[1] {174v} Beatissime pater⁴, non est propositi mei⁵ in laudibus inclitae stirpis Austriae coram vestra⁶ beatitudine atque hoc⁷ sacro conventu pro salutari expeditione contra Turcorum rabiem instituto⁸ immorari. Nam si merita majorum⁹ et¹⁰ stirpis atque egregia facinora commemorare tentarem, quibus stirps {175r} illa Romani imperii fastigia conscendit, qua etiam virtute¹¹ ejusdem imperii gubernacula sustentaret¹², regibus devictis et regnis¹³ subactis variisque barbaris nationibus, praecipue¹⁴ illo ferocissimo Bohemiae rege¹⁵ perdomito¹⁶, quibusque victoriarum gradibus ducatum illum Austriae, qui Theutonico¹⁷ vocabulo regnum orientis nuncupatur, acquisierit¹⁸, siquidem Carolus ille¹⁹ cognomento Magnus orientem natali sua lingua²⁰ Oste nuncupavit²¹, rursus etiam qua animi magnitudine freti²² Thauristos²³ a Thauro - non illo Asiae, sed Germaniae - monte nuncupatos²⁴, quos Moravus interfuit²⁵, suae ditioni adjecerit²⁶, similiter et Karentanos²⁷ et Carniolanos²⁸, qui Liburnos et Illyricum attingunt, profecto totus ille dies in dicendo transigeretur.

[2] Succurrit et alia ratio, cur non liceat in conspectu beatitudinis vestrae haec omnia recensere, quia illa ipsa beatitudinis vestrae persona, quondam oratoris officio fungens, coram Romano pontifice pro tempore ac²⁹ illis ipsis patribus³⁰ reverendissimis, qui nunc sacrum illum coetum³¹ sui praesentia concelebrant, summam laudum illius³² inclitae prosapiae adeo clarissime peroravit, ut

¹ S; Oratio sequens ex parte archiducis Austriae M; Oratio G. Heimburg pro Alberto Austriae duci N; Oratio G. Heimburg pro Alberto Austriae duce incipit feliciter P; Sequitur oratio facta per doctorem Gregorium Heimburger Mantue XXIX mensis Octobris ex parte archiducis Alberti Austriae R; Oratio Georgii Heimberger, Utriusque Censure Doctoris, habita Mantue coram Pio PP II, pro Alberto Archiduce Austriae T; Oratio habita per magnificum et eximium juris utriusque doctorem dominum Gregorium Heimburg 29. Octobris in aula maiori palatii etc. et consistorio publico V

² Gregorius Heimburg add. S

³ On Albrecht's choice of Heimburg as his ambassador to Pius, see Langmaier, pp. 520-521: *Der Umstand, dass Albrecht zum dem Literaten auf dem Thron Petri ausgerechnet einen Mann entsandte, dessen feindseligen Haltung gegenüber Pius allgemein bekannt war, kann nur so gedeutet werden, dass der Erzherzog stellvertretend für seine Bündnispartner offen Partei gegen den Papst ergriff*

⁴ beatissime pater omit. M, V

⁵ beatissime pater add. M, V

⁶ tua et passim T [In connection with beatitudo and sanctitas, T consistently uses tu..]

⁷ omit. S, T

⁸ diutius add. T

⁹ aliorum S, T

¹⁰ ejus M, V

¹¹ virtus N, P

¹² sustentarit M, S, T, V

¹³ regni N, P

¹⁴ precipuo S

¹⁵ regno M, V

¹⁶ perdomitis S, T

¹⁷ Theotonico et passim M, V

¹⁸ acquisierint M, N; acquisiverit P

¹⁹ Carolus ille : ille Carolus S, T

²⁰ lingua N, P

²¹ nuncupavit S

²² reri S, T

²³ Thauristas S, T; Thauriscos V

²⁴ nuncupato V

²⁵ inter defluit V

²⁶ adiecerint M, N, P, S, V

²⁷ illeg. M; Barentanos S, T

²⁸ Carmelanos N, P; Carnolanes V

²⁹ omit. S

³⁰ fratribus S

³¹ illum coetum : cetum illum M

³² ipsius S, T

nimum¹ audax facinus aggredi² rerer³, si ea, quae quondam per illustrem et laureatum Aeneam deprompta sunt, quique maximam gloriam ex illis peroratis promeruit, ego, qui nec ejus artis incunabula attigisse me fateor, recenserem⁴. Sed neque in singularibus aut⁵ privatis laudibus inclyti archiducis Austriae versari oportet, qui gentem illam ferocissimam foederatorum illorum⁶, qui abjectis totius fidelitatis et reverentiae cultibus sub honesto libertatis titulo clerum et nobilitatem opprimentes suo seseque⁷ vocabulo {175v} juramenti⁸ pares vel consortes nuncupare praesumunt bello tentare est⁹ ausus¹⁰.¹¹ Illos dico, qui antea quinquaginta annis a nemine umquam petiti sunt, et omnes finitimi¹² eorum¹³ insolentias sustinuerunt. Illos quippe dico, qui jamdudum, cum adhuc reliquiae veteris concilii¹⁴ Basiliensis inibi se continerent, ante portas ejusdem urbis ceciderunt numero quasi¹⁵ tria millia, quorum tamen ferociam bello attrivit.¹⁶ Et¹⁷ quamquam neuter victus vel victor reputabatur, ipsi tamen coacti fuerunt causam omnem arbitrio comitis palatini Rheni submittere, et ita a bello discessum est, cujus belli anfractus recensere¹⁸ non reor praesentis temporis esse.¹⁹

[3] Quod vestra beatitudo²⁰ nobis concessit ad ambasiatam²¹, quam suscepimus, pro negotio salutaris expeditionis contra Turcos et²² Turcmam²³ perfidiam dirigendo²⁴ et²⁵ procurando²⁶ fideliter explicandam, ad quam nunc propero nudis verbis et oratione arida, omni ventositate semota²⁷ et fuco verborum seposito exsolvendam. Et idcirco vos²⁸, turba celeberrima circumstans et maxime Theutonicorum, qui fortasse speratis²⁹ a me nonnihil oratoriae³⁰ suavitatis recipere³¹, vereor, ne expectatio vestra spe sua frustretur, quia potissimum oratoriae facultatis genus, quod demonstrativum vocant quodque in laude et vituperio versatur, ab dico et ab aula exigo penitus et expello.

[4] Nunc vero - ut redeat, quo pergebat, oratio, pater beatissime - in primis quidem, cum beatitudinis vestrae persona divino quidem iudicio et sincero hominum assensu, patrum scilicet illorum, qui cardines ecclesiae una simul³² sustentant, ad summum apostolatus apicem et hanc illam Petri cathedram, quinimmo thronum Dei³³, provecta erat {176r} illudque gloriosissimo imperatori nostro

¹ nimis V

² omit. N, P, S, T

³ vereor S, T

⁴ recensemur S

⁵ atque S, T

⁶ Contra Suicenses *in marg.* N, P

⁷ sese M, T, V

⁸ iuramento N, P; iurati T

⁹ omit. S, T

¹⁰ est ausus : ausus est N, P

¹¹ Here Heimbürg refers to the Swiss and the Alter Zürichkrieg (1436-1450), during the last phase of which Albrecht commanded the Habsburg troops

¹² finitimas S, T

¹³ omit. S, T

¹⁴ consilii S

¹⁵ fere M, V

¹⁶ Heimbürg is probably referring to the war 1445-49 with Basel where he won the City of Rheinfelden

¹⁷ ut M

¹⁸ censere S, T

¹⁹ On Albrecht's conflict with the Swiss, see Langmeier, pp. 117-121

²⁰ vestra beatitudo : tua beatitudo T

²¹ ambaxiatam M; ad *add.* T

²² Turcos et omit. M, S, T, V

²³ Thurcinam S, T

²⁴ omit. R; dirigende S, T

²⁵ omit. N, P, S, T, V

²⁶ procurande N,

²⁷ scemota V

²⁸ omit. S, T

²⁹ sperant T

³⁰ oratoris P

³¹ percipere M, V

³² simul omit. M, T, V; una simul omit. N, P

³³ de S, T

binis vestris litteris¹ innotuisset, unis² quidem privatim³ et⁴ manu personae⁵ vestrae ac⁶ sub priori titulo familiariter exaratis, aliis vero⁷ titulo beatitudinis vestrae et stilo Romani pontificis illustratis, idem ille imperator noster idipsum⁸ germano suo, archiduci nostro et⁹ sanctitatis¹⁰ vestrae¹¹ oboedientissimo filio, communicavit, ut eum tantae {16v} laetitiae, quae sibi injecta¹² fuerat, redderet participem.¹³ Quippe¹⁴ jampridem fratres ipsi germani conciliati¹⁵ fuerant ac super differentiis pridem super illa luctuosa haereditate flebilis memoriae regis Ladislai¹⁶ inter eos exortis plenissime compositis¹⁷ ac taliter, ut gratia inter fratres summo fervore¹⁸ redisset, ut est apud Comicum¹⁹: *Amantium irae reintegratio est amoris*.²⁰ Archidux ille tanta perfusus laetitia, ut omni re²¹ familiari posthabita illico destinaret ad conspectum vestrae sanctitatis²² se personaliter conferre²³. Tamen vicit haec sententia prius homagium illius principatus assumere, qui sibi morte²⁴ regis Ladislai haereditario jure delatus obtigit in sortem, videlicet Austriam supra flumen Anasum²⁵ nuncupatam^{26,27}. Est quidem ille Anasus, qui Norica²⁸ a Pannoniis *disterminat*²⁹ *arva colonis*.³⁰ Et quia principatus ille in hominum memoria semper a satrapis et vicariis gubernatus personali praesentia principis sui caruerat, jam exigebat assiduiorem principis superintendentiam³¹.

[5] Quatenus ea, quae pro tempore negligentius³² tractata fuerant, in debitum ordinem redigerentur, et interea hiemis asperitas supervenit, ideoque³³ princeps ille veris temperiem expectare decrevit, missis tamen oratoribus suis, generoso comite {176v} Rudolfo³⁴ de Sulcis et alio, qui reverentiam illius archiducis nostri coram vestra beatitudine perorando exhiberent^{35,36} vere porro repente³⁷, ut ait Maro:

vere novo gelidis canis cum montibus humor

¹ epistolis M, V

² uni S

³ privatim corr. ex privatis M; privatis P

⁴ ac T

⁵ omit. T

⁶ et M; atque V

⁷ omit. S, T

⁸ adipsum S

⁹ ac M, V

¹⁰ beatitudinis T

¹¹ sanctitatis vestrae : vestre

sanctitatis M, V

¹² nunciata V

¹³ Heimburg would have seen these letters in his capacity of counsellor to Archduke Albrecht, cf. Joachimsohn, p. 158-159

¹⁴ quidam S; quidem T

¹⁵ consiliati T

¹⁶ Laodisl.. et passim T

¹⁷ compositi N, P, V

¹⁸ fenore M, N, P, V

¹⁹ Terentius Afer, Publius (ca.

190-ca. 160 BCE): Roman

playright

²⁰ Terentius: *Andria*, 555:

amantium irae amoris

integratiost

²¹ rei M, N, P

²² vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis

vestrae M

²³ transferre S, T

²⁴ mortis S

²⁵ River Enns

²⁶ nuncupata N, P

²⁷ On the division of Ladislaus' inheritance between the Habsburgs, see Langmeier, pp. 454-592

²⁸ Noricam S

²⁹ discriminat N, P

³⁰ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1, 213-216: *Fonte cadit modico parvisque inpellitur undis*

Puniceus Rubicon, cum fervida conduit aestas, Perque imas serpit valles et Gallica certus Limes ab Ausoniis disterminat arva colonis

³¹ principis superintendentiam : principem superintendentem S, T

³² pro tempore negligentius : negligentius pro tempore M

³³ idque M, N, P

³⁴ Rodulfo S

³⁵ exhibere M; exhiberet N, P

³⁶ Here, Heimburg is probably referring to the joint embassy of obedience of four German princes, including Albrecht VI. It reached the new pope in Siena, in March 1459, and the pope replied to the addresses of the ambassadors with the oration *Si sacrosancto*

³⁷ tepente V

linquitur et Zephyro¹ putris² se gleba resolvit.³

[6] Ecce adveniunt oratores serenissimi ac⁴ potentissimi Poloniae regis⁵ et⁶ nobilissimorum fratrum⁷ ordinis de militia⁸ beatae Mariae Theutonicorum de Prussia. Haec est illa Prussia, cui nomen fecit Bithyniae rex Prussias⁹, apud quem crudelis Hannibal¹⁰, dux Poenorum¹¹, a populo Romano victus et fugatus exulavit¹² miser¹³, cujus suasu¹⁴ rex Prussias¹⁵ ¹⁶ contra populum Romanum bellum suscepit, pugnam publicam, non respondentibus fibris, dum exta¹⁷ conspiceret¹⁸, inire est ausus. Dum in hunc modum increparetur¹⁹: “An tu”, inquit, “o Prussias, vitulinae²⁰ carunculae²¹ credere mavis quam imperatori probato?”²² Confluxit ergo, et superatus Prussias in illam Scythiae partem profugit, ubi Vistola²³ fluvius Sarmaticis montibus ortus²⁴ illabatur, Germaniam Scythiamque²⁵ disterruens. Cujus quidem Bithynici²⁶ populi vestigia inibi hodie²⁷ apparent, quia nonnulli priscae linguae²⁸ oracula retinentes ab²⁹ colitis Doricis³⁰ vaditis³¹ et Jonicis populis competenter³² intelliguntur.

[7] Rex vero ille potentissimus frater germanus est quondam regis Wladislai,³³ qui quondam cum regina inclita³⁴ Elizabeth,³⁵ Ladislai³⁶ regis³⁷ ³⁸ genitrice, super regno Hungariae dissidens³⁹, attamen⁴⁰ auctore Juliano sancti angeli cardinali⁴¹, tunc legationis⁴² apostolicae fungenti⁴³ officio,

¹ sephireo P

² putrum S, T

³ Vergilius: Georgica, 1.43-44: *vere novo gelidus canis cum montibus humor liquitur et Zephyro putris se gleba resolvit*

⁴ et T

⁵ Casimir IV Jagiellon (1427-1492): Grand duke of Lithuania from 1440 and King of Poland from 1447 to his death

⁶ ac M, V

⁷ fratris N, P

⁸ de militia omit. S, T

⁹ Prusias I Chalus (ca. 243-182 BCE): King of Bithynia from 228 BC to his death

¹⁰ Hannibal Barca (247-ca. 183 BCE): Carthaginian general

¹¹ Prorum N, P

¹² exulat S

¹³ misere S

¹⁴ Here ends the text in clm 3786

¹⁵ Prussius N, P

¹⁶ apud quem ... Prussias omit. T

¹⁷ extera S, T

¹⁸ conspicerent T

¹⁹ increparet N, P

²⁰ vitilene S

²¹ carnuncule P, S, T; carniale V

²² Valerius Maximus, 3.11, ext. 6: *Hannibal vero, cum apud regem Prusiam exsularet auctorque ei committendi proelii esset, atque is non idem sibi extis portendi diceret, ‘ain tu?’ inquit; ‘vitulinae carunculae quam imperatori veteri mavis credere?’* (When Hannibal was in exile at the court of king Prusias and advised him to join battle, the king said to him that the entrails told him otherwise. “Really?” said Hannibal, “Would you rather trust a lump of calf flesh than a veteran general?”). See also Cicero: *De divinatione*, 2.4.52

²³ Bistola M, N, P, V; Bistoria S, T

²⁴ oceano, qui sinus mare Balticum appellatur add. M

²⁵ Schytiam S

²⁶ Buthunici P; Bithimius S; Bythinii T

²⁷ omit. M

²⁸ ligue N, P

²⁹ ob N, P

³⁰ omit. M; Dorocis N, P

³¹ vodicis N, P

³² competenter N, P

³³ Władysław III (1424-1444): King of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary and Croatia from 1440 until his death at the Battle of Varna

³⁴ regina inclita : inclita regina M, V

³⁵ Elizabeth of Luxembourg (1409–1442): wife of Albrecht V, King of Germany, Hungary and Bohemia. Daughter of Emperor Sigismund

³⁶ Wladislai N, P; Laodislai T

³⁷ omit. T

³⁸ Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440-1457): Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia

³⁹ dissidentes N, P

⁴⁰ ac cum S, T

⁴¹ Giuliano Cesarini (1398-1444): Cardinal. Mentor and friend of Enea Silvio Piccolomini

⁴² legatione N, P

⁴³ fungentis M, N, P; fungente V

cum Turco^{1 2}, praesentis Turci³ genitore, bis feliciter dimicavit ac proelia consertis⁴ cum hoste manibus⁵ bina commisit. Tertio tandem adverso proelio⁶ victus gloriose occubuit, cujus nomen ob id per gloriam hodie {177r} spirat. Kazimirus vero, hodie rex⁷ regnans, nedum in fratris sui regno successit, sed regnum ipsum ampliavit⁸ ultra Sarmatas, Lituanos⁹, et Schytas¹⁰ vagi¹¹ palantes, quorum sedes junctae sunt ac de triennio in triennium. Nonnulli annuatim¹² sedes suas¹³ mutant ac rursus crematis rubis et¹⁴ silice¹⁵ tellurem nova fruge fecundant¹⁶, ut ait Maro¹⁷:

*Saepe etiam¹⁸ steriles incendere profuit¹⁹ agros
atque levem stipulam crepitantibus²⁰ urere flammis²¹.*

Ac Rutenos, qui usque ad Thanaim porriguntur, illum scilicet²² Europae et Asiae limitem, de quo est illud: *Neque enim plus littora Nili quam Scythicus Thanais primis a Gadibus absunt.*²³

[8] Orabant autem utriusque partis oratores, quatenus archidux ille causas differentiarum inter partes supradictas in se suscipere et ordine judiciario terminare dignaretur, si²⁴ amicabili compositione terminari non valerent²⁵. Nam paulo antea inter partes convenerat, ut octo a qualibet parte deputati - una cum Johanne Jiskra^{26 27} supernumerario - articulos differentiarum moderarentur, et in quibus ipsi contendentes²⁸ non consentirent, archidux ille potestatem haberet dirimendi²⁹. Archidux siquidem exoratus arbitrium assumpsit, partibus diem³⁰ dixit, locum designavit³¹ scilicet Nurembergam, quo se non dubitavit alios sacri Romani imperii principes adducere posse, quorum consilio fretus partes ipsas ad concordiam reducere³² aut, si illa deficeret, causam ipsam certiore³³ sententia diffiniret, et haec³⁴ ad festum nativitatis³⁵ sancti Johannis Baptistae, qui terminus pro dignitate personarum et³⁶ gravitate causae, sed et³⁷ pro locorum distantia convenire videbatur. Profectus est ergo archidux in diem praefinitum ad locum

¹ Turca et passim T

² Murad II (1404-1451): Ottoman sultan

³ Mehmed II (1332-1481): Ottoman sultan. Conquered Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire

⁴ conserta V

⁵ manus P

⁶ Battle of Varna, 1440

⁷ hodie rex : rex hodie M, V

⁸ amplificavit M, V

⁹ Lidbanos N; Lulbanos P

¹⁰ Schitos N, P

¹¹ regi V

¹² annatum N

¹³ omit. V

¹⁴ ac V

¹⁵ felice M; sillicem S; filice T

¹⁶ fecundavit N, P

¹⁷ Publius Vergilius Maro (70-19 BC): Roman poet

¹⁸ enim S

¹⁹ profugit M

²⁰ crepantibus S; cremantibus T

²¹ Vergilius: *Georgica*, 1.84-85: *saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros atque levem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis* (Often, too, it has been useful to fire barren fields, and burn the light stubble in crackling flames)

²² illum scilicet : illumque M

²³ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 9.413-414: *For the banks of the Nile are*

not further than the northern Tanais from Gades in the far West

²⁴ siquidem M, V

²⁵ valeret S, T

²⁶ em.; Y/Isgra codd.

²⁷ Jan Jiskra of Brandys (ca. 1400-ca. 1469): Moravian noble mercenary captain

²⁸ condentes S, T

²⁹ diminuendi S, T

³⁰ dum S

³¹ assignavit S

³² duceret S; reduceret T

³³ certiori N, P

³⁴ hoc M, V

³⁵ omit. N, P, S, T, V

³⁶ omit. N, P, V

³⁷ omit. N, P

designatum, sed intercesserunt quaedam {177v} novitates, propter quas de securitate profectionis¹ dubitatum est, et ob id terminus circumductus et here² modicum³ est ea vice commissum.

[9] Fui⁴ paulo prolixior hoc⁵ loco, quam statueram, pater beatissime, sed sic rei narrandae⁶ varietas hortata est. Nam si⁷ oboedientissimus ille filius sanctitatis⁸ vestrae causam illam terminasset,⁹ ut sibi spes maxima pollicita erat, profecto nedum maximae vires illi expeditioni militari, quam nunc agimus, accessissent, sed magna pars totius operis expleta fuisset, siquidem vires illae regis et militiae fratrum Theutonicorum¹⁰, quae se¹¹ jam diutius attriverant, simul junctae¹² atque adunatae fuissent, quae terra¹³ marique potentes¹⁴ sunt. Nam et ipsius regis solae opes impetum fecerunt in Turcum, priore scilicet bello¹⁵, quod jam memoravi, et quod propter confirmationem¹⁶ regni Poloniae tutus¹⁷ erat transitus et traductio exercitus in hostem hoc tempore. Quapropter¹⁸ dissensionem, quae est inter gloriosissimum imperatorem nostrum et Matthiam, qui sibi regnum Hungariae usurpavit - Hungaria ipsa nobis et Turcis interjacens - non est usquequo¹⁹ praevia²⁰. De quo tamen alio loco latius dicendum reor²¹.

[10] Nunc vero cum poeta dixerim:

*Claudite jam rivos, pueri! Sat prata²² biberunt.*²³

Verumtamen archidux ille nihilominus²⁴ Christianae reipublicae et illius desideratissimae expeditionis pro virili sua curam gerens ad regem Poloniae misit, a²⁵ quo responsum²⁶ tale²⁷ recepit, quod rex ipse de proximo suos oratores plenissime instructos²⁸ mittere velit, tum²⁹ quibus non tantum³⁰ ³¹ super differentiis inter illum et fratres militiae, sed etiam de illis viribus in Turcum vertendis³² tractabitur³³ plenissime. In³⁴ his agendis³⁵, pater beatissime, totus Junii mensis effluxit. {178r} Verum interea inter non parvos illarum partium principes simultas³⁶ enisit³⁷, et antequam reliqui³⁸ principes³⁹ ⁴⁰ intervenirent⁴¹, tumultus excrevit, et ex una parte tam subito ex omni agro,

¹ pro se ipso S

² [sic!]; *omit.* V

³ modicum V

⁴ sui S

⁵ in *add.* T

⁶ rei narrande : narrandae rei M

⁷ sibi M

⁸ beatitudinis M

⁹ *here begins a large lacuna which ends at the close of the oration, in section 13, q.v.* M

¹⁰ Theutonicorum N, S

¹¹ sese S, T

¹² incerte S

¹³ terre N, P

¹⁴ prepotentes S, T, V

¹⁵ scilicet bello : bello scilicet S, T

¹⁶ conservacionem S

¹⁷ ejus S; equus *dub.* T

¹⁸ quo propter S, T

¹⁹ usquequaque S, T, V

²⁰ pervia S, T

²¹ vereor S, T

²² sat prata : superata S, T

²³ Vergilius: *Eclogae*, 3.111: *Shut off the springs now, lads; the meadows have drunk enough*

²⁴ *omit.* S, T

²⁵ ex P

²⁶ rursum N

²⁷ *omit.* S

²⁸ *omit.* S, T

²⁹ super S, T; cum V

³⁰ *em.*; dum codd.

³¹ non tantum : nedum V

³² vertendum S

³³ tractabatur S

³⁴ de S

³⁵ agendum S, T

³⁶ dissensiones T

³⁷ emersit P

³⁸ simultas enisit ... reliqui *omit.* S

³⁹ reliqui principes : princeps reliqui P

⁴⁰ enisit et ... principes *omit.* T

⁴¹ intervenerunt T

ex omni rure¹ ac villis et oppidis finitimis catervae coactae sunt, quibus tamen nonnulli² militares viri praefecti³ sunt, qui rapacitarum huiusmodi excursionses aliquatenus cohiberent. Quod ideo sic negligenter⁴ tractatum reor esse⁵, quia principes finitimi partibus illorum adversantium hinc inde foederati fuerunt, quod⁶ quisque magis intentus esset, si quomodo⁷ parti suae opem ferre posset, quam ut iras contententium principum molliendo temperaret. Solus ille vestrae sanctitatis⁸ filius oboedientissimus⁹, archidux Albertus, omnes ingenii vires ad frenandum iras et molliendum¹⁰ principum animos convertit.

[11] Accesserunt tandem et alii simul et beatitudinis vestrae nuntius ob id a sanctitate vestra transmissus periculosum existimantes, si vulgus indomitum passim arma tractaret et semel in ferociam ruens revocari non posset - ut alio loco Caesar de Pompejo¹¹ loquens ait: *Neque enim semel ore¹² receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces.*¹³ Exploratum namque est huiusmodi¹⁴ rapacitas¹⁵, qui cum hoste manum consere auderent, cum semel licentiam diripendarum alienarum operum sibi sumpserint, non amplius mansuescere et ad rura vel operas pristinas redire¹⁶ recusant, quemdammodum in bello servili populus Romanus furorem servorum expertus est. Itaque archidux ille bono dolo fretus est, quo sine fraude utrique¹⁷ parti blandiendo obscuris quibusdam verbis et sententiarum ambiguitate ipsis altercantibus¹⁸ satisfecit.

[12] Sic enim¹⁹ pro tempore faciendum erat, quatenus illae catervae tumultuantes {178v} ad rura, villas et oppida sua redirent: jam enim messis in horreis recondite, et rursus²⁰ terra vomere proscindenda, rastris radenda et frumenta sulcis denuo commendanda erant, et defuerant manus poscentibus arvis. Agro siquidem ab armis liberato, nondum omnis suspicio belli sublata erat, neque erat sane difficile²¹ ex illis vel aliis²² villis et oppidis²³ passim et sine delicto²⁴ quoslibet vilissimos ad praedam evocare. Et idcirco archidux ipse facultatem nondum habuit sese ab illis locis procul elongandi²⁵, ne scintillae prioris²⁶ flammae latentes in cinere rursus enicarent²⁷ novas excitando^{28 29} flammis. Et idcirco a Nuremberga quandoque discedens, illac subito reversus est, ut si quid dissidii inter principes contententes emergeret, praesertim ex illa obscura verborum continuitate et

¹ ex omni rure *omit.* N, P

² tamen nonnulli : nonnulli tamen V

³ praefecti V

⁴ sic negligenter : negligenter sic N, P

⁵ reor esse : vereor esse S, T, V

⁶ ut V

⁷ quo nimis N, P

⁸ vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis tue T

⁹ obsequentissimus P

¹⁰ molliendos N, V

¹¹ *em.*; Pt(h)olomeo codd. [*Either error of Piccolomini or of some early scribe*]

¹² *omit.* P

¹³ Lucanus: *De bello civili*, 1.331-332: *Nullus semel ore receptus pollutas patitur sanguis mansu-escere fauces* (*When blood has once been swallowed, it never permits the throat it has tainted to lose its cruelty*)

¹⁴ huiusmodi S, T

¹⁵ rapacitas N, P

¹⁶ reddere S

¹⁷ utique N, P

¹⁸ altercantibus S

¹⁹ *omit.* V

²⁰ rursus S, T

²¹ difficilis S

²² odiis P

²³ oppidum N, P

²⁴ delecte N, P; delectu V

²⁵ elongandum S, T

²⁶ peioris S

²⁷ enicant S

²⁸ excitarent S

²⁹ rursus enicarent ... excitando : revivisserent et excitarent T

ambiguitate sententiarum, id totum interventu suo tolleretur a¹ medio. Semper etenim pax illa² suspecta habita fuit, ut nonnisi nivibus et glacie et ipsa hiemis asperitate firmari³ putaretur. Itaque archidux ille, ne quid suae culpa ascriberetur, intra⁴ fines illos esse continere⁵ decrevit.

[13] Nos⁶ vero, oratores suos, ante pedes sanctitatis vestrae prostratos destinavit, tradens nobis mandatum plenissimum ad omnia, quae pro illa⁷ salutari et desideratissima expeditione contra Turcorum furiam compescendam necessaria fuerint seu quodlibet⁸ opportuna juxta seriem praesentis mandati, quod et nos beatitudini vestrae et sacro⁹ coetui patrum, quos sanctitas¹⁰ vestra convocavit, praesentamus audiendum, quatenus¹¹ sinceritas archiducis nostri ex illius tenore simul et ex his¹², quae dicturi sumus, clareat evidenter.

{179r} *Hinc*¹³ *lectum est mandatum et*¹⁴ *postea dictum est.*^{15 16}

Ex¹⁷ serie¹⁸ mandati¹⁹, beatissime pater²⁰, plenitudo potestatis nostrae satis²¹ liquet. Quod autem in illo tres personae sunt nuncupatae, nil officit traditae²² facultati, quae nobis conjunctim et divisim extat²³ demandata. Sed quantum honestas requirit, tertiam personam excusare oportet, quae nunc abest. Id ideo est, quod ipse decanatum Augustensem tenuit sub pensione praedecessori²⁴ suo, auctoritate sedis apostolicae reservata, qui jampridem - me scilicet in illis partibus agente - vita functus²⁵ est, propter quod onera quaedam illi collegae nostro²⁶ designato supervenerunt, sed non acerba, quia grandi pensione liberatus est. Habet ergo lugere mortem ejus, cui successit, quod imprime²⁷ facere licet²⁸, quia non idcirco reviviscet²⁹. Ipsam autem mandati amplitudinem, quemadmodum nobis tradita et³⁰ illis³¹ nunc nuper lectis litteris³² explicata est, largissime prosequemur³³. Neque enim decet liberalissimi principis oratores³⁴ et ministros in ipsa officii gestione tenaces inveniri. Offerimus itaque principem nostrum ad munera quaecumque subeunda, quae³⁵ per sanctitatem vestram et³⁶ celeberrimos viros, quos ipsa beatitudo³⁷ vestra deputabit, decreta fuerint. Sed et quascumque functiones suscipiendas et in summa ductoris an militis vice

¹ e S, V; ex T

² pax illa : papilla N, P; parum illa T

³ firmare S

⁴ inter N, P

⁵ contineri P

⁶ illos T

⁷ quae pro illa : illa que pro S, T

⁸ quomodolibet N, P

⁹ *Here ends the lacuna, which began in section 8. Two lines almost illegible M*

¹⁰ beatitudo M, T; eadem beatitudo V

¹¹ quamvis S

¹² illis S, T

¹³ hic M; omit. V

¹⁴ omit. V

¹⁵ *Two almost illegible lines M*

¹⁶ hinc lectum ... dictum est omit.

T

¹⁷ *illegible word add. M*

¹⁸ hujus add. V

¹⁹ serie mandati : mandati serie M

²⁰ beatissime pater : pater beatissime M, N, P, V

²¹ omit. T

²² nobis add. M

²³ ex tot N

²⁴ precessori T

²⁵ vita functus : verificatus M

²⁶ nostre N, P

²⁷ impune P

²⁸ omit. S, T

²⁹ reminiscent N, P

³⁰ ex V

³¹ ipsis add. M, S, T

³² omit. P

³³ prosequimur N, P

³⁴ oratores corr. ex actores N; actores M, S, V R

³⁵ sibi V

³⁶ omit. N, P

³⁷ beatitas M, S, T

fungatur, vestrum sit arbitrium. Cetera vero, *quae ad rem attinent*^{1 2} - ut est apud Comicum - intus transigentur. Nam impedimenta, quae³ illustrissimus archidux noster⁴, sanctitatis vestrae oboedientissimus, subesse suspicatur, quo minus roboris accedat expeditioni copiarum Christianae militiae. Sed et ea, quae profectioni et traductioni {179v} exercitus Christiani afficere⁵ possunt, sed et⁶ de cautelis, quibus utendum est, ac modis, quibus haec impedimenta caveantur simul et tollantur e medio, ac de reliquis circumstantiis, quas in publicum proferre non expedit, pro loci⁷ ac personarum qualitate⁸ dicetur. Et ita ut ad laudem Dei et gloriam vestrae sanctitatis⁹, vicarii domini et salvatoris domini¹⁰ nostri Jesu Christi, cedat¹¹, qui est benedictus in saecula saeculorum¹². Amen.

*Steti quandoque tectus caput, pater beatissime, ne catharus impediret me pronuntiantem. Quod contra morem feci, necessitas excuset, et indulgeat clementia pietatis vestrae.*¹³

¹ pertinent V

² Terentius:

Heautontimorumenos, 75: *ea quae nil ad te attinent*

³ *omit.* N, P

⁴ illustrissimus archidux noster : archidux noster illustrissimus V

⁵ abiicere S; obesse T; officere V

⁶ *omit.* N, P, T

⁷ *omit.* T

⁸ personarum qualitate : qualitate personarum T

⁹ vestrae sanctitatis : sanctitatis vestre S; sanctitatis tue T

¹⁰ *omit.* M, N, P

¹¹ cedet N, P; cedant V

¹² *omit.* V

¹³ steti quandoque ... vestrae : dixi T; *omit.* V

Appendix B: Oration “*Ne cui mirum*” of Gregor Heimburg to Pope Pius II (12 November 1459, Mantua)

The text appears not to have been published previously.

The present edition is based on five manuscripts:

- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 78v-84v **(T)**
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
clm 522, ff. 140r-144r **(P)**
clm 4016, ff. 13r-15v **(M)**
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 247r-249r **(N)**
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 139v-144r **(S)**

The notes comprise textual variants (black) and references etc. (green).

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see COR, I: ch. 9.

The date of the oration is given in the oration itself, cf. section 17, where Heimburg said that it was held on the day after 11 November, i.e., on 12 November.

Pagination: after the Salzburg manuscript.

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

Oratio oratoris illustrissimi ducis Saxonii Wilhelmi ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Pium papam II. habita in consistorio Mantuano secreto¹

[1] {139v} {Ne² cui mirum³ esse videatur⁴, cur ego, qui jam fere mensem in curia sanctitatis vestrae⁵ exegi, neque ab illustrissimo principe Wilhelmo⁷, Saxoniae duce⁸, recenter advenio, partes oratoris assumpserim, id paucis eloquar. Dehinc pergam suscepti muneris explere functionem.

[2] Fuit huic operi praefectus vir quidam insignis ingenio, lingua⁹ disertus¹⁰ ¹¹ et auctoritate praeclarus. {140r} Illo autem aliis negotiis inopinatis impedito ego, qui ducum Saxoniae causas pro tempore coram imperiali splendore disceptavi, suffectus sum. Huic accedit illa confinitas, quod ambo duces¹² inclytæ¹³ domui Austriae nuptialibus facibus¹⁴ clarissimarum uxorum illius domus filiarum et affinitate conjugali devincti sunt. Unde et nos, qui oratorum fungimur officio alterius¹⁵, vicissim decet juvare subsidiis. His fretus ad rem descendo, pater beatissime.

[3] Et¹⁶ in primis, si gentis Saxonicae primordia narrare statuero, a Gothis profecto ducendum¹⁷ erit exordium, quos, etsi Claudius Ptolomaeus, orbis terrae descriptor egregius, ex insula¹⁸ Scantia¹⁹ seu Scandomia²⁰ processisse referat, quam Plinius secundus, litterarum saecularium eruditissimus, refert in Oceano arcto²¹ situatam in modum folii²² cedri lateribus latis et pandis²³ frugibus certe sterilem propter aquilonarium et²⁴ borealium ventorum rigorem, qui viscera terrae stringunt, ne vivax ille ac²⁵ spirituosus terrae vapor exhalari possit in herbas, e contrario autem populis maxime fecundam²⁶ quidem²⁷. Eorum corpora austriis²⁸ flatibus non laxantur²⁹, ne spiritus vitales evolent³⁰, ideoque frugum inopia et rursus hominum abundantia³¹ ex ea tamquam vagina nationum

¹ *No title* M; Oratio clarissimi viri Gregorii Heimbürg pro G. duce Saxoniae N; Oratio viri clarissimi Gregorii Heimbürg pro G. duce Saxoniae incipit feliciter P; Oratio Georgii Heymberger Juris utriusque Doctoris habita Mantuae Coram Pio Pape Secundo Pro Wilhelmo, illustrissimo Saxoniae duce T

² beatissime pater ne M, N, P

³ mirandum S

⁴ videntur P

⁵ tue T [T systematically uses tua for vestra in connection with beatitudo and sanctitas]

⁶ sanctitatis vestrae : vestre sanctitatis M, N

⁷ Guilhel... et passim M, N, P

⁸ omit. N, P

⁹ ligiva aut ligua aut ligwa passim N, P

¹⁰ desertus N

¹¹ lingua disertus : disertus ligua P

¹² The brothers Friedrich II. der Sanftmütige (1412-1464) and Wilhelm III. der Tapfere (1425-1482)

¹³ inclito N, P

¹⁴ fascibus S, T

¹⁵ alternis N, P

¹⁶ Saxones ex Gothis M; Primordium gentis Saxoniae in marg. N; De origine Saxorum in marg. P; Saxonum origo in marg. T

¹⁷ dicendum S, T

¹⁸ omit. T

¹⁹ Scandavia M; Scandia T

²⁰ alias Scandinavia add. S

²¹ arctoi M; arctor alias arctico seu arcturo S; arctico T

²² solii S

²³ alias paucis add. S

²⁴ atque N

²⁵ et T

²⁶ secundam S

²⁷ quod S, T

²⁸ anserniis S

²⁹ relaxantur T

³⁰ volant N, P

³¹ habundantie S

processisse populos orbem terrae¹ peragrantes, Gothos, Gethas², Gepidas, Ostrogothos, Wisigothos³, Massagetas⁴, Vandalos⁵, Winnulos⁶, Rugos⁷, Herulos, Turalingos⁸ atque Hunnos⁹.

[4] Tum¹⁰ quia constat eos totum orbem terrae perbachatos¹¹ sedes in Africa locasse, ut gloriosus ille Dei monarcha Constantinus Magnus attestatur, in his quae¹² de officiis p.p.¹³ Africae¹⁴ scribuntur, in illa constitutione¹⁵, *Quas laudes et gratias Deo et domino nostro Jesu Christo reddamus, nec mente concipere nec lingua proferre valemus, etc.*¹⁶, {140v} dum Libyae recuperationem inter ingentia gloriae suae memoranda enumerat, subdit dicens: “*Et Vandalorum crudelissimam gentem devicimus etc.*” Vandalos autem ex Gothis processisse summorum virorum auctoritate munitus supra memoravi. Italiam vero postea Gothorum imperio paruisse nullus ignorat, donec Justinianus imperator duce Belisario¹⁷ primum, postea vero per Narsetem¹⁸ patricium illos Italia pepulit et exegit. Hic est ille Belisarius, ad quem sacratissimus¹⁹ imperator Justinianus scribit²⁰ exemplar jurisjurandi, quod praestetur²¹ ab his, qui administrationem²² suscipiunt provinciarum.

[5] Narses vero est, qui²³ rebus omnibus in Italia pacatis, dum a populo Romano ad bella gerenda stimulabatur, insolenti populo respondit, bella petere, ubi non subest causa vel occasio, id esse retibus aureis piscari²⁴, ubi ex ruptura retis plus jacturae quam ex captura speratur²⁵ emolimenti, hanc Ciceronis sententiam secutus: *in adeundis periculis imitandam esse consuetudinem medicorum, qui leviter aegrotantes leviter curant*²⁶, *gravioribus autem morbis implicitis ancipites curas adhibere solent*,²⁷ et hoc²⁸ ita scilicet si²⁹ plus adipiscare re³⁰ explicata³¹ boni quam³² ad dubitata mali. Et idcirco a Romanis Narses “castratus” nuncupatus est, quem Theodora Augusta, consors Justiniani, lacesivit dicens eum inter puellas velle collocare, ut telam unam³³ texeret³⁴. Respondit Narses: “Talem tibi telam³⁵ ordiar³⁶, quam reliqua vita tua retexere non poteris.”³⁷ Missis igitur³⁸ fructibus arborum in Pannoniam allexit eos³⁹ in Liguriam, qui ex longitudine barbae Liguria dederunt⁴⁰ nomen Lombardiae⁴¹, quo usque in praesentem diem ab omnibus nuncupatur⁴².

¹ terrarum T

² Gothas N, P

³ Visigothos T

⁴ Massagethas M, N, P;

Masogothos S; Masagethas T

⁵ Wandal... et passim M, N, P, S

⁶ Winulos M; Wunilas N;

Wunilos P; Wynnulos S; Vinulos

T

⁷ Ruges S

⁸ Curtilingas T

⁹ Hunos M, N, P, S, T

¹⁰ tamen M, N, P

¹¹ perbachatas N, P

¹² omit. N, P

¹³ p. pre. T

¹⁴ Affri P

¹⁵ constitutioni N, P

¹⁶ et usui M; et ita N, P, S

¹⁷ Bilisar... et passim N

¹⁸ Narsatem N, P

¹⁹ sanctissimus S, T

²⁰ Justinianus scribit : scribit Justinianus P

²¹ prestatur P, S, T

²² administrationes M, N, P

²³ est qui : et S, T

²⁴ Quod sit bella petere ubi non subest causa vel occasio in marg. N

²⁵ speramus M; speretur S, T

²⁶ curare M

²⁷ Cicero: *De officiis*, 1.24.53: *Quapropter in adeundis periculis consuetudo imitanda medicorum est, qui leviter aegrotantes leniter curant, gravioribus autem morbis*

periculosas curationes et ancipites adhibere coguntur

²⁸ hac S, T

²⁹ se S, T

³⁰ omit. S, T

³¹ explicata M, N, P

³² omit. N, P

³³ una M, N, P

³⁴ texerat N, P

³⁵ talem tibi telam : tibi telam talem S; tibi telam talem volo T

³⁶ ordinare S, T

³⁷ em.; poterit codd.

³⁸ ergo M

³⁹ eis N, P, S

⁴⁰ dederit N, P; dedederat S; dederant T

⁴¹ Lombardie T; Longobardiae T

⁴² nuncupantur M, N, P

[6] Quis vero putaret hanc insulam Scantiam strictam et angustam tot gentes efflare potuisse, nisi populorum {141r} adjacentium auxilio adjuta fuisset, quos Saxones esse plane constat. Nam et Daciam non dixerim illam ripensem^{1,2} sed mediterraneam³, quas ambas Justinianus ille sacratissimus commemorat in his, quae de ecclesiasticis titulis scripsit, dum eas ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae subesse constituit. Quin⁴ et Sueciam et Norvegiam Saxonica lingua pronuntiare constat, quae Scantiam illam circumcingunt. Et in summa omnes populi circumjacentes ac maria quaeque Saxonibus habitantur et exercentur. Ideoque omnem Saxoniam et quidquid demum⁵ suo vocabulo Gothum vocat, allusione vocabuli Gothos ausim⁶ nuncupare. Nam et Theutates a⁷ Theutate dictos⁸ auctor est Annaeus Lucanus, qui lingua sua Martem dixere Theutatem,⁹ idque Theutatum¹⁰ sortiti sunt nomen.

[7] Omnis itaque lingua Theutonica¹¹ a Saxonibus derivata vires pro tempore per totum orbem terra marique longe lateque porrexit, quamquam¹² alii¹³ arbitrentur Saxones a Graecis fluxisse, qui lingua Ionica saxa gladiatorem nuncupare dicuntur. Sed utcumque gentes illae¹⁴ et populi translati sunt, meo quidem iudicio¹⁵ omnia Gothorum egregia facinora per Saxones reor esse patrata omnesque Theutates¹⁶ seu Theutonicos¹⁷ ex Saxonibus derivatos. Nam citra¹⁸ Saxoniam Franci orientales ex Sicambris¹⁹ orti sunt, ac²⁰ Suevi ex Gallis, qui cum Allobrogibus in Italiam venire duce Brenno regulo, quem quidam historicorum²¹ ajunt Zenonem²², alii referunt Senenorum²³ ducem exitisse. Idcirco omnem Theutonicam²⁴ linguam a Saxonibus propagatam affirmo, originaliter autem a Theutate, idest Marte, denominatam esse.

[8] Hi Saxones, cum tricentis²⁵ fere annis continua successione imperii Romani gubernacula tenuerunt, quas largitates {141v} in Romanam contulerunt ecclesiam, nedum ipsa²⁶ historiarum fides, sed et sacri canones attestantur. Nam²⁷ etsi Nicolaus papa III. commendet²⁸ illam donationem²⁹, quam gloriosus ille Dei monarcha Constantinus in persona sancti Silvestri Romanae ecclesiae traditur contulisse - ut est in canone *Scripturae*³⁰ (semper enim turpe duxi in conspectu Romani pontificis leges sacras vel etiam humanas per quotam allegare) - quia³¹ tamen³² constat nedum urbem Romanam³³, sed omnem Italiam primum a Gothis, dehinc a³⁴ Hunnis, ac rursus a

¹ Ripheum M, S; Riphensem P; Ripheam T

² The Roman province of Dacia Ripensis, in the diocese of Dacia, cf. Burns, pp. 60, 62

³ The Roman province of Dacia Mediterranea, also in the diocese of Dacia

⁴ quam S, T

⁵ Deo S; de T

⁶ ausum S

⁷ et S, T

⁸ dictus S, T

⁹ tentatim S

¹⁰ Theutati S, T

¹¹ Theotonica N, P, S

¹² quicquid S, T

¹³ Gotfridus Viterbiensis *in marg.* T

¹⁴ omit. N, P, S, T

¹⁵ meo quidem iudicio : in iudicem S, T

¹⁶ Thentates S

¹⁷ Theutones S, T

¹⁸ nunc S; inter T

¹⁹ Sicambris *corr. ex* Sicanis P, T; Sicanis S

²⁰ et M

²¹ historicarum S

²² Senonensem S; Senonum T

²³ Suevorum M, S, T

²⁴ Theotonicam M, S

²⁵ cum tricentis : centum S, T

²⁶ omit. S

²⁷ illum M

²⁸ commendat S, T

²⁹ devotionem T

³⁰ scriptura M, N, P

³¹ qui S

³² cum S, T

³³ Romam T

³⁴ ab M, S, T

Gothis subactam esse, ab Aistulfo¹ Gotho usque ad Attilam, Hunnorum regem, et rursus ab illo usque ad Theodoricum, regem ultimum Gothorum, qui etiam patricium et amicum² Boethium relegavit, quae seriatim enarrare et per tempora distinguere nimis foret prolixum.

[9] Profecto nisi fides et liberalitas Saxonica rem ipsam consolidasset, vetus illa donatio cassa remansisset.³ Nam et Justinianus urbem recuperatam per Belisarium administravit, quem et successores ejus secuti sunt usque ad imperia Saxonica, quae satis clare probantur in illis canonibus sub distinctione LXIII locatis⁴, scilicet *Ego Ludovicus* et qui sequuntur. Hic mihi met licentiam⁵ usurpavi distinctionem magistri Gratiani⁶ allegare, quia originalia obliturata⁷ sunt.

[10] Neque tamen⁸ ista commemoravi⁹, ut sedem apostolicam Saxonibus obnoxiam ostendere velim, sed quo magis sanctitati vestrae despondeam, quod dux iste¹⁰ a¹¹ veterum Saxonum virtute non degenerabit¹², ut illud Comicum¹³ evitem¹⁴: *Istec¹⁵ commemoratio¹⁶ exprobatio¹⁷ est immemoris beneficii.*¹⁸ Nempe cujus fidem singularem ac praecipuam nuper Romana¹⁹ experta est²⁰ ecclesia²¹ in illo dissidio, cum quidam²² princeps extra²³ ecclesiam {142r} Romanam secedens²⁴ sibi²⁵ papalem²⁶ titulum adscivit²⁸ 29: ille ipse dux³⁰ Wilhelmus de primis et ante alios principes se pro justitia Eugenii papae³¹ declaravit, in qua ceteris principibus virtute praeluxit.

[11] Nunc³² ad injunctum³³ munus descendens, in primis deprecor³⁴: si novo et insolito more dicendi utar, quam apud Romanum pontificem fieri consuevit, ignosce Theutonico³⁵ ritui³⁶, qui etsi a stilo Romano paululum declinet, tamen a pietate naturae non abhorret, quemadmodum apud Valerium cognomento Maximum in his, quae de pietate filiorum erga parentes de Scythis scriptum et memoriae traditum, quin³⁷ et perpetuo memorandum reperimus, quomodo Scythae barbari Dario³⁸

¹ Athulffo N, P; Astulfo S; Atanulpho T

² omit. S

³ Note that, in spite of Valla's and Cusa's criticism of the authenticity of the Donation of Constantine, Heimburg appears to accept it, though he rightly claims that papal control of the Patrimony of Saint Peter had lapsed during the Goth period and had only been restored by later princes, in casu, Saxon emperors, e.g. Otto I in 962, cf. Weinfurter, p. 65

⁴ vocatis S; collatis T

⁵ licentia N, P

⁶ omit. S, T

⁷ abilimeata S; oblitterata T

⁸ cum S

⁹ commemoram N, P

¹⁰ ille P

¹¹ ex P

¹² degenerabat S, T

¹³ Comicum in marg. N; Terentius in marg. P

¹⁴ evitam S

¹⁵ ista S, T

¹⁶ Commemoratio in marg. N

¹⁷ exprobratio corr. ex exprobratio S

¹⁸ Terentius: *Andria*, 43-44: *nam istaec commemoratio quasi exprobratio est immemori benefici*

¹⁹ Romanam S

²⁰ experta est : est experta P

²¹ ecclesiam S

²² quidem N

²³ omit. S, T

²⁴ cedens T

²⁵ omit. S

²⁶ omit. M; papalem N, P

²⁷ papalis sedis S, T

²⁸ abscevit S; ascivit T

²⁹ Heimburg here refers to the schism which arose when the rump council of Basel in 1438-1439 declared Pope Eugenius IV as deposed and elected Duke Amédée VIII of Savoy as (anti)pope under the name of Felix V

³⁰ omit. S, T

³¹ Eugenii papae : pape Eugenii M

³² 2nda pars orationis in marg. N, P

³³ ad minentium alias adimminens S

³⁴ precor T

³⁵ Theotonico P, S; Thetonico N

³⁶ vicem S, T

³⁷ qui N, P; quam S, T

³⁸ Dadrie S

bellum inferenti responderunt *sciturum eum, cum Scythae ad monumenta parentum¹ pervenirent, quemadmodum proeliari solerent.*² Quis – oro – gentes nullis litteris institutas³ sic respondere docuit? Sed Maximi Valerii⁴ est: *quid ergo doctrina proficit? Profecto, ut politiora, non ut meliora fiant ingenia.*⁵

[12] Ita dux noster Theutonico⁶ ritu beatitudinem vestram duxit⁷ ⁸ alloquendam. Vestra quoque clementissima benignitas, illo ritu quondam assueta, tanto clementius accipiet illi principi morigerando, qui suis oratoribus sic alloqui⁹ praecepit. Ergo princeps ille sui recommendatione humiliter praelibata ad beatorum pedum¹⁰ oscula operis et obsequiis suis¹¹ oboedienter oblatis sanctitatis vestrae¹² salutem et prosperitatem optat¹³ cum sanitate corporali, qua beatitudo vestra hilarior et alacrior regimini universalis ecclesiae intendere et felicem expeditionem contra Turcos votive valeat efficere.

[13] Deinde ad scripta et requisitiones vestrae¹⁴ beatitudinis supra sua comparatione et personali interessentia praesentis contionis {142v} pro salutari expeditione contra Turcos feliciter conficienda respondet, in primis excusando sese cur ad illa non responderat¹⁵. Nam cum maximo ardore flagraret¹⁶ summa cupidine parendi monitis apostolicis, et tamen¹⁷ ipsarum rerum et negotiorum varietas non sineret, ipse vero tam pertinaci¹⁸ spe tenebatur¹⁹. Illam profecto nequaquam²⁰ abjicere voluit²¹ quamdiu sperare licuit, nec tamen²² quidquam²³ spondere audebat²⁴, ne tristior eventus exequi promissa vetaret²⁵, ac princeps ille variasse notaretur. Nil certum²⁶ respondere est ausus, nec tamen animum parendi²⁷ umquam deposuit, inter spes et metus animo suo fluctuante. Nam in capite mensis Julii sanctitatis vestrae prima²⁸ requisitio sibi innotuit, cum scilicet²⁹ illa prima commotio³⁰ inter principes illarum partium exorta est, in qua dux ille partes Alberti marchionis Brandenburgensis³¹ ³² firmans - propter foedus percussum simul et germanam³³ inter illos principes contractam affinitatem³⁴, et pactum mutuae successionis, si alterutrius stirpis³⁵ masculi³⁶

¹ patrum M, N, P

² Valerius Maximus, 5.7, ext. 5: *cum ad parentum suorum monumenta venisset, sciturum quemadmodum Scythae proeliari solerent*

³ institutos N, P

⁴ Maximi Valerii *em.*; maxima lex naturae codd.

⁵ Valerius Maximus, 5.7, ext. 5: *quid ergo doctrina proficit? ut politiora scilicet, non ut meliora fiant*

⁶ Theutonico N

⁷ duxi M

⁸ ad *add.* N, P

⁹ eloqui M, S, T

¹⁰ beatorum pedum : pedum beatorum S, T

¹¹ *omit.* T

¹² sanctitatis vestrae : unde N, P; status vestri S; status tui T

¹³ optans S, T

¹⁴ beate S, T

¹⁵ responderit M; respondeat N, P

¹⁶ flagret et N, P; flagrare S

¹⁷ tum S, T

¹⁸ pertinacius S, T

¹⁹ detenebatur T

²⁰ antequam M, N, P; nequaquam *corr. ex* cuiquam S; cuiquam T

²¹ noluit M, N, P

²² tum T

²³ quiquam P

²⁴ *em.*; auderet codd.

²⁵ notaret S, T

²⁶ certe N, P

²⁷ parandi S

²⁸ *omit.* S, T

²⁹ salus S, T

³⁰ sibi innotuit ...commotio *omit.* N, P

³¹ *omit.* M; Bramidenburgensis N; Brandeburgensis P

³² Margrave Albrecht Achilles of Brandenburg (1414-1486)

³³ Germanica N, P; Germaniam S, T

³⁴ fraternitatem M, N, P; severitatem S

³⁵ stirpes N, P

³⁶ masculine N, P

deficerent, ac¹ etiam propter antea sibi praestita auxilia vicaria ope pensanda, quae obligatio inter principes et armipotentes viros summa ducitur ac semper summo cum fervore² solvenda³ - vires suas undique contraxit, in quibus ita perstitit⁴ ac perseveravit, equitum ac⁵ peditum campestrum exercitum ducens, cuius virtute et fortitudine Albertus marchio causam differentiarum suarum ad optatum et tunc placitum⁶ sibi finem perduxit. Conciliatis⁷ vero⁸ principibus pridem adversantibus, non licuit ab exercitu ex vario populorum statu congesto discedere, ne excursionibus aut liberiore⁹ licentia quisquam praedae fortasse intentior¹⁰ manibus emificiis¹¹ pacem disturbaret vel expertes homines¹² differentiae populos inquietaret: dignum ratus est princeps ille ad compescendas {143r} quaslibet insolentias exercitum ad propria reducere.

[14] Cumque ad locum solitae residentiae pervenisset, secunda vestrae sanctitatis requisitio ad se delata est. Verum interea nonnulli finitimi¹³ illarum partium terras ecclesiae Maguntii¹⁴ in Saxoniae confinibus sitas, quas ille princeps in tutelam et protectionem suam jamdudum acceperat, invaserunt, adversum¹⁵ quos exercitum nunc nuper amotum, nec tamen omnino dissolutum traducere parabat. Neque enim minus illorum salutis¹⁶ et tranquillitatis¹⁷ sollicitus erat quam suae vel suorum, qui sibi vectigalia pendunt, eo quod illos in fidem et scutum¹⁸ suae protectionis suscepisset. Et electus ipsius ecclesiae Maguntii¹⁹ illis ipsis novissime praefectus erat, et idcirco propter recentis injuriae flagrantiam magis exarsit animus ducis ad vindictam. Intervenit autem illustris et magnificus ille princeps langravius Hassiae, qui et ipse ac genitor ipsius cum ducibus Saxoniae foederatus est, ut mutuam successionem alterutrum expectant²⁰, prout ab antiquo ab eadem stirpe ambo fluxerunt, et eadem est illis origo. Cujus interventu damna sarcita²¹, captivi relaxati, et omnia restituta sunt ac reintegrata. Neque enim dux ille Wilhelmus voluptatis loco bella ducit, sed taliter inferre²² conatur, ut nil nisi pax quaesita videatur, quae, cum sibi ex sola belli fama obvenerat, frustra bellum prosecutus²³ fuisset, dum sine vi ex solo belli adventu hostis trepidus se ducis arbitrio totum permisit. Itaque dux ipse etiam²⁴ inter arma locum dedit clementiae, quatenus in armis experta ferocia precibus illius principis expugnata et mansuefacta esse videretur.

[15] His successit negotium aliud ex veteri tamen causa descendens. Intellexit beatitudo vestra jam olim, dum in²⁵ imperiali curia et in hisce {143v} rebus ageret, Georgium²⁶, tunc regni Bohemiae gubernatorem, nunc vero ejusdem regni fastigia tenentem,²⁷ occasionem quaesisse, qua duces Saxoniae bello peteret²⁸ ac terras et castra LXVIII postulasse pleraque a ducibus ipsis et eorum

¹ ut S, T

² fenore M, N, P

³ solenda S; servanda T

⁴ persistit N, P

⁵ et P

⁶ placidum N, P

⁷ conciliatus N, P

⁸ omit. S, T

⁹ liberiori S, T

¹⁰ nocentior S, T

¹¹ emisitis S; blank space T

¹² omnes M; omnis S, T

¹³ finitum S

¹⁴ Maguntini P; Maguntine T

¹⁵ adversus S, T

¹⁶ saluti T

¹⁷ tranquillitati T

¹⁸ statum S

¹⁹ Maguntini P; Maguntinae S, T

²⁰ expectent M, N, P

²¹ sartita T; sortita S

²² in fine S, T

²³ secutus T

²⁴ omit. S, T

²⁵ omit. S, T

²⁶ Pogiebratium add. T

²⁷ Georg Podiebrad, formerly governor of Bohemia, was elected king in March 1458 after the demise of the 17-year old king, Ladislaus Postumus

²⁸ impeteret T

progenitoribus ultra humanam memoriam possessa, nonnulla pretio comparata, quaedam vero justo bello quaesita et inuasoribus ducum erepta. Sic etenim actum est, ut quamquam Bohemi finitimis¹ praedas auferrent ac violentias inferrent pro libito, et cum publico et justo bello victi erant, tunc demum questi² sunt vim eis illatam esse, culpantes ipsos duces³, quibus vim primum intulerant⁴, quod vim ipsam non sustinuissent, et ob eam rem⁵ duces ipsi gravem expensam⁶ subire coacti sunt, ne quando in eos impetus fieret, ipsi reperirentur inermes.

[16] Nec plane decere⁷ videbatur bellum, quod a Bohemis impendebat, alio vicario bello praevenire neque propellere, sed ipsius regis Ladislai, qui utrique duci quam proxima affinitate jungebatur, graviorem aetatem expectare, spe freti⁸ certissima⁹, cum rex¹⁰ ille administrationem regnorum suorum pro suo ingenio exerceret, futurum esse, ut duces ipsos, affines suos, gratia, favore, et sinceritate prosequeretur¹¹. Quo vita functo, cum duces ipsi minas pristinas ac metum abjecissent, non dubitantes ammodo¹² bellum tam suscipere quam referre, illustris Albertus, marchio Brandenburgensis¹³, tractator intervenit, qui negotium eo reduxit, quod terrae et castra supradicta apud duces¹⁴ Saxoniae perpetuis¹⁵ temporibus debeant remanere.

[17] Videbantur autem haec foedera majoris¹⁶ cujusdam vinculi indigere, quam commoditatem fors¹⁷ attulit. Est regi Georgio filius, est et¹⁸ illi filia, ambo conjugio soluti, sed ferme nubiles annis, et ex adverso¹⁹ Wilhelmo filia et Friderico, Saxoniae ducibus, filius. Quid {144r} plura? Correspondent²⁰ anni, et²¹ bono animo dixerim: copulatae sunt feminae maribus²², et e contra. Traductioni femellarum²³ vicissim dictus est dies, et locus designatus Egera²⁴, qui locus est regni Bohemiae limes, ubi pacis foedera - si fata sinent²⁵ - XI. praesentis mensis Novembris, heri quidem elapsa,²⁶ cum scilicet apud Germanos festivitas anseris celebratur, de qua Maro canit:

*in summo custos Tarpeiae²⁷ Manlius²⁸ arcis
stabat pro templo, et Capitolia celsa tenebat,*

¹ finitimi N, P

² questi *corr.* ex quesiti S; quesiti N, T

³ ipsos duces : duces ipsos M

⁴ intulerunt M, N, P

⁵ *omit.* N, P

⁶ gravem expensam : graves expensas S, T

⁷ dicere S, T

⁸ fieri S, T

⁹ ortissima S; ornatissima T

¹⁰ *omit.* M

¹¹ prosequetur S, T

¹² amodo M, T

¹³ Brandeburgensis M, P

¹⁴ apud duces *omit.* S, T

¹⁵ *omit.* M

¹⁶ majus *corr.* ex maioris S

¹⁷ sors S, T

¹⁸ est et : et est S, T

¹⁹ adversis N, P, S, T

²⁰ correspondet N

²¹ quod *add.* S, T

²² manibus T

²³ feminarum M

²⁴ egregia S

²⁵ sumet S

²⁶ The Congress of Eger (Cheb) opened on April 7 and resulted in an agreement between the Bohemian and Saxon/Brandenburg parties, to be confirmed by a double marriage between George of Podiebrad's daughter, Zdenka, with Albrecht, son of Duke Friedrich II of Sachsen

(which took place on 11 November, as announced by Heimburg), and between Podiebrad's youngest son, Hynek, and Duke William's daughter Katherina. The last marriage took place some years later, due to the young age of the spouses, see Heymann: *George*, ch. 9. See also Joachimsohn, p. 160: *Georg schloss mit allen ab... er wollte für allem die Kurfürsten für sich gewinnen*

²⁷ Turpie S; Tarpeie *corr.* ex Turpie T

²⁸ Mallius M, N, P; manibus S, T

*atque hinc auratis volitans argenteus anser
porticibus Gallos in limine¹ adesse canebat.
Galli per dumos² aderant³ arcemque tenebant
defensi tenebris et dono noctis opacae.^{4 5}*

Defensi tenebris, inquit, non autem⁶ clipeos⁷ ad⁸ tela sinistris protecti⁹ objiciunt: prensant¹⁰ fastigia dexteris.¹¹ Urbe quippe a Gallis capta, Galli non clipeis ad¹² tela¹³ protecti, sed tenebris protecti leguntur, vicaria traductione roborabuntur.

[18] Inter haec fluctuantia bella, concurrentia ac sese trudentia negotia, pater beatissime, non fuit facultas principi illi se vestrae beatitudinis¹⁴ conspectui¹⁵ repraesentare¹⁶. Et quia sanctitas vestra ultimis litteris ad ducem illum datis se firmat¹⁷ post illum diem Mantuae non mansurum, ad pedes sanctitatis vestrae¹⁸ provolutos mittit illos praesentes, generosum dominum Bertholdum, comitem de Hennenberg¹⁹, ab antiquo Romanorum sanguine et prosapia, videlicet reverendissimi in Christo patris de Columna, ut fertur, productus. Et adjunxit illi venerabilem dominum Arnoldum, utriusque juris doctorem, ecclesiae Bremensis canonicum, et venerandum ac²⁰ strenuum militem, dominum Johannem de Allenblomen²¹, decretorum doctorem et militem, socerum meum, et dominum Christianum Hugonis²², ecclesiae Nurembergensis canonicum, protonotarium {144v} ex cancellaria sua, fideles suos oratores et consiliarios etc.,^{23 24} qui rebus gerendis sua vice intersint, consulant²⁵ pro viribus, et avisent²⁶, seseque²⁷ gerant, uti²⁸ catholici principis oratores bene decet.

[19] Quippe cujus progenitorum fides et fortitudo in prioribus ecclesiae Romanae turbinibus experta prae ceteris principibus et cognita est. Cetera, quae ad rem pertinent, suis locis et temporibus explicabimus ad laudem Dei et sanctitatis vestrae gloriam, quam servet²⁹ Deus et dominus ac salvator noster Jesus Christus, qui est benedictus per³⁰ saecula saeculorum. Amen.³¹

¹ summe S, T

² divinas S, T

³ adorant S; adorantur T

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 8, 653-658

⁵ defensi tenebris ... opacae *omit.* S, T

⁶ non autem : autem non P

⁷ clipeus S, T

⁸ *em.*; ac/t codd.

⁹ *omit.* T

¹⁰ pensant M, N, P; pensa S, T

¹¹ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 2, 444-445

¹² ac/t S: aut T

¹³ telis T

¹⁴ vestrae beatitudinis : beatitudinis tue T

¹⁵ se *add.* N, P

¹⁶ presentare T

¹⁷ affirmat T

¹⁸ sanctitatis vestrae : vestre sanctitatis S

¹⁹ Henneberg N; Henneburg P

²⁰ et S

²¹ Allenplumen N, P;

Auldenblomen T

²² Hugonis T

²³ *omit.* T

²⁴ illos praesentes generosum ... consiliarios etc. *omit.* M

²⁵ et *add.* T

²⁶ ausent N, P

²⁷ seque T

²⁸ ut S, T

²⁹ conservet T

³⁰ in T

³¹ Dixi *add.* T

Appendix C: Oration “*In refulgenti*” of Gregor Heimbürg (21 November 1459, Mantua)

At the Congress of Mantua, the German jurist Gregor Heimbürg, antipapalist and anti-Roman, represented three princes, including Duke Sigismund of Austria (Tyrol), on whose behalf he gave an oration on 21 November 1459, the same day as the French and Angevin embassies were received. In his oration, Gregor chose to quite insolently refer to the pope’s youthful writings and letters to the very young Sigismund (some having an erotic content that was apparently widely known), thus intending to embarrass the pope.

Joachimsohn wrote about the oration:

In der Rede für Sigismund von Tirol erinnerte Heimbürg den Papst an seine Briefe, die er einst als Sekretär König Friedrichs an den Herzog geschrieben hatte. Die Umstehenden lachten, sie kannten wohl alle das unheilige Brevier, das Aeneas damals dem Jüngling in die Hand gegeben hatte. Oder spotteten sie über den Deutschen, der von der “Übertragung” der Redekunst auf seine Landsleute sprach? Es mochte ein aufrichtiges Lob sein, mit dem Heimbürg fortfuhr: “Jene Briefe wird keine Veränderung vernichten, keine Zeit in Vergessenheit bringen” – es war doch ein Unangenehmes für den Papst, der den Aeneas so gerne in Vergessenheit gebracht hätte.¹

Concerning the term *litterae oratoriae* used by Heimbürg, Joachimsohn also noted:

Voigt, Aeneas III, 100, meint, dass Heimbürg an dieser Stelle nicht wie die Handschriften geben, von litterae oratoriae sondern von litterae amatoriae gesprochen habe, die Milderung sei erst in der Niederschrift erfolgt. Das scheint mir nicht richtig. Möglich ist, dass die Umstehenden eine Anspielung auf die Liebensbriefe heraushörten – nach der weiteren Ausführung Heimbürgs wird man das Lachen derselben jedenfalls doppelt deuten können, wie oben geschehen ist – der Zusatz aber “quas ipsa s.v. persona ab Italia traduxit in Germanos” macht ganz sicher, dass Heimbürg litterae oratoriae sagte und dabei auf den stylus oratorius anspielte ...²

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

While this was going on, Sigismund, duke of Austria, having promised repeatedly to come arrived at Mantua in great style ... He was welcomed in a public audience. His spokesman was Gregor Heimbürg, who touched on many of the notable points of the House of Austria. He

¹ Joachimsohn, p. 105

² Joachimsohn, p. 105-106, n. 3

declared that the prince was fired with a passion to fight the Turks and that he had come to ratify in person everything that his nation had offered, insofar as it concerned him.

The pope, who had known Sigismund from a boy, declared that he had had a most laudable childhood; he passed over his later years in silence. He confirmed and even added to the praise that Gregor had bestowed on his family. He accepted his aid against the Turks. Among other things, Gregor had said that when Pius had not yet attained high office,¹ Sigismund had been his pupil and had eagerly read his letters, a copy of which he still kept by him. Some of these letters were in fact written to Sigismund itself. This can be verified by anyone who examines Pius' collection of secular correspondence, written before he took holy orders.²

Note that here Pius shows no embarrassment at his youthful correspondence – including letters on the amatory art – written before he became a cleric. He was actually quite proud of his youthful writings, including the erotic ones, published previously by himself as part of his collection of epistles from his lay period,³ though he had endeavoured, quite successfully, to suppress his more salacious poems from his student days in Siena.

In all manuscripts, the text breaks off quite abruptly and is clearly incomplete. This may be due to some accident or error in the line of transmission.⁴ A member of the French embassy, Jean de Chambes, of 23 November 1459, states that in the oration, Heimburg – on behalf of the duke – declared that in the matter of the crusade he would align himself with the policies of the King of France. As this is not mentioned in the extant text, it would have been part of the missing.

Another explanation, however, is that Heimburg's oration may have been cut short by the papal master of ceremonies, since the consistory of the day had a very charged agenda, including the reception and oration of the French ambassadors. Cutting off a ducal ambassador in mid-speech was, of course, not very polite, but Heimburg had probably irritated the pope and his entourage with his insistence on the pope's youthful writings, clearly intended to provoke, and had afterwards digressed into the history of Serbia. Actually, another ambassador apparently had his oration cut short at the Congress, viz. Jean Jouffroy, ambassador of Burgundy, whose oration "*Frequentiam principum*" – delivered after long orations by the pope and Cardinal Bessarion during the opening session of the Congress on 26 September - ends rather abruptly, too, clearly having been cut short.⁵

The text was edited previously by Joachimsohn, in 1891.

The present edition is based on the following manuscripts:

¹ Meserve translates *in minoribus ageret* with *was in minor orders*. On the expression *In minoribus*, see COR, 1: ch. 10

² CO, III, 44 (Meserve, II, pp. 187-189)

³ For editions of Piccolomini/Pius' epistles, see COR, 1: ch. 11

⁴ Joachimsohn, p. 164

⁵ See the comments to Jouffroy's oration in COR, 12

- **Budapest / Országos Széchényi Könyvtár**
Miscellanea 1560, ff. 192r-201r¹, as edited by Joachimsohn, pp. 316-318 (pagination: red) (JO)
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek**
8 Philos 88, ff. 99r-101r (T)
- **München / Bayerische Staatsbibliothek**
clm 522, ff. 151v-153v (P)
- **Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek**
Cent. V, App. 15, ff. 252v-253v (N)
- **Salzburg / Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter**
B VIII 15, ff. 180v-182v (S) (pagination)

The notes comprise textual variants and references etc.

Concerning principles of edition, incl. orthography, see COR, 1: ch. 9.

The date of the oration was 21 November 1459.

¹ Cf. Joachimsohn, p. 162: *F. 192-201 folgen ... die Reden Heim-*

*burg's für Wilhelm von Sachsen ...
[&] für Sigismund von Tyrol*

Oratio habita in praesentia ducis Sigismundi Austriae per suos oratores ad sanctissimum in Christo patrem et dominum, dominum Pium divina providentia papam secundum¹

[1] {180v} In refulgenti sanctitatis vestrae² auditorio³, pater beatissime, simul et⁴ hac sacratissima⁵ contione reverendissimorum patrum et principum ac⁶ oratorum nobilissimorum obsequentissimus⁷ est⁸ sanctitatis vestrae filius Sigismundus⁹, dux Austriae, comparens, mihi quidem, patruelis sui Alberti archiducis nuntio, utriusque vero principis familiari, praecepit animi sui¹⁰ desiderium verbotenus explicare, cuius¹¹ et *mihi iussa capessere fas est*¹². Omnibus quippe ducibus Austriae summa gratia¹³ conciliatis¹⁴ decet omnium eorum satellites, ministros, et actores principibus ipsis¹⁵ ¹⁶ promiscue famulari¹⁷.

[2] Locutus, inquam¹⁸, pater beatissime, de hac saluberrima Christianae reipublicae expeditione, propter quam hic sacer conventus per sanctitatem vestram convocatus est, in primis affectionem honestissimam huius principis erga beatitudinem vestram justissimis ac validissimis rationibus subnixam. Luculenter explicabo, quo pateat ipsius principis in rebus gerendis sinceritas, quam non minoribus indiciis domino adjuvante¹⁹ confirmabo.

[3] In primis siquidem meminisse iuvat illa primaeva {181r} tempora, cum beatitudinis vestrae persona apud gloriosissimum imperatorem nostrum inita familiaritate atque hinc etiam in illius principis ineuntibus adhuc annis adolescentiae, qui plurimum habent favoris et gratiae, cum ipso ducali adolescente notitiam contraxit²⁰, quae simul cum aetate crevit²¹ adaucta feliciter, fomentum subministrantibus litteris illis oratoriis²², quas ipsa sanctitatis vestrae persona ab Italis traduxit in Germanos.

*[Hic visi sunt consusurrantes²³, quibus respondi²⁴ taliter interrumpens orationem, ut sequitur infra²⁵.]*²⁶

¹ Oratio G. Heimbürg pro Sigismundo Austriae duce **N**;
Oratio G. Heimbürg pro Sigismundo Austriae duce **P**;
Oratio Georgii Heymberger, Juris Utriusque Doctoris, coram Pio Papa II. in conventu Mantuano pro Sigismundo Austriae duce **T**
² *tue et passim* T
³ auditoris N, P
⁴ in *add.* S
⁵ sanctissima S, T
⁶ *omit.* S
⁷ filius *add.* S

⁸ eiusdem T
⁹ *omit.* S
¹⁰ *omit.* S
¹¹ cui S
¹² Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1, 77
¹³ gloria T
¹⁴ conciliaris S
¹⁵ *omit.* N
¹⁶ principibus ipsis : ipsis principibus JO
¹⁷ familiari N, P
¹⁸ inquit S, T
¹⁹ annuente S, T

²⁰ *omit.* S
²¹ venit S, T
²² Voigt emendated *oratoriis* to *amatoriis*, cf. Joachimsohn's refutation, p. 105-106, n. 3
²³ consecrantes S, T
²⁴ respondet S, T
²⁵ ita S, T
²⁶ This passage, i.e. the use of *respondi*, shows that the texts of Heimbürg's orations in Mantua were edited and circulated by himself, and did not derive from the papal court, cf. Joachimsohn

[4] [Igitur - pace tua - latius¹ dixerim: Neque enim ita traductam dixisse velim, ut aiunt Apollonium illum, coram quo, cum Cicero noster orasset, cunctis eum certatim admirantibus et laudantibus, illi² se³ Graeciae misertum dixisse fertur: *“Ego te laudo et admiror, mi Cicero, sed quod te orante tacui, admiratio quidem et commiseratio fecit. Repetebam namque⁴ mecum prisca tempora, Graecos scilicet armis et gubernatione⁵ reipublicae cunctis nationibus praestitisse, quarum rerum palmam Romani jam pridem vera atque incredibili arte nobis⁶ abstulerunt. Reliquum erat eloquentiae decus, quod a te nobis auferri et ad Romanos traduci video, ita ut nil jam praecipuum apud Graecos sit remansurum.”*⁷ Nil est, quod Latium⁸ queratur, si de suo⁹ lumine lumen accendamus¹⁰, si ex indeficiente igne facem accendimus¹¹, absque ulla ignis Latini attenuatione vel obscuracione, sicut¹² ferunt poetae de pio furto¹³ Promethei.]

[5] Digressus sum, pater beatissime, nunc¹⁴ me revoco¹⁵, ut redeat, unde exivit, oratio. Dixi, pater beatissime, firmamentum contractae notitiae et¹⁶ amoris {181v} accensi¹⁷ praestitisse litteras illas oratorias etc.¹⁸, sed et illam sententiarum gravitatem simul et gravitate sententiarum e beato¹⁹ illo pectore velut aliquo prophetiae fonte manantium ac suavitate carminum dulci modulatione currentium, sed et plurimarum suavissimarum epistolarum, quas nulla unquam litura cassabit, nulla vestustas obliturabit²⁰, nec ulla obtenebrabit²¹ uliginis²² obscuritas, quarum²³ omnium princeps ille a legendo²⁴ ac²⁵ relegendo²⁶ religiosus²⁷ auctorem illarum Eneam Silvium iugi memoria complectitur.

[6] Quanta vero laetitia perfusum putemus illum principem, dum primum sibi nuntiatum est beatitudinem vestram hunc²⁸ thronum Dei conscendisse, hinc fas est conicere, nam Aurelius Augustinus gavisus est Victorinum, sui temporis oratorem, episcopum factum²⁹ ³⁰. Quanto gaudio dixerim hunc principem triumphasse oratorem illum, de cuius eloquentiae profluvio nonnihil doctrinarum hausit ac sententiarum, factum esse cunctorum episcoporum³¹ et³² patriarcharum ac³³ totius ecclesiae catholicae³⁴ pontificem. Quid porro dicam de illa benignitatis suae clementia, quod³⁵

(note however the use of *respondet* in S and T, two late manuscripts)

¹ *em.*; latium codd.

² ille S, T

³ sese T

⁴ iamque N, igitur P

⁵ gubernationibus T

⁶ vobis N, P

⁷ Plutarch: *Parallel lives* / Cicero, c.

4

⁸ Latinum S, T

⁹ uno S, T

¹⁰ accendimus S, JO; ascendimus

T

¹¹ si ex ... accendimus *omit.* N, P

¹² sic N, P

¹³ profurto N, P, JO

¹⁴ *omit.* T

¹⁵ Revocat se modo *in marg.* N, P

¹⁶ *omit.* N, P

¹⁷ accensum S, T

¹⁸ *omit.* S, T

¹⁹ orato S, T

²⁰ oblitterabit T

²¹ obtrectabit T

²² vuliginis P; uliginis *corr.* ex

viliginis S; viliginis T; caliginis

proponit JO

²³ quorum S

²⁴ a legendo : allegando S, T

²⁵ et T

²⁶ relegando S, T

²⁷ Cf. Cicero: *De natura deorum*, 2.28.172: *sunt dicti religiosi ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo ex diligendo diligentes ex intellegendo intellegentes*

²⁸ *omit.* T

²⁹ sanctum N

³⁰ Cf. Augustinus: *Confessiones*, 8, 2, 5. See Joachimsohn, p. 317, n. 8

³¹ *omit.* N, P

³² ac S, T

³³ et P

³⁴ *omit.* P

³⁵ quot T

oratores huius principis euntes et redeuntes humanissime suscepit, clementer audivit, et voti compotes a se remisit. Apud Maronem fingitur ille profugus¹ Aeneas exclamare: “*Cur dextrae iungere dextram non datur ac veras audire ac² ³ reddere voces.*”⁴ Hic princeps meus exclamabat: “Cur non sacra pedum oscula mihi pateant, cur non sacrae voces resonent in auribus meis?”

[7] Omissis igitur quibuscumque⁵ privatis rebus, quas respectu illius christianae reipublicae expeditionis⁶ privatas vocari⁷ concesserim, quamvis et ipsae⁸ non parum urgeant⁹, potissime autem illorum {182r} foederatorum, qui sub velamento libertatis omne subiectionis et reverentiae iugum abiiciunt¹⁰, clerum ac nobilitatem sanguinis¹¹ contemnunt, de quibus alio¹² loco dicitur¹³, ante pedes beatitudinis vestrae comparuit, pia¹⁴ oscula suscepit, conspexit vultum diu videre concupitum, voces veras audire ac reddere sperat.

[8] Nunc vero ad sanctum illud propositum¹⁵ beatitudinis vestrae contra Turcos sermo¹⁶ vertendus¹⁷ est, quod opus pernecessarium¹⁸ sanctitas vestra¹⁹ ex causa et tempore, sed et possibile et²⁰ factu²¹ facile ex persona jam pridem²² egregie peroravit,²³ quibus et hoc²⁴ addit princeps meus, quod interea, dum dormitamus, Servia cum Rascia similiter²⁵ et Bosna defecerunt a nobis, facile autem rediturae, si ab universali ecclesia oppressae²⁶ Christianitati succurratur. Est autem Servia regnum vetustissimum, quod olim Mysia²⁷ vocabatur, siquidem apud cosmographos ab oriente Thraciam habet, ab austro sinum Adriaticum²⁸. Rascia vero principatus Serviae est, cuius incolae principem suum “Dispot” nuncupant²⁹, quod lingua³⁰ sua³¹ regium³² nomen esse perhibetur³³. Vidi autem in aetate mea illum Stephanum dispotum, qui a Sigismundo³⁴ Hungariae rege est³⁵ neglectus in bello illo, quod ex condicto cum avo praesentis Turci³⁶ gestum est³⁷, hostem expertus acerrimum. Deinde Bosna vero ex regnis Liburnorum³⁸ est, postea vero degeneravit ac³⁹ ducali nomine contentus⁴⁰ mansit⁴¹, donec Ludovicus,⁴² rex Hungariae, socer quondam imperatoris Sigismundi, filiam⁴³ ducis Bosnae⁴⁴ uxorem duxit ac socerum suum regio diademate ornavit, quod etiam posteri reges⁴⁵

¹ profusus S, T

² et JO

³ audire et *omit.* S, T

⁴ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.408-409

⁵ quisque N, P, JO

⁶ expeditione N, P

⁷ vacari S

⁸ ipse T

⁹ urgeat T

¹⁰ abiecerunt N, P

¹¹ *omit.* T

¹² docere *add.* S

¹³ dicere restat T

¹⁴ ita S

¹⁵ illud propositum : propositum
illud S, T

¹⁶ sed me N, P

¹⁷ recedendus S; dirigendus T

¹⁸ fore *add.* S, T

¹⁹ sanctitas vestra : vestra

sanctitas S

²⁰ ac S, T

²¹ factum S

²² pridie *corr.* ex pridem S; pridie
T

²³ Here, Heimburg probably refers
to Pius’ grand opening speech,
the “*Cum bellum hodie*” [45]

²⁴ hec S

²⁵ simul S, T

²⁶ expresse S

²⁷ Urisia S

²⁸ Adriatica S

²⁹ nuncupavit N, P

³⁰ pigua P

³¹ lingua sua : sua lingua T

³² regnum N, P

³³ prohibetur P

³⁴ Sigismund of Luxembourg
(1368-1437): Holy Roman
Emperor, King of Hungary and of
Bohemia

³⁵ *omit.* S

³⁶ Turce T

³⁷ et S, T

³⁸ Luburnorum S

³⁹ et S, T

⁴⁰ contenta S, T

⁴¹ remansit S, T

⁴² Louis I (1326-1382): King of
Hungary, Croatia, and Poland

⁴³ Elizabeth of Bosnia (c. 1339-
1387): queen of Louis I, in second
marriage

⁴⁴ Stefan II (-1353): Ban of Bosnia

⁴⁵ regis JO

Bosnae usque in¹ tempus illius perduellionis² seu defectionis a regis Hungariae manibus³ habent⁴ recipere.⁵

¹ secundum S, T

² pro duellionis S; perduelliorum N, P

³ minibus JO

⁴ *em.*; haberet S; habet N, P; habent (?) JO

⁵ Amen *add.* N; Dixi *add.* T

Oration “*Multa hic hodie*” of Pope Pius II (21 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 49)

Abstract

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September 1459, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November, it was received by the pope in a public consistory. It was generally expected that the French would cause a major crisis at the congress by publicly criticising and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily: he had recognised Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou, who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright. To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, the Bishop of Paris gave an oration that was quite pleasant and almost without references to the Sicilian matter, which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. The bishop ended his oration with a declaration of obedience on behalf of his king, to which the pope replied with the oration “*Multa hic hodie*”.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; Responses to ambassadors; France; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Wars against the Turks; Congress of Mantua, 1459; Charles VII, King of France; Guillaume Chartier, Bishop of Paris

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I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

The Congress of Mantua, to which Pope Pius II had summoned the European princes and peoples, began its negotiations concerning a crusade against the Turks in September, in the absence of a delegation from France. The French ambassadors definitely took their time to arrive and even went to Venice before Mantua to consult with the Venetians on a joint negative policy with regard to the crusade. The French embassy arrived in Mantua on 16 November, and on 21 November, it was received by the pope in a public consistory.

Apart from the matter of the crusade itself, relations between the French crown and the papacy were complicated by the determination of the French to generally influence matters in Italy, to regain the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) which had been lost to the Spanish House of Aragon, and to control the papacy, which had escaped the zone of direct French influence when the popes left Avignon and the Roman Papacy was restored (1417). At the conclave in 1458, the French Cardinal d'Estouteville, related to the French royal family, had been a major contender for the papal crown, but instead the cardinals elected an Italian, Cardinal Piccolomini, in a setback for the French designs on Italy.^{2 3}

When the French ambassadors arrived in Mantua, it was generally expected that they would cause a major crisis by publicly criticising and attacking the pope for his dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily since he had recognised Ferrante of the Spanish House of Aragon as king instead of King René of Anjou, who claimed the kingdom as his ancestral birthright.

To the surprise of everybody and the relief of the pope, Guillaume Chartier,⁴ Bishop of Paris, gave an oration that was quite pleasant and only with a brief reference to the Sicilian matter, which the French ambassadors requested to be discussed later. In the oration⁵, the bishop presented the declaration of obedience on behalf of his king, to which the pope replied with the oration "*Multa hic hodie*".

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

¹ CO, III, 37; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nos. 56, 58, pp. 209-210; Ady, p. 177; Boulting, p. 275; Pastor, II, p. 63; Picotti, pp. 257-260; Reinhard, p. 266; Stolf, p. 354; Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

² Baldi, p. 96: *La storiografia ... ha insistito su questo aspetto, sulla precarietà della situazione politica immediata, sulle mire e sulle am-*

bizioni francesi al controllo dell'Italia e del papato. La nomina del Piccolomini aveva però scongiurato l'elezione di un papa francese, ponendo così un freno alle aspirazioni egemoniche della corona di Francia

³ Another complication was the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges

from 1438 by which the French Kingdom, following the antipapalist tendencies of the Council of Basel, had to a large extent freed itself of the papal administration

⁴ Guillaume Chartier (-1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. On Chartier, see Müller, I, pp. 338-339

⁵ Du Fresne de Beaucourt, pp. 10-11

The French ambassadors debated for several days as to whether they should make their submission or raise the question of Sicily first. But when Pius refused to grant them an audience until they made their submission, they were forced to do this first. Their spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, "According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the Earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness."¹ He divided his speech into sections and spoke at length on each: in praise of the pope; the eminence of the Apostolic See; the glory of his own king and kingdom. At last he made what he called a "filial" submission in the name of the king, using this term to make it clear it was not "servile" in character. He said little about the Turks, and still less did he promise support against them. The bishop of Marseille made his submission for King René, and Broccardo,² the spokesman for Genoa, delivered an oration on behalf of his city. This was flowery enough, though it revealed how a once proud city had fallen into servitude and waited now on the puffed-up arrogance of the French.

When everyone had had his say, the pope replied that he was unworthy of such praise. He was a lowly worm, dust and ashes, who had been called to Peter's throne not on account of his own merits but for some mysterious and divine purpose. He prayed that he would be able to perform his appointed task to the glory of God. The praises that had been showered on the Apostolic See were justified but inadequate, for the See held the keys to the kingdom of Heaven and represented God on Earth. To reject His judgment was anathema. The kingdom of France was a pre-eminent military power; her kings had done illustrious deeds and boasted an ancient lineage. Charles, who now ruled, lived up to his predecessors in every way. His submission to the Church of Rome was praiseworthy, though the aid he promised against the Turks was slight. The pope hoped for great things from that house, whose duty it had always been to defend the Church of Rome and the Christian faith against foreign foes. He likewise commended King René for his obedience and the people of Genoa for their devotion.³

Everyone was amazed that the French envoys, who had been so aggressive earlier, now appeared submissive and docile. The Curia was expecting to hear a harsh and bitter speech – condemnation of the pope for giving the kingdom of Sicily to a Spaniard, refusals to submit, demands for a general council. But when these expectations proved false, the Curia was renewed in its admiration for the pope.⁴

Voigt had this comment:

¹ In the oration *Maximum et amplissimum onus*, see Appendix 2

² Gottardo Stella, cf. Picotti, p. 259. Gottardo's oration, the

"*Communem omnium*", is published in COR, 12

³ The pope's oration was not mentioned by Pius' contemporary bio-

graphers, Campano and Platina, cf. Zimolo

⁴ CO, III, 37 (Meserve, II, pp. 162-165)

Man war nun gespannt auf die Antwort des Papstes, die er an den Bischof von Paris richten würde. Er nahm aus dessen Rede sechs Punkte heraus, behandelte sie indess meistens mit dem üblichen, nichtssagenden Formalismus. Doch bemerkten die Franzosen sehr wohl, dass er im feierlichen Tone von der Einheit der Kirche sprach, die auch durch die Autorität der Concilien nicht geschmälert werden könne; wer anders glaube oder lehre, könne nicht in die Pforten des himmlischen Reiches eingehen. Obwohl der Papst sich dabei ausdrücklich verwahrte, dass er den König von Frankreich nicht meinte, der ihm ja so eben den Gehorsam geleistet, so kam er doch zweimal auf den Satz heraus, dass alle katholischen Fürsten der römischen Kirche und dem apostolischen Stuhle unterworfen seien. Seine Absicht fühlte ein Jeder heraus, und doch hatte er nicht mehr gesagt, als unzählige seiner Vorgänger zu unzähligen Malen, nichts was ihn voreingenommen und feindlich erscheinen liess.¹

2. Themes

The themes of the oration “*Multa hic hodie*” were those spoken on by the Bishop of Paris in his oration and to which the pope replied:

- The pope’s person
- The apostolic See
- The obedience of the French King
- Genoa
- Praise of the French king
- The crusade

The theme not spoken about was the Kingdom of Sicily, which would be dealt with in a later separate, meeting.

Concerning the pope’s person, the ambassador’s praise elicited the traditional, ritual declarations of personal unworthiness that would be expected of the pope – and which indeed he may have felt.²

As Pius had done in so many other responses to ambassadors offering the obedience of their lord, he used the occasion to declare the supremacy of the Apostolic See, i.e., the pope, in all matters, both secular and religious³:

¹ Voigt, IV, pp. 81-83

² In 1447, Pius had heard the new pope, Nicolaus V, speak on this very theme in his oration to the

Aragonese ambassadors, who had presented King Alfonso V’s obedience to the pope (Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p.287).

On papal protestations of personal unworthiness, see COR, 1: sect. 7.8.2.

³ See COR, 1: sect. 6.3.1

... the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches by conciliar decision. No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches scattered over the whole world should form one Church, one bridal chamber, and that Saint Peter should be its Head. His See is the perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word, which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See that God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See, which he strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and the adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God. [Sect. 3]

On this occasion, he added a clear statement about the supremacy of the pope vis-à-vis ecumenical councils¹:

Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils, for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers, for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.² Anyone who separates himself from the union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom [Sect. 6].

Papal supremacy, not only in religious but also in secular affairs, was a central tenet of the mediaeval and the Renaissance papacy.

In this respect, Pius was indeed not innovating at all, see Voigt quoted above. In 1447, he had heard Pope Nicolaus V, in the oration “*Nihil est*”, tell the Aragonese ambassadors about their king:

Non ... 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.³

¹ See COR, 1: sect. 6.3.2

² The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a - however shortlived - reunion between the

Roman and Greek Churches and recognised the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

³ Cotta-Schönberg & Modigliani, p. 287

He had actually reached a clear conviction concerning this whole matter before he himself became pope, as witnessed both by his oration “*Sentio*” of 1452,¹ and by a statement he put in the mouth of Bernardinus of Siena in his *Dialogus*, finished in 1457, the year before he became pope:

*... on Earth the Vicar of Christ holds the first place, he who is the head of the Church Militant, the teacher and prince of the Christian people. Do you not know that Peter was told to Feed my sheep, and Whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven. Peter was made shepherd of the sheep with full power to bind and to loose. Among the sheep are not only the common people, but also kings and emperors – if they want to be considered Christians. ... The power of Peter is large and absolute, and it has been entrusted to him to bind and to loose not only this and that but everything.*²

Pius had spoken on the same theme to most of the royal ambassadors coming to declare their master’s obedience to him as the new pope, affirming the supremacy of the papacy in both the religious and secular sphere.³

That the message was not lost on the French is clear from the report of Nicolas Petit to the French Chancellor (see Appendix 1):

... le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la louange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer.

Petit also noted the pope’s eloquent and indeed fulsome praise of the French king and royal dynasty, and of France.

¹ Oration “*Sentio*”, sect. 26: *Non enim, ut adversarii delirant, de rebus dumtaxat spiritualibus Romanæ sedis arbitrium est, cui dominus in evangelio de re quacumque tribuit potestatem, qui beato Petro æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni simul et cælestis imperii jura commisit. Quod Petro, hoc et successoribus ejus Romanæ urbis antistibus.* See also sect. 103-104

² Piccolomini: *Dialogus*, pp. 85-87: *Quia non vides in terris Christi vicarium primum tenere locum, caput ecclesie militantis esse, Christiani populi magistrum et principem. Nescis quia dictum est: Pascere oves meas, et quecumque ligaveris super terram erunt et in celis? Pastor ovium Petrus cum plena potestate ligandi atque solvendi creatus est; inter oves Christi non plebes dumtaxat, ve-*

rum etiam reges atque imperatores habendi sunt, si modo Christiani videri volunt. ... Ampla et absoluta potestas Petri est, cui non hoc aut illud, sed omne ligandum solvendumque commissum est

³ E.g., the oration “*Fabricator mundi*” [40] to the imperial ambassadors

Concerning the crusade, the ambassador has said very little and made no magnificent promises, so the pope could do no more than express the conviction that participation in the crusade would be a natural, traditional, and excellent task for the French king.

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration "*Multa hic hodie*" was delivered on 21 November 1459 in a public consistory held at the Congress in Mantua. During the consistory, four orations were heard, by Gregor Heimburg on behalf of Duke Sigismund of Austria, and by the ambassadors of France, of King René d'Anjou, and of Genoa.

The audience consisted of the cardinals and ambassadors with their retinues, present in Mantua, as well as other participants in the Congress, and members of the papal court.

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

4. Text¹

The oration is extant in two versions, the "*Multa hic hodie*" and the "*Placuit audisse*". The "*Placuit audisse*" is the one included in the Collected Orations of Pius II, produced under his own direct supervision in 1462.²

There seems to be no doubt that it is the "*Multa hic hodie*" version that was actually delivered at the congress. The "*Placuit audisse*" version had been prepared in the expectation that the French ambassadors would make an acrimonious protest against the pope's dispositions in the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily, but since they did not do so, the pope had to discard the prepared oration and improvise another.^{3 4} The content of the "*Multa hic hodie*" generally agrees with the description given by the secretary of the French embassy, Nicolas Petit, in his report on the events of the day, written immediately afterwards.⁵ The text of the "*Multa hic hodie*" was edited after the actual delivery of the oration. For example, it does not contain the direct and important statement made

¹ On the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5,1

² See COR, 1: sect. 5, 1, 3

³ Voigt, IV, p. 83, n. 2

⁴ A number of the arguments in the oration "*Placuit audisse*" on the matter of the Kingdom of Sicily (Naples) Pius would reuse in his oration "*Responsuri*" [52], de-

livered some days later in response to the French ambassadors' complaints about his policies in this area

⁵ Cf. Appendix

twice by the pope, which Petit quotes verbatim: *Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos.*

The “*Placuit audisse*” appears to be unfinished since the last section (announced at the beginning of the oration) on the crusade is missing. The fact that the “*Placuit audisse*” misses a part and that the “*Multa hic hodie*” only survived in a manuscript to which d’Achery had access in France is interesting and may indicate that the history of the text cannot be adequately ascertained on the basis of the presently available evidence. Indeed, the text in the “quaternio Ms. D. d’Herouval”, which d’Achery knew, may have originated in the French embassy to Mantua and be based on notes taken by secretaries during delivery, which would explain the absence of the text from Italian manuscripts, but this is conjecture.

4.1. Multa hic hodie

4.1.1. Manuscripts

The text as edited by d’Achery, see below, was taken “ex quaternione Ms. D. d’Herouval”.¹

4.1.2. Editions

- D’Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. 13 vols. Paris: 1655-1677. // Tom. IX, 1659, nr. 54, pp. 310-316 **(DA)**
- D’Achery, Luc: *Spicilegium sive collectio veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis diluierant*. Nova editio ... S. Baluze, E. Martene, L.-F.-J. de la Barre. 3 vols. Parisiis: Montalant, 1723 // Tom. III, 1723, pp. 807-809
- Labbé, Philippe & Gabriel Cossart: *Sacrosancta concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta : quæ nunc quarta parte prodit auctior*. Paris: Impensis Societatis Typographicæ Librorum Ecclesiasticorum, 1671-1672 // Tom. XIII, 1672, coll. 1765-1772.
[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d’Achery]
- Labbé, Philippe, Gabriel Cossart, Etienne Baluze, Niccolò Colet, Jean Hardouin: *Sacrosancta Concilia Ad Regiam Editionem Exacta quæ olim quarta parte prodit auctior* // Tom. XIX, 1732. Coll. 230-251

¹ Mansi: *Sacrorum*, XXXII, p. 235, has this margin note to the

“*Multa hic hodie*”: *Non extat hæc oratio Parisiensis episcopi*

[Labbé reproduces the version printed by d'Achery]

- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico: *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, in qua praeter ea quae P. Labbeus et G. Cossartius et novissime N. Coleti in lucem edidere, ea omnia insuper suis in locis optime disposita exhibentur quae J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notae, et dissertationes quamplurimae, 31 vols. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798 // Tom. XXXII, 1798, pp. 225-229

[Mansi reproduces the version printed by d'Achery]

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 31-38

[After Labbé]

4.2. Placuit audisse

The oration is included in the Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460)¹, largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least three manuscripts:

4.2.1. Manuscripts²

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 165v-168r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segretao Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII, 1, ff. 35v-41v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 41r-46v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 58r-62v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 156v-159v **(H)** *

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

¹ See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

² Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in

COR, 11, are marked with an asterisk

4.2.2. Editions

The text was published by Mansi

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759 // Tom. II, pp. 219-223
[After the manuscript in Lucca]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: ch. 9-10.

Text:

The text of the “*Multa hic hodie*” is taken from the edition by d’Achery (**DA**).

The text of the “*Placuit audisse*” 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. Sources¹

In this short oration, 16 direct and indirect quotations from various sources have been identified, 11 from the Bible and 5 from patristic and medieval sources, none from classical sources.

¹ On Piccolomini’s use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

Biblical: 11
Classical: 0
Patristic and medieval: 5
Contemporary: 0
All: 16

Biblical sources: 11

Old Testament: 6

- Deuteronomy: 1
- Canticle: 1
- 1. Kings: 1
- 2. Machabees: 1
- Proverbs: 1
- Psalms: 1

New Testament: 5

- Matthew: 3
- John: 2

Classical sources: 0

Patristic and medieval sources: 5

- Augustinus: 1¹
- Cyprianus: 1²
- Decretum Gratiani: 3

Contemporary sources: 0

¹ De civitate Dei

² De unitate ecclesiae

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¹ 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

locis optime disposita exhibentur quae J. D. Mansi evulgavit. Ed. Novissima ab eodem Patre Mansi curata Accedunt etiam notae, et dissertationes quamplurimae. 31 vols. Florentiae, Venetiis: 1759-1798

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7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

H = Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana / Chisianus I.VII.251

J = Roma / Archivio Segretao Vaticano / Arm. XXXII, 1

DA = D'Achery, Luc: *Veterum aliquot scriptorum qui in Galliae bibliothecis maxime Benedictinorum latuerant spicilegium*. T. 1-13. Paris: 1655-1677 (**DA**)

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

1. Multa hic hodie

Pii Papae II oratio habita in conventu Mantuano

Respondet orationi Guillelmi Parisiensi episcopis, oratoris regis Franciae.

[1] {310} Multa hic hodie magnaue dicta fuerunt, auditu digna. Nam quattuor orationes audivimus, quarum tres tum pro carissimo filio, Carolo Christianissimo Francorum rege illustri, tum pro carissimo filio Renato, etiam rege illustri, tum pro praepotenti Januensium populo dictae sunt. Altera maximo eloquentiae splendore ostendit orator elegans et doctor Gregorius, quantum polleret religio, dignitas, et illustrissimus Austriae sanguis. Tua oratio, venerabilis frater, Parisiorum episcopo, laudatione non eget: nam congesta coronae hujus atque consessus totius attentio quanta fuerit, plene ostendit: elegans quidem verborum ornatu, plena et artis et venustatis, sententiarum varietate redundans, quodque his majus est, elocutione suavi, cui respondebimus non ordine illo, quo per te dicta est, sed quo multa praetereuntes majora collegimus. Sex partes inde complexi, quarum quidem prima laudibus personae {311} nostrae¹ niti² magnopere visa est; secunda beatissimi Petri, cujus nunc insidemus sedi, dignitatem aperuit; tertia praestitam³ per eundem Christianissimum regem explicavit oboedientiam. In quarta commendavit nobis Christianissimus rex Renatum regem populumque Januae; quinta in ipsius regis atque regni Francorum laude versatur; sexta optimam voluntatem regis ejusdem expressit in eo, quod pertingit expeditionem in Turcos.

¹ *em.*; vestrae DA

² *em.*; nti DA

³ *em.*; praestita DA

Oration of Pope Pius II held at the Congress of Mantua

He replies to the oration of Guillaume, Bishop of Paris,¹ ambassador of the King of France

1.0 Introduction

[1] Today, many and great things, worthy of hearing, have been said. We have heard four orations: three on behalf of our beloved son Charles, the Most Christian and Illustrious King of France, and our beloved son René, also an Illustrious King, and the mighty people of Genoa. In the fourth, the accomplished orator and doctor, Gregor,² showed, with splendid eloquence the great religious devotion, dignity, and nobility of the House of Austria.

The great attention of this packed crowd and assembly shows, venerable brother, Bishop of Paris, that your oration merits praise. Indeed, it was both elegant, skilful, and urbane, with a great variety of phrasing and - what is even more important – a graceful delivery. We shall reply to the things you said, but not in the order followed by you, and We shall omit a number of issues and only focus on the major ones. Your oration had six parts. In the first, you praised Our person extravagantly. In the second, you showed the dignity of the Chair of Saint Peter, which We now occupy. In the third, you spoke on the obedience declared by the Most Christian King.³ In the fourth, the Most Christian King recommended King René⁴ and the People of Genoa.⁵ In the fifth, you extolled the said king and the Kingdom of the French. And in the sixth, you stated the excellent disposition of the king with regard to the expedition against the Turks.

¹ Guillaume Chartier (d. 1472): Bishop of Paris from 1447 to his death. French ambassador at the Congress of Mantua

² Gregor Heimburg (b. beg. 15th c.-1472): German jurist, humanist, and statesman. Ambassador of Archduke Sigismund of Austria at the Congress of Mantua. Bitter enemy of Pius II, who eventually excommunicated him

³ Charles VII (1403-1461): King of France from 1422 to his death. Disinherited in 1420 by his father, in the Peace of Troyes following the Battle of Azincourt, he settled in Bourges, from where he gradually regained the French territories occupied by the English. In 1429, by the agency of Jeanne d'Arc, he was crowned King of France in Reims

⁴ René d'Anjou (1409-1480): Duke of Anjou, Count of Provence (1434-80), Count of Piedmont, Duke of Bar (1430-80), Duke of Lorraine (1431-53), King of Naples (1435-42)

⁵ At the time, Genoa was under the suzerainty of the French king

[2] Quod primum attinet, non inflatur, non extollitur laudibus infirmitatis suae conscius pectus. Scimus quidem et agnoscimus nostras infirmitates, nec arbitramur aliud, cur divina bonitas nos ad sacri vicariatus Petri solium et fastigia sancta provexit, nisi ut ex nostra tenuitate luceret sua potestas, ex imperfecto nostro fulgeret virtus ipsius, qui piscatores, qui homines, et vulgo qui infirma mundi elegit, ut fortia quaeque confunderet, utque tot miraculorum fulgorem, tantam vim fidei, quae potestate mundum omnem complexa sit, quae ubique radices egerit, non hominis cujusque merito, sed ipsi soli Deo adscribemus.

[3] Praeclare vero cui meritis impares insidemus beatissimi Petri sedem laudasti, quam nemo praestantissimo ingenio et flagranti studio satis digne umquam laudavit. Non enim principes, non reges, non imperatores, non potentes populi, non patrum et conciliorum decreta Romanam et apostolicam sedem fixerunt et erexerunt, *nec ullis synodicis constitutis* omnibus ecclesiis per orbem praelata est, sed omnes ecclesias per orbem sparsas universum unam ecclesiam esse, *unum sibi thalamum*, et ipsius praesidem fore beatum Petrum, voluit Christus verus homo, qui regnat in Trinitate verus Deus. Haec sedes est una perfecta matris suae, una electa genetricis suae. Haec est apostolica sedes, quam verbum illud, per quod caelum et terra creata sunt, non hominum mortalitas fluxa instruxit, haec quam prophetarum praesagio constituit Deus super gentes et regna, quam apostolorum testimonio, martyrum sanguine, imperialis sedis adeptione munivit: hujus {312} ordinationi quisquis resistit, utique potestati Dei resistit.

1.1. The pope's person

[2] Concerning the first part, a person¹ who is aware of his own weaknesses does not get proud or elated when being praised. We know and recognise Our own weaknesses. We believe that the Good God has elevated Us to the throne and holy splendour of Saint Peter's vicariate, only to let His own power shine forth through Our weaknesses and His virtue radiate through Our imperfections. For He chose fishers and common men, indeed the weak of this world, in order to confound the strong² so that we should ascribe the splendour of the many miracles and the great force of the Faith - embracing the whole world and growing roots everywhere – to God Himself alone and not to the merits of any man.

1.2. Apostolic See

[3] Though you nobly praised the See of Saint Peter, which We occupy, though We are not his equal in merit, nobody has ever praised it with enough spirit and zeal. For the Roman and Apostolic See was not created and established by princes, or king, or emperors, or mighty peoples, or by decrees of fathers or councils, and it was not set above all the other churches *by conciliar decision*.³ No, it was Christ Himself, true man and true God, reigning in the Trinity, who desired that all the churches spread over the whole world should form one Church, *one bridal chamber*,⁴ and that Saint Peter should be its head. This See is the one perfect and chosen See of its mother and source, [the Church]. This is the Apostolic See, instituted by the Word, which also created Heaven and Earth, and not by frail mortal men. This is the See foretold by the prophets. This is the See that God has set over peoples and kingdoms. This is the See, which He strengthened with the testimony of the apostles, the blood of the martyrs, and adoption by the imperial power. Whoever opposes the ordinances of this See opposes the power of God.

¹ "pectus": breast, heart

² Augustinus: *De civitate Dei*

³ Decretum, D.21.3

⁴ Decretum, D.21.3

[4] Nemo in pravum sensum sermonem nostrum detorqueat, nemo carissimum in Christo filium Carolum, Francorum regem illustrem, putet a nobis insimulari: nam Christianissimus ille rex, ut audivistis, oboedientiam apostolicae sedi omni ornatu impendit: sed illos loquimur, qui aliud aut docent aut sentiunt, quam ipse, qui est caput totius ecclesiae, cui ait dominus: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam*. Nemo se fallat, nemo veritatem fidei perfida praevaricatione corrumpat. *Ecclesia una est, quae in multitudinem latius incremento foecunditatis extenditur, quomodo multi radii solis sunt, sed unum lumen et rami arboris multi sunt, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum; et quomodo de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, et numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundante copiae largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Avelle radium solis a corpore, divisionem unitas non capit; ab arbore frange ramum, fructus germinare non poterit; a fronte praecide rivum, praecisus decrescit*.

[5] Sic ecclesia Dei luce perfusa per totum orbem radios suos porrigit; unum tamen est, quod ubique diffunditur; unum tantum caput est, et una origo, et una mater ecclesia, quae incorrupta unam domum novit, unius cubiculi sanctitatem casto pudore custodit. Alienus est, profanus est, hostis est, et habere non potest Deum patrem, qui Romanae sedis, quae universalem ecclesiam virtute complectitur, non tenuerit unitatem. Haec sedes demum est, quae *potestatem ligandi atque solvendi accepit*: quam si quis corripientem, corrigentem, jubentem contempserit, censeri debet sicut ethnicus et publicanus. Positus in petra legitur Moyes, ut faciem Dei contemplaretur. *Super hanc petram aedificavit ecclesiam suam* praepotens Deus, quam qui non agnoscit, divinam praesentiam intueri non poterit. Sola quippe est, per quam dominus sacrificium accipiat libenter; sola, quae pro errantibus intercedat fiducialiter; sola est, quae intra se positos valida caritatis compage custodit. {313} Haec est arca et navis, quam ingressi non immerguntur diluvio, sed super aquas evecti in sublime feruntur: omnes autem extra istius sedis arcam praeclosos diluvium extinguit et perimit.

[4] Let nobody distort the meaning of Our words, and let nobody believe that We censure Our dear son in Christ, Charles, Illustrious King of the French. As you have heard, today the Most Christian King has, with due ceremony, declared his obedience to the Apostolic See. No, We are speaking of those who teach and believe differently from him who is the Head of the whole Church, and to whom the Lord says that *thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church*.¹ Let no one deceive himself; let no one perfidiously corrupt the truth of Faith. *The Church is one, which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by an increase of fruitfulness. As there are many rays of the sun, but one light; and many branches of a tree, but one strength based in its tenacious root; and since from one spring flow many streams, although the multiplicity seems diffused in the liberality of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is still preserved in the source. Separate a ray of the sun from its body of light, its unity does not allow a division of light; break a branch from a tree—when broken, it will not be able to bud; cut off the stream from its fountain, and that which is cut off dries up.*²

[5] Thus the shining Church of God sends its rays of light through all the world. But the light that is spread everywhere is One. There is but One Head, and One source, and One Mother Church, which is without blemish, which knows the One home, and which chastely guards the holiness of the One chamber. Anyone who does not remain united with the Roman See, encompassing the Universal Church in virtue, is an impious stranger, an enemy who cannot have God as his father. Finally, this is the See, which has received the *power to bind and to loose*.³ If anyone spurns its censures, corrections, and commands, he will be considered a pagan and a publican. We read that Moses stood on a rock in order to contemplate God's face. On this rock, almighty God has built His Church.⁴ Those who do not recognise that Church cannot look at the presence of God. The Church is the only one through whom God welcomes a sacrifice. She is the only one who can intercede confidently for those who go astray. She is the only one who can guard those within her with the strong bond of love. This is the ark and the ship: those who enter it will not drown in the flood but will sail over the waters to the high place. But those who are locked out of the ark of this See will go under and perish in the flood.

¹ Matthew, 16, 18

² Cyprianus: *De unitate ecclesiae*, 5. Translation quoted after the New Advent edition

³ Matthew, 16, 19

⁴ Matthew, 16, 18

[6] Nemo sibi blandiatur, conciliorum auctoritate istius apostolicae sedis potestatem restringi, quam incommutabilis Dei sententia firmavit, neque quorumlibet doctorum et magistrorum in adversum audiantur opiniones, quas concilium Florentinum destruxit. Quicumque enim ab unitate istius sedis, ab auctoritate beati Petri sejungitur, ingredi non poterit januam regni caelestis. Diximus pro angustia pro et hora jam altiore fortasse diffusius pro hoc domicilio imperii divini, religionis et gloriae, pro imagine caelestis solii et excellentia parum, pro qua nimium dici non potest: sed nos utcumque materia locuples, longius traxit.

[7] Nunc vero tertium, quod oboedientiam praestitam vice Christianissimi regis attinet, illam nos et venerabiles fratres nostri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, ut est integre delata, complectimur. Habet hoc a natura rex et a majoribus in se transfusum, tuerique non immerito debet oboedientiae meritum, quod sacrificiis praeferri divinitus promulgata lex sanxit, beneque prospicit suo decori, suae gloriae, suae salutis, cum secutis semper Romanae sedis oboedientiam suis majoribus videat evenisse prosperitatem, quodque quantum quilibet regum detraxit ex oboedientiae studio, tantum amisit ex gloria.

[8] Quod quarto loco efflagitasti, carissimum in Christo filium Renatum regem Siciliae illustrem, Januensemque populum commendatos habeamus: nos quoque velimus Christiano illos favore complecti; cum et responsuri simus suo loco legatis ipsius, hanc rem differemus, illam strictim tunc tractaturi: quia secretior locus ad ista petitur a te, et polliceris tunc nobis aperta iri plurima latius.

[6] Let no one delude himself: the power of the Apostolic See is not limited by the authority of the councils, for it has been established by the decree of immutable God. And let no one refer to the contrary opinions of some doctors and teachers, for they were quashed by the Council of Florence.¹ Anyone who separates himself from union with this See and the authority of Saint Peter cannot enter the gate of the Heavenly Kingdom.

Considering this packed place and the late hour, We may have already spoken too long. But if we consider the house of divine power, religion, and glory and the image and excellence of the Heavenly Throne, We have said too little, for one cannot say enough about them. Only the importance of the matter has made Us speak at such length.

1.3. Obedience of the King of France

[7] We now come to the third part, which concerns the obedience declared on behalf of the Most Christian King. We and Our venerable brothers, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, accept his obedience as it is presented in its entirety. The king knows from his own nature and from his ancestors that the merit of obedience must be guarded justly. Indeed, the law promulgated by God says that *obedience is better than sacrifice*.² And as the king considers the prosperity of those of his ancestors who remained steadfast in their obedience to the Holy See, he knows that in this way he is also guarding his own honour, glory, and salvation. Indeed, those kings who failed in their commitment to obedience lost much glory.

1.4. King René and Genoa

[8] In the fourth place, you recommended Our beloved son in Christ, the Illustrious King René of Sicily³, and the people of Genoa to Us. Those too, We will look at with Christian favour. But as We are going to reply to René's own legates on another occasion, We shall postpone this matter for now and deal specifically with it later, since you requested a more private place where, as you promised, you will explain your position fully to Us.

¹ The Council of Ferrara-Florence, 1439-1445: Effected a – short-lived - reunion between the Roman and Greek Churches, and

recognised the power of the papacy, challenged by the conciliarist rump council in Lausanne (formerly the Council of Basel)

² 1. Kings, 15, 22

³ René d'Anjou

[9] Quintum vero, cum tu, venerabilis frater, sis exorsus collaudare ipsum Christianissimum regem, nec sustinet angustia temporis, nec satis dicere possumus ad dignitatem, neque etiam opus est extollere universas prope {314} quas audivimus inesse ipsi virtutes: nec fas est *solem facibus adjuvare*, ut nunc dicebat regis Renati orator. Nec una Francorum regum progenies est, quae magnitudine dominii antistat aliis. Nam Gaius Caesar, quem cosmographi sequuntur, latissimam Galliam propterea ostendit, quod eam descripsit, complecti quidquid inter Oceanum, Rhenum, Alpes, montes Pyrenaeos continetur. Vetustas vero gentis Francorum jam satis constat pluribus annalibus, eaque ad orientalem primum plagam sedit, demum magna hominum vi Gallias immigravit. Qui resederunt, non Francorum, sed Franconum retinent nomen. Illud autem regum genus, quod ab Orientalibus tractum est, Francorum nomen adeptum, ut venit et migravit, Galliam suis virtutibus illustravit, adjunxit quoque non omnem - Helveticorum nempe populi, paucisque exceptis Belgae gens, secluduntur ab ipso regno.

1.5. Praise of the King of France

[9] As for the Most Christian King, whom you, venerable brother, praised in the fifth part, there is not time - were it possible - to say enough about his dignity, nor is it needful to extol all those virtues we heard he possesses. Indeed, it is not sensible *to assist the sun with burning torches*,¹ as King René's ambassador just said. Nor is the family of the French kings the only one whose realm surpasses the others in size.² For Gajus Caesar,³ followed by the geographers, has shown that Gaul was indeed very large, describing it as comprising all the lands between the Ocean, the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenean Mountains. Many annals confirm the antiquity of the Frankish people: First, it lived to the East⁴, but later, a great multitude of that people migrated into Gaul. Those who remained are not called "Franks", but "Franconians", whereas the royal line descended from the peoples in the East gained the name "Franks". As they migrated and came into Gaul, they made it shine with their virtues, but they did not get control of the whole territory, for the Helvetian peoples and most of the Belgians are not part of their kingdom.

¹ Decretum, C.6.7

² The contextual meaning is unclear

³ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁴ i.e., Central and Eastern Europe

[10] Nihil vero videtur praestabilius regni ipsius religione, qua semper sic floruit, ut praecipui Romanae sedis defensores et fidei athletae omnibus regibus aliis Christianissimi nominis semper gloria praestiterunt Francorum reges. Quid enim tam admirabile quam cernere in ipso regno sparsos tamquam flores, ecclesiasticos coetus, et praeter infinitam in ipso regno collegiorum multitudinem, centum et unum episcopatus, et innumerabilium in illo monasteriorum ubique opus illustre, illustres opes, unumque regem Francorum (si bene Salomon, *in multitudine*, inquit, *populi gloria regis*), qui admirabili populorum multitudine virorumque viribus polleat, quibus natura sit datum, ut acres ingenio, pugnacissimi bello reperiantur. Sunt quidem in regno ipso ducatus et plures maximi comitatusque aequandi regnis: et mite caelum, aer suavis, fertilis ager. Sunt in ipso studia plurima scholasticorum, sed tuum illud Parisiorum, venerabilis frater, fertur illustrius, in quo theologiae maxime necessaria doctrina viget, ex quo etiam magisterium promeruisse, magni honoris, maximaeque difficultatis existimatur. Ita omnibus et fortunae, et naturae, et {315} doctrinae, et religionis purae praesidiis collustratur Franciae florentissimum regnum.

[11] Quid reges veteres majoresque hujus Christianissimi regis, qui non solum regibus plurimis et maximis anteponerentur, sed veteribus illis Scipionibus Corneliisque compararentur? Celebratur ab oratoribus pluribusque poetis virtus eminentissima Caroli magni, et Ludovici primi. Fuerunt et Dagoberti et Philippi reges, quorum virtutem Carolus ad praesens rex et reddit et imitatur. Nam et religionis et ceremoniarum fertur observantissimus, et praeclara regnorum gubernatrice sapientia regnum, quod dissipatum accepit, florentissima pace tranquillitateque moderatur. Est autem ex sapientia regis, populorum pax, et tempestatum fluctuumque secunda depulsio. Plura de aequitate, de justitia, de temperantia, pietate ipsius, dicenda forent, nisi defatigatis animis ex auditione quattuor orationum hora detraheret dicendi prolixitatem.

[10] But nothing is more remarkable than the religious piety of this people, which made it flourish so greatly that, as champions of the Roman See and athletes of the Faith, the French kings, called Most Christian, always surpassed other kings in glory. Indeed, it is wonderful to see the parishes spreading like flowers in that kingdom and the almost infinite number of religious houses¹, the 101 dioceses, the wonderful work of countless monasteries everywhere, the marvellous wealth, and the one King of the French who is wondrously rich in people and in the strength of his men (if Solomon is right when he says: *In the multitude of people is the dignity of the king.*)² It is in their nature to be astute and very warlike. In that kingdom, there are also dukedoms and many counties as great as kingdoms. The climate is mild, the air is sweet, and the land is fertile. There are also many universities, but your own university in Paris, venerable brother, is said to be the most illustrious. There, the very important study of theology flourishes - even the *magisterium* [of the Church] has benefited from it. Indeed, it is held in high regard, and [studies there] are considered to be very advanced³. Thus, the flourishing realm of France is remarkable for all its advantages of fortune, nature, learning, and purity of religion.

[11] What about the old kings and ancestors of the present Most Christian King? Not only do they surpass many other, even great kings, but they can even bear comparison with the Cornelii and the Scipios of old. Orators and many poets celebrate the eminent virtues of Charlemagne⁴ and Louis I.⁵ There were also the kings named Dagobert and Philip, whose virtues the present King Charles reflects and imitates, for he is said to be greatly observant in matters of religion and ceremony. With wisdom - that excellent governess of kingdoms - he now rules the chaotic kingdom he took over, and which today enjoys peace and tranquillity.⁶ For from the king's wisdom comes the peace of peoples and the banishment of storms and disorders. We would say more about the king's fairness, justice, moderation, and piety if the audience was not already tired from hearing four orations and if the [advanced] hour did not curtail further speaking.

¹ "collegiorum"

² Proverbs, 14, 28

³ "maximaeque difficultatis"

⁴ Charlemagne (742/747/748 - 814): also known as Charles the Great. King of the Franks from 768, King of Italy from 774. In 800

crowned by the Pope as the first Emperor in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier

⁵ Louis the Pious (778-840): King of Aquitaine from 781. Also King

of the Franks and co-Emperor (as Louis I) with his father, Charlemagne, from 813

⁶ Note that there is no mention of Jeanne d'Arc

[12] Quod igitur exordium sumpsisti, quasi jure nostro ad extremam orationis partem sumemus: *Secundum nomen tuum sit et laus tua in fines terrae*. Nam cum oppugnantibus Turcis Christianorum fines immineat extrema calamitas, in rege vero sit ea potentia, ut ipse vel solus, vel cum paucis aliis, mederi possit. Nos tui thematis, venerabilis frater, nolumus auctoritatem negligere: nos enim et regem, qui et Christianissimus sit et appelletur, et regem Franciae Carolum, dictis per te votis alloquimur: *Secundum nomen tuum, sit et laus tua, sit in fines terrae*. Calamitas Graecorum jamdiu defleta est, jam Latinorum quotidianae clades per omnes angulos orbis intelliguntur. Quid tam regium, tam liberale, tam dignum nomine regis quam open ferre petentibus, succurrere afflictis, dare salutem periclitantibus, liberare periculis fratres eodem secum baptismatis fonte renatos, retinere, quos Turcus lacessit, principes in dignitate? Quid tam decens Christianissimum regem quam Christianae religionis decus armis contra arma, vi contra vim protegere, nec sinere tot Christianas provincias in servitutem {316} Turcorum et foedam superstitionem perverti? Quid tam proprium Franciae quam semper ad omnes pia fide paratas expeditiones tenere arma, quibus protegi valeat Christianus populus vel impetere fidei hostes, vel se ulcisci lacessitam? Nulla certe legitur expeditio adversus infideles acta insigniter, in qua Francorum non polleat nomen, eniteat virtus, fulgeat fortitudo, multaque pereximia gesta. Per Antiochiam, per Hierosolymas, per Damascum, Syriam, Phoenicem, et usque Mesopotamiam, pro populi religione arma circumtulerunt, victoresque regionibus illis sunt dominati, quamquam haec postea per inertiam nostram amisimus.

[13] Ac ne plura, quae sunt innumerabilia, consectemur, multis in historiis legimus illum prope divinum regem Carolum magnum cujus exemplis incumbere Carolus Christianissimus rex debet et studet. Et Ludovicum regem multosque Francorum reges legimus, quorum per Italiam, Africam, Syriam tum religionis, tum fortitudinis fuerunt impressa vestigia. His unum studium peculiare fuit tueri fidem, defendere sedis apostolicae auctoritatem. Id quidem agentes tamquam gratissimi, nam et illecti et provocati, et apostolicae sedis beneficiis amplissimis praeventi, tanto animo tanta gesserunt, tum praeter cetera ab ipso fonte et capite Christianae religionis, apostolica sede, ad eos fidei religio orta et per totum occidentem diffusa fluxit et emanavit. Nos ista tanta tamque multa longius produceremus, nisi alio tempore aperturum te in hanc rem plura pollicitus esses, et nisi defatigatio hujus coronae atque consessus horaque tardior amplioris sermonis eriperet aviditatem.

1.6. Crusade against the Turks

[12] The beginning you chose [for your oration] We shall now use as an appropriate conclusion of Our own: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.*¹ The attacks of the Turks are an immense threat to the Christian lands, but your king is so powerful that he could, either by himself or with a few others, remedy this situation. Venerable brother, We consider the words you chose for your theme so important that We shall, in Our turn, apply them to Charles, King of France, who both is and is called Most Christian: *According to thy name, so also is thy praise unto the ends of the earth.* The Greek catastrophe has been lamented enough; now we daily hear of Latin defeats in all corners of the world. What could be more royal, more grand, and more worthy of the kingly name than to come to the assistance of those who require it, to succour the afflicted, to save people in peril, to free our brothers reborn from the same baptismal font from their danger, and to ensure the dignity of princes assailed by the Turk? What could more befit a Christian king than to protect the honour of Christian religion with arms against arms and with strength against strength and not to allow so many Christian provinces to be forced into slavery to the Turks and horrible superstition? What could be more appropriate for the French than to always have their arms ready to join crusades prepared in pious faith with the aim of protecting the Christian people, attacking the enemies of our Faith, and avenging its injuries? In all the successful crusades against the infidels we read about, the name of the French was powerful, their virtue shining, their strength radiant, and their many deeds extraordinary. In defence of the people's religion, they brought their armies through Antioch, Jerusalem, Damascus, Syria, Phenicia, and as far as Mesopotamia, and as victors, they became lords of those regions, though later we lost them again through our own apathy.

[13] But let Us not dwell on this inexhaustible subject. In many history books, we read about the almost divine King Charlemagne, whose example the Most Christian King Charles should follow. And we read about King Louis and many other French kings who marked Italy, Africa, and Syria with their religious piety and with their strength. Their one concern was to protect the Faith and defend the authority of the Apostolic See. For when they were invited, and entreated, and granted extraordinary favours by the Apostolic See, they did great things with great courage: the Apostolic See, fountain and head of Christian religion, brought the Faith to that people, and from there it spread all through the West. We could speak much longer on this subject if you had not promised to say more on the matter at another time, and if the exhaustion of this assembly and the very late hour had not robbed the audience of any desire for further talk.

¹ Psalms, 47, 11: *secundum nomen tuum Deus sic laus tua usque ad extremum terrae*

2. PLACUIT AUDISSE

Oratoribus Francorum regis

[14] {156v} Placuit audisse¹ orationem vestram, regii oratores. Idem et² venerabilibus fratribus nostris, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus et universae contioni accidisse non dubitamus, sicut ex attentione omnium animadvertimus³. Neque ab re. Fuit enim ornatissima, et singularem eruditionem⁴ prae se tulit, et, quod est in primis expetibile, suavissime pronuntiata est. Responsuri⁵ non attingemus omnes partes, sed eas tantum, quae potiores visae sunt, neque servabimus ordinem vestrum, sed pro nostro arbitrio procedemus. Quinque sunt, quae responso egere⁶ videntur. Primum respicit personam nostram⁷, alterum {157r} sedem, in qua sedemus, tertium regni Siciliae dispositionem, quartum regis vestri merita, quintum ac postremum expeditionem contra Turcos. Erimus in respondendo breves, ne plenas aures dulcissimis et ornatissimis verbis inepta oratione nostra fastidio afficiamus.

[15] Laudastis personam nostram pluribus⁸ modis, et quae tenuissima sunt in nobis, ut maxima viderentur effecistis. Non extollitur, cum laudatur, conscius suae parvitat⁹is pectus. Augustinus in praeclaudio volumine *De Civitate Dei* salvatorem dominum idcirco rudes et infimi generis sibi discipulos¹⁰ accivisse testatur, ut in eis ipse esset, qui mirabilia operaretur¹¹. Fortasse et¹² propterea nos¹³ humiles et indigni ad hoc fastigium divinitus erecti sumus¹⁴, quod aliquid per nos publice utile¹⁵ divina pietas operari vult, et id vult suum videri, ut erit, quantum in ministerio nostro dignum laude¹⁶ fiat. Nos enim nihil sumus, et nihil est, quod a nobis sperandum sit, nisi pius¹⁷ Deus¹⁸ bonum semen in nobis¹⁹ seminaverit, irrigaverit et incrementum dederit.

¹ audivisse G, J

² omit. G

³ advertimus G

⁴ orationem G

⁵ responso J

⁶ indigere G

⁷ omit. J

⁸ plurimis J

⁹ suae parvitat⁹is : parvitat⁹is suae G

¹⁰ sibi discipulos : discipulis sibi J

¹¹ et add. G

¹² interlin. G

¹³ propterea nos : nos propterea G [propterea in marg. G]

¹⁴ erecti sumus : sumus erecti G

¹⁵ publice utile : utile publice G

¹⁶ laudabile G

¹⁷ prius G, J

¹⁸ dominus G

¹⁹ bonum semen in nobis : in nobis bonum semen G

To the ambassadors of the King of the French

2.0 Introduction

[14] Royal ambassadors, We were pleased to hear your oration, and so, undoubtedly, were Our venerable brethren, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, and the whole assembly, as We could see from the attentiveness of all. And with good reason, since it was a most ornate and singularly learned oration, which was – as is very important - delivered most gracefully. In Our reply, We shall not answer all parts of the oration, but only the most important. And We shall not deal with them in the order of delivery, but as We find it appropriate.

There are five points that require an answer here. The first concerns Our person, the second the See that We occupy, the third Our dispositions with regard to the Kingdom of Sicily, the fourth your king's merits, the fifth and last the crusade against the Turks.¹

Our reply will be brief so that We shall not tire ears, now full of delightful and elegant words, with Our inept speaking.

2.1. The pope's person

[15] You praised Our person in many ways, and you made even our smallest accomplishments appear great. But a person² who is aware of his own weaknesses does not become proud or elated when being praised. In his famous book, *On the City of God*, Augustine³ declares that the Lord took disciples of simple and humble condition so that it would be Himself who performed miracles through them. In the same way, God may have elevated Us, though insignificant and unworthy, to this high state so that Divine Piety may operate through Us, and so that whatever praiseworthy We accomplish in this ministry will be seen as being done by Him. For We are nothing, and nothing may be hoped from Us unless Pious God sows the good seed in Us, waters it, and makes it grow.

¹ This, the fifth part of the speech, is actually missing. In this version, the pope does not list the French kings's recommendation of King René and Genoa, nor his decla-

ration of obedience. These two issues are treated as specific themes in the version "*Multa hic hodie*".

² "pectus": breast, heart

³ Augustinus, Aurelius (354-430): Bishop of Hippo. Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

[16] Romanam autem ecclesiam, apostolicam sedem, beati Petri cathedram primum in terris thronum a vobis laudari aequo animo ferimus. Multa et¹ prudenter, et ornate, et erudite de Jesu Christi vicariatu locuti estis, quae delectabile fuit ab ore deserto² audivisse. Verum tanta est hujus apostolicae dignitatis³ excellentia, tanta gloria, tanta majestas, ut celebrari pro meritis ore humano minime⁴ possit. Neque enim mortali voce satis extolli⁵ potest, quod ab immortali Deo institutum laudatumque est. Romanam sedem, {157v} hoc est solium, in quo sedemus indigni, non reges aut imperatores, non populi aut civitates, non particulares synodi aut concilia generalia, non pontificum constitutiones aut patrum decreta, sed ipsa salvatoris Christi vox, ipsum Dei nostri oraculum erexit et primum omnium esse constituit dicens beato Petro, aeternae vitae clavigero: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam, et portae inferi non praevallebunt adversus eam, et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum, et quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo*, et reliqua, per quae summa potestas apostolorum principi⁶ data colligitur a Christo domino. A Christo igitur, Deo et homine, fundata est et in sublime divinitus erecta⁷ est Romani praesulis auctoritas.

¹ omit. G

² deserto J

³ sedis G

⁴ non G

⁵ satis extolli : extolli satis G

⁶ summa potestas apostolorum
principi : apostolorum principi
potestas summa G

⁷ divinitus erecta : posita divinitus
G

2.2. Apostolic See

[16] But We accept your praise of the Roman Church, the Apostolic See, the Chair of Saint Peter, the First Throne on Earth. You said much, both wisely, ornately, and eruditely, about the Vicariate of Jesus Christ, and it was a pleasure to hear such a skilfully crafted oration. However, the excellence, the glory, and the majesty of the Apostolic See are so great that they can never be adequately praised by a human tongue. And no human voice can sufficiently extol what God Himself has instituted and praised. For the Roman See, the throne We are occupying, though unworthy, was not established by king, or emperors, or peoples, or cities, or by decrees of local synods or general councils, or by constitutions of the popes, or decrees of the Fathers, but by the words of Christ Himself, Our Saviour, the oracle of our God. And it was Him who made it the first among all when he said to Peter, the Keybearer of eternal life: *And I say to thee: That thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven,*¹ and other words that make it clear it was Christ, Our Lord, who granted supreme power to the Prince of the Apostles. Thus, the authority of the Roman bishop was indeed established and given its preeminence by Christ, God and man.

¹ Matthew, 16, 18-19

[17] At quem Christum nominamus, quem Deum fundatorem nostrae potestatis adducimus? Christum equidem, quem sancti prophetae annuntiaverunt¹ redemptorem orbis esse venturum, quem Johannes Baptista digito demonstravit dicens: *Ecce agnus Dei, ecce qui tollit peccata mundi*, quem sancti apostoli, sancti evangelistae, sancti martyres filium Dei unigenitum, verum Deo patri consubstantialem praedicaverunt, natum ex Maria virgine, pro nostra redemptione passum, mortuum ac sepultum, et tertia die victorem mortis dispoliato inferno resurrexisse, et denique triumphantem in caelum² ascendisse, ubi ad dexteram patris sedet, cuius divinitatem et alia quaeque³ miracula ostenderunt. Nam caecis visum, surdis auditum, mutis eloquium, claudis ambulationem, et, quod maximum extitit, mortuis etiam⁴ {158r} vitam restituit. Ventis imperavit et mari, ac se naturae dominum non in vita solum, verum etiam in ipsa morte ostendit, elementorum et siderum et lapidum naturam quatiens⁵, cuius salutarem legem totus orbis complexus⁶ est. Vix enim gleba ulla sub caelo est, in qua non aliquando Christus verus Deus et verus homo praedicatus acceptusve fuerit.

¹ annuntiavere J

² caelo G

³ quoque *corr. ex queque* H;

quoque J

⁴ *omit.* J

⁵ quotiens J

⁶ implexus J

[17] But who is this Christ We are talking about? Who is the God that we declare established our power? He is indeed the Christ whom the holy prophets foretold would come to save the world and whom John the Baptist pointed to, saying: *Behold the Lamb of God. Behold him who taketh away the sin of the world.*¹ It is Him whom the holy apostles, the holy evangelists, and the holy martyrs proclaimed as the only-begotten son of God, but consubstantial with the Father. He was born from the Virgin Mary, suffered for our redemption, died and was buried, and on the third day, He resurrected as victor over death. He despoiled Hell, and in final triumph, He ascended into Heaven where He sits at the right hand of the Father. Other miracles, too, prove his divinity. For He gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, movement to the lame, and – greatest of all – he even restored life to dead people. He commanded the winds and the sea and proved himself to be Lord over nature not only in his life but also in his very death,² upsetting the natural order of elements, stars, and stones. [Afterwards,] the whole world accepted his salutary law, and there is hardly any place on Earth where, at some time Christ, was not proclaimed and believed to be true God and true man.

¹ John, 1, 29

² This whole section is taken, in abridged form, from the oration "*Cum bellum hodie*"

[18] Ab hoc igitur Christo, ab hoc principe, ab hoc Deo vero et singulari¹, sancta sedes apostolica instituta et erecta est, et primatum super omnes gentes et super universa regna suscepit. Haec fons est² et origo³ dignitatum omnium, haec mater studiorum, haec bonarum artium alatrix, haec magistra vitae, haec norma disciplinae, haec mortalium regula: haec fidem docet, mores instruit, errores corrigit, vitia punit, virtutes praemiat, extollit bonos, deprimit malos, viam vitae aperit, mortis aditum⁴ claudit. Haec est arca Noae, extra quam salvari nemo potest regnante diluvio. Hic est *hortus conclusus et fons signatus*, de quo scaturiunt aquae vivae, quae saliunt in vitam aeternam: hic est *locus quem dominus elegit*; hic summus sacerdos est, cui qui non paruerit, morte mulctatur⁵: huic sedi et⁶ prima et summa potestas credita est, nam pascendi oves officium ejus est et judicandi auctoritas, quam si quis docentem corripientemve quoquo modo contempserit, habendus est ut ethnicus et publicanus: alienus est, profanus est, anathema est, qui Romani {158v} praesulis auctoritati detrudere praesumit. Non habet deum patrem, qui Romanam ecclesiam renuit cognoscere matrem.

¹ et singulari : singularis J

² omit. G

³ est add. G

⁴ adiutum J

⁵ multatur G

⁶ omit. G

[18] This is the Christ, this is the prince, this is the true and one God who founded and established the Holy Apostolic See and gave it primacy over all peoples and all realms. This is the fountain and origin of all offices, this is the mother of studies, this is the nurse of the good arts, this is the teacher of life, this is the norm and rule of men. She it is who teaches the Faith, who instructs us on how to live morally, who corrects errors, punishes vice, rewards virtue, lifts up the good, and throws down the wicked, opens the path of life, and closes the gate of death. Here is Noah's Ark, outside which no one can be saved while the flood is reigning. *Here is the garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up,*¹ from which spring the life-giving waters leading to eternal life. This is *the the place which the Lord chose.*² Here is the High Priest, who must be obeyed on pain of death.³ To this See has been entrusted the first and supreme power, for it has the charge of feeding the sheep⁴ as well as the authority to judge. Anyone who rejects its teachings and corrections must be considered a pagan and a publican. Anyone who dares to put restrictions on the authority of the Roman Pontiff is impious and damned. Anyone who refuses to recognise the Roman Church as his mother does not have God as his father.

¹ Canticle of canticles, 4, 12

² 2. Macchabees, 5, 19

³ Deuteronomy, 17, 12

⁴ John, 21, 17

[19] Qualis proculdubio est quicumque lege sua statuit, ne hoc vel illud Romano pontifici liceat in suo regno mandare et praecepta ejus cassa esse vult¹. Et quis tu homo es, qui haec agis? Unde tibi haec auctoritas? Profer testimonium, si potes, ex sacro codice. An hoc secundum evangelium est vivere? Minime quidem. Christus in evangelio Petro dicit: *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum et in caelo*. Et tu ais papae, qui successor Petri est: cave ne hoc liges, ne hoc solvas. Nescis, miser, quia Romanum praesulem divina tantum auctoritas ligat? Sacrae tantum scripturae subjectus est papa, quae Dei digito revelata est, decretis mortalium non tenetur. "At rationi subjectus est et potestas ecclesiae in aedificationem non in destructionem data fatemur²." At non propterea tu iudex Romani praesulis es, qui errare eum arbitraris. Iudicium de ipso soli Deo servatum est: culpas suas mortalium arguere nemo³ potest. En quam erronea nonnullorum sententia est! In regem nihil subdito licere volunt: in papam volunt, cujus potestas a Deo est super omnes mortales⁴ collata. Neque advertunt parum pensi habentes, quoniam sancta sedes apostolica a beato Petro in hanc usque diem numquam audita est dogmatizare quidquam, quod ab orthodoxa fide sit alienum. Habet enim hoc privilegium a domino, ut pravis dogmatibus numquam succumbat; quia *portae inferi non praevalent {159r} adversus eam*. Haec ad eam partem dixisse satis sit, in qua sedem apostolicam laudastis.

¹ velit G

² fatetur G [fatemur corr. from fatetur H]

³ arguere nemo : nemo arguere G

⁴ potestates G

[19] Such is undoubtedly the case of anyone who issues a law denying the Roman Pontiff the right to make commands concerning anything in his kingdom or who has ordered that the pope's commands should have no validity there. And who would you be, man, who did this? Where is your authority to do it? Offer testimony from the Holy Book, if you can. Is that a way to live according to the Gospel? Absolutely not. For in the Gospel Christ says to Peter: *And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven.*¹ And you would say to the pope, the successor of Peter: "Do not bind this; do not loosen that!"! Do you not know, you miserable man, that only divine authority binds the Roman Bishop? The pope is only subject to Holy Scripture, revealed by the hand of God, and he is not bound by the decrees of men. "But we declare that the pope is subject to reason, and the power of the Church is given for edification and not for destruction." But even if you believe the Bishop of Rome to be in error, that does not give you the right to judge him, for only God can judge the pope. No mortal man may accuse him of fault. Oh, how wrong is the opinion of many men: though they do not allow a subject to have any say against their king, they would allow it in the case of the pope, even if God has given him power over all mortal men. Those stupid men are unconcerned that - from Saint Peter to this day - the Holy Apostolic See has never been heard to teach anything that is contrary to orthodox faith. This privilege it has received from the Lord that it shall never succumb to wrong teachings, for *the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*² Let this suffice concerning your praise of the Apostolic See.

¹ Matthew, 16, 19

² Matthew, 16, 18

[20] Nunc ad eum locum transeundum est, in quo de regno Siciliae mentionem fecistis. Sivimus¹ in hac parte pro nostra mansuetudine vos loqui, quaecumque voluistis, et quamvis nos carpere videremini, ignoscendum tamen et² vobis et regi vestro putavimus tamquam de rebus gestis parum instructis. Nos nihil credimus factum esse a nobis reprehensione dignum. Quod³ si erravimus, cum consilio fratrum erravimus: cuncti enim cardinales, nullo dempto, ut faceremus, quae fecimus, consuluerunt suaseruntque. Insuper secuti sumus iter, quod Eugenius, quod Nicolaus, quod Calixtus antecessores nostri tenuerunt. Annuimus precibus totius Italiae nobis pro Ferdinando supplicantis. Nam dux Mediolani, Veneti, Florentini, dux Mutinae id ex nobis petiere, quod fecimus. Stabat Italiae foedus in id ipsum urgens. Regnum ei contulimus, qui possidebat, et quem⁴ regnicolae omnes acceperant regem, et fidem ei jurejurando promiserant, eum in regno confirmavimus, quem pater possessor et⁵ a praedecessoribus nostris habens⁶ titulum, instituerat succesorem, quamvis non legitimum, auctoritate tamen apostolica legitimatum. Erat praeterea nobis pax necessaria: ita status ecclesiae requirebat, ita conditiones temporum⁷ exposcebant. Nam quo modo intendere ad res {159v} fidei contra Turcos poteramus domestico impliciti bello?

[21] Urgebat Jacobus Piccininus Assisium, Nuceriam⁸, Gualdumque occupans, ingensque bellum ecclesiae minitans, nisi Ferdinandum regem declararemus. Quo insuper modo decebat nos arma capere pro regno alieno, cum ille, qui suum esse dicit, domi quiesceret? At misit, dicitis. Misit quidem episcopum Massiliensem cum verbis. Nos⁹ factis egebamus, quibus magna pars patrimonii beati Petri adempta erat. Cumque tot tantaeque rationes urgerent Ferdinando regnum concedere, nihil tamen egimus in praejudicium cujuspiam: jura unicuique sua servata sunt. Agant juris via¹⁰ si qui sunt, qui se indigna pati arbitrantur. Nos recti iudicis partes tenebimus. Nec plura de tertia parte orationis vestrae.

¹ sinimus *corr.* ex sivimus G;
scivimus J

² *omit.* G

³ qui J

⁴ et quem : quemque J

⁵ ut qui *add.* J

⁶ habuisset J

⁷ conditiones temporum :
temporum conditiones J

⁸ Luceriam J

⁹ non G

¹⁰ viam J

2.3. Kingdom of Sicily

[20] We must now pass on to the part where you mentioned the Kingdom of Sicily. In Our clemency, We allowed you to say whatever you wanted. And though it seemed as if We were being criticised, We forgave you and your king as men who were not adequately informed. We believe that We have done nothing to merit your reproval. But if indeed We have erred, We have erred on the advice of our brethren, for all the cardinals, without exception,¹ have advised and counselled Us to do as We did. Moreover, We have followed the course of our predecessors, Eugenius,² Nicolaus,³ and Callixtus.⁴ We have granted the requests of all of Italy on behalf of Ferrante,⁵ for both the Duke of Milan,⁶ the Venetians, and the Duke of Modena⁷ asked Us to do what We did. The Italian treaty was in force, requiring the same. The kingdom was granted to the man who was in actual possession of it, and We confirmed as king the one whom all the inhabitants of the realm had accepted as king and sworn to. That man was also the one whom his father, also in actual possession of the kingdom and having received proper title to it from our predecessors, had appointed as his successor. Though he was not of legitimate birth, he had been legitimated by apostolic authority. Moreover, it was necessary for Us to have peace: the state of the Church required it, and the prevailing conditions demanded it, for how could We plan [on going to war] for the Faith against the Turks if we were involved in a domestic war?

[21] At the time, We were also under pressure from Jacobo Piccinino⁸, who had occupied Assisi, Nuceria, and Gualdo and threatened the Church with total war if We did not declare Ferrante king. And, finally, why should We go to war for another kingdom when the one who claimed it⁹ remained peacefully at home? “But he did send someone,” you say. Yes, he sent the Bishop of Marseilles,¹⁰ who came only with words. But We [did not need words], We needed action since We had lost control of the major part of the Lands of Saint Peter¹¹. But even though so many and so great reasons pressed Us to give the kingdom to Ferrante, We did not do anything to the prejudice of anybody: the rights of all were maintained, and anyone who believes that he has suffered an injustice is free to pursue the matter in court. We Ourselves shall be a fair judge.

So much concerning the third part of your oration.

¹ Even the French cardinals

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

³ Nicolaus V (Tommaso Parentucelli) (1397-1455): Pope from 6 March 1447 until his death

⁴ Callixtus III [Alfons de Borja] (1378-1458): Pope from 1455 to

his death in 1458. The first Borgia Pope

⁵ Ferrante I (1423-1494): King of Naples from 1458 to his death

⁶ Francesco Sforza I (1401-1466): Italian condottiero, founder of the Sforza dynasty in Milan, Italy. Duke of Milan from 1450 to his death

⁷ Borso d'Este (1413-1471): Duke of Ferrara, and first Duke of Modena, which he ruled from 1450 until his death

⁸ Jacopo Piccinino (1423-1465): Italian condottiero and nobleman

⁹ I.e., René d'Anjou

¹⁰ Nicolas de Brancas: Bishop of Marseille from 1445-1466

¹¹ The Church states

[22] Nunc quartam¹ aggrediamur, in qua regem vestrum et inclytam Francorum domum ingentibus praeconiis extulistis². Fatemur veras esse laudes; regem ipsum pium, benignum, religionis amantem, justitiae cultorem, pacis cupidum, sobrietati modestiaeque³ parentem, et divina quadam virtute praeditum, cujus prudentiam regni tranquillitas ostendit, et amissorum recuperatio dominiorum. Progenitores ejus ornare laudibus in praesentiarum frustra fuerit, quorum praeconia veteres historiae celebrant. Vulgata est orbe toto Francorum fama, quorum inclyta gesta etiam pueri cantant. Orientales populi omnes ferme, qui se adeunt ex occidenti, Francos vocitant. Fecerunt hoc Francorum regum expeditiones, qui pro Jerusalem recuperanda ingentes saepe copias eo ductarunt, et omnem Bithyniam, Troadem, Pisidiam, Ciliciam, Armeniam, Cappadociam, Syriam, atque Aegyptum conculcarunt. Gloriosa est Francorum domus et digna, quam sancta sedes apostolica magnificiat, siquidem ejus auxilio freta magnas saepe calamitates evasit. Sed neque sancta⁴ sedes ingrata illi⁵ fuit, quae ipsos ornavit imperio, et beneficia⁶ beneficiis, magna maximis repensavit⁷. Quod⁸ nunc, more vestusto ac⁹ praesenti, nos honorat rex ipse, et vicarium Jesu Christi¹⁰ in persona nostra recognoscit, et suam apostolicae sedi oboedientiam exhibet, implet quod sui erat officii et suo debito facit satis. Nam pontifici Romano tamquam Christi vices gerenti omnes reges, omnes populi sua debent colla submittere. Laudamus et devotionem et religionem tanti principis, quam¹¹ dignis prosequi favoribus haec sancta sedes non negliget.

¹ quarto J

² extollistis J

³ sobrietati modestiaeque : sobri
etatisque et modestiae G

⁴ haec *add.* J

⁵ ingrata illi : ei ingrata G

⁶ etiam *add.* G

⁷ recompensavit G

⁸ qui J

⁹ et G

¹⁰ *omit.* G

¹¹ quem J

2.4. King's merits

[22] Now we come to the fourth part where you extravagantly praised your king and the glorious House of France. We declare that this praise is true and that the king is indeed pious and benevolent. He loves religion, cultivates justice, desires peace, maintains sobriety and modesty, and is blessed with divine virtue. The tranquillity of the realm and the recovery of the lost domains prove his wisdom. In vain, We should now praise his ancestors since the old history books celebrate their achievements. The fame of the French has spread to the whole world, and even boys are singing about their glorious deeds. Almost all the Easterners use the name "Franks" for those who come there from the West. This is due to the crusades of the French kings, who often brought immense armies there to recover Jerusalem and subdued Bithynia, Troy, Pisidia, Cilicia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Syria, and Egypt. Glorious is the House of the Franks and worthy of being held in high regard by the Holy See. Indeed, this See has often avoided catastrophes because it could depend on help from them. But the Holy See has not been ungrateful to the Franks: it has bestowed the empire on them, and it has rewarded their great services with even greater ones. When their king now, in time-hallowed manner, honours Us, recognises the Vicar of Christ in Our person, and declares his obedience to the Apostolic See, he fulfils his obligation and does as he should. For all kings and all peoples must bow to the Roman Pontiff as the Vicar of Christ. We praise the devotion and religious piety of this great prince, whom the Holy See will certainly favour as merited.

[Unfinished: the 5th part concerning the crusade, cf. the introduction to the oration, is missing]

Appendix 1: Extract from the report of Nicolas Petit to the Chancellor of France¹

Nicolai Petit: Narratio eorum quæ in Conventu Manuano acta sunt coram Summo Pontifice Pio II. Ad Guillelmum Juvenalem de Ursinis Franciæ Cancellarium [21 November 1459]

{308} ... Apres laquelle proposition finie², notre saint Pere cognoissant la vertu du propoissant, à commencé l'exordium de sa response, adressant sa parole envers mondit Seigneur de Paris, disant: Orationem tuam, venerabilis frater noster Pariseorum Episcopo, laude dignam audivimus; dictis tuis, non quantum tua elegans postulat oratio, sed pro viribus respondendum. Et en cette maniere nostredit saint Pere poursuivit sa response, la divisant en six poinz, le premier touchant sa personne ainsi que mondit Seigneur de Paris l'avoit prins, & peu si arresta, le second touchant le siege Apostolique sur quoy longuement demeura, & allegua toutes choses servant à la loüange dudit Siege, tendant à ses fins, en resumant par deux fois, Arbitramur omnes Principes Catholicos Ecclesiæ Romanæ & sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectos: qui est à deux visages en la maniere de le prononcer. Le tiers point, touchant le bon vouloir & affection que le roi à envers l'Eglise Romaine, & mesmement au bien des matieres presentes, et sur ce commença à louër & nombrer les grans fais des Roys de France, & du temps de Charles le Grant, Loys premier, & autres, disant comment l'Eglise Romaine à esté honnoree & preservee par les tres Chrestiens Roys, descendant au Roy, le loüant & magnifiant bien grandement, & que sans lui ne peut estre rebouté le Thurcq, pareillement en loüant le Royaume, {309} faisant diverses descriptions Franciæ & Galliarum, dont vient l'imposition de ce nom Francois, loüant l'Université de Paris sur toutes autres; faisant mention des belles Eglises & Monasteres du Royaume. Le quatrieme touchant le fait du Roy de Sicile, en la faveur du Roy, & quant à ce les Catelans furent tres esbays quant nostredit saint Pere commença à ces mots: Pro parte carissimi in Christo filii Regis Renati Siciliæ ac Ierusalem regis illustris. Ceulx qui estoient pour la part de Domp Ferrando vouloient romper l'audience, mais notre saint Pere leur imposa silence, & ne les voulut point oyr. Le cinquieme touchant le fait de Gennes, en quoy se declaira l'avoir en singuliere recommandation, & telle que le demaine & patrimoine de l'Eglise. Le sixieme & dernier feut l'obeïssance & reverence filiale dont lui et ses Freres Messeigneurs les Cardinaulx rendoient graces, &c.

¹ From d'Achery, pp. 308-309

² The oration of the Bishop of Paris

Appendix 2: Oration “Maximum et amplissimum onus” of Guillaume Chartier (21 November 1459, Mantua)

In his *Commentarii*, Pius II wrote on Chartier’s oration:

“Their [the French ambassadors] ‘spokesman was the bishop of Paris, who took as his theme the words of the Psalmist, “According to Thy name, so is Thy praise unto the ends of the earth, Thy right hand is full of righteousness.” He divided the speech into sections and spoke at length on each:

- *in praise of the pope;*
- *the eminence of the Apostolic See;*
- *the glory of his own king and kingdom*

At last he made what he called

- *a “filial” submission in the name of the king, using this term to make clear it was not “servile” in character.*

He said little about

- *the Turks,*

and still less did he promise support against them.”¹

Manuscripts

This oration is presently known to be extant in seven manuscripts:

- **Admont / Stiftsbibliothek**
535, ff. 113r-127v **(M)**
- **Brno / Moravska Zemska Knihovna**
Mk 96, ff. 51v-64v **(N)**
- **Göttingen / Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Göttingen**
8 Philos. 88, ff. 54v-70v **(T)**

¹ CO. III, 37 (Merve, II, pp. 163)

- **Paris / Bibliotheque Nationale de France**
Lat. 8576, ff. 178-187v¹
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Ott. lat. 905, ff. 43v-50v (**V**)
Ott. lat. 2080, ff. 303r-309v (**O**)
- **Salzburg / Erzabtei Sankt Petri**
b VIII 15, ff. 213r-225v (**S**)

The text in the manuscripts is corrupt in several places and contains many errors of transcription.

The text has not been published previously.

Present edition

The text has been edited on the basis of all the manuscripts listed above, except the Paris manuscript, with the Admont manuscript as the lead text, in accordance with the general principles used in the edition of Pius' orations, see COR, 1: 9.

Pagination after the lead manuscript.

In the present version, only some of the quotations have been identified.

The notes comprise both textual variants and references etc.

Structure

1. Introduction [1-7]
2. Obedience [8-28]
3. Crusade [29-39]
4. Conclusion [40-42]

¹ See Du Fresne de Beaucourt, p. 11. Ff. 178r-178v (sections 1-4)

partly illegible due to damage to manuscript

Oratio ambasiatoris regis Francorum¹

1. Introduction

[1] {113r} Maximum et² amplissimum onus³ longe grandius viribus injunctum mihi hodie, pater beatissime, conspicio, qui de rebus maximis apud te⁴ maximum pro maximo dicere instituo. Multa ergo saepius menti occurrentia⁵ in ipso actus limine⁶, in ipso sermonis revolvens exordio, vix certe concipio⁷, ubi umquam altius, ubi sublimius versari potuit⁸ intentio, quam cum⁹ vice regia, cum¹⁰ nomine regio excellentissimi et Christianissimi regis¹¹ nostri¹², sanctae¹³ ecclesiae et sanctitatis tuae¹⁴ devotissimi filii, apud sanctitatem¹⁵ et beatitudinem tuam filialis oboedientiae, reverentiae¹⁶, honoris et dilectionis, pietatis, fidei, pacisque populi Christiani¹⁷ prosequendus est sermo, cui rite¹⁸ ad plenum explicando¹⁹ etiam²⁰ reminiscens²¹ Tullii quantumcumque redundans²², quantumcumque exuberans non sufficeret oratio. Imparem eja suscepto oneri²³ me²⁴ sentiens satisque persuasum habens huic loco, huic operi, huic praeclaro coetui non posse stilum parem orationis afferre, jam totus in me tabescens deficio.

[2] Attenuati quippe oculi mei aspicientes²⁵ in excelso, in excelso quidem sanctitatis²⁶ tuae, in excelso hujus²⁷ conventionis²⁸ dignissimae, qua meipsum video velut in alta quaedam fastigia conscendisse, ubi decus, ubi splendor²⁹ orbis, tutamentum³⁰ fidei, fundamentum justitiae, ubi te quasi solem et velut³¹ numen quoddam³² divinum et caeleste, ubi sacra tecum luminaria ecclesiae relucentia circumquaque, ubi virtutum omnium adunatum undique speculum³³ singulare prae

¹ Oratio ... Francorum : *omit.* M; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantue 1459 de mense novembris 1459 O; Oratio pro rege Francorum coram Pio papa II. facta Mantuae 1459 de mense decembris S; Oratio pro christianissimo Francorum rege habita Mantuae coram Pio papae II. in universali conventu T; Oratio habita per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Gulielmum de Normandia, episcopum Parisensem, sanctissimi regis Francie oratoris in ecclesia cathedrali in concistorio publico die 21. Novembris 1959 V

² vt M

³ This incipit may be partly borrowed from the imperial ambassador's oration of obedi-

ence to Pius II, the "*Maximum et amplissimum munus*", published in appendix to Pius' oration "*Fabricator mundi*"

⁴ per *add.* N, O, S, T

⁵ occurrenti S

⁶ lumine N; limite O, S, T

⁷ conspicio N

⁸ versari potuit : potuerit versari M

⁹ cum M

¹⁰ cum M

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² ~~sed M~~; sed *add.* N; sed et *add.* O, S, T

¹³ sacrosanctae V

¹⁴ sanctitatis tuae : sanctitati tui N; sanctitati tue O, S, T

¹⁵ sedem M

¹⁶ et *add.* O

¹⁷ *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁸ ritum N

¹⁹ explicandi V

²⁰ et N, O, S, T

²¹ reuiuiscens V

²² quantumcumque redundans *omit.* N

²³ meo *add.* O, S, T

²⁴ mei N; *omit.* V

²⁵ suscipientes T

²⁶ virtutis N, O, S, T

²⁷ *omit.* T

²⁸ Conventio *in marg.* M [NB: The margin notes in M are written in a much later hand]

²⁹ et *add.* S

³⁰ tutamentumque T

³¹ nubem *add.* V

³² quasi P

³³ spectaculum O, S, T

fulgore igitur et splendore jam concussis, {113v} jam reverberatis humilibus oculis ac prae mole operis¹ depressis² humeris a³ suscepto opere animus resiliret, lingua⁴ obmutesceret⁵, nisi me legatio regia patrumque et⁶ dominorum⁷ simili⁸ legatione fungentium specialis ordinatio et zelus domus⁹ domini impellerent et a temeritate et praesumptione redderent excusatum.

[3] *Ubi enim onus* - teste¹⁰ Gregorio - *ex humilitate*¹¹, *oboedientia suscipitur, vincit*¹²: *ascribitur victoriae et succubuisse ad gloriam reputatur*. Zelo ergo succensus¹³, oboedientia constrictus¹⁴, sed¹⁵ tua benignitate allicitus, illud¹⁶ non inelegans¹⁷ jamdudum apud Caesarem dictum commemorans¹⁸: *Caesar, qui apud te et de te dicere non verentur et timent*¹⁹, *tuam magnitudinem non agnoscunt; qui*²⁰ *nimis verecundantur et formidant, tuam benignitatem non attendunt*, quantum magnitudine deterreor²¹, tantum pietate consolor et confortor. Ad²² te igitur, patrem²³ et re et²⁴ nomine²⁵ piissimum²⁶, pro rege piissimo pietatis fidei verba piissima deducturus²⁷, etsi magnitudinem²⁸ expavescam, de ipsa tui nominis²⁹ pietate confisus vires audaciamque resumam, et³⁰ sub pii simplicitate sermonis ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem juxta nomen tuum stilum totum orationis constringam³¹, modum mihi³² praestituendo, quo et sanctitatis³³ tuae³⁴ et hujus³⁵ praeclarissimi³⁶ coetus expectatio diuturna et³⁷ pia et devota regis sub nomine piissimi nostra³⁸ oratio³⁹ non careat.

[4] Et ego benigna facilitate⁴⁰ audiendi⁴¹ sermonis⁴² prolixitate longius non⁴³ abutar. Quod⁴⁴ si sermo incultus, vocis exilitas⁴⁵, personae exiguitas, audientiae patientiam et inepti⁴⁶ sermonis veniam non merentur, mittentis {114r} dignitas et rei ipsius⁴⁷, de qua⁴⁸ agendum⁴⁹, honestas benevolentiam - ni fallor - conciliabunt⁵⁰ apud ipsam pietatem tuam, quae non ex verborum inopia animi⁵¹, sed ex ipsa animi copia orationem nostram suscipiet, ex multis brevia recolentem. Potuissent⁵² autem huic

¹ prae mole operis : perinde O, S, T

² repressis T

³ omit. O

⁴ lingua N, T

⁵ obmutesceret corr. ex obmutesceretur M; obmutesceretur N

⁶ ac T

⁷ disorum dub. N

⁸ similique O, S, T

⁹ omit. S

¹⁰ onus teste : teste onus N

¹¹ humilitatis O, S, T

¹² em.; vinci codd.

¹³ et add. O

¹⁴ astrictus T

¹⁵ et V

¹⁶ id V

¹⁷ elegans M; delegans corr. ex. delegatus S; delegans O, T

¹⁸ commemoramus O, S, T

¹⁹ timeat O, S; timeant T

²⁰ quam N, O, S, T

²¹ deterior N, O, S, T

²² de V

²³ pater O, S, T, V

²⁴ omit. N

²⁵ nomineque N

²⁶ piissime V

²⁷ deducturum N, O, S, T

²⁸ magnitudine M

²⁹ tui nominis omit. N, O, S, T, V

³⁰ omit. N

³¹ astringam T; perstringam V

³² omit. M

³³ beatitudinis T

³⁴ sanctitatis tuae : sanctitas tua

M; tua sanctitas V

³⁵ huiusmodi S

³⁶ celeberrimi M

³⁷ omit. M

³⁸ omit. N, O, S, T, V

³⁹ oratione corr. ex orationis N; oratione O, S, T, V

⁴⁰ felicitate N

⁴¹ audiendum N

⁴² sermones S; sermonis corr. ex. sermones T

⁴³ longius non : non longius V

⁴⁴ omit. T

⁴⁵ omit. N

⁴⁶ inepti T

⁴⁷ omit. N, O, S, T, V

⁴⁸ omit. N; est add. V

⁴⁹ agendis N

⁵⁰ consiliabunt M, N, O, S; conciliabunt corr. ex consiliabunt T

⁵¹ Animi M

⁵² potuisset V

nostrae orationi adesse ornatus, gravitas¹, si² ex ore patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistentium verba manassent. Sed placuit eis et praesertim reverendissimo in Christo patri et colendissimo praeceptori domino³ archipraesuli Turonensi, longo nunc itinere fatigato⁴, hac die continere vocem et mihi haec exordialia⁵ committere, neque enim hodie ex toto menti regis⁶ satisfacere cupio, nec ego cuncta meis amplecti sermonibus opto. Sed assistentes patres et domini multa elegantius, multa specialius explicabunt, quibus hac⁷ nostra praelocutione⁸ brevissima, potius praeparatio⁹, ministranda, quam materiarum ipsarum latitudo penitus proseguenda¹⁰. Erit ergo mihi his exordialibus¹¹ primordiis cura praecipua sermone brevissimo¹² utique procedere et pietati¹³ fidei ac mentis sinceritati plus¹⁴ quam verborum exquisitionibus¹⁵ intendere.

[5] Cogitanti igitur mihi¹⁶, quid¹⁷ primum quidve potissimum habeam dicere, ne tempus inane fluat, et sanctitatis¹⁸ tuae cunctorumque astantium¹⁹ obtundantur²⁰ aures dignissimae, a verbis scripturae sacrae (quae²¹ – ut Augustinus habet et narrat²², veteres de Varrone - studiosos pietatis et veritatis²³ tantum²⁴ oblectare queunt, quantum Cicero ipse curiosos²⁵ verborum) dignissimum²⁶ mihi visum est exordium sumere et huic sanctae²⁷ sedi et sanctitati tuae juxta nomen tuae pietatis immensae cum propheta, {114v} cum psalmista²⁸, immo cum sancto²⁹ spiritu³⁰ et sancta ecclesia praesentare pariter³¹ et dicere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic³² et³³ laus tua in fines terrae** (psalmo XLVI) exarantur et³⁴ in ecclesiasticis officiis saepius³⁵ reserantur³⁶).

[6] Scribit in *Moralibus* beatissimus³⁷ ille³⁸ sessor³⁹ apostolicae cathedrae, Gregorius, quod⁴⁰, *qui in re domini in ipsa fidei⁴¹ pietate se⁴² ad loquendum praeparat, operae pretium est, ut⁴³ a sacris litteris⁴⁴ exordia dicendi suscipiat, ut⁴⁶ omne, quod loquitur, ad divinae auctoritatis fundamentum firmiter reducat⁴⁷. Scriptura namque sacra - ut ait⁴⁸ ille idem⁴⁹ - veluti speculum menti apponitur,*

¹ et *add.* O, S, T

² etsi *add.* O

³ *omit.* O, S, T

⁴ longo nunc itinere fatigato *omit.* N, O, S, T, V

⁵ exordia S; extraordialia T; exordienda V

⁶ menti regis : mentis regie N, S; menti regiae O, T, V

⁷ ac N

⁸ prolocutione O

⁹ operatio O, S, T

¹⁰ proseguendo S, T

¹¹ his exordialibus : exordialibus his O, S, T

¹² atque clarissimo *add.* N, O, S, T, V

¹³ pietate N

¹⁴ *omit.* M

¹⁵ adquisicionibus N; expositionibus T

¹⁶ *omit.* M, V

¹⁷ quod N

¹⁸ sanctitati O

¹⁹ cunctorumque astantium *omit.* M, V

²⁰ attendantur N, S; obtundantur O; contundantur T

²¹ qui N

²² habet et narrat : narrat et habet M

²³ veritatis *corr.* ex. rerum M; rerum N, O, S, T, V

²⁴ *omit.* T

²⁵ curiosus O, S, T

²⁶ dignum M, V

²⁷ *omit.* N

²⁸ poeta O, S, T

²⁹ *omit.* N, O, S, T

³⁰ sancto spiritu : spiritu sancto V

³¹ parum M

³² sit O, S, T

³³ *omit.* M, V

³⁴ *omit.* V

³⁵ *omit.* M [blank space]; saepe O, S, T

³⁶ referantur O, S, T

³⁷ in *Moralibus* beatissimus : beatissimus in *moralibus* S

³⁸ beatissimus ille : ille

beatissimus V

³⁹ assessor S

⁴⁰ quidem S

⁴¹ sed Dei N

⁴² sed S

⁴³ *omit.* T

⁴⁴ *omit.* O

⁴⁵ a sacris litteris : ad litteras sacris N

⁴⁶ *omit.* N

⁴⁷ Letter 1.24, ccsl, p. 27.176

⁴⁸ *omit.* O, S, T

⁴⁹ quidem O, S, T

⁵⁰ ille idem : idem ille V

ut ibi tota vitae¹ ratio ordinetur. Ibi quantum proferimus², quantum a profectu distamus, narrant gesta patrum et ad imitationem³ corda provocat filiorum, ut in eorum imitationem⁴ cum Dei adiutorio facere confidamus, quod nostra imbecillitate non possumus. More ergo Gallico, immo ecclesiastico, a verbis scripturae sacrae, quae non meo studio, sed sua propria grata sunt suavitate, indignum, quod meum os poterunt dignificare, suscepto sermonis exordio, ut juxta eloquium, juxta verbum domini sermones dirigantur et actus, placet hodierna die, si quid in sacrario⁵ scripturarum sanctarum latet reconditum, quod a nostra exiguitate ad tuam et sanctae sedis venerationem devotam ad ipsam fidei pietatem exquiri valeat, illud compendiosissime producere et huic nostro operi contexere, quo ex hujus junctura fiant, quaecumque dixero, gratiora et in re ipsa domini non tam gentiliū quam Christi et sanctorum testimonia⁶ quaerantur et exempla⁷.

[7] Credo equidem - ut in Corinthiis⁸ loquitur apostolus - quod⁹, qui¹⁰ hic pietatis¹¹, {115r} fidei¹² causa venimus, quasi Dei legatione fungimur¹³ Deo quasi per nos loquente et per nos operante. Quod¹⁴ si personas exuentes privatas, publicas induentes, quae¹⁵ Christi [sunt¹⁶], loquamur¹⁷ et agamus, dabit enim¹⁸ dominus¹⁹ verbum evangelizantibus²⁰ virtute multa, dabit²¹ dominus²² fortitudinem et virtutem plebi suae, et benedicet per te et in te populo suo Christiano in pace, urgente igitur ipsa Christi domini caritate et zelo domus domini, qui regi nostro Christianissimo ad nos mittendum, nobis²³ autem ad²⁴ loquendum dux, monitor impulsor²⁵ est penitus impellendus²⁶. Scribit²⁷ enim hodierna die, pater beatissime, juxta verba thematis et nomen tuae dignitatis excelsae, quod os domini nominavit nomen tuae pietatis immensae, quod non sine nutu superno tibi ecclesia sancta imposuit, breviter utcumque²⁸ recolere, et quae infinita, quae²⁹ dispersa videntur et tuae pietatis immensae magnalia³⁰ sub uno aspectu subque proportionem brevissima³¹ recensere. Quapropter nomina³² rebus et res ipsas loco, personis et temporibus temperans vice et nomine patrum et dominorum meorum hic vice regia pariter assistentium, immo regio nomine censui a principio praemittere³³: **Secundum nomen tuum sic³⁴ et³⁵ laus tua in fines terrae.**

¹ dicendi V

² profectus N; profecimus O, S, T, V

³ limitacionem M

⁴ limitacionem M

⁵ sacra N, V

⁶ quaecumque add. O

⁷ et exempla omit. T

⁸ em.; consimili codd.

⁹ ergo M; quo N, S; quot O, T, V

¹⁰ em.; quot codd.

¹¹ pietas O

¹² fideique T

¹³ 2. Corinthians, 5, 20: *Pro Christo ergo legatione fungimur, tamquam Deo exhortante per nos*

¹⁴ omit. M

¹⁵ qui N

¹⁶ em.; omit. codd

¹⁷ loquimur N

¹⁸ vnum M

¹⁹ Deus N

²⁰ evangelium M

²¹ omit. O, S, T

²² omit. M; enim V

²³ vobis P

²⁴ omit. N

²⁵ et impulsor²⁵ M; et impulsor qui O, S, T, V

²⁶ impellente V

²⁷ subiit M, V

²⁸ utrumque O, V

²⁹ queque V

³⁰ non alia N, O, S, T

³¹ brevis O, S, T

³² omit. N

³³ praemittitur O, S, T

³⁴ omit. S; sit T

³⁵ omit. V

³⁶ sic et : sit et passim M

2. Obedience

[8] Jam tempus, jam ratio postulant ad rem ipsam, ad materiam susceptam descendere et¹ nostri adventus² causas particularibus notulis annotare. Cum igitur, pater beatissime³, cupitavi⁴ diutius sanctitatis tuae praesentiam huncque fulgentissimum coetum⁵ humilibus oculis intueri⁶, congaudentes alacriter pietati, benevolentiae, obedientiae, sinceritati fidei, qua et curiosius et numerosius quam nobis suggestum foret, multos hic convenisse et convenire prospeximus, cum jam omnium⁷ oculos in nos coniectos attente⁸ cernimus prospicere, et verbum {115v} regium⁹ nostrae vocis organo avide¹⁰ praestolari, opportunum credimus seclis exordialibus¹¹ praeludiis, quibus absurdum¹² ante materiam effluere¹³ et in materia principali succingi¹⁴ nostrae legationis causas in medium ducere¹⁵, huncnobis ex regia ordinatione praecipua morem et ordinem more praedecessorum¹⁶ laudabili¹⁷ oboedientiae¹⁸, reverentiae¹⁹, filialis devotionis et laudis honorem debitum impendamus.

[9] Hinc ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, quaeque gerenda erunt in hac sancta conventione, et benevolos auditores et in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptatae conclusionis effectum devotos²⁰ cooperatores praebeamus. Venient et alia, sed diebus aliis explicanda ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri in causa communi et conjunctissima²¹, quae summe²² regis inest cordi, dilectissimi fratris sui²³, serenissimi et illustrissimi regis Siciliae²⁴ Renati, necnon facta²⁵ sui antiqui²⁶, illustris²⁷ Januensis²⁸ dominii²⁹ sub ejus dictione³⁰ reducti, quae propter ipsam temporis brevitatem, et ut³¹ prima atque³² praecipua decurrat fidei materia, hodie relinquuntur³³ intacta. In utroque autem hodierno³⁴ considerationis articulo et nomen tuae dignitatis praeclsum³⁵ et nomen tuae pietatis immensae saepius³⁶ commemoraturi gratissimum censuimus a principio praemittere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae.**

[10] Pro primi expeditione, pater beatissime, jam in verbis thematis praeassumpti in tua veneratione et laude³⁷, latissimus undique atque gratissimus³⁸, adest³⁹ tanta⁴⁰, ampla, et quae⁴¹ ubertate sui

¹ inde *add.* O, S, T

² nostri adventus : adventus

nostri O, S, T

³ pater beatissime : beatissime

pater N

⁴ *omit.* M, T; cupitam S

⁵ Conuentum V

⁶ intuemur N, O, S, T, V

⁷ multorum N, O, S, T

⁸ attento S

⁹ regum N

¹⁰ qui de M

¹¹ primordialibus N, O, S, T

¹² *em.*; ad surdum M, T;

assurdum N, O, S

¹³ affluere N; sternere V

¹⁴ subiungi O, S

¹⁵ et *add.* O, S, T

¹⁶ precessorum T

¹⁷ laudabiliter N, O, S, T

¹⁸ Oboedientia *in marg.* M;

obedientia V

¹⁹ reverentia V

²⁰ quo *add.* N

²¹ convenientissima O, S, T

²² summum N; summi O, S, T

²³ *omit.* O, S, T

²⁴ Cicilie M; Cecilie N

²⁵ *em.*; facto M; factorum N, O,

T; factori S

²⁶ *omit.* N, O, S, T, V

²⁷ illustrissimi N; *omit.* O, S, T

²⁸ Januensium N, S

²⁹ domini N, O, S, T

³⁰ ditione N, O, S, T

³¹ *omit.* O, S, T

³² Et M

³³ relinquuntur V

³⁴ hodiernae T

³⁵ et nomen ... praeclsum *omit.*

N

³⁶ *omit.* V

³⁷ *omit.* M

³⁸ *textus corruptus?*

³⁹ *omit.* O, S, T

⁴⁰ cautus N, O, S, T; campus V

⁴¹ *omit.* N

cursum excedit materia¹, sed non quantum ipsa exuberat, {116r} sed quantum huic nostro operi² satis erit brevem et compendiosum in ipsa fidei pietate secundum nomen tuum habitura decursum. *Vas electionis* et³ scripturarum sanctarum⁴ armarium, beatissimus Paulus apostolus, caelestis homo, terrestris angelus⁵, qui⁶ de tanti hospitis conscientia loquebatur, illos⁷ duplici honore et laude dignos⁸ insinuat, quos et pietatis adeptae culmina magnificant et⁹ virtutum opera condecorant, ut et dignitatibus ex¹⁰ virtute, virtutibus ex dignitate honores¹¹ duplicati concrescant. Ait enim beatissimus ille¹², quod *qui bene praesunt, duplici honore digni sunt*,¹³ et quia scilicet praesunt¹⁴ propter gradus sublimitatem, et quia bene praesunt propter ipsam¹⁵ operis¹⁶ strenuitatem¹⁷ et virtutem. *Tunc enim*, inquit Gregorius, *vera et perfecta laus pietatis¹⁸ et culminis cum cumulata¹⁹ fuerit²⁰ cum laude boni operis pietatis²¹ pariter et virtutis²²*. Quod si dignitatibus quibusque singulis²³ laus et veneratio tribuenda, si pro donis variis concessis a domino virtutibus pariter et doctrinis laudis praeconia referenda, si colendi, amandi²⁴, etiam²⁵ honore praeveniendi, quos virtus vel unica specialius extulerit, et - ut verbis utar poeticis - *quos aequus amat²⁶ Jupiter*, hoc est Deus²⁷, *et ardens erexit²⁸ ad sidera²⁹ virtus*.³⁰

[11] Quanta tu nobis, pater beatissime, veneratione colendus, quem apex tantae dignitatis extollit, quem Christus dominus non uni ecclesiae, sed toti, non urbi³¹, sed orbi³², non in parte³³, sed³⁴ plenitudine praeesse voluit {116v} et prodesse³⁵, in quo non virtus una, sed virtutes variae³⁶, charismata³⁷, dona et gratiae summum locum videntur obtinere. Ait venerabilis Beda³⁸, idem sub aliis verbis Bernardus³⁹ 40 in Canticis, quod profitente⁴¹ Petro miram in Christo domino cum carne divinitatem, Christum dominum,⁴² filium Dei vivi, respexit dominus Petrum non tantum oculo carnis, sed potius divinitatis, vidit Petri benignitatem, fidei firmitatem⁴³, animi⁴⁴ sublimitatem⁴⁵, barionae benignitatem Petri soliditate firmavit, Petri⁴⁶ soliditatem⁴⁷ Cephae, hoc⁴⁸ est capitis, nomine

¹ omit. N, O, S, T

² opere S

³ omit. V

⁴ sacrarum M

⁵ terrestris angelus omit. V

⁶ que N

⁷ omit. N

⁸ dignus S; omit. T

⁹ ut M

¹⁰ omit. S

¹¹ honore N

¹² omit. M

¹³ 1. Timothy, 5, 17

¹⁴ duplici honore ... praesunt omit. M

¹⁵ omit. O

¹⁶ operum P

¹⁷ serenitatem S

¹⁸ potentatis M, V

¹⁹ concumulata N, O, S, T

²⁰ sunt T

²¹ omit. N, O, S, T

²² virtutibus O

²³ singularis V

²⁴ armandi O

²⁵ et V

²⁶ amabilis N, O, S, T

²⁷ hoc est Deus omit. M, V

²⁸ evexit S, V; vexit T

²⁹ aethera T

³⁰ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 6.130: *pauci, quos aequus amavit Iuppiter aut ardens evexit ad aethera virtus*

³¹ urbis N

³² orbis N

³³ in parte omit. V

³⁴ in add. S, V

³⁵ et prodesse omit. T

³⁶ non virtus ... variae omit. M, N, O, S, T

³⁷ carissima N

³⁸ Bede the Venerable: (ca. 672-735) English monk and author

³⁹ omit. O

⁴⁰ Bernhard of Clairvaux

⁴¹ proficiente S

⁴² Christum dominum : et ipsum N; et Christum O, S, T, V

⁴³ fraternitatem N

⁴⁴ vidit Petri ... animi omit. O, S, T

⁴⁵ sublimitate O, S, T

⁴⁶ Petre S

⁴⁷ Petri soliditatem omit. V

⁴⁸ id O, S, T

imposito¹ potestatis culmine² decoravit, ut³ quisquis Christum veneratur et colit, illum venerari⁴ debeat et colere, qui in Christi cathedra praesidet Deo auctore.

[12] Scimus, pater beatissime⁵, nec ignotum nobis jam tuae sublimitatis⁶ praecelsae quod culmen, quae perfectio, quae plenitudo omnium dignitatum⁷ et tuae pietatis⁸ immensae amplitudini ex⁹ cumulo doctrinarum pariter et virtutum viros elegantissimos atque doctissimos, immo eorum ore dulcissimo¹⁰ imperium, regna, principatus, et urbes plerosque etiam singulares tibi magnalia, tibi praeconia concessisse¹¹ et tuae assumptioni tuisque salutaribus¹² initiis alacriter congratulando exorasse, implorasse tibi a domino salutare eventus tuorum, salutarium etiam¹³ sanctissimorum optatorum¹⁴. Erit ergo nostrum post tantas¹⁵ tamque¹⁶ eximias congratulationes, acclamationes¹⁷, et laudes, ne jam dicta repetere, ne notissima¹⁸ refrecare¹⁹, ne *solem* certemus *facibus*²⁰ {117r} *adjuvare*, breviori stilo, sed non minoris devotionis studio, non impari caritatis ardore procedere, et²¹ pauca, sed brevius illorum more, qui²² magna terrarum spatia brevi tabula pingunt, de ipsa pietate tua paulisper allicere²³, non quod²⁴ plenitudini tuae, quae nullius potest laudatione²⁵ crescere²⁶, nullius vituperatione decrescere²⁷, exilis et tarda nostra oratio quidquid adjiciat, sed quod²⁸ fervor, devotio, caritas et mentis sinceritas Christianissimi regis nostri ad ipsam tecum²⁹ fidei pietatem luceat et clarescat et fervorem fervori ceteris adjiciat ipsaque laus³⁰ tua jam juxta verba³¹ thematis **Secundum nomen tuum in fines terrae** diffusa, quo recensita amplius eo³² more aromatum³³ magis ac magis redolens animos penetrans et demulcens.

[13] Tanto nos omnes et devotiores et ferventiores ad ipsam fidei pietatem currere efficiat, quanto nos pater melior, sanctior et doctior in suorum odorem meritorum attrahit³⁴, dirigit et conducit. Ut enim in auri puritate³⁵ pretiosa gemma et in gemmae ipsius pretiositate aurum rutilantius³⁶ enitescit³⁷, sic virtus, sic probitas et sapientia tua gradu excellentissimo decorata et quasi *lucerna supra*³⁸ *candelabrum in domo*³⁹ *domini reposita*⁴⁰ oculis omnium claritatem, jucunditatem, amoenitatem⁴¹ inducit et cunctis, qui Christiana professione⁴² censentur, spem magnam futurae⁴³

¹ impositio O, S, T

² culmen O, S, T

³ et M

⁴ venerae M

⁵ pater beatissime : beatissime pater O, S, T, V

⁶ sublimitati N, O, S, T, V

⁷ dignificatum O, S

⁸ pietati N, O, S, T, V

⁹ etiam M, N, V

¹⁰ dulcissimo M; dulci sono N, O, V; dulce sono S

¹¹ contexisse N; congesisse O, S, T

¹² salutationibus M

¹³ atque V

¹⁴ operatorum S

¹⁵ omit. V

¹⁶ tantamque S

¹⁷ omit. S

¹⁸ votissima S

¹⁹ refrenare S; reficere T;

referre V

²⁰ facibus corr. ex fascibus M;

fascibus N, O, S

²¹ sed M

²² in S

²³ adiicere V

²⁴ quidem O, S, T

²⁵ potest laudatione : laudatione

potest N, O, S, T

²⁶ omit. O, S, T

²⁷ discescere M

²⁸ quo N, O, S, T

²⁹ cetum S

³⁰ lex O

³¹ verba thematis : sermonis

thematica verba S

³² eorum M

³³ eo add. V

³⁴ attrahat T

³⁵ pietate O, S; omit. T

³⁶ rutilans S

³⁷ enitescit N; contexit O, S, T

³⁸ super N, O, S, T, V

³⁹ populo M

⁴⁰ e.g. Mathew, 5, 15

⁴¹ claritatem ... amoenitatem : amoenitatem et jucunditatem N, O, S, T, V

⁴² profectio N

⁴³ omit. V

prosperitatis¹ ostendit, ut² glorientur in te, qui diligunt nomen pietatis tuae, confiteantur³ {117v} nomini tuo, et gaudeant in tua veneratione, et laude exultantes uberius te⁴ virum doctissimum et inter doctissimos eloquentissimum, te unum nostri aevi⁵ lumen⁶, nostri saeculi decus, ecclesiae sanctae datum divinitus, ut⁷ sub te, uno pastore piissimo, et cui nil in ipsa fidei pietate deesse videtur⁸, ad integritatem optimi pontificis atque⁹ summi, benedictus Deus et¹⁰ pater domini nostri Jesu Christi, cujus vicem¹¹ geris in terris, qui *consolatur nos in omnibus tribulationibus nostris*, nos¹² visitare dignetur ex alto ad illuminandos¹³ *sedentes in tenebris, ad dirigendos¹⁴ pedes nostros¹⁵ in viam pacis* et veritatis¹⁶ his certe diebus malis, quibus fides catholica, pro dolor, concutitur, et refrigescit caritas, tepescit devotio, spes, et expectatio multorum ad vana¹⁷, ad transitoria convertitur, et quasi mundus totus positus¹⁸ in maligno.

[14] Tradunt historiae id (noster Vincentius¹⁹, sed et ante eum in suis epistolis beatissimus Ambrosius²⁰), quod sub Antonino²¹ Pio, cui²² propter merita nomen pietatis²³ adjectum²⁴, nihil acerbum, nihil immoderatum, sed pia omnia, moderata et sancta res publica expectavit, et sicut expectaverit²⁵, nihil nisi pium, sanctum et²⁶ moderatum²⁷ recepit²⁸, suscepit, unde et²⁹ patrem patriae³⁰ eundem nuncupavit et pii nomine decoravit. Sic sperant³¹ in te et de te, pater beatissime, qui noverunt nomen pietatis tuae³² et jam experiuntur affectum et praestolantur effectum, quod sub te, patre pio, subque tua pietate {118r} paterna et fides catholica et sancta ecclesia virtutum omnium percipiet incrementa, quibus ornamenta³³ decerent³⁴, et hostes fidei superare et in perennae³⁵ felicitatis tempora valeat respirare.

[15] Tuque, pius nomine³⁶, te totum ad pietatem dedicans et³⁷ exercens, divina gratia ministrante, coetu fidelium assistente³⁸, unus³⁹ eris⁴⁰ reparator et auctor conculcatae fidei et jam labentis⁴¹ et in plerisque collapsae totius reipublicae Christianae. Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, nomen pietatis tuae cum ipso⁴² nomine summae dignitatis conjunctum, et in ipso culmine dignitatum⁴³ evectum⁴⁴, ac in

¹ magnam futurae prosperitatis :
magne consolationis N, O, S, T, V

² et M

³ conficiantur N

⁴ omit. O, S, T

⁵ cui O, S, T

⁶ lumine N, S

⁷ et M

⁸ Videretur V

⁹ et N; ac O, S, T

¹⁰ atque M

¹¹ vitam O, T

¹² omit. M

¹³ illuminandum O, S, T

¹⁴ dirigendum O, S, T

¹⁵ omit. M, O, S, T, V

¹⁶ pacis et veritatis : veritatis et
pacis N, O, S, T, V

¹⁷ verabilia N; narrabilia S;
variabilia O, T

¹⁸ omit. S

¹⁹ Vincent of Beauvais

(ca. 1184/1194-ca. 1264)

²⁰ Ambrose (ca. 340-397): Bishop
of Milan

²¹ em.; Antonio codd.

²² tui M

²³ nomen pietatis : pietatis

nomen T

²⁴ ad rectum M

²⁵ expectaverat M

²⁶ omit. M

²⁷ sed pia omnia ... moderatum

omit. O, S, T

²⁸ omit. T

²⁹ omit. V

³⁰ pium M

³¹ speravit M

³² pietatis tuae : tuae pietatis S

³³ ordinata O, S, T

³⁴ decenter M, O, S, T

³⁵ punire M

³⁶ nomen T

³⁷ omit. N

³⁸ assistencium P

³⁹ unius M

⁴⁰ unus eris : eris unus O, S, T

⁴¹ omit. M

⁴² omit. M

⁴³ dignificatum O, S, T

⁴⁴ erectum N

Petri soliditate firmatum et connexum, ad consolidanda et confirmanda in ipsa fidei pietate corda filiorum¹ et fratrum fulget et fulgebit in saeculo². Et - ut³ cum sapiente ecclesiastico loquar - *quasi stella in medio*⁴ *nebulae*⁵ *matutina et quasi sol*⁶ *refulgens in Dei templo*⁷, tanto sole ipso atque⁸ sideribus lucidius quanto majus⁹ - teste Hilario - ipsas animae tenebras pellere¹⁰ quam corporis et¹¹ fidei luce¹² rutilare quam solis. Sicut ergo sol ipse naturalis - ut philosophiae¹³ utamur disciplinis¹⁴ - situ¹⁵ quidem sublimis¹⁶, motu sub continuo regularis¹⁷, purus in substantia, luminosus in¹⁸ forma, ipso calore suo, ipso suae illuminationis splendore tenebras dissipat, ventos temperat, arboribus flores, aviculis cantus, omnibus animantibus vires et spiritus hilaritatem inducit, sic in te et de te spes et expectatio fidelium resultat et consurgit¹⁹.

[16] Quod tu nunc prae ceteris potestate sublimis, sed nunc et pridem virtutibus {118v} coruscans innumeris, ipsa tuae²⁰ sapientiae luce²¹, ipso tuae pietatis ardore tenebras vitiaque comprimes²², bella filiorum odiaque²³ extingues²⁴, virtutes inseres²⁵, bona nutries²⁶ et jam nutrita²⁷ pietatis tuae studio custodies²⁸, tepentes²⁹ aridosque animos tecum ad ipsam fidei pietatem succendens³⁰ et illustrans, ac³¹ jam ferventes ferventiores efficies³², sic reges, sic principes, immo christicolae omnes in te et per³³ te³⁴ quasi in solis lumine fecundabuntur, operibus bonis excitabuntur³⁵, a negligentibus compescentur, a contentionibus et odiis animabuntur³⁶, ad³⁷ contemplationem caelestium inducentur³⁸, alliciantur³⁹ ad ipsam fidei pietatem defensionem, protectionem⁴⁰, augmentum.

[17] Haec sunt, pater beatissime, tuae sanctae ac summae vocationis officia et tuae assumptionis salutaria initia⁴¹. Haec cum sic docueris pariter et feceris⁴², prout salutaribus⁴³ initiis suscepisti, magnus nomine, maximus⁴⁴ dignitate, magnus merito, maximus tandem praemio vocaberis in regno caelorum⁴⁵. Surget et illuminabit in te Jerusalem, hoc est sancta fidelium ecclesia⁴⁶, et velut aurora progredietur⁴⁷ rutilans et quasi *castrorum acies ordinata* ambulabunt gentes in lumine tuo⁴⁸ et reges

¹ fidelium O, S, T

² fulgebit in saeculo : in seculo

fulgebit O, S, T

³ omit. O, S, T

⁴ fulget add. O

⁵ nebulae add. O, S

⁶ lucidus et add. V

⁷ Ecclesiasticus, 50, 6: *Quasi stella matutina in medio nebulae, et quasi luna plena, in diebus suis lucet : et quasi sol refulgens, sic ille effulsit in templo Dei*

⁸ ac O

⁹ magis N, O, S, T; est add. V

¹⁰ compellere O, S, T

¹¹ omit. O

¹² lucem S, T

¹³ philosophis M, N, O, V;

philosophicis T

¹⁴ utamur disciplinis : discipline

utamur O, S, T

¹⁵ sic tu S

¹⁶ sublimius N, O, T; sublimi et S

¹⁷ regularum N; regulare S

¹⁸ omit. N

¹⁹ resurgit S

²⁰ tua N

²¹ in teipso S

²² propulses N, O, S, T;

comprimas V

²³ et odia T

²⁴ extinguas N, O, S, T

²⁵ inseras N, O, S, T

²⁶ incita N; nutrias O, S, T

²⁷ merita O, S, T

²⁸ custodias N, O, S, T;

custodiens V

²⁹ repentes S

³⁰ succedens V

³¹ et O; omit. V

³² efficias N, O, S, T

³³ pro O

³⁴ et add. M

³⁵ et add. M

³⁶ amabuntur O, S, T

³⁷ et M

³⁸ atque add. V

³⁹ allicientur O, S, T, V

⁴⁰ et omit. V

⁴¹ in ipsa N

⁴² pariter et feceris : superans dub. S

⁴³ salutationibus M

⁴⁴ magnus S

⁴⁵ in regno caelorum omit. O

⁴⁶ congregatio S, V

⁴⁷ progreditur O, S, T

⁴⁸ omit. N

et principes in splendore ortus tui, hoc est in splendore¹ assumptionis tuae, ad ipsam fidei defensionem salubriter² undique dedicatae. Leva igitur oculos tuos et³ vide: jam multi filii venerunt et venient tibi, parati⁴ in te et sub te et illa repellere⁵, quae Christiano inimica sunt⁶ nomini⁷, {119r} et, quae sunt apta, sectari. Magnae molis fuit⁸ linguis, locis moribusque distantes in unum congregari.

[18] Sed ipsa tua pietas laude prosequenda multiplici, caritas inextinguibilis, constantia laudabilis, patientia invincibilis, qua nullis parcens laboribus pariter et expensis,⁹ et sedem propriam tibi dedicatam¹⁰ a domino dimisisti, celer et libens¹¹ pro ipsa fidei pietate hunc locum et coetum adeundum¹² duxisti¹³, omnes in benedictionibus praevenisti. Miro suavitatis odore perfudit¹⁴ universos ipsa melle dulcior ex ore sacratissimo profluens oratio¹⁵, animos relevat¹⁶ consternatos¹⁷, et - ut ita dixerim - ipsa tua pietas hos facit esse pios, se invicem mutuo provocantes, tibi que illud¹⁸ Petri¹⁹ ad Christum gratanter referentes: *Domine, ad quem ibimus? Verba vitae*^{20 21} *in te*^{22 23} *habes. Ambulabunt* - inquit psalmista - *in lumine tuo et in nomine tuo*²⁴ *exultabunt*, quoniam gloria virtutis eorum²⁵ tu es.

[19] Venimus autem et nos, etsi post²⁶ multos, cum multis et ante multos, ipsa tua pietate perfusi, ipsa sanctae sedis veneratione permoti, quod si²⁷ morosiores in aliquo causis necessariis et²⁸ urgentibus²⁹ ad partem plenius edicendis aliquatenus retardati³⁰, non minus ceteris³¹ ferventes pariter et devoti. Ab ipso siquidem tuae³² assumptionis exordio, ex quo vox gratissima tuae electionis³³ dignissimae Christianissimi regis nostri auribus insonuit, ex quo tua merita undique refulgentia, sed ipsam praecipue pietatem fidei, qua³⁴ totus ipse³⁵ refulget³⁶, et³⁷ in qua summe oblectare³⁸, gaudet, agnoscit³⁹ et percipit⁴⁰. Audivit quidem et laetatus⁴¹ est, gratias devotissimas et cumulatissimas⁴² supplex⁴³, devotus *cum hymnis et canticis* in Dei ecclesia egit et agi fecit, et agendas in regno undique⁴⁴ constituit, et ad tui venerationem⁴⁵ et obedientiam filialem legationem⁴⁶ instituit solemnem, quam postea, suscepta⁴⁷ hujus conventionis materia⁴⁸, ut contextu

¹ in splendore *omit.* M

² salubrum M

³ *omit.* M

⁴ parari N

⁵ repellere M, V

⁶ inimica sunt : sunt inimica V

⁷ nomina S

⁸ fiunt M

⁹ *textus corruptus?*

¹⁰ dedicatio N

¹¹ liber O, S, T

¹² ad eundem O, T

¹³ deduxisti V

¹⁴ perfundit O, S, T

¹⁵ Probably a reference to Pius' grand opening oration, the "*Cum bellum hodie*"?

¹⁶ revelet N

¹⁷ conservatos M

¹⁸ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁹ petitur N, O, S, T

²⁰ *omit.* N

²¹ tue *add.* O

²² vitae in te : vice M

²³ in te *omit.* V

²⁴ et in nomine tuo *omit.* N

²⁵ tue O

²⁶ postquam N

²⁷ *omit.* T

²⁸ atque V

²⁹ vigentibus M

³⁰ retardati M

³¹ venimus *add.* V

³² *omit.* T

³³ electioni O, S, T

³⁴ quasi N

³⁵ totus ipse : ipse totus T

³⁶ refulges V

³⁷ *omit.* N

³⁸ oblectatur M; delectare V

³⁹ agnovit N, O, S, T

⁴⁰ precepit M; percepit N, O

⁴¹ legatus O

⁴² rutilantissimas O, S, T

⁴³ et *add.* M, V

⁴⁴ in regno undique : undique in regno M

⁴⁵ tui venerationem : reverentiam N, O, S, T

⁴⁶ legationi S

⁴⁷ susceptam N

⁴⁸ materiam N

unico¹ omnia tractarentur, censuit personis², instructionibus et facultatibus ampliandam. Cum vero de instructionibus atque materiis ageretur, multa a principio super hac conventionem relata³, multa de novitatibus in regno Hungariae et aliis⁴ suggesta tarditatis⁵ et morae causam et materiam praebuere, nonnullis⁶ etiam principibus maximis hac in⁷ nostra legatione praefectis quasi in ipso itineris limine ex causis diversis et⁸ variis, privatis et publicis, impeditis⁹, sicut¹⁰ ad partem plenius edicemus, et pro qua tarditate et mora benignam¹¹ supportationis gratiam¹² imploramus.

[20] Ut autem¹³ unde venimus et ad quid, breviter edicamus et cursum orationis, quantum fieri poterit¹⁴, restringamus¹⁵. Venimus, pater beatissime, ab illa Christianissima Francorum domo regia, cujus per orbis climata¹⁶, cujus per saecula multa¹⁷ praeclara merita¹⁸ claruere¹⁹ et nomen celeberrimum atque²⁰ praeclarissimum²¹ praebuere, quae - et antiquae²² generis claritate, nobili²³ venustate morum gestorumque²⁴ magnificentia²⁵ attestantibus undique patrum historiis exteris²⁶ atque nostris - excellens et praecipua²⁷ noscitur efuisse²⁸, cujus devotione, magnanimitate²⁹, solertia jamdudum perfidorum acies superatae, ad ecclesiam regiones variae reparatae pariter et reductae, {120r} sedata schismata, haereses extirpatae, restituti sedibus Romani pontifices, adaucta eorum patrimonia³⁰ et defensa, dotatae dotibusque³¹ adauctae variis in regionibus Christi ecclesiae et³² privilegiis ac³³ iuribus insignitae pariter et firmatae.

[21] Haec domus, haec³⁴ stirps³⁵ regia, sub unico rege et capite principatus continens plurimos³⁶, magnis certe³⁷ regibus³⁸ comparandos³⁹ et nexu sanguinis clarissimo externos principes perlustrans quamplurimos⁴⁰ - attestante⁴¹ Bernhardo – Deo⁴² hominibusque⁴³ accepta, amicis non ingrata, vicinis non infesta, nemini⁴⁴ nocens nisi iniuria⁴⁵ lacessita⁴⁶, omnibus officiosa, sed huic praecipue

¹ textu unico P; unico contextu N, O, S, T

² personuit instituit O, S, T

³ zelata M

⁴ alia O, S, T

⁵ tarditis T

⁶ et morae ... nonnullis O, S, T

⁷ hac in : in hac O, S, T

⁸ diversis et *omit.* N, O, S, T

⁹ nonnullis etiam ... impeditis *omit.* M, V

¹⁰ sicuti N

¹¹ benigne O, S, T

¹² supportationis gratiam : supportationem M, V

¹³ ut autem *omit.* N

¹⁴ potest O

¹⁵ Cur venerint *in marg.* M

¹⁶ cujus per ... climata *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁷ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁸ praeclara merita : merita preclara N, O, S, T

¹⁹ Laus Galliarum regum *in marg.* M

²⁰ et M, V

²¹ Christianissimum M, V

²² antiqua V

²³ et antiquae ... nobili : teste Gregorio in registro et oratione vacatione claritate sanguinis N; Gregorio in registro et oratore vacatio claritate sanguis O; teste Gregorio in registro et oratore vacaria claritate sanguis S; teste Gregorio in registro claritate sanguinis T

²⁴ gestorum N, O, S, T

²⁵ gestorum magnificentia : magnificentiaque gestorum M, V

²⁶ rectis M

²⁷ attestantibus undique ... praecipua : inter principatus et regna velut sol inter sidera N, O, S, T

²⁸ effichasse M; efulasse N; efluxisse V

²⁹ magnalitate O,

³⁰ matrimonia T

³¹ magnis *add.* T

³² ac O, S, T

³³ et O, S, T

³⁴ et P

³⁵ haec stirps *omit.* N, O, S, T

³⁶ varios M, V

³⁷ magnis certe : certe magnis N

³⁸ regis N, O, S; regnis T

³⁹ coaequandos M, V

⁴⁰ et nexu ... quamplurimos *omit.* N, O, S, T

⁴¹ teste N, O, S, T

⁴² de M

⁴³ hominibus M

⁴⁴ *omit.* P

⁴⁵ iniuriis P

⁴⁶ nemini nocens nisi iniurii lacessita *omit.* M, V

sedi apostolicae summa semper¹ devotione conjuncta et² Christi glutino tenacissimo³ complicata. Venimus a⁴ Christianissimo Francorum rege⁵ Carolo prae suis participibus, regibus et principibus, caelica divinitus unctione peruncto⁶, donis⁷ et virtutibus, victoriis atque triumphis multifarie insignito, qui gloriosissimorum suorum progenitorum non solum sequens vestigia, sed eorum merita cumulans⁸ et adaugens sanctam ecclesiam, fidem catholicam, hanc sanctam sedem et sedentes in ea gessit et habuit in summae et plenae visceribus caritatis, gerit et geret in aevum⁹, se praebens in omnibus catholicum principem pariter et devotum. Ab illo Christianissimo regno profecti sumus¹⁰, quod caput ejus¹¹ Galliae, quae - teste Jeronimo - ab ipso susceptae fidei exordio¹² et monstis¹³ caruit et viris semper fortibus¹⁴ et devotissimis abundavit, quod - teste Floriacensi Hugone¹⁵ - a Christo dilectum et protectum, quo majori quandoque necessitate depressum eo¹⁶ mirabilius extitit relevatum¹⁷.

[22] {120v} Hujus enim Christianissimi regni, pater beatissime, retroactis nuper¹⁸ temporibus status et negotia magna tempestate disjecta et saevis¹⁹ turbinibus²⁰ agitata. Sed laus, sed²¹ benedictio, sed gratiarum actio altissimo, cui regni peculiaris est cura²²: non fuit haec²³ tribulatio nostra judicis²⁴ malleus²⁵ exterminans, sed virga patris filios erudiens²⁶, qui non est oblitus misereri,²⁷ sed²⁸ in persona a Deo dignificata Christianissimi regis nostri dona et²⁹ gratias, triumphos³⁰ et victorias tribuens speciales³¹, dedit cum vexatione intellectum et³² cum temptatione³³ proventum³⁴. Invenit³⁵ enim dominus Christianissimum regem nostrum quasi David servum suum, et memor³⁶ mansuetudinis ejus³⁷ et ceterarum³⁸ virtutum ejus³⁹, oleo sancto suo unxit eum⁴⁰, etiam⁴¹ cum⁴² signo⁴³ quotidiano et perceptibili gratia curationum certarum aegritudinum⁴⁴. Manus enim domini auxiliata est ei⁴⁵, et brachium domini⁴⁶ confortavit eum.

[23] Ex parte igitur⁴⁷ ipsius Christianissimi regis⁴⁸, quinimmo regni totius, ambasiatores humiles destinati honoris, oboedientiae et⁴⁹ reverentiae filialis, dilectionis, amoris, pietatis, fidei⁵⁰ pacisque

¹ *omit.* N, O, S, T

² ut O, S, T

³ *omit.* O

⁴ ab illo M, V

⁵ Francorum rege : rege

Francorum M, O, S, T

⁶ promitto S

⁷ doctrinis S

⁸ merita cumulans : cumulans

merita T

⁹ unum M

¹⁰ profecti sumus : profectissimus

N

¹¹ *omit.* N

¹² ab ipso ... exordio *omit.* N, O, S,

T

¹³ monasteriis S

¹⁴ fortissimis N, O, S, T

¹⁵ Hugues de Fleury: French monk and historian who

flourished in the beginning of the 12th century

¹⁶ et S

¹⁷ revelatum N, O, S, T

¹⁸ imperio M

¹⁹ servis T

²⁰ tribulationibus M

²¹ et M

²² altissimo ... cura *omit.* N, O, S, T

²³ *omit.* N, O, S, T

²⁴ iudices S

²⁵ malignos O, S, T

²⁶ filios erudiens : erudiens filios S, T

²⁷ non est ... misereri : nos

percutiendo sanavit et sanando

percussit N, O, S, T

²⁸ et N, O, S, T

²⁹ dona et *omit.* N, O, S, T

³⁰ *omit.* N, O, S, T

³¹ singulares N, O, S, T

³² dedit M, V

³³ temptatione T

³⁴ temptatione proventum :

proventum temporacionum S

³⁵ invenerit N, O, S, T

³⁶ *dub.* N; in rore T

³⁷ *omit.* N, O, S, T

³⁸ *omit.* N, O, S, T

³⁹ *omit.* M, V

⁴⁰ cum M

⁴¹ et P

⁴² *omit.* N

⁴³ cum signo : consigno N, O, S, T

⁴⁴ etiam cum signo ...

aegritudinum *omit.* M, V

⁴⁵ *omit.* M

⁴⁶ *omit.* M

⁴⁷ enim M

⁴⁸ nostri *add.* O, S, T, V

⁴⁹ et *omit.* M

⁵⁰ pietatis fidei : fidei pietatis O

populi Christiani verba, quinimmo rem potius deferimus¹. Haec sunt nostrae legationis insignia, occasiones², et causae sanctae³, justae pariter et honestae, pro quibus ad pedes sanctitatis tuae^{4 5} cum omni humilitate et⁶ devotione procumbimus⁷. Cum igitur sanctitatem tuam et celsitudinem humilibus oculis intuemur, majus⁸ in te⁹ considerantes quam verbis exprimere valeamus¹⁰, etsi te sermonibus congruis alloqui¹¹, etsi te¹² digna mente complecti non possimus, non habentes in te pontificem, qui non possit compati imperfectionibus nostris nostrosque supportare¹³ defectus, jussionibus regiis¹⁴ obsequentes, ad pedes sanctitatis tuae¹⁵ devote et {121r} humiliter procumbentes, **ex parte ejusdem Christianissimi regis nostri more praedecessorum¹⁶ laudabili huic sanctae sedi apostolicae [et¹⁷] tibi sedenti in ea, vero et indubitato Christi vicario, sacrosanctae Romanae et totius universalis ecclesiae pontifici maximo¹⁸ atque summo, tibi patri omnium fidelium et totius gregis dominici¹⁹ pastori²⁰ dignissimo atque sanctissimo, filialem oboedientiam, reverentiam, devotionem²¹, honorem exhibemus²², immo per nos reexhibet²³ suo et regni nomine Christianissimus rex noster²⁴ sincere, humiliter, fideliter pariter et devote.**

[24] Mens ipsa Christianissimi regis nostri ad hanc sanctam sedem devotionem plenior [est²⁵], quam possint verba nostra quaecumque exprimere. Missorum verba mittentis comitatur affectio. Devotissimus regis supplebit animus, quod nostra non potest²⁶ oratio. Ipse enim, etsi corpore absens, nobiscum semper spiritu adest et loquitur gaudens²⁷. Haerent infixi pectore vultus verbaque. Absentes absens auditque²⁸ videtque. Jam nostri corporales, sed regis et regnicolarum mentales oculi in te respiciunt, ut te patrem filii, te Christi vicarium Christi servi, te pastorem pariter et ductorem²⁹ oves gregis dominici sequantur³⁰, venerantur³¹ et³² colant, gratias agentes Deo cum beato Paulo apostolo, quod fides, quod pietas tua, qua nihil splendidius in pastore, principe³³ vel rectore, jam annuntiatur in universo mundo. Nulla³⁴ dies umquam³⁵ hanc³⁶ memoriam³⁷ exuet³⁸ aevo³⁹. Semper honor⁴⁰ nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt perpetuis⁴¹ temporibus locisque in omnibus memorandae, inter quas praecipuum culmen {121v} assequitur, quae de ipsa fidei pietate undique praedicatur, propter quam merito censuimus a principio praemittere **Secundum nomen tuum sic et⁴² laus tua in fines terrae.**

¹ differimus M, N, O

² omit. V

³ omit. O

⁴ tum add. O

⁵ sanctitatis tuae : tue sanctitatis V

⁶ ac N

⁷ pro quibus ... procumbimus omit. M

⁸ magis N, O, S, T

⁹ omit. S

¹⁰ exprimere valeamus : valeamus exprimere N

¹¹ aliqui O

¹² tu N; omit. O

¹³ superare V

¹⁴ regis M

¹⁵ cum omni humilitate et devotione add. [sic!] O

¹⁶ precessorum T

¹⁷ em.; omit. codd.

¹⁸ magno N

¹⁹ dominice T; et add. N, S, T

²⁰ pastore M

²¹ et add. O

²² exhibeamus N, O, S, T

²³ exhibet N, O, S, T, V

²⁴ ipse N, O, S, T, V

²⁵ em.; omit. codd.

²⁶ esse add. N

²⁷ omit. M

²⁸ audit T

²⁹ doctorem V

³⁰ omit. S

³¹ venerentur O

³² ac S

³³ precipue O; precipuo S

³⁴ ullam S

³⁵ omit. N, P

³⁶ umquam hanc : hanc unquam O, S, T

³⁷ em.; memorari M; nemorum N; memori O, S, T, V

³⁸ exiret M

³⁹ uno M

⁴⁰ honos N, O, S, T

⁴¹ perpetuo N

⁴² omit. V

[25] Scio, pater beatissime, moris usitati, approbatae consuetudinis existere in prima legatione tum¹ pro celsitudine dignitatis, tum pro personae meritis laudes et magnalia congerere². Optarem ego infimus, cui verbi³ sors prima⁴ hodie noscitur contigisse, si linguam, si⁵ mentem haberem, ut rei congrueret, si vires, si ingenium et tempus suppeterent, si par esset voluntatis facultas⁶, in ipsis totis⁷ hodie laudibus effluere⁸, sed quoniam non potest nostra oratio cum ipsis tuis meritis ipsoque⁹ affectu¹⁰ in re^{11 12} pari passu incedere, agnoscens modestiam tuam¹³ sicut nec ambitu quaesisse principatum, ita nec¹⁴ fastu quaerere laudis praeconium ad ipsam dumtaxat pietatem tuam cursum orationis censui restringendum¹⁵, pietatem dico^{16 17} non quantum¹⁸ miserationis¹⁹ affectum, sed quae in se pariter²⁰ complectitur pias necessitates fidei et omnium pariter²¹ fidelium. Si enim inter pietatem et pietatem²² aliquid noscitur esse distantiae, illa sine dubio maior, quae pro Deo²³ exercetur et fide, quae quanto communior, tanto - teste Ariopagita Dionysio – modo²⁴ dignior atque perfectior. O pietatem mirabilem,²⁵ dictis et scriptis memorandam! O²⁶ te ineffabilem virum, velut Martinum alterum, quem nunc²⁷ sacra recolit ecclesia²⁸, nec labore victum, nec morte vincendum, qui nullum laborem pro grege²⁹ domini censuit recusandum. Tuum ergo, pater beatissime, etsi virtutibus omnibus plenissimum et³⁰ instructissimum geras animum³¹, {122r} nihil in te Deo et hominibus acceptius, nihil majus ipsa sacra ad fidem pietate, quae tecum³² innata coaluit³³, et quae tibi hunc³⁴ honorem peperit maximum³⁵ atque summum.

[26] Quis enim te uno³⁶ etiam in minoribus³⁷ constituto belli justissimi pro fide suscipiendi³⁸ justitiam, honestatem, facilitatem³⁹, possibilitatem immo et⁴⁰ necessitatem, et quid in eo liceret secundum aequitatem, deceret secundum honestatem, expediret secundum utilitatem, attentius et curiosius exquisivit?⁴¹ Quis doctius invenit⁴²? Quis elegantius explanavit? Quis antecedentia ad rem

¹ tam O, S, T
² comterere M
³ verba O, S, T
⁴ premia O, S, T
⁵ et N
⁶ facultatis O, S, T
⁷ totus M, O, S, T; totus *corr. ex* totis P
⁸ affluere O
⁹ ipsoque meo N; non que P; ipsam in eo S; ipsam meo O, T
¹⁰ affectum S
¹¹ affectu in re : in re affectu N
¹² in re *omit.* N, O, S, T; meo V
¹³ viam P
¹⁴ me M
¹⁵ constringendum S
¹⁶ *omit.* M
¹⁷ cursum orationis ... pietatem : dico N

¹⁸ quantumque N;
quantumcumque O, S, T; que tam V
¹⁹ miserimus O, S; miserrimis T
²⁰ parum M
²¹ omnium pariter : pariter omnium O, S, T
²² et pietatem *omit.* O
²³ *omit.* O
²⁴ nostro N, O, S, T, V
²⁵ amirabilem O
²⁶ *omit.* V
²⁷ mater V
²⁸ Allusion to the Feast of Saint Martin of Tours, whose feastday had just been celebrated
²⁹ rege O, S, T
³⁰ *omit.* N, O, S, T
³¹ *omit.* M

³² ad fidem ... tecum : que tecum ad fidem plenitudine S; que tecum ad fidem pietate N, O, T
³³ convaluit V
³⁴ huic O; habent S; *omit.* T
³⁵ maximum *omit.* N
³⁶ viro V
³⁷ moribus M
³⁸ sustinendi M
³⁹ felicitatem O
⁴⁰ *omit.* N, O, S, T
⁴¹ In this passage, Chartier is referring to Pius' crusade orations, including those held at the German diets in 1454 and 1455, and in particular the "*Cum bellum hodie*" and the "*Constantinopolitana clades*"
⁴² invenerit N, S

ipsam concomitantia¹ et consequentia intimius censuit perscrutanda? Testis est pietatis tuae ante² assumptionem tuam illa ad Germanicos populos et in³ Germanicis instruens universos⁴ *Cladis {59v} Constantinopolitanae* expressiva⁵ epistola, ex cujus serie luculenta evidenter apparet, ex qua fecunda pariter et facunda totius sapientiae et eloquentiae et quod⁶ pluris caritatis⁷ immensae processerit⁸ apotheca, testimonium perhibent hac⁹ in sancta conventione Mantuana labores, vigiliae¹⁰, expensae, opera magnifica¹¹, *dulciora super mel et favum* sanctissima¹² monita¹³, divina potius quam humana, ad pias lachrimas, ad devotos¹⁴ gemitus, ad salutes affectus¹⁵ pariter et effectus¹⁶ cunctos provocantia et pro quibus omnibus **secundum nomen tuum**¹⁷ – juxta verba thematis ipsa¹⁸ – jam¹⁹ **laus tua in fines terrae** diffusa.

[27] *Exulta* - inquit psalmista - *et lauda*²⁰, *habitatio Sion, quia magnus in medio tui*²¹ *sanctus Israel*. Exulta, inquam²², sancta nostra ecclesia, exulta, conventio Mantuana, quia magnus in medio tui²³ sanctus Israel.²⁴ Magnus quidem per sapientiam, per eloquentiam, per vitae sanctimoniam exterius relucens, major per caritatem interius exardescens, maximus per dignitatem superius eminentem²⁵, {122v} qua nihil majus, nihil altius, cujus honor conduplicatur cum eo, quo²⁶ decet²⁷ modo²⁸ in ea militatur, cum²⁹ ad aedificationem, ad ipsam fidei pietatem omnia ordinantur. Describens³⁰ vir ille heroicus³¹ Mantuanus vates, Virgilius, ipsum Aeneam suum, quem usque ad sidera censuit extollendum, conclusit tandem *insignem pietatis* virum, quinimmo est³² dicere visus³³:

*Sum pius aeneas, fama per*³⁴ *aethera notus.*^{35 36}

[28] In³⁷ tantis et ad³⁸ tanta legislator Moyses³⁹, a domino praefectus et vocatus, fide grandis ab apostolo dictus est, et in scriptura sacra⁴⁰ pro singularis⁴¹ laudis praeconio⁴² dictus piissimus atque mitissimus. Inveniens⁴³ dominus David⁴⁴ secundum⁴⁵ cor suum⁴⁶, memor fuisse dicitur pietatis et mansuetudinis ejus. *In tantum* - inquit Chrysostomus - *piissimus dominus noster Jesus Christus*

¹ comitantia O, S, T

² an M

³ omit. M

⁴ universis N

⁵ expressura O, S; expressione T; expresissima V

⁶ quot N, S

⁷ claritatis O

⁸ processit O, S, T

⁹ ac O, S, T

¹⁰ labores vigiliae : vigiliae labores M

¹¹ opera magnifica : magnifica opera N

¹² sacratissima V

¹³ merita O, S, T

¹⁴ pios N, O, S, T

¹⁵ effectus V

¹⁶ affectus V

¹⁷ omit. O, S, T

¹⁸ juxta ...ipsa omit. M

¹⁹ sit M; idem V

²⁰ et lauda omit. S

²¹ cui M; omit. S; tuo T

²² inquit S, T

²³ tuo O, S

²⁴ exulta inquam ... Israel omit. M, V

²⁵ imminens O; emanentem T

²⁶ quod O

²⁷ docet O, S, T

²⁸ omit. T

²⁹ tum M

³⁰ distribuens M

³¹ heroicus O

³² et V

³³ est dicere visus : loquens ab eo est inductus M

³⁴ pro M; super T, V

³⁵ motus S

³⁶ Vergilius: *Aeneis*, 1.372

³⁷ ita O, S, T

³⁸ a O

³⁹ Moses T

⁴⁰ omit. M

⁴¹ singulari S

⁴² praeconio M

⁴³ inveniret S, T

⁴⁴ servum add. O, S, T

⁴⁵ omit. S

⁴⁶ cor suum : suum cor N

benevolentiae et pietatis nostrae delectatur affectu, ut¹ suam misericordiam sit² ipsis³ praecipue piis et misericordibus impensurus. Noli igitur, pater beatissime, negligere gratiam, quae data est tibi in ipsa fidei pietate et major tibi a domino repromissa, sed ut probe geras, quod⁴ probissime meruisti, ut talis⁵ semper accrescas, quales ante⁶ te summos pontifices fieri exorasti⁷, monuisti et⁸ docuisti. Abundet magis ac⁹ magis ipsa caritas¹⁰. Crescant cum dignitate merita. *Operare bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei¹¹*, quinimmo ad fidem ipsam, proh dolor, conculcatam. Exerce¹² te ipsum¹³ ad ipsam tui nominis pietatem. Exultare¹⁴ in ipsa pietate tua, in qua laetatur et laetabitur¹⁵ pariter¹⁶ Christianissimus rex noster et super salutare tuum {123r} exultabit¹⁷ vehementer.

[29] Nos autem¹⁸ humiles ipsius oratores, legati et ambasiatores, tibi ex parte ipsius oboedientiam, reverentiam¹⁹ et honorem devote et humiliter impendentes, exultabimus et laetabimur in te. Reserabimus et psallemus ipsas virtutes tuas, non hic tantum, ubi locus et tempus non patiuntur ad plenum, sed ubicumque locorum benedicet in te et per te anima nostra domino, et omnia, quae intra²⁰ et quae²¹ extra nos sunt, nomini sancto tuo²², nomini - inquam²³ - et tuae dignitatis praecelsae et tuae²⁴ pietatis immensae, propter quae a principio censuimus merito praemittere²⁵ ***Secundum nomen tuum sic et laus tua in fines terrae.*** Quod in primo nostrae²⁶ legationis expediendum²⁷ fuerat²⁸ articulo, etsi²⁹ non, ut³⁰ decuit³¹, facultas tempusque tulit, devote et humiliter complevimus.

¹ in N

² sic O, S, T

³ ipsius N; ipsos S

⁴ quid N

⁵ tales N, O

⁶ apud N

⁷ semper ... exorasti *omit.* M

⁸ *omit.* N

⁹ et O, S, T

¹⁰ tua *add.* O, S, T, V

¹¹ Galatians, 6, 10: *operemur*

bonum ad omnes, maxime autem

ad domesticos fidei

¹² ecce O, S, T

¹³ te ipse ipsum M

¹⁴ exaltare M, V

¹⁵ laetatur et laetabitur :

laetabitur et laetatur O, S, T

¹⁶ parum M; *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁷ *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁸ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁹ *omit.* O, S, T

²⁰ quae intra *omit.* T

²¹ *omit.* S, T

²² sancto tuo : tuo sancto S, T

²³ inquit S

²⁴ *omit.* M

²⁵ amittere O

²⁶ primo nostrae : nostre primo S

²⁷ expetendum O, S, T

²⁸ fuerit N; *omit.* O, S, T

²⁹ et se O, S, T

³⁰ *omit.* O, S, T

³¹ detur N

3. Crusade

[30] Superest pro totius hujus nostrae orationis conclusione brevissima, ut de sacratissima hujus¹ conventionis materia aliquid² sed brevius, sed compendiosius subjungamus, nosque³ vice regia praesentantes in ea⁴ et benevolos auditores - juxta⁵ polliciti⁶ seriem ordinis - et devotissimos⁷ cooperatores⁸, quoad⁹ fieri poterit¹⁰, praebeamus.

[31] Non opus est¹¹, pater beatissime, jam tuis sacratissimis¹² litteris et monitis¹³ a majestate regia cum omni devotione susceptis elegantissimo et luculentissimo, sed devotissimo atque piissimo¹⁴ exaratas stilo, clades, miseras, egestates atque inopias populi Christiani, conculcationem fidei catholicae amplius recensere et tuum et¹⁵ nostrum exagitare dolorem. Jam lacrimas excutit {123v} dolor, verbisque viam¹⁶ suspiria stringunt totumque hominem ad lamenta convertunt. Flevit propheta sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae¹⁷ ¹⁸ excidium, crebras cum lacrimis lamentationes ingeminans. Quanto magis, si locus pateretur et tempus, deflenda¹⁹ nobis non urbis, non populi, non gentis unius tantum, sed multarum, sed amplissimarum, famosissimarum ac²⁰ opulentissimarum acerbissima discrimina, ubi non rerum, non locorum tantum amissio, sed pessima, sed miserabilis servitus, et captivitas personarum et damnatio timenda animarum, Christiani²¹ nominis²² interitus pariter et occasus, quod²³ historiarum labor, tragoediarum gemitus ad nostram pertulit²⁴ notitiam, quasi minus²⁵ est, quam²⁶ videmus. Sed tempus, pater beatissime²⁷, nunc potius medelae quam querelae, auxilii²⁸ quam lamenti tempus. Inquit psalmista, *tempus faciendi*²⁹ potius quam³⁰ loquendi, quoniam *dissipaverunt*³¹ *legem* domini.³²

[32] Ipsa pietas fidei non tam sublimitate³³ verborum³⁴ quam strenuitate actuum operumque bonorum, non tam³⁵ ³⁶ elegantia³⁷ sermonis³⁸ quam amplitudine tractanda caritatis ostensione spiritus et virtutis robur, fidei caritas³⁹, fides caritatis robur. Tunc verus fructus, verum nomen ambarum cum indissolubilis nexus earum et summa⁴⁰ igitur caritate et pia miseratione

¹ cuius N sacre *add.* O

² *omit.* M

³ nos V

⁴ eo N, O, S, T

⁵ *omit.* T

⁶ politici M, N

⁷ devotionis N, O, S, T

⁸ cooperatoris N

⁹ quod id O, S; quo id T

¹⁰ fieri poterit : poterit fieri S

¹¹ Materia conventionis

aggrediatur *in marg.* M

¹² sanctissimis N, O, S, T

¹³ meritis N

¹⁴ atque piissimo *omit.* O, S, T

¹⁵ tuum et *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁶ nostra N

¹⁷ Iherosolimitane O, S, T

¹⁸ Sanctae civitatis Jerosolimae :
Iherosolimitane sancte civitatis V

¹⁹ defluenda O

²⁰ et T

²¹ Christianae N; Christianorum
O, S, T

²² nos M; *omit.* O, S, T

²³ quid N

²⁴ protulit O, S, T

²⁵ *omit.* S

²⁶ quod T

²⁷ pater beatissime : beatissime
pater O

²⁸ quam querele auxilii *omit.* N

²⁹ domine *add.* S

³⁰ potius quam : quam potius S

³¹ disparuerunt T

³² Psalms, 118, 126

³³ subtilitate M

³⁴ quam eloquencia sermonis
add. O, S, T

³⁵ talis N

³⁶ non tam : quam O, S, T

³⁷ eloquentia N, O, S, T

³⁸ sed modis N

³⁹ caritatis N, O, S, T

⁴⁰ *omit.* N

condolendum praeteritis, sed pro caritatis opere, zelo et diligentia occurrendum futuris¹, nec tantum vastitatis praeteritae deflenda incommoda, quinimmo et² ³ calamitatis futurae exhorrescenda et providendapericula. *Tunc enim*⁴ - inquit⁵ Cassiodorus - *futuris*⁶ *calamitatibus tollimus locum, cum bonam providentiam gerimus futurorum*. Expetivit Sathanas, ut {124r} crebraret⁷ sicut triticum, sed tuum est, pater beatissime, consolidare⁸ corda filiorum et fratrum⁹ et¹⁰, cum *liquefacta est terra, confirmare columnas ejus*.¹¹ ¹² Inanes¹³ paleae vento jactantur¹⁴, triticum non capit¹⁵ ventus¹⁶. Invalidae¹⁷ ¹⁸ arbores¹⁹ impulsu turbinis evelluntur. Arborem fundatam²⁰, firmatam²¹ radice, domum supra petram fundatam, hanc sanctam sedem Petri soliditate firmatam procella nulla subvertit.

[33] *Oportuit* - inquit Bernhardus loquens ad Eugenium - *ad tuum apostolatam damna referri*²² *fidei et scandala quaeque emergentia*²³ *in regno Dei*²⁴, *hoc est in ecclesia militanti, ibique primum fidei perquiri remedia, et*²⁵ *resarciri detrimenta*, ubi fides²⁶ stabilimentum accipit, ubi fides detrimentum nescit, in qua et sub qua fidei probatissima luminaria claruere. Sed cum pro fide ipsa certamen²⁷ nunc cum eo habeatur, qui toto malignitatis spiritu in Christum debacchatur, quem nec pudor a turpitudine, nec timor a periculo, nec ratio cohibet²⁸ a furore, cum quo non verbo, sed facto, non doctrina, sed ferro, non sermone, sed armis et vigore veniet dimicandum, sanctum fuit atque laudabile, nec a patrum moribus insolitum, etiam principum hunc accersiri coetum, ut bellis, odiis²⁹ et contentionibus depositis et contractis in unum viribus tecum unanimiter³⁰ causam ipsam fidei suscipiant, protegant et defendant. Regum enim³¹ et principum dilectione mutua fortificantur imperia, augetur³² et protegatur ecclesia. Geminata potestas resistentiam conduplicat, et duplicatae vires se ipsis³³ redduntur fortiores. {124v} Principes enim saeculi intra³⁴ ecclesiam potestatis culmina tenere dignoscuntur, ut fidem³⁵ et³⁶ ecclesiam tueantur³⁷, qui quanto maiores ex Dei munere, tanto obligatiores in reddenda domino³⁸ ratione.

¹ futurum N, O, S, T

² omit. N, V

³ de add. M

⁴ igitur V

⁵ incipit S; omit. V

⁶ futurum N

⁷ omit. M; crebaret O; cribraret T, V

⁸ considerare O

⁹ et fratrum omit. O

¹⁰ omit. N, O, S, T

¹¹ cum V

¹² Psalms, 74, 4: *Liquefacta est terra et omnes qui habitant in ea, ego confirmavi columnas ejus*

¹³ in aves M

¹⁴ iactentur M, V

¹⁵ rapit M

¹⁶ in ventus O; juvenus S

¹⁷ in valido M

¹⁸ ventus invalidae : invalidae

ventus T

¹⁹ arboris O, S, T

²⁰ omit. V

²¹ fundatam firmatam : firmam

N, O, S, T

²² referre et O; referre S

²³ hoc add. O, S, T

²⁴ omit. S

²⁵ omit. M

²⁶ spes S

²⁷ certamine M

²⁸ cohibetur O

²⁹ omit. N, O, S, T

³⁰ unanimum M

³¹ etenim O, S, T

³² augentur N

³³ ipsis M

³⁴ inter T

³⁵ idem V

³⁶ omit. V

³⁷ teneantur M, N

³⁸ omit. N, O, S, T

[34] Ecce igitur, pater beatissime, in hoc coetu celebri¹, in hac sancta conventionem coram te, patre patrum pastoreque pastorum², velut cum Deo Abraham per³ se⁴ vel per⁵ suos populorum principes congregati, et - quod summe oblectat⁶ - audire et⁷ videre exultationes Dei⁸, exultationes sedis apostolicae⁹ in gutture eorum et quasi jam gladii ancipites ad defensionem fidei in manibus eorum. Jam fervet in multis tuis salutaribus¹⁰ monitis et exemplis gloriosus ardor tantae materiae, jam plurimum animata corda. Et ubi rebus ordo datus extiterit¹¹ et sub unanimitate negotia complanata¹², non verebuntur plurimi gentis incredibilem¹³ expetere¹⁴ feritatem¹⁵. Sed quo amplius gentilitatis fervore cognoverunt errorem, illic intrepidi et calore fidei armati ferventius accedent¹⁶¹⁷, parati ad omnia pro Christi nomine sustinenda.

[35] Non enim desunt christianis vires, non opes¹⁸, non ingenia, non¹⁹ arma bellica, non viri corpore fortes, sed animo validiores. Tantum unanimitate, concordia, sinceritate, magnanimitate opus est, quae²⁰, si²¹ affuerint²², hostium sacrae fidei ejectionem²³ et nobis²⁴ consolationem futuram²⁵ minime dubitandam²⁶. Exercuerunt diutius²⁷ tyranni ecclesiam, exercuerunt²⁸ haeretici et pseudochristiani, sed Christi gratia ministrante a sanctis²⁹ patribus, ab orthodoxis principibus, postquam³⁰ in eorum mentibus³¹ fides coaluit³² protecta et defensa, potuit semper dicere: *Saepe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, etenim non potuerunt mihi.*³³ {125r} Habet justitia sacrosanctae fidei quandam lucem suam, quae illuminat, refici et allicit mentem inhaerentem sibi, quam piis mentibus - ut sacri doctores insinuant - solidant et confirmant praenuntiatio prophetica, scripturarum concordantia, rationabilitas contentorum, irrationabilitas singulorum errorum, legislatorum³⁴ ideoneitas, diligentia recipientium, miraculorum claritas, ecclesiae permanens stabilitas, quae - ut dicit Hilarius - *habere dignoscitur proprium, ut*³⁵ *tunc vincat ecclesia*³⁶, *cum laeditur, intelligat, cum arguitur, tunc exurgat, cum superata videtur, dum persequitur*³⁷, *floret, dum opprimitur, crescit, dum patitur, vincit*³⁸. Vix enim - Jeronimo teste³⁹ - *nisi tempore belli generantur*⁴⁰ *strenui*. Tempore haeresium viri clarissimi⁴¹ atque probatissimi claruere. Grandis dolor grande ingenium facit. Necessitas ipsa jam dudum artes reperit⁴², ac duris in rebus major industria. Tunc

¹ celebrari S
² pastoreque pastorum *omit.* O,
S, T

³ pro M
⁴ *omit.* O

⁵ pro M
⁶ oblectatur O, S, T

⁷ est O, S, T
⁸ exultationes Dei *omit.* O, S, T

⁹ *omit.* O
¹⁰ salutacionibus M

¹¹ extitit N
¹² complacita M

¹³ *em.*; incredibile M; incredule
N, O, S, T

¹⁴ competere O

¹⁵ veritatem *corr.* ex feritatem T
¹⁶ ferventius accedent : accedent
ferventius O, S, T; si eventus

accidunt V
¹⁷ attendent N

¹⁸ opus M
¹⁹ *omit.* N

²⁰ qui O, S, T
²¹ sibi N, O, S, T

²² affuerit N; affuerunt T
²³ erectionem T

²⁴ vobis O
²⁵ futurum N, O, S, T

²⁶ dubitandum N, O, S, T, V
²⁷ divinis M

²⁸ *omit.* O, S, T

²⁹ hominibus *add.* M
³⁰ quam M

³¹ virtutibus M
³² conualuit V

³³ Psalms, 128, 2
³⁴ legislatoris M, V

³⁵ et O
³⁶ *omit.* O, S, T

³⁷ prosequitur M
³⁸ vicit M

³⁹ Jeronimo teste : teste
Jeronimo S, T

⁴⁰ gignuntur M, N, V
⁴¹ preclarissimi O, S, T

⁴² artes reperit : reperit artes N,
O, S, T

enim - ait¹ in epistolis² Ambrosius juxta commonitionem apostoli - *cum tempora mala sunt*³, *bonis operibus redimenda*.

[36]⁴ Tunc virili, constanti et⁵ inconcusso opus est animo, qualem te habuisse et habere in hac⁶ sacra fidei pietate jam sacra⁷ opera tua, orationes piissimae, labores, vigiliae et expensae undique insinuant, ut illius dudum ferventissimi⁸ Eliae velut in altero Eliseo spiritus conduplicatus⁹ cognoscatur¹⁰ adesse. Et jam nil in te pastoris vigilantissimi, tutoris zelantissimi ac patris piissimi videatur deesse. Votum igitur et desiderium tuum sanctum et laudabile - quod rex noster Christianissimus, sacrosanctae¹¹ fidei cultor praecipuus,¹² probat, laudat, reveretur¹³ et ex totis animi praecordiis complectitur - non opus laudibus extollere, sed caritate, pietate pariter {126v} et opere una tecum pariter concurrere ac¹⁴ divinam clementiam exorare, ut¹⁵ sanctitatem tuam in hoc ardore fidei, in hac mentis sinceritate, in hoc¹⁶ integerrimo religionis studio per tempora longiora conservet et omnium in Christo credentium corda in ipsa fidei pietate tecum consolidet et confirmet.

[37] Optasset et optaret Christianissimus rex noster tuis sacratissimis¹⁷ litteris exoratus¹⁸ in hac conventionem sanctissima et tuam vidisse praesentiam et sacratissima eusdem sanctitatis tuae audire et audisse verba¹⁹ quidem²⁰ melliflua, et alternos etiam immiscendo sermones vivae vocis mutuo²¹ re faciliari alloquio, quod magnificum, laudabile pariter et jucundum. Sed quantum magnae molis fuit²² tantum regem tanti regni sub ejus moderamine respirantis²³ cum tanta multitudine sollicitudinem dimittere²⁴, ut, quos loca, tempora negotiaque disjungunt, pietatis²⁵ desideria operaque²⁶ conjungant, nos humiles servitores suos immo et majores nostros²⁷, ex causis plurimis retardatos, censuit ad sanctitatem²⁸ tuam²⁹, ad hanc sanctam conventionem transmittendos, praecipiens et injungens, ut ad audienda, quae gesta sunt, ad communicanda et contractanda³⁰, quaeque gerenda erunt³¹, et benevolos³² auditores et devotos cooperatores praebeamus, ipsum fideliter atque veraciter³³ perhibentes et tecum magna fidei pietate perfusum³⁴ et a³⁵

¹ ut O, S, T

² apostolis N, O, S, T

³ sint T

⁴ In place of sections 36-38, S – erroneously – inserts a long passage, filling ff. 224r-224v completely, from Jean Jouffroy's oration "*Frequentiam principum*", held at the beginning of the Congress of Mantua. The passage in S begins with the words *opprobrio et lacessiti* and ends with the words *quales existimas virorum*

⁵ omit. T

⁶ omit. O

⁷ fidei pietate ... sacra omit. M

⁸ ferventissimum N, T

⁹ duplicatur N; duplicatus O, T

¹⁰ cognoscitur N, O, T

¹¹ laudabile quod ... sacrosanctae omit. M

¹² omit. O

¹³ omit. N

¹⁴ ad M

¹⁵ omit. O

¹⁶ ardore fidei ... hoc omit. O, T

¹⁷ sanctissimis T

¹⁸ exoratis M

¹⁹ verba add. O, T

²⁰ omit. M, V

²¹ omit. O

²² sicut M

²³ conspirantis T

²⁴ immittere M

²⁵ pietatisque O, T

²⁶ opera O, T

²⁷ meos V

²⁸ sanctitatis O, T

²⁹ tue O; tue et T

³⁰ tractanda V

³¹ omit. M

³² benignos N, O, T

³³ verarum M

³⁴ perfusius N

³⁵ omit. N, O, T

gloriosissimorum progenitorum suorum¹ moribus minime degenerantem² et³ in omnibus mediis convenientibus et rationabilibus adoptare⁴ conclusionis effectum⁵ propitium pariter et benignum, sicut communicatis et perpensis⁶ hujus sanctissimae⁷ materiae et gestorum in ea debitis et⁸ circumstantiis veniet convenientius explicandum.

[38] Astamus igitur⁹, pater beatissime, sanctitatis {126r} tuae pedibus devote procumbentes, non minus avidi tuam sapientiam in hac sancta materia audire, et in omnibus mediis convenientibus venerari, et sequi quondam¹⁰ reginam¹¹ Saba dudum Salomonis regis sapientiam experiri. Tu igitur, pater beatissime et pastor vigilantissime, qui totus aestuas sacro fervore fidei atque ardes, qui nostris persuasionibus non eges, sed nobis omnibus stimulus es: emitte sapientiam tuam, lucem¹² et veritatem^{13 14} de sede magnitudinis tuae. *Concrescat ut pluvia doctrina*¹⁵ tua justa.¹⁶ Opportune et importune labora ut bonus miles Christi. Opus fac evangelistae pacem, evangelizans in filiis, exorans et annuntians, quae ad pacem sunt Jerusalem, et *abundantiam in turribus*¹⁷ domini¹⁸, hoc est ad ipsam fidei¹⁹ defensionem et augmentum, quo nihil creatori²⁰ summo acceptius, nihil ipsis supernis²¹ civibus jucundius, nihil hominibus in terris habitantibus²² utilius. Quod si fortitudo, quae patriam tuetur a barbaris²³, plena est justitia, quae non solum tuetur patriam, loca et corpora, sed fidem, sed²⁴ animas, justitia erit et honestate plenissima.

[39] Tuum est igitur, pater beatissime, ad tantae pietatis opus, ad tantae justitiae causam, ad Christi injuriam propulsandam²⁵ media salutaria tibi a domino specialius²⁶ revelata, a²⁷ te curiosius exquisita in medium ducere et nos *in via domini dirigere*.^{28 29 30} Hoc enim tui nominis et tui mysterii exercitium proprium. In hoc tuae gloriae et tuae famae decus. In hoc tui pontificatus fructus saluberrimus, quo tibi a fidelibus cunctis fidelis praestanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulatus. Jam vereor prolixiori sermone in his generalibus saepius³¹ agitatis fieri onerosus. Patres colendissimi, {126v} viri magnifici, hic vice regia pariter assistentes, plura specialius et elegantius explicabunt, quaeque³² specialiora ea³³ et gratiora³⁴ et³⁵ rei accomodiora³⁶ provenient.

¹ *omit.* N, O, T

² degenerent N, O, T

³ *omit.* N

⁴ adoptate N, O, T

⁵ profectum *add.* N

⁶ propensis M

⁷ sancte O

⁸ *omit.* M, O, V

⁹ ergo M

¹⁰ quam M; quemadmodum O, T

¹¹ *em.*; regina codd.

¹² tuam *add.* N

¹³ tuam *add.* N

¹⁴ lucem et veritatem *omit.* O, T

¹⁵ Deuteronomy, 32, 2

¹⁶ juxta N, O, T

¹⁷ Psalms, 121, 7

¹⁸ tuis O

¹⁹ *omit.* N, O, T

²⁰ oratori T

²¹ superius N, O

²² *omit.* M, N, V

²³ que *add.* O

²⁴ et O, T

²⁵ expulsandam N

²⁶ a domino specialius : specialius

a domino O, T

²⁷ ad N, O, T

²⁸ erigere V

²⁹ Ecclesiasticus 36, 19

³⁰ Here ends the lacuna in S which began in sect. 36

³¹ sepe O, S, T

³² quae quo M; in quo O, S, T

³³ eo O

³⁴ graviora V

³⁵ ut O, S, T

³⁶ accomodiora T, V

4. Conclusion

[40] Ut finem igitur nostrae orationi imponamus, libet pro conclusione finali ut¹ in ipsa pietate tua, in tua consolatione et nostra, sermones penitus concludamus. Suscepisti igitur, pater beatissime, culmen pastoralis fastigii², locum sacerdotii summum³, vicariatum Christi. Tibi navisecclesiae commissa est. Tibi soli dictum est: *Duc in altum*.⁴ Materiam, locum, tempus⁵, virtutem⁶ habes: rem profer in actum. Quod si procellosum mare, periculosum et⁷ infestum et nunc⁸ fera⁹ tempestate disiectum, noli turbari. Qui fundavit ecclesiam, super mare et super flumina praeparavit¹⁰ eam. Mirabiles elationes maris, sed mirabilior in altis dominus, qui dominatur potestati maris et mitigat motum fluctuum ejus, qui imperat ventis et mari¹¹, qui beatissimum Petrum apostolum ambulanti in fluctibus maris, ne mergeretur, erexit, et coapostolum¹² ejus Paulum tertio naufragantem de profundo pelagi liberavit. Ipse te et nos de tribulationibus eripiet, dans¹³ cum tentatione proventum. Ait enim sessor primus¹⁴ cathedrae tuae¹⁵ secundo capitulo suae Canonicae: *Novit dominus pios de temptationibus eripere, impios vero aeternis cruciatibus tradere concremandos*.¹⁶

[41] Potens est enim dominus, si nos praecepta, si legem suam et fidem¹⁷ viderit adamare, augere, et defendere¹⁸, ab omni hoste et miseria¹⁹ liberare. Quisquis sanctorum patrum recolit sententias et sacras perscrutatur scripturas, ex omni parte {127r} reperit de spiritus sancti consolatione repletas. Una²⁰ Matthatiae²¹ domus, parva²² Machabaeorum familia virique²³ pauci populum²⁴ domini, civitatem sanctam Jerusalem ab omni miseria liberarunt²⁵ et reges potentissimos compresserunt. Quinque panes erant in deserto, cum erogari esuerientibus incoeperunt; quod ubi fieri coepit, sportas et cumulos repleverunt. Sic sperandum in domino, quod ubi coeperimus tantae rei operam impendere, non desinet dominus concedere, ut non tantum ad necessitatem habeamus, sed de ipsa abundantia in benedictione domini exultemus. Confidimus igitur, pater beatissime, in domino, quod qui coeperit²⁶ in te²⁷ et per te opus bonum, perficiet solidabitque adaugens in te et per te²⁸ incrementa frugum fidei et justitiae nostrae et cum laude, et numquam moritura memoria²⁹ beatitudinis tuae.

¹ *omit.* M; et S

² vestigii N

³ sanctum N; secundum O, S, T

⁴ Luke, 5, 4

⁵ temporis V

⁶ virtutis M, N, S, V

⁷ *omit.* V

⁸ et nunc : nunc et O, S, T

⁹ vera S

¹⁰ preparant S; praeparat V

¹¹ ventis et mari : mari et ventis

V

¹² cum eo apostolum O, S, T

¹³ deus P

¹⁴ sessor primus : primus sessor

N, O, S, T

¹⁵ *omit.* N, O, S, T

¹⁶ 2. Peter, 2, 9: *Novit dominus pios de tentatione eripere:*

iniquos vero in diem judicii reservare cruciandos

¹⁷ et fidem *omit.* V

¹⁸ et *add.* O, S, T

¹⁹ vult nos *add.* O, S, T

²⁰ *omit.* O, S, T

²¹ Macharie O, S; Machatie T

²² una ... parva *omit.* M

²³ *omit.* T

²⁴ populi O, S, T

²⁵ liberavit O, S

²⁶ cepit M; texerit S

²⁷ *omit.* O, S, T

²⁸ opus bonum ... per te *omit.* N, O, S, T

²⁹ memoriae M

[42] Magnificabit dominus nomen tuum, ut¹ non recedat laus tua de ore hominum, sed sicut censuimus a principio praemittere: **Secundum nomen tuum sic et² ³ laus tua in fines terrae.** *Magnum* - inquit apostolus - *pietatis sacramentum*⁴ ⁵, magnus quaestus pietatis⁶ cum sufficientia. Exerce igitur teipsum ad ipsam⁷ tui nominis pietatem, quae valet ad omnia et promissionem habere dignoscitur vitae, quae nunc est, et futurae. Qui⁸ hujus vitae repromissor est⁹ Deus. Non deerit remunerator, sed pro laboribus mercedem, pro vigiliis quietem, pro tribulationibus gaudium, pro parvis magna, pro temporalibus restituet sempiterna in illa felicitate et gloria, ubi superato¹⁰ quocumque hostium certamine¹¹ et cara securitas¹², segura¹³ tranquillitas, tranquilla jucunditas, jucunda felicitas, felix aeternitas, aeterna beatitudo, beata sine fine Dei {127v} visio, quam tibi et nobis concedat, qui in saeculorum saecula¹⁴ vivit et regnat¹⁵. Amen.¹⁶

Explicit oratio reverendissimi patris Guillelmi, episcopi Parisiensis, oratoris illustrissimi regis Francorum proposita Mantue in ecclesia majorum coram serenissimo domino nostro, domino Pio papa II. ac conventionem Mantuana, die 21 Novembris anno domini 1459.¹⁷

¹ et O, S, T

² *omit.* V

³ laus tua ... sic et *omit.* O

⁴ pietatis sacramentum :
sacramentum pietatis O

⁵ 1. Timothy, 3, 16

⁶ pietas N, O, S, T, V

⁷ *omit.* O; optimam T

⁸ quoniam V

⁹ *omit.* V

¹⁰ separato S

¹¹ certamen T

¹² et *add.* N, O, S, T

¹³ fecunda N

¹⁴ saeculorum saecula : secula
saeculorum V

¹⁵ dominus *add.* M, V

¹⁶ dixi *add.* T

¹⁷ Explicit ... 1459 : finis Deo
gratias N; Deo gratias S; Dixi T;
omit. V

Oration “*Britones hodie*” of Pope Pius II (26 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius; 50)

Abstract

In autumn 1459, Duke Francois II of Bretagne sent an embassy to the Congress of Mantua. The object of the embassy was to present the duke's declaration of obedience to the pope and to represent him in the negotiations concerning the crusade against the Turks. The pope replied to the address of the ambassadors with the short oration "*Britones hodie*", in which he gave a resumé of the history of the Bretons and thanked the duke for his declaration of obedience and for the contribution to the crusade promised by him.

Keywords

Enea Silvio Piccolomini; Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini; Æneas Silvius Piccolomini; Pope Pius II; Papa Pio II; Renaissance orations; Renaissance oratory; Renaissance rhetoric; Responses to ambassadors; Bretagne; Brittany; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Declarations of obedience; Congress of Mantua; Francois II, Duke of Brittany

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

In autumn 1459, Duke Francois II of Bretagne² sent an embassy consisting of the duke's nephew and Jean Lespervier, Bishop of Saint Malo, together with other distinguished men, to the Congress of Mantua. The object of the embassy was to present the duke's declaration of obedience to the pope and to represent him in the negotiations concerning the crusade against the Turks.³ The pope replied to the ambassadors' address with the short oration "*Britones hodie*". In this oration, the pope gave a résumé of the history of the Bretons and thanked the duke for his declaration of obedience and for the contribution to the crusade promised by the ambassadors.

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

When Brittany's ambassadors arrived in Mantua and heard that the French were putting off making their submission to the pope, they decided not to wait for them and asked for a consistory so they could deliver a message from their prince. When this was granted, the bishop of St. Malo spoke as follows:

"We come as envoys of the duke of Brittany, your most dutiful son. We offer you obedience and reverence, as our ancestors have always done. We acknowledge you as the Vicar of Christ, the true successor of St. Peter, the head of the Church Militant and its master. We are Christians and we follow you as the captain of the army of Christ. Since our ancestors embraced the Christian religion, they have never fallen away from it. They have abided by the laws of Rome and have never rebelled against the orders of the Holy See. They reject the Pragmatic Sanction of the French. They have remained loyal to your predecessors. Our prince follows in the steps of his fathers. At your command he has sent us to this congress. He is ready to hear and to do your bidding. He knows you wish to lead a crusade against the Turks. He applauds your purpose and declares the undertaking you propose as both necessary and sacred. He will not fail you. He is eager to share in this glorious work. He can send arms, horses, ships, and men (to the extent of his resources) whenever you direct. He will follow you. His only advice is that you make a strong start against a strong foe."

¹ CO, III, 36-37; Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 66-67; Picotti, p. 261-262; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 714-720; Voigt, IV, pp. 80, 89

² Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 714-715: *Lui ... se vit, du jour au lendemain, l'objet des prédilections du*

Saint-Siège. Attentions intéressées qui avaient pour cause l'attachement des Français à la Pragmatique, la haine du pape pour cette acte et la répugnance qu'il lui inspirait pour Charles VII

³ The ducal court was quite aware of the risks of a crusade: *il importait de ne pas se lancer à la légère dans une aventure qui pouvait être désastreuse* (Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 716)

The pope was delighted with the embassy from Brittany and praised their duke and their nation to the skies.^{1 2}

2. Themes

Apart from the brief sketch of the history of the Bretons, emphasising their loyalty to the papacy, the oration contains the elements common to Pius' responses to ambassadors coming to present the obedience of their master:

- Acknowledgement of the declaration of obedience³
- Praise of the prince
- Assurance of papal goodwill

Spun subtly into the text was the theme of Breton independence from France:

There they have lived and still live, unvanquished and enjoying sweet liberty. They are a strong people, skilled both in war and in letters. They were initiated into the sacraments of the Christian religion long before Clovis, said to be the first Frankish king to receive the light of Faith. After the Britons first sucked the breasts of their mother, the Roman See, and learned to drink the milk of divine law, they have never fallen from the Faith, they have never opposed their mother, they have never taken in foreign teachings, and they have never followed unorthodox interpretations of Scripture, something that many others have done, stirred up by every wind of doctrine. Solid, stable, and truthful is the Briton nation, and - as it has now been shown - it is genuinely faithful and obedient towards its superiors. [Sect. 3]

At this point, Pius may have regretted that he had not given Brittany an individual chapter in his *Europa*, finished the year before, but only dealt with them in his chapter on France.

¹ CO, III, 36-37 (Meserve, II, pp. 161-163)

² Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 718: *Ravi de ces propos, le pape répon-*

dit en laissant couler à pleins bords les flots de son érudition tendancieuse

³ Rainaldus, ad ann. 1459, nr. 67-68; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 718

3. Date, place, audience, and format

The oration was delivered on 26 November 1459 at the Congress of Mantua, probably during a public consistory.¹

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors, members of the Papal Court present in Mantua, and other participants in the congress.

The format was a papal oration from the throne, in reply to an ambassadorial address.

4. Text²

The oration is included in a Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460),³ largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts⁴

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 168r-169r **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano**
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 40r-41v **(J)** *
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 47r-49r
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 64r-66v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 160r-161v **(H)** *

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

¹ Picotti, p. 261; Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, II, 719

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

³ See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

⁴ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 11 are marked with an asterisk

4.2. Editions

The oration was published by Mansi:

- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. // II, pp. 225-227 [After Lucca, Bibl. Cap. Fel., 544, G]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 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. Sources¹

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

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8

6. Bibliography

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Piccolomini, Enea Silvio SEE ALSO Pius II

Piccolomini, Enea Silvio: *Epistolae*

- *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*. Hrsg. von Rudolf Wolkan. 3 vols. Wien, 1909-1918
- *Reject Aeneas, accept Pius : Selected letters of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II)*. Transl. by T.M. Izbicki et al.. Washington, D.C., 2006
- Enee Silvii Piccolominei *Epistolarium Seculare*. Ed. A. van Heck. Città del Vaticano, 2007
- *Collected letters of Enea Silvio Piccolomini*. Ed. and transl. by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg. 10 vols. 2022-2026. [Available in HAL Archives].

Pius II SEE ALSO Piccolomini, Enea Silvio

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)

¹ 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: *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*. Ed. and transl. by Michael v. Cotta-Schönberg. 12 vols. 2019-2020. [Final Version, 2024-2025]. [Available in HAL Archives].

Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, B.-A.: *Les papes et les ducs de Bretagne*. Essai sur les rapports du Saint-Siège avec un état. 2 vols. Paris, 1928. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome; 133)

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

7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Oratoribus ducis Britanniae

[1] {160r} Britones hodie Romanae sedi nobisque praestant oboedientiam, genus acre virum, nobilitate ac virtute excellens¹. Non omnes norunt, qui sint, et unde venerint, id nunc a nobis {160v} explicandum est. Sic enim plus ponderis habere videbitur, quod in praesentiarum gestum est per vos, insignes oratores dilecti filii nostri Johannis, Britanniae ducis et nobilissimi et potentissimi. Britones populi Galliae sunt inter Guasconiam et Normandiam ad Oceanum siti, quae loca Veneti quondam tenuerunt, ex quorum nomine civitas usque in praesentem diem non ignobilis extat Venetensis appellata, quae olim tantae potentiae fuit, ut iter Julii Caesaris in Britanniam remorari atque interrumpere conata sit, quamvis frustra: victa² est³ tandem classe Caesaris et armis. Ab hac gente putat Strabo Venetos nostros⁴ terra marique potentissimos, qui Sinum maris Adriatici incolunt, factis et fama clarissimos, ortum ducere et genus esse Gallorum, sicut Insubres, Cenomanos, Boios, et alios, a quibus magna pars et ipse flos Italiae⁵ Cisalpina Gallia dicta est. Alii Venetos ab Enetis vocatos et ex Paflagonia in Italiam Antenore duce profectos arbitrantur. Sed in tanta vetustate satis est conjecturam ostendisse⁶.

¹ excellere G

² vita J

³ enim *add.* J

⁴ Venetos nostros : noster

Venetos G

⁵ Asiae G

⁶ conjecturam ostendisse :
ostendisse conjecturam G

To the ambassadors of the Duke of Bretagne

[1] Today the Britons declare their obedience to the Roman See and to Us. They are a fierce race of men, excelling in nobility, courage, and strength¹. We shall now explain who they are and where they come from, as you may not all be aware of it. Thus, all will know the importance of what you have done now, distinguished ambassadors of Our beloved son, Jean,² noble and mighty Duke of Brittany.

The Britons are a people of Gaul, situated at the Ocean between Gascony and Normandy. This area was once occupied by the *Veneti*,³ from whom derives the name of the noble city *Venetensis*.⁴ Once it was so powerful that it attempted to prevent and interrupt Julius Caesar's⁵ expedition to Britannia⁶ - in vain, however, for in the end it was defeated by Caesar's fleet and army. From this people, Strabo believes,⁷ descend our own Venetians, powerful both on land and at sea, who now live in the bay of the Adriatic Sea, noble in deed and fame. Thus, the Venetians are a Gaulish people like the *Insubres*,⁸ the *Cenomanni*,⁹ the *Boii*,¹⁰ and other peoples, and therefore a large part and indeed the flower of Italy is called the *Cisalpine Gaul*.¹¹ Others believe that the Venetians derive their name from the *Eneti*¹² and came from Paphlagonia to Italy under the leadership of Antenor¹³. In matters so old, one must rely on conjecture.

¹ "virtute"

² Francois II Bretagne (1433-1488): Duke of Bretagne from 1458 to his death

³ Veneti: a seafaring Celtic people who lived in the Brittany peninsula (France). They gave their name to the modern city of Vannes

⁴ Vannes

⁵ Julius Caesar, Gaius (100-44 BCE): Roman general and statesman

⁶ 55/54 BCE

⁷ Strabo (ca. 64 - c. 24 BCE): Greek geographer, philosopher, and historian

⁸ The Insubres or Insubri: a Gaulish population settled in Insubria, in what is now Lombardy. They were the founders of Milan. Though of Celtic origin, they were most likely the result of the fusion of pre-existing Ligurian, Celtic, Etruscan, and "Italic" population Gaulish tribes who had come from what is now southern France

⁹ The Cenomani: a Celtic people, whose territory corresponded generally to Maine

¹⁰ The Boii: a Gallic tribe

¹¹ Cisalpine Gaul (*Gallia Cisalpina*): the part of Northern Italy

inhabited by Celts (Gauls) during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

¹² Eneti or Heneti or Enete: the name of an ancient region close to Paphlagonia mentioned by Strabo whose original inhabitants had disappeared by his time

¹³ Antenor: (Greek myth.) counselor to King Priam of Troy in the legendary accounts of the Trojan War

[2] Britones autem insulam Oceani coluerunt, quam nostri Britanniam, nonnulli Graecorum Albion vocavere, et alterum paene orbem esse crediderunt, priusquam Caesaris armis quaesita et edomita cognosceretur. Appellati sunt Britones, ut eorum tradunt historiae, a Bruto quodam, qui deletio Ilio, toto profugus pelago, navigio tandem in hanc insulam appulit, et eam primus¹ excolens a se nominavit, cujus² posterius usque ad Julium invicti³ manserunt. Et quamvis tunc et postea Romanae potentiae ac {161r} virtuti cesserunt, non tamen insulam amisere⁴, cum Romani tributo contenti nihil amplius exigerent. At⁵ languente Romana republica⁶ cum Britones descivissent et inter se dissiderent, et nunc Pictones, nunc Scoti, nunc alii barbari insulam vexarent.

[3] Saxones in auxilium vocati, sicut Beda refert, cum insulae opulentiam cognovissent, non solum hostes, sed eos quoque, quibus auxilium praestaturi venerant, armis ejecerunt, et cum ipsi ex angulo quodam⁷ Saxoniae fuissent⁸ egressi sese Anglos et insulam Angliam usque in hoc aevum appellari⁹ voluerunt. Britones autem fortunae cedentes in Galliam confugere et Venetorum - ut diximus - sedes tenere, in quibus invicti usque hodie¹⁰ perseverant et dulci libertate fruuntur, viri fortes et armorum et litterarum periti, quos diu ante Clodoveum¹¹, qui primus ex Francorum regibus lumen fidei¹² suscepisse¹³ fertur, Christianae religionis sacramentis initiatos perhibent. Hi, postquam semel Romanae sedis matris suae suxerunt ubera¹⁴ et lac divinae legis bibere didicerint¹⁵, numquam apostatarunt, numquam matri recalcitrarunt, numquam peregrina dogmata imbuerunt, numquam alienos scripturae sensus secuti ut plerique, qui omni vento doctrinae¹⁶ agitantur. Solida et stabilis et verax est Britonum¹⁷ natio, et sicut modo monstratum est sine fictione suis superioribus et fidelis et obsequens.

¹ primum J

² cui G

³ intacti G

⁴ amiserunt G, J

⁵ ac G

⁶ Romana republica : republica Romana G

⁷ omit. G

⁸ omit. G

⁹ vocari G

¹⁰ in hanc diem G

¹¹ Dodoneum G

¹² lumen fidei : fidei lumen G

¹³ sumpsisse G

¹⁴ suxerunt ubera : ubera

suxerunt G

¹⁵ didicerunt G

¹⁶ vento doctrinae : doctrinae vento G

¹⁷ Britonorum G

[2] The Britons once occupied that isle in the Ocean, which we call Britannia and which many Greeks called Albion.¹ Before Caesar's armies went there and subjugated it, it almost appeared to be another world. As their own historians tell it, the Britons were named after a certain Brutus, who, after the destruction of Troy, fled over the sea and came to this island by boat. He was the first to cultivate it and named it after himself, and his descendants stayed there undefeated until [the arrival of] Julius. And though they had - then and afterwards - to submit to Roman power and strength, they did not lose the island, for the Romans were content with receiving tribute and demanded nothing more. But when the Roman state faltered, the Britons rebelled and started to fight between themselves, and the island was attacked sometimes by the Picts,² sometimes by the Scots,³ and sometimes by other barbarians.

[3] According to Bede,⁴ the Saxons⁵ were called in to help, but when they became aware of the island's richness, they expelled not only the enemies but also those they had come to help. Since they had themselves come from a corner, "*angulum*", of Saxony, they decided to call themselves the Angles,⁶ "*Angli*", and the island "*Anglia*", and under that name they are still known. But the Britons, bowing to fortune, fled to Gaul and settled - as already said - in the region of the *Veneti*.⁷ There they have lived and still live, unvanquished and enjoying sweet liberty. They are a strong people, skilled both in war and in letters. They were initiated into the sacraments of the Christian religion long before Clovis,⁸ said to be the first Frankish king to receive the light of Faith. After the Britons first sucked the breasts of their mother, the Roman See, and learned to drink the milk of divine law, they have never fallen from the Faith, they have never opposed their mother, they have never taken in foreign teachings, and they have never followed unorthodox⁹ interpretations of Scripture, something that many others have done, stirred up by every wind of doctrine.¹⁰ Solid, stable, and truthful is the Briton nation, and - as it has now been shown - it is genuinely faithful and obedient towards its superiors.

¹ Albion: the oldest known, Greek, name of the island of Great Britain

² The Picts: a tribal confederation of peoples who lived in eastern and northern Scotland during the Late Iron Age and Early Medieval periods. They are thought to have been ethnolinguistically Celtic

³ The Scots: an ethnic group native to Scotland. Historically, they emerged from an amalgamation of two Celtic peoples—the Picts and Gaels—who founded the Kingdom of Scotland in the 9th century

⁴ Bede the Venerable [Beda Venerabilis] (672/673-735): English

monk. He is well known as an author and scholar, and his most famous work was *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (The Ecclesiastical History of the English People). Saint. Doctor of the Church

⁵ The Saxons: a confederation of Germanic tribes on the North German Plain. They settled in large parts of Great Britain in the early Middle Ages and formed part of the merged group of Anglo-Saxons who eventually organised the first united Kingdom of England

⁶ The Angles: one of the main Germanic peoples who settled in

Britain in the post-Roman period. They founded several of the kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England, and their name is the root of the name England. The name comes from the district of Angeln

⁷ The Bretons migrated from southwestern Great Britain to Brittany mainly in the 5th and 6th, fleeing the Anglosaxons

⁸ Clovis (c. 466-511): first King of the Franks. Converted to Christianity in 496

⁹ "alienos"

¹⁰ Like the Wycliffians in England and the Hussites in Bohemia

[4] Laudamus igitur hoc genus hominum et ducem vestrum, oratores insignes, summo dignum honore¹ censemus, qui non solum more majorum oboedientiam et reverentiam {161v} primae sedi exhibet, sed pro nostro desiderio adversus Turcos consilia et auxilia pollicetur. Magnificimus hunc principem, qui quamvis securissimus et ab omni Turcorum invasione nec sibi timere habet, tanto terrarum spatio disjunctus, hostem tamen fidei horret, et aliorum saluti consulere praesto est. Deus optimus² hanc suam pietatem et religionem, ut³ non dubitamus, dignis praemiis prosequetur. Nos certe cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinalibus nobilitati suae suorumque commoditati semper studiosi erimus ac propitii. Amen⁴.

¹ honorem G

² qui verum *add.* H; qui ut *add.* J

³ *omit.* H, J

⁴ *omit.* G

[4] Following the custom of their ancestors, they declare their obedience and reverence towards the First See, and moreover, in accordance with Our wishes, they promise their counsel and assistance in the matter [of the crusade] against the Turks. Therefore, distinguished ambassadors, We praise your people and your duke, and we consider them worthy of the highest honours. We applaud this prince: safe from all invasions of the Turks and not having to fear for himself since his lands are far away from theirs, he nonetheless abhors them as enemies of the Faith and is ready to contribute to the safety of others. We do not doubt that the Best God will reward his piety and religious devotion as he merits. And We, certainly, together with Our brethren the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church, shall always favour and advance this noble [prince] and the interests of his [people]. Amen.

Oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" of Pope Pius II (29 November 1459, Mantua). Edited and translated by Michael von Cotta-Schönberg

(Collected Orations of Pope Pius II; 51)

Abstract

The first imperial embassy to Pope Pius II's Congress of Mantua was not accepted by the pope because the members did not have sufficient rank. The second embassy consisted of the emperor's own brother-in-law, Margrave Karl of Baden, and the bishops of Eichstätt and Trient. They arrived in Mantua on 21 November 1459 and were received by the pope on 1 December. On this occasion, the pope gave the oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" in which he first motivated the special obligation of the Empire to undertake the war against the Turks and then praised the emperor's person.

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; Holy Roman Empire; 15th century; 1459; Crusades against the Turks; Congress of Mantua; Emperor Frederick III (Habsburg); Kaiser Friedrich III (Habsburg); Bishop Johann von Eich; Bishop Johann von Eych.

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II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Appendix: Oration “*Missi a divo*” of Johann von Eich (1 December 1459, Mantua)

I. INTRODUCTION

1. Context¹

During the preparations for the Congress of Mantua, Pius sent urgent letters to the emperor inviting him to participate personally in the Congress. The pope calculated, probably with some justice, that the presence of the emperor would ensure a larger participation of princes. But involved, as he was, in conflicts with other members of the House of Austria, Friedrich was unable to come to Mantua, had he wanted to.²

Instead, the emperor sent an embassy to the congress, which was not accepted by the pope because the members did not have sufficient rank to represent the emperor appropriately on this solemn occasion. The emperor then sent a second embassy consisting of his brother-in-law, Margrave Karl of Baden, and the bishops of Eichstätt³ and Trient. They arrived in Mantua on 21 November 1459 and were received by the pope on 1 December.⁴ On behalf of the embassy, Johann von Eich delivered the oration "*Missi a divo*",⁵ to which the pope replied with the oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*".

In his oration, the emperor's ambassador recommended that the pope should not mobilise a crusade before he had ensured a moral reform of Christianity, a theme that Pius himself had spoken on in some of his previous orations to the German diets in 1455-1456, and actually a theme close to the bishop's heart⁶:

*Dicebam antea te compati sponsae tuae calamitatibus, quia non est, qui faciat bonum,[et] quod vides ire vias non rectas, sed alios quidem oppressos gravibus criminibus, alios inundare vitiis, concupiscentiis, et voluptatibus, hos aliena delectari injuria, istos perversos gerere mores, et illos nulla flecti oboedientia. **Aggredierisne bellum cum his contaminatis odiosisque deo? Arbitror ego sanctitatem tuam aliter facturam, ut primum quid secundum agens vitiorum delictorumque circumcisionis populum sanctifies, quo - juxta praeceptum Josue datum - emundatum deoque gratum sine macula in terram ingrediatur promissionis.***

Non est officii mei legem ponere, qualiter subditorum defectibus consulere debeas, sed evangelistae dumtaxat apud te uti admonitionem, quod, uti spero, pro tua solita clementia non ingratis accipies. Habes patrum decreta praedecessorumque tuorum sanctiones, quibus moribus omnibus norma datur, et qua via unicuique incedendum sit praecipe igitur, ut quisque

¹ Joachimsohn, pp.166-167; Koller, pp. 160-161; Pastor, II, p. 63-67; Picotti, pp. 287-295; Setton, II, p. 213; Toews, pp. 292-304; Voigt, IV, pp. 93-101

² Koller, p. 160

³ Johann III von Eich (1404-1464): Prince-bishop of Eichstätt from 1446 to his death. Friend of Pius from their days in the chanceries of the emperor and his brother, respectively

⁴ Pastor, p. 64

⁵ Manuscript Nürnberg / Stadtbibliothek / Cent V, App. 15, ff. 259r-260v. See Appendix

⁶ Joachimsohn, p. 166

observet, et quis minus, condigne puniatur. Tolle abusum, corrige vitia, areamque domini domini adversione purge. Sic placabitur ira Dei, aufereturque a nobis furor [et], indignatio ejus.
[Sect. 8-9]

This recommendation was a topos of humanist crusade orations, and Piccolomini himself had used it in his later crusade orations in Germany. However, since a reform of the Church was undoubtedly a long-term project, the imperial ambassador's exhortation to first reform the Church and then mobilise a crusade would undoubtedly have been noted by the participants in the congress, and not least by the Germans. The imperial ambassadors were ready to accept the pope's proposals for German participation in the crusade, but the other Germans – under the moral leadership of Gregor Heimburg¹ – were proving quite resistant to the papal crusade project.²

Though the emperor himself was actually not interested in a crusade,³ he did the following year make another attempt to mobilise the German nation for a military venture against the Turks, summoning the princes and the cities to a diet in Vienna. The diet opened in September 1460 and was attended by the emperor in person and the papal legate, Cardinal Bessarion. The attendance at the diet was meagre, and the results were as disappointing as those of Mantua. The emperor announced that he would be willing to lead a crusade in person if the princes participated, too, but their representatives were not empowered to commit themselves to any course of action. In the end, it was officially concluded that the necessary resources for a crusade could not be found, and the whole project was, for all practical purposes, abandoned. The emperor had done his bit but was probably relieved at the negative result.⁴

The pope eventually gave up on the empire taking a leading role in the crusade and would later focus on alliances with other powers, Hungary, Burgundy, and Venice – and France, if possible.

The pope's oration to the imperial ambassadors is mentioned neither in his *Commentarii*, nor by his contemporary biographers, nor by Raynaldus, nor by Voigt and Pastor. A reason may be the pope's disappointment with the very lukewarm support of the crusade expressed by the imperial ambassador and the later German developments with regard to the crusade.

¹ Joachimsohn, p. 167. See also orations "*Dilectissime*" and "*Eruditissime*" [47-48]

² Toews, p. 300

³ Toews, p. 304

⁴ Toews, pp. 308-311

2. Themes

In the oration, the pope firstly motivated the special obligation of the Empire to undertake the war against the Turks¹ and secondly praised the emperor's person.

According to the pope, four reasons made the Turkish war a special obligation for the Empire:

- As the Turks are already planning further military conquests in Europe and the Empire is actually a frontline state (after Hungary), it will be quite necessary for Germany to go to war – the sooner the better
- The authority and dignity of the Empire as the foremost protector and champion of Christianity demand that it take up arms to protect the Church
- The Empire has ample means to attack and vanquish the Turks
- The examples of the forefathers and former emperors, especially Charlemagne, urge the German nation to go to war against the infidels.²

3. Date, place, audience, and format

According to Pastor and Picotti, the oration "*Exposcebat haud dubie*" was delivered at the formal reception of the imperial embassy in Mantua on 1 December 1459³ during a public consistory in the Cathedral of Mantua. The date 29 November, however, is given in the manuscripts containing the oration "*Missi a divo*" of the Imperial ambassador (see Appendix).

The audience consisted of the cardinals, ambassadors, members of the Papal Court present in Mantua, and other participants in the congress.

The format was a papal oration from the throne, in reply to imperial ambassadors.

¹ On Pius II and the Turks and the crusade, see COR, 1: 6, 1

² Contrary to mediaeval legend, Charlemagne did not go on a cru-

sade against Islam – his only battle with Muslims was the battle (a rearguard action) of Roncevaux in 778, which he lost

³ Picotti, p. 288; Pastor, II, p. 64

4. Text¹

The oration is included in a Collection of Pius II's Responses (1460),² largely consisting of responses to addresses by ambassadors, extant in at least five manuscripts:

4.1. Manuscripts³

- **Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana**
544, ff. 181r-182v **(G)** *
- **Roma / Archivio Segreto Vaticano ***
Arm. XXXII 1, ff. 66v-69r **(J)**
- **Roma / Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**
Barb. lat. 1499, ff. 80v-83v
Barb. lat. 1692, ff. 102r-105v
Chis. J.VII.251, ff. 179v-181v **(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 published three times by Mansi:

- Mansi, Giovanni: *Ad concilia Veneto-Labbeana Supplementum. Sanctorum conciliorum et decretorum collectio nova: seu collectionis conciliorum Supplementum*. 6 vols. Luca: ex typographia Josephi salani, & Vincentii Junctinii, 1748-1752 // V, Coll. 301-303
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]
- Pius II: *Orationes politicae et ecclesiasticae*. Ed. Giovanni Domenico Mansi. 3 vols. Lucca: Benedini, 1755-1759. // II, pp. 208-210
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]

¹ Concerning the textual transmission of Pius II's orations, see COR, 1: 5

² See COR, 1: 5, 1, 2

³ Manuscripts for which an orthographical profile is given in COR, 1: 11, are marked with an asterisk

- Mansi, Giovanni Domenico (ed.): *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*. Tom. XXX. Venezia, 1792 [Reedited in 1902]
[Based on the manuscript in Lucca, G]

4.3. Present edition

For principles of edition (incl. orthography) and translation, see COR, 1: 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. Sources¹

In this brief oration, only two direct and indirect quotations have been identified, one from 1 Peter and one from Terentius' *Andria*.

¹ On Piccolomini's use of sources in general, see COR, 1: 8.

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7. Sigla

G = Lucca / Biblioteca Capitolare Feliniana / 544

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

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

II. TEXT AND TRANSLATION

Ad oratores imperiales

[1] {179v} Exposcebat haud dubie res, quae hoc in conventu geritur, imperatoriae majestatis praesentiam, siquidem fides ipsa catholica et orthodoxa tuenda proponitur, cujus protectio ad eum pertinet, qui *gladium portat ad vindictam malorum, laudem vero bonorum*. Sed non tulerunt tempora et rerum conditiones Caesarem ex patria sua recedere. Ideo vos missi estis, praestantissimi et insignes oratores, non equidem indigni, qui tanto in consessu vices Caesareas impleatis, sive dignitates vestras, sive praecipuas dotes metimur. Novimus jampridem quemque vestrum, et singulari benivolentia prosecuti sumus cum¹ in minoribus ageremus. Gratias Caesari agimus, qui vos misit, nobis ex omni parte caros acceptosque.

[2] Non attingemus cunctas orationis vestrae partes. Praeteribimus laudes nobis attributas, quae conscius suae parvitatibus pectus nihil extollunt. Praeteribimus alia multa sapienter et ornatissime dicta. Duo tamen² non possumus non refricare: alterum est in Turcos de bello gerendo, alterum de laude Caesaris.

[3] In Turcos sumenda esse arma omnes fatentur. At quibus potissime³ hominibus hoc ipsum incumbat, nemo dicit. Dicemus hoc nos, si non ornate, at libere et vere, nec putamus nos quemquam offensuros veritatem dicentes, quamvis in proverbio est *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*. Quippe, cogitantibus nobis saepenumero, cui potissimum nationi contra {180r} Turcos expeditio debeatur, quamvis nemo Christianus immunis esse debeat, quattuor tamen causae occurrerunt⁴, quae nationi Germanicae hoc belli onus, sive honorem⁵ in primis demandant: prima est necessitas, secunda est auctoritas⁶, tertia facultas, quarta invitatio majorum⁷.

¹ dum J

² tantum J

³ potissimum G

⁴ occurrunt G

⁵ onus [sic!] J

⁶ est auctoritas : auctoritas est G

⁷ maior J

To the imperial ambassadors

[1] This congress surely required the presence of His Imperial Majesty since its purpose is to discuss the defence of the Catholic and orthodox Faith, whose protection is his particular charge, for he *carries the sword to punish evil men and to praise good*.¹ But time and circumstances have not allowed the emperor to leave his lands. Therefore, he has sent you, excellent and distinguished ambassadors, and you are certainly worthy to represent the emperor in this grand assembly, whether we consider your offices or your excellent qualities. We already know all of you and loved you well before being raised to Our present state.² We thank the emperor for having sent men who are most dear and welcome to Us.

[2] We shall not touch on all the parts of your oration, and We shall pass over your praise of Us, for it does not lift up a heart, which is conscious of its own smallness.³ We shall also pass over many other things you spoke of so wisely and elegantly. But there are two things We must respond to: one is the war against the Turks, and the other is the praise of the emperor.

[3] All declare that we must go to war against the Turks, but no one says who the people most obliged to do so are. So, let Us say it, if not elegantly, then at least freely and truly, and We do not believe that anyone will blame Us for saying the truth, though the proverb says: *Complaisance gets friends, plain speaking gets hate*.⁴ We have often been considering what nation has the greatest obligation to go to war against the Turks. Though no Christian escapes this obligation, there are four reasons why this burden - or honour - falls to the German nation in particular. The first one is necessity, the second authority, the third the means, and the fourth the invitation of the forefathers.

¹ 1. Peter, 2, 14

² "cum in minoribus ageremus". On the expression "in minoribus", see COR, 1: 10

³ This is a standard reply of Pius to the laudation of the ambassadors,

but the oration of the imperial ambassador actually appears to not contain such a laudation. This is possibly another indication that Pius wrote his replies to ambas-

sadors before he heard their oration

⁴ Terentius: *Andria*, 68. (Cited in: Cicero: *De amicitia*, 24.89)

[4] Vicinitas¹, quae vobis cum Turcis est, duo facit, nam et timere nos cogit, ne superatis Hungaris, qui medii sunt inter vos et illos, res vestrae pereant. Est enim planum iter, et facultatem praebet ducendi copias in hostes. Per Danubium enim amnem² usque in superiorem et inferiorem Mysiam, quam Turci possident, milites vestros navibus transvehere potestis. Et ratione igitur imperii vestri tuendi, et ratione propinquitatis et facilitatis conveniendi cum hoste primae belli partes in Turcos ad Germanos pertinent. Is enim primus ad restinguendum ignem exurgere debet³, quem propius⁴ incendia tangunt.

[5] Succedit loco secundo auctoritas et dignitas nationis, nam cum imperialis gloriae culmen apud vos sit, cuius est ecclesiam Dei protegere, fidem defendere, religionem augere, quis non intelligit ejus belli, quod pro fide tuenda suscipitur, eos duces, eos vexilliferos, eos imperatores esse debere, apud quos est insigne victricis aquilae et numquam violanda majestas?

[6] His conjungitur facultas belligerendi, neque enim inerme vobis imperium est aut regnum pauper. Longe lateque patet Theutonica natio, dives agris, armis, equis, viris, et inexhaustis {180v} argenti metallis opulenta. Et ubinam gentium nobiliores aut potentiores familiae quam in Germania? Ubi splendiores, ditiores, munitiores urbes? Ubi ferocior populus, ubi juvenus belli cupidior, ubi robustiores milites, ubi duces prudentiores? Semper armata Germania est, semper indomita, semper victrix, aptissima profecto, quae Turcorum ferociae opponatur.

¹ vicinitatis G

² a minori G

³ exurgere debet *omit.* J

⁴ propia G

[4] Your geographical closeness to the Turks has two consequences. [Firstly,] it makes Us fear that you will perish when they have defeated Hungary, which lies between you and them. The route goes through flat terrain, which facilitates sending troops against enemies. You also have the means to transport soldiers by ship on the Danube River to upper and lower Moesia, which is in the power of the Turks. So, because you must defend your empire and because you can easily go to meet the enemies, who are close by, the primary responsibility for going to war against the Turks belongs to the Germans. For it is the person most threatened by a fire who should be the first one to get up and put it out.

[5] Secondly, there is the authority and dignity of your nation. Since the supreme glory of empire is vested in you, it is your task to protect God's Church, defend the Faith, and make religion grow. Therefore, all understand that the leaders, the standard bearers, and the generals in the war for the protection of the Faith must be those who carry the standard of the victorious eagle and inviolable majesty.

[6] To these reasons come the means for making war: your empire is not impotent, and your realm is not poor. The German nation stretches far and wide; it is rich in fields, weapons, horses, men, and silver. And where do you find more noble and mighty families than in Germany? Where more splendid, richer, and better fortified cities? Where a fiercer people, a more warlike youth, more hardy soldiers, more wise generals? Germany is always in arms, it has never been tamed, it is always victorious, and therefore, it is certainly the most suitable [nation] to oppose the savage Turks.

[7] Quod ultimo loco magnopere suadent et invitent exempla majorum, qui res pro Christi nomine clarissimas¹ gesserunt. Namque cum nobilissimi sitis, majores vestros imitari debetis, Carolos, Pipinos, Henricos, Ottones, Fridericos, Conrados, qui non solum Germanias, Gallias, atque Hispanias, sed Hungariam, Graeciam, atque Asiam victoribus cum exercitibus percurrerunt². Quod si alii non essent, unus vos excitare et commovere satis deberet victor ille ac triumphator Carolus, qui ob magnitudinem rerum gestarum magni cognomen adeptus est. Vester ille, vester Theutonicus fuit, et sua gloria vestra est. Nec propter hoc clarissimis Franciae regibus quidquam detrahimus; sua cuique servata laus est. Illi ex Carolo orti sunt, vos Carolum genuistis. Unus igitur Carolus et Francos et Germanos commovere debet.

[8] Agite igitur Theutones, expergiscimini, sumite animum, excutite periculum, quod ante omnes vestrae imminet nationi, cumque facile copias vestras in hostes ducere possitis³, nec vobis desunt robustissimi et munitissimi exercitus⁴. Et dignitas imperii, quod tenetis, hoc expostulet, et {181r} progenitorum vestrorum ingentia facta vos invitent. Audete tandem, et quod inter vos saepe cogitatum tractatumque est, in opus educite. Nihil habet natura vestra majus, quam ut possitis, nihil melius, quam ut⁵ velitis⁶ Christianae reipublicae cum honore⁷ Dei et vestro consulere, et prodesse quamplurimis, quod in hoc bello contra Turcos gerendo facile praestare potestis. Nec plura de prima parte.

¹ pro Christi nomine clarissimas :
clarissimas pro Christi nomine G
² praecurrerunt J

³ cumque facile ... possitis *omit.* J
⁴ cum *add.* J
⁵ *omit.* J

⁶ velletis J
⁷ et *add.* J

[7] The last argument, too, is very convincing: the examples of the forefathers who did splendid deeds for the name of Christ. Since you are yourselves of the highest nobility, you must imitate your forefathers named Charles, Pepin, Heinrich, Otto, Friedrich, and Konrad, who, with victorious armies, overran not only Germany, Gaul, and Spain but also Hungary, Greece, and Asia.¹ Even if the others were not there, one man should be enough to inspire and move you: the victorious and triumphant Charles,² who acquired the surname "Great" because of his great deeds. He was yours; he was one of you Germans, and his glory is yours. Saying this, I do not belittle the noble kings of France; everyone's honour is maintained. But the French kings descend from Charles, whereas you sired him. So, this one [man], Charles, should indeed inspire both the French and the Germans.

[8] So, act now, Germans! Bestir yourselves! Take courage! Destroy the danger that threatens your nation above all! For you can easily send your troops against your enemies. You do not lack strong and well-armed armies. The imperial dignity vested in you requires it. And the immense deeds of your forefathers urge you to do it. So, dare it now and put into action what you have so often considered and discussed.³ Your greatest trait is your ability, and your best trait is your willingness to protect the Christian commonwealth in God's and your own honour and to benefit the many. This you may easily do in this war against the Turks.

No more concerning the first issue.

¹ i.e., Asia Minor

² Charlemagne [Charles the Great] (742/747/748-814): King of the Franks from 768, King of Italy from 774. In 800, crowned by

the pope as the first emperor in Western Europe since the collapse of the Western Roman Empire three centuries earlier

³ Especially at a series of imperial diets in 1454 and 1455, where

Pius himself, as the imperial top diplomat Bishop Enea Silvio Piccolomini, urged the Germans to go to war against the Turks

[9] De secunda, hoc est de virtute Friderici Caesaris, paucissima subjungemus, non quod ipsi diminute locuti sitis, sed quod indigna res fuerit in ejus laude nos silere, qui cum celebrari ab omnibus debeat, praecipue tamen praeconia nostra meretur. Fridericus imperator judicio nostro felix est, nam Deum timet, diligit, et colit, et potestatem suam maxime ad Dei cultum dilatandum exercet. Juste imperat, tarde judicat. Facile ignoscit, vindictam ex malefactoribus pro necessitate reipublicae tuendae, non pro saturandis inimicitiarum odiis exercet. Veniam non ad impunitatem iniquitatis, sed ad spem correptionis¹ indulget. Si quid aspere cogitur aliquando decernere, misericordiae lenitate et elemosinarum largitate compensat. Luxuria tanto in eo castigatior est, quanto posset esse liberior. Mavult cupiditatibus suis quam quibuslibet gentibus imperare. Inter linguas sublimiter honorantium et obsequia nimis humiliter salutantium non extollitur, sed hominem se esse meminit. Pro peccatis suis sacrificia {181v} Deo suo² immolare non negligit. In omnes benignus et clemens. Quem³, cum talis sit, non veremur Augustini testimonio felicem appellare in hac vita per⁴ spem et in alia re ipsa futurum.

¹ correctionis G

² *omit.* J

³ qui G

⁴ pro felix J

[9] Concerning the second part, the virtue of Emperor Friedrich,¹ We shall add a few words – not because you yourselves said too little about it, but because it would be shameful for Us not to add to his praises, for though he merits to be honoured by all, he especially merits to be praised by Us. We believe Emperor Friedrich to be blessed, for he fears, loves, and worships God, and he wields his power above all to extend the worship of God. He rules justly, he is not hasty in his judgements, and he forgives easily. He exacts vengeance on evildoers for the sake of the state, not to satisfy his hatred of enemies. He is merciful, not in order to give evildoers impunity but to give them hope of correction. If he is sometimes forced to be severe, he compensates for that with merciful lenience and large alms. In view of his resources, he is remarkably restrained in his display of luxury. He would rather rule his own passions than peoples. Surrounded by men who praise him extravagantly and greet him too deferentially, he does not become puffed up but remembers that he is a man.² He does not neglect to offer up sacrifices to God for his sins. He is benevolent and clement towards all. Since this is how he is, We do not fear to apply Augustine's³ statement to him and call him one who may be happy in hope in this life and happy in fact in the next.⁴

¹ Friedrich III of 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

² An allusion to the "memento homo qui pulvis es," Genesis, 3, 19

³ Augustine [Augustinus, Aurelius] (354-430): Bishop of Hippo.

Theologian. Doctor of the Church. Saint

⁴ The oration ends somewhat abruptly. The end may be missing

Appendix: Oration “*Missi a divo*” of Johann von Eich (1 December 1459, Mantua)

After the ms. Nürnberg / 75 Cent. V, app. 15 (N) and the Ottobon. lat. 905, ff. 50v-52r (O).

Pagination follows the Ottobonensis.

Notes contain textual variants and references etc.

Normalised orthography and punctuation. For orthographical profile of the ms., see COR, 11.

Literature: Joachimsohn, pp. 166-167

Oratio habita per reverendum in Christo patrem dominum Johannem episcopum Estitensem, gloriosissimi imperialis majestatis oratorem, 29. Novembris in ecclesia cathedrali et in consistorio publico.¹

[1] {50v} Missi a divo Caesare Friderico ad sanctitatem tuam, pater beatissime, cum rem difficilem nostrisque viribus imparem persuasuri simus, verbis utemur domini ad Josue, filium Num, in Deuteronomio saepe prolatis, videlicet *confortare et esto robustus*². Naturale siquidem existit³, ut animus ardua ac⁴ magna quaeque gerenda praecogitans, dum et labores atque adversa recte⁵ pensaverit⁶, {51r} quasi destitutus sensibus saepe deficiat, desperet dejiciaturque. Unde ne penitus succumbat ac veluti confectus taedio pedem retrahat, confortatione anxio⁷ illi succurrendum est. Sic is, quem praemisi, dux Israelitici populi promissionis terram expugnaturus a domino confortatur. Salvator denique noster Christus magnum⁸ contra hostem antiquum pro salute humani generis acturus bellum causa passionis, suis⁹ in¹⁰ manibus caelestis patria¹¹ reposita, cum prae angustia taedere coepisset ac¹² contristari, ab angelo confortatus legitur. Et Paulus ille, electionis vas, dispensatione divina futurus gentium praedicator, audita voce de caelo percussusque terrore, ut opus sibi creditum intrepidus aggrediatur, consolatione verbis viri¹³ Ananiae confortationisque cibo reficitur. Plures ad haec commemorare possem, quos, quia plenius novit tua sanctitas¹⁴, omissos facio ordinem dumtaxat dicendae rei - prout inspiraverit dominus - prosecuturus.

[2] Scio equidem, pater beatissime, quod zelum Dei habeas, calamitatibus sponsae tuae ecclesiae sanctae compatiaris, quia *non est, qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*.¹⁵ Angit cor tuum afflictio populi Christiani. Videns dispersionem dominici gregis, in quem et barbaricus saevit ensis, ipse quoque affligeris. Dissentiunt oves tibi commissae et quasi hirci invicem cornibus insultant angustiarum, et curam geris, quo unanimes pacificaeque reddantur. Inter haec quis animum tuum negabit non contristari, non taedere aut paene deficere? Certe, nisi divina fueris¹⁶ confortatus consolatione, quod ad recuperandas animi vires pertinet, et caelesti roboratus auxilio, quod virili rerum persecutioni¹⁷ convenire dicimus, sancta tua deficiet intentio, ac in te tabescet anima tua.

[3] Sed loquar apertius, pater beatissime¹⁸, quamquam satis me intelligas. Innotuisti cunctis, adhortatus es omnes, quatenus pro defensione fratrum Christianorum adversus immanissimum

¹ Oratio ... publico: Epistola et oratio N

² Joshua, 1, 6-9

³ extitit O

⁴ et O

⁵ recta N

⁶ pensavit N

⁷ *em.*; Anchitodo codd.

⁸ magnus O

⁹ *em.*; sue codd.

¹⁰ *omit.* O

¹¹ patris O

¹² et O

¹³ *omit.* O [blank space]

¹⁴ tua sanctitas : sanctitas tua O

¹⁵ Psalms, 13, 1

¹⁶ divina fueris : fueris diuina O

¹⁷ persecutionem O

¹⁸ sancte O

Teucrorum¹ principem arma assumant, cuius rei habendi consilium relicta tua principali sede ad locum istum descendisti. Ad² parum dubito, quin sancti tui propositi praesenseris adversa inter tuos: *regnum adversus regnum*³, gentem contra gentem sedicionesque et proelia, quoniam ergo oppugnabis hostem, qui aequo in fideles⁴ recalcitrati [sunt] et indomito animo⁵, quod gravius judico. Vide, ne peccaverit populus tuus concitaveritque adversum se iram domini et pugnans convertatur in fugam, praevaleatque Abimelech.

[4] Et forsitan sunt hi, qui nunc dicant tibi: “Ibimus et pugnabimus ac voci domini mandatisque tuis oboediemus.” Ob id igitur *confortare in domino et in potentia virtutis*⁶ *ejus*⁷ neque in altero confidas. Vana est enim spes omnis aliena ab illo, quoniam juxta prophetam *fallax est equus ad salutem*⁸, et *non salvatur rex per multam virtutem neque gigas in multitudine virtutis suae*.⁹ Dominus autem *adjutor et protector noster est*,¹⁰ qui *salvat sperantes in se*¹¹, quo dirigente in manibus tuis opus suum non obstabunt regnorum dissensiones aut gentis tuae proelia. Dabit enim facile unicoque¹² momento, ut sit populus tuus unus et sequatur te ducem, quocumque praeieris.

[5] Verum non existimabis¹³ ista obventura tibi, nisi manus extenderis in caelum clamaverisque ad altissimum. Etenim etsi bona det¹⁴, tribuit tamen et¹⁵ petentibus¹⁶ se et his¹⁷, qui pulsando perseveraverunt,¹⁸ ¹⁹ neque opus hoc tam grande putabis esse unius diei, veluti ex miraculo hostem tam fortem absque sudore et sanguine prosternas. Nam et si recte censeas, reperies²⁰ semper dominum fidelium suorum voluisse experiri virtutem, ut temptati ac probati atque²¹ saepeque afflicti nanciscantur salutem perveniantque ad victoriam. Nolo dare exempla ei, qui antea novit, quod obsecrationibus, quantis curis et angustiis Moyses, famulus domini, populum ab Aegypto duxerit²², quem pertulerit in deserto, ut saepe lassatus quasi desperans nec tamen²³ clamare ad dominum cessavit²⁴.

[6] Non replico, quod instantiis quantisque admonitionibus sanctae quondam memoriae Romani pontifices, tui praedecessores, ad subveniendum oppressis fidelibus Christianorum populum requisiverint, et eam²⁵ causam non solum urbe Romana, sed et²⁶ tota Italia relictis, montes transiverint regesque et²⁷ principes ad gerendum bellum adversus Saracenos adhortati sunt, quorum vestigia quia sequitur sanctitas tua, experitur dominus fidem in te, quod pro salvandis ovibus suis latentem virtutem palam facias murumque te ponas pro domo Israel ac invadenti lupo

¹ Turchorum O

² omit. O

³ Isaiah, 19, 3

⁴ em.; fides codd.

⁵ em.; quinino codd.

⁶ potentia virtutis : virtutis
potentia N

⁷ Ephesians, 6, 10

⁸ Psalms, 32, 17

⁹ Psalms, 32, 16

¹⁰ Psalms, 32, 20

¹¹ Daniel, 13, 60

¹² unico O

¹³ extimabis O

¹⁴ omit. O

¹⁵ omit. O

¹⁶ potentibus N

¹⁷ omit. O

¹⁸ perseveraverit O

¹⁹ Matthew, 7, 8

²⁰ reperias O

²¹ ac O

²² abduxerit O

²³ tantum O

²⁴ cessaverit O

²⁵ em.; eamque cod.

²⁶ omit. O

²⁷ ac O

obviam pergas, non fugam veluti mercenarius - quod absit - quaesiturus, sed pugnam ut pastor bonus pro commissis ovibus virilis suscepturus. Et haec dum feceris, pater beatissime, pastorem proprium protectoremque firmum cunctis te ostendis, cujus et oves audient vocem omnesque intrepide sequentur. Quae vero cura tibi creditis gregibus adhibenda sit, audi – quaeso - patienter, summe pastor, pro tua clementia. *Etenim si¹ bonus sis, veluti es, quid tua, unius² hominis, sanctitas ecclesiae Dei³ proderit ceteris perverse ambulantis?*⁴, ut beatus Bernhardus⁵ ad Eugenium, praedecessorem tuum,⁶ ajebat.

[7] Dicebam antea te compati sponsae tuae calamitatibus, quia *non est, qui faciat bonum*, [et] quod vides ire vias non rectas, sed⁷ alios quidem oppressos gravibus⁸ criminibus, alios abundare vitiis, concupiscentiis, et voluptatibus, hos aliena delectari injuria, istos perversos gerere mores, et illos nulla flecti oboedientia. Aggredierisne bellum cum his contaminatis odiosisque deo? Arbitror ego sanctitatem tuam aliter facturam, ut primum quidem sectam agens vitiorum delictorumque circumcisionis populum sanctifices, quo - juxta praeceptum Josue datum - emundatum⁹ deoque gratum¹⁰ sine macula in terram ingrediatur promissionis.

[8] Non est officii mei legem¹¹ ponere, qualiter subditorum defectibus consulere debeas, sed evangelistae¹² dumtaxat apud te uti admonitione¹³, quod - uti spero - pro tua solita clementia non ingrate accipies. Habes patrum decreta praedecessorumque tuorum sanctiones, quibus moribus omnibus norma datur, et qua via unicuique incedendum sit praecipe igitur, ut quisque¹⁴ observet, et qui minus, condigne puniatur. Tolle abusus, corrige vitia, areamque domini debita animadversione purge. Sic placabitur ira Dei, aufereturque a nobis furor indignationis ejus. Non praevalebit amplius contra nos hostis, sed dabit illum dominus calcandum pedibus conterendumque manibus tuis. Tunc videbis concurrentes reges, principes et populos¹⁵, qui dicent, quia *dirigitur salus in manu illius*¹⁶ *salvumque faciet dominus populum suum*¹⁷ per illum.

[9] Ad haec se offert invictissimus imperator, tuae sanctitatis devotissimus filius, {52r} ut sit votis tuis paratus praestetque pro viribus sacri imperii, quidque poterit persona ac rebus, auxilia atque subsidia adjuvandis liberandisque Christianis oppressis fideliter laturus, super quo apud sanctitatem tuam juxta instructionem a sua majestate nobis traditam latiore habebimus. Referre sermonem non existimavi necesse, ut sinceritatem, fidem ac¹⁸ religionem gloriosissimi imperatoris nostri apud sanctitatem tuam aliter extollere, quantaque nobilissima archiducalis domus Austriae, de qua

¹ omit. O

² Christus O

³ omit. O

⁴ Bernhard of Clairvaux: *De consideratione*

⁵ Bernhard de Clairvaux (1090-1153): Cistercian abbot. Prolific writer

⁶ Pope Eugenius III (ca. 1080-1153): Pope from 1145 to his death

⁷ et O

⁸ oppressos gravibus : gravibus oppressos O

⁹ emundatus N

¹⁰ gratus N

¹¹ legemque O

¹² euangelica O

¹³ admonitionem O

¹⁴ quisquis O

¹⁵ et add. O

¹⁶ Genesis, 39, 3: *dirigi in manu illius*

¹⁷ Psalms, 27, 9: *Salvum fac populum tuum, Domine*

¹⁸ atque O

originem ducit, pro tuenda fide catholica semper egerit, principesque ejus saepe usque ad mortem certaverint. Novit enim ista beatitudo tua ex longaeva familiarique notitia, praecipue autem devotissimi Caesaris nostri ad deum religionem fervoremque, in qua tantum ceteros praecellit, ut neminem sibi parem obtinere videatur. Nunc oro dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, mundi salvatorem, quatenus opus hoc sanctum, pro quo ista celebratur conventio, salubriter dirigat et ad suam laudem Christianique populi salutem feliciter perficiat¹ ipso praestante, cui est honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen. Laus Deo.²

¹ in *add.* O

² Amen. Laus Deo *omit.* O